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[1744]

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TO THE
MERCHANTS
OF
GREAT-BRITAIN.

AS the original Deſign of Dedications was either gratefully to acknowledge Aſſiſtance, or modeſtly to deſire Protection, ſo both theſe Motives, **Gentlemen**, concur in leading me to this Addreſs. If there be any Thing in the following Sheets, that is either New or Entertaining, Uſeful or Inſtructive, which, from the general Approbation the Work has met with, I have Reaſon to hope there is, I muſt confeſs it, in a great meaſure, due to the kind Communications I have received from Perſons concerned in Trade; and as the main Point I have had in View, has been the ſetting the Hiſtory and Advantages of Commerce in a true Light, I preſume that I could not have inſcribed this Performance to more proper Patrons. I have endeavoured likewiſe to avoid the Faults for which moſt modern Dedications are cenſured, which are a mean Attention to Intereſt, or the Vanity of placing great Names and high Titles in the Front of Books. It is true, I addreſs myſelf to the richeſt Body of Men in this, or perhaps any other Nation, but without any farther Expectation than meriting their Favour and Acceptance. I have alſo choſen the greateſt and moſt conſiderable Body of Men undignified with Titles; but with no other Ambition than that of procuring a good

Reception for my Book, by thoſe who muſt be allowed to be the beſt and moſt proper Judges. Such, Gentlemen, are truly and ſincerely my Inducements to this Application, which I have the greater Reaſon to flatter myſelf, will not be unſucceſsful, becauſe I am confident you will meet with nothing that is dictated by any other than a publick Spirit in the Volume which I preſent.

We are taught, that the Separation and Diſperſion of Mankind over the Earth, was owing to the juſt Diſpleaſure of their Creator upon their attempting to lay the Foundations of an univerſal Monarchy, which muſt have been deſtructive of their own Happineſs. But Reaſon and Experience ſhew, that we owe that Connection, which, at preſent, reigns between Countries far remote from each other, and that kind Intercourſe ſubſiſting between different and diſtant Nations, to a Spirit of Commerce. Trade, by the Divine Favour, has effected what Ambition vainly endeavoured ; and the Deſire of carrying on mutual Traffick has overcome that Evil, which produced the Separation of Mankind ; I mean the Confuſion of Tongues. The Deſire of reciprocally communicating the Fruits of various Soils and different Climates, is that Principle of Unity, which, agreeable to the Will of GOD, makes all the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Regions of the Globe, appear in theſe later Ages, what, in the earlieſt Times they were, but one People, and of one Language. Such are the wonderful, ſuch the happy Effects of Commerce, conſidered in this general Light, and as conducive to the common Benefit of the human Species.

In particular Countries, Plantation was the Effect of Neceſſity ; Men were forced to till the Ground, that they might eat, and to invent the Arts relating to Veſture and Building, that they might ſecure themſelves againſt the Inclemency of the Weather. In this they acted but as other Animals do, and by a kind of natural Inſtinct : But when Neceſſities were thus attained, they had Time to exerciſe the Faculties of their Minds, and to look abroad for greater Conveniencies. This produced Trade, which is peculiar to our Species, and the primary Characteriſtick of rational Beings ; by the Help of Trade, Conveniencies multiplied apace, and Men appeared in their proper Sphere, not as bare Inhabitants of the terraqueous Globe, but as the Sovereigns of Earth and Sea. Sovereigns not in Right of ſuperior Force, for Strength would never have given them Dominion over other Creatures ; but from ſuperior Wiſdom, which appeared in nothing more than in the Invention of Shipping, as might be demonſtrated at large, if the Self-Evidence of the Fact did not ſupercede the Neceſſity of any Demonſtration.

In Proportion as the Art of Navigation grew and was improved, the Commodities that were derived from it encreaſed ; the Labour of Mankind, was greatly diminiſhed, and their Delights augmented ; whatever was wanted in one Country, was eaſily, ſafely, and in the Quantities that were requiſite, brought from another. Knowledge and uſeful Arts were continually improved, great Diſcoveries daily made, and thoſe Works eaſily and fully accompliſhed in ſucceeding Times, of which the former had deſpaired. By this Means Poſterity was encouraged to undertake ſtill greater Things; and the farther this Art was extended, ſtill the greater and more Benefits accrued therefrom: So that ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Talents for Politicks, ſoon perceived how neceſſary it was to encourage Navigation in all its Branches; and this Neceſſity eſtabliſhed, ſooner or later, almoſt under every Government, this Maxim, *That whoever was Maſter at Sea, muſt be Maſter at Land likewiſe.*

But, at preſent, we will meddle no farther with Naval Power, as deſigning only to ſhew, that it derives its Being from, and can never ſubſiſt otherwiſe than by Commerce. Yet it is not the Sea only that is indebted to Trade; on the contrary, there is nothing contributes ſo much to the thorough Cultivation of Countries, as appears plainly from ancient and modern Hiſtories, which ſhew that it is capable of rendering the moſt barren Soil fruitful, and the moſt deſert Places pleaſant. The following Sheets explain this ſufficiently, with reſpect to the ancient Republick of *Tyre*, to which, if Nature denied moſt Things, Traffick brought all; as alſo in regard to *Palmyra*, which, by its Trade, became a Paradiſe, though ſeated in a Wilderneſs. And the ſame Thing may be ſaid of the Province of *Holland* at this Day. But, without travelling abroad, the Truth of this Obſervation may be ſufficiently known from the amazing Alteration which our Application to Trade has made in our own Country, with reſpect to the Improvement and Value of Land in the laſt and preſent Century. This is a Thing ſo apparent, and ſo certain, that, as on the one Hand, it does the greateſt Honour to the Mercantile Part of our People; on the other, it demonſtrates the great Conſequence of Trade to the whole Nation: So that there can be no Diviſion of Intereſt in this Reſpect, that of Land and Trade being reciprocal, or rather the ſelf-ſame Thing.

To Commerce we owe our Wealth; for though Labour may improve, though Arms may extend, yet Commerce only can enrich a Country. It is this that encourages People, not barely to labour for the Supply of their own Wants, but to have an Eye to thoſe of other Nations, even ſuch as are at the greateſt Diſtance. It is this that eſtabliſhes and extends Manufactures, and while it employs all Ranks of People, provides ſuitable Rewards for their ſeveral Employments. It is this, and this alone, that can excite and encourage univerſal Induſtry, by providing, that all who take Pains, ſhall reap Profit, and that what raiſes the Fortunes of Individuals, ſhall prove at the ſame Time, and in the ſame Degree, beneficial to Society; ſo that an Application to their private Intereſts, in their ſeveral honeſt Employments, has, at the ſame Time, all the Effects, and is, in reality, the trueſt Teſtimony of publick Spirit.

Hence ariſes another great Advantage, which is the equal and juſt Diſtribution of Property, a Thing that Legiſlators have attempted in vain, tho' by attempting it, they have ſufficiently ſhewn, how material, and how requiſite it is, under all Governments. But Commerce performs this effectually, and tho' it may ſometimes raiſe particular Fortunes to an envied Point of Greatneſs, yet this Envy, which can be ſaid in no other caſe, is productive of good Conſequences, for it heightens that Spirit of Induſtry, which can alone diffuſe Wealth, and therefore we ſee, that a few very rich Merchants, in one Age, produces a Multitude of moderate Fortunes in the next. Thus the Evils created by Trade, are corrected by Trade, which, as it is the only natural Way of acquiring Riches, ſo whatever temporary Inconveniencies attend it, diſappear of themſelves, if we do not through Impatience interpoſe, but ſuffer Nature to take her Courſe.

We may eaſily conceive from hence, that as Riches and Commerce, ſo Commerce and Liberty are inſeparable; for if the Property attained by the former, be not ſecured and preſerved by the latter, Trade will quickly decay; as on the other Hand, ſuch as have acquired Fortunes by long and hazardous Voyages Abroad, or by hard Labour in a conſtant Courſe of Induſtry at Home, will naturally have juſt Notions, and conſequently ſet a true Value upon Freedom, which they will likewiſe be the more ready, and the more able to defend. So that on the Whole, we may ſafely affirm, that the greateſt Differences between Nations, ariſe chiefly from the Degrees, and the Nature of their Commerce, and according as it is, either little or large, extended or confined; the People are Civilized or Rude, Rich or Poor, Powerful or Weak, Brave or Baſe, and finally, Free or Slaves: So from Reaſon we ought to judge, and ſo from Experience it appears.

The great End of Voyages and Travels is, to enquire into, and obtain Satisfaction as to theſe Particulars, and the principal Deſign of ſuch Collections as this is, to repreſent them freely and fairly to the World: In doing this, I have uſed all the Care and Diligence that was in my Power, and have never let ſlip any Opportunity of recommending the Encouragement, Extenſion, and Protection of Trade, as the ſureſt Means of making us a great, wealthy, powerful and happy People; of all theſe, GENTLEMEN, as I conceive, you muſt be the principal Inſtruments, I thought I had, in ſome Meaſure, a Right to expect your Patronage, of which, if you ſhall think this Work worthy, it will fully anſwer the Wiſhes, and gratify the Ambition of,

GENTLEMEN,

Your Obedient and Devoted

Shire-Lane, December. 3, 1745.

Humble Servant,

The AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE peculiar Pleaſure and Improvement that Books of Voyages and Travels afford, are ſufficient Reaſons why they are as much, if not more read than any one Branch of polite Literature: It may not therefore be amiſs to inquire a little into the Sources of that Satisfaction and that Increaſe of Knowledge, which have ſo juſtly recommended Books of this ſort to the univerſal Favour of Readers of every Taſte.

The Mind of Man is ſo form'd, as ſcarce to admit of Amuſement without Inſtruction; and though it may frequently happen, that the latter is imperceptibly conveyed, yet is this ſo far from being an Evil, that, in Truth, it is a very conſiderable Advantage. If we are delighted with the ſtrange Things that are preſented to us in Voyages and Travels, that Delight, when ſtrictly examined, will be found to ariſe from learning what we knew not before; and, conſequently, is a rational Pleaſure. It is therefore a very happy Circumſtance in this kind of Reading, that it charms us by a perpetual Variety, and keeps alive that Thirſt of Inquiry, which we are apt to loſe, when too cloſely confined to ſeverer Studies.

An Inſtance will eaſily convey the Force of this Obſervation, and, at the ſame time, convince the Reader of the Truth of it. When we read in the Account of Countries, in the Neighbourhood of *Hudſon's-Bay*, that numerous *Indian* Nations paſs their Time in Hunting, and other Exerciſes, in ſpight of that Cold, the very Deſcription of which chills us here; and that they are able, even in the moſt rigorous Seaſons, to make greater Journies, in a much ſhorter Space of Time, than we can do in a warmer Climate, and when our Roads are beſt; it appears wonderful, and, at the firſt Sight, almoſt incredible. But then our Curioſity being prompted to inquire more narrowly into their Cuſtoms, Dreſs, and Manner of Travelling, we come to be ſatisfied, not only that the Fact is ſo, but why it is ſo; and thence diſcover the Folly of that Opinion which ſo long prevailed, that theſe frozen Regions were the wide Waſtes of Nature, and, from their very Situation, abſolutely uninhabitable. Again, when we learn, that at *Peru* it ſeldom or never rains, this aſtoniſhes us; but when we are likewiſe informed, that, by the hanging of thick Clouds continually over the People's Heads, they are ſo effectually defended from the Heat of the Sun, that the Climate is more temperate in *New* than in *Old Spain*, we are at once ſatisfied as to the Falſhood of the before-mentioned Opinion with reſpect to the Torrid Zone; and thus a modern Reader of Travels becomes, without Trouble or Fatigue, better acquainted with the true State of Things, and the real Condition of the Univerſe, and its Inhabitants, than the wiſeſt of the antient Philoſophers with all their Study and Thinking. But, will any Man ſay, that the Knowledge we thus acquire, is the leſs certain, or the leſs valuable, for the Eaſe with which it is obtained? Or will any Idolater of the Antients aſſert, that their Ignorance or Miſtakes were at all leſſened by the Pains they took to reaſon themſelves into Notions which Experience ſhews us to be falſe? No, certainly, the Facility on one Side is an undoubted Advantage, and their Toil and Labour an additional Miſfortune on the other.

We

PREFACE

We muſt however allow, that ſome Degree of Reflection is neceſſary, to profit by this Kind of Reading, and that therefore the Benefits received by it, will be in Proportion to the Capacity and Attention of the Readers. But what of this? If a ſmall Degree of Reflection will do much, if a moderate Attention will do all, and if a Method can be deviſed to excite ſuch a Spirit of Reflection, and preſerve ſuch a conſtant Attention from every Reader; what kind of Literature deſerves ſo great Encouragement? Yet there is nothing eaſier than to demonſtrate this to the Satiſfaction even of the moſt ſtubborn Critic. For, without affecting to play with Words, what Way ſo likely to convey univerſal Knowledge, as exhibiting a complete View of the Univerſe? In other Branches of Learning, we may arrive at the Knowledge of abſtruſer Things, but in none can we come at what is more uſeful. *Homer* opens his *Odyſſey* with obſerving, that Travel had made *Ulyſſes* the wiſeſt Man of his Age; and the great View of that excellent Writer is, to inſtil Wiſdom pleaſantly by a poetical Deſcription of that Hero's Travels. Can there be any thing more ſatiſfactory, with reſpect either to Reaſon or Authority, than this? Can any Man doubt, that the ſeeing different Countries, conſidering the ſeveral Humours, Cuſtoms and Conditions of various Nations, and comparing them with each other, and our own, is the readieſt Way to Wiſdom? Or can we ſuſpect, that the Reputation of *Homer*, and his Poem, would have ſubſiſted ſo many Ages, if it had been built upon a falſe Poſition?

This Kind of Knowledge, of all others, moſt opens and inlarges the Mind. Some Studies ingulph and ſwallow us up, ſo that we have no longer Attention for any thing elſe; and this is that learned Diſtemper which the World calls Pedantry. But the Reading of Voyages and Travels is not only free from this Diſadvantage, ſince it contains a perpetual Variety of Subjects, but is in Truth the beſt Cure for Pedantry; ſince, if a Man can be once induced to entertain himſelf this way, he muſt neceſſarily ſee the Folly of purſuing any ſingle Scheme of Science too far. The Utility therefore, as well as Pleaſure of this Courſe of Reading, cannot be diſputed. But there is another Objection that preſſes more cloſely; and it is this, that the pretending to graſp the whole Circle of Science in this Way, by peruſing the Voyages and Travels into and through all the Countries in the Globe, is altogether as endleſs, though, perhaps, a leſs tedious Method of acquiring Knowledge, than any hitherto propoſed. Yet I venture to affirm, that even this Objection may be likewiſe anſwered, and the Truth of the contrary Propoſition made moſt evident; which is the ſecond Part of the Task I undertook to perform.

This Humour of Deſpairing on the remote Proſpect of Hardſhips, and ſuppoſing Difficulties at firſt Sight to be inſurmountable, has often proved a Bar to great and generous Undertakings. If *Columbus* could have been diſcouraged by ſuch a Proſpect, or diverted from his Purpoſe by the Encounter of many Difficulties, he had never ſucceeded ſo far as he did in his Project of Sailing round the Globe. Or if his Example had frighted *Magellan* from contemplating his Reaſons from the Conſideration of his Fate, the Tour of the Globe might have been yet unmade. But ſince we ſee that theſe magnanimous Men were not only capable of forming ſuch vaſt Deſigns, but alſo of carrying them into Execution, it ought ſurely to encourage us in our Labours of another Kind; becauſe it muſt convince us, that, with like Steadineſs and Application, ſomething of the ſame Sort may be performed in this Way, if a right Method be taken.

In order to come at this Method, it is requiſite to conſider what we would avoid, and what we would obtain. As to the former, we can eaſily diſcern, that the running through a Multiplicity of Books, moſt of them incumbered with Matters foreign to our Purpoſe, and all of them, from their very Nature, ſubject to tedious Repetitions, is what we ought to be moſt afraid of. Every Writer of Voyages and Travels purſues a particular Plan, which, however agreeable to his Purpoſe, muſt be wide of ours; for while he aims, either at a copious Detail of his own Adventures, or at a general Diſplay of his Learning and Diſcoveries, we deſire to hear no more than what relates to the Point, illuſtrated by ſuch Circumſtances as may enable us to conceive it fully, and come at it with Pleaſure; hence it appears, that a *voluminous* Collection of different Voyages and Travels, though the beſt in their Kind that can be met with, and digeſted in the beſt Order that can poſſibly be invented, will ſcarce anſwer this End; becauſe the very Peruſal of them will coſt more Time than moſt People have to beſtow; and the comparing, collecting, and digeſting their Contents, would demand ſuch a Degree of Labour and Circumſpection, as very few Readers would be inclined to afford. To obviate therefore theſe Difficulties, a Way muſt be found to reduce the Bulk of ſuch a Collection within reaſonable Bounds; and, at the ſame time, due Care muſt be taken to preſerve the Subſtance and Spirit, when the ſuperfluous and unneceſſary Parts of their Relations are thrown out of the way.

If this could be done, and a ſufficient Number of the beſt Writers thus collected, and fitted for general Uſe, drawn into a Body in a natural and eaſy Order, ſo that what they deliver ſhould follow in ſuch a regular Progreſſion as that every Relation might appear in its proper Place, adding new Light to what went before, and preparing us for what ought to come after; I think there is nothing hard in apprehending, that a Work, thus digeſted, would anſwer the great End propoſed, and produce a Syſtem of this Sort of Literature as regular and uſeful, and, at the ſame time, as pleaſant and entertaining, as could be expected.

This great *Library* of *Voyages* and *Travels*, as it was originally contrived, came pretty near the Method which I have laid down; but then, as it was publiſhed in Two Volumes, it was compiled likewiſe in Two Parts, ſo that the Scheme is actually repeated, and, like Dictionaries improved at different times, there is a kind of double Alphabet, which renders each of the Volumes a diſtinct Work from the other. This might be, and, I dare ſay, was neceſſary, under the Circumſtances in which that Work was compoſed; but this Inconveniency is now avoided. As this Collection is intended for a complete Body of Voyages and Travels, the Two Volumes have been reduced into their natural Order, and all the Parts ſo diſpoſed, as to bring them into their proper Places. It was, beſides, highly requiſite to reviſe them, both with regard to Matter and Style; and therefore they have not only been compared with the ſeveral larger Works, from which they were originally taken, all Omiſſions ſupplied, and Errors corrected, but the Proprietors having been at great Expence in procuring ſuch Helps as either were not, or could not be had, when the firſt Edition was publiſhed, this is ſo far augmented and improved, as to become, in ſome meaſure, a new Work.

The Reader will here meet with a complete Syſtem of Relations, drawn up by Eye-witneſſes of what they deliver, with a proper Account of the Credit due to each; the particular Merit of his Accounts, their Deficiencies, and the Means by which they have been ſupplied from others. He will likewiſe ſee how ſucceeding Times have improved the Diſcoveries of paſt Ages; how the Spirit of Induſtry, in ſearching after uſeful Truths, and extending Commerce, has fled from Place to Place, and now adorned one Nation, and then another. He will perceive, that what was judged abſurd and impracticable in one Age, has nevertheleſs been attempted and perfected in the next; and he will likewiſe ſee, that ſome great and noble Undertakings, which were long ago propoſed, and in Part fulfilled, have ſince fallen back into Obſcurity; from whence, however, they may very probably be drawn, by the Virtue and Spirit either of the preſent Generation, or of Poſterity. He will find whatever relates to uſeful Points clearly explained, and ſufficiently inſiſted upon; and, at the ſame time, find enough preſerved of the Fortunes and Adventures of particular Perſons to ſatisfy his Curioſity, without carrying him too far out of the great Road after Matters of leſs Conſequence.

By theſe means, it is hoped, that this Library will appear agreeable to his Expectation, and capable of anſwering every End he could have wiſh'd; but that it may do this the more effectually, and that he may never be at a Loſs about its Application, it may be proper, beſides the common Helps of Tables and Indices, to give a ſhort Deſcription of the Manner in which its ſeveral Parts are ranged, ſo as that he may have Recourſe immediately to whatever he wants, and know where to bring in whatever Improvements his own future Reading and Experience may furniſh. Beſides, by recollecting what has been already laid down, and comparing it with what we are now going to propoſe, he may form a proper Judgment of the Nature and Value of this Library, and of the Pleaſure and Profit that may be reaped from it, ſo as to be under no Doubt as to its Worth, or how far it comes up to what we have promiſed for it. All this, I ſay, he ſees at one View, and is enabled to make as ready a Uſe of upwards of *Six hundred Volumes*, the Subſtance of which are included in theſe *Two*, as if he was only at the Pains of finding out and taking down the Author he deſired to conſult.

PREFACE.

The Method in which theſe Voyages and Travels are now digeſted, is ſo natural and eaſy, that it is impoſſible it ſhould be either miſtaken or forgot. In the firſt Place, we give an Account, in Order of Time, of the moſt remarkable Voyages that have been made round the Globe; which afford us an Opportunity of inſerting a great Variety of uſeful and curious Obſervations. We then enter into a diſtinct Recital of the Voyages made by ſeveral *European* Nations, for diſcovering and ſettling the Commerce of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, without which the ſubſequent Accounts could not be eaſily or clearly underſtood. We purſue next the common Diviſion of the Globe; and, beginning with the Voyages that have been made to *Spitzbergen* and *Groenland*, go on to a Recital of what has been obſerved by Travellers of the greateſt Note, in all the Northern Parts of *Europe*, and ſo through the Middle, Southern, and Eaſtern Countries, to the Frontiers of *Aſia*. This leads us to give an Account of that Part of the World, and of all the Voyages made to its Maritime Coaſts, as well as the Travels of ſuch as have had an Opportunity to paſs through its Inland Provinces. The like Care we take with reſpect to *Africa*, and therein conſider at large the Trade upon its ſeveral Coaſts, and the Manner in which it was formerly, and is at preſent, branched out amongſt ſeveral *European* Nations. Laſt of all, we purſue the ſame Method in adjuſting the Voyages to and Travels throughout *America*, ſo as to give the Reader full Satisfaction as to the firſt Diſcovery, original Settlement, paſt and preſent Condition, Commerce and Importance of all the *Spaniſh*, *Engliſh*, *French*, *Portugueſe*, *Dutch* and *Daniſh* Colonies in that Country, together with all that can be known with Certainty as to the *Indian* Nations, which inhabit thoſe Parts of it that are hitherto unſubdued.

It will appear from hence, that the Deſign of this Undertaking is much more perfect in its kind than the Scheme of any Collection of Voyages hitherto offered to the Publick; for whereas They relate only to a few Countries, and are not diſpoſed according to any regular Method, Ours will comprehend all, and in an Order which gives them a perfect Connection. If we had followed Chronology wholly, it would have intirely changed our Plan, and, inſtead of a Collection, it would have been a Chronicle of Voyages and Travels. If, on the other hand, we had paid no regard to Time, this would have created great Confuſion, and rendered the Whole perplexed and unintelligible. But as Things now ſtand, all theſe Difficulties are avoided. We treat firſt of the Circum-Navigators, for this plain Reaſon, that as the Whole is greater than its Parts, ſo, among Travellers, thoſe are certainly to be placed in the firſt Claſs, who have made the Inveſtigation of the whole Globe their Aim, rather than the Diſcovery of particular Parts; and upon the ſame Principles we place the Diſcoverers of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies* next to the Circum-Navigators; becauſe their Purpoſe was next in Point of Importance. Theſe general Heads being fixed, all the component Parts follow in Order of Time, ſo that after peruſing a whole Chapter, the Reader is poſſeſſed of the intire Hiſtory of that Point, ſees when it was firſt ſtarted, How, by Whom, and at what Time proſecuted, and in what Situation it ſtands at preſent.

I have now given the Reader all the Helps in my Power, towards the perfect underſtanding what is intended in the following Work; and from the Hope of his candid Reception of my Labours, I borrow that Degree of Confidence which is neceſſary to proſecute ſo arduous an Undertaking; and, provided I enjoy This, I ſhall think all my Care and Pains extremely well beſtowed; ſince, to further uſeful Knowledge, is certainly a laudable Ambition.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

THERE are very few Points as to which the wiſe Men of Antiquity, and the beſt Judges among the Moderns, are ſo clearly agreed as in the Advantages that reſult from Travel, and the Benefits that ariſe from ſeeing the World. It is very evident from ancient Writers, that the greateſt and moſt celebrated Philoſophers thought it requiſite to viſit diſtant Nations, in Search of Wiſdom. The Deſign of one of thoſe excellent Poems, compoſed by *Homer*, whoſe Reputation is, at once, the moſt extenſive, and the beſt-founded of any Poet's, was to ſhew that uſeful and univerſal Science was beſt attained in this Way, of which he gives us an illuſtrious Example in the Character of *Ulyſſes*, who is the Hero of that Work. In later Times, travelling is become a Part of Education, or rather a Thing neceſſary to poliſh and perfect Education, by inſtructing thoſe in Men who have already acquired as much as can be acquired from Books. But theſe Advantages are confined to a very few, by which I mean, ſuch as have it in their Power, either to indulge their Inclinations in viſiting foreign Countries, or who, moved by the Advices of their Friends, take this Method of improving their Talents, by adding Experience to what they have learned in Schools. But, as to the Bulk of Mankind, though they ſtand as much in Need of the Benefits drawn from Travel, as thoſe who move in the ſublimer Spheres of Life; yet, by their Circumſtances, they are diſabled from this Manner of accompliſhing themſelves, or of obtaining the Knowledge they want.

But, becauſe thus precluded one Way, does it follow that they ſhall attempt it no other, or becauſe they cannot travel themſelves, muſt they derive no Advantage from the Travels of others? That would be a hard Thing indeed, ſince Men reap the Benefits of Hiſtory, and thereby gain the Benefit of Experience from Ages far beyond thoſe in which they live. If unconfined by Time, why ſhould they be confined by Space; if we may improve from the Knowledge of what was done by Men before us, why may we not inform ourſelves, by enquiring into what thoſe Nations do who live far from us? One is as rational, and not at all more difficult than the other; and there is this Advantage attends travelling upon Paper, that we may go whither, and in what Company we pleaſe. This is a very ſingular and a very uſeful Circumſtance; for, very frequently, even great Travellers do not ſee what they ſeek. Their Inclinations would carry them one Way, but, perhaps their Fortune and Condition in the World will carry them another; but this can never happen in Books. We may add to this another Conſideration; that there are many Voyages, which however a Man may be inclined to make, yet, in his whole Life-Time, he may never meet with any Opportunity of making: I will inſtance only in two. The firſt is a Voyage round the World; of which, in the firſt Book of this Collection, we have given a complete and particular Account from whence it appears how few of thoſe Voyages have been made in a long Courſe of Time: Yet, I preſume to ſay, that there are none, either of ſo great Uſe, or ſo entertaining. It is from theſe Voyages, that the greateſt Diſcoveries have been made, and, which is more, the Poſſibility diſcloſed of making ſtill greater Diſcoveries that hitherto have been made, as the Reader will be convinced, by peruſing that Part of this Collection. My ſecond Inſtance is in Voyages to *Japon*, which is now out of the Power of almoſt any Man to make, who is not a Native of a particular Country; and even thoſe make them with far leſs Advantage now than they did formerly.

But this is not the only Benefit that reſults from reading beyond actual Sailing or Travelling; for in the latter, we are bound to one particular Courſe, and confined to the Fruits of a ſingle Excurſion, whereas, by the Help of a Collection of Voyages, we reap all the Advantages that reſult from the Experience of different Men, who have lived in different Countries, and in different Ages. We can, in this Way, ſail with *Columbus* and *Magellan*, with *Drake* and *Le Maire*, as well as with *Rogers* or Admiral *Anſon*. In like Manner we can, in this Method, go to *Japon* with the *Portugueze*, and the *Engliſh*, as well as with the *Dutch*, and thereby derive to ourſelves that Experience which was reaped in paſt Ages, and from which we are abſolutely precluded in the preſent. To us, in this Way, it is the ſame Thing, whether good or ill Fortune attend the Voyages, ſince, to an intelligent Reader, as to an able Philoſopher, it is much the ſame with reſpect to Inſtruction, whether the Experiment ſucceeds or not. For Inſtance, Commodore *Roggewine*'s Expedition turned to no Account, with Reſpect to the View upon which it was made; but as to us it is, to the full, as uſeful as if it had ſucceeded, and we are as much ſatisfied, that the Scheme upon which that Voyage was founded, is juſt, right, and agreeable to Truth, as if the Perſons who made the Voyage, inſtead of loſing their Ship, and returning Beggars, had brought home with them half the Treaſure of the *Indies*.

The Accidents to which Men are liable, who undertake ſuch Voyages, are ſo many, ſo unavoidable, and often of ſuch a Nature as to deprive thoſe who make them, of much of the Experience which they might otherwiſe have reaped from them: But we run no ſuch Hazards in Books, and there is nothing neceſſary to render them as uſeful to us as poſſible, but a Reſolution of attending to, and reflecting upon what we read. But ſome ſpeculative Man may object, that theſe Arguments prove too much, and if ſuch mighty Things may be done by reading, it is a weak and fooliſh Thing to travel any other Way than upon Paper. The Fallacy however of this Objection, will be eaſily perceived, if we reflect upon how many different Motives Men travel, beſides that of bare Obſervation, which, generally ſpeaking, falls in accidentally, and is rarely the Ground upon which Men make Voyages by Sea, or ſpend their Time in paſſing through different Countries; So that as Books have ſome Advantages, and thoſe very conſiderable too, yet it does not follow from thence, that they have all the Advantages derived from viſiting foreign Countries. There is a wide Difference between that Treaſure which we lay up in our Mind, and the Wealth that paſſes into our Purſes; and yet the general Word Profit may include both. But what demonſtrates not the Fallacy only, but the Falſhood of the Remark before-mentioned, as if the reading Voyages would extinguiſh the Deſire of undertaking them is the Evidence of Experience, which is directly oppoſite thereto; for as the Inclinations of Boys who are born in maritime Towns, naturally leads them to Sea, ſo there is nothing excites Men more ſtrongly to viſit diſtant Countries than reading good Accounts of them; for it is a very natural, as well as a very juſt Concluſion, that if ſo much Pleaſure reſult from the Peruſal of Voyages and Travels, there muſt be ſtill a greater in Travelling itſelf.

But thus much, indeed, is true, that there cannot be either an eaſier or a ſafer Cure for boundleſs Curioſity than this Sort of Reading, which from thence, inſtead of Study, is become an Amuſement; from which another Objection has ſtarted up directly oppoſite to the former, and that is, the Danger of kindling a wild and ungovernable Humour in the Minds of young People, by putting ſuch kind of Books into their Hands. This may be, and I doubt really is true of Voyages and Travels, read purely to kill Time and to divert, by the Strangeneſs of their Recitals. Yet one may aſk, whether this Miſchief be found in Books alone, and not in the Things themſelves? Do not young People often make long Voyages without Thought, and travel many Years to no Purpoſe? But was this ever alledged as a juſt Reaſon why Folks ſhould never go abroad at all; or, if not, why ſhould it be a good Objection againſt reading? But, granting it were ſo, I will venture to ſay, that this, and every other Miſchief, is guarded againſt by Collections of this Nature, in which Care is taken to inform and to inſtruct, as well as to entertain and amuſe. It is the Advice of the great Lord *Bacon*, that young Men ſhould never be ſent into foreign Countries but under the Care of ſome able Tutor, who may be able to correct their Extravagancies, reſtrain their Impetuoſity, and oblige them to make ſuch Obſervations as would otherwiſe eſcape them; and all this, that at their Return, they may not be barely able to tell what they had ſeen, but ſhew, by their Behaviour, and their Converſation, how much they have improved by their foreign Excurſions.

Now let us apply this Advice to reading. It is very poſſible for young People to ſpend a great deal of their Time that way to very little Purpoſe; and it was from a Foreſight of this that Collections of Voyages were deviſed by grave and diſcreet Men, as the proper Remedy for this Evil. It was what *Ramuſio* intended by his large and noble Collection, the moſt compleat in its Kind, and for the Time in which it was made, that is extant in any Language. He undertook to draw into one Body the beſt and moſt uſeful Voyages and Travels, that before his Time had been publiſhed, and he has enriched them with ſuch curious and uſeful Prefaces, Obſervations and Remarks, as has, in the Opinion of the beſt Judges, rendred them an invaluable Treaſure. The ſame Plan was purſued by M. *Thevenot* in *French*, and in a much greater Extent by the Authors of ſome *Dutch* Collections; from all of which we have borrowed, and to whom we therefore readily own our Obligations.

To make theſe Reflections the clearer, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that we have in our own Language, as good and as bad Collections as ever were made; one Inſtance of each may ſuffice. M. *Hackluyt* was an able, ingenious, diligent, accurate, and uſeful Compiler, and his Collections are as valuable as any Thing in their Kind. On the other Hand *Purchas*'s Pilgrims are a very voluminous, and for the moſt Part a very trifling and inſignificant Collection: His Manner, for I cannot call it Method, is irregular and confuſed, his Judgment weak and pedantick, his Remarks often ſilly, and always little to the Purpoſe. This ſhews, how much depends upon the Care and Skill of the Collector, who, on the one Hand, is to provide what may entertain and pleaſe, and on the other is to be careful, that Knowledge and Inſtruction be conveyed together with Pleaſure and Amuſement.

But as in travelling it is requiſite, that the Perſon who is to be improved, ſhould not go abſolutely raw out of his own Country, but ſhould carry with him, or rather in him, a Tincture of the Sciences, that he may be the more capable of Improvement: So in reading of Voyages there are certain Præcognita which muſt be firſt underſtood, at leaſt in a tolerable Degree, before the reſt can be peruſed with Pleaſure or with Profit. But as the former, ſo theſe lie in a very narrow Compaſs; for tho' Science is often conveyed with great Difficulty; yet this hinders not that it may be conveyed in a ſhort Time, and with great Eaſe, and this barely by ranging Truths that are neceſſary in their juſt and natural Order.

It has been a Thing uſual in Books of this Nature, to take it for granted, that the Reader was as well ſkilled as the Writer in the Sciences requiſite to be known, in order to the true Comprehenſion of the Work; we chuſe, however, to avoid that Suppoſition, and to endeavour, within the Compaſs of this Introduction, to lay down all the Principles upon which the following Structure is raiſed; ſo that there ſhall be no Neceſſity of having recourſe to any other Book, to come at the Meaning of this; but the Terms being ſufficiently explained here, we ſhall be able to proceed, when we come to the Body of the Work, without any Danger of being miſunderſtood. We do not indeed intend here to lay down Syſtems of Geography, natural or civil Hiſtory, or Politicks, but to explain each of thoſe Sciences as is expedient for the Uſe we have made of them in the Compoſition of this Treatiſe. Coſmography is that Science which deſcribes this Globe, and the reſt of the ſolar Syſtem; Geography teaches the Knowledge of the whole Earth, as Hydrography does of the Water.

By Geography, we underſtand the particular Deſcription of a Kingdom, Province or Country. Topography deſcends more minutely to deſcribe ſmaller Places, Cities, Towns, Caſtles, *&c.* Theſe are all originally *Greek* Words, which for their Significancy have been made free of all Languages, and their Meaning, when once well known, can never be forgot. By the firſt of them, we are taught to conceive, that the World, on which we live, is a terraqueous Sphere, or in plain *Engliſh*, a Ball of Earth and Water; through this Ball, if you ſuppoſe a Spindle to paſs, it will be what the learned call the Axis of the Globe, and the Extremities of this Axis are its Poles, one of which is the arctic, or north Pole, and the other the antarctic, *i. e.* oppoſite to the north, or ſouth Pole. The Equator is an imaginary Circle, paſſing round, or rather, over the Globe, at an equal Diſtance from each Pole, and conſequently dividing the World into two equal Parts, whence it has its Name. It is likewiſe called the Equinoctial, becauſe, when the Sun is in this Line, which is twice a Year, *viz.* in the Months of *March* and *September*, the Days and Nights are every where equal, and from the ſingular Utility of this imaginary Circle, it is ſtiled by Way of Eminence *the Line*.

The Zodiac is another imaginary Circle, which paſſes croſs the Equator, and is diſtinguiſhed, or divided into twelve Signs, ſix of which, *viz. Aries*, *Taurus*, *Gemini*, *Cancer*, *Leo*, *Virgo*, are on the North of the Equator, and therefore called northern Signs; the other ſix, *viz. Libra*, *Scorpio*, *Sagittarius*, *Capricorn*, *Aquarius*, *Piſces*, are on the South of the Equator, and are therefore called ſouthern Signs. Within the middle of the Zodiac runs a Line called the Ecliptic, which is the Path of the Sun, and from thence we derive the Word Eclipſe, or Failure of the Sun's Light to the Earth; and when the Earth intercepts the Sun there, the Moon is eclipſed, or fails of reflecting to us that Light which it receives from the Sun. The Obliquity, or Digreſſion of this Circle from that of the Equator, occaſions the Diverſity of Seaſons; for the northern Part of the World has its Midſummer when the Sun is in *Cancer*, and the ſouthern Part enjoys the ſame Bleſſing, when the Sun is in *Capricorn*.

Hence it is, that two imaginary Circles are ſuppoſed parallel to the Equator, paſſing through the Point in which the Sun advances fartheſt North and South, and are ſtiled the Tropics of *Cancer* and *Capricorn*, from the *Greek* Word *Tropos*, which ſignifies Converſion, or turning back. The Meridian is another great Circle paſſing through both Poles, and over any given Place on the Globe, and is called the Meridian, becauſe, when the Sun reaches this Circle, it is Mid-day, or Noon, to all who live under it. The Horizon is a great Circle, which cuts the Meridian, and divides the Globe in half, *viz.* into an upper and lower Hemiſphere, and it being the Line which terminates the Sight, the Sun is ſaid to be ſet, when he ſinks below it, and to riſe, when he mounts above it.

As but one braſs Meridian is repreſented on the Globe, tho' there are various, the Sun making Mid-day earlier or later to different Parts, as they lie more Eaſt or Weſt, ſo there is repreſented but one Horizon, called the rational, or true one, tho' the ſenſible Horizon is various, as the Limits of the Sight vary at every Step. Theſe Definitions, tho' they appear a little obſcure at firſt, yet being twice or thrice read over, their Meaning will be ſufficiently plain, or if the leaſt Doubt remains, it will be abſolutely taken away by the following Remarks, as to their Utility.

The principal Thing in Geography, is to have a perfect Knowledge of the Relation which any Empire, Kingdom, Province, Diſtrict or City, hath to any other Place, or to the World in general: Now, it was impoſſible, that this Knowledge ſhould ever be acquired, if ſome Method had not been found to mark every particular Point upon the Globe, ſo that it might be found without Difficulty or Uncertainty. This is performed by knowing the Latitude and the Longitude of Places, without a clear Comprehenſion, of which it is impoſſible for the Reader to conceive perfectly the Deſcription of any Country, yet ſo it is, that among the numerous Books that have been written on the Science of Geography, there are very few that have made this Matter ſo clear, as that a Perſon of an ordinary Underſtanding might be able fully to embrace it. As it concerns, however, my Undertaking in the higheſt Degree, that there ſhould be no Miſtake in this Matter, I ſhall labour to make it ſo plain, with reſpect not only to finding the Latitude and Longitude on Maps, but to the conceiving the Uſe of it ſo clearly, as to be able from thence, to judge how all Parts of the World lie from their Latitude, and their Longitude being known, which is indeed the great Thing aimed at, and when once acquired, the bare reading of this Book with Attention, will render a Man a perfect Geographer, without farther Study or Pains.

We will begin with the Latitude of Places, and ſhew what is meant by that, and how far it is of Uſe in diſtinguiſhing any Place on the Globe. The Latitude of any City is its Diſtance from the Equator, which is reckoned on the Meridian, and as every Circle is ſuppoſed to be divided into 360°, ſo a fourth Part of the Meridian 90°, muſt be always included between the Equator and either of the Poles. Hence ariſes the Diſtinction between North Latitude and South Latitude, that is to ſay, the Number of Degrees counted on the Meridian from the Equator towards the arctic Pole, is ſtiled North Latitude, and thus *London* is ſaid to lie 51° 32′ North; as on the other Hand, the Number of Degrees counted on the Meridian towards the Antarctic, is ſtiled South, and thus the City of *Lima*, which is the Capital of *Peru*, lies in 12° 6′ South.

It is eaſy to diſcern, that by knowing the Latitude of a Place, we know its Diſtance from both Poles, and from the Equator; but it is very evident, that knowing the Latitude of a Place, is very far from pointing out to us the Part of the Globe in which it lies, becauſe, numberleſs Places lie at the ſame Diſtance from the Equator, or, which is the ſame Thing in other Words, lie under the ſame Degree of Latitude, it is requiſite therefore, to have ſome other Mark, or Means of Diſtinction, and this is furniſhed by the Longitude, which is reckoned upon the Equator itſelf from a firſt Meridian.

Ptolomy, who was the firſt Geographer that made Uſe of this Manner of computing, laid down the firſt Meridian, as paſſing through the *Canary* Iſlands, and in order to keep as cloſe to this as poſſible, *Louis* XIII. of *France*, by an Edict dated *April* 25, 1634, directed all the *French* Geographers to place their firſt Meridian in the Iſland of *Ferro*, the moſt weſtern Iſland in the *Canaries*. According to this Computation, the City of *Paris* lies in the Longitude of 20° 30′, that is ſo far Eaſt from the firſt Meridian, and as the Latitude of this City is 48° 45′, the exact Situation thereof upon the Globe is fully and clearly determined. This Regulation of the firſt Meridian, was confined to *France* only, and has even there been long out of Date. The *Dutch* Maps generally place the firſt Meridian at the Pike of *Tenerif*. The *Arabians* fix theirs at the Streights of *Gibraltar*. The old *Spaniards* would needs have it at *Toledo*, becauſe they ſaid *Adam* was the firſt King of *Spain*, and the Sun at that Time of its Creation was placed in the Meridian of *Toledo*.

Here, in *England*, we generally reckon the firſt Meridian that of *London*, and inſtead of counting, as the old Method was, from the Weſt to the Eaſt, we reckon both Ways: For Example, we ſay, that *Oxford* lies in the Longitude of 1° 17′ Weſt from *London*, whereas the City of *Warſaw* in *Poland*, lies in the Longitude of 20° 55′ Eaſt from *London*. In like Manner, the *French* Geographers reckon their Longitude from *Paris*; for Inſtance, *Frezier* fixes the Longitude of *Lima* in *Peru* 79° 45′ Weſt, by which he means, that the Difference of the Meridian of that City from the Meridian of *Paris* is ſo much. I hope by this Time, the Meaning of theſe Terms is ſo well fixed, that with reſpect to the Uſe made of them in this Work, the Reader can never be at a Loſs, or in any Danger of falling into Miſtakes about them.

There are, however, two Queſtions that have been moved with reſpect to Latitude and Longitude, which, for Satiſfaction of the Reader, I ſhall examine. The firſt is, why, ſince the Circumference of the Globe is every Way equal, the Diſtance towards North and South, ſhould be ſtiled Latitude, or Breadth, whereas that from Weſt to Eaſt is called Longitude, or Length? The Anſwer to this is, that in meaſuring the Latitude, we make uſe only of a Quadrant, or a Quarter of a Circle, ſo that the Latitude of a Place cannot exceed 90°, whereas in counting the Longitude, the old Geographers made uſe of a whole Circle, and the modern Geographers uſe the Semi-circle, ſo that one Place may lie in the Latitude of 180° Eaſt or Weſt from the firſt Meridian. The other Queſtion is, why we reckon the Latitude from the Equator towards the Pole? And the Anſwer to this is, becauſe the middle Part of the Earth was firſt ſettled, and the Extremities of it, towards the north and ſouth Poles, are not yet fully diſcovered, and it was moſt natural to reckon from the known to the unknown; or, becauſe the Equator, and the Poles being two fixed Points, it was natural to meaſure from one to the other, and the Diſtance between them, being as we ſaid, but a Quarter of a Circle, it was called Latitude, in Diſtinction to Longitude, which was at firſt meaſured round the Globe, afterwards round half of it only.

The different Temperature of the Air, and the different Length of Days, in the ſeveral Parts of the World, have occaſioned the Diſtinctions of Zones and Climates, which are of very great Uſe. The Word *Zone*, if ſtrictly taken, is no more than a Girdle, and the Reaſon that it is made Uſe of, is, becauſe the ſeveral Zones are diſtinguiſhed by Circles that paſs round the Earth. Geographers reckon five, *viz.* the torrid Zone, the north temperate Zone, the ſouth temperate Zone, the north frigid Zone, and the ſouth frigid Zone. The torrid Zone is that Part of the terreſtrial Globe which lies between the two Tropics; the north temperate Zone is that which lies between the Tropic of *Cancer* and the arctic Circle; the ſouth temperate Zone lies between the Tropic of *Capricorn*, and the antarctic Circle; the north frigid Zone lies within the arctic Circle, and the ſouth frigid Zone within the antarctic Circle.

The Ancients were of Opinion, that the torrid and frigid Zones were abſolutely uninhabitable, the former on Account of its prodigious Heat, the latter, by Reaſon of their exceſſive Cold. But Experience has ſhewn, that they were miſtaken, and with reſpect to the former, the Length of their Nights, the Freſhneſs of their Dews, the Conſtancy and Regularity of the Winds, the Height of the Mountains, and the great Quantity of Vapours exhaled by the Sun, renders its Heat very ſupportable to its Inhabitants; on the other Hand, the Inclemency of the frigid Zone, is ſo far moderated by the Length of Time, that the Sun remains in their Horizon; that the Inhabitants are able to live very chearfully, and to great Ages. It is true, that the Countries they inhabit, are far from producing the Neceſſaries of Life in ſuch Abundance as in warmer and more temperate Climes; but then the People are more hardy, capable of greater Fatigue, and prefer that Liberty which they enjoy in an erratic Kind of Life, to all the Pleaſures that are taſted in other Countries, and for this Reaſon they have a ſtronger Paſſion for the Places of their Nativity than any other Nations whatever.

The Ancients finding that this Diviſion of the Surface of the Globe into five Zones, was too general; and, as they ſuppoſed ſeveral of theſe to be uninhabitable, that it was ſubject to many Inconveniencies, they had Recourſe to another Invention, the moſt uſeful indeed of any they introduced into this Science; and this was their diſtinguiſhing the World into Climates. A Climate may be defined a certain Space of the Globe, in which the longeſt Day exceeds, by half an Hour, the longeſt Day in the Climate behind it towards the Equator, and falls ſhort, by half an Hour, of the longeſt

Day in the Climate before it towards the Poles. In other Words, two Cities are ſaid to lie in different Climates when the longeſt Day in the one exceeds the longeſt Day in the other by half an Hour. The old Geographers reckoned but ſeven Climates, from the Miſtake they made in imagining only a ſmall Part of the Earth to be inhabited; but the Moderns have corrected this Error, and carried the Diſtance of Climates to its utmoſt Perfection. They reckon twenty-four between the Equator and the Arctic Polar Circle, each of which encreaſes by half an Hour in the longeſt Day; and as the longeſt Day under the Line conſiſts but of twelve Hours, ſo it is plain, that in the twenty-fourth Climate, or under the Polar Circle, the longeſt Day conſiſts of twenty-four Hours; from hence to the Pole they reckon but ſix, each of which differs in the Length of its longeſt Days a Month: So that under the Pole, if it was habitable, the Day and the Year would be the ſame thing, the former conſiſting of ſix Months, and the Night of as many.

By this Diſtinction into Climates, we have an Opportunity of looking round, and comparing the ſeveral Countries of a like Temperature at once. By it we are enabled to judge how far one Country is preferable to another in its Products and Commodities, how far the Culture of the Fruits of one Country may be puſhed by Art in another, what Commodities may be expected in a new-diſcovered Land, and a Multitude of other curious Particulars that muſt immediately occur to every Man of tolerable Underſtanding. To further ſuch Reflections, and to enable the Reader to poſſeſs himſelf at once of all the Advantages hinted at above, I ſhall lay down a Table of the twenty-four Northern Climates, which more immediately concern us; and when he has contemplated theſe with due Attention, I perſuade myſelf he will diſcover many more uſeful Circumſtances than I am able to mention. For when the human Mind is once put into the right Tract of Enquiry, a ſmall Degree of Diligence and Penetration will conquer all Difficulties, and open a Path to ſuch a Field of Knowledge, as cannot but attract a generous and inquiſitive Spirit.

A TABLE *of* CLIMATES, *from the* Equator *to the* Polar Circle.

I. This commences at the Equator and ends in the Latitude of 8° 34′: At its Extremity the Day is twelve Hours and an half. Within this Climate lie the *Moluccas*, the *Maldives*, *Malacca*, *Sumatra*, and other ſmaller Iſlands in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

II. Extends from from 8° 41′ to 16° 43′. The longeſt Day in this Climate conſiſts of thirteen Hours. In it lie *Abiſſynia*, or *Ethiopia*, the Kingdoms of *Aden*, *Siam*, *Corromandel*, and the Iſland of *Ceylon*.

III. Reaches 16° 43′ to 24° 11′. The longeſt Day here is thirteen Hours and an half. Within this Climate are the Kingdoms of *Meccha*, *Arabia-Felix*, *Bengal*, *Mexico* in *North-America*, and *Tonquin*.

IV. Takes in from 24° 11′ to 30° 47′. The longeſt Day in this Climate is fourteen Hours. In it lies the famous Iſland of *Ormuz* in the *Perſian Gulph*, *Agra* the Capital, and a great Part of the Dominions of the Great Mogul, *Fochu* in *China*, *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and the *Canary-Iſlands*.

V. Extends from 30° 47′ to 36° 30′. The longeſt Day is fourteen Hours and an half: In which Climate lie the Territory of *Babylon*, *Tunis* in *Barbary*, *Nicoſia* in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, *Nankin* and *Pekin* in *China*, *Rhodes*, and *Iſpahan*, with the Country adjoining in *Perſia*.

VI. Commences in 36° 30′, and reaches to 41° 22′. The longeſt Day here is fifteen Hours. In it lie *Liſbon*, and the beſt Part of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, *Palermo* in *Sicily*, *Madrid* in *Spain*, the beſt Part of *Greece*, *Aſia-Minor*, the *Perſian* Provinces on the *Caſpian-Sea*, *Meched*, the intended Capital of that Empire by the *Shah Nadir*, Part of *India*, and *Great-Tartary*, *Corea*, and *Japon*. In *North-America*, a Part of *Calfornia*, the Kingdom of *New-Mexico*, the *French* Provinces of *Louviſiana*, *Spaniſh Florida*, *Georgia*, Part of *South-Carolina*, the *Bahama-Iſlands*, and the *Azores*.

VII. Reaches from 41° 22′ to 45° 29′. The longeſt Day fifteen Hours and a half. In its Bounds are comprehended *Biſcay*, and all the Northern Provinces of *Spain*, the Southern Provinces of *France*, *Milan*, *Rome*, *Venice*, *Belgrade*, *Conſtantinople*, the *Black-Sea*, *Georgia*, the *Caſpian*, the Sea of *Aral*, *Great-Tartary*, *Tangut*, *Land of Yedſo*. In *North-America*, *Nova-Albion*, and the hitherto undiſcovered Part of the Continent, the Sources of the *Miſſiſippi*, the Lakes and Country of *Iriquois*, *Boſton* in *New-England*, and *Port-Royal* in *Nova-Scotia*.

VIII. Extends from 45° 29′ to 49° 1′. The longeſt Day ſixteen Hours, under which Climate lie *Paris* and the middle Provinces of *France*, *Vienna*, *Hungary*, *Crim-Tartary*, *Great-Tartary*, Part of the Land of *Yedſo*, the Company's Land and other Diſcoveries by the *Dutch* in the *Eaſt-Indies*. In *North-America*, a vaſt unknown Continent, the *Upper-Lakes*, *Canada*, *Nova-Scotia*, and *Newfoundland*.

IX. Commences at 49° 1′, and ends at 51° 58′. The longeſt Day ſixteen Hours and an half. In this Climate lie *London*, *Rouen*, *Amiens*, *Prague*, *Frankfort*, *Cracow*, the Southern Provinces of *Muſcovy*, and both *Tartaries*. In *North-America*, Part of *Canada*, the *Streights of Bell-Iſle*, and ſome of *Newfoundland*.

X. Beginning at 51° 58′, and reaching to 54° 29′. The longeſt Day ſeventeen Hours. In this Climate are contained *Dublin*, *Amſterdam*, *Lubeck*, *Dantzick*, *Warſaw*, Part of the *Ruſſian* Territories, both *Tartaries*, and in *America*, Part of *New-France*.

XI. Extends from 54° 29 to 56° 37′. The longeſt Day ſeventeen Hours and an half. In this Climate we find *Edinburgh*, *Copenhagen*, *Wilna* in *Lithuania*, *Smoleinſia* in *Ruſſia*, and both *Tartaries*.

XII. Begins from 56° 37′, and reaches to 58° 26′. The longeſt Day here is eighteen Hours. In this Climate lie *Gottengurgh* in *Sweden*, *Riga* in *Livonia*, ſeveral Provinces in *Muſcovy*, and both *Tartaries*.

XIII. Begins at 58° 26′, and extends to 59° 59′; The longeſt Day in it being eighteen Hours and an half. Within this Climate lie the City of *Stockholm*, the famous Part of *Revel* in *Livonia*, the Heart of the *Ruſſia* Dominions in *Europe* and *Aſia*, the Middle of *Great-Tartary*. In *America* Part of the River of *St. Lawrence*, *New South-Wales*, on the Coaſt of *Hudſon's-Bay*, *Terra de Labrador*.

XIV. Commences at 59° 59′, and ends at 61° 18′. The longeſt Day under this Climate is nineteen Hours. Within it we find the *Orkney-Iſlands*, a great Part of *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Ruſſia*, *Great-Tartary*, *Button's-Bay*, *Hudſon's-Streights*, and ſome other Places in that Neighbourhood.

XV. Comprehends from 61° 18′ to 62° 25′; the longeſt Day being nineteen Hours and an half. In this Climate lie the City of *Bergen* in *Norway*, ſeveral Parts of *Finland*, and many Provinces of the *Muſcovite* Empire in *Europe* and *Aſia*, and the moſt Southern Parts of *Greenland*.

XVI. Begins at 62° 25′, and ends at 63° 23′. The longeſt Day is twenty Hours. The moſt remarkable Place in this Climate is *Perma-Welick*, a Town in *Muſcovy*.

XVII. Commences at 69° 23′, and ends at 64° 16′. The longeſt Day is twenty Hours and an half. Under this Climate is Part of *Finland*, *Ruſſia*, *Tartary*, particularly that of it to the N. W. diſcovered by the *Ruſſians* in the Year 1726.

XVIII. Extends from 64° 16′ to 64° 55′. The longeſt Day is twenty-one Hours. In this Climate is the City of *Drontheim* in *Norway*.

XIX. Comprehends all between 64° 55′, and 65° 25′; the longeſt Day being twenty-one Hours and an half. The City of *Tobolſki*, which is the Capital of *Siberia*, lies in this Climate.

XX. Begins at 65° 25′, and extends at 65° 47′. The longeſt Day is twenty-two Hours. In this Climate is the Town of *Viſtum* in *Finland*.

XXI. Extends from 65° 47′ to 66° 6′. The longeſt Day is twenty-two Hours and an half. In this Climate lies the Part of *Torna* in *Bothnia*, ſo often mentioned by Mr. *Maupertuis*, in his Account of the Expedition of the *French* Academians, for determining the Length of a Degree under the arctic Circle.

XXII. Reaches from 66° to 66° 20′. The longeſt Day is twenty-three Hours. Within this Climate lies the Town of *Caienebourgh* in *Muſcovy*.

XXIII. Commences at 66° 20′, and extends to 66° 28′; the longeſt Day being twenty-three Hours and an half. Within this Climate lies the Town of *Skalbot* in the Iſland of *Iceland*.

XXIV. Comprehends from 66° 28′ to 66° 31′. The longeſt Day is twenty-four Hours. Within this Climate lies the Town of *Hola* in *Iceland*.

Here ends the Climate of Days, that is the twenty-four Climates, that are diſtinguiſhed by the different Length of Days. Perhaps it may not be amiſs to give a ſhort and eaſy Rule for finding the Climate, in which any Place lies, without the Aſſiſtance either of Globes and Tables, and this may be done with ſo much Eaſe, that I think it impoſſible, either to miſtake the Rule, or to meet with any Difficulty in making uſe of it. The Rule is this: Subſtract 12 Hours from the longeſt Day, and double the Remainder, which will give the Climate the Place is in. For Example, the longeſt Day at *Paris* is 16 Hours; ſubſtract 12 from thence, there remains 4, double the Remainder, and it ſhews the Climate wherein the City of *Paris* lies.

Beſides the Climates diſtinguiſhed by Days, there are yet ſix other northern Climates, which are diſtinguiſhed by Months. And, as the Knowledge of theſe is of ſome Conſequence, we ſhall likewiſe give a conciſe Account of them.

I. Commences at 66° 31′, and ends at 69° 48′. In this Climate, the longeſt Day conſiſts of a compleat Month; in it lies the *Muſcovite Lapland*.

II. Reaches from 69° 48′, to 73° 37′; the longeſt is of two Months, or ſixty-two Days Continuance. In this Climate lies *Groenland*, which is a Country ſo exceſſive cold, that the Sea upon its Coaſts is almoſt perpetually frozen.

III. Begins at 73° 37′, and extends to 78° 30′. In this Climate the Day is three Months compleat; in it lies *Zembla Auſtralis*.

IV. Comprehends from 78° 30′ to 84° 5′. The longeſt Day in this Climate takes in four Months; in it lies *Zembla Borealis*.

V. Extends from 84° 5′, to the very Pole; the longeſt Day here conſiſts of five Months, or one hundred fifty-five Days compleat. In this Climate lies *Spitzbergen*, which we call *Greenland*.

VI. Immediately, under the north Pole, where there is ſix Months Day, and ſix Months Night; but whether there be any Land, or whether, if there be Land, it is at all inhabited, remains, and probably will ever remain a Queſtion. Theſe Points of Geography have, as I obſerved before, ſomething in them at firſt Sight, very dry and unpleaſant; but by the frequent Peruſal of them, or having often recourſe to them, as they lie here in the Introduction, the Reader will ſoon enter into the full Extent of their Uſe, and apply them with Pleaſure in the Peruſal of the Work. I will not detain him with the Definitions of Continents, Iſlands, Capes, Promontories, Seas, Bays, &c. becauſe theſe, I think, are generally underſtood, and where-ever I mention them, ſhall be rendered ſo plain, as not to need any Reference elſewhere.

Thus much may ſuffice upon this Subject, and tho' it lies in a narrow Compaſs, yet the Reader will find it not only uſeful, but every Way ſufficient to explain the Terms of Art borrowed from that

Science, and made uſe of in this Book. As to Navigation, Care has been taken to avoid as much as poſſible, making uſe of ſuch Terms in that Art, as are not commonly underſtood, and rather than do this, and thereby introduce a Multitude of harſh Words, and difficult Phraſes, we have choſen to expreſs Things more at large, ſo as to render them perfectly plain, even to ordinary Underſtandings. We may ſay the ſame Thing with regard to natural Hiſtory, wherein we have ſtudied chiefly Perſpicuity, and thereby the Information of the Reader, which we conceived would be more acceptable, than if from a vain Affectation of Learning, we had uſed Words familiar in the Schools, and no where elſe. It is proper, and even neceſſary to mention theſe Things, that what was purely the Effect of Choice, may not be attributed to any other Cauſe. It is one Thing to write expreſsly upon a particular Science, and another to mention occaſionally Things that relate to that Science, and our Buſineſs in this Collection is, not only to convey all the Inſtruction we can, but likewiſe to convey it in the eaſieſt and plaineſt Manner we may, as not affecting to be thought learned, but deſiring to make Knowledge as familiar as poſſible.

With this View, we have inſiſted largely on the Policy of Countries, in order to ſhew, both the Nature of ſeveral Kinds of Government, and their Effects, more eſpecially in the *Eaſt*, the Spirit of which ſeems hitherto but indifferently underſtood. We have alſo had Occaſion to repreſent very fully the four antient Empires, the Influence they had on the Manners of Mankind, which we have likewiſe ſhewn, is not yet wholly effaced. By purſuing this Method, we flatter ourſelves, that many great Advantages have been gained, and that the Reader will perceive, that what he has peruſed in this Volume, will throw a prodigious Light on what follows in the next, more eſpecially with regard to the fundamental Principles of true and laſting Dominion.

The Power attained either by Policy, or Arms, is but of ſhort Continuance, in compariſon of what is acquired by Trade. If we reflect on the Reaſon of the Thing, it will appear, that Commerce is founded on Induſtry, and cheriſhed by Freedom. Theſe are ſuch ſolid Pillars, that whatever Superſtructure is erected upon them, cannot eaſily be overthrown by Force, but muſt be ruined by Sap: This too we find juſtified by Hiſtory and Experience. The antient Kingdom of *Tyre* owed its extenſive and laſting Power to its Commerce, and all the Accounts we have of the Progreſs of *Alexander*'s Army agree in this, tho' hardly in any Thing elſe; that the Deſtruction of *Tyre* coſt him more than the over-running the *Perſian* Empire, tho' the Territories of the former ſcarce entered into Compariſon with the prodigious Dominions of the latter. *Carthage*, the moſt formidable Enemy of *Rome*, ſtood likewiſe indebted to Trade for that Strength which was ſo long reputed invincible, and which had always proved ſo, if the Virtues neceſſary to a State ſupported and ever ſubſiſting by Commerce, had not been greatly impaired by that Luxury which her Riches induced before ſhe was attacked by her formidable Enemy. The Hiſtory of the middle Ages likewiſe ſhew the Republicks of *Venice* and *Genoa* riſing to an amazing Height, by the diligent Proſecution of foreign Trade, and Maritime Power, and ſinking again into a low Condition, and that not ſo much by a ſuperior Force of foreign Enemies, as by the Negligence of thoſe Arts, and Diminution of thoſe Virtues by which their Empire was attained.

According to the preſent Syſtem, Wealth is the Source of Power, and the Attainment of Wealth can only be brought about by a wiſe and happy Attention to Commerce. This it was that enabled the *United-Provinces*, not only to ſhake off the Dominion of *Spain*, but to raiſe themſelves into the firſt Rank among the Powers of *Europe*. If we purſue this Thought a little farther, we ſhall find, that the peculiar Advantages which the little Province of *Holland* poſſeſſes in this reſpect, has rendered her in ſome Meaſure the Miſtreſs of the other Six; and if we pry further into Things, we ſhall diſcover ſuch a Degree of Wealth and Power in the City of *Amſterdam* alone, as might put her upon a Level with ſome Kingdoms. I ſhall but juſt mention the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, which, in a diſtant Part of the World, not only gives Laws to barbarous Nations, but has trampled upon thoſe Powers that were terrible to the States at Home. It is indeed wonderful, that Truths ſo evident as theſe, ſhould for a long Time eſcape, not only vulgar Obſervation, but the penetrating Eyes of the profoundeſt Politicians.

By Degrees, however, Experience has made almoſt all Nations ſenſible of the Importance of Trade, which is the Reaſon we ſee it purſued now with ſo much Ardour in every Corner of the *European* World. This being the Caſe, whoever would have a competent Knowledge of the Weight and Influence of any People, muſt be well acquainted with their Character and Circumſtances in this reſpect; and yet this is a Point unaccountably neglected by almoſt all the Writers who have undertaken to ſet before their Readers the preſent State of Kingdoms and Commonwealths. They mention it, we muſt confeſs, but ſuperficially; they throw it amongſt a Groupe of inconſiderable Particulars, and if they juſt take Notice of a principal Port, or two, in any Country, they think they have done all that is requiſite in regard to an Affair, the Knowledge of which, is of much more Importance than moſt of thoſe on the copious Explication of which they value themſelves.

As our Buſineſs lay in a great Meaſure with Authors that dealt not much in Reflection, we have, in the firſt Part of this Work, endeavoured to ſupply that Defect, in order to render it as ſyſtematical as poſſible, and in the ſucceeding Volume, we ſhall, for the ſame Reaſon, be more ſparing on that Head, and leave Things more to the Reader's own Obſervation, taking Care, however, to ſupply them with proper Materials, for the ranging of which, in order to extract from this Collection a general Hiſtory of Trade, a very few Rules may ſuffice, which, for that Reaſon, we ſhall here lay down, being throughly perſwaded, that as they will be found both proper and uſeful in their Application, ſo they will be found even here both natural and agreeable:

The only Means, by which we can arrive at diſtinct and accurate Notices on this Head, is by following that plain and natural Method, which the Nature of Commerce in general points out. We muſt firſt examine what the natural Commodities are of the Country, the Trade of which we conſider, the Quantity, Value and Demand for theſe Commodities in other Parts, and the Manner in which they are diſpoſed of by the Natives of the Country where they are found. This is the firſt Step in the Hiſtory of Commerce. The next is the Enumeration of their Manufactures, whether they are of their own Commodities, or of thoſe imported from abroad: And with regard to this Head we muſt attentively conſider the Number of the People employed, the Nature of their Employments, and the Effects which their Induſtry produces to themſelves and to the State. The third Head in this Enquiry ſhould be the Sea-Ports in the Country under our Conſideration, the natural and artificial Conveniences of each of them, and the particular Advantages and Diſadvantages attending them, in point of Situation and otherwiſe.

Theſe three Things throughly and fully underſtood, we may, with tolerable Certainty, judge of the Probability or Improbability of their becoming conſiderable by their Commerce in Naval Power, ſince a Nation bleſſed with theſe Conveniencies will be able to conquer almoſt any Difficulties, and for a Nation deficient in theſe Reſpects, it will be in a Manner to no Purpoſe that ſhe ſtruggles, becauſe whatever the Power or Policy of one Adminiſtration might gain her, muſt be loſt by the new Turn of the next; ſince whatever is unnatural, or contrary to the Genius of a People, can never laſt long. The fourth Head will be the Number and Nature of their Shipping, and the Seamen employed on Board them: For the Wealth and Power of a Nation is much effected by various Circumſtances attending theſe. For Inſtance, *Spain* and *Portugal* derive great Riches from Commerce: And yet, by their Management of that Commerce, are far from being conſiderable, either by the Number of their Shipping, or of their Seamen, which is owing to their ill Policy, and to that ridiculous Diſtinction, between the Wealth of the Prince and the Wealth of the People; a Diſtinction that can ſerve no other Purpoſe than keeping the one weak, and the other poor.

The laſt Point that merits Examination, is that of Colonies or Plantations; with regard to which, we are to enquire, not how many, or how powerful they are, ſo much as how they contribute to the Wealth and Grandeur of their Mother State. There is in this ſomething ſo commendable in the *Dutch*, that I cannot forbear ſpeaking of it. The common Phraſe for *Holland*, in all their Colonies, is *Father-land*, which is an Expreſſion ſo pathetic, ſo full of true Patriotiſm, and ſo expreſſive of filial Affection, that we may from thence diſcern the true Uſe of Colonies, which is to feed and ſupport the Country from whence they are derived. In this Reſpect we excel the *Spaniards*, and the *Dutch* excel us: For there is a Conformity between the Intereſt of that State and of all her Plantations, which is diſcerned no where elſe, and which is the true Source of the mighty Power and immenſe Wealth of that flouriſhing Republick.

So much for the commercial Part of our Work; let us now turn to the Hiſtory. The original Settlement and ſubſequent Changes that have happened to every Nation, are the Subject of their Hiſtory. This muſt be tolerably well known to have an adequate Notion of their Concerns, but at the ſame Time, there is no ſort of Occaſion for entering too deeply into this, in order to an Acquaintance with their preſent Circumſtances. There cannot, certainly, be either a more uſeful, or a more pleaſant Study, than the general Hiſtory of all Nations. But then this requires much Leiſure, the Knowledge of many Languages and great Abilities; a great Stateſman, an accompliſhed Scholar may, indeed muſt, apply himſelf to this ſort of Study, in order to attain that Excellence, at which he aims. But the general Knowledge of the World, which is ſo requiſite to every Man, who would make a tolerable Figure in it, does not require any ſuch laborious Courſe of reading, but may be acquired, by affording a reaſonable Attention to a few of the moſt remarkable Facts. In this Work therefore, without totally omitting the antient Hiſtory, we ſhall treat of it ſo conciſely, as to connect it with, and yet leave ſufficient Room for the Modern. The Spring of Action in one Age, ſeldom riſes higher than the Tranſactions of that which went before it; and therefore it imports us more to be perfectly acquainted with what has fallen out within theſe laſt hundred Years, than with what was done many Centuries ago, tho' the Actions of thoſe Times might be of greater Eclat than in theſe.

It was from a ſtrict Attention to this, that we have taken ſo much Pains to enquire into, and ſet forth the State and Condition of the ſeveral trading Companies ſubſiſting in *Europe*, the Nature of whoſe Commerce brings them within the Compaſs of this Part of our Work, as hoping thereby, not only to lay the Foundation of a competent Stock of Knowledge for the preſent, but to open to the induſtrious and intelligent Reader, a clear and eaſy Method of regiſtering and preſerving whatever ſhall occur of the like Nature in later Books. The ſame Care has been taken with regard to the Diviſion of this Work in both Volumes, ſo as to render it not only as perfect as poſſible, by digeſting therein whatever has been hitherto publiſhed of ſuperior Value, and diſtinguiſhed Worth, but alſo leaving the Road open to future Continuations, without any ſort of Neceſſity of new modelling, or recompoſing the whole; ſo that it is hoped, ſuch as are poſſeſſed of this Work, need never find themſelves obliged to purchaſe another Collection falling within the ſame Space of Time, but may be furniſhed with all they want, by proper Supplements, as future Diſcoveries are made, or new Books of Voyages and Travels are publiſhed, in our own, or in other Languages.

Another Advantage that will reſult from the plain and eaſy Method we have made uſe of, and which is fully deſcribed in the Preface, is, that as this Work will be perfect for the preſent, without any Supplement, ſo any Supplement that ſhall be made hereafter with Judgment, will likewiſe be perfect in its kind, and be a compleat Work in itſelf, and thereby totally remove an Inconveniency that has hitherto attended all Collections of this ſort, from their not being properly digeſted. Thus we have compleated the firſt Part of this Introduction, which is intended to enable the Reader to underſtand all that is contained in the following Sheets, with reſpect to Diſcoveries and Deſcriptions of Countries, without having recourſe to other Books for Inſtruction; it remains, that in the ſecond Part, we ſhew how future Diſcoveries may be made by a farther Improvement of thoſe Helps, and thoſe Inſtruments, which have rendered the modern Navigation ſo much ſuperior, in Accuracy, as well as Extent to the Navigation of the Ancients.

This leads us to ſpeak more particularly of the Properties of the Magnet, or Load-ſtone, the Diſcovery of which, if we may believe the learned *Kircher*, was originally owing to the Sagacity of an *Engliſhman*, but which have moſt certainly been better explained, and thereby rendered more and more uſeful, by ſeveral of our induſtrious Countrymen. There have, indeed, been Attempts made to ſhew, that the Ancients were acquainted with that wonderful and ſingular Property of this Stone, which our learned Countryman Dr. *Gilbert*, calls, its Verticity, or Power of pointing to the North; and it has been likewiſe aſſerted, that it was commonly known in the *Eaſt*, before it came to be practiſed in theſe Parts of the World; both which Opinions, in the Body of this Work, we have ſhewn to be but indifferently founded. The firſt Treatiſe upon this Subject, of any great Conſequence, was written by a Perſon who ſtiled himſelf *Petrus Peregrinus*, who, if *Kircher* be not miſtaken, and *Sturmius* likewiſe, was no other than our learned Friar *Roger Bacon*; but be this as it will, it is in a Manner agreed, that this Property of the Magnet, was reduced to practice about the Year 1300, that is about ſix or eight Years after Friar *Bacon*'s Death, by one *John Goia* of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

After this great and moſt uſeful Diſcovery was known to *Europe*, there were ſoon many inquiſitive Heads, that employed their Thoughts about making further Enquiries into the Nature of this celebrated Stone; ſo that in ſome time its Variation, or Deflection from the true Meridian, was diſcovered by *Sebaſtian Cabot*. The Declination (as it was at firſt called, whereas now the Variation often paſſes by that Name) or rather, the Inclination of the Needle, was firſt diſcovered by our Countryman *Robert Norman*, which is a ſurprizing Property, whereby it always dips under the Horizon, when placed upon a Pin like a Compaſs, except in ſuch Places as are juſt under the Equator, and there it keeps always parallel to the Horizon exactly; and he found the greateſt Inclination at *London* to be 71° 50′. Dr. *Wallis* in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, N°. 276, thinks that the Diſcovery of this Dipping of the Needle is owing to Mr. *Blagrave*, or ſome other *Greſhamite*; and he deſcribes this Property to be a Direction of Altitude above the Horizon; ſo that if it be duly poiſed on an Horizontal Axis, it will point to a determinate Degree, of Altitude, or Elevation above the Horizon; and he ſays truly that of this Diſcovery, though made ſo long ago, there hath not yet been any conſiderable Uſe made.

The Variation of the Variation is another conſiderable and very ſurprizing Property of the Load-ſtone; that is, that the Magnetick Needle in its Horizontal Poſition, doth not always retain the ſame Variation or Declination from the true Meridian, in the ſame Place, and at all Times, but doth ſucceſſively vary in its Declination or Variation from Time to Time. This was firſt diſcovered by Mr. *Gillibrand*, about the Year 1635; tho' *Sturmius* ſaith, that this was taken Notice of alſo by *Helvetius*, *Auzout*, *Petit*, *Volckamer* and others, much about the ſame Time: So that our *Engliſh* Nation has had a very conſiderable Share in the Diſcoveries which have been made about the Magnet, and its wonderful and uſeful Properties. To make this Matter the clearer, and to reduce the Facts neceſſary to be known, within a narrow Compaſs, we will preſent them to the Eye of the Reader in the Form of a Table.

The PROPERTIES *and* PHÆNOMENA *of the* Magnet *or* Load-ſtone, *from the* beſt Authors.

I. That in every Magnet or Load-ſtone, there are two Poles, one pointing North, the other South; and if a Stone be cut, or broke into never ſo many Pieces, there are theſe two Poles in each Piece.

II. That theſe Poles, in divers Parts of the Globe, are diverſly inclined towards the Earth's Centre.

III. That theſe Poles, though contrary one to another, do help mutually towards the Magnet's Attraction and Suſpenſion of Iron.

IV. If two Magnets are Spherical, one will turn or conform itſelf to the other, ſo as either of them would do to the Earth; and that after they have ſo conformed, or turned themſelves, they endeavour to approach to join each other; but, if placed in a contrary Poſition, they avoid each other.

V. If a Magnet be cut through the Axis, the Parts or Segment of the Stone, which before were joined, will now avoid and fly each other.

VI. If the Magnet be cut by a Section perpendicular to its Axis, the two Points, which before were conjoined, will become contrary Poles, one in one, the other in the other Segments.

VII. Iron receives Virtue from the Magnet by Application to it, or barely from an Approch near it, tho' it do not touch it; and Iron receives this Virtue variouſly, according to the Parts of the Stone it is made to touch, or approach to.

VIII. If an oblong Piece of Iron be any how applied to the Stone, it receives a Virtue from it only as to its Length.

IX. The Magnet loſes none of its own Virtue by communicating any to Iron; and this Virtue it can communicate to Iron very ſpeedily, though the longer the Iron touches or joins the Stone, the longer will its communicated Virtue hold, and a better Magnet will communicate more of it than one that is not ſo good.

X. That Steel receives Virtue from the Magnet ſooner than Iron.

XI. A Needle touched by a Magnet will turn its Ends the ſame Way towards the Poles of the World as the Magnet will do.

XII. That neither Lead, Stone, nor Needles touched by it do conform their Poles exactly to thoſe of the World, but have uſually ſome Variation from them; and this Variation is different in different Places, and at different Times in the ſame Place.

XIII. That a Load-ſtone will take up much more Iron, when armed or capped, than it can alone; and that tho' the Iron-key, or Ring, be ſuſpended by the Load-ſtone, yet the magnetical Particles do not hinder the Ring or Key, from turning round any Way either to the Right or Left.

XIV. That the Force of a Load-ſtone may be variouſly encreaſed or leſſened, by the various Application of Iron, or another Load-ſtone to it.

XV. That a ſtrong Magnet, at the leaſt Diſtance from a leſſer or a weaker, cannot draw to it a Piece of Iron adhering to ſuch leſſer or weaker Stone; but if it comes to touch it, it can draw it from the other; but a weaker Magnet, or even a little Piece of Iron, can draw away, or ſeparate a Piece of Iron contiguous to a greater or a ſtronger Load-ſtone.

XVI. That in our North Parts of the World, the South-Pole of a Load-ſtone will raiſe up more Iron than the North-Pole.

XVII. That a Plate of Iron only, but no other Body interpoſed, can impede the Operation of the Load-ſtone, either as to its Attraction, or directive Quality. Mr. *Boyle* found it true by Glaſſes ſealed hermetically; and Glaſs is a Body as impervious as moſt are to any Effluvia.

XVIII. That the Power, or Virtue of a Load-ſtone, may be impaired by lying long in a wrong Poſture, as alſo by Ruſt, Wet, *&c.* and may be quite deſtroyed by Fire.

EXPERIMENTS *on the* Load-ſtone, *by the Honourable* Robert Boyle, *Eſq*; *in his own Words.*

I. Mr. *Boyle* found that by heating a Magnet red-hot, it could be ſpeedily deprived of its attractive Quality.

II. If a Load-ſtone be heated red-hot, and then cooled, either with its South-Pole to the North, in a horizontal Poſition, or with its South-Pole downwards in a perpendicular one, it will change its Polarity, the South-Pole becoming the Nothern, and *vice verſa.*

III. By applying the Poles of a very ſmall Fragment of a Load-ſtone to the oppoſite vigorous ones of a good large Magnet, Mr. *Boyle* found he could ſpeedily change the Poles of the Fragment, but he could not effect it in a Fragment that was conſiderably bigger, tho' he tried many Hours.

IV. He obſerved, that well-tempered and hardened Iron-Tools, when heated by Attraction, turning, filing, *&c.* they would, while warm, attract the Filings or Chips of Iron and Steel, but not when cold; yet, ſays Mr. *Moxon*, I remember once to have ſeen myſelf, and tried, that a Piece of a File, which was in the Hands of Mr. *Yarwell*, the Spectacle-Maker, did retain ſuch attractive Quality, that it would take up and keep ſuſpended the Key of a Cabinet, or Eſcrutore, and needed no Friction to excite this magnetical Virtue.

V. The Iron-bars of Windows, which have long ſtood in an erect Poſition, do grow permanently magnetical, the lower Ends of ſuch Bars being the North-Poles, and the upper the Southern; for, according to the Laws of Magnetiſm, we find the lower Ends of ſuch Bars will drive away the North-End of ſuch a Needle, and will attract the Southern; which ſhews, that by a continual Paſſage of the ſubtile magnetical Particles through them, they are turned into a kind of Magnet themſelves.

VI. If a Bar of Iron that hath not long ſtood in an erected Poſture, be only held perpendicularly, its lower End will be the North-Pole, and attract the South-Point of a touched Needle; but then this Virtue is tranſient, and will ſhift as you invert the Bar; for the other End, when held lowermoſt, will preſently become the North-Pole: Wherefore, in order to render the Quality of Verticity permanent in an Iron-bar, it muſt remain a long while in a proper Poſition: But the Fire will produce this Effect in a very ſhort Time; for as it will immediately deprive a Load-ſtone of attractive Power, or change its Poles (as in Experiment 1, 2,) ſo it will as ſoon give a Verticity to a Bar of Iron, it being heated red-hot, and cooled in an erect Poſition directly North and South; nay, it hath been obſerved often, that even Tongs and Pokers, by being often heated, and then ſet to cool in a Poſition near to erect, have gained this magnetical Property. The Reaſon of which very different Effects of the Fire on a Magnet and on Iron Mr. *Boyle*, with his uſual Modeſty, ſuggeſts to be this, That the peculiar Texture of Conſtitution, by which a Magnet differs from common Iron, one being accurate and fine, the other rough is ſpoiled by the rude and violent Attacks of the Fire. But this mighty Agent, by working upon Iron, ſoftens and opens the Pores of the Metal (which is harder than Iron-Oar;) ſo that it becomes capable of being pervaded by the magnetical Particles, and by that Means gains a vertical Quality.

VII. Mr. *Boyle* found, that, by heating of *Engliſh* Oker red-hot, and placing it to cool in a proper Poſture, it plainly gained a magnetic Power.

VIII. The ſame Noble Gentleman found that an excellent Load-ſtone of his own, having lain almoſt a Year in an inconvenient Poſture, had its Virtues ſo impaired, that he, at firſt, thought that ſomebody had ſpoiled it by Fire.

IX. If a Needle be well touched on a good Load-Stone, 'tis known it will, when duly poiſed, point North and South; but if it hath one contrary Touch on the ſame Stone, it will immediately be deprived of that Faculty; and by another Touch it will have its Poles quite changed; ſo that the End which before pointed North, ſhall now point Southward.

X. Dr. *Power*, and Mr. *Boyle*, both found that after a red-hot Iron had gained a Verticity by being well heated and cooled North and South; and then alſo hammered at the Ends, the Virtues would immediately be deſtroyed by two or three Blows of a ſtrong Hammer ſmartly given about the Middle of it.

XI. Mr. *Boyle* found, that by drawing the Back of a Knife, or long Piece of Steel-Wire, *&c.* over the Pole of a Load-ſtone leiſurely once, or divers Times, beginning the Motion from the Equator,

tor, or Middle of the Stone towards the Pole, the Knife or Wire, will accordingly attract the End of a poiſed magnetical Needle: But if you take another Knife or Wire, and thruſt it leiſurely over the Pole towards the Equator, or Middle of the Equator, this Knife ſhall expel, or drive away the ſame End of the Needle, which the former Knife would attract, which Experiment makes it very probable, that the Operation of the Magnet depends on the Flux of ſome fine Particles, which go out at one Pole, then round about, and in again at the other.

XII. Becauſe it is one of the univerſal Laws of Nature, that Action and Re-action are always equal: Therefore, it is plain, the Iron muſt attract the Magnet as much as that doth the Iron; and you may eaſily experiment it to be ſo in Fact, if you place a Magnet, or a Piece of Iron on a Cork, ſo as that it may ſwim freely in the Water, for then you will ſee that whichſoever you hold in your Hand will draw the other towards it.

This Table of Facts, and Liſt of Experiments, have been very exactly tranſcribed, that the Reader might ſee as much as either Reaſon or Experience can teach concerning the wonderful Nature of this Stone, and the various Circumſtances which attend the Exertion of that Faculty by which it becomes of ſuch infinite Benefit and Advantage to Mankind. Without knowing theſe Circumſtances, there would want many Grounds for enquiring into, and diſcovering, as perhaps there are ſtill wanting, ſufficient Grounds for fully explaining the Nature of Magnetiſm, that is to ſay, with ſuch Clearneſs, as may ſatisfy the Underſtanding, and ſuch Certainty, as may take away all Fear of Deception or Miſtake in Practice. If this Doctrine of Magnetiſm was meerly a Point of Natural Philoſophy, it would be idle for me to ſpend ſo much Time about it; but as it is in Fact the great Secret which muſt ſooner or later diſcloſe the Perfection of that Science to which Books of this Nature belong, I mean the Knowledge of the entire Globe upon which we live, it becomes a moſt neceſſary Part of this Introduction, becauſe the moſt valuable Voyages contain ſeveral Particulars relating to this Matter, which are in Danger of appearing either trivial or tedious, if their Uſe and Importance be not fully ſhewn.

The ſeveral Hypotheſes that have been deviſed by ſpeculative Men, in order to explain this Matter, have hitherto proved not only erroneous and unſatisfactory, but by being for a Time judged otherwiſe, have hindered ſuch Enquiries as might have turned to the Benefit of Mankind; for, as Lord *Bacon* long ago obſerved, Ignorance is not near ſo great an Hindrance to Knowledge, as the Conceit of Knowledge: Thus for Inſtance, *Kircher*'s Notion of magnetical Fibres in the Earth, might make a Man fancy he could account for the Verticity of the Load-ſtone. Again, Mr. *Bond*, a Countryman of our own, advanced ſomething very plauſible about the Variation; for he ſuppoſed there were two magnetical Poles, which terminated an Axis inclined to that of the Earth, from whence it would follow, that under the ſame Meridian, the Variation muſt be the ſame, and therefore as Experience ſhews the Concluſion falſe, it follows, that his Account of the Matter could not be true. Dr. *Gilbert*, our Countryman likewiſe, and whoſe Labours on this Subject can never be enough commended, guarded againſt this Error, by the Opinion which he advanced, which is indeed very curious, and very ingenious, but at the Bottom likewiſe unſatisfactory. He thought that the Earth itſelf being in all its Parts magnetical, and the Water not; the Needle, would conſequently turn towards the Earth whereever it lay, as to the greater Quantity of magnetical Matter; but to mention one out of a Multitude of Inſtances that might be given, it is certain, that on the Coaſt of *Brazil*, the Needle turns quite the contrary Way, which is ſufficient to deſtroy this Notion.

The famous M. *Des Cartes* invented another Scheme leſs liable to Contradiction, for he conjectured, that Iron and Load-ſtone, hid in the Bowels of the Earth, and the Bottom of the Sea, might be the Cauſes of the Variation of the Needle; but if this were true, how ſhould the Variation of that Variation be accounted for? We know from Experience, that here at *London*, the Variation in one hundred Years has altered fifteen Degrees, and ſomething more, for which none of theſe Notions account at all, and therefore the famous Dr. *Halley* took quite another Method, that is to ſay, he took the only right Method, by firſt collecting a large Table of Obſervations, and from thence endeavoured to raiſe a Theory.

By this Means he went much farther than any of his Predeceſſors, and his Scheme was this, that the Globe was a Magnet, having four magnetical Poles, two near each of the Poles of the Equator, and that the Needle was always governed by the neareſt of theſe Poles. His Diſcourſe upon this Subject was extreamly well received, both at Home and Abroad, and perhaps, if it had ſatisfied its Author, it might have ſatisfied every body elſe; but the ingenious Gentleman who deviſed it, having a much greater regard to Truth than Fame, and to the general Advantage of Mankind, than his own particular Reputation, ſoon ſaw that his Scheme, tho' much better contrived, was at the Bottom as falacious as the reſt; for he conſidered, that no Magnet had any more than two Poles, whereas the Earth had viſibly four, and perhaps more; and he likewiſe obſerved, that according to his former Notion, theſe Poles ſhifted their Place, which, according to the Laws of Nature, and the particular Structure of the Magnet, was improbable and abſurd.

He farther obſerved, that this Variation was regular, and had a certain Period, tho' not hitherto perfectly diſcovered; for, here at *London*, in the Year 1580, it was obſerved to be 11° 15′ Eaſt. In 1657, there was no Variation at all. In 1672, he obſerved it himſelf 2° 30′ Weſt; and in 1692, he obſerved it to be exactly 6° Weſt; ſo that in one hundred and twelve Years, it had changed 17°. To this it may not be improper to add, that in fifty-three Years, which have ſince elapſed, it has varied 11° more to the Weſt. At *Paris*, in 1550, the Needle varied 9° Eaſt. In 1666, there was no Variation at all, and ſince that, its Variation has increaſed to 14° Weſt. The moſt ſouthern Promontory of *Africa* was, by the *Portugueze*, about the Year 1600, called the *Cape d'Agulhas*, or *Cape*

Needles, becauſe there they found no ſenſible Variation; and yet, in 1691, a very curious Obſervation being made there, the Needle was found to vary 11° Weſt. At the Iſland of *St. Helena*, in the Year 1600, the Variation was found 8° to the Eaſt, which gradually declined to the Year 1667, when Dr. *Halley* himſelf obſerved it there, and found the Eaſt Variation no more than 40′; and in 1692, it varied 1° Weſt.

Having thus given the Reader as clear and hiſtorical an Account of this Matter as we could, we ſhall next give him the ſame Gentleman's Reaſonings thereupon in his own Words, becauſe it is impoſſible to ſay any Thing better, or more agreeable to Truth, than what he has delivered upon the Subject, as there is very great Reaſon to doubt whether we ſhall ſoon ſee a more ſatisfactory Theory raiſed for the Service of Mankind, than that which this able and ingenious Perſon has given us. After therefore laying down at large theſe ſeveral Obſervations, and many more which we have omitted, as tending only to prove what we apprehend is ſufficiently proved by the Obſervations already ſet down, and the ſubſequent Experience we have had of the ſame Thing; he proceeds thus:

“ Theſe *Phenomena* being well underſtood, and duly conſidered, ſufficiently evince, that the whole magnetical Syſtem is by one, or perhaps more Motions, tranſlated whither Eaſtwards or Weſtwards, I ſhall ſoon diſcuſs, that this moving Thing is very great, as extending its Effects from Pole to Pole, and that the Motion thereof is not *per ſaltum*, but a gradual and regular Motion.

“ Now, conſidering the Structure of our terraqueous Globe, it cannot be well ſuppoſed, that a very great Part thereof can move within it, without notably changing its Centre of Gravity, and the Equilibrium of its Parts, which would produce very wonderful Effects in changing the Axis of diurnal Rotation, and occaſion ſtrange Alterations in the Seas Surface, by Inundations and Receſſes thereof, ſuch as Hiſtory never yet mentioned; beſides, the ſolid Parts of the Earth are not to be granted permeable by any other than fluid Subſtances, of which we know none that are any Way magnetical; ſo that the only Way to render this Motion intelligible, and poſſible, is to ſuppoſe it to turn about the Centre of the Earth. And there is yet required, that this moving internal Subſtance be looſe, and detached from the external Parts of the Earth wherein we live; for otherwiſe; were it fixed thereto, the whole muſt neceſſarily move together.

“ So then, theſe external Parts of the Globe will be reckoned as the Shell, and the internal Nucleus, or inner Globe, included within ours with a fluid Medium between, which, having the common Cocentre and Axis of diurnal Rotation, may turn about with our Earth, each twenty-four Hours only, the outer Sphere having its turbinating Motion, ſome ſmall Matter, either ſwifter or ſlower, than the internal Ball, and every Minute's Difference in Length of Time, and in many Repetitions, will become ſenſible; the internal Parts will by Degrees recede from the external, and not keeping Pace with one another, will appear gradually to move either Eaſtward or Weſtward, by the Difference of their Motions.

“ Now, ſuppoſing ſuch an internal Sphere to have ſuch a Motion, we ſhall ſolve the two great Difficulties we encountered in my former Hypotheſis; for if this exernal Shell of Earth be a Magnet, having its Poles at a Diſtance from the Poles of the diurnal Rotation, and if the internal Nucleus be likewiſe a Magnet, having its Poles in two other Places, diſtant alſo from the Axis, and theſe latter, by a gradual and ſlow Motion, change their Place in reſpect of the external, we may give a reaſonable Account of the four magnetical Poles, I preſume to have demonſtrated before, as likewiſe the Changes of the Needles Variations, which till now have been unattempted.

“ The Period of this Motion being wonderfully great, and there being hardly an hundred Years ſince theſe Variations have been duly obſerved, it will be very hard to bring this Hypotheſis to a Calculus, eſpecially, ſince tho' the Variation do decreaſe and increaſe regularly, in the ſame Place; yet in different Places, and at no great Diſtance, there are found ſuch caſual Changes thereof, as can no Ways be accounted for by a regular Hypotheſis, as depending on the unequal and irregular Diſtribution of the magnetical Matter, within the Subſtance, within the external Shell, or Coat of the Earth, which Defect the Needle ſupplies from the Poſition it would acquire from the Effect of the general Magnetiſm of the whole. Of this, the Variations at *London* and *Paris*, give a notable Inſtance; for the Needle hath been conſtantly about 1° 30′ more Eaſterly a *Paris* than at *London*, tho' it be certain, that according to the general Effect, the Difference ought to be the contrary Way, notwithſtanding which, the Variations in both Places do change alike.

“ Hence, and from ſome other Things of the like Nature, I conclude, that the two Poles of the external Globe, are fixed in the Earth, and that if the Needle were wholly governed by them, the Variations thereof would be always the ſame, with ſome little Irregularities on the Account I but juſt above-mentioned; but the internal Sphere having ſuch a gradual Tranſlation of its Poles, does influence the Needle, and direct it variouſly, according to the Reſult of the attractive, or directive Power of each Pole, and conſequently there muſt be a Period of the Revolution of this internal Ball, after which the Variation will return again as before; but if it ſhould in future Ages be obſerved otherwiſe, we muſt then conclude, that there are more of theſe internal Spheres, and more magnetic Poles than four, which at preſent we have not a ſufficient Number of Obſervations to determine, and particularly in that vaſt *Mare del Zur*, or *South-Sea*, which occupies ſo great a Part of the Surface of the Earth.

“ If then two of the Poles be fixed, and two moveable, it remains to aſcertain, which they are that keep their Place; and though I could wiſh we had Experience of another Century of Years to found our Concluſions upon, yet I think we may ſafely determine, that our *European* Pole (which in the precedent Diſcourſe I ſuppoſed near the Lands-end of *England*, and about 7° therefrom) is, that, which is moveable of the two northern Poles, and that, which has chiefly influenced the Variation in theſe Parts of the World; for in *Hudſon's* Bay, which is under the Direction of the *American* Pole, the Change is not obſerved to be near ſo faſt as in thoſe Parts of *Europe*, tho' the Pole be much farther removed from the Axis.

“As to the ſouth Poles, I take the *Aſian* Pole, which I place about the Meridian of the Iſland *Celebes*, to be fixed, and conſequently the *American* Pole to move from the like Obſervations of the ſlow Decreaſe of the Variation on the Coaſt of *Java*, and near the Meridian of the *Aſian* Pole; tho' I muſt confeſs to have no Account of the Effects of the other beyond *Magellan* Streights.

“If this be allowed me, it is plain, that the fixt Poles are the Poles of this external Shell or Cortex of the Earth, and the other two the Poles of the magnetical Nucleus, included and moveable within the other. It likewiſe follows, that this Motion is Weſtward, and by Conſequence, that the aforeſaid Nucleus has not preciſely attained the ſame Degree of Velocity, with the exterior Parts in their diurnal Revolution, but ſo nearly equals it, that in three hundred ſixty-five Revolves, the Difference is ſcarce ſenſible. This I conceive to ariſe from the Impulſe whereby this diurnal Motion was impreſs'd on the Earth, being given to the external Parts, and from thence, in Time, communicated to the internal, but not ſo as perfectly to equal the Velocity of the firſt Motion impreſſed on them, and ſtill conveyed, by the ſuperficial Parts of the Globe.

“As for the Quantity of this Motion, it is almoſt impoſſible to define it, both from the Nature of this kind of Obſervation, which cannot be accurately performed, as alſo from the ſmall Time theſe Variations have been obſerved, and their Change diſcovered. It appears by all Circumſtances, that this Period is of many Centuries of Years, and as far as may be collected from the Change of the Place where there was no Variation, by Reaſon of the Equilibrium of the two ſouthern magnetical Poles, *viz.* from *Cape d'Augulhas*, to the Meridian of *St. Helena* (which is about 23° in ninety Years) and of the Place where the weſterly Variation is in its *Acme*, or greateſt Deflection, being about half as much, *viz.* from the Iſle of *Diego Rioz*, to the ſouth-weſt Parts of *Madagaſcar*, we may with ſome Reaſon conjecture, that the *American* Pole has moved Weſtwards 46°, in that Time, and that the whole Period thereof is performed in ſeven hundred Years, or thereabouts; ſo that the nice Determination of this, and of ſeveral other Particulars in the magnetick Syſtem, is reſerved for remote Poſterity. All that we can hope to do, is, to leave behind us Obſervations that may be confided in, and to propoſe Hypotheſes, which After-ages may examine, amend or reject. Only here I muſt take Leave to recommend to all Maſters of Ships, and other Lovers of natural Truths, that they uſe their utmoſt Diligence to make, or procure to be made, Obſervations of theſe Variations in all Parts of the World, as well in the north, as ſouth Latitude (after the laudable Cuſtom of our *Eaſt-India* Commanders) and that they be pleaſed to communicate them to the *Royal Society*, in order to leave as compleat a Hiſtory, as may be, to thoſe that are hereafter to compare all together, and to compleat and perfect this abſtruſe Theory.”

There has not hitherto appeared any Thing more curious, or more correct, upon this Subject, than the foregoing admirable Diſcourſe of the late learned Dr. *Halley*, whoſe great Abilities, and indefatigable Diligence, have done the greateſt Honour to this Nation, and fully ſupported that Reputation which we had before acquired, of having done more in reſpect to magnetical Diſcoveries, than any other Nation in *Europe*. His Theory indeed, is at once ſo ſagacious, and ſo ingenious, and withal, is delivered with ſo great Modeſty, ſuch wiſe Precautions, and ſo laudable a regard to Truth, that one may juſtly affirm, it deſerves much higher Reſpect, and a more attentive Conſideration, than is uſually due to Attempts of this Nature; and, if after longer Experience, and a more particular Knowledge of the Facts relating to the Variation in different Places, it ſhall appear capable of ſolving all the Difficulties, with which this Subject has been hitherto burthened, Poſterity will, without doubt pay that due Veneration to the Memory of this Great Man, which his vaſt Abilities and ſingular Penetration have merited.

But ſuppoſing there ſhould be ſuch Deficiencies diſcovered in his ſecond Theory, as this candid and ingenious Man himſelf diſcovered in his firſt; yet, before this can be done, we muſt have ſuch Tables of Obſervations collected, as muſt enable us to form a better Theory, or, which is ſtill of greater Value, enable us to come at the Thing itſelf; or, in other Words, we muſt be in a Condition to aſſign the true Period of Variation at any given Place: For, till this can be done, it will be ſimply impoſſible to ſay, whether Dr. *Halley*'s Theory will account for theſe Appearances or not: And if once, whether by Experiment, or Theory, a Method be found to eſtabliſh a certain Knowledge of the Period of Variation, the great End for which it is ſought, will be attained, that is to ſay, the eaſieſt Way of diſcovering the Longitude will be found.

As I look upon this to be the principal Advantage that would reſult from our having a perfect and certain Knowledge of the Variation of the Needle, it is on this Account that I have inſiſted upon it ſo largely, becauſe this is the Thing which, of all others, we moſt want, towards compleating the Science of Navigation, which, though greatly improved by the Moderns, and therefore much ſuperior to the Navigation of the Ancients, yet, as we before obſerved, it is ſtill deficient in many Points, and more particularly in this.

At the ſame Time that I mention this, I muſt take Notice of another Thing, which, at firſt Sight may ſeem to be a Paradox, but, at the ſame Time, is an indiſputable Truth, and withal a Truth of the higheſt Importance. The Thing I mean is this, that the Defects of modern Navigation, though Diſadvantageous to the Science, in reſpect to Practice, are, however, ſo far from being diſadvantageous when conſidered in a ſpeculative Light, that they are really and ſtrictly ſo many Excellencies therein, when we compare the State of that Science now, to the State it was in amongſt the Ancients; for it was their Miſfortune to have ſo high an Opinion of their own Knowledge, as to charge upon Nature; or, to ſpeak more like a Chriſtian, upon the Conduct of Divine Providence, thoſe Defects which were only in themſelves. Thus, for Inſtance, they conceived, contrary to Truth, the greateſt Part of the Globe to be uninhabitable; and from this Notion, pronounced thoſe Diſcoveries impoſſible, which by the Induſtry of ſucceeding Ages have been made: Whereas with reſpect to the Deficiencies confeſſed by the Moderns, they are really ſo many Points of Knowledge, as to which the Ancients had not the leaſt Conception; and though we have not hitherto attained them, which is a Misfortune; yet we know what they are, and, in ſome meaſure, how they may be attained, which is a great Felicity.

As for Inſtance, we know the great Importance of diſcovering an eaſy and certain Method of finding the Longitude; and this in our own, and other Nations, has induced the Publication of great Rewards for the making of ſuch Diſcovery. And if this Method were carried farther into Practice, and ſmaller Sums were offered for intermediate Diſcoveries, I do not at all doubt that much greater Things might, in a few Years, be attained, than were formerly reached in whole Ages.

There are, indeed, ſeveral Methods by which the Longitude may be diſcovered, beſides this; and becauſe it is impoſſible that the Reader ſhould enter into the true Merit of ſuch a Diſcovery as this would be of the Theory of magnetical Variations, without having a competent Notion of thoſe Methods, I ſhall venture to diſcourſe of them here, as I have done of other Things in an eaſy and familiar Way. The only Method the Romans had of ſettling the Diſtances of Places, and thereby framing Deſcriptions or Maps of Countries was, by actually meaſuring them; and by this Means that Map or Deſcription of the World, which was depicted from *Agrippa's* Tables in the Reign of the Emperor *Auguſtus*, in a Portico erected for that Purpoſe, was made. It is generally believed, that the celebrated Itinerary aſcribed to the Emperor *Antoninus*, was extracted from thence. A Work wonderfully exact and worthy of the greateſt Commendation, conſidering the Time in which it was made. But *Ptolemy*, the Geographer, as we have before obſerved, was the firſt who introduced the Method of fixing the Diſtances by Longitudes and Latitudes, which has been ſince followed, as being both eaſier and more exact than the former. It is, however true, that there are many, and thoſe very groſs Miſtakes in the Geography of *Ptolemy*; as, for Inſtance, he places the *Fortunate Iſlands* under the ſame Meridian, and yet gives them ſeveral Degrees of Longitude; and in point of Latitude, he is at leaſt ten Degrees out in his Computation. He ſpeaks of a City in *China*, lying in the Latitude of three Degrees South, whereas we now certainly know that the moſt Southern Part of *China* lies in twenty Degrees North-Latitude. He has ſo deſcribed the great Iſland of *Taprobana*, that it is in a manner impoſſible to determine, at leaſt with Certainty, whether it be *Ceilon*, *Sumatra*, or *Borneo*. Hence ſome very judicious Perſons have doubted whether the introducing Aſtronomy has been of any Uſe to Geography, or whether on the contrary, it has not contributed to embarraſs and perplex that Science, by which it is rendered much more uncertain than if the old plain geometrical Method had been ſtill followed. But, in Anſwer to this, it may be very truly affirmed that the Errors of *Ptolemy* do not ariſe from his Uſe of aſtronomical Principles, but from his following bad Memoirs, and the great Inaccuracy of the Obſervations made in thoſe Times for want of good Inſtruments.

The Moderns, who, without Queſtion, have diſcovered much better Methods of making Obſervations, have, conſequently, been able to correct theſe Errors, and eſtabliſh a new Way of diſcovering the Longitude with Certainty, which is that of Eclipſes. To ſet this Matter in a clear Light and in as few Words as poſſible, I ſhall have Recourſe to an Example. As ſoon as it was certainly known that an Eclipſe of the Sun or Moon was obſerved earlier at *Stockholm* than at *Paris*, it followed that *Stockholm* muſt lie Eaſt from *Paris*. When farther Obſervations had determined that an Eclipſe was obſerved an Hour ſooner at *Stockholm* than at *Paris*, it followed, from the ſame Principles, that *Stockholm* lay 15 Deg. Eaſt of *Paris*; ſo that, agreeable to the Edict of *Lewis* XIII. which fixed the firſt Meridian in the Iſland of *Ferro*, and conſequently the City of *Paris* in the Longitude of 20 Deg. 30 Min. the true Longitude of the City of *Stockholm* was found by this Obſervation to be 35 Deg. 30 Min. To make this ſtill plainer, let us take another Example. It has been found, that an Eclipſe has been obſerved in the Iſland of *Caienne* three Hours and an half later than at *Paris*; from whence it is evident, that Iſland muſt lie 52 Deg. 30 Min. Weſt from *Paris*, and that for this Reaſon: The Equinoctial being divided into 360 Deg. and making one Revolution in twenty-four Hours, there muſt conſequently be fifteen Degrees allowed to an Hour, upon which this Calculation is grounded.

As this Method of aſcertaining the Longitude of Places, by the Obſervation of the Eclipſes of the Sun and Moon, contributed greatly to the Improvement of Geography; ſo this very Method has acquired much greater Perfection ſince we have fallen into a Way of Obſerving the Eclipſes of the Satellites of *Jupiter*, which the moſt learned Perſons have pronounced to be, of all others, the ſhorteſt, eaſieſt, and moſt certain Method of fixing the Longitude. In order to this, there is nothing more requiſite than to have Tables very exactly adjuſted for theſe Eclipſes to any given Place, and by obſerving ſeveral of theſe Eclipſes carefully at any other Place, the Difference in point of Time, will ſhew exactly, when reduced to Degrees and Minutes, the Difference of Longitude between the two Places, or, in other Words, how far one is Eaſt or Weſt from the other. I muſt not, however, diſſemble, there having been ſome Objections made to this Method, notwithſtanding the Sentiments of ſo many great Mathematicians in its Favour, particularly by the celebrated *Riccioli*, in his reformed Geography, who declares, that he will never conſent to this Method of fixing the Longitude by Eclipſes, unleſs it ſhall appear, that it agrees exactly with the Differences found by geometrical Methods, that is, by plain Meaſuring, which, tho' in ſmall Diſtances, it may do, yet in greater, it has been known to fail. The Inferences made from hence, appear at firſt Sight, ſo clear, and ſo ſtrong, that they ſeem to be concluſive, and to throw us back into that Degree of Uncertainty, from whence this Method promiſed to deliver us.

But, upon mature Conſideration, we may, perhaps, ſuggeſt a Solution of this Difficulty, which may prove ſatisfactory, and thereby bring Things once more to Rights. In order to this, I muſt take

Notice, that the Objection is founded in a Fact, and that Fact again, upon a Suppoſition, that the Earth is a perfect Sphere, which, however, ſome able Men have doubted, and aſſigned very probable Reaſons for their Doubts. Sir *Iſaac Newton* thought the Earth a flat Spheroid, and Mr. *Caſſini* believed it to be a long Spheroid. It is plain enough, that if either of theſe great Men were in the Right, this would alter the Diſtances of Places, that have the ſame Longitude and Latitude, and conſequently, take away the Grounds of this Objection; yet, inſtead of introducing any Certainty, would beget ſtill greater Incertainties; for, it muſt be allowed, that if the latter of theſe Conjectures had been taken for Truth, while the former really was ſo, then in a Courſe of one hundred Degrees of Longitude, the moſt expert and cautious Seaman muſt have committed an Error of two Degrees, which ſhews the Importance of this Enquiry. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty being informed perfectly as to this Matter, in the Days of Cardinal *Fleury*, when the Arts of Peace were his Care, reſolved, that at his Expence, this Point ſhould be put out of Diſpute, by cauſing two Degrees to be meaſured, one at the Equator, and the other under the polar Circle, which has been accordingly done, and thereby the Truth of Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s Conjecture fully proved. Hence we have great Reaſon to expect, that the Figure of the Earth will very ſoon be perfectly known, and the different Lengths of Degrees digeſted into accurate Tables, ſo as to be ſhewn by bare Inſpection, and then we have the greateſt Room to hope, that as the foregoing Objection took riſe from Facts falſly ſtated, it will, by the true true ſtating of Facts, be entirely taken away.

One Thing more we ſhall obſerve before we quit this Subject, and it is this, that the ſeveral Methods of finding the Longitude before-mentioned, depend upon aſtronomical Obſervations, and thoſe too, very nice and exact, which at Sea it is very difficult, at any Time, and very often impracticable to make; whence ariſes the Neceſſity of finding out ſome other Way of diſcovering the Longitude, for which hitherto nothing has bid ſo fair as a perfect finding out the Variation of the magnetic Needle, which being adjuſted to a Table of Longitudes, they would then reciprocally ſhew each other. This, however, we can never hope, till ſuch Time as the Princes of *Europe*, laying aſide their Jealouſies and Animoſities, unite in the generous and pious Deſign of promoting the common Advantage of all their Subjects, by encouraging the Study of thoſe *Sciences*, which being perfectly underſtood, would open a Way to many concealed Branches of Commerce, which might make the Inhabitants of their reſpective Dominions as rich and happy as themſelves could wiſh, whenever this true and laudable Ambition ſhall take Place of that falſe and feigned Ambition which now rules them, we may expect to ſee thoſe great Events, and we may reaſonably hope to ſee them firſt take Place, at leaſt, in Part, in that Nation, where this bleſſed Change, ſo agreeable to the Maxims of Reaſon, the Laws of Nature, and the Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion ſhall firſt appear.

We are not, however, to hope this until ſuch Time as the Minds of Men are, in ſome meaſure, cured of certain Prejudices which prevail but too generally at preſent. For Inſtance, while it is poſſible for any Nation poſſeſſed of, or veſted with the Power of improving Commerce and Maritime Force, to be induced to imagine that any Thing elſe is more worthy her Study and Regard: For with reſpect to extenſive Commerce, we may ſafely venture to aſſert, it is the one Thing neceſſary in Politicks; and if we ſtudy and purſue this, all Things elſe will be added unto us. It is a ridiculous Thing for ſuch a Nation to complain, that her Commodities lie upon her Hands, that her Manufactures decay, that Numbers of her People are idle, that Multitudes are poor, and that her Condition grows daily worſe and worſe. I ſay, ſuch Complaints are ridiculous, becauſe it is in her own Power to redreſs all theſe Evils, by minding her own Intereſt, and applying herſelf to that Thing which alone well minded, muſt certainly and abſolutely cure them all: But the moſt ridiculous Complaint that can be made in a Trading Nation is, againſt Smuggling; for that plainly proves that ſhe has minded her Buſineſs ſo little, that her Neighbours have got the Start of her, ſince it is impoſſible that foreign Commodities ſhould be bought cheaper in one Country than another, unleſs the Laws of that other Country are ſo framed, as to oppreſs and diſcourage Trade.

The Remedy of all theſe Evils, is very ſoon found, and very eaſily applied, if once Mens Eyes are opened, and their Hearts enlarged; for if the Underſtanding be clear, and the Will right, a Nation, like a private Family, ſoon alters its Condition, and recovers, by a prudent Management, what was loſt through want of Attention. The great Engine in both Caſes is, Induſtry, and Induſtry rightly applied. By Induſtry, with reſpect to a Nation, we muſt mean Application to Trade, as in private Life, we mean Application to Buſineſs; for, both in publick, and in private Life, Men may be induſtrious, that is to ſay, may be active, eager and diligent, not only to no Purpoſe, but to bad Purpoſes; for Inſtance, the Gameſter takes as much Pains to acquire Money, as the Tradeſman, but with this Difference, that the more he labours, the worſe he deſerves, and the richer he grows, the greater his Infamy. Yet why is he infamous? Not ſurely becauſe he ſeeks Wealth, but becauſe he ſeeks it in a diſhoneſt Way, in a Way, which though uſeful to himſelf, is deſtructive to his Neighbours, in a Way inconſiſtent with Society, and which truly renders him an Enemy to Mankind. But after all, is not Uſury, or the Art of making Money beget Money, of the ſame Prejudice in Publick, as Gaming in private Life, and ought not the Maxims in Government which encourage the one, to be as univerſally condemned, as thoſe that tolerate the other.

Let any Man, who conſiders the Conſequences of both, ſpeak what his Heart dictates, and he muſt ſay they ought; for if the bare Poſſeſſion of Money, will produce Money; and if by watching the Neceſſities of the Publick, Men can grow as ſoon, and as certainly rich, as by applying themſelves to Trade, it follows, that where-ever this happens, the Idle will eat the Bread of the Induſtrious, and thoſe Men be at the Head of a Society, who are Enemies to Society, in Practice at leaſt, if not in Principle. And now let me have Leave to aſk, Wherein the Man who betters his private Fortune, without advancing the Stock of the Publick, is better than a Gameſter?

But Examples are better underſtood, and move more than Precepts. Let us look Abroad then for one, ſince it might be inconvenient to look at Home. The State of *Genoa* was once a moſt rich and powerful Republick, poſſeſſing large foreign Dominions, and prodigious Wealth in her own Coffers; it was this, that enabled her Subjects to build and plant, ſo as to eſtabliſh, in the moſt barren Part of *Italy*, a City, which is ſtill deſervedly ſtiled *Genoa* the Proud. But how did ſhe acquire her Fleets, her Dominions, and her Riches? If we look into her Hiſtory, we ſhall find, by the very ſame Method, that theſe Bleſſings were acquired, and may be acquired in other Countries, that is to ſay, by Induſtry and Trade. But is ſhe now poſſeſſed of them? Alas! No; from being the greateſt, ſhe is of late become the moſt contemptible State in *Europe*. And how has this Change been wrought? By forgetting her true Intereſt, by ſuffering the Wealth her Trade had produced, to corrupt the Manners of her People, by running into Luxury and Idleneſs, by entering into endleſs Negotiations, and fruitleſs Alliances; and finally, by theſe two fatal Steps, dealing in Money inſtead of Goods, her Merchants; becoming Bankers, and preferring Funds and negotiable Debts to Manufactures and ſtaple Commodities; by neglecting her natural naval Strength, and depending upon her Allies; by engaging in other Peoples Quarrels, and thereby waſting her own Strength, and by preferring the pernicious Arts of Politicks to the noble and generous Arts of Commerce: Such have been the Cauſes of her Fall; and may her Fall prove a Warning, not a Precedent!

I call the Arts of Commerce noble and generous, becauſe they extend to all Mankind. If we draw Gold and Spices from warmer Climates, we carry them Things more valuable, becauſe more uſeful. What is it that conſtitutes the Splendor and Luxury of *Mexico* and *Lima*, but the richeſt Commodities, and the fineſt Manufactures of *Europe*; and what renders opulent thoſe Countries which furniſh theſe Commodities and Manufactures, but the Silver of *Mexico*, and the Gold of *Peru*? Does not that Change in Point of Cultivation, Magnificence in Building, and great Increaſe in Shipping, which, within theſe two laſt Ages, has happened in the old World, ariſe from the Diſcovery of the new? Why then do we not purſue this Track? Why not proſecute new Diſcoveries, at leaſt, why not enlarge our Commerce by the Invention of new Branches? The common Anſwer is, becauſe the Thing is impoſſible. Idle, ridiculous, and impious Aſſertion! Have we not Wool; have we not Cloth; are there not naked Nations enough in the World, who would gladly be covered; and was there ever a Nation yet found, that wanted Cloaths, and at the ſame Time wanted wherewithal to pay for them.

The Negroes on the burning Coaſt of *Africa*, have Ivory and Gold; the Inhabitants of the frozen Coaſts of *Hudſon*'s Bay, ſend us Furs and Skins. The very *Laplanders* pay for what they want, and conſequently, the more Wants any People have, the more it concerns us to find them out; beſides, is not this falling back to the Errors of the Antients? Did not they fancy the ſame Thing, and were not they miſtaken? Should not this put us upon a different Conduct, ſurely it ought. We have Commodities, we have Manufactures, we have Shipping, we have Seamen, we have Merchants, what can we poſſibly want, if we have the Will to employ thoſe as we ought? Methinks I hear ſome modern Sceptick cry, This is very fine, indeed; but where, which Way ſhall we ſearch; would you have us Freight and Man our Ships, and then turn then a-drift, in Hopes that Chance may bring them to ſome new World? No, the following Sheets will ſhew, that the Means of Finding are very well known; that the Methods of extending Commerce are natural and eaſy, and which is more, in a Manner certain; ſo that there is no need of employing Chance, the very Skill we have, will do the Buſineſs. It may, indeed, be requiſite to remove ill-judged Prohibitions, and to break down illegal Excluſions, illegal, becauſe the Terms upon which they were granted, have not been complied with; theſe may be, and indeed will be requiſite, and therefore they ought to be done.

We ſee in a Time of War, what Encouragement for Privateering has produced, and can any reaſonable Man doubt, that in Time of Peace, like Encouragements would not produce as ſtrong a Spirit of Diſcovery; moſt certainly they would. Let us maintain Trade, and there is, no doubt, that Trade will maintain us. Let our paſt Miſtakes teach us to be wiſe, let our preſent Wants and Difficulties revive our antient Induſtry. Let the Peruſal of this Collection excite our Hopes, and diſpel our Fears, and then the preſent Age may become as much the Admiration, as it is now in Danger of becoming the Scorn of Poſterity. We want not Capacity, we want not Power; but we want Will, and therefore we want Vigour; let us ſupply this Deficiency, and all will be well. In fine, let us deſerve, and we ſhall certainly ſucceed; for that divine Maxim will be found true in worldly as well as ſpiritual Affairs, *If we ſearch, we ſhall find; if we knock, it will be opened.*

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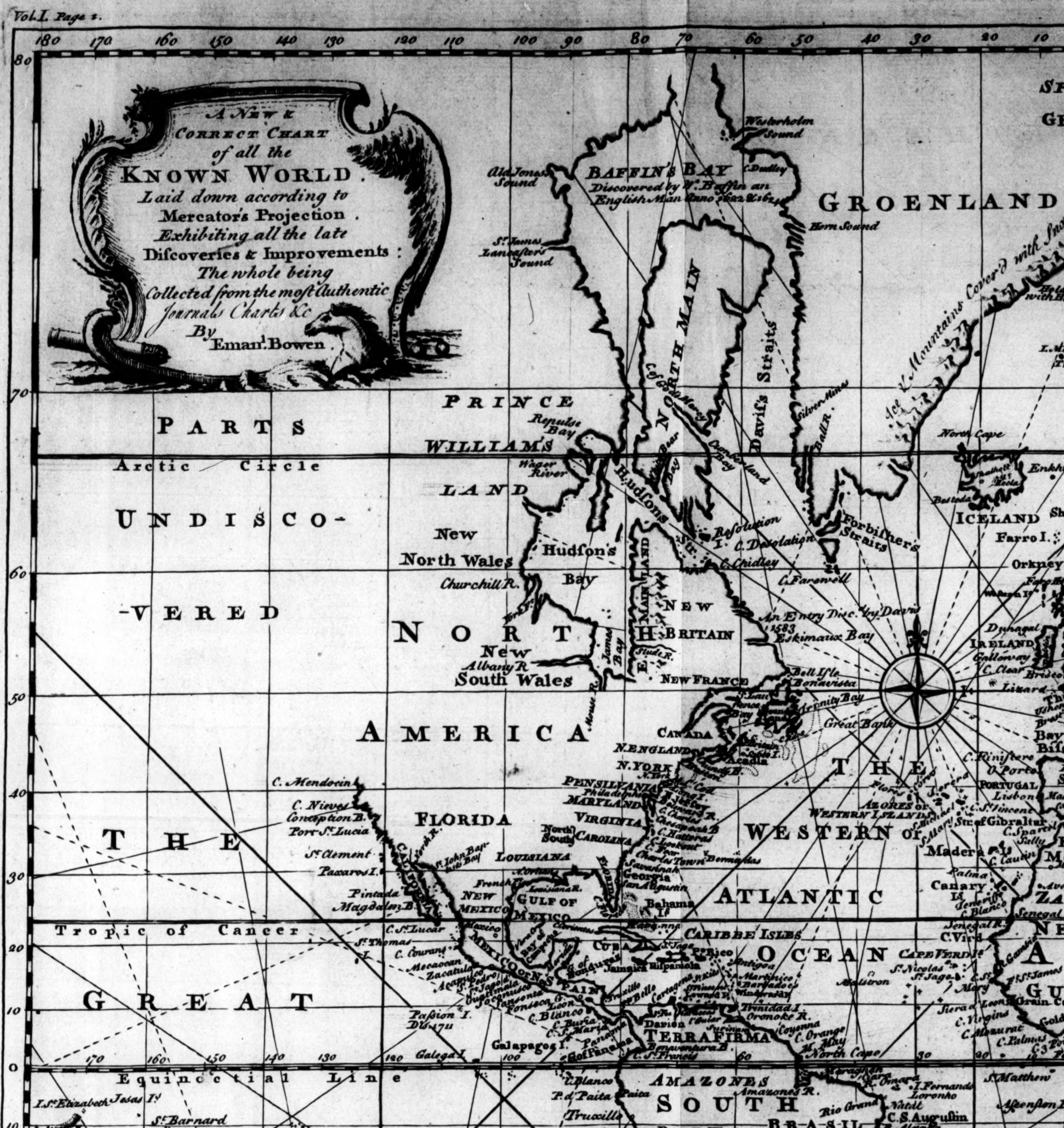
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Prince Williams Land
New North Wales
New South Wales
Hudson's Bay
Baffin's Bay Discovered by Wm. Baffin an English Man Anno 1622 & 1624
Groenland
North Main
Davis's Straits
New Britain
New France
North America
Canada
N. England
N. York
Pensilvania
Maryland
Virginia
North Carolina
South Carolina
Georgia
Florida
Louisiana
New Mexico
Gulf of Mexico
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Cuba
Jamaica
Hispaniola
Caribbe Isles
Terra Firma
Iceland
Ireland
Portugal
The Western or Atlantic Ocean
Azores or Western Islands
Madera
Canary Is.
Cape Verde Is.
Tropic of Cancer
The Great South Sea
Equinoctial Line
Amazones
South America
Peru
Brasil
Paraguay
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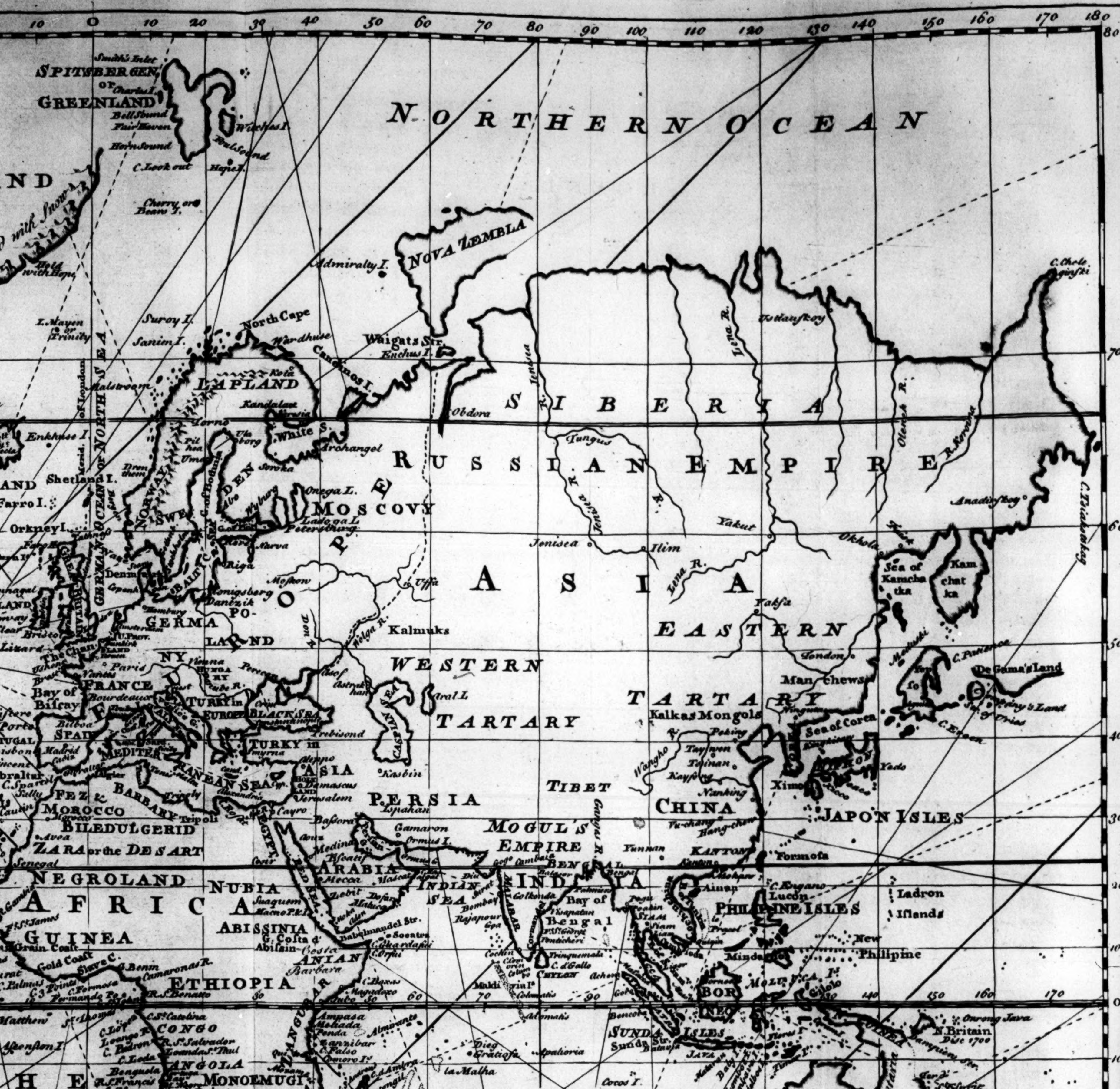
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RUSSIAN EMPIRE
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Kalkas Mongols
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Kamchatka
Sea of Kamchatka
Sea of Corea
De Gama's Land
JAPON ISLES
Yedo
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MONOMOTAPA
CAFFERS
HOTTENTOTS
C. Bone Esperance or C. of Good Hope
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Port Dauphin
I. de France
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THE EASTERN OR INDIAN OCEAN
PHILIPPINE ISLES
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Mindanao
New Philipine
Ladron Islands
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Carpentaria
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Or, A Complete COLLECTION of VOYAGES and TRAVELS.

BOOK I.

An Account of the Circum-Navigations of the GLOBE, and of the Diſcoveries of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*.

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SECTION I.

1. The perfect Knowledge of the Globe due to Modern Inquiries. 2. Reaſons why the Navigation of the Antients was imperfect. 3. They knew not with Certainty the Figure of the Earth. 4. Underſtood Aſtronomy but indifferently. 5. And were ignorant of the Uſe of the Needle. 6. The Moderns have overcome all theſe Difficulties. 7. Many of them have ſurrounded the Globe. 8. Introduction to the Hiſtory of theſe Circum-navigations. 9. Our Reaſons for including that of Columbus *in their Number.*

1. THE accurate Knowledge of this Globe of Earth and Water in general, and of many of its Parts in particular, is owing to the ſuperior Skill of the Moderns in Mathematical Sciences, and ought therefore to be conſidered as one of the nobleſt Trophies of the Force of human Underſtanding; I mean with reſpect to Reaſoning right upon Principles once laid down, however thoſe Principles might be diſcovered by Accident, or by Thought. I would not be underſtood to inſinuate any thing to the Prejudice of thoſe antient Sages, who may with great Juſtice be ſtiled the Fathers of Science; but only aſſert a Truth which may be inconteſtably proved, that the Glory of diſcovering the terraqueous Globe, and bringing Navigation almoſt to Perfection, is due to the Moderns.

2. It is clear, that the Antients were under an abſolute Incapacity of making great Diſcoveries by Sea for many Reaſons, but particularly for theſe Three; Firſt, That they had no juſt Notion of the Figure of the Earth; Secondly, They were very indifferent Aſtronomers, eſpecially with regard to the practical Part of that Science; and, Thirdly, They were able to make no Voyages of Conſequence for want of knowing the wonderful directive Property of the Loadſtone.

3. With reſpect to the Figure of the Earth, almoſt every eminent Philoſopher was of a different Opinion: *Thales* the Father of the *Greek* Philoſophy believed, that it floated upon the Water like a Bowl; and *Anaximander* would have it, that it reſembled a Column or Stone Pillar; *Democritus*, otherwiſe a very great Man, thought it hollow, like a Diſh; and *Anaximenes* taught, that it was flat, like a Table, and ſuſtained by the inferior Air. *Leucippus* deſcribed it as approaching neareſt the Figure of a Drum. In ſucceeding Times, *Lactantius* and *Auguſtine* thought the Earth infinitely extended downwards, grounding this Notion upon the Scriptures, or rather ſeeking Aſſiſtance from them, in Support of their Opinion. It is moſt evident from this Diverſity of Sentiments, that they could draw no juſt Concluſions, either as to the Parts of it that were then undiſcovered, or of the Means of diſcovering them; in order to which, nothing was ſo neceſſary as having true Notions as to the Figure of the Earth, or at leaſt ſuch Notions as came near the Truth.

4. In regard to Aſtronomy, they were likewiſe much [illegible] a Loſs. *Hipparchus* was the firſt who made a Catalogue of the fixed Stars, and he flouriſhed about 150 Years before *Chriſt*. About 300 Years afterwards the famous *Ptolemy* corrected his Tables, and eſtabliſhed a Syſtem which laſted many hundred Years, though there were great Errors in his Calculations; which were in part rectified by the famous *Tycho Brahe*, who flouriſhed not much above 100 Years ago. I ſay nothing of later Diſcoveries, becauſe they have been made by the Help of the Teleſcope, an Inſtrument as little known to *Tycho Brahe* as to *Hipparchus*; and yet the former has not been found to err much above Two Minutes, even by the beſt modern Aſtronomers, whereas *Hipparchus* often failed half a Degree in Longitude and Latitude; and every body knows how far ſuch Imperfections muſt affect that Science, when applied to Navigation.

5. But the great Imperfection of the antient Navigation was the not being able to ſolve that neceſſary Problem, the finding in any Place the Four Cardinal Points, and ſuch intermediate ones as were neceſſary; without doing which, it was ſimply impoſſible to ſail far. Now the Antients had no certain way to find the North and South Points at any time; and therefore durſt not truſt themſelves into the wide Ocean, but coaſted only along the Shores, that they might by ſome Signs know where they were. In the Day-time they were able to find the North and South, or a Meridian Line, by the Sun's Riſing and Setting; and beſides this they had three other Methods. 1. By the Stars at Night, particularly the Little Bear, and the Star in its Tail, called the Pole Star, which was much famed with Antiquity, and ſerved to ſhew them the North, and thereby all the other Points; for, turning their Face to it, the Eaſt was on the Right, the Weſt on the Left, and the South behind; and they had a Circle with the Points on it; and, bringing the North and South Point to the Meridian Line, the other Points were ſeen at once. Another Method they had was by knowing the Situation of the Shores, and of one Promontory from another; for when one Point was thus known, either from the Maps, or by Obſervation and Experience, they could in Sailing find the reſt; but then they could not go far from the Shores, which directed them as to theſe Points; for they could not at all times uſe the Sun and Stars for that End. A third Method they uſed was by obſerving the Points they had run in; for knowing how they firſt directed the Ship, and how much they turned again their Courſe from that Point, they knew the other Points. From whence the Reaſon appears of their imperfect and dangerous Sailing; *viz.* their not knowing the Points in the wide Ocean, ſo as to tell how to ſteer. This third Method, by obſerving the Ship's Courſe, is of no Uſe when the Ship is turned to a great many Points by the Violence of the Winds and Waves. Such were their Methods of finding the Meridian Line, which were ſo imperfect, that they durſt never truſt themſelves in the vaſt Ocean; and therefore it is no Wonder that they never knew *America*.

6. Theſe Defects are all remedied, and many other Advantages gained, by the Application of that wonderful Property in the Loadſtone, of turning its Poles nearly to the North and South. This enables the Mariner to ſteer boldly, and with Certainty, to quit the old Method of coaſting, and to force a Paſſage to the moſt diſtant Parts of the Globe, by the ſhorteſt and ſpeedieſt Way imaginable. By theſe Helps the *Portugueſe*, in the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century, made prodigious Diſcoveries towards the Eaſt, and thereby gave a Beginning to that Series of Voyages and Travels, by which the World in general, and every conſiderable Portion of it in particular, have been ſought out and deſcribed. From whence it plainly appears, that all Parts of the Globe are inhabited; that there is not that mighty Diſproportion between the Quantities of Land and Water, which there was formerly ſuppoſed to be; and that the Products of the Torrid and Frigid Zones are rather more rich and valuable than thoſe of temperate Climates.

7. In ſpeaking of the great Men by whom, and of the ſeveral Methods by which, theſe Diſcoveries have been made, it is but juſt to give the Circum-navigators the firſt Place; ſince the Aim of their Voyages was general, having relation to the Whole, and making us ſenſible, that as the new Syſtem was highly reaſonable in Theory, ſo the Reaſonings deduced from it were eaſily reduced to Practice. The Tour of the World ſeems to be one of the ſublimeſt Enterprizes within the Compaſs of human Ability; and, if it could have been atchieved in former Ages, would have been celebrated in a manner worthy the Undertaking by the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers.

But, as it was not, it ſeems to require in a particular manner our Care and Attention, eſpecially ſince we are furniſhed with abundance of authentic Relations, which fully enable us to ſhew how this great Deſign was firſt conceived; how far carried into Execution by the firſt Inventor; how it was afterwards proſecuted, and what additional Diſcoveries have been made by each ſucceeding Circum-navigator.

8. This ſeems to be the more requiſite, becauſe hitherto, notwithſtanding the numerous Collections we have, there has never yet been any tolerable Account given of this Matter; nay, I think it may be ſafely affirmed, that there never was ſo much as an Endeavour made of this Kind, at leaſt in that Extent in which we propoſe it. For our Intention is to give a ſuccinct Account of all the Circum-navigations, of which ſufficient Memoirs can be procured, from the very firſt Attempt down to the preſent Times, diſtinguiſhing the Cauſes, Conſequences, and moſt intereſting Circumſtances in every Voyage, and pointing out the ſeveral Improvements in the natural Order of Time in which they occurred, taking notice alſo of what yet remains to be perform'd by ſuch as the Induſtry, Succeſs, and Fame of others may inſpire with a generous Thirſt of Emulation.

9. In order to this, we are next to ſpeak of that illuſtrious *Genoeſe*, who firſt framed an Idea of the Poſſibility of the thing; and then formed ſo many juſt and powerful Arguments in Support of his Notion, as brought over to his Opinion the moſt able and learned Men of his Time, even before he had demonſtrated by his firſt Attempt, that it was not poſſible only, but practicable; and this too in ſpight of the many Prejudices that were raiſed againſt it. In treating of his Project, and of the Pains it coſt him before he could engage any of the Princes of *Chriſtendom* to enable him to undertake the Execution of it, we ſhall inſiſt more largely; becauſe, though it is a Story that has been often told, yet are there many Circumſtances relating to it, which have been hitherto ſo imperfectly repreſented, as to take much from the Merit of that great Man, whoſe Steadineſs and Felicity in performing, were not more admirable than his Wiſdom and Penetration in contriving, ſo glorious an Action.

SECTION II.

The Voyages of DON CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

1. *The Family and Character of* Columbus. 2. *The Stories told to his Prejudice by the* Spaniards. 3. *Facts which refute theſe Calumnies, and prove his Project to be the Effect of Study rather than Information.* 4. *Rejected by the* Genoeſe, *and afterwards by the King of* Portugal. 5. *Propoſed to, and accepted by, King* Henry VII. *of* England, *though too late.* 6. Columbus *ſolicits their Catholic Majeſties.* 7. *The many Difficulties he met with before his Propoſals were accepted.* 8. *He undertakes his Firſt Voyage in the* Autumn *of* 1492. 9. *His Crew become mutinous, and oblige him to promiſe to return, if, in Three Days, they diſcover no Land.* 10. *His Arrival in one of the Iſlands called* Lucayas. 11. *Sails from thence to* Cuba. 12. *Returns to* Spain; *his Reception there, and ſubſequent Voyages.* 13. *The Cauſes of his Troubles.* 14. *His Fourth Voyage, Return, Uſage, and Deceaſe,* May 20. 1506. 15. *Remarks on his Conduct, and the remarkable Story of* Columbus's *Egg.* 16. *His original Deſign miſtaken, or overlook'd, until revived and proſecuted by* Ferdinand Magellan.

1. *Chriſtopher Columbus*, or, as the *Spaniards* call him, *Colon*, was deſcended of an antient Family in the Territory of the State of *Genoa*. But as to the Time when, or the Place where he was born, they could not be exactly determined by his Son *Don Ferdinand*, who wrote his Life, and therefore it would be Time loſt for us to inquire

about them. We ſhall content ourſelves therefore with ſetting down only Certainties; among which we may reckon the Facts following; That he had an early Paſſion for the Sea, ſtudied Navigation with the utmoſt Induſtry, and began both to trade, and make Charts for Sea Service, when he was very young. The Fame of the *Portugueſe*, for their Skill in Maritime Affairs, brought him to thoſe Parts; where he married, ſettled, and traded to the Coaſts of *Guiney*. He had, throughout his Life, the Character of a Man ſober, temperate, grave, and devout, of competent Learning in other reſpects, and very ſtudious in the Mathematics [a].

2. His ſtrict Application to theſe Sciences, joined very probably to the many Relations he had heard from Sea-faring People, tempted him to think of making Diſcoveries. The *Spaniards* indeed, who, notwithſtanding the great Services he did them, envied his Reputation, becauſe he was not their Countryman, have circulated abundance of Stories with a View to make the World believe, that he only profited by the Misfortunes of other Men; and, as this ſeems to be a Point that has never been throughly underſtood, I flatter myſelf, that the Reader will not think either his Pains or mine ill beſtowed in clearing it up. They tell us, that one *Martin Vincent*, a Mariner, who uſed the *Azores* or *Terceras*, had told him, that he was once carried Four hundred and Fifty Leagues to the Weſt of Cape *St. Vincent*, and there took up a Piece of Wood or Timber, wrought by Man's Hand, and that, as far as he could judge, without Iron, which he imagined had come from ſome Weſtern Iſland. *Pedro Correa*, who had married his Wife's Siſter, had likewiſe informed him, that at *Puerto Santo* he had ſeen the like Piece driven thither by the Weſtern Winds, wrought in the ſame Faſhion; and, beſides, he had ſeen great Canes, which, in each Knot, might contain above Two Gallons of Water, which he alſo ſent to him to look upon; which being unlikely to grow in the known Parts of the Weſt, and having read of ſuch growing in *India*, he ſuppoſed, that ſome long and violent Weſtern Winds had brought them thither from thence. The Inhabitants alſo of the *Azores* had told him, that ſtrong Weſt and Northweſt Winds had brought by Sea, upon *Gracioſa* and *Fayal*, certain Pine-trees; Two dead Men alſo on the Coaſt of *Flores*, with larger Faces than are uſual in thoſe Parts, and quite a different Look; and Two Canoes another time, driven alſo by the Wind. *Antonio Lema*, of *Madeira*, had related, that being carried in his Caravel far Weſtward, he believed he ſaw Three Iſlands: And another of that Iſland had ſued to the King of *Portugal*, in the Year 1484. for Licence to diſcover certain Lands, which he ſwore he had ſeen every Year over-againſt the *Azores*. *Diego Velazquez* had Forty Years before been carried far into the Weſt, and there obſerved the Seas and Winds ſuch as if the Land was not far of, as he affirmed to *Columbus*: And another Mariner told him of Land he had ſeen far Weſt from *Ireland*, which is ſuppoſed to be *Newfoundland*. *Pedro de Velaſco* had obſerved the like in his going for *Ireland*; and *Vincent Diaz*, a *Portugal* Pilot, had fanſied, in his Return from *Guiney*, he ſaw an Iſland in the Height of *Madeira*, for which alſo Search was afterwards made, but no Diſcovery followed. The Fact, however, upon which the greateſt Streſs is laid, remains yet untold, and is this; That in the Year 1484. one *Alonſo Sanchez*, of *Huelua*, in the County of *Niebla*, died in the Houſe of *Chriſtopher Columbus*, in the Iſland of *Tercera*, and left him his Papers, from whence he acquired thoſe Lights that directed him in his great Undertakings. This *Alonſo Sanchez* had for many Years traded from *Spain* to the *Canaries*, and from thence to *Madeira*; in his laſt Voyage from whence he was carried out to Sea, and, after Nine-and-twenty Days Sailing, arrived at a certain Iſland, ſuppoſed to be *Hiſpaniola*, where he landed, and took an Obſervation. He kept an exact Journal of all the Occurrences; and, after a tedious Voyage back, in which he loſt Twelve out of Seventeen of his Men, he came to *Tercera*, where he and the other Five ſoon after died of mere Fatigue [b].

3. But that all this, or at leaſt the far greateſt Part of it, and particularly the laſt-mentioned Tale, is pure Invention, appears from hence; that *Columbus* had perfected his Scheme, and actually offered it to his Countrymen the *Genoeſe*, in 1484. The Reaſons he went upon were theſe: That the Figure of the Earth being ſpherical, it was highly probable, that the Continent on one Side was balanced by an equal Quantity of Earth on the other. That the *Portugueſe* having already diſcovered, firſt Iſlands, and then a vaſt Tract of Country, by ſailing Eaſt, it was highly likely, or rather in a manner certain, that, by ſailing Weſt, it was equally poſſible to reach other Iſlands, and the other Side of that Continent; that this would be a new Diſcovery, of equal Value with that which then made ſo great a Noiſe; and that there was the greater Certainty of it, ſince it had been obſerved in the *Cape de Verde* Iſlands, that the Winds blew for a certain Seaſon from the Weſt, which muſt be owing to a great Tract of Land on that Side. It is evident enough from theſe Reaſons, that his Project was to ſail round the World, and ſo the very beſt Writer on this Subject [c] lays it down; which is the Reaſon that we place him among the Circum-navigators: For though he did not himſelf ſurround the Globe, yet he was, for aught we know, the firſt who thought it practicable, who attempted it, and who pointed out the Way by which it was afterwards effected, as will be ſhewn in its proper Place.

4. The State of *Genoa* rejected his Propoſal, as being beyond their Power, and likely to draw upon them the Reſentment of ſeveral Princes. He next propoſed his Scheme to the King of *Portugal*, *John* the Second, in whoſe Dominions he had reſided for ſome Years: Commiſſioners were appointed to treat with him, who, when, by provoking with Objections, they had drawn out of him all they could, adviſed the King to fit out a Veſſel, and to ſend it to try if the thing was practicable; whereby they meant to rob *Columbus* both of the Honour and Advantage reſulting from the Diſcovery. The Deſign miſcarried, through the want of Courage and Conduct in Perſons employed; but *Columbus*, finding out the Trick, was exceedingly incenſed, ſo that though the King of *Portugal* would have treated with him a ſecond time, being himſelf a better Judge of ſuch Projects than any other Prince of his Age, yet he declined it, and reſolved to apply elſewhere [d].

5. This was in 1485. In the ſame Year, having fully inſtructed his Brother *Bartholomew* in his intended Project, he ſent him into *England*, with Directions to apply himſelf to *Henry* VII. who was juſtly reputed one of the wiſeſt Monarchs in *Chriſtendom*, in hopes that he would embrace a Propoſal manifeſtly tending to his Profit; and in the mean time he prepared himſelf to go into *Spain*, on the ſame Account. *Bartholomew Columbus* was ſo unfortunate as to fall into the Hands of Pirates, who ſtripped him of all he had. On his coming into *England* in this poor Condition, he fell ill of a Fever; and, when he recovered from that, he ſpent ſome time in making Maps, and ſelling them, before he put himſelf into ſuch an Equipage as enabled him to addreſs himſelf to the King. This however he did in 1488. was well received, and actually entered into Agreement with that Prince, in the Name, and on the Behalf, of his Brother, ſeveral Years before he cloſed with their Catholic Majeſties, as his Son tells us in his Life [e]. By virtue of this Agreement, it ſhould ſeem that our Title to the new World is prior to that of *Spain*. This

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[a] *Herrera, Oviedo, Gomera, I di Barros, P. Martyr.* ——— [b] *The Royal Commentaries of Peru. Purchas*'s Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1544. ——— [c] The Author here meant is *Peter Martyr*, who wrote at the very Time, and in a manner from *Columbus*'s own Mouth. In his cxxxiii Epiſtle, addreſſing himſelf to Two of *Columbus*'s Patrons, he uſes theſe Words: "Attollite mentem, ſapientiſſimi duo ſeneſcentes; audite novum "inventum. Meminiſtis Colonum Ligurum inſtitiſſe in caſtris apud Reges, de percurrendo per occiduos Antipodes, novo Terrarum Hemiſphærio "meminiſſe oportet. Qua de re vobiſcum aliquando actum eſt. Nec ſine veſtro, ut arbitror, conſilio rem hic aggreſſus eſt." This demonſtrates the true Intention of this great Man, and evidently ſhews, that he did not derive his Notions from the hearſay Evidence of ſuch Seamen as he converſed with, but from the Conſideration of the Globe itſelf, and the Harmony obſerved throughout in what was perfectly known; from whence he rightly inferred, that the want of ſuch Harmony in any Point of View, was an Argument, that the Whole was not intirely diſcovered; and that whatever was requiſite to eſtabliſh that Harmony, was moſt likely to be the Part concealed. ——— [d] There is another Account given of this Matter, *viz.* that Care was taken the Deſign ſhould miſcarry, in order to diſcredit *Columbus*, becauſe it was not the Intereſt of the *Portugueſe* that this Method of Diſcovery by the Weſt ſhould be purſued. ——— [e] *Hackluit.*

is arguing in their own way; and, if they plead the actual Diſcovery of the Iſlands in Bar to us, I ſhall hereafter ſhew, that we may plead the ſame thing with reſpect to the Continent againſt them. But the Buſineſs is now to proſecute, in few Words, the Story of *Columbus*.

6. On his going into *Spain*, he firſt conferred with one of the ableſt Pilots in that Country, whoſe Name was *Martin Alonſo Pinçon*, who readily apprehended the Force of his Arguments, and agreed to go with him, in caſe he could bring his Deſign to bear. He next addreſſed himſelf to a *Franciſcan* Friar, *Juan Perez de Marcheno*, famous for his Skill in Coſmography, whom he likewiſe brought over to his Opinion, and to whoſe indefatigable Labours he was much indebted for all the Succeſs he met with in the Proſecution of his Deſign. By this learned Monk he was recommended to the Two greateſt Noblemen in *Spain*, *Don Henriquez de Guſman* Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and *Don Lewis de Cerda* Duke of *Medina Celi*, who might, if ſatisfied with his Propoſals, have employed him on their own Accounts. But they were ſo diffident of him as an *Italian* Projector, and one who had already treated with ſeveral Potentates on this Subject, that they would not conſent to his Deſires, or undertake the Expedition at their own Expence. Yet the Gravity of his Behaviour, the Strength of his Arguments, and the Uprightneſs of his private Life, induced them to ſhew him great Reſpect, and even to countenance his Application to their Catholic Majeſties, *Don Ferdinand*, and *Dona Iſabella*, who were then engaged in driving the *Moors* out of *Spain*, and who, of all Princes, were moſt likely to encourage ſo noble and generous an Undertaking. His old Friend Frier *Juan Perez de Marchena* aſſiſted him alſo in this Application, and furniſhed him with Letters of Recommendation to the Queen's Confeſſor, *Frier Ferdinand* of *Talavera*, a Man of great Learning and Probity, and one who had the Ear of their Majeſties to a great Degree; by whom he was very kindly received, and promiſed all the Aſſiſtance he could expect for the furthering him in his Applications; in which the Confeſſor kept his Word religiouſly, and never left ſoliciting on his Behalf, till he brought the Matter to bear.

7. It was in the Year 1486. that he began his Negotiations with their Catholic Majeſties; which he did by preſenting to them a Petition, ſetting forth the Nature of his Deſign, the Advantages that would flow from it, and the Reward he expected, in caſe he ſucceeded. The Singularity of the Project, joined to the plain Appearance of the Man, whoſe Circumſtances were diſtreſſed, did not contribute to his meeting at firſt with ſo much Favour as he expected. However *Columbus* perſiſted in his Applications, and even procured ſome, who were near the Perſon of the King, to preſent him with a Diſcourſe of his, in which his Project was more largely explained; which yet wrought no great Effect. There were however ſome grave and thinking People, who had a better Opinion of *Columbus*'s Deſign; and amongſt theſe was *Don Alphonſo di Quintaniglia* Auditor of the Revenue, who very kindly ſupplied his Neceſſities, entertained him conſtantly at his Table, and encouraged him ſtill to remain about the Court, though he grew viſibly uneaſy at the Uſage he received at being ſcornfully treated as a Foreigner, uſed with Contempt on the ſcore of his Poverty, and often upbraided with the Vanity of his Projects; which bore ſometimes ſo hard upon him, that he twice reſolved to quit a Court where he had been ſo ungratefully treated, intending, the firſt time, to have gone over to *England*, to ſee what Succeſs his Brother *Bartholomew* had met with, and propoſing, at laſt, to offer his Diſcovery to the Crown of *France*. But his Friend the Auditor, with great Difficulty, reſtrained him; and, having procured him Admiſſion to *Don Pedro di Gonzales di Mendoza* Cardinal Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who reliſhed his Diſcourſes, his Affairs began to have a better Aſpect: And Queen *Iſabella* intereſted herſelf warmly on his Behalf. Two Obſtacles only remained to be overcome: The firſt was, the finding Money for defraying the Expences of this Expedition; which, though it amounted to no great Sum, yet were their Catholic Majeſties Treaſures ſo much exhauſted, that ſome Writers ſay, the Queen offered to pawn her Jewels to make up the Money. However this was ſoon removed; for *Don Lewis di St. Angelo*, an Officer in the Revenue, advanced the beſt Part of it. The other Obſtacle was *Columbus*'s Demands, which were thought very high, he inſiſting to be Viceroy and Admiral of the Countries and Seas he ſhould diſcover, and to have the Tenth of the clear Profits that ſhould redound to their Majeſties from his Labours; which at laſt he obtained, and the Articles of Agreement were ſigned at the little Town of *Santa Fe*, in the Kingdom of *Grenada*, on the 17th of *April* 1492 [f].

8. Theſe Preliminaries being thus adjuſted, the neceſſary Preparations were made for his Voyage. In order to this, he had Three Veſſels aſſigned him, the Admiral, called, before he had her, the *Gallega*, but by him named *Santa Maria*, a Carrac, or Ship with a Deck. The Second was called the *Pinta*, commanded by Captain *Martin Alonſo Pinçon*, his Brother *Franciſco Martinez Pinçon* being Maſter. The Third was named *Ninna*, of which *Viſconti Yannez Pinçon* was Captain and Maſter, who furniſhed one half of *Columbus*'s Share of the Expence, which, by the Agreement, was to be a Fourth of the Whole. Theſe Two were Caravels or Carvels, that is, Veſſels without Decks; and all Three Ships carried about 120 Men: *Herrera* indeed ſays but Ninety, in which he not only diſagrees with other Hiſtorians, who wrote from good Memoirs, but alſo from *Peter Martyr*, who wrote at the very Time the thing happened, and from his own Knowledge. All Things being ready by the latter End of *July*, *Columbus* repaired in Perſon to *Palos*, where he embarked on board the Admiral of his little Fleet, and, having a fair Wind, put to Sea on *Friday* the 3d of *Auguſt* 1492. The next Day the Rudder of the *Pinta* proved looſe, which they faſtened as well as they could with Cords, which however did not preſerve it long; and this determined them to put into Port. Some of the Seamen would have interpreted this as an ill Omen; but *Columbus* told them, No Omen could be evil, where People went upon a good Deſign. He likewiſe took a great deal of Pains to inſtruct them in the Principles of Navigation, and to give them right Notions of the Undertaking in which they were embarked, in order to keep up their Spirits.

9. On the 11th they had Sight of the *Canaries*, where they ſtay'd till *September* the 6th, refreſhing themſelves at the Iſle *Gomera*; but went off then for fear of the *Portugueſe*, who had manned out Three Caravels to take them. *September* the 7th they loſt Sight of Land, and with it their Courage too, a great many of them taking their Leaves of this, and expecting to be ſoon in another World. *Columbus* comforted theſe Cowards as well as he could; and, to do it effectually, was obliged to cheat them in his Reckoning, making them believe they were not ſo far from Home, as indeed they were. On the 14th they took notice of the Variation of the Compaſs, which was the firſt time that Phænomenon had fallen under Obſervation. On *Sunday* the 16th they ſaw Graſs and Herbs floating on the Water, and ſome ſmall Animals (Graſshoppers) alive among them; which made ſome of them believe they ſhould ſee dry Land once more, and that quickly. The 19th and 20th theſe Preſages continued; beſides which, they ſaw ſome Sea Fowl; all which, put together, conſiderably raiſed their Expectations. All this while the Wind favoured their Voyage; but on *September* the 22d it came croſs at S. W. And now the *Spaniards* began heartily to repent them of their raſh Attempt, in venturing ſo far from Home; and therefore expecting to become a Banquet to the Fiſhes in a very little time, they ſtorm'd at their Admiral, upbraiding him that he had brought them thither, not ſparing the very King and Queen themſelves in their Paſſion, as Perſons too eaſy and credulous; charging them with Indiſcretion in liſtening to ſuch wild Propoſals, and ſacrificing their Subjects, at the Motion of a *Genoeſe*, upon ſuch trivial Occaſions. As for *Columbus*, they told him plainly, That if he would not tack, and make homewards again, he ſhould go overboard without more to do; for they were reſolved to ſhift for themſelves, and ſave their own Lives, if they could. The Admiral returned them good Words for bad, and anſwered theſe inſolent Threatenings of the Rabble

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[f] Theſe Circumſtances are collected from the Hiſtorians before-mentioned, but eſpecially *Herrera*, and *the Life of* Columbus.

with fair Promiſes of great Rewards, upon Condition of a little more Patience. And though he made ſhift to cheat them into a little good Humour, by crying out Land, on the 25th of *September*, yet that Calm was quickly ſucceeded by a more outrageous Storm than before: The Reſult of which was, that after ſome farther Trials *Columbus* was forced to promiſe to return, if they diſcovered no Land in Three Days time, this being the utmoſt Space that the mutinous Sailors would allow him.

10. The firſt of thoſe Days he found, by the Sun-ſetting, that Land was near; upon which they contracted their Sails; and the very ſame Night they ſaw Light. About Two Hours after Midnight, *Rodrigo di Triana*, one of the Company, diſcovered Land: This was on *October* the 11th, *A. D.* 1492. which they found to be an Iſland of Fifteen Leagues Compaſs, and is one of the *Lucayas*, called by the Inhabitants *Gavebani*, or rather *Guanahani*; but by them *San Salvador*, being about 950 Leagues from the *Canaries*. Here they went aſhore, and, having ſung *Te Deum*, they took ſolemn Poſſeſſion of the Place, in the Name of their Catholic Majeſties, King *Ferdinand*, and Queen *Iſabella*. The Natives thought them to be very ſtrange People, and much more wondered at their Ships, which they believed to be great Animals. The *Spaniards* gave them Caps, Beads, and other Toys, which they paid themſelves for in more valuable Things. Theſe People were naked, of a middle Size, well-proportioned Bodies; their natural Complexion of an Olive, but painted with other Colours, according to their Fancies. They knew not the Uſe of Iron, nor the Make of Weapons, but innocently laid their Hands on the Edges of the *Spaniards* Swords. Their Iſle abounded with Parrots, beſides which they ſcarce ſaw any other Animals; they trucked for Cotton-yarn, and told the *Spaniards*, that the Gold they wore in Rings at their Noſtrils, came from the South, where they would find a Prince whoſe Subjects were very rich therein.

11. On the 15th of *October* they went to another Iſland, Seven Leagues from thence, which they called *Sta. Maria de la Conception*. The 17th they went to *Ferdinanda*, the Women of which Place had only ſhort Cotton Coats, from the Navel to the Mid-thigh, to cover their Nakedneſs. After this they came to another Iſle, which they called *Iſabella*; of which, as of all others, they took ſolemn Poſſeſſion; and, in all theſe Places, carried it juſtly and honeſtly towards the Natives. They proceeded hence to *Cuba*, which, the *Indians* told them, afforded Gold and Pearl, beſides other rich Commodities. Two *Spaniards*, and as many *Indians*, were here ſent to ſearch the Country; and, lighting on an *Indian* Town of about Fifty Houſes, they were well treated there, the *Spaniards* being honoured with Incenſe as they went along, as if they had been Deities; which the ſimple *Indians* indeed did almoſt believe, tho' Experience ſoon made them wiſer. Here they ſaw Cotton grow of itſelf, with ſeveral Sorts of ſtrange Birds and Trees: But the Commodity the *Spaniards* moſt minded, was, the Gold which they ſaw the *Indians* wear in their Noſes, about which they were curious to aſk Queſtions: To which the *Indians* honeſtly anſwered, *Cubanacan*; that is, they had it out of the Midſt of *Cuba*; the *Spaniards* thinking, (becauſe of that Term *can*) that they had talked of the Great Chan of *Cathay*. *Alonſo Pinçon* left *Columbus* here, who quickly after went himſelf in queſt of *Hiſpaniola*, which the Natives at that time called *Hayti*. They took here a Woman, a Native of the Iſland; and, treating her well, ſhe became a ſerviceable Agent on their Behalf, with the reſt of the Natives: So that, at laſt, there was a very good Correſpondence eſtabliſhed between the *Indians* and *Spaniards* there, the King of the Place inviting *Columbus* to come aſhore. A Fort was built upon this Iſland, to maintain the *Spaniſh* Pretenſions and Authority, in which Thirty-eight Soldiers were left: And, after this Buſineſs done, *Columbus* made Proviſions for a Voyage homeward, charging the *Spaniards* to carry it obligingly to the *Indians* and their King.

12. He ſailed on *Wedneſday* the 17th of *January*; and tho' he met with great Storms in his Paſſage, yet he arrived on the 15th of *February* 1493. at the Iſland of *St. Mary*, one of the *Azores*, and ſoon after returned to *Spain*, where he was very kindly received by the King and Queen, who cauſed him to ſit in their Preſence, the higheſt Honour a Subject could receive in *Spain*. It is to be obſerved, that, on his Return from this firſt Voyage, *Columbus* himſelf was of Opinion, that the Countries he had diſcovered, were Iſlands on the other Side of the Continent to which the *Portugueſe* traded; and this it was that determined him to beſtow on theſe Iſlands the Name of the *Weſt Indies*. To preſerve the Memory of this Diſcovery in caſe he had been ſhipwrecked, he, in his Paſſage Home, wrote an exact Account of every thing, wrapt this Memorial in a Cerecloth, and put it into a Barrel, which he threw into the Sea. From the ſame Motive, after he came back to *Spain*, he drew a very exact Chart of his Diſcoveries, and left it with his Sons. The Succeſs of this firſt Voyage engaged their Catholic Majeſties to ſend him back in the Autumn of the ſame Year, with a Squadron of Eighteen Sail, very well equipped, with which he made farther Diſcoveries, which ſerved to confirm him in his former Opinion, that he had really found a new Paſſage to the *Indies*. But in his third Voyage he gained ſome Knowledge of the Continent, and, hearing that there was a Sea on the other Side, he readily owned his Miſtake, declaring, at the ſame time, it was his Opinion, that there was a Paſſage from theſe North Seas into thoſe on the South, and from thence it might be very poſſible to ſail to the *Eaſt Indies*. This was certainly the higheſt Proof that could be given of his Sagacity and Penetration, and fully juſtifies our placing him at the Head of the Circum-navigators; ſince it is evident from thence, that ſuch a Paſſage round the Globe was the Thing he principally ſought and intended. With good Reaſon, therefore, did the ingenious Mr. *Boyle* obſerve, that we are little leſs indebted to *Columbus* for the Diſcoveries made after his Death, than for thoſe made by him while living, ſince they all followed from the Principles by him laid down, and were the Improvements of that Doctrine, which firſt, with great Prudence, he deviſed, and afterwards executed with wonderful Succeſs [a]. We may likewiſe hint, that ſome of thoſe Diſcoveries in the Art of Navigation, which are thought of much later Date, were not unknown to him, particularly the conſtant Motion of the Sea from Eaſt to Weſt, of which he took notice in his firſt Voyage, and explained from thence the Difference between the Time ſpent in going out, and in returning Home.

13. There never was, perhaps, a Man better qualified for the great Deſigns he undertook, than *Chriſtopher Columbus*; but the Gravity of his Behaviour, and the ſevere Diſcipline he maintained while it was in his Power, raiſed him Enemies amongſt a mutinous, licentious Crew; and theſe Diſputes occaſioned Appeals from both Parties to *Spain*; whereupon one *Francis Bobadilla* was ſent over to inquire into theſe Matters, and to do Juſtice, according to the Light in which Things ſhould appear to him. This Man, to gratify a Biſhop, who had taken ſome Pique to *Columbus*, cauſed the Admiral to be ſeized, together with his Brethren, put them in Irons, and ſent them in that Condition into *Spain*.

14. They arrived at *Cadiz* the 25th of *November* 1500. and as ſoon as their Catholic Majeſties were informed of the Treatment the Admiral had met with, they ordered him to be ſet at Liberty, expreſſing great Concern for his Sufferings, eſpecially the Queen, who was his very ſincere Friend; but it was a good while before he could procure a new Governor to be ſent to *Hiſpaniola*, which at laſt, however, he did. When he had carried this Point, he ſolicited Leave to make a fourth Voyage for Diſcoveries, which, with much ado, he obtained. It was in this his laſt going into the *Weſt Indies*, that he firſt ſaw the Continent, lying ſome time at Anchor at the *Baſtimentos*. This was in 1502. Some farther Diſcoveries he made on the ſame Coaſt; but before he could thoroughly inform himſelf of the State of the Country, he was obliged to alter his Courſe, and ſteer for *Hiſpaniola*. Some time he remained there, but at length, new Diſputes and Diſorders

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[a] This occurs in a Treatiſe of his, intituled, *Some Conſiderations touching experimental Eſſays in general*, wherein he has this remarkable Paſſage; "It is obvious how much *Europe* is beholden to *Columbus* for the Detection of many Countries in *America*, which were not diſcovered "by him, nor perhaps till long after his Death, becauſe he firſt informed us knowingly, that there were unknown Regions beyond that vaſt "Ocean, which ſevers the old World from the new."

ariſing, he reſolved to return back into *Spain*, in order to give their Majeſties the beſt Account he could of thoſe Parts, that this Diſcovery might be made as advantageous to them as poſſible. It was towards the latter End of the Year 1504. that he came, for the laſt time, into *Spain*, where the firſt News he met with, was that of the Death of Queen *Iſabella*, which ſtruck him to the Heart, inſomuch that his Health apparently declined thenceforward: He did not, however, fail to apply himſelf to the Court, where he met with very indifferent Uſage; for though he was treated with great Reſpect, and had many fair Words given him, yet the Senſe he had of the King's Coldneſs, and of the Ingratitude of the *Spaniſh* Courtiers, made ſuch an Impreſſion upon him, as, after a few Months Illneſs, broke his Heart; this happened on the 20th of *May* 1506. at *Valladolid*. As ſoon as the Court was informed of his Death, Orders were given for his being buried with the utmoſt Pomp and Splendor. But the Admiral himſelf had given ſome Directions concerning his Interrment, which ſerved to perpetuate the Memory of his ill Treatment; for he ordered the Irons which he had worn, to be put into his Coffin with him.

15. After his Death, that Spirit of Envy in a great meaſure ceaſed, which had purſued him while living, and which he had reſiſted with a generous Reſolution. Of this there cannot be a nobler Inſtance, than in the famous Story of the Egg. After it was once perceived at Court, that the King was cold towards him, many of the Nobility affected to leſſen his Merit, by inſinuating that he was rather fortunate than wiſe, and that his Succeſs was more owing to good Stars, than to good Counſels; to which Notions the *Pinçons* contributed not a little, by giving out, that it was through their Skill and Perſeverance that the Diſcovery was made. *Columbus* was one Day given to underſtand as much, when invited to a public Dinner at Court; and, after having patiently endured this ſort of Raillery for a long time without a Word of Reply, he at laſt ordered an Egg to be brought him; and, ſhewing it to the Company, aſked, If there was any body who would undertake to ſet it upright upon its leſſer End? To which they unanimouſly anſwered, That it was impoſſible; and that he could not do it himſelf: Upon this he gravely cracked the Shell, and, by ſtriking it gently on the Table, enlarged the ſharp End of the Egg, till it ſtood upright: They fell a laughing at this, crying out, that any body might have done as much: "I do not doubt it, replied he, and yet none of you thought of it; and thus it was that I diſcovered the *Indies*. I firſt conceived the Deſign of ſteering that Courſe, and now every miſerable Pilot can find his Way thither as well as I. There are many Things that appear eaſy when once performed, which before were thought impracticable. You ought to reflect on the Scoffs I ſuſtained on the Score of my Deſign, before I put it in Execution. It was then a Chimera, a Dream, a Deluſion; and now it is what any body might have thought of, and put in Execution." The King, when he was told this Story, was extremely pleaſed, commended *Columbus* highly, and made no Difficulty of declaring, that he admired the Grandeur of that Spirit, which, at the ſame time, he endeavoured to bring down.

16. This ſingular Circumſtance of the Egg brings us naturally to the Cloſe of this Section, by inclining us to obſerve, that what happened to his Diſcoveries in his Lifetime, fell out with reſpect to the Improvement of them after his Deceaſe: For whereas *Columbus* always purſued a ſettled Plan, and, in every one of his Four Voyages, proſecuted his original Deſign of finding a Paſſage to the *Indies* by the Weſt, the Particulars of which are conſtantly remarked by *Peter Martyr*, all thoſe who ſucceeded him, and were employed by their Catholic Majeſties to perfect his Diſcoveries, were led by no other Guide than their Avarice, and had no other Inſtructions that what they received from the Reports of the *Indians*, who, to be rid of them, were continually ſounding in their Ears the Riches of diſtant Countries; at laſt, however, a Gentleman of *Portugal*, who had ſtudied as well as practiſed Navigation, reſolved to proſecute what *Columbus* had begun, to reſume his great Deſign of ſurrounding the Globe; and was ſo happy as to effect this at his firſt Voyage, though he did not live to reap the Reward of his Diſcovery.

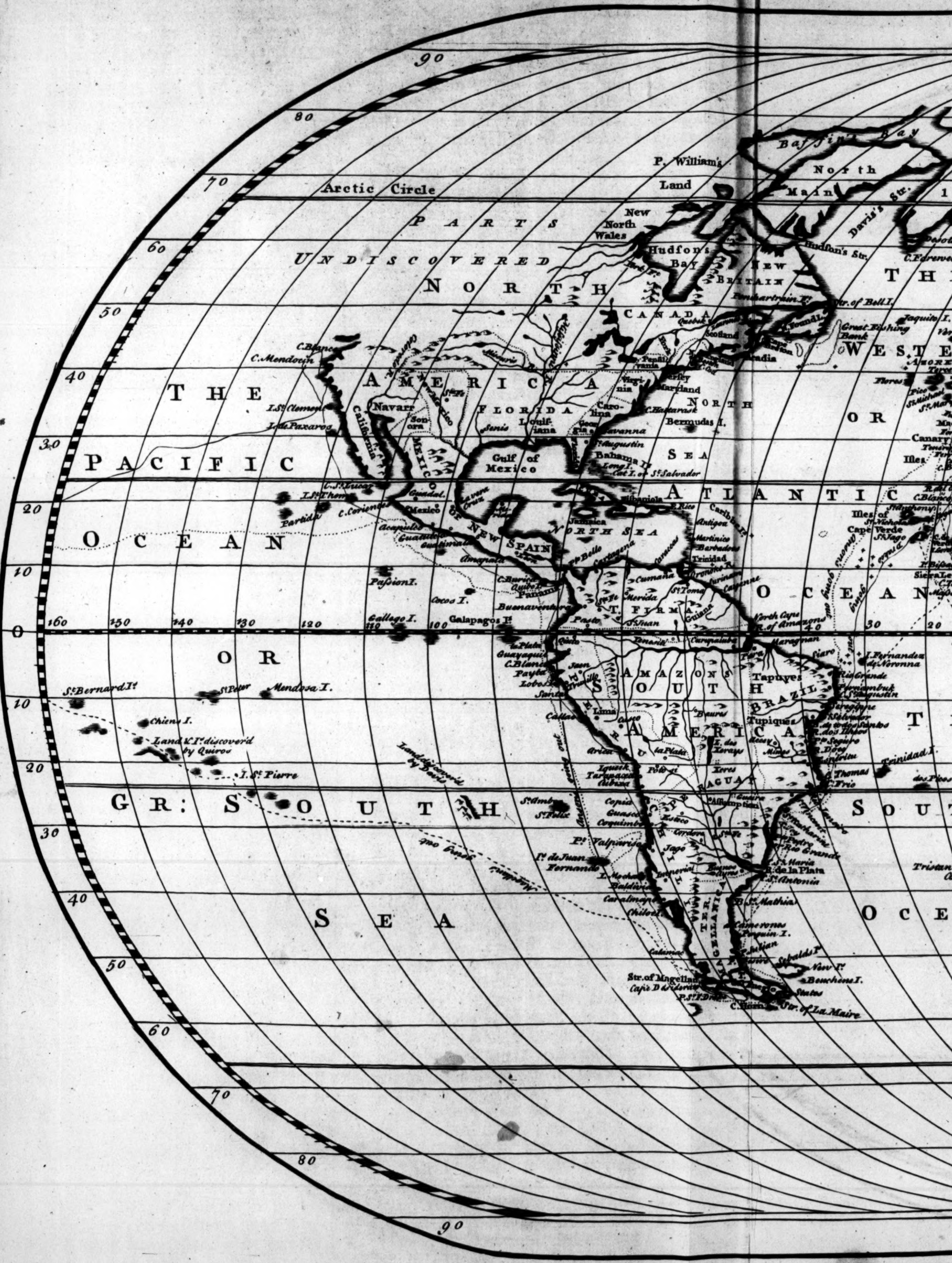
SECTION III.

The Voyage of FERDINAND MAGLIANES, *or* MAGELLAN, *from the* South Seas *to the* Eaſt Indies.

1. *The Country and Character of* Ferdinand Maglianes, *or* Magellan. 2. *His Reaſons for quitting the King of* Portugal's *Service.* 3. *His Propoſals accepted by the Emperor* Charles V. *Manner of putting them in Execution.* 4. *Arrives on the Coaſt of* Braſil, *and is compelled to winter in* Patagonia. 5. *An Account of the* Patagons, *their Manners*, &c. 6. *Farther Account of them, and the manner in which Two of them were made Priſoners.* 7. *Called by the Admiral* Patagons, *which Name they retain.* 8. Magellan *ſails from Port* St. Julian, *and diſcovers the Streights that bear his Name.* 9. *Deſcription of the* Ladrones, *now called the* Marian Iſlands, *and their Inhabitants.* 10. *Account of the Iſland of* Zamal, *and its Inhabitants.* 11. *Diſcovery of the Iſland of* Buthuan, *its Products and People.* 12. *Various Iſlands deſcribed.* 13. *They arrive at* Zubut, *and are kindly entertained.* 14. *Deſcription of the Iſland of* Mathan. 15. *The unfortunate End of* Ferdinand Magellan. 16. *The Iſland of* Chippit *deſcribed.* 17. *An Account of the great Iſland of* Borneo. 18. *Their Arrival at* Cimbubon, *and that Iſland deſcribed.* 19. *Diſcover the Frauds of the* Portugueſe *in relation to this Navigation.* 20. *Deſcription of the Iſland of* Tiridore. 21. *Their Arrival and Admiſſion to trade at* Gilolo. 22. *Proſecute their Voyage to the* Cape of Good Hope. 23. *Arrive after many untoward Accidents at* Seville. 24. *The Reward of* Sebaſtian Cano, *who brought the Ship Home.* 25. *The Importance of the Diſcoveries made by this Expedition.* 26. *A Day loſt in the paſſing round the Globe, and the Reaſon of it.* 27. *Many great Seamen attempt paſſing the Streights of* Magellan *without Succeſs.*

1. FROM the Time of the Diſcoveries made under the Catholic King's Commiſſions, the *Portugueſe* were exceſſively jealous of their Poſſeſſions in the *Eaſt Indies*, till at length the Pope interpoſed, and by a Bull, which had a deciſive Authority among Princes of his own Communion, decreed all Countries diſcovered in the Eaſt to *Portugal*, and all ſuch as were found in the Weſt to *Spain*: Yet this rather ſmothered than extinguiſhed the Flames of Contention, both Princes continuing to liſten willingly to any ſuch Propoſition, as tended to aggrandize one at the other's Expence; and this begat another Miſchief, which was, that ſuch enterpriſing Men as were not gratified at one Court, immediately thought of applying themſelves to the other; which, whether a greater Inconvenience to theſe Princes, or Advantage to *Europe* in general, is not eaſy to be reſolved. Amongſt thoſe who took this Method of raiſing their Fortunes, the moſt remarkable was the famous *Ferdinand Maglianes*, commonly called *Magellan*. He was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Portugal*, and, having, from his Youth, addicted himſelf to maritime Affairs, he acquired a very great Skill, both in the Theory and Practice of Navigation. He ſeemed, indeed, to be formed by Nature

A NEW and ACCURATE MAP of the
Astronomical Observations: Describing the
FERDINAND MAGELLAN, Sr.


Arctic Circle
PARTS UNDISCOVERED
NORTH AMERICA
P. William's Land
New North Wales
Hudson's Bay
NEW BRITAIN
Baffin's Bay
North Main
Davis's Str.
Hudson's Str.
CANADA
Quebec
Acadia
New Scotland
Great Fishing Bank
C. Blanco
C. Mendocin
I. St. Clement
I. de Paxaros
California
Navarr
Sonora
Old MEXICO
FLORIDA
Louisiana
Carolina
Virginia
Maryland
Pensilvania
Bermudas I.
Augustin
Bahama Is.
Gulf of Mexico
NEW SPAIN
Jamaica
NORTH SEA
Antigua
Martinico
Barbadoes
Trinidad
Carthagena
Panama
Porto Bello
Cumana
TERRA FIRMA
Guiana
Surinam
Cayenne
North Cape
R. of Amazons
Maragnan
AMAZONS
SOUTH AMERICA
BRAZIL
Tapuyes
Tupiques
Quito
Guayaquil
Payta
Lima
Callao
Arica
Potosi
Assumption
PARAGUAY
CHILI
Coquimbo
Pt. Valparaiso
I. de Juan Fernando
Baldivia
Chiloe I.
R. de la Plata
C. St. Antonio
St. Mathias
TERRA MAGELLANICA
Port St. Julian
Str. of Magellan
Str. of La Maire
C. Horn
Staten
New I.
Beauchesne I.
Galapagos Is.
Cocos I.
Passion I.
Gallego I.
St. Ambrose
St. Felix
I. Fernandez de Noronha
Rio Grande
Pernambuk
C. St. Augustin
Trinidad I.
C. Frio
St. Bernard Is.
St. Peter
Mendosa I.
Chiens I.
Land & Is. discover'd by Quiros
I. St. Pierre
Land discover'd by Davis
THE PACIFIC OCEAN OR GR: SOUTH SEA
WESTERN OR ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Azores
Flores
Tercera
St. Michael
Madera
Canary Isles
Teneriff
C. Blanco
Isles of Cape Verde
St. Jago
Sierra Leone
90
80
70
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160
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120
110
100
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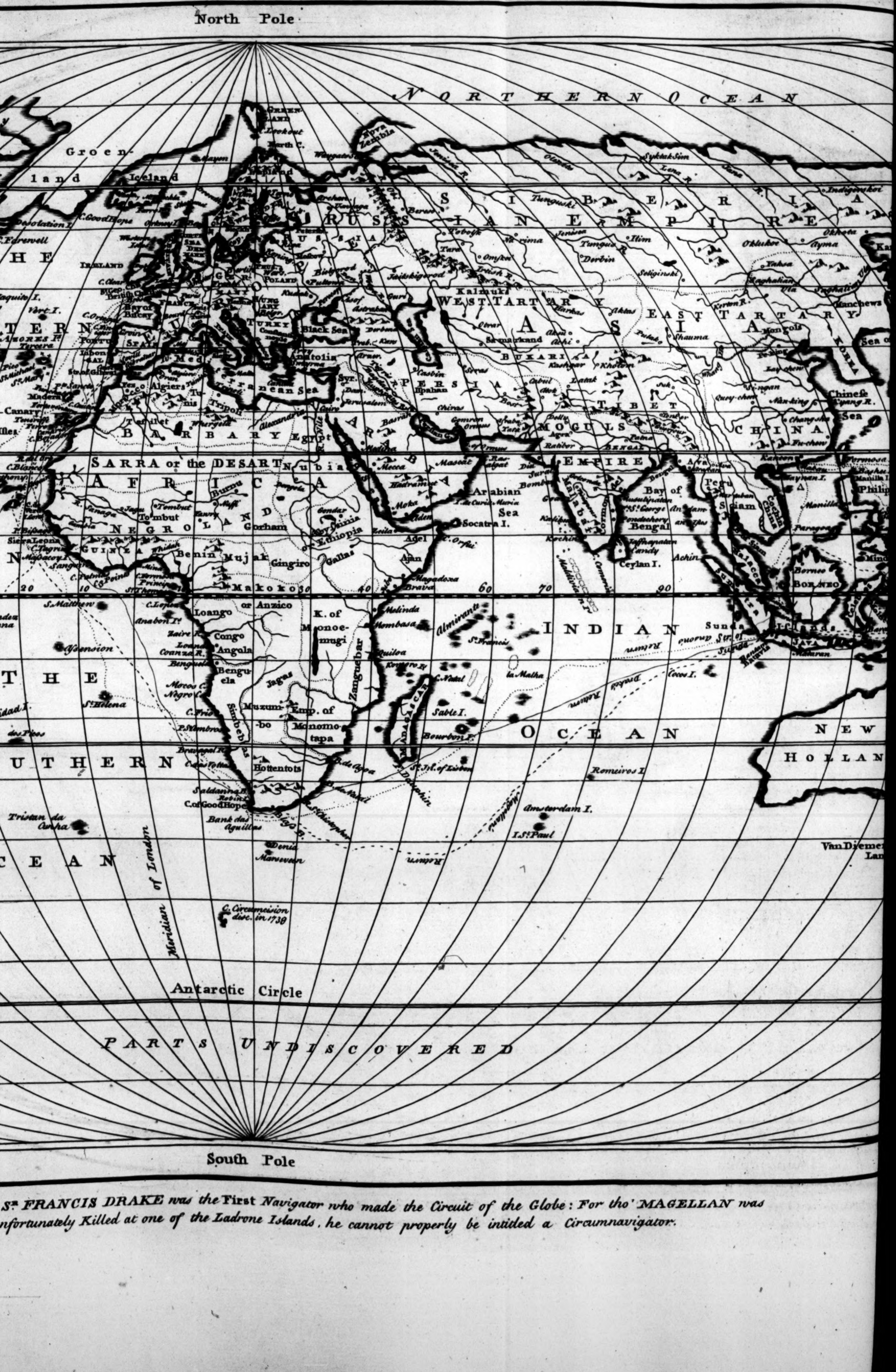
20

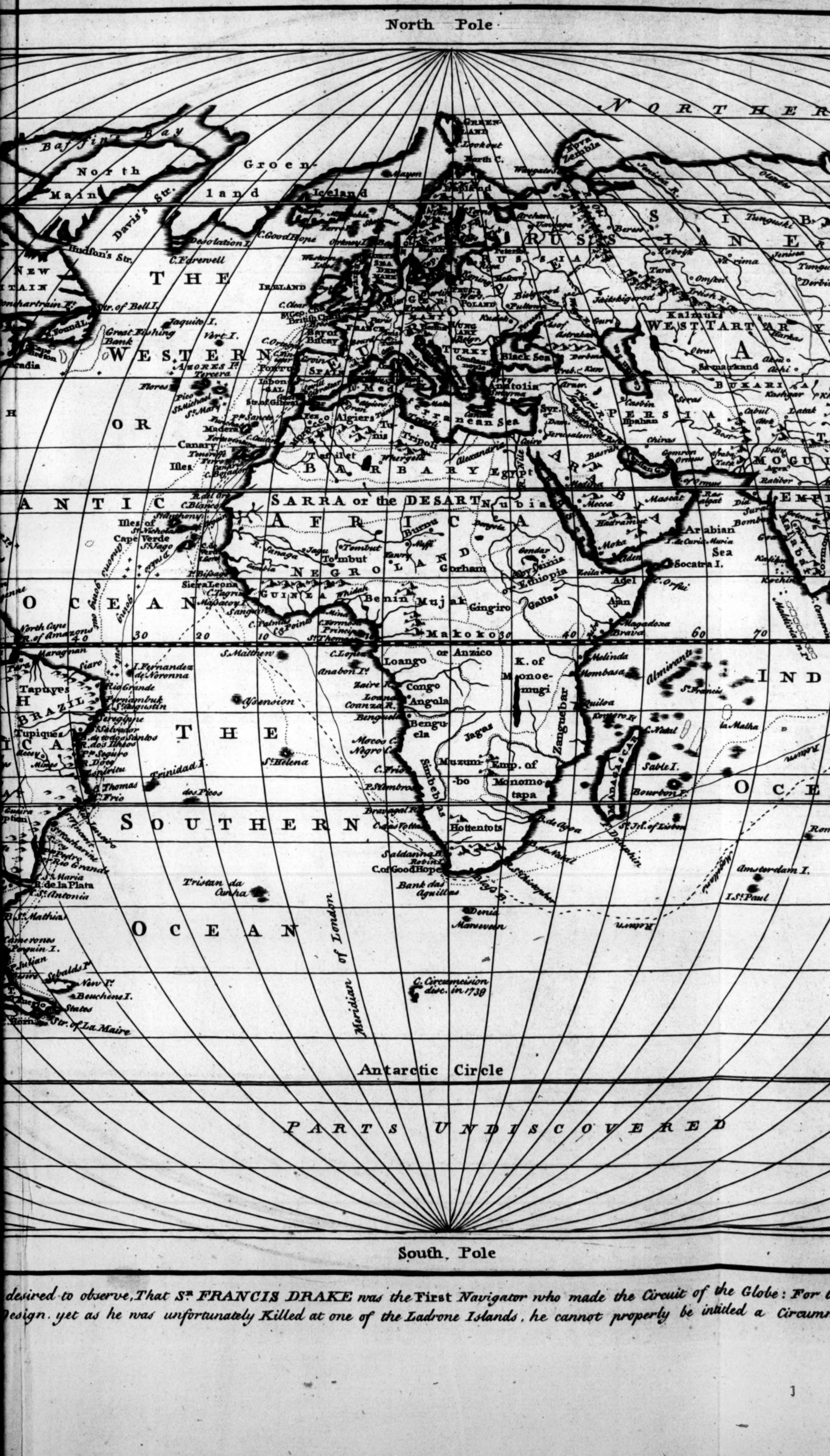
The Reader is desired to observe, That Sr.
First in that Design. yet as he was

f the WORLD. Drawn from the best Authorit
Course of each of the following CIRCUM-NAVIGA
FRANCIS DRAKE and COMMODORE ANSON. — By


North Pole
NORTHERN OCEAN
Groen land
Iceland
SIBERIA
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
WEST TARTARY
EAST TARTARY
ASIA
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
PERSIA
TIBET
CHINA
MOGULS EMPIRE
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Chinese Sea
BARBARY
SARRA or the DESART
Nubia
AFRICA
NEGROLAND
GUINEA
Ethiopia
Congo
Angola
Monomotapa
Hottentots
C. of Good Hope
Madagascar
INDIAN OCEAN
NEW HOLLAND
Van Diemen's Land
SOUTHERN OCEAN
St. Helena
Ascension
Tristan da Cunha
Amsterdam I.
I. St. Paul
C. Circumcision disc. in 1739
Meridian of London
Antarctic Circle
PARTS UNDISCOVERED
South Pole

Sr FRANCIS DRAKE was the First Navigator who made the Circuit of the Globe: For tho' MAGELLAN was nfortunately Killed at one of the Ladrone Islands, he cannot properly be intitled a Circumnavigator.

MAP of the WORLD. Drawn from th
scribing the Course of each of the following CIRC
LLAN, Sr FRANCIS DRAKE and COMMODO


North Pole
NORTHER
Baffin's Bay
North Main
Davis's Str.
Groen-land
Iceland
Hudson's Str.
C. Farewell
NEW BRITAIN
THE WESTERN OR ATLANTIC OCEAN
Azores Is.
Tercera
Flores
Pico
St. Michael
St. Mary
Madera
Canary Isles
Teneriff
C. Verde
Isles of Cape Verde
IRELAND
Great Fishing Bank
Jaquito I.
Vert. I.
C. Good Hope
Desolation I.
EUROPE
RUSSIA
POLAND
TURKY
Black Sea
Anatolia
Mediterranean Sea
Algiers
Tunis
Tripoli
Alexandria
Cairo
Egypt
BARBARY
SARRA or the DESART
Nubia
AFRICA
NEGROLAND
GUINEA
Benin
Tombut
Gorham
Abyssinia
Ethiopia
Gingiro
Makoko
Loango
Anzico
Congo
Angola
Benguela
Jagas
Monoemugi
Zanguebar
Monomotapa
Hottentots
C. of Good Hope
Bank das Aguillas
MADAGASCAR
Bourbon I.
Sable I.
Mombasa
Melinda
Magadoxa
Brava
Socatra I.
ARABIA
Arabian Sea
Mecca
Aden
PERSIA
Ispahan
Ormus
MOGUL
Agra
SIBERIAN
WEST TARTARY
Kalmuki
BUKARIA
Samarkand
Casbin
Nova Zembla
Greenland
North C.
Wargatz Str.
Maranham
BRAZIL
Tapuyes
Tupiques
C. St. Augustin
Pernambuk
St. Salvador
Rio Grande
R. de la Plata
St. Antonio
St. Mathias
Str. of La Maire
Staten Land
Sebald's I.
New I.
Beauchenes I.
I. Fernandez de Noronha
Ascension
St. Helena
Trinidad I.
dos Picos
St. Matthew
Anabon I.
St. Thomas
C. Lopez
Tristan da Cunha
C. Circumcision disc. in 1739
Denia
Marseveen
Amsterdam I.
I. St. Paul
Almirante
INDIAN OCEAN
Maldivia Is.
THE SOUTHERN OCEAN
Equinoctial Line
30
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Meridian of London
Antarctic Circle
PARTS UNDISCOVERED
South Pole

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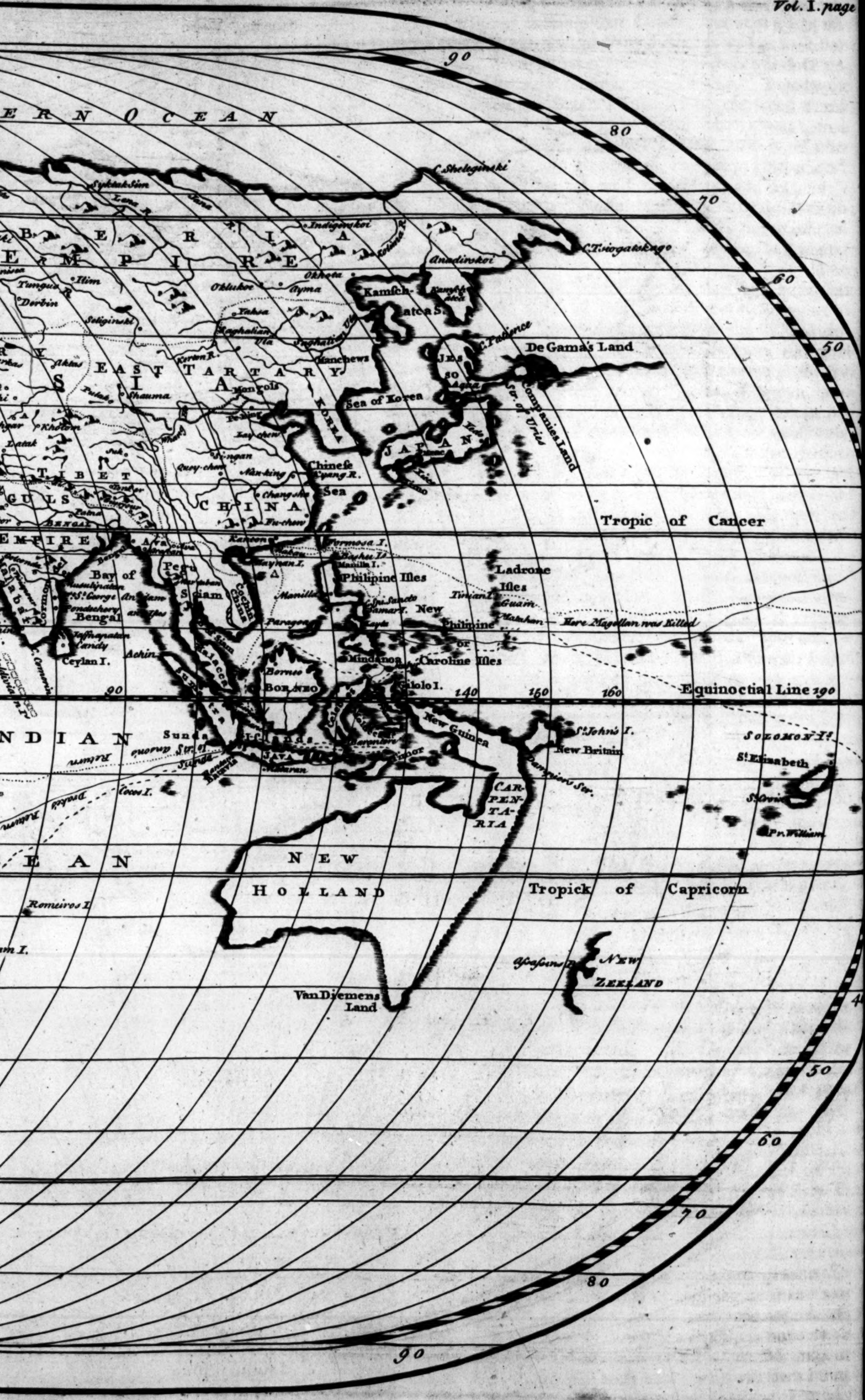
RCUM-NAVIGATORS Viz.t
DORE ANSON. By Eman. Bowen Geographer to His Majesty

Vol. I. page



ERN OCEAN
90
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C. Shelaginski
C. Tsiorgatskago
Anadirskoi
Indigerskoi
Kolima R.
SIBERIA
EMPIRE
Ilim
Tungus R.
Derbin
Olkuckoe
Okhota
Ayma
Kamschatca
Lena R.
Seliginski
Yakesa
EAST TARTARY
ASIA
Jesso
C. Patience
De Gama's Land
Companies Land
Str. of Uries
Sea of Korea
Korea
Mancbews
Mangols
Peking
Nan-king
Quey-chew
Yang R.
Changsha
Chinese Sea
JAPAN
Jedo
CHINA
TIBET
MOGULS
BENGAL
EMPIRE
Fu-chew
Kanton
Formosa I.
Haynan I.
Manila I.
Philipine Isles
Ladrone Isles
Tinian I.
Guam
Here Magellan was Killed
New Philipine or Caroline Isles
Tropic of Cancer
Bay of Bengal
Pegu
Siam
Cochin China
Ava
Fort St. George
Pondechery
Jaffnapatan
Candy
Ceylan I.
Achin
Mindanoa
Borneo
Gilolo I.
Paragoa
Manilla
Equinoctial Line
90
140
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190
INDIAN
Sunda
Str. of Sunda
Islands
Java
Batavia
Cocos I.
St. John's I.
New Britain
New Guinea
Dampier's Str.
SOLOMON I.s
St. Elizabeth
St. George
Pr. William
CARPENTARIA
NEW HOLLAND
Tropick of Capricorn
EAN
Romeiros I.
Van Diemens Land
Assasins B.
NEW ZELAND

For tho' MAGELLAN was
ircumnavigator.

T. Kit

ture for great Exploits, having all the Qualities requiſite to compoſe a truly great Man; for, with a Courage which no Danger could affright, he poſſeſſed a Calmneſs of Temper, and a Sweetneſs of Diſpoſition, which engaged ſuch as converſed with him to eſteem and love him. He was naturally eloquent, either in proving what he aſſerted, or in drawing others from their own Opinions. But, above all, he had a Steadineſs of Soul, and a Degree of manly Reſolution, which not only enabled him to vanquiſh the greateſt Difficulties, but withal gave ſuch an Air of Succeſs to whatever he promiſed or undertook, as drew all who heard him to confide in him. Theſe extraordinary Talents, as they would have diſtinguiſhed him in any Station of Life, ſo they were remarkably uſeful in that, by which he acquired immortal Reputation [b].

2. *Don Ferdinand Magellan* had ſerved with great Credit in the *Indies*, under the famous *Albuquerque*, and thought he merited ſome Recompence for thoſe Services. The Great, however, differed from him in Opinion, and treated all his Applications, not with Coldneſs only, but with Contempt, which, to a Man of his Spirit, was intolerable. He therefore aſſociated himſelf with Men of like Fortunes; that is to ſay, Men of Merit that were neglected, particularly one *Ruy Falero*, a great Aſtronomer, whom the *Portugueſe*, out of Hatred, have repreſented as a Conjurer; and, in Conjunction with him, retired to the *Spaniſh* Court, and made Propoſitions, and new Diſcoveries, to Cardinal *Ximenes*. The *Portugueſe* Embaſſador, who was a Man of Parts, employed all the Pains imaginable to defeat their Deſign. He ſolicited the Court to deliver them up as Fugitives; he got ſome Perſons to inform the Miniſtry, that *Magellan* was a bold talkative Man, one ready to undertake any thing, but who wanted Capacity and Courage when it came to Performance. But underhand he cauſed Application to be made to *Magellan* himſelf, offering him Pardon, and great Rewards, if, deſiſting from his preſent Purpoſe, he would go back, and ſerve his own Prince. All this, however, ſignified very little; for theſe People expreſſed themſelves to the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry, who were now very able Judges in theſe Matters, in ſuch clear Terms, and with ſo much Probability as to the Diſcovery they propoſed, that they were immediately received into Favour, made Knights of the Order of St. *James*, and had their own Terms granted them.

3. The Grounds they went upon were theſe: That the Poſition laid down by *Columbus*, of the Poſſibility of comeing to the *Eaſt Indies* by ſailing *Weſt*, was certainly true, though he had not brought it to bear; and that ſuch as derided that great Man's Notion, were not ſo well skilled in Navigation as he; that, without Queſtion, it was very poſſible to ſail from the *South Sea*, which was but juſt then heard of, to the *Molucca Iſlands*; and that it was very probable a Paſſage might be found into thoſe Seas, through the *Rio de la Plata*, or ſome other Opening upon that Coaſt; that, in caſe this could be done, *Spain* might reap the Profit of both *Indies*, ſince this Diſcovery being made from the Weſt, would fall expreſly under the Words of the Pope's Bull. In conſequence of theſe Propoſals it was agreed, that the Undertakers ſhould have the Twentieth Part of the clear Profits; that the Government of any Iſlands they ſhould diſcover, ſhould belong to them and their Heirs for ever, with the Title of *Adelantados*; and that, farther, the Crown ſhould furniſh them with Five Ships, and Two hundred and Thirty-four Men, with Proviſion for Two Years. This Fleet of theirs conſiſted of the *Trinadada*, which was the Admiral, having on board *Stephen Gomez*, a *Portugueſe* Pilot; the *Santa Vittoria*, commanded by *Don Lewis de Mendoza*; the *St. Antonio*, under *Don Juan de Carthagena*; the *St. Iago*, of which *Don Juan Serrano* was Commander; and the *Conception*, under *Don Gaſpar de Quixida.* The Number of their Men, according to ſome Authors, was 237: But moſt Writers make them 250, among whom there were Thirty *Portugueſe*, and upon theſe the Admiral chiefly depended. In point of Skill he greatly relied on *Don Juan de Serrano*, who left the King of *Portugal*'s Service in the ſame manner that *Magellan* himſelf had done, after having ſerved many Years in the *Indies*, and ſome Part of the Time in the *Moluccas*, of which they were now going in Search. Great Hopes were conceived of this Voyage, from the known Experience of the Commanders: But the Secret of it remained cloſely locked up in the Boſom of the Admiral, who declared no more to the reſt, than that he was fitted out to diſcover new Countries, which, as it implied in the Opinion of his Companions; that they were going to fetch Home Gold, and other Riches, filled them with ſwelling Expectations, ſo that they left *Seville* with the moſt chearful Courage.

4. They ſailed from *Seville* the 10th of *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 1519. and *October* the 3d arrived between *Cape Verd*, and the Iſlands of that Name; they ſpent a great deal of Time about the Coaſt of *Guiney*, and by tedious Calms, which laſted Seventy Days, were ſo long labouring to croſs the Line. But when they had done this, and the South Pole appeared above the Horizon, they held on their South Courſe, and came upon the Main of *Braſil*, about that Part of it which lies in 22 Degrees. They obſerved it to be all one continued Tract of Land, higher from the *Cape St. Auguſtin*, which is in this Part of the Country. They found good Store of Fruits, Sugar-canes, and divers Sorts of Animals, out of all which they had liberal Entertainment. Having made 2½ Degrees more of South Latitude, they fell in with a Country inhabited by a wild Sort of People: They were of a prodigious Stature, fierce, and barbarous, made a horrible roaring Noiſe, more like Bulls than human Creatures; and yet, with all that mighty Bulk, were ſo nimble and light of Foot, that none of the *Spaniards* or *Portugueſe* could overtake them. Here was a fine River of freſh Water, that had Seven Iſlands in the Mouth of it, and was full Seventeen Leagues wide in that Part. The biggeſt of thoſe Iſlands yielded them ſome Jewels, and they gave it the Name of *St. Mary*. They continued coaſting along this Tract of Land towards the South Pole, and met with a Couple of Iſlands ſo full of Seals and Pengwins, that, in an Hour's Space, they could have laden all the Five Ships. The Pengwins are a black, heavy, unwieldy Fowl, extremely fat, covered over with a ſort of Down inſtead of Fevers, and armed with a Bill like a Raven's; they maintain themſelves altogether out of the Waters, eating nothing but Fiſh: Their next Advance was to 49½ Degrees South Latitude; here they were ſhut up by hard Weather, and forced to take up their Winter Quarters for no leſs than Five Months.

5. They paſſed their Time in this Place but very unpleaſantly, and for a long time believed, that the Country was uninhabited: But at length they were undeceived as to this Point; for a Savage of the neighbouring Parts came up to give them a Viſit; a brisk jolly Fellow, very merrily diſpoſed, ſinging and dancing all the Way as he came: Being got to the Haven, he ſtood there, and threw Duſt upon his Head; which they obſerving, ſent ſome aſhore to him, who making the like Signs of Peace, upon that Aſſurance he came along with them to the Ship, without any thing of Fear or Scruple. His Bulk and Stature was ſuch, as would eaſily allow him the Character of a Giant; the Head of one of their middle-ſized Men reached but to his Waiſt, and he was proportionably big: His Body was formidably painted all over, eſpecially his Face; a Couple of Stags Horns drawn, one upon each Cheek, and great red Circles about his Eyes; his Colours were otherwiſe moſtly yellow, only his Hair was white. For his Apparel he had the Skin of a Beaſt clumſily ſewed together; but a Beaſt as ſtrange as that was that wore it, every way unaccountable, neither Mule, Horſe, nor Camel, but ſomething of every one, the Ears of the firſt, the Tail of the ſecond, and the Shape and Body of the laſt. 'Twas an intire Suit, all of one Piece from Head to Foot: As his Breaſt and Back were covered with it above, ſo his very Legs and Feet were wrapped up in the ſame beneath. The Arms that he brought with him were a ſtout Bow and Arrows; the String of the former was a Gut or Sinew of that monſtrous Beaſt; and the latter, inſtead of Iron Heads, were tipped with ſharp Stones. The Admiral made him eat and drink, and

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[b] The utmoſt Pains has been taken to give this Expedition in the cleareſt manner poſſible, by comparing all the different Relations of the *Portugueſe* and *Spaniſh* Writers; but, after all our Care, we cannot but regret the Loſs of the large Hiſtory of it by *P. Martyr*, which was burnt in the Sack of *Rome* by the Conſtable *de Bourbon*.

he enjoyed himſelf very comfortably on Ship-board, till he happened to peep into a great Looking-glaſs, that was given him amongſt other Trifles: This put him into a Fright, which he could not eaſily recover; ſo that, ſtarting back with Violence, he tumbled a Couple of the Men, that ſtood by him, to the Ground. However, this Giant fared ſo well amongſt them, (notwithſtanding the Fright by the Looking-glaſs) that quickly after they had the Company of more; particularly one came, and made himſelf mighty familiar, carried it pleaſantly, and with ſo much good Humour amongſt them, that our *Europeans* were alſo pleaſed with his Company. He gave them a Sight of one of thoſe Beaſts whoſe Skins they wear; but we have, in this Account, nothing of any particular Deſcription of it added, to juſtify or diſprove the former Surmiſes about it.

6. The General was deſirous of making ſome of theſe gigantic People Priſoners; and, in order to it, his Crew took the following Method: Their filled their Hands with Toys, and little Things that pleaſed them, and, in the mean time, put Iron Shackles upon their Legs, which they thought were very fine Play-things, as well as the reſt, and were pleaſed with the jingling Sound of them, till they found how they were hampered and betrayed: But then they fell a bellowing like Bulls, and implored the Help of *Setebos* in that Extremity; they cried aloud for his Aſſiſtance, but he did not come to deliver them; and what Power it is they give that Name to, they beſt know. To deſire his Help in Miſery, implied ſome Notions conceived of his Goodneſs and Compaſſion; and 'tis not to be imagined, that they would thus crave Relief of an evil Spirit that uſed to vex and afflict them. It muſt be owned, that they report very ſtrange Things of horrid Forms and Appearances frequently ſeen amongſt theſe People; of horned Dæmons with long Shag Hair, throwing out Fire both before and behind; but theſe ſeem to be Dreams or Fables. This Account goes further as to the Inhabitants, and reports, that moſt of theſe People wear the ſame Sort of Apparel that the firſt appeared in, that is, the Skins of the fore-mentioned Beaſt: They go with their Hair ſhort; yet that there is, they tie up with a Cotton Lace. They have no fixed Habitations, but certain moveable Cottages, which they carry from one Place to another, as their Fancy leads them; and the very ſame Materials which they uſe for the Defence of their Bodies, they uſe alſo for the Defence and Covering of theſe Cottages: What Fleſh they eat, they beſtow no Ceremony of dreſſing upon; but devour it freſh and raw as it comes to their Hands: Beſides which, they have a certain ſweet Root amongſt them, called *Capar*, which is a conſiderable Part of their Food. They add alſo, that they are extremely jealous of their Women; but they don't tell us they ſaw any of them.

7. Amongſt them the Practice of Phyſic is reduced into a very narrow Compaſs, and takes in no more than Vomiting and Phlebotomy: Theſe Two Evacuations muſt anſwer all Varieties of Caſes and Purpoſes; and, where this won't do, the Diſeaſe is incurable in that Land. Their way of Bleeding is to give a good Chop with ſome Edge-Tool or other in the Part that is affected, be it Leg, or Arm, or Face. But though 'tis odd to uſe a Chopping-knife inſtead of a Lancet, for letting Blood, yet it is more ſo, to thruſt an Arrow, a Foot and an half down the Throat, to procure a Vomit. No doubt but this will prick the Fibres, and ſet a Man a reaching to ſome Purpoſe. Theſe Folks are very ſtrong: When they made the Attempt of taking ſome of them Priſoners, one alone very near tired the utmoſt Force of Nine of their Men that were employed to maſter him; and though they had him down, and bound his Hands tightly, yet he freed himſelf from his Bonds, and got looſe, in ſpite of all their Endeavours to hold him. And, proportionable to their Strength, is that alſo of their Appetite: One of them eat up a whole Baſket of Ship-Biſcuit at a Meal, and drank a Bowl (they don't ſay how large) of Water at a Draught; but any thing of this kind is not ſo very ſtrange, conſidering the large Carcaſes they have to maintain. One thing of them (which is ſomething ſingular) is not to be omitted before we leave them; and that is, that, by reaſon of the vehement Cold, they truſs themſelves up ſo very cloſe and tight, that the Genitals in the Men are not to be diſcovered, lying hid intirely within their Bodies. The Admiral gave theſe People the Name of *Patagons*, and took notice of theſe few common Words: They call Bread, *Capar*; Water, *Oli*; Black, *Amel*; Red, *Cheiche*; Red Cloth, *Cherecai*. *Setebos*, and *Cheleule*, are the Names of Two Beings they pay a religious Reſpect to; of which the former is the ſupreme, the latter an inferior one: But whether they are proper Names, or only their Terms for a higher and ſubordinate Power in general, is not certain.

8. The Port they ſtay'd in theſe Five Months was called Port *St. Julian*; of which, as of the whole adjoining Country, they took ſolemn Poſſeſſion, and left a Croſs erected in Token of it; becauſe it was the Beginning of *October* by that time they got up to the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands; and they were detained ſo long by the Calms, that they made it *December*, before they croſſed the Line. But the main Reaſon of their ſtaying ſo long here, was a Conſpiracy that broke out among their Crew, not only ſome of the common Men, but ſome of the Captains alſo, and particularly Captain *Mendoza*, upon whom the General chiefly depended. The General acted in this Affair with great Spirit and Courage; for, having ſubdued the Conſpirators, he brought them to a Trial for plotting againſt his Life, hanged *Lewis de Mendoza*, and ſome few, who were moſt guilty; and left Captain *Juan de Carthegena*, and ſome others, who were not quite ſo deep, amongſt the *Patagons*. The Weather growing fine, and the Crew once more brought into Subjection, *Magellan* thought it high time to purſue his Courſe; which accordingly he did, till he arrived in 51 Degrees 40 Minutes South Latitude. Here they found a convenient Port, and met with good Proviſions of Fuel, Fiſh, and freſh Water; they lingered away at this Place Two Months more, and then came to 52 Degrees South Latitude, where they diſcovered the Entrance into the Streights. They found them about 110 Leagues in Length, and as for the Breadth very uncertain, in ſome Places very wide, in others not more than half a League over; the Land on both Sides high and uneven, and the Mountains covered with Snow. When they came to the End of it, they found an open Paſſage into the great Ocean. *Magellan* was ſurpriſed at the Sight, with a Joy that exceeded all common Bounds; for this was the happy thing he looked for, and now he was able to demonſtrate his ſailing round by the Weſt. The Point of Land from whence he firſt ſaw this deſireable Proſpect, he called, in Memory of it, *Cape Deſiderato*; but it ſeems it was not ſo deſirable to all the reſt of the Company; for here one of the Ships ſtole away, and ſailed homeward by herſelf. They entered the *Pacific Sea*, for ſo they called it, *November* the 28th, *A. D.* 1520. and in this wide Ocean they ſailed Three Months and Twenty Days, without Sight of Land. The Miſeries they endured for want of Proviſion, a good Part of this Time, were ſuch as are ſeldom heard of; the freſh Water they had on board ſtunk, and was very loathſome; all their Bread was gone, and nothing left to eat but Pieces of Skins, and Bits of Leather. Nature will make any Shift, though ever ſo hard, to bear herſelf out in a Diſtreſs, when 'tis poſſible to be done; and the poor Seamen here, rather than ſtarve, fell very greedily to work upon thoſe dry tough Pieces of Leather that were about the Ropes of the Ships. But it being impoſſible to eat them, till they were ſome way ſoftened, and fitted for chewing, they laid them aſteep in ſalt Water for ſome Days, and then made the beſt of them, as long as they laſted. But then again, what with this impure ſort of Feeding, which was but ſcanty too, and the daily Impoveriſhment of their Spirits wanting better Recruits, their Number ſhortened apace: Some died outright, others fell into pining Sickneſs, others had their Gums grew quite over their Teeth on every Side; by which means being totally unable to manage thoſe tough Solids they were forced to feed upon, they were paſt all Help, and ſo miſerably ſtarved to Death. Their only Comfort, under all theſe direful Circumſtances, was a Conſtancy of fair and good Weather. The Winds blew them ſmoothly and gently along, and, while they were thus expoſed, the Sea was calm and quiet too, and by this got the celebrated Name of *Pacific*. In all this Time they ſaw nothing but Two uninhabited Iſlands, that gave no Proſpect of any Relief. The Needle of their Compaſs varied ſometimes;

and, at others, moved ſo irregularly, that they were often forced to quicken it with a freſh Touch of the Load-ſtone. The South Pole they found to have no very remarkable Star near it, as the North has: There are Two Cluſters of ſmall Stars, and are ſeparated from each other at a ſmall Diſtance; between thoſe are a Couple of Stars, not very large or bright, which diſcover themſelves, by the Smallneſs of the Circle they deſcribe, to be pretty near the Pole, at leaſt the neareſt of any that are diſcernible. At the Diſtance of 20 Degrees from the South Pole they ſaw an Iſland of exceeding Height, called *Gipangue*, and at 15 Degrees another as high, the Name of which is *Sumbdit*. They ſailed in one Gulph at leaſt 4000 Leagues; and, having made, by their Reckoning, 120 Degrees Longitude from their firſt Departure, they found they drew towards the Equinoctial. When they had paſſed that Line, and were got to 13 Degrees North Latitude, they deſigned for the Cape, called by the old Geographers the Cape of *Cottigare*; but this they miſſed, going upon that old Account of the Latitude of it, which places it thereabouts; and came to underſtand afterwards, that it lies in 12 Degrees.

9. *March* 6. they fell in with a Cluſter of Iſlands, being then in 12 Degrees North Latitude, and 146 Degrees Longitude from their firſt ſetting out: Here they went on Shore to breathe and refreſh a little after all the Fatigues of their tedious Voyage through the South Sea. But the thieviſh People of thoſe Iſlands would not let them be quiet. While they were repoſing themſelves aſhore, the other would be pilfering and ſtealing things out of the Ships, ſo that 'twas impoſſible for them to enjoy themſelves in any meaſure, till they had taken ſome Courſe to deliver themſelves from theſe Diſturbers [1]. They marched therefore with a ſmall Party, pretty well armed, up into one of the Iſlands, burnt ſome of their Houſes, and killed ſome of the Inhabitants; but this Correction, though it might awe them for the preſent, yet could not mend their Diſpoſition; but they that were Thieves, would be Thieves ſtill: For which Reaſon they reſolved to make no longer Stay there, but find out ſome other Place where they might enjoy more Safety and Quiet. Amongſt theſe People there is not the leaſt ſhew of any Order or Form of Government, but every Man does what is agreeable to his own Humour and Inclination: Nay, conſidering how univerſally that thieving, cheating Diſpoſition prevails, 'tis next to impoſſible there ſhould be any thing of that kind; for the governing Part would never fail to tranſgreſs the Laws of Juſtice and common Honeſty, as much as the reſt; and the Inferiors would never bear to be curb'd and puniſhed by thoſe that they ſaw do the very ſame things, and ſet ſuch an Example before their Eyes; ſo that the general Corruption of their Manners will neceſſarily keep them all upon a Level, and eſtabliſh a perpetual Anarchy among them. The Men go intirely naked, not diſcovering any thing of that common Modeſty which obtains amongſt the moſt barbarous People, to beſtow ſome Covering upon the obſcene Parts: That Diſtinction indeed ceaſes here, all Parts being equally expoſed to View. Their Hair is very black, both on their Heads and Beards; the former being generally very long, and reaching down to their Waiſts. They anoint themſelves all over with the Oil of the Cocoa, but their natural Complexion is olive: They colour the Teeth black and red; and ſome of them wear a Bonnet, made of the Palm-tree, upon their Heads. The Women are much better favoured than the Men, and more modeſt too; they all wear Coverings made of the inner Bark of the Palm-tree; their Hair black, thick, and long, and ready to trail upon the Ground: They commend them for very careful, induſtrious Houſewives, ſpending their Time at a much better rate than the Men do; for, whilſt theſe are pilfering abroad, the others are making Mats and Nets of the Palm-tree at home; but, of both Sides, the Work goes towards the Furniſhing the Houſe: Theſe Houſes are built of Timber, covered over with Boards, and large Fig-leaves, and divided into ſeveral Apartments: Their Beds are the Palm-mats, laid one upon another; and the Leaves of the ſame are inſtead of Sheets and Blankets: They have no Weapons but Clubs, and long Poles, upon which they put Heads of Horn: Their Food are Cocoas, Bananas, Figs, Sugar-canes, Fowl, and Flying-fiſh: Their Canoes are oddly contrived and patched up; yet will they ſail with them at a very great rate: The Sails are made of broad Date-leaves ſewed together; inſtead of a Rudder, they uſe a large Board, with a Staff at the Top; and may, when they will, make the Stem the Forecaſtle, or the Forecaſtle the Stem: They are always painted over, either black, or white, or red, ſome one Colour, and ſome another, as they like. Theſe People are mightily taken with any little thing that is new, and agreeable to their Humour: When the *Spaniards* had wounded ſeveral of them with their Arrows, nay, pierced them almoſt through and through, theſe being ſtrange Things to them, they would pull them out of their Wounds, and hold them in their Hands, ſtaring at them till they dropt down dead; and, after all, though they had been ſo roughly handled, yet they would follow the Ships, as they were going away, to gaze at them, ſo that they had at one time 200 of their Canoes preſſing about them, as near as they could, to behold thoſe wonderful Contrivances.

10. *March* 10. they landed upon the Iſland of *Zamal*, which is 30 Leagues from the *Ladrones*; and the next Day they went aſhore at *Humuna*, an Iſland not inhabited, yet well deſerving to be ſo: Here they found Springs of delicate clear Water, abundance of Fruit-trees, Gold, and white Coral. The Admiral called it the Iſland of *Good Signs*. The Inhabitants of ſome of the neighbouring Iſlands came up to them not long after, a People of much Humanity, and good Diſpoſition; very fair and friendly in their Carriage, and appeared to be mighty well pleaſed at their coming among them: They came laden with Preſents of Fiſh, and the Wine made of the Cocoa-tree, and promiſed other Proviſions in a little time. Since the Cocoa-wine is mentioned, it may not be amiſs to ſhew the various Uſes theſe People put that Fruit to; by which it will appear, how very ſerviceable a thing it is, and how many of the Conveniences of Life are furniſhed by it: The Cocoa is the Fruit of a certain Tree like a Date, and ſupplies them at once with Bread, Oil, and Vinegar, and with Phyſic too. The Wine is drank from the Tree itſelf, but all the reſt are made from the Fruit; they cut off ſome Part of a Branch of the Tree, and faſten to the remaining Piece a good large Reed, into which drops a Liquor, like white Wine in Colour and Appearance, and of a Taſte gratefully tart: A good Quantity of this, thus drawn forth, and put in a Veſſel, is called their Cocoa-wine, without any farther Preparation. The Fruit, which is as big as a Man's Head, has Two Rinds; the outermoſt of which is green, Two Fingers thick, and full of Strings and Threads, and of theſe they make all the Cords they uſe about their Boats; under this Rind there is another, or rather a Shell, being conſiderably thick and hard; this, burnt and pulverized, is uſed as a Remedy for ſeveral Diſtempers: To it adheres the Kernel, which is white, and of the Thickneſs of a Finger; it has a pleaſant Taſte, almoſt like an Almond; and, when it is dried, they make it into Bread: In the Middle of this Kernel there is a Hollow, full of a pure limpid Water, and that of a very cordial and refreſhing Nature: It will ſometimes congeal, and lie like an Egg within the Shell. When they would make Oil, they leave the Fruit to ſteep in Water, till it putrefies; and then ſet it over the Fire, and boil it to an Oil; and the Vinegar is only the ſame Water, expoſed for ſome time to the Sun, which turns it into a Vinegar, like that of white Wine. Laſtly, if they mix the Kernel, together with the Water that is lodged in the Cavity of it, and then ſtrain it through a Cloth, they make a good Milk of it. The Cocoa-trees reſemble the common Date-trees in all but this, that they are not ſo rugged and knotty as they are. They will hold out very well 100 Years; and two of them will maintain a Family of Ten People with Wine very plentifully, provided they are uſed by turns, and each Tree, having been drawn Seven or Eight Days, be allowed as many to recover again, before any more be taken from it. With this Care ſuch a Number of People may drink as much as they will, and the Trees bear them out. But to return to our Con-

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[1] Theſe Iſlands were called by *Magellan*, *Iſlas de los Ladrones*; and, in the *Latin* Relations of his Voyage, *Inſulæ Latronum*.

cerns between this People and them: According to their Promiſe, they came again with other Proviſions, and enter'd into a farther Degree of Familiarity and friendly Correſpondence with them; they invited the Admiral into their Barks, and were reciprocally invited aboard the Admiral's Ship, where a great Gun being diſcharged to entertain them, it put them into ſuch Affright, that they were all ready to leap overboard; but good Words and Preſents brought them to themſelves again, and with much ado they were perſuaded to keep out of the Water. The Name of their Iſland was *Zulvan*, of no very great Compaſs, but conſiderable for its Products: They had all manner of Spices in their Barks, Cinnamon, Cloves, Nutmegs, Ginger, and Mace, and ſeveral Things made in Gold, all which they carry'd up and down and ſold for Merchandize: They were without Apparel, but yet dreſſed at a more coſtly Rate than the *Europeans*, that had it: They had Earings of Gold in each Ear, and ſeveral Jewels, faſtened, with Pieces of Gold, to their Arms; beſides, they had Daggers, Knives, and Lances, that were all very richly ornamented with the ſame Metal: But though they had nothing of any Garment on, yet they had ſomething of a Covering before, and that of a ſort of Cloth very ingeniouſly made out of the Rind of a Tree that grows amongſt them. The moſt conſiderable Men are diſtinguiſhed from the common People by a Piece of ſilken Needle-work wrapped about their Heads. They are groſs-bodied, broad and well-ſet, of an olive Colour; and this Hue they maintain by conſtant Unction of their Bodies with the Oil of Cocoa. They departed from this Iſle *March* the 25th, *A. D.* 1521. and directed their Courſe between the Weſt and South-weſt, ſailing between the Iſles *Cenalo*, *Huinanghan*, *Hibuſſon*, and *Abarian*.

11. *March* the 28th, they came to the Iſle of *Butbuan*; the King of which, and the Prince his Son, gave them honourable Entertainment, preſenting them with conſiderable Quantities of Gold and Spices. The Admiral, in Return, preſented the King with Two Veſts of Cloth, one red, and the other yellow, made after the *Turkiſh* Faſhion; and ſome of his Courtiers with Knives, Glaſſes, and Beads of Cryſtal. The Admiral ſent Two of his Company aſhore along with him, of which *Antonio Pigafetta*, who wrote this Relation, was one. When they were landed, the King and his Attendants all lifted up their Hands to Heaven, and then towards the Two Chriſtians, in which Ceremony theſe alſo followed them; and this Cuſtom they obſerved in drinking too. His Majeſty's Palace was like a Hay-loft covered with Palm and Fig-leaves, mounted ſo high upon great Timber-poſts, that they were forced to uſe Ladders to get in. Though they are no Chriſtians, yet, at their Meals, they always make the Sign of the Croſs, ſitting in the ſame manner with their Legs as Taylors do. At Night, inſtead of Candles, they burn the Gum of a certain Tree wrapped up in Palm-leaves: The King and Prince, having entertained them in their ſeveral Palaces, and given them noble Preſents, diſmiſſed them, but not without new Admiration, and a firm Perſuaſion now rooted in their Minds, that they were above the Rank of common Mortals, having ſeen ſo many ſtrange Things among them; and eſpecially *Pigafetta*'s writing, and reading what he had written, which were Myſteries they could not comprehend. In the Iſle of *Butbuan*, as they ſifted the Earth of a certain Mine, they found great Lumps of Gold, ſome as big as Nuts, others as large as Eggs; of which Metal were all the King's Veſſels for his Table made. The King himſelf was a very comely Perſon, his Hair black and long, his Complexion olive, his Body perfumed with ſweet Oils, of Storax and Benjamin, and painted with divers Colours; he had Rings of Gold in his Ears, and on every Finger Three; his Head was wrapped with a ſilken Veil, and a Piece of Cotton wrought with Silk, and Gold covered his Body to the Knees. He wore a long Dagger by his Side, with a Haft of Gold, and a Scabbard of fine carved Wood. His Country, it ſeems, is ſo rich, that one of his Subjects offered a Crown of maſſy Gold, with a Collar, for Six Threads of cryſtal Beads: But the Admiral would not permit ſuch Bargains as theſe, that they might not appear to be too fond and covetous of their Gold. The People are of an active and ſprightly Nature; the Men quite naked, except a Covering of Paint; but the Women go cloathed from the Waiſt downwards, and both wear golden Ear-rings: They are always chewing Areca, and ſay, they cannot live without it; this is a Sort of Fruit like a Pear, cut in Quarters, and rolled up in the Leaves of a Tree called *Betele*, which are almoſt like Bay-leaves. As for religious Rites, they had, as far as they obſerved, no other in Uſe amongſt them, but only to lift up their Faces, and Hands joined together, to Heaven, and call upon their God *Abba*. The Admiral cauſed a Banner, in which was the Portraiture of the Croſs, and a Crown of Thorns with Nails, to be brought forth, and publicly reverenced by all his Men in the King's Preſence, telling his Majeſty, it ſhould be ſet up in ſome high Mountain in his Country; not only for a Token of good Entertainment for Chriſtians in that Place, but alſo for his own and Nation's Security and Defence; ſince, if they devoutly prayed to it, it would infallibly protect them from the Miſchiefs of Lightning and Tempeſt, as well as from other Evils: This the poor Prince promiſed to do, knowing no better, and glad to be ſo defended from Thunderbolts.

12. At their Departure from hence, this King's Pilots brought them to the Iſles of *Zeilon*, *Zubut*, *Meſſana*, *Calegban*, of which *Zubut* is the beſt, and has the beſt Trade. In *Meſſana* they found Dogs, Cats, Hogs, Hens, Goats, Rice, Ginger, Cocoa, Millet, Panic, Barley, Figs, Oranges, Wax, and Gold, in great Plenty: This Iſle lies in 9° 40′ of North Latitude, and 162° of Longitude from their firſt Meridian. They ſtayed here Eight Days, and then, ſailing to the N. W. paſſed by the Iſles *Zeilon*, *Bohol*, *Cangbu*, *Barbai*, and *Calegban*, in which laſt Iſle there are Bats as big as Eagles, and that taſte, when dreſſed, like a Hen; there are alſo Stock-doves, Turtle-doves, Popinjays, and a certain Sort of Fowl like Hens, which have little Horns, and lay their Eggs a Cubit's Depth in the Sand, where the Sun's Heat hatches them. From *Meſſana* to *Calegban* is about 20 Leagues ſailing to the Weſt; and from *Calegban* to *Zubut* about 50 Leagues, to which they now directed their Courſe, having the Company of the King of *Meſſana*, who, out of pure Friendſhip, went along with them; the Admiral having by many Services ſecured his Affection.

13. *April* the 7th, about Noon, they entered the Port of *Zubut*; and, coming near the City, fired all the great Guns, which put the Place into a very great Conſternation: But all this Apprehenſion of Danger from the Ships was quickly removed, by the coming of their Embaſſador to the Town, who aſſured the King, that it was cuſtomary with them to diſcharge their Cannon, whenever they came in to any great Ports; and that it was a Piece of Reſpect they always paid to the Governors of Towns: He told him, how mighty a Prince they were Servants to; and that their Deſign was to find out the *Moluccas*; that they only came to viſit him by the Way, hearing of his Fame by the King of *Meſſana*; and deſired him to furniſh them with Victuals for the Commodities they had brought. The King bid them welcome; but told them, that it was a Cuſtom there for all Ships that came to pay Tribute; and that he expected the like Acknowledgment from them. This the Embaſſador poſitively refuſed, telling him, that his Admiral was the Servant of ſo great a King, that as he had never yet, ſo he would not now begin to make that Acknowledgment to any Prince in the World; and withal, that if he would accept of Peace offered to him, well; if not, he ſhould quickly have his Hands full of the War. A certain *Moor*, that ſtood by, told the King, that theſe were the *Portugueſe* that had conquered *Calecut* and *Malacca*; and therefore adviſed him to have a care how he provoked them. Upon this Conſideration, the King concluded to refer the Matter to this Council, and to give them an Anſwer the next Day, ſending them in the mean while Wine and Victuals. The King of *Meſſana*, who was a very potent Prince, went next aſhore, and acted very generouſly on their Behalf with the King of *Zubut*; the Effect of which was, that the King, inſtead of demanding, was now almoſt ready to pay Tribute himſelf; which they not at all inſiſting upon, but deſiring only Liberty to trade, he chearfully granted it, and offered to ſeal the

Covenant of Peace and Friendſhip with his Blood. After this, the King of *Meſſana*, the King of *Zubut*, and his Nephew, came on board the Admiral, brought him Preſents, and confirmed the League. The Admiral perſuaded them to embrace the Chriſtian Faith, which they did, after ſome religious Conferences, with Pleaſure, being all afterwards baptized. This Example of the great ones influenced the whole Iſland, ſo that Chriſtianity was univerſally received there. When they came to the City, they found the King in his Palace, ſitting upon a ſort of fine Mat made of Date-leaves, having no Apparel but a Bombaſine Cotton about his Waiſt: About his Head he had a Veil of Needle-work, and about his Neck a very coſtly Chain, as alſo ſtately Jewels in his Ears: He had before him ſeveral Porcelane Veſſels, ſome with Eggs, and others full of Date-wine. The Prince entertained them likewiſe at his Palace; and, for their Diverſion, made his Daughters ſing and dance naked before them. One of the *Spaniards* dying, they deſired Leave of the King to bury him in his Land: To which the King replied very graciouſly, That ſince he, and all his, were at the King their Maſter's Devotion, much more ſhould a few Feet of his Ground be ſo, in affording a Burying-place to one of his Subjects. Theſe People exerciſe Juſtice in their Dealings with one another, keeping to the Uſe of Weights and Meaſures. Their Houſes are made of Timber, raiſed high upon Poſts, ſo that they go up by Stairs to them. They talk of a certain Sort of Water-fowl in this Country, as big as a Crow, which they call *Lughan*, which the Whales ſometimes ſwallow down alive, and have their Hearts eaten up by this Bird; by which means many of them are killed, and the Bird is afterwards found alive in the Carcaſe of the Whale: The Skin of this Fowl is black, but the Fleſh good. The *Spaniards* had a very advantageous Bartering with thoſe People, they giving them Ten Peſos of Gold (a Ducat and half each) for Fourteen Pounds Weight of Iron, beſides all ſorts of Proviſions for very Trifles. The baptizing of thoſe Princes was performed with very great Solemnity, the Ordnance being all diſcharged; which the Admiral told the King beforehand, to prevent his being ſurpriſed. The King of *Zubut* was named *Charles*, and the Prince *Ferdinando*; the former of thoſe Names being the Emperor's, and the latter his Brother's. The King of *Meſſana* was named *John*, and the *Mooriſh* Courtier *Chriſtopher*: Beſides the Princes and great Men, there were Five hundred of inferior Rank baptized at the ſame time. All the Idols were broken, and the Croſs ſet up in divers Places, which the Admiral engaged them to pray very devoutly before, Morning and Evening: The Queen was baptized too at the ſame time, with Forty of her Ladies, and her Daughter the Prince's Wife: She was young and handſome, her Body covered with a white Cloth, and her Head adorned with a ſort of a triple Crown made of Date-leaves: After Maſs was ended, the King and Court dined in the Admiral's Ship, in Honour of whom all the great Ordnance were diſcharged. In Eight Days time moſt of the Iſland became Chriſtians, except one Village of Idolaters, who would not obey the King's Command in this Matter: The *Spaniards* therefore burnt the Village, and erected a Croſs upon the Ruins of it; and, to ſhew the good and advantageous Effects of Chriſtianity amongſt the People that had embraced it, a very miraculous Cure was wrought upon the King of *Zubut*'s Brother, upon his receiving Baptiſm. The Admiral, it ſeems, pawned his Head for his immediate Recovery, if he would ſubmit to this ſacred Rite, and break all his Idols. And they who record theſe Tranſactions ſay, that the Admiral did ſave his Pawn, the Prince perfectly recovering of his Malady ſoon after he was thus initiated into the Chriſtian Religion.

14. Not far from *Zubut* lies the Iſle of *Mathan*, the Inhabitants of which go quite naked, except a ſlight Covering over the Pudenda, at which Part all the Males, both great and ſmall, hang certain Gold Rings, the Skin being pierced for that Purpoſe: They take as many Wives as they pleaſe, one of which only has the Government of the Houſe. They uſe very odd Ceremonies in their Sacrifices to the Sun; they begin with ringing Bells, then they ſpread a Cloth upon the Ground, upon which are ſet certain Platters with Honey, Rice, and roaſt Fiſhes. The Sacrifice they offer is an Hog, and the Managers of the Ceremony are Two old Women, who ſing and dance about the Animal, and ſound Trumpets made of Reeds. They mumble out certain Prayers to the Sun; and, after ſeveral antic and ridiculous Geſtures, they pour a Cup of Wine upon the Hog: One of the venerable Prieſteſſes ſtrikes the fatal Blow with a Lance, and then puts a lighted Lamp into the Creature's Mouth, which continues burning all the Time of the Ceremony: The other dips the Reed Trumpet in the Blood, and with her Finger beſmears her Husband's Forehead, and then the Foreheads of the reſt of the Men who aſſiſt at the Sacrifice: When they have done, they diſrobe themſelves of their prieſtly Attire, and fall to eating the Honey, Rice, and Fiſh, in which only Women partake with them: As for the Fleſh of the Hog, that is not to be touched, till the Two Prieſteſſes have craved a Bleſſing on it. As for their Funerals, their Ceremonies are almoſt as extravagant as thoſe of their Sacrifices: When a Man of Figure dies, all the chief Women go to his Houſe, and carry Boughs with Pieces of Cotton in them, which they faſten about the Corps; they ſit round it cloathed in white Cotton, fanning themſelves with Branches of Palm, the Room being incenſed with Myrrh and Storax all the while: Then a Perſon comes, and cuts off the Hair of the Deceaſed by little and little; and, at the ſame time, his chief Wife lies upon his dead Body with her Face, Hands, and Feet to his, crying and lamenting while his Hair is cut off; but ſhe changes her Funeral Notes into a merry Song when the other has done cutting: The Ceremony laſts Five Days, after which they incloſe the Corpſe in a Dormitory built of Wood, and made very faſt on every ſide.

15. This Iſle of *Mathan* was governed by Two Kings; one of which refuſing to pay Tribute to the King of *Spain*, the Admiral went out to reduce him. The *Indian* had between Six and Seven thouſand Men furniſhed with Bows and Arrows, Darts and Javelins, which Army the Admrial attacked with Sixty of his *Spaniards*, armed with Coats of Mail and Helmets. The Battle was for a long time doubtful: At laſt the Admiral's Heat and Courage carrying him too far amongſt the Barbarians, he was there firſt wounded with a poiſoned Arrow, and afterwards thruſt into the Head with a Lance, which ended the Life and Actions of this noble Commander. About Eight or Nine of his Men were ſlain, and about Fifteen of the Enemy, beſides many wounded. The *Spaniards* would very willingly have redeemed the Body of their Admiral, but the *Indians* would not conſent to it upon any Terms. This, however, was but the Beginning of their Misfortunes; for the King, as he had embraced their Religion without underſtanding it, abandoned it upon this Change in their Circumſtances; and made Peace with his Rival, notwithſtanding one of the Articles inſiſted on was, that all the Strangers ſhould be inſtantly put to Death. The barbarous Monarch was ſenſible enough, that by Force he ſhould never be able to execute this infamous Article, and therefore he had recourſe to Fraud. With this View, he invited all the *Spaniards*, that were on Shore, to a ſumptuous Entertainment; and there, in the midſt of their Feaſting, he directed them to be moſt cruelly murdered, reſerving only *Don Juan Serrano* alive, in order to have procured a Supply of Artillery and Ammunition by way of Ranſom for him. With this Demand of his the *Spaniards* would willingly have complied, but found ſo much Prevarication and Treachery in his Management, and, at the ſame time, were ſo much intimidated by the Fate of their Companions, that they reſolved to break off the Treaty, and put to Sea. The unfortunate *Serrano*, when he ſaw them about to weigh their Anchors, threw himſelf on his Knees; and, in the moſt moving Terms, begged of them not to leave him in the Hands of ſo baſe a People: But their Fears, or rather their Care for their own Preſervation, made them deaf to his Intreaties, eſpecially when, on a Muſter, they found their whole Force conſiſted but of Eighty Men, that their Ships were in a miſerable Condition, and that, in order to have a Probability of returning Home, it would be neceſſary to deſtroy One Ship, to make uſe of her Stores and Materials in repairing the other Two. What the Fate was of *Serrano*, after their Departure, is not known; but it is certain, the

Loſs of him proved a very great Hindrance to the Voyage, ſince, next to the Admiral, he was the braveſt Man, and the beſt Seaman, they had, one of the Projectors of this Voyage, and who, if he had lived to return, would have animated the Imperial Court to future Expeditions.

16. A little before the Admiral's Death, they received News of the *Moluccas*, the diſcovering of which this Way, was the great End of their Voyage: So that now leaving *Mathan*, they ſailed to the Iſle of *Bohol*; and here they burnt the *Conception*, furniſhing the other Two Ships with the Men and Ammunition of it. Directing their Courſe from hence to the South Weſt, they came to the Iſle *Paviloghon*, inhabited by *Blacks*: From hence they came to *Chippit*, which is a large Iſle; and it is about 50 Leagues from *Zubut*, in 8 Degrees of North Latitude, and about 170 Degrees of Longitude from their firſt Stage. It abounds in Rice, Ginger, Goats, Hogs, Hens, &c. and the King of it gave them a friendly Reception. In Token of Peace he marked his Body, Face, and Tip of his Tongue, with Blood, which he drew out of his Left Arm; and the *Spaniards* followed him in that bloody Ceremony. Sailing from hence about 40 Leagues, between the Weſt and South Weſt, they came to *Caghaian*, a very great Iſland, but not well inhabited: The People are *Moors*, Exiles from *Borneo*, rich in Gold, and, for their principal Weapons, uſe poiſoned Arrows, which is practiſed alſo in moſt of the Iſlands. Steering Weſt and North Weſt 25 Leagues, brought them to *Puloan*, a very fruitful Iſland, lying in the 9° 20′ of North Latitude, and 179° 20′ of Longitude, from their firſt Departure: It yields much the ſame Products as *Chippit*, beſides very large Figs, Battatos, Cocoas, and Sugar-canes. The like Ceremonies alſo were here uſed in Token of Friendſhip between the King and the *Spaniards*, as were at *Chippit*: The People go naked, uſe poiſoned Arrows, and are mighty Lovers of the Sport of Cock-fighting: They make a ſort of Wine here of Rice, which is very intoxicating, but otherwiſe better than that of the Palm.

17. The famous Iſle of *Borneo*, to which they came next, is a very large and rich Iſland: It lies in 5° 5′ of North Latitude; the chief City contained no leſs than Twenty-five thouſand Houſes. The King was a *Moor*, a Prince of very great Power, kept a magnificent Court, and was always attended by a numerous Guard. He ſent the Captains ſeveral Preſents, and ordered a Couple of Elephants, trapped with Silk, to be led forth to bring the *Spaniſh* Meſſengers and Preſents to the Palace: He has Ten Secretaries of State, that write his Affairs in Barks of Trees: His Houſhold is governed by Women, who are the Daughters of his chief Courtiers: His Subjects pay him their Reverence, by lifting up their Hands cloſed Three times over their Heads, then lifting up their Feet one after the other, and laſtly kiſſing their Hands: They chew a great deal of the Betele in this Country, and drink a Rice-ſpirit called by them *Arac*. The Country affords Camphire, which is the Gum of the Tree Capar; alſo Cinnamon, Ginger, Myrobalans, Oranges, Lemons, Sugar, Cucumbers, Melons, plenty of Fowl and Beaſts, and whatever can be expected in that Climate.

18. Leaving *Borneo*, they came to the Iſle *Cimbubon*, which lies in 8° 7′ of North Latitude: Here they ſtayed Forty Days calking their Ships, and taking in freſh Water and Fuel. In the Woods of this Iſle they found a Tree, the Leaves of which, as ſoon as they fall on the Ground, move from Place to Place, as if they were alive. They reſemble Mulberry-leaves, and on the Sides of them there are certain Fibres produced, that ſeem like little Eggs. If they are cut or broken, there is nothing like Blood comes forth; but, if they are touched, they ſuddenly ſpring away. *Pigafetta*, from whom we take the Account, tried this, keeping one of theſe Leaf-Animals in a Diſh for Eight Days[k]. The Iſle abounds with Oſtriches, wild Hogs, and Crocodiles. They took here a Fiſh, headed like a Swine, with Two Horns; its Body all one intire Bone, and ſomething like a Saddle on its Back. They ſailed from hence by the Weſt towards the South-eaſt for the *Moluccas*, and in their Way found the Sea full of Weeds and Herbs. This was near certain great Mountains. This Courſe brought them to the Iſles of *Solo Taghima*, which afforded very fine Pearl: From hence it was that the King of *Borneo* got a Couple of Pearls, as round, and very near as big, as a Hen's Egg.

19. They came next to harbour in the Iſle *Sarangani*, reported to yield both Gold and Pearl; and here they preſſed Two Pilots for their *Molucca* Voyage. They paſſed the Iſles *Ceana*, *Canida*, *Cabiaio*, *Camuca*, *Cabalu*, *Chiai*, *Lipan*, and *Nuza*; and came to a fair Iſland, called *Sanger*, in 3° 20′ of North Latitude; which Iſle had Four Kings. Having paſſed Five other Iſlands, they at laſt eſpied a ſmall Cluſter of Five Iſlands, which their Pilots ſaid were the *Moluccas*. This was the 6th of *November*, and the 27th Month after their Departure from *Spain*. They tried the Depth of the Sea, with their Plumbet, about theſe Iſlands, and found it no leſs than 102 Yards; which ſhews, that the *Portugueſe* deſigned none elſe ſhould come thither but themſelves, when they told the World, that thoſe Seas were ſo ſhallow, that there was no ſailing there, beſides the other Dangers of Rocks and Shelves, and continual Darkneſs.

20. *November* 8. before Sun-riſing, they entered the Port of *Tiridore*, which is one of the Chief of the *Moluccas*. The King was a *Moor*, but, notwithſtanding the Prejudices of his Religion, ſo extremely fond of the *Spaniards*, and ſo much devoted to the Service of their Maſter, that he bid them come aſhore into their own Country and Houſes, called them his Brethren and Children; nay, in Compliment to them, changed the Name of his Kingdom from *Tiridore* into *Caſtile*. Theſe *Moluccas* are Five in Number, *Ternate*, *Tiridore*, *Mutir*, *Macchian*, and *Bacchian*; of all theſe *Ternate* is the chief, and the King of it was once Lord of all the reſt. *Mutir* and *Macchian* were then Commonwealths, but *Bacchian* a Monarchy. The Clove-trees here are very tall, and as big about as a Man; the Boughs large in the Middle, and ſharp at the Top; the Leaves like thoſe of Bay-trees, and the Bark of an olive Colour. The Cloves grow in large Cluſters at the Tops of the Boughs; at firſt they are white, red when they come to Maturity, and grow black by after-drying; the Leaf, Bark, and Wood, being green, is as ſtrong as the Clove itſelf: They gather them twice a Year, in *June* and *December*; and, if they don't take them in time, they grow very hard. Every Man has his own peculiar Trees, but they beſtow but little Huſbandry upon them. They have alſo in this Iſle a ſort of a Tree, the Bark of which, being ſteeped in Water, may be drawn out in ſmall Fibres to the Fineneſs of Silk; and of this the Women make a ſort of Aprons, which is all the Covering they make uſe of.

21. Near *Tiridore* lies the great Iſle *Gilolo*, which is divided between *Moors* and *Heathens*: The Two Kings of the *Moors* have contributed themſelves very liberally to the peopling of the Iſland, the one of them having 600, and the other 650 Children. The *Pagans* were more abſtemious in theſe Matters, as well as leſs ſuperſtitious in other reſpects, than the *Moors*; yet they report of them, that they adore the firſt thing they ſee in the Morning. In this Iſle there is a ſort of a Reed grows as big as a Man's Leg, and full of a very limpid Water, which makes a wholſome Drink. *November* 12. a public Warehouſe was appointed in the City for the Sale of their Merchandize: The Exchange at the following Rates; for Ten Yards of good red Cloth, they had one Bahar of Cloves, every Bahar being Four Canters, and Six Pounds, and every Canter 100 *lb.* Weight: For Fifteen Yards of a meaner Cloth, they had in *Cambie* one Bahar: For Thirty-five drinking Glaſſes, one Bahar: For Seventeen Cathyls of Quickſilver, one Bahar. They brought all ſorts of Proviſions daily to their Ships, and a ſort of freſh Water, which ſprings out of the Mountains where the Cloves grow. It is hot when it comes out of the Spring, but very cold when it has ſtood awhile in ſome other Place. They received here a very ſingular Preſent for the King of *Spain* from the King of *Bacchian*, which was a Couple of dead Birds, about the Bigneſs of Turtles, with very little Heads and Legs, long Bills, Two or Three long Feathers, parti-coloured at their Sides, inſtead of Wings; their whole Bodies beſides of one Colour,

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[k] This Account is not only improbable, but incredible: Yet I have retained it, becauſe, on the Credit of *Pigafetta*, it has been taken into ſeveral Treatiſes of Natural Hiſtory.

and that near a Tawny; they never fly, but when the Wind blows to help them; the *Moors* fanſy they come down from Paradiſe, and therefore call them the Birds of God. As for all the *Moluccas* in general, their Products are Cloves, Ginger, Rice, Sagu-bread, Goats, Sheep, Hens, Popinjays, white and red Figs, Almonds, Pomegranates, Oranges, and Lemons, and a ſort of Honey which is made by Flies leſs than Ants; beſides Sugar-canes, Oil of Cocoas, Melons, Gourds, and a Fruit which they call Camulical, which is extremely cold. The Natives of theſe Iſlands were all *Heathens*, the *Moors* having not had Footing there above Fifty Years before the *Spaniards* came. The Iſle *Tiridore* is in about 27 Minutes North Latitude, and 170° Longitude, from their Firſt Meridian, and about 9° 30′ from the *Archipelago*, in which are the *Ladrones*, and run to the Quarters of South-weſt and N.N.E. *Ternate* is in Four Minutes of South Latitude; *Mutir* is directly under the Equinoctial; *Machian* is in Fifteen Minutes of South Latitude; and *Bacchian* in One Minute; and this Iſle is the biggeſt of all the *Moluccas*. When they departed from hence, they had the Kings of ſeveral Iſlands attending them in their Canoes. They were conducted by them to the Iſle *Mare*, and there this Royal Company took their Leaves of them, not without great Sorrow. In this Iſle they left a leaking Ship behind them, giving Orders, if it could be repaired, for its Return into *Spain*.

22. They directed their Courſe to the South-weſt from *Mare*, being now more in Number than Forty-ſix *Spaniards*, and Thirteen *Indians*. They paſſed the Iſles of *Chacouan*, *Lagoma*, *Sico*, *Giogbi*, *Caphi*, *Sulacho*, *Lumatola*, *Tenetum*, *Buru*, *Ambon*, *Budia*, *Celaruri*, *Benaia*, *Ambalao*, *Bandon*, *Zorobua*, *Zolot*, *Moceuamor*, *Galian*, and *Mallua*, beſides many others poſſeſſed by *Moors*, *Heathens*, and *Canibals*. They ſtaid at *Mallua* Fifteen Days, repairing their Ships. It lies in 8° of South Latitude, and 169° 40′ Long. according to their Reckoning. There grows a vaſt deal of Pepper there, both long and round; the Leaves of the Tree like Mulberry-leaves, and climbing like Ivy. The People are perfect Canibals; the Men wear their Hair and Beards put up in Canes; and, for Weapons, uſe only Bows and Arrows. *January* the 25th, 1552. leaving *Mallua*, they arrived at *Tima*, which is Five Leagues diſtant between the South and South-weſt; here they found Ginger, the Wood of white Sanders, divers Fruits and Beaſts, Gold, and plenty of all ſorts of Proviſions: The People of the *Moluccas*, *Java*, and *Lozen*, fetch their Sanders from this Iſland. It lies in 10° South Latitude, and 174° of Longitude. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, and have among them, which is alſo common to all the Iſles of the *Archipelago*, the Diſtemper we call the *Venereal Diſeaſe*. Sailing a long Courſe from hence, between the Weſt and North-weſt, they came to the Iſle of *Eude*, which yields great Store of Cinnamon. In this Tract of Sea there is a long String of Iſlands lying in Order, behind one another, as far as the *Greater Java*, and the Cape of *Mallaca*. About half a League from this *Greater Java*, lies *Java the Leſs*, which is full as big as the Iſle of *Madeira*. *February* the 11th, ſailing from *Timor*, they got into the great Sea *Lantchidol*, and ſteered away between the Weſt and South-weſt, leaving the North Coaſt on their Right Hand, taking care not to ſail too near the Shore, leſt the *Portugueſe*, who were ſeated at *Malacca*, ſhould chance to diſcover them; and, on this Account, they directed their Courſe without the Iſle of *Sumatra*. And, that they might paſs the Cape of *Good-Hope* more ſecurely, they ſailed about 42° toward the South Pole, waiting in thoſe Parts Seven Weeks for the Wind. The Cape of *Good-Hope* they obſerved to be in 34° 15′ of South Latitude, and 1600 Leagues from the Cape of *Malacca*.

23. But, having paſt all Dangers of the Cape, being ſmartly pinched with Hunger and Sickneſs, ſome of them were for putting in at *Mozambique* for a little Refreſhment; but the major Part of the Company concluding, that the *Portugueſe*, who were there, would prove but untoward Phyſicians for their Diſtempers, they reſolved to ſail homewards: This they did in a Courſe towards the South-weſt, for the Space of Two Months, without touching any-where; in which time they loſt Twenty-one Men of their Company, the Remainder being upon the Point of ſtarving. They came in good time, under this Neceſſity, to *St. James*, which is one of the *Cape de Verde* Iſlands, and there they were forced to throw themſelves upon the Mercy of the *Portugueſe*; ſo that, venturing aſhore, they opened their miſerable Caſe to the *Portugueſe*, who were ſo generous as to relieve them the firſt, and ſo barbarous as to detain them Priſoners the next time they came for Food. Thoſe in the Ship, finding their Companions (Thirteen in Number) ſtopt by the *Portugueſe*, and having no mind to bear them Company in Priſon, made all the Haſte they poſſibly could away; and, the Wind filling their Sails, they came *September* 7. into the Haven of *St. Lucar*, near *Seville*.

24. The Perſon who commanded this Veſſel, which had the good Fortune to return, was one *John Sebaſtian Cano*, a Native of the Town of *Guetaria*, in *Biſcay*, a Man of great Spirit, and equal Fortune, whoſe Succeſs in this reſpect was very nobly rewarded by the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, who, to perpetuate the Memory of ſo glorious an Exploit, gave him for his Arms the Terreſtrial Globe, with this Motto, *Primus me circumdediſti*; that is, *Thou firſt ſurroundedſt me*. Some Critics have remarked, that, inſtead of *circumdediſti*, it ſhould have been *circumiviſti*, or *circumnavigâſti*; but this was a kind of Exactneſs unworthy of ſo great an Emperor. The new-diſcovered Streights were for awhile called the *Streights* of *Victoria*, from the Ship that returned; but they ſoon loſt that Name to aſſume another, which ſeemed much better to become them, I mean that of their Diſcoverer *Magellan*; which they are always like to bear, and thereby perpetuate the Memory of that worthy Man, who, in point of Courage and Conduct, ſhewed himſelf every way equal to the great Taſk he undertook, and who, though he did not live to come home in the *Victoria*, ought to be conſidered as the ſole Author of the Diſcoveries made in this Expedition, ſince the Courſe ſailed after his Death had nothing in it new, but was what the *Portugueſe* had often done before.

25. By this remarkable Expedition, the Skill and Penetration of the great *Columbus*, who firſt formed an Idea of the Poſſibility of performing it, received new Luſtre, and the World in general new Light. It was now no longer a Queſtion to be diſputed by Arguments, whether the World might be circum-navigated; this Voyage put it, as a Fact, out of Diſpute. One of *Magellan*'s Companions therefore, *Antonio Pigafetta*, a Native of *Vicenza*, in *Italy*, to whom we ſtand indebted for the beſt Account extant of the whole Voyage, had Reaſon to conclude his Relation thus: "Theſe were Mariners, who ſurely merited an eternal Memory, more juſtly than the *Argonauts* of old, who ſailed with *Jaſon*, in Search of the Golden Fleece, into the Region of *Colchis*, and entered the River *Phaſis*, from the Sea of *Pontus*. The Ship too undoubtedly deſerved far better to be placed among the Stars, than their Ship *Argo*, which, from *Greece*, diſcovered that great Sea: For this our wonderful Ship, taking her Departure from the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and ſailing Southwards through the great Ocean towards the *Antarctic* Pole, and then turning Weſt, followed that Courſe ſo long, that, paſſing round, ſhe came into the Eaſt, and thence again into the Weſt, not by ſailing back, but proceeding conſtantly forward; ſo compaſſing about the Globe of the World, until ſhe marvelouſly regained her native Country *Spain*, and the Port from which ſhe departed, *Seville*."

26. This remarkable Voyage took up Three Years and Thirty-ſeven Days; for they departed *Auguſt* 10. 1519. and returned *September* 6. 1522. One thing however was diſcovered in it by Experience, which Reaſon has taught to explain, though by Reaſon it could hardly have been found out; for, on their Arrival at the *Moluccas*, they found themſelves a Day miſtaken in their Reckoning, which was not owing to any Negligence in them, but to the Courſe they ſailed; for it is now a Truth, juſtified by Practice, as well as agreeable to the Principles of Geography and Navigation, that ſuch as ſail Eaſt, till they come back to the Place they left, have ſeen the Sun riſe, paſs the Meridian, and ſet, once more than their Countrymen they left behind them; and conſequently gain a Day; and that,

in like manner, ſuch as ſail Weſtward round the Globe, loſe a Day; which alters their Account, both with reſpect to the Day of the Month, and of the Week. *Magellan's* Crew could not avoid taking notice of ſo ſtrange a Circumſtance, though they knew not how to account for it; and yet modern Geographers explain it very naturally, and very preciſely: From whence it is evident, how much Practice is improved by Learning and Study; for this intirely depends upon the diurnal Circumvolution of the Sun, which may begin at any meridian Circle, and ſo go round till it comes back to the ſame Meridian. This being once conceived, the Whole becomes immediately plain; ſince ſuch as ſail Eaſtward, advance to a Meridian which the Sun reaches ſooner than he did that they left, and therefore they begin to count their Day ſo much the ſooner: For Example, if they ſail Fifteen Degrees, they will begin the Day an Hour ſooner, and this Anticipation ſtill increaſes as they go Eaſtward; and, being once come to the oppoſite Meridian, their Day begins Twelve Hours ſooner; and, having gone round, they begin the Day Twenty-four Hours ſooner than in the Place they came to, where it is Mid-day to both, when the Sun is in the South. And ſo they that go Weſt, will have the Sun later in their Meridian by a whole Hour, if they ſail Fifteen Degrees to the Weſt, which poſtpones the Day an Hour for every Fifteen Degrees, which comes to Twenty-four Hours in ſailing round. Since we are upon this Subject, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that they may differ a whole Day in ſome Places very near each other: For Inſtance, let us ſuppoſe a *Spaniſh* Ship to arrive at the *Philippine* Iſlands, and, at the ſame time, a *Portugueſe* Ship at *Macao*, a Port of *China*, poſſeſſed by that Nation, and under the ſame Meridian as ſome of the *Philippine* Iſlands: It may ſo happen, that the *Portugueſe* may keep *Eaſter*, while, with the *Spaniards*, it is ſtill *Lent*. We may eaſily apprehend this, if we conſider, that the *Portugueſe*, ſailing Eaſt, arrive a Day ſooner at *Macao*, than the *Spaniards*, who came Weſt, arrive at the *Philippines*; and thus, under the ſame Meridian, it is very poſſible they may differ a Day in their Reckoning.

27. Another Circumſtance that ſerved to heighten the Reputation of *Magellan*, was the Difficulty that other able Seamen met with in following his Courſe. The firſt that made that Attempt, were Two *Genoeſe* Ships in 1526. but without Effect. *Ferdinand Cortes*, the Conqueror of *New Spain*, ſent Two Ships, and 400 Men, in 1528. to diſcover the Way to the *Moluccas* through the Streights, but without Succeſs. *Sebaſtian Cabot* tried it alſo by Commiſſion from *Don Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, but could not do it. *Americus Veſpuſius* was ſent by the ſame Prince, but could neither find the Streights, nor the River of *La Plata*. *Simon Alcaſara*, a *Spaniard*, attempted it likewiſe with ſeveral Ships, and 144 Men; but came back without performing it, his Men having mutinied. All theſe ſeveral Attempts, as well by the *Spaniards* as other Nations, were made before the Expedition of Sir *Francis Drake*: An Account of which is to be our next Subject.

SECTION IV.

The Voyage of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE *round the Globe.*

1. *The Family and Character of Sir* Francis Drake. 2. *His Two firſt Expeditions againſt the* Spaniards, *and Reſolution to ſail through the* South Seas. 3. *His Strength when he ſailed*, A. D. 1577. *on this Expedition.* 4. *His Adventures in the* Cape de Verd *Iſlands.* 5. *Deſcription of the Iſlands of* St. Iago, *and* Del Fogo. 6. *Their Arrival on the Coaſt of* Braſil. 7. *Trade with the Inhabitants of the Country at the Mouth of the River* La Plata. 8. *Continue their Voyage to the Streights of* Magellan. 9. *Misfortune at the Iſland of* Mocha. 10. *Plunder the Town of* St. Iago, *on the Coaſt of* Chili. 11. *Other rich Prizes taken on that Coaſt.* 12. *A rich* Spaniſh *Veſſel called the* Cacafuego *taken, and* Guatulco *plundered.* 13. *They ſail Northward to the Coaſt of* California. 14. *Deſcription of that Country, and its Inhabitants.* 15. *Their Courſe to the* Moluccas, *and Tranſactions there.* 16. *Deſcription of ſeveral Iſlands.* 17. *Account of* Java Major, *and their long Run to* Sierra Leona. 18. *Departure from thence, and ſafe Arrival in* England *in* Sept. 16. 1580. 19. *Clamours raiſed againſt him on his Return.* 20. *Queen* Elizabeth *dines on board his Ship at* Deptford, *and confers on him the Honour of Knighthood.* 21. *Recapitulation of Things moſt obſervable in this Voyage of Sir* Francis Drake. 22. *A conciſe Account of his Actions to his Death.* 23. *The Conſequences of his ſailing round the Globe to Us, the* Spaniards, *and other Nations.*

1. IT has been obſerved of moſt of the Heroes of Antiquity, that they were of a dubious Deſcent; which gave an Opportunity of frequently fathering them upon their Gods: And in this, and well as in many other reſpects, Sir *Francis Drake* reſembled theſe ancient Heroes. The learned *Camden* tells us, that he was the Son of a Clergyman, who, in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, became Vicar of *Upnore*, on the River *Medway* [l]. But the induſtrious *John Stowe* ſays, that he was the eldeſt of Twelve Brethren, all Children of *Edmund Drake*, of *Taviſtock*, in the County of *Devon*, Mariner; and that he was born in the Year 1540 [m]. The only way to reconcile theſe Accounts, both of which I believe are true, is to ſuppoſe that *Edmund Drake*, being a zealous Proteſtant, ſuffering much for his Religion in the Days of *Henry* VIII. and, having likewiſe a competent Share of Learning, was ordained Deacon in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*, and ſettled at *Upnore*. As for our Hero, he received the Chriſtian Name of *Francis*, from his Godfather *Francis* Earl of *Bedford*: But it does not appear, that he obtained any great Benefit from that Nobleman's Patronage in his Youth; for I find, that, as ſoon as he was able, he was ſent to Sea, Apprentice to the Maſter of a ſmall Bark trading to *France* and *Zeland*; who, having a great Affection for the Lad, and being himſelf a Batchelor, when he came to die, left him his Bark. At the Age of Eighteen Mr. *Drake* was made Purſer of a Ship, which went to the Bay of *Biſcay*; and at Twenty he made a Voyage to the Coaſt of *Guiney*. In all theſe Voyages he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his extraordinary Courage, and by a Sagacity very unuſual in Perſons of his Age. His laudable Deſire of Glory induced him to venture all that he had in the World in a Voyage to the *Weſt Indies* in the Year 1565. but in this he had no Succeſs. In 1567. he ſerved under his Kinſman Sir *John Hawkins*, in the Bay of *Mexico*; but was ſtill unfortunate, returning from thence rich in point of Fame, but, as to his Circumſtances, in a manner undone. Theſe Diſappointments ſerved only to heighten his Reſentment; and therefore he made Two Voyages more into thoſe Parts, the firſt in 1570. with Two Ships, the *Dragon* and *Swan*, the ſecond in 1571. in the *Swan* alone, purely for the ſake of Information, and that he might qualify himſelf for undertaking ſomething of Importance in thoſe Parts, which, by his Courage and Perſeverance, he brought to bear [n].

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[l] In his Annals of Queen *Elizabeth*, *A. D.* 1595. where he ſays, that he had theſe Particulars from Sir *Francis Drake*'s own Mouth.

[m] In his *Hiſtory of England*, *p.* 587. where he ſays nothing of Mr. *Edmund Drake*'s being Vicar of *Upnore*, and yet ſhews abundance of Care in collecting the Dates and Facts.

[n] This Account has been compared with all hitherto publiſhed, particularly Mr. *Fletcher*'s, who was Chaplain during the Voyage.

2. His

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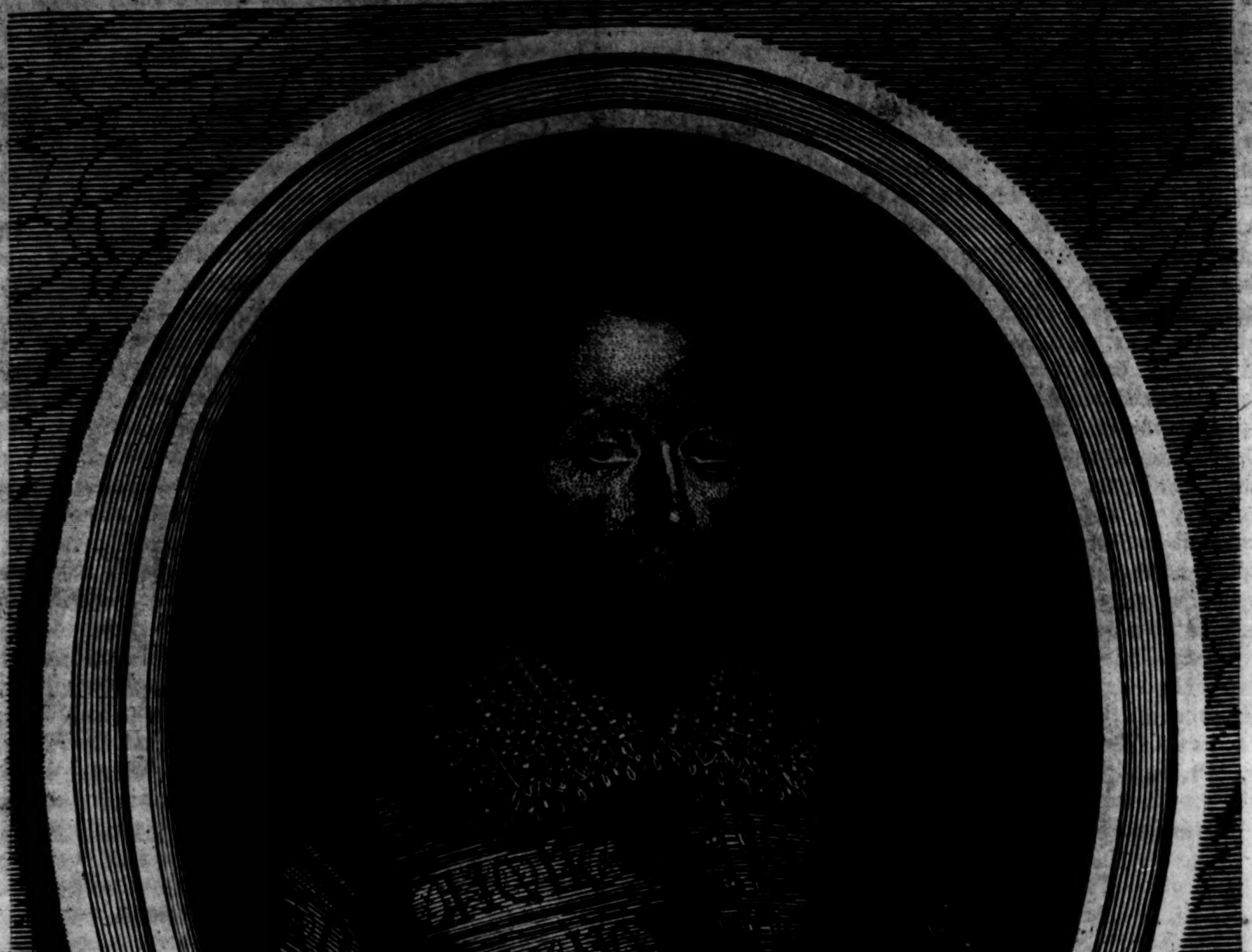

Sr. FRANCIS DRAKE,

Taken from an Original Painting late in the Poſseſsion of
Sr. Philip Sydenham Bart. deceased.

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2. His Character being now ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he found enow ready to venture Part of their Fortunes in a Voyage he propoſed; for which, having made all Things ready, he ſailed *May* the 24th, 1572. in the *Paſca* of *Plymouth*, which was of no greater Burden than Seventy Ton, having for his Conſort the *Swan*, of Two hundred and fifty Ton, commanded by his Brother *John Drake*, with Seventy-three Men and Boys, and Proviſions for a Year. Such was the Preparation he made for attacking the King of *Spain* in the *Weſt Indies*, which he believed he had a Right to do, in order to make Repriſals for what he had ſuffered by his Subjects. In this Voyage he ſacked the famous Town of *Nombre de Dios*, and ſoon after ſaw, from an high Tree, the *South Seas*; which Sight inflamed him with a violent Deſire of carrying an *Engliſh* Ship thither, an Attempt never made, perhaps never thought of, before that Time. In this Expedition he acquired immenſe Riches for his Owners, as well as himſelf; being a Man of ſuch Generoſity, that he ſcorned to take even thoſe Advantages, which any other Man would have conſidered as his Right; of which we have a very remarkable Inſtance in his Behaviour, on a Preſent made him by a Captain or Prince of the *Free Indians* inhabiting the Iſthmus of *Darien*, who, in Return for a Cutlaſs preſented him by Captain *Drake*, gave him Four large Wedges of Gold, which he threw into the common Stock: "My Owners, ſaid he, gave me "that Cutlaſs; and it is but juſt they ſhould have their Shares "of its Produce." His Return to *England* was as fortunate as his foreign Expedition; for, in Twenty-three Days, he ſailed from the Capes of *Florida*, to the Iſles of *Scilly*; and, arriving at *Plymouth* on *Sunday Auguſt* the 9th, 1573. in Sermon-time, the News of Captain *Drake*'s Return being carried into the Church, there remained few or no People with the Preacher, all running out to obſerve the Bleſſing of God upon the dangerous Adventures of the Captain, who had ſpent One Year, Two Months, and ſome odd Days, in this Voyage. The Wealth he had thus acquired, he generouſly ſpent in his Country's Service, equipping no leſs than Three Frigates at his own Expence, which he commanded in Perſon, and with which he contributed greatly to the Reduction of the rebellious *Iriſh*, under the Conduct of that worthy Nobleman *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex*. After his Death, he choſe for his Patron Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, at that time Vicechamberlain to the Queen, and afterwards Chancellor of *England*: By his Intereſt, notwithſtanding great Oppoſition, Captain *Drake* obtained the Queen's Commiſſion for that Voyage, which he had ſo long meditated.

3. He was no ſooner thus provided, than his Friends contributed largely towards this glorious Expedition; and Captain *Drake*, on his Side, applied with equal Diligence to the getting every thing ready for accompliſhing his Undertaking; and, with this View, equipped Five Ships, *viz.* the *Pelican*, called by him afterwards the *Hind*, Admiral, Burden an hundred Tons, *Francis Drake* Captain General; the *Elizabeth*, Vice-admiral, Eighty Tons, *John Winter* Captain; the *Marigold*, a Bark, of Thirty Tons, *John Thomas* Captain; the *Swan*, a Fly-boat, of Fifty Tons, Captain *John Cheſter*; and the *Chriſtopher*, a Pinnace of Fifteen Tons, Captain *Thomas Moon*. Theſe Ships he manned with One hundred and Sixty-four able Men, and furniſhed them with ſuch plentiful Proviſion of all Things neceſſary, as ſo long and dangerous a Voyage ſeemed to require, withal ſtowing certain Pinnaces aboard in Pieces, to be ſet up as Occaſion required; neither did he omit to make Proviſion alſo for Ornament and Delight, carrying for this Purpoſe with him expert Muſicians, rich Furniture, all the Veſſels for his Table, and many belonging to his Cook-room, being of Silver, with divers Utenſils of all ſorts of curious Workmanſhip, whereby the Civility and Magnificence of his native Country might, among all Nations, whither he ſhould come, be the more admired. Theſe are Circumſtances which ſhew how much this Gentleman had the Honour of this Nation at Heart, and with what generous Principles he was endowed; for which, however, ſome Writers have not ſcrupled to tax him with Vanity; ſo eaſy a Thing it is, for Men of little Minds to blaſt the nobleſt Purpoſes by their own baſe Suggeſtions! All Things being thus adjuſted, Captain *Drake* ſailed out of *Plymouth* Sound *November* the 5th, 1577. about Five in the Afternoon; but by a fearful Storm, wherein they ſuſtained ſome Damage, he was forced to put back again; when, having, in few Days, ſupplied all Defects on the 13th of *December*, the ſame Year, with more favourable Winds, he once more hoiſted his Sails, and put to Sea: He avoided, as much as he could, falling in too early with the Land; and, the Wind favouring his Deſign, they made none, till the 25th of the ſame Month they fell in with Cape *Cautin*, on the Coaſt of *Barbary*, and, on the 27th, came to the Iſle of *Mogador*, lying One Mile Diſtance from the Main, between which and the Iſle they found a very ſafe and convenient Harbour. Here the Admiral directed a Pinnace to be built, having brought, as we obſerved, the Hulks of Four ready framed from *England*. While they were upon this Work, ſome of the Inhabitants came to the Water-ſide, ſhewing Flags of Peace: Upon which the Admiral ſent out his Boat to know their Minds: One of his Men ſtayed as a Pledge amongſt them, and Two of their Company were brought a Shipboard. They told him by Signs, that the next Day they would furniſh his Ships with good Proviſions, which Civility he rewarded with Linen Cloth, Shoes, and a Javelin, Things very acceptable to them; and ſo they departed. The next Day they came as they had promiſed, and one of the Men, whoſe Name was *Fry*, leaping out of the Boat amongſt them, thinking to have leaped into the Arms of Friends, made himſelf the Priſoner of thoſe perfidious Wretches, who, threatening to ſtab him if he made any Reſiſtance, preſently mounted him a Horſeback, and carried him up into their Country; from whence, however, after Examination, he was ſent ſafely back into his own.

4. The Pinnace being finiſhed, they ſet Sail *December* the 30th, and *January* the 17th they arrived at Cape *Blanco*, where they found a Ship at Anchor within the Cape, having only Two Mariners in her: The Ship they took, and carried her into the Harbour, where they ſtayed Four Days; in which time the Admiral muſtered his Men aſhore, to prepare them for Land as well as Sea Service. Here they took of the Fiſhermen ſuch Neceſſaries as they wanted, and alſo one of their Barks of about Forty Ton, leaving behind them a little Bark of their own. They left this Harbour *January* the 22d, carrying along with them one of the *Portugueſe* Caravels, which was bound to the Iſles of Cape *de Verd* for Salt; the Maſter of the Caravel aſſured the Admiral, that in one of the Cape *de Verd* Iſlands, called *Mayo*, there was good Store of dried Cabritos, or Goats, which were every Year made ready for ſuch Ships of the King's as called there. They came to this Place *January* the 27th; but the Inhabitants would drive no Trade with them, the King's Orders having poſitively forbid it: Yet the next Day they went to take a View of the Iſland, the Admiral ſending out a Company of Men for that Purpoſe. They marched towards the chief Place of the Iſle, and, having travelled through the Mountains for Three Days, they came thither before Daybreak: They found that the Inhabitants were all run away, but, as for the Country, by the manuring, it appeared to be more fruitful, than the other Part of the Iſland. They reſted themſelves here awhile, and banqueted upon delicious Grapes, which were in their Prime even at that Seaſon of the Year which is the Depth of Winter with us in *England*. This Iſland is ſtored with Goats, wild Hens, and Salt, which Nature makes ready to the Inhabitants Hands: It is brought together in great Quantities upon the Land by the flowing of the Sea, and the Heat of the Sun kerns it. The People have no more to do, but to gather it into Heaps, and ſell it to their Neighbours, which they do, and reap great Profit from it. They found here alſo Cocoa-trees, which bear no Leaves nor Branches but at the Top; the Fruit grows in Cluſters, and each Cocoa is as big as a Man's Head: Having ſatisfied themſelves with theſe Fruits, they marched farther into the Iſland, and ſaw great Store of Cabritos; but they could take none of them, though, if they had pleaſed, they might have furniſhed themſelves with ſome that were old, dead, and dried, which the People had laid out on purpoſe for them; but, not caring for the Refuſe of the Iſland, they returned to their Ships, with an Account of what they had ſeen.

5. *January* the 21ſt, they went from hence, and ſailed by the Iſle *St. Iago*; in paſſing by which, the People diſcharged Three Pieces of Cannon at them, but without doing Miſchief. The Iſland is fair and large, inhabited by *Portugueſe*; but the Mountains are poſſeſſed by the *Moors*, who, to deliver themſelves from Slavery, fled to theſe Places of Refuge, where they have fortified themſelves. Before this Iſland they ſaw Two Ships under Sail, one of which they took, and found to be a good Prize, laden with Wines: The Admiral retained the Pilot, but diſcharged the Ship and the Men, giving them ſome Victuals, a Butt of Wine, and their wearing Cloaths *. The ſame Night they came to the Iſland *Del Fogo*, or the *Burning Iſland*, which is inhabited by *Portugueſe*: On the North Side there is a ſort of Vulcano, that is continually belching out Smoak and Flame: On the South Side lies a very delightful Iſland, full of Trees ever green and flouriſhing, and refreſhed with cooling Streams, that pour themſelves out into the Sea. Here was no convenient Road for their Ships, the Sea being ſo deep, that there was no Poſſibility of fixing an Anchor thereabouts. Leaving theſe Iſlands, they drew towards the Line, being ſometimes becalmed for a long time together, and, at others, beaten with Tempeſts. They had continually great Plenty of Fiſh, as Dolphins, Bonito's, and Flying-fiſhes, ſome of which dropt down into their Ships, and could not riſe again, becauſe their finny Wings wanted Moiſture.

6. From the firſt Day of their Departure from the Iſlands of *Cape Verde*, they ſailed 54 Days without Sight of Land; and the firſt which they ſaw was the Coaſt of *Braſil*, in 38° of South Latitude. *April* the 5th, the barbarous People on Shore, having diſcovered the Ships, began to uſe their accuſtomed Ceremonies, in order to raiſe a Storm to ſink their Ships: For this Purpoſe they made great Fires, and offered ſome Sacrifices to the Devil; but at preſent, it ſeems, he was not able to ſerve them. *April* the 7th, they had Lightning, Rain, and Thunder; in which Storm they loſt the Company of a little Bark, the *Chriſtopher*; but the 11th they found her again; and the Place where all the Ships, that were diſperſed in the Search of her, met together, the Admiral called *Cape Joy*, and here every Ship took in freſh Water. The Country hereabouts was fair and pleaſant, the Air ſweet and mild, the Soil rich and fruitful. The Inhabitants ſeemed to be only ſome Herds of wild Deer, no others being to be ſeen, though they diſcerned the Footſteps of ſome People in the Ground. Having weighed Anchor, and run a little farther, they found a ſmall Harbour between a Rock and the Main, where the Rock breaking the Force of the Sea, the Ship rode very ſafely. Upon this Rock they killed ſeveral Seals, keeping them for Food, and found them wholſome, though not pleaſant.

7. Their next Courſe being to 36° of South Latitude, they entered the great River of *Plate*, and came into between 53 and 54 Fathom of freſh Water; but, finding no good Harbour there, they put out to Sea again. Sailing on, they came to a good Bay; in which Bay were ſeveral pretty Iſlands, one of which was ſtock'd with Seals, and the others, for the moſt part, with Fowls, ſo that there was no want of any Proviſions, or of good Water there. The Admiral being on Shore in one of thoſe Iſlands, the People came dancing and leaping about him, and were very free to trade: But their Cuſtom was not to take any thing from any other Perſon, unleſs firſt thrown down on the Ground. They were comely ſtrong-bodied People, very ſwift of Foot, and of a briſk lively Conſtitution. The *Marigold*, and the *Chriſtopher*, (being ſent to diſcover a convenient Harbour) returned with the happy News of ſuch an one; into which they went with all their Ships. Here the Seals abounded to that degree, that they killed more than 200 in an Hour's Space. The Natives came boldly and confidently about them, while they were working on Shore; their Faces were painted, and their Apparel only a Covering of Beaſt-ſkins (with the Fur on) about their Waiſts, and ſomething wreathed about their Heads. They had Bows an Ell long, but no more than Two Arrows apiece. They ſeemed to be not altogether deſtitute of martial Diſcipline, as appeared by the Method they obſerved in ordering and ranging their Men; and they gave ſufficient Proof of their Agility, by ſtealing the Admiral's Hat off from his very Head; which was a brave Prize among them, one taking the Hat, and another the gold Lace that was on it; neither of which could ever be got from them again. They were the Nation which *Magellan* called *Patagons*.

8. Having diſpatched all Affairs in this Place, they ſailed; and, *June* the 20th, they anchored in Port *St. Julian*, ſo called by *Magellan*. Here they ſaw the Gibbet on which *Magellan* had formerly executed ſome of his mutinous Company: And here alſo Admiral *Drake* executed one Captain *Doughty*, the moſt ſuſpected Action of his Life. After which Execution, *Auguſt* the 17th, they left *St. Julian*'s Port, and the 20th fell in with the Streight of *Magellan*, going into the *South Sea*. The 21ſt they entered the Streight, which they found to lie very intricate and crooked, with divers Turnings; by which means, ſhifting about ſo often, the Wind would ſometimes be againſt them, which made their Sailing very troubleſome, and not only ſo, but dangerous too, eſpecially if any ſudden Blaſts of Wind came: For, though there be ſeveral good Harbours about, and freſh Water enough, yet the Sea is ſo deep, that there is no anchoring there, except in ſome very narrow River or Corner, or between the Rocks. There are vaſt Mountains, covered with Snow, that ſpread along the Land on both Sides the Streights; the Tops of which mount up in the Air to a prodigious Height, having Two or Three Regions of Clouds lying in Order below them. The Streights are extremely cold with Froſt and Snow continually: Yet the Trees and Plants maintain a conſtant Verdure, and flouriſh notwithſtanding the ſeeming Severity of the Weather. At the South and Eaſt Parts of the Streight there are various Iſlands, between which the Sea breaks into the Streights, as it does into the main Entrance: The Breadth of it is from one League, where it is the narroweſt, to Two, Three, or Four Leagues, which is the wideſt; and the Tides riſe high through the Whole.

9. *Auguſt* the 24th, they came to an Iſland in the Streights, where were Pengwins, a ſort of Fowls as big as Geeſe, that could not fly; and they were in ſuch Multitudes, that they killed 3000 in leſs than one Day. *September* the 6th, they entered the *South Sea* at the Cape or Head Shore. And the 7th they were driven by a Storm back from that Entrance more than 200 Leagues Longitude, and 1° to the South of the Streight; from the Bay they were driven Southwards of the Streights, in 57° of South Latitude, where they anchored among the Iſlands, finding good freſh Water, and excellent Herbs. Not far from hence, they entered another Bay, where they found naked People, ranging from one Iſland to another in their Canoes, to ſeek Proviſions. Theſe traded with them for ſuch Commodities as they had. Sailing Northward from hence, they found Three Iſlands, *October* the 3d, in one of which was ſuch Plenty of Birds, as is hardly credible. *October* the 8th, they loſt the Company of the Ship, in which was Mr. *Winter*. Being now come to the other Mouth of the Streights, they put away towards the Coaſt of *Chili*, which the general Maps place to the South-weſt, but they found afterwards to lie to the North-eaſt and Eaſterly; ſo that thoſe Coaſts were either not fully diſcovered, or at leaſt not faithfully deſcribed. They proceeded ſtill in the ſame Courſe, till, upon the 29th of *November*, they came to the Iſle of *Mocha*, where they caſt Anchor, and the Admiral, with Ten Men, went aſhore. The People that dwelt there, were ſuch as the extreme Cruelty of the *Spaniards* had forced from their own Habitations to this Iſland, to preſerve their Lives and Liberties. They carried themſelves at firſt very civilly to the Admiral and his Men, bringing them Potatoes, and Two fat Sheep, promiſing alſo to bring them Water; for which they received ſome Preſents. The next Day Two Men were ſent aſhore with Barrels for Water; and the Natives, having them at an Advantage, preſently ſeized them, and knocked them on the Head. The Reaſon of this Outrage was, becauſe they took them for *Spaniards*, whom they never ſpare when they fall into their Hands.

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* The Reaſon of taking theſe Ships was, that at this Time *Portugal* was annexed to the Crown of *Spain*.

10. Continuing their Courſe for *Chili*, and drawing near the Coaſts of it, they met an *Indian* in a Canoe, who, miſtaking them for *Spaniards*, told them, that at *St. Iago* there was a great *Spaniſh* Ship laden for *Peru*. The Admiral rewarding him for his Intelligence, he very readily conducted them where the Ship lay at Anchor, which was Port *Val Parizo*, in 33° 40′ of South Latitude. All the Men they had in her were no more than Eight *Spaniards*, and Three Negroes; and they, ſuppoſing the *Engliſh* to have been Friends, welcomed them by Beat of Drum, and invited them to drink ſome *Chili* Wine with them. But they, reſolving firſt to ſecure their Prize, and then drink, immediately boarded the Ship, and, driving all the *Spaniards* under Hatches, took Poſſeſſion. One of the *Spaniards*, ſeeing how they were ſerved, deſperately leaped overboard, and ſwam to the Town of *St. Iago*, to give them Notice of the coming of the *Engliſh*; upon which, all the Inhabitants preſently quitted the Town, and ran away, which they might quickly do, there not being above Nine Houſholds in the whole Town. The Admiral and his Men entered, rifled the Town and the Chapel, taking out of it a ſilver Chalice, Two Cruets, and an Altar-cloth. They found in the Town alſo a good Cargo of *Chili* Wine, and Boards of Cedar-wood; all which they carried to their Ships. The General then having ſet all the Priſoners on ſhore, except one, whom he reſerved for his Pilot, he left *St. Iago*, and directed his Courſe for *Lima*, the Capital of *Peru*.

11. As they were now at Sea, and had both Leiſure and Opportunity to examine the Particulars of the Booty taken at *St. Iago*, they found 25,000 Pezoes of pure Gold of *Baldivia*, which amounted to ſomewhat more than 37,000 *Spaniſh* Ducats: So, continuing their Courſe to *Lima*, they put into the Haven of *Coquimbo*, which lies in 29° 30′ S. L. Here the Admiral ſent Fourteen Men aſhore to fetch Water: But the *Spaniards* happening to ſpy this ſmall Company, and being reſolved, for the Glory of their Nation, to undertake Revenge upon ſo daring an Enemy, they, with an Army of 300 Horſe, and 200 Foot, attacked theſe Fourteen *Engliſh*; and, after ſome Diſpute, by the Help of their Guns, made a Slaughter of one of them, the other Thirteen coming back to the Ship. After this, the *Engliſh* going again on Shore to bury their dead Man, the *Spaniards* put out a Flag of Truce; but they, believing their Fidelity to be no greater than their Courage, did not care to truſt them, and ſo went off. From hence they came to a Port called *Tarapaxa*, where, being landed, they found a *Spaniard* aſleep upon the Shore with Eighteen Bars of Silver lying by him, which came to about 4000 *Spaniſh* Ducats: They did not think fit to diſturb the *Spaniard*'s Repoſe, but, taking the Silver, left him to take out his Nap. Not far from hence, going aſhore for Water, they met a *Spaniard* and an *Indian* driving Eight *Peruvian* Sheep, laden with very fine Silver, every Sheep having Two Leather Bags (containing Fifty Pounds Weight each) on his Back. They delivered the poor Animals from their irkſome Burdens, and lodged the Bags in their own Ships: After which, the *Indian* and *Spaniard* were permitted to drive on. They ſailed hence to *Arica*, which is in 8° 30′ of South Latitude; and, in this Port, found Three ſmall Barks, which, being rifled, yielded them Fifty-ſeven Wedges of Silver, each weighing about Twenty Pounds: They took no Priſoners in the Barks; for the Men that belonged to them, fearing no Strangers coming thither, were all gone on Shore to make merry amongſt themſelves. They did not aſſault the Town, having not Strength enough for it: So, putting out to Sea again, they met with another little Bark laden with Linen Cloth, Part of which the Admiral took, and ſo let her go, diſdaining to hurt others, where he could do himſelf no good.

12. *February* the 13th they came to the Port of *Lima*, which lies in 11° 50′ South Latitude; and, having entered the Haven, found there Twelve Sail of Ships lying faſt at Anchor, with all their Sails down, without Watch or Guard, their Maſters being all drinking and carouſing aſhore: Examining the Contents of theſe Ships, they found a Cheſt full of Rials of Plate, great Store of Silks and Linen; all which Plate they carried to their own Ships, and Part of the Silks and Linen. The Admiral here had notice of another very rich Ship, called the *Cacafuego*, which was gone towards *Paita*, which they purſuing thither, found her, before their Arrival, gone for *Panama*: But, however, though they miſſed their intended Prize, another (which they took in their Purſuit of her to *Panama*) paid them the Charge of their Voyage: For, beſides the Ropes, and other Tackling for Ships, which they found in her, ſhe yielded them Eighty Pounds Weight of Gold, together with a fine Crucifix of the ſame Metal, richly adorned with Emeralds; all which, with ſome of the Cordage, they ſeized: But, reſolving ſtill to proceed in the Purſuit of the *Cacafuego*, the Admiral, to encourage his Company, promiſed, that whoever firſt ſaw her, ſhould have his Gold Chain for a Reward; which fell to the Share of Mr. *John Drake*, who firſt deſcried her about Three o' Clock. About Six o' Clock they came up with her, gave her Three Shots, ſtruck down her Mizen, and boarded her. They found her full as rich and valuable as ſhe was reported to be, having aboard her Thirteen Cheſts full of Rials of Plate, Eighty Pounds Weight of Gold, a good Quantity of Jewels, and Twenty-ſix Ton of Silver Bars. The Place where this Prize was taken, was called Cape *San Franciſco*, about 150 Leagues from *Panama*, and in 1° of North Latitude: Amongſt other rich Pieces of Plate, which they found in this Ship, they met with a Couple of very large Silver Bowls gilt, which belonged to the Pilot of her: The Admiral, ſeeing theſe, told him, that he had Two fine Bowls, but he muſt needs have one of them; which the Pilot yielded to, not knowing how to help himſelf; and, to make it look leſs like Compulſion, he preſented the other of them to the Admiral's Steward. The Pilot's Boy (when they went away) told the Admiral, that his Ship, and not theirs, ſhould now be called the *Cacafuego*, ſince it had gotten all the rich Lading of the *Cacafuego* in it, and that theirs might be ſtiled the *Cacaplata*; which Jeſt of the Boy's made the Company very merry [p]. After this, having intirely ranſacked the *Cacafuego*, they caſt her off; and, continuing their Courſe to the Weſt, they met with a Ship laden with Linen Cloth, *China* Diſhes, and Silks of the ſame Country; the Owner of it was a *Spaniard*, then on board, from whom the Admiral took a Falcon, wrought with maſſy Gold, with a great Emerald ſet in the Breaſt of it; beſides this, chuſing what he liked of the Wares aboard this Veſſel, and ſeizing the Pilot for his own Service, he turned off the Ship. This Pilot brought them to the Haven of *Guatulco*, the Town adjacent to which had but (as he ſaid) Seventeen *Spaniards* in it: Having, therefore, put to Shore, they marched directly to the Town, and ſo up to the public Hall of Juſtice, where they found a Court ſitting, and a Judge ready to paſs Sentence upon a Parcel of poor Negroes, that were accuſed of a Plot to fire the Town: But the Admiral's coming changed the Scene of Affairs at this Court; for he, being Judge himſelf, paſſed Sentence upon them all, both Judges and Criminals, to become his Priſoners; which Sentence was preſently executed, and they all carried away to the Ships. Here he made the Chief Judge write to the Townſmen, to keep at a Diſtance, and not pretend to make any Reſiſtance: So the Town being cleared, they ranſacked it all over, finding no other valuable Plunder than about a Buſhel of Rials of Plate; only one of their Company took a rich *Spaniard* flying out of the Town, who paid him for his Trouble in purſuing him, with a Gold Chain, and ſome Jewels. Here the Admiral ſetting aſhore ſome *Spaniſh* Priſoners, and his old *Portugueſe* Pilot, whom he took at the Iſland of Cape *de Verd*, departed hence for the Iſland *Canno*: While they lay here, a certain *Spaniſh* Ship, bound for the *Philippine* Iſlands, came in their Way, which they only lightened of a Part of the Burden of her Merchandize, and ſo diſcharged her.

13. The Admiral, now thinking he had, in ſome meaſure, revenged both the public Injuries of his Country, as well as his own private Wrongs, upon the *Spaniards*, began to deliberate upon his Return home: But which Way he ſhould take, was the Queſtion to be reſolved: To return by the Streights of the *South Sea* (and as yet no other Paſſage had been diſcovered) he thought would be to throw himſelf into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who

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[p] This, I muſt own, is a very coarſe Forecaſtle Joke, turning on the Words *Cacafuego* and *Cacaplata*, that is, *Fartfire* and *Fartplate*.

would probably there wait for him, with a far greater Strength than he could now cope with; for he had at this time but one Ship left, not ſtrong, though it was a very rich one. All Things therefore conſidered, he reſolved to go round to the *Moluccas*, and ſo follow the Courſe of the *Portugueſe*, to get Home by the Cape of *Good Hope*: But, being becalmed, he found it neceſſary to ſail more Northerly to get a good Wind; upon which Deſign they ſailed at leaſt 600 Leagues, which was all the Way they made from *April* 16. to *June* 3. *June* 5. being got into 43° of North Latitude, they found the Air exceſſive cold; and, the further they went, the Severity of the Weather was more intolerable: Upon which Score they made toward the Land, till they came into 38° North Latitude, under which Height of the Pole they found a very good Bay, and had a favourable Wind to enter the ſame. Accordingly here they had ſome Correſpondence with the People of the Country, whoſe Houſes lay all along upon the Water-ſide. They ſent the Admiral a Preſent of Feathers, and Cawls of Net-work, who entertained them with ſo much Kindneſs and Liberality, that the poor People were infinitely pleaſed. Though the Country be cold, yet they ſo order the Matter in the framing their Houſes, as to live out of Danger of ſtarving; for they ſurround them with a deep Trench, upon the outmoſt Edge of which they raiſe up great Pieces of Timber, which cloſe all together at the Top like the Spire of a Steeple; their Bed is the bare Ground, ſtrewed with Ruſhes, and their Fire-place in the Middle, about which they all lie. The Men go naked, the Women wear a cloſe Garment of Bulruſhes, dreſſed after the manner of Hemp, which, faſtened about their Middles, hangs down to their Hips, and upon their Shoulders they have a Deer's Skin; but their very good Qualities make Amends for their ordinary Dreſs and Figure, being extremely dutiful to their Huſbands. The Admiral had, quickly after, another Preſent from them, which was Feathers, and Bags of Tobacco; a conſiderable Body of them waiting upon him at the ſame time: They were all gathered together at the Top of an Hill, from whence their Speaker harangued the Admiral, who lay below in his Tent pitched at the Bottom of the Hill: When this was ended, they left their Weapons, and came down, offering their own Preſents, and, at the ſame time, civilly returning theſe which the Admiral had made them. All the while, the Women who remained above, poſſeſſed with a mad Fury, tore their Hair, and made dreadful Howlings, which is the common Muſic at their Sacrifices, ſomething of which Nature was then ſolemnizing: But whilſt theſe above were ſerving the Devil, the Men below were better employed, attending very diligently to Divine Service, then performed in the Admiral's Tent. Theſe Circumſtances, though trivial in themſelves, are of Conſequence in aſſerting our firſt Diſcovery of *California*.

14. The News of the *Engliſh* being there, having ſpread about in the Country, there came Two Ambaſſadors to the Admiral, to tell him, that the King was coming to wait upon him, and deſired a Token of Peace to aſſure his ſafe Conduct. The Admiral having given this, the whole Train began to march towards them, and that in very good and graceful Order: In the Front came a very comely Perſon, bearing the Sceptre before the King, upon which hung Two Crowns, and Three Chains of a very great Length: The Crowns were made of Net-work, and artificially wrought with Feathers of many Colours, and the Chains were made of Bones. Next to the Sceptre-bearer came the King himſelf, a very comely proper Perſon, ſhewing an Air of Majeſty in all his Deportment; he was ſurrounded by a Guard of tall martial-looked Men, who were all clad in Skins: Next to theſe came the common People, having (to make the finer Shew) painted their Faces, ſome white, ſome black, and ſome of other Colours, and all with their Arms full of Preſents, even the very Children not excepted. The Admiral drew up all his Men in Line of Battle, and ſtood ready to receive them within his Fortifications: At ſome Diſtance from him, the whole Train made a Halt, and kept a profound Silence, at which Time the Sceptre-bearer made a Speech of half an Hour long: This being ended, the ſame Officer, of a Speech-maker, became a Dancing-maſter, and, at the ſame time, ſtruck up a Song, in both which he was followed by King, Lords, and common People, who came ſinging and dancing up to the Admiral's Fences. Being all ſet down there, (after ſome preliminary Compliments) the King made a ſolemn Offer of all his whole Kingdom, and its Dependences, to the Admiral, deſiring him to take the Sovereignty upon him; and profeſſing, that he himſelf would be his very loyal Subject: And, that this might not ſeem to be mere Compliment and Pretence, he did, by the Conſent of his Nobles there preſent, take off the illuſtrious Crown of Feathers from his own Head, and fix it upon the Admiral's; and, at the ſame time, inveſting him with the other Enſigns of Royalty, did, as much as in him lay, make him King of the Country. The Admiral accepted of this new-offered Dignity, as her Majeſty's Repreſentative, in her Name, and for her Uſe; it being probable, that from this Donation, whether made in jeſt or in earneſt, by theſe *Indians*, ſome real Advantages might hereafter redound to the *Engliſh* Nation and Intereſt in thoſe Parts. The common People diſperſed themſelves up and down every-where amongſt the Admiral's Tents, expreſſing an Admiration and Value for the *Engliſh*, to the Degree of Madneſs and Profaneneſs, coming before them with Sacrifices, which they pretended to offer with a profound Devotion to them, till they, by Force, kept them back, expreſſing their utmoſt Abhorrence of them; and directed them to the Supreme Maker and Preſerver of all Things, whom alone they ought to honour with religious Worſhip. The Admiral and his People travelled to ſome Diſtance up in the Country, which they found to be extremely full of Deer, which were large and fat, and very often 1000 in a Herd. There was alſo ſuch a vaſt Plenty of Rabbets, that the whole Country ſeemed to be one intire great Warren; they were of the Bigneſs of a *Barbary* Coney, their Heads like thoſe in our Parts, their Feet like a Mole's, and their Tail reſembling that of a Rat; under the Chin of each Side is faſtened a Bag, into which the Creature injects what Food it gets Abroad, and preſerves it for a Time of Neceſſity. The Fleſh of them is a valuable Diſh among the Natives, and their Skins afford Robes for the King, and all the great Men. The Earth of the Country ſeemed to promiſe very rich Veins of Gold and Silver, there being hardly any digging without throwing up ſome of the Ores of them. The Admiral called it *Nova Albion*, partly in Honour to his own Country, and partly from the Proſpect of white Cliffs and Banks, which it yields to them that view it from the Sea. At his Departure hence, he ſet up a Monument with a large Plate, upon which were engraven her Majeſty's Name, Picture, Arms, Title to the Country, the Time of their Arrival there, and the Admiral's own Name. In this Country the *Spaniards* had never ſet Footing, nor did they ever diſcover the Land by many Degrees to the Southward of this Place.

15. Sailing from hence, they loſt Sight of Land till *October* 13. upon which Day in the Morning they fell in with certain Iſlands in 8° of North Latitude; from whence they met a great Number of Canoes coming laden with Cocoas, and other Fruit: Theſe Canoes were hollowed within with a great deal of Art, and looked ſmooth and ſhining without like burniſhed Horn; the Prow and Stern both yielded inwards, Circlewiſe; on each Side of them lay out Two Pieces of Timber, about a Yard and an half long, more or leſs, as the Veſſel was bigger or leſs; they were of a conſiderable Height, and, for Shew, ſet off in the Inſide with white Shells: The People that were in them, had the lower Part of their Ears cut round, and ſtretched down a conſiderable Way upon their Cheeks, by the Weight of thoſe Things they hang in them. They ſeemed to deſign their Nails for Weapons, letting them grow a full Inch in Length. Their Teeth are as black as Pitch; and they have a way to preſerve them, by eating of an Herb, with a ſort of Powder, which they ever carry about with them for that Purpoſe. *October* 18. they came to ſeveral other Iſlands; ſome of which appeared to be very populous, and continued their Courſe by the Iſlands of *Tagulada*, *Zelon*, and *Zewarra*; the firſt of which had good Store of Cinnamon, and the Inhabitants of all of them were Friends to the *Portugueſe*. The Admiral, without making any Delay, ſteered the ſame Courſe ſtill. *November*

the 14th, they fell in with the *Moluccas*, and, intending for *Tiridore*, as they coaſted along the Iſland *Mutyr*, which belongs to the King of *Ternate*, they met his Viceroy, who, ſeeing the Admiral's Ship, without Fear came aboard him. He adviſed the Admiral by no means to proſecute his Voyage to *Tiridore*, but to ſail directly for *Ternate*, becauſe his Maſter was a very great Enemy to the *Portugueſe*, and would have nothing to do with them, if they were at all concerned with *Tiridore*, or that Nation, who were ſettled there. The Admiral, upon this, reſolved upon *Ternate*; and early next Morning came to an Anchor before the Town: He ſent a Meſſenger to the King with a Velvet Cloak, as a Preſent, and to aſſure him, that he came thither with no Deſign, but purely that of trading in his Country. The Viceroy alſo by this time had been with the King, and diſpoſed him to entertain a very favourable Opinion of the *Engliſh*; which wrought ſo far, that the King returned a very civil and obliging Anſwer to the Admiral's Meſſage, aſſuring him, that a friendly Correſpondence with the *Engliſh* Nation was highly pleaſing to him; that his whole Kingdom ſhould lie open to them, and whatever it yielded ſhould be at their Service; and, more than that, that he was ready to lay himſelf, and his Kingdom, at the Foot of ſo glorious a Princeſs, as was the Queen, whom they ſerved, and to make her his Sovereign, as well as theirs: And, in Token of this, he ſent the Admiral a Signet, carrying it, beſides, with a very great Reſpect to the *Engliſh* Meſſenger, who went to Court, and had been received there with much Pomp and Ceremony. The King, having a mind to make the Admiral a Viſit on Ship-board, ſent beforehand Four large Canoes, filled with the moſt highly dignified Perſons about him; they were all dreſſed in white Lawn, and had an exceeding large Umbrella of very fine perfumed Mats, (borne up with a Frame made of Reeds) ſpreading over their Heads, from one End of the Canoe to another; their Servants, clad in White, ſtood about them; and, without theſe, were Ranks of Soldiers placed: In Order, on both Sides their martial Men, were placed the Rowers, in certain well-contrived Galleries, which lay Three of a Side all along the Canoes, and were decently raiſed one above the other, each Gallery containing Eighty Rowers. Theſe Canoes were furniſhed too with all warlike Proviſions, and the Soldiers well accoutred, having all manner of Weapons, both offenſive and defenſive. Rowing near the Ship, they all paid their Reverences to the Admiral, in great Order, one after another; and told him, That the King had ſent them to conduct him into a ſafer Road than that he was in at preſent. Soon after came the King himſelf, attended by Six grave antient Perſons: He ſeemed to be much pleaſed with the *Engliſh* Muſic, and much more with the *Engliſh* Generoſity, which the Admiral expreſſed to the full in very large Preſents made to him, and his Nobles. The King promiſed the next Day to come aboard again; and that ſame Night ſent them in Store of Proviſions, as Rice, Hens, Sugar, Cloves, a Sort of Fruit they call *Frigo* and *Sago*, which is a Meal they make out of the Tops of Trees, melting in the Mouth like Sugar, but taſting like a ſour Curd; but yet, when made up into Cakes, will keep ſo as to be very fit for eating at Ten Years End. The King came not aboard according to his Promiſe, but ſent his Brother to excuſe him, and withal to invite the Admiral aſhore, and to be a Pledge for his ſafe Return: The Admiral declined going himſelf, but ſent ſome Gentlemen of his Retinue, in Company of the King's Brother, and kept the Viceroy till their Return. They were received aſhore by another Brother of the King's, and ſeveral of the Nobles, and conducted in great State to the Caſtle, where there was a Court of at leaſt One thouſand Perſons, the principal of which was the Council, to the Number of Sixty, very grave Perſons, and Four *Turkiſh* Envoys, in ſcarlet Robes and Turbants, who were there to negotiate in Matters of Trade between *Conſtantinople* and *Ternate*: The King came in, guarded by Twelve Lances, a glorious Canopy, embroidered with Gold, being carried over his Head. He had a looſe Robe of Cloth of Gold hung about him, his Legs bare, but Shoes of Cordovan upon his Feet; he had Circlets of Gold wreathed up and down in his Hair, and a large Chain of the ſame Metal about his Neck, and very fair Jewels upon his Fingers. A Page ſtood at the Right Hand of his Chair of State, blowing the cool Air upon him with a Fan Two Foot in Length, and One broad, curiouſly embroider'd and adorned with Saphires, faſtened to a Staff Three Foot long, by which the Page moved it. He kindly received the *Engliſh* Gentlemen, and, having heard their Meſſage, ſent one of his Council to conduct them back to their Ships. He is a potent Prince, and has Seventy Iſlands under him, beſides *Ternate*, which is itſelf the beſt of all the *Moluccas*. His Religion, and that of his Country, is *Mahometaniſm*. They obſerve new Moons, and Faſts, as the Followers of *Mahomet* do; in which Faſts, though they mortify the Fleſh by Day, yet they pamper it as much in the Night.

16. After this, the Admiral, having diſpatched all his Affairs here, weighed Anchor, and put off from *Ternate*, ſailing to a little Iſland Southward of the *Celebes*, where they ſtaid Twenty-ſix Days. This Iſland is extremely woody; the Trees are of a large, high Growth, ſtrait, and without Boughs, except at Top, and the Leaves ſomething like our *Engliſh* Broom. Here they obſerved a Sort of ſhining Flies, in great Multitudes, no bigger than the common Fly in *England*, which, ſkimming up and down in the Air, between the Trees and Buſhes, made them appear as if they were burning. Here are Bats alſo as big as Hens, and a Sort of Land Cray-fiſh, which dig Holes in the Earth like Conies, and are ſo large, that one of them will plentifully dine Four Perſons. Setting Sail from hence, they deſigned to have run for the *Molucas*; but, having a bad Wind, and being amongſt a Parcel of Iſlands, with much Difficulty they recovered the Mouth of *Celebes*; where, being not able, for contrary Winds, to continue a Weſtern Courſe, they altered to the Southward again; which they found very hazardous, by reaſon of the Shoals that lie thick among the Iſlands. This they proved by a dangerous, and almoſt fatal Experiment, on *Jan.* 9. 1579. when they ran upon a Rock, in which they ſtuck faſt from Eight at Night to Four in the Afternoon of the next Day. In this Diſtreſs, they lightened their Ship upon the Rocks of Three Ton of Cloves, Eight Pieces of Ordnance, and ſome Proviſions; very quickly after which, the Wind chopping about from the Starboard to the Larboard of the Ship, they hoiſted Sail; and the happy Gale, at that Moment, intirely diſengaged them from the Incumbrances of the Rock. *February* 18. they fell in with the fruitful Iſland *Baratene*, having, in the mean time, ſuffered much by Winds and Shoals. The People of it are of a comely Proportion in their Bodies, but of a far more beautiful Diſpoſition of Mind, being very civil and courteous to Strangers, and punctually juſt in all their Dealings. The Men cover only their Heads, and the Pudenda; but the Women, from the Waiſt, down to the Foot: Beſides which, they load their Arms with large heavy Bracelets, ſome of Bone, and others of Braſs and Horn, weighing, the leaſt of them, Two Ounces apiece; and of theſe they have on Eight or Ten at a time. Linen Cloth is a very good Commodity here; theſe People being fond of it, to make Girdles and Rolls for their Heads. The Iſland affords Gold, Silver, Copper, Sulphur, Nutmeg, Ginger, Long-pepper, Lemons, Cucumbers, Cocoas, Frigo, Sago, *&c.* particularly a Sort of Fruit, in Bigneſs, Form, and Huſk, reſembling a Bayberry, hard, but pleaſantly taſted, and, when boiled, is ſoft, and of good eaſy Digeſtion; in ſhort, (except *Ternate*) they met with no Place that yielded greater Plenty of all Comforts for human Life, than this Iſland did.

17. Leaving *Baratene*, they ſailed for *Java Major*, where they met with a courteous and honourable Entertainment likewiſe: The Iſland is governed by Five Kings, who live in perfect good Underſtanding with each other. They had once Four of their Majeſties on Ship-board at a time; and the Company of Two or Three of them very often. The *Javans* are a ſtout and warlike People, go well arm'd, with Swords, Targets, and Daggers, all of their own Manufacture, which is very curious, both as to the Faſhion and Temper of the Metal. They wear *Turkiſh* Turbants on their Heads; the upper Part of their Body is naked; but, from the Waiſt downwards, they have a Pintado of Silk, trailing on the Ground, of that Colour

which pleaſes them beſt. They manage their Women quite after another Rate than the *Moluccans* do; for theſe latter will hardly let a Stranger ſee them, whereas the former are ſo far from that Nicety, that they will very civilly offer a Traveller a Bedfellow. And, as they are thus civil and hoſpitable to Strangers, ſo they are pleaſant and ſociable among themſelves; for, in every Village, they have a Public Houſe, where they will meet, and bring their ſeveral Shares of Proviſions, joining all their Forces together in one great Feaſt, for the keeping up good Fellowſhip amongſt the King's Subjects. They have a way peculiar to themſelves of boiling Rice; they put it into an earthen Pot, which is of a conical Figure, open at the greater End, and perforated all over. In the mean time, they provide another large earthen Pot full of boiling Water, into which they put this perforated Veſſel, with the Rice, which ſwelling, and filling the Holes of the Pot, but a ſmall Quantity of Water can enter. By this ſort of boiling, the Rice is brought to a very firm Conſiſtency, and, at laſt, is caked into a ſort of Bread; of which, with Butter, Oil, Sugar, and Spices, they make ſeveral very pleaſant Kinds of Food. The *French* Diſeaſe prevails among them in this Iſland; but, inſtead of fetching out the Poiſon by a Salivation, they do it by a ſort of Perſpiration through all the Pores of the Body, and that by ſitting naked in the Sun for ſome Hours, whoſe ſcorching Rays open thoſe Paſſages, and give free Vent to the noxious Particles to diſcharge themſelves. The Admiral here had News of ſome great Ships that lay not far off; ſo, not knowing what they might prove, he would ſtay no longer. From hence they ſailed for the Cape of *Good Hope*, which was the firſt Land they fell in withal, neither did they touch at any other till they came to *Sierra Leona*, upon the Coaſt of *Guiney*. They paſſed the Cape *June* 18. and, by the Pleaſure of the Voyage that Way, found how much the *Portugueſe* had abuſed the World in their falſe Repreſentations of the Horrors and Dangers of it. *July* 22. they arrived at *Sierra Leona*, where they found great Store of Elephants, and Trees that had Oyſters faſtened to them, upon which they lived and multiplied, with which, and with the Lemons that grew there, they were much refreſhed.

18. After Two Days Stay, which they ſpent in wooding, watering, and taking in Refreſhments, they ſailed from thence. *July* 25. they found themſelves under the Tropic of *Cancer*, being then 50 Leagues off the neareſt Land. On the 22d of the ſame Month, they were in the Height of the *Canaries*; but, being ſufficiently ſtocked with all Neceſſaries, they made no Stay there, but continued their Voyage to *Plymouth*, where they arrived on *Monday September* 26. 1580. but, according to their Account, it was *Sunday*, the Cauſe of which different Computation we have before explained. In this Circum-navigation of the Globe he ſpent Two Years, Ten Months, and a few Days. The Report of his Return was very ſoon ſpread through the Kingdom; and, as that was an Age when Virtue might be ſaid to be in Faſhion, it made a great Noiſe, eſpecially among ſuch as affected to diſtinguiſh themſelves either as the Patrons of Arms, or Arts, all of them ſtriving to expreſs their Senſe of his Worth, by the Praiſes, and other Teſtimonies of Regard, which they paid to Captain *Drake*: And of the Epigrams, Songs, Poems, and ſuch-like Performances, in Commendation of him and his Ship, ſeveral Collections were made, which extended his Fame ſtill farther; though few or none of them can be truly ſaid to approach in any Degree the Worth of their Subject, which might not perhaps be ſo much owing to the want of Genius in Poetry, as to the want of a competent Skill in other Sciences neceſſary to enable them to form proper Deſcriptions for the Illuſtration of their Poems; which has made me often wonder, that ſome modern Writer has not endeavoured to reach the Character of the *Engliſh Homer*, by diſplaying in Verſe the Labours of Sir *Francis Drake*.

19. It was not, however, reaſonable to expect, that ſo bold and brave an Action, attended likewiſe by ſuch vaſt Applauſe, ſhould paſs altogether uncenſured; and therefore we need not be ſurpriſed, that there were many who endeavoured to give a wrong Colour to this gallant Action. They gave out, that his ſurrounding the Globe ſerved only to amuſe common Minds, and that the main Buſineſs of his Voyage was Plunder, of which, they ſaid, he had acquired enough to exempt the Nation from Taxes for Seven Years: That, as there was no War proclaimed againſt *Spain*, it was a dangerous Thing to own ſuch an Adventurer, ſince the Public might come to pay dear for the Prizes he had taken: That our Merchants had great Effects in *Spain*, and therefore Reaſon to doubt, that a Handle might be taken to ſeize our Merchants Goods to make good his Depredations. Theſe Objections really weighed much with ſome People, and others thought fit to countenance them, though they did not believe them. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador alſo attacked him by very warm Memorials, his Party ſtyling him the Maſter Thief of the unknown World. The Friends and Patrons of Captain *Drake*, however, who found themſelves wounded through his Sides, took abundance of Pains to vindicate his Conduct; alleging, on his Behalf, that he had the Queen's Commiſſion to juſtify his making Repriſals; that the more Wealth he had brought Home, the more the Nation was obliged to him; that the *Spaniards* had already done us very great Injuries, and therefore they had more Reaſon to fear us, than we them; that, in fine, if the King of *Spain* had a mind to ſeize our Merchants Effects, the Public would do well to receive this *Indian* Treaſure by way of Equivalent; and that, if they did not, it would break the Spirit of that ſort of Men, who were otherwiſe moſt like to break the Spirits of the *Spaniards*. Such were the Reaſonings on both Sides, while the Thing remained in Suſpenſe, as if Queen *Elizabeth* intended to hear every body's Sentiments, before ſhe decided the Merits of ſo great a Cauſe.

20. Things remained for a conſiderable Time in this Situation, during which Captain *Drake*, no doubt, was extremely uneaſy, as not knowing, whether, after all his Toils Abroad, he might not be declared a Pirate at Home. There is, however, Reaſon to believe, that the Queen delayed diſcloſing her Sentiments from Motives of true Policy, as inclining to ſee what Effects this Conduct of hers might have had upon the Court of *Spain*, which was certainly withheld from meddling, ſo far as was otherwiſe intended in her Affairs, by the Hopes of drawing ſo great a Treaſure out of her Hands; and, to keep them in this Hope, ſhe very artfully conſented to part with ſome ſmall Sums to *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Agent. At laſt, when Things were come to a Criſis, the Queen threw off the Veil at once; and Notice being given to Captain *Drake* of her Intention, ſhe, on the 4th of *April* 1581. went on board his Ship at *Deptford*, where ſhe was magnificently entertained; and, after Dinner, was graciouſly pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood on Captain *Drake*; telling him, at the ſame time, that his Actions did him more Honour than his Title. There was a prodigious Croud attended her Majeſty upon this Occaſion, ſo that they broke down the Bridge laid from the Shore to the Ship, by that time ſhe was got on board it; yet of 200 Perſons, who by this Accident fell into the *Thames*, not one was either drowned or hurt, which her Majeſty was pleaſed to attribute to the Fortune of Sir *Francis Drake*. After this public Approbation of the Sovereign, all Ranks of People redoubled their Congratulations; and Sir *Francis Drake* himſelf is ſaid thenceforward to have given for his Device the Terraqueous Globe, with this Motto, *Tu primus circumdediſti me*, i. e. *Thou firſt encompaſſedſt me*; but not excluding his former Motto, *Divino Auxilio*, i. e. *By the Help of God*. Henceforward the Reputation of Sir *Francis Drake* was continually increaſing, till he came to be conſidered as a kind of Oracle in Maritime Affairs, both by the Country and the Court.

21. I have dwelt the longer upon theſe Circumſtances, not only becauſe they have a near Relation to the Affair before us, and a ſtill nearer to the Man, of whom we are writing, but alſo becauſe I have found them ſcarce taken notice of by any of thoſe who have undertaken to record his Exploits. I ſhall next point out ſome of the moſt remarkable Advantages that aroſe from his ſucceſsful Execution of this noble Undertaking, that the Benefit of this kind of Reading may appear; and that whoever peruſes this Work, may be ſatisfied we do not barely tranſcribe the Writings of Authors, who have gone before us in this Way, but are inclined to add our Endeavours, to render theſe Relations

lations not only more entertaining, but of greater Uſe. In the firſt Place it is worthy of Remark, that our Hero was ſo fortunate, as fully to atchieve what others only attempted to perform. The great *Columbus*, who firſt pointed out the Way to others, lived not to become an Example himſelf. The famous *Ferdinand Magellan* went farther indeed, but had the Misfortune to be ſnatched away by a ſudden Death, in the midſt of his Diſcoveries, and of his Hopes. But *Drake* happily accompliſhed what he bravely attempted, and gave his Country the Honour of producing the firſt Commander who ſailed round the Globe. We muſt not conceive, that this Honour is a mere empty Sound, ſerving only to gratify the Vanity of our Nation; for it is, on the contrary, a very ſolid Benefit, as will appear, if we conſider, that a Reputation of this ſort is of very great Conſequence to a trading Nation. To be convinced of this, we need only look into the celebrated Collection of Voyages for the Eſtabliſhment of the *Eaſt India* Company in *Holland*; where, ſpeaking of *Oliver Van Noort*'s Circum-navigation, it is ſaid, that though the Profits of his Voyage were ſmall, yet the Company were extremely well ſatisfied with the Event, becauſe the *Dutch* could now boaſt, that a Subject of theirs had ſailed round the World, as well as *Drake* and *Candiſh*. It is, indeed, much for the Reputation of Sir *Francis Drake*, that, even at his firſt ſetting out, he ſeems to have had the Honour of his Country as much at Heart, as his own Fame or Fortune, by providng every thing in his Ship which might ſtrike the Eyes of Foreigners, and fill them with Admiration of the Country from whence he came. The ſame Spirit led him to proceed farther North in *America*, than the *Spaniards* themſelves had done; that is, to the Height of 38° of North Latitude, beyond which we know nothing with Certainty even at this Day. The Deſcription he has given us of the Country and People is very exact; and his taking Poſſeſſion of it, and beſtowing on it the Name of *Nova Albion*, was very prudent, and may ſome time or other turn much to our Account; ſince, if ever a Paſſage ſhould be diſcovered by the North-weſt, the *Spaniards* can never diſpute with us the Poſſeſſion of this Country, which is probably the neareſt to that Paſſage, even upon their own Principles; ſince they muſt allow us to have been the firſt Diſcoverers, and firſt Poſſeſſors; which gives us altogether as good a Right to that, as they have to any Part of their *Indies*. The ſame Generoſity, and public Spirit, diſplayed itſelf in his Behaviour to theſe People, and to all the other Nations with whom he converſed; of which we have authentic Teſtimonies in the Letters ſent by *Indian* Princes long after his Deceaſe, ſpeaking highly in the Praiſe of Captain *Drake*, and acknowledging, that they had conceived very reſpectful Sentiments of the *Engliſh* Nation, from the Uſage they had met with from him. I muſt confeſs, I have always looked upon it as a great Misfortune, that he did not himſelf leave us an Account of his Voyages and Diſcoveries; becauſe, from the Letters of his which are ſtill preſerved, it appears, that he was much more capable of recording his own Exploits, than any of thoſe who have employed their Pens on that Subject: We ſhould then have known, upon what Grounds he expected to have found a Paſſage back by the North; for, that he really did look for ſuch a Paſſage, is certain; and the only Reaſon why he quitted the Coaſt of *California* to ſail to the South-eaſt, was, that he found the Weather grew extremely cold; and thought, therefore, that, in the Circumſtances he was at that Time, it would be imprudent to purſue that Diſcovery any further in a Seaſon ſo advanced. This ſurely was juſt and reaſonable in him; but how it comes to paſs, that, from that Time to this, no farther Attempts have been made, in a Way that gave ſo early ſuch great Hopes, is very unaccountable. The *Spaniards* are certainly in the right, not to make, or at leaſt not to publiſh, any Diſcoveries upon this Coaſt for many Reaſons; but, undoubtedly, it ought to have been our Buſineſs to have purſued the Hints given us by Sir *Francis Drake*, and to have ſatisfied ourſelves, whether there was, or was not, ſuch a Paſſage as he expected to meet with. In his Courſe from *California* to the *Ladrones*, he made no Diſcoveries; unleſs we account it a Diſcovery, that he met with no Iſlands in thoſe Seas: But that he made his Paſſage in Sixty-eight Days, ſhews him to have been a very able Navigator, which alſo appears from many other Incidents in this long Voyage, which, however, he performed in much ſhorter time than the *Spaniards* who ſailed with *Magellan*; for, whereas they were Sixteen Months in their Paſſage from *Tiridore* to *Seville*, he arrived at *Plymouth*, from the ſame Iſland in the *Eaſt Indies*, in Ten Months. On the Whole, therefore, we may truly affirm, that this Voyage round the World, by Sir *Francis Drake*, was, in all its Circumſtances, perfectly well conducted; and that as he made the beſt Uſe poſſible of the Lights he received from others, ſo he left, by his Prudence and Diſcretion, a great and glorious Example to ſucceeding Times. Here, ſtrictly ſpeaking, we ought to conclude our Account of this illuſtrious Perſon; but, as the Reader may probably expect, and will certainly be well pleaſed, to find a conciſe Detail of his ſucceeding Actions, it may not be amiſs to indulge his Curioſity, by finiſhing with the perſonal Hiſtory of Sir *Francis Drake* this Relation of his Voyage round the World.

22. The War with *Spain* being ſtill proſecuted by the Queen his Miſtreſs, we find him, in 1585. General by Land and Sea, in an Expedition to the *Weſt Indies*, in which he took the Cities of *St. Iago*, *St. Domingo*, and *Carthagena*, as alſo the Fort and Town of *St. Auguſtin*; and returned with great Glory, as well as great Advantage; the Profits of this Expedition amounting, all Charges defrayed, to 60,000 *l.* of which 20,000 *l.* was divided amongſt the Seamen, and 40,000 *l.* came clear into the Pockets of the Undertakers or Adventurers. In 1587. he had the Command of another Fleet, with which he ſailed into the Bay of *Cadiz*, and from thence to the River of *Liſbon*, where he deſtroyed 10,000 Ton of *Spaniſh* Shipping, which had been drawn together for invading *England*. He likewiſe brought Home a very rich Prize, called the *St. Philip*, which, as the Writers in thoſe Times ſay, was the firſt *Carrack* ever taken and brought into *England*. In 1588. he was, by the Queen's Commiſſion, appointed Vice-admiral of the *Engliſh* Fleet, fitted out againſt the great *Spaniſh Armada*; in which Service he performed even more than was expected from his former Actions, taking, in the Beginning of the Fight, Two very large Men of War, the firſt commanded by the Vice-admiral *Oquendos*, the latter under the Command of *Don Pedro de Valdez*, who defended himſelf gallantly a long time, and ſurrendered at laſt on the Reputation of Sir *Francis Drake*, as appears by the Compliment paid him by *Don Pedro*, when he delivered him his Sword, which was to this Effect: That they were all reſolved to have died fighting, if they had not fallen into his Hands, whoſe Felicity and Valour was ſo great, that *Mars* the God of War, and *Neptune* the God of the Sea, ſeemed to wait upon all his Enterprizes, and whoſe noble and generous Courage had been often experienced by his Foes. Sir *Francis*, to requite theſe *Spaniſh* Compliments with real *Engliſh* Kindneſs, ſet him at his own Table, and lodged him in his own Cabin, ſending the reſt of his Company to *Plymouth*. *Drake*'s Soldiers were well recompenſed with the Plunder of his Ship, wherein he found 55,000 Ducats in Gold, which they joyfully ſhared amongſt them. He did, beſides this, many great Things in that memorable Battle, and particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by adviſing the Uſe of Fire-ſhips, though I dare not ſay, as ſome have done, that he invented them upon this Occaſion. The next Year he was Admiral of a great Fleet ſent to *Portugal*, in order to reſtore *Don Antonio* to his Kingdom; but this was a conjunct Expedition; and, it ſeems, even Sir *Francis Drake* had not Fortune enough for himſelf, and a General, ſo that it ended but indifferently: However, the *Spaniards* received great Damage, the Compliment of an Invaſion was returned, and it was put intirely out of their Power to make, as they boaſted they would, another Attempt of that Nature: In the Whole, therefore, Sir *Francis Drake* ſpoiled no leſs than Three *Spaniſh* Invaſions. In 1595. he ventured on another conjunct Expedition to the *Weſt Indies*, in which he performed great Things; but, aiming at ſtill greater, and not meeting with his uſual Succeſs, the Thoughts of it broke his Heart in the Harbour of *Porto Bello*, *January* 28. 1595. where his Body, in a Leaden Coffin, was committed to the Sea, under a general Diſcharge of all the Cannon from the Fleet.

In his Perſon, he was but low of Stature, yet extremely well-made, his Complexion freſh and fair, his Eyes large and lively, his Hair of a light Brown, and his Countenance open and chearful: He was naturally eloquent, expreſſing gracefully what he conceived clearly; very knowing, not only in his own Profeſſion, but in all the Sciences relating to it; ſo that he was able to diſcharge every Office in a Ship, even that of a Surgeon; juſt to his Owners, kind to his Seamen, loyal to his Sovereign, and remarkably merciful to his Enemies. His many glorious Exploits juſtify his Title to extenſive Fame, which, when we remember that he died at Fifty-five, will convince us, that he ſhewed the utmoſt Ardour in the Purſuit of Glory.

23. The Fame of this Voyage, the Wealth brought Home by Sir *Francis Drake*, and the Hopes of rivalling him in Credit and in Wealth, inſpired Numbers of young People, of all Ranks and Conditions, with a Deſire of trying their Fortunes at Sea, in ſuch manner as their Abilities would permit. Men of Families and Eſtates fitted out Veſſels at their own Expence, and filled them with their own Dependents; others, in a lower Situation of Life, choſe to hazard their Perſons, as little Officers, on board ſuch Ships as theſe, or in ſome of the Queen's Men of War; and to ſuch a Height at laſt this Spirit grew, that honeſt *John Stowe*, whoſe Induſtry was never ſurpaſſed, and whoſe Integrity was never called in queſtion, tells us, of his own Knowledge, that, toward the latter End of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, there were many Lads, from Eighteen Years old to Twenty, capable of taking the Charge of any Ship, and navigating her to moſt Ports in *Europe*, or the *Indies*. The *Spaniards* were ſo alarmed, not only by the Courage and Conduct of Sir *Francis Drake*, as an Admiral or Commander in chief, but by his Skill alſo as a Seaman, that they ordered no Draughts to be made, no Diſcourſes to be written, of their Diſcoveries in *America*, for fear of their falling into his Hands. But what moſt ſurpriſed them, was his finding and paſſing, with ſo much Eaſe, the Streights of *Magellan*, which hitherto had been out of their Power; and therefore they immediately reſolved to ſend and diſcover that Streight perfectly, by Ships from *Peru*. One *Pedro Sarmiento*, who was looked upon as the very beſt Seaman in the *Spaniſh* Service, was ſent for this Purpoſe from *Lima*; and actually paſt from the South into the North Seas, and thence to *Spain*, where he informed the King, that it was very poſſible to plant a Colony in thoſe Parts, and to fortify the Streights in ſuch a manner, as to prevent any other Nation from paſſing them. This Project was ſo well reliſhed by *Philip* the Second, and appeared to him to be a Matter of ſuch Importance, that he reſolved immediately to carry it into Execution. With this View he fitted out a Fleet of Three-and-twenty Sail, with 3500 Men on board, under the Command of *Don Diego Floris de Valdez*; and appointed *Pedro Sarmiento*, with 500 Veterans, to ſettle in the Streights. This Fleet was extremely unfortunate; and it was between Two and Three Years, before *Sarmiento*, with his People, arrived in thoſe Streights, and on the North Side near the Entrance, built a Town and Fort, called *Nombre de Jeſus*, where he left 150 Men; but his great Settlement was Fifteen Leagues farther in the Latitude of 53° 18′ in the narroweſt Part of the Streights; and this he called *Civdad del Rey Felippe*: It was a regular Square, well fortified with Four ſtrong Baſtions, properly furniſhed with Artillery; and, in all reſpects, one of the beſt contrived Settlements that was ever made by the *Spaniards* in *America*. Here *Pedro Sarmiento* left Four hundred Men, Thirty Women, and Proviſions for Eight Months, and then returned into the North Seas. Theſe Tranſactions happened in the Years 1584. 1585. and 1586. But, notwithſtanding all this Care, the Project came to nothing. *Don Pedro Sarmiento*, after many fruitleſs Attempts to ſuccour and relieve his Colony, was taken by an *Engliſh* Veſſel, and ſent Priſoner to *London*. The *Spaniſh* Gariſon, having conſumed all their Victuals, died moſt of them of Hunger, in their Houſes in *Philip*'s City; and Three-and-twenty only quitted it, and endeavoured to get to the *Spaniſh* Settlements by Land, but are ſuppoſed to have periſhed in the Attempt. It will not be amiſs to obſerve, that *Sarmiento* fell into Diſcredit with his Maſter, for deceiving him as to the Breadth of the Streights, which he aſſerted were not above a Mile over; whereas the King had certain Information afterwards, that they were a League broad; and therefore his Fortifications would have proved ineffectual for the Purpoſe he intended. But, however this might be, it is certain, that if *Sarmiento*'s Report had been true, and the City and Citadel of *Philip* could have commanded the Streights, it would have done little or no Service to the *Spaniſh* Cauſe, ſince another Paſſage into the South Seas was ſoon after diſcovered without going near thoſe Streights. The Nature and Expence, however, of this Settlement, is an ample Teſtimony of the Senſe the *Spaniards* had of Sir *Francis Drake*'s bold Undertaking, and of the Conſequences that muſt attend it. Their Fears, in this reſpect, were fully juſtified by the Event; for not only our Nation, but the *French* and *Dutch*, began to think of imitating his Example, and following Sir *Francis Drake* into the South Seas. The firſt Inſtance, however, of the Kind, was that of a Countryman of our own, whoſe Voyage, as next in Order of Time, we ſhall now proceed to conſider.

SECTION V.

Sir THOMAS CANDISH *or* CAVENDISH'*s Voyage round the World.*

1. *The Reaſon why Gentlemen of Family and Fortune undertook ſuch Expeditions.* 2. *Mr.* Candiſh's *Firſt Voyage to* Virginia *with Sir* Richard Greenville, *in his own Ship the* Tyger, *in* 1585. 3. *His Prepanations, Strength, and ſetting out on this Voyage round the World.* 4. *Their Departure from the* Cape de Verd *Iſlands, and Arrival on the Coaſt of* Braſil. 5. *Agreement between* Magellan's *and Mr.* Candiſh's *Account of the* Patagons. 6. *Great Storms at the Mouth of the* Magellanic *Streights in* January. 7. *A moſt accurate Deſcription of thoſe Streights, and of King* Philip's *City.* 8. *The Diſtrict of* Arunco, *very rich in Gold, but never conquered by the* Spaniards. 9. *They have a briſk Diſpute with the* Spaniards *at the Bay of* Quintero. 10. *Arrival at* Morro Moreno, *and Entertainment by the* Indians. 11. *Take ſeveral rich Prizes on the Coaſt, and ſack the Town of* Paita. 12. *They land on the Iſland of* Puno; *Deſcription of it, and its Inhabitants; the* Engliſh *plunder it.* 13. *They ſecure an excellent Pilot, who gives them firſt Notice of the* Acapulco *Ship.* 14. *Upon this they continue cruiſing to the Northward.* 15. *Arrive on the Coaſt of* California. 16. *Diſcover, fight, and take the* St. Anne, *bound from* Manila *to* Acapulco. 17. *A Mutiny on dividing the Booty, which is ſoon compoſed.* 18. *Departure from* California *for the* Ladrones. 19. *They arrive among the* Philippine *Iſlands.* 20. *Deſcription of the Iſland* Capul, *and its Inhabitants.* 21. *Accounts of other Iſlands, and Departure from the* Philippines. 22. *Deſcription of the Iſlands of* Java. 23. *They double Cape* Falſo, *and the Cape of* Good Hope. 24. *The Iſland of* St. Helena *deſcribed.* 25. *Departure from thence, and ſafe Arrival in* England. 26. *His Reception on his Return, and*

and Letter to Lord Hunſdon. 27. *Obſervations upon his Voyage.* 28. *Other Circumſtances of his Life, and the Occaſion of his undertaking a Second Voyage.* 29. *A conciſe Account of that Voyage; his unfortunate Attempt at the* Magellanic *Streights, and Death through Grief.*

1. IT was the conſtant Policy of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, to encourage, as much as poſſible, the Flame of public Spirit in the Boſoms of private Men, by ſhewing, upon all Occaſions, the greateſt Readineſs to honour all thoſe who did remarkable Service to their Country, though ſhe was very ſparing of any ſuch Marks of her Favour upon other Occaſions. By this wiſe Conduct, and by her frequent Diſcourſes in Public, on the Glory reſulting from an active Life, ſhe excited many of the young Nobility, and Gentlemen of eaſy Fortunes, to hazard their Perſons and Eſtates for the public Service; making the Want of Fame to be as much a real Neceſſity, as the Want of Wealth; uniting thereby the Rich, who deſired Honour, and the Indigent, who ſought a Living, in the very ſame Purſuits. Thus it was brought about, that, in her Reign, ſuch Men were of moſt Uſe to their Country, as, under other Reigns, are ſcarce of any Uſe at all: For, when it was once diſcerned, that Merit only could recommend a Man at Court, thoſe were moſt ready to expoſe themſelves in generous Undertakings, whoſe Situation in the World would, at any other Time, have excuſed them from ſuch Labours and Fatigues. Thus the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Eſſex*, Sir *Richard Greenville*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, Sir *Robert Dudley*, and many other Perſons of like Rank, employed great Sums of Money, and expoſed their Perſons to the greateſt Dangers, in equipping Squadrons againſt the *Spaniards*, making Diſcoveries in diſtant Parts of the World, planting Colonies, and ſuch-like Undertakings, which were the Glory of thoſe Times, and the Wonder of ours. Amongſt theſe, no Man diſtinguiſhed himſelf more, than the Gentleman of whom we are now to ſpeak [q], whether we conſider the Expence he was at, the Difficulties he went through, or the Succeſs of his Exploits, all of which were due to that Greatneſs of Mind, and ardent Thirſt of Reputation, which taught him to deſpiſe Danger, and to embrace Fatigues, at an Age, when other Men are not only fond of Pleaſures, but think too, that the Seaſon of their Lives is a ſufficient Excuſe for the Luxury in which they live.

2. *Thomas Candiſh*, of *Trimley*, or *Tremley*, in the County of *Suffolk*, Eſquire, was a Gentleman of an honourable Family, and large Eſtate, which, lying in the Neighbourhood of *Ipſwich*, a Place then of very great Trade, gave him an early Inclination to the Sea; which, as ſoon as he arrived at Age, he gratified, by converting Part of his Lands into Money, and equipping a ſtout Bark, called the *Tyger*, of the Burden of 120 Tons, in which he accompanied Sir *Richard Greenville*, in his Voyage to *Virginia* in 1585. in which he went through many Dangers and Difficulties, without any Profit; but, at laſt, returned ſafe to *Falmouth*, on the 6th of *October* in the ſame Year; which, however, did not diſcourage him from undertaking ſtill greater and more hazardous Expeditions: For, having in this Voyage ſeen a great Part of the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, and converſed with ſome who had ſailed with Sir *Francis Drake* through the South Seas, and round by the *Eaſt Indies*, he began to be very deſirous of undertaking a like Voyage, as well for repairing the Loſs he had ſuſtained by this Expedition, as to emulate that great and fortunate Officer, who was by this Time raiſed to the higheſt Honours of his Profeſſion. As ſoon, therefore, as he returned home, he applied himſelf to the Preparations expedient for the accompliſhing his Deſign; and either ſold or mortgaged his Eſtate, to make up the Sum neceſſary for building and equipping Two ſuch Ships as were requiſite for the Voyage; and, though ſuch kind of Matters uſually take up a good deal of Time, yet ſo eager, and ſo impatient, was Mr. *Candiſh*, that, in the Space of a Month, his Carpenters were at work upon the largeſt Ship, and, in Six Months more, his little Squadron was intirely finiſhed, and completely furniſhed with all Things neceſſary [r].

3. The largeſt Ship was called the *Deſire*, of the Burden of 140 Tons; the leſſer was named the *Content*, of about 60 Tons; to theſe he added a Bark of about 40 Tons, called the *Hugh Gallant*, all ſupplied at his own Expence, with Two Years Proviſion, and manned with an Hundred and Twenty-ſix Officers and Sailors; ſome of which had ſerved under Sir *Francis Drake*, but moſt of them Men of Experience; and with whom, for their better Encouragement, he entered into a fair Agreement with reſpect to the Proportion in which all Prizes ſhould be divided amongſt them. He was likewiſe very careful in providing Sea Charts, Draughts, Maps, and ſuch Accounts as could be obtained of Voyages already made into thoſe Parts which he intended to viſit. He likewiſe procured, by the Favour of his Patron the Lord *Hunſdon*, then Lord Chamberlain, a Commiſſion from Queen *Elizabeth*: And thus, completely Maſter of all that he wanted, he ſet out from *London*, *July* 10. 1586. for *Harwich*, where he embarked on board the *Deſire*, and ſailed for *Plymouth*, where he arrived the Eighth of *July*, and continued there waiting for ſome of his Company till the 21ſt, when he hoiſted Sail for his intended Voyage. On the 25th of the ſame Month died one Mr. *Hope*, of a Wound he received in a Duel he fought during their Stay at *Plymouth*. The next Day they fell in with Eight Ships from *Biſcay*, well mann'd, one of which attacked the Admiral; but Mr. *Candiſh* gave her ſo warm a Reception, that ſhe was glad to ſheer off; and the reſt, deterred by her Example, continued their Courſe, and gave him no Diſturbance; and the Admiral did not continue the Chace, becauſe it grew dark, and he was afraid to loſe his Conſorts. On *Auguſt* 5. they fell in with the Iſland of *Forteventura*, where they met with nothing remarkable, ſailing thence to Cape *Blanco*, and ſo to the Coaſt of *Guiney*, with which Navigation Mr. *Brewer*, who was on board the Admiral, was very well acquainted. Here the Men began to complain much of the Scurvy, and therefore the Officers reſolved to put ſome of them on Shore for their Recovery, as ſoon as an Opportunity offered with Safety. *Auguſt* 23. they made *Sierra Leona*; and, the 25th, fell in with the South Side of it, where they had Five Fathom Water at the loweſt; and, for about Fourteen Leagues at the South-weſt, all the Way running into the Harbour, they had from Eight to Sixteen Fathom. Here they ſpoiled a Town of the Negroes, who killed one of their Men with a poiſoned Arrow. *September* 3. ſome of them went up with the Boat Four Miles within the Harbour, where they caught plenty of Fiſh, and, going on Shore, they got ſome Lemons, ſeeing ſome Buffaloes too as they were returning. The 6th, they went out of the Harbour of *Sierra Leona*, and ſtaid one Tide, Three Leagues from the Point of the Harbour's Mouth, the Tide there flowing at South-weſt.

4. The Seventh they departed from one of the Iſles of *Cape Verd*, which is Ten Leagues from the Point of *Sierra Leona*; and the ſame Day they anchored Two Miles off the Iſland, and, landing, found only Plantanes upon it. The Eighth, one of the Boats went out, and ſounded. At the Eaſt End was a Town, to which the Negroes reſort ſometimes, as by their Proviſions left there appeared. There is no freſh Water on all the South Side, at leaſt that they could find; but, on the North, there is in Three or Four Places. The whole Iſland is a perfect Wood, except a few ſmall Spots, where ſome Houſes ſtand; and theſe are encompaſſed round with Plantane-trees, the Fruit of which is excellent Food. The Place is ſubject to Storms of Rain and Thunder in this Month of *September*. They left this Iſland on the 10th; and, on the laſt of *October*, ſailing Weſt South-weſt, about Twenty-four Leagues from Cape *Frio* in *Braſil*, they fell in with a great Mountain, which had a high round Top, ſtanding aloft like a little Town. *November* 1. they went in between the Iſland *St.*

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[q] *Hackluit*, *Purchaſs*, *Monſon*, *Camden*, *Stowe*, &c.

[r] See *Stowe*, *Monſon*, and *The Heroes of the Reign of* Elizabeth, a MS. formerly belonging to Mr. *Le Neve*.

Sebaſtian and the main Land, where, carrying their Things on Shore, and erecting a Forge, they built a Pinnace, and repaired whatſoever was out of Order; which Work detained them till the 23d. Upon the 26th, they fell in upon the Coaſt of *America*, in 47° 20′ North Latitude, from which Place they ran along the Shore, till they came into 48°, finding it a very ſteep Beach all along.

5. *November* 27. they came to an Harbour, into which the Admiral firſt entered, calling it, on that Account (from the Name of his Ship) *Port Deſire*. Near this Harbour there are an Iſland or Two, very full of Seals, and another as well ſtock'd with grey Gulls. The Harbour itſelf is very convenient for trimming and graving of Ships, becauſe of the conſiderable Ebbing and Flowing of the Water there. Here the Savages wounded Two of their Company with their Arrows, which are made of Canes headed with Flints. A wild and rude ſort of Creatures they were; and, as it ſeemed, of a gigantic Race, the Meaſure of one of their Feet being Eighteen Inches in Length: When any of them dies, he is buried in a Grave of Stone upon the Cliffs by the Sea Side, all his Darts being faſtened about his Tomb, and his Treaſures of Shells laid under his Head. This Deſcription agrees very well with that of *Magellan*'s; though ſome Pains has been taken to repreſent that as fabulous; perhaps, for want of underſtanding it. He left this Country the Name of *Patagonia*, and gave the Inhabitants that of *Patagons*; by which he meant to ſignify, that they were Five Cubits, or Seven Feet and an half high; which, if we conſider, that the *Portugueſe* are not commonly very tall themſelves, we need not wonder that they ſtiled them Giants. As to this Circumſtance of the Footſtep, if we take the uſual Proportions of human Bodies, in which the Foot is between a Fifth and Sixth of the whole Body, then the Account given us here by Mr. *Cavendiſh*, agrees very exactly with that of *Magellan*; and, as will be ſhewn hereafter, is not falſified by any of our ſubſequent Travellers [*].

6. *December* 28. they left *Port Deſire*, and anchored near an Iſland Three Leagues to the Southward, and kept along the Coaſt South-weſt and by South. The 30th they came to a Rock, (much like the Eddy-ſtone at *Plymouth*) lying about Five Leagues from the Land, and in 48° 30′ South Latitude; and, ſounding, they had Eight Fathom rocky Ground within a Mile of it. They kept on coaſting South South-weſt, and found great Store of Seals all along the Coaſt. *January* 2. they fell in with a great white Cape in 52°, and had Seven Fathom Water within a League of the Shore. The 3d, they fell in with another great Cape in 52° 45′, from which Cape there runs a long Beach, about a League to the Southward, and reaches to the Opening of the *Magellanic* Streight: Under this Cape they anchored, and loſt their Anchor in a very great Storm, which raged violently for Three Days together.

7. *January* 6. they put into the Streights, which they found in ſome Places Five or Six Leagues wide, and in other Places conſiderably more narrow. The 7th, between the Mouth of the Streights and the narroweſt Part of it, they took a *Spaniard*, who was left there with Twenty-three of the ſame Nation; and theſe were all remaining of Four hundred, left Three Years before in theſe Streights. The ſame Day they paſſed the narroweſt Part of thoſe Streights, where the *Spaniards* ſhewed them the Hull of a ſmall Bark, ſuppoſed to be one left by Sir *Francis Drake*. The Mouth of the Streights is in 52° South Latitude, and 'tis from thence to the narroweſt Paſs Fourteen Leagues, and the Courſe is Weſt by North; alſo from this narroweſt Paſs to *Penguin Iſland* is 10 Leagues, and the Courſe is Weſt South-weſt, and a little to the Southward. Here in *Penguin Iſland* they anchored the 8th Day, and killed and ſalted great Store of *Penguins*. *January* 9. they left this Iſland, and ſailed South South-weſt *Civdad del Rey Felippe*, or King *Philip*'s City, built by the *Spaniards*: It had Four Forts, (or Baſtions rather) and each Fort had one caſt Piece in it, which were all buried, and the Carriages left ſtanding in their Places: They dug for theſe Pieces, and recovered them all. The City had ſeveral Churches in it, and ſeemed to be very well contrived, eſpecially as to its Situation, which was in the moſt happy Place in all the Streights, for the Conveniencies of Wood and Water. But miſerable was the Life which this forlorn Remnant of *Spaniards* had lived there for the Space of Two Years, having hardly any thing but a few Shell-fiſh to ſupport Nature withal, except they had the good Luck to take a Deer, at any time, that came down from the Mountains to drink. Their Deſign in coming to this Town, was to fortify theſe Streights, ſo that all other Nations, beſides themſelves, ſhould be debarred of a Paſſage into the South Sea: But, beſides the Badneſs of the Climate, the Barrenneſs of the Soil, and the Inclemency of the Weather, the *Indians*, their moſt implacable Enemies, broke in upon them by frequent and furious Expeditions; and by theſe means they were reduced to the laſt Extremities, all their Stores brought out of *Spain* being ſpent, and no more to be gotten abroad, the Country either not affording it, or the *Indians* falling upon them, and hunting the *Spaniards*, while they hunted a few Deer for the Preſervation of their Lives: At laſt they died like ſo many Dogs, in their Houſes, in great Numbers; and the Stench of the putrefying Carcaſes infecting thoſe that ſurvived, they were forced to quit the Town with one Conſent, and go rambling upon the Sea Coaſts, living upon Leaves and Roots, and Sea Herbs, or what Animals they at any time happily caught. They determined to march on to the River of *Plate*, and were, in this their miſerable Progreſs, met by the *Engliſh*, as was before obſerved. The Admiral named this Place (for the Scarcity of all Neceſſaries here) *Port Famine*: It lies in 53° South Latitude. The 14th, they left this Place, and ran 5 Leagues South-weſt to Cape *Froward*, which Cape is the Southermoſt Part of the Streights, and lies in the Latitude 54°. From this Cape, ſailing Weſt by North Five Leagues more, they put into a Bay, which they called *Muſſel Cove*, from the Store of Muſſels found there. The 21ſt, they left that Place, and ſailed North-weſt and by Weſt, 10 Leagues to a fair ſandy Bay which the Admiral called *Elizabeth Bay*. The 22d, they departed from *Elizabeth Bay*, and, about 2 Leagues off, found a good River, in which the Admiral towed up the Boat for the Space of Three Miles: There was a pleaſant champagne Country that lay about the River; but, except this, all near the Streights was craggy and mountainous, inhabited by a ſtrong, well-made, but a very brutiſh ſort of Savages, who, it was ſaid, had eat up many a *Spaniard*, and would fain have made a Meal upon *Engliſh* Fleſh too, but that they failed of bringing them into their Trap: The Admiral, finding the Plot they had laid to betray him, made his Men ſalute them with their Harquebuſſes, which did Execution upon ſeveral: So, leaving that River, they ſailed to *St. Jerom*'s Chanel, which was 2 Leagues off. From this Chanel they ſailed Weſtward about 3 or 4 Leagues, to a Cape which lies on the North of it; from which Cape, to the Mouth of the Streights, the Courſe runs North-weſt, and North-weſt by Weſt; and the Diſtance from thence, to the Entrance into the South Sea, is about 34 Leagues; ſo that the Length of the whole Streights is 90 Leagues. 'Tis farther obſervable, that the Entrance of the Streights into the South Sea is in near the ſame Latitude with the Paſſage out of the North Sea into the Streights, which is 52° 40′ South Latitude; and here between the fore-mentioned Cape and the Mouth of the Streights, they were forced to lie in Harbour till *Febr.* 23. the Reaſon of which Confinement was, the ſtormy Winds, and exceſſive Rains that poured down with ſuch Fury from the Mountains, that they were brought into extreme Danger thereby, being no leſs diſtreſſed for want of Food, than by the Badneſs of the Weather, which hardly permitted them to land, and range the Country for a Supply. As they lay here in the Streights, they obſerved (which had alſo been diſcovered by the *Spaniards* before) that there were Harbours on both Sides the Shore, at every Mile or Two Miles Diſtance, tolerably convenient, at leaſt for ſmall Ships.

8. *February* 24. they entered the South Sea, obſerving on the South Side of the Entrance a very high Cape, with a low Point adjoining to it; and on the North Four or Five Iſlands, lying Six Leagues off the Main, with much broken and ſunk Ground about them. *March* 1. they had a great Storm at Night, in which they loſt the Company of the

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[*] Mr. *Cavendiſh* was a Man of Senſe and Learning, and was therefore more accurate than moſt Voyage-writers are.

Hugh Gallant, being then in 49° South Latitude, and 45 Leagues from the Land. The Storm continued Three or Four Days, and the *Hugh Gallant*, having ſprung a Leak, and beaten by the Storm, in Seas far from all Help, was ready every Moment to ſink to the Bottom: However, ſhe made a Shift to hold out, by the great Labour and Pains of her Crew; and, on the 15th in the Morning, ſhe came in between the Iſle *Saint Mary* and the Main, where ſhe met the Admiral and the *Content*, which Two Ships had, during the Storm, ſecured themſelves Two Days at the Iſle of *Mocha*, in 38° South Latitude. At this Place ſome of the Company, well armed, went aſhore, where the *Indians* met them, and gave them a warm Reception with their Bows and Arrows. Theſe *Indians* were of the Diſtrict of *Aranco*, which, being a Country rich as Gold, and conſequently very tempting to the avaritious *Spaniards*, had been divers times invaded by them, but to no Purpoſe, the Inhabitants having always ſo briskly defended themſelves, that their Enemies (though better provided than they) could never boaſt of being their Conquerors; and theſe deſperate Men, miſtaking the *Engliſh* for *Spaniards*, gave them that Entertainment which they always uſed to give the other. After the Skirmiſh they weighed Anchor, and ran under the Weſt Side of *St. Mary* Iſland, where they had good Riding in Six Fathom Water. The Iſland itſelf lies in 37° 30′ South Latitude, and abounds in Hogs, Hens, and divers ſorts of Fruits: The *Indians* that live here are in ſuch abſolute Slavery to the *Spaniards*, that they dare not ſo much as kill a Fowl or a Swine for themſelves. And though the *Spaniards* have made them Diſciples, yet they uſe them more like Dogs, than Men or Chriſtians. The 16th, the Admiral went aſhore with Seventy or Eighty Men well armed; they were met and welcomed by Two *Indians* of Quality, who conducted them to a Place, where was a Chapel built by the *Spaniards*; round about which were ſeveral Storehouſes, furniſhed with good Wheat and Barley, as clean and fair as any in *England*. They provided themſelves out of the Stores with ſufficient Quantities of Corn, and laid in, beſides, good Store of Hogs, Hens, Potatoes, dried Dog-fiſh and Maiz, which is *Guiney* Wheat: The Admiral invited the Two principal *Indians* aboard to an Entertainment; and the Wine having opened their Eyes to ſee clearly, that the Admiral and his Men were no *Spaniards*, (as they hitherto ſuppoſed them to be) they began to be very free with them, and to talk largely of the Gold Mines, telling them, that, if they would go acroſs the Country to *Aranco*, they might get as much Gold as they cared for; but the Admiral, not perfectly underſtanding the Information, it being given partly by Signs, which were obſcure, proſecuted not that Adventure, but went on with his Voyage.

9. The 18th in the Morning, they left this Place, and ſailed all that Day North North-eaſt, about 10 Leagues. The 19th, they ran in with the Land at Eaſt North-eaſt, and anchored under an Iſland called the *Conception*. The 30th, they came into the Bay of *Quintero*, in 33° 50′ South Latitude; and the laſt Day of that Month, a Company of Fifty or Sixty Men, well furniſhed, marched up into the Country Seven or Eight Miles: In their March, they ſaw vaſt Herds of wild Cattle, with Horſes, Dogs, Hares and Conies, Partridge, and other Fowl; many fine Rivers, well ſtocked with all ſorts of wild Fowl; but, having travelled as far as they could for the Mountains, and without any remarkable Adventure, after refreſhing themſelves awhile upon the Banks of a pleaſant River, they returned in good Order to their Ships at Night; Yet was there a Party of 200 Horſe abroad that Day to have taken them, and that upon the Information of the *Spaniards* that had eſcaped from them the Day before; but theſe valiant Soldiers, though they ſaw them, durſt not make any Attack, but kept at a Diſtance, and ſo let them go off without any Diſturbance. But the next Day, *April* 5. they were a little bolder; for ſome of the *Engliſh* being aſhore, and very hard at work filling Water, the *Spaniards* (who had watched the Opportunity, and were then very eager to fight, when they ſaw their Enemies very buſy) poured down Two hundred Horſe from the Hills upon them, making a ſhift to kill ſome few of them, and take a ſmall Number of them Priſoners: But the glorious Victory or the *Spaniards* had a ſudden Period ſet to it, by the coming of Fifteen *Engliſh* more, who ſoon changed the Fortune of the Day, not only reſcuing their own Company, but killing Twenty-four of the *Spaniards* upon the Spot, and driving the reſt up the Mountains again. After this, they rid in the Road, and watered there, in Spite of the *Spaniards*, till the 5th Inſtant, when they left this Bay of *Quintero*, putting in at a ſmall Iſland, about a League from the Bay, which is full of Penguins and other Fowl: They provided themſelves with what Store they wanted, and ſo ſailed away North and North by Weſt, in order to proſecute their Voyage.

10. The 15th, they came to *Moro Moreno*, which lies in 23° 30′ South Latitude, under the Tropic of *Capricorn*, and has an excellent Harbour, which is made ſo by an Iſland, which gives a Ship Entrance at either End of it. Here the Admiral went aſhore with Thirty Men, and was met by the *Indians*, who brought freſh Water and Wood on their Backs: They are a ſimple ſort of People, and live after a wild and ſavage manner, and in very great Awe and Dread of the *Spaniards*; they brought the Admiral and his Company to their Houſes, which lay about Two Miles from the Harbour; theſe were compoſed only of a few Rafters laid acroſs, ſupported by Two or Three Forks ſtuck in the Ground, with Boughs ſpread over them: Their Beds were the Skins of wild Beaſts, laid upon the Floor; and their Food little elſe but raw ſtinking Fiſh. When any of them die, they bury them with all the Goods and Arms that belong to them, as Bows and Arrows, and their very Canoes: Theſe Canoes of theirs are very artificially made, being formed of Two Skins like Bladders, which are blown full at one End with Quills: A Couple of theſe, being made faſt together with the Sinews of ſome wild Beaſt, and then put into the Water, ſwell and puff up at that rate, that they are as firm and tight as can be. They make nothing of venturing to Sea in theſe Boats, and lading them with great Quantities of Fiſh, Part of which goes for Tribute to the *Spaniards*, and Part is kept to ſtink for their own eating.

11. *May* 3. they came into a Bay, where are Three little Towns, *Paracca*, *Chincha*, and *Piſca*, which latter Place lies in 13° 20′ South Latitude; they landed here, and took ſome Proviſions of Wine and Bread, Hens and Figs, out of ſome of the Houſes; but they could not get aſhore at the beſt of the Towns, the Sea ran ſo extremely high. They made themſelves Maſters of Two rich Ships by this time, laden with Sugar, Melaſſes, Maiz, *Cordovan* Skins, Montego de Porco, Packs of Pintadoes, *Indian* Coats, Marmalade Hens, *&c.* One of them, which had the beſt Lading, would have yielded 20,000 *l.* had there been Opportunity to have made a Sale: And of all this, they took as much as they could conveniently beſtow in their Ships, burning the reſt with the Veſſels, and ſetting all the People in them aſhore. The 26th, they came into the Road of *Paita*, which lies in 5° 4′ South Latitude; the Town itſelf is well built, very neat and clean in all Parts of it, and contains about 200 Houſes. The Admiral landed here with Sixty or Seventy Men, had a Skirmiſh with the Inhabitants, the Iſſue of which was, that the *Engliſh* beat them quite out of the Town, and forced them up the Hills, from whence they played with their ſmall Shot upon them; but would not venture a fair Battle out of their mountainous Refuges. When the *Engliſh* had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Town, they marched after the Enemy up the Hills; and, after ſome Diſpute, obliging them to retire ſtill further, till it came to a thorough and complete Rout, they ſeized all their Baggage, which they had brought with them out of the Town, and lodged there for Security up and down in the Mountains. Here was plenty of all ſorts of Houſhold-ſtuff, Storehouſes full of all ſorts of Wares, and 25 *lb.* Weight of Silver in Pieces of Eight. They ſet the Town on Fire, and burnt it to the Ground; and alſo to the Value of 5 or 6000 *l.* in Goods, together with a Bark lying in the Road; and ſo, leaving the *Spaniards* the Blaze of their flaming Houſes and Goods, to light them down from the Mountains at Night, they went hence, and directed their Courſe to *Puna*.

12. *May* 25 they arrived at the Iſle *Puna*, which lies in 1° South Latitude; in the Harbour whereof they found a large Ship of 250 Ton, riding at Anchor with all her Furniture, which they ſunk, and ſo went aſhore. The Lord of this Iſle is called the *Caſique* of *Puna*; he was an *Indian* born, but, having married a *Spaniſh* Woman, and being reſolved to be of his Wife's Religion, he made his Subjects follow his Example. He had a ſumptuous and well-contrived Palace near the Sea-ſide, with curious Gardens adjoining to it, and fair Proſpects, both to the Water, and up into the Country. He kept all the *Indians* of the Iſland in continual Drudgery, their Work being to make Cables, ſuch Plenty of which are made by thoſe labouring *Indians*, that the South Sea is moſtly furniſhed from hence. The Iſland is near as big as the *Iſle of Wight*, and has a great Share of the Bleſſings of Nature; for, though it does not yield Mines of Gold and Silver, yet it affords thoſe Things that are far more neceſſary for human Life: There is excellent Paſture-land here, and Variety of uſeful Animals to be maintained by it, as Horſes, Oxen, Sheep, Goats, that are very tame, and yield abundance of Milk, beſides very good Fowl, Pigeons, Turkeys, and Ducks, of a large Size. The *Caſique* had Orchards that yield moſt Sorts of uſeful Fruits, as Oranges, Lemons, Figs, Pomgranates, Pompions, Melons, Cucumbers, Radiſhes, *&c.* with divers Sorts of odoriferous Plants, as Roſemary, Thyme, *&c.* one of them ſet round with Trees that bear the Bombaſin Cotton, the Tops of which grow full of Pods, out of which the Cotton itſelf riſes. In the Cotton lies a Seed, of the Bigneſs of a Pea, and in every Pod there are Seven or Eight of theſe Seeds, which, if the Cotton be not gathered when 'tis ripe, take root, and produce a new Plant. *May* 29. the Admiral went to a little Iſland cloſe by *Puna*, into which the *Caſique* had conveyed all the valuable Furniture of his Palace, and other Moveables, neceſſary both for Houſe and Ship. Theſe Stores being all diſcovered, they took or plunder'd what they thought fit out of them, and conveyed it into their Ships. They burnt the Church alſo, which ſtood hard by the *Caſique*'s Palace, and brought away the Five Bells that were in it. *June* 2. 100 *Spaniards* aſſaulted them, killing and taking Priſoners Twelve of the *Engliſh*, and loſing Forty-ſix of their own, in that Encounter. The ſame Day, going aſhore again, with Seventy Men, they met with a Party of 100 *Spaniards*, armed with Muſkets, and 200 *Indians*, with Bows and Arrows; and, having intirely put them to Flight, they made Havock of their Fields and Orchards, and burnt Four great Ships upon the Stocks, as alſo the Town itſelf, which they left a mere Heap of Rubbiſh. This Town had no leſs than 300 Houſes in it; beſides which, there were Two or Three Towns in *Puna*, that contained 200 Houſes each[t]; ſo that it was the very beſt ſettled Iſland on all this Coaſt.

13. *June* 5. they weigh'd out of the Road of *Puna*, and ſailed to *Rio Dolce*, where they watered; and, the 12th, paſſed the Equinoctial, continuing a Northerly Courſe all the reſt of the Month. *July* 1. they had Sight of *Nueva Eſpanna*, being Four Leagues diſtant from the Land, and in 10° North Latitude. The 9th Inſtant they took a new Ship of 120 Ton, in which was one *Michael Sancius*, a *Provençal*, and Native of *Marſeilles*, a very ſkilful Coaſter in the South Seas, whom the Admiral took for his Pilot; and he gave them the firſt Hint of the great Ship *Anna Maria*, which they took afterwards coming from the *Philippine* Iſlands; they took all the Men, the Sails, the Ropes, *&c.* out of this Ship of *Sancius*'s, and then ſet her on Fire. The 10th they took a Bark that was going to give the Alarm all along the Coaſt of the Arrival of the *Engliſh*, but all the Men were gone out of her. The 26th they came to an Anchor in the River *Copalita*; and the ſame Night, with Thirty Men in the Pinnace, rowed to *Agatulco*, Two Leagues from the River; and in 15° 40′ North Latitude, they made a Deſcent upon them, and burnt both the Town and Cuſtom-houſe, which was a large and fair Building. Here were laid up 600 Bags of Aniſe, (for the Dying of Cloth) and 400 of Cacaos, every Bag of the former being worth Forty, and of the latter Ten Crowns. Theſe Cacaos ſerve amongſt them both for Meat and Money. They are like Almonds, though not altogether ſo pleaſant; they afford both Food and Drink, and paſs in Trade inſtead of ready Money, 150 of them being in Value equal to a Rial of Plate[u].

14. The 28th, they ſet Sail from *Copalita*, the Sea running ſo high there, that they could not fill Water; and reached *Agatulco* the ſame Night. The next Day the Admiral went aſhore, with Thirty Men, marching Two Miles into the Woods, where they took a *Meſtizo* belonging to the Cuſtom-houſe of that Town, and a conſiderable Parcel of Stuffs with him, and carried both the Maſter and the Goods away to their Ships. *Auguſt* 24. the Admiral and Thirty Men went in the Pinnace to the Haven *Puerto de Natividad*, which lies 19° North Latitude, where *Sancius* had informed them would be a Prize; but, before they came thither, ſhe was gone Twelve Leagues farther to fiſh for Pearls. However, here they took a *Mulatto*, that was ſent to give Notice of the *Engliſh* all along the Coaſt of *Nueva Gallicia*, together with all his Letters; and burnt the Town, and Two Ships of 200 Ton that were then building there, and ſo returned to their Ships. The 26th, they came into the Bay of *St. Iago*, where they watered at a good River, that yielded them great Store of Fiſh, and ſome Quantity of Pearls: This Bay is in 19° 18′ North Latitude. *September* 2. they left *St. Iago*, and the 3d Day came into the Bay of *Malacca*, lying a League to the Weſtward of Port *Natividad*, and a very good Place for Ships to ride in. The ſame Day the Admiral, with about Thirty Men, went aſhore to an *Indian* Town called *Acatlan*, which lies Two Leagues from the Road. It conſiſted of Twenty or Thirty Houſes, and a Church, which they demoliſhed, and went aboard again that Night. The 4th, they left the Bay of *Malacca*, and ſailed along the Coaſt. The 8th, they came to the Road of *Chacalla*, which is Eighteen Leagues from the Cape *De los Corrientes*, having met with fair Winds, and fine Weather.

15. The 9th in the Morning, the Admiral ſent out Forty Men, (with *Sancius* for a Guide) who, marching Two Leagues through the Woods, and deſart Places, lighted of Two or Three Families, ſome of which were *Indians*, others *Spaniards*, and one *Portugueſe*, all which they brought to their Ships. The Admiral made the Women fetch Plantanes, Lemons, Oranges, and other Fruits; and, for a Reward, ſet all their Husbands free again, except one *Sembrano*, a *Spaniſh* Carpenter, and *Diego*, the *Portugueſe*, whom he retained. The 12th, they arrived at the Iſland *St. Andrew*, a very woody Place, and yielding vaſt Store of Fowl and Seals, and a ſort of Serpents, (or Lizards rather) called *Iguanos*, which have Four Feet, and a ſharp long Tail, but are very good Meat. Leaving *St. Andrew's* Iſland, they came the 24th into the Road of *Maſſatlan*, which lies under the Tropic of *Cancer*. This River is large within, but much barred. There is great Store of freſh Fiſh in that Bay, and good Fruits up in the Country. The 27th, they departed from *Maſſatlan*, and came to an Iſland, which is a League to the Northward of *Maſſatlan*, where they heeled their Ships, and new-built their Pinnace, and found a little Iſland a Quarter of a League from it, on which are Seals. They found upon this Iſland where they heeled their Pinnace, freſh Water, by digging Two or Three Feet deep in the Sand, where no Water, or Sign of Water, was before to be perceived; otherwiſe they muſt have gone back Twenty or Thirty Leagues to water. But God raiſed one *Flores*, a *Spaniard*, who was a Priſoner with them, to make a Motion to dig in the Sands: Their General, having had Experience once before of the like, commanded to put this Motion in Practice; and, in digging Three Feet deep, they found very good and freſh Water: So they watered their Ships, and might have filled 1000 Tons more, if they would. In this Iſland they ſtay'd till the 9th of *October*, and then ſailed for Cape *St. Lucar*, which is on the Weſt Side of the Point of *California*, with which they fell in on the 14th of the ſame Month; obſerv-

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[t] It had been more adviſeable to have treated theſe People well. Theſe wanton Acts of Cruelty have been the Ruin of all our Expeditions into the South Seas. ——— [u] That is, when made into Chocolate. It is right to leave ſuch Deſcriptions, becauſe they are Proofs of a Writer's Inquiſitiveneſs and Sincerity.

ing, that it had very much the ſame Appearance with the *Needles* at the *Iſle of Wight*, which had been before taken notice of by Sir *Francis Drake*'s People, and has been confirmed by all who have ſailed thither ſince. Within this Cape there is a very large Bay, called by the *Spaniards Aguada Segura*; into which Bay there falls a fine freſh-water River, and on the Banks of it there are commonly a great Number of *Indians*, who inhabit there during the Summer Seaſon. Into this Bay they came, watered in the River, and remained there till the 4th of *November*, the Winds continuing all that time to hang Weſterly. They waited here for the *Acapulco* Ship.

16. *November* 4. the *Deſire* and the *Content* went beating up and down upon the Headland of *California*, which lies in 23° 24′ North Latitude; upon which Day, in the Morning, one of the Admiral's Company, going up the Top-maſt, ſpied a Sail bearing in from the Sea with the Cape; which he preſently ſignified to the Company, with the joyful Exclamation of, *A Sail, a Sail!* The Admiral, having put all Things in Readineſs, ſet forward in the Purſuit of her; and, having chaſed her Three or Four Hours, in the Afternoon came up with her, and ſaluted her with a Broad-ſide, and a Volley of ſmall Shot. They found her to be the *St. Anne*, belonging to the King of *Spain*, the Admiral of all the South Seas, and of 700 Ton Burden. Having boarded her, they found all Things in a good Poſture of Defence; the Sails were laid cloſe upon the Poop, the Mid-ſhip, and the Forecaſtle. All the Men ſtood cloſe under Fights, which the Captain had raiſed, provided with Targets, Javelins, Swords, and great Stones, which they threw into the *Engliſh* Ship, and at them that had boarded theirs, forcing them to retire with the Loſs of Two Men, and Four or Five wounded. But the Admiral, making a freſh Attack with his great and ſmall Shot, raked them through and through, killing and wounding great Numbers, as the Ship was full of Men; yet they ſtood very tightly to their Buſineſs. But the next Broadſide reduced them to the laſt Extremity, boring ſuch wide Holes for the Water to pour in, that they ſaw they muſt either yield or ſink. Whereupon, hanging out a Flag of Truce, they deſired the Admiral to ſave their Lives, and they would yield their Ship, with all the rich Cargo, into his Hands. This he granted, but commanded them preſently to ſtrike their Sails, to hoiſt out their Boat, and come aboard; which was accordingly done by the Captain, the Pilot, and one of the chief Merchants. They told the Admiral what they had aboard, which appeared to be worth fighting for, ſince there were 122,000 Pezoes of Gold, rich Silks, Sattins, Damasks, Musk, with divers other Sorts of Merchandize, and all manner of Proviſions, almoſt as acceptable as their Riches.

17. This Prize thus glorioufly obtained, on *November* the 6th, they put into the Harbour *Puerto Seguro*, where all the *Spaniards*, both Men and Women, to the Number of 150, were ſet aſhore, the Admiral having choſen a very fruitful Spot for them to live upon; and, beſides, gave them good Store of Wine and Victuals, with the Sails of their Ship, and ſome Planks, to build them little Houſes in the Country. The Owners thus diſpoſed of, the next thing was to ſhare the Booty they had brought; and here this ungrateful Work of Diſtribution quickly involved the Admiral in the ill Circumſtances of a Mutiny, every Man having a ſharp Appetite to the Gold; but no Man ever thinking he had enough. This Feud and Avarice appeared moſt violently in the *Content*. But all was quickly and quietly compromiſed by the candid Behaviour and Generoſity of the Admiral. *November* 17. being her Majeſty's Coronation-day, they diſcharged all their Ordnance and ſmall Shot in both their Ships, and at Night continued the Celebration of the Feſtival with Fireworks. The Admiral reſerved of the Priſoners in the *Spaniſh* Ship, Two *Japoneſe* Boys, and Three that were Natives of the Iſle of *Manilla*, a *Portugueſe* that had been in *China* and *Japan*, and a *Spaniſh* Pilot of perfect Knowledge in all the Parts between *Acapulco* and *Nueva Eſpanna*, to the Iſlands of *Ladrones*. This *Acapulco* is the Haven from whence they ſet out for the *Philippines*, as the Iſlands *Ladrones* are their ſtated Places of Refreſhment.

18. *November* 19. the Admiral, having diſcharged the Captain of the *St. Anne* with a noble Reward, and ſufficient Proviſion for his Defence againſt the *Indians*, fired the Ship itſelf, having to the Quantity of 500 Tons of Goods in her, and ſaw her burnt quite down to the Water's Edge. And now this great Buſineſs being happily accompliſhed, which they had ſo long attended upon, they ſet Sail very chearfully for *England*. But they had the Misfortune to loſe the *Content*, their Vice-admiral. She ſtaid ſome little time behind them in the Road; and they, expecting ſhe would overtake them, went on before, but never had her Company again. However, purſuing their own Voyage, they directed their Courſe to the Iſlands *Ladrones*, which are diſtant from this Haven of *Aguada Segura*, near 1800 Leagues. And this took them up about Forty-five Days, *viz.* from *November* 19. to *January* 3. Upon this Day, early in the Morning, they had Sight of one of the Iſlands *Ladrones*, called *Guam*, which lies in 13° 40′ North Latitude; and, ſailing with a gentle Gale before the Wind, came up within Two Leagues of the Iſland: Here they ſaw Sixty or Seventy Canoes full of Savages, that brought Cocoas, Plantanes, Potatoes, and freſh Fiſh, to exchange for ſome of their Commodities. They gave them ſome Pieces of old Iron, which they hung on upon ſmall Cords and Fiſhing-lines, and ſo let it vere to the Canoes; and, by the ſame Method, they got back to their own Ship what the Savages offered in Exchange. After the Traffick was ended, they came crouding with their Canoes about the Ship, and thruſt in ſo cloſe, ſome of them, that the Ship broke Two of their Canoes, though the Savages themſelves were none of them drowned, the Water being almoſt as natural to them, as to the Fiſhes that live there: And ſo they continued following the Ship, and would not leave the Company of it, till the Harquebuſſes were diſcharged at them, though 'tis ten to one if they killed any of them; for, they are ſo very nimble, that they drop immediately into the Water, and dive beyond the Reach of all Danger, upon the leaſt Warning in the World. They were very large Men, extraordinary fat, of a tawny Colour, and wear their Hair mighty long for the moſt part; though ſome have it tied up in Knots upon the Crown, like the wooden Images that ſtand at the Head of their Canoes. Theſe Canoes were very artificially made, conſidering that no edged Tool was uſed about them; they are about Seven or Eight Yards in Length, and half a Yard in Breadth, and their Heads and Sterns were both alike: They are made with Rafts of Canes and Reeds on the Starboard Side, and have both Maſts and Sails; which latter are made of Sedges, and that either ſquare or triangular. They have this excellent Property, that they will ſail as well againſt as before the Wind.

19. *January* 14. by Break of Day, they fell in with a Head-land of the *Philippine* Iſlands, called *Caba del Spirito Santo*. The Iſland itſelf is large, high in the Middle, and depreſſed to the Eaſt and Weſt Parts, and running a great way into the Sea Weſtward: It lies in 30° North Latitude, and it is diſtant from *Guam* 110 Leagues, and about Sixty from *Manilla*, which is the chief of the *Philippines*. It is a woody Iſland, and its Inhabitants are moſtly Heathens. They ſpent Eleven Days ſailing to this Place from *Guam*, having ſome foul Weather, and ſcarce bearing any Sail at all for Two or Three Nights. *Manilla* is inhabited by *Spaniards*, who live there to the Number of Six or Seven hundred Perſons. It is an unwalled Town, and of no great Strength, though it has vaſt Riches in Gold, and ſeveral good Commodities; it has a conſtant yearly Correſpondence with *Acapulco*, in *Nueva Eſpanna*, beſides Twenty or Thirty Ships from *China*, and the Trade of the *Sangueloes*, which is very profitable. Theſe *Sangueloes* are *Chineſe* Merchants, very ſharp and ſenſible Men in all Matters of Trade and Merchandize, extremely ingenious in mechanical Contrivances, and the moſt expert Embroiderers in Silk and Sattin that are in the whole World; they work any Form of Beaſt, or Fowl, or Fiſh, in Gold, Silver, or Silk, with all the juſt Proportion and Colour in every Part, and giving it all the Life and Beauty that an excellent Painter can do, or Nature herſelf beſtows on the living Original: And 'tis plain, that theſe Men muſt bring a very gainful Trade to *Manilla*, ſince they made no more of Gold than they did; for, as they brought great

Quantities of that precious Metal along with them, ſo they exchanged it there Weight for Weight for Silver.

20. The ſame 14th Day in the Evening, they entered the Streights, between the Iſland *Lucon*, and the Iſland of *Cambaia*. The 15th, they fell in with the Iſland of *Capul*, paſſing a very narrow Streight between that Iſland and another, in which the Tide was conſiderably great, and a Ledge of Rocks lay on one Side them off the Point of *Capul*, but they paſſed without Danger. Within the Point was a fair Bay, and a good Harbour, in Four Fathom Water, within a Cable's Length of the Shore. About Ten in the Morning they came to Anchor, and preſently a Canoe rowed up to them, in which was one of the Seven chief *Caſiques* of the Iſland; they paſſed for *Spaniards* with theſe People, who, according to their uſual Way of trading with them, came and brought their Cocoas and Potatoe-roots to the *Engliſh* in like manner. They gave them a Yard of Linen Cloth for Four Cocoas, and as much for about a Quart of Potatoes, which, in that Iſland, are very ſweet and excellent Meat, either roaſted or boiled. The *Caſique* that came aboard them had his Skin ſtreaked, and painted full of very ſtrange Devices all over his Body; they kept him with them, and deſired him to ſend ſome of his *Indian* Servants, that managed his Canoe, to go and fetch his other Six Brother *Caſiques* to the Ship too. The *Caſiques* very quickly came according to their Requeſt, and with them a large Train of the People of the Iſland, who brought vaſt Numbers of Hogs and Hens, and a whole Market of Cocoas and Potatoes; and now the *Engliſh* had nothing elſe to do for all that Day but to deal with theſe People, who ſold to them juſt as they did to the *Spaniards*, *viz.* Eight Rials of Plate for a Hog, and One for a Hen. Here a juſt Execution was performed upon a *Spaniſh* Pilot taken in the great *St. Anne*, who had plotted to betray them into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, for which he was hanged. They lay about this Iſland of *Capul* for about Nine Days, being all the while well furniſhed with freſh Victuals, good Water, and Wood. The People of the Iſland are all *Pagans*, and are ſaid both to worſhip and converſe with the Devil; they go almoſt naked, and are of a tawny Complexion. The Men wear a ſquare Piece of Linen, woven out of Plantane-leaves, about their Waiſts, and another coming down their Backs, and ſo under the Twiſt, which is faſtened to their Girdles. The Rite of Circumciſion is in Practice here amongſt them; beſides which, the Males undergo another Operation, which is far from being common, and hardly practiſed any-where elſe, except in *Pegu*. They make a Perforation quite through the Glans of the Penis with a Nail of Tin ſplit in the lower End, and riveted, which they order ſo as to take out, and put in again, as they have Occaſion. They invented this for a Prevention of a certain unnatural Crime, which the Men of the Iſland were it ſeems horribly addicted to; and it was done at the humble Petition of the Women, who laid the Caſe before the Magiſtrates, and obtained this Remedy. On the 23d, the Admiral ſummoned all the *Caſiques* of this Iſland, and of One hundred more, (which had paid him Tribute) to appear before him; and here he diſcovered himſelf and his Company to them, telling them, that they were *Engliſh*, and the greateſt Enemies the *Spaniards* had in the World. At the ſame time he generouſly gave them back in Money the Value of all the Tribute he had received, and which was paid by them in Hogs, Cocoas, Potatoes, and the like. This unexpected Favour of the Admiral ſurpriſed the whole Aſſembly of *Caſiques*; they admired his Bounty and Generoſity, and engaged to aſſiſt him with all the Forces of their reſpective Dominions, whenever he would begin a War with the *Spaniards* in thoſe Parts; and ſo, no leſs pleaſed with finding them to be *Engliſh*, than with the Kindneſs they had received from them, having rowed about the Ship awhile with their Canoes to give them ſome Diverſion, they took Leave, the Admiral giving them a Gun at their Departure.

21. *June* 24. they ſet Sail, and ran along the Coaſt of *Manilla*, ſteering North-weſt between that Iſland and the Iſland *Maſbat*; and, in the Iſlands thereabouts, they perceived the *Spaniards* to keep a ſtrict Watch, making great Fires, and diſcharging their Pieces all Night long, having taken the Alarm of their coming. The Iſland *Panama* is a plain level Country in many Places, affording very fair and ſtrait Trees for the making Ship-maſts, and, beſides, ſeveral Mines of very fine Gold, which are in Cuſtody of the *Indians*. To the Southward of it lies the Iſland of *Negroes*, a very large Iſland, almoſt as big as *England*, and in 9° North Latitude. It appeared to be the moſt Part of it low Land, and very fruitful; the People are neither Slaves to the *Spaniards*, nor any other Nation, but their own intire Maſters. *June* 29. at Six in the Morning, they ſet Sail, paſſing through the Streight between *Panama* and *Negro* Iſland, when, having made about Sixteen Leagues, they found a fair Opening in the Streight, tending South-weſt and by South; about this Time their Boat, which they had ſent out before them in the Morning, came up to them again, in which the Admiral ſent a *Spaniſh* Priſoner aſhore, with a Meſſage to his Captain, who commanded a Ship that lay at *Panama* the Night before. The Meſſage was to this Effect: That he ſhould be ſure to provide good Store of Gold againſt the Admiral came that Way again; for he intended to make him a Viſit at *Manilla*, which, being a long Voyage, would deſerve good Entertainment; and farther, that he had certainly come now and weigh'd ſome of his golden Bags in an *Engliſh* Pair of Scales, but that he wanted a bigger Boat to land his Men upon the Iſland. *February* 8. they ſaw in the Morning the Iſland *Batochina*, which lies near *Gilolo*, and is in 1° North Latitude. The 14th, they fell in with Eleven or Twelve ſmall Iſlands, flat and low, and almoſt quite ſunk into the Sea; they lie near the *Moluccas*, and are in 3° 10 South Latitude.

22. *March* 1. having paſſed the Streights of *Java Major* and *Minor*, they anchored under the South-weſt Parts of *Java Major*, where they ſaw ſome People fiſhing in a Bay under the Iſland; the Admiral ſent out the Boat to them, in which was a Negro, that could ſpeak the *Moreſco* Tongue, which is much uſed in *Java*; but they, being frighten'd at the coming of the Boat, got aſhore, and run away into the Woods; yet one of them came to the Sea Side, when the Negro called, and directed them to find freſh Water, and carried a Meſſage from the Admiral to the King, certifying him, that he was come thither to traffick for Victuals, or any valuable Commodities that his Iſland afforded. *March* 12. there came Nine or Ten of the King's Canoes, as full laden with all Sorts of Proviſions, as they could ſwim. They brought them Oxen, Hogs, Hens, Geeſe, Eggs, Sugar, Cocoas, Plantanes, Oranges, Lemons, Wine, and Aqua Vitæ. Two *Portugueſe* that came to ſee them, and to inquire about their King *Antonio*, then in *England*, gave them a large Account of the Manners and Cuſtoms of theſe People. The King of that Part of the Iſland was a Man of whom his Subjects ſtood in exceeding Awe, and who exerciſed ſo abſolute a Power over them, and all they had, that no Man dared ſo much as make a Bargain without his Leave; and, if any did preſume to do it, he paid for it with his Blood. This Prince had One hundred Wives, (as his Son had Fifty) who may poſſibly be very happy as long as he lives, but cannot be ſo any longer; for, he being dead, the Body burnt, and the Royal Aſhes laid up in an Urn, within Five Days after this, the Tragedy of his Wives begins and ends; they all of them go to an appointed Place, where, when they are come, the favourite Wife throws a Ball out of her Hand, which, where it reſts, marks out the Place of their Death: Being come thither, they turn their Faces to the Eaſt, and, with their Daggers, ſtab themſelves to the Heart, and, taking out Handfuls of their own Blood, beſmear their Bodies with it, and thus they die. This barbarous Sacrifice of themſelves to the Ghoſt of their dead Husbands are the Queens of *Java* obliged to make, by the Cuſtom of their Country. The Men of this Iſland are very good Soldiers, hardy, valiant, and deſperate, to the laſt Degree; they ſtick at nothing that their King commands them to do, be it attended with ever ſo great or certain Danger: Should he bid them plunge a Dagger into their Breaſts, or leap off from a Precipice, or into a Den of wild Beaſts, they immediately do it; becauſe the Anger of their King is as certain Death as the Point of the Sword, or the Teeth of wild Beaſts. They are of a

tawny Complexion, like the reſt of the *Indians*, and go naked; but their Women are of ſomething a better Hue, and ſhew more Modeſty than the Men in the Uſe of Apparel. After this Relation of the *Portugueſe*, having contented the *Javans* for the Victuals they had brought them, and received a Promiſe from them of good Entertainment whenever they came again, they took their Leaves of them, the Admiral making them a Preſent of Three great Pieces of Ordnance at parting. The next Day, *viz March* 16. they ſailed away for the Cape of *Good Hope*, and ſpent all the reſt of *March*, and the whole Month of *April*, in traverſing the vaſt Ocean between *Java* and the Main of *Africa*, making many Obſervations as to the Appearance of the Stars, the Weather, the Winds and Tides, the Bearing and Poſition of Lands.

23. *May* 11. one of the Company ſpied Land, bearing North and North by Weſt, and about Noon they ſaw ſome that bore Weſt of them, which they believed to be the Cape of *Good Hope*, they being then about Forty or Fifty Leagues from it: But, by reaſon they had a ſcanty Wind, they ſtood off to the South-eaſt till Midnight, and then the Wind coming fair, they hawl'd along Weſtward. The 12th and 13th Days they were becalmed, and the Sky was thick and hazy; but the 14th it cleared up, and they ſaw Land again, which proved to be Cape *Falſo*, which is ſhort of the Cape of *Good Hope* Forty or Fifty Leagues. This Cape *Falſo* is very eaſy to be known; for there lie right over it Three very high Hills, but a little Diſtance from each other, the higheſt of which is the middlemoſt, and the Ground is much lower by the Sea Side; beſides, the Cape of *Good Hope* bears Weſt and by South from this Cape *Falſo*. *May* 16. they diſcovered the Cape of *Good Hope*, obſerving the Head-land to be conſiderably high, and, at the Weſterly Point, a little off the Main, Two Hammocks appearing, and Three others lying further off into the Sea, yet Low-land between them towards the Sea. This Cape of *Good Hope* is made in the *Portugueſe* Sea Charts 2000 Leagues from *Java*, but, by their Reckoning, they found it to be 1850 Leagues, which took them up juſt Nine Weeks in their Run.

24. *June* 8. by Break of Day they came within Seven or Eight Leagues of the Iſland of *St. Helena*, which they had juſt a Glimpſe of; but, having little or no Wind, they could not reach it that Day, but ſtood off and on all Night; the next Day having a pretty good Wind, they ſtood in with the Shore, (the Boat being ſent before to the Harbour) and came to an Anchor in Twelve Fathom Water, in a good Bay, under the North-weſt Side of the Iſland, Two or Three Cables Length from the Shore. This Iſland lies in the main Sea, as it were in the Midſt between the main Land of *Africa*, and that of *Braſil* and the Coaſt of *Guiney*. It lies in 15° 48 South Latitude, and between 5 and 600 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*. Here they went aſhore, and entered the Church, which had a fair Cauſey leading to it; a Frame with Two Bowls, and a Croſs of Free-ſtone adjoining to it; within, it was hung with painted Cloths, having an Altar, with the bleſſed Virgin, and the Story of the Crucifixion, pictured in a Table: The Valley where the Church ſtands is extremely pleaſant, ſo full of fine Fruit-trees, and excellent Plants, that it appears like ſome very fair and well cultivated Garden; there are long Rows of Lemon, Orange, Citron, and Pomgranate, Date and Fig-trees, that preſent the Eye with Bloſſoms, green Fruit and ripe all at once. The Trees are very nicely trimmed, and diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral curious Walks, which have the Protection of their Boughs, and by them are made cool and ſhady. There is a ſweet cryſtal Spring riſing at a Diſtance, that diffuſes itſelf into many pretty Rivulets, all thro' the Valley, watering the ſeveral Parts of it, and refreſhing every Plant and Tree: There is hardly any empty Space in this great Garden; for what Places Nature has left unoccupied, Art has taken care to fill up to ſome Advantage. The Iſland itſelf affords great Store of Partridges and Pheaſants, which are much larger and fairer than ours; there are Turkeys too both black and white, with red Heads about as big as ours, and their Eggs much the ſame, only quite white: There is alſo great Plenty of Cabritos, or wild Goats; they are as big as an Aſs, have a Horſe's Mane, and a Beard that reaches down to the very Ground: They go ſometimes together in a Herd, that reaches a full Mile in Length. Here are alſo vaſt Herds of wild Swine, that keep chiefly upon the Mountains, as the Cabritos do; they are fat, and ſo very wild, that a Man can never come at them, except they be aſleep, or rolling themſelves upon their miry Beds.

25. *June* 20. having taken in all Neceſſaries here, they ſet Sail for *England*, and hawled away North-weſt and by Weſt. 'Tis to be obſerved, that the Wind is commonly off the Shore at *St. Helena*. On *Friday Auguſt* 23. they ſailed Eaſt and Eaſt by South, for the Northermoſt of the *Azores*. The 29th, at Four after Midnight, they fell in Sight of the Iſland *Flores* and *Corvo*, lying in 39° 30' North Latitude, and ſo ſailed away North-eaſt. *September* 3. they met with a *Flemiſh* Veſſel, that came from *Liſbon*, and told them the joyful News of the total Defeat of the *Spaniſh Armada*. *September* 9. having had the Winds Farewel in a moſt violent Storm, that carried away moſt Part of their Sails, they arrived at the long deſired Haven of *Plymouth*. As there never had been any Voyage of this Conſequence attended with ſuch an uninterrupted Series of Succeſs, as appeared plainly from the Difference of Time in which it was performed, *Magellan*'s Voyage having taken up Three Years and a Month, Sir *Francis Drake* upwards of Two Years and Ten Months, and this leſs than Two Years and Two Months, we need not wonder, that a young Gentleman like Mr. *Candiſh*, whoſe Soul was intirely poſſeſſed with an Appetite for Glory, ſhould adventure upon ſome extraordinary Methods of diſplaying his good Fortune. Some Accounts, indeed, tell us, that he went ſo far, as to bring his Ship into the Harbour of *Plymouth* under a Suit of Silken Sails, which, if true, I conceive may be thus accounted for. We are told by Mr. *Candiſh*, in his own Relation, that, juſt before his Arrival, he met with a violent Storm, which tore all his Sails to Pieces; in which Diſtreſs, he might very probably make uſe of ſome of thoſe he had taken in the South Seas, or in the *Eaſt Indies*, but moſt probably of the former, which being made of what is called *Silk Graſs*, having a very ſtrong Gloſs, and a moſt beautiful Colour, might eaſily deceive the Eyes of the Vulgar, and paſs upon them for Sails of Silk. This, however, is certain, that though he might be vain and expenſive in ſuch Matters, yet all came fairly out of his own Pocket; and thoſe who went abroad with him, from a Proſpect of raiſing their Fortunes, had not the leaſt Reaſon to complain, ſince he came to a fair and full Diſtribution of the Value of the Prizes, which gained him univerſal Credit and Eſteem; of which we ſhall quickly afford the Reader a remarkable and very convincing Inſtance.

26. To ſhew, however, his Duty and Diligence, as well as to diſcharge reſpectfully the Obligations he was under to his Patron, he wrote, the very ſame Day that he arrived at *Plymouth*, to the Lord *Hunſdon*, then Lord Chamberlain, Queen *Elizabeth*'s near Relation, and great Favourite; which Letter, equally remarkable both for Style and Matter, the Reader will probably be well pleaſed to ſee, eſpecially as it is very conciſe, and yet contains ſome Particulars not to be found elſewhere.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Hunſdon, *&c.*

Right Honourable,

“AS your Favour heretofore hath been moſt greatly extended toward me, ſo I humbly deſire a Continuance thereof; and though there be no means in me to deſerve the ſame, yet the uttermoſt of my Services ſhall not be wanting, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe your Honour to diſpoſe thereof. I am humbly to deſire your Honour to make known unto her Majeſty the Deſire I have had to do her Majeſty Service in the Performance of this Voyage; and, as it hath pleaſed God to give her the Victory over Part of her Enemies, ſo I truſt, ere long, to ſee her overthrow them all: For the Places of their Wealth, whereby they have maintained and made their Wars, are now perfectly diſcovered; and if it pleaſe her Majeſty, with a very ſmall Power, ſhe may take the Spoil of them all. It hath pleaſed the Almighty to

“ ſuffer me to circumpaſs all the whole Globe of the World, entering in at the Streight of *Magellan*, and returning by the Cape *de Buena Eſperança*. In which Voyage, I have either diſcovered, or brought certain Intelligence of, all the rich Places of the World, that ever were known or diſcovered by any Chriſtian. I navigated along the Coaſt of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Nueva Eſpanna*, where I made great Spoils; I burnt and ſunk Nineteen Sail of Ships, ſmall and great: All the Villages and Towns that ever I landed at I burnt and ſpoiled; and, had I not been diſcovered upon the Coaſt, I had taken great Quantity of Treaſure. The Matter of moſt Profit unto me, was a great Ship of the King's, which I took at *California*, which Ship came from the *Philippines*, being one of the richeſt for Merchandize that ever paſſed thoſe Seas, as the King's Regiſter, Accounts, and Merchants did ſhew; for it did amount in Value to *** in *Mexico* to be ſold; which Goods (for that my Ships were not able to contain the leaſt Part of them) I was enforced to ſet on Fire. From the Cape of *California*, being the uppermoſt Part of all *Nueva Eſpanna*, I navigated to the Iſlands of *Philippines*, hard upon the Coaſt of *China*, of which Country I have brought ſuch Intelligence, as hath not been heard of in theſe Parts: The Statelineſs and Riches of which Country I fear to make Report of, leſt I ſhould not be credited; for, if I had not known ſufficiently the incomparable Wealth of that Country, I ſhould have been as incredulous thereof, as others will be, that have not had the like Experience. I ſailed along the Iſlands of *Maluccas*, where, among ſome of the Heathen People, I was well intreated, where our Countrymen may have Trade as freely as the *Portugals*, if they will themſelves. From thence I paſſed by the Cape of *Buena Eſperança*, and found out, by the Way homeward, the Iſland of *St. Helena*, where the *Portugals* uſed to relieve themſelves; and from that Iſland God hath ſuffered me to return into *England*: All which Services, with myſelf, I humbly proſtrate at her Majeſty's Feet, deſiring the Almighty long to continue her Reign among us; for, at this Day, ſhe is the moſt famous and victorious Prince that liveth in the World. Thus, humbly deſiring Pardon for my Tedioușneſs, I leave your Lordſhip to the Tuition of the Almighty.

Your Honour's moſt Humble to command,

Plymouth, *this 9th of* September 1588.
THOMAS CANDISH.

27. There were many Circumſtances in this Voyage, beſides the wonderful Felicity of it, that deſerve to be conſidered: As, for Inſtance, the paſſing a ſecond time into the South Seas, not only after it was known, that the *Spaniards* were exceſſively alarmed by the former Paſſage of Sir *Francis Drake*, but alſo that they had received Succours from *Spain*, and had actually fortified themſelves ſtrongly in the South Seas. The nice Search he made into, and the exact Deſcription he has given us of the Streights of *Magellan*, are very noble Proofs of his Skill and Induſtry, and of his Deſire, that Poſterity might reap the Benefit of his Labours. The Attack of the *Acapulco* Ship, conſidering the ſmall Force that Captain *Candiſh* had with him, was a noble Inſtance of true *Engliſh* Bravery, which was juſtly rewarded by the Queen with the Honour of Knighthood. His Account of the *Philippines*, and his Deſcriptions of ſeveral Iſlands in the *Eaſt Indies*, are very clear and curious, and at that time muſt have been very uſeful; but particularly his Map and Deſcription of *China*, which gave great Lights at that time of Day. We may add to all this, the Care he took in the Inſtruction of his Seamen, many of whom afterwards diſtinguiſhed themſelves, by navigating other Veſſels in the ſame ſtupendous Courſe, and thereby filling all the known World with the Fame and Reputation of *Engliſh* Seamen. It is not, therefore, at all ſurpriſing, that we find the beſt Judges, both in our own and other Nations, beſtowing very high Praiſes upon this worthy Gentleman, who ſhewed, in the whole Conduct of his Voyage, the Courage and Diſcretion of a great Commander, with all the Skill and Diligence of an able Seaman, of both which he has left us the ſtrongeſt Teſtimonies in his accurate Accounts of his Expeditions.

28. The Wealth he brought from ſo ſucceſsful a Voyage, muſt have been very conſiderable. One of our antient Writers ſays, it was ſufficient to have purchaſed *a fair Earldom*, which is a general Expreſſion, the Meaning of which cannot be determined with any Certainty: But whatever the Sum was, which he acquired with ſo much Hazard, and with ſo great Honour, it is certain, that he did not make ſo prudent a Uſe of his good Fortune as might have been expected; for in the Space of Three Years time the beſt Part of it was ſpent, and the reſt of it he determined to lay out in a Second Expedition. We need the leſs wonder at this, if we conſider what the Writers of thoſe Times tell us with reſpect to his great Generoſity, and the prodigious Expence he was at in procuring and maintaining ſuch People as he thought might be uſeful to him in his naval Expeditions, upon which his Mind was continually bent. Such Things require the Revenues of a Prince; and, as he looked upon this Voyage round the World as an Introduction only to his future Undertakings, we may eaſily conceive, that what the World took for Extravagance, might appear to him in the Light only of neceſſary Diſburſements, which, inſtead of leſſening or running out, he propoſed ſhould have laid the Foundations of a more extenſive Fortune. Neither was this, when all Circumſtances are conſidered, a raſh or improbable Expectation; ſince there were many Examples in that Reign of very great Wealth obtained by this very Method by which he hoped to increaſe his Eſtate: Beſides, it very clearly appears by his Will, that he did not die in Debt, but left behind him very conſiderable Effects, notwithſtanding all the Expences to which he was put, and the many Miſfortunes he encountered in his Second Expedition to the South Seas. Add to all this, that, from the happy Succeſs of his former Voyage, and the ſuperior Strength with which he undertook the next, he had very good Reaſon to believe, that the Profits of this Enterprize would have fully compenſated the Charges to which it put him, and have enabled him to have ſpent the Remainder of his Days in Quiet, in caſe he had returned to his native Country as happily as he did before. But without ſpending more Time in ſuch kind of Reflections, which, however, are not unneceſſary, conſidering the Character and Reputation of the Perſon they concern, let us now proceed to an Account of that unfortunate Voyage, which ſhall be the more conciſe, becauſe we ſhall have an Opportunity of entering into many Particulars of it in another Place, where we ſhall give the Reader a large Account of the curious Travels, and ſurpriſing Adventures, of Mr. *Antony Knivet*, who was the Companion of Sir *Thomas Candiſh* in moſt of his Miſfortunes, and who left the World a very copious and diſtinct Account of that memorable Voyage.

29. The Ships which he fitted out at his own Expence for this Voyage, were the Galleon *Leiceſter*, which was Admiral, the *Roebuck*, Vice-admiral, the *Deſire*, the *Dainty*, and the *Black Pinnace*; with which Squadron he ſailed from *Plymouth*, *Auguſt* 6. 1591. On *November* 29. they fell in with the Coaſt of *Braſil*, where they took the Town of *Santos*, and burnt that of *St. Vincent*; and then continued their Voyage for the Streights of *Magellan*, meeting thenceforward with nothing but Storms, Diſappointments, and Miſfortunes, various Accounts of which are ſtill preſerved; but the moſt copious is that of Mr. *Candiſh* himſelf, addreſſed to Sir *Triſtram Gorges*, whom he made ſole Executor of his laſt Will; wherein he affirms, the Miſcarriage happened thus: “ The running away of the Villain *Davis* (ſays he) was the Death of me, and Decay of the whole Action, and his only Treachery in running from me, the utter Ruin of all.” He complains alſo of Mutinies; and that, by South-weſt and Weſt South-weſt Winds, he was driven from Shore Four hundred Leagues, and from 50° to 40°: That he was taken with Winter and Storms in the Streights, and ſuch Froſts and Snows in *May*, as he never ſaw the like; ſo that, in Seven or Eight Days, Forty died, and Seventy ſickened. *Davis* in the *Deſire*, and his Pinnace, left him in the Latitude of 47°; the *Roebuck* kept with him to Thirty-ſix;

ty-ſix; Captain *Barker*, tranſgreſſing his Directions, was ſlain with Five-and-twenty Men on Land, and the Boat loſt; and, ſoon after, Twenty-five others followed the like Fortunes; Ten others by the Cowardice of the Maſter of the *Roebuck*, forſaken at *Spirito Santo*, which ſtole away with Six Months Victuals for an hundred and Twenty Perſons, they being but Forty-ſix. At *Sebaſtians* happened another Mutiny by Treachery of an *Iriſhman* (where Mr. *Knivet*, and other ſick Perſons, were ſet on Shore): Intending again for the Streights, he was beaten up and down thoſe tempeſtuous Seas, and came within Two Leagues of *St. Helena*, but could not attain it; and, in his laſt Epiſtle, profeſſed he had rather have put himſelf on an Iſland, if he could have found one, which the Charts place in 8°, than return; and was ſcarce able to hold a Pen when he wrote this. Soon after the writing of this Letter, he died of mere Grief. The *Black Pinnace* was loſt, but the *Deſire* arrived *July* 11. 1593. at *Beer-haven* in *Ireland*, after having ſuffered incredibly. The Admiral's own Ship alſo returned, but what became of the *Roebuck* I cannot find. It is very certain, that the Miſcarriage of this Voyage was, in ſome meaſure, prejudicial to the *Engliſh* Trade; for, upon the Return of Mr. *Candiſh*'s Ships, abundance of able Seamen were turned abroad in the World to get their Livings as they could; and the Ruin of Mr. *Candiſh* having thrown a Damp on theſe ſort of Undertakings here, thoſe Seamen went into other Countries; and, as Knowledge is a portable Commodity, made the beſt Market of it they could in *Holland* and elſewhere. Amongſt the reſt, one Mr. *Melliſh*, who had been a Favourite with Mr. *Candiſh*, and had been his Companion in all his Voyages, offered his Service to the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company, which was then in its Infancy; and his Propoſals being accepted, he was employed as Pilot in the Expedition, of which I am next to ſpeak. I have dwelt the longer upon theſe Points, from a Principle which, I hope, will not expoſe me to Cenſure, I mean a Jealouſy for the Honour of the *Britiſh* Nation. I would not, however, have any of my Readers ſuſpect, that this Principle will ever carry me too far, or betray me into Prejudices againſt Foreigners: I ſhall always endeavour to do them Juſtice, without doing Injuſtice to ourſelves; for in this I am clear, that, with reſpect to the Undertakings of ſingle Perſons, we have excelled all Nations. *Columbus* had the Support of their Catholic Majeſties; *Magellan* was fitted out by the Emperor *Charles* V. and both were encouraged with a Proſpect of great Rewards; whereas Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *Thomas Candiſh*, undertook their Expeditions at their own Expence, and on their own Riſques. What they performed, the Reader has ſeen. With regard to collective Bodies, or trading Companies, I muſt as freely acknowledge, that the *Dutch* ſeem to me to have had the Advantage of all Nations, not only in reſpect to the Wiſdom ſhewn in their Undertakings, but alſo in their Steadineſs and laudable Concern for the public Intereſt in the Purſuit of them; but that they were more early, or more fortunate, than we, in their Diſcoveries, I abſolutely deny; they were ſo far from being our Maſters in that Point, that in reality we were theirs; and this, I think, is a Matter of too great Conſequence not to be fully inſiſted on. I will, therefore, freely own, that the bare Amuſement, or even the Instruction, of my Readers, is not all I aim at: What I farther propoſe, is attempting to reſtore that glorious Spirit, which formerly diſtinguiſhed our Nation, and which I am firmly perſuaded, if ſet in its proper Light, may be ſome time or other revived; and then I do not doubt, but ſome future Writer may record the Actions of as great Heroes as *Drake* and *Candiſh*.

SECTION VI.

The Voyage of OLIVER VAN NOORT *(the firſt attempted by the* Dutch*) round the World.*

1. *The Riſe of the* Dutch *Company which formed the Deſign* Oliver van Noort *was ſent to execute.* 2. *The Nature of this Project, and the Preparations for it.* 3. *Their Departure from* Holland *for the South Seas,* September 13. 1598. 4. *Arrive on the Coaſt of* Braſil, *after meeting with many Miſfortunes.* 5. *Enter the Streights of* Magellan *in a ſickly Condition.* 6. *Account of the Savages inhabiting thoſe Streights.* 7. *Meet with Captain* de Weert, *who ſailed in the Fleet fitted out by* Verhagen. 8. *Inclemency of the Weather in thoſe Parts.* 9. *Enter into the South Seas, and cruiſe on the Coaſts of* Chili. 10. *Account of the* Indians *on this Coaſt, and their Rebellion againſt the* Spaniards. 11. *Continue cruiſing on the Coaſts of* Chili *and* Peru, *where they miſs a vaſt Booty in Gold.* 12. *Their Courſe for the* Eaſt Indies, *and Arrival at the* Ladrones. 13. *Their Arrival at the* Philippines. 14. *Engage the* Spaniards *off* Manila; *and, after an obſtinate Diſpute, ſink their Admiral.* 15. *Arrive in the Port of* Borneo, *and trade with the Inhabitants.* 16. *The Danger of ſailing in thoſe Seas without having an experienced Pilot.* 17. *Their ſafe Arrival in* Holland, Auguſt 26. 1601. 18. *Remarks on this Voyage, and the Accounts we have of it.* 19. *The Reaſon of adding the Voyage of Captain* de Weert.

1. THE Inhabitants of thoſe Countries, which are now ſtiled the *United Provinces*, found themſelves, after their Separation from the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, extremely at a Loſs how to ſupply the neceſſary Expences, which ſo long and vigorous a War, as the Struggle for their Liberties occaſioned, conſtantly required. This gave them the more Uneaſineſs, becauſe their Enemy *Philip* II. carried on the War againſt them, rather by the Length of his Purſe, than by the Force of his Arms; and yet theſe Riches were derived from a Commerce prohibited to the People of this Country, even if they had ſubmitted themſelves again to the Yoke of *Spain*. The Senſe therefore of theſe Difficulties, joined to the mighty Advantages that might be certainly reaped by overcoming them, induced the Government and People of *Holland* to proſecute Trade in general, and all Attempts to eſtabliſh a Commerce with either the *Eaſt* or *Weſt Indies* in particular, with the greateſt Vigour. Among other Inducements to this Courſe, the Progreſs made by their Neighbours the *Engliſh*, did not a little encourage them; for they ſaw, that even private Perſons, and with a ſmall Force, were able to diſquiet the *Spaniards* exceedingly, at the ſame time that they acquired great Riches to themſelves. Another Cauſe of their attempting ſuch Expeditions, I mean of interfereing with the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*, was their failing in their firſt Scheme of finding another Paſſage to the *Eaſt Indies* than that with which thoſe Nations were acquainted, I mean by the North-eaſt, which they often endeavoured with great Hazard and Expence, though without Succeſs. Their firſt Voyages to the *Eaſt Indies*, proving more fortunate than even themſelves expected, tempted them to proceed ſtill farther, and to aim at diſtreſſing their Enemies likewiſe in the South Seas, which hitherto none but the *Engliſh* had done. We are not to imagine, however, from hence, that the diſtreſſed States of *Holland* were already become ſo powerful at Sea, as to act offenſively againſt the Catholic King; for that was not at all the Caſe: But, what they had in View was, granting ſuch Power and Authority to any of their Subjects, who were inclined to venture upon Expeditions of this Nature at their own Riſque and Expence, as might enable them to conciliate their private Advantage, and the public Good, by fitting

out Squadrons for theſe diſtant and hazardous Voyages: A Policy, which, however it might ſpring from Neceſſity, they conducted with ſuch Wiſdom and Addreſs, that the King of *Spain* ſoon found himſelf more diſtreſſed by the Armaments of the *Dutch* Merchants, than by all the Forces employed by the States of *Holland*. A plain Proof, that the ſhorteſt Way to render any Government powerful, is to intereſt the People in general in its Support; for this raiſes by degrees ſuch a Spirit, and that Spirit produces ſuch unthought-of Conſequences, as no Art or Force are able to oppoſe. After this Introduction, we come naturally to ſpeak of that Company of Merchants, at whoſe Expence the Expedition was undertaken, which is to be the Subject of our preſent Diſcourſe.

2. About the Beginning of the Year 1598. ſome very eminent Merchants of the *Low Countries*, among whom the principal were *Peter van Beveren*, *Hugo Gerritz*, and *John Bennick*, formed a Deſign of ſending ſome ſtout Ships through the Streights of *Magellan* to cruiſe in the South Seas upon the *Spaniards*, to which they were chiefly inſtigated by the Reports of many *Engliſh* Seamen, who had ſerved under *Drake*, *Candiſh*, *Hawkins*, and other enterpriſing Officers, in thoſe Parts. The End of this Expedition was the common one of cruiſing on the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, and obliging the Enemy of Peace to bear the Expence of thoſe Wars in which he obliged other People to engage againſt their Wills; as alſo to gain Experience; and, if it ſhould be found practicable, to continue their Voyage to the *Philippines*, and ſo by the Cape of *Good Hope*, round the World. As the Succeſs of this important Project depended, in a great meaſure, on the Capacity of the General, for ſo in thoſe Days the *Dutch*, and indeed moſt other Nations, called the Commander in chief, either by Land or Sea, they took care to provide themſelves with a Perſon of eſtabliſhed Character, as well in point of Conduct as Courage, whoſe Name was *Oliver van Noort*, a Native of *Utrecht*, in the Flower of his Age, and who had a ſtrong Paſſion for Glory. To this Man they communicated their Scheme, which he readily embraced; and their Terms being ſpeedily ſettled, they proceeded to equip Two ſtout Veſſels, the one called the *Maurice*, the other the *Henry Frederic*, and Two Yachts, called the *Concord*, and the *Hope*, manned by 248 Perſons of all Ranks. Of this little Fleet *Oliver van Noort*, in the *Maurice*, was Admiral; *James Claaſz*, of *Ulpenda*, was Captain of the *Henry Frederic*, and had the Title of Vice-admiral; Captain *Peter van Lint* had the Command of the *Concord*; and *John Huidecoope*, of the *Hope*. Theſe were all Men of Experience, capable of maintaining their Authority upon all Occaſions, and who were themſelves intereſted in the Succeſs of the Voyage; a Precaution then, and ever ſince, taken by the *Dutch* in ſuch Caſes, to prevent their Expeditions ſuffering from the private Views, or want of Heartineſs, in their Officers; which is often the Caſe among other Nations, and for which this Method of theirs perhaps is the only Cure.

3. When all Things were in Readineſs, and the Crews of their reſpective Veſſels abſolutely complete, the Proprietors preſented a Petition to the Board of Admiralty at *Rotterdam*; upon which, all Parties concerned were ſummoned thither; and, on the 28th of *June* 1598. the Rules and Regulations for their Government in this Expedition, which had been drawn up for them by the Company, and then reviſed and approved by the Stadtholder Prince *Maurice*, and the Board, were publicly read to them, and every Man ſworn to their Obſervance. Theſe kind of ſailing Orders the *Dutch* call *Artykelbriefs*, and never ſuffer them to take place till they have received this kind of Sanction from the State; and then they become the Laws of the Voyage, which whoever breaks, muſt ſuffer the Penalties mentioned in them. This is another Circumſtance worthy of Remark, and a very great Proof of the Attention paid by that Republic to the Commerce of their Subjects, as well as a Check upon others, who might attempt to abuſe their Authority. On the 13th of *September* 1598. the *Maurice* and the *Concord* ſailed out of the Port of *Goeree*; and the *Henry Frederic*, and the *Hope*, having joined them from *Amſterdam*, they continued their Voyage together for *Plymouth*, where their *Engliſh* Pilot Mr. *Melliſh*, who had been the Companion of Sir *Thomas Candiſh*'s Fortunes, was to take in his Apparel, and other Neceſſaries. On the 21ſt, they ſailed from *Plymouth*, the Wind blowing a freſh Gale at North-eaſt. The next Morning, when they were out of the Chanel, they perceived that the Vice-admiral's Shallop was miſſing with Six Men, which gave them a good deal of Concern, inſomuch that they had ſome Thoughts of returning to *Plymouth*; but an *Engliſh* Privateer, coming up with them, ſoon cured them of their Pain, by aſſuring them, that theſe Six Men were lewd, good-for-nothing Fellows, who embarked for the Sake of what they could get, and had taken this Opportunity to run away with the Boat: Upon which it was reſolved, not to trouble themſelves any further about them. Some Jealouſies, however, at that Time, ſprung up, as to the Capacity and Conduct of their Vice-admiral, which were quickly increaſed by his loſing his other Shallop, which he had in Tow with a Man in her, and which, notwithſtanding all the Care that they could take, was actually loſt; which Piece of Careleſſneſs occaſioned much Murmuring and Diſcontent amongſt the Seamen, which the Vice-admiral daily increaſed by his haughty Behaviour, and by his Contempt for Advice, which, however, no Man wanted more than he.

4. On the 4th of *October* they met a ſmall Fleet of *Dutch*, *Engliſh*, and *French*, which were coming from *Barbary*, and gave them an Account of the horrible Peſtilence raging there, which had ſwept away 250,000 Perſons in a very ſhort Space. On the 6th, they came between *Teneriff* and the great *Canary*. *November* 3. they had Sight of the Coaſts of *Guiney*. *December* 4. they came off Cape *Palma*, which lies in 3° 30′ North Latitude. The 10th, they had Sight of *Princes* Iſland, which lies 1° of North Latitude. They ſent their Boats before to make ſome Diſcovery of the Iſle, where, having entered with a Flag of Truce, they were met by a Negro, bearing the like Sign of Peace. They demanded only a Supply of Proviſions, which was granted in very fair and friendly Terms; but, while they were ſettling this Point, a Party that lay in Ambuſcade ſurpriſed them in a Moment, and cut off ſeveral of them, amongſt which was the brave *Engliſh* Pilot Captain *Melliſh*. The *Portugueſe* purſued them to their Boats, which they very briſkly attacked, killing the Admiral's Brother, and were very near taking all the reſt Priſoners. In Revenge of this Outrage, it was concluded in a Council of War, to attack the Caſtle; which Experiment being tried, and found too hazardous, they took their Revenge in burning all their Sugar-houſes. And ſo, having provided themſelves with freſh Water, they ſet Sail on the 17th. The 25th they reached Cape *Gonſalvo*, where the Wind generally blows from the Land at Night, and from the Sea in the Day. Here they found Two *Dutch* Ships, which informed them of the Misfortune of Captain *Sleerhagen*, who was loſt, with moſt Part of his Company, upon *Prince's* Iſland, as they had like to have been; as alſo of the Voyage of *Peter Verhagen*, who had entered the River of *Congo*, and, putting in at this Place, had here buried Thirty-eight of his Company, and was gone ſome time before for *Annobon*. *January* 1. 1589. they paſſed the Iſland *Annobon*, which they found in 2° South Latitude; and the 28th of the ſame Month they had the Sun in their Zenith. The 5th they reached Cape *St. Thomas*, (upon the Coaſt of *Braſil*) which lies 22° South Latitude. The 6th, they paſſed the *Fair* Cape, and in the Evening Cape *Frio*. On the 9th, they came to *Rio Janeiro*. After ſome Loſs of Time, and Company too, by the Treacheries of their grand Enemy the *Portugueſe*, they went to *St. Sebaſtian*, where the Comforts of a good Harbour, freſh Water, and plenty of Wood, attended them; but no Fruits were to be had at that Seaſon.

5. *March* 14. a dreadful Storm ſurpriſed them, the Fury of which parted the Vice-admiral, and the *Hope*, from the reſt of the Fleet; but they had the good Luck to meet them again on the 17th. And now the Scurvy increaſed amongſt them, which, together with the Approach of Winter, made them reſolve to put in at *St. Helena*; but, miſſing that, they concluded upon the *Aſcenſion*, or ſome other Iſland, that was capable of giving them a tolerable Entertainment. But hard Fortune brought them to a very

barren and deſolate Iſland in 20° 30′ South Latitude, where they had nothing but a few Fowl, (called *Malle Mewen*) which they knocked down with their Clubs. Having therefore quickly had enough of this barren Place, they put off to Sea again; and the Firſt of *June*, thinking to have reached the *Aſcenſion*, they found themſelves on the Continent of *Braſil*; but the *Portugueſe* not ſuffering them to land there, they ſailed to the Iſle of *St. Clara*, which lies in 21° 15′ South Latitude; it is about a Mile in Compaſs, and as much diſtant from the Continent. The Iſland afforded them little elſe but Herbs. But what it denied them in Food, it paid in Phyſic, yielding a ſort of ſour Plums, which in Fifteen Days cured all their Sick. *June* the 16th, they ſailed for Port *Deſire*, in 47° 40′ South Latitude, which (after much bad Weather) they reached *September* 20. They furniſhed themſelves with Store of Fiſh and Penguins in an Iſland that lies Three Miles to the South of this Place. Of the latter ſort of Creatures they took 50,000 (which were as big as Geeſe) with a vaſt Quantity of their Eggs, that proved good and refreſhing Meat to their ſick Company. They went up the River *October* the 5th, and, going on Shore, found Beaſts in the Country like Stags and Buffaloes, with a Multitude of Oſtriches, ſome of whoſe Neſts they 'lighted on, in which were Nineteen Eggs. The 20th, the Admiral went aſhore to obſerve the Country, leaving Orders with them that guarded the Boats, not to ſtir a Foot from their Charge; but they, having a mind, it ſeems, to ſee the Country too, took a ſmall Ramble, and fell into an Ambuſcade of Savages, who killed Three of them, and wounded the Fourth. Theſe Savages were very tall portly Men, painted, and armed with ſhort Bows and Arrows, which latter were headed with Stone.

6. The 29th, they ſailed from hence; and, *November* the 24th, they made Cape *Virgins*, where the Land is low and plain, and, by its Whiteneſs, yields a Proſpect like *England*. They made many Attempts to have entered the Streights, and were as often fruſtrated, being beaten back by Tempeſts of Wind, Rain, Hail, and Snow. They loſt their Anchors, broke their Cables; Sickneſs and Contention (worſe than any Diſeaſe) were added to all the reſt of their Calamities; and all theſe retarded their Progreſs ſo far, that it was very near Fifteen Months (from the Commencement of the Voyage) before they could make their Way into the Streights. They obſerved the Land to lie South-weſt from the Cape *Virgins*, and the Mouth of the Streights to be about Fourteen Miles Diſtance from it, and half a Mile in Breadth. *November* 25. they ſaw ſome Men upon Two Iſlands that lay near the Cape *Naſſau*, who bid Defiance to the *Hollanders*, and ſhook their Weapons at them; but they landing, notwithſtanding this Defiance, purſued the Savages to a Cave, which they ſtubbornly defended to the laſt Man, dying every one of them upon the Spot. The *Dutch*, being got in, found their Wives and Children in that dark Receptacle; and the Mothers, who expected nothing but preſent Death to themſelves and their Infants, covered the little ones with their own Bodies, reſolving to receive the firſt Stab themſelves. But the *Dutch* did them no more Injury than the taking of Four Boys and Two Girls of their Number from them, which they brought on Ship-board. One of the Boys, having learnt to ſpeak *Dutch*, gave them this Intelligence; That the greater of theſe Two Iſlands was called *Caſtemme*, and the Tribe that inhabited it *Enoo*; that the leſs Iſland was called *Talcke*; and that both were well ſtor'd with Penguins, whoſe Fleſh was their Food, and the Skins their Clothing; and, as for Habitations, they had none but theſe Caves: That the adjoining Continent abounded with Oſtriches, which alſo ſerved for Food: That they were diſtinguiſhed into Tribes, which had their ſeveral diſtinct Reſidences; the *Kemenetes*, that dwelt in *Kaeſay*; the *Kennekin*, in *Karamay*; the *Karaiks*, in *Morina*; all which People were of the common Size, but broader breaſted, and painted all over; the Men tying the Pudenda up with a String, and the Women covering thoſe Parts with a Penguin's Skin; the former wearing long Hair, and the latter ſhaven; but both Sorts naked, except a Cloak of Penguin-skins, reaching to the Waiſts: That there was alſo a Fourth Tribe of them, called *Tirimenen*, that dwelt in *Coin*; and theſe were of a gigantic Stature, being Ten or Twelve Feet high, and continually at War with the other Tribes.

7. The 28th, they paſſed over to the Continent, and ſaw ſome Whales at a Diſtance, having Sight too of a very pleaſant River, about which are very delicate Trees, and Store of Parrots: Upon the ſcore of this pleaſant Proſpect, they called this *Summer Bay*. The 29th, they ſet Sail for Port *Famine*; here the Land tends ſo far to the South, that the Iſlands of *Pantagons*, and *Terra del Fuego*, ſeem afar off to meet together. They found no remaining Tokens here of the late famous *Philip*'s City, but a Heap of Stones, to ſhew, that once there had been a Building. The *Magellanic* Streights are in Breadth here about Four Miles; the Hills on both Sides of which are vaſtly high and deep, and all the Year long covered with Snow. Here, at Port *Famine*, they cut down Wood to make them a Boat, and found the Bark of the Trees to be hot, and, in Taſte, biting like Pepper. Having no good Watering here, they left this Place, (doubting, indeed, whether it were Port *Famine* or no) and, after Two Miles paſt, found a good River. This was *December* the Firſt. The next Day they doubled Cape *Froward*, with ſome Danger, by reaſon of unſafe Anchorage, and contrary Winds; ſo paſſing Four Miles farther into a large Bay, they anchored there. Here was a Plant like Sneeze-wort, good againſt the Scurvy; and another, which cauſed Madneſs, making ſome that taſted it almoſt diſtracted for a time. Here they had a Sight of *Sebaſtian de Weert*'s Ship, who was one of *Verhagen*'s Company, with which another of the ſame Fleet had been driven back out of the South Sea. He told them he had ſpent above Five Months in the Streights, and had but Thirty-eight left out of One hundred and Ten Men, and, not being able to endure the Storms of the South Sea, was forced to put in there, while the reſt of the Fleet held on their Courſe.

8. *January* 2. 1600. they ſet out again, directing their Courſe to *Maurice* Bay, which they obſerved to extend very far Eaſtward, and to receive ſeveral Rivers into it; in the Mouths of which were vaſt Quantities of Ice, that ſeemed never to melt all the Year round: For though this was near the Midſummer Seaſon in that Southern Climate, yet the Ice was ſo thick, that at Ten Fathom Sounding they could not reach the Bottom of it. The Land alſo ſeemed to be an Heap of broken Iſlands, which the Height of the Mountains made appear like one firm and continued Piece. Here they had the Diſtreſſes of Hunger, and continual Rains, and the Loſs of Two of their Company, who were killed by the Savages as they were picking Muſſels, which were their chief Suſtenance. Having weathered out many Storms which endangered them in *Meniſte* Bay, and ſome Encounters too with the Savages, they ſet Sail on the 17th, and were driven by a Storm into *Gooſe* or *Penguin* Bay, Three Miles diſtant, and receiving the Name from the Multitude of that Sort of Fowl found there; of which they obſerved, that they could both dive and ſwim very well, but not fly at all. Here the Vice-admiral, for divers Crimes, was condemned by a Council of War to be turned aſhore, there to ſhift for himſelf amongſt the wild Beaſts, and wilder Inhabitants of the Country; which was executed accordingly.

9. *February* the 1ſt, they entered another Bay, which they called *Popiſh Bay*, and in which they run many Hazards. On the 27th, they ſaw at a Diſtance a huge Mountain of Ice in *Penguin* Bay; but the next Day, *viz.* the laſt of *February*, they bid adieu to all thoſe diſmal Proſpects, and paſſed Cape *Deſire* into the South Sea. Their Company was now 147, but quickly leſſened by the Loſs of the Ship of the Vice-admiral, whom they dropt. *March* the 12th, expecting her in vain, they ſailed to the Iſland *La Mocha*, which is about Six Miles from the Continent, and lies in 38° South Latitude. It is remarkable for an high Mountain in the Middle of it, that cleaves at Top to make Way for a Courſe of Waters into the Valley underneath it. Here they barter'd Knives and Hatchets for Sheep, Hens, Maize, Bartulas, and other Fruit. They went to ſee the Town, which conſiſted of about Fifty Houſes of Straw, where they were entertained with a ſour ſort of Drink called *Cici*, which is made of Maiz ſteeped in Water,

and is the choice Liquor uſed at their Feaſts. Polygamy is much practiſed amongſt them, and they buy as many Wives as they can keep; ſo that a Man that has a good many Daughters, may chance to get an Eſtate by them, eſpecially if they prove handſome. If one Man kill another, the Kindred of the murdered Perſon are his Judges and Executioners; for they have no Laws, nor public Magiſtrates, to keep up any Form of Juſtice amongſt them: But yet a Man may poſſibly buy off his Puniſhment too, by making a Drinking-bout of Cici. They make their Clothes of the Wool of a very large ſort of Sheep, which Creatures they alſo uſe to carry Burdens. They would not ſell any of theſe, though they did of another Sort, not much differing from the common. *St. Mary's* Iſland lies Eighteen Miles from hence in 37° 15′ South Latitude. Here they met with a *Spaniſh* Ship that was carrying Lard and Meal to *Aranco* and *Conception*, which they chaſed and took. The Pilot of this Ship told them, they could not get back to *St. Mary's* Iſland becauſe of the South Winds, and that there were Two Men of War waiting for their coming in *Arica*: Upon which Information, they concluded to ſail to *Val Paraiſo*, and, by that means, quite loſt their Vice-admiral, which might have otherwiſe come up to them at laſt. Beſides, they concluded, that ſhe miſſed the Iſland *St. Mary*, upon the wrong placing it in *Plancius*'s Map, as high as 38°, when indeed it lies in 37° 15′. And this Error they themſelves had fallen into, had not Captain *Melliſh* ſet them right by his Obſervations. And it farther confirmed them in their Reſolutions not to ſail back to *St. Mary's* Iſland, to hear of the Misfortune of *Simon de Cordes* there, who was in a friendly manner invited aſhore, and then butchered by the *Indians*, together with Twenty-three of his Men, the treacherous *Spaniards* endeavouring to get his Two Ships into their Hands, and ſending Intelligence to *Lima*, and all the Country about, of the Arrival of the *Dutch*, and the Names of their Captains and Commanders. For theſe Reaſons, they bent their Courſe to *Val Paraiſo*, where they took Two Ships, and killed ſome *Indians*, but the *Spaniards* were all gone. This *Val Paraiſo* lies in 33° South Latitude; and, up in the Country, about Eighteen Miles diſtant, lies *St. Iago*, a Town that affords good Store of red Wine and Sheep, which they kill only for the Suet, with which alone they lade many Veſſels. Here they received Letters from the Captain of the *Flying Hart*, one of *Verhagen*'s Company, who was treacherouſly taken by the *Spaniards*; which hard Fate, he informed them, he had avoided, had he not been miſguided by the wrong placing of *St. Mary's* Iſland in the Map.

10. At *St. Iago* they intercepted ſome Letters, which gave an Account of the Wars between the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in *Chili*: The former, being, it ſeems, in Rebellion, had ſacked the Town of *Baldivia*, putting vaſt Numbers of the *Spaniards* to the Sword, and carrying off many Troops of Captives: They burnt the Houſes and Churches, and ſtruck off the Heads of the Popiſh Images, crying, Down go the Gods of the *Spaniards*. They crammed their Mouths with Gold, and bid them ſatisfy themſelves with that, for the Sake of which their Votaries had made ſo many barbarous Maſſacres amongſt them. Beſides all this, they laid cloſe Siege to the City *Imperiale*, and almoſt ſtarved the *Spaniſh* Gariſon there. The valiant *Indians* that undertook this Action were about 5000, of which 3000 were Horſe, 100 Shot, and 70 Corſlets, all which Furniture were *Spaniſh* Plunder. They ſo mortally hate the *Spaniards*, that they rip up the Breaſts of all they overcome, to have the Pleaſure of tearing out their Hearts with their Teeth; and it adds very much to the Taſte of their Liquor, to drink it out of a Cup made of a *Spaniard*'s Skull. They are for the moſt part very ſtout and ſkilful Soldiers, and commit all their military Affairs to the Management of one ſupreme General, whoſe Orders they continually obey: But their Method of Election to this Honour is ſomething odd; for he that carried a Timber Log on his Shoulders the longeſt, and with the leaſt Degree of Wearineſs, was ſaluted General by the Army; ſeveral in this Trial bore it for Four, Five, Six Hours; but, at laſt, one carried it Twenty-four Hours outright, and was General at this time. All this Country of *Chili*, from *St. Iago* to *Baldivia*, is one of the moſt fertile and delightful Spots in the World: There are all ſorts of Cattle and Fruits, Gold Mines in abundance, an Air ſweet and wholſome to that Degree, that it is itſelf Life and Medicine, and excludes the Uſe of all other Phyſic.

11. *April* 1. they entered the Bay *La Guaſco*, and left it the Seventh following. The 11th, they came into a great Bay, called *Moro Gorch*; Ten Miles from which is *Morro Moreno*, from which the Shore runs to *Arica*; and all this Tract, up to *St. Francis*'s Hill, is very much ſubject to South Winds, though in the adjoining Sea they are very variable and uncertain. The 20th, the Air was all darkened with an *Arenal*, which is a Cloud of Duſt raiſed ſo thick, that a Man cannot ſee a Stone's Caſt from him; they are brought off from the adjacent Shores, and are very common in thoſe Parts. The 25th, they were within View of the famous City of *Lima*, and now they came to underſtand the Value of the Treaſure which the Malice of the *Spaniards* had robbed them of, and which otherwiſe they had found in thoſe Ships they took at *St. Iago*. This Diſcovery was thus made: *Nicolas Peterſon*, who was Captain of the Prize, acquainted the Admiral, that a Negro he had on board, whoſe Name was *Emanuel*, had informed him, that there was a great Quantity of Gold on board the Ship, to the Amount, as he believed, of Three Tons, with which he was the better acquainted, becauſe himſelf had helped to carry a great Part of it on board. The Admiral, upon this Information, examined his *Spaniſh* Pilot very cloſely, who at firſt refuſed to own any thing; but another Negro, whoſe Name was *Sebaſtian*, having admitted the Fact, and acquainted them with ſome farther Circumſtances, the *Spaniſh* Pilot at laſt owned, that they had on board Fifty-two Cheſts, containing each Four Arobes of Gold, and, beſides this, 500 Bars of the ſame Metal, weighing from Eight to Ten and Twelve Pounds apiece; all which, together with whatever private Stock any of the Ship's Company had, the Captain cauſed to be thrown over-board the Night he was firſt chaſed, amounting in the Whole to about 10,200 *lb.* Weight of Gold, and, from its Fineneſs, worth about 2,000,000 of Pieces of Eight. The Admiral, upon this, ordered the Ship to be ſearched, and then the Priſoners, but to very little Purpoſe; for, except a ſingle Pound Weight of Gold-duſt, tied up in a little Bag, in the *Spaniſh* Pilot's Breeches, there was not a Grain to be found. The Priſoners owned, that all this Gold was brought from the Iſland of *St. Mary*, where the Mines were diſcovered about Three Years before; and that there were not, on that Iſland, above Three or Four *Spaniards*, and about 200 *Indians* armed only with Bows and Arrows.

12. *September* 5. they had Sight of the *Ladrones*; and, the 16th, came to *Guana*, which is one of them; an Iſland Twenty Miles in Extent, and yielding Fiſh, Cocoas, Bananas, Sugar-canes, which the *Indians* brought in a great Number of Canoes up to their Ships. Sometimes they met with Two hundred of theſe Canoes, with Four or Five Men apiece, which would come all hollowing together, *Hiero, Hiero*, that is, Iron, Iron, and with very Eagerneſs run their Canoes upon the Ships, and overturn them, Goods and all. They were very ſly, ſubtle ſort of People, honeſt with good looking to; but otherwiſe they would ſell a Man a Baſket of Cocoa-ſhells, with a little Rice a Top, for a Baſket of Rice, and whip a Sword out of the Scabbard, and ſo ſkip into the Water, and away to the Bottom, whither a Man muſt go after them, if he mean to have Satisfaction: And the Women were as good at theſe Rogueries as the Men; they would ſteal as impudently, and dive as well to hide it.

13. The 17th, they ſailed for the *Philippines*; on the 20th, they met with Ice, yet were then in 3° North Latitude: On *October* 16. they came to *Bayla* Bay, a very fertile Land; at which Place, by pretending that they were *Spaniards*, they got Store of all neceſſary Proviſions for their Ships. The *Spaniards*, who are Lords here, make the *Indians* pay Ten ſingle Rials a Head for every one above Twenty Years old. Theſe poor Creatures are moſtly naked, and mark their Skins with Figures ſo deeply impreſſed, that they never wear out. Being diſcovered, but after having obtained their Ends, they ſailed for the

Streight of *Manilla*; all the Tract approaching to which, they obſerved, was waſte, barren, and rocky. Here a ſudden Guſt of Wind from the South-eaſt carried away their Maſts and Sails, and treated them with more Fury, than any thing they had before met with. The 23d, ſome of them went aſhore, and eat Palmitos, and drank good Store of Water, after which they were ſeized with the bloody Flux. The 24th, they entered the Streight itſelf, and ſailed by the Iſland in the Midſt; and, in the Evening, paſſed the Iſland *Capul*, Seven Miles within the Streight, near which they found Whirlpools, as far as they could diſcover, bottomleſs. They now crouded Sail for *Manilla*, which is Eighty Miles from *Capul*, wanting both Wind to carry, and good Maps and a Pilot to direct them.

14. *November* 7. they took a Junk of *China*, laden with Proviſion for *Manilla*: The Maſter of this Veſſel gave them this Intelligence; that there were then at *Manilla* Two great Ships, that came every Year from *New Spain* thither, and a *Dutch* Ship alſo, that was bought at *Malacca*; that the Town was walled about, and there were Two Forts to ſecure the Ships that ride there: That there was a vaſt Trade from *China* thither, no leſs than 400 Ships coming every Year from *Chincheo*, with Silk and other valuable Things, between *Eaſter* and *December*; and particularly, that Two Ships were ſhortly expected from *Japan*, laden with Iron, and other Metals, and Proviſions. The 15th, they took Two Barks laden with Hens and Hogs, which were the *Spaniſh* Tribute, but became Meat for the *Dutch*, as it happened, who ſent them a few Linen Bolts in the room of it. They paſſed the Iſlands *Bankingle* and *Mindore*, right againſt which is the Iſle *Lou-bon*, at Two Miles Diſtance; and, between them both, is another ſmaller Iſland, by which there is a ſafe Paſſage for Ships. The Iſland *Luſſon* is bigger than *England* and *Scotland*, and has a Cluſter of ſmaller Iſlands about it: It is more beholden to Trade, than to the Happineſs of its own Soil, for the Riches it enjoys. Lying at Anchor in 15° North Latitude, in Expectation of theſe *Japan* Ships, *December* 1. they took one of them: She was of Fifty Ton Burden, and had ſpent Twenty-five Days in the Voyage. The Form of her was ſomething ſtrange; her Fore-part being like a Chimney, and her Furniture very agreeable to her Shape; the Sails being made of Reeds, the Anchors of Wood, and the Cables of Straw. The *Japoneſe* aboard her were all bald, except one Tuft of Hair left behind; and this is the Mode of that Country. The 9th, they took Two Barks, one laden with Cocoa-wine and Aqua Vitæ, and the other with Hens and Rice. The 14th, they met with the *Spaniſh* Ships returning Home from *Manilla*, upon which Meeting commenced a very ſmart Engagement: The *Dutch*, being overpowered by Multitudes, were reduced to very bad Circumſtances, their Admiral being boarded once by the *Spaniards*, and almoſt got intirely into their Poſſeſſion. She was juſt upon the Point of yielding herſelf to the *Spaniſh* Admiral, (who had preſſed her very hard almoſt all the Day) when her own Admiral, ſeeing all was loſt without a very reſolute Puſh, threatened to blow up Ship, Men and all, if they did not beat the *Spaniards* off again, and fight at a better Rate: The *Dutch*, at this, hurried on with Rage, Fear, and Deſpair of preſerving themſelves any other Way, fought to ſo good Purpoſe, that, in a little time, they cleared their own Ship, boarded the *Spaniſh* Admiral, and at laſt ſunk her. This Action coſt them no more than Five Lives, and Twenty-ſix more endangered by Wounds, the whole Company left being now but Thirty-five. But of the *Spaniards* there were ſeveral Hundreds that periſhed, partly in the Fight, and partly drowned and knocked on the Head after the Fight was over. The greateſt Loſs the *Dutch* had was that of their Pinnace, which encountered the *Spaniſh* Vice-admiral, and was taken by her; which was no ſtrange Thing, conſidering ſhe had but Twenty-five Men to fight againſt Five hundred *Spaniards* and *Indians*.

15. From hence they ſet Sail for *Borneo*, the chief Town of the Iſle of that Name, which is 180 Miles from *Manilla*, and lies in 5° North Latitude, as *Manilla* does in about 14° 40′; and, in their Way to it, paſſed by *Bolutan*, an Iſland 180 Miles long. The 26th, they came to *Borneo*, putting into a great Bay, Three Miles in Compaſs, where there was good Anchoring, as alſo good Fiſhing in a neighbour River, and the Fiſhermen very ready to barter their Fiſh for Linen Cloth. The Admiral, by a Meſſenger, craved Leave of the King to trade there; but he, ſuſpecting them to be *Spaniards*, would come to no Terms with them, till his Officers had ſearched, and found the contrary; ſo they traded here for Pepper with the *Patannees*, a Sort of People of a *Chineſe* Original. The *Borneans* and they were fond of *China* Linen; but that, which came out of *Holland*, was a mere Drug. In the mean time the *Borneans* laid a Plot to ſurpriſe their Ship; and, to effect it, *January* the 1ſt 1601. they came up to them with an Hundred Praws, and, pretending to bring Preſents from the King, would have boarded them; but the *Dutch*, ſmelling what thoſe Preſents were, deſired them to keep from their Veſſel, or they ſhould be obliged to make them do ſo with their Shot; which Reſolution of theirs the *Borneans* ſeeing, deſiſted from the Attempt. *Borneo* is the greateſt Iſland in the *Eaſt Indies*. The capital City, bearing the ſame Name, contains 3000 Houſes; but ſtands in a dirty, marſhy Soil; ſo that they may go in their Praws from one Houſe to another. The Inhabitants all go armed from the Nobleman to the Fiſherman; and the very Women have ſo much of the Soldier in their Compoſition, that, if they receive any Affront, they preſently revenge themſelves with Dagger or Javelin upon him that gives it. This a *Dutch* Man had like to have proved to his Coſt; for, having ſome Way diſguſted one of theſe *Bornean* Viragoes, ſho ſet upon him with a Javelin, and had diſpatched him, if ſhe had not been prevented by main Force. They are *Mahometans* in point of Religion, and ſo very ſuperſtitious therein, that they'll ſooner die than taſte any thing that comes from a Swine; neither will they keep any of thoſe Creatures about them. The better Sort of them have a Covering of Linen from the Waiſt downwards, and a Cotton Turbant on their Heads; but the common People go all naked. They chew a great deal of Beetle and Aracca in this Iſland, which is alſo a mighty Faſhion in many other Parts. The *Dutch*, ſeeing little Hope of profitable Trade here, ſailed for *Bantam*, not extremely well pleaſed either with the Country, or its Inhabitants.

16. *January* the 4th in the Night, Four *Borneans* came to the Ship, with a Deſign to have cut their Cables, and ſo to have brought the Ship aground; but, being diſcovered, and pelted with Shot, they marched off, leaving their Praw behind them; which the *Dutch* took inſtead of their own Boat loſt at *Manilla*. The next Day they met with a Junk from *Japan*, bound for *Manilla*, which informed them of a great *Dutch* Ship forced by Tempeſts into *Japan*, all the Company of which, by Famine and Sickneſs, were dead, to Fourteen; that they came firſt to *Bongo* in 34° 40′ North Latitude, and afterwards, by the King's Order, removed to *Atonza* in 36° 30; that they were there in a ſafe Harbour, and had Liberty to trade, and build a new Ship; which done, they might diſpoſe of themſelves as they pleaſed. By this Account, they doubted not but this Ship was *Verhagen*'s Admiral; ſo, diſmiſſing the *Japoneſe* Veſſel, they went on, and paſſed the Line a Third time, ſailing in no little Fear and Danger for want of a Pilot, and good Charts. The 16th, they took a Junk of *Jor*, and in her a ſkilful Pilot, who came in good Time to ſave them from Shipwreck, which otherwiſe, in all Likelihood, had been their Fate in thoſe Seas; for now they had but one Anchor left, and the Cable of that almoſt worn out; and, beſides, had ſo many Shoals and Iſlands about them on every Side, that it was an eaſy Matter for a Ship, a Stranger there, to have miſcarried. Some of theſe Iſlands were *Binta* and *Crinſata*, which yield Diamonds, that are ſold at *Malacca*. The 28th, they came to *Jortan* upon the Iſle of *Java*, where they had News of *Dutch* Ships at *Bantam*. The City conſiſts of about 1000 Timber Houſes. The King commands a conſiderable Part of that End of the Iſland, and had lately conquered *Balambuan*, a little Iſland, that lies juſt by the South-eaſt of *Jortan*. They are ſaid to be *Mahometans* in the Country thereabouts, tho' the Pagods in Uſe ſtill ſeem to argue ſome Kind of Mixture of the old *Indian* Superſtition with that of *Mahomet*, or at leaſt a Toleration of it in the Whole amongſt the common People. Their chief Prieſt is an old Man of 120,

who has a good round Family of Wives; and the old Man lives on nothing but the Milk, which he ſucks from his Wives Breaſts. Sailing hence, they ſaw a great *Portugueſe* Ship of 600 Ton ſtick on the Shoals. She was going to *Amboina*, on a Deſign of ingroſſing all that Trade to herſelf, and was thus ſtopped by the Way; at leaſt, this was the Account the *Portugueſe* gave of her, tho' the General ſuſpected, that ſhe actually put to Sea in order to cruiſe for them; and therefore they were the leſs concerned for her Misfortune, and the leſs careful in aſſiſting her Crew, conſiſting originally of 6 or 700 Men, of which many were ſtill on board her, and in Danger of periſhing.

17. *February* the 5th they paſſed the Streights between *Balamboa* and *Baty*; and, leaving *Java* North-eaſt from them, on the 11th they found themſelves in 13° South Latitude, and then directed their Courſe to the Cape of *Good Hope*. On the 18th they had the Sun vertical at Noon, being then in 11° 20′. and here a Calm began that laſted Eleven Days. *March* the 11th they came into 24° 45′; and the 24th into 28° 10′. *April* the 1ſt they made 30° 50′; and the 19th (having been conſiderably retarded between croſs Winds and Calms) they were forced to leſſen their Meaſures of Water; but the 24th at Night they ſaw a Light like Fire about Four Miles to the North-weſt, Land now being near; whereas they reckoned themſelves 200 Miles from the Cape, and not being aware of their Approach to any other. The 25th they were in 34° 35′; and now the Calms gave them Liberty to mend their Sails. At Night they ſaw another Fire, and the next Morning Land, bearing North-eaſterly. The 27th they came into 34° 40′, and within Six or Seven Miles of the Land. *May* the 2d, they made 35° 15′; and the next Morning ſaw, between the Eaſt and North, ſomething like the End of an Iſland, about Six Miles off, by which they fanſied themſelves near the Cape. And then they directed their Courſe to *St. Helena*, where they arrived the 26th, and refreſhed themſelves with good Water, Fiſh, and ſome Fleſh; but no Cabritos, nor Fowl, (which are both hard to be taken) nor Oranges, could they meet with here. They left this Iſland the 30th, and *June* the 14th paſſed the Line the Fourth Time. The 16th they met with Six *Dutch* Ships bound for the *Eaſt Indies*, *James Heemskirk* Admiral. Theſe had fought Thirteen *Spaniſh* Ships near the Salt Iſlands, and had loſt both their Pinnace and Vice-admiral, the former taken by the *Spaniards*, and the latter gone from them; but they hoped ſecure. *July* the 8th they came into 27° North Latitude, and met with Store of the Weed *Saragoſſa* floating in the Water. The 13th they were in 32° 30′, and then had Fifteen Days Calm, and a very weedy Sea. The 22d they were driven to a very ſhort Allowance of Bread, and that worm-eaten too, their Stock being almoſt ſpent. *Auguſt* the 1ſt they made 40° North Latitude, and left the Iſland *Flores*, which comes about Forty-five Miles to Weſtward. The 18th Three Ships of *Embden* met them, and exchanged Bread and Fleſh for Rice and Pepper with them, and withal ſhewed them, that they were not ſo near *England* as their Maſter had told them, who had promiſed to make the *Lizard* the next Day. On the 26th of *Auguſt*, about Noon, they arrived ſafely before the City of *Rotterdam*, where they were received with the utmoſt Joy, as having performed ſo perilous a Voyage as coſt them near Three Years Time.

18. The Company, at whoſe Expence General *van Noort* had been fitted out, were extremely well pleaſed with his Conduct through the whole Affair, tho' attended with no great Succeſs to them; for his Returns were far ſhort of what had acrued from former Expeditions; but the Glory of ſharing with the *Spaniards*, *Portugueſe*, and *Engliſh*, the Honour of making new Diſcoveries, and even of ſurrounding the Globe, made the *Dutch* better pleaſed with General *van Noort*, than with any of their Navigators: Yet it is apparent, that he met with greater Difficulties, and performed his Voyage more ſlowly, than our *Engliſh* Captains had done, tho' aſſiſted by many Lights, which they wanted, as well as much better furniſhed at his firſt ſetting out. One thing is extremely remarkable, which is the rigorous Diſcipline obſerved throughout the Voyage, and which was felt not only by inferior Seamen, for ſuch Faults as either the Meanneſs of their Temper might prompt, or the Sharpneſs of their Miſeries excuſe, but by the Second Perſon in the Fleet, and who, in caſe any Accident had befallen the General, would have become the Firſt of courſe. This Act of Juſtice was performed with much Solemnity and Circumſpection: He was proceeded againſt for Breach of the Articles eſtabliſhed and ſworn to before they proceeded on the Voyage, had Time allowed him for his Defence, and, on a fair Hearing, was condemned to be deſerted in the Streights of *Magellan*, having only a ſmall Quantity of Proviſions put on Shore with him; ſo that he was quickly deſtroyed by Hunger, or fell a Victim to the Rage of the Savages, who were implacable Enemies to Foreigners. The Dread of ſuch a Puniſhment keeps thoſe within due Bounds, whoſe Errors are moſt fatal in ſuch Voyages. For want of a Power of this Nature, many great Undertakings have been overthrown, a Competition between Commanders being naturally attended with Factions in the Fleet; and then the Gratification of private Ends is conſtantly preferred to the Good of the Whole.

19. We meet, in this Voyage, with an Account of Captain *de Weert*'s being found in the *Magellanic* Streights, and of his being left there by General *van Noort*, becauſe he found it impracticable to ſtay for him. In the original Account of this Voyage, we meet with frequent References to that of *de Weert*'s, who was one of the beſt Seamen in *Holland*, and lived to diſtinguiſh himſelf by many more ſucceſsful Expeditions. It has been ſound neceſſary therefore by all who have attempted Collections of this Sort, to add this Voyage of *de Weert*, tho' he was no Circum-navigator, to that of *van Noort*, and, I think, with good Reaſon: Firſt, becauſe it is certain, that Captain *de Weert* was fitted out with an Intent, that he ſhould have gone by the Streights of *Magellan* to the *Indies*; and next, becauſe it is very difficult to find ſo good a Deſcription of thoſe famous Streights, as he has given us. From theſe Motives, I have been led to the Purſuit of the ſame Method; and I perſuade myſelf, the Reader will be as well pleaſed to ſee the Firmneſs of an able Commander ſtruggling with a long Series of Misfortunes, as with the Felicity of other Captains, who have atchieved, with leſs Difficulty, what, with equal Courage and Conduct, was attempted by him.

SECTION VII.

The remarkable Voyage of Captain SEBALD DE WEERT *to the* South Seas, *and the Streights of* Magellan, *intended as a Supplement to the former Section.*

1. *The Occaſion of this Voyage, and the Departure of the Five Ships from* Holland June *the 27th* 1598. 2. *Their Arrival at the Iſland of* Brava. 3. *Their Diſputes with the* Portugueſe *Inhabitants of that Iſland.* 4. *The Death of their Admiral, and his Supercargo.* 5. *The Regulations that enſued upon theſe Accidents.* 6. *Shape their Courſe for the Iſland of* Annobon. 7. *They proceed to the Coaſt of* Guiney, *where their Vice-admiral falls ſick.* 8. *They land, and are well received by a* Negro *King; but afterwards differ with him, and obtain Refreſhments by Force.* 9. *Their Arrival at the Iſland of* Annobon, *and the infirm State of their Men.* 10. *The Difficulties they met with there, and Diſputes with the* Portugueſe. 11. *Proceed to the Coaſt of* Braſil, *and from thence for the Streights of* Magellan. 12. *The Difficulties they met with there, and a Deſcription of the Coaſt.* 13. *Their Diſputes with the Savages.*

14. The Inſtitution of a new Order of Knighthood of the Lion ſet free. *15. The Barbarity of the Savages of this Country. 16. They enter the* South Seas, *where they meet with greater Storms than before. 17. Are obliged, by Streſs of Weather, to put back into the Streights. 18. Suffer prodigious Hardſhips there for Nine Months. 19. A Female Savage and Two Children taken by them in an Iſland in thoſe Streights. 20. They diſcover the Fleet under the Command of* Oliver Van Noort, *and reſolve to join it. 21. Are obliged however to remain in the Streights, for want of Proviſions. 22. Methods taken by them to ſubſiſt in thoſe Streights. 23. They diſcover ſome ſmall Iſlands without the Streights, which, in Honour of their Captain, they call the* Sebaldine Iſlands. *24. Arrive on the Coaſt of* Guiney. *25. Come ſafely into the* Maeſe, July 13. 1600.

1. THE Inhabitants of the *United Provinces* being very deſirous of promoting, to the utmoſt of their Power, ſuch Diſcoveries as might prove beneficial to their Navigation and Commerce, the City of *Rotterdam* procured Leave from the States to fit out Five ſtout Ships for the Streights of *Magellan*. Of theſe the largeſt was called *The Hope*, of 500 Tons, which had 130 Men on board, *James Mahu*, the Admiral of this little Fleet, being aboard of her. The Second Ship, named *The Love*, (or *Charity*) of 300 Tons, had on board 110 Men, *Simon de Cordes* Vice-admiral Commander. The Third, called *The Faith*, of 320 Tons, with 100 Men, was commanded by *Gerard Van Beuningen*. The Fourth was named *The Fidelity*, of 220 Tuns, with 86 Seamen, *Jurian Bockholt* Captain. The Fifth was a Yacht called *The Merry Meſſenger*, of 150 Tons, and manned with 112 Men, under the Command of Captain *Sebald de Weert*. Theſe Five Ships were well provided with all manner of Proviſions and Ammunition, with Cannon, Money, Merchandize, and all Neceſſaries whatever for a long Voyage. The Pilot, upon whom they chiefly depended, was one *William Adams* an *Engliſhman*, a Perſon of great Experience, and of whom we ſhall have Occaſion to ſay much in another Place; and they had, beſides him, Three *Engliſhmen* more on board the Admiral. *June* the 27th 1598. the Fleet ſailed out of the Chanel of *Goeree*; but, the Wind being contrary, they were forced to lie at Anchor in the *Downs* upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt till the 15th of *July*. Then, the Wind being fair, they ſailed again; and, having conſumed Part of their Proviſions, the Commanders were ſo provident, as to take in more, for fear of Want. On the 19th of *July* they were on the Coaſt of *Barbary*; and, towards the latter End of *Auguſt*, they arrived in the Harbour of *St. Iago*, which is one of the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, where they remained till the 10th of *September*, notwithſtanding the Country was very unwholſome, and their Pilots, particularly Mr. *Adams*, remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt their continuing there; which ſo much offended their Officers, fonder of Authority, it ſeems, than Safety, that they reſolved never more to call their Pilots to Council; which ſeems to have been the Source of all their ſubſequent Miſfortunes, and of that reſtleſs Spirit of Mutiny and Diſcontent, which poſſeſſed the Seamen on board their Fleet[*].

2. The 11th in the Afternoon, they were off the Iſland of *Brava*, which is deſart; but, the Bottom being rocky, they could not faſten the Anchors; ſo that they tacked all Night, till the next Morning, coaſting along, they found ſome freſh Water; but it was very hard to be got, becauſe the Bottom was not good. However, the Sloops of *Beuningen* and *Bockholt* landed with empty Caſks, and filled them with Water, and returned ſafe on board, tho' it was in the Night, and the Ships were under Sail the mean time. Captain *de Weert*, embarking in the Admiral's Sloop, went into a little ſandy Bay, where he landed; and, roaming about to find ſome freſh Water, he ſaw ſome *Portugueſe* and Negroes coming to him. He ſpoke to them at a Diſtance, becauſe they would not approach him, and deſired them to ſhew him where there was freſh Water, and to ſell him ſome Fruit, if they had any. They told him, that the *French* and *Engliſh* Ships uſed to come and fetch ſome freſh Water near that Place; but they were always under Sail. As to the Refreſhments, they had none; but they might find enough in the Iſland *del Fuego*; and that, if they had any, they durſt not ſell them without the Governor's Leave, who reſided upon the Mountain. After that they retired. Captain *de Weert*, having viewed ſeveral Places, found at laſt Four or Five little ruined Houſes. The Door of one of them being ſhut up with Stones, he broke it open, and found it full of *Turkey* Wheat. He ſtaid himſelf in the Houſe, with Three of his Men, to keep it; and ſent the Sloop on board, to give notice of it to the General, fearing the *Portugueſe* would come in the Night to take it away; but, by good Luck, the ſmall Ship belonging to the Biſhop of *St. Thomas*, taken by the *Dutch* in *Praya*, being arrived in the Bay, and lying at Anchor, *de Weert* tranſported all the Wheat thither. They were all Night doing it, becauſe there were but Eight of them to carry it; and, having no Sacks, they made uſe of their Breeches. They alſo took in the ſame Place Two great Tortoiſes, which had above 600 Eggs in their Bellies, and made many good Meals of them. The *Portugueſe* and the Negroes, having Notice that ſame Night, that the *Dutch* were carrying away their Corn, came down the Mountain, and made a heavy Noiſe; but *de Weert*, who had but Two Fuſils, fired on them, and made them retire.

3. When the Wheat was on board the Ship, the Captain and his Men went to reſt themſelves. The next Day, *de Weert* landing again, the *Portugueſe* came down to ſpeak with him. They complained, that he had taken their Corn without Reaſon; that they had no Victuals, and were reduced to the Danger of ſtarving with Hunger. The Captain told them, That he was very well informed, that this Wheat lay there near the Road, to be tranſported to *St. Iago*; that he could not believe, that, living upon the Mountain, they would keep their Proviſions near the Shore; however, he was ready to pay for it dearer than they could ſell it at *St. Iago*, provided they would ſhew him freſh Water; that they might eaſily excuſe themſelves to the Governor, and ſay, the *Dutch* had taken their Corn by Force, and ſo might keep the Money to themſelves. The *Portugueſe*, ſeeming to like theſe Reaſons, promiſed the Captain to ſhew him a Place of freſh Water on the other Side of the Iſland, whither they would go, and make a Signal with Fire; but they were not as good as their Words. *De Weert*, coming on board again, found the Admiral very ſick, and the Council aſſembled; and that his Opinion was, not to ſtay any longer. He alſo reſigned his Command to the Vice-admiral, and deſired the whole Fleet to obey him, ordering, that his Ship ſhould bear the Flag in the Day, and have the Light hung out in the Night. The Vice-admiral, having taken Advice of the Captains, was informed of the Quantity of Water that was in each Ship; and it was ordered, that thoſe, that had the moſt, ſhould give to the others; and that the Proportions of Victuals ſhould be leſſened: But, becauſe they could not get freſh Water in Three or Four Months Time, without a long Stay, the Seamen had Orders to gather the Rain-water, and be good Huſbands of it. The Proportions of Wine were alſo abated, and, becauſe the greateſt Part of the Admiral's Ship's Crew were ſick, they reſolved that each Ship ſhould take in Two or Three of them, and exchange them for the ſame Number of ſound Men.

4. *September* 15. the Fleet ſailed South-eaſt with a North-eaſt Wind. The 22. the Admiral fired a Gun, and put up the Stern-flag, as a Signal for the Captains to come on board his Ship. There they found their Admiral very ſick of a Burning Fever, and out of Hopes of Recovery. His Supercargo *Daniel Reſteau* was alſo very ſick; and both of them died the next Night.

5. The Loſs of the Admiral was lamented by the whole Fleet. He was of a mild and ſweet Temper, honeſt, careful, diligent, and very kind to the Seamen. He was put

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[*] This has been always eſteemed one of the beſt written, and moſt curious, of all the *Dutch* Voyages; but what has been hitherto publiſhed from it in our Collections, has been miſerably imperfect: We therefore give it at large.

into a Coffin half-full of Stones, and thrown into the Sea, with the uſual Ceremonies. The Council being aſſembled, they opened the Letters of the Directors, and other Parties concerned, which were ordered to be opened in ſuch a Caſe; and found, that the Vice-admiral was to ſucceed the Admiral, if he ſhould die; therefore he was acknowledged Admiral, and *Beuningen* Vice-admiral; *Sebald de Weert* was made Captain of *Beuningen*'s Ship, and *Dirkt Gernitſz China* Captain of the Yacht.

6. On the 28th, the new General, being on board his old Ship, gave the Signal to come to him, where all the Officers took the Oaths, and the Captains their Poſts. The 29th, the General went on board the Admiral, and each Captain on board their new Ships. Such an Alteration did not pleaſe the Seamen, who were very well ſatisfied with their old Officers. After that, the Ships ſailed South-eaſt by South, and South weſt, till *October* 4. at which Time they run Weſt South-weſt; and, the 6th, they ſtood Eaſt South-eaſt. The ſame Day the *Fidelity* made a Signal to call the Captains on board her; but, the Wind being too ſtrong, the Vice-admiral only went to viſit him. The Scurvy raged ſo much amongſt the Seamen, and eſpecially on board the Admiral, that moſt of his Men were ſick of it. This obliged the General to appoint a particular Day of Prayer in each Ship, to implore God's Mercy, and a happy Voyage. They were then in 1° 45′ South Latitude. At length the Scurvy increaſed ſo much, that the Admiral had not Men enough to work his Ship. The other Ships were almoſt in the ſame Condition; therefore the Council reſolved to ſtand in to ſome Iſland, in order to get freſh Proviſions. Accordingly they ſteered towards the Iſland of *Annobon*, or *Nobon*, where they thought to find freſh Meat and Oranges. About Night, the Admiral, who ſailed before, fired a Gun, to let them know he ſaw the Land, tho', according to the Opinion of all the Pilots, they ought to have been 100 Leagues off it. As ſoon as the Gun was heard, the Ships diſcovered Land, and anchored upon the Coaſt of *Manicongo*, in 3° South Latitude. There they loſt the little Ship belonging to *St. Thomas*, with Eleven ſound Men, who were ſeen no more. Some thought they had deſerted; others believed they run aground, and were drowned: But they heard afterwards, that, having ſailed a long while in thoſe Seas, they arrived at the Cape of *Lopes Gonſalves*, where they quitted their Ship, and went on board the Ship of *Baltazar Moucheron*, who was bound for *America*.

7. *November* 4. in the Morning, the Captains went on board the Admiral, and the Vice-admiral was commanded to land with his Sloop and Canoe to view the Country, and ſee whether he could find a good Road for the Ships: Approaching the Shore, he found the Sea breaking with ſuch Violence, that the Sloop had much ado to go over the Waves, and rowed along the Shore all Night without diſcovering any thing but Trees. The next Day he returned on board the Admiral; and, after he had given an Account of what he had ſeen, they reſolved to ſteer for Cape *Lopes Gonſalves*, ſituate in 30° South Latitude. They had anchored in a very bad Bottom, where the Ships were driven from their Anchors, and one of the Flukes of the Anchor of the *Faith* was broken. The 6th, at the Break of Day, they ſailed again, coaſting along, and caſting Anchor every Night. On the 9th, they arrived on the Coaſt of *Guiney*, where they ſaw ſome Negroes, and ſpoke to them: The *Dutch* gave them ſmall Glaſs Wares; but, ſeeing ſo many Men, and being afraid, they ran away in the Night. The General, having found a convenient Place for the Sick, ſent them thither, and each Captain had his own Quarter. Captain *Bockholt* commanded the little Camp, and he had, beſides the ſick, ſome ſound Men to defend it. The next Day, the Admiral ſent the Vice-admiral to wait on the King of that Country with ſome Preſents, in order to procure Proviſions: But he came back the 12th, and brought nothing but a Hen, and a few Platanes or Bananas; ſo that they were forced to be contented with a few Herbs they found in the Fields, as Creſſes, Sea Parſley, ſome Apples without any manner of Taſte, and ſuch-like Victuals; they had indeed Plenty of Fiſh, and more than they could eat. The 20th, the Vice-admiral fell ſick of a Burning Fever, that every body deſpaired of his Life; however, after a long Illneſs, he recovered.

8. On the 23d, *Dirck Erkinſon*'s Sloop came into the Road, the Pilot of which was a *Frenchman*, and had lived a long while with the Negroes, and in the Service of their King; ſo that he could ſpeak a little of their Language. He promiſed the *Dutch* to obtain of the King all the Proviſions they wanted; upon which, the General ſent Captain *de Weert*, with Two Sloops along with him, to ſpeak to the King. His Majeſty, having Notice of the deſigned Viſit, put himſelf in the fineſt Dreſs and Equipage he could to receive him: *De Weert*, being introduced to the King, found him, with his Attendants about him, ſitting upon a Stool a Foot high, like a Shoemaker's Stool, and a Sheep's-skin under his Feet; he had a purple Cloth Coat, embroidered with falſe Gold without Lining, which looked like a Pilot's Watch-coat; he had no Shirt, no Shoes, no Stockings, but a kind of a Cowl or Cap upon his Head, which was yellow, red, and blue: He had his Face powdered all over with Aſhes to appear whiter; but one might for all that ſee, that he was black. For a royal Ornament, he had about his Neck a Glaſs Bead Necklace; his Gentlemen ſat round about him, their Skins were all over painted with Red, and their Heads covered with the Feathers of Cocks. By the King's Seat was another little Stool, covered with a Mat for the *Dutch* Captain, who, having ſaluted him after the Faſhion of the Country, ſat down by him. He told him, by his Interpreter, the Occaſion of his coming thither; and complained, that the Inhabitants, without any Pretence or Reaſon, had left their Habitations, and run away: That the *Dutch* were their Friends, and only came into his Country to trade fairly with them, inſomuch that they might ſafely return to their own Dwellings again: That the *Dutch* offered to make an Alliance with them, and with the King, whom they would viſit often; that they would bring all Things the Inhabitants wanted, and deſired them to let them have the neceſſary Proviſions and Refreſhments, ſuch as Fruit, Fowls, Sheep, and other Cattle, offering to give to the Natives in Exchange any of the Merchandize they had on board their Ships. The King, having heard, with great Attention, Captain *de Weert*'s Speech, told him, That the *Dutch* were very welcome into his Country, and that he would order they ſhould be ſupplied with all Neceſſaries they wanted. Then he brought *de Weert* into his Palace, which was more like a Cow-ſtall: There the King gave him a Kid, and a few Bananas, for ſmall Pieces of Linen Cloth and Iron. While they were preparing ſomething to eat, the Captain's Five Trumpeters and Muſicians ſounded and played finely: The King was mightily pleaſed at that; but *de Weert*, who was hungry, would have been better pleaſed to have had ſome Victuals. After a long while, the King's Wives brought, in a wooden Diſh, ſome Bananas roaſted, and dried or ſmoked Fiſh, or rather Pieces of a Sea-horſe, of which the King eat but ſoberly, and the Captain hardly taſted them, being not as yet uſed to ſuch Victual. Then they preſented him Palm-tree Wine, a ſort of Drink that is very unpleaſant to thoſe that are not uſed to it. The King intreated *de Weert* ſeveral times to eat; the Diſh being taken away, they ſerved nothing elſe. The Captain was the more ſurpriſed at ſo ſlender a Feaſt, becauſe he ſaw the King ſtrong, and in better Health than thoſe who live in Plenty of all Things, and eat the beſt of Victuals. *De Weert*, who was very hungry, told the King he would treat him with ſome of the Proviſions he had brought with him: So the *Dutch* laid a Napkin, and ſerved up a Piece of Bread, with ſmoked Beef, Cheeſe, and a Bottle of Sack. The King liked their Victuals ſo well, that he eat heartily, and drank ſo much, that he was obliged to go to ſleep. In the mean while, the Captain took a Walk about the Town, which had not about 200 Houſes in it. About Evening, not ſeeing the King, he thought to have returned on board his Sloop with his Men, in order to ſtay there all Night; but he ſaw a great Number of Negroes, armed with Bows and Arrows, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Avenues, and would not let them go. The Captain, who had no Arms but his Sword, was extremely ſurpriſed, and asked them what was the Matter: They told him, it was becauſe one of his Men had committed ſome Diſorder in a Houſe: *De Weert* then deſired them to ſhew him the Man, and he would pu-

niſh him. But it was only a Pretence; the true Meaning was, they were afraid the *Dutch* would come in in the Night, and take away the King, and his Retinue. The *Dutch* Captain went back into the Palace; but they told him, the King was not there: Upon which, fearing the Negroes had an ill Deſign, he reſolved to force his Way to his Sloop. The Noiſe awakened the King, who came out of his Palace naked, and quarrelled with them, but they did not ſeem much concerned at his Anger. *De Weert* told him the Occaſion of their Diſpute: The King deſired him to ſtay with him, on Condition that his Men, or Part of them, ſhould have the Liberty to go on board their Sloop. So he ſtaid in the Town with Eight of his Men. The Negroes, thinking themſelves not ſafe enough, would not permit *de Weert* to be with the King; therefore they conducted him into another Houſe, and kept a Watch all Night about him. The next Morning, the Captain going out of the Houſe to wait on the King, an old Woman came to him, and looked him in the Face: She had a Box in her Hands, covered with looſe Leather, which was faſtened to it like the Leather of a Pair of Bellows, and, turning Three times round about him, muttered ſome Words, and beat at the ſame time the extended Leather with her Hand, which occaſioned the flying of ſome Aſhes out of the Box upon the Captain's Cloths; nobody knew what ſhe meant by it, or what ſhe intended to do; but *de Weert* and the Negroes laughed at her. At laſt the Negroes brought ſome Bananas, Two Goats, and Four Pullets, to exchange with the *Dutch*: The Captain took them, and, ſeeing he could expect nothing elſe from ſuch a People, took his Leave of the King, and went on board again: But, while he was in the Town, ſome of his Men went into the Woods, and killed a wild Boar, Two Buffs, and ſome Birds, which were diſtributed to the Sick.

9. The General went aſhore every Day to viſit theſe poor Men Morning and Evening, taking an extraordinary Care of them, and ſupplying them with all Neceſſaries. *December* 4. a Ship named the *More*, arrived in the Road from the *Ilha del Principe*, and the next Day the Yatch of *Laurence Chriſtian* came into the ſame Road from the ſame Iſland. Some of the Sick recovered, but many that were well fell ſick, becauſe the Air was very unwholſome; therefore the General, having loſt Sixteen of his Men, who died there, reſolved to quit the Country. *December* 8. the whole Crew came on board, and the ſame Day Captain *de Weert* fell ſick of a Fever, which kept him Two Months a-bed. The 9th, the Fleet ſailed towards the Iſland of *Annobon*, with a Deſign to land in it, becauſe the Sickneſs continued and increaſed among them. On the 26th, in the Afternoon, they arrived under that Iſland: The Admiral having detached Two Sloops with Captain *Dirrick* to go on Shore, the *Portugueſe* and the Negroes oppoſed them: But *Dirrick* telling them they were come as Friends, and only to buy Refreſhments, they promiſed to ſupply them; but it being too late to go and ſpeak to the Governor, they deſired the *Dutch* to ſtay till the next Day, and then they would certainly furniſh them with Proviſions.

10. On the 17th, in the Morning, they ſent Two Sloops aſhore; but they found a great many Men armed with Fuſils, who told them, that, if they came near the Shore, they would look upon them as Enemies. The General, having Advice of it, armed all the Sloops, and ſent them aſhore under the Command of Captain *Bockholt*, and the Serjeant major; the Sloops made to the Shore in Order, Two on the Left Hand, and the reſt on the Right: But the *Portugueſe*, and the *Blacks*, who had carried away every thing out of their Huts in the Night, ſet them all on Fire, and, abandoning their Fort, retired into the Mountains. The Shore being free, the Admiral ordered, that all the Sick ſhould land: The Seamen, who longed to eat ſome Fruit, went about the Iſland to get ſome Bananas and Oranges, which are plentiful there: But the *Portugueſe*, who ſpied them, killed ſome of them: And the 19th of the ſame Month they murdered one, whom they expoſed in the Highway to inſult the *Dutch*. The General, to prevent ſuch Accidents, forbad any Seaman to go alone and diſarmed to ſeek for Fruit without Leave: But his Command being not obeyed, to the great Prejudice of thoſe that ſlighted his Order, he cauſed a Gibbet to be ſet up, to fright thoſe who ſhould be ſo bold, for the future, as to diſobey him. Then he ſent a Party of his Men, well armed, who brought into their little Camp Twenty-ſeven Head of Cattle, which Prize was more agreeable to them, than if they had taken ſome of their Enemies Priſoners; however, they were ſo careleſs, they loſt the beſt Part of their Booty. The 24th, the Admiral detached another Party of 150 Men, with Orders to advance into the Country, and to the Mountain, where they found the *Portugueſe* intrenched, who fell upon them, and put them in Diſorder: However, the *Dutch*, loſing no Courage, continued their March up the Mountain, and found Two Paſſages; upon which they divided in Two Companies, who got up to the Mountain by each of theſe Ways, with much Fatigue: Being advanced pretty nigh, the *Portugueſe* ſhot at them, and threw down many Stones; Captain *de Weert*'s Enſign, who led them, was killed with a Muſquet-ſhot, and many more were wounded: But the *Dutch*, not diſcouraged, got up the Mountain, put the Enemies to Flight, and took the Fort, where they found a Ton of Biſcuit hid under Graſs, Two *Dutch* Cheeſes, and ſome Earthen Pots full of *Spaniſh* Wine. They burnt the Two Houſes that were near the Fort, which were full of Cotton; and, after this Expedition, returned to their own Camp.

11. The Air of the Iſland of *Annobon* being worſe than that of *Guiney*, the Diſeaſes among the Seamen encreaſed every Day; therefore *January* 2. 1599. they reſolved to put to Sea; but, before their Departure, they buried their Dead, and burnt the Huts, and the Church. The next Day they ſailed for the Streight of *Magellan*, with a Deſign to ſtop no-where elſe. The 22d, they paſſed the Shelves and Rocks of *Braſil*, called by the *Portugueſe Abcolhos*. *March* 9. one of the Vice-admiral's Seamen, who had ſeveral times broken open the Cook's Cupboard, and ſtolen Bread, was, by Council, condemned to be hanged on the Bowſprit Maſt. About that Time the Sick began to be better, and they got ſo good Stomachs, that their Share was not ſufficient. The 12th, the Fleet being near the *Rio de Plata*, the Sea appeared as red as Blood: They drew up ſome of the Water, and found Abundance of ſmall red Worms in it, which leaped out of it like Fleas; ſome are of Opinion, that theſe Worms come out of the Whale's Belly in certain Seaſons of the Year. Eight Days after, an *Engliſh* Seaman died ſtrangely on board the *Fidelity*: He was eating very heartily, when, on a ſudden, he fell down upon his Back, rolling his Eyes, foaming and ſpeechleſs, and expired in that Condition. Two Days after, a young Man of *Utrecht* fell ſick of the ſame Diſtemper, and was like a Madman, biting, fighting, and ſcratching every body: He was carried into his Cabin, where he was Three Days and Three Nights without eating: The fourth Day he began to mutter ſome Words, and devoured a Biſcuit they gave him, but at laſt he died miſerably; for he was ſo ſenſeleſs, that he could not clean himſelf, or void his Excrements in a regular Way: and it being then very cold, the Moiſture that was about him freezed, and benumbed his Fleſh, inſomuch that they were forced to cut off his Legs.

12. *April* 6. the Ships got into the Streight; about Evening they caſt Anchor under the leaſt of the Two Iſlands of *Penguins*, Fourteen Leagues off the Mouth of the Streight; there they ſaw great Quantities of thoſe Birds called Plungeons, becauſe they dive into the Water to catch Fiſh: They killed Thirteen or Fourteen with Sticks, and could have killed enow for the whole Fleet, but that they would not loſe Time, nor the Opportunity of the fair Wind. The 9th, they put to Sea again, and the next Day the General ſent Fifty Men aſhore, to ſee whether they could find any Inhabitants and Cattle; but, having walked about Three Leagues along the Sea Side, they found nothing. On the 13th, they arrived in a fine Bay, One-and-twenty Leagues off the Mouth of the Streight, called by the *Engliſh*, *Muſſel Bay*, becauſe of the great Quantities of Muſſels found there. In that Place they provided themſelves with freſh Water and Wood, which are there very plentiful. The 17th, they ſailed between Two rocky Coaſts, and lay ſo cloſe, and ſo high, that they thought

they ſhould never get through. The Mountains were covered with Snow. The 18th, they caſt Anchor in a Bay to the Northward in 54° Latitude, called the *Great Bay:* In the Middle of it are Three ſmall Iſlands, the leaſt of which lies to the Eaſtward; the Ground in that Bay is very good, and of a fine Sand. In theſe Places there grow a great Quantity of Trees, (Pimento) reſembling Bay-trees, only they are a little higher, and the Bark is much bitterer, having as ſtrong a Taſte as Pepper. Here they ſaw abundance of Muſſels, ſome of them were a Span long, and, when they were boiled, the Fleſh of Three of them weigh'd a Pound. The Wind being contrary, the Ships lay at Anchor till the 23d of *Auguſt*, without taking the Sails off the Yards, that the Ships might be ready to ſet Sail. In the mean while they ſuffered much by the cold Weather; they loſt above 100 Men, and, amongſt others, Captain *Bockholt*, who was ſucceeded by *Baltazar de Cordes:* Beſides, the Storms were ſo frequent and violent, that the Ships could not lie at Anchor, and the Seamen were forced to be continually at work to keep them right: They were likewiſe obliged to go aſhore in the Rain, Snow, and Hail, to get in ſome freſh Water, Wood, Muſſels, and ſuch other Proviſions as they could find, which fatigued them extremely. The Scarcity of Victuals was ſo great, and the Climate ſo ſharp, that they were almoſt ſtarved with Hunger and Cold, the rough Climate rendering their Appetites ſo keen, that they were almoſt inſatiable, and eat Roots and other Things raw, without ſtaying to have them dreſſed. The greateſt Part of the Seamen wanted Watch-coats, and other Clothing, to ſupport the Fatigue of the Watch, and the daily Work; for they had made no Proviſion of them, thinking to go into an hot Country, where they ſhould have no need of them. To redreſs this Grievance, the General diſtributed to every one Pieces of Cloth; and all the Captains were ordered to be preſent, with a Cane in their Hands, when their Seamen eat their Meals, becauſe many of them would ſell their Share of Victuals at a great Rate, and, upon that Score, choſe rather to be without it, and fill their Stomachs with raw Muſſels, and green Herbs, which occaſioned Dropſies, and reduced them at laſt to a languiſhing and dying Condition. But the Officers were ſo careful, and ſo exact, in diſtributing the Proportion of Victuals, that the 22d of *April* Two Seamen of the Yacht were condemned to Death for having ſtoln ſome Oil in the Hold of the ſame Yacht; however, there was but one of them hanged, and the other was whipt.

13. *May* 7. the Vice-admiral was detached with Two Sloops into an Iſland over-againſt the *Green Bay*, to catch ſome Sea-dogs. He found Seven Canoes, or ſmall Boats, with Savages on board, that were Ten or Eleven Foot high, as well as he could obſerve, of a reddiſh Colour, and with long Hair. As ſoon as theſe Natives ſaw the Sloops, they ran aſhore, and threw ſo many Stones at the *Dutch*, that they durſt not come near the Shore; when they ſaw that the *Dutch* durſt not approach, they got into their Boats, and rowed with great Outcries towards the Sloops. The Vice-admiral let them advance within a Muſquet-ſhot, and then commanded his Men to make a general Diſcharge; they killed Four or Five of them, which ſo frighted the reſt, that they run aſhore again; then they pull'd up, with their Hands, ſome Trees, which afar off appeared to be a Span thick; but the Vice-admiral choſe to let them alone, and to return on board. The 26th of the ſame Month, ſome Seamen went aſhore to look for Muſſels, Roots, Herbs, and ſuch Victuals as they could find. Being ſeparated one from another, a Company of Savages fell on a ſudden upon them, killed Three, and wounded Two. They tore in Pieces the firſt Three, and were going to do the like to the wounded Two, if Captain *de Cordes* had not come to their Relief. Theſe Savages were all naked, except one, who had a Sea-dog Skin about his Shoulders. They had wooden Javelins, which they threw with great Strength and Dexterity; the Point was like a Cramp-iron, tied to the Arrow with Sea-dogs Guts, and would run ſo far into the Fleſh, that it was almoſt impoſſible to get it out. While the Fleet was in that Iſland, the General ordered the Sloop to be put upon the Stocks to be altered into a Pinnace: She was named the *Poſtilion*, and the Second Pilot of the Admiral was Maſter of her. Captain *de Weert*, having no more Proviſions for Broth, and being obliged to give Biſcuit to make ſome, landed *July* 17, to catch Sea-dogs; while he was aſhore, ſo great a Storm aroſe from the North-weſt, that he was obliged to ſtay Two Days and Two Nights without being able to come on board his Ship again, and could catch nothing.

14. *Auguſt* 2. the General ordered all the Officers and Seamen to Land; and, though the Snow was pretty thick upon the Shore, he would have the Miniſter to ſay Prayers, and make a Sermon, to thank God Almighty, that he had preſerved them in ſo dangerous a Voyage, and to beg his Aſſiſtance for the Time to come. The great Sufferings they had endured in that Bay, then called the *Green Bay*, and the Loſs of 120 Men who died there, made them name it the Bay of *de Cordes*, becauſe *de Cordes* was their Admiral, when they were afflicted with theſe Accidents: And, in effect, they went through the greateſt Hardſhips in the World; for, beſides Hunger and Cold, they were expoſed to the Injuries of the Air, Winds, Rain, Snow, and Hail, till the 23d of *Auguſt:* Then they ſet Sail with a North-eaſt Wind; but the next Day the Weather was ſo calm, that they were obliged to put into a great Bay lying Southward. To perpetuate the Memory of ſo dangerous and extraordinary a Voyage into a Streight, into which no other Nation had yet ventured to ſail with ſo great and ſo many Ships, the General erected an Order of Knighthood, and made the Six chief Officers Knights of it. They obliged themſelves by an Oath, never to do or conſent to any thing againſt their Honour and Reputation, whatever Dangers or Extremities they ſhould be expoſed to, not excepting Death itſelf; or to do any thing prejudicial to the Intereſt of their own Country, or to the Voyage they had already begun. They alſo ſolemnly promiſed, they would freely expoſe their Lives againſt all the Enemies of their Nation, and to uſe all their Endeavours to proſper the *Dutch* Arms, and conquer the *Spaniſh* Dominions, from whence the King of *Spain* got ſo much Gold and Silver to make War againſt them in the *Low Countries*, and oppreſs them. This Ceremony was performed aſhore upon the Eaſterly Coaſt of the Streight, as well as the Place and the Occaſion would permit it, and the Order was named the Order of the *Lion ſet free:* They alſo erected a Table upon a high Pillar, on which the Names of the Knights were written, and the Bay was called *The Bay of Knights* [b].

15. The 28th, they ſailed out of that Bay, and put into another little one a League off. There they were becalmed again. Then the Admiral commanded *de Weert* to go aſhore with his Sloop, to remove the Table that was ſet up in the *Bay of Knights*, and tranſport it to a more convenient Place. But as he thought to double the Point of the Bay, he ſaw above Eighty Savages ſitting upon the Ground, who had near them Eight or Nine Canoes, or little Boats; as ſoon as they ſaw the Sloop, they made a diſmal Noiſe, and Signs to invite the Seamen aſhore. But the Captain, who had but a ſmall Complement of Men, returned on board the Ship. The Savages, ſeeing him go to his Ship, ran as faſt as they could acroſs the Woods along the Shore, hallowing ſtill, and making Signs to the *Dutch* to come aſhore. The General, being informed of this Adventure, ſent immediately Three Sloops, well armed, to the Shore, but they found nobody: Yet they ſaw the Marks of the Inhabitants; for they had taken out of the Ground the Corpſe of the *Dutchmen* who had been buried there, and had barbarouſly diſfigured them: And the Table, which Captain *de Weert* went to remove, was broken by the ſame Savages.

16. *September* 3. early in the Night, the Ships got out of the Streight of *Magellan*, and ſailed into the South Sea with a fair Wind. The 5th and 6th, they ſailed ſtill with a North-eaſt Wind to the Weſt North-weſt, and kept all Six together, reckoning the *Poſtilion* one, till the 7th of the ſame Month, at which time they had fine Weather: But it did not laſt long; for the Sea, which, in thoſe Parts, is often ſtormy, began to ſwell and riſe ſo high, that the Vice-admiral was forced to lie by, and hale his Sloop

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[b] This alludes to the *Belgic* Lion, which they propoſed ſhould be henceforward ſet at Liberty from the *Spaniſh* Yoke.

on board; and the *Fidelity* was obliged to do the ſame: Captain *de Weert* was ſailing cloſe after the Admiral, who was before, when an Accident happened in the great Yacht, that had the Wind of the *Fidelity*, which obliged him to furl his Sails, and lie by with the Yacht, and the *Fidelity*, that had loſt her Sloop. The Admiral continued his Courſe, thinking the other Ships ſailed after him, and that the Fog hindered the Watch from ſeeing them; but the Vice-admiral, who followed them, was alſo obliged to furl his Sails; immediately after, the Fog was ſo thick, that they could not one ſee another, though they kept cloſe together. *September* 8. the Two Yachts loſt their Ships; but theſe Three kept together till the next Day; then the Admiral gave the Signal to ſail with all the Sails, thinking Two Yachts were gone before. Two or Three Hours after they diſcovered them, and ſtaid for them, with great Joy. When they were joined again, *Dircks Geritſz* ſent the Pinnace, or the *Poſtilion*, to the Admiral, to deſire him to ſend him his Carpenters; but he could not, becauſe they were ſick: However, thoſe of Captain *de Weert* and *de Cordes* went, which proved a great Damage to their Ships, *viz.* the *Faith*, and the *Fidelity*; for they never ſaw their Carpenters again, the Wind ſhifting on a ſudden: Then the Sea began to be ſo ſtormy, that the Yacht was forced to furl her Sails again, as well as the Vice-admiral alſo, who was ahead of the *Faith*; and the *Fidelity* did the like: But in the Night the Yacht, and the Vice-admiral, put up their Sails again, without making any Signal that was ſeen by the Two other Ships, who continued to lie by, being perſuaded that the Vice-admiral, and the Yacht, did the ſame. But, when the Day came on, the Captains of the Two firſt Ships were extremely troubled, at not ſeeing the Two other Ships: *De Weert* was very much concerned to have no Maſter with him, and but Two old Pilots, with a few Seamen, who were ſick and weak through the Cold and Dampneſs of the Weather, though they had a good Fire Night and Day.

17. On the 16th, the North-eaſt Wind was ſo violent, that the Two Ships were every Moment in Danger of ſinking. The Gallery of the *Faith* cracked above an Inch, and the Waves of the Sea beat ſo much upon the *Fidelity*, that the Seamen were in Water above the Knees. The other Ship was in no leſs Danger; for ſhe had ſprung a Leak, and ſo full of Water, that they were obliged to pump Night and Day, and could hardly preſerve her. At laſt, after an exact Search, they found the Leak, and ſtopt it. Theſe Two Ships were Twenty-four Hours in this deplorable Condition in the South Sea, ſpooning all the while, and going without Sails; beſides that the Seamen were diſcontented, and grumbled, though each of them had Two Ounces of dry Fiſh a Day, and a reaſonable Share of Biſcuit. But they were ſo hungry, that this was not ſufficient. They uſed to fill their Bellies with Muſſels in the Streight, and could not brook the want of them, ſo that the Captains had much ado to pacify them. The 26th in the Night, they fell in with the Coaſt upon the North Side of the Streight by a Miſtake; for they thought they were Twenty Leagues off the Land. In the Morning, the Crew of the *Faith*, diſcovering the Land, were in great Danger; for the Wind driving the Ship towards the Coaſt, they ſaw Two Rocks juſt before them, which they could not avoid, but by doubling them. The *Fidelity*, that was a great Way before, and now lay by, had not been ſo expoſed; for, having diſcovered the Rocks in time, ſhe ſailed on the other Side. They were Three Leagues off the Streight when they ſaw the Land, and the Weſterly Wind blowing ſo hard, that they could not bear off, the Two Captains reſolved to get into the Streight again, to find a good Road, and ſtay for a fair Wind. Then they did not doubt, but they might overtake the other Ships, which could not be far gone, ſeeing they had agreed together, that, in caſe of any Accident, they ſhould ſtay Two Months in the Iſland of *Santa Maria* one for another. About Evening they arrived in the Southerly Point of the Mouth of the Streight, and were driven by the Currents Six or Seven Leagues off into the Streight, where they anchored in a very good Road, and had pretty fair Weather till the laſt of *September*: Then the furious Guſts of South-weſterly Winds forced them to drop Three Anchors. The Summer approaching, they were in Hopes of fairer Weather; but, for the Two Months time they ſtaid there, they had ſcarce a fair Day to dry their Sails. They called that Bay the *Bay of Trouble*, becauſe they endured therein for Twenty Days the greateſt Trouble and Danger imaginable, being obliged continually to go aſhore to fetch ſome ſorry Nouriſhment, ſuch as a few Birds, and ſome Muſſels and Snails, that they found in the Rocks.

18. *October* 18. the Two Ships, not being able to ſubſiſt any longer in that Bay, ſailed again a League farther into the Streight, where they found a better Bay than the laſt, and caſt Anchor upon the Coaſt. The 22d, they were in Danger of periſhing by a violent Storm; but, about the Break of Day, a Calm ſucceeded. The conſtant Work of the Seamen was to go aſhore to get ſome Victuals, when it was low Water, and to fetch in ſome Wood and freſh Water, when the Tide came in; ſo that they had no time to dry themſelves, though they had a good Fire Night and Day: In a Word, during the whole Nine Months they ſpent in that Streight, they had ſcarce an Opportunity to take the Sails off the Yards to dry them, ſo frequent were the Returns of Rain and Storms. In ſo deplorable a Condition they waited for better Weather; but, in the mean time, were expoſed to Wet, Cold, high Winds, and ſuch other Inconveniences, which kept them continually at Work. But, after all, they did better by ſailing into the Main, which was ſmooth, and where nothing was to be feared but Winds; whereas, if they had anchored in any Place, they would have been expoſed to the Surges and violent Waves of the Sea, and the Anchors could not preſerve them from imminent Danger. The chief Cauſe of the Seamens murmuring was, that ſome of them gave out, that there would not be Biſcuit enough for their Return into *Holland*, if they continued here longer. The Captain, having Notice of it, went into the Bread-room, and came out of it with a chearful Countenance; and told the Seamen, that there were Biſcuit and Proviſions enough for Eight Months, though, in Fact, there were not Proviſions for above Four Months. But the Captain was reſolved to ſtay rather a whole Year for the fair Weather, than to go; and, in caſe the Weather ſhould continue as bad as it was, he deſigned rather to ſail to the *Eaſt Indies* to look for the Fleet. At length, after they had ſtaid in the Streight till the 2d of *December*, the Wind turned North-eaſt, and immediately they weighed Anchor. But, being got ready to ſail, they could not get off into the Main, becauſe of the Whirlwinds riſing between the Hills and the Bottom of the Bay. The *Faith* was driven ſo near the Land, that one could ſtep to the Shore from the Gallery, ſo that they were in great Danger, and would have certainly been loſt, if the Wind had continued ſtrong. The next Day the Storm was quite over, and, at Ebb-water, the Two Ships got out of the Bay, which they called the *Cloſe Bay*: But they went out inauſpiciouſly; for, after that, they never caſt Anchor together, and that very Day they anchored Three Leagues farther under the Wind than they had done before, and at a League off one from another.

19. The 8th, they endured a more violent Storm than ever; the Wind was ſo ſtrong, that the Waves were ſometimes higher than the Maſts; and the Storm laſted Two Days. On the 10th, the Wind ſinking, Captain *de Weert* went into his Sloop, in order to board the *Fidelity*; but, having doubled the Point, he ſaw no Ship, or any Signs of a Shipwreck; ſo he went back, full of Sorrow. The next Day, he rowed towards a Gulph, where he ſaw a Maſt near a low Point. Then his Sorrow gave place to Joy; for he went on board the *Fidelity*, and told them what Apprehenſions he had been under. He was obliged to leave his little Boat, to help to hale the Anchors and the Cables, which the *Fidelity* had loſt. Then he took his Leave, in order to return to his own Ship; but he little imagined, that it was the laſt Farewel, and that he ſhould never ſee Captain *de Cordes* again. The frequent Storms, and other Inconveniencies, having diſcouraged the Seamen, who were out of Hopes of ever returning into *Holland*, and who thought they ſhould ſtarve for want of Proviſions, Captain *de Weert*, the next Day, which was *Sunday*, invited them

all, but thoſe that were ſick, to a great Dinner of Geeſe, Ducks, and other Birds, that they had killed. While they were merry at Dinner, the Captain exhorted them to have Patience; and repreſented, that God Almighty never forſakes thoſe, who put their Truſt in him. He alſo thanked them for their Fidelity, and the Services and Hardſhips they had run thro' till now. This Speech proved very effectual; for the Seamen took Courage again, and rowed towards the Weſterly Part of the Bay, to go aſhore, and fetch ſome Victuals. As ſoon as they had doubled the Point, they ſaw Three Canoes, with Savages on board them; who, perceiving the Sloop, went immediately aſhore, and ſcrambled up to the Tops of the Mountains, like Monkeys. The *Dutch* went on board the Canoes, and found only a few young Plungeons, wooden Grapples, wild Beaſts Skins, and other little Things of no Value, which they left in the Boats. Then they went aſhore, to ſee whether the Savages had hid any thing. They ſaw, on the Foot of the Mountain, a Woman, with Two Children, who did what ſhe could to run away; but ſhe was taken, with both her Children, and carried on board, without ſhewing any Concern at all. She was of a middle Size, with a big Belly, of a reddiſh Colour; her Countenance was very fierce, and her Head was ſhaved, according to the Faſhion of that Country: But the Men have long Hair, and never cut it. For Ornament, ſhe had Snails Shells hanging about her Neck, and a Sea-dog's Skin about her Shoulders, tied under her Throat with Gut-ſtrings. The reſt of her Body was naked, her Breaſts hanging down like Cows Udders. Her Mouth was wide, her Legs crooked, and her Heels very long. She would eat no boiled or roaſted Meat, and therefore they gave her ſome of the Birds they caught in the Canoes; which ſhe took, and, having plucked the long Feathers, ſhe opened them with Muſſel-ſhells, cutting them firſt behind the Right Wing, and then above the Stomach. After that ſhe drew the Guts out, and, having laid the Liver a little upon the Fire, eat it almoſt raw. She cleaned the Gizzard, and eat it quite raw, as well as the reſt of the Bird. Her Children eat after the ſame manner; one was a Girl about Four Years old, and the other a Boy Six Months old, who had the greateſt Part of his Teeth, and could go alone. She looked very grave and ſerious, while ſhe was eating, tho' the Seamen burſt out with laughing. After her Meal, ſhe ſat down upon her Heels, like an Ape; and, when ſhe ſlept, ſhe was all in a Heap, holding the young Infant between her Arms, with his Mouth to her Breaſt. They kept her Two Days on board; but, the 14th, the Weather being fair, the Captain ſent her aſhore again, and gave her a Gown, a Cap, and Glaſs-beads for a Necklace and Bracelets. He alſo preſented her with a little Looking-glaſs, a Knife, a Nail, an Awl, and other Toys of ſmall Value, with which ſhe was extremely pleaſed. They alſo cloathed the Boy with a green Gown, and trimmed him finely with Glaſs-beeds of all Colours; but they carried the Girl to *Amſterdam*, where ſhe died. The Mother was very much concerned at the keeping of her Girl: However, ſhe went into the Sloop, without any Reſiſtance, or any Noiſe to have the Girl again. They carried her aſhore a League Weſtward off the Ship, to the Place ſhe pointed at. There the Seamen found Fire, and ſome Arms and Utenſils; which made them believe, that the Savages ran away at the Sight of the Sloop. When they were come on board again, ſo violent a Storm aroſe on a ſudden, that they were all frightened out of their Wits. The Surges of the Sea roſe higher than the Maſts, and toſſed the Ship with ſuch Force, that it was a Miracle ſhe was not overturned, and ſplit to Pieces. However, by the Grace of God, ſhe got out of that Bay, which they called the *Unfortunate Bay*. The next Day about Evening, they caſt Anchor in the Chanel; but they were ſurpriſed to ſee the Anchor without a Buoy; but the Weather was ſo violent, that they durſt not venture to put one to it. This Accident obliged the Seamen to ſail before the Wind into the Bay *de Cordes*, ſituated in the Middle of the Streight, and about Fourteen or Fifteen Leagues off the Place where they were, becauſe they knew that Bay had a good Bottom for Anchorage. With this View they coaſted along Southward, that they might be ſeen by the *Fidelity*. When they got into the Mouth of the Bay, they fired a Gun, to give Notice to the Captain, that they were come; and they imagined he had alſo fired another Gun, as a Signal of his hearing them. Upon this, the *Faith* continued her Courſe, thinking the other Ship followed her. Altho' they carried only a Foreſail, the Strength of the Wind drove them ſo faſt, that they were forced to faſten the Sloop to the Ship with Two great Halſers or Cables, to make their Courſe ſlower; but the rolling Waves broke the Two great Cables, and they never ſaw the Sloop again.

20. This was a great Loſs; for the Seamen, having no Sloop, could not go aſhore to get any Proviſions. The next Day, *December* 16. they diſcovered a Sloop to the Weſtward, making towards them. Some of them thought it was Captain *de Cordes*'s Sloop; others imagined it the Sloop of a Ship belonging to the Fleet, that was come into the Streight, or an *Engliſh* Sloop; but others gueſſed better, thinking it was *Oliver de Noort*'s Sloop going to meet the *Faith*, which he had ſeen from behind a Point Three Leagues off that Place where he lay at Anchor. This unexpected Meeting was Matter of great Joy to the Seamen, who were in Hopes, that the General was well. The Captain received with a great deal of Reſpect the Sloop's Crew, who were all vigorous, and in perfect Health, and who, amongſt other things, told him, that they had catched above 2000 Birds in the great Iſland of *Penguins*. Theſe Words made the other Seamens Teeth water, and every one wiſhed himſelf in that Iſland. Many of them were bold enough to tell the Captain, that they muſt go thither, where they might as well ſtay for the fair Wind, as in any other Place; and that it was but One League out of the Way: But the Captain declared to them, that he would not depart from the General. The next Day, the General himſelf came to viſit the Captain; and, the Day following, the whole Fleet joined him. The 2d, the Wind turning to the South-weſt, all the Ships ſet Sail. Having ſailed Two or Three Hours, *de Weert* deſired the General to lend him his Sloop, and Three or Four of his Men, to go before, and tell Captain *de Cordes* to get himſelf ready to ſail with the Fleet. The General freely gave him his Sloop; and *de Weert*, rowing along a ſmall Iſland, about which he had ſailed before, perceived Two Fires; and, becauſe he never ſaw any Savages in the Iſland, he thought ſome of Captain *de Cordes*'s Seamen were there: Therefore he went aſhore; but met with nobody, and went on board again, and joined the Fleet. His Ship was now become very foul, and could not follow the other Ships; and, for that Reaſon, when ſhe was off the *Bay of the Knights* at Ebb-water, ſhe was forced to ſail back into the old Place. The next Day, ſhe was expoſed to the ſame Accident within a Cannon-ſhot of the other Ships, and that becauſe ſhe was to paſs through a very narrow Chanel, into which ran Two Currents, one from the Eaſt, and the other from the Weſt of the Streight, which, meeting together, made a riſing Surge, that the Ship could not maſter. *December* 24. they tried again to double the Point, behind which the Fleet lay at Anchor; but they could not do it; for, when the Tide came in, it drove them into the ſame Place again. The Captain, ſeeing it impoſſible to double the Point with that Wind, reſolved to ſtay till it changed, leſt he ſhould fatigue his Men too much: But the General, tho' the Wind was contrary, ſailed away, to look for a more convenient Road. Then *de Weert* loſt Sight of the Fleet, tho' he was not far off, becauſe he anchored behind a riſing Ground. *De Weert*, deſpairing to join the Fleet again, and ſeeing he could not ſubſiſt without a Sloop, or a little Boat, ordered, that the Pieces of a large old Sloop, which were in the Hold of the Ship, ſhould be taken out, in order to build another that very Day, which was *Chriſtmas* Day; but, the next Day, the Wind being North, he put off the Work, in Hopes of getting into the little Bay, which was a League farther than the *Bay of the Knights*, and in which he might build the Sloop with more Conveniency and Safety; but the Violence of the Wind forced him back again into the Bay of *de Cordes*, Five Leagues off, where, the 26th and 27th of the ſame Month, they endured ſo great a Storm, that the Seamen began to murmur again, particularly becauſe they had been a Fortnight without eating Muſſels, and had had nothing but a ſmall Proportion of Biſcuit and Oil to ſubſiſt on. The Captain, ſeeing them ſo inſolent, called them all together

in his Cabin, gave them good Words, and deſired their Advice as to what was beſt to be done in this difficult Conjuncture. Some were of Opinion, they ſhould go to *Rio de Plata* with the Sloop only, and leave the Ship, telling the *Portugueſe* they were forced to it, becauſe the *Engliſh* gave her Chace; others were for ſailing into *St. Helena*, to take in freſh Proviſions; but they did not conſider, that it was impoſſible to get to that Iſland by the Weſt. *John Outgatz* the Pilot ſaid, they could not do better than to go upon the Coaſt of *Guiney*, or upon the Gold Coaſt, where he was known, having made Five Voyages into that Country. Theſe different Opinions did not pleaſe the Captain; and therefore he told them, he could reſolve upon nothing without Captain *de Cordes*'s Conſent. In the mean time, he ordered that the Sloop ſhould be built; and *January* 1. 1600. he went on board his new Sloop, and ſteered her himſelf aſhore for the better caulking of her.

21. In the Afternoon, having doubled the Southerly Point, he diſcovered the Two Sloops of General *Olivir van Noort*; who, being put back to the Bay of *Knights*, and come to ſee whether the *Faith* was ſtill in the Bay of *de Cordes*, brought a Piece of Ice Three or Four Foot thick, and ſaid, he had ſeen many much thicker, though it was in the Middle of Summer, and the Savages were all naked. The next Day the General returned back, and promiſed to ſend his Sloop in Queſt of the *Fidelity*. The Captain ſent his Sloop alſo with his Enſign, and one of his Pilots, for the ſame Purpoſe; and, as they were going by the Fleet, he charged them with a Letter for the General, to deſire him to ſend him Biſcuit for Two Months. The Sloop came back *January* 5. with the General's Anſwer, that he did not know whether he had Biſcuit enough for the Fleet, nor how long he ſhould be at Sea; and therefore he could not ſpare any. This Anſwer afflicted Captain *de Weert* the more, that he had no Hopes of meeting again with Captain *de Cordes*; therefore he reſolved to return into the Iſland of *Penguins*, and make a large Proviſion of them, that he might be able to follow the Fleet, in caſe the Wind was fair. Before he ſailed away, he writ a Letter to Captain *de Cordes*, which he left in the Foot of a Tree, upon which the General had writ the Date of his Fleet paſſing by that Place; and nailed a Board to the Tree, with theſe Words written upon it, *Look into the Foot of the Tree*.

22. *January* 11. 1600. the Ship ſailed towards the Iſland of *Penguins*, and the 12th they anchored under the leaſt Iſland; immediately the Captain landed with Thirty-eight healthy Men, leaving the Pilots and the other Seamen on board: Coming near the Shore, they ſaw prodigious Quantities of Birds; and, leaving only Three Seamen on board the Sloop, went to kill as many Fowl as they could. In the mean while, the Wind grew ſo high, and the Sea ſo ſtormy, that the Sloop was driven up the Shore, and was ſo full of Water before the Seamen could get into her, and caſt ſo far upon the Rocks, that all the Seamen could not heave out the Water, or hale her to Shore; in fine, ſhe was ſo much toſſed by the Surges of the Sea, that they expected every Minute to ſee her ſplit in Pieces: In ſuch an Extremity the Seamen had no Hopes of ſaving their Lives; for they could by no means return on board their Ship again: They had no Carpenters, no Tools, no Proviſions, and no Wood; that Iſland producing none: They were all over wet, and ſtarved with Gold; for every one went into the Water to the Shoulders to draw the Sloop: In fine, at low Water, the Sloop being aground, they found an *Ax*, and other Tools, with Nails, which gave them ſome Hopes of returning on board their Ship again; but, it being impoſſible to draw the Sloop aſhore before Night, they were forced to be quiet till the next Day: So they paſſed the Night in the open Air, and made Fires with ſome of the broken Planks of the Sloop, and eat a few Birds half-roaſted, without Bread, and with ſo little Water, that they could not quench their Thirſt: As ſoon as Day-light was come, every one went to work ſo chearfully, that one Side of the Sloop, which was the moſt damaged, was quite refitted before Night: The next Day the other Side was alſo refitted, and Four Men laved the Water out of her with Pails; then they laded her with 450 Penguins, and, about Evening, they went on board the Ship, after they had been Three Days aſhore. While they were catching the Penguins, they had found, in one of their Holes, a Savage Woman, who had hid herſelf there all the while the Seamen remained on the Iſland. When General *Oliver* landed in that Iſland, the Savages killed Two of his Men; upon which he deſtroyed them all but this Woman, who was then wounded, and ſhewed her Wounds to the Sloop's Crew. Her Face was painted; ſhe had about her Body a kind of a Cloak, made of the Skins of Beaſts and Fowls, neatly ſewed together, which reached down to her Knees. Her privy Parts were alſo covered with a Skin; ſo that the Savages on the North Side of the Streight are more modeſt and ſociable than thoſe that inhabit the South of it. This Woman was tall and well proportioned, and her Hair was cut ſhort; but the Men wear it prodigious long, as they ſaw by the Corpſe of one of theſe that had been killed, who had fine Feathers on his Head, and about his Body. They make uſe of Bows and Arrows, at the End of which a hard Flint is inlaid very neatly: The Captain gave a Knife to that Woman, who, in Acknowledgment, told him, he would find a greater Abundance of Birds in the biggeſt of the Two Iſlands; ſo they left her where ſhe was, though ſhe wiſhed to be tranſported to the Continent. They went to this Iſland, in order to get greater Numbers of theſe Birds, of which, in this Place, it may not be amiſs to enter into a more full Deſcription. The Penguin does not receive its Name from its Fatneſs, as the Author of the *Dutch* Voyage believed; and, to favour his Opinion, calls theſe Birds *Pinguins*, in order to make the Derivation from the *Latin* Word *Pinguedo*, Fatneſs, more apparent: Neither is the Conjecture of the Editor of the *French* Voyage, grounded on a Miſtake of Sir *Thomas Candiſh*'s Senſe, any better; for he ſuppoſes, that they were called *Penguins* by the *Engliſh*, becauſe of their white Heads. The Truth of the Matter is, they were ſo called by the Savages; and becauſe *Penguin* in the *Britiſh* (vulgarly called *Welſh*) ſignifies white Head, and theſe Birds have white Heads, it has been argued from hence, that theſe Savages are deſcended from a Colony of *Britons*, ſuppoſed to be ſettled in *America* by *Madoc*, Prince of *North Wales*, about the Year 1170. I do not mean by this Remark to eſtabliſh the Truth of that Hiſtory, but barely to clear up the Meaning of the Word, and to ſhew how reaſonable it is, in different Voyages, to preſerve the different Orthographies of their Authors, becauſe, in many Caſes, they may be of much greater Uſe than is commonly imagined. But to return now to the Birds, which gave Occaſion to this Digreſſion: The old ones weigh from Twelve to Sixteen Pounds, and the young ones from Eight to Twelve; they are black upon the Back, and white under the Belly; ſome have about their Neck a white Ring, ſo that they are almoſt half-white half-black; their Skin is much like that of the Sea-dog's, and as thick as the Skin of a wild Boar; their Bill is as long as the Bill of a Raven, but not ſo crooked; their Neck is ſhort and thick, and the Body as long as a Gooſe, but not ſo big: Inſtead of Wings, they have Two Fins hanging down, and covered with Feathers, with which they ſwim with great Strength: They ſeldom come aſhore but when they brood, and then they neſtle Three or Four together in a Hole; they have black Feet, like thoſe of a Gooſe, but not ſo broad; they walk upright, with their Fins hanging down like a Man's Arm, ſo that, afar off, they look like Pygmies: They live upon nothing but Fiſh, and, for all that, they have not the rank Reliſh of Fiſh, but are extraordinary well taſted: They make their Holes in the Downs as deep as Rabbet-boroughs, and the Ground about it is ſo full of them, that you can hardly walk along without falling into thoſe Holes up to the Knees. *January* 5. the Ship reached the great Iſland of *Penguins*, a League off the ſmall one: There they found ſo great Quantities of them, that they might have furniſhed 25 Ships with them; for they took above 900 in Two Hours time. The next Day, while they were buſy in ſalting them, a great Storm roſe from the North-weſt, which carried the Ship out of Sight of the Iſland, and ſo great a Way off, that the Captain was quite out of Hopes of making the Iſland again. Then he reduced the Proportion of Biſcuit to a Quarter of a Pound to each Man a Day: However, the 17th of the ſame Month in the

Afternoon they made the Iſland again: But, when they were going to land, the Storm roſe again with ſuch Violence, that they reſolved to weigh Anchor, and get out of the Streight; but the Sea was ſo rough, that they could not do it: They were afraid, that the Capſtan would fly; at laſt the Ship's Anchor ſlipped; and, to ſave the Ship, they cut the Cable, and ſo they continued under Sail, not without great Sorrow for having loſt their Anchor, becauſe they had but one more left.

23. This ſad Accident obliged the Captain to depart the Streight without Delay: Accordingly, *January* 21. 1600. he ſailed out of the Mouth of the Chanel with a Southweſt Wind, chopping ſometimes to Eaſt North-eaſt, after having ſpent Nine Months in thoſe Seas in a dangerous and diſmal Condition. In the Afternoon, having got into the Main, they left the Sloop to drive into the Sea, becauſe the ſtormy Weather had made her unfit for Service. The 24th in the Morning, they found Three ſmall Iſlands to the Windward, which are not marked in the Map; they named theſe the *Sebaldine* Iſlands: They are Sixty Leagues off the Continent, in 50° 40′. There was plenty of Penguins in thoſe Iſlands, but they could catch none, becauſe they had neither Sloop nor Boat. *February* 1. a Seaman, born at *Bruſſelles*, named *Nicolas Blick*, was condemned to be hanged, for having ſtolen out of the Hold a Bottle of Wine, and a Bag of Rice: Upon the Point of his Execution, the Seamen interceded for him, and got his Pardon, on Condition that no Seaman, for the future, ſhould beg any body's Life that ſhould be guilty of ſuch a Crime. On the 3d about Evening, the ſame *Nicolas Blick* was accuſed of having made himſelf drunk, ſo that conſequently he muſt have ſtolen the Wine; and was convicted of ſtealing not only Wine, but Victuals alſo, more than he wanted for his Neceſſity; for which he was hanged, and his Body thrown into the Sea with the Rope about his Neck.

24. *March* 15. the Ship paſſed the Equinoctial Line; they began that very Day to diſtribute no more Wine, becauſe they had but one Pipe left, which they kept for the Sick. The 28th, they ſaw the Cape of *Monte* upon the Coaſt of *Guiney*; but the Captain was very angry with the Pilots, becauſe they had ſteered another Courſe than he deſigned: The Seamen, on their Side, were alſo diſcontented with the Captain, who, having no Sloop nor Boat, and but one Anchor, would not land; but, being ſatisfied he had Biſcuit enough for Four Months, at a Quarter of a Pound a Day each Man, and Two Ounces of Rice, he cauſed them to tack about, and ſtand to the Sea. *April* 1. in the Night, they diſcovered ſome Fire, and thought at firſt 'twas a Ship; but, in the Day-light, they ſaw the Fire on Shore, and that they had run very near the Coaſt, being driven by the Currents. At that time their Penguins were all gone, ſo that, if God's Providence had not been exerted for them, they would have been forced to have been contented with a ſmall Proportion of Biſcuit and Rice; but, during Five Weeks that they ſteered along the Coaſt, without advancing much farther becauſe of the calm Weather, they found Plenty of all ſorts of Fiſh, both great and ſmall. The Captain, being uncertain how long he ſhould ſtay in that Place, and fearing that the want of Proviſions would force him at laſt to land, ordered a ſmall Boat to be built; which was finiſhed, in Twelve Days time, by the Direction of *Outgerſz*, the Pilot, who had formerly practiſed the Trade of a Ship-carpenter: But they had no need of her; for, the 24th of the ſame Month, the Wind being fair, the Ship ſailed towards the *Açores* Iſlands.

25. *May* 3. they celebrated a public Thankſgiving-day; and, the 21ſt, they paſſed the Tropic of *Cancer*, catching every-where ſo great a Quantity of Fiſh, that they had enough both for ſalting and drying: But, when they were off the *Açores*, they found no more Fiſh; but were forced to eat thoſe they had ſalted; and that new Food cauſed many Diſtempers amongſt the Seamen, and eſpecially the Scurvy: They were parched within, and ſo thirſty, that they could never quench their Thirſt; and their Bodies were all over covered with red Spots like a Leproſy. The 7th, the Captain was informed, that ſome of the Seamen had ſtolen ſome Biſcuit; but he durſt not puniſh thoſe that were guilty of it, becauſe they were vigorous and healthy, and nothing could be done without them. *July* 6. the Ship got into the *Engliſh* Chanel; the Captain landed at *Dover* to buy an Anchor, and a Cable; but, finding none, he ſailed the ſame Evening. On the 13th, while he lay at the Mouth of the *Maeſe* waiting for the Tide, with a Pilot on board, the Wind became contrary on a ſudden, and forced him to go into the Chanel of *Goeree*, where a Seaman died, being the Sixty-ninth that died in the whole Voyage; the other Thirty-ſix who were alive, gave Thanks to Almighty God, who had preſerved them from ſo many Dangers, and brought them ſafe Home.

SECTION VIII.

The Voyage of GEORGE SPILBERGEN, *in Quality of Admiral of Six* Dutch *Ships, round the World.*

1. *The Occaſion of the Voyage, and the Departure of the Fleet* Auguſt 8. 1614. 2. *Their Arrival on the Coaſt of* Braſil. 3. *Treacherouſly attacked, and a great many of their Men maſſacred by the* Portugueſe. 4. *They take ſeveral* Portugueſe *Priſoners, but could not procure the Diſcharge of their own Men in Exchange.* 5. *They paſs through the Streights of* Magellan *into the South Seas.* 6. *They meet with the* Spaniſh *Fleet on the Coaſt of* Chili. 7. *A warm Engagement enſues, in which the* Spaniſh *Admiral, Vice-admiral, and another great Ship, were ſunk.* 8. *They continue cruiſing upon that Coaſt.* 9. *The Account they received of the State at that Time of* Peru *and* Chili. 10. *They continue their Voyage to* Acapulco. 11. *Continue their Courſe from thence for the* Eaſt Indies, *and arrive at the Iſlands of* Ladrones. 12. *Proceed in their Voyage for the* Moluccas. 13. *Arrive ſafely at the* Dutch *Settlement at the Iſland of* Machian. 14. *Return from thence into* Holland, *and enter the* Maeſe, July 1. 1617. 15. *Remarks upon the Voyage.*

1. THE Directors of the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company, having ſtill very much at Heart the making an effectual Voyage through the Streights of *Magellan* to the *Eaſt Indies*, they, in the Spring of the Year 1614. granted a Commiſſion for this Purpoſe to *George Spilberg*, or *Spilbergen*, a Man of eſtabliſhed Reputation for his Knowledge in maritime Affairs; and ordered Six Ships to be equipped for that Service, *viz.* the *Great Sun*, the *Full Moon*, the *Huntſman*, a Yacht called the *Sea Mew*, all Four from *Amſterdam*, the *Æolus* of *Zeland*, and the *Morning Star* of *Rotterdam*. They were all equipped in the beſt manner poſſible, and the Admiral had, in a great meaſure, the Choice of his own Officers, which, in long Voyages, is a Thing of the utmoſt Conſequence, in order to prevent unneceſſary Diſputes. The Ships were ready a little after *Midſummer*; but the Admiral having declared his Opinion, that they ſhould, in caſe they ſailed then, arrive at an improper Seaſon in the Streights of *Magellan*, the Directors thought proper to poſtpone the Voyage till the Month of *Auguſt*; and, on the 8th, the Fleet ſailed out of the *Texel*, with a ſtrong Gale at South-eaſt.

2. They continued their Voyage without any other remarkable Accident, than enduring ſeveral Storms and Tempeſts, till *October* 3. when they found themſelves in the

Height of *Madeira.* On the 10th, they loſt Sight of the *Canaries*, and, on the 23d, they had Sight of the Iſlands *Bravo* and *Fogo.* They obſerved, in paſſing the Cape *de Verde* Iſlands, that they were wrong placed in the Maps, and even in ſuch as were in the higheſt Eſteem in thoſe Days, as ſtanding in them in 17°, whereas they ought to be in 14° 30′. On *December* 9. 1614. the Admiral appointed a Day of Thankſgiving, for their having happily paſſed the Danger of Shoals of Abrolhos, which run very far into the Sea, and have been very fatal to the *Portugueſe* Ships in their Voyages. On the 12th, they diſcovered the Continent of *Braſil*; the Coaſt appearing high at a Diſtance, with many Hills, having very ſharp-pointed Tops riſing into the Clouds, others broader and well covered with Trees, but the Land cloſe to the Sea was all flat. On the 19th, the Coaſt appeared very high, and the Pilots concluded, that it muſt be Cape *Frio*; but the *Sea Mew* having been ſent before to diſcover, reported, that they were at the Mouth of *Rio Janeiro*, which has Three little Iſlands in the Opening; and this gave them Hopes, that before Evening they ſhould have Sight of the *Ilas Grandes*, and therefore the *Sea Mew* had Orders to lead as before. On the 20th in the Morning, they anchored in the Road of *Ilas Grandes*, between Two large fine Iſlands, covered with Trees, in Thirteen Fathom Water. On the 21ſt, they anchored at another Iſland, at the Diſtance of about half a League, where they diverted themſelves with Fiſhing; in which they had good Succeſs; and here they caught many Crocodiles, each of the Length of a Man. On the 23d, they anchored behind another Iſle, where they found Two little Huts, and a Heap of Mens Bones on a Rock. The next Day they ſet up Tents on Shore for the Sick, which were all landed that Night, and the Admiral appointed Three diſtinct Corps *de Garde* of Soldiers for their Security, as being in continual Apprehenſion of the *Portugueſe*, who, they knew, were at no great Diſtance.

3. The Admiral, on the 28th, hoiſted a white Flag as a Signal for holding a Council; in which it was reſolved, that the *Huntſman* ſhould eſcort the Shallops that were to go to take in Water at a River about Two Leagues off. The Admiral gave expreſs Directions to the Captain of the *Huntſman* to anchor as cloſe to the Shore as poſſible: But, when he was out of Sight of the Fleet, he anchored as he thought proper, which was at ſuch a Diſtance from the Land, that it was in a manner out of Cannon-ſhot. On the 29th, the Admiral's Shallop and Canoe went to take in Water, and a Body of Seamen were landed upon the Iſland to cut Wood: About Noon they brought as much as their Veſſels would hold on board, and in Two or Three Hours went back to fetch more. In the Evening they would have come on board again, but their Veſſels were aground, and they were obliged to ſtay for the Flood. They paſſed their Time but very indifferently all Night under a Hut erected by the Crew of the Yacht; and they reported, when they came on board in the Morning, that they had heard a confuſed Number of Voices, and a great Trampling of People, in the Woods. On the 30th, the Shallops of the *Moon*, the *Morning Star*, and the *Huntſman*, were ſent to the Watering-place with Nine or Ten Soldiers under the Command of *Francis du Cheſne*, Lieutenant to Captain *Rowland Phillips*, whoſe Company was on board the Admiral; as for the Seamen, they went unarmed, contrary to expreſs Orders, and notwithſtanding what their Companions had told them, of their hearing a great Number of People in the Wood. They had not been gone long from the Fleet, before ſeveral Cannon-ſhot were fired from the *Huntſman*; upon which the Admiral immediately ordered out Three Shallops, full of Soldiers and Seamen, well armed, to ſee what was the Matter. Theſe no ſooner came on board, than they were informed, that Five Canoes, full of *Portugueſe* and *Meſtizo's*, well armed, had attacked the Three Shallops, and murdered every Man there was in them. The *Dutch* armed Shallops went in Purſuit, and ſoon came within Sight of them, and were not a little ſurpriſed, that the Men did not row very hard to get out of their Way. On their doubling a rocky Cape, they ſoon found the Reaſon; for there they ſaw Two ſtout Frigates riding at Anchor, to which the Boats retired for Shelter, and the *Dutch* Shallops were forced to return to their Admiral with a diſmal Account of what had befallen their Companions.

4. *January* 1. 1615. a Conſpiracy of certain mutinous Perſons, who were inclined to run away with the Ship, was found out; for which, Two were executed, being hanged up at the Yard-arm, and ſhot through with Six Muſquets, and were afterwards buried on Shore, the Preacher having all the Night before laboured to fit them for a more happy Life; others were put in Irons, and diſtributed to different Ships. Before their Departure they called a Councill, and therein gave Orders, that, if any Ship loſt the reſt, they ſhould ſet up a Mark in *de Cordès* Haven, or ſome other uſual Landing-place; and likewiſe fixed how long they ſhould ſtay for each other, directing them after to ſail on to *La Mocha.* They agreed to remove thence, for want of fit Proviſion for their Sick, to the Iſle of *St. Vincent*: There the *Portugueſe* delayed and ſhuffled with them, trifling away Time. On the 26th, they took a Bark with Eighteen *Portugueſe*, whom they denied to exchange for fewer *Hollanders*, although they offered alſo many fair Manuſcripts, Pictures, Plate, and other Things, taken in the Prize pertaining to the Jeſuits. They found alſo, that Intelligence of their Coming had been given by ſome Traitors of their own Countrymen out of *Holland.* And, in the Beginning of *February*, they departed, freeing Four of their captive *Portugueſe*, and detaining the reſt; for one of which, alſo, another *Portugal* had offered himſelf, with ſeveral ſmall Preſents, pretending himſelf a Batchelor, and the other, his Kinſman, to have a Wife and Children; but was not accepted. They burned the Prize, and ſome Buildings belonging to the *Portugueſe*, and furniſhed themſelves plentifully with Oranges and Pomecitrons. *March* the 7th, a cruel Storm diſtreſſed them in 52° 6′, which continued ſeveral Days, and ſeparated them: And, on the 21ſt, a worſe Tempeſt happened amongſt ſome mutinous Perſons; and ſome of them (to ſtill that Tempeſt) were caſt into the Sea. It was the 28th before they entered the Streight, whence the Wind and Tide forced them out again. The Winds being contrary, ſome deſired to winter in Port *Deſire*; others, to hold their Courſe to the Cape of *Good Hope*, which was utterly impracticable.

5. *April* 2. they re-enter'd, and anchored, becauſe of Sholes, one of which they ſounded the next Day a Quarter of a League, and found but Three Fathom Water. They ſaw here a Man of gigantic Stature climbing the Hills, to take a View of them. This was the Land called *del Fogo*, or *Fire*, which is the South of the Streight. The 7th, they went aſhore, found no Men, but Two Oſtriches, and a great River of freſh Water, with Store of Shrubs and ſweet Blackberries. On the South Sides they found pleaſant Woods, full of Parrots, in 54° the Mountains full of Snow. They called one Place *Pepper Haven*, the Bark of a Tree there biting like Pepper. On the 16th, they conferr'd, and entered into Commerce, with the Savages, and gave them Sack, and certain Knives, for Pearls joined together: But ſome of the Company going on *May-day* aſhore to take ſome Birds, they were ſurpriſed by the Savages, and Two of them ſlain. On the 6th, they paſſed into the South Sea, not without Terror, both from the Want that Day of Anchorage, and afterwards the dangerous Sholes and Iſlands between the Northern and Southern Shores, at the Mouth of the Streights opening into the Sea. They were welcomed into this *Pacific* Ocean by a terrible Storm, which they feared would have ſplit them on the Sorlings (ſo for Likeneſs of thoſe Iſles to ours they called the Iſlands in that Sea a little without the Streights). Theſe Streights are dangerous for high Iſlands, Sholes, and Want of Anchorage: Alſo tedious Storms attended their Ingreſs and Egreſs. On the 21ſt, they had Sight of *Chili* and *La Mocha*: This Iſland is low and broad to the North, full of Rocks to the South. On the 26th, they ſent out Boats to try if it was poſſible to traffick with the People. The Governor and his Son dined with the Admiral, and ſeemed glad to ſee ſuch Ships, and ſo well provided with Artillery and Ammunition againſt the *Spaniards*; as likewiſe did all the Inhabitants of *Chili*, at Sight of their muſtering of their Soldiers. They exchanged Hatchets, Coral, and the like, for great Plenty of Sheep, of which

they had Two for one Hatchet, with great Courteſy: But they brought all to the Boat, nor would ſuffer any to go to their Houſes, becauſe of their Jealouſy of their Wives, which exceeds even that of the *Spaniards.* One of thoſe Sheep was of the Kind reſembling a Camel, their Legs and Neck very long, Hair-mouthed, and Bunch-backed, which they uſe for Carriage and Culture, as Aſſes. They had many Hens, and other Fowls. On the 27th, they ſet Sail; and, the 28th, came near the Shore, not far from the Iſland of *St. Mary*, broken and rocky. On the 29th, they came into Harbour, where a *Spaniard* came on board them, having a Perſon, by way of Pledge, left for him on Shore: But, inviting them to Dinner on Shore, one of the Boats diſcovered a Body of Soldiers marching to that Place where they ſhould have dined; whereupon they returned aboard with the *Spaniard*, whom they made Priſoner. The next Morning they went aſhore with Three Enſigns: The *Spaniards*, at the Sight of them, ſet their Church on Fire, and fled. In the Skirmiſh, Two *Hollanders* were wounded, and Four *Spaniards* ſlain. Their Houſes, built of Reed, yielded a good Flame. They found many Hens, and took 500 Sheep, with other Spoil. Here they had Intelligence of Three Ships which had departed thence in *April* to ſeek theſe *Dutch* Ships, manned with a Thouſand *Spaniards*; the Admiral carrying Forty Braſs Pieces of Cannon, the reſt proportionable. Hereupon the *Dutch* were determined to ſeek them in the Iſle of *Conception*, and after that in *Valpariſo*, and then on the Coaſt of *Arica*. The *Spaniards* alſo reported much of the like Preparation making in *Lima*. Having *Dutch* Gunners, they enacted certain Orders of military Diſcipline, how each Ship, and each Perſon, ſhould conduct himſelf in the Fight, if they encountered the Enemy; and reſolved to die rather than yield.

6. *June* the 1ſt, they ſailed thence, and paſſed not far from *Auroca*, a Town with 500 *Spaniards* in Gariſon, which are continually diſquieted by the Inhabitants of *Chili*. On the 3d, they approached the Iſle *Quiniquirina*, near the Continent, and behind it came up to the Town of *Conception*; wherein, beſides many *Indians*, were 200 *Spaniards*. On the 12th, they entered the ſafe and commodious Road of *Valpariſo*. There was a *Spaniſh* Ship, to which the Mariners ſet Fire, and fled. On the 13th at Noon, they were in 32° 15′, and in the Afternoon came to the fair and ſecure Harbour of *Quintero*. They went aſhore, and ſaw many wild Horſes, which fled. Here they watered, and took many Fiſh; and for Wood, and other Things, found the Place very commodious. Every-where, on approaching the Coaſt, they found the People aware of them, which cauſed *Spaniſh* Preparations for unwelcome Entertainments, ſo that no Matter of Weight was effected. *July* the 2d, they came to *Arica*, in 12° 40′, whither the Silver is brought from *Potoſi*, and carried thence to *Panama*; but finding no Ships there at that time, they departed. On the 10th, they had a Calm, yet rainy Day, not without Wonder to them, becauſe the *Spaniſh* Priſoner had reported a perpetual Fairneſs of Weather in thoſe Parts. On the 16th, they took a ſmall Ship, with a ſmall Quantity of Treaſure, moſt of which was embezzled by the Mariners: They afterwards took out the Commodities, and ſunk her. They had Sight of Eight Sail, which, as ſoon as he diſcerned them, the *Spaniſh* Maſter of the former Ship ſaid were the Royal Fleet come out to ſeek the *Hollanders*, againſt the Opinion of the Council of *Peru*, which would rather had them ſtay: But *Roderigo de Mendoza*, the Viceroy's Kinſman and Admiral, conceited of himſelf, ſaid, *That Two of his Ships would take all* England, *and much more thoſe* Hens *of* Holland, *after ſo long a Voyage, which had ſpent and waſted them: Nay, he was ſure they would yield to him at the very firſt Sight.* Whereupon the Viceroy gave him Leave to go and bring them bound unto him; and the Admiral *Mendoza* ſwore, he would never return till they were taken or ſlain. Thus he departed out of the Road of *Calao* on the 11th of *July*. The *Jeſu Maria*, Admiral, carried Twenty-four Braſs Pieces, 460 Men, of all Sorts, and had coſt the King 158000 Ducats. The Vice-admiral, *St. Anne*, 300 Men, the Captain *Alvares de Piger*, which had taken an *Engliſh* Ship in the South Sea before; this Ship had ſtood the King in 150000 Ducats, and was the faireſt that ever was ſeen in the *Indies*. The *Carmelite*, of Eight Braſs Pieces of Cannon, 200 Soldiers, and Mariners, beſides the Commanders, and their Retinue. The *St. James*, of equal Force. The *Roſary* had 150 Men, and Four Braſs Ordnance. The *St. Francis* had no Ordnance, but Seventy Muſqueteers, and Twenty Mariners. The *St. Andrew* had Eighty Muſqueteers, and Twenty-five Mariners. The Eighth was ſent after the reſt, uncertain with what Furniture.

7. *July* 17. they came near each other in the Evening; and his own Vice-admiral ſent Word to the *Spaniſh* Admiral, that, if he pleaſed, he might forbear to fight that Night, and begin the Attack next Morning. But *Roderigo de Mendoza* could not be ſo patient, but, about Ten of the Clock, ſet upon the *Great Sun*, in which the *Dutch* Admiral himſelf was; and they immediately exchanged mutual Broadſides. The *St. Francis*, being next, attacked the Admiral; but was forced to ſheer off. She fell then on the Yacht, and by her was ſent to the Bottom. At that Inſtant the Yacht was warmly attacked by the *Spaniſh* Admiral, and had ſoon followed to triumph over the *Francis*, her new Conqueſt, in the Chanel's Bottom, had not her Admiral ſuccoured her with a Boatful of Men, and cauſed the Vice-admiral to do the like. The Admiral's Boat, being miſtaken, was, by a Piece of Cannon diſcharged from the *Huntſman*, ſunk, one Man alone eſcaping. The next Morning, Five Ships ſent Word to the Admiral, that they would do their beſt to eſcape; but the *Dutch* Admiral and Vice-admiral ſet upon the *Spaniſh* Admiral and Vice-admiral, and an obſtinate Engagement enſued. The *Æolus*, another *Holland* Ship, came in alſo. The Two *Spaniſh* Ships were faſtened together, and gave greater Advantage. At laſt they forſook the Vice-admiral, and leaped into the Admiral, not finding therein above Fifty Perſons alive, as, by their Confeſſions, after appeared. Mean while the Seamen hung out a white Flag of Peace, which was very often plucked in by the Gentlemen and Officers, chuſing rather to die than yield. The *Dutch* preſſing them, the Vice-admiral's Men returned again, and renewed the Fight, and the *Dutch* Vice-admiral was in great Danger, the *Spaniards* leaping into her out of their Admiral; but were repelled or ſlain; and the *Spaniſh* Admiral, not being further able to maintain the Fight, fled, and, by Benefit of Night, eſcaped the Purſuit of the *Dutch* Admiral; but her Safety was of ſhort Continuance; for her Leaks were ſo many and great, that ſhe went to viſit the *St. Francis*, as alſo did another of them called the *St. Mary*. The *Dutch* Vice-admiral and *Æolus* beſtirred them ſo very briſkly, that the *Spaniſh* Vice-admiral, paſt Hope of eſcaping, ſet up a white Flag, and yielded. The *Dutch* Vice-admiral ſent Two Boats to bring the Commander aboard; but he refuſed, ſaying, he would ſtay that Night, except the Vice-admiral himſelf would fetch him, or ſend ſome Captain to remain in Pledge; and rather deſired Death than Diſgrace. One of the *Æolus*'s Men, in this Time, had taken away the Flag, and the Boats departed, Ten or Twelve ſtaying on board, contrary to Command, that they might be firſt in the Spoil. They did, together with the *Dutch*, what they could do in the Night to preſerve the Ship from ſinking; but, ſeeing their Labour vain, they lighted many Lights, and, with horrible Clamours, cried for Help; but it was too late, and they ſunk together, in the *Hollanders* Sight. The next Morning, they ſent out Four Boats, which found Thirty ſwimming on the Boards, crying for Mercy; which, to ſome of the chief, they ſhewed, leaving the reſt to the Mercy of the Sea, tho' ſome of the *Dutch*, againſt Command, in this Diſtreſs, murdered ſeveral of the *Spaniards*. Their Commander the Vice-admiral periſhed before of his Wounds. Forty *Dutchmen* were wounded, and Sixteen ſlain, in thoſe Three Ships. In the reſt Eighteen were wounded, and Twenty-four ſlain. The ſame Day, they ſailed for *Calao de Lima*; but were becalmed. The 20th, they paſſed by the Iſland, and ſaw, in the Haven, Fourteen Ships in Motion near the Shore; but could not come nigh for the Shoals, and therefore went to the Road of *Calao de Lima*, to ſeek for the *Spaniſh* Admiral, which afterwards they learned, at *Peyta*, was ſunk. From the Shore the *Spaniards* fired their great Ordnance, one of which carried a Bullet of Thirty-ſix Pound, and had almoſt ſunk the *Huntſman*. They alſo ſaw on ſhore a great Army, in

which the Viceroy himſelf was in Perſon, with Eight Troops of Horſe, and 4000 Foot. They agreed to return out of the Reach of their Shot, and caſt Anchor at the Mouth of the Haven, where they ſtaid till the 25th, with Intent to take ſome of their Ships; but in vain, becauſe they were better Sailers. On the 26th, they took a little Bark laden with Salt, and Eighty Veſſels of Syrup: The Men all fled. They ordered, that, if they met with the Fleet of *Panama*, in regard they were in the Eenemy's Country, where they could not repair their Loſſes, and were alſo bound to the *Manillas*, they ſhould act cautiouſly, and avoid being ſeparated, which had much endangered them in the laſt Fight; and, if any *Spaniſh* Ship ſhould yield, the Maſter and chief Officers ſhould not leave their own Ships, but cauſe the Enemy to come in Boats aboard them, leſt Confuſion, as lately through Greedineſs of Spoil, ſhould happen. The 27th, they ſet Sail. The 28th, they came to the Road of *Guarme* in 10° beyond the Line, a pleaſant Place, with a large Port. Near unto it is a Lake of ſtanding Water. They went on ſhore; but found the People all fled, who had left little Pillage, except ſome Hens, Oranges, Hogs, and Meal; which they took.

8. *Auguſt* 3. they diſmiſſed ſome of their *Spaniſh* Priſoners. They paſſed between the Iſle *Loubes*, (ſo called from Fiſh of that Name) and the Continent. The 8th, they caſt Anchor near to *Peyta*. The 9th, they ſet 300 Men aſhore, who, after a few Skirmiſhes, returned aboard, the City being too ſtrongly defended. They took an *Indian* Ship of ſtrange Sails, with Six luſty *Indians*, which had been Two Months a fiſhing, and had many delicate Fiſhes dried, which they diſtributed through the Fleet. The 10th, the *Æolus*, *Morning-ſtar* and *Huntſman*, battered the Town with their Ordnance, and ſent a greater Number of them on ſhore, who found the City forſaken, and the People, with their Goods, fled to the Mountains. They ſent Five of their *Indians* on ſhore, to get Fruits, and to learn more Certainty of the *Spaniſh* Admiral; who brought Word of her being ſwallowed by the Waves, only Six eſcaping. The *Indians* alſo brought the Letters of Captain *Gaſpar Galdron* to *Paula* the Commandant's Wife of *Peyta*, who had fled to the Town of *St. Michael*, Twelve Leagues from Shore. She ſent the *Hollanders*, in Commiſeration of the Captives, many Citrons, with other Proviſions. This Woman, for Beauty, Wiſdom, and Virtue, was of ſingular Reputation in all thoſe Parts. *Peyta*, towards the Sea, is ſtrong, and, in a manner, impregnable. There were in it Two Churches, One Monaſtery, and many good Buildings, an excellent Haven, to which all the Ships of *Panama* reſorted. Then their Cargoes paſs by Land to *Lima*, becauſe of the perpetual Rage of both Elements, the Wind and Water, in that Place. They took in the Iſland *Loubes* Two Fowls of enormous Size, in the Beak, Wings and Talons not unlike the Eagle; their Necks ſomewhat like a Sheep; their Heads combed as a Cock; they were Two Ells in Height, and Three in Breadth, when their Wings were diſplayed.

9. The learned *Pedro de Madriga* of *Lima* ſaid, that *Peru*, *Chili*, and *Terra Firma*, were commanded by Don *John de Mendoza*, Marquis *des Montes Claros*, the Viceroy, which Office the King conferreth for Six or Eight Years, with a yearly Allowance of 40,000 Ducats, with an Addition of 1000 Peſos, for extraordinary Expences on the Feaſts of *Chriſtmas*, *Epiphany*, *St. Spirito*, and *Eaſter*, each of Twelve Rials and a half, becauſe, at thoſe Times, he is to entertain all the Counſellors of the Audience; 2000 Peſos alſo yearly, when he furniſhes the Silver Fleet. The Viceroy is ſerved with great Pomp in this Place, never ſtirring abroad without his Guard; and, if he goes into the Country, hath 100 Lances and 50 Muſquets attending. There are Courts or Audiences in *Panama*, *Quito*, *Charlas*, *Lima*, one alſo in *Chili*. In them are the King's Counſellors, to whom both Civil and Criminal Cauſes are committed; but with Appeal in Civil Caſes to the *Oydors* (certain Commiſſioners), and in Criminal to the *Alcalds*. Theſe all go in one Habit, and are allowed 3000 Peſos annual Penſion. The Viceroy reſideth in the City of Kings, or *Los Reyes*, called alſo *Lima*, ſituated in a pleaſant Valley, extended a Mile and half in Length, in Breadth Three-quarters, having above 100,000 Inhabitants, beſides Merchants of other Places. It hath Four Market-places. There are 3000 *Indian* Artificers dwelling in the *Cercado*. Here reſides the Archbiſhop *Bartholomew Lobo Guororo*, who hath 60,000 Peſos of Revenue. The Cathedral hath Twenty-four Prebends, one Archdeacon, beſides Schoolmaſters and other Prieſts. There are Four principal Rectors, to each of whom are aſſigned 15,000 Peſos. Beſides this Church of *St. John the Evangeliſt*, are Four other; One of St. *Marcellus*, with Two Paſtors, and 1000 Peſos Revenue; the Second of St. *Sebaſtian*; the Third of St. *Ann*, with like Stipend; the Fourth is an Hoſpital of Orphans, with 500 Peſos. Monaſteries there are of St. *Francis*, St. *Dominic*, and of St. *Auguſtin*, and of our Lady *de las Meriedes*, each of which hath Two Cloiſters of their own Order, that of St. *Francis* Three; *viz.* One of *bare-foot Friers* of our Lady *Guadalupe*. They have here Two Colleges of Jeſuits, which the *Spaniards* call *Theatines*, both there and in *Europe*. In each chief Monaſtery are 250 Religious. There are Five Monaſteries of Nuns, called of the *Incarnation*, *Conception*, *Trinity*, St. *Joſeph*, and St. *Clare*. Our Lady alſo hath her Churches by the Titles of *Monferrat*, and *del Prado*, and *de Loretto*. They have Four Hoſpitals for the Poor; of St. *Andrew*, in which are 400 Sick; of St. *Anna* for the *Indians*; of St. *Peter* for the Eccleſiaſtics; of *Charity* for Women; another of *Sto. Spirito* for Sailers; and one of St. *Lazaro* for inveterate Diſeaſes. There are 600 Prieſts, and 1000 Students. Allowance is given to Twenty-four in the *King's College* by his Majeſty; to as many in St. *Torine*'s by the Archbiſhop. There are alſo 200 Doctors in the Univerſities, of all Faculties. The Profeſſors receive of the King 1000 Peſos Penſion. The Two Profeſſors of Civil Law have each 600 Peſos. There are 400 Maſters of Art. Every Year they chuſe a new Rector or Chancellor. In this City and Suburbs are above 20,000 Slaves. There are more Women than Men. The *Indians* are free, as well as the *Spaniards*, ſaving, that they pay every Six Months Two Peſos, a Hen, a Tanega of Eight Rials, and a Piece of Cloth or Cotton. They are bound to ſerve the King yearly in the Mines or Huſbandry certain Days, beginning in *May*, and continuing their Service ſeverally till *November*. Thoſe of *Arica* bring to *Potoſi* Beaſts, Wheat, Meal, Mays, Axcicoca, an Herb which they perpetually chew. They uſe for Carriages a certain Camel-faſhioned Sheep. By this City the River runneth cloſe to the Walls, which, by Showers, ſometimes ſo ſwells, that it hath carried away the Stone Bridge of Nine Arches. Here is the King's Pontractation-houſe, and his Treaſury, the Court alſo of Inquiſition, with Two Inquiſitors, each of which alſo has 3000 Peſos Penſion, and a Priſon peculiar. The Two Notaries have 4000 Peſos apiece. Here is the Court or Office of the Cruſado, or the Popes Bulls, with Officers, and like Stipends. This City is Two Leagues from the Sea, hath Eight Companies of Foot, and as many Troops of Horſe, in Gariſon. The next Port is called *Calao*, in which are ſome 800 Inhabitants. From the City to *Potoſi* are all *Spaniſh* Merchandize conveyed. *Potoſi* is called *La Valla Imperial*, comprehending a great Mountain, in which are Silver Mines. Into them is a horrible Deſcent of 400 Steps into the Veins, which exerciſe about 20,000 *Indians* digging, and 100 more in carrying, grinding, and other Works of that Kind. This Place is ſo cold, that nothing grows within Four Leagues, but an Herb called *Ycho*. Their Proviſion is all brought from *Arica*. A Pound of Bread is there worth Two Rials. The Haven of *Arica* is 180 *Spaniſh* Leagues from thence; but there are many Villages well inhabited by the Way. Not far hence is *Chuquiſaca*, the Biſhop whereof hath 30,000 Ducats Revenue. There are the like Monaſteries to thoſe at *Lima*; but not ſo full of Monks. At *Potoſi* there are ſaid to be 1500 Sharpers, who live by their Wits. Seventy Miles from thence is another Silver Mine, called *Eruco*. Near *Lima* is *Chocola Choca*, another Mine, cold as *Potoſi*, where dwell 5000 *Spaniards*. *Cuſco* is like to *Lima*, hath 6000 *Spaniſh* Inhabitants, a Biſhop, and Monks, and Two Colleges, with ſome 600 Students. *Arequipa* hath alſo a Biſhop, 2000 *Spaniards*, and a Corigidor. The Capital of *Chili* is *St. Iago*, where there is a Gold Mine. *Coquimbo* hath Store of Braſs. *Baldivia* is rich in Gold. In the Year 1599. the Natives of the Country killed the *Spaniards*, and made their Wives Priſoners, 800 in Number, whom they offered to

exchange, if they might have for each a Pair of Shoes, a Bridle, a Sword, and a Pair of Stirrups; but the King forbad Armour to be carried to them. They poured molten Gold into the Governor's Mouth, made a Cup of his Skull, and Pipes of his Shank-bones, in Memory of their Victory. *Auroca* hath near it a Fort, with a *Spaniſh* Gariſon; but very poor. *Conception* is mentioned before. It hath 400 Soldiers to keep it, with ſome Ordnance.

10. Let us now, with our *Hollanders*, put to Sea, which they did *Auguſt* 21. but eaſily perceived the next Day the Strength of the Currents to be ſuch, that, without a fair and ſtiff Gale, they prevailed little or nothing. On the 23d, they anchored before *Rio de Tumba*; for the Bar and Tide forbad them Entrance. They agreed to return to the Iſle of *Coques* in 5° Southerly, to refreſh themſelves; but Storms, Rains, and Thunders, ſo diſtreſſed them to *September* 13. that they could not find the Iſland; and in the mean time they grew very ſickly. On the 20th, they had Sight of Land in *Nova Hiſpania*. They had 13° 30', and the Weather became again very tempeſtuous. *October* 1. after much bad Weather at Sea, they had Sight of pleaſant Land; but the Sea wrought ſo, that they could not have ſafe Landing, and ſo beat off and on till the 11th, that they entered the Haven of *Acapulco* within Shot of the Caſtle; and, hanging out a Flag of Peace, Two *Spaniards* came on board, and they agreed to exchange Priſoners for Sheep, Fruits, and Proviſion; which was accordingly performed. On the 15th, *Melchior Hernardo* came aboard, to take a View of the Fleet, which had vanquiſhed the King's. He was Nephew to the Viceroy of *New Spain*, and was kindly entertained by the Admiral. The Caſtle here was well defended with Seventy Braſs Guns, having had Intelligence of their coming Eight Months before. The 18th, they ſet Sail again; but, being becalmed, they did nothing of Moment, except the taking a Bark bound for Pearl-fiſhing; which they manned, and took into the Attendants of their own Fleet.

11. *November* 1. they anchored before Port *Selagues* in 19° North Latitude. Here they heard of a River, that yielded Variety of good Fiſh, and Meadows well ſtocked with Cattle, together with Citrons, and other Fruits, all which Conveniencies they wanted; but the Company they ſent, fearing a Surprize by the *Spaniards*, returned as they went, after a ſmart Engagement with the Enemy. On the 11th, they ſailed for Port *Nativity*, where they furniſhed themſelves with Neceſſaries, and from whence they parted on the 20th. The 26th, they had 20° 26' North Latitude; and there they concluded upon the neareſt Courſe to the Iſlands of *Ladrones*. *December* 3. to their no little Wonder, they ſaw Two Iſlands at a great Diſtance in the Sea, and, the next Day, a mighty Rock in 19°, and Fifty Leagues from the Continent. The 6th, they ſaw a new Iſland, with Five Hills, that appeared like ſo many diſtinct Iſlands. The new Year came on with Diſtempers, that proved fatal to many of their Company. *January* 3. 1616. they had Sight of the *Ladrones*, and the next Day they landed there. They ſet Sail for the *Manillas* the 26th, where they happily anchored *February* 9. Here the *Indians* refuſed to trade with them, becauſe, they ſaid, the *Dutch* were Enemies to the *Spaniards*; for which very Reaſon, ſome others would freely have transferred all the Trade and Riches of the Country to them. But, in *Capul*, to which they came on the 11th, the People were of a better Temper, giving them fat Hogs and Hens for very Trifles. This profitable Trade they left the 19th, paſſing from thence through the Streights towards the *Manillan* Port or Bay. The *Indians* of *Capul* wear long Coats like Shirts, and are noted for the extraordinary Reſpect they pay to all Clergymen, before whom they will proſtrate themſelves on the Ground, and take it for a mighty Honour to be admitted to kiſs their Hands.

12. The 19th they anchored before the Iſland *Luconia*, the principal of the *Manillas*, and in which is the City *Manilla* itſelf. Here was a curious Fabric, artificially erected upon the Tops of Trees, that looked like a Palace at a Diſtance, but what ſort of Creatures were the Inhabitants there, they could not imagine. The 28th, they paſſed by the high and flaming Hill *Albaca*. The 24th, they ſaw the other End of the Streight, but the Calm would not allow them to paſs it. The 28th, they anchored before the Iſland *Mirabelles*, remarkable for its Two Rocks, that lift their Tops to a vaſt Height in the Air. Behind theſe the City of *Manilla* lies, and from hence they watch the coming of Ships from *China* to pilot them ſafe to the City, becauſe of the great Danger of the Paſſage. *March* 5. they took ſeveral Barks, that were diſpatched to gather in the Tribute paid to the City of *Manilla* from the adjoining Places. They had now Intelligence of a Fleet of Twelve Ships, and Four Gallies, manned with 2000 *Spaniards*, beſides *Indians*, *Chineſe*, and *Japoneſe*, all which were ſent to the *Moluccas* to drive out the *Dutch*, and reduce thoſe Iſlands to the Obedience of the King of *Spain*: Upon this News they diſcharged all their Priſoners, and reſolved to go after them. The 11th, they got in amongſt ſo many Iſlands, that they hardly knew how to deliver themſelves again, but their *Spaniſh* Pilot brought them out ſafe the next Day. The 14th, they rid at Anchor all Night before the Iſland *Paney*, by reaſon of the Sholes. The 18th, the ſailed cloſe by the Iſland of *Mindando*; but, in the Evening, put off further into the Sea, becauſe of dangerous Shelves thereabouts. The 19th, they came cloſe by the Shore again, and bought Proviſions of the Iſlanders at a very cheap Rate. The 20th, they reached Cape *de Cudera*, the *Spaniards* Watering-place, in their Way to the *Moluccas*. Till the 23d they ſailed no farther than juſt as the Tide forced them along, having a perfect Calm; but between *Mindanao* and *Tagamo*, a contrary Tide met and ſtopt them. The People here profeſſed a great Enmity to the *Spaniards*, and offered the *Dutch* the Aſſiſtance of Fifty of their Ships in that Quarrel. The 27th, they paſſed the Iſland *Sanguin*, and the 29th came to *Ternate*, in which the *Dutch* poſſeſſed the Town *Macia*, where theſe unlooked-for Countrymen of theirs were made very welcome by them. The Streight of *Bouton* they obſerved to be full of Sholes, without which the Water is deep: On the Eaſt there is good freſh Water, and Two Leagues to the Weſt lies a very rocky Shole. *April* 8. *Cornelius de Vicaneze* went for *Banda*, and the Soldiers landed there after a very long and tedious Life a Ship-board.

13. On *May* 2. they ſailed with Six Ships for *Machian*, in order to prevent the *Portugueſe* from lading Cloves. The Wind proving very fair, they ſoon arrived under Fort *Maurice*, which the Admiral immediately viſited, as he afterwards did the Forts *Taffuſor* and *Tabillola*, and ſo on, till he came to the Fort of *Nabaca*. On the 12th, they received Intelligence from Mr. *Caſtleton*, who commanded Four *Engliſh* Ships, that the *Dutch* General, *John Dirkſon Lam*, had ſailed from the Iſland of *Banda*, in the Spring of the Year, with Twelve Men of War, well manned, and a Body of Soldiers on board; with which Force he landed, *April* 10. on the Iſland of *Pulo Wai*, the richeſt of all the Iſlands in thoſe Parts, of which he made himſelf Maſter with great Eaſe, and that the Inhabitants of the adjacent Iſlands, being ſummoned, ſubmitted themſelves immediately, and entered into a Treaty with him highly advantageous to the Company, inaſmuch as it ſecured to them the ſole Trade in the beſt Nutmegs in the *Indies*. On the 16th, the Governor of *Tidore* went to *Malaya*. On the 18th, the *Dutch* Admiral delivered Seven *Dutch* Seamen out of the Priſons and Gallies of the *Spaniards*, where they had been confined no leſs than Four Years. The Priſoners exchanged for theſe were a Monk, a *Spaniſh* Pilot, Two *Spaniards* taken in the South Seas, and One that they brought from the *Manillas*. A few Days after, another *Dutchman* joined them, whoſe Name was *Peter de Vivere*, he had been Priſoner among the *Spaniards* ſeveral Years, at firſt on board the Gallies; but, being an excellent Goldſmith, and having married a *Spaniſh* Wife, they gave him Leave to come on Shore, and work at his Trade, allowing him, at laſt, ſo much Liberty, that he found means to eſcape, bringing his Wife away with him. This Man was of very great Uſe; for, having an excellent Underſtanding, being perfectly acquainted with the *Spaniſh* Trade, and knowing exactly the Nature and Value of all the Commodities in the *Indies*, he gave the *Dutch* Governors better Intelligence, than it was poſſible for them to have obtained any other Way. They returned afterwards to *Machian*, and proceeded thence to *Malaya*, whence they went upon a Cruize.

a Cruize. On *May* 30. they ſailed for that Purpoſe, but were ſoon after recalled, and found, on their Return, Twelve large *Dutch* Ships from *Amboina*, in the Road of *Malaya*; and, as they were then a very formidable Fleet, it was debated whether they ſhould attack *Tidore*, or any other of the Enemy's Settlements in thoſe Parts; but it was debated only, and, their Chiefs differing, there was nothing put in Execution. Theſe Debates ſhewing the Neceſſity of having a Commander in chief, the Council General of the *Indies*, *June* 19. proceeded to the Election of a Governor and General; and the next Day *Laurence de Real* was inſtalled in that Command. Soon after Admiral *Spilbergen* received this Governor's Orders and Commiſſion to ſail with the Two Ships, *viz.* the *Amſterdam* and *Zeland*, to the Iſland of *Java*, and City of *Bantam*, with Inſtructions to ſettle the Trade there, on ſuch Terms, and in ſuch manner, as he ſhould think fit. On *June* 27. they put into *Japara* for a Supply of Proviſions, and then proceeded to *Jaccatra* (now *Batavia*) where they arrived *September* 7. and where they found it neceſſary to careen their Ships, and provide them with double Sheathings, which, notwithſtanding they did with great Caution, on account of the near Neighbourhood of *Don Juan de Sylva*, who was expected to ſail from *Malacca*, in order to cruiſe upon the *Dutch*. They were, however, very ſoon ſet at Liberty from theſe Apprehenſions, by certain Intelligence, that came the laſt of that Month, of his dying ſuddenly, not without Suſpicion of Poiſon, at *Malacca*; and that, in conſequence of this Accident, his Fleet, which was before much weakened, was returned to the *Manillas* without performing any thing; ſo that Four Years Trouble and Expence, which the *Spaniards* had been at in order to equip it, were all thrown away; which exceedingly leſſened their Reputation and Influence in the *Indies*; as will always be the Caſe of maritime Powers, when they ſuffer their Affairs to ſink in this manner, by attending more to the amaſſing of Wealth, than the Support of Government. While they were thus employed at *Jaccatra*, they had the Satisfaction of perceiving the mighty Increaſe of the *Dutch* Trade; for, in that ſmall Space of Time, there arrived no leſs than Four Ships from the *Maluccas*, laded with the richeſt Spices, and Four more from *Holland*, with very rich Cargoes; and, what in thoſe Countries was of much greater Conſequence, well manned, with ſeveral hundred Soldiers on board for the Supply of their Gariſons. There came in there alſo a very rich Ship from *Japan*, having on board a large Quantity of Rials of Plate, uncoined Silver, and other valuable Goods taken out of a *Portugueſe* Prize, in its Paſſage to *Macao*. On the 20th, arrived there a Veſſel, called the *Concord of Horn*, commanded by *Jaques le Maire*, which had paſſed round by the Streights of *Magellan*, and by that Route was arrived in the *Eaſt Indies*. But as it was known, that he did not make this Voyage on Account of the *Eaſt India* Company, or ſo much as by their Participation, the Preſident, *John Peterſon Coen*, cauſed his Ship and Cargo to be confiſcated, and his Crew diſtributed amongſt the Ships in the Company's Service. I cannot help obſerving here, how very ſoon excluſive Corporations begin to exerciſe Acts of Severity. This *Eaſt India* Company had not been founded above Fourteen Years, and yet they already took upon them to break the Spirits, and cramp the Trade, of their Countrymen: And, to ſhew this Spirit in its full Extent, I ſhall tranſlate literally the very next Sentence in this Voyage, giving a very injurious Account of this Expedition of *Jaques le Maire*, with whoſe Merit the Reader will be quickly better acquainted, on purpoſe to poſſeſs the whole *Dutch* Nation with a Notion, that Encouragement was only due to the *Eaſt India* Company. " In the Courſe " of their long Voyage, ſays the Author of Admiral " *Spilbergen*'s Expedition, theſe People diſcovered no new " Countries, no new Nations, with whom we might trade. " They only pretended to have diſcovered a new Paſſage, " different from that through which Ships had hitherto " ſailed; but there was little Appearance of this, ſince, according to their own Account, they had ſpent Fifteen " Months and Three Days in their Paſſage from the " Streights to the Iſland of *Ternate*, though they had fair " Winds all the Way, and notwithſtanding the vaſt Advantage a ſingle Ship has over a Fleet, where the quickeſt " Sailor muſt ſtay for the ſloweſt. Theſe pretended Makers " of Diſcoveries, therefore, who boaſted of having found " out a new Streight, were very much ſurpriſed to hear, " that Admiral *Spilbergen* had waited ſo long at *Ternate*, " and arrived ſo much ſooner, than they, notwithſtanding " his Fleet was compoſed of ſuch large Ships, and had " been ſo much and ſo often retarded, had fought ſo many " times, had been put back, ſtopt, and trafficked in ſo " many Parts, and yet came out but bare Eight Months " before them, and ſpent only a Year and Seven Months " in all their Expeditions, to the Time of their Arrival " in the *Moluccas*." There is a great Mixture of Vanity and Injuſtice in this Account; for though, without Queſtion, great Commendation is due to Admiral *Spilbergen*, and his Voyage ought to be regarded as one of the moſt ſucceſsful, all Things conſidered, that ever was undertaken by the *Dutch*, or any other Nation, yet there is leſs Reaſon ſure for his undervaluing the Labours of another, or pretending to call in queſtion a Fact that was ſo well atteſted, and which has been verified by future Experience, eſpecially when the Man was under Misfortunes, which, as we ſhall preſently ſee, had ſuch an Effect upon him as to break his Heart.

14. The Admiral on *December* 14. 1616. hoiſted Sail at *Bantam*, in order to proceed for *Holland* with the Two Ships under his Command, of which the *Amſterdam* was of the Burden of Fourteen hundred, and the *Zeland* of Twelve hundred Ton. On the 22d of the ſame Month died *Jaques le Maire*, a Man juſtly renowned for his great Skill in the Art of Navigation, and for his excellent Temper, as well as unblemiſhed Character. On *January* 1. 1617. the *Amſterdam* loſt Sight of the *Zeland*. On the 24th, they anchored at the Iſland of *St. Maurice*. On *March* 6. they doubled the Cape; on the 30th, they arrived at *St. Helena*, where they found the *Zeland*, which had anchored there ſome Days before. On *April* 6. both Ships put to Sea; on the 24th of the ſame Month, they paſſed the Line; and on *July* 1. 1617. they arrived ſafely in *Holland*, having been out near Two Years and Eleven Months. Their Return was extremely grateful to the Company, the Directors of which beſtowed the higheſt Commendations on the Admiral, who had indeed behaved with the utmoſt Prudence, and ſo conducted this Voyage, as that it contributed alike to the Advantage of the Company, his own Reputation, and the Glory of his Country. Multitudes of People reſorted to ſee him, and his Ships; an Extract of his Voyage was immediately made public, and the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company may be ſaid to have dated their Grandeur, in reſpect both to Reputation and Power, from the Day of his Return: The former, in ſome meaſure, reſulted from his very Act of ſurrounding the Globe; and the latter took Riſe from their Conqueſts in the *Moluccas*, in which he not only aſſiſted, but likewiſe brought Home the firſt Account.

15. It is obſervable, that this great Commander took the utmoſt Pains, not only to have an exact Account of his own Voyage drawn up, but to examine cloſely into what Diſcoveries had been made by others. On his Return to *Holland*, he juſtified the Report of *Magellan*, with reſpect to the gigantic People that inhabit the Streights, and known to the World by his Name. Admiral *Spilbergen* ſaid, that they had gone aſhore in their Voyage, and had examined ſeveral Graves of thoſe People that inhabit them; and always found their Bodies of the ordinary Size, or rather below it; and that the Savages they ſaw, from time to time, in their Canoes, were likewiſe of the ordinary Size; but that they had one Day obſerved a Man on the Shore, who firſt climbed one Hill, then another, to look at the Fleet; and came at laſt to the Sea-ſide for the ſame Purpoſe; ſo that he was ſeen by every body, and they unanimouſly concluded him taller than *Magellan* ſpeaks of; which confirms the Account given to *Oliver van Noort*; and *Sebald de Weert*, by the Boy they took from the Savages, *viz.* that there are but Two Tribes of theſe Giants, and that the reſt of the Savages are of the common Size. He likewiſe reported, that on the South Side of the Streight he had obſerved an open Paſſage into the South Sea; but, as his Inſtructions directed him to paſs through the Streights of *Magellan*, he would not riſque the Proſecution of this

Diſcovery. Indeed ſome *Spaniſh* Writers have mentioned the ſame Thing, and all agree, that, by this new Paſſage, a Ship might come much ſooner into the South Seas, than by that of *Magellan*. They place it, as well as he, about the Latitude of 54° ; and if the Reader is deſirous of knowing the true Reaſon, why Admiral *Spilbergen* neglected this new Paſſage, which might have been attended with ſome Advantages, I believe it will not be difficult to aſſign it. The excluſive Privilege which the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company had ſo lately obtained, and of which they were ſo jealous, expreſly mentioned the Streight of *Magellan*, and the Paſſage that Way to the *Eaſt Indies*; and therefore, if the Admiral had made a Diſcovery of another Streight, a Doubt might have ariſen, whether this Paſſage fell within the Deſcription of their Charter; and therefore his Maſters might very poſſibly have thought the whole Merit of his Voyage cancelled by his making ſuch a Diſcovery public. I muſt, for my own Part, confeſs, that I very much doubt whether we ſhould have heard a Word of it, if *le Maire*'s Voyage had not been ſoon after publiſhed, which made the concealing of it a Point of little Importance. To ſhew, however, that both he and the *Spaniſh* Writers were perfectly in the right as to Matter of Fact; and that the new Paſſage of *St. Barbara*, ſo much boaſted of by the *French*, and ſaid to be diſcovered by them in the Year 1713. is this very Paſſage; I ſhall cite a few Lines from Mr. *Frezier*'s Voyage into the South Sea, in which we have the whole Story at large. I muſt firſt obſerve, that the *St. Barbara* was only a Tartan, commanded by one *Marcanil*, and went from *France* on a trading Voyage into the South Seas; and now let our Author ſpeak for himſelf. “ On “ *April* 15. 1713. about Six in the Morning, *ſays he*, they “ ſailed from *Elizabeth* Bay, ſteering South-weſt and South- “ weſt by South, they took the common Chanel for that “ of the River *Maſſacre*, and were ſtanding to South-weſt “ on an Iſland, which they took for the *Dauphins*: Aſſiſted “ by the Currents, which favoured them, and a good Gale “ at North-eaſt, they ran along that Iſland; and, an Hour “ after they had paſſed it, they found themſelves in a large “ Chanel, where, on the South Side, they ſaw no other “ Land, but a Number of ſmall Iſlands among Breakers. “ Then perceiving they had miſſed their Way, they ſought “ for Anchorage, to gain Time to ſend the Boat to diſ- “ cover where they were; they found a little Bay, where “ they anchored in Fourteen Fathom Water; the Bottom “ grey Sand, and white Gravel. The next Day, being “ *May* 26. they made ready at Seven in the Morning, “ and after making ſome Trips to get out of the Bay, “ which is open to the Eaſt South-eaſt, they ſtood South “ South and by Weſt, and South South-weſt, and at “ Noon were got in from between the Lands. They “ took an Obſervation with very fair Weather, and found “ 54° 34′ Latitude. This Obſervation was confirmed by “ that they took the next Day in Sight of a ſmall Iſland, “ which bore Eaſt from them: According to the Globe, “ they found 54° 29′. That little Iſland was to the “ Southward of a great one, the South-eaſt Point “ whereof was called *Black Cape*, becauſe it is of that Co- “ lour. The little Iſland here ſpoken of, is a Rock ſhaped “ like a Tower of an extraordinary Height; cloſe by “ which there is a ſmaller, much of the ſame Shape; by “ which it appears, that it would be impoſſible to miſs “ that Chanel, if it were ſought after by its Latitude, upon “ ſuch ſingular Land-marks. The Ship's Crew ſay, that “ there is a good Bottom, and that great Ships may paſs “ there without any Danger, the ſame being about Two “ Leagues broad. This Streight is perhaps the ſame as “ that of *Jelouchte*, which Monſieur *de Liſle* has laid “ down in his laſt Map of *Chili*: But as the *Engliſh* Me- “ moirs, which he has been pleaſed to ſhew me, ſeem to “ place it South of Cape *Frouart*, it may be ſuppoſed, “ that they are Two different Streights. Perhaps alſo it “ is the ſame through which the Squadron of Monſieur “ *de Gennes* paſſed out in the Year 1696.” The Latitude in which both theſe Paſſages are ſaid to lie, ſhew them very plainly to be the ſame, and demonſtrate, to every ſenſible Reader, the Danger of granting too extenſive Powers to excluſive Companies. One thing more I ſhall remark on the Hiſtory of this Expedition, and then proceed. The Defeat of the *Spaniſh* Armada in the *Weſt Indies*, by this Squadron of *Dutch* Adventurers, is the cleareſt Proof of the great Superiority the free Spirit of a Republic will always have over the moſt refined Politics of an arbitrary Court. No Prince knew better than the King of *Spain*, the Conſequence of his *American* Plantations, or had the Support of them more at Heart than he: And yet we ſee in how ſhort a time the Subjects of the State of *Holland*, who, but very lately, were in a manner Slaves to the Crown of *Spain*, were able, on their own private Accounts, and without any other View than the Benefits that were to flow from the Courage and Conduct of their Commanders, to fit out Squadrons capable of proceeding, in an hoſtile Manner, to the *Weſt Indies*, and of giving Battle to the greateſt Strength, that, upon fair Notice of their Arrival in thoſe Seas, the Officers of the Crown of *Spain* could draw together. This, when attentively conſidered, will appear to be a moſt ſurpriſing thing; inaſmuch as that it makes it evident, there is nothing requiſite to raiſe a maritime Power in any Country but Freedom, a wiſe and honeſt Adminiſtration of Government, and the People's having a moral Certainty, that they ſhall enjoy undiſturbed what by their Labours they acquire. This encourages them to exert their utmoſt Force in ſuch Armaments, to bear Diſappointments with Patience, to repair them with Diligence, and to perſevere, with unſhaken Steadineſs, in the Proſecution of what appears to be their own Intereſt, at the ſame time that it is acknowledged by the State to be the public Intereſt alſo. We may likewiſe learn from hence, how very ſoon a Maritime Power is raiſed, and how ſuddenly naval Force declines, when the Spirit, neceſſary to ſupport it, begins once to decay. At the End of the Sixteenth Century, the *Dutch* had ſcarce learned the Way to the *Weſt Indies*, and were obliged to have recourſe to their *Engliſh* Neighbours for Pilots ſkilful enough to navigate their Ships; but, in the Space of Twenty Years, we ſee the ſame People ſending thither powerful Squadrons, aiming not at Plunder, but at Conqueſt, defying and defeating that Maritime Power which had acquired ſuch mighty Reputation by the Diſcovery, and ſuch a prodigious Strength by the Poſſeſſion, of both *Indies*. But Reputation will vaniſh, and Power muſt neceſſarily decline, when Men grow wanton with Wealth, and employ the Gifts of Providence for other Purpoſes than they were deſigned. As the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* loſt their Virtue, and ſlackened their Induſtry, converting the Rewards of it to the Maintenance of an empty Magnificence, and effeminate Luxury, priding themſelves in being abſolute Maſters of other Nations; inſtead of being active and free, they ſunk alike in Credit and Dominion; that Poverty and Diſtreſs, for which they condemned the *Dutch*, proving the immediate Cauſes of their own Deſtruction, by the means of thoſe whom they ſo much deſpiſed. Theſe are Reflections which naturally ariſe from the reading ſuch Relations, and happy are the People who make ſuch Reflections in time. Luxury and Corruption are equally fatal to all; and, whenever we ſee them prevail, eſpecially in a Nation which owes its Safety, Proſperity, and Grandeur, to Maritime Power, we may, without pretending to the Gift of Prophecy, venture to foretel, that ſuch a Nation is not far from being undone. But it is time to quit Reflections, however juſt, to purſue the Thread of our Hiſtory, which leads us to another Subject.

SECTION

SECTION IX.

The remarkable Voyage of WILLIAM CORNELISON SCHOVTEN, *of* Horn, *and* JAQUES LE MAIRE, *round the World, by a new Paſſage into the South Seas.*

1. *The Riſe, Progreſs, and true Deſign, of this Undertaking.* 2. *The ſtrange Reports ſpread concerning it in* Holland, *and the Reaſons which make it probable, that it was grounded upon Intelligence from* England. 3. *The* Unity *and* Horn *ſail from the* Texel, June 24. 1615. 4. *Their Arrival on the* Engliſh *Coaſt, where they take in a Gunner and Carpenter.* 5. *Proceed, without any remarkable Accident, to the Coaſt of* Africa. 6. *Land at* Sierra Leona *for Refreſhments.* 7. *They careen their Ships on* King's *Iſland, where by Accident the* Horn *is burnt.* 8. *They continue their Voyage chearfully in the* Unity, *and have a Sight of the* Sebaldine *Iſlands.* 9. *Diſcover the new Streights, and call the Eaſt Shore* States Land, *and the Weſt* Maurice Land. 10. *They diſcover* Barneveldt's *Iſlands, and paſs round Cape* Horn. 11. *Deſcription of the Iſlands of* Juan Fernandez, *and* Dog *Iſland.* 12. *An Account of the Iſland* Without Ground, *and of its Inhabitants.* 13. *Deſcription of* Water *Iſland, and* Fly *Iſland.* 14. *They make Prize of a ſtrange Bark, with a great many* Indians *on board it.* 15. *Account of* Coco *Iſland, and* Traitors *Iſland, inhabited by Negroes.* 16. *An Account of* Hope *Iſland, and its Inhabitants.* 17. *Diſcovery of* Horn *Iſland, and a large Account of the Manners of the People.* 18. *Deſcription of* Green *Iſland, and* St. John's *Iſland.* 19. *Arrive on the Coaſt of a Continent, which they take to be* New Guiney. 20. *Diſcovery and Deſcription of* Vulcan's *Iſland.* 21. *A large Account of farther Diſcoveries.* 22. *They paſs the Line a Second time, and leave the Coaſt of* New Guiney. 23. *Arrive ſafely in the* Eaſt Indies. 24. *Anchor in the Port of* Jacatra, *in the Iſland of* Java. 25. *Their Ship ſeized by their own* Eaſt India *Company, and their Effects confiſcated.* 26. *Their Arrival in* Holland, July 1. 1617. 27. *Obſervations on this Voyage, and the Diſcoveries made therein.*

1. THE States General of the *United Provinces* having granted to the *Eaſt India* Company an excluſive Charter, prohibiting thereby all their Subjects, except the ſaid Company, from carrying on any Trade to the Eaſtward beyond the Cape of *Good Hope*, or Weſtward through the Streights of *Magellan*, in any Countries either known or unknown, under very high Penalties, this Prohibition gave very great Diſtaſte to many rich Merchants, who were deſirous of fitting out Ships, and making Diſcoveries, at their own Coſts, and could not help thinking it a little hard, that the Government ſhould thus, againſt the Laws of Nature, bar thoſe Paſſages which Providence had left free. Amongſt the Number of theſe Merchants, there was one of *Amſterdam*, who then reſided at *Egmont*, very rich, well acquainted with Buſineſs, and who had an earneſt Deſire to employ a Part of that Wealth, which he had acquired by Trade, in acquiring Fame as a Diſcoverer. With this View he applied himſelf to *William Cornelison Schovten*, of *Horn*, a Man in eaſy Circumſtances, and who was deſervedly famous for his great Skill in maritime Affairs, and for his perfect Knowledge in the Trade to the *Indies*, having been thrice there himſelf, in the different Characters of Maſter, Pilot, and Supercargo, or, as the Phraſe in thoſe Days was, of Merchant. The great Queſtion propoſed by Mr. *le Maire* to this intelligent Man was, Whether he did not think it poſſible to find another Paſſage into the South Seas than by the Streights of *Magellan*; and whether, if this was poſſible, it was not highly likely, that the Countries to the South of that Paſſage might afford as rich Commodities as either the *Eaſt* or *Weſt Indies?* Mr. *Schovten* anſwered, That there was great Reaſon to believe ſuch a Paſſage might be found, and ſtill ſtronger Reaſons to confirm what he conjectured as to the Riches of theſe Southern Countries. After many Converſations upon this Subject, they came at laſt to a Reſolution of attempting ſuch a Diſcovery, from a full Perſuaſion, that the States General could not intend, by their excluſive Charter to the *Eaſt India* Company, to preclude their Subjects from diſcovering Countries on the South by a new Route, diſtinct from either of thoſe mentioned in that Charter. In conſequence of this Agreement, it was ſtipulated, that *le Maire*, and his Friends, ſhould advance one Moiety towards the neceſſary Expence of the Voyage, and *Schovten*, and his Friends, the other. In purſuance of this Scheme, *Iſaac le Maire* advanced his Part of the Money; and *Cornelison Schovten*, with the Aſſiſtance of the following Perſons, *viz. Peter Clementſon*, Burgermaſter of *Horn*; *John Janſon Molenwert*, one of the Schepen or Aldermen of the ſame Place; *John Clementſon Keis*, Senator of the ſaid Town; and *Cornelius Segetſon*, a Merchant of *Horn*; laid down the reſt. It is certain, that ſo many People of Subſtance would never have embarqued in ſuch a Project, if they had ſo much as ſuſpected, that the *Eaſt India* Company had a Right to confiſcate their Veſſels and Effects whenever they had it in their Power: And we ſhall hereafter ſee, that the States General themſelves were of the ſame Opinion in a Caſe that has happened in our own Times, founded not only on the ſame Reaſons, but on the very Diſcoveries that were made in this Voyage. As ſoon therefore as theſe Matters were adjuſted, which was in the Spring of the Year 1615. the Company engaged in this Undertaking began to apply themſelves to the carrying it into Execution, propoſing to equip for that Purpoſe a larger and a leſs Veſſel, to ſail from *Horn* at the proper Seaſon of the Year. And that all Parties might be throughly ſatisfied, it was determined, that *William Cornelison Schovten*, on Account of his Age and Experience, ſhould have the Command of the larger Ship, with the ſole Direction of the Voyage; and that *Jaques le Maire*, the eldeſt Son of *Iſaac le Maire*, ſhould be the firſt Supercargo. The Company were ſo eager in the Proſecution of their Deſign, and ſo attentive to whatever might be neceſſary to promote it, that in the Space of Two Months all Things were ready, and a ſufficient Number of Men engaged for navigating both Ships. But, as Secrecy was abſolutely neceſſary, the Seamen were articled in general Terms to go whereever their Maſters and Supercargoes ſhould require; and, in Conſideration of ſo unuſual a Condition, their Wages were advanced conſiderably; which was a Circumſtance of ſuch Conſequence, and there were in thoſe Days ſo many adventurous Spirits, that they did not find it at all difficult to make up their intended Complement; which gave them an Opportunity of chuſing none but experienced Mariners, on whoſe Skill and Fidelity they could depend, a Circumſtance of the utmoſt Conſequence in a Voyage of this Nature, where the Tempers of Men were ſure to be thoroughly tried.

2. Theſe extraordinary Preparations, but, above all, the mighty Secrecy that was obſerved, cauſed a great Noiſe, not only at *Amſterdam*, but all over *Holland*, where People reaſoned on the Intention of this Voyage, according to the ſeveral Degrees of their Capacity and Experience, ſome fanſying they were bound to one Place, ſome to another; but the common People thought they hit upon their proper Title, in calling them the Gold-finders; whereas the Merchants, who were better verſed in ſuch Matters, called them, with greater Propriety, the *South Company*, and indeed that was their true Deſignation; for the real Deſign of *Iſaac le Maire* was to diſcover thoſe Southern Regions,

to which few People had hitherto travelled even in Imagination, and which, by an unaccountable Indolence, remain, in a great meaſure, undiſcovered to this Day. To ſpeak the Truth, this was the Age of Diſcoveries, one Man's Succeſs whetting the Wit of another; and perhaps this very Undertaking might ſpring from ſome Accounts that *Iſaac le Maire*, who was the firſt Author of the Voyage, might have had from *England*. I do not ſay this, from a childiſh Fondneſs for our own Country, from any Prejudice againſt the *Dutch*, or Deſire of robbing Foreigners of their due Praiſe; but I ſpeak of what was then ſuſpected, and I ſhall give the Reader my Reaſons for it. I intimated, in ſpeaking of Sir *Francis Drake*'s Voyages, that it would have been happy for us, and for Poſterity, if he had written an Account of them himſelf. Sir *Richard Hawkins*, who knew him well, tells us, that it was the Opinion of Sir *Francis*, that what was generally called the South Shore of the Streights of *Magellan*, was, in reality, no more than a Cluſter of Iſlands, or broken Land. Nay, he goes farther, and affirms, that he heard Sir *Francis Drake* ſay, that, having paſſed the Streights, a Storm took him at North-weſt, and afterwards veered about to the South-weſt, continuing many Days with ſuch Violence, that his Ship could carry no Sail: When the Storm was over, and he had an Opportunity of taking an Obſervation, he found himſelf in 50° of Longitude; from whence he juſtly conjectured, that he had been blown quite round the Streights; for, as we have obſerved more than once, both the Entrances of the Streights of *Magellan* are in the ſame Latitude, which is about 52° 50'. Sir *Francis Drake* was ſo ſtrongly perſuaded of this, that, finding it difficult to double the Southermoſt Iſland, he anchored under the Lee of it; and, going aſhore with a Compaſs, he found the South Point of the Iſland, over which, laying himſelf flat upon his Breaſt, he hung for a Minute or Two; and then, returning on board his Ship, told his Seamen, that he had been farther South than any Man had ever been before. It is very probable, that ſome of thoſe who envied Sir *Francis*, made light of theſe Particulars when he firſt related them, and treated them as Travellers Stories are often treated; but Sir *Richard Hawkins*, who had been in thoſe Streights, and was a very judicious Man, as a great Navigator, kept theſe Sayings in his Mind; and, after he had compared what Sir *Francis* ſaid with the Appearance of thoſe Streights, he readily concurred with him in Opinion. Yet, ſuppoſing this to be the Caſe, there was no leſs Merit in *le Maire*'s Project, than there would have been without it, ſince it required great Sagacity to diſtinguiſh a true Report, in a Caſe of this Nature, from a flying Tale; and beſides, Sir *Francis Drake* never advanced any thing with regard to a Southern Continent, that was intirely gueſſed at by the Contriver of this Voyage, from the Laws of Nature, and a juſt Conſideration of the Harmony, which is, in other reſpects, obſerved in the Diſtribution of Land and Water. In the Beginning of the Month of *May* 1615. the South Company drew their Men together; and, on the 16th of that Month, they were muſtered before the Magiſtrates of *Horn*, took their Leave of their Friends and Relations, and prepared to embark on board their Ships.

3. The biggeſt of theſe Veſſels was called *The Unity*, of the Burden of 360 Ton, carrying Nineteen Pieces of Cannon, and Twelve Swivels. She had on board likewiſe a Pinnace to ſail, and another to row, a Launch for landing of Men, and a ſmall Boat, with all other Neceſſaries whatever for ſo long a Voyage; and of this Veſſel *William Corneliſon Schovten* was Maſter and Pilot, and *Jaques le Maire* Supercargo. The leſſer Ship was called *The Horn*, of the Burden of 110 Ton, carrying Eight Cannon, and Four Swivels, *John Corneliſon Schovten* Maſter, and *Aris Clawſon* Supercargo. The Crew of the former conſiſted of Sixty-five Men, and the latter of Twenty-two only. The *Unity* ſailed *May* 25. for the *Texel*, where the *Horn* likewiſe arrived *June* 3. following, that being judged the propereſt Seaſon of the Year for them to proceed on their Voyage. On *June* 14. they ſailed out of the *Texel*, and, paſſing in Sight of *Dunkirk*, between *Dover* and *Calais*, anchored on the 17th in the *Downs*, when *William Corneliſon Schovten* went on ſhore at *Dover*, in order to get freſh Water, and to hire an *Engliſh* Gunner; which accordingly he did, and that Day ſent him on board. They ſailed again in the Evening, and met with ſeveral large *Dutch* Ships laden with Salt. In the Night between the 21ſt and 22d, they were grievouſly ruffled by a Storm; which obliged them to put into the Iſle of *Wight* for Shelter, where Captain *Schovten* endeavoured, if poſſible, to have hired a Carpenter, but without Succeſs, which obliged them to ſail on the 25th for *Plymouth*, where he arrived on the 27th, and there hired a Carpenter of *Maydenblick*. This ſhews the great Eſteem that the *Engliſh* Artificers were then in; for it cannot be preſumed, that Perſons of ſuch Knowledge in Maritime Affairs, as *Schovten* and *le Maire*, would have neglected hireing ſuch neceſſary Officers as Gunners and Carpenters in *Holland*, if they had not believed it for their Intereſt to have *Engliſhmen* in thoſe Stations; which ſtrongly confirms what *John Stowe* tells us in his Hiſtory, that, towards the latter End of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, there were vaſt Numbers of Ship-carpenters here, who were eſteemed the beſt Workmen in *Europe*, and were withal accompliſhed Seamen likewiſe; which is alſo taken notice of by Sir *Richard Hawkins*, in his Obſervations.

4. On *July* 28. they ſailed from *Plymouth* with a North North-eaſt Wind, and very fair Weather. On the 29th, Captain *Schovten* made a Signal for all Officers to come on board; when it was reſolved in a Council, to ſettle the Rate of their Sea Allowance in ſuch a manner, as that the Men might have no Reaſon to complain, and their Officers be in no Apprehenſions, of their wanting Proviſions during the Courſe of ſo long a Voyage. The Rate they fixed in the following Portions; *viz.* a Can of Beer a Man every Day, Four Pounds of Biſcuit, half a Pound of Butter, and as much ſweet Suet, for the Week, together with Five large *Dutch* Cheeſes, that were to ſerve them the whole Voyage. This was excluſive of Fleſh or Fiſh: And we may, from hence, form ſome Notion of the Frugality the *Dutch* victualled with in thoſe Days, and from which they have deviated very little ever ſince. They likewiſe made the neceſſary Orders for the due Regulation of the Voyage, directing, that, in caſe of landing Men, one of the Maſters ſhould always command; that, in Ports where they went to trade, the Supercargo ſhould go on ſhore, and have the ſole Direction of the Commerce; that, on board, every Officer ſhould be ſtrict in the Execution of his Duty; but without putting unneceſſary Hardſhips on the Men, or interfering with other Officers in their Commands; that none of the Officers ſhould hold any Converſation with the Seamen, in relation to the Deſign of the Voage, which being ſolely in the Breaſt of the Firſt Captain and Supercargo, Conjectures muſt be fruitleſs, and might be dangerous; that any Embezzlement of Proviſions, Stores, or Merchandize, ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed; and, in caſe of their being reduced to ſhort Allowance, then Offences of this Nature to be puniſhed with Death; that the Two Supercargoes ſhould keep clear and diſtinct Journals of all Proceedings, for the Uſe of the Company, that it might plainly appear, how far every Man had done his Duty, and to what Degree the End of the Voyage had been anſwered. All theſe Rules were very exactly obſerved, and particularly the laſt; ſo that, from theſe Journals kept by the Supercargoes, this Account has been taken. On *July* 8. being in the Latitude of 39° 25', their Carpenter's Mate died. On the 9th and 10th, with a North North-eaſt Wind, and a ſtiff Gale, they ſtood on their Courſe, without putting in to *Porto Santo*, or *Madeira*, of which they had Sight on the 11th. The Reaſon was, that, having, as they conceived, Victuals ſufficient for the Voyage, they determined not to loſe Time, by going needleſly on ſhore, eſpecially ſince hitherto their Men were vigorous, and in good Health; which Reſolution was founded on an Obſervation made by Captain *Schovten*, that many Voyages had been loſt, by lingering in Port without any urgent Cauſe, when the Winds and Seaſons were fair, and their Courſe might have been proſecuted without Delay. On the 12th, they had Sight of many of the Natives of thoſe Iſlands in their Boats, following them at the Diſtance of about Two Leagues, with Goats, Fowls, Fruits, and other Refreſhments, which they uſually carried on board Ships, that appear in Sight; but the *Dutchmen*, in purſuance of the Regulations they had eſtabliſhed, did not ſlack

Sail, but continued their Courſe; and the ſame Conduct they very ſteadily purſued through their whole Voyage.

5. On *July* 13. they ſailed between the Iſland *Teneriff* and the grand *Canary*, with a ſtiff North North-eaſt Wind, and a ſwift Current. About the 15th, the ſame Wind and Current following them ſtill, they paſſed the Tropic of *Cancer*. The 20th in the Morning, they fell in with the North Side of Cape *Verd*. At Sun-riſing the Cape lay Weſt by South from them; ſo that the North North-eaſt Wind would not ſuffer them to get beyond it; but kept them there at Anchor all that Night. The 25th, the *Mooriſh* Alcaid came on board them, with whom they agreed at the Price of Eight States of Iron for a Supply of freſh Water. They left the Cape *Auguſt* 1. and the 21ſt of the ſame Month they ſaw the high Land of *Sierra Leona*, and alſo the Iſland of *Madrabomba*, which lies on the South Point of the high Land of *Sierra Leona*, and North from the Shallows of *St. Ann*'s Iſland. This Land of *Sierra Leona* is the higheſt of all, that lies between Cape *Verd* and the Coaſt of *Guiney*; ſo that the Point is very eaſy to be known. Here they would have landed, running up to the Point over the Baixos or Shallows of *St. Ann*'s at Ten, Nine, Eight, Seven and Five Fathom Water, it being ſtill deeper to the North, but ſhallower to the Eaſt; ſo that, in the Evening, they anchored with a High-water at Four Fathom and a half ſoft Ground, and at Night at Three Fathom and a half. The 22d, *William Schovten*, in the *Horn*, led the Way off the Shallows, ſteering North North-eaſt, with a North-weſt Wind; by which Courſe they were intirely diſengaged from the Baixos, and got into Thirteen Fathom Water. From hence they went to the Iſlands of *Madrabomba*, which are very high, and lie all Three on a Row South-weſt and North-eaſt, half a League from *Sierra Leona* to the Seaward. Here they had ſhallow Water at Four and Five Fathom, and ſoft muddy Ground. They anchored a League from the Iſland, which appeared to be very full of Bogs and Marſhes, and all over waſte like a Wilderneſs, ſcarce fit to entertain any other Inhabitants than wild Beaſts, and indeed not ſeeming to have any other. Going aſhore the 23d, they found a River there, the Mouth of which was ſo ſtopped up with Sands, and Cliffs of Rocks, that no Ship could get into it; yet, within, the Water was ſufficiently deep, and the Breadth ſuch too, as to give a Ship free Scope to turn and wind herſelf about, as ſhe ſhould have Occaſion. Here they ſaw Tortoiſes, Crocodiles, Monkeys, wild Oxen, and a Sort of Birds, which made a Noiſe, barking like Dogs. They met with no Fruit but Lemons, ſome few Trees of which they found, after a tedious Search. The 29th about Noon, they got above the Iſlands of *Madrabomba* Weſtward, along to the North Part of the high Land, till they had Twelve and Fifteen Fathom Water, and, in the Evening, got about the Point.

6. On the 30th, being aſſiſted both by the Wind and Current, they arrived before the Village, that looks upon the Road of *Sierra Leona*, where they anchored at Eight Fathom Water, a little from the Shore, in a very ſandy Bottom. The Village conſiſted of about Eight or Nine poor Houſes, covered with Straw; the Moors that dwelt there, were willing to come aboard, only demanding Pledges to be left aſhore, to ſecure their ſafe Return; becauſe a *French* Ship, that came thither before, had perfidiouſly carried off Two of them: So *Aris Clawſon* the Merchant went aſhore, and ſtaid there amongſt them, driving a ſmall Trade with them for Lemons and Bananas, which they exchanged for Glaſs-beads; and in the mean time they came on board, bringing an Interpreter with them, who ſpoke all ſorts of Languages: Here they had a good Opportunity of furniſhing themſelves with freſh Water, which pouring down in great Quantities from a very high Hill, they had nothing to do but to place their Barrels under the Fall of the Water to receive it. There were alſo vaſt Woods of Lemon-trees here, which made Lemons ſo cheap to them, that, for a few Beads and Knives, they might have had 10,000. *September* 1. they drove away before the Stream, and anchored that Evening at the Mouth of the Sea, before a ſmall River. Here they took an Antelope in the Woods, with Lemons and Palmitos; and had good Succeſs in their Fiſhing. The 3d, the Maſter brought in a great Shoal of Fiſh, that were of the Shape of a Shoemaker's Knife, and as many Lemons as came to 150 for every Man's Share. The 4th, they ſailed from *Sierra Leona* early in the Morning. *October* 5. they made 4° 27′ South Latitude; and, the ſame Day at Noon, they were ſtrangely ſurpriſed with a very violent Stroke given to one of their Ships in the lower Part of it. No Adverſary appeared, no Rock was in the Way to be encountered with; but, while this amuſed them, the Sea all about them began to change its Colour, and looked as if ſome great Fountain of Blood had been opened into it; this ſudden Alteration of the Water being no leſs ſurpriſing to them, than the Striking of the Ship; but the Cauſe both of the one and the other they were equally ignorant of, till they came to Port *Deſire*, and there ſet the Ship upon the Strand, to make her clean; for then they found a large Horn, both in Form and Magnitude reſembling an Elephant's Tooth, ſticking faſt in the Bottom of the Ship. A very firm and ſolid Body it was, and ſeemed to be equally ſo all over, there being nothing of a Cavity, or a light and ſpungy Matter in the Midſt of it, but all over as denſe and compact a Subſtance, as that in the exterior Parts. It had pierced through Three very ſtout Planks of the Ship, and razed one of the Ribs of her; ſo that it ſtuck at leaſt half a Foot deep in the Planks; and there was about as much that appeared without the great Hole up to the Place where it was broken off. And now the Riddle was completely ſolved, this Horn being the Spoil of ſome Sea Monſter, that had thus rudely aſſaulted the Ship with that piercing Weapon; and, after the Thruſt, not being able to draw it out again, had there broke it; which was attended with ſuch a plentiful Effuſion of Blood, as had diſcoloured the Sea to that Degree. Having now ſailed ſo far, that none in the Ships, but the Maſter, knew where they were, or whither they intended, upon the 25th, they diſcovered their Deſigns to the reſt of the Company, of going to find out a new Southern Paſſage into the great *Pacific* Sea. This they had kept very cloſe to themſelves before, but now thought it Time to reveal the Scheme, there being no Danger of defeating it; and the Company appeared to be very well pleaſed with it, hoping to light on ſome golden Country or other, to make them Amends for all their Trouble and Danger. The 26th, they made 6° 25′ South Latitude, ſailing the reſt of that Month moſtly Southward, till they had made 10° 30′. *November* 1. they had the Sun North of them at Noon. The 3d in the Afternoon, they had Sight of *Martin Vad*'s Iſland, called *Aſcenſion*, under 20°; and here they obſerved the Compaſs to vary to the North-eaſt Twelve Degrees. The 21ſt, they came under 38° 25′, and had a deep Water, whoſe Bottom they could not reach with their Lead. Here the Variation of the Compaſs was Seventeen Degrees to the North-eaſt. *December* 6. they had a Proſpect of Land, not very high, but flat and white; and, quickly after, fell in with the North Side of Port *Deſire*, and, that Night, anchored within One League and an half from the Shore, in Ten Fathom Water with an Ebb, that ran Southward as ſtrongly as the Sea runs between *Fluſhing* Heads.

7. The 7th, keeping a South Courſe, at Noon they came before the Haven of Port *Deſire*, which lies under 47° 40′. At the Entry of it they had very high Water; neither did any of thoſe Cliffs appear, which *van Noort* had deſcribed, and which he left Northward in ſailing into the Haven. If there were any, they were all under Water; but the Cliffs lay open and viſible enough towards the South Point, which therefore might be thoſe, which *Noort* intended. Upon this they went on, ſailing ſo far Southward, as to miſs the right Chanel. They came into a crooked Bay, where, at High-water, they had but Four Fathom and an half, and at Low but Fourteen Feet; by which means the *Unity* lay with her Stern faſt aground, and, if a briſk Gale from the North-eaſt had blown, ſhe muſt infallibly have been loſt; but, the Wind blowing Weſt from the Land, ſhe recovered again. Here they found Plenty of Eggs amongſt the Cliffs; and the Bay afforded them Muſſels, and Smelts of Sixteen Inches in Length, and therefore they called it *Smelt-bay*. Their Shallop went to the *Penguin* Iſlands, and came back with 150 Penguins, and Two Sea Lions. The 8th before Noon, they ſailed out of the *Smelt-bay*, and anchored juſt before Port *Deſire*. The Shallop was employed before-hand to ſound the Depth of the Cha-

nel; which proving to be Twelve or Thirteen Fathom, they boldly entered, having a North-eaſt Wind to carry them along: But, after a little more than a League's Sailing, the Wind began to vere about, and they anchored at Twenty Fathom; but, the Bottom they were upon being only ſlippery Stones, and the Wind now blowing hard at North-weſt, their Anchors could not preſerve them from driving away with that rough Wind upon the Southern Shore; ſo both theſe Ships were like to be wrecked together. The *Unity* lay with her Side upon the Cliffs; but ſtill kept the Water, and, by the Fall of the Sea, was gradually ſlidden down lower and lower into it; but the *Horn* ſtuck, ſo as that her Keel was above a Fathom out of Water, and a Man might have walked dry under it at Low Water. She was, for ſome time, obliged to the North-weſt Wind, that, by blowing hard upon her Side, kept her from falling over; but, that Support being gone, with the Wind that gave it, ſhe ſunk down upon that Side at leaſt Three Feet lower than the Keel: Upon which Sight they gave her over for loſt; and yet the ſucceeding Flood, which came on with ſtill Weather, ſet her upright again; and both ſhe and her Companion got clear of that Danger. The 9th, they went farther into the River, and came to *King*'s Iſland, which they found full of black Sea-mews, and almoſt covered over with their Eggs. A Man, without ſtraining to reach, might have taken between Fifty and Sixty Neſts with his Hand, each of which have Three or Four Eggs apiece; ſo that they were quickly furniſhed with ſome Thouſands of them. The 11th, the Boat went in Search of good Water lower down the River, on the South Side; but found it all of a brackiſh unpleaſant Taſte. They ſaw Oſtriches here, and a Sort of Beaſts like Harts, with wonderful long Necks, and extremely wild. Upon the high Hills, they found great Heaps of Stones, under which ſome monſtrous Carcaſes had been buried. There were Bones of Ten and Eleven Feet long. In all Probability they were (if of rational Creatures) ſome Bones of the Giants of that Country. No Water was to be found here for ſeveral Days together; ſo that, tho' they had Plenty of good Fiſh and Fowl, they could meet with no Drink to waſh it down. On the 17th, they laid the *Unity* dry upon *King's Iſland*, in order to clean her; which they performed very ſucceſsfully. On the 18th, they likewiſe haled the *Horn* on ſhore for the ſame Purpoſe, and placed her about 200 Yards from the other Ship. On the 19th, a very dreadful Accident happened; for, while they were buſy cleaning both Ships, in order to which it was neceſſary to light a Fire of dry Reeds under the *Horn*, it ſo fell out, that the Flame got into the Ship, and ſet it on Fire; and, as they were Fifty Feet from the Water-ſide, they were forced to ſtand ſtill, and ſee her burn, without being able to do any thing towards extinguiſhing it. On the 20th, at High-water, they launched the *Unity*, and the next Day carried on board her all the Wood, Iron-work, Anchors, and Pieces of Cannon, and whatever elſe they were able to ſave out of the *Horn*. On the 25th, ſome of the Sailors found certain Holes full of freſh Water, which was white and thick, but well taſted, a great Quantity of which they carried on board in ſmall Caſks upon their Shoulders. They met here with great Numbers of Sea Lions; the young ones they eat, and found them pretty good Food. The Sea Lion is a Creature as big as a ſmall Horſe; their Heads reſemble Lions exactly; on their Necks they have long Manes of a tough ſtrong Hair; but this is to be underſtood of the He-lions only: For the She-lion is without Hair, and not above half as big as the Male. They are a bold fierce Animal, not to be deſtroyed but by Muſket-ſhot.

8. *January* 13. they ſailed out of Port *Deſire*; but, having a Calm, they anchored before the Haven, till the Riſing of the Wind invited them to purſue their Voyage. The 18th, being in 51°, they ſaw the *Sebaldin* Iſlands; which they obſerved to lie in that Poſition and Diſtance from the Streight, that *de Weert* had determined. The 20th, being then in 53°, they obſerved the great Current, that runs South-weſt; and now they reckoned about Twenty Leagues Southward from the *Magellanic* Streights. The 23d, they had an uncertain ſhifting Wind, and the Water appeared white, as if they had been within the Land. They held their Courſe South by Weſt, and the ſame Day ſaw Land, bearing Weſt and Weſt South-weſt from them, and quickly after to the South. Then attempting, by an Eaſt South-eaſt Courſe, to get beyond the Land, the hard North Wind, that blew then, conſtrained them to take in their Topſails. The 24th in the Forenoon, they ſaw Land a Starboard, about a League's Diſtance, ſtretching out Eaſt and South, with very high Hills, all covered with Ice; and then other Land bearing Eaſt from it, high and ragged as the former. They gueſſed, the Lands they had in theſe Two Proſpects lay about Eight Leagues aſunder, and that there might be a good Paſſage between them, becauſe of a pretty briſk Current, that ran Southward along by them. About Noon, they made 54° 46′, and then began to make towards the afore-mentioned Opening; but the ſucceeding Calm prevented it. Here they ſaw an incredible Number of Penguins, and ſuch huge Shoals of Whales, that they were forced to proceed with a great deal of Caution, for fear they ſhould run their Ship upon them.

9. The 25th in the Forenoon, they got up cloſe by the Eaſt Land, which, upon the North Side, reaches Eaſt South-eaſt as far as the Eye can follow it. This they called *States Land*; and to that, which lay Weſt, they gave the Name of *Maurice Land*. They obſerved there were good Roads and ſandy Bays, good Store of Fiſh, Penguins, and Porpoiſes, and ſome Sorts of Fowl; but the Land adjacent ſeemed quite bare of Trees and Woods. They had a North Wind at their Entrance into this Paſſage, and directed their Courſe South South-weſt; ſo that, going pretty briſkly on, at Noon they made 55° 36′, and then held a South-weſt Courſe, having a good ſtiff Gale to blow them forwards. The Land, upon the South Side of the Paſſage, at the Weſt End of *Maurice Land*, appeared to run Weſt South-weſt, and South-weſt, as far as they could ſee it, and all very craggy uneven Ground. In the Evening, having a South-weſt Wind, they ſteered Southward, meeting with mighty Waves, that came rolling along before the Wind; and the Depth of the Water to the Leeward from them, which appeared by ſome very evident Signs, gave them a full Aſſurance, that the great *South Sea* was now before them, into which they had almoſt made their Way by a Paſſage of their own Diſcovery. The Sea-mews thereabouts were larger than Swans, and their Wings, when extended to the full Length, ſpread about the Compaſs of a Fathom. They would come and very tamely ſit down upon the Ship, and ſuffer themſelves to be taken by Hand, without any Endeavours to fly away. The 26th, they made 57°, and were there ruffled by a briſk Storm out of the Weſt and South-weſt. The Water was alſo very high, and blue. They ſtill held all this Day their Courſe to the Southward, but chang'd it at Night for a North-weſt one; in which Quarter they diſcovered very high Land. The 27th, they were under 56° 51′, the Weather very cold, with Hail and Rain, the Wind Weſt and Weſt by South. They went a Southern Courſe, and then croſſed Northward, with their Main-ſails. The 28th, they hoiſted up their Top-ſails, and had great Billows out of the Weſt, with a Weſt and then a North-eaſt Wind, and therewith held their Courſe South, and then Weſt and Weſt by South, which brought them under 56° 48′.

10. The 29th, they had a North-eaſt Wind, and held their Courſe South-weſt, which gave them the Proſpect of Two Iſlands, beſet round with Cliffs, and lying Weſt South-weſt from them; they got up to them at Noon, but could not ſail above them, and therefore held their Courſe to the North. They gave them the Name of *Barnevelt*'s *Iſlands*, and found their Latitude to be 57° South. Taking a North-weſt Courſe from hence in the Evening, they ſaw Land again, lying North-weſt and North North-weſt from them; this was the high hilly Land, covered with Snow, that lay Southward from the *Magellanic* Streights, ending in a ſharp Point, which they called Cape *Horn*, and lying in 57° 48′. They held their Courſe now Weſtward, in which Courſe they found a ſtrong Current that ran that Way too, yet had the Wind in the North, and great Billows rolling out of the Weſt upon them. The 30th, the Billows and the Current ſtill ran as before; and now they gathered a full Aſſurance from hence, that the Way was open into the South Sea; this Day made the Latitude of 57° 34′. The 31ſt, they ſailed Weſt, with

the Wind in the North, and made 58°; but the Wind turning to the Weſt and Weſt South-weſt, they paſſed Cape *Horn*, loſing all Sight of Land, and ſtill meeting the Billows working out of the Weſt, which, together with the Blueneſs of the Water, made them quickly expect the main South Sea. *February* 1. a Storm blowing out of the South-weſt, they ſailed with their main Sails North-weſt and Weſt North-weſt. The 2d, with a weſterly Wind they ſailed to the Southward, and made 57° 58', the Variation being there 12° Northward. The 3d, they made 59° 25', with a hard Weſt Wind, but ſaw no Signs of any Land to the South; and the next Day 56° 43', turning to and fro with very uncertain South-weſt Winds, and finding 11° of North-eaſt Variation. The 5th, by reaſon of a ſtrong weſterly Current, and a hollow Water, they could bear no Sail, but were forced to drive with the Wind.

11. The 12th, they plainly diſcerned the *Magellanic* Streights, lying Eaſt of them; and therefore, now being ſecure of their happy new Diſcovery, they rendered Thanks to good Fortune in a Cup of Wine, which went Three times round the Company. And now this new-found Paſſage had a Name given it, which was that of *Maire*'s *Streights*, though that Honour (in Juſtice) ought to have been done to *William Schovten*, by whoſe happy Conduct the Streights were diſcovered. And 'tis obſervable, that all the Time of their Sailing through theſe Streights, and about the Southern new-found Land, they had a ſettled Courſe of bad Weather, a thick and foggy Air, and ſtrong Currents, all which, put together, made their Sailing very tedious in theſe Streights. But the Joy of this Diſcovery, and the Hopes of a farther Improvement of it, together with the auxiliary Comforts of the Bottle, helped to carry off the Senſe of all that tedious Voyage, and the mortifying Dangers of it. The 27th, they made 40° South Latitude, having fair Weather, and held their Courſe Northward. The 28th, they determined for the Iſland of *John Fernando*, to give their ſick and weary Company a due Refreſhment; and that Day they made 35° 53'. In the Evening they made but ſmall Sail, fearing to fall upon the Land, which, effectually to avoid, they ſailed North-eaſt. *March* 1. they ſaw the Iſlands of *Fernando* before them, to the North North-eaſt, and about Noon got up to them under 33° 48'. Both theſe Iſlands lie very high; the ſmalleſt, to the Weſtward, is a very barren and rocky Place, but greater to the Eaſt; though it be full of Hills, yet is well ſhaded with Trees and fruitful. The Iſland affords Plenty of Hogs and Goats, and all the Coaſt about it ſuch excellent Fiſhing, that the *Spaniards* think it worth their while to come thither, from whence they tranſport vaſt Quantities of Fiſh to *Peru*. The Road lies on the Eaſt Point of this Iſland, and they ſhaped their Courſe, not as they ſhould, to the Eaſtern, but to the Weſtern Side of it, by which means they were reduced to the Inconvenience of not being able to get near enough the Land to anchor. This made them diſpatch their Boat to ſound the Depth, which gave them an Account of Thirty and Forty Fathom ſandy Ground, cloſe by the Land, which leſſened ſtill to Three Fathom, very proper to anchor in. They ſpoke, too, of a very lovely Valley, full of Trees and Thickets, refreſhed with Streams of Water running down from the Hills, and Variety of Animals feeding on thoſe pleaſant Places, all which they ſaw in this greater Iſland. They brought good Store of Fiſh along with them, moſt of them Lobſters and Crabs; and reported, that they ſaw a great many Sea-wolves. The Two next Days, ſucceſſively, they repeated their Attempt to come up and anchor cloſe by the Land; but were ſtill fruſtrated, whatever Endeavours they uſed to accompliſh it. But ſtill their Men followed the Fiſhing Trade, which they managed ſo ſucceſsfully, that they took almoſt Two Ton of Fiſh only with Hooks, in the ſmall time that ſome of the Company went to fetch Water; finding the Iſland thus inacceſſible, they determined to purſue their Voyage. The 11th, they paſſed the Tropic of *Capricorn* the Second time, holding their Courſe North-weſt. Here they had the general Eaſt and Eaſt South-eaſt Wind, and held their Courſe North North-weſt to the 15th Day; and, when they made 18°, then they changed their Courſe, and ſailed Weſt. *April* 3. they made 15° 12', and had then no Variation of the Compaſs, but a conſiderable Variation of the Temper of their Bodies from a good State of Health, by reaſon of the Flux, which had ſeized the beſt part of their Company. They ſaw a little low Iſland, 3 Leagues Diſtance, which they got up to at Noon; here they heaved the Lead, but could find no Bottom, and therefore put out their Shallop; the Men that went aſhore found nothing for Refreſhment, but ſome Herbs that taſted like Scurvy-gaſs; but gave an Account of a very ſilent ſort of Dogs they had ſeen there, that would neither bark nor ſnarl, nor make any Noiſe at all; for this Reaſon they called it *Dog Iſland*: It lies in 15° 12', and they judged 925 Leagues diſtant from the Coaſt of *Peru*. The Ground is ſo low, that, at High-water, it ſeems for the moſt part to be overflowed, and has nothing round about it but a ſort of Ditch, beſet with Trees, between which the ſalt Water breaks in in ſeveral Places.

12. The 14th, they ſailed Weſt and Weſt by North; and the ſame Afternoon, they ſaw a large but low Iſland, reaching North-eaſt and South-weſt a conſiderable Way: At Sun-ſet, being about a League from it, an *Indian* Canoe advanced to meet them; the Men naked, with long black Hair, and their Bodies of a reddiſh Colour; they made Signs to the *Dutch* to come aſhore, and called to them in their Language; and though they anſwered them in their own, the *Spaniſh*, *Moluccan*, and *Javan* Tongues, yet the *Indians* underſtood them not; ſo that both Sides were in the Dark as to each others Mind: When they got up to the Iſland, and ſounded, they found no Bottom, neither was there any Change of Water, tho' they were within a Musket-ſhot of the Shore: Here the *Indians* and they had another unintelligible Conference; but they would not be perſuaded to come on board the Ship, by any Signs the *Dutch* could make to invite them to it; neither would the *Dutch* go aſhore to them, though ſtill they kept talking and pointing to one another, while neither Side underſtood what was ſpoke by the other. Leaving theſe People, therefore, to thoſe that could underſtand them, they ſailed away South South-weſt, to get above the Land; and, having made that Night Ten Leagues in a South South-weſt Courſe, the 15th in the Morning, they ſailed cloſe along by the Shore, on which ſtood ſeveral of thoſe naked People calling to them (as they gueſſed) to land; preſently after, one of their Canoes came towards the Ship, but would not come near it, yet ventured to the Shallop, where the *Dutch* and theſe *Indians* fell to their Conferences again. The *Dutch* gave them Beads, and Knives, and ſeveral Things that pleaſed them, which Kindneſs emboldened them at laſt to come a little nearer the Ship; but ſtill they would not go aboard her, but got back into the Shallop; neither had they any great Reaſon to be fond of their Company there, for they are a Parcel of light-fingered Fellows, and have much the ſame Degree of Conſcience and Honeſty as the People of the *Ladrones*: They love Iron, as the Inhabitants of thoſe Iſlands do, and they love to ſteal it like them. The very Nails in the Cabin-windows, and the Bolts upon the Doors, could not keep their Places for them, but they would have them off: This they found to be true, by one of them who had cunningly ſlipt into the Ship, and pulled out all the Window-nails, which, for Security's Sake, he had ſtuck into his Hair: Nay, they are ſo very impudent, that whatever they lay Hands on is their own, if the Owner does not recover his Right by Force. When the *Dutch* gave them ſome Wine, they drank the Liquor, and kept the Cup; ſo, when they threw out a Rope to bring them to the Ship, they would neither uſe the Rope, nor return it; and their Qualities are not more odd than the Figure they make; for, beſides that they are all naked, (except the Pudenda, which is covered with a ſmall Mat) their Skin is all over pictured with Snakes and Dragons, and ſuch-like Reptiles, which are very ſignificant Emblems of their own ſubtle and miſchievous Nature. The *Dutch*, having a mind to try if any thing were to be done with them, or to be gotten in the Iſland, ſent their Shallop, with Eight Musketeers, Six Soldiers, beſides other of the Ship's Company: They were no ſooner landed, but Thirty of thoſe People ruſhed out of a Wood upon them, and with great Clubs and Slings, and long Staves, they would have ſeized the

Shallop, and taken away the Soldiers Arms; but the Muſkets being let fly amongſt them, kept them from Robbery at that time. This Iſland they called the *Iſle without Ground*, becauſe they could not anchor there. It is not broad, but ſomething long, and full of Trees, which they gueſſed to be Cocos and Palmitos. It is a white ſandy Ground, and lies in 15° South Latitude, and about 100 Leagues from *Dog Iſland*. Seeing nothing to be done here, they ſet Sail, and held their Courſe Weſt to Seaward; here having but a ſlight Water, and no Billows, as the Day before out of the South, they gueſſed that Southward there was more Land.

13. The 16th, they came to another Iſland that lay Northward, and was about 15 Leagues diſtant from the other: This appeared to be all drowned Land, though, on the Sides, well ſet with Trees; and here alſo they found no Bottom for anchoring. It yielded them nothing for Food but a few Herbs, like thoſe in *Dog Iſland*, with ſome Crabs, and other Shell-fiſh, which were well-taſted Meat: But it afforded them ſome good freſh Water, which they found in a Pit not far from the Shore. The Pottage, made of the Herbs they gathered here, proved very ſerviceable to thoſe of their Company that were troubled with the Flux. They called this Iſland *Water Iſland*, becauſe it ſupplied them with Water. They left it preſently, and ſailed Weſtward, making that Day 14° 46′ South Latitude. The 18th, they came to another Iſland, lying to the South-weſt, about 20 Leagues diſtant from the laſt, and ſtretching out North-weſt and South-eaſt a conſiderable Way. The Boat, being diſpatched to ſound the Depth, brought Word, that they had found a Bottom by a Point of Land, from whence they came to a gentle Stream of Water, at Twenty-five and at Forty Fathom, about a Musket-ſhot from the Land: This News of Water made them ſend their empty Cask in the Boat, in hope to have it well filled; but after they had taken a great deal of Pains to land, and had been a good while beating up-and-down in the Wood to find ſome Spring or other to ſupply them, the Sight of a wild Man frightened them away, and put an End to their Inquiry after Water for that time: And quickly after they were got into their Boat, there came Five or Six more of thoſe Savages, and ſhewed themſelves upon the Shore; but, ſeeing they were gone off, preſently retired into the Woods. But though they got clear of theſe more formidable Adverſaries, yet there were others very troubleſome that ſtuck very cloſe to them, of which they brought many Millions along with them out of the Woods. Theſe were a ſort of black Flies, of which there were ſuch prodigious Swarms thereabouts, that they came Home covered over with them from Head to Foot; their Hands and Faces ſo beſet, that there was no ſeeing what Complexion they were of; their Cloaths intirely hidden by the Multitudes of thoſe Animals crawling upon them, which did themſelves compoſe another ſort of Apparel; beſides, their very Boat and Oars were all over in the ſame Dreſs as themſelves; ſo that, when they came back, the Plague of Flies began to rage in the Ship, and every Man was buſy to defend his Face and Eyes as well as he could: 'Twas the beſt Part of the Day's Work to be ſlapping the Flies away; and 'twas hard for a Man to open his Mouth, either to ſpeak or to eat, without taking in a Mouthful of theſe Vermin at the ſame time. This dreadful Perſecution laſted about Three or Four Days, in which time the Flaps did ſuch Execution, that their Suffering was pretty well at an End, and few of the Flies left alive to torment them. They called this Iſland, for this Reaſon, *Fly Iſland*, and, by the Help of a good Gale of Wind, left it as faſt as they could.

14. The 23d, they were under 15° 4′, and there again had great Billows out of the South, which continued alſo the next Day: Here they concluded, that the *Terra Auſtralis*, which they ſought for, lay yet 250 Leagues further. The 25th, the hollow Billows out of the South ſtill continued, ſuch as are commonly in the *Spaniſh* Seas out of the North-weſt. *May* the 3d, they ſailed Weſtward, and made at Noon 15° 3′; and that Day they ſaw ſeveral great Dorradoes, which were the firſt they had ſeen in the South Sea. The 9th, they made 15° 20′, and gueſſed they were 1510 Leagues from the Coaſt of *Peru*: The ſame Day they perceived a Bark coming towards them, which they went to meet, and gave her a Gun or Two, to make her ſtrike; but thoſe that were in her, either not underſtanding the Language of the Guns, or refuſing to do what they commanded, the *Dutch* ſent out their Shallop, with Ten Muſqueteers, to take her; upon which ſhe endeavoured to make her Eſcape, but the Shallop intercepted her; ſome of her Men, in a very great Fear, threw themſelves overboard, and diſpoſed of their Goods the ſame Way that they did their Bodies. When they had boarded her, thoſe that were left made no manner of Reſiſtance, but quietly reſigned themſelves to the Diſpoſal of the Conquerors, who uſed them very kindly, dreſſed thoſe that were wounded, and ſaving the Lives of ſome that had leaped over-board, and entertaining all of them in their Ship. There were, beſides the Men, Eight Women, and ſeveral Children; ſo that the whole Number amounted to about Twenty-three. They were a cleanly neat ſort of People, of a reddiſh Colour, quite naked, except the obſcene Parts, which were covered. The Men had long curled black Hair, and the Women ſhort, like the Men in *Holland*. The Bark they were in was of a very peculiar Figure and Structure; it conſiſted of Two Canoes faſtened together, in the Midſt of each of which were laid Two broad Planks of red Wood to keep out the Water, and ſeveral others went croſs from one Canoe to the other, which were made very faſt and cloſe above, and hung a good way over on both Sides. At the End of one of the Canoes, on the Starboard-ſide, there ſtood a Maſt with a Fork in the End of it, where the Yard lay; the Sail was made of Mats; and the Ropes of ſuch Stuff as the Fig-frails in *Spain* conſiſt of. They had no Compaſs nor Chart, nor any Furniture for the Seas, but only a few Fiſhing-hooks, the upper Part of which was Stone, and the other black Bone, Tortoiſe-ſhell, or Mother of Pearl: They had no need to lade their Veſſel with freſh Water, for they ſatisfied themſelves with the Liquor of a few Coconuts; and when that was ſpent, they had recourſe to the great Ocean for Supply, themſelves, and their ſmalleſt Children, drinking the Salt Water very heartily. The *Dutch* ſent them all back to their Veſſel again, where the Women welcomed their Husbands with joyful Embraces, and thus happily freed, they ſailed away to the South-eaſt: But to return to our Diſcoverers.

15. The 10th, they held a Weſt and South-weſt Courſe, and that Day ſaw very high Land on their Larboard, lying South-eaſt by South, about Eight Leagues off; but, though they had a good Gale, they could not reach it that Day. The 11th, they came up with a very high Iſland; and, about Two Leagues Southward, with another much lower, and the ſame Day ſailed over a Bank of Fourteen Fathom deep, and a ſtony Bottom, lying about Two Leagues from the Land, which, being paſt, they could find no more Ground. About this Time, another of the ſame kind of Barks came up to them, which had (as they generally have) a looſe Canoe in her, to put out upon Occaſion. She ſailed at that Rate, that few *Dutch* Ships could out-ſtrip her; her Men ſteered behind with Two Oars, in each Canoe one; and, when they had a mind to tack, they rowed before: But all theſe Veſſels wind themſelves, by only pulling the Oars out of the Water, and letting them go. Sending their Shallop to ſound by one of the Iſlands, they were informed, that there was Ground, though ſhelvy, at 12, 14, and 15 Fathom, about a Cannon-ſhot from the Land; ſo they reſolved to anchor there. The Negroes, indeed, by Signs, directed them to go to the other Iſland, and ſailed thither before them; but they anchored at the End of the former Iſland at Twenty-five Fathom ſandy Ground, a Cannon-ſhot from the Land. This Iſland lies in 16° 10: It is one intire Mountain, and looks like one of the *Moluccas*; 'tis all covered over with Coco-trees, for which Reaſon they called it *Coco Iſland*. The other Iſland is much lower than this, but longer, lying Eaſt and Weſt: Being at Anchor, there came Three Ships, and Nine or Ten Canoes, which had Three or Four Men in each, about them; ſome of which had put out white Flags, in Token of Peace, as they did the like. The Canoes were flat before, and ſharp behind, hewed out of the whole Piece

of red Wood, and ſailed exceeding ſwiftly. When they came near the *Dutch* Ship, they leaped ſome of them into the Water, and ſwam to it, having their Hands full of Cocoas and Ubes-roots, which they barter'd for Nails and Beads, giving Four or Five Cocoas for a Nail, or a ſmall String of Beads, ſo that the *Dutch* traded that Day for 180 Cocoas; and this Trade bringing ſo many of them aboard, that they knew not how to ſtir in their Ship, they ſent their Shallop to the other Iſland, to ſee for a more convenient Place to lie in; but the Shallop, being juſt got out, was preſently beſet by a vaſt Number of Canoes, filled with a mad Sort of People, armed with great Clubs, that forthwith boarded her, and attacked the Men; they, firing their Muſquets upon them, were laughed at by the Savages, in that, with ſo much Noiſe, they had done ſo little Harm; but, at the next Diſcharge, when one of them was ſhot through the Breaſt, they had done making Sport with the Muſquets, and learned to keep their Diſtance a little better for the Time to come. They were luſty well-proportioned Men, and excellent Swimmers; but naked, thieviſh, and very fantaſtical in dreſſing of their Hair; ſome wore it ſhort, others long, ſome curled, and others platted and folded up in ſeveral Faſhions. The 12th, they came in their Canoes again, laden with Cocoas, Bananas, Ubes-roots, Hogs, and freſh Water; there was a great Contention among them who ſhould get firſt to the Ship, and thoſe that were behind being ſhut out by them before, ſince they could not leap over their Heads, they jumped into the Water, and ſwam under the Canoes, holding Bunches of Cocoas in their Mouths, and climbed up the Side of the Ship like ſo many Rats, and that in ſuch Swarms, that they were forced to keep them off with Staves: The *Dutch* bartered with them that Day for 1200 Cocoas, which made Twelve to every Man's Share, they being Eighty-five in Number. The Negroes wondered very much at the Strength of the *Dutch* Ship, and ſome of them crept down under it, and knocked at the Bottom of it with Stones, to try how ſtrong it was. The King of thoſe Savages ſent a black Hog to the Ship for a Preſent, charging the Meſſenger to take no Reward; and quickly after he came himſelf, in a large Ship of their Faſhion, attended with Thirty-five Canoes: When he was a little Way from the Ship, he began to call and cry out aloud, and all his Company did the like, this being their way of bidding Strangers *welcome*. The *Dutch* received them with Drums and Trumpets, which mightily pleaſed and ſurpriſed them; and they, to teſtify their Senſe of Honour that was done them, uſed all their Ceremonies of bowing their Heads, and clapping their Hands together over them, which they are accuſtomed to upon ſuch Occaſions. The King, out of his Ship, ſent them a Matien for a Preſent; which Kindneſs they requited with the Gift of an old Hatchet, ruſty Nails, Glaſs Beads, and a Piece of Linen Cloth, Things which his Majeſty was highly pleaſed with, and made many a fine Bow for. He was not to be known from his Subjects by any Enſign of Dignity, but the Reverence they ſhewed him; for, as they were all naked, ſo he had no other Apparel but that which Nature gave him: He would not be perſuaded to come on board, though the Prince his Son did, and was well entertained there. The 13th at Noon, the Ship was ſurrounded with a whole Armada of Ships and Canoes, the King being there himſelf in Perſon; and in the Twenty-three Ships, and Forty-five Canoes, that compoſed the Fleet, no leſs then Seven or Eight hundred Men. They pretended at firſt to come only upon Deſign of Trade, and told them by Signs, that they were their very good Friends, and would fain have them ſail to the other Iſland, where they ſhould find much better Accommodation in all reſpects: But, notwithſtanding all their fair Pretences, they ſuſpected ſome Miſchief was hatching by theſe Barbarians: Neither were their Suſpicions unjuſt; for they quickly began to caſt themſelves all round the Ship, and incloſed it on every Side; and then, with a great Outcry upon the Alarm of a Gun, they gave the Aſſault: The King's Ship was the foremoſt in the Action, and ruſhed in with ſuch a Force at the *Dutch* Ship, that the Heads of the Two Canoes before it were daſhed to Pieces with the Violence of the Shock; the reſt came on as well as they could, and ſhowered in great Stones upon them: But the *Dutch* threw in ſuch Quantities of Ball amongſt them out of their Muſquets, and Three great Guns loaded with Muſquet-ſhot and Nails, that all thoſe in the Canoes, that lay within Reach, were glad to leave them, and ſeek their Refuge in the Water. Being thus put to Rout, they diſperſed themſelves, and ſhifted for their Lives as well as they could. Theſe treacherous People were the Inhabitants of the lower of thoſe Two Iſlands, which therefore they called *Traitors Iſland*.

16. They ſailed from hence the ſame Day, and held their Courſe Weſt and Weſt by South; and the 14th, came to another Iſland, about Thirty Leagues diſtant from the former. They called this *Hope Iſland*, becauſe they hoped here to meet with ſome Refreſhment. But, finding no Ground at the Iſland, they ſent out their Shallop to ſound along the Shore, which returned with the News of a ſtony Bottom at Forty Fathom Water, about a Muſquet-ſhot from the Shore, ſometimes Twenty and Thirty Fathom, and at a little Diſtance again no Bottom at all. The *Indians* came hither with Ten or Twelve Canoes to barter; they brought a ſmall Parcel of Flying-fiſh, for which they had Beads in Exchange; and whatſoever the one gave, or the other received, was conveyed on both Sides by a Rope let down by the Stern of the Ship. But theſe *Indians* went from this Trade preſently to another which was worſe, *viz.* robbing the Shallop, which they found employed in ſounding at ſome Diſtance from the Ship: They offered to board her, and drag her away; but they in the Shallop, with their Guns, Pikes, and Cutlaſſes, gave them ſuch an Entertainment, that, having ſeen Two of their Company killed, they were glad to hurry away as faſt as they could; and, while theſe were beaten and maul'd upon the Water, their Friends ſtood and cried for them aſhore. This Iſland was full of black Cliffs, that were green on the Top, was well ſtocked with Cocoa-trees, and ſeveral Sorts of Herbs. There were ſeveral Houſes along the Sea-ſide, and a great Village cloſe by the Strand. There was no convenient Anchoring here, it being extremely rough near the Iſland; for which Reaſon they left it, and ſailed away South-weſt, intending to purſue the Diſcovery of a Southern Continent.

17. The 18th, they were under 16° 5', where they had very uncertain Weſt Winds; and now they began to conſult about the further proſecuting of their Voyage. *William Schouten* the Maſter told them, that they were now at leaſt 1600 Leagues Eaſtward from the Coaſt of *Peru*; and, as they had not yet diſcovered any Part of the South Land, ſo neither was there any Likelihood of doing it; that they had ſailed much farther Weſtward than they firſt intended; and that, going on that Courſe which they had hitherto purſued, they ſhould certainly fall Southward upon *New Guiney*, where, if they found no Paſſage, they muſt unavoidably be loſt; ſince it would be impoſſible to go back Eaſtward again, by reaſon of the Eaſterly Winds, that blew continually. Upon theſe and other Accounts, he propoſed it, as the beſt way, to alter their preſent Courſe, and ſail Northward, ſo as to fall Northward upon *New Guiney*. This Propoſal, backed with ſo many good Reaſons, was embraced by all the Company, ſo that they immediately determined to hold a North North-weſt Courſe. The 19th, their Courſe Northward, they had Two Iſlands at Noon about Eight Leagues diſtant from them, lying North-eaſt by Eaſt, and that ſeemed to be a Cannon-ſhot diſtant from each other. Upon this they ſteered North-eaſt, intending to ſail about the Land, having fair Weather, but a ſmall Gale, to bring them along. The 20th, they continued ſtill labouring to get to Land. The 21ſt, being about a League from the Land, they were viſited by Two Canoes, to whom though they gave no manner of Provocation, yet they were rudely inſulted by ſome of them, who began to halloo, and threaten to dart their wooden Aſſagayes at them; but, upon the Diſcharge of the Guns from the Ship, theſe bold Hectors began to ſcamper, and that in no little Haſte and Confuſion, leaving behind them Two of their Company dead, and a Shirt which they had ſtolen out of the Ship, and had now no Stomach to carry away with them. The 22d, there came more of them to the Ship, but upon very friendly and

peaceable Terms, bringing Cocoa, Ubes-roots, and roaſted Hogs, which they bartered for Knives, Beads, and Nails. Theſe People were all as expert in the Arts of Swimming and Diving, as thoſe in *Traitors Iſland*, and as well verſed in Cheating and Stealing too, which they never failed to do, if an Opportunity were given them. Their Houſes ſtood all along the Strand, which were covered with Leaves at the Top, and had a ſort of Penthouſe of the ſame, to carry off the Water; they were Ten or Twelve Feet high, and Twenty-five in Compaſs. They were furniſhed with nothing but a Bed of dry Herbs, an Angling-rod or two, and a great Club. Theſe were all the Ornaments even of the Palace, and the King himſelf had no more. The *Dutch* found here good Conveniencies for Watering. The 24th, they ſent Three of the principal Men of the Ship to eſtabliſh a Friendſhip with the *Indians*, and to be as Hoſtages amongſt them, having in their room Six *Indians* of Quality on board, whom they made very welcome there, and the *Dutch* aſhore had very great Reſpect paid them by the King: He made them a Preſent of Four Hogs, and, if any of his People came but near the *Dutch* Boat to diſturb them while they were fetching Water, he would drive them away himſelf, or order ſome of his Men to do it: His Subjects all ſtood in very great Awe of him, and were fearful of having any of their Crimes made known to him; for one of them having ſtolen a Cutlaſs, and Complaint being made to one of the King's Officers, the Thief was purſued, and ſoundly drubbed for the Wrong he had done, and, beſides, forced to make Reſtitution; and, more than that, the Officer ſignified, that he came off very well too; for, if the King had known it, he would certainly have had his Head off. Theſe People were extremely frightened at the Noiſe of the Guns, and, upon any Diſcharge, would fly like ſo many Madmen: Yet the King having a Deſire to hear one of the great Guns let off, and being ſet under his Canopy, with ſome of his Courtiers about him, in great Order, upon the going off of the Gun, he leaped out of his Seat, and ſet up a Run into the Woods, with all his Courtiers after him, and no Perſuaſions of the *Dutch* could poſſibly ſtop them. The 25th and 26th, they went aſhore again to barter for Hogs, but could get none, the *Indians* being reduced to ſome Streights themſelves, having nothing but Cocoas, Bananas, Ubes-roots, and a few Hogs, left. Yet the King continued his wonted Reſpect and Kindneſs to them, and he, and his Lieutenant, pulled off their Crowns from their own Heads, and ſet them upon the Heads of Two of the Company. Theſe Crowns were made of white, red, and green Feathers, which their Parrots and Doves ſupply them with; the Doves are white upon the Back, and black every-where elſe, except the Breaſt, and every one of the King's Council has one of theſe ſitting by him upon a Stick. The 27th and 28th, they got all their Water on board, at which time the Maſter and the Merchant went aſhore with the Trumpets, which proved a very diverting Muſic to the King. Here he told them of his Wars with them of the other Iſland, and ſhewed them ſeveral of the Caves and Thickets where they uſed to place their Ambuſcades, and lay lurking for Advantages againſt each other: They plainly found, that he was fearful they had ſome Deſign upon his Country; for, to draw them from thence, he would fain have engaged them in a War with the King of the other Iſland; nay, he offered to hire them to be gone, telling them, that, if they would go in Two Days, he would give them Ten Hogs, and a good Parcel of Cocoas: Yet, notwithſtanding his Suſpicions, he made them a Viſit on Ship-board, praying when he entered the Ship, and praying in every Cabin he came into, as alſo he always did when any of the *Dutch* came aſhore to him. His Men carried it with a mighty deal of Submiſſion to them, kiſſing their Feet, and laying them croſs their Necks, with all the Tokens of Awe and Fear that they could expreſs. The 30th was made a Day of Solemnity, by the coming of the King of the other Iſland to viſit the King of this: He came with a Train of 300 of his naked *Indians*, that had Bunches of green Herbs ſtuck about their Middles, of which they prepare their Drink; and, that he might be ſure to be welcome, he brought Sixteen Hogs along with him. When theſe Two Princes were within Sight of each other, they began to bow and ſcrape, and mutter out certain Prayers to themſelves. When they met, they both fell down with their Faces flat upon the Ground, and, after ſeveral very ſtrange Geſtures uſed, they got up on their Legs, and walked away to the Seats provided for them, where, after they had chopt out ſome more of their Prayers, and bowed very reverently to each other again, with much ado they ſet down again under the King's Canopy: And now, to make the ſtrange King the more welcome, a Meſſenger was diſpatched to the *Dutch* Ship, to get their Drums and Trumpets aſhore; ſo the Trumpets ſounded, and a March was beat, to the very great Entertainment of the Two Kings: After this they prepared for a ſolemn Banquet; and, in order to it, began to make ready their Liquor, which they did in this ſlovenly Manner: There came into the Preſence a Company of Fellows, with a good Quantity of Cana, (which is the Herb of which they make their Drink) each of which having crammed in a Mouthful of it, they began to chew together; having chewed it awhile, they put it out of their Mouths into a large wooden Trough, and poured Water upon it, and fell to ſtirring and ſqueezing of it, and, having preſſed out all the Goodneſs, they preſented it in Cups to the Two Kings. They were ſo civil likewiſe as to offer the *Dutch* ſome of it, who were ready to vomit at the Sight of the Preparation. As for the Eating-part of the Entertainment, it conſiſted of Ubes-roots roaſted, and Hogs dreſſed after a very nice Manner. They had ripped up the Bellies, and taken out the Intrails; and then, putting hot Stones into their Bellies, and ſindging off the outſide Hair, without any farther Dreſſing or Cleaning, they were fit for the King's Table. They preſented Two of theſe Hogs to the *Dutch*, with all the Form and Ceremony which they uſe to their Kings, laying them firſt upon their Heads, and then kneeling, with much Humility, left them at their Feet. They gave them, beſides, Eleven more alive, for which they received a Preſent of Knives, old Nails, and Beads, as pleaſing to them as far better Things. Theſe People were of a dark-yellow Colour, ſtrong and well-proportioned Bodies, ſo tall and big, that the largeſt amongſt the *Dutch* would have been matched by the leaſt of them. They wore their Hair, ſome curled, ſome frizzled, ſome tied up in Knots, ſome had it ſtanding bolt upright, their Heads like Hogs-briſtles, a Quarter of an Ell high. The King, and ſome of his Courtiers, had long Locks hanging down below their Hips, bound up with a Knot or two; but the Women were all cropped cloſe, and, beſides, very ugly Figures, being ſhort and ill-ſhaped, and their Breaſts hanging down to their Bellies like Satchels. Both Sexes were naked all to the *Pudenda*. They ſeemed to be a People wholly void both of Devotion, and all worldly Care and Prudence, living juſt as the other Animals do, upon what the Earth produces, without the Solicitations of Art and Induſtry: They neither ſow nor reap, buy nor ſell, nor do any thing for a Livelihood, but leave all to the Care of Nature, which if it fails at any time, they muſt ſtarve: And they have as little regard to the Laws of Decency and Modeſty, as to thoſe of civil Prudence and Policy; for they will make uſe of their Wives openly in the greateſt Aſſembly, nay, and before the King too, as much as they reverence him. This Iſland they called *Horn Iſland*, from the Name of the Town from whence they came; and the Bay where they anchored, *Unity Bay*, after the Name of the Ship; the Bay lies upon the South Side of the Land in a Dock under 14° 16′.

18. *June* 1. they ſailed from hence, viſiting no Land till the 21ſt, when they made towards a very low Iſland, that lay South South-weſt and Weſt from them, and in 40° 47′. Near it were ſeveral Sands, that ſtretched North-weſt from off the Land, as alſo Three or Four ſmaller Iſlands, very full of Trees. Here a Canoe came up to them, of the ſame odd Faſhion with thoſe before deſcribed, and the People in it much of the ſame Sort, only blacker, and armed with Bows and Arrows, which were the firſt they had ſeen amongſt the *Indians* of the *South Sea*. They told them by Signs, that there was more Land, and good Conveniencies for a Ship, to be had Weſtward, where their King dwelt; upon which Information they held a Weſtern Courſe again. The 22d, they ſailed Weſt, and Weſt by North, under

4° 45′; and that Day ſaw at leaſt Twelve or Thirteen Iſlands, one cloſe by another, lying Weſt South-weſt from them, and reaching South-eaſt and North-weſt about half a League; but they left them a Larboard. The 24th, the Wind South, they ſaw Three low Iſlands a Larboard, lying South-weſt from them, the One very ſmall, the other Two each of them Two Miles long, all very full of Trees. They called them the *Green Iſlands*. The Shore about was ragged and cliffy, and allowed no Anchoring. Another Iſland preſented itſelf, with Seven or Eight Hovels upon it, lying Weſt by North; which they ſailed by the 25th, St. *John Baptiſt's* Day, and therefore called it *St. John's Iſland*. At this time, they ſaw very high Land to the South-weſt, which they thought to be the Point of *New Guiney*. They reached it by Noon, and, ſailing along by it, and finding no Anchoring, ſent the Shallop to ſound; but no Bottom could be diſcovered. Here Two or Three Canoes of barbarous People aſſaulted the Shallop with their Slings; but the Guns greatly terrified, and quickly diſperſed them. They were very black, intirely naked, and ſpake a Language quite different from the other. They kept Fires upon their Coaſt all that Night; and ſome of them, in their Canoes, came lurking about the Ship; and tho' the *Dutch*, when they diſcovered them, did all they could to oblige them, yet they would underſtand none of the Signs they made for Proviſions; but anſwered all with horrible Noiſes and Outcries. They anchored this Night at Forty-five Fathom, uneven Ground, in a Bay. About the Point of the Land, the Country was high and green, and afforded a pleaſant Proſpect, and lay (as they gueſſed) 1840 Leagues diſtant from *Peru*. The 26th in the Morning, there came Three Canoes up to the Ship, quite full of theſe Barbarians, and they as well armed, after their Manner, with Clubs, wooden Swords, and Slings. The *Dutch* treated them kindly, and gave them ſeveral Toys to procure their Favour, or at leaſt Peace and Freedom from any Diſturbance by them; but theſe Savages were not to be conquered by Kindneſs, nor taught good Manners by any thing but the great Guns; for preſently they aſſaulted the Ship with all their Force, and continued it obſtinately, till the Cannon-ſhot had gone through Ten or Twelve of them. Then they began to fly to their old Refuge the Water, to dive and ſwim for their Lives; but the Shallop, purſuing them, knocked ſome on the Head, took Three Priſoners, and Four of their Canoes; which made Firing for the Ship. And now they could underſtand Signs, and procure Hogs and Bananas for thoſe that were Priſoners to ranſom themſelves; but, before, they did not know what the *Dutch* meant by their Signs: And, tho' the *Dutch* were ſo generous as to give One wounded Man his Liberty, yet they were ſo wiſe too as to ſet another in a better Condition at Ten Hogs Ranſom; which undoubtedly was the full Value of him. This Iſland afforded a Sort of Birds, that were all red; and North of it lay another Iſland, of which they made no other Diſcovery, than only its Poſition to this. They concluded theſe People to be *Papoos*, becauſe of their ſhort Hair, and particular Diet of Betle mixed with Chalk.

19. The 28th in the Evening, they ſet Sail from hence; and the next Day held a North-weſt and North-weſt by North Courſe, with a ſhifting Wind till Noon, and then a Calm. They had the Point of the Iſland in View till Evening, tho' they ſailed along by the Land, which was full of Bays and Turnings, and reached North-weſt and North-weſt by Weſt; and, the ſame Day, they ſaw Three high Iſlands more, that lay Northward from the greater One Five or Six Miles, being then in 3° 20′. The 30th in the Morning, ſeveral Canoes of the black *Indians* came up to them, and, boarding the Ship by Permiſſion, broke Staves over the *Dutch*, in Sign of Peace. Their Canoes were finer than the others, and themſelves appeared more civil and modeſt, covering the *Pudenda*; which the others did not. They rubbed their Hair over with Chalk, affecting to have their black Locks powdered. They pretended to be ſo poor, that they came to beg, and not to bring any thing to the Ship; yet thoſe Four Iſlands, from whence thoſe *Indians* came, afforded good Store of Cocoas. *June* 1. in the Morning, they anchored between an Iſland Two Miles long and the firm Land of *New Guiney*; and quickly were ſurrounded with Twenty-five armed Canoes of the ſame People, who, the Day before, in Token of Peace, had broken their Staves over their Heads, and now came intending to break them upon them. The *Indians* were not tedious in their Ceremonies before they entered upon the Work they came about: Two of them fixed themſelves upon Two Anchors that then hung out of the Ship, and, with their Girdles, began to tug the Ship, thinking to draw her aſhore. The reſt lay about the Sides of her, and gave a briſk Onſet with their Slings, and other Weapons; but the everlaſting Plague of theſe Savages, the great Guns, ſhattered Men and Canoes at that Rate, that they were forced to retire, with the Loſs of Twelve or Thirteen killed, and a far greater Number wounded. After this Fight, they ſailed peaceably along the Coaſt, having a good Gale, and holding a Weſt North-weſt and North-weſt by Weſt Courſe. The 2d, they were in 3° 12′, and ſaw low Land a Larboard, and right before them a low Iſland. They ſailed gently Weſt North-weſt, with a ſlight Current of the Water Eaſt North-eaſt. The 3d, they ſaw high Land, bearing Weſt about Fourteen Leagues from the other Iſland, and in 2° 41′. The 4th, as they were paſſing by the Four Iſlands afore-mentioned, they had a ſudden Proſpect of Twenty-three others, great and ſmall, high and low; moſt of which they left a Starboard, and only Two or Three a Larboard. They were ſome of them a League, ſome a Cannon-ſhot diſtant from each other, and lay in 2° 30′, little more or leſs. The 6th, with very variable, and ſome ſtormy Weather, they had in the Morning a very high Hill before them, bearing South-weſt; and this they thought to be the Hill *Geemenaſſi* in *Banda*; but a nearer Approach diſcovered Three Hills more like it, that lie to the North about Six or Seven Leagues Diſtance; and this Sight determined that Hill to be that of *Banda*. Behind it lay a large Tract of Land Eaſt and Weſt, reaching Eaſt South-eaſt, of a very great Extent, and very uneven.

20. The 7th in the Morning, they ſailed towards thoſe mighty Hills they had in Proſpect the Day before, and found ſome of them to be Vulcanos; for which Reaſon they named the Iſland *Vulcan's Iſland*, there being ſo good a Repreſentation of his burning Forge. The Iſland was well inhabited, and full of Cocoas; but there was no Conveniency of anchoring there. The People were naked, and extremely fearful of the *Dutch*; and their Language ſo very different from all thereabouts, that none of the Blacks they had with them could underſtand them. There appeared more Iſlands to the North and North-weſt; but they held their Courſe to a very low one, that lay North-weſt by Weſt from them; which they reached that Evening. The Water here they obſerved to be of divers Colours, green, white, and yellow; which probably was the Effect of the Mixture of ſome Rivers, becauſe it was far ſweeter than the Sea-water, and was full of Leaves and Boughs of Trees, ſome of which had Birds and Crabs faſtened upon them. The 8th, they held a Weſt South-weſt and Weſt North-weſt Courſe, having on their Starboard an high Iſland, and another ſomething lower on their Larboard. They reached the Land in the Afternoon the ſame Day, and anchored at Seventy Fathom, in a good ſandy Bottom, about a Cannon-ſhot from the Shore. This Iſland was in 3° 40′, and ſeemed to be an unhealthy Place, and yielded nothing conſiderable, except a little Ginger. It was inhabited by *Papoos*, whoſe ridiculous Fancies, in the Matter of Dreſs, ſuperadded to their own natural Deformity, made them appear little ſhort of Monſters in human Nature. There were hardly any of them but what had ſomething odd and ſtrange, either as to Bigneſs or Poſition of their Limbs; but then the Strings of Hogs Teeth hung about their Necks, and their perforated Noſes, with Rings faſtened in them, together with ſhort frizzled Hair, and very bad Faces, all put together, would have offended an Eye not extremely curious. Neither was the Beauty of the Houſes much greater than that of the Inhabitants, being all mounted upon Stakes Eight or Nine Feet from the Ground. The 9th before Noon, they anchored in a more convenient Bay, at Twenty-ſix Fathom, in a ſandy Bottom mixed with Clay. There were Two Villages of the *Indians* near the Shore, from whence ſome of their Canoes brought Hogs and Cocoas; but held up both at ſo dear Rates, that there was no bartering with them. And now, though they had ſailed ſo long by this new Land, yet they

were unable to reſolve themſelves, whether it was *New Guiney*, or no. Their Charts did neither agree one with another, nor the Land they had in Proſpect, which, for the moſt part, run North-weſt by Weſt, ſometimes more Weſterly, and ſometimes again more Northerly; yet, for all this Scruple, (which they could not remove) they ſtill held a Weſt North-weſt Courſe along by the Coaſt, with a quiet, tho' dull ſort of Weather; and ſo, by the Help of the Stream, that ſet them about the Weſt as it does all along that Coaſt, they made 2° 58′ the 12th at Noon.

21. The 13th and 14th, they kept ſailing by the Coaſt, having ſometimes very high, and at others very low Land in Sight of them. The 15th, purſuing the ſame Courſe, they reached Two low Iſlands, about half a League from the main Land, about 2° 54′ South Latitude. Here they had good Anchoring from Five and Six to Forty Fathom; and, ſeeing the Country well ſtored with Cocoas, the Boat and Shallop, well provided for an Attack, were diſpatched, with Orders to land, and get ſome; but the *Indians*, it ſeems, had obſerved them, and accordingly prepared for their Entertainment when they landed; and they gave them, perhaps, the warmeſt Reception with their Bows and Slings, that ever they met with, wounding at leaſt Sixteen of them, and forcing them, notwithſtanding their Muſquets, to retire. The 16th in the Morning, they ſailed in between both the Iſlands, and anchored at Nine Fathom, in a very good Place. The ſame Day, they landed upon the leſſer Iſland, burnt ſome of the *Indians* Houſes, and brought off as many Cocoas as made Three to every Man's Share. The barbarous People became more gentle and good-natured upon this Treatment; for the 17th they came to make their Peace with Offerings of Cocoas and Bananas, Ginger, and yellow Roots uſed for Saffron. They agreed to truſt the *Dutch* ſo far as to come aboard their Ship, where the Quarrel was perfectly made up; and the Hearts of the *Indians*, won by a few Nails and Beads, which they gave them, were intirely theirs. The 18th, they continued bartering for Cocoas, Bananas, Caſſave, and Papade: Of the Two former they got as much as came to Fifty Nuts and Two Bunches of Bananas a Man; of the Two latter not ſo much. This Papade and Caſſave are alſo *Eaſt India* Commodities, and the latter particularly is admirably good in the *Weſt Indies*, and far beyond that, which they met with here. The People made all their Bread of it, and baked it into large round Cakes for that Purpoſe. They called the Name of their own Iſland *Moſa*, which was the moſt Eaſterly; the other over-againſt it *Juſan*; and the farthermoſt (a very high one, and about Five or Six Leagues from *New Guiney*) *Arimea*. Theſe People had probably been viſited by ſome *Europeans* before; for they had *Spaniſh* Jars and Pots amongſt them: They were not ſurpriſed at great Guns, as the others uſually were; nor ſo curious in looking into the Ship, as abſolute Strangers to ſuch a Thing muſt be ſuppoſed to be. The 21ſt, they ſailed along by the Land North-weſt, and at Noon made 1° 13′. The Stream drove them to a Cluſter of Iſlands, where they anchored at Thirteen Fathom, with Storms of Rain and Thunder that Night. The 23d in the Morning, ſetting Sail from thence, Six great Canoes overtook them a little from the Land, bringing dried Fiſh, Cocoas, Bananas, Tobacco, and a ſmall Sort of Fruit like Prunes. *Indians* from another Iſland alſo brought Victuals and *China* Porcelane to barter. Theſe People, like moſt of the Barbarians, were vaſtly fond of Beads and Iron-work; but they were remarkably diſtinguiſhed from thoſe in the laſt Iſland by their large Size, and more orange Complexion. Their Arms were Bows and Arrows, and their principal Ornaments Glaſs Ear-rings of ſeveral Colours; and, by theſe, as well as other Signs, it appeared, that the *Dutch* were not the firſt *Europeans* which theſe People had ſeen: So that it is not to be conſidered as a Diſcovery.

22. The 24th, being under 30′, they ſteered North-weſt and Weſt South-weſt, along by a very pleaſant Iſland, on which they beſtowed their Maſter's Name, and is that, which, in the Maps, is diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Horn Iſland*; and the Weſt Point of it they called *Cape of Good Hope*. The 25th, they ſaw an huge Tract of uneven Land on their Larboard, lying South and South-weſt by Weſt. The 26th, they ſpied Three Iſlands more, the Coaſt reaching North-weſt by Weſt. The 27th, they were under 29′; and, having a Sight of much Land to the Southward, ſome very high, and ſome as low, they paſſed North-weſt along by it. The 29th at Night, they had an Earthquake, which ſhook the Ship at that Rate, that the Men ran frightened out of their Cabins, expecting to find her run aground, or bulged againſt ſome Rock; but, upon Trial, they found a Depth of Water, that was unfathomable, and as plainly ſaw they were clear of all Danger of Rocks and Shelves; ſo that it was manifeſtly the Effect of a violent Concuſſion of the *Alveus*, and ſubmarine Regions, which cauſed and propagated a Tremor all through the Water, and thus diſturbed the Motion of the Ship. The 30th, they put into a great Bay, out of which finding no Opening, they return'd to a Northern Courſe again. Here the Ship trembled again with loud and horrible Claps of Thunder; and the Lightning was ſo like to ſet it on Fire, that, in all Probability, it muſt have flamed, had not the Clouds, that furniſhed the pernicious Fire, afforded Water alſo in prodigious Showers of Rain for the extinguiſhing of it. The 31ſt, with a Northern Courſe, in the Evening they paſſed the Equator a Second time; and, being encompaſſed with Land all round almoſt, they anchored at Twelve Fathom good Ground, near a deſolate Iſland, that lay cloſe by the firm Land. *Auguſt* 1. they made 15′ North Latitude; and, in the Evening, with a hard Stream, went cloſe to the Land, and, becauſe of the Calm, anchored, tho' in a ſhallow Water, and very rugged Bottom. The 2d, they drove along with the Stream Weſt and Weſt by North, with very rainy Weather. The 3d, being ſtill becalmed, they ſteered as before, and found a Bank ſo far in the Sea, that they could ſcarce ſee the Land, being in ſome Places Forty, in others Twenty, and ſo to Twelve Fathom, ſandy Ground; and the Stream there went Weſt South-weſt. The ſame Day, they made 35′ North Latitude, and ſaw ſeveral Whales and Tortoiſes, with Two Iſlands lying to the Weſtward of them. And now they gueſſed they were at the End of the Land of *New Guiney*, having ſailed 280 Leagues along by the Coaſt. The Rains and Calms ſtill continued.

23. The 5th in the Morning, ſeveral Canoes came up to them, bringing *Indian* Beans, Rice, Tobacco, and Two Birds of Paradiſe. They bartered for One of theſe fine Birds, which was all white and yellow. The *Indians* ſpoke the *Ternate* Language, and ſome of them the *Spaniſh* and *Malaian*; which latter Tongue *Clawſon* the Merchant was well ſkilled in. They were all of them finely cloathed about their Waiſts, ſome with looſe Silks, others with Breeches, and ſome ſilken Wreaths about their Heads, which were the *Mohammedans* of the Company. All of them in general had Coal-black Hair, and good Store of Gold and Silver Rings upon their Fingers. They bartered with the *Dutch* for Beads, and other Toys; but had much more mind for Linen Cloth. They appeared to be very fearful, and ſuſpicious of them to that Degree, that they would not tell them the Name of the Country; yet they judged, that they were now at One of the Three Eaſterly Points of *Gilolo*, and that theſe People were Natives of *Tidore*; which afterwards they found to be true. The 6th in the Morning, they ſet forwards, holding a Northerly Courſe, intending to ſail about the Northern Point of *Gilolo*. The 7th, they ſaw the North-eaſt Point of that Iſland called *Moratay*, which then lay South South-eaſt from them. The 8th at Noon, they made 4° 3′ North Latitude, had there very ſtormy Weather, and a Current that ran Northward. The 9th and 10th, they had variable Winds and Weather, and made 3° 50′. The 11th, they had a Proſpect of the Point *Moratay* again, which they deſigned to have reached; but the Current drove them off from the Land Northward. The 13th, they made 2° 58′, the Winds continuing ſtill to ſhift about, and the Rains falling pretty heavily; and this ſort of Weather continued to the 17th. This Day, with much Toil and Trouble, they got under the Land, and ſailed along by the Coaſt with fair Weather; and, in the Night, they ſaw ſeveral Fires upon the Land. The 18th, with ſtill Weather, they continued driving by the Land, and at Noon were ſaluted by Two Canoes of *Ternateens*, who, to ſhew their peaceable Intentions, hung out a white Flag. They informed them, that they came from the Village *Soppy*, where very lately had been an *Engliſh* Ship, as alſo a Pinnace of *Amſterdam*,

dam, that had lain there Three Months for a Lading of Rice; and that ſome of them would conduct them the next Day to the Road of *Soppy*. The 19th, they ſailed into the Bay, and anchored at Ten Fathom, ſandy Ground, about a Cannon-ſhot from the Shore. They bartered here for Hens, Sago, Tortoiſe, and Rice. On *Auguſt* 19. they had ſeveral of the Natives on board, who reported, that an *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ship had been lately in thoſe Parts, and had procured ſufficient Proviſions for their Voyage home; which News was exceedingly agreeable to People who had ſpent almoſt all their Store; and therefore there was a kind of public Rejoicing among the Crew, which now conſiſted of Eighty-five Men, all healthy and vigorous, and who had no other Apprehenſions, than ſuch as aroſe from their Scantineſs of Victuals. The next Day, they had an Account, that there were no leſs than Twenty *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships at *Ternate*. On *Auguſt* 25 they ſailed, and on *September* 1. they entered, the Wind being contrary, into the Bay of an Iſland, which ſeemed to be deſert. Some of the Officers went aſhore, in order to view the Country, and endeavoured to aſcend a very high Mountain for that Purpoſe; but found it ſo very ſteep and rugged, that they quickly abandoned their Attempt. They ſaw, however, an extraordinary Curioſity here, which was a Worm as thick as a Man's Leg, and of a great Length. The Name of this Iſland is *Moro*, which, tho' it appeared one continued Tract of Land at a Diſtance, they found, upon a cloſer Examination, was, in Reality, compoſed of ſeveral Iſlands. On the 5th, they anchored off the Coaſt of *Gilolo*, where a very unlucky Accident had like to have befallen them; for, ſome of the Seamen going to catch Fiſh unarmed, Four Soldiers of *Ternate* ſuddenly ruſhed out of the Woods, Sword in Hand, intending to have killed them, as they were drawing up their Net; but, the Surgeon calling out *Oran Hollanda*, the *Indian* Soldiers ſtopped, and, throwing Water on their Heads, which is a Sign of Peace in thoſe Countries, approached them in a peaceable Manner, and told them, that the Reaſon of their Attempt was their taking them for *Spaniards*. At the Requeſt of the Seamen, they were perſuaded to go on board, where, having Beads and other Trifles given them, they were exceedingly well ſatisfied, and promiſed to bring them Proviſions and Refreſhments; which they did.

24. On the 14th, they ſailed; but, the Wind being ſlack for Two or Three Days, made no great Progreſs in their Voyage. On the Sixteenth, however, they had Sight of *Ternate* and *Tidore*. On the 17th, they ſpoke with a *Dutch* Ship, which gave them an Account of Admiral *Spilbergen*'s Voyage, as alſo, that there was a Squadron of Ten *Dutch* Ships under the Command of the General *John Dirickſon Lam*, of *Horn*, at the *Manillas*, to defend the Trade of his Countrymen againſt a great *Spaniſh* Fleet that it was expected would come ſhortly to attack them at *Ternate*. The ſame Evening they anchored in Eleven Fathom ſandy Ground before *Malaya* in *Ternate*; there Captain *Schouten*, and *Jaques le Maire*, went on ſhore, in order to confer with the General *Laurence Real*, who was come thither in the Place of the deceaſed General *Gerard Reynſt*, where they were well entertained by him, as alſo by the Admiral *Stephen Verhaghen*, and *Jaſper Janſon*, Governor of *Amboyna*, and by the whole Council of *India*. On the 18th, they ſold Two of their Shallops, with a great deal of what they had ſaved out of the *Horn*, which was burnt in *King's Iſland*, and received in ready Money 1350 Reals; with Part of which they purchaſed from the General Two Laſts of Rice, a Ton of Vinegar, the like Quantity of *Spaniſh* Wine, and about Three Ton of Biſcuit. On the 24th, Eleven Men, and Four Boys, demanded Leave of the Captain to enter into the Company's Service; which, at the Requeſt of the General, he very readily granted. On the 26th, they took Leave of the General, who treated them with the greateſt Kindneſs and Reſpect, and accompanied their Captain and Supercargo aboard with Colours flying. On the 27th, they ſailed for *Bantam*. On the 29th, they paſſed the Line for the Fourth time in that Voyage. On the 16th of *October*, they anchored in the Road of *Japara*; and, on the 28th, at *Jacatra*, where they found Three *Dutch*, and as many *Engliſh*, Ships in the Road. The following Night one of their Seamen died, which was the firſt they loſt out of the *Unity*, and the third that had died during the whole Voyage.

25. On the laſt of *October*, arrived *John Peterſon Koen*, of *Horn*, Preſident for the *Eaſt India* Company at *Bantam*; and the very next Day he ſent for the Captain, and both the Supercargoes, before the Council of the *Indies*. After a very little Diſcourſe, he required them, in virtue of his Commiſſion from the *Eaſt India* Company, to deliver up the Ship and Cargo immediately: The Captain and Supercargoes inſiſted, that the Seizure was unlawful, ſince they had not offended either againſt the Letter, or the Intention, of the Company's Charter; ſince, with reſpect to the former, they did not come into the *Indies* by either of the forbidden Paſſages, *viz.* the Cape of *Good Hope*, or the Streights of *Magellan*, but by a Paſſage of their own Diſcovery, which, in its Conſequences, muſt be extremely advantageous to the Commerce of their Countrymen, and to the whole trading World: That, as to the latter, it could not be the Meaning of the States General, in granting that Charter, to deprive their Subjects of the Benefits reſulting from new Diſcoveries, ſince that would have been inconſiſtent with the ſole Deſign of granting the Charter, which, as the Charter itſelf expreſſed, was for promoting the Commerce of the Subjects of the Republic. But all they could ſay ſignified nothing; the Preſident told them, that, if they thought they ſuffered wrong, they might ſeek Redreſs in *Holland*. "This, ſays the Author of the *Dutch* Voyage, was done upon *Monday* the 1ſt of *November*, after our Reckoning; but upon *Tueſday*, the 2d of *November*, by our Countrymens Reckoning there. The Reaſon of the Difference of the Time fell out thus: As we ſailed Weſtward from our own Country, and had with the Sun compaſſed the Globe of the World, we had one Night or Sun-ſetting leſs than they; and they that came out of the Weſt, and ſailed to the Eaſt thereby, had one Day or Sun-ſetting more than we, which makes the Difference; and ſo, as we made our Reckoning of the Time then with ourſelves, and did the like with our Countrymen, that Week we loſt the *Tueſday*, leaping from *Monday* to *Wedneſday*, and ſo had one Week of Six Days. Our Ship being in this Manner taken from us, ſome of our Men put themſelves into Service with the *Eaſt India* Company; the reſt were put into Two Ships (that were to go home into *Holland*) called the *Amſterdam*, and the *Zeland*, their General being *George van Spilbergen*: The Maſter, *Willian Corneliſon Schouten*, *Jacob le Maire*, and Ten of our Men, went with the General in the *Amſterdam*, the Maſter's Name *John Corneliſon May*, alias *Menſcheater*; and *Airis Clawſon*, and the Pilot *Clauſterſon*, with Ten others, in the *Zeland*, the Maſter's Name *Cornelius Rienlande*, of *Midleburgh*, which ſet Sail from *Bantam* the 14th of *December*." In little more than a Fortnight, *viz.* the 31ſt of that Month, died *Jaques le Maire*, their Supercargo, chiefly of Grief and Vexation, on account of the diſaſtrous End of a Voyage which had been ſo proſperous to that Time. He was extremely ſolicitous on account of his Journal, which he had taken the utmoſt Pains about, recommending it to the Care of his Friends, and deſiring that a full Account of this Tranſaction might be fairly publiſhed, that not only their Countrymen, but the whole World, might judge of the Uſage they had received.

26. *January* 1. 1617. they loſt Sight of the *Zeland*. The 24th, they anchored under the Iſland *Mauricius*, and refreſhed there for Six Days. *March* the 6th, they paſſed the Cape of *Good Hope*, as they gueſſed, but ſaw it not. The 31ſt, they were under the Iſland of *St. Helena*, and there found the *Zeland* at their Arrival. The 6th of *April*, having ſupplied their Ships with freſh Water, they ſet Sail together. The 24th, they paſſed the Equinoctial the Fifth time; and, the 28th, ſaw the North Star, which they had not ſeen for Twenty Months before. *July* the 1ſt, the *Amſterdam* came into *Zeland*, whither the Ship of that Name had come the Day before. Thus this Voyage round the World was performed in Two Years and Eighteen Days; which, conſidering the Difficulties they met with, the Nature of their Courſe, and every other Circumſtance of the Voyage, was a very wonderful thing, and might, one would have thought, have induced the

States General to have relieved them from the Hardſhips to which the Pride and Avarice of the *Eaſt India* Company had ſubjected them. The Proprietors of the *Unity*, and the *Horn*, finding, that, notwithſtanding they had carried their Point in reſpect to the Diſcovery of a new Paſſage to the *Eaſt Indies* to the South of the Streights of *Magellan*, they had loſt their Ships and Cargoes, and, conſequently, all the immediate Benefit they expected from it, determined, however, to follow the dying Advice of *Jaques le Maire*, and to publiſh an Account of the Diſcovery as ſoon as it was poſſible. In order to this, they cauſed the Journals of *le Maire* and *Clawſon* to be tranſcribed, examined, and compared; and then, drawing out of them ſuch Points as ſeemed in any Degree obſcure, they recommended them to the View of the Maſters, and other Officers of the *Unity*, for Explanation: And, having thus procured an authentic Relation of this moſt memorable Expedition, they publiſhed it the very next Year in *Dutch*, that every body in their own Country might read it. In the Year 1619. an *Engliſh* Tranſlation of it appeared, which was dedicated to Sir *Thomas Smith*, then Governor of the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company; in which Dedication, the Diſcovery is particularly recommended to his Conſideration, with a View to the Uſe that might be made of it in favour of our Commerce. But, notwithſtanding the Author of this Dedication certainly meant well, it does not appear, that his Book was conſidered in any other Light than as an hiſtorical Account of new Diſcoveries, whereas he certainly intended it for more important Purpoſes. Within the Compaſs of a few Years, it appeared in *French*, *Italian*, and *Latin*; and the Fame of theſe Navigators ſpread all over *Europe*, while the original Adventurers were conteſting the Point of Confiſcation with the *Eaſt India* Company in *Holland*. The Accounts of this Voyage, hitherto publiſhed in our Collections, have been all of them very ſhort and imperfect, eſpecially as to the Deſign of the Voyage, which we hope the Reader will here find throughly explained; which Pains we have rather taken, becauſe, as we ſhall preſently ſhew, there never was a Voyage that deſerved it better. Other Diſcoveries, other Voyages to the *Eaſt Indies*, may be read for Amuſement, or hiſtorical Inſtruction; but this ſhould be regarded in another Light, ſince it points out to us a kind of Navigation capable of prodigious Improvement, and to which, perhaps, no Nation has a better Title than ourſelves; ſince the *South Sea* Company ſeems to have been originally eſtabliſhed for the Proſecution of thoſe Diſcoveries which in this Expedition were begun.

27. There are few Voyages that deſerve Remarks ſo much as this of *le Maire*, and yet it is not the eaſieſt Matter in the World to make them. The Generality of Mankind imagine, that moſt great Diſcoveries are made by Chance, and that the ableſt Seamen have been leſs indebted to Knowledge than to Fortune, for the Fame they have acquired by their finding out new Countries. But the elder *le Maire*, I mean *Iſaac* the Merchant, actually diſcovered more in his Cloſet, than his Son did in his Voyage, though, in point of Diſcovery, it was far ſuperior to any made in his Time. For the elder *le Maire*, from the Diſpoſition of Earth and Water in the other Parts of the Globe, imagined, that there could not be a Fourth Part Water in the Southern Hemiſphere. In reſpect to the Streights of *Magellan*, he ſaw they lay but in the Tenth Climate, whereas a great Part of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *America*, lay as far as the Twenty-fourth; from whence he concluded, that there muſt be a Continent to the South of thoſe Streights which ſtretched itſelf into a warmer Latitude, and made a very conſiderable Part of the World, though hitherto undiſcovered; and this was the Foundation of his Project of finding out a new Paſſage to unknown Countries. But the Reader may poſſibly inquire, why, ſuppoſing there were ſuch a Continent, it muſt be concluded another *Indies*: And, to anſwer this Queſtion, I muſt obſerve, that the only way of gueſſing rationally at the Products of unknown Countries, is by conſidering the Climates in which they lie, and the Nature of thoſe Countries that are well known, and lie in the ſame Climates. *Le Maire* very judiciouſly conjectured, that, if there was ſuch a Southern Continent, the greateſt Part of it muſt lie between Thirty and Thirty-ſix Degrees of Latitude; and, as he knew, that the Coaſt of *Barbary*, all *Syria*, the moſt fruitful and pleaſant Provinces of *Perſia*, the beſt Part of the *Indies*, all that was known of *Japan*, what had been hitherto diſcovered of *California*, *New Mexico*, and *Florida*, lay within the ſame Degrees of Northern Latitude, and that the beſt Part of *Chili*, and the Countries about the River of *Plate*, lay in the ſame Southern Climate, he, with great Juſtice and Probability, inferred, that, if ſuch a Country could be diſcovered, it muſt be extremely rich and fruitful, abounding with all the Commodities that are moſt ſought, and beſt eſteemed, in *Europe*. When he communicated his Thoughts to Captain *Schovten*, he not only concurred with him in Opinion, but furniſhed him with many other Reaſons in Support of it, drawn from Experience, and the Knowledge he had of the Countries already diſcovered in the *Eaſt Indies*; ſo that, on the Whole, they were fully perſuaded, that, if they could bring their Project to bear, Spices, Gold, and precious Stones, might certainly be brought from theſe Southern *Indies*. They reaſoned, in this reſpect, on the very ſame Principles that *Columbus* had laid down in Support of his firſt Expedition; and, therefore, there never was a Voyage undertaken upon wiſer or better Grounds than this, as, perhaps too, there never was a Voyage executed with greater Ability or Succeſs; of which the eaſy Diſcovery of the Streights of *le Maire*, and the going quite round the World with the Loſs of Four Men only, and one of theſe killed by Grief, are the ſtrongeſt Inſtances. It is, indeed, very true, that no ſuch Continent was diſcovered by this Voyage; and yet, when we conſider the Matter fairly and maturely, this will be found no ſort of Proof againſt the Truth of their Conjectures, but rather the contrary: For *Schovten* and *le Maire* did not purſue their Voyage as they intended, but ran nearer the Line, ſo as to make few or no Diſcoveries, but between Ten and Twenty Degrees of South Latitude; and the Countries they did diſcover were chiefly Iſlands, but Iſlands rich, fruitful, well inhabited, and well provided with Canoes, and other Veſſels, all certain and infallible Marks of ſome adjacent Continent; ſo that, conſidering this was the firſt Voyage ever attempted from this Part of the World through thoſe Seas, inſtead of wondering, that they made ſo ſmall a Progreſs, we ought rather to be ſurpriſed, that with a ſingle Ship, and with ſo ſmall a Force, they were able to do ſo much. After all, *Columbus* did no more in his firſt Voyage than diſcover the Iſlands that lay off *America*; and therefore *Schovten* and *le Maire*, as they went on the ſame Plan, may be truly ſaid to have met with as much Succeſs. We cannot, therefore, but be ſenſible, that the Cenſure paſſed on this Diſcovery by the *Dutch* Writer of *Spilbergen*'s Voyage, which we have taken notice of before, was equally cruel and unjuſt; for whereas he objected, that they had diſcovered no Countries or People with whom any Trade could be carried on, but barely a new Streight, the Fact is falſe, and they really diſcovered as much as could be reaſonably expected: The only Wonder is, that this Diſcovery was not proſecuted, and that a Nation ſo famous for Induſtry, and ſo well turned for all commercial Improvements, as the *Dutch*, ſhould let ſlip ſo favourable an Opportunity as this offered for extending their Trade, eſpecially at a time when this ſeemed to be peculiarly cheriſhed by the State. In order to ſolve this Difficulty, we need only reflect on the Hardſhips that were endured by the Perſons who undertook this Voyage, and the Loſſes that were ſuſtained by its Proprietors: Theſe were more than ſufficient to deter private Men from running the Riſque of ſuch another Expedition; becauſe, beſides all the Dangers inſeparable from ſuch an Undertaking, there was this invincible Obſtacle of the *Eaſt India* Company's excluſive Charter, which, whatever became of them at Sea, was ſure to overturn them on Shore; and, as to any public Proſecution of the Project, that too was ſcarce to be expected, ſince the State rarely reaps any Profit from Expeditions that would make private Men rich. But our Buſineſs here lies chiefly with the preſent Diſcovery. It may be wondered, why the People in theſe Iſlands are called Negroes, ſince it does not appear by ſubſequent Diſcoveries, that there are any ſuch in thoſe Parts. All that I can ſay in Anſwer to this is, that they are ſo

ſtiled in the original Voyage in *Dutch*, and I knew no Right I had to change the Expreſſion. It is very poſſible that they might call theſe People Negroes in Oppoſition to the *Indians* of *America*, becauſe their Complexions were much darker, though far enough from being quite black. Later Diſcoveries make theſe People have very different Complexions, which ſhews, that there are many Nations in thoſe Parts of various Hues, that intermix with each other; and, as all Accounts agree, that theſe People are much better ſkilled in Navigation than the Inhabitants of *America* were at the Time that Country was firſt found out, it ſhould ſeem, that People, who have ſo much Commerce amongſt themſelves, are worth our finding out. I ſay this for many Reaſons, of which, at preſent, I ſhall offer but Three. The firſt is, that at preſent there is a Neceſſity of diſcovering new Trades, becauſe the old ones ſeem to be moſt of them over-ſtocked. The ſecond, that theſe Countries are like to take off a great Quantity of our Manufactures, the People going for the moſt part clothed, and are in a great meaſure civilized. And, thirdly, as they lie at ſo great a Diſtance, in proportion as ſuch a Commerce increaſes, it muſt have a very advantageous Effect with regard to our Navigation and Shipping. The only Objection that can be made is, that, if the *Dutch* have neglected it, there is little Probability that we ſhall be able to thrive by it; and to this I ſay, we ſhall very ſoon make it appear, that the *Dutch* have not ſo much neglected as concealed it; probably for this Reaſon, that, being in Poſſeſſion of a very beneficial Trade in the *Eaſt Indies*, and having the Monopoly of the Spice Trade, they are rather concerned about the preventing other Nations from falling into ſo beneficial a Commerce, than inclined to purſue it themſelves, as having leſs need of it than any other Nation in *Europe*. But, to put the Matter out of Diſpute, and to ſhew, that whatever Reaſons either the *Dutch* or *Spaniards* may have for endeavouring to conceal theſe Southern Lands, it is, however, a Matter worthy of our Conſideration, to diſcover them, I ſhall, in the next Section, and by way of Appendix to this, give the Reader a very large Memorial of a *Spaniſh* Diſcoverer, who not only conjectured, that there were ſuch Southern Countries, but actually ſaw, examined, and reported what he met with in them, and what might be expected from a Trade carried on with their Inhabitants. I muſt firſt advertiſe the Reader, that, tho' I place this Paper as an Appendix, yet, in point of Time, the *Spaniſh* was prior to the *Dutch* Diſcoverer; but then what he diſcovered was concealed for many Years, and never could come to the Knowledge of *Iſaac le Maire*; though, ſince its Publication, it ſerves to demonſtrate the Juſtice and Truth of his Conjectures. Another Reaſon for my bringing this Memorial in here, rather than poſtponing it until we come to treat of the Southern Parts of *America*, is, becauſe it gives great Light to our ſubſequent Circumnavigations, many Paſſages in which would be ſcarce intelligible without it. It is certainly right to be very careful in reſpect to Method, eſpecially in Works of ſuch an Extent as this; but as this Rule is founded on the Neceſſity of making Things clear, by placing them in ſuch a manner as that they may reflect Light upon each other, the very ſame Reaſon obliges us to diſpenſe with the ſtrict Proſecution of our Plan, when ſuch a Deviation contributes more to the Reader's Information, than the contrary Practice would have done.

SECTION X.

The Voyages of Don PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS, *for the Diſcovery of the Southern Continent and Iſlands.*

1. *The conſtant Practice of the* Spaniſh *Viceroys in the laſt Age to make their Court to their Maſters, by endeavouring to make Diſcoveries.* 2. *Don* Pedro Fernandez de Quiros *employed to this Purpoſe by the Viceroy of* Peru, *and afterwards ſolicits the Settlement of the Countries he diſcovered at the Court of* Spain. 3. *His Deſcription of the Country and People.* 4. *The Beauty, Excellence and Wholſomeneſs of the Climate.* 5. *An Account of his taking Poſſeſſion of this Fourth Part of the World, which he is pleaſed to call* La Auſtrialia del Eſpiritu Santo, *for the Uſe of the King of* Spain, *in the Author's own Words.* 6. *Other Arguments offered in Support of his Propoſal, and their Effects.* 7. *The Subſtance of a larger* Spaniſh *Memorial, in which theſe Countries are more particularly deſcribed.* 8. *Demonſtrative Proofs of the Truth of his Relations.* 9. *This Account of* de Quiros *confirmed by the ſubſequent Experience of later Diſcoverers.* 10. *The Reaſons why the* Spaniards *have changed their Policy, and affect now to diſcourage Inquiries and Diſcoveries of this ſort.* 11. *There are ſufficient Motives to encourage other Nations to attempt what the* Spaniards, *in mere Policy, decline.*

1. AFTER the *Spaniards* had conquered *Mexico* and *Peru*, they were very deſirous of diſcovering more diſtant Countries; and the Projects of the famous *Chriſtopher Columbus* being ſtill talked of amongſt them, and his Notions being daily better underſtood, many of the Viceroys were deſirous of obliging the King their Maſter, enriching themſelves, and acquiring Reputation, by becoming the Patrons of great Diſcoveries: With this View they frequently fitted out Fleets to the North, to the Weſt, and to the South, in hopes of diſcovering the Countries between the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies* more perfectly; and of theſe Diſcoveries they ſent over large Accounts into *Spain*, of which we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak copiouſly in another Place. But, of all the Diſcoveries that were, by this means, made, that which occaſioned moſt Diſcourſe was, the finding of the Iſlands of *Solomon* by *Alvarez de Mendoça*, about the Year 1527. concerning which Iſlands the *Spaniards* had very diſtinct Accounts, but deſtroyed them all by expreſs Order from *Spain*, on the Coming of Sir *Francis Drake* into the *South Seas*; but, after that Fear was blown over, the Deſire of finding thoſe Iſlands was revived; and this Captain *Pedro Fernandez de Quiros* made Two Voyages for that Purpoſe, about the latter End of the Sixteenth Century; but the exact Time does not appear. We know however, that he was patronized and protected by the Viceroy of *Peru*.

2. This Gentleman Don *Pedro* made a Voyage to *Spain*, where, in the Year 1609. he preſented ſeveral Memorials to the Court, deſiring Aſſiſtance for the Conqueſt and Settlement of theſe new-found Countries, in reſpect to which, he avers, that he had ſpent great Sums of Money in Fourteen Years Time, and had travelled 20,000 Leagues by Sea and Land, in order to bring this Diſcovery to bear. It is from this Memorial, of which there are ſtill ſeveral Copies remaining, ſome larger, and ſome more conciſe, that we are enabled to give any Account of his Diſcoveries. In this Memorial, he firſt repreſents to his Catholic Majeſty, that the Continent he deſired to ſettle was equal in Bigneſs to *Europe* and the *Leſſer Aſia* taken together, lying all in the Torid Zone, and therefore, in his Opinion, like to be extremely rich. He ſays, that it ought to be eſteemed the Fourth-part of the Globe; but, in this reſpect, his Meaning is not very clear. The beſt Interpretation, that I have met with, is this; That he reckons *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Africa* the Firſt Part; the *Eaſt Indies* the Second; *America* the Third; and this new-found Country the Fourth. As for the Extent of it, he ſpeaks partly from his own Knowledge, but moſtly from Conjecture, having diſcovered

only that Part, which lay in or near 15° South Latitude.

3. As to the People, he reports, that they were of various Complexions; ſome white, ſome black, ſome tawny: But is poſitive, that the Country he ſaw was very well-peopled, and very well cultivated; the Inhabitants generally of of a quiet and peaceable Diſpoſition, having many Canoes, and other Veſſels, in which they tranſported their Commodities from one Place to another. He deſcribes very particularly the Plants, Trees, Beaſts, Birds, and Fiſhes, of this Country, affirming, that it produced all Things neceſſary to human Life within itſelf, together with Gold, Silver, Pearl, Nutmegs, Mace, Ginger, and other Spices for Exportation, abounding likewiſe with vaſt Quantities of Sugar-canes, very large, and excellent in their Kind. He deſcribes particularly the Bay of *St. James* and *St. Philip*, which, he ſays, is very large, as well as very ſafe and commodious. Another Haven he mentioned, to which he gave the Name of *La Vera Cruz*, capable, according to his Account, of holding 1000 Ships, with ſafe Anchorage every-where. This Haven, he adds, is in the Neighbourhood of Seven fine Iſlands, One of which he had viewed and ſurrounded, finding it about Fifty Leagues in Circumference; and this Haven, according to his Account, lies in 15° 40′ South Latitude. He expatiates on the many Advantages that might ariſe from a Settlement there; and inſiſts particularly on its being the propereſt Means for uniting the large Dominions, which his Catholic Majeſty had already acquired, as well in the *Eaſt Indies*, as in *America*, as lying between both, and affording thereby an Opportunity of carrying on an eaſy and beneficial Trade with either: All which he offers to demonſtrate at large to ſuch Commiſſioners, well ſkilled in theſe Matters, as his Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to appoint. But whether, in conſequence of theſe Memorials, any ſuch Commiſſioners were appointed, or whether, in purſuance of their being appointed, theſe Projects of Don *Pedro Fernandez de Quiros* were examined and approved, we have no kind of Proof.

4. After inſiſting on the Fertility of the Soil, the Conveniency of the Ports, and their commodious Situation, he commends the Wholſomeneſs of the Air, which he declares to be ſuch, that, notwithſtanding he had a conſiderable Body of Men, who, like himſelf, were Strangers to the Place, exerciſed, while they were there, with continual Labours, expoſed conſtantly to the open Air, often hot, and ſometimes expoſed to the cold Dews; yet were none of them taken ſick. As to the Natives, they found them ſtrong, healthy, and many of them very old, tho' they laboured hard, and lay upon the bare Ground; which, as he very juſtly obſerves, is a pregnant Inſtance of its Wholſomeneſs, ſince, if it were a moiſt, marſhy Soil, like that of the *Philippines*, the Inhabitants would certainly raiſe their Dwellings upon Piles of Wood, as is uſual in thoſe Iſlands. He likewiſe takes notice, that Fleſh and Fiſh were often kept there Two Days, and were perfectly ſweet. The Fruits of that Country, gathered green, he carried back with him to *Mexico*, ſound, and well taſted. Beſides all theſe Bleſſings, enjoyed by the Southern Continent in common with other fruitful Countries, he remarks the following Prerogatives, which diſtinguiſh it from, and render it ſuperior to, any of the Provinces of either of the *Indies*; ſuch as that there are no Thiſtles, Briars, or Thorns, that grow there; no Fens or Marſhes; no Snow upon the Mountains; no ſtanding Waters in the Fields or Meadows; no Serpents, or venomous Creatures of any Kind, in the Graſs or Woods; no Crocodiles in the Rivers; no Worms among their Corn or Grain; no Gnats, ſtinging Flies, or any other Vermin whatever: For theſe Reaſons, he makes no Doubt, that it ought to be preferred to all the Conqueſts made by the *Spaniards* in either of the *Indies*.

5. The Account he gives of his taking Poſſeſſion of this Fourth-part of the Globe is very remarkable, and therefore I ſhall give it the Reader in his own Words, which may ſerve as a Specimen of the whole Performance, and convince the Reader of the Expediency of giving him an Extract only of the reſt. "Such, Sire, ſays he, in the Seventh Article of his Memorial, are the Greatneſs and Goodneſs of the Countries which I have diſcovered, of which I have already taken Poſſeſſion in the Name of your Majeſty, and under your Royal Banner, as appeareth by the Acts, which I keep ſafely in my Power, whereunto I proceeded after this enſuing Manner: Firſt, (Sire) we erected a Croſs, and built a Church, in Honour of our Lady of *Loretto*. Then we cauſed Twenty Maſſes to be celebrated there; and our Troops made haſte thither, to gain ſome Indulgences granted on *Whitſunday*. We alſo made a ſolemn Proceſſion, and obſerved the Feaſt of the Bleſſed Sacrament, the which was carried in Proceſſion, your Banneret being ever diſplayed, and marching before it, thro' a great Circuit of Countries, which were honoured with the Preſence of the ſame. In Three ſeveral Places we ſet up our Title, in every One of which we prepared and erected Two Columns, with the Arms of your Majeſty tricked and garniſhed thereupon; ſo that I may, with good Right, affirm, that, ſince this will challenge to be One of the Parts of the World, the Impreſs of *Plus ultra* is accompliſhed; and, becauſe it ſtretched unto the Continent, whether it be forward or backward can be no great Matter. The Bounds of your Dominions are, with much Spaciouſneſs, inlarged. Now, all this which I have performed, receiveth its Root from this faithful Zeal, which I bear unto your Majeſty, that, to all the Titles, which you already poſſeſs, you may adjoin this, which I preſent; and that the Name of *La Auſtrialia del Eſpiritu Santo* may be blazoned and ſpread over the Face of the whole World, to the Glory of God, who hath revealed this Country, and hath given me the Grace to guide my Courſe thither, and to return to the Preſence of your Majeſty, before whom I preſent and proſtrate myſelf with the ſame Affection and Zeal unto this Work, which I had before, and which hath grown up with me, as it were, from my Cradle; and, for the Nobleneſs and Worth thereof, I do ſtill tender and cheriſh the ſame with the greateſt Love that can be."

6. In order to give ſtill greater Force to this Memorial, he obſerves at the Cloſe, that if this new-diſcovered Southern Country ſhould be ſought for, and ſeized by any of the Northern Nations, Enemies to the Crown of *Spain*, and Heretics beſides, his Catholic Majeſty would not only loſe the mighty Advantages before-mentioned, but might likewiſe find himſelf ſo terribly diſtreſſed in both the *Eaſt Indies* and the *Weſt*, as might engage him to ſpend much more to recover, than was now neceſſary for the ſecuring and ſettling this noble Country. He likewiſe obſerves, that the Galleons were on the point of departing; and that therefore it was neceſſary his Majeſty ſhould take ſome ſpeedy Reſolution, that he might be the ſooner and better able to perform all that he had promiſed; the rather becauſe this was the Eighth Memorial he had preſented, and the Fourteenth Month he had ſpent in the *Spaniſh* Court, without being able to obtain any ſatisfactory Anſwer. In Return to this, he is ſaid to have had an Order to levy 1200 Men in *New Spain* for the Execution of this Project, and to receive 500,000 Pieces of Eight for the neceſſary Expences of his Undertaking. But, after all, the Affair came to nothing, tho' the *Spaniſh* Court had then ſo good an Opinion of it, that they ordered ſeveral of the Memorials he had preſented to be printed at *Seville* in 1610.

7. But, beſides theſe, there is ſtill extant a large *Spaniſh* Memorial, in which the Subſtance of what we have before related is contained, with ſuch other Circumſtances, as ſeem to ſpeak it his laſt Effort; and perhaps it was upon that Memorial the Order was made, which is before-mentioned. In that Memorial he ſays, that he diſcovered 20 Iſlands, the Names of which he mentions, beſides the Country before deſcribed, in which is *Bahya de Sant Felipe y Sant Iago*, i. e. the Bay of *St. Philip* and *James*; and *Puerto de la Vera Cruz*, i. e. the Harbour of *Vera Cruz*, where they ſtaid with Three Ships Thirty-ſix Days. He believed they were all one Country, from their high and double Mountains, and by the Greatneſs of the River *Jordan*; which appeared from an Information lodged at *Mexico*, to which he refers. He ſays further, that, in the Iſle *Taumaco*, which is 1250 Leagues from *Mexico*, they ſtaid Ten Days; and a Lord of that Iſland, who was called *Tamay*, a Man of Senſe, tall and full-bodied; his Colour of a Sea-ware, or reddiſh; grey-eyed; with an high Noſe; his Beard and Hair curled, of a grave Aſpect; was of great Service to them, with his

People, in helping them to Water. He came on board; and converſed by Signs. He inquired of him, if there were other Iſlands round them, and if inhabited. He named above Sixty of them, and a great Country called *Manicola*. They lay from South South-eaſt to North-eaſt. To deſcribe the large Iſlands he made large Circles, and ſmaller for the leſſer Iſlands; and, for the great Country, he opened his Arms, and, pointing to the Sun, ſhutting his Eyes, and laying his Head upon his Hand ſo often, made out, that it would be Ten Weeks in ſailing round them; in which were People of all Colours, ſome Friends, ſome Enemies, and Canibals; which he ſignified, by biting his Arm. The next Day, he ſaw many of his People in the Bay, who agreed in the ſame Account; and ſaid, they had Cows and Buffaloes, Fowls and Swine; which they ſignified by crowing, grunting, *&c.* to make them ſenſible of what they would expreſs to them; and, upon ſhewing them a Pearl, they ſaid, they had of them; and in every thing told the Truth, and might be depended upon. When they ſailed from *Taumaco*, they took Four of the Natives with them; Three were drowned in ſwimming, and the other, whom they called *Pedro*, came to *Mexico*; and, after learning *Spaniſh*, upon aſking him Queſtions in different Companies at different Times, he never varied once in his Account, or ever contradicted himſelf. He was a Native of an Iſland called *Chicayana*, greater than *Taumaco*, and Four Days Sailing from it. He ſaid it was plainer, and abounded more with Fruit. The Natives were moſt of his *Indian* Colour, with lank Hair; yet ſome were white, with red Hair; ſome Mulattoes, with half-curled Hair; and ſome were woolly-headed. In this Iſland were many Kinds of Oyſters, with Pearl of ſeveral Sizes, in ſhallow Water.

8. He ſaid farther, that, Three Days ſailing from *Taumaco*, was another Iſland, called *Guatopo*, greater than the other Two, peopled with ſome as white as the common *Spaniards*, with red and black Hair. He ſaid, that, from another Iſland called *Tucopia*, at the Diſtance of Five Days Sailing, was a great Country called *Manicola*, inhabited by many who were fair, as well as Mulattoes. It was an high Country, full of Rivers, which could not be paſſed but in Canoes. He talked much of the Greatneſs, Fertility, and other Advantages of that Iſland; that he and other *Indians* went thither in a great Canoe or Periagua; and he ſaw there a good Harbour, of a ſtraiter Entrance than that of *Philip* and *James*; that it was betwixt Four Rivers; and that they might coaſt along that Country more Days than in going from *Acapulco* to *Mexico*, without ſeeing the End of it. There, he ſaid, are many Pearl-oyſters. In Three Days Sailing, with a ſtiff Gale, from *Taumaco*, is another Iſland called *Fanoſano*. It is low and plain, in which are great Rivers; the Country very fertile and populous; and the Natives ſome fair, and ſome Mulattoes. Near this are the Iſlands *Pilar* and *Nupon*. In all theſe are Pearl-oyſters. He ſaid, that, in *Taumaco*, was a great *Indian* Pilot, who had been in many more Iſlands, and in one great Iſland called *Pouro*, where the People were very warlike. He brought with him from thence ſome Fiſh-gigs, and Arrows which had coloured Points. Upon ſhewing him a Piece of Plate, he ſaid, the Points were of that Colour. *De Quiros* ſays, that, in the Bay of *Philip* and *James*, were many black Stones, very heavy, ſome of which he carried to *Mexico*, in which, upon their being aſſayed, they found Silver. Upon ſhewing *Pedro* ſome of theſe, he ſaid, that, in *Taumaco*, there was much of that Sort, which they called *Teraque*; and alſo in *Manicola*. When he came to be well underſtood in *Spaniſh*, he talked much of the Populouſneſs of their ſeveral Iſlands, and of the Variety of different Colours of ſuch as inhabit in them; and of other great Countries South-eaſt and Weſt of them; which agrees exactly with the Conjectures of the beſt Judges, as well as the Experience of great Diſcoverers ſince.

9. It is a pretty extraordinary Conſequence, that many People have drawn from the Negligence of the *Spaniards* in proſecuting the Diſcoveries of theſe Countries; which is, that they took theſe Relations of *de Quiros* for Fictions; and, upon this wiſe Foundation, will have us believe, that there are no ſuch Countries as the Southern Continent or Iſlands by him deſcribed. This Opinion of theirs, however, is founded upon a falſe Fact; for his Propoſals were not rejected at Court, but he met with ſuch Delays on his Return to the *Indies*, that he died before he was able to undertake any thing. Add to this, that all who have navigated theſe Seas, or any Part of them, inſtead of confuting, have confirmed what he has delivered in relation to the Iſlands on this Southern Coaſt, and their Inhabitants. The Reader will hereafter meet with a Voyage round the World, undertaken for the Diſcovery of theſe Southern Countries by the *Dutch*, ſo lately as the Year 1721, wherein he will find, that they met with moſt of the Iſlands mentioned in *le Maire*'s Voyage, and found the Inhabitants of other Iſlands, diſcovered by themſelves, anſwer the Deſcription given by *de Quiros* very exactly; for they were perfectly civilized, dwelt in wooden Houſes, made uſe of earthen Veſſels, had Flutes and Drums for Muſic, divided their Plantations regularly, and fenced them with Poles; all which Circumſtances will be more particularly taken notice of, when we come to ſpeak of that Voyage.

10. In the mean time, I ſhall conclude this Section with obſerving, that it has been now, for many Years, a ſettled Maxim in the *Spaniſh* Politics, not only to lay aſide all Thoughts of proſecuting theſe Diſcoveries, but even to treat the Relations publiſhed of them by their beſt Authors as abſolute Romances; and this with very good Reaſon: For, finding themſelves ſo weakened, as to be no longer in a Condition to undertake any Expedition of this Nature to any great Purpoſe, and foreſeeing, that, if they ſhould eſtabliſh themſelves in Two or Three ſmall Iſlands, it would only ſerve to encourage other Nations to diſpoſſeſs them, and thereby gain not only the Settlements from whence they might be driven, but enable them to fix themſelves in the Middle between their *American* Dominions and the *Philippine* Iſlands, to their inexpreſſible Prejudice, they very prudently forego a preſent Advantage, rather than run the Riſque of ſuch a future Inconvenience: Yet, however wiſe this Conduct may be in them, it is very wonderful, that other Nations ſhould not ſee through it, eſpecially at a Time like this, when an Attempt might be made at no very great Expence, and with very little Hazard, becauſe, at all Events, our Ships might go ſafely round to the *Eaſt Indies*, as is evident by what has been ſo very lately done by Commodore *Anſon*.

11. If a Project of this ſort ſhould ever come to be maturely weighed, there is no great Reaſon to fear, that we might find a Way to indemnify ourſelves for the Loſs of the *Aſſiento*, ſince, at the worſt, if any Eſtabliſhment could be made, either on this Southern Continent, or in ſome of the Iſlands near it, the *Spaniſh* Court, upon a Peace, would be glad to renew that Contract, in Conſideration of our abandoning it, if that would content us; but, if we neglect this Opportunity, it is highly probable, that ſome other Nation will ſoon be before-hand with us, ſince there is nothing more certain, than that Schemes of this ſort are daily thought of in Countries, where Commerce and Navigation are, as it were, in their Infancy, and where, as yet, the Tyranny of excluſive Companies is not known. But it is now Time to proceed in our Hiſtory of Circum-navigations, and to ſhew how ſoon the Streights of *Le Maire* grew into Credit with thoſe, who affected to doubt the Truth of their firſt Diſcovery, and who, very probably, would have buried it in Oblivion, if the Relation in our laſt Section had not put it abſolutely out of their Power.

SECTION XI.

The Voyage of the Naſſau *Fleet round the Globe, under the Command of* JAQUES LE HERMITE.

1. *The Motives which induced Prince* Maurice, *and the States, to undertake this Expedition.* 2. *An Account of the Strength of the* Naſſau *Fleet.* 3. *Remarks on the* Dutch *Adminiſtration at that Time.* 4. *The Departure of the Fleet from* Holland *on* April 9. 1623. 5. *Accidents that befel them at their firſt ſetting out.* 6. *The Vice-admiral converts a* Dutch *Renegado.* 7. *A Mutiny puniſhed on board the* Overyſſel. 8. *The Fleet arrives in the Road of* St. Vincent. 9. *Deſcription of the Iſlands of* St. Vincent *and* St. Antonio. 10. *They arrive in the Road of* Sierra Leona. 11. *A Deſcription of* Sierra Leona, *and the Country thereabouts.* 12. *Anchor in the Road of Cape* Lopes. 13. *One of their Surgeons detected in poiſoning ſeveral of their Men, for which he was beheaded.* 14. *Their Arrival and Tranſactions at the Iſland of* Annobon. 15. *Deſcription of that Iſland.* 16. *Continue their Voyage for the Streights of* Le Maire. 17. *Their Paſſage through that Streight.* 18. *Obſervations on that Coaſt.* 19. *An Account of the* Terra del Fuego, *and its Inhabitants.* 20. *Their Paſſage into the South Sea.* 21. *Arrival at the Iſlands of* Juan Fernandez. 22. *Deſcription of thoſe Iſlands.* 23. *Diſpoſition made for attacking the* Spaniards. 24. *Several Attempts made on the Port of* Calao de Lima. 25. *Reaſons why thoſe Attempts miſcarried.* 26. *Other fruitleſs Attempts.* 27. *Death of the Admiral* Jaques le Hermite. 28. *They endeavour to treat with the* Spaniards. 29. *On the Refuſal of the* Spaniſh *Viceroy to ranſom their Priſoners, they hang them up at the Yard's-arm.* 30. *Several Diſputes with the* Spaniards. 31. *The Town of* Guaiaquil *taken by a Detachment from the Fleet.* 32. *They ſail from the Iſland of* Lima. 33. *Make a fruitleſs Attempt upon* Puna, *which at laſt they burn.* 34. *Sail from thence for* Acapulco. 35. *Proſecute their Voyage from that Port to the* Eaſt Indies. 36. *Arrive at* Guan, *One of the* Ladrones. 37. *Proceed thence to* Ternate. 38. *The Fleet ſeparates at* Batavia. 39. *The Admiral dies in his Paſſage Home, and his Ship arrives in the* Texel, January 21. 1626.

1. IT was obſerved very early, by the beſt Politicians in the *United Provinces*, that the moſt effectual Method of diſtreſſing his Catholic Majeſty, would be the ſending a Fleet into the South Seas, there to take the Ships of his Subjects, plunder the Coaſts of his extenſive Dominions, demoliſh the ſtrongeſt of his Fortifications, and thereby lay him open to the Inſults of future Squadrons of ſmaller Force. But it was thought neceſſary for the Accompliſhment of this great Deſign, that larger Ships, better manned, and provided with more authentic Commiſſions, than the Commanders of other privateering Squadrons, ſhould be ſent to execute this Commiſſion. It was likewiſe reſolved, that this great Fleet ſhould not enter the South Seas by the Streights of *Magellan*, but through the new-found Streights of *Le Maire*, that they might be ſooner in a Condition to act effectually againſt the *Spaniſh* Trade, and the *Spaniſh* Settlements. Prince *Maurice*, of *Naſſau*, was then High Admiral of *Holland*, and at the Head of the Adminiſtration; and he concurred very heartily in this Deſign, advancing a conſiderable Sum of Money towards it himſelf, and affording it all the Countenance and Encouragement that was in his Power. In the Autumn, therefore, of the Year 1622. a final Reſolution was taken by the States General, and their Stadtholder Prince *Maurice*, to put this important Deſign in Execution, by fitting out a Fleet, conſiſting of no leſs than Eleven Ships of War, beſides ſmaller Veſſels; and the neceſſary Inſtructions for this Purpoſe were given to the ſeveral Admiralties of *Holland*, and the *Eaſt India* Company, who appointed the following Commiſſioners to have the Care of arming and equipping that Fleet, *viz. Hugo Muis van Holy*, *Albert Joachimi*, and *Abraham Bruningh* *.

2. By the Care and Induſtry of theſe worthy Gentlemen, all the neceſſary Preparations were forwarded with ſuch Vigour and Diligence, that, by the Spring of the Year 1623. the Fleet was in a Condition to ſail. The principal Officers were then appointed, and the Perſon made Choice of for Admiral was *Jaques le Hermite*, an able and accompliſhed Seaman, who had been long in the Service of the *Eaſt India* Company, was accuſtomed to an extenſive Command, and had gone through the Hardſhips and Fatigues of ſeveral long Voyages. Their Vice-admiral was *Hugo Schapenham*, a Man of a ſweet Diſpoſition, and generally eſteemed equal, in point of Prudence and Capacity, to the great Truſt that was repoſed in him. The Ships fitted out by the Admiralty of *Amſterdam* were, 1. The *Amſterdam*, as Admiral, a Ship of 800 Ton, carrying 237 Men, commanded by Captain *Loenders Jacobſon Stolk*, having for Supercargo *Peter Wely*, *Engelbert Schutte* commanded the Soldiers on board, *Frederic van Reneygom* held the Poſt of Fiſcal or Judge-advocate, *John van Walbeck* was Engineer of the Fleet, and *Juſtin van Vogelaeir* Engineer extraordinary; ſhe carried Twenty Braſs, and Twenty-two Iron Cannon. 2. The *Delft*, as Vice-admiral, of the like Burden of 800 Ton, carrying 242 Men, her Commander Captain *Cornelius de Witte*, her Force Twenty Braſs, and Twenty Iron Cannon. 3. The *Eagle*, of the Burden of 400 Ton, carrying 144 Men, commanded by Captain *Meydert Egbertſon*; her Force Twelve Braſs, and Sixteen Iron Cannon. 4. A Yacht, called the *Greyhound*, of the Burden of Sixty Ton, commanded by Captain *Solomon Willemſon*, carrying Twenty Men, and Four Pieces of Braſs Cannon. The Admiralty of *Zeland* equipped for this Expedition, 1. The *Orange*, of the Burden of 700 Ton, carrying 216 Men, having on board the Rear-admiral *John William Verſchoor*, and under him was Captain *Laurence John Quirynen*. The Admiralty of *Holland* fitted out: 1. The *Holland*, of the Burden of 600 Ton, carrying 182 Men, having on board *Cornelius Jacobſon*, Counſellor to their Admiral, but commanded immediately by Captain *Adrian Toll*; her Force conſiſted of Ten Pieces of Braſs, and Twenty of Iron Cannon. 2. The *Maurice*, of the Burden of 360 Tons, carrying 169 Men, commanded by Captain *James Adrianſon*, having Twelve Braſs, and Twenty Iron Cannon. 3. The *Hope*, of the Burden of 260 Ton, carrying Eighty Men, commanded by Captain *Peter Hermanſon Slobbe*, having Fourteen Iron Cannon. The Admiralty of *North Holland* ſent forth, 1. The *Concord*, of the Burden of 600 Ton, carrying 170 Men, commanded by Captain *John Ysbrandtz*; her Force conſiſted of Eighteen Braſs, and Fourteen Iron Cannon. 2. The *King David*, of the Burden of 360 Ton, carrying Seventy-nine Men, commanded by Captain *John Thomaſon*, carrying Sixteen Pieces of Braſs Cannon. 3. The *Griffin*, of the Burden of 320 Ton, carrying Seventy-eight Men, commanded by Captain *Peter Corneliſon Hurdloop*, having Fourteen Pieces of Iron Cannon. The whole Force of this Fleet conſiſted in Eleven Sail of ſtout Ships, carrying 1637 Men, of which 600 were regular Troops, divided into Five Companies, conſiſting of 120 Men each, and carrying 294 Pieces of Braſs and Iron Cannon. The *Eaſt India* Company contributed largely to the Expence, though it

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* This curious and important Voyage, which is ſo often mentioned in the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* Hiſtories, appears here for the Firſt time in *Engliſh*.

does not appear, that they equipped any Ships. This Fleet was by far the moſt conſiderable that had been hitherto ſent againſt the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt Indies*.

3. We muſt obſerve, in order to the perfect underſtanding the Hiſtory of this remarkable Voyage, the moſt important by far that ever was undertaken into thoſe Parts by the *Dutch*, that the Government of *Holland* differed much from what it was before, or what it has been ſince; being in fact rather a Monarchy than a Republic, the Prince of *Orange* doing all, but in the Name of the States; the executive Power, under colour of Neceſſity, and upon Pretence of taking care of the Public, having uſurped the Sovereignty. The Reader may very well wonder at ſeeing ſuch an Introduction as this to a Voyage round the World; but the Neceſſity of the Thing muſt excuſe it. Moſt of the Captains, and other Officers, ſtood indebted for their Commiſſions to Court Favour; Prince *Maurice*, a Land Admiral, granted them; and he had in View in this, as well as in other Things, the eſtabliſhing his own Power, as well as ſerving the State. There is a certain Ruggedneſs in the Diſpoſitions of Men, who are beſt ſuited to go through the Difficulties of ſuch Commands, which, at the ſame time, renders them very unfit for making their Court to the great Men who beſtow them, eſpecially if thoſe great Men have arrived at their Stations by Birth, Intereſt, or Intrigues, inſtead of Service. For it is with reſpect to Sea Affairs, the ſame as with regard to other Affairs, no Man, who is not himſelf verſed in them, can pretend to know how far another underſtands them; and hence it frequently happens, that, without any ill Intention towards the Public, Commands are beſtowed in ſuch a manner, as turn greatly to the public Prejudice. Theſe Reflections, which lie in a very narrow Compaſs, will ſave the Reader, as well as myſelf, a great deal of Trouble, becauſe they will enable him, without my Aſſiſtance, to account for moſt of the untoward Accidents which happened in, and proved the Overthrow of this Expedition. It may not be amiſs, likewiſe, to obſerve, that I do not make theſe Remarks of my own Head, but on the Authority of the famous *John de Witte*, the moſt celebrated Stateſman, the moſt accurate Writer of the Nation, whom they concern; and I have thrown them into a ſeparate Paragraph, that they might not interfere with a Relation, in which I keep not only to the Senſe, but uſe the very Words of the original Hiſtorian of this Voyage, to which we may now ſafely proceed.

4. The *Naſſau* Fleet, as it was called, ſailed from the *Goeree* on *April* 29. 1623. conſiſting of the Admiral, Nine Ships, and the Yacht. In the Evening, on the 30th, they were informed, that the *Eagle* had ſprung a Leak; and that, in a very few Hours time, they had pumped 3000 Barrels of Water: About the ſame time, the *Orange*, which was the Rear-admiral, joined them. On *May* 1. it was reſolved in Council to put into the *Iſle of Wight*, in order, if poſſible, to ſtop the Leak in the *Eagle*. The *Hope* and the *Orange* running foul of each other, the former had her Bowſprit very much damaged, and the Mizen-maſt of the latter came by the Board. In the Afternoon, the whole Fleet anchored at *Portſmouth*, except the *Hope*, the Captain of which, out of pure Vanity, would needs take a Courſe different from that of the reſt of the Fleet, in conſequence of which, he run aſhore, and was in great Danger of periſhing; but the Vice-admiral going in Perſon with all the Shallops of the Fleet to her Aſſiſtance, and taking out the Guns, lightened the Ship ſo, that ſhe got off, and the Night following joined the Fleet. *May* 2. they anchored under *Cowes* Caſtle; there they haled the *Eagle* on ſhore, and found the Leak to be owing intirely to bad Management in Building, ſuch Spaces being left between the Seams, that a Knife might have entered, Haft and all: By the 6th, ſhe was fit to put to Sea: On the 8th, they ſailed from the *Iſle of Wight*; but, the Wind dying away, they were forced to anchor without the *Needles*, in order to wait for the *Orange* and the *Greyhound*, the latter of which joined them on the 9th, and the former on the 4th.

5. In the Night between the 13th and 14th, the Admiral having given Orders for firing a Gun, as a Signal for ſailing; by ſome Accident or other in the charging, it burſt, blew up part of both Decks, demoliſhed all the Cabins that were near it, and ſent Numbers of the Seamens Cheſts into the Air. It was a Gunner's Mate who fired it, and who was ſo lucky as to eſcape without the leaſt Hurt; but another of the Gunner's Crew, who was near him, had his Arm broke in Two Places, and died ſoon after. The 29th, they were in the Latitude of 40 40′, and the ſame Day the Admiral gave Orders, that the Ships ſhould extend themſelves, but ſo as not to loſe Sight of him, in order, if poſſible, to meet with the Plate Fleet, but were every Night to return to the Flag. On the 30th, it was reſolved in Council to keep as near as poſſible the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, in order to take ſome Prizes, that they might be the better informed as to the Situation of Things, when that Plate Fleet was expected, and what Courſe it was like to hold, that they might regulate their own Proceedings accordingly.

6. On the 31ſt, they ſpoke with Three *Turkiſh* Corſairs, who informed them, that they had been chaſed by Six *Spaniſh* Men of War off Cape *St. Vincent*. In the Evening they ſpoke with Two other Corſairs, of which One was ſo far engaged in the *Dutch* Fleet, that the *Concord* obliged her to bring to, and the Captain of her was ordered on board the Admiral. On *June* 1. the ſame Captain returned, and demanded from the Admiral the Reſtitution of Five Slaves, which he ſaid were carried off by the Vice-admiral's Shallop, when he boarded him; aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that he had purchaſed theſe Slaves at *Algiers*: But when this Matter came to be examined, and the Five Slaves were produced, they proved to be honeſt *Dutch* Sailors, who aſſerted, that there were others likewiſe on board the ſame Ship, that had been taken on board Merchantmen bound for the *Levant*. As, in conſequence of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the States General and the Regency of *Algiers*, theſe Slaves ought to have been ſet at Liberty, they ſent for the reſt from on board the Ship, and charged the Captain with a Letter to the *Dutch* Conſul at *Algiers*; but he could not be perſuaded to think this a reaſonable Equivalent for ſo many able Seamen, which, however, he was obliged to part with, and they were entered on board ſeveral Ships, and were allowed preſent Pay. On the 14th, at Break of Day, they chaſed Ten Sail of Ships, with armed Shallops, of which they took Four, Three of them ſmall Barks, and the other a little Ship. On board this laſt, there were ſome Priſoners of Diſtinction; amongſt the reſt a Prieſt, and a *Spaniſh* Nobleman, whoſe Name was *Auguſtino Oſorio*. This little Squadron was homeward-bound from *Fernambuco*, laden with Sugar; where they took in the *Spaniſh* Nobleman, who had reſided long at *Peru*, and who had travelled by Land to *Buenos Ayres*, in order to meet with this Paſſage Home. On the 7th, while they were chaſing a *Turkiſh* Corſair, the Prizes lay a little behind, which being perceived by another Corſair, he attempted to carry them off; and had certainly done it, if the Vice-admiral, perceiving his Deſign in time, had not bore down upon them immediately. The Corſair had, at that time, a Chriſtian Slave at the Helm, who took his Opportunity to run the Ship on board the *Dutch* Vice-admiral, into which himſelf, and many of the Slaves, leaped as ſoon as they could. It ſo happened, that the Captain of the Corſair was a *Dutch* Renegado, whoſe Name was *Henry Hermanſon*, a Native of *Enchuyſen*, who followed them quickly, and demanded that they ſhould be reſtored: But the Vice-admiral, inſtead of liſtening to his Requeſt, expoſtulated with him on the Folly of deſerting his Country and Religion; and this had ſuch an Effect, that he ſent for all that belonged to him from on board the Privateer, and agreed to go along with the Fleet, which gave no ſmall Uneaſineſs to the *Turks*, who, by this means, loſt Seventeen good Men, and their Captain.

7. On the 8th, a Council was called on the Report of this Captain, that there were no leſs than Thirty *Spaniſh* Men of War in thoſe Seas. In this Council it was ſtrongly argued, that, as their Ships were deep-laden, ſo that it was impoſſible to make any Uſe of the lower Tire of Guns, without removing many Things that were neceſſary for the Voyage, which muſt be likewiſe greatly retarded, in caſe they remained longer upon that Coaſt, a Reſolution was thereupon taken to bear away immediately for the Road

Saſia, where there were ſeveral *Dutch* Ships, in order to put on board them the Merchandize taken in the Prizes, that it might be immediately tranſported to *Holland*. On the 12th, they came to an Anchor in that Road, where they found the *Overyſſel*, a *Dutch* Man of War, and Three other Veſſels of the ſame Nation, and Two other Ships, One *Engliſh*, and One *French*. The Captain came on board the Admiral the next Day, and informed him, that his Ship's Company had mutinied, and had deprived him of his Command. The Admiral immediately ordered the Authors of this Diſturbance to be put in Irons on board his Ship, directing, at the ſame time, the *Overyſſel* to take the beſt Part of the Sugar on board, and to prepare for her Return to *Holland*. It was reſolved alſo to ſend back with her the Yacht called the *Greyhound*, on account of her heavy ſailing, and to keep the little *Spaniſh* Ship in her ſtead, on board which were put the Captain of the Yacht, and his Crew. They likewiſe reſolved to keep another of the *Spaniſh* Veſſels, becauſe ſhe was new, well built, and a good Sailor, and becauſe they were but indifferently provided with Yachts. On the 18th, the Priſoners from on board the *Overyſſel* were examined; and, the Captain having deſired Seven Officers of the Fleet to aſſiſt him, they were brought to their Trials on the 21ſt, when Four, who were fully proved to have formed a Deſign of running away with the Ship, were hanged at the Yard's-arm; and Three more, who were deep in the Mutiny, but not the Authors of it, were firſt Keelhawled, and then put on board the Fleet to ſerve without Wages. To ſpeak the Truth, however, one great Cauſe of this Miſchief was, the Captain's not knowing well how to maintain his Authority. On the 24th, the Fleet ſailed out of *Saſia* Bay, conſiſting now of Sixteen Sail; and, in the Evening, the *Overyſſel*, the *Greyhound*, and the Two Barks, quitted the reſt, in order to return to *Holland*.

8. On *July* 5. the Fleet anchored in the Road of *St. Vincent*, which is extremely ſafe and commodious; and, as it was well known, that the rainy Seaſon would not commence there in a Month, and that it already began to rain at *Sierra Leona*, it was reſolved to diſarm the Ships here, and to do every thing that was intended to be done there, except taking in Water, which could not be done, becauſe the Hoops of their Water-caſks were bad, and there was no Wood in that Neighbourhood to repair them. The Rear-admiral was thereupon ordered to go to the Iſland of *St. Antonio* with Three Shallops, and to carry with him ſome of the *Portugueſe* Priſoners, to try, if poſſible, to obtain Leave to gather Lemons and Oranges by fair means, ſince otherwiſe they muſt be taken by foul. It was alſo reſolved, that all the ſick Men ſhould go on ſhore, and the Two Companies ſhould be left there as a Guard, and be regularly relieved once a Week; they likewiſe dug a Well on Shore, which ſoon furniſhed them with good Water. On the 7th, the Rear-admiral returned from *St. Antonio*, and reported, that he had been very well received by the Negroes, who ſhewed him vaſt Quantities of Oranges and Lemons, together with Fig-trees, the Fruit of which were not ripe. They likewiſe put into his Hands Four Letters, the laſt of which was dated from on board the *Leyden*, all certifying, that the *Dutch* Ships, which at any time put in there, had been received well. On the 9th, there was a Sermon preached in the Iſland of *St. Vincent*. They took there every Night a great Number of Tortoiſes, and as much Fiſh as they could tell what to do with; but they found it difficult to get any Goats at firſt; but by degrees they grew better acquainted with the manner of hunting them, and every Ship got at leaſt Fifteen or Sixteen in a Day for the Uſe of the Company. On the 22d, the Vice-admiral embarked on board the new Yacht, which was now called the *Greyhound*, taking with him Two armed Shallops, and all the Priſoners, except the *Spaniſh* Count *Oſorio*; theſe they landed on the Iſland, giving them their Liberty, and allowing each Man Twelve Reals, that is, about an *Engliſh* Crown, for his Subſiſtence. There they ſupplied themſelves with about 22,000 Oranges, and left a Letter with the Negroes, in the nature of a Certificate of their good Behaviour. On *July* 25. they ſailed from theſe Iſlands, in order to proſecute their Voyage.

9. The Iſlands of *St. Vincent*, and *St. Antonio*, are ſituated the fartheſt to the Weſt of all the Iſlands of the Cape *de Verd*; they lie from 16° 30′ to 18° North Latitude, at the Diſtance of about Two Leagues from each other. The Bay of *St. Vincent*, where they anchored, lies in 16° 56′; they found 18, 20, and 25 Fathom Water, the Bottom being a firm Sand. The Iſland of *St. Vincent* is rocky, barren, and uncultivated, having very little freſh Water. They found, however, a ſmall Spring, which might have ſerved Two or Three Ships; but, by digging Wells, they obtained plenty of Water, which they thought tolerable, though it was ſomewhat brackiſh, to which they attributed the bloody Flux, that began ſoon after to reign in their Fleet. The Goats there are very fat, and the beſt-taſted in the World. The Tortoiſes they took were from Two to Three Feet long, and they caught them as they came aſhore to lay their Eggs, which they cover with Sand, and then leave them to be hatched by the Sun. The Seaſon of their laying is from *Auguſt* to *February*; all the reſt of the Year they remain in the Sea. The Sailors eſteemed them a wholſome and pleaſant Food, taſting rather like Fleſh than Fiſh. This Iſland is abſolutely deſert, but once a Year the Inhabitants of *St. Lucia* come thither, in order to catch Tortoiſes for their Oil, as alſo to hunt Goats for the ſake of their Skins, which they ſend to *Portugal*, and the Fleſh they carry to *St. Iago*, where it is ſalted, dried, and exported to *Braſil*. There are no Fruit-trees in this Iſland, except a few wild Figs, which grow in the very Heart of it; and the only Product of the Iſland, beſides, is Coloquintida, which is a very rough Purge. The Country is exceſſively dry, excepting the rainy Seaſon, which begins in *Auguſt*, and ends in *February*, though not very regularly. The Iſland of *St. Antonio* is inhabited by Negroes, to the Number of about 500, Men, Women, and Children; they live there as well as in the other Iſlands, chiefly upon their Goats. There is a little Cotton, and but a little. On the Sea-ſide there is a vaſt Plantation of Oranges and Lemons, where they can gather 50,000 in a Seaſon. The Negroes very readily trucked them for Mercery Goods; they ſaw neither Hog, Sheep, or Fowl, upon the Iſland. On the 4th of *Auguſt*, they found themſelves in 11° 30′ of Latitude, the Wind at South-weſt. They endured, from the Time they ſailed from the Iſland of *St. Vincent*, continual Rain; the Inconveniencies ariſing from which, joined to the Effects of the bad Water they drank there, occaſioned an epidemic Diſorder, which carried off abundance of People.

10. On the 1ſt, they ſaw the high Coaſt of *Sierra Leona*; and, on the Eleventh, they anchored in the Road; and the Vice-admiral went aſhore in order to find a proper Watering-place, and where they might hale the *Greyhound* on ſhore, to ſtop her Leak. When he came back, he brought with him ſome Negroes, who deſired to ſee what Ships they were that lay in their Road, leaving Part of his Crew as Hoſtages. On the 13th, the Negroes inſiſting on a Preſent before they would ſuffer any to go on ſhore, the Admiral ſent Two Bars of Iron, Two Pieces of Cloth, and a few Ribbands, to the King's Brother, and to the Captain of the Town, with which they were very well content. The next Day they came on board, to make a Viſit to the Admiral, to whom they preſented an Elephant's Tooth, and ſome Fowls, for which they were amply recompenſed. The King's Brother had on a Suit of ſtriped Cloth, made after the *Dutch* Faſhion, with blue Breeches, and ſcarlet Slippers; as for the Captain, he was dreſſed after the ordinary Faſhion of the Country, and ſeemed to be a Man who had his Reputation much at Heart. The 15th, ſome of the Crew of the Vice-admiral found ſome Nuts aſhore that very much reſembled Nutmegs, only the Kernels were ſomewhat bigger; they eat them, and, as they had a fine Taſte, made pretty free with them; but they had ſcarce got on board, before one of them dropt down dead upon the Deck; and, before he was throughly cold, purple Spots appeared all over him; but, by the taking of proper Medicines, the reſt eſcaped. On the 25th of *Auguſt*, the *Maurice* had like to have been loſt through Careleſſneſs; for, having careened her, they forgot to ſhut the Scupper-holes; and, by this means, ſhe

had Eight Foot Water in her Hold before it was perceived. On the 28th, the Captain of that Ship died, as did alſo the Clerk and Supercargo of the *Amſterdam*. The Three Seamen that had been puniſhed for the Mutiny in the *Overyſſel*, having behaved very well ſince they came on board the Fleet, were now allowed Pay.

11. On the 4th of *September* they weighed Anchor from *Sierra Leona*, which is a Mountain on the Continent on the South Side of the Mouth of a River, which diſcharges itſelf into the Sea on the Weſt Coaſt of *Afric*. The Road in which Ships uſually anchor, lies in the Latitude of 8° 20′ North. This Mountain is very high and thick, covered with Trees, by which means it is eaſily known by ſuch as approach it from the North, there being no Mountain of the like Height upon that Coaſt. There grow here a prodigious Number of Trees, that produce a ſmall kind of Lemons, reſembling thoſe of *Spain* in Shape and Taſte; they are called Limaſſes, and are very agreeable and wholſome, if not eaten to Exceſs. But this Fleet arriving at the Time they were in Perfection, and the Inhabitants giving them Leave to take as many as they pleaſed, they eat of them ſo intemperately, and, in Conjunction with the bad Air, they increaſed the Bloody-flux to ſuch a Degree, that, between the 11th of *Auguſt*, and the 5th of *September*, they loſt Forty Men. There are alſo at *Sierra Leona* abundance of Palm-trees, and ſome Ananas, plenty of all ſorts of Wood, and a Watering-place exceedingly convenient oppoſite to the Road. On the Rocks they found the Name of *Francis Drake*, and other *Engliſhmen*, who had been there.

12. On the 4th, the Admiral fell ſick. From the 11th to the 28th, they ſailed with a South Wind; and, though it is looked upon as certain, that there are ſtrong Currents in the Gulph of *Guiney*, yet they were not ſenſible of them, but found every Day's Run agree perfectly well with their Charts. On the 29th, they found themſelves off the Iſland of *St. Thomas*; and, on the 1ſt of *October*, they anchored in the Road of Cape *Lopes*; but, as they found the Water there very thick, ſtinking, and but a ſmall Quantity, they reſolved to ſail to the Iſland of *Annobon*; but the Wind, proving contrary, drove them back, ſo that they had much ado to recover the Cape. On the 4th in the Evening, both the Admiral and Vice-admiral ſtruck on a Bank of Sand, which occaſioned a great deal of Trouble and Confuſion in the Fleet; but, however, with great Care and Induſtry, both Ships were got off. The Admiral having aſſiſted in Perſon in the Shallops that were employed for this Purpoſe, the better to encourage the Seamen, and keep every Man to his Duty, it brought upon him a Relapſe, which he never recovered. On the 6th, the Fleet endeavoured to regain the Road of Cape *Lopes*, ſome of the Sailors having aſſured their Officers, that, by digging Wells on the Coaſt, they might find good Water. On the 7th they came to an Anchor, and ſent a Captain on ſhore to put this Advice in Execution; who, on his Return, reported to the Admiral, that he had been at the common Watering-place, where there was now Water ſufficient for the whole Fleet. Upon which it was determined to water here, but to proceed nevertheleſs to the Iſland of *Annobon*, in order to procure other Refreſhments for the Uſe of the ſick Men, the Scurvy prevailing exceſſively in every Ship in the Fleet.

13. A very odd Affair fell out while they were at anchor here, which, for its Singularity, deſerves to be mentioned. There were abundance of Seamen loſt on board the *Maurice*, and it was obſerved, that many of theſe died ſoon after they had taken the Surgeon's Medicines, with Circumſtances very ſuſpicious. The Matter being debated in Council, and the Facts clearly proved, the Vice-admiral and Rear-admiral were directed to ſend for *James Verger* the Surgeon, and to examine him very cloſely. This they accordingly did, but to very little Purpoſe; for, notwithſtanding all their Exhortations to confeſs, he could not be brought to ſay a Word; upon which they had recourſe to the Torture, directing him to be drawn up to a great Height by a Rope, and then ſuddenly let fall, having great Weights at his Hands and Feet; which he not only endured with Conſtancy, but inſolently told them, he gave himſelf no Pain about what Methods they thought fit to take. This Inſenſibility induced a Suſpicion, that he had ſome Charm about him, which hindered his Feeling; upon which he was ſearched, and, in a little Bag, which hung about his Neck, they found the Skin and Tongue of a Serpent. On the 16th, they appointed another Examination, of which, when the Criminal had Notice by their coming to take him out of Irons, he ſprung out of the Hands of the Men who were ordered to conduct him, and, though he was pinioned, threw himſelf over the Ship-ſide. A Trumpeter, who was near him, jumped after, and endeavoured to ſave him; but the Surgeon made ſuch ſtrong Efforts, that he had very near both drowned himſelf, and the Trumpeter; which a Sailor obſerving, threw himſelf into the Sea, and kept his Head above Water by Force, till the Shallop came and took them all Three up. After this Attempt, perceiving that he ſhould be too ſtrictly watched ever to meet with ſuch an Opportunity again, he made the following free Confeſſion: He ſaid he was a Native of the City of *Louvaine* in *Flanders*, deſcended from *Spaniſh* Parents, and a Licentiate in Surgery and Phyſic: That he had wilfully deſtroyed Seven Men, becauſe they gave him a great deal of Trouble, in order to be the ſooner rid of them; that he was reſolved to attempt ſome extraordinary Cures; and, in caſe he ſucceeded, to demand an Order from the Admiral to dine at the Captain's Table; which Favour if refuſed him, he reſolved to poiſon the Admiral, Vice-admiral, and every Officer that he ſuſpected being againſt his Requeſt: that he had reſolved to make a Contract with the Devil, and, for that Purpoſe, had invoked him often, but without Effect; that, ſince he had been in Irons, he had often attempted to deſtroy himſelf; and, with this View, had tried to ſuffocate himſelf with his Pillow. There appeared ſtrong Reaſons for ſuſpecting him of other Crimes, but, being ſatisfied with this free Confeſſion, the Council, which aſſembled on board the *Delft*, on account of the Admiral's being very weak, paſſed Sentence of Death upon him on the 17th; and the next Day he had his Head ſtruck off on board his own Ship the *Maurice*, which put an End to an Affair that had given the Officers of the Fleet a great deal of Trouble.

14. On the 20th in the Morning, they had Sight of the Iſland of *St. Thomas*; but the Vice-admiral being ſent to examine whether there was a good Road, and proper Refreſhments to be met with there, he, on his Return, reported in the Negative; and the Wind continuing contrary, the Scurvy prevailing in the Fleet, and there being little Probability of their getting to *Annobon*, the Admiral directed a Day of ſolemn Prayer; and the Miniſter had Inſtructions to make a Diſcourſe ſuitable to the Occaſion, imploring the Divine Favour towards thoſe, who were ſick in the Fleet; the Preſervation of thoſe, who were yet in Health; and the giving an happy Iſſue to the Endeavours of the Officers to find a proper Place for Refreſhment. They then ſteered their Courſe Weſt, in order to meet with a South-eaſt Wind. On the 29th, to their great Surprize, they ſaw the Iſland of *Annobon*, at the Diſtance of about Ten Leagues to the South South-weſt. That which made it appear extraordinary, was their miſſing it when they endeavoured to find it; and their falling upon it now, when they had quite altered their Courſe. On the 30th, they anchored in the Road of *Annobon*; and, the next Day, *Cornelius Jacobſon* and the Fiſcal went on ſhore, where they were received with a Flag of Truce; and the Governor Don *Antonio Nunez de Matos* gave his Conſent, that they ſhould deal with the Natives freely for whatever they wanted, take in Water, gather as many Oranges as they thought fit, and that they ſhould place a Guard of Soldiers at the Watering-place, for the Security of their Seamen; upon this ſingle Condition, that they behaved diſcreetly, and did nobody any Wrong. The Shallops came on board in the Evening, with Water and Oranges. On *November* 1. they obtained Forty Hogs, and a conſiderable Quantity of Fowls, in Exchange for Salt. On the 3d, they made the Governor a Preſent to the Value of 300 Livres; with which he was, by no means, ſatisfied. Beſides, ſome of the *Dutch* Seamen had inſulted the Negroes near the Watering-place, and had taken from them their Fowls, without paying them; which, with ſome other aggravating Circumſtances,

provoked the Governor to ſuch a Degree, that he was on the Point of arreſting the Vice-admiral, and ſome other Officers, who were on ſhore; but, reflecting that they came in Confidence of the Promiſe he had made them, he ſuffered them to retire; but told them withal, that they ſhould have a care another time of relying too much on the Word of any Officer; for that it was then in his Power to have carried them up into the Mountains, from whence all the Force of their Fleet could not reſcue them, even if it had been twice as ſtrong as it was. After this, they parted civilly on both Sides. To ſay the Truth, it was a great Indiſcretion in the Vice-admiral *Cornelius Jacobſon*, and many other Officers, to put themſelves thus in the Power of a *Portugueſe* Governor, upon his bare Word, and that without the leaſt Neceſſity. In this Caſe therefore the *Dutch* Officers were greatly to blame, and the Governor deſerved much Commendation, for not laying hold of Pretences ſo plauſible to break his Promiſe. In this Iſland, a *Spaniard*, and a *Greek*, whom they had delivered from Slavery, deſerted them.

15. The Eaſt End of the Iſland of *Annobon*, where the Road and the Village lie, is in 1° 20′ South Latitude. The Iſland is about Six Leagues in Circumference; the Land high, and tolerably good, inhabited by about 150 Families of Negroes, governed by Two or Three *Portugueſe*, to whom they are extremely ſubmiſſive. If any of them fail in their Duty, they are immediately ſent away to *St. Thomas*; which is all the Puniſhment they have to fear; and indeed they are in the utmoſt Dread of it. The Iſland abounds in Bananas, Ananas, Cocoa-nuts, Tamarinds, and Sugar-canes; but what principally invites Ships to put in here to refreſh, is, the great Plenty they have of Oranges. In the Three Days the *Dutch* Fleet remained here, they gathered upwards of 200,000, excluſive of what the Seamen eat on ſhore; and the Governor told them, that there had been ſeveral Ships there that Year, which had gathered more. Theſe Oranges are of an excellent Taſte, neither too ſweet, nor too ſharp, prodigiouſly large, and full of Juice; ſome of them weighed Three-quarters of a Pound, and taſted as if they had been perfumed. They are ripe all the Year round; but there is a certain Seaſon, in which they are beſt, and fitteſt for keeping. That Seaſon was paſt when the *Dutch* were there; for they were then moſtly too ripe, and began to rot. They have likewiſe Lemons in the Iſland. And, with reſpect to Cattle, they have Oxen, Cows, Goats, and Hogs alſo in Plenty; which the Negroes ſell for Salt. On the South-eaſt Part of the Iſland there is a good Watering-place; but difficult to find, and commanded by a Stone Breaſtwork, from whence the Negroes might do a great deal of Miſchief to any, who ſhould attempt to water by Force. They have alſo in *Annobon* a good deal of Cotton, which they gather, and card, to be ſent into *Portugal*. The Natives are treacherous, and therefore ought to be cautiouſly dealt with.

16. On *November* 4. they ſailed from *Annobon*. On *January* 6. 1624. they were in the Latitude of 44° 40′ South, when they ſaw many Sea-mews, and much Herbage floating on the Water; whence they conjectured they were not far from the Southern Continent. On the 19th, the Sea appeared as red as Blood; which, they afterwards found, proceeded from an infinite Number of ſmall Shrimps floating on its Surface. On the 26th, being in the Height of 51° 10′, they had a ſtrong Gale from the South-weſt, ſo piercingly cold, that a poor Seaman, who was in Irons, had his Legs frozen. This cold Wind laſted Twenty-four Hours. On the 28th, they loſt Sight of their Bark, which they never beheld any more. There were in it Eighteen Men, Three of them *Portugueſe*; and the Veſſel was very indifferently victualled. They were afterwards informed, that theſe poor People, having, in vain, uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to join the Fleet, reſolved to return to *Holland*; but, wanting Water, they entered the *Rio de la Plata*, and ran up, till they found the Water freſh; after which, they continued their Voyage, ſuffering incredible Fatigues, and all the Extremity of Want, till they arrived on the Coaſt of *England*, where, being chaſed by a *Dunkirk* Privateer, they ran their little Veſſel aſhore, and afterwards arrived ſafe in *Holland*. On *February* 1. they ſaw Land at the Diſtance of about Five Leagues to the South South-weſt, which was Cape *de Pennas*, and which looked, at that Diſtance, like a Range of high Mountains, covered with Snow. It was impoſſible to know, whether the Entrance of the Streights of *le Maire* was properly laid down in the Charts, with reſpect to its Diſtance and Bearing, by their Navigation. The Reaſon was, becauſe the Pilots had got into a very bad Cuſtom of ſetting down half the Ship's Run when within Sight of Land, and doubling it when out at Sea, and apprehenſive of making Land. As their Inſtructions reſtrained them from touching on the Coaſt of *Braſil* to the North of *Rio de la Plata*, they did all they could to diſcover that River; but ſoon found, that the South-weſt Winds had driven them much to the Eaſt; which ought to be a Warning to ſuch as endeavour to paſs the Streights of *le Maire*, to fall in, as ſoon as may be, with the *Braſil* Coaſt, as the moſt likely Way to meet with Winds favourable to their Voyage.

17. On *February* 2. they found themſelves at the Mouth of the Streight; which they had never ſo much as ſuſpected, if *Valentine Janſon*, the Pilot of the Vice-admiral, who had paſſed them in the *Spaniſh* Caravels, had not known them by the high Lands on the Weſt Coaſt; which made him continue his Route with the Ship under his Care. The Mouth, however, is eaſily diſtinguiſhed, becauſe the Country on the Eaſt, which is called *States Land*, is mountainous, but withal broken, and very uneven; and the Weſt Side, which is called *Maurice Land*, has ſeveral ſmall round Hills cloſe to the Shore. When they gained the Entrance of the Streights, they ſaw Two Ships at Anchor in the Bay, which they afterwards called *Valentine's Bay*, where they had anchored, if they had not been prevented by a Shallop from One of the Ships, which, by Signals, made them apprehend, that it was dangerous; tho' they afterwards found, that this was a groundleſs Apprehenſion. The Author of the Voyage obſerves, that, when the Reader finds they ſpent Nine Months in ſailing from *Holland* to the Mouth of the Streights, he may be led to imagine the Voyage very dangerous, and almoſt impracticable; which, however, is far from being the Truth, if it be undertaken at the proper Seaſon of the Year; for, as he obſerves, the *Spaniſh* Caravels, which paſſed that Streight in the Year 1620, did not ſail from *Liſbon* till the Month of *October*; and, notwithſtanding they remained a conſiderable Time in the *Rio de Janeiro*, yet they entered the Streights in the Month of *February* following. The Reaſon therefore that this *Dutch* Fleet were ſo long at Sea, proceeded from their ſailing too early in the Year from *Holland*, and paſſing the Line at an improper Seaſon. Such as would make this Paſſage eaſily and certainly, ſhould contrive to paſs the Line in the End of *October*, or in the Beginning of *November*, becauſe then they may be morally certain of meeting with the North Wind between the Tropics; which will very much facilitate their Paſſage through the Streights of *le Maire*.

18. On *February* 6. they had Sight of Cape *Horn*, which then bore from them Three Leagues North North-eaſt. On the 11th, they were in 58° 30′ South Latitude, the Weather exceſſively cold; which rigorous Seaſon the Seamen were the leſs able to bear, on account of their being at Short-allowance. On the 14th, they found a great Variation in the Compaſs; but were not able to ſettle it, becauſe all the Compaſſes in the Fleet differed from each other; at which they were exceedingly ſurpriſed. In the Afternoon, the Admiral called a Council, to deliberate about the Currents, with the Advice of all the Pilots; but, at the very Inſtant that the white Flag was hoiſted as a Signal, they diſcovered Cape *Horn* about Seven Leagues to the Weſt; from whence it plainly appeared, that the Currents had driven them ſtrongly to the Eaſt; whereas they imagined they ſet there to the Weſt, according to the Account given by *le Maire*; and all their Pilots had agreed, that they were then very far to the Weſt of the Cape. On the 16th, they were in the Latitude of 56° 10′, Cape *Horn* lying then Eaſt. They were then in Sight of Two Iſlands, lying Fourteen or Fifteen Leagues Weſt of the Cape, which were not ſet down in the Charts. On the 17th, the Admiral anchored in a large Bay, which they named *Naſſau Bay*. On the 18th, they diſcovered another, in which there was very good Anchorage, with great Conveniency of Wooding and Watering: This they called the Bay of *Schapenham*,

pendium, after their Vice-admiral. On the 22d, while they were taking in Water, there aroſe a ſudden Storm, which obliged ſome of the Sailors to remain on ſhore; and at the ſame time they ſaw a Body of Savages near the Watering-place, who were converſing with them very freely and amicably. On the 23d in the Afternoon, the Storm roſe again, with greater Violence than before; ſo that Nineteen Men belonging to the *Eagle* were compelled to remain on ſhore again, not being able to get back to their Shallop, though they endeavoured it all they could.

19. On the 24th, the Shallops returned to the Coaſt, and, coming to the Watering-place, found only Two Men alive of the Nineteen they had left there the Evening before. The Savages had come down upon them as ſoon as it grew dark, and had knocked Seventeen on the Head with their Slings, and wooden Clubs; which yet was the more eaſy for them to do, ſince none of theſe poor Men had any Arms: Yet none of the Seamen had offered the leaſt Injury or Inſult to theſe Savages. There were only Five dead Bodies found upon the Shore, among which were thoſe of the Pilot, and Two Boys. The latter were cut into Quarters, and the former was ſtrangely mangled; but the Savages had carried off all the reſt, in order, as it was ſuppoſed, to eat them. The Shallops, for the future, never went aſhore without Eight or Ten Soldiers on board for their Defence; but this Precaution was taken a little of the lateſt, ſince none of theſe brutal Savages appeared any more. On the 25th, the Vice-admiral went on board the *Greyhound*, in order to viſit the Coaſt. At his Return, he informed the Admiral, that, going aſhore where he ſaw Smoke, he found ſome of the Savages Huts, and had anchored that Night in a Road, to which he gave the Name of his Ship. He alſo reported, that he had found the *Terra del Fuego*, as it is marked in the Charts, divided into ſeveral Iſlands; and that, in order to go into the South Sea, it was not at all neceſſary to double Cape *Horn*; but that they might leave it on the South, and enter in on the Eaſt, the Bay of *Naſſau* paſſing into the open Sea by the Weſt of that Cape; and that he apprehended there were ſeveral Paſſages out of the Bay of *Naſſau* into the Streights of *Magellan*. The greateſt Part of the *Terra del Fuego* is mountainous; but adorned with many fine Valleys and Meadows, watered by ſeveral agreeable Rivulets, that ran down from the Hills. Between the Iſlands there are good Roads, where whole Fleets may anchor with Safety, and where there is all imaginable Conveniency for Wooding, Watering, and taking in Ballaſt. The Winds, that rage here more than in any other Country in the World, and with a Violence not to be expreſſed, blow conſtantly from the Weſt, and may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to proceed from watery Exhalations. Such Ships therefore, as are bound Weſterly, ought to avoid this Coaſt as much as they can poſſibly, keeping as far as may be to the South; and it is thereby very likely they may meet with South Winds, which muſt bring them to their deſired Port. The Inhabitants of this Country are as fair as any in *Europe*, as they concluded from the Sight of a young Child; but the grown People diſguiſe themſelves ſtrangely, by painting with a red Earth, according to their Fancies, ſome having their Heads, others their Arms, others their Legs and Thighs, red, and all the reſt of their Body white; and many of them, from the Forehead to the Feet, have one Side red, and the other white. They are very ſtrong, and well-proportioned, and generally about the Height of the People in *Europe*. Their Hair is black, and they wear it thick and long, to make them the more frightful. They have very good Teeth, but ſo thin, that they are as ſharp as the Edge of a Knife. The Men go altogether naked; and the Women have only a Bit of Skin about their Middles; which is very ſurpriſing, the Severity of their Climate being conſidered. Their Huts are made of Trees, in the Shape of Tents, with a Hole at the Top, to let out the Smoke. Within they are ſunk Two or Three Feet under the Earth; and this Mould is thrown upon the Outſide. Their Fiſhing-tackle is very curious, and their Stone Hooks very near the ſame Shape with ours. They are differently armed, ſome having Bows, and Arrows artificially headed with Stone; others have long Javelins, pointed with Bone; ſome again have great wooden Clubs; and ſome have Slings, with Stone Knives, which are very ſharp. They are never without their Arms in their Hands, becauſe they are always at War amongſt themſelves; and it ſeems, that they paint differently, that they may diſtinguiſh each other; for the People, about the Iſland of *Terbaltens*, were all painted black, and ſo were they about the Bay of *Schapenham*; whereas thoſe about the *Greyhound* Bay are all painted red. Their Canoes are very ſingular: In order to make them, they lop the Branches off a great Tree, and then bark it; the Inſide they fortify with ſeveral Pieces of ſmall Wood, and do the like on the Outſide; then they cover it with another Bark; and ſo make it both ſtrong and tight. Theſe Canoes are from Ten to Fourteen and Sixteen Feet in Length, and about Two Feet broad. Seven or Eight Men can go in them; and they navigate them, ſo as to go as quick as our Shallops. As to their Manners, they are rather Beaſts than Men; for they tear human Bodies to Pieces, and eat the Fleſh, raw and bloody as it is. There is not the leaſt Spark of Religion or Policy to be obſerved amongſt them: On the contrary, they are, in every reſpect, brutal; inſomuch that, if they have Occaſion to make Water, they let fly againſt any one that is near them, if he does not get out of their Way. They have no ſort of Knowledge of the Uſe of our Arms, and therefore do not fear them; for they would lay their Hands on the Edges of the *Dutchmens* Swords: Yet, for all this, they are exceſſively cunning, faithleſs, and cruel, ſhewing all the Signs of Friendſhip one Minute, and knocking thoſe on the Head, to whom they ſhew them, the very next. There is no ſuch thing as getting any kind of Refreſhments from them, tho' ſuch are not wanting, if they would part with them; of which the *Dutch* were very well ſatisfied, by ſeeing Quantities of Cow-dung, and finding their Bow-ſtrings made of Ox-ſinews: Nay, a Soldier, who went aſhore while the *Greyhound* Yacht lay at Anchor, reported to the Vice-admiral, that he ſaw a large Herd of Cattle feeding in a Meadow.

20. On *February* 27. the Admiral made a Signal for ſailing; and, the Wind being North, they were in hopes of getting out of the Bay of *Naſſau*; but, in the Evening, they had a Storm again from the Weſt, which laſted all Night. On *March* 3. at Noon, they had an Obſervation, and found themſelves in 59° 45' South Latitude, the Wind at North-weſt. Almoſt all Navigators had been, to that time, of Opinion, that it was eaſy to go from the Streights of *Le Maire* to *Chili*; but that it was ſcarce poſſible to paſs from *Chili* or *Peru* into the North Sea by that Streight, becauſe, as they imagined, the South Wind blew conſtantly in thoſe Seas: But they found the Caſe quite otherwiſe, ſince the frequent Tempeſts they had from the Weſt and North-weſt, rendered it, beyond Compariſon, more eaſy to paſs from *Chili* or *Peru* through the Streights of *Le Maire* into the North Sea, than it was to reach *Chili* or *Peru* from the North Sea through thoſe Streights. On the 6th, they had ſtill ſtrong Weſt Winds; which gave the Admiral infinite Concern, becauſe they put it out of his Power to comply with the Inſtructions given him by the States, which required him to ſail, as ſoon as he had paſſed the Streights of *Le Maire*, to the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*; which, while the Weſt Winds continued, he could not do. Upon this, he called a Council, in order to take ſome Reſolution as to the proper Place of Rendezvous for the Fleet, in caſe of being diſperſed, or of wintering, if theſe Tempeſts from the Weſt ſhould ſtill continue to rage. The *Terra del Fuego* was propoſed by ſome; the Streights of *Magellan* by others; but, all things well weighed, the Majority were of Opinion, that it would be beſt to wait Two Months for better Weather, and to employ their utmoſt Endeavours to double the Cape, and get into the South Sea. On the 8th, they were in 61°; on the 14th, in 58°; and on the 18th, 19th, and 20th, they had a fair and freſh Wind from the South-eaſt. The Weather alſo became warm; ſo that, after all theſe Storms and Tempeſts, they began to think they were got into another World. On the 24th, they loſt Sight of the *Maurice*, and the *David*; ſo that the Fleet conſiſted now only of Seven Sail; and, the ſame Evening, they found themſelves in 47°. On the 25th, having ſtill a fair Wind, and fair Weather, they reached 45°, and were then in great Hopes of overcoming all Difficulties.

21. On *March* 28. they ſaw the Coaſt of *Chili*, lying Eaſt South-eaſt; in the Evening they were but a League from Shore, the Coaſt appearing high and mountainous. The Admiral was at this Time confined to his Bed, where, being informed they were ſo near the Coaſt of *Chili*, he expreſſed a great Deſire to have put into the Port of *Chiloe*, but declared that his Inſtructions would not permit him; but, on the contrary, required that the Fleet ſhould be employed in ſome Action of Importance againſt the *Spaniards* in *Peru*: Upon which, it was reſolved to proceed immediately for the Iſlands of *Juan Fernandez*, there to make the beſt Preparations poſſible for attacking the *Spaniſh* Galleons in the Port of *Arica*, in caſe they were there, and to make themſelves Maſters of that Place, from whence they might be able to extend their Conqueſt, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Indians*. On *April* 1. being in 38° 10′, the Vice-admiral alſo took to his Bed, and appeared to be ſo much worn out with Fatigue, that they already conjectured, they ſhould loſe both him, and their Admiral, before the Voyage was concluded. On the 4th, about Noon, they had Sight of the Iſland *Juan Fernandez*, lying to the Weſt North-weſt, in the Latitude of 33° 50′; the Admiral, fearing they might fall to the Northward, ſent the Yacht before to ſeek for the Road. On the 5th, with much Difficulty, the Weather proving abſolutely calm, the whole Fleet came ſafe to an Anchor in Sixty Fathom Water, in a fine Bay, lying North-weſt and South-eaſt. On the 6th, every Ship's Company had Orders to provide themſelves, as ſoon as poſſible, with as many Chevaux de Frize, and Paliſades, as they could; and the Vice-admiral, being grown ſomewhat better, viſited all the Artillery of the Fleet. In the Evening the *Griffin* came in, which they had not ſeen ſince the ſecond of *February*: This Veſſel had been in the Height of 60°, without ever having a Sight of *Cape Horn*. The Captain declared there was ſafe Anchorage in *Valentine* Bay for a whole Fleet; and that the contrary Intelligence, given to the Admiral by the Shallop of the *Orange*, was againſt his Conſent. On the 7th, the *Orange* arrived alſo at the Rendezvous, having, in her Paſſage, twice ſeen the Southern Continent, *viz.* once in 50°, and again in 41°. On the 8th, Five of the Seamen belonging to the *Holland*, being convicted of breaking into the Hold, and ſtealing thence ſeveral Barrels of Wine, were, for that Offence, condemned to be hanged. The Two next Days were ſpent in cutting Wood, and in diſpoſing all Things on board each Ship for the intended Attack upon the *Spaniards*. In the Evening of the 10th, the Admiral was prevailed on to pardon the condemned Sailors. On the 11th, the *David* came in, and brought Advice alſo of the *Maurice*, both having been Five or Six Days beating about the Iſland, but had been hindered from getting in by contrary Winds. On the 13th, in the Afternoon, all Things being ready, they ſailed.

22. The moſt Eaſterly of the Two Iſlands of *Juan Fernandez*, which is alſo the biggeſt, lies in 33° 40′, South Latitude, about Seventy Leagues Weſt from the Coaſt of *Chili*. The *Spaniards* call the former commonly *Iſla de Tierra*, the latter *Iſla de Fuera*. This more Eaſtern Iſland, where the *Naſſau* Fleet anchored, is about Six Leagues in Circuit, and extends from Eaſt to Weſt about Two Leagues and an half. The Road is on the N. E. and from thence there is a very delightful Proſpect of beautiful Valleys covered with Clover. The Bottom of the Bay is either rocky, or a fine black Sand. There is very good and ſafe Anchorage here, in about Thirty or Thirty-four Fathom Water. There cannot better Water be wiſhed for, than is to be met with here; and excellent Fiſhing in the Bay of various kinds. There are many Thouſands of Sea Lions, and Seals, that come daily out of the Water to ſun themſelves on ſhore, of which the Seamen killed Numbers, not for Food only, but for Diverſion: Many of the *Dutchmen* fanſied, that the Fleſh of theſe Creatures taſted like Meat twice roaſted or boiled; others were very well ſatisfied with them, and even affirmed, that their Fleſh, when their Greaſe and Tallow was taken out, taſted as well as Mutton. Goats there are in great Numbers, but very hard to be taken; and they are not either ſo fat, or well-taſted, as thoſe of *St. Vincent*. They found abundance of Palm-trees within Land, and, near the Bay, Three large Quince-trees, the Fruit of which was very refreſhing. Other Wood, for Uſe and Firing, they found plenty; but met, however, with none that was fit for Maſts. There were formerly Ten or Twelve *Indians* conſtantly here, for the Sake of Fiſhing, and making Oil of the Seals and Sea Lions, but at this Time it was quite uninhabited. Three Soldiers, and Three Gunners, belonging to the Vice-admiral, were, by this time, ſo ſick of the Voyage, that they demanded Leave to ſtay here, and obtained it.

23. From the 11th to the 22d, they had a conſtant South Wind: The Variation of the Needle here was found to be One Degree and an half, and Two Degrees, towards the Eaſt. As it was impoſſible to know how ſoon they might be obliged to fight, the neceſſary Inſtructions were diſtributed to all the Captains, and the Fleet was directed to ſail for the future in Three Diviſions: The firſt was compoſed of the *Amſterdam*, as Admiral, the *Holland*, the *Eagle*, and the *Griffin*: The ſecond of the *Delft*, as Vice-admiral, the *Concord*, the *David*, and the Yacht: The third under the *Orange*, as Rear-admiral, with the *Maurice*, and the *Hope*. On *May* 8. being near the Coaſt of *Peru*, they took a *Spaniſh* Bark, in which, beſides the Captain, there were Four other *Spaniards*, and Six or Seven *Indians* and Negroes. They learned from theſe People, that the Plate Fleet had ſailed the *Friday* before, being the third of that Month, from *Calao* for *Panama*, conſiſting only of Five Sail, Two Ships of War, and Three Merchantmen richly laden. They were likewiſe informed, that the *Spaniſh* Admiral was ſtill at *Calao*, being a Ship of about 800 Ton, mounted with 40 Pieces of Braſs Cannon, with Two Pataches of Fourteen Guns each, with Forty or Fifty Merchantmen of no Force at all; that all the Shipping was towed aſhore, and ſecured there by Three ſtrong Batteries, with other Stone-works, furniſhed with upwards of Fifty Pieces of Cannon, all ready prepared for the Reception of the *Dutch*, of whoſe Motions they had early and certain Intelligence: That the Viceroy had likewiſe formed Four Companies of Foot, each of them compoſed of Fourſcore Men; but the Two beſt Companies were put on board the Ships for *Panama*; and that the Viceroy, having the Day before received an Account of the Approach of the *Dutch* Fleet, had immediately ſummoned the whole Force of *Peru*; ſo that it was not to be doubted, that he would ſoon have many thouſand Men in the Place. All this the *Spaniards* very readily told them; and Experience afterwards ſhewed, that every Tittle of this Information was ſtrictly true; ſo that nothing could be happier than taking this Prize at this Time.

24. A Council was immediately called, in which it was reſolved to delay the Attack no longer than till the next Day; and, as the Admiral was abſolutely incapable of Fatigue, his Diſtemper growing daily worſe and worſe, it was agreed, that the Vice-admiral ſhould command, and his Brother-in-law *Cornelius Jacobſon* was appointed Serjeant Major. Beſides the Five Companies of Soldiers that were on board the Fleet, it was now thought requiſite to have as many Companies of Seamen, under the Command of the Captains *Stolck*, *de Witte*, *Querinen*, *Ysbranſon*, and *Egbertſon*; but, as there were not ſmall Veſſels enough to land ſo great a Body of Men, it was reſolved, that the Soldiers ſhould land firſt, and having fortified themſelves on ſhore, by throwing up Retrenchments, and making uſe of the Paliſadoes carried along with them for that Purpoſe, there to maintain themſelves till the next Day, when the Sailors ſhould be landed alſo. On *May* 10. before Day, the Vice-admiral put himſelf at the Head of the Soldiers, with an Intent to have landed; but, after having rowed for ſome time along the Shore, he was obliged to retreat to the Fleet, finding it abſolutely impoſſible to do any thing; though, if the Troops could have been landed, there was ſome Appearance, that the *Indians* and Negroes would have joined them. The Admiral ordered, that the *Greyhound* Yacht ſhould, in the Night, go in as near Shore as poſſible, to afford an Opportunity of landing under the Protection of her Guns. The *Spaniards*, however, were very ſoon aware of this; and no ſooner ſaw her under Sail, but they threw up a Battery near the only Place where 'twas poſſible to land Men, which, though mounted only with Two Pieces of Cannon, by an unlucky Shot diſabled

the Yacht, and diſappointed that Deſign. On the 14th, they diſcharged their Prizes, and diſtributed Plenty of Refreſhments through the Fleet: About Midnight, the Captains *Yol. Slobbe*, and *Egbertſon*, with Twelve Shallops well armed, began to row directly for the Fort of *Lima*; having on board each Shallop a ſmall Cannon, and a conſiderable Quantity of Fire-works. A falſe Attack was at the ſame time made to the North of *Calao*, which drew the *Spaniards* thither, while the Shallops entered the Port, and diſtributed their Fire-works plentifully amongſt about fifty Sail of Merchant-ſhips, which lay there at Anchor under the Protection of the *Spaniſh* Admiral, and the three Batteries. As ſoon as the *Spaniards* perceived, by their Effects, what the *Dutch* Veſſels had been doing, they began to make a dreadful Fire upon them from the Place; which had, however, but very little Effect, becauſe the *Dutch* Shallops ſheltered themſelves behind the *Spaniſh* Veſſels that were burning, and fired from thence very ſucceſsfully upon their Enemies. In this Action, there were thirty or forty Ships conſumed, ſome of which were very large; but, after the *Dutch* were retired, the *Spaniards*, with their *Indians* and Negroes, ſaved the Effects out of ſome of them. In this hardy Enterprize, the *Dutch* had ſeven killed, and fifteen wounded, the moſt Part of them belonging to the Vice-admiral's Shallop, which had endeavoured to board one of the Pataches, and thereby expoſed themſelves more than the reſt. This Action was exceſſively bold and daring, and they would have had all the Reaſon in the World to have been ſatisfied with the Manner of its Execution, if, after it was over, they had not diſcovered, that if, inſtead of Fire-works, they had carried Hatchets, they might have cut the *Spaniſh* Merchant-men out of the Road, and have taken the beſt Part of them, with all their Cargoes. About the Grey of the Morning, nine of theſe flaming Ships came down upon them, and obliged the *Dutch* Fleet to weigh Anchor, and ſhelter themſelves behind the Iſland of *Lima*. On the 13th, Captain *Engelbert Schutte* landed with a Company under his Command, and took Poſſeſſion of the Iſland, throwing up a ſtrong Retrenchment, that they might be able to hale their Shallops on ſhore, and careen them; which they much wanted.

25. The ſame Day, a Council was held on the Miſcarriage of their Enterprize at *Calao*; and, as their Inſtructions directed them, in caſe of any Accident of that ſort, to employ all their Force in taking Prizes, and diſtreſſing the *Spaniards* in their Trade, to the utmoſt of their Power, they began to think of putting this in Execution. The Reaſon expreſſed in their Inſtructions for their carrying on the Expedition in this manner, was, that, by thus blocking up the Port of *Lima*, and putting an intire Stop to the Commerce of the Country, a Trial might be made of the Inclinations of the People, and poſſibly a total Revolution be brought about. The Grounds upon which theſe Notions were built, were Informations that Prince *Maurice* had received, as to the general Diſſaffection of the *Indians* and Negroes towards the *Spaniards*; in which tho' there might be ſome Degree of Truth, yet this *Dutch* Fleet had no Opportunity of proving it: For the Viceroy of *Peru* immediately formed two independent Companies of *Spaniards* at *Lima*, diſarmed the *Indians*, and raiſed a Company of free Negroes, who, proud of their Liberty, and afraid of becoming Slaves again, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Severity to their Countrymen, and their Attachment to their Maſters. As there was no Need of the whole Fleet to block up *Calao*, it was reſolved, that *Cornelius Jacobſon*, with four Ships, ſhould cruiſe to the South, and make as many Prizes as he could: Yet, had the Letter of their Inſtructions been purſued, they ſhould have ſailed with their whole Force to *Arica*; and, after taking and plundering it, which would have been done of courſe, if it had been as naked and defenceleſs as they ſuppoſed it in *Holland*, they might have extended their Conqueſt thence to the rich Mines of *Potoſi*, and there have acquired, at once, more than would have been ſufficient to have indemnified the States, and Prince *Maurice*, for the Expence of this Fleet. It ſo fell out, however, that they found this Scheme abſolutely impracticable, *Arica* having in it a good Gariſon, the Place being regularly fortified, and well ſupplied with every thing neceſſary. And, as for *Potoſi*, they had certain Information, that there were 2000 *Spaniards* there capable of bearing Arms, excluſive of *Indians* and Negroes: So that all the fine Projects of *Indian* Conqueſts formed in *Holland*, appeared to them ſo many romantic Dreams, that neither they, nor any elſe, could execute.

26. On *May* 14. *Cornelius Jacobſon* ſailed with his Detachment, compoſed of the *Concord*, the *David*, the *Griffin*, and the *Greyhound*, in order to ſail to *la Naſca*, *Piſco*, or any other Town to the South of *Lima*. On the 20th, they converted two of the *Spaniſh* Prizes into excellent Fireſhips; and, having filled them with Powder, Fireworks, Shells, and other Combuſtibles, reſolved with theſe to make an Attempt on the *Spaniſh* Galleon. In the Night of the 22d, two *Greeks*, whom they had delivered from Slavery, ſtole a ſmall Veſſel, and made their Eſcape to the *Spaniards*. The next Day, a rich Ship fell into their Hands, in her Paſſage from *Guiaquil*, on board of which were thirty *Spaniards* and Negroes. On the 23d, the Rear-admiral was detached with the *Maurice* and the *Hope*, with two Companies aboard, in order to make themſelves Maſters of the Town of *Guiaquil*, which all the Priſoners agreed was a Place of no great Strength, but which they found in quite another Condition when they came to attack it. On the 27th, they attempted to carry in their Fireſhip, in which they had 2000 Weight of Powder, beſides Fireworks and Shells, confined by an Arch of Brick-work ſix Foot thick. Five Men, of whom one was the Supercargo of the *Eagle*, navigated her into the Port of *Calao de Lima*, and came cloſe to the Side of the *Spaniſh* Admiral, before they diſcovered their Deſign was impracticable; and that there was a Bank between them and the Ship, which it was impoſſible for them to paſs; and therefore, after running thro' ſo much Labour and Danger, they were glad to retire to their own Fleet; and it is, indeed, very wonderful they were able to do this without being deſtroyed.

27. On *June* 2. their Admiral *Jaques le Hermite* expired in the Port of *Calao de Lima*, having been in a declining State of Health from the Time they left *Sierra de Leona*, and for four or five Months had quite loſt his Strength. The Vice-admiral ſuffered his Flag to remain flying in the *Amſterdam*, that the Enemy might have no Notice of his Death. On the 3d, they buried him on the Iſland of *Lima*, with great Decency, having cauſed all the Prizes to be adorned with Streamers and Flags, that the *Spaniards* might apprehend, the Guns fired at his Funeral were diſcharged by way of Rejoicing for the Succeſs they had met with in the South Seas. On the 6th, in the Afternoon, the *Orange* anchored as near as poſſible to the Point of *Calao*, in order to cover the Fireſhip, which it was determined ſhould make another Attempt by Daylight: Accordingly the Supercargo of the *Eagle* carried her boldly into the Port, but to as little Purpoſe as before; for they then diſcovered, that the *Spaniſh* Galleon rode in a Baſin, ſo that it was impoſſible for them to approach her: But the *Spaniards*, gueſſing at their Deſign, fired upon them ſo briſkly, that they were obliged to ſet Fire to the Train, and their Fireſhip blew up, without doing any Hurt to the Enemy, or Good to themſelves: Such was the End of this Attempt, which had coſt them ſo much Hazard and Pains.

28. On the 8th of the ſame Month, they felt an Earthquake in the Iſland of *Lima*. On the 13th, the *Spaniſh* Priſoners having repreſented, that the Viceroy would be willing to treat for their Ranſom, it was reſolved, that a Propoſal of that ſort ſhould be made: And accordingly an Officer was ſent in a ſmall Veſſel into the Harbour, with a Flag of Truce. As ſoon as the Viceroy had notice of it, he ſent Directions, that the Seamen ſhould have their Hands tied, and their Eyes covered, while they remained in the Shallop; and that the Officer, who had the Letter, ſhould be brought on ſhore. In the Evening, however, the Seamen were ſet at Liberty, and the *Spaniards* took all imaginable Pains to perſuade them to remain where they were, and to enter into the Service of the King of *Spain*: But this being found ineffectual, and not ſo much as a ſingle Man having liſtened to their Propoſals, an Anſwer was given to the Letter, in theſe Words: That the Viceroy had nothing but Powder and Ball at the Service of the *Dutch*; that he would not enter into any Negotiation or

Treaty with them whatever for the Ranſom of Priſoners; and that, if any preſumed to enter the Port of *Calao* again with a Flag of Peace, he would order them to be hanged up with the Flag about their Necks. On the 14th, when this Anſwer was reported to the *Dutch*, they reſolved, in a Council of War, to hang up all their Priſoners. The Reaſons which induced them to ſo cruel a Proceeding were theſe: They were themſelves much ſtreightened for Proviſions, and had ſcarce any Water left; it was therefore impoſſible for them to maintain theſe People, if they meant to keep them; and, at the ſame time, they had no Reaſon to keep them, ſince they were to expect no Ranſom. On the other hand, to ſet them at Liberty, was againſt the Maxims of Prudence, as well as the Laws of War, ſince it could only ſerve to expoſe their Weakneſs to the *Spaniards*, and thereby render them the Scorn of their Enemies. On the 15. in the Morning, they put this ſevere Reſolve of theirs in Execution, and actually hanged twenty-one *Spaniards* at the Yard's-arm of the Mizen-maſt of their Admiral, in the Sight of an infinite Number of People who were ſtanding on the Shore. Three old Men they ſent in a Bark to *Calao*, with Orders to tell the Viceroy, that ſince they had no Quarter to expect from him; They were reſolved to give none to ſuch as fell into their Hands; and that he ought to look upon this, as the juſt Effect of his own brutal Meſſage. In the Evening, *Cornelius Jacobſon* returned with the four Ships under his Command, and made a very indifferent Report, to this Purpoſe; That he had landed on the 4th near *Piſco*, with much Difficulty and Danger; that, having marched within Muſquet-ſhot of the Town, he found it regularly fortified, with a Wall round it of fifteen Feet high, and a Gariſon of 2000 Men, beſides two hundred Horſe, that were employed in ſcouring the Country round it; that he was obliged to throw up an Entrenchment for his own Security; and that, after ſkirmiſhing for ſome Days with the Enemy to very little Purpoſe, he found, the beſt Step he could take was to embark his Troops, and retreat. He loſt in this Expedition five Men killed, ſixteen wounded, and had thirteen deſerted; ſo that perhaps there never was a more diſaſtrous Expedition undertaken with ſo great a Force.

29. On the 25th, they hanged, in the Iſland of *Lima*, in Sight of the whole Crew of the Fleet, a Gunner, who was taken endeavouring to deſert. It was now reſolved, that they ſhould proceed to *Chili*, becauſe they had certain Intelligence of the Situation that Country was in: The Inhabitants had been in Arms againſt the *Spaniards* near thirty Years, having taken from them the City and Port of *Baldivia*; which they kept. The *Chileans* were, at that time, eſteemed the moſt warlike Nation in *America*, acting in quite another Manner than the *Indians* are wont to do; for they raiſed Armies of 3 or 4000 Foot and Horſe, the latter being much ſuperior to the *Spaniards*. With theſe they waſted the Country, and then blocked up their Fortreſſes. Such as were beſt acquainted with the Affairs of that Part of the World, were perſuaded, that the *Spaniards* would willingly have quitted *Chili*, if they had not been afraid, that the Inhabitants, not ſatisfied with their own Liberty, would next have attempted the Conqueſt of *Peru*. For many Years, all the Recruits they were able to ſend into this Country were compoſed of Malefactors; but, a little before the *Dutch* Fleet arrived, they had been forced to ſend regular Troops from *Buenos Ayres*; and a new Miſchief had ariſen from thence: For theſe People, finding themſelves very ill uſed, and the Service at the ſame time very hard, had mutinied, and diſpoſſeſſed their Officers of their Command; which had thrown all things into Confuſion. The *Dutch* therefore perſuaded themſelves, that if, while things were in this Situation, their Fleet appeared upon the Coaſt, the Inhabitants would join them, and ſomething might ſtill be made of this hitherto unfortunate Voyage; but, before this could be done, they were obliged to wait for the *Maurice* and the *Hope*, which, if they had left them, muſt have fallen into the Hands of the Enemies. The Scurvy prevailed all this Time in the Fleet, and eſpecially in the four Ships that had ſailed to the South, the Crews of which were ſo miſerably reduced, that they had not Men enow to man their Shallops; ſo that, all things conſidered, they were in an hopeleſs Condition, and their Affairs like to grow worſe, rather than better. But, on *June* 26. a *Swiſs*, who was very ill of the Scurvy, took it into his Head to climb up to the very Top of the higheſt Hill in the Iſland of *Lima*, which appeared on every Side a bare Rock. On the Summit, however, he met with great Plenty of a kind of Herbs, with which he was well acquainted in his own Country, and by eating of which he very ſoon recovered. As ſoon as this was known, there were enow to climb that Rock; and, by this fortunate Accident, the beſt Part of the Fleet was ſaved from Death, and, in a ſhort time, recovered Strength and Spirits. On *July* 18. there arrived two *Spaniſh* Deſerters on a Float from *Calao*; one of theſe was the chief of the Players at *Lima*, and the other a common Soldier. They had, in a Quarrel about a Woman, murdered the General of the *Spaniſh* Horſe; and therefore found it neceſſary to make their Eſcape. They reported, that the Town of *Calao* was completely fortified; that they had fourſcore Cannon mounted on their Works, excluſive of thoſe in the Ships; and that, within the Place, were forty Companies of Foot, and ſixteen Troops of Horſe, beſides ſome ſmall Bodies of Militia, which were employed to defend the Watering-places, in caſe the *Dutch* ſhould attempt a Deſcent. They likewiſe reported, that the *Maurice* and the *Hope* had taken four Ships near the Iſle of *Puna*, and had burnt the Town of *Guiaquil*, with the King's Galleon, which was upon the Stocks there.

30. From *July* 22. to 29. they were continually engaged with the *Spaniards*, who attacked them vigorouſly, becauſe the *Dutch*, intending for *Chili*, were very ſparing of their Shot at firſt; but, when they found, that this gave the Enemy Spirits, they afforded them ſo warm a Reception, that the *Spaniards* made them fewer Viſits. On *Auguſt* 5. in a full Council of War, the Vice-admiral, purſuant to the Patent of Prince *Maurice*, was inſtalled Admiral on board the *Delft*, and there received the Oath of Fidelity from the Fleet, the Ship's Company that lay neareſt going on board firſt. The Rear-admiral ſucceeded him as Vice-admiral; and *Cornelius Jacobſon*, who ſailed from *Holland* with the Title of Counſellor to the Admiral, was now advanced to be Rear-admiral. About Noon, the Admiral, attended by all the Shallops of the Fleet, ſailed towards the *Orange*, in order to receive the Oath of Fidelity from her Crew, and Ships that were near her; which the *Spaniards* obſerving, attacked the Shallops in their Paſſage; but were ſo warmly received, that they were very ſoon glad to retreat.

31. The Vice-admiral *Verſchoor* returned ſoon after with the *Maurice* and the *Hope*, and one Prize which they had taken. They found three Veſſels in the Road of *Puna*, two of which they burnt, and the third they brought with them: They afterwards ran up the River as far as the Town of *Guiaquil*, which they found pretty well fortified, and defended by a good Gariſon; however, they determined to make a Deſcent, which they performed with the Loſs of thirty-five Men, and afterwards attacked the Place. The *Dutch* Soldiers, overborne by Numbers, began at firſt to give way; but Captain *Schutte*, who commanded them, deſiring them to reflect, that nothing but puſhing on could preſerve them, their Countrymen, or the Ship, he prevailed with them to renew the Attack, by which the Town was taken: As they had but two hundred Men in all, they found it impoſſible to keep the Place when they were Maſters of it; and, as they had not either Shallops or Boats to carry off their Booty, they found themſelves under a Neceſſity of burning all the rich Goods in the Warehouſes, of which, as it is the Port of the Province of *Quito*, there were many, and well furniſhed; and then retired with the next high Tide. The *Spaniards* loſt 100 Men in the Action, killed upon the Spot, beſides ſeventeen that were taken Priſoners, and whom, ſoon after, they threw into the Sea, and drowned, for entering into a Conſpiracy againſt them. At Sea they met with contrary Winds, which once drove them almoſt as far as *Arica*, which they intended to have attempted; but the Wind changing again, they, with very great Difficulty, rejoined their Fleet. The new Admiral hoiſted his Flag on board his own Ship the *Delft*, the Vice-admiral removed into the *Amſterdam*, and the Rear-admiral into the *Orange*.

32. On *Aug.* 14. the Fleet ſailed from the Iſland of *Lima*, taking with them their Prizes, which they fitted up for Service, and ſteered for the *Piſcadores*, and anchored the ſame Evening in a Bay behind thoſe Iſlands. The Admiral immediately went on ſhore, and made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for ſecuring the Seamen while they filled Water there, which they found very good, and in which Deſign they ſucceeded; and afterwards reimbarked their Troops, without meeting with any Oppoſition, tho' the Enemy was very near them. On the 16th, they continued their Courſe from thence for the Iſland of *Puna*; and, on the 24th, having Sight of the Iſland of *Santa Clara*, the Admiral detached three Shallops, to give the *Indians* notice of his Approach, to aſſure them of his Protection, and to gain what Intelligence they could of the Situation of Things at *Guiaquil*, which it was determined to viſit once more.

33. On the 25th, about Noon, they anchored in the Road of the Iſland of *Puna*, where the Shallops had arrived about four Hours before, and had made themſelves Maſters of a little Bark, laden with Merchandize, which was to have been tranſported by Land from thence to *Lima*, but all the People, *Spaniſh* and *Indians*, were fled to a Man; ſo that they could gain no ſort of Intelligence of the Diſpoſition of the Enemy. On the 27th, they took out the great Guns and Ballaſt out of their three largeſt Ships, and drew them on ſhore, in order to careen them. On the 28th, the Admiral received the melancholy News of the Miſcarriage of a ſecond Attempt upon *Guiaquil*, where, through the Fault of ſome of their Officers, their Troops had been defeated, and forced to re-embark with the Loſs of twenty-eight Men. This Diſorder, according to the Report of the Officer who commanded them, fell out by one half of the Company, commanded by Captain *Everſon*, marching up the Hill without waiting for their Officer, moving directly towards the *Spaniards*, out of pure Vanity, and a Deſire of beating the Enemy without a Commander; of which they thought themſelves ſure, becauſe they ſaw ſome *Spaniards* run away on their Approach: However, when they got to the Top, they found the *Spaniards* well ſecured in their Houſes, who, having firſt diſordered them by a briſk Fire, ſallied out, and drove them down the Hill, together with another Company, that was marching to ſupport them. A ſecond Attempt was made, but the commanding Officer, being wounded, and perceiving that his Men were diſcouraged, thought it beſt to make a timely Retreat: Captain *Schutte* received a Shot in this laſt Action; notwithſtanding which, he continued to encourage his Men to the laſt. It was, ſays the Author of the Voyage, very ſurpriſing, that they ſhould not be able to take *Guiaquil*, burnt, and without Intrenchments, with double the Number that had taken it, when well fortified, and defended by a good Gariſon. But the prevailing Opinion in the Fleet was, that the commanding Officer had not Abilities equal to the Task; and the Soldiers, believing he wanted them, did not behave with their uſual Courage: Whatever the Reaſon was, this Defeat made a great Impreſſion on the whole Fleet. On *September* 1. the three largeſt Ships being clean, they began to careen the reſt. On the 2d, the Admiral poſted ſeparate Guards at the two Wells he had cauſed to be dug for Water, in order to prevent the *Spaniards* from poiſoning them. On the 9th, after much Deliberation in Council, it was reſolved not to proſecute their intended Voyage to *Chili*, but to bear away immediately for *Acapulco*, as their Inſtructions directed, in order to cruiſe for the *Manilla* Ship, and, that Expedition once over, to return to the Coaſt of *Chili*, if the Condition of the Fleet would permit. In purſuance of this Reſolution, they, on the 11th of the ſame Month, ſet Fire to the Town of *Puna*, and burnt down the Church. The ſame Evening, four *Engliſh* and four *Frenchmen* deſerted: They had behaved very bravely in the laſt Action, as well as very ſoberly during the Voyage; but they imagined, that Things began to go wrong; and therefore the wiſeſt Step they could take, was to ſhift for themſelves.

34. On the 12th, they ſailed from *Puna*. On the 17th, they were in the Latitude of 3° South. On the 18th, they met with a South South-weſt Wind, which blew pretty ſtrong. On the 20th, they expected to have ſeen the *Gallapagos* Iſlands; but, not finding them, they took it for granted they were wrong laid down in the Maps. On *October* 20. they had Sight of the Coaſt of *New Spain*, lying to the North-eaſt. On the 28th, at Break of Day, they were within half a League of an Iſland, which lies before the Port of *Acapulco*; and, in the Evening, they anchored within Sight of the Fort which had been rebuilt the Year before, on a Point running out into the Sea, in order to cover the *Manilla* Ships, which might ride ſafely at Anchor under the Cannon of the Fortreſs. It was a regular Square, and each of its four Baſtions mounted with ten or twelve Braſs Cannon. On the 29th, the *Dutch* Admiral thought of a Method, by which he hoped to gain ſome Intelligence as to the Time when the *Manilla* Ship was expected; in purſuance of which, he ſent a Meſſage to the Governor, importing, that he had made a great many Prizes in the South Seas, and in them had taken ſeveral Priſoners of Diſtinction, which, as he intended to proceed to the *Eaſt Indies*, he was willing to ſet at Liberty, in Conſideration of a reaſonable Ranſom; and therefore deſired, that an Officer might be ſent on board his Fleet, and he was ready to ſend another in his ſtead. The Governor ſent him for Anſwer, That he would neither ſend Hoſtages, nor receive them; but that, if the Admiral had any ſuch Priſoners, and would ſend them aſhore, he was ready to pay him a reaſonable Ranſom. But, as the Admiral would not agree to that, the Negotiation ended. On *November* 1. the Ships ſailed out of Port, and the Fortreſs diſcharged ſeveral Pieces of Cannon, but without doing them any Hurt. In the Evening, a great Detachment was ſent, under the Command of the Vice-admiral, to anchor twenty Leagues to the Weſt of *Acapulco*, in order to look out for the Galleon, to give her Chace; and, if they could not come up with her, to force her into the Fleet. On the 2d, the Admiral, and the *Orange*, remaining ſtill before the Port, the reſt of the Ships ſpread along the Coaſt, that they might be ſure of meeting with the Veſſel they expected. On the 3d and 4th, the Shallops belonging to Admiral, and to the *Orange*, went to take in Water at *Porto del Marques*, which is a League and a half from *Acapulco*. On the 7th, Captain *de Witte* being at the Watering-place with his Shallop, the Enemy attacked his Men from an Ambuſcade; the *Dutch* immediately fled to their Veſſel, and re-embarked; a Soldier reached the Shore juſt as the Boat had put off; but Captain *de Witte* ordered them to row back, going himſelf on Shore to ſave the poor Man, which coſt him a Wound in the Side, of which, however, he happily recovered.

35. On *September* 21. the Vice-admiral's Squadron appeared in Sight; and, on the 22d, they ſent a Yacht to acquaint the Admiral, that ſix of their Soldiers having deſerted, they had ſeen 600 *Spaniards* the next Day, advancing towards the Shore, who, they conceived, had a Deſign to ſurpriſe their Men at the Watering-place; but, by good Luck, they were all embarked. From the 24th to the 28th, the Fleet continued cruiſing to the Weſtward, in Hopes of finding the Iſlands called *Ladrilleros*, which, in a *Spaniſh* Journal, were ſaid to lie 40 Leagues to the Weſt of *Acapulco*; and that they might there meet with Water, Fiſh, and Potatoes, in Abundance. The *Dutch*, however, ſailed twice that Space without being able to find them, which, whether it was owing to any Miſtake in the *Spaniſh* Charts, or to the Ignorance of the *Dutch* Pilots, is uncertain. On the 29th, they burnt their two Yachts, the *Greyhound* and the *Violence*, becauſe they could hardly ſwim any longer; and ſo reſolved to proceed with all the Diligence imaginable to the *Eaſt Indies*.

36. On *January* 15. 1625. they ſaw ſome very low Land towards the Weſt, over which the Sea broke with great Fury, which they took to be the Coaſt of the Iſland of *Galperico*. On the 23d, the Scurvy had prevailed to ſuch a Degree, that they had ſcarce Men enough in Health to work the Ships. In the Evening of the 25th, they were on the Coaſt of the Iſland of *Guan*, one of the *Ladrones*, the Inhabitants of which came two Leagues to meet them, with all ſorts of Refreſhments the Iſland afforded, which they exchanged for old Iron. The next Morning there came off 150 Canoes, with Fruits and Garden-ſtuff. On the 27th, the Vice-admiral, with half the Soldiers, attempted

tempted to land on a ſmall Iſland, about three Leagues to the South of the Road, but found it impracticable. In the mean time, the Rear-admiral had coaſted the Bay, and found a very good Watering-place. On the 28th, they landed fifty Soldiers to protect the Seamen, while they were filling Water; and the next Day it was found neceſſary to ſtrengthen that Detachment, which had been inſulted by the Natives. In the Beginning of the Month of *February*, they brought conſiderable Quantities of Rice on board, and ſold ſeventy or eighty Pounds Weight for an old Hatchet. On the 5th, the Admiral directed a general Review, when, including *Spaniſh* and Negro Priſoners, of which there were thirty-two, they found 1260 on board, by which it appeared they had loſt 409 ſince they left *Holland.* The Iſland of *Guan*, which is one of thoſe ſtiled by the *Spaniards Ilas de las Velas*, or *Ladrones*, lies in 13° 40′ North Latitude: The Soil is tolerably fertile; they ſow Rice in ſeveral Places, and have prodigious Quantities of Cocoas. The Inhabitants ſold the *Dutch* 200 Fowls, but they would not let them have any Cattle, though they offered them any Satisfaction. The People are of a larger Size than other *Indians*, but very ſtrong, and well proportioned; they are, generally ſpeaking, painted red: The Men go ſtark naked; but the Women have the Leaf of a Tree to cover their Privities. The Arms they uſe are Aſſagaies, or wooden Javelins and Slings, which they uſe with great Dexterity. Their Canoes are very convenient, and go at a great Rate before the Wind: Neither are they afraid to put to Sea in ſtormy Weather; but, in caſe they are overſet, turn up their Veſſels again, and empty the Water in an Inſtant. The *Dutch* experienced their Dexterity in another Profeſſion, *viz.* that of Cheating; for when they came to examine thoſe Balls of Rice, which they thought they had bought ſo cheap, they found the Inſide of them Stones and Dirt: Beſides, they ſtole every thing they could lay their Hands on. Such as land in this Iſland, ought to be extremely cautious how they ramble; for the *Dutch*, while they remained here, loſt ſeveral of their People, through their own Folly in this reſpect. On *February* 14. they ſaw an Iſland, in 10° 30′, which they took to be that of *Savedra*, which if it was, then it is wrong laid down in the Charts. On the 15th, about Nine in the Morning, they ſaw another Iſland not laid down in the Charts, the People of which endeavoured to come out to them in Canoes with Fruits and Refreſhments: They were much of the ſame Size with the Inhabitants of the *Ladrones*; but, the Ship ſailing at a great Rate, they were not able to get on board. This Iſland appeared to be very populous, and extremely well cultivated, lying in the Latitude of 9° 45′. The 23d, it was reſolved in Council, that they ſhould continue their Courſe South South-weſt to the Height of 3°, in order to arrive at *Gilolo*, and from thence to continue their Voyage to *Ternate*. The ſame Day, at Noon, they had an Obſervation, by which they perceived, that the Currents carried them violently to the North; for the Northern Trade Wind began then to blow, the Effects of which they felt very ſenſibly.

37. On *March* 2. they had Sight of the high Mountain of *Gammanacor*, which is on the Coaſt of *Moco*, at the Weſt End of *Haremanera*, or the great Iſland of *Gilolo*, on the Weſt Side of which lie the Iſlands of the *Moluccas*. On the 4th, in the Evening, they had a freſh North Wind, which carried them to *Malacca*, the principal Place in the Iſland of *Ternate*; from whence the Admiral ſent his Sloop to *Talucco*, where the Sieur *Jaques le Fevre*, Governor of the *Moluccas*, then was, in order to give him Advice of their Arrival. The 5th of the ſame Month, or the 6th, according to the Computation of the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries, the Governor came on board to viſit the Admiral; and they afterwards went aſhore together. On the 13th, they had Advice, that one of the Company's Ships, called the *Fidelity*, had been loſt on the Coaſt of *Sangi*. The ſame Day, part of the People on board the Fleet had Orders to go aſhore, and aſſiſt in demoliſhing the Fort of *Calemate*, which was no longer thought neceſſary, and conſequently the Expence of it muſt prove burdenſome to the Company. Upon the ſame Motives, the Vice-admiral was ſent with a Detachment to ruin the Fort at *Motir*, which is eſteemed the third Iſland in the *Moluccas*. On the 25th, the Governor ſailed with a whole Fleet for *Machian*, from whence, on the 26th, the *Concord* was ſent to *Sangi*, in order to take up all that could be ſaved out of the *Fidelity*. *April* 4. the Fleet proceeded to *Amboina*, where the Governor *Herman van Speult* was making Preparations to go to the Iſland of *Ceram* for the Company's Service. On the 25th, the Admiral ſent the Shallop of the *Eagle* to *Batavia*, to acquaint the Governor General of the *Dutch Eaſt Indies* with his Arrival, and the Effects of his Expedition againſt the *Spaniards* in the South Seas. On *May* 14. the Admiral, and the two Governors of *Amboina*, *Speult*, and *Gorcum*, detached two Ships, one to *Louchou*, the other to *Cambelle*, both in the Iſland of *Ceram*, and followed them ſoon after with all their Forces, where they quickly made themſelves Maſters of *Louchou*; after which they directed the Plantations of the Rebels to be burnt, their Clove-trees to be cut down, and the Place to be deſtroyed. On *June* 22. they returned to *Amboina*. On the 28th, the Admiral, and the Governor *Speult*, ſailed with the whole Fleet for *Batavia*.

38. On *Auguſt* 25. Governor *Speult* left the Fleet, with the *Orange*, and the *Maurice*, in order to go to *Japara*; and the reſt of the Fleet continued its Courſe to *Batavia*, where they arrived on the 29th; and ſome Days after Governor *Speult* arrived with his Detachment. As there was not, at that time, any immediate Service for a Fleet of ſuch Strength, the Governor General and Council of the *Indies* came to a Reſolution of ſeparating the Fleet, and employing the Ships, of which it was compoſed, in ſuch a manner, as ſeemed to them moſt for the Service of the States General, and the Company. In conſequence of this Reſolution, the Command of the *Orange*, the *Holland*, and the *Maurice*, was given to Governor *Speult*, who was directed to ſail with them to *Surat*, where he was to remain as ſhort a time as poſſible, and then to continue his Route to *Holland*: The Vice-admiral *Verſchoor* was detached with the *Hope*, the *Griffin*, and two of the Company's Yachts, upon an Expedition to *Malacca*. The *Eagle* and the *David* were deſtined to remain on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*; the *Concord* was refitted, in order to proceed to *Holland*; and the *Delft* and *Amſterdam* were ordered to the Iſland of *Onruſt*, there to be careened, and then to proceed home after the *Concord* as ſoon as poſſible; ſo that here the Expedition of the *Naſſau* Fleet was properly at an End.

39. On *October* 29. Admiral *Schapenham*, finding himſelf extremely ill, reſolved to return Home in the *Concord*, which ſailed from *Batavia* with another Ship belonging to the Company, called the *Arms of Horn*. On *November* 3. the Admiral died on board, worn out with Care and Labour; and, on the 5th of the ſame Month, he was interred on the Iſland of *Pulobostoc*, two Leagues from *Bantam*. On *January* 21. 1626. they anchored in the Road of the Cape of *Good Hope*; and, on *July* 9. following, they came, without any remarkable Accident, into the *Texel*, having ſpent in their Voyage three Years, two Months, and eleven Days. The Length of this Voyage renders it improper to dwell long upon it here in our Reflections; and yet it would be as improper to diſmiſs ſo large and ſo important a Piece, without making ſome Remarks, in order to juſtify the inſerting here ſo copious a Relation. It clearly appears from hence, that, though the *Dutch* might be as able, and as expeditious, in fitting out ſuch Squadrons as we, yet they were not certainly ſuperior to us in their Management of maritime Affairs. They owed the Alacrity and Expedition, with which ſuch Affairs were then managed, to their having a Stadtholder; but then they owed Miſtakes in the Choice of Officers, and the Occaſions of other Misfortunes, to the ſame Cauſe. When private Companies of Merchants fitted out a ſingle Ship, or perhaps two or three, for the undertaking ſuch long Voyages, they were better managed, and turned to far better Account; of which we have a pregnant Inſtance in that of *Le Maire*, which was executed by the Projectors, and that with a Felicity as ſurpriſing, as the Misfortunes that attended this Voyage, concerted by much greater Men, and ſupported by an incomparable greater Force: At the ſame time we muſt allow, that the Intention of the Voyage was laudable; but we muſt likewiſe acknowledge, that to

purſue right Ends by wrong Meaſures, more fatal to a State than the abſolute Neglect of them; ſince the former makes thoſe Ends grow into Diſrepute with the People for ever, whereas the latter occaſions only a temporary Suſpenſion of the Endeavours to attain them. I am very well aware, that all this may be excuſed by obſerving, that the Situation of things in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies* was very much changed between the Time that *Drake*, *Candiſh*, and *Spilberghen*, undertook their Expeditions, and the fitting out of this Fleet; and, indeed, this very Obſervation is made by Sir *William Monſon*, who was one of the beſt Judges of Naval Affairs that our Nation has to boaſt: But then, we ought to conſider, that the firſt thing which ſhould have fallen under the Care of thoſe intruſted with the Management of this Deſign was to obtain proper Intelligence, without which they could not reaſonably expect any Succeſs; and, if they failed in this, they ought not ſurely to plead ſo great an Error as a legal Excuſe. We may, however, go farther, and, from the Lights afforded us by Experience, queſtion the Truth of the Fact: I do not mean queſtioning, whether the *Spaniards* fortified themſelves in the *Weſt Indies*; for that, no doubt, is true; but, whether their Fortifications were ſuch as might enable them to have withſtood this Force, ſuppoſing it had been properly conducted: And this, I think, cannot be allowed, ſince the Buccaneers long after took the ſtrongeſt Places in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, even the City of *Lima*, in ſpite of the whole Force of *Spain*. Without going, however, out of this Voyage, it is eaſy to ſhew, that it was not want of Force, but want of Conduct, that hindered it from ſucceeding; ſince, in the Inſtance of *Guiaquil*, half the Number, under one Officer, took the Place, well fortified, which double the Number, under another Officer, failed of taking when thoſe Fortifications were deſtroyed. It appears likewiſe, that, after the Death of their Admiral, their Councils grew unſteady, inſomuch that they knew not what to undertake. The Project of going firſt from *Puna* to *Acapulco*, and from thence returning to *Chili*, was ſo wild and abſurd, that, as we ſee, ſome of the beſt Men in the Fleet deſerted, as ſoon as it was known: From all which we ought to infer, that a wrong Choice of Officers was the Ruin of this Voyage, as the Excuſes they made ruined the Credit of ſuch Expeditions; inſomuch that we never hear of another being undertaken of the like kind. There are, however, ſome Circumſtances in this Voyage worthy of great Commendation, ſuch as the extraordinary Care taken of the Fleet in the *Eaſt Indies*, that it might be immediately employed for the Service of the Company, without remaining there uſeleſs, and at a large Expence to the State. This ſhewed a right Correſpondence between the trading Intereſt of *Holland*, and the Sovereign Authority, without which this Diſtribution of the Ships could not have been made. I mention this the rather, becauſe there are other Countries in the World, beſides *Holland*, that depend on Trade, where there are ſo many Diſtinctions, and ſo little Subordination in Command, that Commerce very frequently ſuffers without any body's being called to Account; and, if any thing is done for its Advantage and Security, it muſt be attended with ſome ſort of Perquiſite, as if the Commerce of the State was not its moſt important Concern, but Naval Commands were beſtowed for the Advantage of private Families, and to give particular Men a legal Authority to domineer over 2 or 300 of their fellow Subjects. The laſt thing I ſhall take notice of, in this Expedition, is, that it affords the cleareſt Proof, that the States General of the United Provinces did not intend, that their excluſive Charter to the *Eaſt India* Company ſhould hinder the coming of their Ships into the *Eaſt Indies* upon their lawful Occaſions, and without any Deſign of prejudicing the *Eaſt India* Company's Trade; for, otherwiſe, they would have directed this Fleet, by their Inſtructions, to have returned by the Streights of *Magellan*; for, at the time of their ſetting out, it was a thing taken for granted, that there was no returning through the Streights of *le Maire*; though, as it appears from this Voyage, that was a groundleſs Notion, as many ſpeculative Points in Navigation are daily found to be. To conclude, the Freedom and Plainneſs with which this Relation is penned, deſerves the greateſt Applauſe. There are ſome Countries in which Liberty is as much talked of as in *Holland*; where, if a Man had cenſured the Conduct of Commanders, and laid open the Cauſes of a Miſcarriage of this Nature, with as little Reſerve as this Writer has done, it would be conſidered as an Affront to the Government, and, what is worſe, reputed, if not treated, as a Libel. Yet nothing is more certain, than that, in ſuch Countries, one Miſcarriage begets another, till at laſt either the State is undone, or the Government altered, which are certainly Miſchiefs, that deſerve to be better guarded againſt than the ſuppoſed Inconveniences flowing from ſuch free Remarks. It is impoſſible, that Errors ſhould be corrected, where it is penal to diſcover them; and it is as impoſſible, that Suſpicion ſhould be avoided, where Inquiries are diſcouraged. In the preſent Caſe, it was not only the abſolute Loſs of the immenſe Sum that this Expedition coſt, that fell upon the Subjects of the Republic, but the Loſs alſo of their Hopes, and of that Spirit which had been raiſed of indemnifying themſelves from the Expences of a conſuming Land War, by the Advantages that might have been gained by a proper Application of their Naval Force in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*. The Neglect of this brought ſuch a Load of Debt upon the United Provinces, and particularly on that of the Province of *Holland*, that nothing but the ſudden Alteration of their Government, which ſoon after happened by the Suſpenſion of the Stadtholderſhip, and the wiſe and frugal Adminiſtration of the *de Wittes*, could have ſaved the Republic, which muſt have otherwiſe, after their long and glorious Struggle for Liberty againſt a foreign Enemy, ſunk under the intolerable Conſequences of that Corruption which had imperceptibly crept into the Management of their domeſtic Affairs. After this Expedition of the *Naſſau* Fleet, there is a wide Chaſm in our Hiſtory of the Circum-navigations; and, as the Reader will perceive from the enſuing Sections, whatever was attempted of this kind for many Years afterwards, was rather the Effect of Chance, than of Deſign: So ſoon the nobleſt Spirit is damped by Diſappointment, and ſo eaſily the Thirſt of Diſcoveries check'd, when all proper Encouragements are taken away!

SECTION XII.

Captain COWLEY's *Voyage round the World.*

1. *The Occaſion of the Voyage.* 2. *A conciſe Account of the Undertaking, and the Commander.* 3. *Their Departure from* Virginia, Auguſt 23. 1683. 4. *Proceed to the Coaſt of* Guiney, *and ſo round* Cape Horn, *to the Iſland of* Juan Fernandez. 5. *Miſs a very rich Prize in the Harbour of* Arica. 6. *Deſcription of the* Gallapagos *Iſlands.* 7. *The* Revenge *ſeparates from the* Nicolas, *into which Captain* Cowley *goes as Maſter.* 8. *Sail from* Cape Franciſco *to* Gorgona, *or* Sharp's *Iſland.* 9. *Account of their prodigious Run from thence to* Guam, *being 7646 Miles.* 10. *Their Tranſactions during their Stay at that Iſland.* 11. *A copious Deſcription of the Iſle, and of its Inhabitants.* 12. *Proceed to* Canton, *in* China, *and from thence to an Iſland North of* Borneo. 13. *Captain* Cowley *quits the Ship, and gets a Paſſage home from* Batavia. 14. *Arrival at, and Deſcription of, the Cape of* Good Hope,

the Dutch *Settlement, and the* Hottentots. 15. *Various Accidents that happened in their Paſſage* 16. *He arrives ſafely in* Holland, *and comes from thence to* England. 17. *Remarks on the Spirit of Navigation which then prevailed, and on ſome Particulars in this Voyage.*

1. THE Adventures of the *Buccaneers* in *America* have made too much Noiſe in the World to lay me under any Neceſſity of ſhewing what ſort of People they were, in this Place eſpecially, ſince the Nature of this Work will hereafter engage me in the particular Hiſtory of their Exploits, which, however blameable they may be, will render them for ever famous. Theſe Men uſually fitted out ſmall Veſſels in ſome of our Colonies, and cruiſed in them till they were able to make Prize of a bigger: And, as their Deſigns generally required Secrecy, they very often took Maſters and Pilots on board, under falſe Pretences; and did not explain the true Deſign, till they were at Sea, where they were abſolute Maſters. This was the Caſe with reſpect to Captain *Cowley*, a very intelligent Man, and a very able Navigator, who, being at *Virginia* in 1683. was prevailed upon to go as Maſter in a Privateer which was ſaid to be bound to the *French* Port of *Petit Goave*, in the Iſland of *St. Domingo*, where ſuch People uſed to take Commiſſions; but, in Reality, their Deſign was to put to Sea, and make what Prizes they could, without that Formality; in which Scheme, if it had been known by Captain *Cowley*, he might not, perhaps, have been ſo willing to engage. It may not be amiſs to inform the Reader here, that this is the ſame Voyage, at leaſt in Part, with Captain *Dampier*'s firſt Tour round the World, and, therefore, it will be neceſſary, before we proceed to the Voyage itſelf, to give a conciſe Account of the Grounds on which, and the Commander by whom, it was undertaken; the rather, becauſe, in the original Journal of Captain *Cowley*, publiſhed by Captain *William Hacke*, there is very little ſaid about it; which was, in all Probability, owing to his being a little aſhamed of having engaged in it.

2. Amongſt the Buccaneers that did the moſt Miſchief in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, there was one Mr. *John Cooke*, a Native of the Iſland of *St. Chriſtopher*'s, a briſk bold Man, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf to ſuch a Degree, as raiſed him to the Poſt of Quarter-maſter on board Captain *Yanky*; and, on their taking a *Spaniſh* Prize, that was turned into a Privateer, he, according to the Cuſtom of theſe People, claimed the Command of her; and, as he was very popular amongſt them, engaged Men enough to ſerve under him; but, a great Majority of the Buccaneers, at the time this Tranſaction happened, being *French*, they could not bear to ſee an *Engliſhman* inveſted with ſuch a Command, by the mere Choice of his Crew, without any Commiſſion; and, therefore, to ſhew how much honeſter Men they were, who had ſuch Commiſſions, after robbing the *Spaniards* under Pretence of them, they took this Occaſion to plunder the *Engliſh*, who had aſſiſted them, of their Ships, Goods, and Arms; and turned them aſhore naked: This honourable Tranſaction happened at the Iſland of *Avache*, which our Seamen generally call *Aſh*, on the Coaſt of *St. Domingo*; but Captain *Triſtian*, on old Buccaneer, having a little more Good-nature than the reſt, was prevailed upon to carry Captain *Davis*, Captain *Cooke*, and eight more of the *Engliſh*, to *Petit Goave*, which, in the Language of the Buccaneers, is ſtiled *Petit Guavres*; where, while they lay at Anchor, and Captain *Triſtian*, and many of his Men, were on ſhore, the *Engliſh*, to ſhew how apt Scholars they were, made themſelves Maſters of his Ship, turned the *Frenchmen*, who were much ſuperior to them in Number, on ſhore, and ſailed with her immediately to the Iſland of *Avache*; and, ſending in Captain *Triſtian*'s Name to the Governor, procured all their Countrymen to be ſent on board. As they were now ſtrong enough to ſet up for themſelves, they reſolved to make Prize of whatever came in their Way; and, in purſuance of this Reſolution, took firſt a *French* Ship, laden with Wines; and, afterwards, another Ship of conſiderable Force, in which they embarqued, and carried her to *Virginia*, where they arrived in *April* 1683. There they diſpoſed of their Cargo of *French* Wines, and, having purchaſed Proviſions, Naval Stores, and whatever elſe they wanted, fitted out their Prize for a long Voyage, mounting her with eight, as Captain *Cowley* aſſerts, and with eighteen Pieces of Cannon, according to *Dampier*, and giving her the Name of the *Revenge*, of which Captain *John Cooke* had the Command: His Company conſiſted, as Captain *Cowley* ſays, of 52, but, as Captain *Dampier* affirms, of 70 Men.

3. They ſailed from *Achamack* in *Virginia*, *Auguſt* 23. 1683; and were bound, Captain *Dampier* ſays, for the South Seas: But Captain *Cowley*, who navigated the Ship, was not in the Secret, and therefore ſteered for *Petit Goave*, which they ſuffered for a Day; and then told him, they were not bound thither, but firſt for the Coaſt of *Guiney*: Upon which he altered his Courſe, and ſteered Eaſt South-eaſt for the Cape *de Verd* Iſlands, and arrived before the Iſland of *Salt* in the Month of *September*: They found there neither Fruits nor Water, but very great Plenty of Fiſh, and ſome Goats, though theſe were but very indifferent. At this time the Iſland, which lies in 16° Latitude, and in 19° 33′ Longitude, Weſt from the *Lizard*, was very oddly inhabited, and as oddly governed; for there were but five Men upon it, and, of theſe, four were dignified with Titles: One, a Mulatto, was Governor, two were Captains, one a Lieutenant, the fifth was a Boy, the only Subject, Servant, or Soldier, they had: Yet they were extremely jealous of their Reputations, and took it very ill to be called Negroes, aſſerting that they were white *Portugueſe*, and expected to be treated with Decorum. Captain *Cooke*, who was a Man of more Good-nature than Ceremony, in Return for a Preſent the Governor made him of Three or four Goats, gave him a Coat to cover him with, which he exceedingly wanted, and an old Hat, which were very kindly received. They traded here for the great Commodity of the Country, which is Salt, made naturally by the Influence of the Sun's Heat upon the Sea-water, let into Ponds of about two *Engliſh* Miles in Extent. The Quantity they purchaſed was no more than twenty Buſhels, and they paid for it in old Cloaths, giving the Governor, at his earneſt Requeſt, a little Powder and Shot into the Bargain. They ſailed from thence to the Iſland of *St. Nicolas*, which lies Weſt South-weſt from the Iſland of *Salt* twenty-two Leagues, and anchored on the South-eaſt Side of the Iſland, which is of a triangular Form, the longeſt Side meaſuring thirty Leagues, and the other two twenty Leagues each: There they found a Governor, who was really a white Man, and had about him three or four People, pretty well cloathed, armed with Swords and Piſtols; but the reſt of his Retinue were in a very pitiful Condition. They dug ſome Wells on the Shore, and traded for Goats, Fruit, and Wine, which was none of the beſt. The Country near the Coaſt is very indifferent, but within Land there are ſome very fine Valleys, pretty well inhabited, and abounding with all the Neceſſaries for Life. They continued here about five or ſix Days, and then held a grand Conſultation, whether they ſhould proceed directly to the South Seas in the Ship they had, or ſail to the Coaſt of *Guiney* in Search of another: At laſt after mature Deliberation, they came to this wiſe and honeſt Reſolution, to go immediately to the Iſland of *St. Iago*, in Hopes of meeting with ſome Ship or other in the Road, intending to cut her Cable, and run away with her; of which Circumſtance Captain *Dampier* ſays not a Word. In purſuance of this Scheme, they ſtood away to the Eaſt of that Iſland; and, upon coming near it, they ſaw, over a Point of Land from the Topmaſt-head, a Ship at Anchor in the Road, which ſeemed extremely fit for their Purpoſe, but proved quite otherwiſe; for, by the time they were pretty near her, thoſe on board clapped a Spring upon her Cable, ſtruck out her Ports below, and, running out her under Tier of Guns, convinced Captain *Cooke*, that he had caught a Tartar: Upon which he bore away as faſt as he could; and, though the ſtrange Ship ſent ten Shot after him, yet none of them took Place. This was a narrow Eſcape; for they were afterwards informed, that the Ship they attempted

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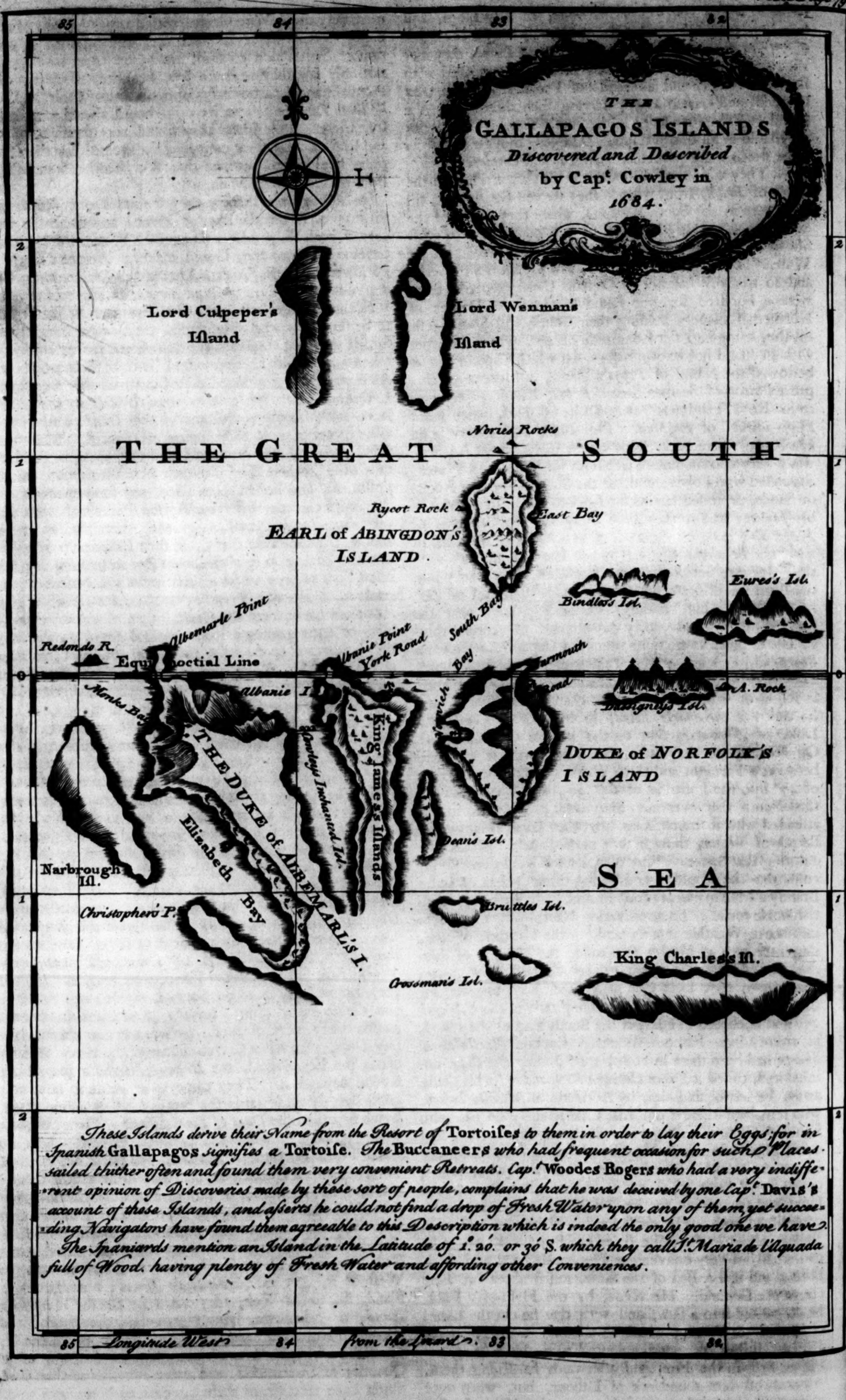
THE
GALLAPAGOS ISLANDS
Discovered and Described
by Capt. Cowley in
1684.
Lord Culpeper's Iſland
Lord Wenman's Iſland
THE GREAT SOUTH SEA
Nories Rocks
Rycot Rock
East Bay
EARL of ABINGDON'S ISLAND.
South Bay
Bindlass Isl.
Eures's Isl.
Albemarle Point
Redondo R.
Equinoctial Line
Albanie Point
York Road
Norwich Bay
Yarmouth
Albanie I.
Dassigney's Isl.
A. Rock
Monks Bay
THE DUKE of ALBEMARL'S I.
Cowley's Inchanted Isl.
King James's Islands
DUKE of NORFOLK'S ISLAND
Dean's Isl.
Narbrough Isl.
Elizabeth Bay
Christopher's P.
Bruttles Isl.
Crossman's Isl.
King Charles's Isl.
85
84
83
82
2
1
0
Longitude West from the Lizard.

These Islands derive their Name from the Resort of **Tortoiſes** *to them in order to lay their Eggs; for in Spanish* **Gallapagos** *signifies a* **Tortoiſe**. *The* **Buccaneers** *who had frequent occasion for such Places sailed thither often and found them very convenient Retreats. Capt.* **Woodes Rogers** *who had a very indifferent opinion of Discoveries made by these sort of people, complains that he was deceived by one Capt.* **Davis's** *account of these Islands, and aſserts he could not find a drop of Fresh Water upon any of them, yet succeeding Navigators have found them agreeable to this Description which is indeed the only good one we have.*

The Spaniards mention an Island in the Latitude of 1°. 20'. or 30' S. which they call St. Maria de l'Aguada full of Wood, having plenty of Fresh Water and affording other Conveniences.

tempted was a *Dutch Eaſt Indiaman*, of fifty Guns, and four hundred Men. They ſailed from thence for the Coaſt of *Africa* directly, and, near Cape *Sierra Leona*, they met with a Ship of forty Guns, new built, well furniſhed with Brandy, Water, and all kinds of Proviſion, which they boarded, and carried away, ſteering then directly for the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez* in the South Seas. There is not a Syllable of all this in Captain *Dampier*, though he affects to be much more particular than Captain *Cowley*.

4. They continued their Courſe till they arrived on the Coaſt of *Braſil*, from whence they ſteered South-weſt, till they were in 40° South Latitude, where they obſerved the Sea to be as red as Blood: This was occaſioned by vaſt Shoals of Shrimps, which are there of a red Colour in the Water. They likewiſe obſerved vaſt Quantities of Seals, and ſo many Whales, that Captain *Cowley* remarks there were a hundred for one found in the ſame Degree of Northern Latitude, holding their Courſe ſtill South-weſt, till they came into the Longitude of 47°, where they met with an Iſland not known before, on which Captain *Cowley* beſtowed the Name of *Pepys*'s Iſland, in Honour of that great Patron of Seamen *Samuel Pepys*, Eſquire, Secretary to his Royal Highneſs *James* Duke of *York*, when Lord High-admiral of *England*. This Iſland had a very good Harbour, where 1000 Ships might ſafely ride at Anchor; was a very commodious Place both for Wood and Water; abounded with Fowls; and, as the Shore was either Rocks or Sands, promiſed fair with reſpect to Fiſh. In the Month of *January* 1684, they bore away for the Streights of *Magellan*; and, on the 28th of that Month, they fell in with the *Sebaldine* Iſlands, in the Latitude of 51° 25′; then ſteering South-weſt and by Weſt, they came into the Latitude of 53°, where they made the Land of *Terra del Fuego*; but, finding greater Ripplings near the Streights of *le Maire*, they did not care to venture thro' it, but reſolved to go quite round, as Captain *Bartholomew Sharpe* did in 1681, who firſt diſcovered, that the Country called by the *Dutch*, *States Land*, is in reality an Iſland; in Right of which Diſcovery he changed its Name, and he called it *Albemarle Iſland*, in Honour of *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Albemarle*, Son to the famous General *Monk*. On *February* 14. they had a prodigious Storm, which laſted between a Fornight and three Weeks, and drove them out of 47° into the Latitude of 63° 30′, which was the fartheſt South that ever any Ship went: This Storm was attended with ſo much Rain, that they ſaved twenty-three Barrels of Water, though they dreſſed their Victuals with it during that Space. The Weather too was ſo exceſſively cold, that they could bear drinking three Quarts of burnt Brandy a Man in twenty-four Hours, without being at all the worſe for it. Thence ſteering North-eaſt, they came into warm Weather again; and, in the Latitude of 40°, they met with an *Engliſh* Ship called the *Nicolas*, of *London*, of 26 Guns, commanded by Captain *John Eaton*, with whom they kept Company, and ſailed together for the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*. They arrived there *March* 23. and anchored in a Bay at the South End of the Iſland, in twenty-five Fathom Water. Captain *Bartholomew Sharpe* had been there in 1680, and, finding the Place uninhabited, called it *Queen Catharine's Iſland*: At his going away, he left behind him, by Accident, a *Moskito Indian*, who remained there from that time to this; he had with him his Gun, a Knife, a ſmall Barrel of Powder, and a few Shot. In this deſolate Condition he found it equally hard to conceal himſelf from the *Spaniards*, (who, having notice that he was left there, came more than once to take him) and to provide for his Subſiſtence; and yet he accompliſhed both. He choſe for his Habitation a pleaſant Valley, about half a Mile from the Sea Coaſt, where he had erected a very convenient Hut, well lined with Seal-ſkins; and had a Bed of the ſame, raiſed about two Feet above the Ground. His Knife, by the Help of a Flint, he converted into a Saw, and with that he cut the Barrel of his Gun to Pieces; which he faſhioned into Harpoons, Lances, Fiſh-hooks, and a long Knife, by heating the Pieces firſt in the Fire, and afterwards hardening them. All this coſt him abundance of Labour, but, when once performed, he lived comfortably enough: When he ſaw the Ships at Sea, he gueſſed they were *Engliſh*, and immediately dreſſed two Goats, with a large Quantity of Cabbage, to entertain them when they were aſhore. It was a double Satisfaction to him, when, on their landing, he not only ſaw they were *Engliſh*, but many of them his old Acquaintance, particularly Captain *Edmund Cooke*, and Mr. *William Dampier*, who were on board the Ship that left him there. This Iſland they found very pleaſant, as well as plentiful, and very conveniently ſituated for their Purpoſe, lying 110 Leagues due Weſt from *Valparayſo*, a Port on the *Spaniſh* Main.

5. Sailing from thence, they ſteered North North-eaſt, till they were off the Bay of *Arica*; and there the Officers of both Ships held a Council of War, in order to determine whether they ſhould make an Attempt there, or go lower down the Coaſt. After much Deliberation, they determined to ſail on to Cape *Blanco*, in hopes of meeting with the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet from *Panama*: Which fell out to be the very worſt Reſolution they could have taken; for, if they had gone into the Bay of *Arica*, they muſt have taken a Ship with three hundred Tons of Silver on board. As it was, they continued their Courſe till they were in the Latitude of 10°, where they were obliged to take a Ship laden with Timber, tho' they knew ſhe was not worth taking, to prevent their being diſcovered. They then ſailed on Northwards to the Iſland of *Lobos*, in the Latitude of 7°, where they put their ſick Man aſhore for Refreſhment, and heeled their Ships, and ſcraped them, that they might be the fitter for Action, for which they were very eager, their Proviſions growing very low, which was another Circumſtance that made their Priſoners troubleſome to them, having more of their own People to feed, than they knew how to provide for. After much Conſultation, they reſolved to attempt *Truxillo*, in the Latitude of 8°, and about ten Miles from the Coaſt, where there was a Probability of their gaining a conſiderable Booty. At the Time they undertook to do this, they had not, in both Ships, above 100 Men able to carry Arms; but the next Day, as they were weighing their Anchors, they ſaw three Ships under Sail, which Captain *Eaton* chaſed and took; they were laden with Flour, Fruit, and Sweetmeats, which made them very agreeable Prizes, notwithſtanding they had put on ſhore 800,000 Pieces of Eight, on their having Intelligence, that there were Enemies in thoſe Seas.

6. The making theſe Prizes rendered another Council of War neceſſary, in order to conſider how to diſpoſe of them; in which, after much Diſpute, it was judged moſt expedient to ſeek out ſome Place of Safety, where the beſt Part of the Proviſions they had lately taken might be ſecurely laid up: And this Point again affording room for a ſecond Debate, the Iſſue of that was, that they ſhould ſail to the *Gallapagos* Iſlands, which, as we have obſerved in a former Voyage, the *Dutch* were not able to find. On *May* 19. they ſailed from the Iſland of *Lobos*, and, after three Weeks Sail, fell in with the Iſlands they ſought. The firſt they met with lay in 1° 30′ South Latitude; and this Captain *Cowley* called *King Charles's Iſland*; and he likewiſe named many more of them, particularly one after Sir *Antony Dean*, who was a Commiſſioner of the Navy; another under the Equinoctial, the *Duke of Norfolk's Iſland*; and ſeveral beyond it. They came to an Anchor in a very good Bay, lying towards the North End of a fine Iſland, which he called the *Duke of York's Iſland*. Here they met with a great Quantity of Proviſions, eſpecially Sea and Land Tortoiſes, ſome of the latter weighing two hundred Weight; which is much beyond the ordinary Size. There was likewiſe Abundance of Fowls, eſpecially Turtle-doves, with Wood and Water in the *Duke of York's* Iſland, that were excellent; but in none of the reſt. Beyond the Line they diſcovered Five Iſlands: That neareſt the Line, to the Eaſt, they called *Eures Iſland*; another ſmall Iſland, to the Weſt of it, they called *Bindlos's Iſland*; a much larger Iſland, ſtill to the Weſt, they called the *Earl of Abington's Iſland*; the other two, lying North-weſt, they called *Lord Wenman's* and *Lord Culpepper's Iſlands*. They landed in the *Duke of York's* Iſland 1500 Bags of Flour, a large Quantity of Sweetmeats, and other Proviſions, that they might have recourſe to them, in caſe of Neceſſity; and, remained there about a Fortnight, during which Time they put their Commander Captain *John Cooke*, who was in

a very declining State of Health, on ſhore: After which, they determined to return again to the *American* Coaſts, chiefly perſuaded thereto by one of their Priſoners, a Native of *Realejo*, who aſſured them the Inhabitants were perfectly ſecure, and that the Place might be eaſily taken. Upon this Information, they ſteered North North-eaſt; and the firſt Land they made, upon the Main, was Cape *Treſpontas*, where, coming to an Anchor, they ſent their Boat on ſhore, to look for Water; and, on the Eaſt Coaſt of the Bay, they found ſome, that was very good. As ſoon as they were in Sight of Land, their Commander Captain *John Cooke* died; and, going aſhore to bury him, three *Spaniſh Indians* came down to ſee who they were, and were taken, and carried on board. Some ſmall Time after, ſending their Boat on ſhore again, to try if it was poſſible to get ſome Cattle, the *Spaniards*, while the Men were hunting, burnt their Boat, and lay in Ambuſh to take them when they came back. In this Diſtreſs, they had Recourſe to a very ſteep Rock not far from the Shore; which, with ſome Difficulty, they gained, and there they continued, till the Ship ſent another Boat, with twenty Men, to fetch them off. The three *Indians* they carried aboard, with Ropes about their Necks; but, as they led them, one found a a Way to get his Neck out of the Collar, and made his Eſcape. It was now thought unneceſſary to keep the reſt of the Priſoners, and ſo they gave them Leave to ſhift for themſelves; and then bore away for *Realejo*, where when they arrived, and made ſome Priſoners, they found the Country ſo alarmed by the *Indian*, that had made his Eſcape from them, that it was impoſſible to do any thing; and therefore they returned very diſconſolate to their Ship.

7. After this Diſappointment, they reſolved to ſail for the Gulph of *St. Michael*, called alſo the Gulph of *Amapalla*, at the Mouth of which there are two very conſiderable Iſlands, the one called *Mangera*, the other *Amapalla*; both which they poſſeſſed themſelves of. And here ſome Diſputes ariſing between Captain *Davis*, who ſucceeded Captain *Cooke* in his Command, and Captain *Eaton*, they reſolved to ſeparate, tho' it was certainly for the Intereſt of both to keep together. It was, however, judged requiſite to careen their Ships; for doing which this Place afforded all imaginable Conveniencies. The *Indians* alſo, tho' they had been ill uſed by Captain *Davis*'s Men, who fired upon them without any juſt Cauſe, were reconciled, and became very uſeful, carrying them over to an Iſland, where there was Plenty of wild Cows; which enabled them to ſtock their Veſſels with Beef. This being done, and both Ships in a Condition to put to Sea, Captain *Eaton* took on board his Veſſel four hundred Sacks of Flour, and prepared to quit the Coaſt, having firſt agreed with Captain *Cowley* to quit the Ship he was in, and to ſail with him in Quality of Maſter, obliging himſelf to navigate the Ship to any Place or Port Captain *Eaton* ſhould direct. From this Period of Time, therefore, the Voyages of *Cowley* and *Dampier* ceaſe to be the ſame; which was the Reaſon that I thought it neceſſary to take in both, the rather becauſe ſuch as have treated of Circum-navigations have purſued this Method; and I have no Inclination to be ſingular, but to afford my Readers all that they can reaſonably expect in a Work of this Kind, in which, I hope, I have hitherto ſucceeded. But to proceed to Captain *Cowley*'s Voyage in his new Ship, and with his new Captain:

8. It was about the Middle of *Auguſt* when they left the Bay of *St. Michael*, and ſteered for Cape *Franciſco*, which lies in the Latitude of 1° North; in the Neighbourhood of which Cape they met with ſuch dreadful Storms, attended with ſuch violent Thunder and Lightning, as they never ſaw in any other Place. From thence they proceeded into the Latitude of 7°; but, finding the Country every-where alarmed, they thought fit to bear away for *Paita*, which is but in 5°, where they took two Ships at Anchor; which the *Spaniards* refuſing to ranſom, Captain *Eaton* ordered them to be burnt. Then, taking Leave of the Coaſt, he ſailed for the Iſland of *Gorgona*, which the Privateers generally call *Sharpe's Iſland*. It lies in the Latitude of 3° 15', at the Diſtance of about four Leagues from the Main. It is in Length two Leagues, and in Breadth one. On the Weſt Side of the Iſland there is a good Harbour; and, tho' the Place be uninhabited, yet it affords Wood and Water in Abundance. The common Notion in the *Weſt Indies* is, that it rains often in *Chili*, ſeldom in *Peru*, but always in the Iſland of *Gorgona*, where, they ſay, there never was a fair Day known; but, tho' this is not to be ſtrictly taken, yet all, who are acquainted with this Iſland, agree, that it rains more or leſs in all Seaſons here; which is probably the Reaſon, that, notwithſtanding its convenient Situation, it has always remained uninhabited. They ſailed from thence, and kept a Weſt North-weſt Courſe, till they arrived in the Latitude of 13° North; and then they ſteered Weſt, as low as the Rocks of *St. Bartholomew*. They then got into the Latitude of 15°, till they thought themſelves out of Danger from thoſe or any other Rocks; after which they returned into the Latitude of 13°, in which they continued their Voyage for the *Eaſt Indies*.

9. They had the Trade-wind from the Time they were in the Latitude of 10°, and a reaſonable good Paſſage, except that the Men were, generally ſpeaking, ſick of the Scurvy, to the 14th of *March*, when they ſaw the Iſland of *Guam* or *Guana*, which bore Weſt from them; and had an Obſervation the ſame Day, by which they found themſelves in the Latitude of 13° 2': And, according to Captain *Cowley*'s Journal, this was a prodigious Run; for he ſays, that, according to his Computation, it was 7646 Miles; that is to ſay, departed ſo many Miles from *Gorgonia*, by Loſs made out in Longitude, which is about 2549 Leagues. The next Day, which was *Sunday*, *March* 15. they ſailed about the South-weſt Part of the Iſland, and at length came to an Anchor in the Bay, which is on the Weſt, and ſent a Boat aſhore, with a Flag of Truce; but, when they came near the Village, they were very much ſurpriſed to find the Inhabitants had ſet Fire to their Houſes, and were run away. The Boat's Crew cut down ſome Cocoa-trees, and, having gathered their Fruit, were coming on board, when a Party of *Indians* ſallied from behind ſome Buſhes, as if they intended to have attacked them; but, upon ſetting up the Flag of Truce, they ordered one of their People to peel a Wand, that it might appear white; and then they conferred in a friendly Manner together. This good Correſpondence continued, with a free Trade on both Sides, to the 17th, when the *Indians*, without the leaſt Provocation, attacked the *Engliſh* ſuddenly; who, defending themſelves with their Fire-arms, killed ſome, wounded many, and eſcaped without Hurt themſelves.

10. On the 19th, the *Spaniſh* Governor of the Iſland of *Guam* came down to a Point of Land not far from the Ship, and ſent his Boat aboard with three Copies of the ſame Letter in *Spaniſh*, *French*, and *Dutch*, ſignifying, that, as an Officer of the King of *Spain*, he deſired to know, who they were, whence they came, and whither they were bound. Captain *Eaton* wrote the Governor a very civil Anſwer in *French*, in which he told him, that they were fitted out by ſome Gentlemen in *France* to make Diſcoveries; and that he came thither for the ſake of Proviſions. The Meſſenger no ſooner delivered this Letter, than he was diſpatched back with another Epiſtle, aſſuring the Captain, that he was very welcome, and deſiring him to come aſhore, and confer with the Governor. This Invitation was accordingly accepted, Captain *Eaton* landing with a Guard of twenty Men double-armed. As ſoon as he ſet Foot on ſhore, the *Spaniſh* Governor ſaluted him with a general Diſcharge of his Fire-arms; to which Captain *Eaton* anſwered, by firing ten Guns. The Conference was managed with great Candour and Civility on both Sides. Captain *Eaton* excuſed himſelf for killing the *Indians*, by aſſuring the Governor, that his People did it in their own Defence. To which the Governor anſwered, that he readily believed it, the *Indians* being a baſe, treacherous and bloody People; ſo that he could not do him a greater Pleaſure, than to kill them all. At parting, the Governor promiſed him all the Accommodations the Country could afford; and performed this Promiſe with the higheſt Honour. On the 18th at Noon, a Captain came on board from the Governor, and brought with him ten Hogs, a prodigious Quantity of Potatoes, Plantains, Oranges, Papas, and red Pepper. In Return for all this, Captain *Eaton* ſent the Governor a Diamond Ring worth twenty Pounds; and preſented each of the Gentlemen, who attended the Captain, with a Sword. The next Day, the Governor ſent another Captain, with two Eccleſiaſtics, to deſire the Favour

of the *Engliſh* Commander to ſpare him ſome Powder, the *Indians* being then in Rebellion, and he about to employ all his Force, in order to reduce them. Captain *Eaton* entertained theſe Meſſengers very elegantly, ſpared them four Barrels of Powder, and offered them four ſmall Pieces of Cannon. They accepted of the former, and thanked the Captain for the Offer of the latter; which, however, they declined, and, at the ſame time, preſented a Box, in which was to the Value of 1400 Pieces of Eight in Gold and Silver, deſiring him to take whatever he thought fit; but the Captain abſolutely refuſed to take a Farthing; and ſo they carried their Box on ſhore again. But, the next Morning, the Governor ſent the Captain a Diamond Ring worth fifty Pounds. On the 19th, they ſent out their Boat to cruiſe; and they forced an *Indian* Canoe on ſhore, which her Crew quitted, and they kept to land their Men in. On the 22d, there came a new Deputation from the Governor, with a *French* Jeſuit at the Head of it, who brought them Cocoa-nuts, Potatoes, and a conſiderable Quantity of Chocolate, a Silver Pot to make it in, and half a Dozen *China* Diſhes. Theſe People taught the *Engliſh* Sailors how to make a pleaſant kind of Milk, by ſcraping the inner Shell of the Cocoa-nut, which not only gives Water the Colour, but alſo a very ſweet agreeable Taſte, very little, if at all, inferior to Milk. The Governor ſent them thenceforward every Day ſome kind of Proviſion or other; while Captain *Cowley*, doubting whether he ſhould meet with the like Conveniencies elſewhere, reſolved to heel and ſcrape his Ship; which he performed with great Eaſe, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Indians*, as well as the *Spaniards*. Towards the End of the Month of *March*, when it was viſible, that the Ship would not remain long in the Road, the Governor ſent them for their Sea Stores thirty Hogs, with a proportionable Quantity of Rice and Potatoes. The *Indians* alſo ſeemed to have forgotten what happened at their firſt Arrival; but Captain *Cowley* kept it always in his Head, and never ſuffered his Men to ſtir, on any Pretence, without Arms; which Precaution of his ſaved upwards of twenty of them, whom the *Indians* had invited to go a fiſhing with them; and, when they ſaw one half of them on ſhore to draw the Net, they attempted to ſeize thoſe that were left in the Boat: But they paid dearly for it, receiving a general Diſcharge of the ſmall Arms, both from thoſe in the Boat, and thoſe on Land; ſo that few or none eſcaped of them, that were concerned in this Project. But, before Captain *Eaton* ſailed, they played off a Stratagem of another Kind: They ſent two *Indians*, who were Natives of *Manilla*, on board, to ſell Rice and Fruits, who, after ſome Converſation with the Captain, told him the State of their Affairs; that they had taken Arms againſt the Governor; and that the beſt Part of the *Indians* were retired from *Guam* to another Iſland not far off; that they were determined never to ſubmit themſelves to the *Spaniards*; and that, if he would aſſiſt them, it would be very eaſy to reduce the Iſland; that, for their Parts, they deſired nothing but Freedom as the Reward of their Aſſiſtance; and that the *Engliſh* might reap a prodigious Benefit from this Expedition, ſince the *Spaniards* were immenſely rich. But the Captain treated the Propoſal as it deſerved, with the higheſt Indignation; and thenceforward admitted but two or three of the *Indians* at a time to come on board. On *April* 1. they ſailed from the Bay, and anchored before the Fort, the Place of the Governor's Habitation; which they ſaluted with three Guns, and were anſwered by the ſame Number. On the 3d, the Governor ſent his Captain, with a Preſent, to take his Leave of Captain *Eaton*, and to teſtify his Senſe of the Honour and Generoſity, with which he had behaved towards him. In the Afternoon they ſailed with a fair Wind, ſteering South by Weſt.

11. The Iſland of *Iguana*, *Guana*, or *Guan*, is in the Latitude of 13° 30′ North, and is about fourteen Leagues in Length, and about ſix in Breadth. The Valleys are very pleaſant. It is interſperſed with fine fruitful Meadows, plentifully watered by many Rivulets from the Hills. The Soil in theſe Valleys is black, and very rich, producing Plenty of Cocoas, Potatoes, Yams, Papas, Plantains, Monanoes, Sour-ſops, Oranges and Lemons, and ſome Honey. The Climate is very hot; but, by means of the conſtant Trade-wind, is, notwithſtanding that, very wholſome. The *Indian* Inhabitants are very large, well-made, active, and vigorous, ſome of them being ſeven Feet and an half high. Moſt of them go ſtark-naked, both Men and Women. They never bury their Dead; but let them lie in the Sun to putrefy and rot. They have no Arms, but Lances and Slings. The ſharp End of their Lances are made with dead Mens Bones; for, upon the Deceaſe of a Perſon, his Bones make eight Lances, of his Leg-bones two, of his Thighs as many, and his Arms afford four; which being cut like a Scoop, and jagged like the Teeth of a Saw, or Eel-ſpear, if a Man happens to be wounded with one of them, and be not cured in ſeven Days, he is a dead Man. "We took, "ſays Captain *Cowley*, four of thoſe Infidels Priſoners, and "brought them on board, binding their Hands behind "them; but they had not been long there, before three of "them leaped overboard into the Sea, ſwimming away "from the Ship with their Hands tied behind them. However, we ſent the Boat after them, and found a ſtrong "Man, at the firſt Blow, could not penetrate their Skins "with a Cutlaſs. One of them had received, in my Judgment, forty Shots in his Body before he died; and the "laſt of the three that was killed, had ſwam a good *Engliſh* Mile firſt, not only with his Hands behind him, as "before, but alſo with his Arms pinioned." It is certain, that the great *Manilla* Ship, that goes annually from thence to *Acapulco*, touches there for Refreſhments, both going and coming; and the *Indians* ſtand in great Dread of her. They reported, that they had ſometimes eight Ships in a Year from the *Eaſt Indies*. The *Spaniards*, who were on board Captain *Eaton*, ſaid, that, in 1684, they had built in that Iſland a Ship of 160 Ton, to trade to *Manilla*; and they likewiſe told him, that the *Spaniſh* Gariſon conſiſted, at that time, of 600 Men; and that the *Indian* Inhabitants were moſt of them in Rebellion. Captain *Cooke*, who was here in 1710, finds great Fault with Captain *Cowley*'s Deſcription of this Iſland, which, he is pleaſed to ſay, is falſe; but, I apprehend, without any juſt Grounds. He mentions but two Inſtances: The firſt is as to the Length of the Iſland, which he affirms to be but ten Leagues; whereas Captain *Cowley* ſays it is fourteen: But, as both ſpeak by Conjecture, I cannot ſay which is in the right; but Captain *Woodes Rogers*, under whoſe Command *Cooke* made the Voyage, and who was, to the full, as accurate a Writer, fixes the Circumference at forty Leagues; which, conſidering the Shape of the Iſland, agrees very well with what Captain *Cowley* ſays. The other Miſtake he charges him with, is as to the Number of the Gariſon, which, when *Cooke* was there, did not exceed 100 Men. In order to make out this Miſtake, he aſſerts a direct Falſhood; for he ſays, that Captain *Cowley* makes it 600 Men; whereas Captain *Cowley* only ſays, the *Spaniards* told him ſo; and ſeems to doubt it. In other Circumſtances they agree tolerably well.

12. On *April* 4. they ſailed Weſt by South, and, the Day after, Weſt, when they reckoned their Diſtance from that Iſland 206 Miles. From that time they kept no certain Account, becauſe of Calms, till they came into 20° 30′ North Latitude, where they fell in with a Cluſter of Iſlands to the Northward of *Luconia*, which is the biggeſt of the *Philippines*. The 23d, they met with a very ſtrong Current, like the Race of *Portland*, at the Diſtance, as they computed, from *Guam* of 560 Leagues. On the Northermoſt of theſe Iſlands they ſent their Boat aſhore, to get ſome Fiſh, and to diſcover the Iſland, on which they found vaſt Plenty of Nutmegs growing; but ſaw no People, and, as Night was drawing on, they durſt not venture far within Land. This Iſland they called *Nutmeg Iſland*, and the Bay, in which they anchored, *Engliſh Bay*. They obſerved alſo Abundance of Rocks, Sands, and foul Ground near the Shore, and ſaw a great many Goats upon the Iſland; but brought very few on board. After they got through theſe Streights, they continued their Courſe South-weſt for *Luconia*. *April* 26. they were off Cape *Bajadore*, and, ſoon after, came up with Cape *Mindato*, where they met with a South-weſt Monſoon, which made them ſteer North-weſt for *Canton* in *China*, where they arrived ſafely, and fitted their Ship. They had an Opportunity here of making themſelves as rich as they could deſire; but they would not embrace it. There came into this Port thirteen

Sail of *Tartar* Veſſels, laden with *Chineſe* Plunder, conſiſting of the richeſt Goods in the *Eaſt Indies:* But this would not tempt Captain *Eaton*'s Men; they were for nothing but Gold and Silver, and could not bear the Thoughts of being Pedlers; neither could their Commander, by fair Words or foul, prevail upon them to alter their Reſolution, which was not to fight for Silks. The *Tartars* therefore quietly purſued their Affairs at *Canton*, without having the leaſt Knowledge of their Danger. When they had put their Ship in the beſt Condition poſſible, they continued their Voyage from *Canton* to the City of *Manilla* in the Iſland of *Luconia*, in order to wait there for a *Tartar* Ship, which, according to their Information, was half-laden with Silver; but, tho' they once ſaw her, they were not able to come up with her, becauſe ſhe was a clean Ship, and they as foul as they well could be. They chaſed her, however, for a whole Day, but to no Purpoſe; and then ſtood away for a ſmall Iſland to the North of *Luconia*, to wait for a proper Wind to carry them to *Bantam* in the Iſland of *Java*. Inſtead of one, they found ſeveral Iſlands, where they refreſhed themſelves very conveniently; and, having Information from an *Indian* of an Iſland abounding with Beeves, they ſent their Boat thither, with thirty Men, who took, by Force, what they wanted, though the Iſland was well inhabited. About the Middle of *September* they ſailed from thence, and ſteered South South-weſt, till they came into the Latitude of 10°, when they fell in with the Banks of *Peragoa*, thro' which they ſailed three Days in the utmoſt Danger. At length they reached an Iſland ſomewhat to the North of *Borneo*, where, finding a convenient Bay, they haled their Ship aſhore, ſet up a Tent, and planted ten ſmall Guns for their Defence, in caſe the Natives ſhould attack them; but they, having never ſeen white Men before, avoided them all they could. It was not long, however, before they came up with a Canoe, on board of which was the Queen of that Country, with her Retinue, who all leaped into the Sea to avoid them. They took them up without much Difficulty, and entertained them afterwards ſo kindly, that they were very good Friends during the Time they ſtaid there, which was about two Months. At this Time, the *Spaniards* were at Peace with the Monarch who governed *Borneo*, and carried on a very advantageous Trade there from the *Manillas*; of which Captain *Eaton*'s People were no ſooner informed, than they declared themſelves *Spaniards*, and paſſed for ſuch all the Time they ſtaid.

13. It was towards the End of the Month of *December* 1685. that they left this Iſland, in order to go to a Chain of Iſlands, called the Iſlands of *Naturah*, in 4° North Latitude. They did not ſtay there long; but proceeded from thence to the Iſland of *Timor*, where the Crew growing extremely mutinous, paying little or no Regard to Captain *Eaton*'s Orders, our Author reſolved to quit the Ship, and find ſome Way or other to get his Paſſage home from *Batavia*. Accordingly, himſelf, one Mr. *Hill*, and eighteen more of the Men, who were the ſame way inclined, purchaſed a large Boat, in which they deſigned to have gone to *Batavia*; but, the Wind proving contrary, they were obliged to put in at *Cheribon*, a Factory belonging to the *Dutch* upon the ſame Iſle of *Java*, where they found they had loſt both a Day in the Month, and a Day in the Week. They met here with ſeveral Pieces of bad News; ſuch as, that King *Charles* II. was dead; and the *Dutch* had deprived the *Engliſh* of their Factory at *Bantam*, which was the ſecond Place of Trade we, at that time, poſſeſſed in the *Eaſt Indies*; and one can never ſufficiently wonder, that Care was not taken, after the Revolution, that we ſhould have it again, the Loſs of it having been extremely prejudicial to our *Eaſt India* Company, as will appear in another Place, when we come to relate this Story at large. At preſent we ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, that, while Captain *Cowley* was here, the *Dutch* were forming other Schemes to the Prejudice of our Trade; whereupon Captain *Cowley*, Mr. *Hill*, and a third Perſon, reſolved to make all the Haſte they could to *Batavia*, that they might not be involved in any Diſputes. They got, with little Trouble, their Paſſage to *Batavia*, where they were very kindly received by the *Dutch* Governor General, who promiſed them their Paſſage home in a *Dutch* Ship; which he afterwards complied with: But there being, at that time, about twenty *Engliſhmen* at *Batavia*, they purchaſed a Sloop, with which they intended to have gone to *Sillibar*, an *Engliſh* Factory on the Coaſt of *Sumatra*; but ſo far were the *Dutch* from permitting of this, that they took the Sloop from them, paying, however, what it coſt; and put the *Dutchman* in Priſon, who ſold it. To juſtify this, they made uſe of many Pretences; but the true Reaſon was, that they had formed a Deſign upon *Sillibar*, which tho' they were forced to poſtpone, yet they were unwilling to let People go thither, for fear the *Engliſh* ſhould prove too ſtrong for them. The Scheme they intended to make uſe of for driving the *Engliſh* thence, was ſingular enough: They had lent the King of *Sillibar* a conſiderable Sum of Money ſome Years before, which they now propoſed to demand, and to oblige the King to pay them in Pepper; by which Agreement they would have ſecured all the Trade in his Dominions, and then the *Engliſh* muſt have withdrawn their Factory of courſe. But, juſt as they were fitting out a Squadron, in order to have put this Deſign in Execution, a War broke out with the Emperor of *Java*; which diverted the Storm for that Time, becauſe they were obliged to employ thoſe Ships againſt their new Enemy.

14. As there was no other Way left of getting home, but in a *Dutch* Ship, Captain *Cowley* and his Friends embarqued in *Batavia* Road in the Beginning of *March*; but it was the latter End of the Month before they ſailed, and had a very indifferent Paſſage to the Cape, being reduced to Short-allowance, and even to a Pint of Water a Day. On *May* 27. their Captain died; which occaſioned a good deal of Confuſion: For a Council of War being called, compoſed of the Officers of the two Ships *Salida* and *Critſman*, therein it was reſolved, that Captain *Tominall*, Commander of the *Critſman*, ſhould command the *Salida*; and Captain *Tominall*'s chief Mate command the *Critſman*. The Pilot alſo of the *Salida*, whoſe Name was *Houdin*, was ordered on board the *Critſman*; which he refuſed, and the Crew of the *Salida* mutinied in favour of their Pilot, and he remained where he was. On *June* 1. they entered the Road before the Cape of *Good Hope*. The next Day, he went on ſhore with his Companions, and took a View of the *Dutch* Settlement there, which I chuſe to give the Reader in his own Words, as a good Deſcription of the Situation of Things at the Cape of *Good Hope* in the Year 1686. and ſhall hereafter afford him an Opportunity of comparing it with the State of that Settlement at preſent: “The Town, which is inhabited by the *Dutch*, is but ſmall, and the Houſes are built very low, by reaſon that, in the Months of *December*, *January*, and *February*, they are viſited by great Gales of Wind. There are not above 100 of thoſe Houſes in all the Town; but they have a very ſtrong Caſtle, with about eighty good Guns mounted therein. There is alſo a very ſpacious Garden, with moſt pleaſant Walks, which is maintained by the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company, and in which are planted almoſt all manner of Fruit-trees, and incomparable good Herbs. This Garden is about one Mile in Length, and a Furlong in Breadth. This is the greateſt Rarity, that I ſaw at the Cape; for it far exceeded the *Eaſt India* Company's Garden that is at *Batavia*. They have alſo Abundance of very good Sheep here; but very few black Cattle, and not many Fowls. We walked, moreover, without the Town to the Village inhabited by the *Hodmandods (Hottentots)*, to view their naſty Bodies, and the Nature of their Dwellings, which we found to be as followeth: When we came thither, we were ſcarce able to endure the Stench of them, and their Habitations. They built their Houſes round, (with their Fire-place in the Middle of them) almoſt like the Huts, that are built in *Ireland* by the wild *Iriſh*, the People lying in the Aſhes, and having nothing under them but a Sheep-ſkin. The Men have but one Stone in Appearance; which is very ſtrange. But the Women are more to be admired, who have a Flap of Skin, that covers their Nakedneſs; but are ſo ignorant, or, I may ſay, brutiſh, that they will not ſtick to proſtitute themſelves, or do whatever elſe you would have, for the leaſt Recompence imaginable; and of this I am an Eye-witneſs. Their Apparel is a Sheep-ſkin (as I have already ſaid) over their Shoulders, with a Leathern Cap upon their Heads, as full of Greaſe as it can hold. Their

" Legs are wound about with Guts of Beaſts, (from the " Ankle to the Knees) well greaſed. The People called " the *Hodmandods* (*Hottentots*) are born white; but make " themſelves black with Soot, and beſmear their Bodies all " over; ſo that, by frequent Repetition, their Skins be- " come almoſt as black as Negroes. Their Children are " of a good, comely Shape, when they are young. Their " Noſes, in Form, reſemble a Negro's. When they marry, " the Woman cutteth off one Joint of her Finger; and, " if her Huſband die, and ſhe marry again, ſhe cutteth off " another Joint; and ſo many Men as ſhe marrieth, ſo " many Joints ſhe loſeth. They are People that will eat " any thing that is foul. If the *Hollanders* kill a Beaſt, " they will get the Guts, and ſqueeze the Excrements out; " and then, without waſhing or ſcraping, lay them upon " the Coals, and, before they are well hot through, they " will take them, and eat them. If a Slave of the Com- " pany's have a mind to have carnal Knowledge of one of " their Women, let him but give her Huſband a Bit of " Tobacco-roll of about three Inches long, he will fetch " her forthwith to the Slave, and cauſe her to lie with him. " They are Men not given to the leaſt Jealouſy; yet they " will beat their Wives, if they lie with the *Hodmandods* " themſelves; but they value it not for them to do it with " Men of another Nation. They are Worſhippers of Dame " *Luna*; and, when they expect to ſee the Moon, there " will be Thouſands of them by the Sea-ſide dancing and " ſinging: But, if it be dark Weather, ſo that the Moon " appears not, they will ſay, that their God is angry with " with them; whereas, on the contrary, when the ſaid " Luminary ſhines, they will ſay he is not angry. There " happened at this Time that we were among them, that " one of the *Hodmandods* (*Hottentots*) had drank him- " ſelf dead in the Fort, whither the other *Hodmandods* (*Hottentots*) came with Oil and Milk, and put them in his " Mouth; but, finding they could get no Life into him, " they began to make Preparation for his Burial, which was " in the following Manner: They came with Knives, and " ſhaved his Body, Arms, and Legs through the thick " Skin; then they digged a great Hole, and ſet him in it " upon his Breech, clapping Stones round about him, to " keep him upright; after came a Company of their Wo- " men about him, making a moſt horrid Noiſe; then they " covered the Mouth of the Hole, and left him in a ſit- " ting Poſture." We need not wonder, that our Author, having received ſuch Ideas of theſe People, was willing enough to continue his Voyage, which we ſhall likewiſe purſue.

15. On *June* 15. 1686. they ſailed from the Cape of *Good Hope*, with a ſmall Gale at South-weſt, ſix Ships weighing their Anchors at once, *viz.* the *Salida*, the *Critſman*, and *Emeland*, for *Holland*, and the other three for *Batavia*; they fired at parting, in drinking of Healths, and other Ceremonies of that ſort according to the *Dutch* Cuſtom, upwards of 300 Guns; an idle and expenſive Practice for ſo wiſe and frugal a Nation. *July* 29. they were in 19° 54′ South Latitude, at the Diſtance of 914 Miles from the Cape; the ſame Day they feaſted the Captains of the other two Ships on board the *Salida*. The next Day they had a very fair Wind; and, on *June* 4. they were in the Latitude of 14° 15′, when they threw a Man overboard, a Native of *Denmark*, who died in the Night, and was cold and ſtiff before any body perceived it. On the 20th of the ſame Month, they were in 15° North Latitude; and the ſame Day they held a Council of War upon their Captain: He was accuſed of having hired five Men to murder a Man of Quality, and his Lady, with ſome other rich Paſſengers that were on board, and then to run away with the Ship. The Perſon who accuſed him was the Purſer, who produced the Man who told him; and who then denied the Thing as poſitively, as he had before affirmed it; ſo that the Captain was unanimouſly acquitted. On the 22d, according to the Author's Computation, he had ſailed quite round the terreſtrial Globe, cutting the ſame Line which he did, when he departed from *Virginia* in the Year 1683. On *Auguſt* 2. in the Morning, died Captain *Tominall*, of an Inflammation in the Bowels, having been ill but three Days. His Pilot was choſen, by the Officers, to ſucceed him, whom the Crew abſolutely refuſed to obey; but, by the Perſuaſion of the other two Captains, they were brought to better Temper, and accepted him for their Commander. On *Auguſt* 4. they judged themſelves to be within thirty Leagues of the *Ambrottios*-(*Abrolhos*) a very dangerous Shole, or Bank of Sand, laid down in the Maps in 13° North Latitude; but our Author very much doubts, whether there be any ſuch Shole, ſince he never knew any Man that had ſeen it; and a Pilot, who had made ſixteen Voyages to *Braſil*, aſſured him, there was no ſuch Sand. *September* 5. about ten at Night, they had a violent Storm, which had like to have driven them on board the *Critſman*; but, by good Luck, when they leaſt expected it, their Ship fell off, and the Wind happily filling their Sails, ſaved them from the Danger they were in.

16. On the 19th, about Noon, Captain *Cowley* ſaw Land, which he believed to be the Iſland *Shetland*; of which he told the *Dutch* Captain, but he would not believe him. At ſix in the Evening, the People on board the *Critſman* made a Signal of ſeeing Land, at which all the Ship's Crew of the *Salida* made a Jeſt of their Captain, for not believing thoſe who had better Eyes than himſelf. On the 26th, they found themſelves in the Latitude of 53° 35′, and the ſame Day came up with two Ships, one a *Dane*, the other *Engliſh*, on board of whom Captain *Cowley*, and his Companions, would willingly have gone, but the *Dutch* Captain would not permit them; the *Dutch* Lord they had on board affirming, that he could not anſwer it to the States. *September* 28. they were before the *Maes*, with the Wind at Eaſt North-eaſt; when it was Day, they ſaw the *Brill Church*, and *Grave's Sand*, and then they came to an Anchor in ten Fathom Water, and rode there in Expectation of a Pilot to carry them into the *Maes*. On the 30th, he arrived at *Helvoetſluys*, having been ſeven Months in their Paſſage from *Batavia*. From thence Captain *Cowley* travelled by Land to *Rotterdam*, where he found the *Ann* Yacht ready to ſail for *England*, in which he came over as a Paſſenger, arriving ſafely at *London October* 12. 1686. after a tedious and troubleſome Voyage of three Years, and near two Months.

17. The Spirit of Privateering upon the *Spaniards*, which had been raiſed and promoted by the ſeveral Wars carried on againſt that Nation by the *Dutch*, *French*, and *Engliſh*, was now at its full Height; for the Licence given under the Protector *Cromwell*, and the unſettled Situation of Things with reſpect to *Spain*, immediately after the Reſtoration, gave great Encouragement to theſe ſort of Adventurers, till at laſt they grew ſo powerful, that it was no eaſy Matter to put an End to their Depredations; perhaps it would have been impracticable, if they had not been deſtroyed by Diſcord and Diſputes among themſelves. Many Inconveniencies muſt neceſſarily ariſe from the long Continuance of ſo wicked a Practice; but, at the ſame time, it produced ſome good Conſequences alſo; for theſe Buccaneers were ſuch bold and daring Navigators, that they not only attempted, but performed, Things almoſt incredible, and which, in Proceſs of Time, are come to be thought as impracticable, as they were eſteemed to be before theſe Men atchieved them: For Inſtance, the quick Marches they made by Land croſs the Iſthmus of *Darien*, which they made a kind of open Road. Beſides this, they found out other Paſſages from the North to the South Seas, by means of the Rivers, which riſe near the latter, and fall into the former. We owe likewiſe to them the Paſſage round Cape *Horn*, without paſſing the Streights of *le Maire*, which was firſt performed by Captain *Sharpe*, and afterwards by the *Revenge*, under the Direction of our Author. They alſo diſcovered moſt of the Iſlands, which the *Spaniards* had but indifferent Accounts of, and lay down, it may be on purpoſe, erroneouſly in their Charts, ſuch as the *Gallapagos*, the firſt Deſcription of which is that given by our Author, encouraged by whoſe Example, the Privateers often viſited them afterwards. They landed likewiſe frequently in *California*, and, by their numerous Voyages from thence to the *Eaſt Indies*, made ſome conſiderable Diſcoveries on that Side too. Theſe were not only great Things in themſelves, and of prodigious Conſequence to the trading World, but were alſo very happy in another reſpect; ſince, had it not been for theſe lawleſs Adventurers,

turers, the Practice of granting excluſive Charters to trading Companies, which prevailed here as well as in *Holland*, had put an End to all Diſcoveries, and thereby extinguiſhed that Spirit, which is the Life and Soul of Navigation, without which all maritime Power muſt ſink and decay, or at leaſt be tranſported to other Nations, where this kind of circumſcribing Policy has not yet taken Place. The Number of Seamen bred up in theſe kind of Veſſels was incredible; and, as many of them were diſperſed over our Colonies, and ſome of them returned into *Europe*, the Accounts they gave contributed to keep up a Deſire of undertaking ſomething in thoſe Parts, either by ſettling Colonies, or making Conqueſts from the *Spaniards*. Here, in *England*, ſomething of that ſort fell often under the Conſideration of our Miniſtry; and King *William* gave all imaginable Encouragement to a Propoſition that was made for eſtabliſhing an *Engliſh* Settlement on the River *Miſſiſſippi*; but the Affair met with ſuch Delays, and that King found himſelf ſo cramped in all his Reſolutions for the public Service, that tho', for ſome time, this was his favourite Scheme, yet he was at laſt forced to lay it aſide; which afterwards gave the *French* an Opportunity of working upon that Plan, which they have done with wonderful Induſtry, and have received all the Helps from their Government, that it was in the Power of the Government to give. I cannot forbear obſerving, upon this Occaſion, that it was from the *French* Buccaneers, that Nation received all her Lights with reſpect to the Commerce of the *Weſt Indies*; and to theſe People, likewiſe, they owe the very beſt Settlement they have, which is that in *Hiſpaniola*, the Hiſtory of which we ſhall give at large in another Place. It were, indeed, to be wiſhed, that the Accounts we have of theſe Expeditions were better and more carefully written than we find them; and yet, all Things conſidered, we have no great Reaſon to expect this from ſuch ſort of Men. It is one thing, to have the Skill of navigating a Ship; and quite another, to be able to write a clear and ſatisfactory Account of what happens in ſuch a Voyage. The keeping of a Sea Journal is a Thing reduced to a ſettled Method, and is as much the Buſineſs of a Navigator, as the Care of the Ship; neither, indeed, is it poſſible for him to attend one, and neglect the other. But the turning that Journal into an hiſtorical Relation of the Voyage, and the Circumſtances attending it, is a thing quite out of his Way, and which very few Seamen can do without Aſſiſtance. In reſpect to this, again, various Accidents may happen; for a Perſon may have proper Abilities for executing another Hiſtory well, that may, notwithſtanding, be altogether unfit for putting Memoirs of this ſort into proper Order. It is very poſſible, that a Hiſtory of this kind may be over, as well as under-written; and the florid Stile of the Aſſiſtant ruin the plain honeſt Account of the Mariner. It was the Misfortune of our Author Captain *Cowley*, that he had not either the publiſhing of his own Journal, or the Choice of an Aſſiſtant; nay, he was not ſo much as acquainted with the Deſign of publiſhing it; and therefore the Deficiencies which appear in it are the more excuſable. I have corrected ſeveral, eſpecially with regard to Figures; for it cannot be imagined, that a Man who is, generally ſpeaking, very exact, ſhould ever fall into groſs Miſtakes; and therefore, when theſe occur, they ought to be attributed to the Tranſcriber of his Journal, who was, perhaps, unacquainted with the Subject: But, however, Captain *Cowley*'s Voyage has a great deal of Merit: It is written with the greateſt Honeſty and Freedom, that I have ever met with in a Work of this kind. He never diſſembles the Deſign in which he was embarked; but fairly owns, that they intended to take the Ships of any Nation they were able to maſter; and, if it had not been for his Account, we ſhould never have known how the *Revenge*, which originally carried eight, or at moſt eighteen Guns, came afterwards to carry forty; but he explains the Myſtery, by ſhewing us, that the ſmall Ship helped them to the great one. His Account alſo of the *Gallapagos* Iſlands, is alſo very accurate in every reſpect; and tho' *Dampier* has given us a much larger, and more circumſtantial, Relation of this Part of the Voyage, yet he comes very ſhort of him in this Particular. His Obſervations, as to the Deſigns of the *Dutch* at that Juncture, are very judicious, and diſcover a great Share of public Spirit, which is the moſt laudable Quality in every Writer. I cannot help thinking, that it would be of great Benefit to the Public, if we had a fair and impartial Hiſtory of our Diſputes with the *Dutch* in regard to Trade, with a clear Account of what each Nation has gained from the other; for, as, on the one hand, it is certain, that ſome of the Writers, in the Reign of King *Charles* II. carried their Rancor againſt the *Dutch* too far, and charged them with many Things, of which they were not guilty; ſo, on the other hand, ſome People have extenuated Things too much ſince, and have thereby rendered the Nation blind to her own Intereſt. In the Proſecution of this Work, I ſhall do my utmoſt Endeavour to ſet ſuch Points, as ſhall fall in my Way, in a fair Light; but ſtill, I do not think this would render ſuch a Work as I hint unneceſſary. Our Trade is our great national Concern; and we never can have it too fully explained, or too minutely treated; for though the Traffick of private Perſons may ſuffer from too free an Examination, yet it is otherwiſe with the Commerce of a great People: The more that is ſifted and inquired into, the better, as appears in the particular Caſe of Intereſt of Money, which, till it was thoroughly handled, and all the Queſtions that aroſe about it freely and frequently debated, was never perfectly underſtood, to the great Diſcouragement of Trade, and our infinite Loſs as a People. But let us at preſent return to the Thread of our Diſcourſe, and take a View of Captain *Dampier*'s Obſervations, as well in that Part of the Voyage he made together with our Author *Cowley*, as in the Remainder of it, after Captain *Davis* quitted Captain *Eaton*, and Mr. *Dampier* quitted *Davis*, and purſued his Voyage Home the beſt Way he could. Theſe Voyages have, indeed, been publiſhed before; but they appear, for the firſt time, in their natural Order, and purged from a Multitude of Errors, by which an unwary Reader might have been eaſily miſled.

SECTION XIII.

Captain WILLIAM DAMPIER'*s firſt Voyage round the World, collected from his own Account.*

1. *The Method obſerved in digeſting this Account*, 2. *A conciſe Hiſtory of Captain* Dampier, *and his Adventures, to the Time of his Return to* England, *after his ſecond Expedition to the Bay of* Campeachy. 3. *His ſecond Voyage to* America, *and his Exploits with the* Buccaneers *from* 1679 *to* 1681. 4. *Continuation of his Adventures, to the Time of his undertaking this Voyage*, Auguſt 23. 1683. 5. *Deſcription of the Iſland of* Salt, *and its Inhabitants.* 6. *Account of the Iſland of* St. Nicolas, *and of the Treachery of Captain* Bond *to its Inhabitants.* 7. *Arrive at the* Sebaldine *Iſlands.* 8. *Paſs into the Cape of* Good Hope *round the South Seas.* 9. *Anchor before the Iſland of* Juan Fernandez. 10. *Ample Deſcription of that Iſland.* 11. *Obſervations on the Weather in the* Pacific *Sea.* 12. *Deſcription of the Iſland of* Lobos. 13. *Three* Spaniſh *Prizes taken.* 14. *Account of their Stay at the* Gallapagos *Iſlands.* 15. *A Digreſſion concerning the ſeveral Kinds of Tortoiſes.* 16. *Return to the Continent, where they find themſelves diſcovered by the* Spaniards. 17. *Are obliged to lay aſide their Deſign upon* Rio Leja. 18. *Deſcription of the Gulph and Iſlands of* Amapalla. 19. *Tranſactions there, and their Separation from Captain* Eaton. 20. *Account of the Iſland of* Plate, *and its Inhabitants.* 21. *Precautions taken by the* Spaniards *to prevent their Landing.* 22. *Join with Captain* Swan *and Captain* Harris. 23. *Account of the Town of* Paita, *and*

and the Buildings in Peru. 24. *Deſcription of ſeveral Kinds of Bark-logs, and their Uſes.* 25. *Their Proceedings till they reach the Iſlands of* St. Clara. 26. *Deſcription of the Town of* Guiaquil. 27. *Miſcarry in an Attempt on that Place.* 28. *Deſcription of the Bay of* Panama. 29. *Account of the adjacent Coaſt.* 30. *The Iſland of* Gorgonia *deſcribed.* 31. *Obſervations on* Panama, *and the Country about it.* 32. *The Courſe of the* Spaniſh *Plate Fleet deſcribed.* 33. *That Deſcription continued.* 34. *They meet with a conſiderable Body of Privateers.* 35. *Deſcription of the Coaſt near Cape* Lorenzo. 36. *Their Adventures on that Coaſt.* 37. *Their Engagement with the* Spaniſh *Fleet.* 38. *Deſcription of the Iſlands of* Quibo. 39. *Make various Attempts, and meet with continual Diſappointments.* 40. *They attack and become Maſters of the City of* Leon. 41. *Further Account of their Tranſactions to the Separation of the Fleet.* 42. *Attempt* Guatimala, *and are repulſed.* 43. *Proſecution of their Voyage towards the North.* 44. *The City and Port of* Acapulco, *and other Places on that Coaſt, deſcribed.* 45. *Continuation of their Voyage to the Iſlands of* Chametly. 46. *Miſcarry in their Deſign on the* Manilla *Ship.* 47. *Arrive at the Iſlands before-mentioned.* 48. *Some Account of* Callifornia, *and* New Mexico. 49. *Sail for the* Eaſt Indies, *and arrive at the* Philippine *Iſlands.* 50. *Deſcription of thoſe Iſlands, and of their Tranſactions there.* 51. *Other Iſlands, and their Inhabitants, deſcribed.* 52. *Their Diſcoveries in theſe Parts; the Names beſtowed by them upon ſeveral Iſlands, with a Deſcription of thoſe Iſlands, and an Account of their Inhabitants.* 53. *The Iſlands of* Celebes, Bouton, *and other Places, deſcribed.* 54. *Copious Account of that Part of the Southern Continent, diſtinguiſhed by the Name of* New Holland. 55. *Our Author quits the Ship at* Nicobar. 56. *Brief Account of his three Years Stay in the* Eaſt Indies. 57. *He embarques for, and returns ſafe to* England, *arriving in the* Thames, September 16. 1691.

1. THE Obſervations heretofore made, with reſpect to the Difficulty of compiling Voyages, and the Cauſes of thoſe Imperfections that are uſually diſcerned in them, cannot be better illuſtrated, than by the ſubſequent Account of his own Diſcoveries by Captain *Dampier*, one of the greateſt Navigators of late Years, that this Nation has to boaſt. His Character has been variouſly repreſented, according to the different Notions entertained of him by Men who were guided rather by their particular Prejudices or Prepoſſeſſions, than by Love of Truth, or Reſpect to Juſtice. This was, in ſome meaſure, owing to the great Diſadvantages, under which his Works were publiſhed: They came out at ſeveral times, without Order, harſhly written, obſcure in ſome Places, prolix in others, and every-where full of Promiſes of giving the World further and better Accounts, which naturally ſunk the Credit of what he was then giving; but, with all theſe Diſadvantages, the Voyages of Captain *Dampier* will be always thought uſeful and entertaining. I have taken all the Care I could to improve them in both reſpects; and, I preſume, the Reader will find, that they are much clearer, and more intelligible, as they ſtand here, than they can be found elſewhere, and that for theſe Reaſons: I have, in the firſt Place, digeſted his ſeveral Relations into their proper Order of Time, which renders them perfectly well connected, and contributes not a little to their being better underſtood. By taking this Method, I have had the Opportunity of pruning away many unneceſſary Digreſſions, and needleſs Repetitions, which, without Doubt, the Author himſelf would have done, if he had reviſed his own Writings, and reduced them into a juſt Series, of which that he had ſome Notion, appears from ſeveral of his Prefaces and Dedications. Thus much as to the rendering his Voyages the more uſeful; and, that they might ſtill remain as entertaining as ever, I have choſen to retain his own Manner of Writing, except in the ſubſequent Introduction, where I propoſe to give the Reader a conciſe Account of this extraordinary Perſon from his own Works, previous to thoſe Voyages, that intitle him to a Place in mine, as a very eminent Circum-navigator, and one, whoſe many Diſcoveries ought to recommend his Memory to Poſterity, as a Man of infinite Induſtry, and of a very laudable public Spirit.

2. Captain *William Dampier* was deſcended from a very reputable Family in *Somerſetſhire*, where he was born in the Year 1652; and, during the Life-time of his Father and Mother, had ſuch an Education, as was thought requiſite to fit him for a Trade; but, loſing both his Parents while he was very young, thoſe, who had the Care of him afterwards, finding him of a roving Diſpoſition, and ſtrongly inclined to go to Sea, reſolved to comply with his Humour in this reſpect; and, about the Year 1669, bound him to a Maſter of a Ship, who lived at *Weymouth* in *Dorſetſhire*, with whom he made a Voyage to *France* the ſame Year, and, in the next, went to *Newfoundland*; but was ſo pinched by the Severity of that Climate, that, on his Return, he went home to his Friends in the Country, having loſt much of that Eagerneſs, with which he had been poſſeſſed for going to Sea. This, however, ſoon returned, on his hearing of an outward-bound *Eaſt India* Ship, which was ſpeedily to ſail from the Port of *London*; and thereupon, in the latter End of the Year 1670, he came up to Town, and entered himſelf before the Maſt on board the *John and Martha* of *London*, Captain *Earning* Commander, with whom he made a Voyage to *Bantam* in the Iſland of *Java*, and back; by which he acquired a great deal of Experience. He returned into *England* in *January* 1672, and retired to his Brother's Houſe in *Somerſetſhire*, where he ſtaid all the next Summer. In 1673, he entered himſelf on board the *Royal Prince*, commanded by the famous Sir *Edward Spragge*, and was in two Engagements againſt the *Dutch* that Summer; but, falling ſick, was put on board an Hoſpital-ſhip a Day or two before the laſt Engagement, in which that brave *Engliſh* Seaman was killed, and which Mr. *Dampier* ſaw only at a Diſtance. After this, he went down again to his Brother's in *Somerſetſhire*, where, meeting with one Colonel *Hellier*, who had a large Eſtate in *Jamaica*, he was perſuaded by him to go over to that Iſland, where he was to be employed in the Management of it. With this View, he ſailed from the River *Thames* in the Spring of the Year 1674, and reſided ſomewhat more than a Year at *Jamaica*; where, not liking the Life of a Planter, he, at the Perſuaſion of one Captain *Hodſell*, engaged himſelf among the Logwood-cutters, and embarqued in *Auguſt* 1675 for *Campeachy*, where he reſided for ſome time, and followed that Employment diligently, tho' he underwent many and great Hardſhips, before he had an Opportunity of returning to *Jamaica*, which he did in the End of the Year. In the *February* following, he embarqued again for *Campeachy*, being now better provided for the Trade of Logwood-cutter than before. He continued here a good while, and acquainted himſelf perfectly with the Manner of cutting Logwood, and trading in it; which enabled him to form ſome Projects for advancing his Fortune: This, however, made it neceſſary for him to return firſt to *Jamaica*, and then to *England*, where he arrived on board a Ship commanded by one Captain *Loader*, in the Month of *Auguſt* 1678. It was this new Scene of Life in the Bay of *Campeachy*, that introduced him to the Acquaintance of ſome Buccaneers, and gave him a Notion of that ſort of Life, in which we ſhall find him afterwards engaged, and of which, it is certain, he was afterwards very much aſhamed; which I take to be the Reaſon, that, in his firſt Voyage round the World, he has concealed many Circumſtances, with which, however, the World has been made acquainted by Captain *Cowley*, and others, who had not, perhaps, the ſame Reaſons for keeping them ſecret. But to proceed with the Hiſtory of our Author's Adventures.

3. In the Spring of the Year 1679, he embarked on board the *Loyal Merchant*, of *London*, commanded by Captain *Knapman*, bound for *Jamaica*, where he arrived in the latter End of *April*, the ſame Year, with an Intent to have provided himſelf in ſuch manner, as might have ſet

him up for a complete Logwood-cutter, and Trader in the Bay of *Campeachy*. But he afterwards changed his Reſolution, and laid out the beſt Part of what he was worth in the Purchace of a ſmall Eſtate in *Dorſetſhire*, of a Perſon he knew to have a good Title; and then made an Agreement with one Mr. *Hobby*, to take a Trip to the Continent before he went for *England*. Soon after their ſetting out, they came to an Anchor in *Nigral* Bay, at the Weſt End of *Jamaica:* They found there the Captains *Coxon*, *Sawkins*, *Sharpe*, and other Privateers, with whom all Mr. *Hobby*'s Men preſently agreed to go, and left nobody with him but our Author; who, believing that his Aſſiſtance could not do him much good, conſented to go along with them too. At the Cloſe of the Year 1679. they ſet out: Their firſt Expedition was againſt *Porto-Bello*, which being accompliſhed, they took a Reſolution to croſs the Iſthmus of *Darien*, in order to purſue their Deſigns in the South Seas. On *April* 5. 1680. they landed near *Golden Iſland*, being between 3 and 400 ſtrong, carrying with them ſuch Proviſions as were neceſſary, and Toys to gratify the free *Indians*, through whoſe Country they paſſed. In about nine Days time they arrived at *Santa Maria*, which they took without much Difficulty, but found there neither Gold nor Proviſions, as they expected; ſo they ſtaid there only three Days, and then embarked on board Canoes, and other ſmall Craft, for the South Seas. On *April* 23. they were in Sight of *Panama*; and, having in vain attempted *Puebla Nova*, before which Captain *Sawkins*, then acting as Commander in chief, was killed, they went off to the Iſles of *Quibo*. On *June* 6. they ſailed from thence for the Coaſt of *Peru*; and, touching at the Iſlands of *Gorgonia* and *Plata*, they came to *Ylo*, which they took in the Month of *October*. About *Chriſtmas*, the ſame Year, they arrived in the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, which was the fartheſt they went towards the South: There they depoſed Captain *Bartholomew Sharpe*, who had the chief Command after the Death of *Sawkins*, and made Choice of one Captain *Watling* to command, under whom they attempted *Arica*; but were repulſed with the Loſs of twenty-eight Men, among whom was their new Commander Captain *Watling*; when they ſailed for ſome time without any Commander; but, arriving in the Iſland of *Plata*, their Crew ſplit into two Factions; when it was reſolved, before they proceeded to the Choice of a Commander, that the Majority, with their new Captain, ſhould keep the Ship, and the Minority ſhould content themſelves with the Canoes and Small-Craft: Upon the Poll, Captain *Sharpe* was reſtored, and Mr. *Dampier*, who had voted againſt him, prepared, with his Aſſociates, to return over Land into the North Seas.

4. On *April* 17. 1681. they quitted Captain *Sharpe*, and, without acknowledging any Commander, reſolved to proſecute their Deſign of repaſſing the Iſthmus, though they were but forty-ſeven Men in all. This was one of the boldeſt Undertakings that ever came into the Head of deſperate Men, and yet they performed it without any conſiderable Loſs. On *May* 1. they landed on the Continent; paſt the Iſthmus in twenty-three Days; and, on the 24th, embarked on board Captain *Triſtrian*, a *French* Privateer, with whom they joined a Fleet of thoſe ſort of People, conſiſting of nine Veſſels, on board of which were near 600 Men. This was a very great Force, and they flattered themſelves with the Hopes of doing great Things againſt the *Spaniards:* But through Variety of Accidents, tho' chiefly through the Diſagreement among their Commanders, they were able to do very little, except that theſe People, who came over Land, made themſelves Maſters of a Tartan; and, putting themſelves under the Command of Captain *Wright*, continued cruiſing along the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, quite down to the *Dutch* Settlement of *Curacao*, where they endeavoured to ſell a good Quantity of Sugar, which they had taken on board a *Spaniſh* Ship; but, failing in that Deſign, they proſecuted their Voyage to *Tortugas*, and from thence to the *Caracca* Coaſt, where they took three Barks, one laden with Hides, another with *European* Commodities, and the third with Earthen-ware and Brandy. With theſe Prizes they proceeded to the Iſland of *Roca*, where they ſhared them, and then reſolved to ſeparate, tho' they were but ſixty in all: Of theſe, about twenty, among whom our Author was, took one of the Barks, and, with their Share of the Goods, proceeded directly for *Virginia*, where they arrived in the Month of *July* 1682. There they continued for ſome time, and then the beſt Part of them made a Voyage to *Carolina*, from whence they once more came back to *Virginia*; and, having ſpent the beſt Part of their Wealth, were now ready to enter on any Scheme that could be propoſed for getting more; nor was it long before ſuch an Opportunity offered. Captain *Cooke*, of whom we have given an Account at the Beginning of the former Section, coming thither with a Prize, and declaring his Reſolution to go into the South Seas, and cruiſe upon the *Spaniards*; Mr. *Dampier*, whoſe old Acquaintance he was, and who knew him to be an able Commander, readily agreed to go with him, and brought moſt of his Companions into a like Diſpoſition; which was of greater Conſequence to that Commander, as it furniſhed him with One-third of his whole Company. In this Voyage it was that Captain *Cowley* acted as Maſter, tho' he was not truſted with the true Deſign. They ſailed from *Achamack* in *Virginia*, *Auguſt* 23. 1683. and ſteered their Courſe for the Cape *de Verd* Iſlands. In their Paſſage they met with a violent Storm, which laſted a whole Week; of which I the rather take notice, becauſe it is a Circumſtance omitted by Captain *Cowley*, who, having, perhaps, been in greater Storms, was not ſo much alarmed at this. We have now ſeen our Author embarked for his firſt Voyage round the World, the Remainder of which, for Reaſons already aſſigned, ſhall be given in his own manner, and without dropping any thing that has not been before related in our Account of Captain *Cowley*'s Voyage; becauſe that would only fatigue the Reader with unneceſſary Repetitions.

5. The Iſle of *Salt* is ſituated in 16° Latitude, and in 19° 33′ Longitude Weſt from the *Lizard* in *England*. It is in Length from North to South 9 Leagues, and in Breadth about two Leagues; has abundance of ſalt Ponds, (whence it derives its Name) but no Trees or Graſs that ever I ſaw. Some few poor Goats feed upon Shrubs near the Sea Side. I have alſo ſeen ſome wild Fowl here, and eſpecially the *Flamingos*, a reddiſh Fowl, of the Shape of a Hern, but much larger, living in Ponds, or muddy Places: We ſhot about fourteen of them, tho' they are very ſhy: Their Neſts they build with Mud, in the ſhallow Places in Ponds, or ſtanding Waters; theſe they raiſe up like Hillocks, tapering to the Top, two Feet above the Surface of the Water, where they leave a Hole to lay their Eggs in, which when they do, or are hatching them, they ſtand with their long Legs in the Water cloſe to the Hillocks, and ſo cover the Hollowneſs only with their Rumps; for, if they ſhould ſit down on them, the Weight of their Bodies would break them. The young ones can't fly, nor do they come to their true Colour or Shape, till they are ten or eleven Months old, but run very faſt: Their Fleſh is lean and black, but not ill taſted: They have large Tongues, and, near the Root of them, a Piece of Fat, which is accounted a great Dainty. I ſaw, at another time, great Store of theſe Birds at the Iſle of *Rio la Hacha*, near the Continent of *America*, oppoſite to *Curacao*, but never could ſo fully obſerve their Neſts, or young ones, as here. We found not above five or ſix Men in the Iſland of *Salt*; the Chief brought us three or four poor Goats; in Return for which, and ſome Salt we bought of him, we gave him ſome old Cloaths.

6. We ſailed from the Iſle of *Salt* to St. *Nicolas*, another of the Cape *Verd* Iſles, twenty-two Leagues Weſt South-weſt. From thence we came to an Anchor on the South-eaſt Side. It is of a triangular Form, the longeſt Side to the Eaſt being thirty Leagues in Length, and the other two twenty Leagues each: Near the Shore it is rocky and barren; but has ſome Valleys farther in the Country, which produce Vines and Graſs. The Chief of the Iſle, with two or three Gentlemen, brought ſome of the Wine aboard us, which was of a pale Colour, and taſted like *Madera* Wine, but was a little thick: They told us, that the principal Village was in a Valley, fourteen Miles from the Bay, where we then were, and contained about 100 Families; they were of a dark ſwarthy Complexion. After having ſpent five or ſix Days here in digging of Wells for freſh

Water, we ſailed to *Mayo*, another of the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, forty Miles Eaſt by South from the laſt, where we came to an Anchor to the North-weſt Side of it. We would have provided ourſelves with ſome Beef and Goats here, but they would not let our Men come aſhore; becauſe one Captain *Bond*, a *Briſtol* Man, had, not long before, carried off ſome of the chief Inhabitants under the ſame Pretence. This Iſle is but ſmall, and the Coaſt full of Shoals; yet has a conſiderable Commerce in Salt and Cattle. In *May*, *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, a ſort of Tortoiſes lay their Eggs here, but they do not approach in Goodneſs to thoſe of the *Weſt Indies*: They alſo plant here ſome Potatoes, ſome Plantains, and Corn; the Inhabitants live exceeding poorly here, as well as in all other *Cape Verd* Iſlands, except in the Iſle of *St. Iago*, four or five Leagues hence to the Weſt: For tho' that Iſland is mountainous, yet is it the beſt inhabited of all, as having a very good Harbour on the Eaſt Side, much frequented by the *European* Ships bound to the *Eaſt Indies*, and the *Guiney* Coaſt; as alſo the *Portugueſe* Ships bound for *Braſil*, who come hither to provide themſelves with Beef, Pork, Goats, Fowls, Eggs, Plantains, and Cocoa-nuts, in Exchange for Shirts, Drawers, Handkerchiefs, Hats, Waiſtcoats, Breeches, and all ſorts of Linen Cloth, which is in high Eſteem here with the Inhabitants, who are much inclined to Theft. There is a Fort, on the Top of an Hill, which commands the Harbour: I was credibly informed, that this Iſle has two pretty large Towns, and the ſame ſort of Wine we drank at *St. Nicolas*. There are two more of thoſe Iſlands, *Fogo* and *Brava*, both ſmall Iſlands to the Weſt of *St. Iago*. The firſt is remarkable for its being one intire burning Mountain, on the Top whereof iſſues a Fire, which may be diſcerned a great Way off at Sea in the Night-time; a few of its Inhabitants live near the Sea-ſide, at the Foot of the Mountain, who ſubſiſt upon Goats, Fowls, Plaintains, and Cocoa-nuts: The reſt of the *Cape Verd* Iſlands are *St. Antonio*, *St. Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, and *Bona Viſta*.

7. From the *Cape Verd* Iſles we ſteered our Courſe to the South with an Eaſt North-eaſt Wind directly to the Streights of *Magellan*; but at 10° North Latitude, the Wind blowing hard at South by Weſt, and South South-weſt, we directed our Courſe to the *Guiney* Coaſt, and came in a few Days to an Anchor at the Mouth of *Sherborough* River, where there is an *Engliſh* Factory South of *Sierra Leona*, which drives a conſiderable Trade with Camwood, yielding a red Colour, uſed by the Dyers. Not far from the Shore we ſaw a pretty large Village, inhabited by Negroes; the Houſes were low, except one in the Middle, where they entertained us with Palm-wine, and brought aboard good Store of Rice, Fowls, Honey, and Sugar-canes. About the Middle of *November* we proſecuted our Voyage to the Streights of *Magellan*; but, as ſoon as we got out to Sea, we met with Tornadoes, three or four in a Day, which, together with Calms, made us advance but ſlowly, the Wind veering at Intervals to the South and by Eaſt, and South South-eaſt, till we were paſt the Equinoctial Line, about a Degree to the Eaſt of the Iſle of *St. Iago*. After we were come 1° to the South of the Line, the Wind turned to the Eaſt, which made us ſteer South-weſt by Weſt; and, the farther we got to the South, the Wind increaſed upon us from the Eaſt. At 3° South Latitude, we had the Wind at South-eaſt; and at 5° at Eaſt South-eaſt, where it held a conſiderable time, and carried us the 18th of *January* 1684. to 36° of South Latitude, without any remarkable Accident. The Sea hereabouts being of a paliſh Colour, we thought to have found Ground with our Line, but found none at 100 Fathom. At Noon I computed to be 48° 50′ Weſt from the Lizard, the Variation 15° 50′. *January* 28. we made three Iſles of *Sebald de Weert*, in 51° 25′ South Latitude, and 57° 28′ Longitude, Weſt from the Lizard of *England*, the Variation 33° 10′. I perſuaded Captain *Cooke* to anchor near thoſe Iſlands, being ſenſible of Danger in our Paſſage thro' the Streight of *Magellan*, conſidering, eſpecially, that Men aboard the Privateers are not ſo ſtrictly at Command as in other Veſſels. We came to an Anchor within two Cables Length of the Shore of the furthermoſt of thoſe three Iſlands, where we found foul rocky Ground, and the Iſland barren, and deſtitute of Trees, but ſome Dildo-buſhes growing near the Sea-ſide. We ſaw the ſame Day vaſt Shoals of ſmall red Lobſters, no bigger than one's Finger; but were perfectly like our Lobſters, except in their Colour.

8. As we found neither ſafe Anchoring, nor freſh Water, at thoſe Iſles, we made the beſt of our way towards the Streights of *Magellan*. *February* 1. we came in Sight of the Streight *le Maire*, which we found very narrow, with high Land on both Sides. The Wind at North North-weſt, we ſailed with a briſk Gale till within four Miles of the Mouth, where, being becalmed, we found a very ſtrong Tide ſetting out of the Streights to the North; but whether it flowed, or ebbed, we were not able to diſtinguiſh, becauſe it ran all Ways, breaking on all Sides, and toſſing our Ship at ſuch a rate, as I never ſaw before or ſince. At Eight o'Clock at Night we ſailed with a Weſt North-weſt Wind to the Eaſt, in order to ſail round the *States Iſle*; at the Eaſt End of which, anchoring the 7th at Noon, we found ourſelves at 45° 52′ South Latitude. At this End are three ſmall rocky Iſlands, white with the Dung of Birds. We ſteered to the South, in order to ſail round to the South of *Cape Horn*, the Southermoſt Point of *Terra del Fuego*; but the Winds running betwixt the North-weſt and Weſt, we did not ſee the *Terra del Fuego*. After the firſt Evening, we made the Streight of *le Maire*: As I did not ſee the Sun, at Setting or Riſing, from the Time we left the Iſles of *Sebald de Weert*, till we came into the South Seas, ſo I am not able to tell you the Variation: I made, indeed, an Obſervation at Noon in 59° 30′ Longitude, the Wind at Weſt by North; and at Night the Wind veered about to the South-weſt at 60°, the furtheſt South Latitude I ever was in. *February* 14. we were ſurpriſed by a moſt violent Storm in 57° Latitude to the Weſt of *Cape Horn*, which continued till the 3d of *March*, from the South-weſt, and South-weſt and by Weſt, and Weſt South-weſt. *March* 3. it blew a freſh Gale from the South, and afterwards from the Eaſt, which brought us into the South Sea. The 9th, we found ourſelves at 47° 10′, and the Variation 15° 30′ Eaſt. The 17th, we had a fair Gale from the South-eaſt at 36° Latitude, the Variation 8° Eaſt. The 19th, early in the Morning, we diſcerned a Sail to the South of us, which we ſuppoſed to be a *Spaniſh* Merchantman bound from *Baldivia* to *Lima*; but proved one Captain *Eaton*, from *London*, who being bound to the South Seas as well as we, we kept Company with him quite through the Streights.

9. *March* 24. we got in Sight of the Iſle of *John Fernandez*, and ſoon after came to an Anchor, in a Bay at the South End, in 25 Fathom Water, within two Cables Length of the Shore. We ſent immediately to look after a *Muskito* Man we had been forced to leave there three Years before; and who, notwithſtanding all the Search made by the *Spaniards* after him, had kept himſelf concealed in the Woods. When he was left there by Captain *Watling*, (after Captain *Sharpe* was turned out) he had with him a Gun, a Knife, and ſome Powder and Shot, which being all ſpent, he ſawed his Gun-Barrel into ſmall Pieces, and theſe he made up into Harpoons, Hooks, and ſuch-like Inſtruments; all which, though it may ſeem ſtrange, yet is commonly practiſed among the *Muskito Indians*, who make all their Inſtruments without either Forge or Anvil. And the other *Indians*, who have not the Uſe of Iron from the *Europeans*, make their Hatchets, wherewith they cut their Timber and Wood, of a very hard Stone. In the Hollowing out of their Canoes, they make uſe of Fire beſides. The Stone Hatchets of the *Indians*, near *Blewfield River*, are ten Inches long, fourteen broad, and two Inches thick in the Middle, ground away flat and ſharp at both Ends; the Handle is in the Midſt, being a deep Knotch, of a Finger's Length, which they bind round with a Withe of about four Feet long. Thus the *Indians* of *Patagonia* head their Arrows very artificially with grounded Flints: With theſe before-mentioned Inſtruments our *Muskito* Man uſed to ſtrike Goats and Fiſh for his Subſiſtence; his Hut being half a Mile from the Sea-ſide, made of Goats-ſkins; as was his Bed, the ſame ſerving likewiſe for his Cloathing; thoſe he had, when he

was left, being quite worn out. We had no ſooner landed, than another *Muskito*, aboard our Ship, ran to meet his Countryman, and, after he had thrown himſelf on his Face upon the Ground, embraced him with all the Marks of Tenderneſs; which Ceremony being over, he came to ſalute us his old Friends. His Name was *Will*, and the other's *Robert*: For, though they have no Names among themſelves, they love to have Names given them by the *Engliſh*.

10. The Iſle of *John Fernandez* is about 12 Leagues in Circuit, ſeated 120 Leagues from the Continent, at 34° 15′. The whole Country is a pleaſant Mixture of high Hills and Valleys, the Sides of the Hills being partly Woodlands, partly Savannas, *i. e.* clear Pieces of Land, naturally ſo without Wood; for Places cleared of Wood by Induſtry are not called by that Name. In the Bay of *Campeachy* are very ſpacious Savannas; and, near the River of *Plata*, ſome from 30 to 100 Miles long. In *Jamaica*, *Cuba*, and *Hiſpaniola*, the Savannas are intermixed with Wood. The Graſs in the Plains of *John Fernandez*'s Iſle is not ſo flaggy, but much kinder, than thoſe in the *Weſt Indies*. They have here alſo good Wood for Timber, but none for Maſts. Their Cabbage-trees are exceeding good, but not ſo large as in other Places. It is obſervable, that the Goats that feed towards the Weſt End of the Iſle, are much fatter and better than thoſe of the Eaſt End, though in the laſt there is both better and greater Plenty of Graſs and ſweet Water in the Valleys, whereas the Weſt End is a champagne Country, the Graſs dry, and ſcarce any Wood, or freſh Water. Notwithſtanding its Fertility, it is deſtitute of Inhabitants, who might live here in much Plenty, the Plain being able to maintain a great Number of Cattle, and the Sea affording vaſt Numbers of Fiſh, as Seals, Sea-lions, Snappers, and Rock-fiſh. The Seals being ſufficiently known and deſcribed in other Places, we will paſs them by in Silence here: I will only mention, that they are moſt ſeen in the North Parts of *America* and *Europe*, and the South Parts of *Africa*, and on the *American* Coaſt of the South Sea from *Terra del Fuego* to the Equinoctial Line; but are never ſeen in the *Eaſt Indies*, nor to the North of the Line, till at 21° North Latitude. The Sea-lions are not unlike the Seals, but much bigger, twelve or fourteen Feet long, and of the Bulk of a large Bull: They have no Hair, and are of a Dun-colour, with large Eyes, and Teeth three Inches long; one of them will yield a good Quantity of ſweet Oil, fit to fry Meat with: They feed upon Fiſh; yet is their Fleſh tolerable good Food. The Snapper-fiſh has a large Head, Mouth, and Gills, the Back red, and Belly Aſh-coloured, like a Roch, but much larger, and its Scales of the Bigneſs of a Shilling: Their Fleſh is very good Food; I have ſeen them no-where but in the *Weſt Indies*, and eſpecially in the South Sea. The Rock-fiſh, called *Baccalao* by the *Spaniards*, from its Likeneſs to a Cod-fiſh, is rounder than the former, and of a dark-brown Colour, with ſmall Scales: It likewiſe affords good Food, and is found in vaſt Plenty on the Coaſt of *Peru* and *Chili*. This Iſland has only two Bays fit for Anchorage, with a Rivulet of freſh Water in each: Both theſe are at the Eaſt End, and ſo conveniently ſituate, that they might be ſtrengthened and defended by a ſlender Force againſt a powerful Army, there being no Acceſs to them from the Weſt over the high Mountains. Here it was that five *Engliſhmen*, left here by Captain *Davis*, ſecured themſelves againſt a great Number of *Spaniards*.

11. After ſtaying fourteen Days at the Iſland of *John Fernandez*, we ſet Sail again *April* 8. 1684. in Company with Captain *Eaton*, for the *Pacific Sea*, properly ſo called, being that Part of the *Mare del Zur* which extends from South to North, betwixt 30° and 40° South Latitude; and, from the *American* Shore to the Weſt, without Limitation, as far as I know. I have ſailed in this Sea 250 Leagues without any dark or rainy Clouds, Tempeſts, Tornadoes, Hurricanes, or any other Winds, except the Trade-winds: Notwithſtanding which, the Sea runs high at the New and Full Moon, and makes Landing very unſafe. I have, however, frequently taken notice of hazy and foggy Weather in the Morning, ſo as to hinder the Obſervation of the Sun. We continued our Courſe towards the Line to the 24° South Latitude, in Sight of the Continent of *America*. This vaſt Tract of Land belonging to *Chili* and *Peru* being very mountainous, we ſailed no nearer than twelve or ſixteen Leagues to it, for fear of being diſcovered by the *Spaniards*; and the Land, from 24° to 10° South Latitude, ſtill exceeds the former in Height, being incloſed by three or four Ridges of Mountains within one another, the furthermoſt within the Country ſurpaſſing the reſt in Height; they exceed, in my Opinion, in Height, the Peak of *Teneriff*, and of *St. Martha*, or any other in the World, that ever I ſaw. Sir *John Narborough*, in his Voyage to *Baldivia*, mentions very high Lands near that City (lying upon the Coaſt); and I have been informed, from divers *Spaniards*, that from *Coquimbo*, at 30° South Latitude, to *Baldivia*, at 40° South, the Shore is alſo very high; which makes me conclude, that theſe Ridges extend all along the South Sea Coaſt from one End of *Peru* and *Chili* to the other, called the *Andes*, or *Sierra Nuevada des Andes*. This I believe to be the Reaſon why but few, and theſe very ſmall Rivers, exonerate themſelves into the Sea, ſcarce any of them being navigable, and ſome drying up at certain Seaſons of the Year. Thus the River of *Uli* runs with a briſk Current from *January* to *June*, and then decreaſes till *September*, when it quite dries up till *January* again, as I can ſay on my own Experience, and as I have heard the *Spaniards* affirm the ſame of other Rivers on this Coaſt. So I look upon them rather as Torrents, occaſioned by Rain at certain Seaſons, than Rivulets.

12. We continued our Courſe at ſome Diſtance along the Coaſt till *May* the 3d, at 9° 40′ South Latitude, when we deſcrying a Veſſel, Captain *Eaton* took her, being laden with Timber. Afterwards we ſteered our Courſe to the Iſle of *Lobos*, at 6° 24′ South Latitude, five Leagues from the Continent. This Iſle is called *Lobos de la Mare*, to diſtinguiſh it from another nearer the Continent, and, therefore, called *Lobos de la Terra*; *Lobos* ſignifying as much as a Seal in *Spaniſh*, of which there is great Plenty hereabouts. *May* 10. we anchored near *Lobos de la Mare* with our Prize. This is properly a double Iſland, each of a Mile in Circuit, ſeparated by a ſmall Chanel, only not capable of receiving any Ships of Burden: A little Way from the Shore, on the North Side, ſeveral Rocks lie ſcattered in the Sea: At the Weſt End of the Eaſtermoſt Iſle, is a ſmall ſandy Creek, where Ships may be ſecure from the Winds; all the reſt of the Shore being rocky Cliffs: The Land is alſo rocky and ſandy, without any freſh Water, Trees or Shrubs, or any Land Animal, except Fowls, as Boobies, but, above all, Penguins, a ſort of Sea-fowl of the Bigneſs of a Duck, and having juſt ſuch Feet, but the Bill is pointed; their Wings are no more than Stumps, which ſerve them inſtead of Fins in the Water; and they are covered rather with Down, than with Feathers: As they feed on Fiſh, ſo their Fleſh is but of an indifferent Taſte, but the Eggs are very good. The Penguins are to be ſeen all over the South Sea, on the Coaſt of *Newfoundland*, and on the Cape of *Good Hope*. I obſerved here alſo, and at the Iſland of *John Fernandez*, a ſort of Blackbird, that all Night reſts in Holes made in the Sand. The Road is betwixt the before-mentioned Rocks and the Eaſtermoſt Iſle, from ten to fourteen Fathom, which, lying Eaſt and Weſt, ſhelters it from the Winds, which, for the moſt part, blow here from the South and South South-eaſt.

13. Upon Examination of the Priſoners, being convinced that we were diſcovered by the *Spaniards*, and, conſequently they would keep all their richeſt Ships in Port, it was conſidered, whether we ſhould attack ſome Place thereabouts; and *Truxilo*, though a populous City, and of a difficult Acceſs in Landing, at the Port of *Guanobagno*, ſix Miles thence, being thought the moſt likely Place, we prepared for the ſaid Expedition; and, *May* 17. found our whole Number to conſiſt of 108 ſound Men; but, the next Day, ſome of our Men deſcrying three Veſſels to the Weſt, without the Iſles, and one betwixt the Iſle and the Continent, we gave them Chace; we in Captain *Cooke*'s Ship that towards the Continent, and Captain *Eaton* the other two. They were ſoon taken, and proved to be laden with Flour from *Guanebagno* to *Panama*: In one of them we found a Letter from the Viceroy of *Lima*,

to the Preſident of *Panama*, intimating, that, having notice of ſome Enemies lately come into thoſe Seas, he had immediately ſent away theſe three Ships to ſupply their Wants; at the ſame time, being informed by the Priſoners, that thoſe of *Truxillo* were erecting a Fort near their Harbour of *Guanebagno*, we reſolved to give over our Deſign of attacking that Place, and ſteered with our three Prizes to the Iſles of *Gallapagos*, ſo called by the *Spaniards* from their ſuppoſed diſappearing. *May* 31. we got Sight of the Iſlands of *Gallapagos*, and at Night came to an Anchor at the Eaſt Side of one of the Eaſtermoſt Iſles, a Mile from the Shore, in ſixteen Fathom Water, clear, white, hard Sand.

14. The Iſles of *Gallapagos* are a good Number of large Iſlands, ſituate under and on both Sides the Line, deſtitute of Inhabitants; the Eaſtermoſt of them being 110 Leagues from the Continent. According to their Poſition in the Maps, they are in the Longitude of 181, extending to the Weſt as far as 176; according to which, the Longitude from *England* Weſt, is 68°; though, I doubt, the hydrographical Charts have not placed them far enough to the Weſt. The *Spaniards*, who were the firſt Diſcoverers of them, deſcribe them to be a great Number of Iſles extending North-weſt from the Equator to 5° North, We ſaw no more than fourteen or fifteen, ſome of which were ſeven or eight Leagues in Length, and three or four in Breadth, pretty high and flat; four or five of the Eaſtermoſt we found rocky and barren, without either Trees, Herbs, or Graſs, except what was very near the Sea-ſide. Theſe Iſlands produce alſo the Dildo-tree, a ſort of a Shrub of the Bigneſs of a Man's Leg, and ten or twelve Feet high, but without either Fruit or Leaves; inſtead whereof, it has ſharp Prickles from Top to Bottom. Theſe Iſlands afford alſo ſome Water in Ponds, and Cavities of the Rocks. Some of the Iſles are low, and more fertile, and produce Trees known in *Europe*. Some of the Weſtermoſt Iſles are bigger than the reſt, being nine or ten Leagues long, and ſix or ſeven broad, and afford many Sorts of Trees, eſpecially Mammee-figs; they have alſo ſome pretty large freſh-water Rivers, and many Rivulets. As the Sea-breezes by Day, and the Night Winds, without Intermiſſion, refreſh the Air of the Iſles *Gallapagos*, ſo they are not ſo much troubled with exceſſive Heats, nor ſo unwholſome, as moſt other Places near the Equator: During the rainy Seaſons, in *November*, *December*, and *January*, they are peſtered with moſt violent Tempeſts, Thunder, and Lightning: Before and after theſe Months, they have refreſhing Showers; and their Summer Seaſon in *May*, *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, without any Rains. We anchored near ſeveral of thoſe Iſlands, and found frequently the Sea Tortoiſes ſunning themſelves at Noonday (a thing not uſual in moſt other Places). Of theſe we killed as many as we wanted. Captain *Davis*, at another time, came to an Anchor on the Weſt Side of theſe Iſles, where he and his Men fed upon Land Tortoiſes for three Months, and ſaved ſixty Jars of Oil from them. He met alſo on that Side with divers good Chanels, and Anchorage betwixt the Iſles, ſeveral freſh-water Rivulets, and Store of good Trees and Fuel. Captain *Harris* (of whom hereafter) found alſo in ſome of theſe Iſlands abundance of Mammee-trees, and divers large Rivers. The Sea, adjoining to theſe Iſlands, is well ſtored with good and large Fiſh, eſpecially with Sharks. I took the Height of the Sun with an Aſtrolabe. At the North-end of the ſecond Iſle we anchored at 28′ North from the Line.

15. There is no Place in the World ſo much ſtored with Guanoes and Land Tortoiſes as theſe Iſles. The firſt are fat, and of an extraordinary Size, and exceeding tame; and the Land Tortoiſes ſo numerous, that ſome hundred Men may ſubſiſt on them for a conſiderable time, being very fat, and as pleaſant Food as a Pullet; and of ſuch Bigneſs, that one of them weighs 150 or 200 Pounds; and are from two Feet to two Feet ſix Inches over the Belly; whereas, in any other Places, I never met with any above thirty Pounds Weight; though I have heard them ſay, that at *St. Laurence*, or *Madagaſcar*, there are alſo very large ones. There are three or four Sorts of Land Tortoiſes in the *Weſt Indies*: One is called by the *Spaniards* *Hackatee*, which keep moſt in freſh-water Ponds; they have ſmall Legs, and long Necks, and flat Feet, and commonly weigh betwixt ten and fifteen Pounds. The ſecond Sort they called *Tenopen*, much leſs than the former, and ſomething rounder; but, for the reſt, not unlike them, except that the Shell on their Backs is naturally coloured with a curious carved Work. Both Sorts afford very good Meat, and theſe laſt delight in marſhy and low Places, and are in vaſt Numbers on the Iſle of *Pines*, near *Cuba*, among the Woods. The Tortoiſes in the *Gallapagos* Iſlands are in Shape like the firſt, with long Necks, and ſmall Heads; only they are much bigger. Theſe Iſlands have alſo ſome green Snakes, and great Store of tame Turtle-doves, ſomething leſs than our Pigeons, but very ſweet and fat. Betwixt ſome of thoſe Iſlands are large Chanels, capable of receiving Ships of a moderate Burden. Upon the Sholes there grows great Plenty of Turtle-graſs, which makes thoſe Chanels abound in that Sort of Sea Tortoiſe which is called the Green Turtle, or Tortoiſe: For, you muſt know, that there are four or five different Sorts of Sea Tortoiſes; *viz.* the Trunk Tortoiſe, the Loggerhead, the Hawksbill, and Green Tortoiſe: The firſt is bigger, and has a rounder and an higher Beak than the reſt; but its Fleſh is neither wholſome, nor well-taſted, any more than that of the Loggerhead, which feed on the Moſs of Rocks: It borrows its Name from its large Head. The Hawksbill (ſo called from its long ſmall Mouth) is the leaſt, and that bears the ſo much eſteemed Shell, of which they make Cabinets, Boxes, Combs, &c. in *Europe*: Of this Shell, each has from three to four Pounds, though ſome have leſs; the Fleſh is but indifferent, yet ſomewhat better than that of the Loggerheads; though thoſe taken betwixt the *Sambellos* and *Porto-Bello*, make thoſe that eat the Fleſh vomit and purge vehemently. The ſame is obſervable of ſome other Fiſh in the *Weſt Indies*, of which more anon. It is further remarkable, that the Fleſh of the Hawksbill Tortoiſe differs according to their Food; for thoſe that feed upon Moſs, among the Rocks, have a much yellower Fat and Fleſh, and not ſo well taſted as thoſe that feed upon Graſs; beſides that their Shells are not ſo tranſparent. Theſe Hakwsbill Tortoiſes are in divers Parts of the *Weſt Indies*, and have their peculiar Iſles, where they lay their Eggs, and ſeldom intermix with any other Kind of Tortoiſes. However, theſe, as well as other Sorts of Tortoiſes, lay their Eggs in the Sand, and after the ſame manner: Their Laying-time is about *May*, *June*, and *July*, a little ſooner or later; and they lay three times every Seaſon, eighty or ninety Eggs each time, which are round, and are of the Bigneſs of an Hen's Egg, but covered only with a white thin Skin. In ſome of the Bays on the North Side of *Jamaica*, the Hawksbills lay their Eggs, as likewiſe on the Bay of *Honduras*, and in divers Places on the Continent of the Coaſt of *America*, from *Trinidado* to *Vera Cruz*, up the Bay of *New Spain*. After a Sea Tortoiſe gets aſhore to lay, ſhe is an Hour before ſhe returns, becauſe ſhe always chuſes her Place above High-water Mark, where ſhe makes a large Hole with her Fins in the Sand, to lay her Eggs in; which done, ſhe covers them up two Feet deep with the ſame Sand ſhe had raked out before: Sometimes they will take a View of the Place beforehand, and be ſure to return to the ſame the next Day to lay. They take the Tortoiſes in the Night, upon the Shore, when they turn them upon their Backs, above the High-water Mark, and ſo fetch them the next Morning; but a large Green Tortoiſe will find Work enough to two able Fellows to turn her upon her Back. The Hawkſbills are alſo found in the *Eaſt Indies*, and on the *Guiney* Coaſt; but I never met with any of them in the South Seas. The Green Tortoiſe derives its Name from the greeniſh Colour of its Shell, which is better coloured than the Hawksbill, but has a round and ſmall Head; and the Body is of ſuch a Bulk, as to weigh from 200 to 300 Pounds; its Fleſh is accounted the beſt of all the reſt, though there is a conſiderable Difference, as well in their Bulk, as in the Fleſh. At *Blanco*, in the *Weſt Indies*, are larger than any in the North Sea, weighing generally 250 or 300 Pounds; their Fat is yellow, the Lean white, and both very good. But thoſe of *Boca Toro*, to the Weſt of *Porto-Bello*, are neither ſo large, nor have ſo white and well-taſted Fleſh: And thoſe found in the Bay of *Hon-*

duras and *Campeachy* are leſs then theſe, and their Fat of a greeniſh Colour. I was told, that, at *Port-Royal*, in *Campeachy* Bay, they once catched one of theſe Green Tortoiſes, which was four Feet thick, from the Back to the Belly, which was ſix Feet broad: A Boy of ten Years old, the Son of Captain *Rock*, went in it, inſtead of a Boat, aboard his Father's Ship, then at Anchor a Quarter of a Mile from the Shore. The Fat of this Creature yielded eight Gallons of Oil. The Tortoiſes found among the little Iſles on the South Side of *Cuba*, are ſome bigger, ſome leſs, and their Fleſh ſometimes green, ſometimes yellow: Theſe are carried to *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, where they are kept in Wires made with Stakes. The Green Tortoiſes feed upon Graſs, a Quarter of an Inch broad, and ſix Inches long, growing in three, four, five, or even ſix Fathom Water; it is quite different from the *Manatees* Graſs, which has a ſlender Blade. The Tortoiſes of the Iſle of *Gallapagos* are a baſtard Kind of Green Tortoiſes, their Shell being thicker than the others, but their Fleſh not ſo good; beſides, they are much larger, and frequently two or three Feet thick, and their Bellies five Feet broad. In the South Sea are another Kind of Green Tortoiſe, no bigger than the ſmalleſt Hawksbill; as they feed on Moſs, ſo their Fleſh is rank, though very fat: Both theſe Kinds differ from all the reſt; for whereas, in other Places, the Female only goes aſhore, and that in the Night-time; among thoſe, both the Male and Female go together by Day, and return together; both are very fat at firſt, but, when they are ready to return, they are lean, though the Female not ſo lean as the Male. It is the common Opinion here, that they are nine Days ingendering, the He on the She's Back, in the Water. This is certain, that, at that time, the He will not forſake the She, who is much more fearful, and often endeavours to get away; but that the Male keeps her with his Fins, ſo that, if you ſtrike the She firſt at their Coupling-time, you are ſure of the He. They are ſuppoſed to live many Years, becauſe they are a long time coming to their full Growth. In the South Seas, on the Weſt End of the Coaſt of *Mexico*, is another Kind of Green Tortoiſes, much ſmaller than all the reſt, but their Fleſh very well taſted. There is one thing extremely ſurpriſing in all theſe Creatures; that for three Months, while they are laying their Eggs, they forſake their ordinary Places of Reſort, and ſeek others, where they lay their Eggs; and it is generally ſuppoſed, that they do not either eat or drink all that Seaſon. The moſt noted Places where they breed are, the Iſle of *Caimanes*, in the *Weſt Indies*, and the Iſle of *Aſcenſion*, in the Weſtern Ocean; and no ſooner is their Coupling-time paſt, but they are all gone; though it is certain, that they muſt ſwim a great Way to come to either of theſe Places, ſince it has been taken notice of, that all the before-mentioned Tortoiſes have been found at *Caimanes* in Breeding-time: The neareſt Place from whence theſe Creatures can ſwim thither, is the Iſle of *Cuba*, forty Leagues thence. Thoſe that breed at the Iſle of *Aſcenſion*, coming from the Continent, muſt go at leaſt three hundred Leagues, it being certain, that their conſtant Places of Abode are always near the Shore. Thus, in the South Sea, they go from the *Gallapagos* to lay their Eggs on the Continent, which is above an hundred Leagues thence. It is further obſervable, that not all the Tortoiſes leave their ordinary Places at Breeding-time, but many remain there; and, thoſe that go, are followed by great Numbers of Fiſhes, eſpecially Sharks, ſo that thoſe Coaſts are left deſtitute of Fiſh, till they return.

16. After a Stay of twelve Days among theſe Iſles, one of our *Indian* Priſoners, a Native of *Rio Leja*, having given us an ample Account of the Riches of that Place, and offered his Service to conduct us thither, it was reſolved to take his Advice; and accordingly we ſet Sail the 12th of *June*, with an Intention to touch in our Way at the Iſle of *Cocoas*: We took our Courſe North 4° 40′ Latitude, with a South and by Weſt and South South-weſt Winds; and, as we came Weſt to the Iſle of *Cocoas*, the Wind South-weſt and by South, thus we continued our Courſe to 5° 40′ N. Lat. when, deſpairing to make the Iſle of *Cocoas*, as the Wind ſtood, we directed our Courſe to the Continent. The Iſle of *Cocoas* lies in 5° 15′ N. Lat. its Circuit ſeven or eight Leagues, but has no Inhabitants. Near the Sea-ſide it produces a certain pleaſant Herb in the low Grounds, called *Geamadael* by the *Spaniards*. As it is environed with ſteep Rocks, ſo there is no coming near it, except that on the North-eaſt End Ships may ride ſafely in a ſmall Creek: This is what I learn from the *Spaniards*, and was confirmed to me by Captain *Eaton*. The fair Weather, and ſmall Winds, conducted us by the Beginning of *July* to *Cape Blanco*, on the Continent of *Mexico*, ſo called from two white Rocks, half a Mile from the Cape, in 9° 56′ Latitude; they are taper, high, and ſteep, like two high Towers; the Cape itſelf is about the ſame Height as *Beachy-head*, on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, in *England*, being a full Point jetting out with ſteep Rocks to the Sea, but having an eaſy Deſcent on both Sides from the Flat on the Top, which, being covered with tall Trees, affords a pleaſant Proſpect. On the North-weſt Side of the Cape, the Land runs in North-eaſt for four Leagues, making a ſmall Bay, called the *Caldera Bay*; at the Entrance whereof, at the North-weſt Side of the Cape, a ſweet-water Rivulet diſcharges itſelf into the Sea amongſt the low Lands, which are very rich, and abounding in lofty Trees, which extend a Mile North-eaſt beyond the Rivulet, where the Savannas begin, and run ſeveral Leagues into the Country, being here-and-there beautified with ſmall Groves of Trees, and covered with a ſweet, thick, and long Graſs, ſome of the beſt I ever ſaw in the *Weſt Indies*. Deeper into the Bay, the low Lands are ſtored with Mangroves; but, farther into the Country, the Land is higher, partly Woods, partly hilly Savannas; the Graſs whereof is not ſo good as the former, neither are the Trees in the Woods ſo tall, but ſmall and ſhort. From the Bottom of this Bay, you may travel over hilly Savannas for fourteen or fifteen Leagues to the Lake of *Nicaragua*. On the Coaſt of the North Sea, Captain *Cooke*, who had been very ill ever ſince our Departure from the Iſle of *Juan Fernandez*, died, as ſoon as we came within two or three Leagues of this Cape (a thing frequent at Sea, for People to die in View of the Land, after a long Illneſs); and as, in a few Hours after, we came to Anchor a League within the Cape, near the Mouth of the before-mentioned Rivulet, at fourteen Fathom clear hard Sand, he was immediately carried on ſhore, under a Guard of twelve armed Men, in order to his Interrment: While our Men were buſy in digging the Grave, three *Spaniſh Indians* came to them, asking them ſeveral impertinent Queſtions; which our People having anſwered as they thought convenient, they kept them in Diſcourſe till they found means to ſeize them all three, though one of them eſcaped their Hands again. The other two, being carried aboard, confeſſed, that they were ſent thither as Spies, to inform themſelves concerning us, from *Nicoya*, a ſmall *Mulatto* Town twelve or fourteen Leagues hence, ſeated upon the Banks of a River bearing the ſame Name, which being a Place very convenient for building and refitting of Ships, the Preſident of *Panama* had ſent Advice of our coming into theſe Seas to their Magiſtrates. Concerning the Inhabitants of the Country, they told us, that they lived moſtly by manuring of their Grounds for Corn, and feeding their Cattle in the Savannas or Plains, of which they had great Store; and that they ſent their Ox-hides to the North Sea, by the Lake of *Nicaragua*; as they did alſo a certain red Wood, (which I ſuppoſe to be the ſame, called at *Jamaica* Blood Wood, or *Nicaragua* Wood) uſed for dying, which they exchanged there for Linen and Woolen Commodities brought thither from *Europe*. They added, that not far from thence was a large Beef-pen, where we might provide ourſelves with what Cows or Bulls we had occaſion for. As this was a ſcarce Commodity amongſt us at that time, twenty-four of us were immediately diſpatched in two Boats, who, under the Conduct of one of the *Indians*, landed at a Place a League from the Ship, and haled their Boats upon the dry Sand: Thus, led by their Guide, they came to the Pen, in a large Savanna, two Miles from the Boats, where, finding abundance of Bulls and Cows feeding, ſome were for killing three or four of them immediately; but the reſt oppoſed the ſame, alleging, they had better ſtay all Night, and in the Morning kill as many as they had occaſion for. Hereupon I, and eleven more, thought fit to return aboard, which we did without the leaſt Oppoſition, expecting the coming of the reſt the

next Day; but, hearing nothing of them by Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, ten Men were ſent in a Canoe to look after them. They were no ſooner come into the Bay where they landed before, but they found their Comrades upon a ſmall Rock, half a Mile from the Shore, ſtanding up to the Middle in Water, whither they had fled for Refuge to eſcape the Hands of forty or fifty well armed *Spaniards*, with Guns and Lances, who had burnt their Boat: They were got upon the Rock at low Water; but it being then flowing Water, they muſt have infallibly periſhed, had our Canoes come but one Hour later, which now brought them ſafe aboard. We afterwards ſeized upon two Canoes, ready fitted, in this Bay; for Ships and Barks they have none, nor any Inſtrument for fiſhing, there being ſcarce any Fiſh thereabouts. This Country abounding in Wood, called Lance-wood, growing ſtrait, like ſo many Aſhes, and very hard and tough, we cut a good Quantity of it to make Handles or Staves for Oars, and Scouring-rods for our Guns, as being much more durable than thoſe made of Aſh.

17. The 19th of *July*, the Day before our Departure from the Bay of *Caldera*, Mr. *Edward Davis*, our Quarter-maſter, was conſtituted Captain, in the room of Captain *Cooke*, deceaſed: The next Day we ſailed, in Company with Captain *Eaton*, and one of our Meal Prizes, towards *Rio Leja*, with a moderate North Wind, which brought us, in three Days, over-againſt the ſaid Port. The Country about *Rio Leja* is eaſily diſcovered at Sea, by reaſon of an high, peaked, burning Mountain, called *Volcano Vejo*, the *Old Vulcano*, by the *Spaniards*. It is eaſily diſtinguiſhed, being very high, ſo as to be ſeen twenty Leagues at Sea; beſides, that there is no other Mountain, like this, on that Coaſt; and it ſmokes all Day, and alſo ſends forth Flames at Night. If you will make the Harbour, the Mountain muſt bear North-eaſt; then, ſteering directly with the Mountain, that Courſe will bring you to the Harbour, the Entrance whereof you ſee about three Leagues off it. You muſt take the Advantage of the Sea-winds to enter, which are here at South South-weſt. The Harbour is incloſed by a low Iſle, of a Mile in Length, a quarter of a Mile broad, and one and an half from the Continent. At each End is a Chanel; that on the Eaſt, being narrow, and having a very ſtrong Tide, is ſcarce ever uſed; but that on the Weſt End, being much larger, is moſt frequented by Ships, which muſt, however, have a care of a certain ſandy Shole on the North-weſt Point of the Iſle, which as ſoon as they are paſt, they muſt keep cloſe to the Shore of the Iſle, there being a Sand-bank, which runs above half-way out from the Continent; after which, there is very good Rideing near the main Shore in ſeven or eight Fathom Water, clear hard Sand. This Point is able to contain 200 Ships. About two Leagues thence is ſeated the Town of *Rio Leja*, in a fenny Country, full of red Mangrove-trees, betwixt two narrow Branches of the Sea, the Weſtermoſt whereof reaches up to the Town, and the Eaſtermoſt runs up near the Backſide of it; but no Shipping can come up to the Town, the Deſcription whereof I will give the Reader in my Return hither. We now reſume the Thread of our Voyage: Being in Sight of the *Volcano Vejo*, ſeven or eight Leagues from the Shore, the Mouth bearing North-eaſt, we took in our Top-ſails, and made towards the Harbour; and then, ſetting out our Canoes, rowed up to the ſmall Town, that makes the Harbour of *Rio Leja*, by Nine a Clock in the Morning; where we diſcovered an Houſe, and, ſoon after, three Men going into a Canoe on the Inſide of the Iſland, and making what Haſte they could to row to the Continent; which before they could reach, we overtook them, and carried them to the little Iſle. At the ſame time we obſerved one on Horſeback on the Continent, riding away full Speed towards the Town. They frankly confeſſed, that they had been placed there by the Governor of *Rio Leja*, who had been adviſed of our coming into thoſe Parts, to keep Watch Day and Night; and that Horſeman we ſaw riding away, was placed upon the ſame Account on the Continent, within an Hour's Riding of the Town. Thus, finding ourſelves diſcovered, the Horſeman being gone three Hours before *Eaton* and his Canoes came to the Iſland, the Deſign upon that Town was laid aſide for this Time. This ſmall Iſland has a curious Spring of freſh Water, ſome Trees, and good Store of Graſs; but no Beaſts to feed upon it; and is ſituate at 12° 10' North Latitude. We ſtaid till Four o'Clock in the Afternoon; then we went aboard again, and, purſuant to a Conſultation held betwixt Captain *Eaton* and Captain *Davis July* 26, took our Courſe the next Day for the Gulph of *Amapalla*.

18. This Gulph is a large Branch of the Sea, entering eight or ten Leagues deep into the Country. On the South Side of its Entrance, it has a Point, or Cape *Caſwina*; and, on the North-weſt Side, *St. Michael*'s Mountain, at 12° 40' North Latitude. They both appear very remarkable at Sea; for the Cape is an high round Point, appearing at a Diſtance like an Icicle, the Land near it being very low; and Mount *Michael* is an high peaked Hill, not very ſteep, at the Foot whereof, on the South-eaſt, is a low Plain, of a Mile in Length. Here it is that the Gulph enters on that Side; and, betwixt thoſe low Grounds and Point *Caſwina*, are two high Iſles, at twelve Miles Diſtance from each other, the Southermoſt being called *Mangera*, the other *Amapalla*. *Mangera* is an high round Iſland, two Leagues in Circuit, incloſed on all Sides with Rocks, except on the North-eaſt Side, where is a ſmall ſandy Creek. The Soil is black, but not deep, full of Stones, and produces very lofty Trees. It has one Town in the Middle, inhabited by *Indians*, with an handſome *Spaniſh* Church. The Inhabitants have a few Plantations of Maiz and Plantains; and no other Sort of tame Fowl, but ſome Cocks and Hens; nor any other Beaſts, but Cats and Dogs. From the Town to the Creek is a ſteep and rocky Path. The Iſle of *Amapalla* has the ſame Soil as the other Iſland; but is much larger, having two Towns two Miles aſunder, one to the North, the other to the Eaſt. The laſt ſtands on a little Plain on the Top of an Hill, a Mile from the Sea, and has a fair Church. The other Town is leſs; yet has an handſome Church. I have obſerved one Thing in moſt of the *Indian* Towns under the *Spaniſh* Juriſdiction, that the Images of their Saints in their Churches are repreſented with an *Indian* Complexion, and partly in their Dreſs; whereas, in the Towns inhabited by *Spaniards*, they retain their own Complexion and Dreſs. But to return to the Inhabitants: They have good Store of Maiz, and large Hog-plums; but few Plantains. The Hog-plum-tree is of the ſame Bigneſs with our largeſt Plum-trees, with Leaves of the ſame Breadth; but ſhaped like an Hawthorn-leaf, and, in Colour, of a light-green. The Wood is brittle, and the Fruit oval, of the Bigneſs of a ſmall Horſe-plum. At firſt it is green: but, when ripe, half-red and half-yellow, with a large Stone, and little Pulp about it. It has a pleaſant Taſte; but it is rare to meet with any of them ripe without Maggots in them. This is the only Place I ever ſaw them at in the South Seas. In *Campeachy* Bay they grow in great Plenty; and, in *Jamaica*, they fence their Grounds with them. They have alſo ſome Fowls; and no *Spaniard* lives there, except the Father or Prieſt, who takes care of theſe two Villages, and the Town in the Iſle of *Mangera*. As they have little or no Money, they pay their Tribute in Maiz to the Governor of *St. Michael's Town*, ſeated at the Foot of *St. Michael's Mount*; and the ghoſtly Father has the Tenths of all. Beſides this Prieſt, we found but one here, (the Secretary of the Town) who could ſpeak and write *Spaniſh*; for their Caſica or Magiſtrate could do neither. This Bay or Gulph has many other Iſlands, but uninhabited. One pretty large we ſaw belonging to a Monaſtery, where four or five *Indians* looked after the Cattle, that fed there in great Numbers. This Gulph has two Chanels, one betwixt Cape *Caſwina* and *Mangera*, the other between this laſt Place and *Amapalla*. The beſt Anchorage is on the Eaſt Side of *Amapalla*, oppoſite to the low Grounds, the reſt being high Lands. As you go in deeper, you may ride on the North-eaſt Side of *Amapalla*, cloſe to the Main. This the *Spaniards* call the Port of *Martin Lopez*. The Gulph extends a great Way beyond the Iſle; but it is not deep enough to bear Ships of Burden.

19. Captain *Davis* being ſent before, with two Canoes, into this Gulph, to get ſome Priſoners, he came to *Mangera*, where, finding a Path from the Creek, he followed it towards the Town; but the Inhabitants no ſooner had notice of his coming, than they ran all into the Woods, leaving only the Prieſt behind them; who being taken, with two

Boys his Attendants, Captain *Davis* made them conduct him to the Iſle of *Amapalla*, where being landed, he marched up to the before-mentioned Place, a Mile from the Landing-place, on the Top of the Hill. The Inhabitants, who ſaw them advance, were ready to retire into the Woods; but the Secretary, an Enemy to the *Spaniards*, having perſuaded them, that they were Friends, who craved their Aſſiſtance againſt their common Oppreſſors, they bid *Davis* and his Men welcome. After the firſt Salutation, they marched towards the Church, (the Prieſt, brought along by Captain *Davis*, at the Head of them) their only Place of public Meeting, whether for Conſultations or Diverſions, where they kept their Vizards, Hautboys, Strumſtrums, (a kind of Cittern) and other muſical Inſtruments. Here they meet to make merry, eſpecially in the Night preceding or next enſuing any Holiday, where they dance, ſing and play, with antic Dreſſes and Geſtures; tho', to ſpeak Truth, their Muſic and Mirth have ſomething very melancholy in them, ſuitable to the Yoke they groan under, I mean that of the *Spaniards*. But to return to Captain *Davis*: His Intention was, as ſoon as they were all got into the Church, to engage all their Aſſiſtance againſt the *Spaniards*, to accompliſh which the Prieſt had promiſed his good Offices; but, juſt as a few of the remaining *Indians* were entering the Church, one of Captain *Davis*'s Men puſhed a Man forwards, to haſten him into the Church; which the *Indian* being frightened at, ſet up his Heels, and the reſt, taking the Alarm, followed; ſo that Captain *Davis* and the Frier being left alone in the Church, he ordered his Men to fire at them; which being done, the Secretary was killed in the Fray: And ſo the whole Project vaniſhed into Smoke, by the Fooliſhneſs of one inconſiderate Fellow. The ſame Afternoon, our Ship being entered the Gulph between Cape *Caſwina* and the Iſle of *Mangera*, came to an Anchor on the Eaſt Side, near the Iſle of *Amapalla*. Captain *Davis* came aboard us with the Frier, who told us, that, ſince the Secretary was killed, they had no other way than to ſend for the Caſica; which being done by the Prieſt, he came, attended by ſix other *Indians*, who did us conſiderable Service, in conducting us whither we had Occaſion to go, eſpecially to fetch Beef; for which they were rewarded to their Satiſfaction. On this Iſland of *Amapalla* a Company of *Engliſh* and *French* landed afterwards, and thence came to the Continent, and marched by Land to the *Cape* River, which has got its Name from its diſcharging itſelf into the North Seas near Cape *Gratia*. At the Source of this River they made Bark-logs, wherewith they paſſed into the North Seas. However, they were not the firſt Inventors of this Paſſage, ſomething of it having been diſcovered by ſome *Engliſh* thirty Years before, who went up this *Cape* River into the North Seas in Canoes, to the ſame Place where the *French* built their Bark-logs, and thence to an inland Town called *Segovia*. They performed this not without incredible Difficulty, and in no leſs than a Month's time, by reaſon of the many Cataracts of this River, which obliged them frequently to hale their Canoes aſhore, and drag them over Land, till they were paſt theſe Water-falls. I have ſpoken with ſeveral, that were in this Expedition, and, if I miſtake not, Captain *Sharpe* was one of them. But to return to our Voyage: After we had careened, and provided our Ships with freſh Water, Captain *Davis* and Captain *Eaton* broke off Conſortſhip; and the laſt left the Gulph *September* 2.

20. *September* 3. 1684. having ſeen the Frier on ſhore, we ſailed, with the Land-wind at Weſt North-weſt, out of the Gulph of *Amapalla* through the Chanel betwixt *Mangera* and the Iſle of *Amapalla*, directing our Courſe to the Coaſt of *Peru*. As the Tornadoes, with Thunder, Lightning, and Rains, are very frequent on theſe Coaſts from *June* to *November*, we had our Share of them, coming moſt from the South-eaſt; but afterwards, the Wind veering to the Weſt, it held till we came within Sight of Cape *St. Franciſco*, where we met with fair Weather, and a South Wind. This Cape, being an high full Point of Land, lies at 1° 20' North Latitude, and is covered with lofty Trees. As you paſs by it from the North Side, you may eaſily miſtake a ſmall low Point for the Cape; but, ſoon after you paſs it, you will diſcover it with triple Points. The Land near it is high, and the Mountains appear black. We plied along the Shore, to the Advantage both of the Sea and Land-winds, the firſt blowing from the South, as the Land-winds do from South South-eaſt, tho' ſometimes, when we were oppoſite to a River's Mouth, the Wind would turn to South-eaſt. *September* 20. we came to an Anchor near the Iſle of *Plata*, at ſixteen Fathom, being now fallen in with the Places whence I began the Account of this Voyage, after having compaſſed the whole Continent of *South America*. The Iſle of *Plata*, ſituated at 1° 10' South Latitude, is about four Miles in Length, and one and an half in Breadth, of a pretty good Height, and incloſed with rocky Cliffs, except in one Place on the Eaſt Side, which is the only Place where a freſh-water Torrent falls down from the Rocks. The Top is flat and plain, the Soil ſandy; yet it produces three or four Sorts of low and ſmall Trees, not known in *Europe*. Theſe Trees were much overgrown with Moſs; and pretty good Graſs is to be found here in the Beginning of the Year; but here are no Land Animals to feed upon it, that vaſt Number of Goats, which uſed to be here formerly, being all deſtroyed. However, they have a great many Boobies and Men-of-war Birds. Some ſay the *Spaniards* have given it the Name of *Plate Iſland*, ever ſince Sir *Francis Drake* carried thither the *Cacafoga*, a rich Ship of theirs, laden with Plate. The Place for Anchorage is on the Eaſt Side, about the Middle of the Iſle, cloſe to the Shore, within two Cables Length of the ſandy Bay, in eighteen or twenty Fathom of faſt ouſy Ground, and very ſmooth Water; becauſe the South-eaſt Point of the Iſle keeps off the Force of the South Winds, which commonly blow here. In this ſandy Bay, oppoſite to the Anchoring-place, is good Landing, this being the only Place, that leads you up into the Iſle. From the South-eaſt Point runs out a ſmall Shole about a Quarter of a Mile into the Sea, where, when it flows, you ſee great Riſing in the Water. The Tide is ſtrong, flowing to the South, and ebbing to the North. At the ſame Point are three ſmall, but high Rocks, about a Cable's Length from the Iſle; and as many, but much larger, at the North-eaſt End. All round the Iſland there is deep Water, except in the before-mentioned Road; and, near the Shole, there are great Plenty of theſe ſmall Sea Turtles mentioned before: And the Iſland bears four or five Leagues Weſt South-weſt from Cape *St. Laurenzo*.

21. After a Day's Stay here, we continued our Voyage to Point *St. Helena*, bearing South from the Iſle of *Plata*, at 2° 15' South Latitude. It appears high and flat like an Iſle, being ſurrounded with low Grounds, and covered on the Top with Thiſtles; but without Trees. As it jets out into the Sea, it makes a good large Bay to the North Side, a Mile within which, on the very Sea-ſide, ſtands a wretched Village, called alſo *St. Helena*, inhabited by *Indians*; but the Ground, tho' low, being ſandy and barren, they have neither Trees nor Graſs, or any Corn or Fruit, except Water-melons, which are very good here. They are forced to fetch their Water as far as the River *Calanche*, four Leagues thence, at the Bottom of the ſame Bay. They live chiefly upon Fiſh, and are ſupplied with Maiz for *Algatrane*. Near this Town, about five Paces above the High-water Mark, there iſſues out of the Earth a certain bituminous Subſtance, called *Algatrane* by the *Spaniards*, which, by long Boiling, becomes hard like Pitch, and is uſed as ſuch by the *Spaniards*. To the Leeward of the Point, directly oppoſite to the Village, is good Anchorage; but, on the Weſt Side, very deep Water. Some of our Men, being ſent in the Night-time to take the Village, landed in their Canoes in the Morning, and took ſome Priſoners, and a ſmall Bark ſet on Fire by the Inhabitants, alleging, that they had done it by ſpecial Order from the Viceroy. Our Men coming back the ſame Evening, we returned again into the Iſle of *Plata*, where we anchored *September* 26. which very Evening, we ſent ſome of our Men to *Manta*, an *Indian* Village, two or three Leagues Weſt of Cape *St. Laurenzo*, to get more Priſoners, in hopes of better Intelligence. *Manta* is a ſmall Village, inhabited by *Indians*, on the Continent, ſeven or eight Leagues from the Iſle of *Plata*. Its Buildings are mean, and ſcattered; but, being raiſed on an eaſy Aſcent, afford a very agreeable Proſpect towards the Sea-ſide. The Church here is very fine, and adorned with carved Work,

becauſe this Place was formerly inhabited by *Spaniards*. As the Grounds about it are dry and ſandy, they bear neither Corn nor Roots, but only a few Shrubs. They are ſupplied with Proviſions by Sea, this being the firſt Place, where the Ships bound from *Panama* to *Lima*, and other Parts of *Peru*, refreſh themſelves. They have an excellent Spring of freſh Water between the Village and the Sea. Juſt oppoſite to the Village, one Mile and an half from the Shore, is a Rock, which proves often dangerous, becauſe it never appears above Water; but, a Mile within this Rock, is ſafe Anchorage at ſix, eight, or ten Fathom, hard and clear Sand. About a Mile Weſt from the Anchoring-place, a Shole runs out a Mile into the Sea. Behind the Town, directly South of it, a good Way into the Country, ſtands a very high Mountain, riſing up into the Clouds like a Sugar-loaf; and therefore ſerves for a good Sea-mark, there being none other like it on all that Coaſt. We returned to our Men, who landed, about Day-break, one Mile and an half from the Village; but the Inhabitants, being already ſtirring, took the Alarm, and ſo got all away, except two old Women, who, being taken Priſoners, declared, that the Viceroy, upon News brought him, that a good Number of the Enemies were come over the Iſthmus of *Darien* into the South Seas, had ordered the Burning of their Ships, the deſtroying of all the Goats in the Iſle of *Plata*, and no more Proviſions to be kept, than for their own preſent Uſe.

22. We returned the next Day to the Iſle of *Plata*, where we found our Ship. Here we ſtaid, unreſolved what Courſe to take, till *October* 2. when Captain *Swan*, Commander of the *Cygnet* of *London*, a rich Ship, which was deſigned to trade on that Coaſt, came to an Anchor in the ſame Road; but, being diſappointed in his Hopes to traffick thereabouts, his Men had forced him to take aboard a Company of Privateers he met with at *Nicoya*, being the ſame we were told of at *Manta*; for they were come by Land, under the Command of Captain *Peter Harris*, Nephew to the ſame Captain *Harris*, who was killed before *Panama*. Captain *Swan*'s Ship being unfit for Service, by reaſon of his Cargo, moſt of his Goods were ſold upon Credit, and the reſt thrown overboard, except the fine Commodities, and ſome Iron for Ballaſt. Then Captain *Davis* and Captain *Swan* joined Company by Conſent; and *Harris* had a ſmall Bark given him. Our Bark, which had been ſent three Days before cruiſing, brought in a Prize laden with Timber, which they had taken in the Bay *Guiaquil*. The Commander told us, that it was credibly reported at *Guiaquil*, that the Viceroy was fitting out ten Frigates to chaſe us out of thoſe Seas. This made us wiſh for Captain *Eaton*; and it was reſolved to ſend our ſmall Bark towards *Lima*, to invite him to join Company with us. This done, we fitted up another ſmall Bark into a Fireſhip; and, *October* 20. ſailed for the Iſle of *Lobos*. The Wind being very ſlack, we did not paſs by the Point of *St. Helena* till the 23d, and the 25th croſſed the Bay of *Guiaquil*. The 30th, we doubled the Cape of *Blanco*, at 3° 48′, the worſt Cape in the South Seas to double, becauſe you cannot here, as in moſt other Places, ſtand off at Sea, by reaſon of the ſtrong Current, which, ſetting North-weſt, will carry a Ship off more in two Hours, than ſhe can get again in five. Thus we were forced to keep near the Shore, which is not often performed without great Difficulty; for as there are no Land-winds here, it generally blows hard at South South-weſt, or South by Weſt. The Cape is ſurrounded with white Rocks on the Sea-ſide, whence, queſtionleſs, it has got its Name; and the Country near it appears ſteep and rugged.

23. *November* 2. we lay about ſix Leagues off *Payta*, whence we ſent ſeveral Canoes, manned with 110 Men, to attack the Town, a ſmall Sea-port belonging to the *Spaniards*, at 5° 15′, built on a ſandy Rock near the Sea-ſide, under an high Hill. It has two Churches, tho' not more than ſeventy-five or eighty Houſes, low, and meanly built. It is like moſt of the other Buildings all along the Coaſt of *Peru*. They build their Walls with a kind of Brick made of Earth and Straw, dried only in the Sun, three Feet long, two broad, and one half thick. In ſome Places, they only lay Poles acroſs, covered with Mats inſtead of Roofs; but ſometimes they uſed Roofs. The Reaſon why they build ſo meanly, is partly becauſe they want Materials of good Stone and Timber, partly becauſe it never rains, which only makes them ſolicitous of keeping out the Sun; and thoſe Walls, tho' never ſo ſlight and brittle, yet will there hold firm for a conſiderable time, as they were at firſt, being not ſhaken or mouldered by the Wind and Rains. The Timber the better Sort make uſe of in their Buildings is brought thither from other Places. Their Walls, as well as thoſe of their Churches, are neatly whitened, both within and without, with very large Beams, Poſts, and Doors, all adorned with carved Work, beſides good Pictures brought thither from *Spain*, and rich Hangings of Tapeſtry, or painted Calicoes. But the Houſes of *Payta* were not of that ſort, tho' their Churches were large and handſome. Cloſe by the Sea is a ſmall Fort, which, with Muſquets only, commands the Harbour, as another on the Top of an Hill commands both that and this Fort. They are obliged to fetch their freſh Water, as alſo their Fowls, Hogs, Plantains, and Maiz, from *Colon*, a Town two Leagues North North-eaſt from *Payta*, where a freſh-water River empties itſelf into the Sea.

24. The dry Tract of this Country begins to the North from Cape *Blanco*, and reaches to *Coquimbo*, at 30° South Latitude, where I never ſaw or heard any Rain, nor of any green Thing growing, either in the Mountains or Valleto, except in ſome Places watered conſtantly with divers Rivers. The People of *Colon* are much addicted to Fiſhing, which they perform in Bark-logs: Theſe are compoſed of divers round Logs of Wood, like a Rafter, but in different Manners, according to the Uſe they are intended for, or the Cuſtom of the People that make them. Thoſe deſigned for Fiſhing are only three or four Logs of light Wood, eight Feet long, joined to each other on the Sides with Wooden Pegs and Withes. The middlemoſt is always longer than the reſt, eſpecially at the fore Part, which ends, by Degrees, in a Point, the better to cut the Waves. Thoſe intended for carrying Merchandize are made after the ſame manner and Shape, of twenty or thirty great Trunks of Trees, joined together, thirty or forty Feet long. Upon theſe they faſten, with Wooden Pins, another ſhorter Row of Logs croſs-ways. From this double Bottom they raiſe a Raft of ten Feet, by the means of Poſts ſet upright, which are the Supporters of two thick Trees laid acroſs each other, juſt like our Wood-piles, but not ſo cloſe as in the Bottom of the Float, and at the Ends and Sides only, the inner Part being hollow. In this, at four Feet high from the Beam of the Bottom, they lay ſmall Poles cloſe together, which ſerve for a Bottom of another Room, on the Top whereof they make juſt ſuch another Floor. The firſt Story ſerves for the Hold, in which they ſtow Ballaſt, and Water-caſks, or Jars; and the ſecond for the Seamen, and what belongs to them. Above this ſecond Floor the Goods are ſtowed, as high as they think fit, which ſeldom exceeds ten Feet. Some Space is left behind for the Steerſman, and before for the Kitchen, eſpecially in long Voyages, becauſe they ſometimes go 5 or 600 Leagues. They have a very large Rudder, and, in the Midſt of this Machine, a Maſt, with a large Sail, like our Weſt-country Barges. As they cannot go but before the Wind, they are only fit for thoſe Seas, where the Wind blows conſtantly one Way, ſeldom varying above a Point or two in the whole Voyage betwixt *Lima* and *Panama*. If thereabouts they meet, as ſometimes it happens, with a North-weſt Wind, they drive before it till it changes, having nothing elſe to do in the mean while but to avoid the Shore; for they never ſink at Sea. Theſe laſt Bark-logs carry ſixty or ſeventy Tons of Wine, Oil, Flour, Sugar, Quito Cloth, Soap, dreſſed Goat-ſkins, *&c.* They are managed by three or four Boatſmen only, who, after they come to *Panama*, ſell both the Goods and Veſſel there, becauſe they cannot go back in them by the Trade-wind. The fiſhing Bark-logs are likewiſe furniſhed with Maſts and Sails, and are much eaſier managed than the large ones. Theſe get out at Night with the Land-wind, and return in the Day-time with the Sea-wind. Theſe ſmall Bark-logs are uſed in a great many Places in the *Weſt Indies*, and in ſome in the *Eaſt Indies*. On the Coaſt of *Coromandel* they uſe only one, or ſometimes two Logs, made of a light Wood, without Sail or Rudder, managed by a ſingle Man, who, with his Legs in the Water, ſteers the Log with a Paddle.

25. The next Town of Conſequence to *Payta* is *Piura*, a ſpacious Place, forty Miles thence, ſeated in a Valley upon a River, which diſcharges itſelf into the Bay of

Chirapee, at 7° North Latitude. This Bay, tho' much nearer to *Puna* than *Payta*, yet it is ſeldom viſited by Ships of Burden, being full of Sholes; but, inſtead thereof, they ſail to *Payta*, one of the beſt Harbours on the Coaſt of *Peru*; being ſheltered at the South-weſt, by a Point of Land, which renders the Bay very ſmooth, and conſequently ſafe from Anchorage, from ſix to twenty Fathom in clear Sand. Moſt Ships, bound either to the North or South, touch at *Payta* for freſh Water, which is brought thither from *Colon* at a reaſonable Rate. *November* 3. early in the Morning, our Men landed four Miles South of *Payta*, where they took ſome Priſoners that were ſet for a Watch, who told us, that the Governor of *Piura* was come with 100 Men to their Aſſiſtance: Notwithſtanding this, our Men attacked the Fort on the Hill, and took it with little Oppoſition; whereupon the Governor and Inhabitants quitted the Town: Our People ſoon entered it, but found it empty of Money, Goods, and Proviſions. The ſame Evening, we came with our Ships to an Anchor not far from the Town, a Mile from the Shore, at ten Fathom Water; we ſtayed ſix Days, in Hopes of getting a Ranſom for the Town; but, perceiving we were not likely to have any, it was laid in Aſhes. At Night we ſet Sail hence, with the Land Wind towards *Lobos*. The 14th Day, we came within Sight of the Iſle of *Lobos de Terra*, bearing Eaſt from us; and, at Eight o' Clock at Night, came to an Anchor at the North-eaſt End of it, at four Fathom Water. The Iſle of *Lobos de la Terra* is of an indifferent Height; and, at a Diſtance, appears altogether like the Iſle of *Lobos de la Mare*; we anchored at the North-eaſt End of it, in four Fathom Water. It has, at the North End, a Rock, a Quarter of a Mile from the Shore; and, betwixt it, a Chanel of ſeven Fathom Water. In the Afternoon, we ſailed with a South-eaſt Wind to *Lobos de la Mare*, where we arrived *May* 19. The 26th, in the Evening, we diſcovered a Bark at a Diſtance, which was ſent to ſee whether we were ſtill in theſe Seas; but we, keeping cloſe under the Shore, remained there undiſcovered. The 29th, in the Morning, we ſet Sail for the Bay of *Guaia*, ſituate betwixt Cape *Blanco* to the South, and Point *Chandy* to the North, twenty-five Leagues from Cape *Blanco*. In the Bottom of this Bay lies a ſmall Iſle, called *St. Clara*, extending Eaſt and Weſt, having many Sholes to the *Nore*; which makes the Ships, bound for the *Guiaquil*, to paſs on the South Side of it. The *Spaniards* ſay, there lies a very rich Wreck on the North Side; but that there is very hard coming at it, by reaſon of the great Multitudes of Catfiſh; which Fiſh is not unlike a Whiting, but with three Fins on the Back, and one on each Side, which have each a Bone; and, if they ſtrike into the Fleſh, it proves frequently mortal: They are met with all along the *American* Coaſts, and likewiſe in the *Eaſt Indies*; their Fleſh is both ſweet and wholſome.

26. From the Iſles of *St. Clara* to *Punta Arena*, the ſandy Point being the Weſtermoſt Point of the Iſles of *Puna*, is ſeven Leagues Eaſt North-eaſt: Here Ships, bound for *Guiaquil*, take in their Pilots, which live in a Town of the ſaid Iſle, bearing the ſame Name, on the South Side, ſeven Leagues from Point *Arena*. The Iſle of *Puna* itſelf is low, ſtretching fourteen Leagues Eaſt and Weſt, and five Leagues broad: It has a ſtrong Tide round the Shore, which is full of little Creeks and Rivers: Near this Town is a ſmall Point, where the Inhabitants are obliged to keep a conſtant Watch. The inland Part of the Iſle is good Paſture-ground, intermixed with ſome Wood-lands, producing divers, to us, unknown Trees; and, amongſt the reſt, abundance of Palmetoes, a Tree about the Thickneſs of an ordinary Aſh, and thirty Feet high, with a ſtrait Trunk, without Branches or Leaf, except at the very Top, where, ſpreading into ſmall Branches three or four Feet long, each of them produces at the Extremity one ſingle Leaf, of the Breadth of a large Fan, which, at firſt, ſprouts and ſpreads like a Fan plaited together, but, by degrees, opens and ſpreads like a Fan unfolded. The Houſes of the Town of *Puna* are built on Poſts ten or twelve Feet high, into which they go up by Ladders, and are thatched with Palmeto-leaves: The like Contrivance I have ſeen among the *Malayans* in the *Eaſt Indies*. The beſt Place for Anchorage is directly oppoſite to the Town, within a Cable's Length of the Shore, at five Fathom Water. From *Puna* to *Guiaquil* is ſeven Leagues, and one League to the Entrance of the River *Guiaquil*, which is two Miles over, and afterwards runs up into the Country in a pretty ſtrait Chanel, the Grounds on both Sides marſhy, and full of red Mangrove-trees: About four Miles on this Side of the Town of *Guiaquil* the River is divided, by a ſmall low Iſland, into two Chanels; that to the South-weſt is the broadeſt, though the other is as deep. From the upper End of this Iſle to the Town is near a League, and the River thereabouts of the ſame Breadth, where a Ship of great Burden may ride with Safety, expecially towards that Side where the Town ſtands. It is ſeated cloſe by the River, partly on an Aſcent, and partly on the Foot of a ſmall Hill, with a great Deſcent towards the River-ſide. It is defended by two Forts, erected on the low Grounds, and another on the Hill, being one of the beſt Sea Ports belonging to the *Spaniards* in the South Sea, under the Juriſdiction of a Governor, and beautified with divers fine Churches, and other good Buildings. They export Cocoas, Hides, Tallow, Sarſaparilla, Drugs, and Woollen Cloth, called *Quito Cloth*. The Cocoas grow on both Sides of the River above the Town, having a ſmaller Nut than thoſe of *Campeachy*. The Sarſaparilla delights in watery Places near the River-ſide; and the *Quito* Cloth is made in an Inland Town called *Quito*: It is coarſe, and therefore worn only by the Vulgar all over the Kingdom of *Peru*.

27. *Quito* is a populous Place, ſeated in the Heart of the Country, inhabited by ſome *Spaniards*, by moſt *Indians*, under the *Spaniſh* Juriſdiction, being incloſed with a Ridge of high Mountains, which abound in Gold: The Rivers riſing amongſt them carry abundance of Gold-duſt along with them into the lower Grounds, eſpecially after violent Rains, which is afterwards cleanſed and waſhed from the Sand. *Quito* is reckoned the richeſt Place for Gold in all *Peru*, but unwholſome, the Inhabitants being frequently ſubject to Fevers, Head-ach, Griping in the Guts, and Fluxes; but *Guiaquil* is much more wholſome. Having formed a Deſign againſt the Town of *Guiaquil*, we left our Ships at Cape *Blanco*, and ſteered with a Bark, and ſome Canoes, to the Iſle of *St. Clara*, in the Bay of *Guiaquil*, and thence in two Canoes to Point *Arena*, where we took, the next Day, ſome of the Fiſhermen of *Puna*, and afterwards their Watch, together with the whole Town and Inhabitants. The next Ebb, we took a Bark laden with *Quito* Cloth, coming from *Guiaquil*; the Maſter whereof told us, that there were three Barks full of Negroes coming with the next Tide. From thence we, lying near the Town of *Puna*, embarked all our Men in Canoes, leaving only five Men aboard the Bark, with Orders not to fire at any thing till next Morning at Eight o' Clock, by which time we ſuppoſed we ſhould have taken the Town. We had not rowed above two Miles, but we met with, and took, one of the Barks laden with Negroes; the Maſter whereof having told us, that the other two would not come out till the next Tide, we rowed forward; but our Canoes being heavily laden, it was Break of Day before we came within two Leagues of the Town, there being not above an Hour's Flood: Now we abſconded all Day in an adjacent Creek; and, at the ſame time, ſent one of our Canoes to our Bark left near *Puna*, not to fire till the next Day; but to no Purpoſe; for the before-mentioned two Barks with Negroes, being come out of the Harbour with the Evening Tide, paſſed by without being ſeen or heard by us; and, falling down with the Ebb towards *Puna*, our Bark, ſeeing them full of Men, fired three Guns at them, before our Canoes could bring them our laſt Orders. But we took the Maſters of both the Barks, as they were making their Eſcape on Shore. The firing of theſe three Guns put us all into a great Conſternation, as not queſtioning but that thereby the Townſmen had taken the Alarm; and therefore ſome were for advancing to the Town immediately, others for returning to our Ships: But as the Ebb Tide hindered us from going upwards, ſo Captain *Davis*, with fifty of his Men, reſolved to march by Land to the Place; the reſt, judging it impracticable, remained in the Creek to ſee the Iſſue of the Enterprize. After four Hours,

Captain *Davis* and his Men, having been almoſt choaked in the Marches among the Mangrove-woods, returned without having been able to advance far on their Way to the Town. It was then reſolved to row up in Sight of the Town; and, if we found ourſelves diſcovered, to retire without attempting: So, rowing through the North-eaſt Chanel, we got in the Night in View of the Town, when, at the Diſcharge of a Muſquet, we ſaw, on a ſudden, the whole Town full of Lights; where, as there was but one ſeen before, this appeared almoſt an infallible Sign, that we were diſcovered; but, as ſome alleged, that theſe Lights were uſed by the *Spaniards* in the Nights before Holy-days, as the next Day was, they upbraided Captain *Swan* and his Men with Cowardice: We landed in a Place two Miles on this Side of the Town, which being all over-run with Woods, we were forced to expect Day-light. We had two *Indian* Guides; one was run away from *Guiaquil*, the other a Priſoner we had taken three Days before; the laſt being led by a Cord by one of Captain *Davis*'s Men, who ſeemed one of the moſt forward in the Enterprize; but now, perhaps, beginning to repent his Raſhneſs, cut the Rope wherewith the Guide was tied, and ſo let him make his Eſcape into the Town: When he judged him to be out of Danger of being retaken, he cried out, that ſomebody had cut the Rope; ſo that, after we had ſearched in vain for our Guides, it was unanimouſly reſolved to deſiſt; however, about Break of Day, we rowed up into the Middle of the River, where we lay ſtill about half an Hour, without being in the leaſt moleſted from the Town, though we landed on the oppoſite Bank to a Beef-cloſe, and killed a Cow. We returned the ninth to *Puna*; and, in our Way, ſeized upon the three before-mentioned Barks, laden with 1000 luſty Negroes; out of them we kept about ſixty, and left the reſt with the Barks behind; whereas, if we had carried them all to *St. Maria*, on the Iſthmus of *Darien*, we might, with their Aſſiſtance, have worked the Gold Mines on that Side; and, by erecting a Fort or two at the Entrance of the River of *St. Maria*, and with the Aſſiſtance of the Natives our Friends, and ſome Thouſands of *Engliſh* and *French* Privateers from all Parts of the *Weſt Indies*, have not only maintained ourſelves there againſt all the Power of *Spain*, but alſo extended our Conqueſts to the Coaſts and Gold Mines of *Quito*.

28. We ſet Sail again the 13th, and arrived at the Iſle of *Plata* the 16th; where, after having provided ourſelves with freſh Water on the Continent, we parted our Cloth, and reſolved unanimouſly to direct our Courſe to *Lavelia* a Town in the Bay of *Panama*. Accordingly we ſet Sail *December* 23. with a briſk South South-weſt Wind, towards the Bay of *Panama*. The next Morning, we paſſed in Sight of Cape *Paſſao*, 8' South of the Line, being a round Point, but very high, divided in the Middle, bare towards the Sea, but covered with Fruit-trees to the Land Side; the Land hilly and woody. Betwixt this and the Cape *St. Franciſco*, you ſee Abundance of ſmall Points, which incloſe ſo many ſandy Creeks, full of Trees of ſeveral kinds: As our Deſign was to look for Canoes, in ſome River or other unfrequented by the *Spaniards*, ſo our *Indian* Pilots were but of little Uſe to us: However, as we were indifferent for the reſt what River we came to, ſo we endeavoured to make the River of *St. Iago*, by reaſon of its Nearneſs to the Iſle of *Gallo*, in which there was much Gold, and where there was ſafe Anchorage for our Ships. We paſſed by Cape *St. Franciſco*; whence, to the North, the Sea Side is full of Trees, of a vaſt Height and Thickneſs: From this Cape the Land runs more eaſterly into the Bay of *Panama*, this Cape being its Boundary to the South, as the Iſles of *Cobaya* or *Quito* are to the North. Betwixt this Cape and the Iſle of *Gallo* are ſeveral large Rivers, but we paſſed them all to go to *St. Iago*, a large navigable River, 2° North: About ſeven Leagues up in the Country it divides itſelf into two Branches, which incloſe an Iſle four Leagues in Circumference; the broadeſt is the South-weſt Chanel; they are both very deep, but the narroweſt has ſandy Banks at its Entrance; ſo that, at low Ebb, a Canoe cannot paſs over them. Beyond the Iſle, the River is a League broad, the Chanel ſtrait, with a ſwift Current; it flows three Leagues up the River, but to what Height, I am not able to tell: It runs through a very rich Soil, producing all ſorts of the talleſt Trees uſually found in this Climate; but eſpecially red and white Cotton-trees, and Cabbage-trees, of the largeſt kind. The white Cotton-tree grows not unlike an Oak, but much taller and bigger; the Trunk ſtrait, without any Branches to the Top, where it ſends forth ſtrong Branches; the Bark is very ſmooth, the Leaves of the Bigneſs of a Plum-tree-leaf, dark-green, oval, ſmooth, and jagged at the Ends; they are not always biggeſt near the Roots, but often in the Middle of the Trunks. The Cotton they bear is Silk Cotton, which falls in *November* and *December* upon the Ground; but not ſo ſubſtantial as that of the Cotton-ſhrub, but rather like a Down of Thiſtles; they don't think it worth their while to gather it in the *Weſt Indies*, but in the *Eaſt Indies* they put it into their Pillows. In *April* the old Leaves fall off, which, in a Week's time, are ſupplied by freſh. The red Cotton-tree is ſomewhat leſs; but, for the reſt, altogether like the other; except that it produces no Cotton, and its Wood hard, tho' both are ſomewhat ſpongy; they are found in the fat Grounds, both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*. The Cabbage-tree is the talleſt in thoſe Woods, ſome being above 120 Feet high: It is likewiſe without Boughs or Branches, except on the Top, where its Branches are of the Thickneſs of a Man's Arm, and twelve or fourteen Feet long; two Feet from the Stem come forth ſmall long Leaves, of an Inch broad, ſo thick and regular on both Sides, that they cover the whole Branch: In the midſt of theſe high Branches ſhoots forth the Cabbage itſelf; which, when taken out of the outward Leaves, is a Foot in Length, and of the Thickneſs of the Small of a Man's Leg, being white like Milk, ſweet and wholſome: Betwixt the Cabbages and the large Branches ſprout forth other ſmall Twigs, two Feet long, very cloſe together; at the Extremities of which grow hard and round Berries, of the Bigneſs of a Cherry, which, once a Year, fall from the Trees, and are excellent Food for the Hogs. The Trunk has Rings half a Foot aſunder, the Bark is thin and brittle, the Wood hard and black, and the Pith white; as the Tree dies after its Head is gone, they cut them down before they gather the Fruit.

29. As the Coaſt and Country of *Lima* has continual dry Weather, ſo this Part of *Peru* is ſeldom without Rains; which, perhaps, is one Reaſon why they have made but ſmall Diſcoveries on this Coaſt: Add to this, that when they go from *Panama* to *Lima*, they don't paſs along the Coaſt, but ſail up to the Weſt, as far as the *Cobaya* Iſles, for the Weſt Winds, and thence ſtand over to the Cape *St. Franciſco*: In their Return they coaſt it; but their Ships, being then laden, are not fit to enter the Rivers, which, as well as the Sea Side, are covered with Woods and Buſhes, and therefore are fit Places for the Natives to lie in Ambuſcade. Theſe *Indians* have ſome Plantations of Maiz and Plantains, as alſo ſome Fowls and Hogs. We entered the River of *St. Iago*, with four Canoes, *December* 27. by the leſſer Branches, and met with no Inhabitants till within ſix Leagues of its Mouth, where we diſcovered too ſmall Huts, thatched with Palmeto-leaves; and, at the ſame time, *Indians*, with their Families and houſhold Goods, paddling againſt the Stream much faſter than we could row, becauſe they kept near the Banks. On the oppoſite Side to the Weſt, we ſaw many other Huts a League off; but, the Current being very rapid, we did not care to venture croſs it. In the two Huts, on the Eaſt Side, we found nothing but a few Plantains, Fowls, and one Hog, which ſeemed to be of the *European* Kind, ſuch as the *Spaniards* brought formerly into *America*, but eſpecially to *Jamaica*, *Hiſpaniola*, and *Cuba*, where they feed in the Woods (being marked beforehand) in the Day-time; and at Night are called, and kept in Pens, by the ſounding of a Conch-ſhell. On the Continent of *America*, they don't turn their Hogs into the Woods. We returned the next Morning into the River's Mouth, with an Intention to ſail on to the Iſle of *Gallo*, where we had ordered our Ships to meet us. This Iſle is but ſmall, and without Inhabitants, ſeated at 3° North Latitude, in a ſpacious Bay, three Leagues from the River *Tomaco*, and four Leagues and a half from an *Indian* Village of the ſame Name: It is indifferently high, and well ſtored with Timber-trees: At the North-eaſt End is a good ſandy Bay, near which is a fine Spring of freſh

Water, and againſt the Bay is very good Anchorage, at ſix or ſeven Fathom Water; there is but one Chanel to approach the Iſle at four Fathom Water, but you muſt go in with the Flood, and come out with the Ebb. The River of *Tomaco*, ſuppoſed to have its Riſe amongſt the rich Mountains of *Quito*, has borrowed its Name from an adjacent Village of the ſame Name. Its Banks are well peopled by the *Indians*, and ſome *Spaniards*, who traffick for Gold with them. It is ſo ſhallow at the Entrance, that only Barks can enter it. The Town of *Tomaco* is a ſmall Place, ſeated near the Mouth of a River, for the Entertainment of the *Spaniards*, who traffick in thoſe Parts. From this Place to the Branch of the River of *St. Iago*, where we then were at Anchor, is five Leagues. As the Land here is low, and full of Creeks, we left the River *December* 21. and croſſed theſe ſmall Bays in our Canoes: In our Way we ſaw an *Indian* Houſe, whence we took the Maſter, and whole Family, and ſo rowed forward, and came at Twelve at Night to *Tomaco*: Here we ſeized upon all the Inhabitants; and, among the reſt, one *Don Diego de Pinas*, a *Spaniſh* Knight, whoſe Ship was not far off at Anchor to lade Timber: So we took her, and found thirteen Jars of good Wine aboard her, but no other Lading. An *Indian* Canoe came aboard us, with three of the Natives, who were ſtrait and well-limbed, but of low Stature, with black Hair, long Viſages, and ſmall Noſes and Eyes, and of a dark Complexion. The 31ſt, ſeveral of our Men, who had been ſeven or eight Leagues up the River, returned with their Canoes, and brought along with them ſome Ounces of Gold they had found in a *Spaniſh* Houſe, but the People were fled.

30. *January* 1. 1685. as we were going in our Canoes from *Tomaco* towards *Gallo*, we took a Packet of Letters in a *Spaniſh* Boat, ſent from *Panama* to *Lima*, whereby we underſtood, that the Preſident of *Panama* wrote to haſten the Plate Fleet thither from *Lima*, the *Armada* from *Spain* being come to *Porto-Bello*: This News ſoon made us alter our Reſolution of going to *Lavelia*; inſtead whereof, it was reſolved to rendezvous among the *King's* or *Pearl* Iſlands, not far diſtant from *Panama*, and by which all Ships, bound to *Panama* from the Coaſt of *Lima*, muſt of Neceſſity paſs. Accordingly we ſailed the 7th; the 8th, we took a Ship of 90 Tons, laden with Flour, and continued our Voyage, with a gentle South Wind, towards *Gorgonia*, an Iſle twenty-five Leagues diſtant from that of *Gallo*, where we anchored the 9th, at the Weſt Side of it, in thirty-eight Fathom clean Ground, two Cables Length from the Shore, in a ſandy Bay, the Land againſt it very low. This Iſle is ſeated at 3° North Latitude, and is remarkable for two high Riſings, called the *Saddles*: Its Length is two Leagues, and its Breadth one League, about four Leagues from the Continent. At the Weſt End is another ſmall Iſle. *Gorgonia* is full of large Trees, and watered by many Rivulets: It has no other Animals but Monkies, Conies, and Snakes: It is extremely ſubject to Rains; and the only Difference obſervable in the Seaſons is, that in the Summer the Rains are more moderate. The Sea round it is ſo deep, that there is no Anchorage, except at the Weſt End, where the Tide riſes eight Feet. Muſſels and Periwinkles are here in great Plenty: The Monkies open the Shells at Low-water. Here are alſo Abundance of Pearl-oyſters; theſe are fixed four, five, or ſix Fathom under Water, to the looſe Rocks, by Beards, or ſmall Roots, like the Muſſels: They are like our Oyſters, but ſomething flatter and thinner; the Fleſh is ſlimy, and not to be eaten, unleſs dried beforehand, and boiled; ſome have twenty or thirty Seed-pearls, others one or two pretty large ones, lying at the Head of the Oyſters, betwixt the Fiſh and the Shell; but the Inſide of the Pearl carries a brighter Luſtre than the Pearls themſelves. The 13th, we purſued our Voyage to the *King's Iſle*, being now two Men of War, and two Tenders, one Fireſhip, and the Prize: We ſailed forward with the common Trade-wind South, along low Land on the Continent near the Sea Side, but with a Proſpect of Mountains deeper into the Country. The 16th, we paſſed by Cape *Corientes*, at 5° 10' Latitude, being an high Point, with four ſmall Hillocks on the Top; the Current then running ſtrong to the North. The 21ſt, we came in Sight of Point *Garachina*, at 7° 20' North Latitude. The Land is high, rocky, and without Trees near the Sea Side: Within the Point is plenty of Oyſters and Muſſels. About twelve Leagues from this Point, are the *King's* or *Pearl Iſles*; betwixt theſe and the beforementioned Point of *Garachina*, is a ſmall, flat, barren Iſle, called *Galleria*, near which we came to Anchor for that time. The *King's* or *Pearl Iſles* are a good Number of low woody Iſles, ſeven Leagues from the Continent, and twelve Leagues from *Panama*, and fourteen Leagues in Length North North-weſt by North, and South-eaſt by South. In the Maps they are called the *Pearl Iſles*, tho' I never could ſee one Pearl-oyſter, or any thing like it, near them. The Northermoſt of theſe is called *Pachea*, or *Pacheque*, a ſmall Iſle, eleven or twelve Leagues from *Panama*; the Name of that moſt South is *St. Paul's*; the reſt, tho' bigger, have no particular Names. Some of theſe are planted with Plantains, Bananas, and Rice, by the Negroes belonging to the Inhabitants of *Panama*. The Chanel, betwixt them and the Continent is ſeven or eight Leagues broad, of a moderate Depth, and has good Anchoring all along: The Iſles, tho' lying cloſe together, yet have their Chanels fit for Boats. At the End of *St. Paul's* Iſle is a convenient careening Place, in a good deep Chanel, incloſed by the Land. You muſt enter in on the North Side, where the Tide riſes ten Feet perpendicular. The 25th, we brought our Ships in with a Spring-tide; and, after having cleaned our Barks firſt, we ſent them the 27th to cruiſe towards *Panama*: They brought us, the fourth Day after, a Prize, coming from *Lavelia* with Maiz, or *Indian* Corn, ſalted Beef, and Fowls. *Lavelia* is a large Town, ſeated on the Bank of a River, on the North Side of the Bay of *Panama*, ſeven Leagues from the Sea Side: As *Nata* is another Town, ſeated in a Plain, near another Branch of the ſame River: Theſe two Places ſupply *Panama* with Hogs, Fowl, Beef, and Maiz. In the Harbour where we careened, we found Abundance of Oyſters, Muſſels, Limpits, and Clams; theſe laſt are Oyſters, that ſtick ſo cloſe to the Rocks, that you muſt open them where they grow, if you will eat the Meat. We alſo met with ſome Pigeons and Turtle-doves.

31. Our Ships being well careened by the 14th of *February*, and provided with Fuel and Water, we ſailed out from amongſt the Iſles the 18th, and anchored in the great Chanel, betwixt the Iſles and the Continent, at fifteen Fathom Water, ſoft ouſy Ground; and the next Day cruiſed in the Chanel towards *Panama*, about which the Shore appears very beautiful, with Variety of ſmall Woods and Hills; beſides that, a League from the Continent, you ſee divers ſmall Iſles, ſcattered partly with Trees; and the *King's Iſles*, on the other Side the Chanel, afford a very fair Proſpect, according to their various Shapes and Situations. The 16th, we anchored within a League of the Iſland of *Pacheque*, in ſeventeen Fathom Water; and the 18th, ſteered our Courſe with a North North-eaſt Wind directly towards *Panama*, where we anchored directly oppoſite to *Old Panama*, once a Place of Note in thoſe Parts; but the greateſt Part thereof being laid in Aſhes in 1673. by Sir *Henry Morgan*, it was never rebuilt ſince. About four Leagues from the Ruins of *Old Panama*, near the River Side, ſtands *New Panama*, a very handſome City, in a ſpacious Bay of the ſame Name, into which diſembogue many long navigable Rivers, ſome whereof are not without Gold; beſides that, it is beautified with many pleaſant Iſles; the Country about it affording a delightful Proſpect to the Sea, by reaſon of Variety of adjacent Hills, Valleys, Groves, and Plains: The Houſes are for the moſt part of Brick, and pretty lofty, eſpecially the Preſident's; the Churches, Monaſteries, and other public Structures, which make the beſt Shew I ever ſaw in the *Weſt Indies*: It is encompaſſed with a high Wall of Stone, on which are mounted a good Number of Guns, which formerly were only planted to the Land Side, but now alſo to the Sea. This City has a vaſt Traffick, as being the Staple for all Goods to and from all Parts of *Peru* and *Chili*; beſides that, every three Years, when the *Spaniſh* Armada comes to *Porto-Bello*, the Plate-fleet comes thither with the King's Plate, beſides what belongs to the

Merchants; whence it is carried on Mules by Land to *Porto-Bello*, at which time every thing is exceſſive dear at this Place.

32. The *Spaniſh* Armada, which comes every three Years into the *Weſt Indies*, arrives firſt of all at *Carthagena*; whence they diſpatch immediately an Expreſs by Land to *Lima*, and another with two Packets of Letters by Sea, one for the Viceroy of *Peru* at *Lima*, the other for the Viceroy of *Mexico*. I cannot abſolutely tell which Way the Packet for *Mexico* goes, after its Arrival at *Porto-Bello*, whether by Sea or Land; but I ſuppoſe by Sea to *La Vera Cruz*; but that for *Lima* goes by Land to *Panama*, and ſo by Sea to *Lima*. Upon this Occaſion I cannot but tell the Reader, that ſome time before my going to the South Seas, being then aboard Captain *Coxon*'s Ship, in Company of three or four other Privateers, we took the Packets bound from *Carthagena* to *Porto-Bello*, four Leagues from this laſt Place: In them we found many Letters from the Merchants of *Spain*, directed to their Correſpondents, intimating, that the ſame Year a certain Prophecy being publiſhed in *Spain*, that ſome *Engliſh* Privateers would open themſelves a Way into the South Seas, they deſired them to be upon their Guard. As by this Way we underſtood the Paſſage by Land over the Iſthmus of *Darien*, and thoſe *Indians* had ſought our Aſſiſtance of late againſt the *Spaniards*, ſo this gave us the firſt Encouragement to venture upon that Enterprize; and as we knew the *Spaniards* to be a bigotted Generation, we ſent moſt of the Letters (ſealed up again) to *Porto-Bello* to augment their Fear. The firſt Occaſion of our contracting a Friendſhip with the *Indians*, on the Iſthmus of *Darien*, happened thus. About fifteen Years before, Captain *Wright* took a young *Indian* Lad, among the *Jamballo* Iſles, unto whom he gave the Name of *John Gratt*, and beſtowed him afterwards upon ſome *Moſkitoes*, who carried him to their Country, where he married, learned their Language, and ſtaid among them till ſix or eight Months before our taking the ſaid Packet. Captain *Wright* took another *Indian* Boy, twelve Years old, the Son of a Man of Note among them, whom he carried to the Country of the *Moſkitoes*, to be educated by them: Here, meeting with *John Gratt*, he perſuaded the Captain to reſtore the Boy to his Friends, and thereby to commence a Friendſhip with them; but, the Captain alleging the Fierceneſs of thoſe Nations, *Gratt* offered his Service to bring the Matter about: Accordingly, being ſet aſhore in his *Indian* Habit, he called out to them in his own Tongue; and they acknowledging him for their Countryman, he propoſed a ſtrict Alliance with the *Engliſh*; alleging, that they were a good ſort of People, and declared Enemies of the *Spaniards*; telling alſo the Father of the Boy, that if he would go aboard the Veſſel he ſhewed them, being at Anchor, he might have his Son again: Whereupon about thirty of them went aboard Captain *Wright* with Refreſhments; and, being kindly entertained there, they returned with the Boy and Captain *Wright* aſhore, and entered into a ſtrict Confederacy againſt the *Spaniards*; and thereby opened the Way by Land into the South Seas, the Diſcovery whereof is, in a great meaſure, owing to the before-mentioned Letters, and taking of *John Gratt*.

33. But, to return to the *Spaniſh Armada* at *Carthagena*: After a Stay of ſixty Days in this Port, it ſails hence to *Porto-Bello*, where it remains only thirty Days, and takes in the King's Treaſure brought thither from *Panama*, which is ſaid to amount to 24,000,000 Pieces of Eight, beſides Plate and Goods belonging to the Merchants. When the Merchants ſteal the Cuſtom of the Plate, they pack it up among Merchandize, and ſend it to *Vera Cruz*, upon the River *Chagre*, where they fall down the River, and ſo go farther by Sea to *Porto-Bello*: From this Harbour they weigh Anchor preciſely on the 30th Day to the River's Mouth, where the Admiral will ſometimes ſtay a Week longer to oblige the Merchants. From *Porto-Bello* the Armada returns to *Carthagena*, where it meets with the King's Money, brought thither out of the Country, as alſo with a large *Spaniſh* Galleon, (called by them a Patache) which, upon the firſt Arrival of the Armada at *Carthagena* from *Spain*, goes along the Coaſt to gather the King's Tribute. After a ſet Time, the Armada returns from *Carthagena*, by the Way of the *Havanna*, in the Iſle of *Cuba*, where, meeting with the Flota, or a ſmall Squadron of Ships, come thither from *Vera Cruz*, with the Riches of the City and Country of *Mexico*, and what is brought thither by the annual Ship from the *Philippine Iſles*, they all join, and ſail for *Spain*, through the Gulph of *Florida*. *Porto-Bello* being an unhealthy Place, the Merchants of *Lima* make as ſhort Stay there as they poſſibly can: But *Panama* is ſeated in a much better Air, as enjoying the Benefit of Sea Wind from ten or eleven of the Clock in the Morning, till eight or nine of the Clock at Night, and the Land Wind from nine, till the Morning; beſides that, *Panama* having on the Land-ſide an open champagne Country, it is ſeldom troubled with Fogs; nor is the wet Seaſon, which holds from *May* to *November*, ſo exceſſive at *Panama*, as on the other Side of the Bay, tho' it is ſevere enough in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, in which Seaſon the Merchants of *Peru*, who are uſed to a conſtant ſerene Air, without Rain or Fogs, cut off their Hair, to preſerve them from Fevers, whilſt they are obliged to ſtay here.

34. The 20th, we anchored within a League of three little rocky Iſles, called the *Perico* Iſlands; and, the 21ſt, took another Prize, laden with Hogs, Beef, Fowl and Salt, from *Lavelia*. The 24th, ſteered over to the Iſle of *Tabago*, in the ſame Bay, ſix Leagues South of *Panama*: Its Length three Miles, and its Breadth two. It is very rocky and ſteep, except on the North Side, where it has an eaſy Deſcent; and, as the Soil is black and good up to the Middle of the Mountains, they produce abundance of Fruit, as Plantains, Bananas, and, near the Sea-ſide, Cocoa and Mammee-trees; theſe laſt are large and ſtrait, without Knots, Boughs, or Bunches, and ſixty or ſeventy Feet high. At the Tops ſprout out ſome ſmall Branches, thick and cloſe together; the Fruit is of the Bigneſs of a large Quince, round, and covered with a grey Rind, which, before it is ripe, is brittle; but, when come to Maturity, grows yellow, and will peel with Eaſe. The ripe Fruit is of the ſame Colour, like a Carrot, ſmells and taſtes well, and has two rough flat Stones in the Middle, each of the Bigneſs of a large Almond. The South-weſt Side is covered with Trees and Fire-wood, but the North Side has a very fine freſh-water Spring, which falls from the Mountains into the Sea. Near it formerly ſtood a pretty Town, with a fair Church, but the greateſt Part has been deſtroyed by the Privateers. Oppoſite to the Town, a Mile from the Shore, is good anchoring, ſixteen or eighteen Fathom Water, ſoft ouſy Ground. At the North North-weſt End lies a ſmall Town, called *Tobagilla*, with a Chanel betwixt both; and, on the North-eaſt Side of *Tobagilla*, another ſmall one, without a Name. Whilſt we were at an Anchor near *Tobagilla*, we were in great Danger of being trepanned by a pretended Merchant of *Panama*, who, under colour of trading privately with us, brought his Bark laden with Merchandize in the Night to the South of the *Perico* Iſles, where we were then at Anchor, according to his Appointment, which was intended for our Deſtruction; for, inſtead of a Bark, he advanced with a Fireſhip, pretty near us, hailing us with the Water-word. Thereupon, ſome of our Men, more ſuſpicious than the reſt, bid her come to an Anchor; which ſhe not doing, they fired at her; which ſo terrified the Men, that they got into their Canoes, after they had ſet her on Fire, and we were forced to cut our Cables, to eſcape the Danger. At the ſame time Captain *Swan*, who lay a Mile from us at Anchor, ſaw a ſmall Float, with only one Man upon it, driving towards his Ship, but ſoon after diſappeared; he ſuppoſed this to have been a Machine, made up with combuſtible Matter, to faſten to his Rudder, (as it happened to Captain *Sharpe* near *Coquimbo*) but that the Fellow, thinking himſelf diſcovered, had not Courage enough to go forward in the Enterprize; but Captain *Swan* thought alſo fit to cut his Cables, and to keep under Sail all Night. The Fireſhip was framed and managed by one Captain *Bond*, who formerly run away from us to the *Spaniards*, without whoſe Aſſiſtance they could not have fitted her out, it being almoſt incredible, how groſly ignorant the *Spaniards*, eſpecially in the South Seas, are in Sea Affairs; nay, which is worſe, you ſeldom ſee above

one *Spaniard* (perhaps the Commander) in one of their Ships in the *Weſt Indies*, all the reſt being *Indians*. In the Morning, while we were buſy in recovering our Anchors, we diſcovered a whole Fleet of Canoes, full of Men, paſs betwixt *Tobagilla* and the other Iſle, who proved *Engliſh* and *French* Privateers, lately come out of the North Sea over the *Iſthmus* of *Darien*; there were 280 in all, 200 *French*, and 80 *Engliſh*; theſe laſt were taken aboard Captain *Davis*, and Captain *Swan*, and the reſt put into our *Flower* Prize, under the Command of Captain *Gronet*, their Countryman: In Return for which, he offered Captain *Davis*, and Captain *Swan*, each a Commiſſion from the Governor of *Petit Goave*, it being their Cuſtom to carry along with them blank Commiſſions from the ſaid Governor. Captain *Davis* accepted of one; but Captain *Swan*, having one from the Duke of *York*, refuſed it.

35. Every thing being thus diſpoſed, we ſet Sail, *March* the 2d, towards the Gulph of *St. Michael*, in queſt of Captain *Townley* (who they told us was coming with 180 *Engliſh* over the *Iſthmus* of *Darien*). This Gulph lies thirty Leagues South-eaſt from *Panama*, and you muſt turn for your Paſſage betwixt the *King's Iſles* and the Continent. In it many Rivers diſembogue into the Sea: On the South it is bounded by the Point *Garrachina*, at 6° 40 North Latitude, and to the North by *St. Lorenzo*; whereas the Name of Point *Garachina*, in the Maps, is given to the North Cape, and that of the South Cape quite left out, as well as that of *St. Lorenzo*, which properly belongs to the North Cape. The moſt noted Rivers, that diſcharge themſelves into the Gulph of *St. Michael*, are *St. Maria*, *Sambo*, and *Congo*: This laſt has its Riſe far in the Country, and, being joined by many ſmall Streams on both Sides, diſembogues on the North Side of this Gulph, a League from Cape *St. Lorenzo*: It is deep and navigable ſome Leagues into the Country, but not very broad. It is neglected by the *Spaniards* by reaſon of its Nearneſs to *St. Maria*, where they have their Gold Mines. As I was never in this River *Sambo*, ſo I cannot ſay much of it, except that the Tide at its Mouth ſeems to denote it a large River: It empties itſelf into the Sea on the South Side of the Gulph near *Garachina*. Between the Mouths of theſe two Rivers, on either Side of the Gulph, it runs narrower towards the Land, making five or ſix Iſles; beyond which, deeper inward, the Shore cloſes ſo near, with two Points of low Land, as to make a ſtreight Chanel, not half a Mile broad. This is the Entrance to the innermoſt Part of the Gulph, making a Bay of three Leagues over, to the Eaſt End whereof are the Mouths of divers Rivers, but eſpecially of *St. Maria*, the largeſt River of all that falls into this Gulph, being navigable for eight or nine Leagues, as far as the Tide flows; beyond which, it is divided into ſeveral Branches, fit only for Canoes: The Flood riſes eighteen Feet in this River. Near ſix Leagues to the South of the Entrance of the River of *St. Maria*, the *Spaniards* built, about twenty Years ago, the Town of *St. Maria*, on account of its Nearneſs to the Gold Mines. Soon after it was taken by Captain *Coxon*, *Harris*, and *Sharpe*, but was rebuilt ſoon after again; for, when Captain *Harris* (the Nephew of the former) took it a ſecond time, he found in it great Store of Wine, iron Pickaxes, and other Inſtruments the Slaves uſed in digging the Gold-mines. I have been told, that, beſides what Gold they got out of the Ore and Sand, they found ſometimes Lumps as big as an Hen's Egg, and bigger, wedged in betwixt the Rocks. Such a one Mr. *Harris* (who got 120 Pounds of Gold there) kept by him; it has ſeveral Crevices full of Earth and Duſt. In the adjacent Mines the *Spaniards* employ their Slaves in a dry Seaſon; but, when the Rivers overflow, they can't work without great Inconveniency; and then it is, that the *Indians* waſh the Gold out of the Sands, forced down from the Mountains by the violent Rains, which the *Spaniards* buy of them, and gain as much by it as they do by their Mines; for, during the wet Seaſon, they retire with their Slaves to *Panama*. Captain *Gronet* ſaw Captain *Townley*, with his Crew, at this Town, making Canoes, it being at that time abandoned by the *Spaniards*. Near the Mouth of this River of *St. Maria*, on the North Side, they have lately built another Town, called *Scuchadaroes*, being a more airy Place than that of *St. Maria*: The Land all about the Gulph is low and fertile, producing Abundance of large Trees.

36. *March* 3. as we were ſteering for the Gulph, Captain *Swan* kept near to the Continent, as we did nearer to the *King's Iſles*; where, at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, near the Place where we had careened our Ships, we met Captain *Townley*, with his Crew, in two Barks which they had taken, one laden with Brandy, Wine, and Sugar, and the other with Flour. As he wanted Room for his Men, and had Occaſion for the Jars in which the *Spaniards* carry their Wines, Brandy, and Oil, in theſe Parts, containing ſeven or eight Gallons apiece, he diſtributed Part thereof amongſt our Ships, being then all at Anchor among the *King's Iſlands*: But, as it was towards the latter End of the dry Seaſon, and all the Water dried up, we ſailed to the Point of *Garrachina*, in hopes of finding freſh Water. The 21ſt, we anchored two Miles from the Point, and found the Tide very ſtrong, coming out of the River *Sambo*. The 22d, we anchored at four Fathom within the Point; we found the Tide to ride nine Feet, and the Flood to ſet North North-eaſt, and the Ebb South South-weſt: The Natives brought us ſome Refreſhments; but, as they did not underſtand in the leaſt the *Spaniſh* Tongue, I ſuppoſe they had no Commerce with the *Spaniards*. Meeting with no freſh Water here, we ſet Sail for *Porto-Pinas*, lying ſeven Leagues Southward by Weſt hence, at 7° North Latitude. It derived its Name from the vaſt Numbers of Pine-trees growing there. The Country riſes, from the Sea Side, by a gentle Aſcent, to a conſiderable Height, and is pretty woody near the Shore: At the Entrance of the Harbour are two ſmall Rocks, which render the Paſſage into it narrow, and the Harbour but of a ſlender Compaſs; beſides that, it lies expoſed to the South-weſt Wind. This made us not go into the Harbour, but ſend our Boats to fetch ſome freſh Water, which they could not perform, by reaſon of the high Sea near the Shore; ſo we turned towards Point *Garachina*, where we arrived the 29th. In our Way, we took a Veſſel laden with Cocoa from *Guiaquil*: Finding ourſelves here alſo diſappointed in getting of freſh Water, we ſailed the 30th for *Tobago*, with a South South-weſt Wind, being now in all nine Ships. *April* 1. we anchored at the Iſle of *Pacheque*, and the 3d at *Perico*: Our Men took a Canoe, with four *Indians*, and a Mulatto; who, being found to have been in the ſame Fireſhip that was ſent out to burn our Ship, was hanged immediately. Whilſt we were employed in filling of Water, and cutting of Wood for Fuel, we ſent four Canoes to the Continent, to get ſome Sugar in the adjacent Sugar-works, to make our Cocoa up into Chocolate; but eſpecially to get ſome Coppers, which we much wanted to boil our Victuals in, ſince our Number was ſo conſiderably increaſed: They brought us three Coppers. In the mean while, Captain *Davis* ſent his Bark to the Iſle of *Otoque*, ſeated in the Bay of *Panama*, but uninhabited, except by a few Negroe Slaves, who bred up ſome Fowls and Hogs there. Here our Men met with a Meſſenger ſent to *Panama*, with an Account that the *Lima* Fleet was ſailed: Moſt of the Letters had been thrown into the Sea; yet, out of the remaining Part, we underſtood that thé Fleet was coming under a Convoy, compoſed of all the Ships of Strength that they had been able to bring together from *Peru*. Being informed that the King's Ships always came that Way where we now lay, we ſailed the 10th from *Tobago* to the *King's Iſles*, and the 11th anchored at the Place, where we careened. Here we met with Captain *Harris*, who had brought along with him ſome Men (we had heard the *Indians* mention before) from the River *St. Maria*, but they were not near ſo many as they reported. The 19th, 250 Men were ſent in Canoes to the River *Cheapo*, to ſurpriſe the Town of the ſame Name. The 21ſt, we followed, and arrived the 22d at the Iſle of *Chepelia*, a pleaſant Iſland, ſeated in the Bay of *Panama*, ſeven Leagues from the City of that Name, and one League from the Continent, being about two Miles long, and as many broad, low on the North Side, but riſing by an eaſy Aſcent to the South. The Soil is very good, producing in the low Grounds Store of delicious Fruits, ſuch as Plantains, Sapadilloes, Avogato-pears, Mammees, Mammee-Sapotas, Star-apples, *&c.* On the North Side, half a Mile from the Shore, is a good Anchor-

ing-place, where is alſo a very good Spring of freſh Water near the Sea-ſide. This Iſle lies directly oppoſite to the River *Cheapo*. The Sapadildo-tree is altogether like a Pear-tree, and the Fruit like a Burgamot-pear, only it is ſomething longer: When it is firſt gathered, it is hard, and the Juice clammy; but, a few Days after, becomes juicy and ſweet; it has two or three black Kernels, like a Pompion-ſeed. The Avogato Pear-tree is as high, and higher, than our Pear-trees, with a black, but ſmooth Bark, large oval Leaves; the Fruit of the Bigneſs of a large Lemon, of a green Colour at firſt, but yellow when ripe. The Pulp is yellowiſh, and as ſoft as Butter; and, after they have been gathered three or four Days, the Rind will come off with Eaſe. The Stone is as big as a good Horſe-plum. As this Fruit is inſipid, ſo it is commonly eaten with Sugar and Lime-juice, being looked upon by the *Spaniards* as a great Provocative, who have therefore planted them in moſt Places of the North Sea, where they inhabit. The Mammee-Sapota is neither ſo big, nor ſo tall, as the Mammee at *Tobago*; nor is the Fruit either ſo large, or ſo round. The Pulp is quite red, with a rough, flat, longiſh Stone, and the Rind ſmooth. It is a pleaſant and wholſome Fruit. There are alſo ſome wild Mammee-trees, which grow very tall and ſtrait, and are conſequently uſed for Maſts; but the Fruit is not eſteemed. The Star ſomewhat reſembles our Quince-tree, but much larger, bearing Abundance of oval broad Leaves. The Fruit is of the Bigneſs of a large Apple. It is reckoned a very good Fruit; but I never taſted it.

37. The River of *Cheapo* has its Riſe in the Mountains on the North Side, being incloſed afterwards between them and the Mountains on the South Side. It turns to the Weſt, and at laſt, forcing its Way to the South-weſt, makes a kind of a Semicircle, and afterwards runs gently to the Sea, where it diſcharges itſelf ſeven Leagues from *Panama*. It is very deep, and a quarter of a Mile broad; but, by reaſon of the Sands that choke up its Entrance, is navigable only by Barks. About ſix Leagues from the Sea-ſide ſtands the City of *Cheapo*, on the Left Bank of the River, in a champagne Country, affording a very pleaſant View, by reaſon of divers adjacent Hills, covered with Woods, tho' the greateſt Part is good Paſture-ground; but the South Side of the River is all Woodland for many Leagues. The 250 Men before-mentioned, ſent to this Place, returned the 24th, having taken the Town without the leaſt Oppoſition; but found nothing worth mentioning there. In the Way thither, they took a Canoe with armed Men, ſent to watch our Motions; but the Men eſcaped for the moſt part. The 25th being joined by Captain *Harris*, we ſailed the 26th, and arrived at *Tobago* the 28th; and finding ourſelves now 1000 ſtrong, it was conſulted, whether we ſhould make an Attempt upon *Panama*; but being informed by our Priſoners, that they had received a conſiderable Reinforcement from *Porto-Bello*, that Deſign was laid aſide. *May* 4. we ſailed again for the *King's Iſles*, whereabouts we cruiſed till the 22d, when we ſent two Canoes to the Iſle of *Chepelio*, to get ſome Priſoners. They returned the 25th, with three Seamen of *Panama*, who informed us, that, having iſſued a ſtrict Order there not to fetch any Plantains from the adjacent Iſles, this had occaſioned a great Scarcity; and that they expected every Day the Arrival of the Fleet from *Lima*. On the South Side of the Iſle *Pacheque* lie two or three ſmall Iſles, and betwixt them a Chanel not above ſeven Paces wide, and a Mile in Length. On the Eaſt Side of this Chanel we lay at Anchor with our whole Fleet, conſiſting of ten Sail, but only two Men of War, *viz.* Captain *Davis*, thirty-ſix Guns, 156 Men, and Captain *Swan*, ſixteen Guns, 140 Men, the reſt being provided only with Small-arms, making in all 960 Men; we had alſo one Fireſhip. Hitherto we had the Wind at North North-eaſt, with fair Weather; but, the 28th, the rainy Seaſon began. About eleven of the Clock, it beginning to clear up, we diſcovered the *Spaniſh* Fleet three Leagues Weſt North-weſt from the Iſle of *Pacheque*, ſtanding to the Eaſt, we being then at Anchor a League South-eaſt from the Iſle, betwixt it and the Continent. About three in the Afternoon we ſailed, bearing down right before the Wind upon the *Spaniards*, who kept cloſe on a Wind to come up with us; but, Night approaching, we exchanged only a few Shot. As ſoon as it began to be dark, the *Spaniſh* Admiral put out a Light at his Top, as a Signal for the Fleet to come to an Anchor. In half an Hour after, it was taken down again; but appeared ſoon after as before, which we ſuppoſing to be in the Admiral's Top, kept under Sail, being to the Windward; but found ourſelves deceived in our Expectation, by a Stratagem contrived by the *Spaniards*, who, having put this ſecond Light on the Topmaſt-head of one of their Barks, ſent her to the Leeward; ſo that, in the Morning, we found they had got the Weather-gage of us. They came up with full Sail; ſo we were forced to make a running Fight of it all the next Day, almoſt quite round the Bay of *Panama*; for we came to anchor againſt the Iſle of *Pacheque*. Captain *Townley*, being hard preſſed by the *Spaniards*, was forced to make a bold Run through the before-mentioned Chanel betwixt *Pacheque* and the three adjacent ſmall Iſles; and Captain *Harris* was forced away from us during the Fight. Thus our long-projected Deſign vaniſhed into Smoke. The *Spaniſh* Fleet, according to the Report of ſome Priſoners taken afterwards by Captain *Wright*, conſiſted of fourteen Sail, beſides Periagoes, or Boats of twelve or fourteen Oars apiece, among which were eight Ships of good Force; *viz.* from eight to forty-eight Guns. They were computed to have 3000 Men aboard the whole Fleet, and two Fireſhips. The 30th in the Morning, we ſaw the *Spaniſh* Fleet three Leagues to the Leeward of us at Anchor, and, at ten of the Clock, with an eaſy Gale from the South, making the beſt of their Way to *Panama*. We do not know their Loſs. We had but one Man killed. Captain *Gronet*, who was not in the Fight, laid the Fault thereof on his Men. He was ordered to leave us, in a Conſultation held for that Purpoſe, where it was alſo reſolved to ſail for the Iſles of *Quibo*, or *Cobaya*, in queſt of Captain *Harris*.

38. We ſailed *June* 1. 1685, with a South South-weſt Wind, paſſing betwixt the Point *Garachina* and the *King's Iſles*. The 5th, we paſſed in Sight of the Iſle *Chuceh*, a ſmall, low, round, woody Iſle, four Leagues South South-weſt from *Pacheque*, uninhabited, and the laſt of the Iſles in the Bay of *Panama*. We ſailed forward on the North Side of the Bay, (the Way all Ships from *Panama* muſt paſs) and came, the 10th, in Sight of the *Moro de Porcos*, an high round Hill on the Coaſt of *Lavelia*. This Side of the Bay of *Panama* runs out Weſt to the Iſles of *Quibo*. On theſe Coaſts are many Rivers and Creeks; but not near ſo large as thoſe on the South Side of the ſaid Bay. Near the Sea-ſide this Coaſt is partly hilly, partly low Grounds, with very thick Woods; but, in the Heart of the Country, they have fruitful Plains for Cattle. Some of the Rivers on this Side afford alſo Gold; but not in ſuch a Quantity as thoſe on the other Side. There is ſcarce any Settlement along this Coaſt, except what is along the Rivers, that lead to *Lavelia* and *Nata*, theſe being the only Places I know of betwixt *Panama* and *Puebla Nova*. From *Panama* is good travelling all over *Mexico* through the Savannas or Plains; but, towards *Peru*, there is no Paſſage beyond the River *Cheapo*, by reaſon of the thick Woods, and many Rivers. In our Voyage to *Quibo*, the Wind being conſtantly at South South-weſt and South-weſt, we met with very bad Weather; ſo that we did not reach theſe Iſles, till *June* 15. where we met with Captain *Harris*. The Iſle of *Quibo* or *Cobaya*, at 7° 14' North Latitude, is near ſeven Leagues long, and four broad, being all low Land, except at the North-eaſt End; on which Side, as alſo to the Eaſt, there is excellent good Water. It abounds in Trees of all ſorts; in Deer and black Monkeys, the Fleſh of which is reckoned very wholſome and good. It has alſo ſome Guanoes and Snakes. From the South-eaſt End of this Iſle runs out a Sand-bank half a Mile into the Sea; and a League to the North Side of this, to the Eaſt, is a Rock a Mile from the Shore, which, at the laſt Quarter Ebb, is ſeen above Water. For the reſt, Ships may come to an Anchor at any other Place a quarter of a Mile from the Shore, at ſix, eight, ten and twelve Fathom, clean Sand and Ouſe. Beſides this, there are ſeveral Iſles lying on the South-weſt Side; ſome to the North and North-eaſt. The Iſle of *Quicarra* is pretty large, lying to the South-weſt of *Quibo*; and, to the North of it, is a ſmall Iſle called *Rancheria*, which produces great Plenty of Palma-Maria-trees. They are very ſtrait-bodied, tough, and of a very good Length, and conſequently fit

for Maſts: The Grain of the Wood runs twiſted gradually. They have no Reſemblance to the Palm-tree. To the North-eaſt of *Rancheria* lie the little Iſlands of *Canales* and *Cantarras*, with their Chanels betwixt them, where there is good Anchorage. They have Plenty of good Water and Trees; and they appear at a Diſtance to be Part of the Continent: But the Iſle of *Quibo* being the longeſt, and moſt conſiderable of them all, they are generally comprehended under the Name of the Iſles of *Quibo*.

39. *June* 6. it being agreed, that, ſince we had miſſed at Sea, we ſhould try our Fortune by Land, the City of *Leon* was pitched upon, (on the Coaſt of *Mexico*) as being neareſt to us; but, wanting Canoes to land our Men, we cut down Trees, to make as many as we had Occaſion for. In the mean time 150 Men were ſent to make themſelves Maſters of *Puebla Nova*, (a Town on the Continent near theſe Iſles) in hopes of getting ſome Proviſions there. They took the Town with much Difficulty, and returned the 26th; but met with nothing there, except an empty Bark. *July* 5. Captain *Knight* came to us, haveing been farther to the Weſt, where meeting with no Purchaſe, he ſailed to the South as far as the Bay of *Guaiaquil*, where he took two Bark-logs with Wine, Oil, Brandy, Sugar, Soap, *&c.* The Maſter declared, that the Merchant-ſhips, deſigned to have been ſent away by the *Spaniſh* Fleet to *Panama*, did ſtay behind at *Peyta*, till further Orders; and that, had he had more Strength, they might eaſily have been taken. In a Month's time, our Canoes being got ready, Captain *Harris*, with his Men, went on board Captain *Davis* and Captain *Swan* (his Ship being rotten); and, *July* 20. we ſailed from *Quibo* towards *Rio Leja*, the next Port to the City of *Leon*, being now 640 Men, eight Sail of Ships, three Tenders, and a Fireſhip, the Wind at South South-weſt. Coaſting along, we paſſed by the Gulph of *Nicoya*, that of *Dulce*, and the Iſle of *Caneo*, the Land low, covered with Wood, and almoſt deſtitute of Inhabitants. We had variable Winds; but moſt South-weſt and Weſt South-weſt, the Land-winds at North North-eaſt. We were much peſtered with Tornadoes. *Auguſt* 8. at 11° 20′ North Latitude, we diſcovered the *Volcano Vejo*, or *Old Vulcano*, (the Sea-mark of *Rio Leja*) bearing North-eaſt by North; and no ſooner had we brought the ſaid Mountain to bear North-eaſt, but we made Proviſion for landing the next Day. The 9th, we ſent 520 of our Men in thirty-one Canoes towards the Harbour of *Rio Leja*. The Weather was fair, and the Wind favourable, till two in the Afternoon, when a Tempeſt, mixed with Thunder and Lightning, had almoſt buried us in the Sea; but, after half an Hour, it began to abate, and ſo did the Agitation of the Sea, it being obſervable, in thoſe hot Countries, that the Waves ſoon riſe and fall. At ſeven of the Clock at Night it was calm; but, finding we could not be ready to land before Day, (being five Leagues from Shore) we ſtaid thereabouts till next Evening, for fear of being diſcovered; but, about three of the Clock, another Tornado had like to have put an End to our Enterprize. However, as the ſame did not laſt long, we entered the Creek lying on the South-eaſt Side of the Harbour, leading to *Leva*, in the Night; but durſt not go farther till Day-break, when we rowed deeper into the Creek, which is very narrow, and the Land on both Sides marſhy near the Banks, and full of Mangrove-trees; ſo that there is no paſſing through them. Beyond the Mangrove-trees, upon the firm Ground, they caſt up a ſmall Intrenchment. We rowed as faſt as we could, and landed 470 Men, leaving the reſt (of which Number I was one) to guard the Canoes. The City of *Leon* ſtands twenty Miles in the Country, in a ſandy Plain, near a peaked burning Mountain, thence called the Vulcano of *Leon*, the Way to it being through a champagne Country, covered with long Graſs. Betwixt the Landing-place and the City were ſeveral Sugar-works; and, about Mid-way a delicious fordable River, being the only thing they met with in their Way. Two Miles on this Side the City is an *Indian* Town, where a pleaſant ſandy Road leads you to the City, the Houſes whereof are Stone, and large, with Gardens about them; but low, and covered with Pantile. It has three Churches, and a Cathedral. Its Situation is in a ſandy Plain, with Savannas all round about it, which drink up the Rain, and afford a free Paſſage to the Breezes from all Sides. This makes it both healthful and pleaſant, tho' it is not a Place of great Commerce, all their Subſtance being in Cattle and Sugar-works.

40. Our Men marched at eight of the Clock, Captain *Townley* leading the Van, at the Head of eighty of the briſkeſt Men. Captain *Swan* followed him with 100 more; and Captain *Davis* brought up the Rear with 170, in Conjunction with Captain *Knight*. Captain *Townley*, being advanced two Miles before the reſt, and having forced ſeventy Horſe to a Retreat at four Miles on this Side of the City, marched forward, and, at three of the Clock in the Afternoon, with his eighty Men only, entered the Town without Reſiſtance; but met with ſome Oppoſition from five hundred Foot and two hundred Horſe, firſt in a broad Street, and afterwards in the great Market-place; but the Foot, ſeeing the Horſe take to their Heels, alſo retreated, leaving the Town to our People's Mercy. Captain *Swan* came not into the Town till four o'Clock; *Davis* about five; and *Knight*, with the Remainder, not till ſix. The *Spaniards* killed one of our Men, that ſtraggled behind, being very old, and refuſing to accept of Quarter, and took one *Smith* Priſoner. Next Day, the Governor ſent Word he would ranſom the Town. We demanded 30,000 Pieces of Eight, and Proviſions for 1000 Men for four Months; which he not reliſhing, we ſet the City on Fire the 14th, and marched towards our Canoes the next Morning. *Smith* was exchanged for a Gentlewoman. We releaſed another Gentleman, upon his Parole to deliver to us 150 Oxen for his Ranſom at *Rio Leja*, the Place we intended to attack next. The 16th in the Afternoon, we came back in our Canoes to the Harbour of *Rio Leja*, where our Ships were come to an Anchor by that time. The Creek, that leads from *Rio Leja*, extends from the North-weſt Part of the Harbour's Mouth to the North, about two Leagues from the Iſle in the Harbour's Mouth, to the Town. The firſt two-third Parts are broad; but afterwards cloſes in a narrow deep Chanel, lined on both Sides with many Cocoa-trees. A Mile from the Entrance of the Creek, it winds to the Weſt. Here it was, that the *Spaniards* caſt up an Intrenchment, fronting the Entrance of the Creek, defended by 100 Soldiers, and twenty Guards. Below it a Boom of Trees was made croſs the Creek; ſo that they might have kept off 1000 Men, had they not wanted Courage to keep their Poſt; but, at the Firing of two of our Guns, they quitted it, leaving us at Liberty to cut down the Boom. This done, we landed, and marched to the Town of *Rio Leja*, a fine Borough, ſeated a Mile thence, upon a ſmall River, in a Plain. It has three Churches, and an Hoſpital, with an handſome Garden to it, the Place being ſeated in an unwholſome Air, among the Fens and Marſhes, which ſend forth a noiſome Scent. We took the Town without the leaſt Oppoſition. The Country about it has many Sugar-works, and Incloſures for Cattle; and great Quantites of Pitch, Tar and Cordage are made by the Country-people. It produces alſo Melons, Pine-apples, Guavas, and Prickle-pears.

41. The Shrub, that bears the Guava-fruit, has long and ſmall Boughs, a white and ſmooth Bark, and Leaves like the Haſle. The Fruit reſembles a Pear, with a thin Rind, and many hard Seeds. It may be eaten while green, a thing ſeldom obſerved in Fruits either in the *Eaſt* or *Weſt Indies*. It is yellow, ſoft, and well-taſted. After it is ripe, it may be baked like Pears, and will coddle like Apples. There are different Sorts, diſtinguiſhed by their Shape, Taſte, and Colour; ſome being red, others yellow, in the Inſide. Before it is ripe, it is aſtringent; but afterwards looſening. The Prickle-pear grows upon a Shrub five Feet high, in many Places in the *Weſt Indies*. It thrives beſt in ſaltiſh ſandy Grounds, near the Sea-ſhore. Each Branch of this Shrub has two or three round Leaves, of the Breadth of a Man's Hand, not unlike Houſe-leek, edged with Prickles of an Inch long. At the Extremity of the Leaf grows the Fruit, of the Bigneſs of a large Plum, ſmall towards the Leaf, and thicker to the End, where it opens like a Medlar. The Fruit has alſo ſmall Prickles, is green at firſt, but turns red by degrees. The Pulp is of the ſame Colour with the Subſtance of a thick Syrup, with ſmall black Seeds. Its Taſte is pleaſant and cooling. I have often obſerved, that, if you eat twenty or more of them at a time, they will colour the Urine as red as Blood; but without any ill Conſequence.

We found nothing conſiderable in the Town, except 500 Packs of Flour, and ſome Pitch, Tar, and Cordage. We received alſo the 150 Oxen promiſed by the Gentleman we releaſed at *Leon*, which, together with the Sugar, and ſome other Cattle we found in the Country, was extremely welcome to us. We ſtaid here from the 17th to the 24th. The 25th, Captain *Davis* and Captain *Swan* parted, the firſt having a mind to return to the Coaſt of *Peru*; the other intending to go farther to the Weſt. As I had a Curioſity to be better acquainted with the Northern Parts of the Continent of *Mexico*, I left Captain *Davis*, and went aboard Captain *Swan*. Captain *Townley*, with his two Barks, joined us; but Captain *Harris* and Captain *Knight* followed Captain *Davis*. The 27th, Captain *Davis*, with his Ship, went out of the Harbour; but we ſtaid ſome time behind, to provide ourſelves with Water and Fuel.

42. By this time our Men began to be much afflicted with Fevers, which we attributed to the Remains of a contagious Diſtemper, that lately reigned at *Rio Leja*; for Captain *Davis*'s Men underwent the ſame Fate. *September* 3. we ſailed again, ſteering to the Weſt. We had bad Weather all along the Coaſt, with violent Tornadoes, Thunder, and Lightning. The Tornadoes blew from the North-weſt. The tempeſtuous Weather kept us out at Sea; ſo that we ſaw no Land till the 14th, at 12° 51′ North Latitude. We came in Sight of the Vulcano or burning Mountain of *Guatimala*. It appears with a double Peak, like two Sugar-loaves, betwixt which ſometimes break out the Fire and Smoke, eſpecially before bad Weather. The City of *Guatimala* is ſeated near the Foot of this high Mountain, eight Leagues from the South Sea, and forty or fifty Leagues from the Gulph of *Matique* in the Bay of *Honduras* in the North Seas. It is reputed a rich City, the Country about it abounding in ſeveral Commodities peculiar to it, and tranſported thence into *Europe*, eſpecially the four noted Dyes, Indico, Otta or Anatta, Silveſter, and Cochineal. The Land near the Vulcano of *Guatimala* is low by the Sea-ſide; but, by degrees, becomes higher and higher for about ten Leagues from the Shore. We ſaw abundance of Drift-wood and Pumice-ſtones floating in the Sea. Theſe laſt were thrown out by the Mountain, and waſhed by the Rains into the Sea. The 24th, at 14° 30′ North Latitude, the Weather being ſettled, Captain *Townley* went aſhore with 106 Men to the Weſt, in hopes to find a Landing-place, and ſome Refreſhments for our ſick Men. We lay by till the 26th, when, coaſting along to the Weſt, with a North-weſt Wind, we ſaw a Track of high Land, beginning at the Eaſt, and running for ten Leagues within the Land to the Weſt, where it ſinks by an eaſy Deſcent. On this Side of it, near to the Sea, we ſaw rich Paſture-plains, mixed with pleaſant Groves. The Country near the Sea-ſhore was defended by ſandy Hills; but the boiſterous Waves would not let our Men land with their Canoes. We were forced to coaſt ſtill for eight or nine Leagues farther; but Captain *Townley*, ſeeing no Proſpect of landing, returned aboard with his Men *October* 2. But, being reſolved to try his Fortune again, he forced his Canoes aſhore in a ſandy Bay, where he landed with the Loſs of one Man, and moſt of the Powder ſpoiled with the ſalt Water. When they were got aſhore, they found the Country full of Torrents, and unfordable Rivulets; ſo they were forced to return to their Canoes. They were charged by 200 *Spaniards* and *Indians*; but theſe they ſoon repulſed, and forced them to take the Way of *Teguantapeque*, the ſame Town that Captain *Townley* went to look for, but could not get Sight of it. Immediately after his Return, we ſailed again, with a briſk North North-eaſt Wind, ſtill coaſting to the Weſt, within two Miles of the Shore. At ſix Miles from the Land we found nineteen Fathom, and, at eight Miles, twenty-one Fathom, coarſe Sand. We could not diſcover either Creek or Bay for twenty Leagues farther, till we came to the Iſle of *Tangola*, where there is ſafe Anchorage. It is high, but ſmall, yet well furniſhed with Wood and Water, about a League from the Continent, which has pleaſant Paſture-grounds near the Sea, but high Woodland deeper in the Country. We ſailed a League farther into the Port of *Guatulco*, one of the beſt in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, at 15° 30′ North Latitude. On the Eaſt Side of the Entrance of the Harbour, about a Mile from it, is a ſmall Iſle adjacent to the Shore, and, on the Weſt Side of the ſaid Entrance, a great hollow Rock, open at the Top, through which the Waves of the Sea force their Paſſage, as if through a Pipe, with a great Noiſe, and to a great Height, even in the calmeſt Weather; ſo that it affords a good Mark to Seamen bound for this Port. The whole Depth of the Harbour is about three Miles, and its Breadth one Mile. It runs in North-weſt. The Weſt Side is the more ſecure, becauſe the reſt is expoſed to the South-weſt Winds, which are frequently on this Coaſt.

43. Here Captain *Townley* landed again with ſome Men; and, marching to the Eaſt, came to the River *Capalita*, which has a very ſwift Current; but is deep at its Entrance. A League from *Guatulco*, two of our Men ſwam over the River, where they ſeized upon three *Indians*, that were placed there to keep Watch. As they could not ſpeak *Spaniſh*, ſo they made Signs, that they could conduct them to a Village; whereupon 140 Men were ſent, under the Conduct of Captain *Townley*, (myſelf being one) who returned the 8th, having ſeen, after fourteen Miles March, a ſmall *Indian* Village, where they found nothing but ſome Vinelloes drying in the Sun. The Vinello grows on a ſmall kind of Vine, creeping up about the Trees. This, at firſt, bears a yellow Flower, which produces a Cod of the Bigneſs of the Stem of a Tobacco-leaf, and about four or five Inches long. This Cod is green at firſt, but, when ripe, becomes yellow: The Seeds are black. After they are gathered, they lay them in the Sun, which makes them ſoft, and of a Cheſnut-colour. They ſqueeze it flat afterwards with their Fingers. The *Spaniards*, who buy this Commodity very cheap of the *Indians*, ſlake them afterwards with Oil. I never heard of any of the Vinelloes, except hereabouts, about *Caiocha* in the Bay of *Campeachy*, and *Bocco-toro*. Near this laſt Place, I gathered them myſelf, and endeavoured to cure them, but could not; and, as I know other Perſons, who have lived many Years in theſe Parts, and have attempted the ſame with no better Succeſs, I am apt to believe the *Indians* have ſome peculiar way to cure them, that hitherto is unknown to us. The 10th, we ſent four Canoes before to the Weſt, to expect our coming at Port *Angels*; and, in the mean while, endeavoured to take ſome Priſoners. The 12th, we ſailed with our Ships from *Guatulco*, the Land lying along to the Weſt, inclining to the South, for twenty or thirty Leagues, the Sea-winds at Weſt South-weſt and South-weſt, the Land-winds at North. We coaſted along as near as we could to the Shore, to take the Benefit of the Land-wind, the Sea-wind being againſt us, beſides that we were kept back by the Current ſetting to the Eaſt; ſo that we were forced to come to an Anchor at *Sacrificio*, an Iſle half a Mile long, a League to the Weſt of *Guatulco*, and half a Mile from the Continent. To the Weſt of the Iſle appears a good Bay, but it is rocky. The beſt Anchorage is betwixt the Iſle and the Continent, at five or ſix Fathom Water, tho' the Tide is pretty ſtrong here, the Sea riſing about ſix Feet. The 13th, we continued coaſting to the Weſt near the Shore, which was high and woody, with divers ſandy Bays; but the Waves very boiſterous near the Shore. Two of our Canoes returned the 22d, and told us, they had loſt Company of the other two; that they could not find Port *Angels*; and had endeavoured, in vain, to land at a Place, where they ſaw great Store of Cattle, being then juſt a-breaſt Port *Angels*, though thoſe in the Canoes did not know it. We went in, and came to an Anchor there. It is a broad open Bay, having two or three Rocks at the Weſt End. For the reſt, there is good Riding at thirteen, twenty and thirty Fathom Water; but Ships lie expoſed to all Winds, the Land-winds excepted, till they come at twelve or thirteen Fathom Water, where they are ſheltered againſt the Trade-winds, which are Weſt South-weſt. The Flood riſes about five Feet, ſets to the North-eaſt, and the Ebb at South-weſt. The Landing-place is cloſe to the Weſt Side, before the above-mentioned Rock; but, as the Waves run very high, there is but indifferent landing. It lies at 15° North Latitude, and is incloſed, on the Land-ſide, by high ſandy Grounds, Part abounding with Woods, Part Plains, with very good Graſs. The 23d, we landed 100 Men, who ſubſiſted two or three Days upon ſalt Beef, and got Store of ſalt Maiz, Hogs, Cocks and Hens, in an adjacent Houſe to the Plain; but

could carry but little aboard, by reaſon of the great Diſtance from the Sea-ſide. The 27th, we ſailed in the Morning with the Land-wind; about Noon the Sea-wind blew; and, at Night, we anchored at ſixteen Fathom Water, near a ſmall rocky Iſle, ſixteen Leagues Weſt from Port *Angels*, and half a Mile from the Continent. The 28th, we continued our Voyage with the Land-wind; the Sea-wind blew hard in the Afternoon, and, at Night, we met with the other two Canoes we had ſent out from *Guatulco*; they had been as far as the Port of *Acapulco*; and, in their Return, took in freſh Water in ſpite of 150 *Spaniards* that would have oppoſed it. Thence they came into a Salt-water Lake, or Pond, on the Banks of which finding Abundance of dry Fiſh, they brought ſome aboard us. As we were juſt off this Lake, we ſent twelve Men in a Canoe for more Fiſh. The Entrance of the Lake is cloſely hemm'd in with Rocks on both Sides, that the Paſſage betwixt them is not above Piſtol-ſhot over, but within the Lake is a conſiderable Compaſs. The *Spaniards*, being alarmed already, now ſeeing our Canoes before the Lake, poſted themſelves behind the Rocks, and fired ſuch a Volley of Shot upon our Canoe, at her entering into the Pond, that they wounded five of our Men: However, our People rowed forward into the Lagune, or Pond, out of Gun-ſhot, where they ſtaid two Days and three Nights, not daring to attempt to repaſs the ſame Way they came: At laſt Captain *Townly*, who lay nearer to the Shore than we, hearing the firing of ſome Guns that Way, manned one of his Canoes, and, beating the *Spaniards* from the Rocks, opened them a free Paſſage; ſo they returned aboard *October* 31. This Lagune is in 16° 40 North Latitude.

44. *November* 2. we paſſed by the Rock of *Algatroſs*; the Land near it is high, woody, and mountainous in the Country; ſix Miles to the Weſt of the ſaid Rock, lie ſeven or eight white Cliffs to the South by Weſt, whereof a large Shole runs out five Miles at Sea. Two Leagues to the Weſt of theſe Cliffs is an handſome River, having a ſmall Iſle at its Entrance: The Eaſt Chanel is ſhallow and ſandy, but that to the Weſt will admit of Canoes. The 3d, we came to an Anchor oppoſite to this River, one Mile and an half to Shore, at fourteen Fathoms. The *Spaniards* having caſt up an Intrenchment along the Weſt Chanel, defended by 200 Soldiers, we landed our Men, and forced them thence with little Oppoſition: We found here a good Quantity of Salt, deſigned for the ſalting the Fiſh they take in the Lake; but we ſaw no Nets, Hooks, or Lines, nor any Bark, Canoe, or Boat. Marching three Leagues into the Country, we took a Mulatto Priſoner, who informed us, that lately there was a ſtout Ship come from *Lima* to *Acapulco*: Captain *Townley* ſtanding in need of a better Ship than that which he poſſeſſed, it was agreed (though not without ſome Oppoſition from Captain *Swan*) to fetch the ſaid Ship out of that Harbour. The 5th, we continued coaſting to the Weſt toward *Acapulco*: The 7th, twelve Leagues from the Shore we ſaw the high Land of *Acapulco*, very remarkable for a round Hill betwixt two other Hills; the Weſtermoſt being the largeſt and higheſt, with two Hillocks on the Top; but the Eaſtermoſt is higher and more peaked than the Middlemoſt. *Acapulco* is a Town and Harbour, at 17° North on the Weſt Side of the Continent, belonging to the City of *Mexico*, being the only Place of Commerce on the Weſt Coaſt, though, at the ſame time, there are only three Ships that come hither, *viz.* two that go conſtantly every Year betwixt this Port and *Manilla* in *Luconia*, one of the *Philippine* Iſlands, and another once a Year to and from *Lima*. This laſt comes to *Acapulco* about *Chriſtmas*, laden with Quickſilver, Cocoa, and Pieces of Eight, and ſtays there till the *Manilla* Ships arrive; from theſe ſhe takes in her Cargo of Spices, Calicoes, Muſlins, &c. for *Peru*, and ſo returns to *Lima*. This is but a moderate Veſſel, but the two Ships from *Manilla* carry about 1000 Tons: Theſe two ſo order their Voyage, as that one or other of them is always at *Manilla*: One of them ſets Sail from *Acapulco* about the Beginning of *April*, and, after ſixty Days, touches at *Guam*, one of the *Ladrone* Iſles, for Refreſhments: After three Days Stay, ſhe continues her Voyage to *Manilla*, where ſhe commonly arrives in *June*. Soon after, the other Ship being ready to ſail from *Manilla* with the *Eaſt India* Commodities, ſhe ſteers her Courſe thence to thirty-ſix or forty Degrees North Latitude, before ſhe can get the Wind to carry her into the Coaſt of *America*; firſt, ſhe falls into the Shore of *California*; and then, coaſting to the South, certainly meets a Wind to bring her to *Acapulco*. After ſhe has made the Cape of *St. Lucas*, the South Point of *California*, ſhe runs over to Cape *Corientes* at 20° North Latitude, whence ſhe coaſts to *Sallagua*; where, having put aſhore the Paſſengers bound for the City of *Mexico*, ſhe continues coaſting along to *Acapulco*, which commonly happens about *Chriſtmas*; and, upon her Return to *Manilla*, the other Ship undertakes her Voyage to *Acapulco*, a Port ſo large and convenient, as to be able to contain ſome Hundreds of Ships without Danger. Croſs the Entrance of the Harbour is a low Iſle, one Mile and a half long, and half a Mile broad, ſtretching from Eaſt to Weſt. At each End is a deep Chanel for the Entrance of their Ships, and their coming out, provided they enter with the Sea-wind, and come out with the Land-wind, and theſe blow at ſtated Times of the Day or Night. The Chanel at the Weſt End is narrow, but ſo deep, that there is no Anchorage: Through this the Ships come in from *Manilla*, but the Ships from *Lima* paſs through the South-weſt Chanel. The Harbour runs in eight Miles to the North; then, cloſing up in a narrow Chanel, goes a Mile farther to the Weſt. At the Entrance of this Chanel, on the North-weſt Side, juſt by the Sea-ſide, ſtands the Town of *Acapulco*, near which is a Platform with a good Number of Guns; and over-againſt the Town, on the Eaſt Side, ſtands a ſtrong Caſtle, defended by no leſs than forty great Guns; Ships commonly ride within Reach of this Caſtle, at the Bottom of the Harbour. Captain *Townley* went with 140 Men, in twelve Canoes, to fetch out the *Lima* Ship; but, by Streſs of Weather, was forced into Port *Marquis*, a good Harbour, a League Eaſt of the Port of *Acapulco*: Here they ſtaid all Day, and the next Night rowed ſoftly to *Acapulco*, where they found the Ship riding at Anchor 100 Yards from the Caſtle and Platform; ſo that, finding it impoſſible to carry her off, he returned much diſſatiſfied. The 11th, we ſailed farther to the Weſt, with the Land-wind at North-eaſt. As the Sea-winds are here at South-weſt, we ſailed along a ſandy Bay, twenty Leagues in Length, where there was good Anchorage two Miles from the Shore; but the Sea-waves fell with ſuch Violence againſt it, that there is no ſafe Landing-place. Near the Sea-ſide the Grounds are low, and abound with Trees, eſpecially with ſpreading Palm-trees, which are ſometimes twenty or thirty Feet high, but no bigger than an ordinary Aſh. The Country is intermixed with many ſmall Hills, which are, for the moſt part, barren; but the Valleys very fertile. At the Weſt End of this Bay, jets out into the Sea the Hill of *Petaplan*, at 17° 20′ North Latitude, being a round Point, that appears like an Iſle at Sea. A little farther to the Weſt, is a little Knot of round Hills: We entered betwixt theſe and the Point, where we anchored at the North-weſt Side of the Hill, at eleven Fathom Water. Here we ſent 170 Men aſhore; who, marching fourteen Miles into the Country, came to a wretched *Indian* Village, left by the Inhabitants; ſo that we met with nobody but a Mulatto Woman, with four ſmall Children: Being brought aboard, ſhe declared, that a Caravan of Mules, laden with Flour and other Goods, deſigned for *Acapulco*, had ſtopt their Journey on the Road to the Weſt of this Village. So we ſailed farther to the Weſt the 18th, about two Leagues, to a Place called *Chequetan*, a pretty good Harbour, having the Conveniency of a freſh-water River, and Abundance of Wood: We landed ninety-five Men the 9th, in ſix Canoes, (having the Mulatto Woman for their Guide) at *Eſtapa*, a League Weſt of *Chequetan*: Hence they were carried by their Guide through a pathleſs Wood, by a River-ſide, into a Plain, near which, in a Farm-houſe, they found the Caravan, conſiſting of ſixty Mules, laden with Flour, Chocolate, Cheeſes, and Earthern-ware; all this they carried, except the earthen Veſſels, with ſome Beef they had killed, and brought to their Canoes, and thence to our Ships. Captain *Swan* went afterwards aſhore, and killed eighteen Cows more without the leaſt Oppoſition. The Country is woody, but fertile, and watered with many Rivers and Rivulets.

45. The 21. we ſailed with the Land-wind, which is at North here, and the Sea-wind at Weſt South-weſt, coaſting along to the Weſt. At firſt the Land appears with ragged Hills; but, farther to the Weſt, with fruitful Valleys betwixt them. The 25th, we paſſed by an high Hill, divided into Peaks, at 18° 8 North Latitude: The *Spaniards* ſay, there ſtands a Town, called the *Cupan*, not far from it, but we could not find the Way to it. The 26th, 200 Men were ſent to endeavour to find out the City of *Colima*, a rich Place; but, though they rowed twenty Leagues along the Shore, they could not meet with any Place to land in, and ſaw not the leaſt Sign of any Inhabitants. At two Places they ſaw two Horſemen, and our Men followed them, but loſt the Track in the Woods; ſo we returned the 28th on board; and, ſoon after, the *Volcano*, or burning Mountain, of *Colima*, very remarkable for its Height, at 18° 36′ North Latitude, ſix Leagues from the Sea-ſide, appeared, with two high Points, from each of which iſſues always either Fire or Smoke. The Valley, in which it ſtands, bears the Name of the Mountain, as does the adjacent Town, the chief City of all the Country. If we may credit the *Spaniards*, it is a moſt delightful and fertile Valley, abounding in Cocoas, Corn, and Plantains, being ten or twelve Leagues wide to the Sea, and ſtretching a great Way into the Country; but there is no Landing-place near it, occaſioned by the Impetuoſity of the Waters; for, about two Leagues from the Eaſt Side, is low woody Ground, and, at the End, is a deep River, which diſembogues into the Sea; but, by reaſon of a Land-bank at the Mouth, there is no Entrance, even for Canoes. The 29th, 200 Men were ſent again, to try whether they could find any Path or Track leading to the Town of *Sallagua*, ſeated, as the *Spaniards* report, at the Weſt End of the Bay of the Valley of *Colima*; but, the Waves running ſo high, there was no landing, they returned aboard the 30th. *December* 1. we came in Sight of the Port of *Sallagua*, at 18° 52′: It is a Bay, parted by a rocky Point about the Middle; ſo that it appears like two diſtinct Harbours, in either of which is ſafe anchoring at ten or twelve Fathom Water, tho' the Weſt Harbour is the beſt, having, beſides this, the Conveniency of a freſh-water Rivulet falling into the Sea. We ſaw a good Number of armed *Spaniards*, to whom we gave a Viſit, the next Morning, with 200 of our beſt Men; but the Foot never ſtood one Charge, and the Horſe ſoon followed them: In the Purſuit, our Men, lighting upon a broad Road, leading through a woody and rocky Country, followed it for four Leagues; but, finding not the leaſt Footſteps of any Inhabitants, they turned back, and in their Way took two ſtraggling Mulattoes, who aſſured them, that the broad Road led to the City of *Oarrah*, four long Days Journey from hence, and that theſe Men were ſent from that City to ſecure the Ship from *Manilla*, that was to ſet Paſſengers aſhore there. The *Spaniſh* Maps place the Town of *Sallagua* hereabouts, but we could ſee no Signs of it. *December* 6. we ſailed again, coaſting to the Weſt towards Cape *Corientes*, in hopes of meeting thereabouts with the Ship expected from the *Philippines*. The Sea-winds are here North-weſt, and the Land-wind at North; the Land indifferent high, ſprinkled with many ragged Points, and woody. Here I was afflicted with the Dropſy, and ſo were many of our Men: This being a common Diſeaſe on this Coaſt, the Natives pretend to cure it with the Stone or Cod of an Alligator (of which they have four, *viz.* one near each Leg within the Fleſh) beaten to Powder; but we had not the good Fortune to meet with any of theſe Creatures, though they are ſometimes found hereabouts. Betwixt *Sallagua* and Cape *Corientes* are divers good Ports we did not touch at. As we approached the Cape, it appeared with many white Cliffs, and, deeper into the Country, with peaked Hills; to the Weſt of theſe runs a Ridge of Mountains, beginning with an high ſteep Mountain at the Eaſt End, with three Peaks, reſembling a Crown; whence the *Spaniards* called it *Coronada*, the Crown Land; but at the Weſt End it terminates in an eaſy Deſcent. The 11th, we were in Sight of Cape *Corientes*, bearing North by Weſt, and the *Coronada* to the North. This Cape is pretty high, very ſteep and rocky towards the Sea, but flat on the Top, and covered with Trees; it is at 20° 28′ North Latitude: I found its Longitude from *Teneriff* 23° 56′, keeping thereby to the Weſt, according to our Courſe; purſuant to which Computation it is, from the *Lizard* in *England*, 121° 41′, and the Difference of Time eight Hours ſix Minutes. The Ship from the *Philippines* being obliged to make this Point in her Voyage homewards, we took our Stations with our four Sail, ſo as that we judged we could not well miſs the Ship: But, as we wanted Proviſions, fifty or ſixty Men were ſent in a Bark to the Weſt of the Cape to get ſome: They returned the 17th without any Purchace, not being able to get about the Cape, the Wind being generally North-weſt and South-weſt on this Coaſt; however, they left four Canoes, manned with forty-ſix Men, behind, who intended to row to the Weſt. The 18th, we ſailed to the Iſles of *Chametly*, eighteen Leagues to the Eaſt of Cape *Corientes*: They are five low, ſmall, and woody Iſles, ſurrounded with Rocks, and lying in Form of an Half-moon, within a Mile from that Shore, betwixt which, and theſe Iſles, there is ſafe Anchorage. They are inhabited by Fiſhermen, Servants to ſome of the Inhabitants of the City of *Purification*, a conſiderable Place, fourteen Leagues up in the Country. The 20th, we entered on the South-eaſt Side, and anchored betwixt the Iſles and the Continent; we found here freſh Water, Wood, and Rock-fiſh in great Plenty. The 21ſt, ſixty of our Men, under Captain *Townley*, were ſent ſeven or eight Leagues to the Weſt, to ſurpriſe an *Indian* Village.

46. The 24th, the four Canoes, left thereabouts by Captain *Townley*'s Bark, returned to us near the Cape, having got beyond it by the Help of their Oars, and landed in the Valley of *Valderas*, or *Val d'Iris*, the Valley of *Flags*, lying at the Bottom of a deep Bay, incloſed between Cape *Corientes* on the South-eaſt, and the Point *Pontique* on the North-weſt. The Breadth of the Valley is three Leagues; the ſandy Bay is level to the Sea, and affords a good Landing-place. In the midſt is a good freſh-water River, navigable with Boats; but, at the latter End of the dry Seaſon, *viz.* in *February*, *March*, and *April*, it becomes brackiſh. On the Land-ſide, this Valley is bounded by a green Hill, which, by its eaſy Deſcent into the Valley, affords a delightful Proſpect; as do the wide-ſpread Paſtures, ſtored with Cattle, the pleaſant Groves of Guavas, Orange, and Lime-trees, which grow wild here in vaſt Numbers. In this delightful Valley we landed thirty-ſeven Men, who, advancing three Miles into the Country, were attacked by 150 *Spaniards*, Horſe and Foot: By good Fortune there was an adjacent Wood, which afforded an happy Retreat to our Men, who from thence fired ſo furiouſly upon the *Spaniards*, that they killed their Leader, and ſeventeen Troopers, beſides many wounded, with the Loſs only of four Men, and two wounded: This made the Enemy retreat; however, had the Foot ſeconded the Horſe, ſcarce one of our Men could have eſcaped. The 28th, Captain *Townley* returned aboard with forty Buſhels of Maiz, which he had taken in an *Indian* Village to the Eaſt of Cape *Corientes*, five Leagues in the Country. We continued cruiſing off this Cape till the firſt of *January*, when we ſailed for the Valley of *Valderas*, to provide ourſelves with ſome Beef: At Night we anchored at ſixty Fathom Water, a Mile from the Shore. We continued here till the 7th, and landed 240 Men (50 whereof were conſtantly employed to watch the Motions of the *Spaniards*): We killed and ſalted as much Beef as would ſerve us two Months; and, had we not wanted Salt, we might have had much more. By this time our Hopes of meeting with the *Manilla* Ship being quite vaniſhed, we concluded, that, whilſt we had been employed in looking for Proviſion aſhore, ſhe had given us the Slip to the Eaſt; which proved true, according to the Account we had afterwards by ſeveral Priſoners. The Loſs of ſo great and rich a Prize muſt chiefly be attributed to the Wilfulneſs of Captain *Townley*, who would needs attempt the Taking of the *Lima* Ship in the Harbour of *Acapulco*, when, at the ſame time, we ought to have provided ourſelves (as we might then have done) with Beef and Maiz for ſuch an Enterprize, which whilſt we were forced to ſeek, we loſt this Ship; whereas, had we not wanted Neceſſaries, we might have gone even as far as Cape *Lucas*, in *California*,

where Sir *Thomas Cavendiſh* formerly took one of theſe *Manilla* Ships. Hitherto we had a double Deſign in View; firſt, the taking of the *Manilla* Ship; ſecondly, the Search after rich Towns and Mines near this Coaſt, not knowing that the Wealth hereabouts lies all in the inland Country; but now, finding ourſelves quite deceived in our Hopes, we parted, Captain *Townley* going back to the Eaſt, and we, in Captain *Swan*'s Ship, to the Weſt.

47. *January* 7. we ſailed from this Valley, the Land-wind being at North-weſt, and at Night paſſed by *Pontique*, the Weſt Point of the Valley of *Valderas*, ten Leagues from Cape *Corientes*, at 20° 50′ North Latitude. A League beyond it, to the Weſt, lie two little Iſles, called the *Pontiques*: Beyond thoſe, the Shore runs ragged to the North for eighteen Leagues. The 14th, we came to anchor in a Chanel betwixt a ſmall, white, rocky Iſle and the Continent, at fourteen Fathom, at 21° 15′. The Iſle is three Leagues from the Main; we anchored one League from it. From this Iſland the Land runs in North, making a ſandy Bay: We anchored one League from the Continent, but there is no Landing. We found the Land-wind all along here at North-eaſt, and the Sea-wind at North-weſt. The 20th, we anchored one League on the Eaſt Side of the Iſles of *Chametly*, (different from the before-mentioned) being a Knot of ſix ſmall Iſles at 23° 11′, a little to the South of the Tropic of *Cancer*, three Leagues from the Continent: One or two of them only have ſome ſandy Creeks to the Sea-ſide, and produce a certain Fruit, called Penguins: Theſe are of two Sorts, red and yellow; the laſt grows on a Stem, of the Thickneſs of a Man's Arm, a Foot from the Ground, with Leaves of half a Foot long, and one Inch broad, edged with Prickles: The Fruit grows juſt at the Top of the Stalk in Cluſters; they are round, and of the Bigneſs of an Hen's Egg: The Rind is pretty thick, and the Pulp full of black Seeds, of a delightful Taſte. The red Penguin is no bigger than an Onion, but of the Shape of a Nine-pin; it does not grow on a Stalk, but immediately out of the Ground, ſtanding upright, ſometimes ſixty or ſeventy in a Cluſter, being encompaſſed with prickly Leaves of one Foot and an half long, or two Feet long. Captain *Swan* went with 100 Men to the North, to find out the River *Cullacan*, ſuppoſed to lie at 24° North Latitude, in the Province of *Cullacan*, with a fair rich Town upon its Banks: But, though they had rowed above thirty Leagues, they could find no River, neither was there any ſafe Landing-place. Seven Leagues North North-weſt from the Iſles of *Chametly* is a Lake, with a narrow Entrance, at 23° 30′, called *Rio de Sall* by the *Spaniards*, it having Water enough for Canoes to enter. Our Men landed on the Weſt Side, and took ſome Maiz at an adjacent Farm-houſe, and, at another Landing, an *Indian*, who informed us, that five Leagues thence there was an *Indian* Town: So our Men marched towards it, and, coming near the Place, were encountered by a good Body of *Spaniards* and *Indians*; but theſe being beaten back after the firſt Charge, they entered the Town, where they found only two or three wounded *Indians*, who told them, that the Town was called *Maſſactan*, and that five Leagues hence there were two rich Gold Mines. We ſtaid here till the 2d of *February*, when eighty Men were ſent, and landed in the River *Roſario*, about three Leagues from the Sea. They came to a pretty little Town, (of the ſame Name) where the Priſoners aſſured them, that the before-mentioned Mines were not above two Leagues from thence; but, as we had preſent Occaſion for Proviſions, we carried aboard ninety Buſhels of Maiz, without ſearching after the Mines. The 3d, we anchored againſt the Mouth of the River *Roſario*, one League from the Shore, in ſeven Fathom, at 22° 15′ North Latitude. But as this ſmall Quantity of Proviſions was not likely to do our Buſineſs for our intended Voyage, we landed, the 8th, forty Men, to ſeek the River *Oleta* (ſuppoſed to lie to the Eaſt of the River *Roſario*); but they returning without any Booty, or without being able to find it, we reſolved to go on to the Eaſt, to the River of *St. Iago*, where we anchored the 11th, two Miles from the Shore, in ſeventeen Fathom Water, ſoft ouſy Ground, three Leagues from the white high Rock of *Maxentelbo*, bearing North North-weſt, as the high Hill *Zeliſco* bore South-eaſt of us.

48. The River of *St. Iago*, one of the moſt conſiderable on this Coaſt, lies in 22° 15′. It has ten Feet Water on the Bar at Low-water, but the Height it flows I am not able to tell: Its Breadth, at the Entrance, is about half a Mile; but it is broader within, three or four Rivers diſcharging themſelves into it there: The Water is brackiſh; but, near the Mouth, on the ſandy Shore, you may dig freſh Water at three or four Feet. Captain *Swan* ſent out ſeventy Men to look for a Town, the Country having a fair Proſpect. After they had rowed up and down two Days, they landed in a Corn-field, where, while they were buſy in gathering the Maiz, they ſeized an *Indian*, who told them, that four Leagues farther there was a Town, called *Sta. Pecaque*. They were no ſooner come on board, but Captain *Swan*, with 140 Men, went in eight Canoes five Leagues up the River, which was thereabouts not above a Piſtol-ſhot wide, with high Banks; and, landing his Men, marched through fertile Plains and Woods for three or four Hours: At their Approach, the *Spaniards* quitted the Place; ſo we entered it without Oppoſition. The Town of *Sta. Pecaque* is ſeated on the Side of a Wood, in a ſpacious Plain. It is not very large, but neatly built, with a ſquare Market-place in the Middle, as moſt *Spaniſh* Towns are, and has two Churches. There are Silver Mines five or ſix Leagues from this Town: The Ore whereof is carried from this Place by Mules to *Compoſtella*, where it is refined. *Compoſtella* is the Capital of this Part of *Mexico*, twenty-one Leagues diſtant from *Pecaque*, inhabited by about 70 white Families, and 5 or 600 *Mulattoes* and *Indians*. As our Men found plenty of Maiz, Sugar, Salt, and Salt-fiſh here, Captain *Swan* ordered one half of them to carry Proviſions aboard, whilſt the other took care of the Town: This they did by Turns, having got ſome Horſes to eaſe them in their Labour. Thus they continued for two Days; but, the 19th, Captain *Swan*, being informed by a Priſoner, that 1000 armed Men had lately marched from *St. Iago* (a rich Town up the River, three Leagues thence) to attack our Men, ordered his People to get all the Horſes they could, and to march all together, with what Proviſions they could carry, to their Canoes; but they refuſing to obey him, till all the Proviſions could be carried on board, he was forced to let one half of them go on with 54 Horſes; but they had not marched a Mile, before the *Spaniards*, lying in Ambuſh, attacked and killed them all upon the Spot: Captain *Swan* marched to their Relief, but came too late, being all ſlain and ſtript, though, at the ſame time, they never attempted to engage him, having, queſtionleſs, paid pretty dear for their Victory. Amongſt the Slain was Mr. *Ringroſe*, who publiſhed the Account of Captain *Sharpe*'s Adventures, and the Hiſtory of the *Buccaneers*. Captain *Swan* being returned aboard with the reſt of his Men, with what Proviſions they had got, it was reſolved to ſail to Cape *St. Lucas*, on *California*, in hopes of a Commerce with the *Indians* there, and, conſequently, in the Lake of *California*. This Lake is properly a Chanel, or Part of the Sea, betwixt the Iſle and the Continent; but either not much known by the *Spaniards*, or elſe concealed by them, for fear that the other *European* Nations ſhould find out that Way to the Mines of *New Mexico*; for they vary conſiderably about it in their Charts; ſome make it an Iſle, others join it to the Continent, but not one of them, that I know of, gives an Account of the Tides, the Depth, or Harbours, in or near this Lake; whereas their hydrographical Maps deſcribe the Coaſts towards *Aſia*, on the Weſt Side of the Iſle from Cape *St. Lucas* to 40° North. *New Mexico* (according to the Report of the *Spaniards*, and ſome *Engliſh* Priſoners there) lies near fifty Leagues North-weſt from *Old Mexico*, where the richeſt Mines of all this Country are ſuppoſed to be; though there are, queſtionleſs, ſome alſo in other Parts hereabouts, as well as on the Continent, near the Main-land of *California*; though, as the *Spaniards* have Mines enough to manage, they have not taken the Pains to diſcover them; and the vaſt Diſtance of this Country has, no doubt, been the Occaſion, that no Diſcoveries have been made by others, or are like to be made, unleſs a nearer Way thither could be found, I mean by the North-weſt: I am not ignorant, that divers unſucceſsful Attempts have been formed for the Diſcovery of a

North-weſt Paſſage: The Reaſon whereof I attribute to their ſearching for the Paſſage at the Beginning through *Davis*'s or *Hudſon*'s Bay; whereas, in my Opinion, the Search ought to have been begun in the South Seas, and thence along by *California*, and ſo a Paſſage made back into the Weſt Seas. The ſame Rule might be obſerved in diſcovering the North-eaſt Paſſage, *viz.* to winter about *Japan*, *Corea*, and the North-eaſt Part of *China*, and ſo take the Advantage of the approaching Spring and Summer to go along the Coaſt of *Tartary*, whence you may have time enough to reach *Archangel*, or ſome other Port, on theſe Coaſts. From hence we ſailed the 21ſt towards *California*, with a North-weſt and Weſt North-weſt Wind. After we came paſt the Iſles of *St. Maria*, we had ſtrong Winds at North North-weſt, and at North, (the uſual Trade-wind) and conſequently loſt Ground till *February* 6. ſo that the 7th we were forced to the Eaſt again, to the *Marias*, where we anchored the 7th, at the Eaſt End of the middlemoſt of theſe Iſles, in eight Fathom, good clear Sand. This Iſle we called *Prince George's Iſle*. The Iſles called *Marias* are three Iſlands, ſtretching No:th-weſt and South-eaſt fourteen Leagues, of an indifferent Height, ſtony, barren, and uninhabited, at 12° 40′ North Latitude, forty Leagues diſtant from Cape *St. Lucas* on *California*, bearing Eaſt South-eaſt, and twenty Leagues from Cape *Corientes*, bearing upon the ſame Points of the Compaſs with Cape *St. Lucas*. They produce ſome Cedars, and, near the Sea-ſide, a green prickly Plant, with Leaves not unlike the Penguin-leaf, and a Root like that of the Sempervive, but much longer. The *Indians* of *California* have a great Part of their Subſiſtence from theſe Roots. We baked and eat ſome of them, and found them to taſte like the *Engliſh* Burdock boiled. I had been long ſick of the Dropſy, ſo I was laid in the Sand, and covered up to the Head for half an Hour. I ſweated exceedingly, and, I believe, with good Effect; for I began to mend ſoon after. We remained here careening till the 26th; but as there is no freſh Water to be gotten here in the dry Seaſon, we were forced to ſail to the Valley of *Valderas*, where we anchored the 28th, near the Mouth of the before-mentioned River; which being alſo brackiſh at this time, we ſailed three Leagues nearer to the Cape *Corientes*, and anchored by a ſmall round Iſle, half a Mile from the Shore, four Leagues to the North of the Cape. The Rivulet, where we filled our Water, is on the Continent, juſt oppoſite to the Iſle. Being by this time ſufficiently convinced of our Miſtake concerning the Riches of this Coaſt, and the Probability of finding ſome Sea-ports worth our taking, founded upon an erroneous Opinion we had conceived, that the Commerce of this Country was carried on by Sea, whereas it is intirely managed by Land, by the Help of Mules, we were the ſooner prevailed upon to try our Fortune in the *Eaſt Indies*.

49. Our Men, being encouraged with the Hopes of better Succeſs for the future, and thro' the Perſuaſions of Captain *Swan*, ſailed from Cape *Corientes March* 31. with the Land-wind at Eaſt North-eaſt, till they got four Leagues at Sea, when a freſh Sea-wind at Weſt North-weſt carried us by Night nine Leagues South-weſt from the Cape. Next Morning, the Sea-wind blowing briſkly at North North-eaſt, we were, at Noon, thirty Leagues from the Cape; for, ſo ſoon as you are clear of the Shore and Land-winds, the Sea Breezes are at Eaſt North-eaſt, where it ſtood, till we found ourſelves within forty Leagues of *Guam*. After the firſt Day, we advanced apace in our Voyage, having very fair Weather, and a freſh Trade-wind. At our firſt ſetting out, we directed our Courſe to 13° North Latitude, which is much the ſame Latitude with *Guam*. Then we ſteered Weſt in that Latitude. In all this Voyage, we ſaw neither Fiſh nor Fowl, except once, being then, according to my Account, 5975 Miles Weſt from Cape *Corientes* in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, when we ſaw a vaſt Number of Boobies, ſuppoſed to come from ſome Rocks not far off, and mentioned in ſome hydrographical Maps (but we did not ſee them). After we had ſailed 1900 Miles, our Men began to murmur; but, being encouraged with fair Words by Captain *Swan*, we ſailed forward; and, ſeeing ſome Clouds ſetting in the Weſt, they were looked upon as the Forerunners of Land. *May* 20. at four o'Clock in the Afternoon, being in 12° 55 North Latitude, and ſteering Weſt, we diſcovered, to our great Joy, the Iſle of *Guam*, at eight Leagues Diſtance; for, as our Bark paſſed over a rocky Shole, and no ſuch Shole is in the *Spaniſh* Charts, we were not a little doubtful, whether the Land we ſaw was the Iſle of *Guam*; for we had only three Days Proviſion left. Now the Iſle of *Guam* bore North North-eaſt eight Leagues. This gives 22′ to my Latitude, and takes 9′ from my meridian Diſtance; ſo that the Iſle is at 13° 21′ North Latitude, and the meridian Diſtance from *Corientes* 7302 Miles, or 125° 11′. *Guam* is one of the *Ladrone* Iſles, under the *Spaniſh* Juriſdiction. Its Length is twelve Leagues, and its Breadth four, lying North and South, defended by a ſmall Fort, with ſix Guns, and a Gariſon of thirty Soldiers, under a *Spaniſh* Governor, for the Conveniency of the *Philippine* Ships, that touch here for Refreſhments in their Voyage from *Apulco* to *Manilla*. The Soil is indifferently fruitful, producing Rice, Pine-apples, Water-melons, Muſk-melons, Oranges, Limes, Cocoa-nuts, and a certain Fruit called the Bread-fruit, growing on a Tree as big as our large Apple-trees, with dark Leaves. The Fruit is round, and grows on the Boughs, like Apples, of the Bigneſs of a good Peny-loaf. When ripe, it turns yellow, ſoft, and ſweet; but the Natives take it green, and bake it in an Oven, till the Rind is black. This they ſcrape off, and eat the Inſide, which is ſoft and white, like the Inſide of new-baked Bread, having neither Seed nor Stone; but, if it is kept above twenty-four Hours, it is harſh. As this Fruit is in Seaſon eight Months in the Year, the Natives feed upon no other ſort of Bread during that time. They told us, that all the *Ladrone* Iſles had Plenty of it. I never heard of it in any other Place. *May* 31. we came to an Anchor on the Weſt Side of this Iſle, near the Middle of it, one Mile from the Shore, there being no anchoring on the Eaſt Side, by reaſon of the Trade-wind, which forces the Waves with great Violence againſt it on that Side. The Natives are ſtrong-limbed, Copper-coloured, with long black Hair, ſmall Eyes, high Noſes, thick Lips, very white Teeth, and of a ſtern Countenance, tho' they were very affable to us. The Air is accounted exceeding wholſome, except in the wet Seaſon betwixt *June* and *October*. They are extremely ingenious in building certain Boats or Proes, (uſed all over the *Eaſt Indies*) of about twenty ſix or twenty-eight Feet long, and about five or ſix Feet high from the Keel, which is made of the Trunk of a Tree, like the Canoes, and ſharp at both Ends. They manage theſe Boats by a Paddle, inſtead of a Rudder, and a ſquare Sail, with ſuch incredible Swiftneſs, that they will ſail twenty or twenty-four Miles an Hour. Theſe Boats are abſolutely flat on one Side, like a Wall; but the other is round, and full-bellied, like other Veſſels. Along this Side, parallel with the Boat, at ſix or ſeven Feet Diſtance, is faſtened a Log of light Wood of one Foot and an half wide, and ſharp at each End, by two Bamboes of eight or ten Feet long, laid at each End of the Boat. This Log keeps the Boat from overſetting. The *Dutch* and *Engliſh* call it an Outlier or *Outlager*. Theſe *Indians* inhabit in ſmall Villages on the Weſt Side near the Shore, and have certain Prieſts to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian Religion. By means of ſome Preſents ſent to the Governor, and an obliging Letter from Captain *Swan*, we obtained good Store of Hogs, Cocoa-nuts, Rice, Wheaten Biſcuits, and other Refreſhments, beſides fifty Pounds of *Manilla* Tobacco; and, being informed by one of the Friers, that the Iſle of *Mindanao*, one of the *Philippine* Iſlands, inhabited by Mahomedans, abounded with Proviſions, we ſailed *June* 2. with a ſtrong Eaſt Wind, and arrived the 21ſt at the Iſle of *St. John*, one of the *Philippine* Iſlands.

50. The *Philippines* are a Range of large Iſlands, reaching from 5° North Latitude to 19°, and to 16° Longitude. The chief of them is *Luconia*, where *Magellan* was killed with a poiſoned Arrow, and is now intirely under the *Spaniſh* Subjection. Their capital City here is *Manilla*, a large Town and Sea-port, ſeated at the South-eaſt End, oppoſite to the Iſle of *Mindora*, a Place of great Strength, and vaſt Trade, becauſe the two great Ships from *Acapulco* fetch thence vaſt Quantities of *India* Commodities, brought thither by the *Chineſe* and *Portugueſe*, and ſometimes alſo by the *Engliſh* of *Fort St. George*, tho' by Stealth, the *Spaniſh* allowing no Commerce here to the *Engliſh* or *Dutch*,

for fear they ſhould diſcover both their Weakneſs, and the Riches of thoſe Iſles, which abound in Gold. To the South of *Luconia* are twelve or fourteen other large Iſles, (beſides an infinite Number of leſſer ones) inhabited by *Spaniards*; but the two Southermoſt, *viz.* that of *St. John* and *Mindanao*, are the only ones not ſubject to the *Spaniſh* Juriſdiction. The Iſle of *St. John* lies between 7° and 8° North Latitude, on the Eaſt Side of *Mindanao*, about four Leagues from it. Its Length, from North North-weſt to South South-eaſt, is thirty-eight Leagues, and its Breadth about the Middle twenty-four Leagues. The Soil is very fat and fertile. The 22d, coming one League of the Eaſt Side of the Iſle of *Mindanao*, with a South-eaſt Wind, we ſteered along the Eaſt Side towards the North End, till we came into 7° 40′, where we caſt Anchor in a ſmall Bay, a Mile from the Shore, in ten Fathom, rocky foul Ground. The Iſle of *Mindanao* is, next to *Luconia*, the largeſt of all the *Philippine* Iſlands, its Length being ſixty Leagues, and its Breadth forty or fifty, the South End at 5° North Latitude, and the North-weſt End reaching almoſt to 8° North Latitude. The Soil is generally fat; and the ſtony-Hills produce many Sorts of Trees, moſt of which are not known among us. The Valleys are watered with freſh Brooks and Rivulets, and ſtored with divers ſorts of ever-green Trees, with Rice, Water-melons, Plantains, Bananas, Guavaes, Nutmegs, Cloves, Betle-nuts, Durians, Jacks or Jackas, Cocoa-nuts, Oranges, *&c.* but, above all the reſt, a ſort of Trees, which grow wild in Groves ſeveral Miles long, called the Libby-tree by the Natives, which furniſhes the Sago. The poor People feed upon it inſtead of Bread here for three or four Months in the Year. The Tree is not unlike the Cabbage-tree; the Bark and Wood hard, full of a white Pith, like that of the Elder-tree. They cut down the Tree, and, ſplitting it in the Middle, take out the Pith, which they ſtamp or beat well in a Mortar or Trough; which done, they put it in a Cloth, and, pouring Water upon it, ſtir it well, till the Water carries alſo the Subſtance with it through the Cloth into the Trough. This, after it is well-ſettled, they ſeparate from the Water, (by drawing it off) and bake it into Cakes. The Sago, tranſported hence into other Parts of the *Eaſt Indies*, is dried into ſmall Pieces, like Comfits, and uſed, with Milk of Almonds, as a good Remedy againſt Fluxes, being very aſtringent. The other Fruits, being either very well known, or ſufficiently deſcribed by divers Authors, we will forbear to mention in this Place. We ſhall only add, that the Nutmegs here are extremely large and good; but they do not care to propagate them, for fear the *Dutch*, who monopolize the Trade of the *Spice* Iſlands, ſhould be induced to give them a Viſit. This Iſle affords alſo both wild and tame Beaſts, as Horſes, Cows, Buffaloes, Goats, wild Hogs, Deer, Monkeys, Guanoes, Lizards, Snakes, Scorpions, (whoſe Sting is in their Tails) and thoſe called Centepees, or Hundred-legs by the *Engliſh*, no bigger than a Gooſe-quill, but five Inches long: They ſting fiercer than a Scorpion. Of tame Fowls they have only Ducks and Hens; but, of the wild Kind, Pigeons, Parrots, Paraquetoes, Turtle-doves, Bats as big as our Kites; and of ſmall Birds an infinite Number. Their Hogs feed in prodigious Herds in the Woods, and have thick Knobs growing over their Eyes. In the Heart of the Country are Mountains, that afford conſiderable Quantities of Gold. Their chief Fiſh are Bonetoes, Snooks, Cavalies, Bremes, Mullets, and Sea-tortoiſes. Neither do they want Harbours, Creeks, and Rivers. The Climate of *Mindanao* is not ſo exceſſive hot, eſpecially near the Sea-ſide, conſidering its Situation near the Line, where the Sea-breezes cool the Air by Day, as the Land-winds do at Night. The Wind blows from the Eaſt from *October* to *May*, when it blows Weſt to *October* again. Theſe Weſt Winds produce the wet Seaſon, which is heavieſt in *July* and *Auguſt*, and begins to remit, by degrees, in *September*, and ceaſes in *October*, when the Eaſt Wind brings fair Weather till *May*. Tho' the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Mindanao* are generally alike in Colour, Stature, and in their Religion, (being *Mohamedans*) yet they differ in their Language and Government. I will only mention ſuch as are come to my Knowledge: The Hillanoons, Mountaineers, living in the Heart of the Iſle, are Maſters of the Gold-mines, and are rich alſo in Bees-wax, both which they exchange with the *Mindanyans* for foreign Commodities. The *Sologus*, inhabiting the North-weſt End of the Iſle, traffick with thoſe of *Manilla*, and ſome other adjacent Iſlands; but not with thoſe of *Mindanao*. The *Alfoores* were formerly under the ſame Government with the *Mindanayans*, but were ſeparated from them, by falling to the Share of younger Children of the Sultan of *Mindanao*, who, of late, has laid Claim to them again. The *Mindanyans*, properly ſo called, are of low Stature, with ſmall Limbs, little Heads, and ſtrait Bodies; ſmall Eyes, ſhort Noſes, wide Mouths, thin red Lips, and black Teeth, but ſound. Their Hair is black and ſtrait; their Complexion tawny, but ſomething brighter than that of other *Indians*. They are ingenious and nimble, but much addicted to Idleneſs; civil and obliging to Strangers, but withal implacable, when once diſobliged. Their Cloathings are, a Turban tied once round the Head with Cloth, the Ends fringed or laced, tied in a Knot, and hanging down. They wear alſo Breeches, and Frocks over them; but neither Stockings nor Shoes. The Women tie their black and long Hair together in a Knot, hanging down behind. They are ſmaller-featured than the Men, and have very little Feet. Their Garments are only a Piece of Cloth ſewed together at both Ends, and a Frock reaching a little below the Waiſt. They covet the Acquaintance and Converſation of white Men, and will be very free with them, as far as they have Liberty. One peculiar Cuſtom they have in the City of *Mindanao*, that, as ſoon as any Strangers arrive, the Men of *Mindanao* come aboard, to invite them to their Houſes, where they are ſure to inquire, whether any of them have a mind for a *Pagally* (or innocent Female Friend). The Strangers, in Civility, are obliged to accept the Offer made them of ſuch a Friend, and to ſhew their Gratitude by a ſmall Preſent, as the Continuance of the ſame Friendſhip muſt be purchaſed by ſome other Trifles; in Return for which, they have the Liberty to eat, drink and ſleep in their Friends Houſes (for their Money). They have no other Entertainment there *gratis*, except a little Tobacco and Betel, a mean Way of begging, tho' practiſed even among the richeſt of the Place. The Capital of this Iſle bears the ſame Name with the Iſland, and is ſeated on the South Side, two Miles from the Sea, upon the Bank of a ſmall River, in 7° 20′ North Latitude. Their Houſes are built upon Poſts, from fourteen to twenty Feet high, having only one Floor, but many Rooms or Partitions. The Sultan's Houſe reſts upon 150 great Poſts, and was much higher than the reſt, with great broad Stairs leading up to it. In the Hall ſtood twenty Pieces of Iron Cannon, placed on Field Carriages. The General, and other great Men, have alſo ſome Guns in their Houſes, the Floors whereof are generally well matted, they uſing no Chairs, but ſitting croſs-legged. Their ordinary Food here is Rice, Sago, and ſome ſmall Fiſh; but the better Sort eat Buffaloes and Fowl, tho' a great deal of Rice with them. They uſe no Spoons, but take their Victuals up in their Fingers. They ſpeak, in the City of *Mindanao*, both the *Mindanyan* and *Malayan* Languages. Their Prayers are in *Arabic*, and they retain alſo ſome *Turkiſh* Words. Some of the old People of both Sexes can ſpeak *Spaniſh*, becauſe the *Spaniards* had formerly divers Forts in this Iſland, and would, without Queſtion, have brought it under Subjection, had not the Fear they were in of being attacked by the *Chineſe* at *Manilla* obliged them to withdraw their Troops thence; which Opportunity the preſent Sultan's Father laid hold on to make himſelf Maſter of their Forts, and to expel them from the Iſle. But, at this time, as they are moſt afraid of the *Dutch*, ſo they have often invited the *Engliſh* to make a Settlement there, believing them not ſo encroaching as either of the before-mentioned Nations. The chief Trades in this City are Goldſmiths, Blackſmiths, Carpenters, and Shipwrights; for they build good Ships both for Trade and War. Their chief Commodities, exported, are Gold, Bees-wax, and Tobacco. The two firſt they purchaſe from the Mountaineers; and the laſt grows all over the Iſle in vaſt Plenty. Theſe they exchange for Calicoes, Muſlins, and *China* Silks. The *Mindanao* Tobacco is reckoned no-way inferior to that of *Manilla*; yet you may buy ten or twelve Pounds of it for a Rial. The People of *Mindanao* are generally afflicted with a dry Scurf all over their Bodies, with violent Itchings, which, when ſcratched, raiſeth the Skin into ſmall white Flakes, like the Scales of ſmall Fiſh, and, after it goes away, leaves broad white Spots on their Bodies. As it is not infectious, I did not perceive they made any great Account of it. They are alſo troubled with the Small-pox; but their ordinary Diſtempers are Fevers, Agues, Fluxes, violent Pains, and Gripings in the Guts. They have many Wives; but I never could learn their Marriage Ceremonies, except that they feaſt their Friends for the moſt Part of the Night. They are under the Government of a Sultan, who is poor enough; but ſo abſolute, that he even commands every private Subject's Purſe at Pleaſure. He was between fifty and ſixty Years old, and had twenty-nine Concubines, beſides his Queen. When he goes abroad, he is carried on a Couch upon four Mens Shoulders, attended by a Guard of eight or ten Men. He has a Brother called *Raja Laut*, who is both chief Miniſter and General, a ſhrewd Man, of good Converſation, who both ſpeaks and writes *Spaniſh* very well. In their Wars they make uſe of Swords, Lances, and Hand-creſſets, a Weapon much like a Bayonet, which the greateſt to the meaneſt always wear about them. They never fight any pitched Battle in the Field, but make ſmall wooden Forts, defended by Guns, wherein they encamp, and endeavour to ſurpriſe one another by ſmall Parties; and they neither give nor take Quarter. They are *Mohammedans*, their *Sabbath* being on *Friday*, when the Sultan goes to his Moſque twice. In his Moſque they have a great Drum, with one Head only, called a *Gong*. This they uſe inſtead of a Bell, and is beat by a Man at twelve, three, ſix, and nine of the Clock, Day and Night. They never circumciſe their Males till they are eleven or twelve Years old, which, as it is done with a great deal of Solemnity, private People keep their Children, till ſome Man of Quality circumciſes his, and ſo make a general Circumciſion. This Office is performed by a *Mohammedan* Prieſt, who takes hold of the Foreſkin of the *Penis* with two Sticks, and ſnips it off with a Pair of Sciſſors. We were preſent at the Circumciſion of *Raja Laut*'s Son, which was performed with extraordinary Magnificence. Their only Faſt I ever heard of is their *Ramadan* time, which was then in *Auguſt*. They ſpend a whole Month in faſting every Day till Evening, when they employ an Hour in Prayers, and afterwards go to Supper. This Faſt begins at one New-moon, and continues till they ſee the next. But it is time to return to our Voyage: We came to Anchor at the North-eaſt Side of the Iſle; but, underſtanding by ſome of the Natives, that the City of *Mindanao* was on the Weſt Side, we ſteered to the South-eaſt with a South-weſt Wind. Coming to the South-eaſt End of the Iſle, we ſailed to the Eaſt of two ſmall Iſles, three Leagues diſtant from the Shore; and, *July* 4. anchored on the South-weſt Side of a deep Bog, four Leagues North-weſt from the two before-mentioned ſmall Iſles, in fifteen Fathom Water. The Land within the Bay, on the Eaſt Side, was high and woody, yet watered with ſeveral Rivers; but, on the Weſt Side, bordering on the Sea, we ſaw large Plains, abounding in long Graſs, and vaſt Store of Deer, of which we killed as many as we thought fit. We ſtaid here till the 12th, when, ſteering our Courſe to the Weſt, we arrived *July* 18. at the Entrance of the River *Mindanao*, in 6° 22′ North Latitude, and 23° 12′ Longitude Weſt from the *Lizard* of *England*, where we anchored in fifteen Fathom Water, clear hard Sand, two Miles from the Shore. Soon after, *Raja Laut*, and one of the Sultan's Sons, came aboard us, and demanded in *Spaniſh*, who we were; and, being told, that we were *Engliſh*, they aſked, whether we were come to ſettle among them, of which they had had ſome Promiſe before, and were now in hopes to ſee it effected, and to ſerve them for a Protection againſt the *Dutch*, whom they very much dreaded. Truly, had we conſidered the Matter, it would have been much for our Advantage to have done ſo, conſidering the commodious Situation of the Iſle of *Mindanao* betwixt the *Spice* Iſlands (the three Iſles of *Meangis* abounding in Spice and Cloves, being ſcarce twenty Leagues hence) and the *Philippines*; neither did we want any thing requiſite for ſuch a Settlement, being provided with all ſorts of Artificers, as Carpenters, Bricklayers, Shoemakers, Taylors, *&c.* as alſo with convenient Tools, Arms, Guns great and ſmall, and Ammunition ſufficient for ſuch a Beginning: And, notwithſtanding the great Diſtance of this Iſland from *England*, we needed not have been without Hopes of ſeaſonable Supplies thence, provided the Ships ſet out the latter End of *Auguſt*, and, paſſing round *Terra del Fuego*, ſtretch over towards *Mindanao*; or elſe they might coaſt down the *American* Shore as far as it was found requiſite, and then direct their Courſe for this Iſle, to avoid the *Dutch* Settlements, and to have the Advantage of the Eaſt Trade-wind after they were paſt *Terra del Fuego*; by which means this Voyage might be performed in ſix or ſeven Months, which, paſſing by the Cape of *Good Hope*, would at leaſt require eight or nine Months. But to return to *Raja Laut* and his Nephew: They invited Captain *Swan* aſhore, and promiſed to furniſh him with what Proviſions he wanted, deſiring, that, in the mean time, we ſhould ſecure our Ship in the River, for fear of the approaching Weſt Winds; which Captain *Swan*, after ſome Deliberation, agreed to. The River, on which *Mindanao* ſtands, being but narrow, and having not above eleven Feet Water on the Bar at Spring-tide, we had much-ado to get our Ship a quarter of a Mile above the Mouth, where we moored the Head and Stern in an Hole; ſo that ſhe always lay afloat. The City of *Mindanao* is a Mile in Length, but not very broad, ſtretching along the Right Bank of the River as you enter it, tho' it has alſo ſome Houſes on the oppoſite Side. The Inhabitants frequently came aboard us, and invited our Men to their Houſes, where they were kindly entertained after their Manner with Tobacco and Betel; and ſuch of them as had Money and Cloaths, did not want their Pagallies or Platonic Companions. Captain *Swan* was daily entertained at *Raja Laut*'s Houſe; and ſuch of his Men as had no Money, had boiled Rice, Scraps of Fowl, and of Buffaloes Fleſh given them. After their Faſt was over, we were diverted with the Women-dancers, and ſuch-like Sports, as are uſual in this Country. But, notwithſtanding all theſe outward Appearances of Friendſhip, we ſoon after began to diſcover *Raja Laut*'s ſiniſter Intentions; for, our Ship's Bottom being much eaten with the Worms, and we beginning in *November* to remove the ſheathing Plank, to ſee whether the Worm had penetrated to the main Plank, in Preſence of the ſaid *Raja*, he could not forbear to diſcover his Thoughts, by ſhaking his Head, and telling us, that he never ſaw a Ship with two Bottoms before; beſides, that he did not perform his Promiſe in providing us with Beef, pretending he could get none; and borrowed a conſiderable Sum of Gold of Captain *Swan*, which he never paid, notwithſtanding he received conſiderable Preſents of him before. Theſe Diſappointments began to induce the greateſt Part of our Men to think of leaving this Place (ſuch eſpecially as had not much Money): Therefore, our Ship being provided with new Planks, inſtead of the worm-eaten, and the Bottom ſheathed and tallowed by *December* 10. they began to urge Captain *Swan* to prepare for the Continuation of their Voyage. Captain *Swan* appointed them *January* 13. 1687. to be all aboard ready to ſail; but, many of them being unwilling to part ſo ſoon as others, having diſperſed themſelves in the Country, (by the Encouragement of *Raja Laut*) and the Captain himſelf not being very ready to come on board, by reaſon of ſome Diſorders amongſt our Men, they depoſed him from his Command; and, having choſen Captain *Teat* in his room, weighed the 13th in the Morning, and ſailed *January* 13. from the River *Mindanao*, leaving Captain *Swan*, with about forty-four of his Men, (beſides ſixteen buried there) behind, in the Town or City of *Mindanao*. We coaſted to the Weſt, along the South Side of the Iſle of *Mindanao*, and the next Day we paſſed in Sight of *Chambungo*, a Town of this Iſle, thirty Leagues from the River of *Mindanao*, ſaid to be a good Harbour. Six Leagues on this Side of the Weſt of the Iſle of *Mindanao*, we ſaw a great many ſmall low Iſles, and, three Leagues to the South of them, another Iſland, ſtretching twelve Leagues in Length, and South-weſt. Betwixt theſe Iſles, and alſo between them and the great Iſle, are good Chanels; but a ſtrong Tide. The 17th, we anchored on the Eaſt Side of theſe Iſles, in eight Fathom, and to the Weſt, upon the Shore of *Mindanao*, ſaw the Ruins of an old Stone Fort, formerly belonging to the *Spaniards*. The 27th, we got about the Weſt Point of *Mindanao*, lying under the Shore to the North, with a freſh North

North-eaſt Gale; and continued the ſame Courſe, till we came a-breaſt ſome of the other *Philippine* Iſles to the North of us, and then ſteered towards them, yet ſo as to keep on the Weſt Side. *February* 3. we anchored in a Bay on the Weſt Side of an Iſland without a Name, in 9° 15', on the Weſt Side of the Iſle of *Sebo*, in eighteen Fathom Water, ouſy Ground. Its Length is eight or ten Leagues. In the Middle of this Bay, we ſaw a low, ſmall, woody Iſle, haunted by a ſort of Bats, of the Bigneſs of a large Fowl, their Wings, when extended, being ſeven or eight Feet long: Every Night we ſaw them, in vaſt Swarms, take their Flight towards the great Iſle, and return to the little one in the Morning.

51. We ſailed hence *February* 10. with a North Wind, coaſting along the Weſt Side of the *Philippine* Iſles. In our Paſſage by *Panga*, (a large Iſle inhabited by the *Spaniards*) we ſaw many Fires, ſuppoſed to be lighted to give Notice of our Approach, it being rare to ſee a Ship on this Coaſt. The 18th, we came to an Anchor at the North-weſt End of the Iſle of *Mindora*, in ten Fathom: It is a large Iſle, the Middle of it lying in 13° Longitude. It ſtretches in Length forty Leagues North-weſt and South-eaſt. A ſmall Brook of Water runs into the Sea near the Place where we anchored, and we ſaw good Store of Hogs and Oxen, but they were ſo wild we could catch or kill none. Whilſt we were here, a Canoe, with four *Indians*, came hither from *Manilla*, who told us, that the Harbour of *Manilla* was ſeldom without twenty or thirty Veſſels, *Chineſe*, *Portugueſe*, and *Spaniards*; and that if we had a Mind to trade, (clandeſtinely) they would carry our Letters to certain Merchants there. The 21ſt, we ſailed again, and, the 23d, came to the South-eaſt End of the Iſle of *Luconia*. We took two *Spaniſh* Barks from *Pagaſſanam*, a ſmall Town on the North-eaſt of this Iſle, bound to *Manilla*: One of theſe had Goods aboard for the *Acapulco* Ship. The Iſle of *Luconia* extends in Length 6 or 7° of Longitude, and its Breadth, near the Middle, ſixty Leagues. The South End is in 12° 30', and the North End in 90° North Latitude. It is ſurrounded by many other ſmall Iſles, eſpecially at the North End. *Mindora* is the Chief, and the neareſt to it, and imparts its Name to a Chanel that runs between it and the Iſle of *Luconia*, called the Streights of *Mindora*. The Country is partly compoſed of large Paſture Plains, and partly of Mountains. Theſe afford ſome Gold, as the Savannas or Plains are well ſtored with Buffaloes, Bullocks, Horſes, Sheep, Goats, and Hogs. The Inhabitants, who live in little Towns, are *Indians*, under the *Spaniſh* Juriſdiction, and inſtructed in the Romiſh Religion by *Spaniſh* Prieſts. *Manilla* is the chief, if not the only City of the Iſle of *Luconia*, ſeated at the Foot of a Ridge of high Hills fronting the Harbour near the South-weſt Point of the Iſle in 14° North Latitude. It is defended by a ſtrong Wall; the Houſes are ſpacious, ſtrong, and covered with Pantile; and the Streets large and regular, with a Market-place in the Midſt. They have many fair Churches and Convents. The Harbour is very large. Beſides the two great *Acapulco* Ships, they have abundance of ſmall Veſſels of their own. The *Chineſe* have commonly thirty or forty Junks or ſtout Veſſels here: And the *Portugueſe* have alſo Liberty of Commerce in this Iſle. Many *Chineſe* Merchants reſide conſtantly in this City. A League on this Side the City is a ſtrong Fort to defend the Harbour, where the great Ships lay at Anchor. The greateſt Part of this Relation I had from Mr. *Coppinger*, our Chirurgeon, who came hither from the Coaſt of *Coromandel*. The Time of the Year being too far ſpent for our Purpoſe, we reſolved to ſail for *Pulo Condore*, a Knot of ſmall Iſles on the Coaſt of *Cambodia*, and to return in *May*, to lie in Wait for the *Acapulca* Ship. Accordingly, *February* 26. we ſailed from *Luconia*. Coming to 14° North Latitude, we ſteered South by Weſt for *Pulo Condore*; and, in our Way thither, got Sight of the South End of the *Praſel* Sholes, of three little ſandy Iſles, or large Spots of Sands, ſtanding juſt above the Water, a Mile from us. *March* 13. we came in Sight of *Pulo Condore*, or the Iſle of *Condore*, and anchored the 14th on the North Side of the Iſle, in ten Fathom, clean hard Sand, two Miles from the Shore. *Pulo Condore* is the chief of a Knot of Iſles, and the only inhabited one of them, in 8° 40' North Latitude, forty Leagues South by Eaſt from the Mouth of the River of *Cambodia*. Two of theſe Iſles are pretty high and large, the reſt very ſmall. That I ſpeak of, is five Leagues long, lying Eaſt and Weſt, and three Miles broad, but in ſome Places not a Mile. The other large Iſle is three Miles long, ſtretching North and South: Betwixt thoſe two, at the Weſt End of the largeſt, is a convenient Harbour, the Entrance on the North Side, where theſe two Iſles lie a Mile aſunder. On the largeſt Iſle grows a tall Tree, the Trunk three or four Feet Diameter, which the Inhabitants cut horizontically half through, a Foot from the Ground; and then cutting the upper Part aſlope inwardly down, till it meets with the tranſverſe Cut, thence diſtils a Liquor into an Hollow made in the Semicircular Stump; which, when boiled, becomes good Tar; and, if boiled ſtill more, perfect Pitch, and anſwers both Uſes. Such a Tree affords two Quarts of Juice every Day for a Month together, then dries up, and recovers again. Here are alſo Mango-trees, the Fruit whereof they pickle, while they are green, with Salt, Vinegar, and a little Garlick. Grapes grow in this Iſle on a ſtrait Tree, of a Foot Diameter, in Cluſters about the Body of the Tree, like the Cocoas; they are both red and white, much like our Grapes, and of a pleaſant Taſte. This Iſle alſo abounds in wild Nutmeg-trees: Theſe are of the Bigneſs of our Walnut-trees, and the Fruit grows amongſt the Boughs, like our Walnuts. It is ſmaller than the true Nutmeg, but grows like it, and is of the ſame Shape, but without Smell or Taſte. Beſides Hogs, Guanoes, and Lizards, theſe Iſles have divers Sorts of Birds, as Parrots, Parraquetoes, Turtle-doves, Pigeons, and wild Cocks and Hens. The Sea affords Limpits, Muſſels, and Tortoiſes. They have many freſh-water Brooks running into the Sea for ten Months in the Year, and lie very conveniently for Trade with *Japan*, *China*, *Manilla*, *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, &c. The Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Condore* are originally *Cochinchineſe* of a middle Stature, but well-ſhaped, much darker than the *Mindanyans*; their Hair is ſtreight and black, their Eyes of the ſame Colour, but ſmall, and ſo are their Noſes, yet pretty high; their Lips thin, with a little Mouth, and white Teeth. They are very civil, but poor, having no other Employment but to gather the Juice for Tar, and draw ſome Oil from the Fat of the Tortoiſe, which they tranſport to *Cochinchina*. They offer their Women to all Strangers for a very ſmall Matter; a Cuſtom uſed alſo at *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Cochinchina* and *Cambodia*; in the *Eaſt Indies*, and on the Coaſt of *Guiney*, in *Africa*, and alſo at *Tunquin*. They are Pagans, and worſhip chiefly the Elephant and Horſe, beſides other Images of Birds and Fiſh. But I obſerved none of human Shape. *March* 15. we looked for a Place to careen in; and, having met with one, we entered the ſame the 16th, where we ſtaid till the 6th of *April*, when we went hence to the Place where we anchored before, on the North Side of the great Iſle, to fill freſh Water; which being accompliſhed by the 21ſt, we ſailed again from *Pulo Condore*, our Courſe Weſt by South, with an Eaſt North-eaſt Wind, for the Bay of *Siam*. The 23d, we came to the Iſle of *Ubi*, forty Leagues Weſt of the Iſle of *Condore*, lying at the Entrance near the South-weſt Point of Land, that makes the Point of *Siam* called the Point of *Comodia*. Its Circumference is ſeven or eight Leagues, being higher Land than any of the *Condore* Iſles. It has good Water on the North Side, where you may anchor; but the beſt Anchorage is on the Eaſt Side, againſt a ſmall Bay. The 24th, we entered the Bay of *Siam*, which is very deep; and went in among the Iſles, at the Bottom of the Bay. In one of theſe we found a ſmall Village, inhabited by Fiſhermen, but no Fiſh: So we turned back; but, being becalmed, did not return to *Pulo Ubi* till *May* 13. where we caſt Anchor on the Eaſt Side, and were detained by Tempeſts till the 20th. The 21ſt, we ſailed thence back for *Pulo Condore*, where we came to an Anchor the 24th: Here five or ſix of our Men, going aboard a *Malayan* Veſſel, were ſtabbed by the Ship's Crew. *June* 4. being provided with Fuel and freſh Water, we ſailed from *Pulo Condore* with a South-weſt Wind, intending to make *Manilla*; but the Wind ſoon turning Eaſt and South-eaſt, and continuing ſo for ten Days, we were forced to alter our Courſe, and ſteer for the Iſle of *Prata*, a ſmall low Iſland incloſed with Rocks, in the

Way betwixt *Canton* (a *Chineſe* Sea Port) and *Manilla*, in 20° 4′ North Latitude; but the Eaſt Winds continuing for five or ſix Days longer with great Violence, we ſaw ourſelves obliged to alter our Reſolution once more, and to obey the Wind, which brought us near the *Chineſe* Shore the 25th of *June*, where we came to an Anchor on the North-eaſt End of the Iſle of *St. John*, lying on the Sea Coaſt of *Quantung* or *Canton*, in *China*, in 22° 30′ North Latitude. The only Grain we obſerved here was Rice, in great Plenty. Their tame Cattle were *China* Hogs, Buffaloes, Goats, and ſome Oxen. The Inhabitants were *Chineſe*, and, conſequently, now under the Subjection of the *Tartars*. In the Iſle of *St. John* was a ſmall Town, built in a marſhy Ground, upon Poſts: The Houſes mean, low, and ill-furniſhed. The Inhabitants live for the moſt part by cultivating their Grounds, which produce Rice. Whilſt we lay at Anchor here, a *Chineſe* Junk lay near us: She was flat both at the Head and Stern, with little Huts on her Deck of three Feet high, covered with Palmetto-trees. She had a large Cabin with an Altar and Lamp burning in it. The Hold was divided into ſeveral Partitions, each of them ſo tight, that, if a Leak ſhould ſpring in one, the Goods in the next would receive no Damage. Every Merchant has his particular Room, where he ſtows his Goods, and ſometimes lodges in it himſelf. Theſe Junks have no more than two Maſts, *viz.* a Main-maſt and Fore-maſt: The laſt has a ſquare Sail, and ſquare Yard; but the Main-maſt has a Sail narrow aloft like a Sloop's Sail. In fair Weather they uſe alſo a Top-ſail, which they hale down on the Deck in foul Weather, Yard and all. The Main-maſt of the bigeſt Junks are as big as any of our third-rate Men of War, but not pieced, being all of one Tree.

52. As we ſaw the Forerunners of an approaching Tempeſt, we weighed Anchor, not to want Sea-room. It was not long before we found our Gueſs too true; for the next Day, being the 4th of *July*, the Wind coming to the North-eaſt, we were ſurpriſed by the moſt violent Tempeſt I ever remember in all my Voyages; which laſted, by Intervals, till the 6th, when the Weather proved very ſerene. We refitted our Ship; but our Men, being terrified to the higheſt Degree by the laſt Storm, and dreading the approaching Full-moon, reſolved to ſteer towards the *Piſcadores*, or *Fiſher* Iſles, in 23° North Latitude. Theſe are a good Number of Iſlands lying betwixt the Iſle of *Formoſa*, and the Continent of *China*. Betwixt the two Eaſtermoſt is a good Harbour; and, on the Weſt Side of the Eaſtermoſt, is a large Town and Fort, defended by a *Tartar* Gariſon of about three hundred Men. The Houſes were low, but neatly built. On the Iſland, on the Weſt Side of the Harbour near the Sea-ſide, we ſaw another ſmall Town, inhabited by *Chineſe*; and moſt of the other Iſles have ſome *Chineſe* (more or leſs) living in them. We came to an Anchor in the Harbour *July* 20. and, ſending our Boat aſhore, were civilly received by the *Tartarian* Governor, who ſent us ſome Preſents, (among the reſt a Heifer, the fineſt I ever eat in my Life) but would not allow us either to trade there, or come aſhore on that Iſle. In Return for which, Mr. *Read* (now our Captain) ſent him a Silver-hilted Sword, a Carbine, and a gold Chain. We ſailed from hence the 29th with a South-weſt Wind, ſteering for certain Iſlands we had pitched upon, that lie betwixt *Formoſa* and *Luconia*, being known by no other Names than the *Five Iſles*. We ſailed by the South-weſt End of *Formoſa*, a large Iſle ſituated betwixt 21° 20′, and 25° 10′ North Latitude, from South to North. Its Longitude is from 142° 5′, to 143° 16′ Eaſt from the Pike of *Teneriff*. It was formerly well inhabited by the *Chineſe*, and frequented by the *Engliſh*; but the *Tartars* have ſince ſpoiled the Harbour, for fear the *Chineſe* ſhould fortify themſelves there. *Auguſt* 6. we came to an Anchor on the Eaſt Side of the Northermoſt of the five Iſles in fifteen Fathom Water: They lay in 20° 20′ North Latitude; and their Longitude, according to the Charts, in 141° 50′. Contrary to our Expectations, we found, on the Iſle near which we anchored, three or four large Towns. The Weſtermoſt Iſle is the biggeſt: This the *Dutch* among us called the *Prince of Orange Iſle*, being ſeven or eight Leagues long, and two broad, ſtretching North and South. There are two more large Iſles; the Northermoſt we called *Grafton* Iſle: It ſtretches four Leagues in Length North and South, and is one League and an half broad: Unto the third great Iſle we gave the Name of *Monmouth* Iſle, lying to the South of *Grafton* Iſle, three Leagues long North and South, and one broad: The other two Iſles, lying Eaſt and Weſt, betwixt *Monmouth*, and the South End of *Orange* Iſle, are called the *Baſhee*, (from a certain Liquor we drink there) and the *Goat* Iſles. *Orange* Iſland is the largeſt, but uninhabited, being rocky and barren, and no Anchorage near it. *Monmouth* and *Grafton* Iſles are hilly, but well inhabited. The *Goat* and *Baſhee* Iſles are flat and even, and the firſt has one Town in it. The Hills of all theſe Iſles are rocky, but the Valleys fertile in Graſs, Plantains, Bananas, Pine-apples, Pompions, Sugar-canes, Potatoes, and ſome Cotton; and are well watered with Brooks of freſh Water. They are alſo well ſtored with Goats and Hogs, but ſcarce any Fowl, either wild or tame. The Natives are ſhort and thick, round-viſaged, with low Foreheads, and thick Eye-brows; their Eyes of an hazel Colour, and ſmall, but much bigger than the *Chineſe*; their Noſes are both low and ſhort; their Lip and Mouth middle-ſized, with white Teeth, and thick, black, lank Hair, cut ſhort to their Ears; their Complexion is of a dark Copper-colour. They go always bare-headed; and the greateſt Part have no Cloaths, but a Clout about the Middle: Some have Jackets of Plantain-leaves, as rough as a Bear-skin. The Women have a ſhort Petticoat of coarſe Calico, (of their own making) which reaches a little below the Knees. Both Sexes wear Ear-rings made of a yellow Metal, (they dig out of their Mountains) having the Weight and Colour of true Gold, but ſomething paler: Whether it were ſuch in Effect or no, I am not able to ſay; for it looks of a fine Colour at firſt, but afterwards fades; which made us ſuſpect it, and therefore our People did not purchaſe much of it. We obſerved the Natives to beſmear it with red Earth, and then, putting it into a quick Fire till it was red-hot, brought it to its former Colour again. Their Houſes are ſmall, and ſcarce five Feet high. They inhabit in Villages built on the Sides of rocky Hills, three or four Rows one above another. Theſe rocky Precipices are framed by Nature into different Degrees, or, as it were, deep Steps or Stories, upon each of which they build a Row of their Houſes, and a ſecond up to them, gradually, by Ladders ſet from each of theſe Rows up to one another in the Middle of it; which if they remove, there is no coming at them. They are alſo very expert in building their Boats, (for the Men live moſtly by Fiſhing) much like our *Deal* Yalls. They have alſo larger Veſſels, managed with twelve or fourteen Oars, two Men on one Bank. They never kill any Goats or Hogs themſelves, but feed upon the Guts or Intrails, and their Skins, which they broil, after they have ſinged the Hair off. They make alſo a Diſh of Locuſts, which come at certain Seaſons to devour their Potatoes. They take them with Nets, and broil or bake them in an Earthen-pan. This Diſh eats well enough. Their ordinary Drink is Water; but, beſides this, they boil a ſort of Liquor out of the Juice of Sugar-canes, mixed with Blackberries: This they put afterwards into Jars, and let it work four or five Days. After it is ſettled, it becomes clear, and affords a ſtrong and pleaſant Liquor, in Taſte and Colour not unlike *Engliſh* Beer. The Natives call this Liquor *Baſhee*; whence our Crew gave this Name to one of the Iſles. What Language they ſpeak, I know not, as not having any Affinity either with the *Chineſe* or *Malayan* Languages. The only Arms they uſe are Lances, headed with Iron; and they wear a kind of Armour of a Buffalo's Hide, without any Sleeves, which reaches down below the Knees, where it is three Feet wide, and as ſtiff as a Board, but cloſe about their Shoulders. I could not perceive them worſhip any thing; neither ſaw I any Idols, or any Government or Precedency among themſelves, except that the Children were very reſpectful to their Parents. However, it is likely, they have ſome antient Cuſtoms inſtead of Laws; for we ſaw a young Lad buried alive, as we ſuppoſed, for Theft. They have but one Wife, and ſhe and the Children are very obedient to the Head of the Family; the Boys are educated to Fiſhing, and the Girls to work with their

Mothers in the Plantations, which are in the Valleys, where every Man plants his own Ground according to the Bigneſs of his Family. For the reſt, they are a ſort of civil quiet People, not only to Strangers, but alſo among themſelves; for all the Time we were here, whilſt they came frequently aboard us, they uſed to exchange their yellow Metal, their Goats, and Fruit, for Iron: We never obſerved them to differ, either amongſt themſelves, or our Men, even when there was not Occaſion wanting. They have no Coin or Seals, but give their Pieces of yellow Metal by Gueſs. During our Stay here, we had provided ourſelves with ſeventy or eighty fat Hogs, and plenty of Potatoes, for our intended Voyage to the Iſle of *Manilla*: But, *September* 25. being again ſurpriſed with a moſt violent Tempeſt, which forced us out to the Sea, we were every Moment in Danger of being ſwallowed up by the Waves till the 29th, when, the Fury of the Winds being ſomewhat allayed, we made the beſt of our Way back to the Iſle, of which we got Sight the 30th, but could not come to anchor in the ſame Place where we were before, till the firſt of *October*. This laſt Storm ſo diſheartened our Men, that they all reſolved to lay aſide their Deſign of Cruiſing before *Manilla*; but, by the Perſuaſion of Captain *Read*, and Captain *Teat* the Maſter, they reſolved to go to Cape *Comorin*, and thence into the *Red* Sea. As the Eaſtern Monſoon was at hand, our neareſt and beſt Way had been to paſs through the Streight of *Malacca*; but Captain *Teat* perſuaded them to go round on the Eaſt Side of the *Philippine* Iſles, and ſo, keeping South of the *Spice* Iſles, to paſs into the *Indian* Ocean, about the Iſle of *Timor*.

53. We ſailed *October* 3. from the Iſles to the South, intending to paſs through the *Spice* Iſlands; we ſailed on the Eaſt Side of *Luconia*, and the other *Philippine* Iſlands, coaſting to the South. From the Iſle of *Luconia* we ſteered to the South; and, on the 15th, with a North-eaſt Wind, directed our Courſe Weſt, for the Iſle of *Mindanao*, where we anchored at the South-eaſt; and the 16th, between two ſmall Iſles, in 5° 10′ North Latitude, four Leagues from the Iſle of *Mindanao*. Whilſt we lay here, the young Prince of one of the adjacent *Spice* Iſlands came on board us, and told us, that Captain *Swan*, and ſome of his Men, were ſtill in the City of *Mindanao*, and highly eſteemed there for the great Services they had done againſt the *Alfoores*. But I have been informed ſince, that he, and his Surgeon, as they were going aboard a *Dutch* Ship in that Road, were overſet, and drowned by the Natives, by *Raja Laut*'s Order, (as was ſuppoſed) who had ſeized all his Gold. We ſailed hence *November* 2. for the Iſland *Celebes*, where we anchored the 9th at the North-eaſt End. The Iſle extends itſelf from North to South, in 7° Latitude, and in Breadth 3°. It lies under the Line, the North End at 1° 30 North Latitude, and the South End at 5° 80′ South Latitude: At the South End of the Iſle is a Gulph, eight Leagues wide, and fifty long, running directly North into the Country, having divers ſmall Iſlands in the Middle of it. Near the South End, at the Weſt Side of the Iſle, is ſeated *Macaſſar*, a rich and ſtrong Town belonging to the *Dutch*: By reaſon of the ſtrong Current ſetting to the Weſt, we had much ado to get to the Eaſt Side of the Iſle; and the 22d, being at 1° 20′ Leagues, we ſaw a large Opening like a Creek; and, ſix Leagues to the South of it, a Range of large and ſmall Iſles, and many Sholes, betwixt which and the Iſle of *Celebes* we paſſed, not without Trouble, and came to an Anchor half a Mile from the great Iſland, in eight Fathom ſandy Ground, in 1° 50′ South Latitude. We ſtaid there till the 29th, and the 30th ſteered away South betwixt two Sholes, at 3° South Latitude, ten Leagues from the Iſle of *Celebes*. Towards the Evening, we ſaw two or three Spouts: A Spout is a Piece of a Cloud, hanging down, ſeemingly ſloping, and ſometimes bending like a Bow, but never perpendicular; after which the Sea begins to foam, and you ſee the Water move gently round, till, increaſing in a whirling Motion, it flies upwards a hundred Paces in Circumference at the Bottom, but leſſening gradually to the Smalneſs of a Spout, through which the Sea-water appears to be conveyed into the Clouds, as is manifeſt by the Increaſe of the Bulk and Blackneſs thereof: Then you ſee immediately the Cloud (which was immoveable before) drive along, and the Spout keeping the ſame Courſe for half an Hour, till the Sucking is over, and then breaking off, all the Water that was below the Spout, or pendulous Cloud, fall again into the Sea, with a terrible Noiſe and Claſhing; however, theſe Spouts are more terrible than dangerous. *December* 1. ſteering South, with a South South-eaſt Wind, at 3° 34′ South Latitude, we got Sight of the Iſle of *Bouton*, about ten Leagues South-weſt of us; the 5th, we got cloſe to the North-weſt End of *Bouton* Iſle, but the Harbour is at the Eaſt Side of it, in 4° 54′ South Latitude. This Iſland ſtretches twenty-five Leaves in Length South-weſt, and North-weſt four Leagues from the South-eaſt End of the Iſle of *Celebes*; its Breadth is ten Leagues: Within a League of the Harbour, and half a Mile from the Sea, is a long Town, called *Callaſuſung*, ſeated on the Top of a ſmall Hill, in a pleaſant Plain, incloſed with a Walk of Cocoa-trees, and about theſe with a ſtrong Stone Wall. The Inhabitants are not unlike the *Mindanayans*, but neater, are *Mohammedans*, and ſpeak the *Malayan* Language: Their Sultan is abſolute Maſter over them. The 6th, they brought us Eggs, Fowls, Potatoes, *&c.* aboard; and the Sultan came afterwards in Perſon in a Boat, guarded by ten or twelve Muſqueteers. We ſtaid here till the 12th; and then, ſteering to the South-eaſt, we paſſed near four or five ſmall Iſles, 5° 40′ South Latitude, ſix Leagues from *Callaſuſung* Harbour. We ſaw three Towns on them, and heard the Drums beating all Night as we were among the Sholes, lying on the South-weſt Wind of theſe Iſles. The 16th, we got clear of the Sholes; and, the 16th, paſſed by *Omba*, a high Iſland, in 8° 20′ South Latitude, ſix Leagues from the North-eaſt Part of the Iſle of *Timor*; its Length is fourteen Leagues, its Breadth ſix Leagues. Eight Leagues to the Weſt of *Omba* we ſaw another Iſle, with a large Town on it, and Fires by Night; which, by its Situation, we gueſſed to be the Iſle of *Pentare*: Here we were beaten amongſt the Sholes till the 23d, when we got through with a North Wind, keeping cloſe by *Pentare*. The 28th, we ſaw the North-weſt Point of *Timor*, diſtant eight Leagues South-eaſt by Eaſt. The Iſle of *Timor* is high and mountainous, ſtretching in Length ſeventy Leagues North-eaſt and South-weſt, its Breadth ſixteen Leagues, the Middle of it in 9° South Latitude. The 29th, we diſcovered two ſmall Iſles near the South-weſt End of *Timor*; and, being got clear of theſe, we ſtood off South towards *New Holland*, Part of the *Terra Auſtralis incognita*.

54. The 31ſt, we ſtood to the South Wind at Weſt, in 13° 20′ Latitude; at Night we ſtood in the North for fear of a Shole, laid down in the Charts, at 23° 50′, bearing South by Weſt from the Eaſt End of *Timor*: In the Morning we ſaw the Shole, being a Spot of Land, appearing above the Surface of the Water, with divers Rocks about it, ten Feet above the Water. It is of a triangular Form, each Side one League and a half long. This Shole is repreſented in our Charts ſixteen or twenty Leagues from *New Holland*; but we ran at leaſt ſixty Leagues afterwards due South, before we fell in with it; and I am very certain, that no Part of *New Holland* lies ſo far to the North by forty Leagues, as it is laid down in our hydrographical Maps; for I found the Tides on the Coaſt of *New Holland* keeping their conſtant Courſe, the Flood running North by Eaſt, and the Ebb South by Eaſt. *January* 4. 1688. we fell in with the Land of *New Holland*, at 16° 50′ Latitude; and, running along to the Eaſt twelve Leagues, came to a Point of Land, three Leagues to the Eaſt of which is a deep Bay. We anchored a League to the Eaſt of this Point, *January* 5. two Miles from the Shore, in 29 Fathom, hard Sand and clean Ground. *New Holland* is a vaſt Track of Land, but whether an Iſle, or Part of the Continent, is unknown hitherto: Thus much I am ſure of, that it neither joins to *Aſia*, *Africa*, or *America* hereabouts: It was even low and ſandy Ground, the Points only excepted, which are rocky, and ſome Iſles in this Bay. This Part had no freſh Water, except what was dug, but divers ſorts of Trees, and, among the reſt, the Dragon-tree, which produces the Gum-dragon, or Dragon-blood: We ſaw neither Fruit-trees, nor ſo much as the Track of any living Animal, except one which ſeemed to be the Footſtep of a Beaſt, of the Bigneſs of a large Maſtiff-dog:

Some few Land-birds they have, but none bigger than a Black-bird, and ſcarce any Water-fowl: Neither does the Sea afford any Fiſh, except Tortoiſes and Manatees, of both which they have vaſt Plenty. The Inhabitants are the moſt miſerable Wretches in the Univerſe, having no Houſes or Covering but the Heavens; no Garments, except a Piece of the Bark of a Tree, tyed like a Girdle round the Waiſt; no Sheep, Poultry, or Fruits, but feed upon a few Fiſh, Cockles, Muſſels, and Periwinkles; without Religion or Government, but cohabit promiſcuouſly: For the reſt, their Bodies are ſtrait, thin, and ſtrong-limbed, with great Heads and Eye-brows, and round Foreheads: Their Eye-lids are conſtantly half cloſed, to keep the Flies out, which are exceſſive troubleſome here: They have large Bottle Noſes, thick Lips, and wide Mouths. Both Men and Women, old and young, want the two Fore-teeth of the upper Jaw; but whether they draw them, I am not able to tell. They have no Beards, but black ſhort curled Hair like the *African* Negroes, and are as black as thoſe. Their Weapons are a ſort of wooden Cutlaſſes; inſtead of a Lance, they have a ſtrait Pole, ſharpened and hardened at the End. Of their Language I can ſay nothing, but that they ſpeak pretty much in the Throat. We landed ſeveral times, and at laſt brought them to ſomething of a Familiarity with us, by giving them ſome old Cloaths; but could never prevail with them to give us the leaſt Aſſiſtance in carrying Water, or otherwiſe, they being very averſe to working.

55. *March* 12. we ſailed hence, taking our Courſe North. The 26th, we were in the Latitude of *Cocoa* Iſland, which lies in 12° 12′. The 28th, we fell in with a ſmall Iſle, at 10° 30′: We ſailed from hence the ſame Afternoon, the Wind at Weſt and North-weſt, which continued with tempeſtuous Weather till *April* 7. when we got Sight of the Iſle of *Sumatra*, bearing North, being then at 7° South Latitude; and, the 8th, ſaw the Weſt End of that Iſle, being at 6° South Latitude. We ſailed along the Weſt Side of *Sumatra*; and, the 12th, came firſt to an Iſle, ſcarce a Mile in Circumference, ſo low, that the Tide overflows it: It has a ſandy Soil, and Store of Cocoa-nuts: Its Situation is 4° South, fifteen Leagues Weſt of *Sumatra*. The 19th, being in 3° 25′ South Latitude, we ſaw the South-weſt Point of the Iſle of *Naſſaco*, bearing North five Miles Diſtance. The 25th, we croſſed the Line, coaſting to the North, on the Weſt Side of *Sumatra*. *May* 1. we ran down by the North-weſt End of *Sumatra*, directing our Courſe to the *Nicobar* Iſlands; we got Sight of them the 4th, a Cluſter of Iſlands lying South of the *Audeman* Iſles; but the moſt Southerly of them is properly called the *Nicobar*, lying four Leagues North North-weſt from the North-weſt End of *Sumatra*. The Inhabitants trade promiſcuouſly with all the *European* Nations; their chief Commodities being Ambergriſe and Fruits. *May* 5. we anchored in a ſmall Bay, at the North-weſt End of the Iſle of *Nicobar*, properly ſo called, in eight Fathom Water; its Length is twelve Leagues, the Breadth three or four, in 7° 30′ North Latitude. It produces Plenty of Cocoas and Mallories, a Fruit of the Bigneſs of the Bread-fruit at *Guam* (before-mentioned) which the Natives boil in Water in covered Jars. The Inhabitants here are ſtrait-limbed, long-viſaged, with black Eyes, and well-proportioned Noſes; their Hair is lank and black, their Complexion of a Copper-colour; the Women have no Eye-brows; I ſuppoſe they pulled them out becauſe the Men did not like them: The Men wear only a kind of Shaſh round their Middle, and the Women nothing but a Petticoat from the Waiſt to the Knees: Their Language had ſome Words of *Malayan* and *Portugueſe* in it; their Habitations were built upon Poſts near the Sea-ſide, but I could find no ſettled Government among them. Their Canoes were flat on one Side, with Outlayers like thoſe of *Guam*. Mr. *Hall*, Mr. *Ambroſe*, and I, being deſirous to leave this unruly Crew, were ſet aſhore on this Iſle, with an Intent to go hence to *Achin*.

56. Accordingly we left this Iſle *May* 5. with four *Malayans* and a *Portugueſe*, in a *Nicobar* Canoe, not much bigger than our Below-bridge *London* Wherries; we rowed to the South four at a time, by Turns. The 7th, we looked out for *Sumatra*, ſuppoſing we were within twenty Leagues of it; but, inſtead thereof, ſaw *Nicobar* at eight Leagues Diſtance; at Noon we found 6° 55′ Latitude. The 18th, the Wind increaſing upon us, we were forced to run before the Wind and Sea; the Tempeſt was ſo violent, that we expected every Moment to have been ſwallowed by the Sea-waves. The 19th, to our great Joy, one of our *Malayan* Friends cried out *Pulo Way*, i. e. the Iſle of *Way*, ſituated near the North-weſt End of *Sumatra*, which, about Noon, we diſcovered to be the very Iſle of *Sumatra*. The high Land they had miſtaken for the Iſle of *Way*, proved the *Golden Mountain* of *Sumatra*. The 20th, we ſteered with a Weſt Wind for the Shore; and, in the Afternoon, anchored near the Mouth of the River *Paſſange Ionca* (in the Iſle of *Sumatra*) thirty-ſix Leagues to the Eaſt of *Achim*, and ſix Leagues to the Weſt of *Diamond Point*. As we were half dead with the Fatigues of this Voyage, we were carried to a ſmall Fiſher-town near the River, where we were kindly treated by the Inhabitants, and ſtaid till *June*, when we left this Place; and, in three Days Sail, arrived at *Achin*. In *July* following, I went with Captain *Welden* to *Tonquin*, and returned to *Achin* in *April* 1689. where I ſtayed till *September*; when, making a ſhort Voyage to *Manacca*, I came thither againſt *Chriſtmas* 1690. Soon after, I went to Fort *St. George*; whence, after a Stay of five Months, I came back to *Bencouli*, an *Engliſh* Factory on the Weſt Coaſt of *Sumatra*. But before I give you an Account of my Return to *England*, I muſt not forget one Paſſage concerning the painted Prince, who died at *Oxford*; his Name was *Ieoly*, and was purchaſed by one Mr. *Moody* at *Mindanao*, together with his Mother: Mr. *Moody* and I went together to *Bencouli*; where, at parting, he gave me half the Share in this painted Prince, and his Mother, and left them in my Cuſtody. They were born in the Iſle of *Meangis*, abounding in Gold, Cloves, and Nutmegs, as himſelf told me: He was curiouſly painted down the Breaſt, betwixt his Shoulders behind, but moſt of all on the Thighs before, after the Nature of Flower-work. By what I could underſtand, this Painting was done by pricking the Skin, and rubbing in it a certain Gum of a Tree, called *Damurer*, uſed inſtead of Pitch in ſome Part of the *Indies*. He told me, that they wore golden Ear-rings, and Bracelets about their Arms and Legs; that their Food was Potatoes, Fowl, and Fiſh. As to his Captivity, he ſaid, that, as one Day, he, his Father and Mother, were going in a Canoe to one of the two adjacent Iſles, they were taken by ſome *Mindanayan* Fiſhermen, who ſold them all to the Interpreter of *Raja Laut*, with whom he and his Mother lived as Slaves five Years, and then were ſold for ſixty Dollars to Mr. *Moody*. Some time afterwards, Mr. *Moody* preſented me alſo with his Share in them, but the Mother died not long after, and I had much ado to ſave the Son's Life.

57. During my Stay at *Bencouli*, I ſerved in the Quality of a Gunner of the Fort; but, my Time being expired, I got aboard Captain *Heath*, in the *Defence*, with my painted Prince, in order to my Return for *England*. *January* 25. we ſailed in Company of three Ships more; but had not been long at Sea, before a fatal Diſtemper raged aboard us, which we attributed to the Badneſs of the Water taken in at *Bencouli* during the Land-floods, which is often impregnated with the Tinctures of poiſonous Roots or Herbs: The beſt Remedy we had, was to mix ſome Tamarinds with the Rice we eat, which I believe preſerved the Lives of many of our Men, having ſcarce ſo many Men left as were able, but with great Difficulty, to bring us to the Cape of *Good Hope*, where we came to an Anchor the Beginning of *April*, by the Aſſiſtance of a *Dutch* Captain and his Men. The Cape of *Good Hope* is the Southermoſt Point of the Continent of *Africa*, in 34° 30′ South Latitude, in a very temperate Climate. It appears, at Sea, in divers remarkable Points or Eminencies, affording an agreeable Proſpect; the moſt conſiderable of which is, a Mountain on the Weſt Side of the Cape, called the *Table* Mountain, from its Flatneſs on the Top. To the North of it is a large Harbour, with a low flat Iſle lying off it, by which you may enter at either Side; the beſt Riding is near the Continent. The Country thereabouts produces good, but ſhort Graſs, and Trees, but not in great Plenty; and, when cultivated, produces large

Quantities of Wheat, Barley, and Peaſe, beſides Fruits of divers Sorts, as Apples, Pears, Quinces, large Pomgranates, and ſuch Plenty of Grapes, as furniſhes them with Wine, ſufficient not only for their own Uſe, but alſo for Sale to ſuch Ships as come to this Cape: The Wine is ſweet, pleaſant, and ſtrong. Near the Harbour are but few Farms; but, twenty Leagues in the Country, are many Settlements of the *Dutch* and *French* Refugees. They have alſo Plenty of Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Horſes, and Cows; but Oxen thrive not ſo well here, by reaſon of the ſhort Paſturage. They have ſome wild Beaſts, but I only ſaw the wild Aſs, a beautiful Creature, with black and white Stripes: Neither do they want Ducks, Dunghill-fowl, and Oſtriches; and the Sea affords them abundance of Fiſh. Oppoſite to the Harbour, near the Shore, the *Dutch* have a ſtrong Fort, (the Reſidence of the Governor) and to the Weſt of it a *Dutch* Town; on the Back-ſide whereof is the Houſe belonging to the *Eaſt India* Company, with a ſpacious Garden, ſtored with all manner of Fruits, Herbs, Roots, Walks, and Arbours. The Natives of this Country are called the *Hottentots*, a middle-ſized People, with ſmall Limbs, and active Bodies, flat oval Faces, large Eye-brows, and black Eyes. They beſmear their Bodies with Greaſe: Upon their Heads they wear nothing but ſome Shells; and, on their Bodies, a Mantle of Sheep-ſkin, with the woolly Side outwards, and another Piece, like an Apron, hanging before from the Navel. Inſtead of this, the Women have a Sheep-ſkin round the Middle. Their Houſes are very mean, and ſo is their Furniture, conſiſting only of two or three earthen Pots to dreſs their Victuals in, which is Herbs, Fleſh, or Shell-fiſh; theſe they catch among the Rocks. They have neither Temples, Idols, nor any other peculiar Place of Worſhip. They celebrate, indeed, ſeveral nocturnal Dances, with Singing, at the new and full Moon; but theſe are performed near their Huts, and ſeem to be rather Paſtimes, or Merry-meetings, than any thing relating to religious Worſhip. For the reſt, they are a lazy Generation; for they never manure their Grounds, but are contented with feeding their Cattle, which they exchange for Tobacco. After a Stay of ſix Weeks here, we ſailed, *May* 3. towards *St. Helena*, an Iſle ſeated in 16° South Latitude, where we arrived *June* 20. It is about nine Leagues long; and, though 400 Leagues from the Continent, enjoys a ſerene Air, (except in the rainy Seaſon) and a temperate and healthy Climate; which, together with the refreſhing Herbs this Iſland produces, is the Reaſon that our *Eaſt India* Ships touch here to recover their Seamen from the Scurvy, which they do in a little time. This Iſle, after its firſt Diſcovery by the *Portugueſe*, was poſſeſſed by the *Dutch*; but theſe relinquiſhing it for the Cape of *Good Hope*, the *Engliſh* ſettled here till 1672, when they were beaten out by the *Dutch*, who were forced, ſoon after, to ſurrender it again to the *Engliſh*, under Captain *Monday*. We have now a Fort there, with a Gariſon, and a good Number of great Guns, to defend the common Landing-place, being a ſmall Bay, not above 500 Paces wide: Within this Bay ſtands a ſmall *Engliſh* Town; the Inhabitants haveing their Plantations deeper into the Country, which furniſh them with Potatoes, Plantains, Bananas, Hogs, Bullocks, Cocks, and Hens, Ducks, Geeſe, and Turkeys, in vaſt Plenty. *July* 2. 1691. we left this Iſle, ſteering our Courſe for *England*. We took the Mid-way, betwixt *Africa* and the *American* Continent, ſtill to the North of the Line; and came to an Anchor in the *Downs*, *September* 16. following. After my Arrival in the *Thames*, being in want of Money, I ſold, at firſt, Part of the Property I had in the beforementioned Prince *Ieoly*, and, by Degrees, all the reſt. I underſtood afterwards, that he was carried about for a Sight, and ſhewn for Money; and that, at laſt, he died of the Small-pox at *Oxford*.

SECTION XIV.

Captain WILLIAM DAMPIER'*s Voyage to* New Holland, *and* New Guiney, *from his own Account.*

1. *The original Deſign of this Voyage, and its Connection with the former.* 2. *Captain* Dampier *ſails in the* Roebuck *from the* Downs, January 14. 1699. 3. *Deſcription of* Santa Cruz, *and the Iſland of* Teneriff, *one of the* Canaries. 4. *The Iſland of* Mayo *deſcribed.* 5. *Account of that of* St. Iago. 6. *The Author's Arrival in the Bay of* All Saints *in* Braſil. 7. *The Town and Country about it deſcribed.* 8. *Continuation of the Voyage to the Cape of* Good Hope. 9. *Arrival in* Sharks Bay *on the Coaſt of* New Holland. 10. *Account of ſeveral ſubſequent Diſcoveries, and of the many Errors in the* Dutch *Charts.* 11. *Difficulties occurring in their Commerce with the* Indian *Natives.* 12. *The Country and Coaſt of* New Holland *deſcribed.* 13. *The Author's Expectations, and the Grounds of thoſe Expectations.* 14. *Reaſons for quitting the Coaſt of* New Holland. 15. *The Author ſails for the Iſland of* Timor. 16. *Arrival on the Coaſt, and Accidents there.* 17. *Account of the Iſland* Anamabao, *or* Anabao, *adjoining to* Timor. 18. *Tranſactions during the Author's Stay there.* 19. *A copious Deſcription of the Iſland of* Timor. 20. *Condition of the* Dutch *and* Portugueſe *Settlements there.* 21. *Deſcription of other Iſlands, and their Inhabitants.* 22. Cockle *Iſland, and its Productions.* 23. *Other Iſlands in thoſe Seas, and Things remarkable in them.* 24. *The Main-land of* New Guiney, *and its Inhabitants, deſcribed.* 25. *Departure from thence, and Diſcovery of many Iſlands.* 26. *Particulars relating to the Inhabitants, and their Commerce.* 27. *Diſcovery of Cape* St. George, *and Cape* Orford. 28. *The Author reſolves to land; and, if poſſible, enter into Commerce with the Natives on the Continent of* New Guiney. 29. *Finding that very difficult, has recourſe to various Arts.* 30. *At laſt obliged to take Refreſhments by Force.* 31. *He leaves that Coaſt, and proceeds to make freſh Diſcoveries.* 32. *The Iſlands of* Nova Britannia, *&c. deſcribed.* 33. *Other Tranſactions in this Voyage.* 34. *Iſlands of* Miſacomby, Pentare, *&c.* 35. *Continuation of the Voyage from* Batavia. 36. *The Ship ſprings an incurable Leak.* 37. *The Author runs the* Roebuck *aſhore on the Iſland of* Aſcenſion. 38. *Returns ſafe to* England *on board the* Canterbury Eaſt-India-man. 39. *Remarks upon this Expedition.*

1. THE Reputation of his Voyage round the World, recommended our Author to the Favour of the moſt ingenious Perſons, and to the greateſt Encouragers of public-ſpirited Undertakings that the Age produced; and, amongſt theſe, to the Right Honourable *Thomas Herbert*, Earl of *Pembroke*, who moſt worthily diſcharged the Office of Lord High Admiral in the Reign of King *William* III. to whom our Author applied himſelf for Favour and Protection, as well as for his Countenance in the Deſign he had formed for proſecuting thoſe Diſcoveries, which his laſt Voyage had given him Hopes might be done with Effect. It is well enough known, that Propoſitions of this Kind are very rarely agreeable to great Miniſters; which is ſometimes owing perhaps to their being very indifferent Judges of ſuch Matters. It was the good Fortune of Captain *Dampier*, to

addreſs himſelf to a Patron of quite another Kind, who liſtened to his Offers with a juſt Degree of Attention, encouraged in him that laudable Ambition, which prompted him to expoſe himſelf in ſo noble a Deſign, and furniſhed him with Means for undertaking that Voyage, which he had ſo long meditated for the public Advantage. This, therefore, ought to be conſidered as a ſupplemental Voyage to the laſt; and, indeed, in this Light the Author ſeems to have conſidered it, by his frequent References from this to that.

2. I ſailed, ſays he, from the *Downs*, *January* 14. $169\frac{8}{9}$, with a fair Wind, in his Majeſty's Ship the *Roebuck*, carrying in this Voyage twelve Guns, fifty Men and Boys, and twenty Months Proviſion. We took our Departure from the *Start*, which was the laſt Land we ſaw in *England*, as the firſt we ſaw, after we were out of the Chanel, was Cape *Finiſterre*, which we made on the 19th; and, on the 28th, made *Lancerota*, one of the *Canary* Iſlands. We then ſtood away for the Iſland of *Teneriff*, where I intended to take in Wind and Brandy for my Voyage. *January* 30. I anchored in the Road of *Santa Cruz*, the fitteſt Port in the Iſland for my Purpoſe. The Road before this Place is but very indifferent, lying ſo open to the Eaſt, that Winds from that Quarter make a great Swell, and render it very dangerous going aſhore in Boats. The beſt Landing is in a ſmall ſandy Cove, about a Mile to the North-eaſt of the Road, where there is very good Water; inſomuch that Ships which take in their Lading at *Oratavia*, which is the principal Part of the Iſland for Trade, ſend their Boats thither for Water. That Port, however, is rather more expoſed to Weſterly, than this to Eaſterly Winds, which was the Reaſon I declined it. There are between this Watering-place and *Santa Cruz* two ſmall Ports, which, with ſeveral Batteries, ſerve to command the Road, and ſecure the Place from being inſulted by Privateers. The Time I ſtayed here gave me all the neceſſary Opportunities for conſidering the Place, its Inhabitants, and the Country adjacent; and therefore enabled me to form ſuch a Deſcription of them, as may ſatisfy the Reader's Curioſity, and give him a tolerable Idea of an Iſland ſo often mentioned by Navigators, on account of the placing here the firſt Meridian, from which the Degrees of Longitude in our Maps are generally reckoned.

3. This Town of *Santa Cruz* is a ſmall Town, without any Wall about it, and defended only by two Forts. It was here that our famous Admiral *Blake* deſtroyed the *Spaniſh* Galleons *April* 20. 1657. and the Wrecks of ſome of them are lying ſtill there in fifteen Fathom Water. Soon after my Arrival, I went by Land to the City of *Laguna*, the Metropolis of this Iſle, and the Reſidence of the preſent Governor-General of the *Canary* Iſlands, whoſe Name is *Don Pedro de Ponto*, a Native of this Iſland, and not long ago Preſident of *Panama*, in the South Seas, a very worthy Man, ſtrictly juſt, and very kind to Strangers. The City of *Laguna* is of a tolerable Size, and very compact, making a very agreeable Proſpect at a Diſtance. It ſtands Part of it againſt an Hill, and Part in a Level. The Houſes have moſtly ſtrong Walls, built with Stone, and covered with Pantile: They are not uniform; yet they appear pleaſant enough. There are many fair Buildings, among which are two Pariſh Churches, two Nunneries, an Hoſpital, four Convents, and ſome Chapels, beſides many Gentlemens Houſes. The Convents are theſe, of *St. Auſtin*, *St. Dominic*, *St. Francis*, and *St. Diego*. The two Churches have pretty high ſquare Steeples, which top the reſt of the Buildings: The Streets are not regular; yet they are moſtly ſpacious, and pretty handſome; and, near the Middle of the Town, there is a large Parade, which has good Building about it. There is a ſtrong Priſon on one Side of it, near which is a large Conduit of good Water, that ſupplies the whole Town. They have many Gardens, which are ſet round with Oranges, Limes, and other Fruits; in the Middle of which are hot Herbs, Sallading, Flowers, *&c.* and, indeed, if the Inhabitants were curious this Way, they might have very pleaſant Gardens; for, as the Town ſtands high from the Sea, on the Brow of a Plain that is all open to the Eaſt, and hath, conſequently, the Benefit of the true Trade-wind which blows here, and is moſt commonly fair, there are ſeldom wanting, at this Town, briſk, cooling, and refreſhing Breezes all the Day. On the Back of the Town there is a large Plain, of three or four Leagues in Length, and two Miles broad, producing a thick kindly Sort of Graſs, which looked green, and very pleaſant, when I was there, like our Meadows in *England* in the Spring. On the Eaſt Side of this Plain, very near the Back of the Town, there is a natural Lake or Pond of freſh Water. It is about half a Mile in Circumference; but, being ſtagnant, 'tis only uſed for Cattle to drink. In the Winter, ſeveral Sorts of Wild-fowl reſort hither, affording Plenty of Game to the Inhabitants of *Laguna:* This City is called *Laguna* from hence; for that Word, in *Spaniſh*, ſignifies a Lake or Pond. The Plain is bounded on the Weſt, the North-weſt, and the South-weſt, with high ſteep Hills, as high above this Plain, as this is above the Sea; and 'tis from the Foot of one of theſe Mountains that the Water of the Conduit, which ſupplies the Town, is conveyed over the Plain in Troughs of Stone, raiſed upon Pillars; and indeed, conſidering the Situation of the Town, its large Proſpect to the Eaſt, (for from hence you ſee the grand *Canary)* its Gardens, cool Arbours, pleaſant Plain, green Fields, the Pond and Aqueduct, and its refreſhing Breezes, it is a very delightful Dwelling, eſpecially for ſuch as have not Buſineſs that calls them far and often from hence; for, the Iſland being generally mountainous, ſteep, and craggy, full of Riſings and Fallings, 'tis very troubleſome travelling up and down in it, unleſs in the Cool of the Mornings and Evenings; and Mules and Aſſes are moſt uſed by them, both for Riding and Carriage, as fitteſt for the ſtony uneven Roads. Beyond the Mountains, on the South-weſt Side ſtill farther up, you may ſee from the Town and Plain a ſmall peeked Hill overlooking the reſt; this is that which is called the *Pike of Teneriff*, ſo much noted for its Height; but we ſaw it here at ſo great a Diſadvantage, by reaſon of the Nearneſs of the adjacent Mountains to us, that it looked inconſiderable in reſpect to its Fame. The true Malmſey Wine is produced in this Iſland, and is eſteemed the beſt white Wine in the World. Here is alſo Canary Wine, and Verdona or green Wine. The Canary grows chiefly on the Weſt Side of the Iſland, and therefore is commonly ſent to *Oratavia*, which, being the chief Sea-port for Trade in the Iſland, the principal *Engliſh* Merchants reſide there, with their Conſul, becauſe we have a great Trade for this Wine. I was told, that that Town is bigger than *Laguna*; that it has but one Church, but many Convents; that the Port is but ordinary at beſt, and is very bad when the North-weſt Winds blow. Theſe North-weſt Winds give notice of their coming, by a great Sea that tumbles in on the Shore for ſome time before they come, and by a black Sky in the North-weſt. Upon theſe Signs Ships either get up their Anchors, or ſlip their Cables, and put to Sea, and ply off and on till the Weather is over: Sometimes they are forced to do ſo two or three times before they can take in their Lading, which 'tis hard to do here in the faireſt Weather; and for freſh Water they ſend, as I have ſaid, to *Santa Cruz*. Verdona is green, ſtrong-bodied Wine, harſher and ſharper than Canary: 'Tis not ſo much eſteemed in *Europe*, but is exported to the *Weſt Indies*, and will keep beſt in hot Countries; for which Reaſon I touched here, to take in ſome of it for my Voyage: This Sort of Wine is made chiefly on the Eaſt Side of the Iſland, and ſhipped off at *Santa Cruz*.

4. We ſailed from *Santa Cruz February* 4. towards the Iſle of *Mayo*, one of the Cape *Verd* Iſlands. The 9th, being in the Latitude of 15° 4′, we ſteered away Weſt North-weſt for the ſaid Iſle, where we anchored the 11th in the Road, which is the Leeward Part of the Iſle, in fourteen Fathom, clean Sand, and ſmooth Water. The Iſle of *May* is roundiſh, ſeven Leagues in Circuit, in 15° North Latitude. On the Weſt Side of it, where the Road for Ships is, there is a large ſandy Bay, within which is a ſpacious Salt Pond: Thoſe who come hither to lade Salt, take it up as it kerns, and lay it up in Heaps. The *Engliſh* have a conſiderable Trade here in Salt, which coſts nothing but the Labour to take it out, and wheeling it from the Pond; and the Carriage thence to the *Frape Boat*, as the Seamen call it, (by which it is conveyed aboard the Ships)

being performed by Mules, is very cheap. For the reſt, the Soil of it is generally barren, the Ground being Sand or looſe Stone, without any freſh-water Rivers or Ponds; except one Spring in the Centre of the Iſle, running thro' a Valley, where the Inhabitants have three ſmall Towns, *Pinoſe*, *St. John's*, and *Lagoa*. The Inhabitants are Negroes by Deſcent, and reſembling thoſe of *Africa*. As they are Subjects of *Portugal*, ſo they follow their Religion, but have Prieſts and a Governor of their own Nation. Their Fruits are chiefly Figs, and Water-melons; their beſt Land-animals Goats and Aſſes: The Sea affords them Dolphins, Bonettas, Mullets, Snappers, Silver-fiſh, Gar-fiſh, and green Tortoiſes, during the wet Seaſon in *May*, *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, which is their Time of Laying. It may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange, that not Turtle only, but all Sorts of amphibious Creatures, lay their Eggs, not in the dry, but wet Seaſon, which one would imagine might deſtroy them. To account for this, however, with ſome Degree of Probability, we ought to conſider, that theſe Animals all lay their Eggs very deep; ſo that the Rain, being drank up by the Sand over them, not only never reaches ſo as to ſpoil them, but checks alſo the riſing Heat; and, by keeping it down, anſwers all the Intentions of a Stove, or hot Bed.

5. *February* 19. we ſailed from hence to *St. Iago*, ſix Leagues to the Weſt; and, the next Day, anchored near *St. Iago* Town, lying on the South-weſt Side of the Iſle, in 16° North Latitude, the Reſidence of the *Portugueſe* Governor, and of the Biſhop of all the Cape *Verd* Iſlands. This Town ſtands ſcattering againſt the Sides of two Mountains, between which there is a great Valley, which is about 200 Yards wide. Againſt the Sea there is a ſtraggling Street, Houſes on each Side, and a Run of Water in the Bottom, which empties itſelf into a fine ſmall Cove, or ſandy Bay, where the Sea is commonly very ſmooth; ſo that here is good Watering and good Landing at any time, though the Road be rocky, and bad for Ships: Juſt by the Landing-place there is a ſmall Fort, almoſt level with the Sea, where is always a Corps-de-garde kept on the Top of an Hill: Above the Town there is another Fort, which, by the Wall that is to be ſeen from the Road, ſeems to be a large Place: They have Cannon mounted there; but how many I know not, neither what Uſe that Fort can be of, except it be for Salutes. The Town may conſiſt of 2 or 300 Houſes, all built of rough Stone, haveing alſo one Convent, and one Church; the People in general a black, or at leaſt of a mixt Colour, except only ſome few of the better ſort, *viz.* the Governor, the Biſhop, ſome of the Gentlemen, and ſome of the Padres; for ſome of theſe are black. The People about *Praya* are thieviſh; but thoſe of *St. Iago* Town, living under their Governor's Eye, are more orderly, though generally poor, having little Trade; yet, beſides chance Ships of other Nations, there come hither a *Portugueſe* Ship or two every Year, in their Way to *Braſil*. Theſe vend among them a few *European* Commodities, and take off their principal Manufactures, *viz.* ſtriped Cotton, which they carry with them to *Braſil*. Another Ship alſo comes hither from *Portugal* for Sugar, their other Manufacture, and returns with it directly thither: For 'tis reported, that there are ſeveral ſmall Sugar-works on this Iſland, from which they ſend Home near 100 Tons every Year: And they have Plenty of Cotton growing up in the Country, wherewith they cloathe themſelves, and ſend alſo a deal to *Braſil*. They have Vines, of the Fruit of which they make ſome Wine; but the *European* Ships furniſh them with better, though they drink but little of any. Their chief Fruits are (beſides Plantains in abundance) Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, Melons, (both Muſk and Water-melons) Limes, Guavas, Pomgranates, Quinces, Cuſtard-apples, and Papahs, &c. The Cuſtard-apple (as we call it) is a Fruit as big as a Pomgranate, and much of the ſame Colour: The outſide Husk-ſhell, or Rind, is, for Subſtance and Thickneſs, between the Shell of a Pomgranate and the Peel of a *Seville* Orange, ſofter than this, yet more bitter than that. The Coat or Covering is alſo remarkable, in that it is beſet round with ſmall regular Knobs, or Riſings; and the Inſide of the Fruit is full of a white ſoft Pulp, ſweet, and very pleaſant, and moſt reſembling a Cuſtard of any thing, both in Colour and Taſte; from whence, probably, it is called a Cuſtard-apple by our *Engliſh*: It has, in the Middle, a few ſmall black Stones or Kernels, but no Core; for 'tis all Pulp: The Tree that bears this Fruit is about the Bigneſs of a Quince-tree, with long, ſmall, and thick-ſet Branches ſpread much abroad. At the Extremity of here-and-there one of which, the Fruit grows upon a Stalk of its own, about nine or ten Inches long, ſlender and tough, and hanging down with its own Weight. A large Tree of this Sort bears uſually twenty or thirty Apples, very ſeldom more. This Fruit grows in moſt Countries within the Tropics; I have ſeen of them (tho' I omitted the Deſcription of them before) all over the *Weſt Indies*, both Continent and Iſlands, as alſo in *Braſil*, and in the *Eaſt Indies*. The Papah too is found in all theſe Countries, though I have not hitherto deſcribed it: It is a Fruit about the Bigneſs of a Muſk-melon, hollow as it is, and much reſembling it in Shape and Colour, both Outſide and Inſide; only in the Middle, inſtead of flat Kernels which the Melons have, theſe have an Handſul of blackiſh Seeds, about the Bigneſs of Pepper-corns, whoſe Taſte is alſo hot on the Tongue, ſomewhat like Pepper. The Fruit itſelf is ſweet, ſoft, and luſcious, when ripe; but, while green, is hard and unſavoury; though, even then, being boiled, and eaten with ſalt Pork or Beef, it ſerves inſtead of Turneps, and is as much eſteemed. The Papah-tree is about ten or twelve Feet high; the Body, near the Ground, may be a Foot and an half or two Feet Diameter, and it grows up taper to the Top: It has no Branches at all, but only large Leaves growing upon Stalks, which proceed out of the Body: The Leaves are of a roughiſh Form, and jagged about the Edges, having their Stalks, or Stumps, longer or ſhorter, as they grow nearer to or further from the Top. They begin to ſpring from out of the Body of the Tree at about ſix or ſeven Feet high from the Ground, the Trunk being bare below; but, above that, the Leaves grow thicker and larger till towards its Top, where they are cloſe and broad. The Fruit grows only among the Leaves, and thickeſt among the thickeſt of them; inſomuch that, towards the Top of the Tree, the Papahs ſpring forth from its Body, as thick as they can ſtick one by another; but then, lower down, where the Leaves are thinner, the Fruit is larger, and of the Size I have deſcribed; and at the Top, where they are thick, they are but ſmall, and no bigger than ordinary Turneps, yet taſted like the reſt. As to the Land-animals, Fowls and Fiſh, there is nothing I can ſay about them that ought to detain the Reader; and therefore I will proceed in my Voyage, after remarking, that the Road of *St. Iago* is ſo bad, that in my Life I think I never ſaw one worſe.

6. We ſailed from *St. Iago February* 22. and my Intention was to have gone to *Pernambuca*, and from thence directly to the Coaſt of *New Guiney*; and this out of pure Compaſſion to my Ship's Company, who were but very young Seamen, there being only two in the Ship that had ever paſſed the Line, and thoſe two were none of the oldeſt. They, therefore, grew very uneaſy; talked much of returning to *England*; and, at laſt, gave me ſo much Diſquiet, that I began to doubt *Pernambuca* was no fit Place for me to truſt myſelf in, becauſe, as the Ship muſt ride two or three Leagues from the Town, and not under the Command of any Fort, they might eaſily, in caſe of my going on ſhore, have cut or ſlipt their Cables, and have run away with the Ship. After mature Deliberation, therefore, I altered my Courſe, and ſtood away for the Bay of *All Saints*, and arrived before the Place on *March* 25. and anchored in the Port very ſafely. *Bahia de todos los Santos*, as the *Portugueſe* call it, or *The Bay of All Saints*, lies in the Latitude of 13° South, has the Conveniency of a very good Harbour, ſecured and commanded by three ſeveral Forts. The Place itſelf conſiſts of about 2000 Houſes, moſt of which are hid from the Ships in the Harbour; but thoſe that are ſeen, being intermixed with Trees, afford a very pleaſant and delightful Proſpect. There are, in the Town, thirteen Churches, Chapels, and Convents, beſides one Nunnery, *viz.* the *Eccleſia major*, or Cathedral, the Jeſuits College, which are the chief, and both in Sight from the Harbour; *St. Antonio*, *Sta. Barbara*, both Pariſh-churches; the *Franciſcan* Church, and the *Dominicans*; and

two Convents of *Carmelites*; a Chapel for Seamen cloſe by the Sea-ſide, where Boats commonly land, and the Seamen go immediately to Prayers; another Chapel for poor People, at the farther End of the ſame Street, which runs along by the Shore; and a third Chapel for Soldiers at the Edge of the Town, remote from the Sea; and an Hoſpital in the Middle of the Town. The Nunnery ſtands at the outer Edge of the Town next the Fields, wherein, as I was told, are ſeventy Nuns. Here lives an Archbiſhop, who has a fine Palace in the Town, and the Governor's Palace is a fine Stone Building, and looks handſome to the Sea, tho' but indifferently furniſhed within; both *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe*, in their Plantations abroad, as I have generally obſerved, affecting to have large Houſes, but are little curious about Furniture, except ſome of them with reſpect to Pictures. The Houſes of the Town are two or three Stories high, the Wall thick and ſtrong, being built with Stone, and a Covering of Pantile, and many of them have Balconies. The principal Streets are large, and all of them paved or pitched with ſmall Stones. There are alſo Parades in the moſt eminent Places of the Town, and many Gardens, as well within the Town, as in the Out-parts of it, wherein are Fruit-trees, Herbs, Salladings, and Flowers, in great Variety, but ordered with no great Care nor Art. The Governor, who reſides here, is called *Don John de Lancaſtrio*, being deſcended, as they ſay, from our *Engliſh Lancaſter* Family; and he has a Reſpect for our Nation on that Account, calling them his Countrymen: I waited on him ſeveral times, and always found him very courteous and civil. Here are about 400 Soldiers in Gariſon; they commonly draw up, and exerciſe in a large Parade before the Governor's Houſe, and many of them attend him when he goes abroad. The Soldiers are decently clad in brown Linen, which, in theſe hot Countries, is far better than Woollen; but I never ſaw any clad in Linen, but only theſe. Beſides the Soldiers in Pay, he can ſoon have ſome Thouſands of Men in Arms upon Occaſion. The Magazine is on the Skirts of the Town, on a ſmall Riſing between the Nunnery and the Soldiers Church; it is big enough to hold 2 or 3000 Barrels of Powder, but I was told, it ſeldom had more than 100 in it, ſometimes but eighty; there are always a Company of Soldiers to guard it, and Centinels looking out both Day and Night. A great many Merchants always reſide at *Bahia*; for 'tis a Place of great Trade. I found here above thirty great Ships from *Europe*, with two of the King of *Portugal*'s Ships of War for their Convoy, beſides two Ships that traded to *Africa* only, either to *Angola*, *Gambia*, or other Places on the Coaſt of *Guiney*; and abundance of Small-craft, that only run to and fro on this Coaſt, carrying Commodities from one Port of *Braſil* to another. The Merchants, that live here, are ſaid to be rich, and to have many Negro Slaves in their Houſes, both of Men and Women. They are chiefly *Portugueſe*, Foreigners having but little Commerce with them; yet here was one Mr. *Cock*, an *Engliſh* Merchant, a very civil Gentleman, and of a good Repute. He had a Patent to be our *Engliſh* Conſul; but did not care to take upon him any public Character, becauſe *Engliſh* Ships ſeldom come hither, here having been none in eleven or twelve Years before this Time. Here was alſo a *Daniſh* and a *French* Merchant, or two; but all have their Effects tranſported to and from *Europe* in *Portugueſe* Ships, none of any other Nation being admitted to trade hither. There is a Cuſtom-houſe by the Sea-ſide, where all Goods imported or exported are entered; and, to prevent Abuſes, there are five or ſix Boats, that take their Turns to row about the Harbour, ſearching any Boats they ſuſpect to be running Goods. The chief Commodities, that the *European* Ships bring hither, are Linen Cloths both coarſe and fine, ſome Woollens, alſo Bays, Serges, Perpetuanas, *&c.* Hats, Stockings both Silk and Thread, Biſquet-bread, Wheat, Flour, Wine, (chiefly *Port*) Oil-olive, Butter, Cheeſe, *&c.* and ſalt Beef and Pork would be good Commodities there. They bring hither alſo Iron, and all manner of Iron Tools, Pewter Veſſels of all ſorts, as Diſhes, Plates, Spoons, *&c.* Looking-glaſſes, Beads, and other Toys; and the Ships that touch at *St. Iago* bring thence, as I ſaid, Cotton, which is afterwards ſent to *Angola*. The *European* Ships carry from hence Sugar, Tobacco, either in Roll or Snuff, never in Leaves, that I know of. Theſe are the ſtaple Commodities, beſides which, there are Dye-woods, as Fuſtic, *&c.* with Woods for other Uſes, as ſpeckled Wood, Braſil, *&c.* They alſo carry home raw Hides, Tallow, Train-oil of Whales, *&c.* Here are alſo kept tame Monkeys, Parrots, Partridges, *&c.* which the Seamen carry home. The Sugar of this Country is much better than that which we bring home from our Plantations; for all the Sugar, that is made here, is clayed, which makes it whiter and finer than our Muſcovado, as we call our unrefined Sugar. Our Planters ſeldom refine any with Clay, unleſs ſometimes a little to ſend home as Preſents for their Friends in *England*. Their Way of doing it here is, by taking ſome of the whiteſt Clay, and mixing it with Water, till it be like Cream: With this they fill up the Pans of Sugar, that are ſunk two or three Inches below the Brim, by draining the Melaſſes out of it, firſt ſcraping off the thin hard Cruſt of the Sugar, that lies at the Top, and would hinder the Water of the Clay from ſoaking through the Sugar of the Pan. The Refining is made by this Percolation for ten or twelve Days Time, that the clayiſh Liquor lies ſoaking down the Pan: The white Water whitens the Sugar as it paſſes through it, and the groſs Body of the Clay grows hard at the Top, and may be taken off at Pleaſure, when ſcraping off with a Knife the very upper Part of the Sugar, which will be a little ſullied, that which is underneath, will be white almoſt to the Bottom; and ſuch as is called Braſil Sugar is thus whitened. When I was there, this Sugar was ſold for fifty Shillings *per* Hundred, and the Bottoms of the Pots, which is very coarſe Sugar, for about twenty Shillings *per* Hundred, both Sorts being then ſcarce; for here was not enough to lade the Ships; and therefore ſome of them were to lie here till the next Seaſon. The *European* Ships commonly arrive here in *February* or *March*; and they have generally quick Paſſages, finding, at that Time of the Year, briſk Gales to bring them to the Line, little Trouble then in croſſing it, and briſk North North-eaſt Winds afterwards to bring them hither. They commonly return from hence about the latter End of *May*, or in *June*. It was ſaid, when I was here, that the Ships would ſail *May* 20. and therefore they were all very buſy, ſome in taking in their Goods, others in careening and making themſelves ready. The Ships that come hither commonly careen at their firſt Coming, here being a Hulk belonging to the King for that Purpoſe. This Hulk is under the Charge of the Superintendant I ſpoke of, who has a certain Sum of Money for every Ship that careens by her. He alſo provides Firing, and other Neceſſaries for that Purpoſe; and the Ships commonly hire of the Merchants here each two Cables to moor by all the Time they lie here, and ſo ſave their own Hempen Cables; for theſe are made of a ſort of Vegetable String, ſpringing from the Top of a Tree, and in its Subſtance reſembling Hair, which is very ſtrong and laſting. There is a great Trade carried on here of different Kinds; but particularly a ſort of Whale-fiſhing. Theſe Creatures are but ſmall; but, as they come in great Numbers, the killing of them turns to good Account, as may appear from the Profit ariſing by the Royal Licences, which bring thirty thouſand Dollars annually to the King of *Portugal*. The Inhabitants of this City are, generally ſpeaking, rich, or at leaſt in very good Circumſtannes; ſo that few or none of them want their Negro Slaves for all domeſtic Uſes, by whom alſo they are carried, when they go abroad, in a kind of Hammocks, where they lie or ſit at their Eaſe, either covered with a Curtain, or expoſed, as they think proper. Beſides this Port or Bay of *All Saints*, there are two Harbours much frequented in *Braſil*, *viz.* *Pernambuca* or *Fernambuca*, and *Rio Janeiro*; and, beſides theſe, there is a Town and Haven called *St. Paul's*, near which they gather much Gold; but the People are ſaid to be a ſort of Banditti, without Laws, Order or Government: But, however, as they have a great deal of Money, they are very well furniſhed with *European* Commodities. Indeed Money is every-where plenty in this Country ſince the Diſcovery of the Gold Mines; which muſt increaſe the Regret of the *Dutch*, who were once Maſters of the beſt Part of *Braſil*.

7. The Country about the City of *Bahia de todos los Santos* is flat, neither very high, nor exceſſive low, ſufficiently watered with Rivers and Rivulets. The Soil is, generally

ſpeaking, pretty good; and when cultivated, produces, beſides other Vegetables, Sugar-canes, Cotton, Indico, Tobacco, Maiz, and Fruit-trees, as alſo ſome other Trees peculiar to this Country; as the Sapiera, Vermiatico, Comaſteric, Gritteba, Serric, three Sorts of Mangrove-trees, and as many Sorts of Cotton-trees, both wild and planted. They have alſo a ſort of a baſtard Cocoa-nut-tree, not near ſo big as the common ones in the *Eaſt* or *Weſt Indies*. The Kernel is ſweet, but hard. At the Top of theſe Cocoa-trees grows a black Thread, like Horſehair, but longer, of which they make Cables, that are more ſerviceable and laſting, than thoſe made of Hemp. The reſt of their Fruits are Oranges of ſeveral Sorts, eſpecially *China* Oranges, Limes, Pomgranates, Pomcitrons, Plantains, Bananas, right Cocoa-nuts, Guavas, Cocoa-plums, wild Grapes, (beſides *European* Grapes) Hog-plums, Cuſtard-apples, Sour-ſops, Caſhews, Papahs, Jennipahs, Manchinel-apples, and Mangoes, (tho' theſe laſt are but rare as yet) Ariſahs, Mericaſahs, Potangoes, *&c.* (Fruits not to be ſeen in other Countries) Petumbos, Mungareos, Mackiſhaws, Inguas, Otee, Muſteran de Ovas, Palm-berries, Phyſic-nuts, Cabbage-trees, *&c.* They have alſo abundance of Ground-fruit; ſuch as Callavances, Pine-apples, Pompions, Water-melons, Muſk-melons, Cucumbers; of Yams, Potatoes, Caſſavas; of Garden-herbs, Cabbages, Turneps, Onions, Leeks, and all ſorts of Sallading. They have great Plenty and Variety of wild Fowl; *viz.* Yammas, Maccaws, (a large Sort of Parrots) common Parrots, Flamingoes, Carrion-crows, Chattering-crows, Cockcoes, curious-coloured Bill-birds, Correſſoes, Turtle-doves, Pigeons, Jaunetees, Clocking-hens, Crabcatchers, Currecoſs, *Muſcovy* Ducks, common Ducks, Widgeons, Teal, Curlews, Men-of-war-birds, Boobies, Noddies, Pelicans, *&c.* The chief of their tame Fowl are Ducks, and other Dunghil Fowl. Of theſe they have two Sorts, one of the ſame Size with ours, and another larger, which are ſold at a dear Rate here. Their Land-animals are, Horſes, Black Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Coneys, Hogs, Leopards, Tygers, Monkeys, Pecary, (a ſort of wild Hogs) Armadillos, Alligators, Guanoes, Lizards, Serpents, Frogs, and a ſort of amphibious Creature called *Cachora de Aqua* by the *Portugueſe*, and Water-dogs by the *Engliſh*, from their Reſemblance to a ſhaggy Maſtiff-dog, with four ſhort Legs. They have here alſo the *Amphisbæna*, or two-headed Snake, of a grey Colour, with black Streaks. Its Bite is reckoned incurable: The beſt is, that it ſeldom wounds. Having two Specks in the Head, inſtead of Eyes, ſome ſay it is altogether blind, and lives under-ground like a Mole. Its Length is about fourteen Inches, with an Head at each End; whence the *Portugueſe* call it *Cobra de dos Cabaſſes*, i. e. *The Snake with two Heads*; but I never ſaw one of theſe. The Sea hereabouts affords Tarpeins, Mullets, Groopers, Snocks, Gar-fiſh, Goraſſes, Baramas, Coquindas, Cavallies, Dog-fiſh, Herrings, Seroco, Olco de Boy, Whales, Lobſters, Crayfiſh, Shrimps, Crabs, common Oyſters, Conchs, Wilks, Cockles, Muſſels, Periwinkles, and three Sorts of Sea-tortoiſes; *viz.* the Hawkſ-bill, Loggerhead, and green Tortoiſe. The firſt is the moſt eſteemed, its Shell being the moſt beautiful, and therefore ſold very dear, and is a very conſiderable Commodity.

8. *April* 3. in the Morning, we ſailed from this Harbour; and, at twelve o'Clock, Cape *Salvadore* bore North, diſtant ſix Leagues. The 27th, we came in the Latitude of the *Abroblo* Sholes, *viz.* in 18° and 19° South Latitude. *May* 3. at 20° our meridian Diſtance from Cape *Salvadore* was 234 Miles, the Variation 7°. The 12th, being in 31° 10′ South Latitude, we began to have Weſt Winds; but met with nothing of Moment, except a dead Whale, the Carcaſe whereof was intirely covered with Birds of divers Sorts, as Pintado-birds, Shearwaters, Petrels, *&c.* We ſaw alſo abundance of Sea-weeds in 39° 32′ South Latitude, near the Meridian of the Iſle *Triſtian d'Acunna*, as laid down by the *Portugueſe*. *June* 2. I ſaw a large black Fowl, with a white flat Bill, which is ſaid never to fly above thirty Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*; whereas, according to my Account, we were ninety Leagues from thence; but ſoon after found, I was not above twenty-five Leagues from the Cape. *June* 3. ſteering to the Eaſt, we ſaw a Sail, which proved the *Antelope* of *London*, coming the Day before from the Cape. We kept Company till the next Day, when they ſteered for the *Eaſt Indies*, and I for the Coaſt of *New Holland*, lying North North-eaſt from the Cape. We did not loſe Sight of one another till *June* 6. The 7th, it was very tempeſtuous Weather, and the Wind continued pretty high till the 16th, and moderate till the 19th, the Wind from Weſt North-weſt to South by Weſt, when we had run 600 Leagues, and were in 34° 17′ South Latitude, and 39° 24′ Longitude Eaſt from the Cape. The Winds continued at North-eaſt by Eaſt till the 27th, and afterwards between North North-weſt and South South-weſt till the 4th of *July*; in which Space we ſailed 782 Miles: All which time we met with nothing of Remark, except ſome Birds and Whales, eſpecially as we came nearer to the Shore. About ninety Leagues from the Land, we began to ſee Sea-weeds, and, about thirty Leagues diſtant, ſome Skuttle-bones floating on the Water. *July* 25. being in 26° 14′ South Latitude, and 85° 52′ Longitude Eaſt from the Cape of *Good Hope*, we ſaw more Sea-weed, like Moſs. The 28th, the ſame increaſed upon us; and, the 29th, we ſaw Skuttle-bones, Bonetoes, and Skip-jacks, a Fiſh of eight Inches long, not unlike a Roch. The 30th, we ſaw more Skuttle-bones and Sea-weeds, and a ſort of Fowls we had not ſeen before, of a grey Colour, with red ſharp Bills, but, for the reſt, not unlike Lapwings.

9. *Auguſt* 2. we ſtood in towards the Land, to look for an Harbour to refreſh ourſelves, after a Voyage of 114° from *Braſil*. We ſaw an Opening in 26° South Latitude; but, finding nothing but Rocks and foul Ground, we ſtood off again the 2d. The 4th, we had 60° 56′, and fifty-five Fathom Water; and, the 5th, ſaw Land again, ten Leagues diſtant, in 25° 30′ South Latitude. The 6th, we ſaw an Opening in the Land, in which we anchored in two Fathom and an half of Water, *Auguſt* 7. I called the Mouth of this Sound *Sharks Bay*, lying in 25° South Latitude, and, according to our Reckoning, in 87° Longitude Eaſt from the Cape of *Good Hope*, which is leſs by 195 Leagues than is laid down in the common Draughts. The Land is pretty high, but the Shore ſteep to the Sea. The Mould is Sand by the Sea-ſide, producing a large ſort of Samphire, which bears a white Flower. Farther in, the Mould is reddiſh, mixed with a ſort of Sand, producing ſome Graſs, Plants, and Shrubs. The Graſs grows in great Tufts, as big as a Buſhel, here-and-there a Tuft, being intermixed with a great deal of Heath, much of the kind we have growing on our Commons in *England*. Of Trees and Shrubs here are divers Sorts; but none above ten Feet high, their Bodies about three Feet round, and five or ſix Feet high before you come to the Branches, which are buſhy, and compoſed of ſmall Twigs there, ſpreading abroad, tho' thick-ſet, and full of Leaves, which were moſtly long and narrow. The Colour of the Leaves was one Side whitiſh, and on the other green; and the Bark of the Trees was generally of the ſame Colour with the Leaves, of a pale Green. Some of theſe Trees were ſweet-ſcented, and reddiſh within the Bark, like Saſſafras, but darker. Moſt of the Trees and Shrubs had, at this time, either Bloſſoms or Berries on them. The Bloſſoms of the different Sorts of Trees are of divers Colours, as red, white, yellow, *&c.* but moſtly blue; and theſe ſmelt very ſweet and fragrant, as did alſo ſome of the reſt. There were, beſides, ſome Plants, Herbs, and tall Flowers, ſome very ſmall Flowers growing on the Ground, that were ſweet and beautiful, and, for the moſt part, unlike any I had ſeen elſewhere. There were but few Land-fowls: I ſaw none, but Eagles, of the larger Sort of Birds, but five or ſix Sorts of ſmall Birds. The largeſt Sort of theſe were no bigger than Larks, ſome no bigger than Wrens, all ſinging, with great Variety of fine ſhrill Notes; and we ſaw ſome of their Neſts, with Young-ones in them. The Water-fowls are, Ducks, (which had Young-ones, this being the Beginning of the Spring in thoſe Parts) Curlews, Galdens, Crabcatchers, Cormorants, Gulls, Pelicans, and ſome Water-fowl, ſuch as I have not ſeen any-where beſides. The Land-animals, that we ſaw here, were only a ſort of Maccroons, different from thoſe in the *Weſt Indies*, chiefly as to their Legs, upon which they jump, as the reſt of their Species do, and are, like them, very good Meat; and a ſort of Guanas, but differing from them in ſome remarkable Particulars; for theſe had a larger and more frightful Head, and had no

Fowl & Fish observed by Capt. Willm. Dampier in New Guinea and the Iſlands adjacent.

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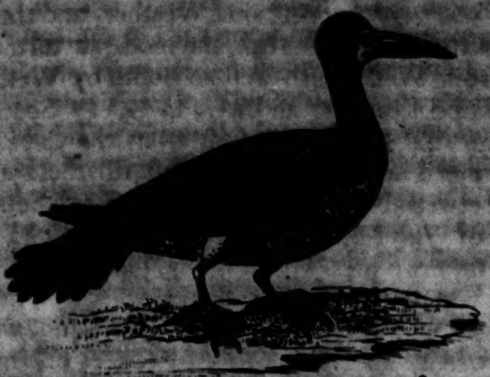
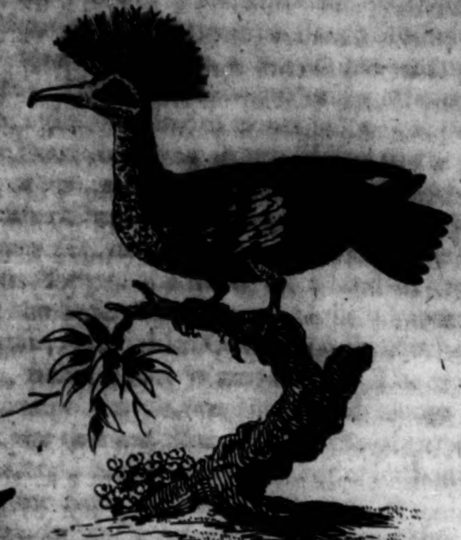
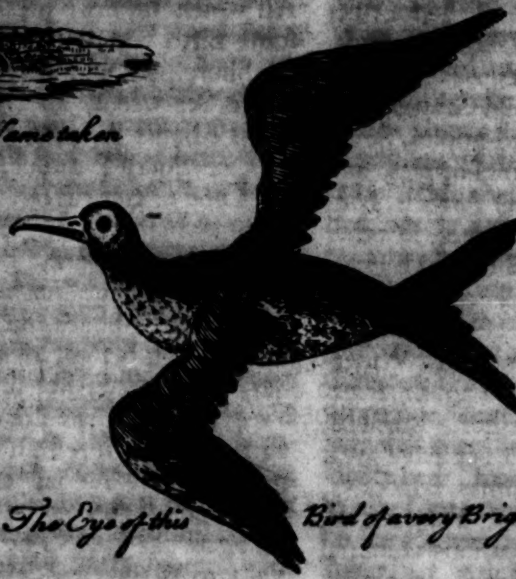


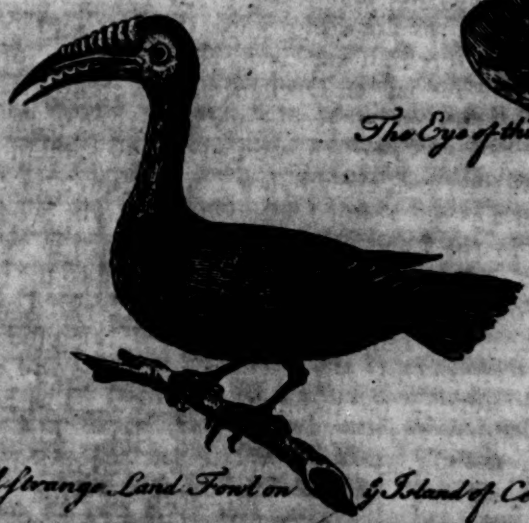
A Bird hitherto without a Name taken on New Guinea.



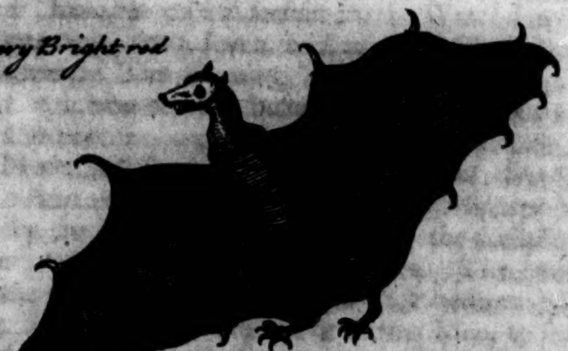
A most beautifull Land Fowl in New Guinea.



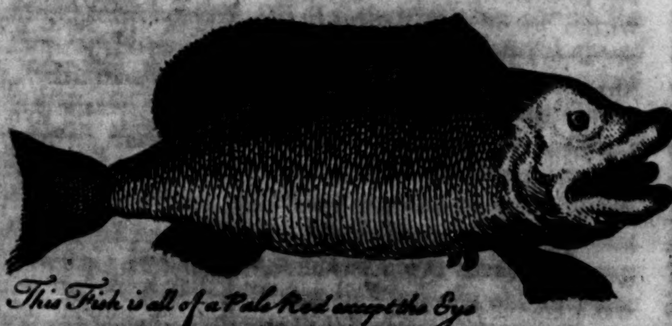
The Eye of this Bird of a very Bright red



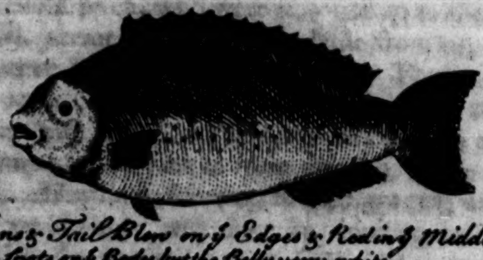
A ſtrange Land Fowl on ye Island of Ceram



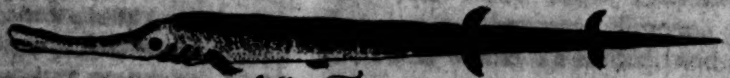
A Bat on Pulo Sabuda on ye Coast of New Guinea



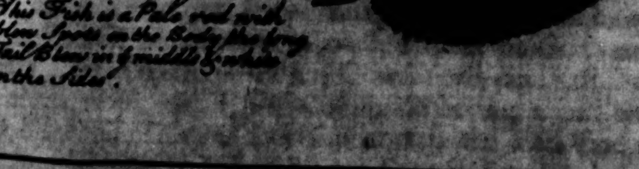
This Fish is all of a Pale Red except the Eye



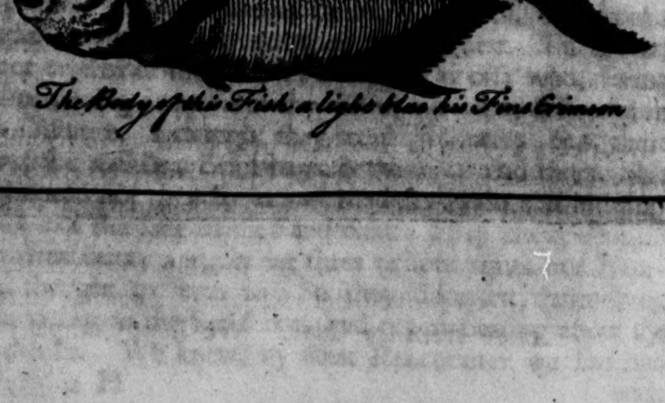
The Fins & Tail Blew on ye Edges & Red in ye Middle with blew Spots on ye Body but the Belly very white.



A Pike Fish Conger



This Fish is a Pale red with blew Spots on the Body the long Tail Blew in ye middle & white on the Sides.



The Body of this Fish a light blue his Fins Crimson

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Tail; and, at the Rump, where a Tail ſhould have been placed, there appeared ſomething reſembling an Head; but without Mouth or Eyes. Their Legs alſo differed from other Creatures of the ſame Kind, by their appearing to be ſo made, as to carry the Body either way; which, with the Particular before-mentioned, might make a common Spectator apprehend this Creature had two Heads. They were ſpeckled black and yellow, like Toads; and had Scales on their Backs, like Crocodiles. They are very ſlow in Motion; and, when a Man comes nigh them, they will ſtand ſtock-ſtill, and hiſs, without endeavouring to get away; and the Body, when opened, hath a very unſavoury Smell. I never ſaw ſuch ugly Creatures any-where, but here. The Guanas, in other Parts, I have obſerved to be very good Meat, and have often eat of them with great Satisfaction; but tho' I have eaten of Snakes, Crocodiles, and Alligators, yet, I believe, the quickeſt Senſe of Hunger would not have tempted me to taſte the Guana of *New Holland*. The Sea-fiſh we ſaw here, (for there was no Freſh-water of any kind to be ſeen) are chiefly Sharks. There are abundance of them in this Sound; which was the Reaſon I called it *Sharks Bay*. There were alſo Skates, Thornbacks, and other Fiſh of the Prey-kind, (one Sort eſpecially like the Sea-devil) and Guardfiſh, Bonatos, *&c.* Of Shell-fiſh we got alſo there Muſſels, Periwinkles, Limpits, Oyſters, both of the Pearl-kind, and of ſuch as were eatable, beſides Cockles, *&c.* The Shore was lined thick with many other Sorts of very ſtrange and beautiful Shells, of Variety of Colour and Shape, moſt finely ſpotted with red, yellow, *&c.* ſuch as I have not ſeen any-where, but at this Place. I brought away a great many of them; but loſt all, except a very few, and thoſe not of the beſt. There are alſo ſome green Turtles, weighing about 200 *lb.* Of theſe we caught two, which the Water ebbing had left behind a Ledge of Rocks, which they could not creep over. Theſe ſerved all my Company two Days, and they were indifferent ſweet Meat. Of the Sharks we caught a great many, which our Men eat very ſavourily. Among theſe we caught one, that was eleven Feet long. The Space between its two Eyes was twenty Inches, and eighteen Inches from one Corner of its Mouth to the other. Its Maw was like a Leather-ſack, very thick, and ſo tough, that a ſharp Knife could ſcarce cut it; in which we found the Head and Bones of an Hippopotamus, the hairy Lips of which were ſtill ſound, and not putrefied; and the Jaw was alſo firm, out of which we plucked a great many Teeth, two of them eight Inches long, and as big as a Man's Thumb, ſmall at one End, and a little crooked; the reſt not above half ſo long. The Maw was full of Jelly, which ſtunk extremely; however, I ſaved for awhile the Teeth, and the Shark's Jaw. The Fleſh of it was divided among my Men, and they took care that no Waſte ſhould be made of it, but thought it, as things ſtood, good Entertainment.

10. We anchored at three ſeveral Places in this Bay; *Auguſt* 7. at the Weſt Side. Here we ſtaid till the 10th. We ſearched for freſh Water; but found none: However, we got ſome Wood for Fuel. The 11th, we ſteered farther in; towards Afternoon ſaw the Land, that makes the South of the Bay; but, meeting with Sholes, I ſteered away to the Eaſt; and, the 12th, paſſed the North Point of the Land, and ſtood farther into the Bay, to ſee what Land we could obſerve to the Eaſt, which we ſaw right a-head; but, having but ſhoal Water, I made the beſt of my way to return to the Weſt Entrance. The 14th, I ſailed again out of this Bay to the North-eaſt, coaſting along the Shore. The 15th, we were in 24° 41′; and, the 16th, at 23° 22′. The 17th, we ſaw Land again. The 18th, we ſaw abundance of Whales near a ſhoal Point, in 22° 22′; and, the 19th, in 21° 42′; the 20th, at 19° 37′. The 21ſt, we ſaw abundance of Sea-ſnakes, of two different Sorts and Shapes. At Noon, bearing in South-eaſt by Eaſt, the Land appeared like a Cape; but, anchoring about five Leagues from the *Bluff-point*, it proved the Eaſt End of an Iſle, ſix Leagues in Length, and one in Breadth, being ſurrounded on all Sides with many other ſmall rocky Iſles, which, in all Appearance, are a Range of Iſlands, ſtretching from North North-eaſt to Weſt South-weſt, perhaps as far as *Sharks Bay*, and nine or ten Leagues in Breadth towards *New Holland*. The Tides I met with a little while after gave me a Suſpicion, that there might be a kind of *Archipelago* of Iſles, and a Paſſage to the South of *New Holland* and *New Guiney* into the great South Sea Eaſtward; but, being in want of Water, I would not attempt the Diſcovery of it. This Place is in 20° 21′; whereas *Taſman*, in his Draught, has laid it down in 19° 50′, and has repreſented the Land as joining in one Ridge to the Continent. We went aſhore in the Iſle of *Bluff-point*, where we found two or three Shrubs, one like Roſemary; whence I called it *Roſemary Iſle*; and two Sorts of Grain, like Beans, one growing on Buſhes, the other on a kind of creeping Vine. We ſaw alſo ſome Cormorants, Gulls, Crabcatchers, *&c.* as alſo Limpits, Periwinkles, Oyſters, on the Rocks, ſome green Tortoiſes, Sharks, and Water-ſnakes. The 23d, we ran out again; and, the 25th, we ſtill coaſted along. The 27th and 28th, we ſaw no Land; but, the 30th, in 18° 21′, made the Land, and anchored in eight Fathom Water, thirty Leagues from the Shore.

11. *Auguſt* 30. being in 18° 21′, we made the Land again, and ſaw many great Smokes near the Shore; and, having fair Weather, and moderate Breezes, I ſteered in towards it. At four in the Afternoon, I anchored in eight Fathom Water, clear Sand, about three Leagues and an half from the Shore. I preſently ſent my Boat to ſound nearer in, and they found ten Fathom about a Mile nearer the Shore, and, from thence ſtill farther in, the Water decreaſed gradually to nine, eight, ſeven, and, at two Miles Diſtance, to ſix Fathom. This Evening, we ſaw an Eclipſe of the Moon; but it was abating before the Moon appeared to us; for the Horizon was very hazy, ſo that we could not ſee the Moon, till ſhe had been half an Hour above the Horizon; and, at two Hours twenty-two Minutes after Sun-ſet, by the Reckoning of our Glaſſes, the Eclipſe was quite gone, which was not of many Digits. The Moon's Centre was then 33° 4′ high. The 31ſt betimes in the Morning, I went aſhore with ten or eleven Men, to ſearch for Water. We went all of us armed with Muſquets and Cutlaſſes for our Defence, expecting to ſee People there, and carried alſo Shovels and Pickaxes to dig Wells. When we came near the Shore, we ſaw three tall, black, naked Men on the ſandy Bay a-head of us; but, as we rowed in, they went away. When we were landed, I ſent the Boat, with two Men in her, to lie a little from the Shore at Anchor, to prevent her being ſeized, while the reſt of us went after the three black Men, who were now got up to the Top of a ſmall Hill, about a quarter of a Mile from us, with eight or nine more Men in their Company. They, ſeeing us come, ran away. When we came on the Top of the Hill where they firſt ſtood, we ſaw a plain Savanna about half a Mile from us. Farther in from the Sea, there were ſeveral things like Haycocks ſtanding in the Savanna, which, at a Diſtance, we thought were Houſes, looking juſt like the *Hottentots* Houſes at the Cape of *Good Hope*; but we found them to be ſo many Rocks. We ſearched about theſe for Water; but could find none, nor any Houſe, nor People; for they were all gone. Then we turned again to the Place where we landed, and there we dug for Water. While we were at work, there came nine or ten of the Natives to a ſmall Hill a little Way from us, and ſtood there menacing and threatening us, and making a great Noiſe. At laſt one of them came towards us, and the reſt followed at a Diſtance. I went out to meet him, and came within fifty Yards of him, making to him all the Signs of Peace and Friendſhip I could; but then he ran away, neither would any of them ſtay for us to come nigh them, tho' we tried three or four times. At laſt, I took two Men with me, and went in the Afternoon along by the Sea-ſide, on purpoſe to catch one of them, if I could, of whom I might learn where they got their freſh Water. There were ten or twelve of the Natives a little Way off, who, ſeeing us three going away from the reſt of our Men, followed us at a Diſtance. I thought they would follow us; but, there being for awhile a Sand-bank between us and them, that they could not then ſee us, we made an Halt, and hid ourſelves in a Bending of the Sand-bank. They knew we muſt be thereabouts; and, being three or four times our Number, thought to ſeize us: So they diſperſed themſelves, ſome going to the Sea-ſhore, and others beating about the Sand-hills. We knew, by what Rencounter we had had

with them in the Morning, that we could eaſily outrun them; ſo a nimble young Man, that was with me, ſeeing ſome of them there, ran towards them, and they, for ſome time, ran away before him; but he ſoon overtaking them, they faced about, and fought him. He had a Cutlaſs, and they had wooden Lances, with which, being many of them, they were too hard for him. When he firſt ran towards them, I chaſed two more, that were by the Shore; but, fearing how it might be with my young Man, I turned back quickly, and went up to the Top of a ſandy Hill, whence I ſaw him near me, cloſely engaged with them. Upon their ſeeing me, one of them threw a Lance at me, which narrowly miſſed me. I diſcharged my Gun to ſcare them; but avoided ſhooting any of them, till, finding the young Man in great Danger, and myſelf in ſome, and that, tho' the Gun had a little frightened them at firſt, yet they had ſoon learnt to deſpiſe it, toſſing up their Hands, and crying *Pooh, pooh, pooh*, and coming on afreſh with a great Noiſe, I thought it high time to charge again, and ſhoot one of them; which I did. The reſt, ſeeing him fall, made a Stand; and my young Man took the Opportunity to diſengage himſelf, and come off to me. My other Man alſo was with me, who had done nothing all this while, having come out unarmed; and I returned back with my Men, deſigning to attempt the Natives no further, being very ſorry for what had happened already. They took up their wounded Companion; and my young Man, who had been ſtruck through the Cheek with one of their Lances, was afraid it had been poiſoned; but I did not think that likely. His Wound was very painful to him, being made with a blunt Weapon; but he ſoon recovered of it. Among the *New Hollanders*, whom we were thus engaged with, there was one, who by his Appearance and Carriage, as well in the Morning, as this Afternoon, ſeemed to be the Chief of them, and a kind of Prince or Captain among them. He was a young briſk Man, not very tall, nor ſo perſonable as ſome of the reſt, tho' more active and courageous. He was painted (which none of the reſt were at at all) with a Circle of white Pigment, a ſort of Lime, as we thought, about his Eyes, and a white Streak down his Noſe, from his Forehead to the Tip of it; and his Breaſt, and ſome Part of his Arms, were alſo made white with the ſame Paint; not for Beauty or Ornament, one would think; but, as ſome wild *Indian* Warriors are ſaid to do, he ſeemed thereby to deſign the looking more terrible, this his Painting adding very much to his natural Deformity; for they all of them have the moſt unpleaſant Looks, and the worſt Features, of any People I ever ſaw, though I have ſeen great Variety of Savages. Theſe *New Hollanders* were probably the ſame ſort of People, as thoſe I met with on this Coaſt in my Voyage round the Globe; for the Place I then touched at, was not above forty or fifty Leagues to the North-eaſt of this, and theſe were much the ſame blinking Creatures; here being alſo abundance of the ſame kind of Fleſh-flies teizing them, and with the ſame black Skins, and Hair frizzled, tall and thin, &c. as theſe were; but we had not the Opportunity to ſee whether theſe, as the former, wanted two of their fore Teeth. We ſaw a great many Places where they had made Fires, and where there were commonly three or four Boughs ſtuck up to Windward of them; for the Wind, which is the Sea-breeze in the Day-time, blows always one Way with them, and the Land-breeze is but ſmall. By their Fire-places we always found great Heaps of Fiſh-ſhells of ſeveral Sorts; and 'tis probable, that theſe poor Creatures here lived on the Shell-fiſh, as thoſe I deſcribed before did on ſmall Fiſh, which they caught in Wires, or Holes in the Sand at Low-water. Theſe gathered their Shell-fiſh on the Rocks at Low-water, but had no Wires that we ſaw, whereby to get any other Sorts of Fiſh, as, among the former, I ſaw not any Heaps of Shells as here, though I know they alſo gathered ſome Shell-fiſh: The Lances alſo of theſe were ſuch as the former had; however, they being upon an Iſland with their Women and Children, and all in our Power, they did not there uſe them againſt us, as here on the Continent, where we ſaw none but ſome of the Men at a Diſtance, who came out purpoſely to obſerve us: We ſaw no Houſes at either Place; and I believe they have none, ſince the former People on the Iſland had none, though they had all their Families with them. Upon returning to my Men, I ſaw that they had dug eight or nine Feet deep, yet found no Water: So I returned aboard that Evening; and the next Day, being *September* 1. I ſent my Boatſwain aſhore to dig deeper, and ſent the Sain with him to catch Fiſh. While I ſtaid aboard, I obſerved the Flowing of the Tide, which runs very ſwift here, ſo that our Nun-buoy would not bear above the Water to be ſeen. It flows here, as on the Part of *New Holland* I deſcribed formerly, about five Fathom; and here the Flood runs South-eaſt by South till the laſt Quarter; then it ſets right in towards the Shore, which lies here South South-weſt, and North North-eaſt, and the Ebb runs North-weſt by North. When the Tides ſlackened, we fiſhed with Hook and Line, as we had already done in ſeveral Places on this Coaſt, on which, in this Voyage hitherto, we had found but little Tides; but, by the Height, Strength, and Courſe of them hereabouts, it ſhould ſeem, that if there be ſuch a Paſſage or Streight going through Eaſtwards to the Great South Sea, as I ſaid one might ſuſpect, one would expect to find the Mouth of it ſomewhere between this Place and *Roſemary* Iſland, which was the Part of *New Holland* I came laſt from.

12. If it were not for that ſort of Pleaſure which reſults from the Diſcovery even of the barreneſt Spot upon the Globe, this Coaſt of *New Holland* would not have charmed me much. The Lands here, as well as in other Parts of *New Holland* that I have ſeen, are ſo fenced by a Chain of Sand-hills towards the Sea, that there is no ſuch Thing as diſcerning what lies beyond them; at High-water the Tides riſe ſo ſurpriſingly on this Coaſt, that the Land appears very low; but, at Low-water again, it appears of an indifferent Height; but then the Shore is ſo rocky, that there is no ſuch thing as landing with a Boat; but at High-water a Boat may very eaſily come in over all thoſe Rocks to the ſandy Bay which ſurrounds this Coaſt. The Land, for about 5 or 600 Yards from the Sea, is of a dryiſh ſandy Soil, with nothing but a few Shrubs and Buſhes, which, when I was there, ſeemed to be in Bloom, bearing Flowers of ſeveral Colours, ſuch as Yellow, Blue, and White, of a very fragrant Smell; and, as to their Fruit, they ſeem to be a kind of Peaſe or Beans. Farther within Land, the Country ſeemed to be low and level, partly Savannas, and partly Wood-land: The former affords a coarſe kind of Graſs, and the latter Groves of Trees that are ſmall, and not above twelve or fourteen Feet high. There are very few Land-animals; ſome Lizards I ſaw, and ſome of my Seamen ſaw two or three Creatures not unlike Wolves, but ſo lean, that they looked like mere Skeletons. As for Land-fowls, there are Crows, Hawks, Kites, and Turtle-doves, that are ſmall, but very plump and fat. The Sea-fowls are Pelicans, Boobies, Noddies, Curlecos, Sea-pies, in great Numbers. There are abundance of Whales in theſe Seas, and thoſe of the large Kind: We ſaw alſo green Turtle, but there being no proper Chanel for them, we caught none, as having no Place to ſet a Turtle-net in. We ſaw ſome Sharks, and caught, with Hooks and Lines, ſome Rock-fiſh and Old-wives. Of Shell-fiſh, we found here Oyſters of the Pearl-kind, and fit for eating; and Wilks, Muſſels, Limpits, Periwinkles, and many other Sorts; and I gathered ſome curious Shells on the Shore. The Scurvy beginning to prevail amongſt my Men, gave me great Uneaſineſs; eſpecially, as I had Reaſon to apprehend, that the Diſtemper would increaſe, rather than diminiſh, while I remained here, on account of the bad Air, and brackiſh Water; and therefore I frequently ſent aſhore to ſearch for freſh-water Brooks, or to dig Wells, but to no Purpoſe: Wherefore I determined to proceed in my Voyage; and, if I met with no Refreſhment elſewhere, to proſecute my Courſe to the Iſland of *Timor*.

13. I had ſpent about five Weeks in ranging off-and-on the Coaſt of *New Holland*, in Length of about 300 Leagues; and had put in at three ſeveral Places to ſee what there might be thereabouts worth diſcovering, and, at the ſame time, to recruit my Stock of freſh Water and Proviſions, for the farther Diſcoveries I purpoſed to attempt on the *Terra Auſtralis*. This large, and hitherto almoſt unknown, Tract of Land, is ſituated ſo very ad-

vantageouſly, in the richeſt Climates of the World, the Torrid and Temperate Zones, having in it, eſpecially, all the Advantage of the Torrid Zone, as being known to reach from the Equator itſelf (within a Degree) to the Tropic of *Capricorn*, and beyond it; that in coaſting round it, which I deſigned by this Voyage, if poſſible, I could not but hope to meet with ſome fruitful Lands, Continent or Iſland, or both, productive of any of the rich Fruits, Drugs, or Spices, (perhaps Minerals alſo, &c.) that are in the other Parts of the Torrid Zone, under equal Parallels of Latitude, at leaſt a Soil and Air capable of ſuch, upon tranſplanting them hither, and Cultivation. I meant alſo to make as diligent a Survey as I could of the ſeveral ſmaller Iſlands, Shores, Capes, Bays, Creeks, and Harbours, fit as well for Shelter as Defence, upon fortifying them; and of the Rocks and Sholes, the Soundings, Tides, and Currents, Wind and Weather Variation, &c. whatever might be beneficial for Navigation, Trade, or Settlement, or be of Uſe to any who ſhould proſecute the ſame Deſigns hereafter, to whom it might be ſerviceable to have ſo much of their Work done to their Hands, which they might advance and perfect by their own repeated Experiences. As there is no Work of this kind brought to Perfection at once, I intended, eſpecially, to obſerve what Inhabitants I met with, and to try to win them over to ſomewhat of Traffick, and uſeful Intercourſe, as there might be Commodities among any of them that might be fit for Trade or Manufacture, or any found in which they might be employed; though, as to the *New Hollanders* hereabouts, by the Experience I had had of their Neighbours formerly, I expected no great Matters from them. With ſuch Views as theſe I ſet out at firſt from *England*; and would, according to the Method I propoſed, have gone Weſtward thro' the *Magellanic* Streight, or round *Terra del Fuego* rather, that I might have begun my Diſcoveries upon the Eaſtern and leaſt known Side of the *Terra Auſtralis*: But that Way was not poſſible for me to go, by reaſon of the Time of Year in which I came out; for I muſt have been compaſſing the South of *America* in a very high Latitude, in the Depth of the Winter: I was therefore neceſſitated to go Eaſtward, by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and, when I ſhould be paſt it, 'twas requiſite I ſhould keep in a pretty high Latitude, to avoid the general Trade-winds that would be againſt me, and to have the Benefit of the variable Winds, by all which I was in a manner unavoidably determined to fall in firſt with thoſe Ports of *New Holland* I have hitherto been deſcribing: For, ſhould it be asked, why, at my firſt making that Shore, I did not caſt into the Southward, and that Way try to get round to the Eaſt of *New Holland*, and *New Guiney*, I confeſs, I was not for ſpending any Time more than was neceſſary in the higher Latitudes, as knowing that the Land there could not be ſo well worth the Diſcovery, as the Parts that lay nearer the Line, and more directly under the Sun. Beſides, at the Time when I ſhould come firſt on *New Holland*, which was early in the Spring, I muſt, had I ſtood Eaſtward, have had, for ſome time, a great deal of Winter Weather, increaſing in Severity, though not in Time, and in a Place altogether unknown, which my Men, who were heartleſs enough to the Voyage at beſt, would never have borne, after ſo long a Run from *Braſil* hither. For theſe Reaſons, therefore, I choſe to coaſt along to the Northward, and ſo to the Eaſt; and ſo thought to come round by the South of *Terra Auſtralis* in my Return back, which ſhould be in the Summer Seaſon there. And this Paſſage back alſo I now thought I might poſſibly be able to ſhorten, ſhould it appear, at my getting to the Eaſt Coaſt of *New Guiney*, that there is a Chanel coming out into thoſe Seas, as I now ſuſpected, near *Roſemary Iſland*, unleſs the high Tides, and great Indraught thereabouts, ſhould be occaſioned by the Mouth of ſome large River, which hath often Lowlands on each Side of its Outlet, and many Iſlands and Sholes lying at its Entrance. But I rather thought it a Chanel, or Streight, than a River; and I was afterwards confirmed in this Opinion, when, by coaſting *New Guiney*, I found, that other Parts of this great Tract of *Terra Auſtralis*, which had hitherto been repreſented as the Shore of a Continent, were certainly Iſlands, and, 'tis probable, the ſame with *New Holland*; though, for Reaſons I ſhall afterwards ſhew, I could not return the Way I propoſed to myſelf to fix the Diſcovery. All that I had now ſeen from the 27° South Latitude, to the 25°, which is *Sharks Bay*, and again from thence to *Roſemary Iſlands*, and about 20° Latitude, ſeems to be nothing but Ranges of pretty large Iſlands againſt the Sea, whatever might be behind them to the Eaſtward, whether Sea or Land, Continent or Iſlands. It was now neceſſary for me to conſider what Step to take next; and, after mature Deliberation, I reſolved to continue coaſting along the Shore to the North Eaſtward, in order to the further Diſcovery of the Country, from a full Perſuaſion, that, at leaſt, in the Latitude of 16° 15′, I ſhould not miſs of ſweet Water, having been there before, and met with it by digging. This Notion was certainly reaſonable in itſelf, and yet Experience ſhewed it was but indifferently founded; and a very little Accident of this ſort became of Conſequence among a Crew ready to lay hold of any Opportunity to call their Commander's Knowledge in queſtion, to magnify the Difficulties of the Voyage, and to countenance whatever might ſeem to ſupport their own favourite, though impracticable, Deſign of returning Home.

14. Such, I ſay, were my Thoughts of the Matter; when, *Sept.* 5. 1699, I put to Sea with a gentle Gale: Yet was I quickly obliged to change my Deſign. In a Day's time I perceived, that the Sholes upon the Coaſt would make it a very difficult, if not impracticable, Thing to ſail along the Shore, or to put in where I might incline to do it. I therefore edged farther off to Sea, and ſo deepened the Water from eleven to thirty-two Fathom. The next Day, being *September* 6. we could but juſt diſcern the Land, though we had then no more than about thirty Fathom uncertain Soundings; for, even while we were out of Sight of Land, we had once but ſeven Fathom, and had alſo great and uncertain Tides whirling about, that made me afraid to go near a Coaſt ſo ſhallow, where we might be ſoon aground, and yet have but little Wind to bring us off: For ſhould a Ship be near a Shole, we might be hurled upon it unavoidably by a ſtrong Tide, unleſs there ſhould be a good Wind to work her off. Thus, alſo, on the 7th Day, we ſaw no Land, though our Water decreaſed again to twenty-ſix Fathom; for we had deepened it, as I ſaid, to thirty. This Day we ſaw two Water-ſnakes, different in Shape from ſuch as we had formerly ſeen; the one was very ſmall, though long; the other long, and as big as a Man's Leg, having a red Head, which I never ſaw any have before or ſince. We had this Day 16° 9′ Latitude by Obſervation: I was, by this time, to the North of the Place I thought to have put in at; and though I knew, by the Experience I had of it then, that there was a deep Entrance in thither from the Eaſtward, yet, by the Sholes I had hitherto found, ſo far ſtretched on this Coaſt, I was afraid we ſhould have the ſame Trouble to coaſt along afterwards beyond that Place; and, beſides the Danger of running almoſt continually amongſt Sholes on a ſtrange Shore, and where the Tides were ſtrong and high, I began to bethink myſelf, that a great Part of my Time muſt have been ſpent in being about a Shore I was already almoſt weary of, which I might employ with greater Satisfaction to my Mind, and better Hopes of Succeſs, in going forward to *New Guiney*: Add to this, the particular Danger I ſhould have been in upon a Lee-ſhore, ſuch as is here deſcribed, when the North-weſt Monſoon ſhould once come in, the ordinary Seaſon of which was not now far off, though this Year it ſtaid beyond the common Seaſon; and it comes on ſtorming, at firſt, with Tornadoes, violent Guſts, &c. Wherefore, quitting the Thoughts of putting in at *New Holland*, I reſolved to ſteer away for the Iſland *Timor*; where, beſides getting freſh Water, I might probably expect to be furniſhed with Fruits, and other Refreſhments, to recruit my Men, who began to droop, ſome of them being already, to my Grief, afflicted with the Scurvy, which was likely to increaſe upon them, and diſable them, and was promoted by the brackiſh Water they took in laſt for boiling their Oatmeal. 'Twas now, alſo, towards the latter End of the dry Seaſon, when I might not, probably, have found Water ſo plentifully upon digging at that Part of *New Holland*, as when I was there before: And then, conſidering the Time alſo that I

muſt neceſſarily ſpend in getting into the Shore, through ſuch Sholes as I expected to meet with, or in going about to avoid them, or in digging of Wells, when I ſhould come thither, I might very well hope to get to *Timor*, and find freſh Water there, as ſoon as I could expect to get it at *New Holland*, and with leſs Trouble and Danger. Such were the Reaſons, that conduced to my forming a ſettled Reſolution to bear away immediately for the before-mentioned Iſland, which I executed without Delay.

15. It was on *September* 8. that we ſailed for *Timor*, where I had heard there were both *Dutch* and *Portugueſe* Settlements; but whereabouts in the Iſland, I knew not; and therefore it was the ſame Thing to me which Side of it I made firſt. On the 14th, in the Evening, I had Sight of it; but it was the 15th before I attempted to land. The Country appears pleaſant enough to the Eye; for the Mountains were covered with Wood, and the adjacent Meadows were very rich in Graſs, though we could diſcover no Signs of Inhabitants, much leſs of *European* Plantations. This, and the Wind's blowing again from the South-eaſt, engaged me to try what might be done on the North Side of the Iſland, where I was ſure of having ſmooth Water, and had a Probability of finding eaſier Landing; for, on the Side where I was, the Land was ſo incumbered with Mangroves, that there was no ſuch thing as getting aſhore without running great Hazards. On the 18th, about Noon, I altered my Courſe, and ſteered back towards the South-weſt End of the Iſland. In the Evening, we ſaw the Iſland of *Rotee*, and another Iſland to the South of that; on both which Iſlands we diſcovered Smoak in the Day-time, and Fires in the Night. I was afterwards informed, that the *Portugueſe* have Sugar-works upon the Iſland of *Rotee*; but, as I knew nothing of that now, and the Country had not a very promiſing Aſpect, I did not attempt anchoring there, but ſtood over again to the Coaſt of *Timor*. On the 21ſt, in the Morning, being very near that Iſland, I ſaw a very large Opening, which, from Eaſt to Weſt, appeared to be five Leagues in Breadth; into which I entered with my Ship, ſounding as I went; and, at laſt, anchored in nine Fathom Water, at the Diſtance of about a League from the Shore. This appeared to me then as a large Inlet, or Bay, which entered very deep into the Iſland of *Timor*; but I afterwards found, that it was really a Streight, or Paſſage, between that and another Iſland, called *Anamabao*, or *Anabao*. I was led into my Miſtake by the Sea Charts, which repreſent both Sides of the Opening as Parts of the ſame Coaſt, making the Whole but one Iſland, and calling it by the Name of *Timor*. Such Errors as theſe are frequent, happening ſometimes through Accidents, ſometimes from Deſign; and therefore a greater Service cannot be rendered to Navigators in general, than to rectify ſuch Miſtakes; and it would be well, if thoſe, who make Maps and Charts, would be careful in peruſing Voyages, and not content themſelves with barely copying ſuch Draughts as come to hand, by which means they frequently adopt, not only the Miſtakes, but the miſchievous Deſigns, of others, who, by falſe Repreſentations, endeavour to conceal what ought to be made known for the public Good.

16. I propoſed to have ſailed through this Opening to the Main; but I had not ſailed far, before the Wind came about to the South-eaſt, and blew ſo ſtrong, that I could not venture with Safety nearer that Side, becauſe it was a Lee-ſhore; beſides, my Boat was on the Eaſt Side of the *Timor* Coaſt; for the other was, as I found afterwards, the *Anabao* Shore; and the great Opening I now was in, was the Streight between that Iſland and *Timor*; towards which I now tacked, and ſtood over. Taking up my Boat, therefore, I ran under the *Timor* Side, and anchored at three o'Clock, in 29 Fathom, half a Mile from the Shore. That Port of the South-weſt Point of *Timor*, where we anchored in the Morning, bore now South by Weſt, Diſtance three Leagues; and another Point of the Iſland bore North North-eaſt, Diſtance two Leagues. Not long after, we ſaw a Sloop coming about the Point laſt-mentioned with *Dutch* Colours, which I found, by ſending my Boat aboard, belonged to a *Dutch* Fort, the only one they have in *Timor*, about five Leagues from hence, called *Concordia*. The Governor of the Fort was in the Sloop, and about forty Soldiers with him. He appeared to be ſomewhat ſurpriſed at our coming this Way, which, it ſeems, is a Paſſage ſcarce known to any but themſelves, as he told the Men I ſent to him in my Boat; neither did he ſeem willing, that we ſhould come near their Fort for Water. He ſaid alſo, that he did not know of any Water on all that Part of the Iſland, but only at the Fort; and that the Natives would kill us, if they met us aſhore. By the ſmall Arms my Men carried with them in the Boat, they took us to be Pirates, and would not eaſily believe the Account my Men gave them of what we were, and whence we came. They ſaid, that, about two Years before this, there had been a ſtout Ship of *French* Pirates here; and that after having been ſuffered to water, and refreſh themſelves, and been kindly uſed, they had on a ſudden gone among the *Indians*, Subjects of the Fort, and plundered them, and burnt their Houſes. And the *Portugueſe* here told us afterward, that thoſe Pirates, whom they alſo had entertained, had burnt their Houſes, and had taken the *Dutch* Fort, (though the *Dutch* cared not to own ſo much) and had driven the Governor and Factory among the wild *Indians*, their Enemies. The *Dutch* told my Men further, they could not but think we had of ſeveral Nations (as is uſual with Pirate-veſſels) in our Ship, and particularly ſome *Dutchmen*; though all the Diſcourſe was in *French*, for I had not one who could ſpeak *Dutch*: Or elſe, ſince the common Draughts make no Paſſage between *Timor* and *Anabao*, but laid down both as an Iſland, they ſaid, they ſuſpected we had plundered ſome *Dutch* Ship of their particular Draughts, which they are forbid to part with. With theſe Jealouſies, the Sloop returned towards their Fort, and my Boat came back with this News to me. But I was not diſcouraged at this News, not doubting but I ſhould perſuade them better when I ſhould come to talk with them. So the next Morning I weighed, and ſtood towards the Fort: The Winds were ſomewhat againſt us, ſo that we could not go very faſt, being obliged to tack two or three times; and, coming near the farther End of the Paſſage, between *Timor* and *Anabao*, we ſaw many Houſes on each Side, not far from the Sea, and ſeveral Boats lying by the Shore. The Land on both Sides is pretty high, appearing very dry, and of a reddiſh Colour, but higheſt on the *Timor* Side. The Trees on either Side were but ſmall, the Wood thin; and, in many Places, the Trees were dry and withered.

17. The Iſland *Anamabao*, or *Anabao*, is not very big, not exceeding ten Leagues in Length, and four in Breadth; yet has two Kingdoms in it; *viz.* that of *Anamabao* on the Eaſt Side towards *Timor*, and the North-eaſt End; and that of *Anabao*, which contains the South-weſt End, and the Weſt Side of the Iſland; but I know not which of them is biggeſt. The Natives of both are of the *Indian* Kind, of a ſwarthy Copper-colour, with black lank Hair. Thoſe of *Anamabao* are in League with the *Dutch*, as theſe afterwards told me, and with the Natives of the Kingdom of *Copang*, in *Timor*, over-againſt them, in which the *Dutch* Fort *Concordia* ſtands. But they are ſaid to be inveterate Enemies to their Neighbours of *Anabao*. Thoſe of *Anabao*, beſides managing their ſmall Plantations of a few Cocoa-trees, fiſh, ſtrike Turtle, and hunt Buffaloes, killing them with Swords, Darts, or Lances: But I know not how they get their Iron; I ſuppoſe by Traffick with the *Dutch* or *Portugueſe*, who ſend now-and-then a Sloop, and trade thither, but well-armed; for the Natives would kill them, could they ſurpriſe them. They go always armed themſelves; and, when they go a Fiſhing or Hunting, they ſpend four or five Days, or more, in ranging about, before they return to their Habitation. We often ſaw them after this at theſe Employments, but they would not come near us. The Fiſh or Fleſh that they take, beſides what ſerves for preſent ſpending, they dry on a Barbacue, or wooden Grate, ſtanding pretty high over the Fire, and ſo carry it home when they return; we came ſome time afterwards to the Places where they had Meat thus a drying, but did not touch any of it. But, to proceed: I did not think to ſtop any-where till I came to the Fort, which yet I did not ſee; but, coming to the End of this Paſſage, I found, that, if I went any farther, I ſhould be open again to the Sea: I therefore ſtood in to the Shore on the Eaſt Side, and anchored in four Fathom

Water, ſandy Ground, a Point of Land ſtill hindering me from ſeeing the Fort. But I ſent my Boat to look out for it; and, in a ſhort time, ſhe returned; and my Men told me, they ſaw the Fort, but did not come near it; and that it was not above four or five Miles from hence. It being now late, I would not ſend my Boat thither till the next Morning; mean while, about two or three hundred *Indians*, Neighbours of the Fort, and ſent probably from thence, came to the ſandy Bay, juſt againſt the Ship, where they ſtaid all Night, and made good Fires. They were armed with Lances, Swords, and Targets, and made much Noiſe all the Night. We thought it was to ſcare us from landing, ſhould we attempt it; but we took little Notice of them. The next Morning, being *September* the 23d, I ſent my Clerk aſhore, in my Pinnace, to the Governor, to ſatiſfy him, that we were *Engliſhmen*, and in the King's Ship, and to aſk Water of him, ſending a young Man with him, who ſpake *French*. My Clerk was with the Governor pretty early; and, in Anſwer to his Queries about me, and my Buſineſs in theſe Parts, told him, that I had the King of *England*'s Commiſſion, and deſired to ſpeak with him: He beckoned to my Clerk to come aſhore; but, as ſoon as he ſaw ſome ſmall Arms in the Stern-ſheets of the Boat, he commanded him into the Boat again, and would have him be gone: My Clerk ſolicited him, that he would allow him to ſpeak with him; and, at laſt, the Governor conſented, that he ſhould come aſhore; and ſent his Lieutenant, and three Merchants, with a Guard of about an hundred of the native *Indians*, to receive him: My Clerk ſaid, that we were in much want of Water, and hoped they would allow us to come to their Watering-place, and fill. But the Governor replied, that he had Orders not to ſupply any Ships but their own *Eaſt India* Company, neither muſt they allow any *Europeans* to come the Way that we came, and wondered how we durſt approach their Fort. My Clerk anſwered him, that, had we been Enemies, we muſt have come aſhore among them for Water. But, ſaid the Governor, you are come to inſpect into our Trade and Strength, and I will have you therefore be gone with all Speed. My Clerk anſwered him, that I had no ſuch Deſign; but, without coming nearer them, would be contented, if the Governor would ſend Water on board, where we lay, about two Leagues from the Fort; and that I would make any reaſonable Satiſfaction for it. The Governor ſaid, that we ſhould have what Water we wanted, provided we came no nearer with the Ship; and ordered, that, as ſoon as we pleaſed, we ſhould ſend our Boat full of empty Caſks, and come to an Anchor with it off the Fort, till he ſent Slaves to bring the Caſks aſhore, and fill them; for that none of our Men muſt come aſhore: The ſame Afternoon I ſent up my Boat, as he had directed, with an Officer, and a Preſent of ſome Beer for the Governor, which he would not accept, but ſent me off about a Ton of Water.

18. After this, I ſent my Boat aſhore ſeveral times, with the ſame Officer on board, to tranſact Matters with the Governor. But, as this Officer had no great mind to the Voyage, and deſired nothing ſo much as to ſee us obliged to return home, he made ſuch ſtrange Reports of the Governor, that the reſt of the Officers, and the Ship's Crew, grew uneaſy; ſo that though we were kindly entertained by the Inhabitants of the other Iſland, who brought us every Day Fiſh and Fruits to ſell, yet it was reſolved, in a Council held upon this Subject, that we ſhould leave the Neighbourhood of the *Dutch* Fort, and endeavour, if it was poſſible, to find the *Portugueſe* Settlements, where we were in hopes of being better treated. On the 27th in the Morning, we anchored in the Middle of *Copang* Bay; but, being able to diſcover nothing worth mentioning there, we ſailed from thence ſtill Northward, in Search of the *Portugueſe* Settlements. On the 29th, we continued coaſting, without finding any proper Place to land. The next Day I ſent my Mate aſhore, who diſcovered a very good Watering-place in a Bay where there was ſafe Anchorage; which was a very acceptable Service; and I went the next Morning on ſhore, in order to give the neceſſary Directions. In the Space of three Days, we filled about twenty-ſix Ton of Water, and then had on board about thirty Ton in all. The two following Days we ſpent in Fiſhing with the Sain, and the firſt Morning caught as many as ſerved all my Ship's Company: But we had not afterward ſo good Succeſs. The reſt of my Men, who could be ſpared from the Ship, I ſent out, with the Carpenter's Mate, to cut Timber for my Boats. Theſe went always attended by three or four armed Men, to ſecure them. I ſhewed them what Wood was fitting to cut for our Uſe, eſpecially the Calabaſh and Maho; I ſhewed them alſo the manner of ſtripping the Maho-bark, and of making therewith Thread, Twine, Ropes, *&c.* Others were ſent out a Fowling, who brought home Pigeons, Parrots, Cockatoos, *&c.* I was always with one Party or other myſelf, eſpecially with the Carpenters, to haſten them to get what they could, that we might be gone from hence. On the 6th of *October* I ſailed from this Place; and, on the 12th, arrived ſafely at the firſt *Portugueſe* Settlement, and was very well received there, the People ſeeming very willing to do me any Service in their Power. And, afterwards, I ſtood round again nearer to the *Dutch* Fort of *Concordia*; from whence the Governor ſent me a Meſſage, by which all former Miſtakes were cleared up, and a good Underſtanding reſtored; ſo that, at the Requeſt of that Gentleman, I went aſhore, and dined with him at his Fort; where I found great Plenty of very good Victuals, very well dreſſed, the Linen white and clean, and all the Plates and Diſhes either Silver, or very fine *China*. This, indeed, muſt be ſaid in Favour of the *Dutch*, that in all their Settlements, every thing is managed with the utmoſt Decency and Order. After Dinner he ſhewed me ſome Drawers full of Shells, of which he had a very curious and well-choſen Collection. He ſeemed to be highly frank and open; told me, that, as to Naval Stores, it was not in his Powet to ſupply me; but that, for freſh Proviſions, or whatever elſe he could ſpare, I might be ſure of them: For which I thanked him, but made no Uſe of his Offer; becauſe my Ship lay at a good Diſtance from the Fort, and I was afraid of truſting my Men ſo far in the Country, for fear the Natives ſhould attack them. We met with great Plenty of Grain, ſo that, during all the Time we ſtaid here, very little of our ſalt Proviſions were conſumed. We ſaw almoſt every Day exceeding black Clouds, and heard it thunder for near a Month in the Mountains, where we likewiſe ſaw it rain, but none came near us till about four Days before our Departure: Previous to my Account of which, I ſhall give an exact Deſcription of the Country.

19. The Iſland of *Timor* is about ſeventy Leagues long, and ſixteen broad: It lies nearly South-eaſt and South-weſt. The Middle of it lies in about 9° South Latitude. It has no navigable River, nor any Harbours, but abundance of Bays for Ships to ride in ſafely enough at ſome Seaſons of the Year. The Shore is very bold, free from Rocks, Iſlands, or Sholes, excepting a few, which are viſible, and therefore eaſily avoided. It is a pretty even Shore, with ſandy Bays, and low Land, for about three or four Miles up into the Country; but, beyond that Space, it is mountainous. There is no Anchoring but within half a League, or a League at fartheſt, from the Shore; and the low Land, that bounds the Sea, hath nothing but red Mangroves, from the Foot of the Mountains, till you come within 150 or 200 Paces of the Sea; and then you have Sand-banks, covered with a ſort of Pine, ſo that there is no getting Water on this Side becauſe of the Mangroves. At the South-weſt End of *Timor* is a pretty high Iſland, called *Anabao*. It is about ten or twelve Leagues long, and about four broad; near which the *Dutch* are ſettled. It lies ſo near *Timor*, that it is laid down in our Draughts as Part of that Iſland; yet we found a narrow deep Chanel, fit for any Ships to paſs between them. This Chanel is about ten Leagues long, and, in ſome Places, not above a League wide. It runs North-eaſt and South-weſt, ſo deep, that there is no anchoring but very nigh the Shore. There is but little Tide, the Flood ſetting North, and the Ebb to the Southward. At the North-eaſt End of this Chanel are two Points of Land, not above a League aſunder, one on the South Side upon *Timor*, called *Copang*; the other on the North Side, upon the other Iſland *Anabao*. From this laſt Point the Land trends away Northerly two or three Leagues, opens to the Sea, and then bends in

again to the Weſtward. Being paſt theſe Points, you enter into a Bay about eight Leagues long, and four wide. This Bay turns in, on the South Side, North-eaſt by Eaſt from the South Point before-mentioned, making many ſmall Points, or little Coves. About a League to the Eaſt of the ſaid South Point, the *Dutch* have a ſmall Stone Fort, ſituated on a ſolid Rock, cloſe by the Sea. This Fort they call *Concordia*. On the Eaſt Side of the Fort, there is a ſmall River of freſh Water, which has a broad boarded Bridge over it, near the Entry into the Fort. Beyond this River is a ſmall ſandy Bay, where the Boats and Barks land. About an hundred Yards from the Sea-ſide, and as many from the Fort, and forty Yards from the Bridge on the Eaſt Side, the Company, as at moſt of their Forts, have a fine Garden, ſurrounded with a good Stone Wall. In it is plenty of all ſorts of Sallads, Cabbages, Roots for the Kitchen, and a Parterre. In ſome Parts of it are Fruit-trees, as Jacas, Pumplenoſe, Oranges, ſweet Lemons, &c. and, by the Walls, are Cocoa-nut and Toddy-trees in great plenty. Beſides theſe, they have Muſk and Water-melons, Pine-apples, Pomecitrons, Pomegranates, and other ſorts of Fruits. Between this Garden and the River there is a kind of Paddock for Black Cattle, of which they have plenty. Beyond the Company's Ground, the Natives have their Houſes, in Number about fifty or ſixty. There are forty or fifty Soldiers belonging to this Fort: But I know not how many Guns they have; for I had only Opportunity to ſee one Baſtion, in which they had four Guns. Within the Walls, there is a neat little Church or Chapel. As to the Natives of this Iſland, or original *Indian* Inhabitants, they are of a middle Stature, ſtrait-bodied, ſlender-limbed, long-viſaged, their Hair black and lank, their Skin very ſwarthy. They are very dextrous and nimble, but withal lazy in the higheſt Degree. They are ſaid to be dull in every thing, but Treachery and Barbarity. Their Houſes are but mean, their Cloathing only a ſmall Cloth about their Middle; but ſome of them, for Ornament, have Frontlets of Mother-of-pearl, or thin Pieces of Silver or Gold, made of an oval Form, of the Breadth of a Crown-piece, curiouſly notched round the Edges, five of theſe, placed one by another a little above the Eye-brows, making a ſufficient Guard and Ornament for their Forehead. They are ſo thin, and placed on their Foreheads ſo artificially, that they ſeem riveted thereon; and indeed the Pearl-oyſter-ſhells make a more ſplendid Shew, than either Silver or Gold. Others of them have Palmeto-caps, made in divers Forms. As to their Marriages, they take as many Wives as they can maintain; and ſometimes they ſell their Children to purchaſe more Wives. I inquired about their Religion, and was told they had none. Their common Subſiſtence is *Indian* Corn, which every Man plants for himſelf. They take but little Pains to clear the Ground; for, in the Day-time, they ſet Fire to the withered Graſs and Shrubs, and that burns them out a clear Plantation againſt the next wet Seaſon. What other Grain they have, beſides *Indian* Corn, I know not. Their Plantations are very mean; for they delight moſt in Hunting: And here are wild Buffaloes and Hogs enough, tho' very ſhy, becauſe of their frequent Hunting. They have a few Boats, and ſome Fiſhermen. Their Arms are Lances, thick, round, ſhort Truncheons, and Targets. With theſe they hunt, and kill their Game; and the ſame Weapons they uſe againſt their Enemies too: For this Iſland is now divided into many Kingdoms, and all of different Languages, tho', in their Cuſtoms and Manner of Living, as well as Shape and Colour, they ſeem to be originally of one Deſcent. The chiefeſt Kingdoms are, *Cupang*, *Amabie*, *Lortribie*, *Pobumbie*, *Namquimal*: The Iſland alſo of *Anamabao* or *Anabao* is a Kingdom. Each of theſe has a Sultan, who is Supreme in his Kingdom, and hath under him ſeveral Rajas, and other inferior Officers. The Sultans, for the moſt part, are Enemies to each other; which Enmities are fomented and kept up by the *Dutch*, whoſe Fort and Factory are ſituated in the Kingdom of *Cupang*; and therefore the Bay, near which they are ſettled, is commonly called *Cupang Bay*. They have only as much Ground as they can keep within Reach of their Guns; yet this whole Kingdom is at Peace with them, and they freely trade with its Inhabitants, as alſo with the Iſlanders on *Anabao*, who are at Peace, as well with the Natives of *Cupang*, as with the *Dutch* reſiding there. But they are implacable Enemies to thoſe of *Amabie*, who are their next Neighbours, and in Amity with the *Portugueſe*; as are alſo the Kingdoms of *Pobumbie*, *Nanquimal*, and *Lortribie*. It is very probable, that theſe two *European* Settlements on this Iſland are the greateſt Occaſion of their continual Wars. The *Portugueſe* boaſt exceſſively of their Strength here, and that they are able, at Pleaſure, to rout out the *Dutch*, if they had Authority ſo to do from the King of *Portugal*; and that they often write to the Viceroy of *Goa* about it; and, tho' their Requeſt is not yet granted, nevertheleſs (as they ſay) they live in Expectation of it. Theſe have no Forts; but depend on their Alliance with the Natives: And indeed they are already ſo mixt, that it is hard to diſtinguiſh whether they are *Portugueſe* or *Indians*. Their Language is *Portugueſe*; and the Religion they have is *Romiſh*. They ſeem, in Words, to acknowledge the King of *Portugal* for their Sovereign; yet they will not accept of any Officers ſent by him. They ſpeak indifferently the *Malayan* and their own Country Languages, as well as *Portugueſe*; and the chiefeſt Officers, that I ſaw, were of this mixt Deſcent: Neither did I ſee above three or four white Men among them; and of theſe two were Prieſts. Of this mixt Breed there are ſome Thouſands, of whom ſome have Small-arms of their own, and know how to uſe them. The chief Perſon (as I before ſaid) is called Captain-major. He is a white Man, ſent thither by the Viceroy of *Goa*, and ſeems to have great Authority here. I did not ſee him; for he ſeldom comes down. His Reſidence is at a Place called *Porto Nova*, which, the People at *Laphao* told me, was a great Way off; but I could not get any particular Account about it. Some told me, that he is commonly in the Mountains, with an Army of *Indians*, to guard the Paſſes between them and the *Cupangayans*, eſpecially in the dry Seaſons. The next Man to him was *Alexis Mendoſa*. He is an *Indian*, ſpeaks very good *Portugueſe*, and is of the *Romiſh* Religion. He lives five or ſix Miles from the Sea, and is called the Lieutenant. He commands next to the Captain-major, and hath under him another at this Fort (on the Sea-ſide) if it muſt be ſo called; for, at beſt, it is but a Block-houſe.

20. What I obſerved of greateſt Conſequence during my Stay in this Iſland, was the different State, and ſtill more different Policy, of the *European* Nations ſettled here; I mean the *Dutch* and *Portugueſe*: And, I believe, the Account I am about to give of them may paſs for a pretty good Deſcription of all their Settlements; by which I mean, that, as their Genius is alike, ſo its Conſequences are pretty near the ſame in all. The *Dutch* Fort, as I have obſerved, is a regular juſt Fortification, well provided with Artillery and Ammunition, and has a ſufficient Number of Soldiers to ſecure them againſt any Attempts of the Natives. They depend therefore intirely upon themſelves, and, by always ſuſpecting, are never deceived. They carry on a very conſiderable Trade, becauſe they furniſh the Natives with a greater Variety, and better Sorts of Goods, than their Rivals in Commerce the *Portugueſe*. As for the latter, they have a Block-houſe or two, but hardly any Guns; and are wretchedly provided with Ammunition. This is owing to the Looſeneſs of their Government, or, to ſpeak with greater Propriety, to their having no Government at all; for tho' they boaſt much of being *Portugueſe*, yet they pay no Obedience to the Viceroy at *Goa*, who conſequently troubles not himſelf about them, but leaves them to provide military and naval Stores at the worſt Hand, that is, to purchaſe them from the *Chineſe*. As they are, in a manner, *Indians* themſelves, they truſt to their own Strength, and that of the Natives; and, becauſe they can muſter ten times as many Men as the *Dutch*, they fanſy themſelves much ſtronger. Theſe crafty Neighbours of theirs never bring this to Trial; but have ſpirited up the People of *Cupang* againſt them to ſuch a Degree, that they are continually at War with the *Portugueſe*, and never give them any Quarter. This is the Reaſon that their Captain-major remains always in the Mountains, where, if he did not guard the Paſſes carefully, the *Portugueſe*, notwithſtanding their boaſted Strength, would ſoon be driven from the Coaſt. Not far from the *Dutch* Fort at *Concordia*, the People of *Cupang* have an Houſe, or rather Hovel, built, on purpoſe to hold *Portugueſe* Heads; for, whenever they kill any of their

Enemies, hither they bring his Head; and, when I was there, it was ſaid to be almoſt full: So that, while the *Portugueſe* are threatening to drive the *Dutch* out of the Iſland, the *Dutch*, without ſo much as uttering their Reſentments, are taking off their Heads as faſt as they can. Beſides the People already deſcribed, there are alſo here ſome *Chineſe* Merchants from *Maccao*. They bring hither coarſe Rice, coarſe or mixed Gold, Tea, Iron-work, Porcelane, and Silk both wrought and raw. They get in Exchange pure Gold, as it is here gathered, Bees-wax, Sandal-wood, and Coire. It is ſaid there are about twenty ſmall *Chineſe* Veſſels come hither every Year from *Maccao*, and commonly one Veſſel a Year from *Goa*, which brings *European* Commodities, Calicoes, and Muſlins. Here are likewiſe ſome ſmall Barks, that trade from this Place to *Batavia*, and bring from thence both *European* and *Indian* Goods, and Rice. The Veſſels generally come hither in *March*, and ſtay till *September*; and, by this means, ſecure the Benefit of the Trade-winds, and obtain regular and advantageous Markets for their Commodities. This Country, take it all together, is very rich and plentiful. Fruit-trees they have of all Kinds in great Plenty, and abundance of Timber. In their Plantations they have *Indian* Corn, and Rice; and might have ten times as much, if they were not ſo lazy; wild and tame Beaſts innumerable; and Fowls in vaſt Quantities: Beſides, that there are Woods ſwarming with Bees, which make vaſt Quantities of Honey and Wax. Their Mountains and Brooks afford a great deal of Gold; and they have likewiſe much Copper; but I do not know where they get it. The Sea is very well ſtocked with Fiſh, among which the moſt remarkable are Cocklemerchants or Oyſtercrackers. They feed on Shell-fiſh, having two very hard, thick, black Bones in their Throat, with which they break to Pieces ſuch Shell-fiſh as they feed upon. As for Shell-fiſh, they have Oyſters of three Sorts; *viz.* long Oyſters, common Oyſters, which are very fat, and a third Sort, the Shells of which reſemble a Stone ſo much, as not to be eaſily diſtinguiſhed from it: Yet theſe are the beſt; for they are very ſweet, fat, and well-taſted, being likewiſe of ſuch Size, that three or four of them will ſerve for a Dinner. There are Cockles here as big as a Man's Head, of which two or three are enough for a Meal; they are very fat and ſweet; Crayfiſh, Shrimps, *&c.* Here are alſo many green Turtles, ſome Alligators, *&c.* We ſailed from *Timor* on *December* 12. 1699, and ſaw, during the Remainder of that Month, ſeveral ſmall Iſlands. On New-year's-day, we firſt diſcovered the Coaſt of *New Guiney*, which appeared to be very high Land; and, ſoon after, we diſcovered Iſlands almoſt on every Side.

21. On *January* 14. 1700, we ſaw in the Afternoon ſome Smoke from the Iſlands lying to the Weſt of us; therefore I bore away towards them, with all the Advantage that a briſk Gale could give me. About ſeven in the Evening, we anchored in thirty-five Fathom Water, at the Diſtance of about two Leagues from a pretty large Iſland. We remained where we were that Night, and ſaw many Fires on ſhore. In the Morning we weighed again, and ran farther in, thinking to have ſhallower Water; but we ran within a Mile of the Shore, and came to thirty-eight Fathom, good, ſoft, holding Ground. While we were under Sail, two Canoes came off within Call of us. They ſpoke to us; but we neither underſtood their Language, or Signs. We waved to them to come on board, and called to them in the *Malayan* Language to do the ſame; but they would not: Yet they came ſo nigh us, that we could ſhew them ſuch Things as we had to truck with them, tho' neither would this entice them to come aboard; but they made Signs for us to come aſhore, and away they went. Then I went after them in my Pinnace, carrying with me Knives, Beads, Glaſſes, Hatchets, *&c.* When we came near the Shore, I called to them in the *Malayan* Language. I ſaw but two Men at firſt, the reſt lying in Ambuſh behind the Buſhes; but, as ſoon as I threw aſhore ſome Knives, and other Toys, they came out, flung down their Weapons, and came into the Water by the Boat's Side, making Signs of Friendſhip, by pouring Water on their Heads with one Hand, which they dipped into the Sea. The next Day in the Afternoon, ſeveral other Canoes came on board, and brought many Roots and Fruits; which we purchaſed. This Iſland has no Name in our Draughts; but the Natives call it *Pulo Sabuda*. It is about three Leagues long, and two Miles wide, more or leſs. It is of a good Height, ſo as to be ſeen eleven or twelve Leagues. It is very rocky; yet, above the Rocks, there is good yellow and black Mould, not deep, tho' producing plenty of good tall Trees, and bearing any Fruits or Roots, which the Inhabitants plant. I do not know all its Produce; but what we ſaw were, Plantains, Cocoa-nuts, Pine-apples, Oranges, Papoes, Potatoes, and other large Roots. Here is alſo another ſort of wild Jackas, about the Bigneſs of a Man's two Fiſts, full of Stones or Kernels, which eat pleaſant enough when roaſted. The Libby-tree grows here in the ſwampy Valleys, of which they make Sago-cakes. I did not ſee them make any; but was told by the Inhabitants, that it was made of the Pith of the Tree, in the ſame manner I have before deſcribed. They ſhewed me the Tree whereof it was, and I bought about forty of the Cakes. I bought alſo three or four Nutmegs in the Shell, which did not ſeem to have been long gathered; but, whether they be the Growth of this Iſland, or not, I can't ſay; for the Natives would not tell whence they had them, and ſeemed to prize them very much. What Beaſts this Iſland affords, I know not; but here are both Sea and Land-fowl: Of the firſt, Boobies and Men-of-war-birds are the chief; ſome Goldens and milk-white Crab-catchers. The Land-fowls are, Pigeons, about the Bigneſs of Mountain-pigeons in *Jamaica*, and grow about the Size of thoſe in *England*, and much like them; but the inner Part of their Feathers is white, and the Outſide black; ſo that they appear all black, unleſs you extend the Feathers. Here are large Sky-coloured Birds, ſuch as we killed at *New Guiney*, and many other ſmall Birds unknown to us. Here is likewiſe abundance of Bats, as big as young Conies, their Necks, Heads, Ears, and Noſes, like Foxes; their Hair rough; that about their Necks is of a whitiſh-yellow; that on their Heads and Shoulders black. Their Wings are four Feet over from Tip to Tip. They ſmell like Foxes. The Fiſh are Baſs, Rock-fiſh, and a ſort of Fiſh like Mullets, Old-wives, Whiprays, and ſome other ſorts, that I know not; but no great Plenty of any: For it is deep Water till within leſs than a Mile of the Shore; then there is a Bank of Coral-rocks, within which you have ſhole Water, white clean Sand; ſo there is no good Fiſhing amongſt theſe. This Iſland lies in 2° 43′ South Latitude, and its meridian Diſtance from Port *Babao* on the Iſland of *Timor* is 486 Miles. Beſides this Iſland, here are nine or ten other ſmall Iſlands, as they are laid down in the Draughts. The Inhabitants of this Iſland are a ſort of very tawny *Indians*, with long black Hair, who, in their Manners, differ but little from the *Mindanayans*, and others of theſe Eaſtern Iſlands. Theſe ſeem to be the chief; for, beſides them, we ſaw alſo curl-pated *New Guiney* Negroes, many of which are Slaves to the others, but, I think, not all. They are very poor; wear no Cloaths; but have a Clout about their Middle, made of the Rinds of the Tops of Palmeto-trees; but the Women have a ſort of Calico-cloths. Their chief Ornaments are blue and yellow Beads worn about their Wriſts. The Men arm themſelves with Bows and Arrows, Lances, Broad-ſwords, like thoſe of *Mindanao*. Their Lances are pointed with Bone. They ſtrike Fiſh very ingeniouſly with wooden Fiſh-gigs, and have a very dextrous Way of making the Fiſh riſe; for they have a Piece of Wood curiouſly carved and painted, much like a Dolphin (and perhaps other Figures). Theſe they let down into the Water by a Line, and a ſmall Weight to ſink it. When they think it low enough, they hale the Line into their Boats very faſt; and, the Fiſh riſing up after this Figure, they ſtand ready to ſtrike them when they are near the Surface of the Water. But their chief Livelihood is from their Plantations; yet they have large Boats, and go over to *New Guiney*, where they get Slaves, fine Parrots, *&c.* which they carry to *Ceram*, and exchange for Calicoes. One Boat came from thence a little before I arrived here, of whom I bought ſome Parrots, and would have bought a Slave; but they would not barter for any thing, except Calicoes, which I did not chuſe. Their Houſes on this Side were very ſmall, and ſeemed only to be for Neceſſity; but, on the other Side of the Iſland, we ſaw good large Houſes. Their Proes are narrow, with Outliers on each Side, like

other *Malayans.* I cannot tell of what Religion theſe are; but I think they are not *Mohammedans*, by their drinking Brandy out of the ſame Cup with us, without any Scruple. At this Iſland we continued till the 20th Inſtant, having laid in Store of ſuch Roots and Fruits as the Iſland afforded. On the 20th, at half an Hour after ſix in the Morning, I weighed; and, ſtanding out, we ſaw a large Boat full of Men, lying at the North Point of the Iſland. As we paſſed by, they rowed towards their Habitations, where we ſuppoſed they had withdrawn themſelves, for fear of us, (tho' we gave them no Cauſe of Terror) or for ſome Differences among themſelves; which of the two, was out of our Power to determine, tho' the former, however unreaſonable, ſeemed to us the moſt probable; and their future Conduct confirmed us in that Opinion.

22. After we left this Coaſt, where we found it impoſſible to do any thing, in regard either to Diſcoveries or Trade, we paſſed by many ſmall Iſlands, and through many dangerous Sholes, without meeting with any thing remarkable; till, on *February* 4. we found ourſelves off the North-weſt Cape of *New Guiney*, which is called by the *Dutch* Cape *Malo*. There lies off this Cape a ſmall woody Iſland, which I ſent my Boat to examine, intending to have anchored near it; and as they brought me, at their Return, a Cockle of a prodigious Size, and reported that they had ſeen many more that were ſtill bigger, I thought fit to call this *Cockle* Iſland. The next Day in the Afternoon, I ſent both Boats thither, one to cut Wood, and the other to fiſh; which Boats, at their Return, brought me ſeveral Cockles of ten Pounds Weight; but, as it was High-water, they were not able to get any of the very large ones; for the Shells they brought the Day before weighed 78 *lb.* In the Afternoon, I went myſelf aſhore on another Iſland, where I found more Pigeons than I had ever obſerved before, though all theſe Iſlands abound with that ſort of Fowl. Here alſo were ſuch Plenty of Cockles, that, in an Hour's time, we could have loaded the Boat with them. This Place I called *Pigeon* Iſland; and, on the 7th in the Afternoon, my Men brought me from thence one empty Cockle-ſhell, weighing 258 *lb.* The ſame Evening, we anchored near a very pleaſant Iſland, about two Leagues and an half in Length; the Country high, and exceeding well cloathed with Wood: The Trees of them were of ſeveral Sorts, moſt of them unknown to us, but all of them green and flouriſhing; many of them bore Flowers of different Colours, ſome white, ſome purple, ſome yellow, all exceedingly fragrant, ſo as to be ſmelt at a conſiderable Diſtance. Theſe Trees were, generally ſpeaking, tall and ſtrait, and one in particular of a clean, ſmooth Body, without Knot or Limb, between ſixty and ſeventy Feet high, and three Fathoms about. The Soil of the Iſland is black, but not deep. On this Iſland I went aſhore the next Morning, drank his Majeſty's Health, and called it *King William's Iſland*. On the 9th, being to the Eaſtward of *King William's Iſland*, we plied all the Day between the Main and ſeveral other Iſlands, having the Wind Eaſterly, and fair Weather; but it ſoon altered, and we had a great deal of Rain. On the 14th, we found ourſelves about ſix Leagues from the Continent of *New Guiney*, which appeared very high; and we ſaw two Head-lands, at about twenty Leagues diſtant from each other, the one Eaſt, the other Weſt; the laſt is called the Cape of *Good Hope*: The Variation of the Compaſs here was 4° to the Eaſt. On the 15th, we ſaw an uninhabited Iſland, to which I gave the Name of *Providence*, which lies at no great Diſtance from another ſmall Iſland mentioned in the *Dutch* Charts, by the Name of *William Scouten*'s Iſland.

23. We croſſed the Line on the 16th, and found the Variation 6° 26′ to the Eaſt; but, in a few Days, the Variation increaſed to very near 9°. We ſaw, on the 23d in the Afternoon, two Snakes; and, the next Morning, another paſſing by us, which was vigorouſly attacked by two Fiſhes, that had kept us Company five or ſix Days: They were ſhaped like Mackrel, and were about their Bigneſs and Length, and of a yellow Colour, inclined to green. The Snake ſwam away from them very faſt, keeping his Head above Water: One Fiſh ſnapt at his Tail; but, when he turned himſelf, the Fiſh would withdraw, and the other would ſnap; ſo that, by turns, they kept him employed; yet he ſtill defended himſelf, and ſwam away a great Pace, till they were all out of Sight. The 25th, betimes in the Morning, we ſaw an Iſland to the Southward of us, at about fifteen Leagues Diſtance: We bore away for it, ſuppoſing it to be that which the *Dutch* called *Wiſhart*'s Iſland; but, finding it another Place, I called it *Matthias*, it being that Saint's Day. This Iſland is about nine or ten Leagues long, mountainous, and woody, with many Savannas, and ſome Spots of Land, which ſeemed to be cleared. At eight in the Evening we lay by, intending, if we could, to anchor under *Matthias* Iſle: But, the next Morning, ſeeing another Iſland about ſeven or eight Leagues to the Eaſtward of it, we ſteered away for it: At Noon, we came up fair with its South-weſt End, intending to run along by it, and anchor on the South-eaſt Side; but the Tornadoes came in ſo thick, that I could not venture in. This Iſland is pretty low and plain, and cloathed with Wood. The Trees were very green, and appeared to be large and tall, as thick as they could ſtand one by another. It is about two or three Leagues long; and, at the South-weſt Point, there is another low, ſmall, woody Iſland, about a Mile round, and about a Mile from the other. Between them there runs a Riff of Rocks, which joins them; the biggeſt of theſe I called *Squally* Iſland, on account of the tempeſtuous Weather we met with upon its Coaſts. The Deſire of making Diſcoveries obliges a Man to lay hold of every Circumſtance that is in the leaſt promiſing, and to neglect nothing that may gain him a tolerable Acquaintance with the Coaſts he viſits. Subſequent Voyagers may eaſily diſcover great ſeeming Errors in ſuch a Man's Conduct; but impartial Judges will be always ready to allow, that it is one thing to attempt, and another to proſecute Diſcoveries. He who engages in the former, actually ſteers in the Dark, and moves without Guide or Information; whereas the latter follows the Lights which the other had ſtruck out, and not only improves the Effects of his Sagacity, but acquires Wiſdom alſo by attending to his Miſtakes. Yet the Pleaſure of the Diſcoverer is certainly more quick and lively, than that of any critical Inquirer into the Conduct of his Voyage. In this Expedition, however, the Diſcoveries were not great enough to excite Envy; and yet, poſſibly, they may deſerve Attention and Proſecution; ſince, though the Countries were not rich which we ſaw, yet they were pleaſant, and appeared extremely capable of Improvement. It is alſo to be obſerved, that we viſited the Out-ſkirts only of the Country; and, by the Fringes of a Carpet, it is very hard to judge of the whole Piece. In order to conquer this Difficulty, and, at the ſame time, to rid ourſelves of the Dangers and Diſtreſſes we continually experienced in ſteering among theſe Iſlands, we reſolved to bear away for the Continent, in hopes of indemnifying ourſelves for the Sufferings and Diſappointments we had hitherto met with on the Coaſt of *New Guiney*.

24. The Continent appeared high and mountainous, adorned with flouriſhing Trees. The Sides of the Hills had many large Plantations, and Pieces of cleared Land, which, together with the Smokes we ſaw, are certain Signs of its being well inhabited; and I was deſirous of entering into Commerce with the Inhabitants: Being nigh the Shore, we ſaw firſt one Proe; a little after two, or three more; and, at laſt, a great many Boats came from all the adjacent Bays: When they were forty-ſix in Number, they approached ſo near us, that we could ſee each others Signs, and hear each other ſpeak, though we could not underſtand them, nor they us. They made Signs for us to go in towards the Shore, pointing that Way: It was ſqually Weather, which at firſt made me cautious of going too near; but the Weather beginning to look pretty clear, I endeavoured to get into a Bay a head of us, which we could have got into well enough at firſt; but, while we lay by, we were driven ſo far to Leeward, that now it was more difficult to get in. The Natives lay in their Proes round us, to whom I ſhewed Beads, Knives, and Glaſſes, to allure them to come nearer; but they would not come ſo nigh, as to receive any thing from us: Therefore I threw out ſome Things to them, *viz.* a Knife faſtened to a Piece of Board, and a Glaſs Bottle corked up with ſome Beads in it, which they took up, and ſeemed well pleaſed. They

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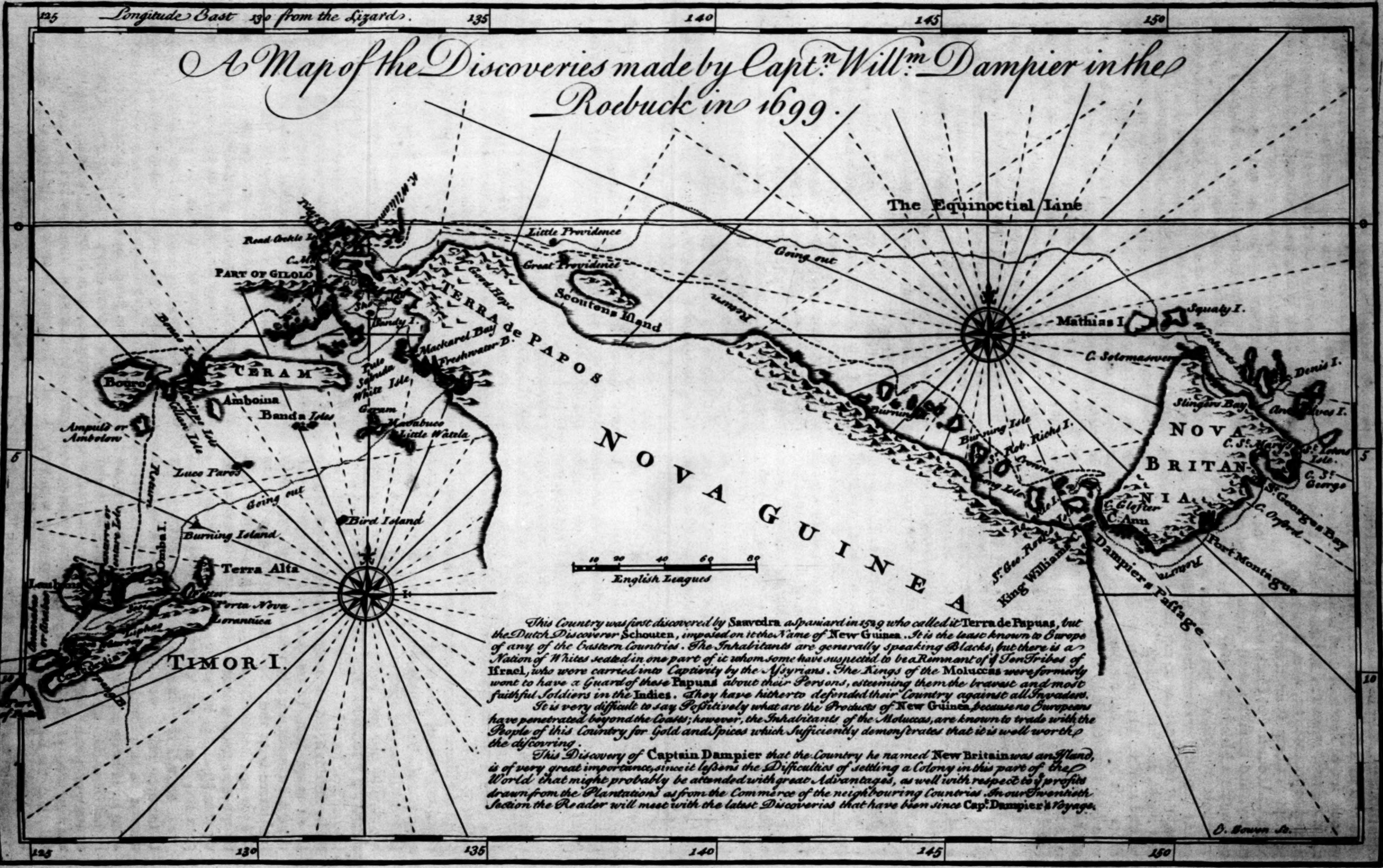


A Map of the Discoveries made by Capt.n Will.m Dampier in the Roebuck in 1699.

Longitude East 130 from the Lizard
125
135
140
145
150
The Equinoctial Line
5
10
Little Providence
Great Providence
Going out
Return
Scoutens Island
Mathias I.
Squaly I.
C. Solomaswer
Slingers Bay
Denis I.
Anthony Caves I.
NOVA BRITANNIA
C. St. Maries
St. Johns Isle
C. St. George
St. Georges Bay
C. Orford
Port Montague
C. Glaster
C. Ann
Dampier's Passage
King Williams
St. Geo. Reach
Burning Isle
Rob. Richs I.
Crowns
NOVA GUINEA
TERRA de PAPOS
Good Hope
Mackarel Bay
Freshwater B.
Pulo Sabuda
Whitt Isle
Garam
Matabucs
Little Watela
Bandy I.
PART OF GILOLO
Read Crokle Isle
C. Mabo
K. William
CERAM
Bouro
Bonao I.
Amboina
Banda Isles
Ampulo or Amblow
Luco Pares
Burning Island
Bird Island
Terra Alta
Omba I.
Porta Nova
Laranticca
TIMOR I.
10
20
40
60
80
English Leagues
E. Bowen Sc.

This Country was first discovered by **Saavedra** *a Spaniard in 1529 who called it* **Terra de Papuas**, *but the Dutch Discoverer* **Schouten**, *imposed on it the Name of* **New Guinea**. *It is the least known to Europe of any of the Eastern Countries. The Inhabitants are generally speaking Blacks, but there is a Nation of Whites seated in one part of it whom some have suspected to be a Remnant of ye Ten Tribes of* **Iſrael**, *who were carried into Captivity by the Aſsyrians. The Kings of the* **Moluccas** *were formerly wont to have a Guard of these* **Papuas** *about their Persons, esteeming them the bravest and most faithful Soldiers in the* **Indies**. *They have hitherto defended their Country against all Invaders.*

It is very difficult to say Poſitively what are the Products of **New Guinea**, *because no Europeans have penetrated beyond the Coasts; however, the Inhabitants of the Moluccas, are known to trade with the People of this Country for Gold and Spices which Sufficiently demonſtrates that it is well worth the diſcovring.*

This Discovery of **Captain Dampier** *that the Country he named* **New Britain** *was an Iſland, is of very great importance, since it leſsens the Difficulties of setling a Colony in this part of the World that might probably be attended with great Advantages, as well with respect to ye profits drawn from the Plantations as from the Commerce of the neighbouring Countries. In our Twentieth Section the Reader will meet with the latest Discoveries that have been since* **Capt. Dampier's** *Voyage.*

often ſtruck their Left Breaſt with their Right Hand, and as often held up a black Truncheon over their Heads, which we took for a Token of Friendſhip; wherefore we did the like; and, when we ſtood in towards their Shore, they ſeemed to rejoice; but, when we ſtood off, they frowned; yet kept us Company in their Proes, ſtill pointing to the Shore. About five o' Clock we got within the Mouth of the Bay, and ſounded ſeveral times, but had no Ground, tho' within a Mile of the Shore. The Baſon of this Bay was above two Miles within us, into which we might have gone; but, as I was not ſure of Anchorage there, ſo I thought it not Prudence to run in at this Time, it being near Night, and ſeeing a black Tornado riſing in the Weſt, which I moſt feared; beſides, we had near 200 Men in Proes cloſe by us; and the Bays, on the Shore, were lined with Men from one End to the other, where there could not be leſs than three or four hundred more. What Weapons they had, we knew not, nor yet their Deſign; therefore I had, at their firſt coming near us, got up all our ſmall Arms, and made ſeveral put-on Cartouch-boxes to ſecure us from Treachery. At laſt I reſolved to go out again, which when the Natives in their Proes perceived, they began to fling Stones at us as faſt as they could, being provided with Engines for that Purpoſe; and therefore I named this Place *Slingers Bay*: But at the Firing of a ſingle Gun they were all amazed, drew off, and flung no more Stones; they got together, as if conſulting what to do; for they did not make in towards the Shore, but lay ſtill, though ſome of them were killed or wounded, and many more of them had paid for their Boldneſs, but that I was unwilling to cut off many of them, which if I had done, I could not hope afterwards to bring them to treat with me. The next Day, we ſailed cloſe by an Iſland, where we ſaw many Smokes, and Men in the Bays, out of which came two or three Canoes, taking much Pains to overtake us, but they could not, though we went with an eaſy Sail, and I could not now ſtay for them. As I paſſed by the South-eaſt Point, I ſounded ſeveral times, within a Mile of the ſandy Bays, but had no Ground. About three Leagues to the Northward of the South-eaſt Point, we opened a large deep Bay, ſecured from Weſt North-weſt and South-weſt Winds: There were two other Iſlands that lay to the North-eaſt of it, which ſecured the Bay from North-eaſt Winds; one was but ſmall, yet woody; the other was a League long, inhabited, and full of Cocoa-nut-trees. I endeavoured to get into this Bay, but there came ſuch Flaws from the high Land over it, that I could not; and, Night coming on, I would not run any Hazard, but bore away to the ſmall inhabited Iſland, to ſee if we could anchor on the Eaſt Side of it: When we came thither, we found the Iſland ſo narrow, that there could be no Shelter; therefore I tacked, and ſtood towards the greater Iſland again; and, being more than midway between both, I lay by. Between ſeven and eight at Night, we ſaw a Canoe cloſe by us; and, ſeeing no more, ſuffered her to come aboard; ſhe had three Men in her, who brought off five Cocoa-nuts, for which I gave each of them a Knife, and a String of Beads, to encourage them to come off again in the Morning; but, before theſe went away, we ſaw two more Canoes coming; therefore we ſtood away to the Northward from them, and then lay by again till Day. We ſaw no more Boats this Night, neither deſigned to ſuffer any more to come aboard in the Dark. By nine a Clock the next Morning, we were got within a League of the great Iſland, but were kept off by violent Guſts of Wind.

25. On *March* 3. being about five Leagues to Leeward of the great Iſland, we ſaw the Main-land a-head, and another great high Iſland to the Leeward of us, Diſtance about ſeven Leagues, for which we bore away; it is called in the *Dutch* Draughts *Garrat Dennis* Iſle. It is about fourteen or fifteen Leagues round, high, and mountainous, and very woody. Some Trees appeared very large and tall; and the Bay, by the Sea-ſide, abounded with very large Cocoa-nut-trees; where we alſo ſaw ſome ſmall Houſes. The Sides of the Mountains are thick-ſet with Plantations; and the Mould, in the new-cleared Land, ſeemed to be of a brown-reddiſh Colour. This Iſland is full of Points, ſhooting into the Sea; between which are many ſandy Bays full of Cocoa-nut-trees. The Middle of the Iſland lies in 3° 10' South Latitude; it is very populous; the Natives are very black, ſtrong, and well-limbed People, having round Heads, their Hair curled and ſhort, which they ſhave into ſeveral Forms, and dye it alſo of divers Colours, *viz.* Red, White, and Yellow. They have round Faces, with broad Bottle-noſes, yet agreeable enough, till they diſguiſe them by Painting, and by wearing great Rings through their Noſes, as big as a Man's Thumb, and about four Inches long; theſe are run quite through both Noſtrils, one End running out by one Cheek-bone, and the other End againſt the other, and their Noſes ſo ſtretched, that only a ſmall Slip of them appears about the Ornament: They have alſo great Holes in their Ears, wherein they wear ſuch Stuff as in their Noſes. They are very dextrous, active Fellows in their Proes, which are very ingeniouſly built: They are narrow and long, with Outlayers on one Side; the Head and Stern higher than the reſt, and adorned with many Devices, *viz.* ſome Fowl, Fiſh, or a Man's Hand painted or carved; and though it is but rudely, yet the Reſemblance appears plainly, and ſhews an ingenious Fancy: But with what Inſtruments they make their Proes, or this kind of carved Work, I know not; for they ſeem to be utterly unacquainted with Iron: They had very neat Paddles, with which they manage their Proes dextrouſly, and make great Way through the Water. Their Weapons are Lances, Swords, Slings, and ſome Bows and Arrows: They have alſo wooden Fiſſgigs for ſtriking Fiſh. Thoſe that came to aſſault us in *Slingers Bay*, on the Main, are in all reſpects like theſe; and, I believe, theſe are no leſs treacherous: Their Speech is clear and diſtinct; the Words they uſed moſt when near us, were *Vacouſee Allamais*; and then they pointed to the Shore: Their Signs of Friendſhip are either a great Truncheon, or Bough of a Tree, full of Leaves, put on their Heads, often ſtriking their Heads with their Hands.

26. The next Day, we had a pleaſant Gale of Wind, which carried us under an high Iſland, very woody, and full of Plantations on the Deſcents of its Mountains, and on the Shores of its Bays. This Iſland lies in the Latitude of 3° 25' South, and is diſtant from the Meridian of Cape *Mabo* 316 Miles. On the South-eaſt Part of it are three or four more ſmall woody Iſlands, one high and peeked, the other low and flat, all thick-planted with Cocoa-nut-trees, and other Wood. On the North, there is another Iſland of an indifferent Height, and of a ſomewhat larger Circumference than the great high Iſland laſt-mentioned. We paſſed between this and the high Iſland; the high Iſland is called in the *Dutch* Draughts *Anthony Cave*'s Iſland; as for the flat low Iſland, and the other ſmall one, it is probable they were never ſeen by the *Dutch*, nor the Iſlands to the North of *Garret Dennis*'s Iſland. As ſoon as we came near *Cave*'s Iſland, ſome Canoes came about us, and made Signs for us to come aſhore, as all the reſt had done before, probably thinking we could run the Ship a-ground any-where, as they did their Proes; for we ſaw neither Sail nor Anchor amongſt any of them, though moſt *Eaſt Indians* have both: Thoſe had Proes made of one Tree, well dug, with Outlayers on one Side; they were but ſmall, yet well ſhaped. We endeavoured to anchor, but found no Ground within a Mile of the Shore; we kept cloſe along the North Side, ſtill ſounding till we came to the North-eaſt End, the Canoes ſtill accompanying us, and the Bays were covered with Men going along; as we ſailed, many of them ſtrove to ſwim off to us, but we left them a-ſtern. The Current now driving in towards the flat Iſland, we were followed by a Canoe from *Cave's* Iſland: To each of thoſe in it I gave a Knife, a Looking-glaſs, and a String of Beads. We ſhewed them Pompions and Cocoa-nuts, intimating, that we ſhould be very well pleaſed to have more of them, which inſtantly produced three out of their Boat. We next ſhewed them Nutmegs; and they, by their Signs, gave us to underſtand, that they had ſuch growing on their Iſland. They were likewiſe ſhewed Gold-duſt, which they knew, and cried out, *Manneel! Manneel!* pointing towards the Land. Soon after they were gone, two or three Canoes came from the flat Iſland, and invited us thither. Theſe People were black, with frizzled Hair, tall, luſty, well-ſhaped Men; they made the ſame Signs of Friendſhip, and ſeemed to ſpeak the ſame Language. Their Canoes

were very neatly made, and finely carved, with the Figures of various kinds of Fiſh upon them; and, of all the *Indians* we had ever ſeen, theſe ſeemed the moſt tractable and polite.

27. We ſoon after ſaw another Iſland, called in the *Dutch* Maps *St. John's*; the People of which ſpoke the ſame Language with thoſe of *Cave's* Iſland. We ſaw from hence an Head-land to the South of us, beyond which we could diſcover no Land at all; whence I ſuppoſe, that from thence the Land trends away more Weſterly. This Head-land lies in the Latitude of 5° 2′ South, and its Meridian Diſtance from Cape *Mabo* is 1290 Miles; in the Night we lay by, for fear of overſhooting this Head-land; between which and Cape *St. Mary's*, the Land is mountainous and woody, having many Points of Land ſhooting out into the Sea, which make ſo many fine Bays. The Coaſt lies North North-eaſt and South South-weſt. We ſaw neither Smokes nor Plantations near this Head-land, which we opened fair by Night; and, as no *Dutch* Charts deſcribed this Coaſt ſo far by ten Leagues, I called it Cape *St. George*. It lies in 5° 5′ South Latitude, and, as I ſaid, is diſtant from the Meridian of Cape *Mabo* 1290 Miles. I likewiſe called the Bay, formed by this Mountain, *St. George's* Bay, and the Iſland before it *St. George's* Iſland. The next Morning we ſaw a burning Mountain up in the Country. The Day after, we paſſed by the South-weſt Cape of this Bay, leaving it to the North of us; and, when we came a-breaſt of it, I called up my Officers, and named it Cape *Orford*, in Honour of my noble Patron *Edward Ruſſel*, Earl of *Orford*. This Cape lies in 5° 24′ South Latitude, and 44 Miles Weſt from the Meridian of Cape *St. George*. The Land on each Side of the Cape is more Savanna than Wood-land; and it is higheſt on the North-weſt Side. The Cape itſelf is a Bluff-point, of an indifferent Height, with a flat Table-land at Top. When we were to the Weſt of the Cape, it appeared to be a low Point, ſhooting out: There were many Inhabitants about it. We ſteered along South-weſt as the Land lies, keeping about ſix Leagues off the Shore, and being deſirous to cut Wood, and fill Water: If I ſaw any Conveniency, I lay by in the Night, becauſe I would not miſs any Place proper for thoſe Ends, for fear of wanting ſuch Neceſſaries. This Coaſt is high and mountainous, and not ſo thick ſet with Trees as that on the other Side of Cape *Orford*, but otherwiſe pleaſant enough. I could have wiſhed for ſome more favourable Opportunities than had hitherto offered themſelves, as well for penetrating into the Heart of the new diſcovered Country, as for opening a Trade with its Inhabitants, both of which, I very well knew, could they be brought about, muſt prove extremely beneficial to *Great Britain*. For this Reaſon I continued my Endeavours in ſpite of ſo many Diſappointments; and, perceiving my Officers and Men more tractable and obedient than formerly, reſolved to examine the Continent we had now in View, as minutely as we had lately done the Iſlands; the Fruits of which Inquiry, ſuch as they were, ſhall be laid before the Reader with the ſame Truth and Sincerity, which, I hope, appear conſpicuouſly in the former Part of this Relation; for, tho' Diſcoveries be not in a Man's Power, yet a candid Relation of his Attempts, which is, may afford Lights to others, and thereby procure them that Succeſs, of which he failed.

28. On *March* 14. we had Sight of a pretty deep Bay, with ſome Iſlands about it, in which I judged we might ride pretty ſecurely, and meet alſo with ſome Refreſhments; for, by the Smokes we ſaw, it was very evident, that the Country was full inhabited: About 10, we ſaw a Point, which ran pretty far out into the Sea, and a Bay within, where we were in hopes of meeting with freſh Water; and our Hopes were greatly increaſed, when, going with a moderate Gale into the Bay, we diſcerned all the Marks of a well-cultivated Country, *viz.* Cocoa-trees, regular Plantations, and a conſiderable Number of Houſes. When I came within four or five Miles of the Shore, ſix ſmall Boats came off to view us, with about forty Men in them. Perceiving that they would not come aboard, I made Signs to them to go aſhore; but they did not, or would not, underſtand me: Therefore I whiſtled a Shot over their Heads out of my Fowling-piece; and then they pulled away for the Shore as hard as they could. Theſe were no ſooner aſhore, but we ſaw three Boats coming from the Iſland to Leeward of us; and they ſoon came within Call, for we lay becalmed; one had about forty Men in her, and was a large well-built Boat; the other two were but ſmall. Not long after, I ſaw another Boat coming out of that Bay, where I intended to go: She likewiſe was a large Boat, with an high Head and Stern, painted, and full of Men. This, I thought, came off to fight us, as probably they all did; therefore I fired another ſmall Shot over the great Boat that was nigh us, which made them take to their Paddles. We ſtill lay becalmed; and therefore they, rowing wide of us, directed their Courſe towards the other great Boat that was coming off. When they were pretty near each other, I cauſed the Gunner to fire a Gun between, which he did very dextrouſly; it was laden with round and Partridge-ſhot; the laſt dropt in the Water ſomewhat ſhort of them, but the round Shot went between two Boats, and grazed about 100 Yards beyond them: This ſo frightened them, that they both rowed away for the Shore as faſt as they could, without coming near each other; and the little Boats made the beſt of their Way after them; and now, having a gentle Breeze at South South-eaſt, we bore into the Bay after them. When we came by the Point, I ſaw a great Number of Men peeping from under the Rocks. I ordered a Shot to be fired to ſcare them: The Shot grazed between us and the Point; and, mounting again, flew over the Point, and grazed a ſecond time juſt by them. We were obliged to ſail along juſt by the Bays; and, ſeeing Multitudes under the Trees, I ordered a third Gun to be fired among the Cocoa-nut-trees to ſcare them; for my Buſineſs being to wood and water, I thought it neceſſary to ſtrike ſome Terror into the Inhabitants, who were very numerous, and, I had Reaſon to fear, treacherous. After this I ſent my Boat to ſound; they had firſt forty, and at laſt twenty Fathom Water: We followed the Boat, and came to Anchor about a Quarter of a Mile from the Shore, in twenty-ſix Fathom Water, fine black Sand and Ouſe. We rode right againſt the Mouth of a ſmall River, where I hoped to find freſh Water. Some of the Natives ſtanding upon a ſmall Point at the River's Mouth, I ſent a ſmall Shot over their Heads to fright them, which it did effectually. In the Afternoon, I ſent my Boat aſhore to the Natives, who ſtood upon the Point by the River's Mouth, with a Preſent of Cocoa-nuts: When the Boat was come near the Shore, they came running into the Water, and put their Nuts into the Boat: Then I made a Signal for the Boat to come aboard, and ſent both it and the Yawl into the River to look for freſh Water; ordering the Pinnace to lie near the River's Mouth, while the Yawl went up to ſearch. In an Hour's time, they returned aboard with Barrecoes full of freſh Water, which they had taken about half a Mile up the River: After which, I ſent them again with Casks; ordering one to fill Water, and the other to watch the Motions of the Natives, leſt they ſhould make any Oppoſition; but they did not, and ſo the Boats returned a little before Sun-ſet with a Ton and a half of Water; and the next Day, by Noon, brought aboard about ſix Tons of Water.

23. I ſent aſhore Commodities to purchaſe Hogs, Yams, and other Roots. But my Men returned without any thing, the Natives being unwilling to trade with us; yet they admired our Hatchets and Axes, but would part with nothing but Cocoa-nuts, which they climb the Trees for; and, ſo ſoon as they gave them our Men, they beckoned to them to be gone, for they were afraid of us. The 18th, I ſent both Boats again for Water; and, before Noon, they filled all my Casks. In the Afternoon I ſent them to cut Wood; but, ſeeing about forty Natives ſtanding on the Bay, at a ſmall Diſtance from our Men, I made a Signal for them to come aboard again; which they did, and brought me Word, that the Men were paſſing that Way, but were afraid to come nigh them. At four o'Clock I ſent both the Boats again for Wood, and they returned in the Evening. Then I called my Officers, to conſult, whether it were convenient to ſtay here longer, and endeavour a better Acquaintance with theſe People: They all gave their Opinions for ſtaying longer here. So the next Day I ſent both Boats aſhore to fiſh, and to cut more Wood. While they were aſhore, about thirty or

forty Men and Women paſſed by; they were a little afraid of our People at firſt, but, upon their making Signs of Friendſhip, paſſed quietly; the Men were dreſſed very fine with Feathers about their Heads, and Lances in their Hands; the Women had no Ornament, or any thing to cover their Nakedneſs, but a Bunch of green Boughs before and behind, ſtuck under a String, which came round their Waiſts; they carried large Baſkets on their Heads full of Yams. And I have obſerved, among all the wild Nations I have known, that they make the Women carry the Burdens, while the Men walk before without carrying any other Load than their Arms. In the Afternoon I ſent the Boats aſhore for Wood. Some of our Men going to the Natives Houſes, found they were now more ſhy than they uſed to be, had taken down all the Cocoa-nuts from the Trees, and driven away their Hogs: Our People made Signs to them, to know what was become of their Hogs, and other Things. The Natives, pointing to ſome Houſes at the Bottom of the Bay, and imitating the Noiſe of thoſe Creatures, ſignified, there were Hogs and Goats of ſeveral Sizes, which they expreſſed by holding out their Hands at ſeveral Diſtances from the Ground.

30. At Night our Boats came aboard with Wood; and next Morning I went myſelf, with both Boats, up the River, to the Watering-place, carrying with me ſuch Trifles as I thought moſt proper to induce them to a Commerce with us: But I found they were very ſhy. I ſaw but two Men and a Boy: One of the Men, by ſome Signs, was perſuaded to come to the Boat's Side where I was: I gave him a Knife, a String of Beads, and a Glaſs-bottle; the Fellow called out Cocoas, Cocoas, pointing to a Village hard by; and ſignified, that he would go for ſome; but he never returned. I took eight or nine Men with me, and marched to their Houſes, which I found very mean, and their Doors made faſt with Withes, the Inhabitants being all withdrawn out of Fear. I viſited three of their Villages, and, finding the Houſes abandoned by the Inhabitants, I brought out ſome ſmall Fiſhing-nets, in Recompence for thoſe Things they had of us. As we were coming away, we ſaw two of the Natives; I ſhewed them the Things that we carried with us; and called to them, Cocoas, Cocoas, to let them know, that I took thoſe Things, becauſe they had not made good what they had promiſed by their Signs, and by their calling out Cocoas. While I was thus employed, the Men in the Yawl filled two Hogſheads with Water, and all the Barrecoes. In the Afternoon I came aboard, and found all my Officers and Men very importunate to go to that Bay where the Hogs were ſaid to be. I was loth to yield to it, fearing they would deal too roughly with the Natives. At laſt I conſented, ſending thoſe Commodities I had aſhore with me in the Morning, and giving them a ſtrict Charge to act cautiouſly for their own Security. The Bay I ſent them to, was about two Miles from the Ship. As ſoon as they were gone, I got all things ready, that, if there was Occaſion, I might aſſiſt them with my great Guns. When they came to land, the Natives appeared, ſhaking their Lances, and threatening them; and ſome were ſo daring, as to wade into the Sea, holding a Target in one Hand, and a Lance in the other. Our Men held up ſuch Commodities as I had ſent, but to no Purpoſe; for the Natives waved them off. Seeing therefore they could not be prevailed upon, my Men, being reſolved to have ſome Proviſion among them, fired ſome Muſquets to ſcare them away; which had the deſired Effect upon all but two or three, who ſtood ſtill in a menacing Poſture, till the boldeſt of them dropt his Target, and ran away, being ſhot in the Arm. He, and ſome others, felt the Smart of our Bullets, but none were killed, our Deſign being rather to fright than hurt them. Our Men landed, and found abundance of tame Hogs running amongſt the Houſes. They ſhot nine, which they brought away. They had but little Time; for, in leſs than an Hour after they went from the Ship, it began to rain: Therefore they got what they could into the Boats; for I had charged them to come away, if it rained. By that time the Boat was aboard, and the Hogs taken in, it cleared up, and my Men deſired to make another Trip thither before Night: This was about five in the Evening, and I conſented, giving them Order to repair on board before Night. In the Cloſe of the Evening they returned with eight Hogs more, and a little live Pig; and, by this time, the other Hogs were jerked and ſalted. Theſe that came laſt, we only dreſſed and corned till Morning, and then ſent both Boats aſhore for more Refreſhments, either of Hogs or Roots; but, in the Night, the Natives had conveyed away their Proviſions of all Sorts. Many of them were now about the Houſes, and none offered to hinder our Boats landing; but, on the contrary, were ſo amicable, that one Man brought ten or twelve Cocoa-nuts, left them on the Shore, after he had ſhewed them to our Men, and went out of Sight. Our People, finding nothing but Nets and Images, brought them away; theſe two of my Men brought in a ſmall Canoe; and, preſently after, my Boats came off. I ordered the Boatſwain to take care of the Nets; the Images I took into my own Cuſtody.

31. I ſent the Canoe in the Afternoon to the Place from whence they brought her, and in her two Axes, two Hatchets, (one of the helved) ſix Knives, ſix Looking-glaſſes, a large Bunch of Beads, and four Glaſs-bottles. Our Men drew the Canoe aſhore, placed the Things to the beſt Advantage in her, and came off in the Pinnace I ſent to guard them: And now, being well-ſtocked with Wood, and all my Water-caſks full, I reſolved to ſail the next Morning. All the time of our Stay here we had very fair Weather, only a Shower of Rain ſometimes in the Afternoon, which laſted not above an Hour at moſt; alſo ſome Thunder and Lightning, with very little Wind. We had Sea and Land-breezes, the former between the South South-eaſt, and the latter from North-eaſt to North-weſt. This Place I named *Port Mountague*, in Honour of my noble Patron. It lies in 60° 10′ South Latitude, and meridian Diſtance from Cape *St. George* 151 Miles Weſt. The Country thereabouts is mountainous and woody, full of rich Valleys, and pleaſant freſh-water Brooks: The Mould in the Valley is deep and yellowiſh, that on the Side of the Hill of a very brown Colour, and not very deep, but rocky underneath, yet excellent planting Land. The Trees, in general, are neither very ſtrait, thick, nor tall; yet appear green and pleaſant enough; ſome of them bore Flowers, ſome Berries, and others big Fruits, but all unknown to any of us. Cocoa-nut-trees thrive very well here, as well on the Bays by the Sea-ſide, as more remote among the Plantations; the Nuts are of an indifferent Size; the Milk and Kernel very thick and pleaſant. Here is Ginger, Yams, and other very good Roots for the Pot, that our Men ſaw and taſted. What other Fruits or Roots the Country affords, I know not. Here are Hogs and Dogs; other Land-animals they ſaw none. The Fowls we ſaw, and knew, were Pigeons, Parrots, Cockadores, and Crows, like thoſe in *England*, a ſort of Birds about the Bigneſs of a Black-bird, and ſmaller Birds many. The Sea and Rivers have Plenty of Fiſh; we ſaw abundance, though we catched but few; and theſe were Cavellies, Yellow tails, and Whiprays.

32. We ſailed *March* 22. On the 24th in the Evening, about ten o'Clock, I was called out of my Cabin, where I then lay much indiſpoſed, to ſee what the Ship's Crew called a Miracle: On the North-weſt by Weſt there appeared a large Pillar of Fire, ſhooting gradually for three or four Minutes; then ſinking in the ſame time, till it was ſcarce viſible; then riſing again, and blazing as before. I knew it immediately to be a Vulcano, or burning Mountain, and ſteered for it accordingly. On the 25th of the ſame Month in the Evening, we found ourſelves within three Leagues of the Iſland, in which this burning Mountain was, and about two Leagues from the Continent. There was a good Chanel to paſs between them; and I kept nearer the Main than the Iſland. About ſeven in the Evening I ſounded, and had fifty-two Fathom, fine Sand and Ouſe. I ſtood to the Northward, to get clear of this Streight, having but little Wind, and fair Weather. The Iſland all Night vomited Fire and Smoke; and, at every Exploſion, we heard a dreadful Noiſe, like Thunder; and ſaw a Flame of Fire after it, the moſt terrifying that ever I beheld. The Intervals between theſe Exploſions were about half a Minute, ſome more, others leſs: Neither were theſe Pulſes or Eruptions alike; for ſome were but faint Convulſions, in com-

pariſon of the more vigorous: Yet even the weakeſt vented a great deal of Fire; but the largeſt made a roaring Noiſe, and ſent up a large Flame twenty or thirty Yards high; and there might be ſeen a great Stream of Fire running down to the Foot of the Iſland, even to the Shore. From the Furrows made by this deſcending Fire, we could, in the Day-time, ſee great Smokes ariſe, which probably were made by the ſulphurous Matter thrown out of the Funnel at the Top, which, tumbling down to the Bottom, and there lying in an Heap, burned, till it was either conſumed or extinguiſhed; and ſo long as it burnt, and kept its Heat, ſo long the Smoke aſcended from it, which we perceived to increaſe or decreaſe, according to the Quantity of Matter diſcharged from the Funnel. But the next Night, being ſhot to the Weſtward of the burning Iſland, and the Funnel of it lying on the South Side, we could not diſcern the Fire there, as we did the Smoke in the Day, when we were to the Southward of it. This Vulcano lies in the Latitude of 5° 33′ South, and its meridian Diſtance from Cape *St. George* is 332 Miles Weſt. The Eaſt Part of *New Guiney* lies forty Miles to the Weſt of this Tract of Land; and, in moſt of the Charts, they are laid down as contiguous; but I found a large Paſſage between them, calling the North-eaſt Promontory of *New Guiney*, *King William's Cape*; and, when I had perfectly diſcovered the Iſland, I called it *Nova Britannia*. It lies from 2° 30′ to 6° 30′ South Latitude, and has about 5° 18′ Longitude. It appears to be, for the moſt part, high Land, mixed with Valleys, and every-where abounding with large and ſtately Trees. The Iſland ſeems to be very fully inhabited by a Race of ſtrong, well-made Negroes, with whom I could enter into no Correſpondence, becauſe my Pinnace was in ſuch a Condition, that we could not ſafely make uſe of it to go on ſhore. I likewiſe diſcovered another Iſland, about eleven or twelve Leagues long, which I called *Sir George Rooke's Iſland*; and not long after another, which, from its Form, I named *Crown Iſland*; and, to the North-weſt of that, we diſcerned a ſtill larger Iſle, which I called *Sir Robert Rich's Iſland*. On *April* 2. we diſcovered another burning Iſland, and ſoon after many other Iſlands, amongſt which we diſcovered three Veſſels with Sails; a thing unuſual, and which we had never ſeen before, ſince we were upon theſe Coaſts. On *April* 12. the Sky, at Sun-riſing, looked very red in the Eaſt, near the Horizon; and there were many black Clouds both to the South and North of it. About a quarter of an Hour after the Sun was up, there was a Squall to the Windward of us, when, on a ſudden, one of our Men on the Forecaſtle called out, that he ſaw ſomething a-ſtern; but could not tell what. I looked out for it, and immediately ſaw a Spout beginning to work within a quarter of a Mile of us, exactly in the Wind. We preſently put right before it. It came very ſwift, whirling the Water up in a Pillar, about ſix or ſeven Yards high. As yet I could not ſee any pendulous Cloud, from whence it might come, and was in hopes it would ſoon loſe its Force. In four or five Minutes time, it came within a Cable's Length of us, and paſſed away to Leeward; and then I ſaw a long pale Stream coming down to the whirling Water. This Stream was about the Bigneſs of a Rainbow. The upper End ſeemed vaſtly high, not deſcending from any dark Cloud; and therefore the more ſtrange to me, as I never had ſeen the like before. It paſſed about a Mile to Leeward of us, and then broke. This was but a ſmall Spout, not ſtrong, nor laſting; yet I perceived much Wind in it, as it paſſed by us. The Current ſtill continued at North-weſt, a little Weſterly, which I allowed to run a Mile *per* Hour. I gueſſed from hence, that the Land is disjoined here; and that there is a Paſſage to the Southward.

33. We were now returning, and therefore I ſhall be ſhorter in my Accounts. On the 26th, we ſaw the Iſland of *Ceram*, and endeavoured to paſs between it and the Iſland of *Bonao*; but could not. We then made the Iſland of *Bouro*, where we met with a *Chineſe* Veſſel, which, thro' a Miſtake, gave us a good deal of Trouble; for, about eight at Night, ſhe came cloſe by us on our Weather-ſide; which occaſioned our getting all our Guns ready, Matches lighted, and Small-arms upon the Quarter-deck; but ſhe ſtanding one Way, and we another, we were ſoon far enough aſunder. At ten the next Morning, having little Wind, I ſent the Yawl aboard of her. She was laden with Rice, Arrack, Tea, Porcelane, and other Commodities, bound for *Amboyna*. The Commander ſaid, that his Boat was gone aſhore for Water; and aſked our Men, if they ſaw her; for ſhe had been miſſing two or three Days, and they knew not what was become of her. They had their Wives and Children aboard, and probably came to ſettle at ſome new *Dutch* Factory. The Commander alſo informed us, that the *Dutch* had lately ſettled at *Ampulo*, *Monippe*, *Bonao*, and on a Point of *Ceram*. The next Day, we paſſed between *Kellan* and *Bouro*. After this, we had, for ſeveral Days, an high-rolling Sea, occaſioned more by a Current, than Wind, which carried us five-and-twenty Miles to the South of our true Courſe. We were now on the Coaſts of a known Country; and therefore I reſolved to take the firſt Opportunity that offered of putting into Port, in order to procure ſuch Neceſſaries as I wanted, and for the making the Repairs requiſite in my Ship, which, by being ſo long out, was now become very foul and crazy, tho' we did not, at that time, ſuſpect her being in ſo rotten and ruinous a Condition, as we afterwards found her; neither was it long before we met with the Opportunity we wiſhed for.

34. On the 14th, we diſcovered the Iſland *Miſacomby*; and, the next Day, ſailed along to the Weſt, on the North Side of the Iſland. In ſome Charts it is called *Omba*, a mountainous Iſland, diverſified with Woods and Savannas, about twenty Leagues long, and five or ſix broad. We ſaw no Signs of Inhabitants on it. We fell in neareſt to the Weſt End of it, and therefore I choſe to paſs on, intending to get through to the Southward between this and the next Iſle to the Weſt of it, or between any other two Iſlands to the Weſt, where I ſhould find the cleareſt Paſſage, becauſe the Winds were now at North-eaſt, and Eaſt North-eaſt, and the Iſle lies nearly Eaſt and Weſt; ſo that, if the Winds continued, I might be a long time in getting to the Eaſt End of it, which yet I knew to be the the beſt Paſſage. Afternoon, being near the End of the Iſle *Pentare*, which lies Weſt from *Miſacomby*, we ſaw many Houſes and Plantations in the Country, and abundance of Cocoa-nut-trees growing by the Sea-ſide. We alſo ſaw ſeveral Boats ſailing croſs a Bay or Chanel at the Weſt End of *Miſacomby*, between it and *Pentare*. We had but little Wind, and that at North, which blows right in, with a Swell; wherefore I was afraid to venture in, tho' probably there might have been good Anchoring, and a means of acquiring a Commerce with the Natives. I continued ſteering to the Weſt, becauſe, the Night before at Sun-ſetting, I ſaw a ſmall, round, high Iſland to the Weſt of *Pentare*, where I expected a good Paſſage. We could not that Day reach the Weſt End of *Pentare*; but ſaw a deep Bay to the Weſt of us, where, I thought, there might be a Paſſage through between *Pentare* and *Laubana*; but the Lands were ſhut within one another, ſo that we could not ſee any Paſſage. I ordered them to ſail ſeven Leagues more Weſterly, and lie-by till next Day. In the Morning, we looked out for an Opening; but could ſee none: Yet, by the Diſtance and Bearing of an high round Iſland, called *Potoro*, we were got to the Weſt of the Opening; but not far from it. I therefore tacked, and ſtood to the Eaſt; and the rather becauſe I had Reaſon to ſuppoſe this to be the Paſſage I came through in the *Cygnet*, mentioned in my Voyage round the World; but I was not yet ſure of it, becauſe we had rainy Weather; ſo that we could not now ſee the Land ſo well as we did then. We accidentally ſaw the Opening at our firſt falling in with the Iſlands, which now was a Work of Time and Difficulty to diſcover: However, before ten o'Clock, we ſaw the Opening. The Wind was South South-weſt, and we plied to get through before Night; for we found a good Tide helping us to the South. About ſeven or eight Leagues Weſt of us, we ſaw an high, round, peaked Mountain, from the Top of which a Smoke ſeemed to aſcend, as from a Vulcano. There were three other very high peaked Mountains, two on the Eaſt, and one on the Weſt of that which ſmoked. It was twelve at Night before we got clear of two other ſmall Iſlands; and there we had a very violent Tide ſetting us through againſt a briſk Gale of Wind. When we were through, we continued our Courſe for *Timor*, in Sight

of which we came on *May* 18. On *June* 23, we ſaw the Streights of *Sunda*; and, towards the latter End of the Month, we arrived ſafely in the Road of *Batavia*.

35. I ſtaid at *Batavia* upwards of three Months, where I firſt ordered the Ship to be repaired, and afterwards found it neceſſary to careen her; for which Purpoſe I hired Veſſels to take in our Guns, Ballaſt, Proviſions, and Stores. While we lay here, we heard ſeveral Reports in relation to our Men of War, that were cruiſing on the Coaſt of *India*; and there was much Diſcourſe likewiſe of Pirates, who had committed great Depredations on the Coaſt, and particularly in the Streights of *Malacca*. I did not hear of any Ships ſent out to reduce them. At my firſt coming in, I had been told, that two Ships had been ſent from *Amboyna* in queſt of me, which was quickly confirmed by one of the Skippers, whom I, by Accident, met with here. He told me, they had three Proteſts againſt me; that they came to *Pulo Sabuda*, on the Coaſt of *New Guiney*, twenty-eight Days after my Departure thence; and went as far as *Scouten*'s Iſland, and, hearing no further News of me, returned. Something likewiſe to this Purpoſe Mr. *Merry*, Commander of the *Fleet* Frigate, told me at my firſt Arrival here; and that the General at *Batavia* had a Copy of my Commiſſion and Inſtructions; but I looked upon it as a very improbable thing. However it was, I did not give myſelf much Trouble about theſe things, knowing well, that the better they were acquainted with the Authority by which I was protected, the leſs ready they would be to offer me any Injury. The *Dutch*, during the Time we lay here, came to a Reſolution of ſending three Ships ſooner to *Europe* than was uſual. The Day fixed for their ſailing was the ſixteenth of *October*, and I took all proper Precautions to be ready to ſail about the ſame time they did. Accordingly, on the 17th of the ſame Month, at half an Hour after ſix in the Morning, I ſailed from *Batavia*, having the Advantage of a fair Wind at South; ſo that, on the 19th about Noon, I fetched up the three *Dutch* Ships before-mentioned. *November* 29. in the Morning, we ſaw a ſmall Hawk flying about the Ship, till it was quite tired. Then ſhe reſted on the Mizen-topſail-yard, where we caught her. It is probable ſhe was blown off from *Madagaſcar* by the violent Northerly Winds, that being the nigheſt Land to us, tho' diſtant near 150 Leagues. *December* 30. we arrived at Cape *Good Hope*, and departed again on *January* 11. 1701. About the End of the Month, we ſaw abundance of Weeds or Blubber ſwim by us; for I cannot determine which. It was all of one Shape and Colour. As they floated on the Water, they ſeemed to be of the Breadth of the Palm of a Man's Hand, ſpread out round into many Branches, about the Bigneſs of a Man's Finger. They had, in the Middle, a little Knob, no bigger than the Top of a Man's Thumb. They were of a duſky Colour; and, as they ſwam in the Water, did not appear to be ſtronger than a kind of Jelly. Theſe ſort of things are frequent in thoſe Seas, and indeed in moſt Parts of the *Eaſt Indies*. Sharks are not very common here; yet ſome I have ſeen, particularly off the Iſland of *Timor*. In my Return, I ſaw one under the Stern of our Ship, which was, beyond Compariſon, the largeſt that ever I beheld; and all my Crew were of the ſame Opinion. Our Ship, after all the Care that had been taken, appeared to be ſtill leaky; but we were in hopes of meeting with an Opportunity at *St. Helena* to diſcover the Cauſe of our Miſfortune, and to find ſome Means to remedy it: In which, however, we were diſappointed, tho' as much Care was taken by the ſuperior Officers, as it was poſſible for Men to take in their Stations.

36. *February* 2. we anchored in *St. Helena* Road; and ſailed again from thence on the 13th. On the 21ſt, we made the Iſland of *Aſcenſion*, and ſtood in towards it. The 22d, between eight and nine o'Clock, we ſprung a Leak, which increaſed, ſo that the Chain-pump could not keep the Ship free; whereupon I ſet the Hand-pump to work alſo, and, by ten o'Clock, ſucked her: Then wore the Ship, and ſtood to the Southward, to try if that would eaſe her; and then the Chain-pump juſt kept her free. At five the next Morning, we made Sail, and ſtood in for the Bay, and, at nine, anchored in ten Fathom and an half, ſandy Ground. The South Point bore South South-weſt, Diſtance two Miles; and the North Point of the Bay North-eaſt half North, Diſtance two Miles. As ſoon as we anchored, I ordered the Gunner to clear his Powder-room, that we might there ſearch for the Leak, and endeavour to ſtop within-board, if it was poſſible; for we could not heel the Ship ſo low, it being within four Streaks of the Keel; neither was there any convenient Place to hale her aſhore. I ordered the Boatſwain to aſſiſt the Gunner; and, by ten o'Clock, the Powder-room was clear. The Carpenter's Mate, Gunner, and Boatſwain, went down; and, ſoon after, I followed them myſelf, and aſked them, Whether they could come at the Leak? They ſaid, they believed they might, by cutting the Cieling. I told the Carpenter's Mate, who was the only Perſon in the Ship, that underſtood any thing of Carpenters Work, that, if he thought he could come at the Leak by cutting the Cieling, without weakening the Ship, he might do it; for he had ſtopped one Leak ſo before; which, tho' not ſo big as this, yet, having ſeen them both, I thought he might as well do this, as the other: Wherefore I left him to do his beſt. The Cieling being cut, they could not come at the Leak; for it was againſt one of the Foothook-timbers, which, the Carpenter's Mate ſaid, he muſt firſt cut, before it could be ſtopped. I went down again to ſee it, and found the Water to come in very violently. I told them, I had never known any ſuch thing as cutting Timbers to ſtop Leaks; but if they, who ought to be the beſt Judges in ſuch Caſes, thought they could do any Good, I bid them uſe their utmoſt Care and Diligence, promiſing the Carpenter's Mate, that I would always be a Friend to him, if he could and would ſtop it. He ſaid, by four o'Clock in the Afternoon he would make all well, it being then about eleven in the Forenoon. In the Afternoon, my Men were all employed in pumping with both Pumps, except ſuch as aſſiſted the Carpenter's Mate. About one in the Afternoon I went down again; and the Carpenter's Mate was cutting the After-part of the Timber over the Leak. Some ſaid, it was beſt to cut the Timber away at once. I bid them hold their Tongues, and let the Carpenter's Mate alone; for he knew beſt, and I hoped he would do his utmoſt to ſtop the Leak. I deſired him to get every thing ready for ſtopping the Violence of the Water, before he cut any farther, for fear it ſhould overpower us at once. I had ordered the Carpenter to bring all the Oakam he had, and the Boatſwain to bring all the waſte Cloaths, to ſtuff in upon Occaſion; and had, for the ſame Purpoſe, ſent down my own Bed-cloaths. The Carpenter's Mate ſaid, he ſhould want ſhort Stanchons to be placed ſo, that the upper Part ſhould touch the Deck, and the under Part reſt on what was laid over the Leak; and preſently took a Length for them. I aſked the Maſter Carpenter what he thought beſt to be done. He replied, till the Leak was all open, he could not tell. Then he went away to make a Stanchon; but it was too long. I ordered him to make many of ſeveral Lengths, that we might not want of any Size: So, once more deſiring the Carpenter's Mate to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours, I went up, leaving the Boatſwain and ſome others there. About five o'Clock, the Boatſwain came to me, and told me, the Leak was increaſed; and that it was impoſſible to keep the Ship above Water, when I expected, on the contrary, to have had the News of the Leak's being ſtopped. I preſently went down, and found the Timber cut away; but nothing in Readineſs to ſtop the Force of the Water from coming in. I aſked them, Why they would cut the Timber, before they had got all things in Readineſs? The Carpenter's Mate anſwered, they could do nothing till the Timber was cut, that he might take Dimenſions of the Place; and that there was a Chalk he had lined out preparing by the Carpenter's Boy. I ordered them, in the mean time, to ſtop in Oakam, and ſome Pieces of Beef; which was accordingly done: But all to little Purpoſe; for now the Water guſhed in with ſuch Violence, notwithſtanding all our Endeavours to check it, that it flew in over the Cieling, and, for want of Paſſage out of the Room, overflowed it above two Feet deep. I ordered the Bulkhead to be cut open, to give Paſſage to the Water, that it might drain out of the Room; and withal ordered to clear away abaſt the Bulkhead, that we might bale; ſo that now we had both Pumps going, and as many baling as could; and, by this means, the Water began to decreaſe, which gave me ſome hope of ſaving the Ship. I aſked the

Carpenter's Mate, What he thought of it? He anſwered, Fear not; for, by ten o'Clock at Night, I'll engage to ſtop the Leak. I went from him with a very heavy Heart; but, putting a good Countenance upon the Matter, encouraged my Men, who pumped and baled very briſkly; and, when I ſaw Occaſion, I gave them ſome Drams to comfort them. About eleven o'Clock at Night, the Boatſwain came to me, and told me, that the Leak ſtill increaſed; and that the Plank was ſo rotten, it broke away like Dirt; and that now it was impoſſible to ſave the Ship; for they could not come at the Leak, becauſe the Water in the Room was got above it. The reſt of the Night we ſpent in pumping and baling. I worked myſelf, to encourage my Men, who were very diligent; but the Water ſtill increaſed, and we now thought of nothing but ſaving our Lives: Wherefore I hoiſted out the Boat, that, if the Ship ſhould ſink, we might be ſaved; and, in the Morning, we weighed our Anchor, and warped in nearer the Shore, tho' we did but little Good.

37. In the Afternoon, with the Help of a Sea Breeze, I ran into ſeven Fathom, and anchored; then carried a ſmall Anchor aſhore, and warped in, till I came within three Fathom and an half; where, having faſtened her, I made a Raft to carry the Mens Cheſts and Bedding aſhore, and before eight at Night moſt of them were aſhore. In the Morning, I ordered the Sails to be unbent to make Tents, and then myſelf and Officers went aſhore. I had ſent aſhore a Puncheon, and a thirty-ſix Gallon Caſk of Water, with one Bag of Rice, for our common Uſe; but great Part of it was ſtolen away before I came aſhore, and many of my Books and Papers loſt. On the 26th following, we, to our great Comfort, found a Spring of freſh Water, about eight Miles from our Tents, beyond a very high Mountain, which we were forced to paſs over; ſo that now we were, by God's Providence, in a Condition of ſubſiſting for ſome time, having very good Turtle by our Tents, and Water for the fetching. The next Day I went up to ſee the Watering-place, accompanied with moſt of my Officers. We lay by the Way all Night, and the next Morning early got thither, where we found a very fine Spring on the South-eaſt Side of the high Mountain, about half a Mile from its Top; but the continual Fogs make it ſo cold here, that it is very unwholſome living by the Water. Near this Place are abundance of Goats and Land-crabs. About two Miles South-eaſt from the Spring, we found three or four Shrub-trees, upon one of which was cut an Anchor and Cable, and the Year 1642: About half a Furlong from theſe, we found a convenient Place for ſheltering Men in any Weather: Hither many of our Men reſorted, the hollow Rocks affording convenient Lodging. The Goats, Land-crabs, Men-of-war-birds, and Boobies, are good Food, and the Air proved here exceeding wholſome. About a Week after our coming aſhore, our Man, that lived at this new Habitation, ſaw two Ships making towards the Iſland; before Night they brought me the News; and I ordered them to turn about a Score of Turtles for theſe Ships, if they ſhould touch here; but, before Morning, they were out of Sight, and the Turtles were releaſed again. Here we continued, without any other Ship, till *April* 2. when we ſaw eleven Sail to Windward of the Iſland; but they likewiſe paſſed by. The Day after, appeared four Sail, which came to anchor in this Bay. They were, his Majeſty's Ships the *Angleſey*, *Haſtings*, and *Lizard*, and the *Canterbury Eaſt India* Ship. I went on board of the *Angleſey*, with about thirty-five of my Men; and the reſt were diſpoſed of into the other two Men of War.

38. After this happy Eſcape, we left the Iſland of *Aſcenſion* on *March* 8. and arrived ſafely at *Barbados* on *May* 8. 1701. Thro' the Deſire I had of returning to *England*, and to vindicate my Character, which, I knew, muſt ſuffer greatly from the unlucky Accident that had befallen me, I took the firſt Opportunity that offered of returning in the *Canterbury Eaſt-India-man*; in which Paſſage I met with nothing material. The ſame earneſt Deſire to clear up Miſtakes, to do myſelf Juſtice in the Opinion of the World, and to ſet the Diſcoveries made in this unfortunate Voyage in their proper Light, that it may be of Uſe to the World, how unlucky ſoever it proved to me, is the Reaſon that induced me to publiſh it; and I perſuade myſelf, that ſuch as are proper Judges of theſe ſort of Performances, will allow, that I have delivered many things new in themſelves, capable of affording much Inſtruction to ſuch as meditate future Diſcoveries, and which, in other reſpects, may be of great Utility to the preſent Age, and to Poſterity.

39. The great Length of this Voyage obliges me to be very ſhort in my Remarks, which I ſhall therefore confine to a few important Heads, and leave the reſt to the Penetration of the Reader. In the firſt Place, I ſhall take notice, that this Voyage is not only a proper Supplement, but a moſt authentic Voucher for the Truth of many Paſſages in the laſt, ſince Captain *Dampier* verified to the Officers and Company, in this Expedition, the Diſcoveries which he inſiſted to have made when laſt at Sea; and this Teſtimony of his Veracity ought to afford the greater Degree of Credit to what ſtill reſts upon his ſingle Authority. In the next Place, I muſt deſire the Reader to remark, that how unfortunate ſoever this Voyage might be, and however ſhort it might fall of what *Dampier* had promiſed to his Patrons at the Time of undertaking it; yet, as the Author has very juſtly obſerved, it was, in itſelf, of very great Conſequence. It has ſhewn us a new *Indies*, in which, whenever that Spirit of Induſtry ſhall revive, which firſt extended, and then eſtabliſhed our Commerce, we may be able to undertake Settlements as advantageous, as any that have been hitherto made by this or any other Nation. Theſe Settlements might be made, without giving any Offence to our Neighbours; for it never can be preſumed, that our political Views in *Europe* ought to reſtrain us from proſecuting Diſcoveries in the *Eaſt* or *Weſt Indies*, for the Inlargement of our Trade, notwithſtanding that ſuch an Inlargement might not be agreeable to ſome of our Allies. We have diſcovered, in the Proſecution of former Wars, but eſpecially ſince the breaking out of the laſt War with *Spain*, that we cannot make any Conqueſts for the Benefit of our Commerce, without exciting Jealouſies in all our Neighbours; which ought to induce us to the moſt vigorous Proſecution of thoſe Diſcoveries, at which they have no Right, and on account of which they have no Reaſon to take the leaſt Umbrage. The Relations given us by Captain *Dampier* agree ſo exactly with thoſe formerly given by *de Quiros*, *le Maire*, and other Diſcoverers, that we cannot entertain the leaſt Doubt of the Poſſibility of finding, in the Southern Part of the Globe, Countries worth our looking after: And indeed, if there were no other Merit in this Voyage, this alone would be ſufficient to recommend it to our Eſteem, that it has removed for ever thoſe Suſpicions, that were entertained of the Accounts formerly given of thoſe Countries. It may not be amiſs to conclude theſe Reflections, by putting the Reader in mind of the many Advantages, that viſibly reſult from the Manner, in which this Hiſtory of Circum-navigations has been digeſted, ſince it is impoſſible for him not to diſcern, that every ſucceeding Voyage gives Light to the former, and, by adding to the Diſcoveries already made of vaſt Continents, and innumerable Iſlands, heretofore unknown, enables us to make ſo true a Judgment of what is yet to be performed towards attaining the perfect Knowledge of the whole Globe, that a better Method than this cannot be deviſed for the Encouragement and Furtherance of that ſort of Knowledge, which is, of all others, the moſt uſeful and ſatisfactory, and, with reſpect to which, this may be conſidered as a new Attempt, ſince what has hitherto been done in this Way by *Eden*, *Hackluit*, *Purchas*, and other Writers, ſerves rather to ſhew us what was wanting to ſuch an Hiſtory, and to demonſtrate its Uſefulneſs, than to afford the intelligent Peruſer a ſolid and regular Syſtem of ſuch Diſcoveries, even to the Times in which they wrote.

SECTION XV.

The Voyage of William Funnell *round the World, as Mate to Captain* William Dampier.

1. *Introduction, containing the Reaſons why this Voyage ought to be attributed rather to Mr.* Funnell, *than to Captain* Dampier. 2. *The Motives to this Expedition, and the Force of the Ships which were originally fitted out.* 3. *The Advantages expected from this extraordinary Undertaking.* 4. *The* St. George *ſails from the* Downs, April 7. 1703. *and proceeds to the* Cape de Verd *Iſlands.* 5. *Proſecutes her Voyage thence to* Cape Horn. 6. *Arrive at the Iſland of* Juan Fernandez, *and refreſh there.* 7. *Compelled to quit that Coaſt, and leave five Men, and all their Stores, on that Iſland.* 8. *Again unlucky in attempting the ſame Ship, which occaſioned their former Misfortune.* 9. *The Iſland of* Gallo, *and its Productions, deſcribed.* 10. *Captain* Dampier, *in the* St. George, *parts from Captain* Stradling, *in the* Cinque-ports. 11. *Obtain exact Intelligence of the Preparations made againſt them by the* Spaniards. 12. *Account of the River of* St. Iago, *and the Alligators found there.* 13. *Attacked by a* Spaniſh *Man of War, fitted out to take them.* 14. *The Country about the Bay of* St. Matthew *deſcribed, with its Productions.* 15. *Mr.* Clippington (Clipperton) *Captain* Dampier's *chief Mate, leaves him.* 16. *Deſcription of the Middle Iſlands, and their Produce.* 17. *Account of Shell-fiſh on that Coaſt.* 18. *Take a Ship, commanded by a* Spaniard *brought up in* England. 19. *Attack the* Manilla *Ship, and are beat off.* 20. *Mr.* Funnell, *with moſt of the Ship's Company, leave Captain* Dampier. 21. *Sail from the Gulph of* Amapalla *for the* Eaſt Indies. 22. *Occurrences in their Voyage toward the* Ladrone *Iſlands.* 23. *Hardſhips ſuffered in this Paſſage.* 24. *Deſcription of the Iſland* Magon, *and its Inhabitants.* 25. *Arrive on the Coaſt of* New Guiney. 26. *Deſcription of the Iſlands* Deceit *and* Diſappointment. 27. *Other new Iſlands diſcovered and deſcribed.* 28. *Their Arrival at the* Dutch *Settlement of* Manipa. 29. *Sail in the moſt miſerable Condition for* Amboyna. 30. *Arrival there, and the cruel Uſage of the* Dutch. 31. *The Iſland of* Amboyna *particularly deſcribed.* 32. *Sent Priſoners in a* Dutch *Veſſel to* Batavia. 33. *Baſe Practices of the* Dutch, *in order to monopolize Trade.* 34. *Their Reception at* Batavia. 35. *Obſervations made there.* 36. *Arrival at the Cape of* Good Hope. 37. *Occurrences in their Voyage home.* 38. *Difference of Weather in North and South Latitudes.* 39. *Author's ſafe Arrival in* England, Auguſt 26. 1706. 40. *Some Account of the ſeveral Perſons mentioned in this Expedition.* 41. *Remarks upon the Whole.*

1. THIS Voyage has uſually paſſed under the Name of Captain *William Dampier*; but, as he proceeded only to the South Seas, and the Circum-navigation was intirely performed by Mr. *William Funnell*, I thought it more proper, that his Name ſhould ſtand in the Title than that of *Dampier*'s, with whom, in this Voyage, we have much leſs to do. Thus much, however, is in Juſtice due to Captain *William Dampier*, that it was upon his Credit, and in Expectation of his being able to do great Matters in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, that theſe Ships were fitted out, and this Expedition undertaken; which ſhews, that the Misfortune he met with in the *Roebuck*, had not affected his Character with the Merchants, who, to be ſure, were the propereſt Judges in this Matter. The Point they aimed at was Plunder, rather than Diſcovery; and yet there is ſomething very remarkable in this Voyage in that way; and the unknown Iſlands which Mr. *Funnell* met with in his Paſſage from the South Seas to the *Eaſt Indies*, are the ſtrongeſt Confirmation of what former Diſcoverers have reported, as to large, well-cultivated, and populous Countries, in thoſe Parts. It muſt likewiſe be acknowledged, that *Funnell*'s Voyages, though they are recounted with the greateſt Appearance of Sincerity and Simplicity, yet are better digeſted, and may be, conſequently, read with more Satisfaction, than *Dampier*'s; probably, becauſe he had but one Point in View, *viz.* that of giving his Readers a fair and agreeable Account of his Adventures.

2. It muſt be obſerved, that this Expedition was undertaken in the Beginning of the laſt general War, when mighty Expectations were raiſed of performing great Exploits againſt the *Spaniards*, who, of a ſudden, from being our faſt Friends, and favourite Allies, came to be conſidered as our Enemies, on their accepting the Duke of *Anjou*, Grandſon to *Lewis* XIV. for their King. This induced the Merchants to believe, that, with a reaſonable Force, a very profitable Expedition might be made into thoſe Parts, where the Bucanneers, with ſmall Veſſels, and thoſe ill provided, had performed ſuch extraordinary Things; and, therefore, when they had obtained the beſt Information they could, as to the Methods propoſed to be taken for the effecting ſuch a Deſign, they entered chearfully on the Expences neceſſary for that Purpoſe. In order to this, they fitted out at firſt two Ships of twenty-ſix Guns, and 120 Men each, deſigned for the South Seas. The one was named the *St. George*, Captain *William Dampier* Commander, in which was Mr. *William Funnell*; and the other the *Fame*, *John Pulling* Captain. They were both ſupplied with all warlike Stores, and very well victualled for nine Months; and had Commiſſions from his Royal Highneſs Prince *George*, then Lord High Admiral, to proceed againſt the *French* and *Spaniards*; and both were upon the ſame Terms, of No Purchaſe, no Pay. But, whilſt they were in the *Downs*, there ariſing ſome Difference between the two Captains, Captain *Pulling*, in his Ship the *Fame*, went away, intending, as he ſaid, to go and cruiſe among the *Canary* Iſlands, and they never ſaw him afterwards; but, before their going from *Ireland*, they were joined by another Ship, ſent after them on Purpoſe; ſhe was a ſmall Veſſel, named *The Cinque-ports Galley*, Burden about ninety Tons, ſixteen Guns, and ſixty-three Men, *Charles Pickering* Captain: Which Ship was alſo very well victualled, and provided for the Voyage. It muſt be remarked here, that this Deſertion of Captain *Pulling* was abſolutely the Ruin of the Voyage; and, therefore, this ought to be a Warning to all Societies of Merchants, that enter upon ſuch Undertakings, never to join two Officers, of diſcordant Tempers, on any Terms; for, where Harmony is wanting, Succeſs cannot be expected. Beſides, Officers intruſted on ſuch Occaſions ought to know, that the firſt Principle of their Conduct ſhould be Duty to their Owners; for this, in private Men of War, comes in the Place of Loyalty, which is the ſupreme Virtue in the Commander of a King's Ship; and, where either is wanting, it is abſurd to hope for any great Matters. Pride, Selfiſhneſs, and narrow Notions, can never make a Figure any-where, much leſs in a Naval Expedition, where, if it once becomes a Maxim, that every Man ought to take care of himſelf, there is an End of all; whereas, if it be laid down as a fundamental Point, that the general Good is, in all Caſes, to be purſued, the Advantage of Individuals will follow of courſe, and every Man be enriched by barely purſuing Orders.

3. The original Deſign of this Undertaking, ſays Mr. *Funnell*, was to go firſt into the River of *Plate*, as far as *Buenos Ayres*, in order to take two or three *Spaniſh* Galleons, which Captain *Dampier* aſſerted were uſually there; and if, by that Expedition, we got to the Value of 600,000*l.* then we were to return again without proceeding further; but if we miſſed of Succeſs there, then to cruiſe upon the Coaſt of *Peru* for the *Baldivia* Ships, which bring down Gold to *Lima*; but if that Deſign ſhould alſo fail, then to attempt ſome rich Towns, according as Captain *Dampier* ſhould think fit: And after that, we were, at the uſual Time of the Year, to go upon the Coaſt of *Mexico*, to look for the great Galleon which trades from *Manilla*, one of the *Philippine* Iſlands, to *Acapulco*, on the Coaſt of *Mexico*, and which is commonly reported to be worth fourteen Millions of Pieces of Eight. The Reaſon we did not go to *Buenos Ayres* was, becauſe, on our Arrival at *Madeira*, we had Advice, that the Galleons from thence were ſafely arrived at *Teneriff*. How well we purſued the latter Part of our Inſtructions, the ſubſequent Hiſtory of our Voyage will ſufficiently declare, in which I have uſed the greateſt Sincerity and Freedom, ſetting down every thing that happened, in the manner in which it happened, with whatever appeared to me worthy the Reader's Notice, in the plaineſt way imaginable: So that I flatter myſelf the Whole will be found uſeful; and that the latter Part, eſpecially, will be eſteemed new, curious, and entertaining, inaſmuch as it contains many Things which have never hitherto been publiſhed in our Language.

4. We ſailed on *April* 30. 1703. out of the *Downs*; and, on *May* 18. anchored at *Kinſale* in *Ireland*. Here we refitted and victualled our Ship, and were joined by the *Cinque-ports*; and, on *September* 11. left *Kinſale*; and, on the 25th, we reached the Iſland of *Madeira*, where we did not anchor, but lay off-and-on for our Boats, that were ſent aſhore for Neceſſaries. By a good Obſervation, I make this Iſland to lie in the Latitude of 32° 20′ North, and Longitude, by my Account, from *London*, 18° 5′ Weſt. We departed *September* 28. and, on the 30th, ſaw *Palma* and *Faro*, the two Weſtermoſt of the *Canary* Iſlands, they being in all ſeven, ſo called from *Canaria*, the chief. We did not ſtop here, but made the beſt of our Way for the Cape *de Verd* Iſlands; and, *October* 6. ſaw the Iſland of *Mayo*, lying in the Latitude of 15° 10′ North, and Longitude from *London* 24° 29′ Weſt. We lay off-and-on all Night, but could not get off any Salt, becauſe here ran ſo great a Surf, that we dared not venture our Boats aſhore: So, on *October* 7. in the Morning, we bore away for *St. Iago*, and, at Noon, anchored at *Prior Bay*. This Bay lies in the Latitude of 14° 5′, and Weſt from *London* 24° 47′. This is one of the Southermoſt and moſt fruitful of the Cape *de Verd* Iſles, abounding in Hogs, Fowls, *Guiney* Hens, Monkeys, Maiz, Oranges, Lemons, Dates, Water-melons, Plantains, Bananas, *&c.* Here is good Water, but troubleſome fetching; and Wood is very dear. The Natives of this Place were formerly *Portugueſe*, who were baniſhed thither for Murders, Thefts, and other Villainies; but now they are moſtly black, by reaſon of their Converſe with their Women Slaves, which are *Guiney* Negroes; but, notwithſtanding they have changed their Colour, yet they ſtill retain their Vices, Thieving being commoner here than in any Place I have been at; inſomuch that they will take your Hat off your Head at Noon-day, in the Midſt of Company: You muſt alſo be very wary how you trade with them; for, if you let them have your Goods before you have theirs, you will be ſure to loſe them. At this Place we watered our Ship, and refreſhed ourſelves; and here being ſome Diſagreement between our Captain and firſt Lieutenant, the former turned the latter aſhore, with his Cheſt, Cloaths, and Servant, much againſt both his and his Servant's Will, about twelve o' Clock at Night. At four the next Morning, being *October* 13. we parted from the ſaid Iſland, not fully reſolved what Place to touch at next.

5. On *November* 2. we paſſed the Equator, about forty-five Leagues to the Weſtward of the Meridian of the Iſland of *St. Iago*: We ſaw this Day abundance of Flying-fiſh. On the 8th, in the Evening, we found the Variation, by a good Amplitude, to be 5° 20′ Eaſterly, Latitude by Obſervation South 10° 20′, and Longitude Weſt from the Iſland of *St. Iago* 5° 36′. There are three Iſlands called by the Name of *St. Ann's*, not above a Stone's-throw from each other; they are very full of Wood, as is all the *Braſilian* Coaſt. Theſe Iſlands are diſtant from the Main about four Miles. This Place is very much troubled with Southerly Winds, which blow in Guſts; therefore your only Way is to lay your beſt Anchor to the Southward, and all little enough ſometimes. The Iſlands produce nothing but Wood, and have a vaſt many Sea-fowl upon them, which our Sailors called Boobies. The Booby is much about the Bigneſs of a Duck: Some are quite white, ſome grey; they have Feet like a Duck, being a Water-fowl; they feed moſtly upon Flying-fiſh, which they catch flying: I have made many a Meal of theſe Birds, but it was for want of other Victuals: They taſte very fiſhy, and, if you do not ſalt them very well before you eat them, they will make you ſick. They are ſo ſilly, that, when they are weary of flying, they will, if you hold out your Hand, come and ſit upon it; from whence I conjecture, that they are called Boobies. *November* 24. we anchored at the Iſland of *Le Grand*, whoſe Latitude is 23° 30′ South, Longitude from *London* 40° 24′ Weſt; and found here about 11° Eaſt Variation. This is a very woody Iſland, and hath ſeveral very good Springs of freſh Water upon it. The Soil is black, and the Iſland is about nine Leagues round, and diſtant from the Main about three Miles. In it are Jaccals, Lions, Tygers, *&c.* which, in the Night, make a moſt hideous Noiſe, enough to terrify any Man. Here are Rum, Sugar, and ſeveral ſorts of *Indian* Fruits, to be had, but very dear, on account of their ſupplying the Town of *Saint Paul's* with theſe Neceſſaries; near which Town is ſaid to be a Gold Mine, accounted one of the richeſt hitherto known. It is diſtant from the Town of *Le Grand* about 300 Miles; and is reckoned, by the vaſt high Mountains that intercept the Paſſage, to be ſixty Days Journey. At this Place we wooded, watered, and refitted our Ship. Here our new firſt Lieutenant, with eight of our Men, our Captain and they falling out, went aſhore with their Goods, and left us here: Alſo *Charles Pickering*, Captain of the *Cinque-ports*, our Conſort, departed this Life, and his Body was buried aſhore at the Watering-place, with the uſual Ceremony of firing of Guns; and Mr. *Thomas Straddling*, his Lieutenant, took Command of his Ship. Here is good Fiſh of various Sorts, as the Silver-fiſh, and ſeveral others. The Silver-fiſh is about twenty Inches long, in Height, from the Top of his Head to the Bottom of his Belly, eight Inches; he hath five ſmall Fins on the hinder Part of his Head, and one large one, reaching from the hindermoſt of the five ſmall ones to the Tail: He has two middling ones, one on each Side near the Gills, and a large one, ſtretching from the Middle of the Bottom of his Belly to his Tail, which is half-mooned. He has a large Eye, a wide Pair of Noſtrils, and a ſmall Mouth: It is a very thin Fiſh, and very bony: He is of a very fine tranſparent White, and thence called by us a Silver-fiſh. We ſailed from the Iſland *Le Grand December* 8. reſolving not to touch any more till we arrived at the Iſland *Juan Fernandez*, in the South Seas. On the 29th of the ſame Month, we ſailed near the Iſlands of *Sebaldt de Weert*; from which Iſland there came a very remarkable Bird, which, becauſe it pleaſed me very much then, I will now deſcribe. It was about the Bigneſs of a Duck, and of a very fine white Colour; his Bill yellow, and, both above and below the Bill, were long grey Hairs like Whiſkers; and, inſtead of Feathers at the Bottom of his Eyelids, he had ſhort ſtiff Hairs, which were black.

6. We proſecuted our Voyage for the South Seas till *January* 4. 1704. when, in the Latitude of 57° 50′, we met with a moſt dreadful Storm, in which we were ſeparated from our Conſort the *Cinque-ports*, which added to the Number of our Uneaſineſſes, and put the Seamen much out of Humour. On the 20th of the ſame Month, we were in the Latitude 60° 51′ South; and, believing that we had now doubled Cape *Horn*, we tacked and ſtood to the Northward. On *February* 4. we ſaw the Iſland *la Moucha*, in the Latitude of 38° 30′ South. This Iſland is very well inhabited by *Indians*, who are always at War with the *Spaniards*, and indeed with all white Men, be-

cauſe they think them *Spaniards.* It is a high Iſland, four Leagues in Length, and has many Sholes on the Weſt Side, which run a League or more into the Sea. It is diſtant from the Port *Valdivia* twenty-five Leagues Northward. *February* 5. we found the Variation to be 7° 20′ Eaſterly Latitude, by Obſervation South 35° 33′ Longitude, from *London* 80° 19′. *February* 7. we ſaw the Iſland *Juan Fernandez,* and ſo ſtood off-and-on; but, drawing pretty near it, our Captain thought it not to be the right Iſland; ſo we tacked, and ſtood to the Eaſtward; but, on *February* 10. after we had ſtood about thirty Leagues to the Eaſtward, not ſeeing any Land, we ſtood back again to the ſame Iſland; and, paſſing by the great Bay, we ſaw our Conſort Captain *Stradling* in the *Cinque-ports,* who had arrived here three Days before: So we anchored in the little Bay, in twelve Fathom Water, ouſy Ground; but, finding it not convenient lying here, we weighed, and went to the great Bay, where we anchored in thirty-five Fathom Water, the Variation there being 6° 5′ Eaſterly.

7. At this Iſland we wooded, watered, heeled, and refitted our Ships, the doing of which took us up a great deal of Time, and obliged both Ships Company to be much aſhore; during which time, a Difference happened between Captain *Stradling* and his Men, which roſe at laſt to ſuch an Height, that the Crew abſolutely refuſed to go on board; but, at laſt, the Matter was compromiſed by the Mediation of Captain *Dampier,* and the Men returned on board their Ship. On *February* 29. 1704. our People deſcried a Sail, on which we all hurried aboard, ſlipped our Cables, and ſtood to Sea. The *Frenchman,* for ſo he afterwards proved, ſeeing us get under Sail, tacked, and ſtood from us, and we made the beſt of our Way after him, our Conſort making what Haſte he could after us; and, about eleven at Night, we came cloſe up with him, but did not think convenient to engage till Day. In this Chace our Pinnace towed under Water; ſo we cut her looſe; Captain *Stradling*'s Boat got alſo looſe, and in her were a Man and a Dog. At Sun-riſe the next Morning, being *March* 1. we began to engage the ſaid Veſſel, which was a *French* Ship, of about 400 Tons and 30 Guns, well manned. We fought her very cloſe, Broadſide and Broadſide, for ſeven Hours; and then, a ſmall Gale ſpringing up, ſhe ſheered off. As for our Conſort, he fired about ten or twelve Guns, and then fell a-ſtern, and never came up again during the Fight. We had nine of our Men killed in the Diſpute, and ſeveral wounded: We were deſirous to have had another Trial with him, knowing it would be of dangerous Conſequence to let him go; for, if we did, we were ſure he would diſcover us to the *Spaniards,* which would deſtroy our whole Proceedings. But our Captain was againſt it; ſaying, that, at the worſt, if the *Spaniards* ſhould know of our being in thoſe Seas, and ſo ſhould hinder their Merchant Ships from coming out, yet that he knew whither to go, and not fail of taking to the Value of 500,000 *l.* any Day in the Year. Upon this, we lay by for our Conſort, who ſoon came up; and it was quickly agreed between the two Captains to let her go; ſo the Enemy ſtood from us, and we concluded to return to *Juan Fernandez* to get our Anchors, Long-boats, and ſeveral Tons of Water caſked, with a Ton of Sea-lions Oil, which we had left here; and Captain *Stradling* had left five of his Men, who were gone to the Weſt Part of the Iſland, and knew nothing of our going out after the Enemy; he had alſo left behind him all his Sails, except thoſe at the Yard, with a great many other Stores. We had then the Wind at South, right off the Land, ſo that we found it very difficult to get up with it; but it falling calm, the *Cinque-ports* put out her Oars, and rowed towards the Iſland: Preſently after which, we ſaw two Sail; the *Cinque-ports* was pretty near them, and they fired ſeveral Shot; but ſhe rowed away to us, and gave us an Account, that they were two *French* Ships, each of about thirty-ſix Guns: So the two Captains thought it convenient not to go in, but to go away for the Coaſt of *Peru,* leaving behind Captain *Stradling*'s five Men, with other Neceſſaries that we could very ill ſpare; for now we had neither of us any Boats: However, according to their Agreement on *March* 6. we ſtood away for the Coaſt of *Peru*; and, on the 11th, fell in with the Land, it being very high, three Rows of Hills one within another, that towards the Water loweſt, and that fartheſt within Land higheſt. We were then in the Latitude of 24° 53′ South; from thence we coaſted along Shore to the Northward; and, on the 14th, paſſed the Port of *Copiapo.* This is ſaid to be a very good Port, and to be fenced from almoſt all Winds. Near to the Port are four or five Rocks; and within Land it is inhabited by *Indians,* who make good Wine; here are ſaid alſo to be good Meat, Corn, and other Neceſſaries. In this Port they load Wine, Money, and other Goods, for *Coquimbo*: We would very willingly have gone aſhore here to have got ſome Refreſhments, but could not for want of Boats: The Land continues very high and mountainous; ſo that, I think, it is the higheſt Land I ever ſaw.

8. We were ſurpriſed, on the 19th of the ſame Month, by ſeeing the Colour of the Waves of the Sea changed into red for ſeven or eight Leagues; though, upon ſounding, we found no Ground for 170 Fathom; but, upon drawing up the Water, and examining it cloſely, this Accident appeared to be owing to a vaſt Quantity of Fiſh-ſpawn ſwimming on the Surface. We were now in the Latitude of 16° 11′ South, and had only forty-eight Minutes Variation to the Eaſtward, having ſailed by the three famous Ports of *Arica, Ylo,* and *Arequipa.* On *March* 22. we found ourſelves off the Port of *Lima,* the Capital of *Peru,* where we ſaw two Sail of Ships ſteering for that Port: We preſently gave Chace, and ſoon came up with the ſternmoſt; ſhe proved to be the Ship we fought with off the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez.* We were very eager to ſtop her going in; for, if we could have done it, it would have hindered the *Spaniards* from having Intelligence of us: Beſides, we did not queſtion the taking of her, becauſe now our Men were in Health; whereas, when we fought her before, we had between twenty and thirty very ſick and weak; but, being willing to ſhew themſelves, they had done what they could. We conſidered alſo, her Guns, Ammunition, and Proviſions, would be very welcome to us; ſo we concluded to engage her ourſelves, and to ſend Captain *Stradling* after the other, which ſeemed not ſo big; but Captain *Dampier* did not think adviſeable to attack her; and, whilſt the Matter was diſputing, both the Ships got into *Lima,* from whence twenty ſuch as ours could not have forced them out. This kind of Proceeding gave great Offence to moſt of the Crew, and bad Conſequences might have followed it, if we had not, in the Space of a few Days, taken two very conſiderable Prizes; the firſt of 150, the ſecond of 200 Ton, out of which we took what we thought would prove moſt ſerviceable, and then diſmiſſed our Prizes. On *April* 5. we began to prepare for the great Stroke our Captain had in his Head, *viz.* that of landing on the Coaſt, and plundering ſome rich City; with which View our Carpenters were ordered to fit up our Launches, or *Spaniſh* Long-boats, ſo as to land our Men with Safety, and to fix two Patereroes in each Launch. On the 11th of the ſame Month, we took, as if ſhe had been ſent on purpoſe for our Service, a Bark of about fifty Tons, laden with Plank and Cordage. This Bark we took in Sight of the Iſle of *Gallo,* under which we anchored the next Day with our Prize, which we reſolved to keep, in order to make uſe of her in the intended Expedition.

9. This Iſland of *Gallo* is in 2° 45′ Latitude, Longitude from *London* Weſt 76° 38′, diſtant from the Main about five Leagues, in Length two Leagues, in Breadth one: When you are to the Southward of it, it appears in three Hummocks, which, at a Diſtance, look like three Iſlands; and the Land between each is very low; but when you are to the North-weſt of it, at the South End, you will ſee a ſmall Iſland, or rather Rock, which looks much like a Ship under Sail; and, when you are at the North End, you will ſo open the Land, as that you will ſee Part of it does not join to the Iſland, as it ſeems to do when you are to the Weſtward of it. At the North-eaſt End of this Iſland are three ſmall Iſlands, or rather Rocks; one is pretty big, and at a Diſtance looks like a Barn, and the other like two Sail of Ships. At this Iſland you may ſee the Main-land, which is very low near the Water-ſide, but prodigious high up in the Country. Here we anchored in thirty-five Fathom Water, two Cables Length from the Shore, hard Sand. We anchored in the North-weſt Part of

of the Iſland; the Northermoſt Point bearing North half Weſt, the Southermoſt, South-weſt: The Watering-place goes in with a full Gap, over which, upon the Hill, is a plain Spot of red Earth, bearing North-weſt half North. Tho' there are alſo ſeveral other good Watering-places upon this Iſland; and in the North-eaſt Part at *Segnetta* is the beſt anchoring; here you may wood and water very ſecure from any Enemy. The Iſland is very woody, affording large Timber, which is often ſent in Shipping up to the Coaſt of *Peru*. Here are ſome few wild Monkies, with abundance of Lizards; and a large ſort of Lizard called a Lion-lizard; they are about the Bigneſs of a Man's Arm; I meaſured one, which, from the Head to the End of the Tail, was three Feet eleven Inches; he has a large ſort of a Comb upon his Head, which ſtands up like an Helmet, or Head-piece, to defend his Head; when he is aſſaulted or affrighted, he ſets his Comb up an-end; but otherwiſe it lies down flat, in a deep Dent in his Head juſt fitted to it; ſo that, when it is down, it can hardly be perceived: He has two very large Eyes, a large Mouth, with a great many ſmall ſharp Teeth. His Skin is very tough, of a dark Colour, full of black, yellow, and blueiſh Spots: In all other Things he reſembles the common Lizard: When they are purſued, they will run very ſwift; yet our Dog often catched them.

10. After remaining here five Days, we concluded to ſail from hence; but, juſt as we were going to get up our Anchors, we diſcovered a Ship ſtanding in for the Iſland, which, when ſhe came very near, we came out and took. She was a ſmall Veſſel, of fifty Tons, commanded by a *Meſtizo*. On board this Ship we found a *Guernſey* Man, who had been taken by the *Spaniards* as he was cutting Logwood in the Bay of *Campeachy*, and had been in their Hands above two Years, and muſt have continued a Priſoner for Life, if we had not releaſed him. When we ſailed from the Iſland of *Gallo*, our Reſolution was to attack immediately the Town of *Santa Maria*, which lay to the Northward, becauſe we expected to find there great Quantities of Gold, brought thither from the adjacent Mines of the ſame Name; but this Deſign unluckily miſcarried, whether through Fear, Confuſion, or the Enemies having early Intelligence, which enabled them to lay Ambuſcades, that cut off abundance of our Men, I cannot pretend to determine. This, however, is certain, that, by *May* 1. we were ſo ſick of our fruitleſs Attempts on ſhore, that we reſolved to go immediately on board, which accordingly we did; but there we met with new Difficulties; for ſuch was our Scarcity of Proviſions, that five green Plantains were ordered to be boiled for every ſix Men. But, to our great Comfort, when we were almoſt out of Hopes, as well as Patience, we deſcried a Sail at twelve this Night, which came to an Anchor cloſe by us. We ſoon got up our Anchor, and took her without any Reſiſtance. She proved a great Ship, of about 150 Tons: She was deeply laden with Flour, Sugar, Brandy, Wine, about thirty Tons of Marmalade of Quinces, a conſiderable Quantity of Salt, with ſome Tons of Linen and Woollen Cloth; ſo that now we might ſupply ourſelves with Proviſions for four or five Years. I was put on board this Prize on Behalf of Captain *Dampier*, and our Ship's Company; and the Maſter of the *Cinque-ports* was put on board as Chief for Captain *Stradling*, and his Ship's Company. We carried our Prize into the Bay of *Panama*; and, on the 14th, anchored under the Iſland of *Tobago*. Here Captain *Dampier* and Captain *Stradling* diſagreed; and the Quarrel came at laſt to ſuch an Height, that there was no pacifying them; ſo that, at laſt, it was concluded to part Company, all the Men being left at Liberty to go with which Captain they pleaſed; in conſequence of which, five of our Men went to Captain *Stradling*, and five of his came to us. We were told by the Priſoners, that there were 80,000 Dollars on board our Prize; that they were taken in by Stealth at *Lima*, and lay at the Bottom in the Run of the Ship. Our Captain did not believe this, and was unwilling to ſtay longer, that we might have romaged her to the Bottom, becauſe he thought Loſs of Time would mar his greater Deſigns: Having, therefore, taken out a Quantity of Proviſion, ſhe was diſmiſſed; and we, on *May* 19. parted from the *Cinque-ports*, intending to beat up again upon the Coaſt of *Peru*.

11. *June* 7. we ſaw a Sail, gave Chace, came up with her, and took her. She was about 110 Tons, came from *Truxillo*, and was bound for *Panama*, laden with Flour, Sugar, Brandy, &c. with ſome Bales of wrought Silk in her. We took a Packet, which we opened; the firſt Letter we happened to read, was from the Captain of the *French* Ship we fought off the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, and met with again off the Port of *Lima*. It was directed to the Preſident of *Panama*, and gave an Account, "That he "fought two *Engliſh* Privateers off the Iſland of *Fernandez*; that the ſmalleſt of the two fired but eight or ten "Guns at him, and then fell a-ſtern, and did not come "up again during the Fight, as he believed, for want of "Wind; that the great Ship (meaning us) fought him "Broadſide and Broadſide for more than ſix Hours; that "we killed them a great many Men; and that, at his "coming to *Lima*, he ſent aſhore thirty-two of his Men, "each of which had either loſt a Leg, an Arm, or "an Eye; and that it was a great Chance we had not "taken him, for that, at our parting, they had given them"ſelves over as loſt, not having Men to defend themſelves." We alſo had Account, by other Letters, that the two *Frenchmen* which we ſaw off the Iſland *Juan Fernandez*, had met with a Boat at Sea, in which there were an *Engliſhman* and a Dog (This was the Boat which belonged to Captain *Stradling*, and which broke looſe from him as we chaſed the *French* Ship off *Juan Fernandez*): That the ſaid two *French* Ships had been in at *Juan Fernandez*, and had taken up our Anchors, Cables, Long-boat, with all Captain *Stradling*'s Stores, and his five Men, and our Negro, which were left there. We alſo had Advice, that the *Spaniards* had fitted out two Men of War againſt us; the one of thirty-two Braſs Guns, twenty-four Pounders each; the other of thirty-ſix Guns, of the ſame Bigneſs: That each of them had 350 Seamen, and 150 Soldiers, choice Men; and that they lay cruiſing for us in the Bay of *Guiaquil*, between Point *St. Helena* and Cape *Blanco*, from the 7th to the 12th. We were forced to go away with an eaſy Sail, becauſe of our Prize, which ſailed very heavy; and, ſeeing it was likely to be a great Hindrance to us in beating to Windward, we concluded to go into ſome Place to romage her: Accordingly, the ſame Day, we went into *Sardinas* Bay, and anchored with our Prize in ten Fathom Water, about four Miles off Shore: We durſt not venture any nearer in, becauſe of ſo many Sholes and Banks of Sand, which lie off it, and which were very imperfectly laid down in all our Draughts.

12. The Sea-coaſt here is inhabited by *Indians*, but they are not very numerous. Here are ſeveral ſmall Rivers, which run with freſh Water down to the Sea-ſide; and from this Place, by the Sea-ſide, all along to the Southward, till you come to the Bay of *Tacames*, are white Cliffs, and many Sholes, as far as to Point *Gallera*. From this Bay of *Sardinas*, ſix Leagues to the Southward, is the great River of *St. Iago*, the Mouth of which is about three quarters of a Mile over; but there is no good anchoring, until you are got well within the Mouth. This River is ſeldom made uſe of by Shipping, it lying out of the Way; only in caſe of Neceſſity, or by Chance, they put in for Refreſhment; for here is Plenty of all ſorts of Proviſions. It hath, on the Sea-ſide, fourteen or fifteen Pieces of broken Ground, of a whitiſh Colour; and, at the North-end of them, is the Bay of *Sardinas*, wherein we careened our Ship, and romaged our Prize, and watered at one of the freſh-water Rivers, the Water of which was white like Milk, and both ſmelt and taſted very ſtrong of Muſk, occaſioned by many Alligators ſmimming in it. We ſhot ſeveral of them, one of which meaſured thirty Feet in Length, and was bigger about than a large Bullock. This Creature is very full of great Scales, from the Neck to the End of his Tail: He has a very large ſharp Set of Teeth, with very long Claws on his Feet: It is an amphibious Creature, living on Land, as well as in Water; when they are lying on Shore, they look like a great Tree fallen-down, and for ſuch one would take them at a Diſtance. They will run very faſt on the Land, and are of ſuch Strength, that they will take an Horſe or Cow, and carry it down to the Water, and there devour it. They will ſeize on any thing, as well on Land as in the

Water; and commonly make great Havock amongſt Cattle, if there be any near the Place where they harbour, which is uſually in freſh-water Rivers. The *Indians* are not greatly afraid of them, neither in the Water, nor on Land. They run in a Circle, and this great Creature is not able to turn his unwieldy Body ſo quickly, but that they eaſily get from him. The *Indians* likewiſe go into the Water, to ſeek them, with a Piece of Iron, like an Harpoon at both Ends, and two Pieces of Iron acroſs. This they hold by the Middle in their Hand; and the Alligators, when they bite, raiſe their Heads out of the Water. Then the *Indians* hold out this Piece of Iron to them, at which they bite; and it faſtens in their Mouth, and keeps it open like a Gag. The Females lay Eggs, about 100 at a time. Theſe Eggs are about the Bigneſs of a Gooſe's; but the Shell is almoſt as thick as an Oſtridge's. I have ſeen many of them; they are quite round. The Fleſh of the Alligators is not fit to be eaten, it being very ſtrong and muſky; nay, the very Water of the Rivers, which they were in, taſted ſo ſtrong of them, that is, of Muſk, that a Draught of it would almoſt ſuffocate us. But, notwithſtanding it is ſo nauſeous, there are no Inſtances of its doing any ſort of Prejudice to the Conſtitutions of ſuch as drink it.

13. On *June* 21. being off the Bay of *Guiaquil*, we ſaw a Sail, and came up with her the next Day. This happened to be one of thoſe *Spaniſh* Men of War fitted out on purpoſe to take us, and a Ship of thirty-two Guns. Being pretty near each other, they gave us a Broadſide; but we did not mind them. All our Care was to get the Weather-gage; in order to which, while we carried too much Sail, and the Wind blew very freſh, our Fore-topmaſt unfortunately came by the Board. Immediately we got our Hatchets, and cut all clear away; and our Captain ordered the Helm to be clapt a-weather, and bore away. The Enemy, ſeeing this, immediately bore away after us, with all the Sail they could, hoping to come up; for now they doubted not they ſhould take us. We, obſerving that our running had increaſed their Courage, reſolved to lie-by, and fight it out. Captain *Dampier*'s Opinion was, that he could ſail better upon one Maſt than the Enemy, and therefore it was beſt to put before the Wind; but, however, choſe rather to fight, than to be chaſed aſhore: So, hoiſting the bloody Flag at the Main-topmaſt-head, with a Reſolution neither to give nor take Quarter, we began the Fight, and went to it as faſt as we could load and fire. The Enemy kept to Windward, at a good Diſtance from us; ſo that we could not come to make uſe of our Small-arms: But we divided the two Watches; and one was to manage the Guns, whilſt the other looked on; and, when thoſe at the Guns were weary, the others were to take their Places, till they had refreſhed themſelves. By this means we fired, I believe, five Guns to the Enemy's one. We fired about 560, and he about 110 or 115; and we fought him from twelve at Noon to half an Hour paſt ſix at Night, altho' at a good Diſtance; for he kept ſo far to Windward of us, that our Shot ſometimes would hardly reach him, tho' his would, at the ſame time, fly over us. At half an Hour paſt ſix, it growing duſk, they left off firing; and we did the ſame. We had none of our Men either killed or wounded by the Enemy; only two, through Careleſneſs, had their Hands and Faces blaſted. We lay-by all Night, and, in the Morning betimes, looked out for our Enemy, expecting to have had another Bruſh with him; but, contrary to our Expectation, he had made Sail from us in the Night. Captain *Dampier* told us, that his Intention was now to leave the Coaſt of *Peru*, in order to go and get Proviſions in the Bay of *Tacames*. Accordingly, having weathered Point *Gallera*, we anchored in that Bay, and ſent our Boat aſhore, with twenty Men, to look for Proviſions; but they ſoon returned on board again, with a very untoward Account; *viz.* that they had met indeed with an *Indian* Village of about fifty Houſes; but that the Inhabitants had abandoned it, and had left nothing behind them in their Houſes. In the River, however, we found a fine Bark, of the Burden of about fifty Tons, with as much new Plank by her, as would have ſerved to build another of the ſame Size. We likewiſe took another ſmall Bark of about ten Tons, laden with Plantains. This Bark we intended to keep inſtead of a Long-boat. She had two Maſts, and two ſquare Sails; and, when we had fitted her for our Purpoſe, we called her the *Dragon*. The Country hereabouts is very pleaſant, and well wooded and watered, with all the Conveniency imaginable.

14. About ſeven Leagues to the Northward lies the Bay of *St. Mattheo*. The Land about it is very high, and has a great many Sholes running from it two Leagues into the Sea; and for three or four Leagues, the Water is ſhallow, that is, from four to ſix Fathom where it is deepeſt: Southward and Northward to the Sea there are white Cliffs, and the Bay lies between them. In the Bottom of the Bay there are two Rivers, that empty themſelves into the Sea; but they are both what the Seamen call Alligator-water, that is, white and muſky, as I have before deſcribed it. On each Side of theſe Rivers are Sholes of Sand, and, near their Mouths, very fine Groves of tall, ſpreading, green Trees, which are the Marks to find theſe Rivers by; for their Mouths are ſo narrow, as not to be diſcerned at a Diſtance. Theſe Rivers are ſeldom uſed by the *Spaniards* for any thing but Refreſhment: And, to ſay the Truth, there cannot be a properer Place for that Purpoſe, ſince all the Country round about abounds with every kind of Proviſion, that this Part of the World affords. About two Leagues up the River, there are ſeveral Villages, inhabited by the *Indians*, who, when the *Spaniards* come hither, furniſh them with Cocoa-nuts, Plantains, Bananas, and other kinds of Fruit. As we have often mentioned theſe, and ſhall be obliged to mention them frequently hereafter, it may not be amiſs to enter into a particular Deſcription of them here, for the Reader's Information, and to render our Accounts perfectly intelligible: The Cocoa-tree is, generally ſpeaking, from fifty to an hundred Feet in Height, for the moſt part, ſtrait and ſlender. This Tree produces Leaves of four Fathom, or four and an half in Length, and bears the famous Nut of the ſame Name, which, with its outer Rind, is larger than a Man's Head. This outer Rind being taken off, there appears a Shell, which will hold near a Quart. Within the Shell is the Nut; and within the Nut is about a Pint and an half of pure clear Water, which is very cool, pleaſant, and ſweet. The Kernel of the Nut is alſo very pleaſant and good, which, if it be pretty old, we ſcrape all to Pieces. The Scrapings we ſet to ſoak in about a Quart of freſh Water for three or four Hours, and then ſtrain the Water, which, when ſtrained, hath both the Colour and Taſte of Milk; and, if it ſtand awhile, it will have a thick Head on it, not unlike Cream. This Milk, being boiled with Rice, is accounted by our Doctors to be very nouriſhing; for which Reaſon we often give it to our ſick Men. The Leaves of the Trees ſerve to thatch Houſes. Of the outer Rind of the Nut they make what reſembles Linen Cloth. They alſo make of it Ropes for Ships, and Rigging, Cables, *&c.* which are a good Commodity in moſt Parts of the *Weſt Indies*. The Shell of the Nut will make very pretty Drinking-cups. It will alſo burn very well, and make a fierce and hot Fire. The Kernel ſerves inſtead of Meat, and the Water contained therein inſtead of Drink; and, if the Nut be very old, the Kernel will, of itſelf, turn to Oil, which is often made uſe of to fry with, but moſt commonly to burn in Lamps; ſo that from this Tree they have, as is commonly ſaid, Meat, Drink, Clothing, Houſes, Firing, and Rigging for their Ships. Theſe Trees may be known by any Ships paſſing by; for they have no Leaves, except juſt at the Top. At the Bottom of the Leaves the Cocoa-nuts grow, ten, fifteen, or twenty in a Cluſter, hanging by a ſmall String, which is full of Joints. The Plantain-tree is about thirteen or fourteen Feet in Height, and about four Feet round. The Leaves of the Tree are about eight or nine Feet long, and two Feet broad, and end in a round Point. The Fruit grows at the Bottom of the Leaf, upon a great Stalk, in a Cod about eight Inches long, and of the Bigneſs of a Black-pudding. The Cod is of a fine yellow Colour, often ſpeckled with red. This being taken off, the Inſide of it is white; but the Plantain itſelf is yellow, like Butter, and as ſoft as a ripe Pear. There grow fifty or ſixty ſometimes upon a Stalk, and five or ſix Stalks upon a Tree. They are an extraordinary good Fruit; and in moſt Parts of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies* there is great plenty of them. The Banana-tree is much the ſame, only the Fruit is not ſo long as the Plantain, that being about

eight Inches long, and the Banana not above ſix. It grows in the ſame manner as the Plantain, fifty or ſixty in a Cluſter upon one Stalk. The Fruit is very mellow, and extraordinary ſweet and good. On *July* 31. we left the Bay of *Tacames*, and carried our little Prize, named the *Dragon*, with us, not deſigning to touch at any Place, till we came to the Gulph of *Nicoya*.

15. We ſailed from the Bay of *Tacames* croſs the Bay of *Panama*, and from thence continued our Voyage to the Gulph of *Nicoya*, where, on *Auguſt* 16. we anchored near certain Iſlands, which the *Spaniards*, from their being ſeated near the Centre of the Bay, call the *Middle Iſlands*; and, the next Morning, our Captain and Carpenter went in a Canoe, to ſee if a proper Place for careening could be found amongſt them. In the Evening of the ſame Day, while we were employed in dreſſing a Couple of Turtles, which the Captain had brought on board, our little Prize came to us again. They had been up the River *Changel*, and found two or three *Indian* Houſes, and ſome Plantain-walks. The *Indians* climbed the Trees, and cut down from them as many Plantains as they would have. They found alſo two Canoes haled upon the Sand, and brought them both off. In their Way, they caught eight Turtles, and eat nothing of their own Proviſions, but fed upon Turtle during the Time they were away from us. They gave us an Account, that they had found out a very good and ſecure Place at the Iſland *St. Lucas* for us to lay our Ship aſhore in; that it was in a fine deep Bay, which, at the Entrance, was not above a Piſtol-ſhot over; that, with five or ſix Guns upon each Point at the Entrance, we might ſo fortify ourſelves, that no Enemy durſt approach us; for that ten of us might defend ourſelves againſt 500. However, we found the *Middle Iſland* to be as convenient as any Place could be; and, our Captain ſeeming to like the Place, and knowing we could fortify ourſelves here, and with as little Trouble, we choſe it. Accordingly, on the 18th, it being fair Weather, and calm, we towed our Ship in amongſt the Iſlands, and lay within Stone's Caſt of the Shore all round, with one Anchor a-head, and a Cable out at our Stern, which was made faſt to a great Tree on the Shore. As ſoon as we had faſtened our Ship, all Hands went aſhore, and began to build Tents for our Cooper and Sail-maker to work in, and to put our Goods and Proviſions in. In the mean time, our chief Mate was ſent in the ſmall Bark called the *Dragon*, with twenty Men armed, and two Patereroes, to cruiſe in the Gulph; where after he had cruiſed five or ſix Days, he returned with a *Spaniſh* Bark of about forty Tons. She had in her ſome few Jars of Brandy, with Wine, and ſome Sugar. They were going to repair her, ſhe being very old; and for that Purpoſe had five or ſix Carpenters and Caulkers on board, who came very opportunely to help us to repair our Ship; for we had great Need of Workmen. We took out our Powder, Shot, and all our Ammunition, with all our Bread, ſome of our Flour, and two Quarter-deck Guns, and put them on board this laſt Bark. Then we got all the reſt of our Things aſhore, and made every thing ready for cleaning our Ship. The Bottom of it was, in many Places, eaten like an Honey-comb; inſomuch that the firm Plank was not thicker than an old Sixpence: Nay, in ſome Places in the Hold, we could thruſt our Thumbs quite through with Eaſe. Our Ship being in this Condition, and we in want of Planks to new-bottom her, our Carpenter was forced to make an hard Shift, and ſtop the Leaks as well as he could with Nails and Oakam. On *September* 2. the chief Mate Mr. *Clippington*, having quarrelled with Captain *Dampier*, drew over one-and-twenty Men to his Party; and, having made himſelf Maſter of the Bark, in which was all our Ammunition, and the beſt Part of our Proviſions, got up her Anchor, and went without the Iſlands, from whence he ſent us Word, that he would put aſhore our Powder, Shot, and other Ammunition, (reſerving only what was requiſite for his own Uſe) in an *Indian* Houſe; which he did accordingly, and we ſent our Canoes to fetch it on board.

16. Theſe Iſlands are extremely pleaſant and fruitful, abounding with all things requiſite to Life; ſuch as Fiſh of various kinds, and very good Birds of different ſorts; and of amphibious Creatures ſuch as are moſt admired, and of the greateſt Uſe, particularly Turtles and Guanas. But, as general Deſcriptions are ſeldom ſatisfactory, I will enter into a more diſtinct Account of the Creatures moſt remarkable here, whether Birds, Beaſts, or amphibious Animals. The Maccaw is a very beautiful Bird; his Feathers of all the Colours in the Rainbow. In point of Size, he reſembles an Hawk; in Shape a Parrot, only his Bill is perfectly white, and his Feet and Legs as abſolutely black. The Carrion-crow is as big as a ſmall Turkey, and, in all reſpects, very like one; for I never ſaw any Difference, either in Colour or Shape. The Fleſh of them both ſmells and taſtes ſo ſtrong of Muſk, that there is no eating of it. Theſe Creatures commonly reſort to Places where any dead Creature is, and feed upon it; for which Reaſon they are called Carrion: But the Reaſon why they are called Crows, I know not; for they are nothing like them. The Pelican is almoſt as big as a Swan. Its Colour is inclinable to white; only the Tips of its Wings are brown. It hath a long Bill, of about twenty Inches, with a very large Crop joining to the lower Part of his Bill, and ſo deſcending by the Throat like a Bag or Satchel, very obſervable, and of a Largeneſs almoſt beyond Credit, into which it receives Oyſters, Cockles, Conchs, *&c.* or any other Shell-fiſh, which being not able to break, it retains them until they open, and then, vomiting them up, picks out the Meat. As for their making an Hole in their Breaſt, to give their Blood to their Young, I do not believe it, nor ever ſaw any ſuch thing, altho' I have ſeen thouſands, both young and old, together, and have eaten many of them. They are good Food; only they taſte fiſhy. They have broad Feet, like a Duck, being Water-fowls; but they rooſt commonly on Rocks, and in Trees, and always ſit with their Heads to the Wind; ſo that, if the Wind changes whilſt they are at Rooſt, they turn about their Heads to it. They are heavy Birds, and fly very ſlow; and always, when they ſit, either on Rocks, Trees, or in the Water, they reſt their Bills upon their Crop. The Guana is a ſort of Creature, ſome of which are found on Land, and ſome in the Water. It is about three Feet long, more or leſs, and is a very ugly Creature to look at, having great, ſharp, black and green Scales, from the fore Part of his Head to the End of his Tail, and a Set of great ſharp Teeth, with four long Claws upon each Foot. They breed commonly in the Roots of old Trees, near the Water-ſide, and frequent the Water as well as Land. When they are ſtewed with a little Spice, they make good Broth; and the Fleſh looks very white, and eats well; but, if they are not extraordinary well boiled, they are very dangerous to eat, making Men very ſick, and often putting them into a Fever.

17. There are ſeveral ſorts of Sea-turtles; but we account the green Turtle the beſt Meat. They have ſeveral Iſlands and ſandy Bays, where they go to lay their Eggs, which they do in different Places, at different Times. And therefore at one, or at ſeveral of theſe Places, their Seaſon of laying is always the ſame, yet, in different Places, their Seaſons are different. I have been at the catching of them in moſt times of the Year, and commonly found them full of Eggs. When they want to lay, they go aſhore in ſome ſandy Bay, and, with their Fins, make an Hole in the Sand about two Feet and an half deep, wherein they lay their Eggs, commonly about eighty or ninety at a time. Then they cover them up with the Sand they ſcraped out of the Hole; and ſo leave them for the Heat of the Sun to hatch. Thus, they lay two or three times in a Seaſon; and, after they have laid, they go off to Sea, and leave the Young, when hatched, to ſhift for themſelves, which, as ſoon as they get out of the Shell and Sand, retire to the Water. The Eggs are round, about the Bigneſs of a Duck's, with a white, thin, tough Skin over them; but no Shell. Both the Eggs and the Turtle are extraordinary good Food. I have ſeen of this ſort of green Turtle ſeveral times from 200 to 350 and 400 Weight. The Lean of them, before it is dreſſed, looks like Beef; but the Fat is as green as Graſs, and yet is very wholſome Food. The Pearl-oyſter is much about the Bigneſs of our common Oyſter; but flat and broad. It hangs to the Rocks by a long String-beard, like a Muſſel. The Pearl lies in the thickeſt Part of it. Some have ſix or ſeven Pearls in them. The *Spaniards* make ſeveral Voyages to this Gulph of *Nicoya*, and to the Iſland *California*, for them. The *Indians* go down in ſeven or eight Fathom Water, and bring up eight, ten or

twelve Oyſters at a time, while the Men on board open them. The Meat of this Oyſter is very green, and the Oyſter very fat: I have eat of this Oyſter ſeveral times, both boiled and ſtewed, and found them to be tolerably good. The great Oyſter grows to the Rocks, as other Oyſters, not hanging to them by a Beard as the Pearl-oyſter: When they are opened, one Part looks of a fine Red like a Cherry, the other Part is of a fine White: I have often eat of this ſort of Oyſter, but it was for want of better Victuals: They are ſo large, that one of them cut in Pieces, and ſtewed, is ſufficient for a Meal for five or ſix Men. The Muſſels here are ſo large, that one of them, when dreſſed, will ſuffice two Men; and they are tolerable good Victuals, when ſtewed with Pepper and Vinegar: And though it may be true, that, in our own Country, theſe would ſcarce go down; yet it muſt be obſerved, that our Nicety in Eating is pretty well conquered before any of theſe Diſhes come to our Tables.

18. We ſailed from the *Middle Iſlands* on *September* 23. and, on *October* 7. we were in the Latitude 13° 7′ North, where we had Sight of the two high Mountains, commonly, though I think improperly, ſtiled the *Vulcanoes of Guatimala*. The firſt of theſe, which is the higheſt, and affords a moſt beautiful Proſpect, lies on the North Side of the City; and, in the Year 1534. threw out a Torrent of Water, which totally overwhelmed it, and occaſioned the Building of the new City at three Leagues Diſtance. The other Mountain, which is properly a Vulcano, lies on the South; and in the rainy Seaſons, from *April* to *November*, rages moſt terribly. It ſometimes throws out Stones as big as a Houſe; and this, with ſuch monſtrous Eruptions of Flame, that, at the Diſtance of ſix Miles, in a dark Night, you may ſee to read a Letter. We took, on the 9th, a Bark of about eighty Tons in Ballaſt, bound for *Rio Leja*. She had a ſmall Quantity of Proviſions on board, which were very acceptable to us. This Bark was commanded by one Captain *Chriſtian Martin*, a *Spaniard*, born at the *Canaries*, but brought up in *London*; he was Servant formerly to Captain *Eaton*, and came with him into the South Seas in Quality of his Gunner; but, falling out with the Men, ran away from them at the Iſland *Gorgonia*, where he lay concealed ſix Days, till the Ship was gone; after which he cut down two Trees, which he drew to the Water-ſide, and bound them together with Twigs; fixed a Maſt; and, of two Shirts which he had with him, made a Sail; and, having filled a large Bag with Oyſters, which he made faſt to the ſaid two Trees, he, in the Morning betimes, put off from the Iſland *Gorgonia*; and, in the next Day in the Afternoon, got into the River of *Bonaventure*, where he went aſhore, and had but ill Uſage from the *Spaniards*, who ſent him to *Lima*, where he was examined, cleared himſelf, and was ſet at Liberty. He ſpoke very good *Engliſh*. We were, at this time, ſixty-four Men and Boys, all in good Health, and in extreme high Spirits. On *November* 23. we took a ſmall Bark, of ſixty Tons, from *California*, laden with Plank, but having on board, likewiſe, ſeveral Parcels of Pearl that had been fiſhed up on that Coaſt. On *December* 4. we came into the Bay of *Nativity*, in which we took a new Ship, of the Burden of about ſixty Tons, laden with Ammunition and military Stores for the Uſe of the *Acapulco* Ship, for which we were cruiſing, and for the Sight of which our People longed as earneſtly, as if there had been no Difference between ſeeing and taking her; neither was it long before they had their Wiſh in one reſpect, tho' not in another. We took out of our Prize as much of the Ammunition as was left; for when they perceived our Deſign, the Ship's Company quitted her, having firſt thrown over-board the beſt Part of their Cargo, and left the reſt ſcattered about in the utmoſt Confuſion.

19. Being off the *Vulcano* of *Colima* on *December* 6. in the Morning, we diſcovered a Sail, and ſoon came up with her. This proved to be the great *Manilla* or *Acapulco* Ship, which we had been ſo long wiſhing to meet with. As we were well provided, we gave her a great many Broadſides, before ſhe could get any of her Guns clear; for they did not ſuſpect us to be an Enemy, and were not at all prepared for us. Captain *Martin*, who was then a Priſoner on board us, adviſed to lay her aboard immediately, while they were all in a Hurry, and that this would be the only Way to take her; but if we gave them ſo much Time, as to get out their great Guns, they would certainly beat us to Pieces, and we ſhould loſe an Opportunity of making ourſelves Maſters of the Value of ſixteen Millions of Pieces of Eight: And accordingly it happened; for Time being delayed in quarrelling between thoſe of us that would lay her aboard, and thoſe that would not, the Enemy got out a Tier of Guns, and then were too hard for us; ſo that we could not lie along her Side to do her any conſiderable Damage; for our five Pound Shot, which was the biggeſt we had, ſignified little againſt ſuch a Ship as ſhe was; but any of her Shot, which were eighteen and twenty-four Pounders, if they happened to ſtrike us, our Ship, being very much decayed, it would drive in a Piece of Plank of three or four Feet: So being much damaged, and receiving a Shot particularly from the Enemy, betwixt Wind and Water, in our Powder-room; by which we had two Foot of Plank driven in on each Side the Stern, the Signal was made to ſtand off from the Enemy. Our Deſign being thus diſappointed, all our Men grew diſcontented, and were for going Home, knowing we would do no good in theſe Parts, either for ourſelves or Owners, having Proviſion but for three Months, and that very ſhort, and our Ship being ready of herſelf to fall in Pieces. Our Captain deſired our Conſent to cruiſe here ſix Weeks longer, and then he would permit us to go for *India*, to ſome Factory, where we might all diſpoſe of ourſelves as we ſhould think moſt for our Advantage. To this we all agreed, and accordingly cruiſed along Shore to the Eaſtward, in Sight of the Land; and paſſed by ſeveral noted Ports, as *Acapulco*, *Port Angels*, *Port Guatulco*, and ſeveral others. We now intended to go in Search of a proper Place to water our Ship and Bark, for our propoſed Voyage to the *Eaſt Indies*; and, after ſome Conſideration, we fixed upon the Gulf of *Amapalla* for that Purpoſe.

20. *January* 5. 1705. we met with ſuch vaſt Quantities of Fiſh, that, in half an Hour's time, we caught near threeſcore Albicores, from ſixty to ninety Pounds Weight each, beſides vaſt Quantities of other Fiſh. The Albicore is about four or five Feet in Length, weighing from 50 to 100, and 150 Pound Weight: He hath eleven Fins on his Back, one pretty large one, one middling one, and nine ſmall yellow ones near the Tail: He hath one large Fin on one Side near the Gills, and twelve Fins under his Belly; one on each Side underneath near the Gills; one near the Middle of the Belly, and nine ſmall yellow Fins extending to his Tail. It is a very fleſhy Fiſh, having little or no Bones, except the Back-bone, and is extraordinary good: It is a prodigious ſtrong Fiſh when in the Water: They prey moſtly upon Flying-fiſh, as do the Dolphins and Bonetoes. On the 6th of this Month, a new Revolution happened in our Affairs; for thirty of our Men agreed with Captain *Dampier*, to remain with him in the South Seas, but with what View, or on what Terms, remained to us, who were not of that Number, an impenetrable Secret. Our Company conſiſted of thirty-three Men; and, notwithſtanding what had happened, we ſailed together, according to our firſt Reſolution, for the Gulf of *Amapalla*, where we arrived, and anchored on the 26th. The very ſame Day, all the Proviſions that were left were equally divided amongſt us by the Owners Agent; and we had four Pieces of Cannon, with a proper Proportion of ſmall Arms and Ammunition, aſſigned us for our Defence in our Voyage. The next Care was to take in Water; and, with this View, we landed on the Iſland of *Conchagua*; and, after ſome Search, we found behind the Hills a large Bottom, in which was a large Plantain-walk, and a great deal of Rain-water that fell from the Mountains. This was very inconvenient for us; becauſe, lying ſo behind the Hills, we knew we muſt be forced to carry all our Water over a high Hill, which we could hardly climb by ourſelves: But ſeeing there was no Remedy, we firſt cut down the Buſhes, which were in our Way, to make us a clear Path; after which, the Hill being pretty ſteep on the Land-ſide towards the Bottom, wherein was the freſh Water, we, with our Axes and Shovels, cut out Steps in the Hill; and our Sail-maker having, in the mean time,

made us a Canvas Pipe of about ninety Fathom long, to carry our Water from the Top of the Hill down to our Caſk, which lay at the Foot of it, we went to work to fill our Water, each Man having with him a ſix Gallon Caſk. The Water which we took up was very muddy; and, on the Top of it, grew Duck-weed, as it does uſually in our Ditches: At firſt we raked the Duck-weed away; but our Doctor perſuading us, that if we took up the Weeds, they would mightily preſerve our Water, we, according to his Advice, took up both Weeds and Water together. When each Man had filled his ſix Gallon Caſk, he carried it up to the Top of the Hill, and then poured it into the Canvas Pipe, which conveyed it down the Hill into our Caſk. Thus we employed ourſelves for four Days; and, having filled about twenty-five Tons, which we concluded would laſt longer than our Victuals, and got it on board our Veſſel, the next Day, being *January* 31. 1705. we all went aſhore to the Plantain-walk; and, having cut down a ſufficient Quantity of them, we returned at Night on board our Veſſel, intending to ſail next Day. This Evening, two of our Men, who had reſolved to ſtay with Captain *Dampier*, left him, and came over to us; ſo that now we were thirty-five in Number, *viz.* thirty-four *Engliſh*, and one little Negro Boy, whom we had taken from the *Spaniards*. During the Time of our watering our Bark, the Men on board the Ship belonging to Captain *Dampier*, were buſy in refitting their Ship as well as they could: The Carpenter ſtopped the Shot-holes, which they had in their Powder-room, with Tallow and Charcoal, not daring, as he ſaid, to drive in a Nail, for fear of making it worſe; and the four great Guns, which uſually ſtood between Decks, were put down into the Hold, there being ſixteen beſides, which was more than they had Men to manage; for there remained with them no more than twenty-eight Men and Boys, and moſt of them Landmen; which was a very inſignificant Force, for one who was to make War on a whole Nation.

21. We left the Gulph of *Amapalla* on *February* 1. 1705. and Captain *Dampier*, with his Ship the *St. George*, at Anchor in it. We ſteered out between the Gulph of *Amapalla* and the Iſland *Mangera*, and many times had not above two Fathom Water. We had a fine Gale of Wind at North-eaſt, which ſoon carried us out of the Mouth of the Gulph. So long as we had been in any of the Harbours on this Coaſt of *Mexico*, we had ſeldom been allowed any thing but Flour, excepting that we uſed to go aſhore, and found upon the Rocks Store of Conchs, Oyſters, Muſſels, Snails, *&c.* of which we made many a good Meal. But now, being in hopes of getting into a Land of Plenty, we bore Hunger with more Patience; and, indeed, we had need of great Patience; for now our Commons were leſſened to half a Pound of coarſe Flour a Man *per* Day, with two Ounces of ſalt Meat every other Day. Our Veſſel was a ſmall Bark, with two Maſts, of about ſeventy Tons, which we had taken from the *Spaniards*; but, whilſt we lay here, ſhe was ſo eaten by the Worms, that ſhe began to grow very leaky; and, to add to our Afflictions, we had no Carpenter; neither, if any of us ſhould fall ſick, had we any Doctor, or any Medicines to make uſe of; and, which was worſt of all, we had no Boat to aſſiſt ourſelves, if our Veſſel ſhould fail us; for the Doctor, Carpenter, and Boat, were left with Captain *Dampier:* Yet, truſting to God's Providence, who had already delivered us out of ſo many Dangers, we proceeded on our intended Voyage to *India*. A bolder Attempt than this, all Circumſtances conſidered, was perhaps never made by ſuch an Handful of Men; and nothing but a Deſire of ſeeing our Country, could have ſupported us under it.

22. The very Proſpect of the Difficulties that we were ſure to go thro', gave us Spirits to provide againſt them; and we held, on this Occaſion, a kind of Council, in which we determined on two Things; the firſt was our Courſe, and the latter was our Allowance. We knew very well, that the Wind we then had was only a Land-wind; and that, by running one hundred Leagues to Sea, we ſhould meet with the true Trade-wind, blowing either North-eaſt, or Eaſt North-eaſt. Our Buſineſs was then to get into the Latitude of 13° North, which is that of the Iſland of *Guam*, and then to bear away before the Wind. It was on *February* 2. that we determined theſe Points. All that Day, and moſt of the Night, was fine calm Weather; ſo that we caught abundance of Yellow-tails, which were ſwimming about our Veſſel. This Fiſh is about four Feet in Length, and has twenty Fins on his Back; one middling one near the hinder Part of his Head, one large one near the Middle of his Back, and eighteen ſmall ones, ſtretching from the large one to his Tail. He has two large Fins near his Gills, one on each Side; and thirteen under his Belly, *viz.* one middling one underneath the Gills, one large one near the Middle of his Belly, which goes in with a Dent, and eleven ſmall ones, ſtretching from the large one to his Tail, which is half-mooned: He has a very large Head, a great Eye, and is extraordinary good Food. It is very fleſhy, having no Bone but the Back-bone: Theſe Fiſh, when taken by us, looked very white, but the Tips of their Fins and Tail were yellow; and for this Reaſon we called them Yellow-tails. They were very welcome to us; for, whilſt they laſted, which was three Days, we ſaved our Proviſions, feeding upon nothing elſe but this Fiſh. On *February* 3. the firſt Part of the Day, it was calm; in which time, five or ſix Turtles coming near the Veſſel, we caught two of them, which ſtill ſerved to help us, and ſave our Sea-ſtores, which otherwiſe had not been ſufficient to keep us from periſhing.

23. On the Evening of the ſame Day, we had the Land-wind at North-eaſt, a fine briſk Gale; and therefore we took our Departure from Mount *St. Michael*, in the Gulph of *Amapalla*; and continued our Courſe South-weſt, and South-weſt by Weſt, till we were in the Latitude of 10°; and then, finding we had the Trade-wind, we bore away Weſt North-weſt, according to our former Reſolution. The next Thing we did, was to make Studding-ſails out of our Main-ſail, and Main-top-ſail; we got our Studding-ſail up by Day-break every Morning, and at Sun-ſet haled them down again; for it commonly blew ſo freſh in the Night, that we were forced to ſet our Top-ſail, and, with the riſing of the Sun, the Wind abated; yet we always had as much as we could well carry with our Studding-ſails. We continued, during our whole Voyage, to adhere ſteadily to that Rule of Diet, which we had preſcribed ourſelves; and of the Slenderneſs of which the Reader will be a proper Judge, when I enter a little into Particulars. From the third to the laſt of *February*, we fed intirely upon Plantains, making two Meals a Day, and allowing each Man two Plantains at a Meal. We then had recourſe to our Flour, of which half a Pound a Day was allowed to each Man, and every other Day two Ounces of ſalt Beef or Pork; but the Meat had been ſo long in Salt, that, when we boiled it, it ſhrunk one half; and therefore we concluded, that it would be better to eat it raw, which we did, ſo long as it laſted, all the Voyage after: But, in the Beginning of the Month of *April*, that began to fail, ſo that we were forced to have recourſe to Flour alone; which, beſides its being meaſured out to us in ſo ſcanty a Proportion, as half a Pound to each Man for a whole Day, was likewiſe very much ſpoiled, being full of Maggots, Spiders, and other Vermin; ſo that nothing but the Extremity of Want could oblige us to eat it. It is, indeed, ſurpriſing to behold this ſtrange Change, and to perceive Flour, that a few Days before was white and fine, in a manner all alive, the Maggots tumbling one over another. On ſtrict Inquiry, however, it ſeems, this Change is produced by the Eggs of Spiders depoſited amongſt it; for, out of theſe, the Maggots are bred, which fed voraciouſly on what afforded them a kind of Neſt, till ſuch times as they became living Creatures. It muſt be confeſſed, that Words very faintly deſcribe the Miſeries of ſuch a Life as this; but then it muſt be conſidered, that Work makes the Time paſs away; and that the Hopes of accompliſhing a very difficult Voyage, keeps up Mens Spirits, and gets the better of their Apprehenſions of ſinking under it. Some little occaſional Aſſiſtances we met with in this long Courſe, ſuch as ſometimes catching a Dolphin; at other times we ſaw many Sea-birds, ſuch as Boobies, Noddies, *&c.* which would come and ſettle upon our Veſſel, and happy was he that could catch one of them. In this manner we paſſed away about ten Weeks; at the End of which we were in a very melancholy Condition, and nothing but the Hopes of ſpeedily ſeeing Land, could poſſibly have

kept us from deſpairing; but, as this was daily expected, it took up all our Thoughts, and calmed all our Sorrows.

24. *April* 10. we ſaw the Clouds gather about the Horizon much more than uſual: This was a ſure Sign of Land; for it is common between the Tropics to be foggy over the Land, though it be never ſo clear at Sea; therefore all this Night we took care to look out, and on the 11th, in the Morning betimes, we ſaw the Iſland of *Magon*, bearing Weſt, diſtant about ten Leagues. It is an high woody Iſland, and very plain and green on the Top: So we ſtood towards it; and, when we had brought it to bear North, diſtant about a Mile, being ſo near, we laid our Ship by, and ſeveral Fiſhing-boats came to us, and brought us ſome Fiſh, with Eggs, Yams, Potatoes, *&c.* The Men in thoſe Fiſhing-boats were a very tall large-limb'd People, of a tawny Complexion, having long black Hair reaching down to their Middle. They all go ſtark-naked, not ſo much as covering their private Parts. In Exchange of what we had of them, we would have given them Money; but they looked on it, and gave it us again, making Signs to us to give them Tobacco in the room of it; which we did, and they ſeemed very much pleaſed. We alſo gave them ſome old Shirts, which they immediately tore in Pieces, and rolled them round their Heads. We would have given each of them a Dram of Brandy, but they were afraid to drink it: Only one of them, ſeeing us drink to each other, and that it did us no hurt, at laſt made Signs, that he would drink with us: So we gave him a Glaſsful, which he immediately drank off; but we thought the Fellow would never ſhut his Mouth again; for he was ſo amazed at the Heat it had left in his Mouth, and in his Belly, that, I believe, he thought he had ſet himſelf on Fire. He laid himſelf down, and roared like a Bull, which ſcared moſt of the reſt of them away: After he had roared near half an Hour, he fell faſt aſleep; and we, being in haſte, put the poor Fellow into his Boat, and made Signs to his Conſorts to take care of him, that he might not fall over-board. They ſeemed to be a very civil People; but, however, we did not care to let too many of them come into our Veſſel at a time. Their Language we could not underſtand at all. When they firſt approached us, they tied two Sticks together, in Faſhion of a Croſs, and held them up for us to ſee; which was, as we ſuppoſed, to ſignify to us, that they had ſome Knowledge of the Chriſtian Religion: We, in Return, ſhewed them a Crucifix, which we had taken from the *Spaniards*; at the Sight of which they all bowed their Bodies, and came on board. This Iſland of *Magon*, I conceive, lies in the Latitude of 13° North, and we made Longitude from the Mouth of *St. Michael's*, Weſt 120° 9', or 7029 Miles, allowing between 58 and 59 Miles to a Degree of Longitude in this Parallel. The Boats that theſe Fiſhermen came on board in, were about forty Feet in Length, and about ſeventeen or eighteen Inches broad aloft, but not above three broad below: Their Head and Stern were alike: The Bottom, to the Water's Edge, was one intire Piece, but hollow; upon which, for the Side of the Boat, was a Piece of thin Plank, about three Feet broad, and of the ſame Length as the Boat itſelf: It had its lower Edge ſewed with Rattans to the Bottom of the Boat: They had two long Poles put out of one Side; one was within ten Feet of one End of the Boat, and the other within ten Feet of the other End, ſo that they lay diſtant from each other about 120 Feet; the Poles were about thirty Feet in Length; at the End of which was a long Piece of Plank, about twenty-one Feet, of the ſame Shape, and about one-fourth Part of the Bigneſs of the Bottom of the Boat: This Piece is laid acroſs at the one End of the Poles from the one Pole to the other, where it is very ſecurely made faſt; and this, all together, is called the Outlayer, or Outleaker. This is always the Weather-ſide, and the Uſe of it is to keep the Boat from overſetting; for, without the Outleaker, the Boat is ſo narrow, that it would not bear itſelf: They have but one Sail, which is made of Mat, and like our *Bermudas* Sail; it is not above two Inches broad at Top, and hales out by a Boom: When they have a mind to go about, it is only letting go the Sheet of the Sail, and haling aſt on the ſame Side, at the other End of the Boat; and then that which was the Stern before, becomes the Head, any End going foremoſt, and no Diſtinction in the Building of either End, but it is the ſame Side ſtill that always remains the Weather-ſide. The Conveniency of theſe Veſſels are very great, and the Contrivance of them exceedingly ingenious, ſo that we are able to build nothing like them.

25. It was reſolved, on mature Deliberation, to bear away from hence for the Coaſt of *New Guiney*, without putting in to the Iſland of *Guam*, of which we had Sight. The Weather continued fair, and the Wind briſk, as well as favourable, till we arrived in the Latitude of 4° North; and then we had a Calm for no leſs than ſeven Days; in which Space we had no way to relieve our Hunger, but by drinking a good large Draught of Water, and then lying down to ſleep. On the 3d of *May*, we had a fine Gale, which continued to the 5th, when it died away before we ſaw any Land. About ten in the Evening, we were all ſenſible of a very odoriferous Smell brought to us by the little Air there was; from whence we concluded, that we could not be far diſtant from ſome Land, whence this fragrant Breeze muſt blow. Upon this, we began to ſearch our Charts, but to no manner of purpoſe; for in none of them was there any Land laid down. The next Morning, however, we found our Conjecture verified, and actually ſaw Land at no great Diſtance. The ſame Day we caught two Bonetoes, which were very welcome to us; for they made a good Meal for all our Company. This Fiſh is commonly about three Feet in Length, and two Feet about; he hath two middling Fins on his Back, with eleven ſmall ones, ſtretching to his Tail, the like Number oppoſite, under his Belly, with two large ones, one on each Side, near his Gills; a very ſharp Head, with a ſmall Mouth; a full Eye, and an half-mooned Tail; it is a very fleſhy Fiſh, having no Bone but his Back-bone, and they make very good Broth. About Noon we were in Sight of three ſmall Iſlands, all of them low Land, but exceedingly green and pleaſant, affording a moſt delightful Proſpect from the Sea, and eſpecially to us, who had not ſeen Land for ſo long a time. We had likewiſe an Obſervation, by which we found, that we were in the Latitude of 50' North; and, as the Eaſtermoſt of thoſe Iſlands was four Leagues to the South-eaſt, it muſt be, conſequently, in the Latitude of 42' North.

26. As we were cautious of venturing upon an unknown Coaſt in the dark, we ſtood off all Night; and very well it was for us, that we did ſo; for the next Morning, being the 7th of *May*, about Day-break, we found ourſelves within a Ship's Length of a great Ledge of Rocks, which ran from one Iſland to the other, which we not ſeeing before, and thinking to go between the two Iſlands, had like to have been upon them: But, through God's Mercy, a ſmall Breeze of Wind coming from the Shore, we got off, and ſtood to the Weſtermoſt Iſland, becauſe we ſaw many Sholes lying off the reſt of them. The Rocks we were like to have been upon were near the Northermoſt Iſland, which, upon account of our miraculous Eſcape, we called the Iſland of *Deceit*. When we came near the Weſtermoſt Iſland, which was the biggeſt of the three, we ſtood in for the Iſland; and, as we drew nearer, about forty or fifty of their flying Proes came off, and in them might be about 450 Men, allowing ten to each Proe; and we could diſcern Multitudes of People upon the Shore; for, as we paſſed by any of theſe Iſles to go to the next, the People alſo followed us; their flying Proes lay at a Diſtance from us, and viewed us, till we beckoned, and made Signs for them to come to us; then one of them, which was in the Midſt, advanced towards us, and, being pretty near, lay and looked on us for awhile. We ſtill made Signs for him to draw nearer; then he came within a Ship's Length of us, and lay ſtill again. In her were ten Men, all naked, and, in the Midſt of them, a grave old Man, of a pleaſant Countenance, who had on his Head a Four-corner'd Cap, without a Crown, but otherwiſe he was quite naked, as were all the reſt of them. This Man, by the Reſpect all the reſt in the Boat ſhewed to him, we gueſſed to be a King or Prince. At their Approach to us they ſung a Song, which continued about a Quarter of an Hour: We could not underſtand it, but it was tuned very prettily: When this Song was done, they came almoſt cloſe to our

Veſſel's Side, and then ſung another Song. This was begun by the grave old Man, and followed by all the reſt in the Boat; which done, they put themſelves in a Poſture of praying, and made ſeveral Bows and Cringes towards us, after the Manner of their Country; then one of the Men in the Boat, having a very ſore Leg, held it up to us, and pointed to the Wound. By the Signs he made to us, we underſtood, that he would have us to cure it; for we being white, and they having probably never ſeen any white Men before, they ſeemed as if they did not think us to be mortal Men. After this, we poured ſome Water out of a Bucket into a Glaſs, and, pointing to our Mouths, made Signs that we wanted Victuals and Drink: Then they ſhook their Heads, in way of Denial, as I ſuppoſe; but, ſeeing us ſtill make towards the Iſland, one of the Men in the Boat blew an Horn; at the Sound of which, all the reſt of the Boats made boldly to us: Upon this, we all believing they would be aboard of us, fired a Muſquet over them, not deſigning to harm, but only to frighten them; at the Noiſe of which they ſeemed wonderfully amazed, and drew back, menacing us at a Diſtance with their Paddles, and ſtill following us. So ſeeing, as I ſaid before, many Hundreds of them upon the Shore, and finding we could have nothing from them but by Force, and having no Anchors or Cables by which we dared truſt our Bark, and, beſides, having no Boat to go aſhore in, ſo that ſhould we ſwim aſhore, as ſome of our Men propoſed, yet we could not carry our Arms with us, and the *Indians* might knock us in the Head with Stones whilſt we were in the Water, we concluded there was no good to be done here: Wherefore, examining our Water, and finding ſufficient for eighteen Days, at a Quart of Water each Man *per* Day, we reſolved to leave theſe Iſlands, and to truſt to God's Providence to guide us to a more friendly Place, where we might ſupply our Wants, not doubting but we ſhould furniſh ourſelves with Water at ſome Iſland or other, in a Place where there were ſo many: So we left the ſaid Iſlands, and called the Weſtermoſt of them the Iſland of *Diſappointment*, becauſe we made certain Account of getting ſome Water here, but could not. They were all three low, flat, even Iſlands, full of ſeveral Sorts of Trees, all very green and flouriſhing; and, no doubt, if we had had a Boat, we might have met with ſomething which would have been beneficial to ourſelves, and of Advantage to our Country, as we might alſo at ſeveral other ſmall Iſlands, which we afterwards paſſed by. The Inhabitants of moſt of theſe Iſlands were a very large ſtrong-boned People. They had long, black, ſtrait Hair, which reached down to their Middle; and they all go ſtark-naked, not ſo much as covering their privy Parts. I think I never ſaw ſuch a Parcel of ſtout-limbed Fellows together in my Life. It is certain, therefore, that the Iſlands hereabouts are abundantly peopled, though they are utterly averſe to any Communication with Whites, perhaps from a Notion, that all Whites are *Spaniards*; and yet it is not altogether clear, that even the *Spaniards* ever attempted making a Settlement in any of theſe Iſlands.

27. When we left theſe Iſlands, we had a freſh Gale of Wind at Eaſt; and, ſteering South-weſt, we met continually with Weeds and Graſs in the Water; which inclined us to believe, that we were not far from Land; and yet, on ſounding, we had no Ground at an hundred Fathom. On the eighth of *May*, early in the Morning, we diſcerned the Coaſt of *New Guiney*; from which we were then diſtant eighteen or nineteen Leagues. The Sight of Land engaged us to think of building a Boat with a few old Boards, and ſuch other Materials as we had, though they did not ſeem altogether fit for the Purpoſe; which Boat, when completed, though it was not the ſtrongeſt or moſt beautiful thing in the World, yet proved exceeding uſeful and convenient. On the 9th, we had very bad Weather, the Wind ſhifting all round the Compaſs. We had time enough to conſider this Part of *New Guiney* with much Attention; the Land appeared very mountainous, black, and rocky, without Harbour, Bay, or Road, where we might anchor ſafely. The Mountains were ſo bleak and barren, the Valleys ſo narrow and deep, that we, at firſt Sight, conceived the Country uninhabited; nor did our future Acquaintance engage us to change our Opinion, ſince we ſaw no Inhabitants, or Signs of Inhabitants. The ſame Day we paſſed by two ſmall Iſlands, each of which might be a League in Length; they were low, but very well clothed with ſmall green Trees. We ſaw, at the ſame time, Part of the great Iſland of *Gillolo*, at eight Leagues Diſtance, and kept on our Courſe Weſt South-weſt, intending to paſs through that Iſland, and the Continent of *New Guiney*, into the *Eaſt India* Sea. We had very bad Weather till the eleventh, and, the Night being very dark, we miſſed the common Paſſage, and found ourſelves in the Morning among many ſmall Iſlands; when, perceiving we had overſhot the Paſſage, and the Wind being at Eaſt, we reſolved to look out for a Paſſage to the Southward, amongſt thoſe Iſlands: Accordingly we ſtood to the Southward, but found a great many Rocks and Sholes, which ſtretched from one Iſland to another: At Night, there being little Wind, and not daring to venture further amongſt thoſe unfrequented Iſlands and Sholes, we reſolved to lie-by, intending, in the Morning, if the Winds ſhould prove Weſterly, to return back, and go through the common Paſſage; but, if it ſtill continued Eaſterly, than to endeavour to find out a new Paſſage to the Weſtward. This Night we ſaw two or three Fires, which were made on ſhore by the Inhabitants. The Iſlands here were moſt of them of a good Height, and pretty well cloathed with ſeveral Sorts of Trees, which all appeared very green and flouriſhing. On the 12th, we had fair Weather, with a fine freſh Gale at North-eaſt: So we proceeded to the Weſtward, and, at the ſame time, had a ſtrong Tide ſetting to the Weſtward. About eight this Morning, we ſhot between two high Head-lands, which were diſtant from each other near two Miles. Upon this, ſome of us went to the Top-maſt-head, to look if we had a clear Paſſage through; and we ſaw no Hindrance: So we got through by two in the Afternoon. It was in Length about ſeven Leagues, and about two Miles broad. In it we could find no Anchorage, till within a Ship's Length of the Shore, and then we had thirty Fathom Water. The Land here was of an indifferent Height, and very woody. At Noon, the Tide ſetting back to the Eaſtward, and it being calm, we drove, by five in the Evening, half way back again, and drove with our Veſſel ſo near the Shore, that we kept her off with our Poles; and might have ſtepped from our Barks to the Shore, and yet our Veſſel never touched the Ground, the Water being very deep cloſe to the Shore. Not long after, a ſtrong Gale ſpringing up again by ſeven in the Evening, we got clear of this Streight the ſecond time; and then it fell calm again, and we drove with the Tide, which ſtill ſet to the Weſtward. In this Streight we ſaw a flying Proe under Sail, but it did not come near us. We alſo, in ſome of the ſmall Bays, ſaw ſeveral old Houſes, ſome ſtanding, and ſome half down, but could not ſee any Inhabitants. On the 13th, we had little Wind at Eaſt South-eaſt, and ſometimes calm; but, when we had any Wind, we ſteered away South by Weſt. Here we ſaw a great many Iſlands to the Southward of us, but none of them ſo near together, but that there was room to paſs between them, and ſcarce any Ground to be found with one hundred Fathom of Line. We ſtill found we got but very little, the Tides ſetting ſometimes to the Southward, and then again to the Northward; ſo that we were not got yet above a League to the Southward of the ſaid Streight, which we, after the Name of our Bark, called *St. John's* Streights; and, I believe, we were the firſt *Europeans* that ever paſt it.

28. At this time a large *Indian* Proe came on board us, in which was a Freeman of *Amboyna*. We acquainted him with our great Want of Victuals, having had nothing for a long time to eat but Flour and Water, and ſo little of that, as would hardly keep us alive. He told us, if we would go to the Iſland of *Manipa*, which was then in Sight, he would be our Pilot, and carry us in, where he did not doubt but we might have Rice enough for our Money to carry us to *Batavia*. Accordingly we ſteered directly for *Manipa*, and, in our Way, paſſed by the Iſland *Keylan*, which is a ſmall, but high Iſland, very well inhabited, and cloathed with ſeveral Sorts of Trees. Its chief Produce is Rice, and ſome few Cloves; and here was a *Dutch* Corporal,

poral, with ſix Soldiers, whoſe only Buſineſs it was to ſee all the Clove-trees cut down and deſtroyed. From hence we proceeded to *Manipa*, where we arrived about twelve at Night, and came to an Anchor in a ſmall Bay at the North-weſt End of the Iſland: Then our *Dutch* Pilot ſent two Men aſhore with a Letter to the Governor, to acquaint him with our Wants. On the 23d, betimes in the Morning, a *Dutch* Corporal, with two Soldiers, came on board, and read to us an Order which he had from the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company; That if any Ships, except thoſe belonging to the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company, anchored there, they were not to ſupply them with any thing. We told him, it was for want of Victuals that we were forced to put in here; and that, if we could have ſubſiſted, we ſhould not have touched at any Place till our Arrival at *Batavia:* Wherefore we deſired him to go aſhore again, and inform the Governor of our Wants. He, ſeeing us in a very weak Condition, promiſed he would, and that he would bring us Word again: Accordingly he went aſhore, and, at four in the Evening, returned again, and brought us Word, That we ſhould have no Proviſion there; but, if we would go to *Amboyna*, there we might be ſupplied. So we were forced to leave this unfriendly Place, and endeavour, if the Wind would permit, to go to *Amboyna*. This Iſland of *Manipa* is in Length, South-eaſt and North-weſt, about fifteen Miles, in Breadth about eight, and lies in the Latitude of 3° 25′ South, and Weſtward of the Iſland *Bonoa* about twenty Miles. It is a remarkably high Iſland, and pretty well inhabited by the *Malayans*, as are all the *Molucca* Iſlands. It is Shole almoſt all round; which Sholes, ſome of them, ſtretch a League and an half off the Shore: Wherefore, unleſs a Man be acquainted, or has good Draughts of the Place, it is dangerous coming near it. The Iſland is of a good Height, but not ſo high as the Iſland *Keylan* before-mentioned: On it are ſeveral good Springs of freſh Water; and, on the South-weſt Side of the Iſland, the *Dutch* have a ſmall Fort of ſix Guns. The Iſland is governed by a *Dutch* Serjeant, three Corporals, and a Maſter Gunner, and they have under them twenty *Dutch* Soldiers. On this Iſland grows vaſt Plenty of Cloves and Rice, of which they ſend great Quantities to *Amboyna*. The Inhabitants are moſt of them Fiſhermen. They catch abundance of Fiſh here, not only for their own Uſe, but alſo to ſupply *Amboyna*.

29. We ſtood to the South-weſtward, having the Wind at South South-eaſt; and, it blowing freſh, we reefed our Top-ſails, and went away under our Courſes. We were now quite out of Heart; for we did not expect to reach *Amboyna*, the South-eaſt Monſoons being ſet in, which Wind was right againſt us; and beſides, it blew ſo hard, that we could ſcarce carry any Sail; and we could not think of getting to *Batavia*, becauſe we had not Victuals to carry us thither; and beſides, as the Wind was, we could not weather the Sholes, which lie to the Eaſt South-eaſt of the Iſland of *Bouton:* So that, being almoſt in Deſpair, and the Wind continuing, we kept our Courſe to the Southward, till we came over-againſt the Iſland *Bouro*; and then, the Wind veering to the South South-weſt, we ſtood away South-eaſt: But, finding a ſtrong Current ſetting to Leeward, ſo that we rather loſt than got Ground, and ſeeing no Likelihood of getting to *Amboyna*, we, by general Conſent, ſhared all that was eatable on board our Veſſel; and the Whole of what each Man's Share amounted to was ſix Pounds and three Quarters of Flour, with five Pounds of Bran; and every one deſigned to be as ſparing of his Part as he could. On the 25th, the Wind veering about to the South South-eaſt, we tacked, and ſtood to the South-weſt; and ſoon weathered the Iſland of *Amblow*, which is a ſmall Iſland, not above three Leagues in Length. It is of an indifferent Height, and lies in the Latitude of 4° 5′ South. It is pretty well furniſhed with Trees of ſeveral ſorts; but not inhabited: Neither do I know, whether there be any freſh Water upon it. From hence we continued our Courſe till twelve at Night, when an hard Gale of Wind coming down upon us, before (through Weakneſs) we could hand our Sails, it almoſt overſet our Veſſel. It ſplit our Main-ſail and Main-topſail all to Pieces, broke our Main-ſtay, and two of our Fore-ſhrouds. As ſoon as the Squall was over, it fell calm; and then we had ſo great a Sea, occaſioned, as I believe, by the meeting of ſeveral Currents, that, we thought, our Bark could not hold it out, ſhe laboured ſo much; and the Sea took us ſo on all Sides, that we were almoſt covered with Water. On the 26th, it ſprung up a fine freſh Gale at South-eaſt: Whereupon, knowing we could not weather the Sholes, we tacked, and ſtood away North-eaſt for the Iſland of *Amboyna*. On the 27th, the Wind continuing, we held the ſame Courſe; and, on the 28th betimes in the Morning, ſaw the Iſland of *Amboyna*, bearing due North, diſtant about ſix Leagues: So we ſtood away directly for the Iſland, and, by Noon, came juſt off the Harbour; a joyful Sight to us then! tho' we had, ſoon after, Cauſe to look upon it as the worſt Sight we had ever ſeen: So frail are the Hopes of Man, and ſo apt are we to deſire what leads to our own Deſtruction!

30. As we entered the Harbour of *Amboyna*, we met with two Ships coming out, laden with Cloves, and bound for *Batavia*. The Captain of one of theſe Ships came on board us, deſired to know whence we came, whither bound, and a Journal of our Voyage, promiſing to return it, when he ſhould meet with us at *Batavia*. We gave him the beſt Anſwer we could to all his Demands; and our Owners Agent gave him a ſuccinct Relation of our Voyage; which was a very happy Accident, ſince to it we owed our Preſervation, as will be ſhewn hereafter. That Night we ſtood in to the Harbour; and, the next Morning, which, according to our Account, was *Tueſday*, but with them *Wedneſday*, two *Dutch* Orambies (for ſo they call the Veſſels which they uſe there) came on board us, each rowed, or rather paddled, by forty Men. In theſe Veſſels came the Fiſcal, Secretary, ſeveral *Dutch* Gentlemen, and about eighty Soldiers, who took Poſſeſſion of our Bark. They alſo went down, and ſealed up all our Cheſts; and the two Orambies towed us in; and, by Noon, we got up as high as the Town, where they moored our Veſſel in the common Anchoring-place. Here we continued till the 31ſt, not knowing how they deſigned to diſpoſe of us; in which Time they would not afford us any Victuals, tho' we offered them a Crown for a Pound of Beef, Pork, or Bread. In the Evening, we were all ſent on ſhore, where they had provided two Rooms for our Reception near the Stadt-houſe; and our Bark, Money, and Goods, except what we had about us, were all taken from us: And, ſoon after, our Veſſel and Goods were ſold at a public Outcry. We were fed with very bad Meat, which we, who had been at Short-allowance ſo long, and our Stomachs very weak, could ill digeſt; and, if we would have better, we muſt buy it with our own Money. Several of us had the good Luck to have ſome Money about us, and, as long as that laſted, we bought our own Victuals of our Keeper for a *Spaniſh* Dollar, which was five Shillings and a Peny Value, tho' he would give us no more than five *Dutch* Shillings, to the Value of about half a Crown; and, for this Half-crown, we could have no more Victuals, than we could have bought for Five-pence, if we had been at Liberty to go into the Town; ſo that, inſtead of having five Shillings for our *Spaniſh* Dollar, we had indeed no more than five Pence. It cannot be expected, that, after ſuch hard Uſage as this, I ſhould be extremely fond of the *Dutch* Government at *Amboyna*. However, the Leiſure I had, and the ſeveral Opportunities that offered, of inquiring into the preſent Condition of the Place, led me to frame a pretty large, and, I will be bold to ſay, juſt Account of that Iſland, and all its Inhabitants. This, I flatter myſelf, will be the more acceptable to the Public, becauſe of the Care taken by the *Dutch* to ſtifle all Deſcriptions of this Place, even by their own People; ſo that I never heard of any lately printed: And this Conduct of theirs is founded on a Maxim of the *Eaſt India* Company, *viz.* that the beſt Way to preſerve their Trade in thoſe Parts, and particularly their Monopoly of Spices, is to contrive every poſſible Method for deterring other Nations from ſending Ships into that Part of the World, and to uſe ſuch as ſtraggle thither in ſuch a manner, as to fright their Countrymen effectually from following their Example.

31. This Iſland of *Amboyna*, ſo famous, or rather infamous, for the Cruelties that were formerly committed there by the *Dutch* upon the *Engliſh*, is in Length from North-eaſt to South-weſt, twelve Leagues. It is high and mountainous.

tainous. The Hills are, in great meaſure, barren; but the Valleys are very fruitful. The Soil is black, and the Surface affords Salt-petre. The Middle of the Iſland lies in the Latitude of about 3° 4′ South. It is inhabited by *Malayans*, who are the original Natives. They are of a middle Stature, and tawny; but the Women are of a brighter tawny than the Men, and have long black Hair, which reaches down to the Calves of their Legs. They have round Faces, ſmall Mouths, Noſes, and Lips. They wear a Linen Waiſtcoat, which reaches no farther than the lower Part of their Breaſts; and, about their Middle, they wear a Piece of Cloth, about four Yards wide, and a Yard deep. This they roll round them, and it ſerves them inſtead of a Petticoat; for none are allowed to wear Petticoats, but the *Dutch* Women only: Neither are any of the *Malayan* Men allowed to wear an Hat, excepting only their King. Although the *Malayans* are the moſt numerous, yet the *Dutch* are poſſeſſed of all the Sea-coaſt, and have here a ſtrong Caſtle, built of Stone, and mounted with ſixty Guns, beſides ſeveral other ſmall Fortifications in other Parts of the Iſland. Near this Caſtle is a ſmall Town, of about 100 *Dutch* Houſes, all ſtrongly built of Stone, Brick, and Timber; but all very low, none exceeding one Story, becauſe of Earthquakes, to which this Place is very ſubject; ſo that, ſhould they be built higher, it would endanger the falling of them, as they often do, notwithſtanding they are ſo low. Whilſt we were here, we had a great Earthquake, which continued two Days, in which Time it did a great deal of Miſchief; for the Ground burſt open in ſeveral Places, and ſwallowed up ſeveral Houſes, and whole Families. Several of the People were dug out again, but moſt of them dead; and many of them had their Legs or Arms broken by the Falls of Houſes. The Caſtle-walls were rent aſunder in ſeveral Places, and we thought, that it, and all the Houſes, would have fallen down. The Ground, where we were, ſwelled like a Wave of the Sea; but near us we had no Hurt done. As to the *Dutch* Policy in the Iſland, it is governed by a Council, which conſiſts of five Perſons; *viz.* the Governor, the chief Merchant (or upper *Koop-man*), the *Malayan* King, the Captain of the Fort, and the Fiſcal, who is in the Nature of a Judge. Upon the Iſland are ſaid to be about 350 *Dutch* Soldiers, with 120 or 130 *Dutch* Freemen and petty Officers, and near as many of the *Chineſe*, who live here for the Advantage of Trade, although they are not allowed to trade in Spice, that being a peculiar Trade, which the *Dutch* Company reſerve to themſelves; ſo that, I reckon, they can make in all about 550 fighting Men, *Dutch* and *Chineſe*. As to the *Malayans*, they would be but of little Service to them, but rather be glad to aſſiſt any-body againſt them. The *Malayan* Women are ſaid to be great Whores, of which they are not aſhamed. They are ſoon ripe, and often married by nine Years of Age; and many of them are ſaid to have Children by ten or eleven. All near the Water-ſide are forced to be under the *Dutch* Government, which is very abſolute and tyrannical: For any ſmall Fault they are ſeverely handled; and many think themſelves well off, if they are not made Slaves, and wear an Iron upon their Leg during Life: Thoſe, I ſay, who dwell near the Sea-ſide, are all ſubject to the *Dutch* Government, and are Chriſtians; but thoſe within the Country, who are called the *Hill Malayans*, are *Mohammedans*. They are always at War with the *Dutch*; and, if they take any of them Priſoners at any time, they never give him any Quarter; but, after they have kept him in Priſon five Days, without either Victuals or Drink, they bring him out, and, firſt of all, rip up his Breaſt with a ſharp Knife, and take out his Heart; at which there is great Rejoicing of all the *Malayans* that are preſent. Then they cut off his Head, and embalm it with Spice to keep; and they who can ſhew moſt of thoſe Heads, are accounted the moſt honourable, and value themſelves much upon it. The dead Body is left expoſed to the ravenous Birds of Prey to feed on. The *Dutch*, to retaliate this Uſage, when they take any of theſe *Malayans*, load them with many Irons, and lay them in Priſon, where they lie for ſome time; after which they cut off their Noſes and Ears, and then they are ſent to Priſon again, where they continue ſome further time; after which they are brought out the ſecond and laſt time, and then they rack them till they die. As for thoſe under their own Government, if they are found guilty of Thieving, they often cut off their Noſes and Ears, and put a great Iron Chain about their Legs, and ſo make them Slaves during Life. There were near 500 of theſe poor Wretches, who were in continual Slavery, whilſt we were here; and they always took care to keep them employed, ſome in ſawing of Timber, others in cutting of Stone, ſome in carrying Burdens, and other Labour. At Sun-riſing every Morning, they are let out of the Priſon in which they are kept, the Men in one, and the Women in another, and are immediately ſent to work, where they continue till twelve at Noon; at which time they return back, and have an Hour's time to dine. Their Dinner is always the ſame, being a Pint of coarſe Rice boiled for each Man. At one they are ſent to work again, where they continue till ſix in the Evening; at which time they are brought back, and go to Supper, which is always the ſame, both in Quantity and Quality, with their Dinner. Soon after they have ſupped, they are put into their Lodgings, and locked in, where they lie upon the bare Boards, and have ſeldom any thing but a large Piece of Wood, which commonly ſerves five or ſix of them for a Pillow. Sometimes theſe poor Wretches make ſhift to eſcape; but, if they are caught again, they are ſure to be ſeverely handled. There was one of theſe poor Slaves, a Woman, who had been harſhly uſed by the *Dutch*; and, having once made her Eſcape, and being taken again, ſhe, knowing how cruelly ſhe ſhould be uſed, cut her own Throat the Day before her appointed Puniſhment; after which, ſhe was, by the Hair, dragged out of the Priſon all round the Town, and then hung upon a Gibbet by her Feet, with her Head downwards; which is the common Puniſhment of any that are guilty of Self-murder. Such as are in Debt, and cannot ſatisfy their Creditors, are, by them, turned over to the Company, who ſend them to work among their Slaves. They have nothing allowed them but Rice and Water, as the other Slaves; only they have Two-pence a Day given them towards the Payment of their Debts, which avails but little; ſo that it is very ſeldom, if ever, that any one gets abroad, till he is carried out dead. But tho' the poor Natives are thus ſeverely handled, yet the *Dutch* themſelves will wink at each other's Faults; ſo that it is a great Rarity for any one of them to be puniſhed, unleſs it be for Murder. In any other Caſe, a ſmall Matter of Money will buy off a great Fault. The Women, that are Slaves to the Freemen, have all the Liberty that may be from their Maſters and Miſtreſſes; only they are obliged every Night to bring them a certain Acknowledgment, which is commonly about Sixpence, and to find their own Victuals, Cloaths, *&c.* in Default of which, they are ſeverely uſed. They may whore and ſteal, and all is well, if the daily Acknowledgment be but brought, and no Complaint be made againſt them. The chief of this Iſland's Products are Cloves, Ginger, Pepper, Rattans, Canes, and ſome few Nutmegs. The Clove-tree is not of a very great Body, but rather ſlender. It is in Height from twelve to thirty or forty Feet. The Branches are ſmall; the Leaves about five Inches long, and two broad, and end tapering. One of theſe Leaves, rubbed between the Fingers, will ſmell very ſtrong of Cloves; but, without rubbing, they have no Smell at all. The Cloves grow out at the Tip of the Branches, ten, twelve, or fourteen in a Cluſter. They are firſt white, then green, then of a dark-copper Colour, which is the Time of their being ripe. The Manner of gathering them is, to ſpread Cloths or Sheets round the Bottom of the Tree for a good Diſtance; then they ſhake the Tree, and all the Cloves that are throughly ripe, and fit to be gathered, fall down. The reſt, which are left upon the Tree, they ſuffer to remain for about ſix or ſeven Days; then they ſhake as many more of them off as are ripe, and will fall. This they do four or five times, till they are all down. The uſual Time of gathering of them is *October* and *February*. Thoſe which are ripe in *October*, are called the Winter Clove, this being the End of their Winter; and they are not accounted ſo good or ſtrong as the other. Theſe they commonly preſerve, and put up in ſmall Jars of about a Quart, of which they tranſport great Quantities to ſeveral Parts of the World. Thoſe which are ripe in *February*, are called the Summer Clove. Theſe are eſteemed much better and ſtronger than the former, becauſe they have the beſt Part of the Summer to ripen in; whereas the former have not above a Month's fair Weather, and all the reſt is rainy and cloudy; ſo that the Rays of the Sun cannot come to them. It is the common received Opinion, that Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, and Cinnamon, grow all upon one Tree; but it is a great Miſtake. Theſe Trees commonly bear ſixty, ſeventy, or eighty Pounds Weight at a time; and, every ſix Years, they are ſure to have a double Crop. There is a vaſt Number of thoſe Trees upon this Iſland, which are very carefully looked after, and a Regiſter kept of them in the Company's Books. They are numbered once a Year; and beyond a certain Number they will not let them increaſe, but cut them down, and deſtroy them, for fear of leſſening the Price. All theſe Trees belong to the *Dutch* Company, or their Freemen; but thoſe that belong to the Freemen, the Company ſets them an Allowance as to their Number; and, if any one brings up more than what the Company allows of, he is ſeverely fined, and his Trees forfeited; and whatſoever Cloves the Trees belonging to Freemen produce, the Freemen are obliged to ſell to the Company, after the Rate of Sixpence a Pound: So that, properly, all the Cloves in the Iſland are ingroſſed into the Company's Hands. And, if any Freeman, or other, ſells or conveys away to the Value of ten Pounds, all that he has in the World is forfeited to the Company, and he becomes a Slave during Life. The Inhabitants uſed formerly to cheat the *Dutch* in the Sale of their Cloves; for it was common with them to put their Cloves in a large Sheet, which they hung up by the four Corners, under the Cieling of their Houſe; and upon the Floor, immediately under the Cloves, they ſet a large Tub of freſh Water, which the Cloves, being very dry, and of an hot Nature, would, by degrees, draw up, and make a large Addition to their Weight, without being eaſily perceived. But now the *Dutch* are grown too cunning for them; for they always try them, by giving them a ſmall Filip with their Forefinger on the Head; and then, if the Clove be throughly ripe, and no Deceit has been uſed, the Head will break aſunder, like a Piece of thin brittle Glaſs; but, if it has been watered, then the Clove will be tough, and the whole Clove will ſooner bend, than the Head fly off. There are ſome few Nutmegs upon this Iſland, the Trees of which are much like the Peach; but they grow moſtly at the Iſland *Banda*, from whence two or three Ships Loads are exported every Year. The Fruit of this Tree conſiſts of four Parts: The firſt and outward Rind is like that of a green Walnut; the ſecond is dry and thin, which we call Mace; the third is a tough thin Shell, like that of a Cheſnut; and the fourth is the Kernel, included in the ſaid Shell, which we call Nutmeg. There are ſaid to be upon this Iſland ſome Mines of Gold. One of the *Malayans* ſhewed me ſome of the Ore, which, he told me, was taken out of them; but this was a great Crime, and, if the *Dutch* ſhould know it, he ſaid, he ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed; for this is an extraordinary Secret, which, as much as they can, they keep from all *Europeans*. Although, as I ſaid before, they can raiſe about five hundred and fifty fighting Men, upon occaſion, in this Iſland; yet once every Year they are forced to ſpare a great many of their People, which are ſent away upon other Buſineſs; for, commonly, on the 20th of *October*, each Year, eight or ten Days ſooner or later, the Governor of this Place goes his Progreſs, attended with about 75 Orambies, ſome with 100, ſome 80, ſome 50, and ſome 40 Paddles apiece, in each of which go two *Dutch* Soldiers. I reckon there may be in this whole Fleet, of *Dutch*, about 150, or 160, and about 5250 *Malayans*, reckoning 70 *Malayans* to each Oramby one with another. Theſe 75 Orambies are divided into three Squadrons, the firſt conſiſting of 20 Orambies; which Squadron is always commanded by one of the Council, who carries a yellow Flag. The Rear conſiſts of 20 more, and is commanded by the Fiſcal, who commonly carries a red Flag: The reſt are in the middle Squadron, and attend the Governor, who hath twelve *Dutch* Soldiers, a Corporal, and a Serjeant, for his Body-guard, and carries a blue Flag. The Governor carries with him the *Indian* King, and all their Princes, for fear they ſhould rebel in his Abſence. In this Order they go and victual the Eaſtern Iſlands, but eſpecially thoſe that do, or are capable of producing Cloves or Nutmegs; and, at every Iſland they go to, they have an additional Strength. The Time of their cruiſing in this manner is commonly ſix Weeks, during which they cut down, burn, and deſtroy, all the Clove and Nutmeg-trees they can find, except ſuch as are reſerved for the Company's Uſe; for all or moſt of theſe Iſlands do or would produce Cloves; but they will not ſuffer them, becauſe they have enough to ſupply all *Europe* at *Amboyna* alone; and even there alſo, as I ſaid before, they will permit but a certain Number, leſt too great Plenty of them ſhould lower the Price. Upon all theſe Iſlands the *Dutch* Company keep Soldiers, three, ſix, nine, or twelve, according as they are in Bigneſs, whoſe only Buſineſs it is to ſee the Trees cut down, or, at leaſt, to take care, that they do not increaſe; for they are very jealous, leſt the *Engliſh* or *French* ſhould ſerve them ſuch a Trick as they themſelves ſerved the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*. During the time of their cruiſing, they gather Tribute from all the petty Kings and Princes of theſe Iſlands; and commonly, at the End of about ſix Weeks, return again. Of Beaſts, here are Beeves, Hogs, wild Deer, *&c.* Of Fowls, here are ſeveral Sorts, the Crocadore, the Caſſawaris, the Bird of Paradiſe, *&c.* The Crocadore is a Bird of various Sizes, ſome being as big as Hens, and others no bigger than Pigeons: They are in all Parts exactly alike; their Feathers are all over white, excepting only a Bunch upon their Head, which is always either yellow or red. The Bunch of Feathers lies ſo cloſe, fitted into a Dent in the Head, that they cannot be perceived, unleſs when the Bird is frighted, and then he ſets it up an-end, and it ſpreads open like a Fan. The Fleſh and Legs of this Bird are very black, and they ſmell very ſweet. When they fly wild up and down the Woods, they cry *Crocadore*, *Crocadore*; for which Reaſon they go by that Name. The Caſſawaris is about the Bigneſs of a large *Virginia* Turky; his Head is the ſame as a Turky's, and he has a long, ſtiff, hairy Beard upon his Breaſt before, like a Turky; he hath two great Legs, almoſt as thick as a Man's Wriſt, with five great Claws upon each Foot; he has an high round Back, and, inſtead of Feathers, only long Hairs, and the ſame upon the Pinions of his Wings. It lays an Egg ſo big, that it will hold a Pint; the Shell is pretty thick, ſpotted with green and white, and looks exactly like China-ware. I never taſted the Eggs, but the Bird itſelf is extraordinary good Victuals, as I have tried ſeveral times: It taſtes very like a Turky, but much ſtronger. The Birds of Paradiſe are about the Bigneſs of Pigeons; they are of various Colours, and are never found or ſeen alive, neither is it known from whence they come. I have ſeen ſeveral of them here embalmed with Spice, which preſerves them from Decay; and, ſo embalmed, they are ſent as Rarities to ſeveral Parts of the World. It is related of theſe Birds, that when the Nutmegs are ripe, which is in the Months of *February* and *March*, they reſort to the Places where they grow, *viz.* to *Banda*, and this Iſland, and eat off the outer Rind of the Nut; after which, they fall down dead-drunk, and an innumerable Company of Ants gather about them, feed upon them, and kill them. Of Fiſh, here are alſo ſeveral Sorts; but the moſt noted is the Sea Porcupine: It is in Length about three Feet, and two Feet and an half round. It has a very large Eye, with two Fins on his Back, and one large one on each Side, near his Gills. It is very full of ſharp-pointed Quills; and, from thence, is called the Sea Porcupine. This Iſland of *Amboyna* is all over ſandy, but the Water is ſo deep, that there is no anchoring near it, but at the Ley (which is at the Weſt End of the Iſland) in forty Fathom Water, cloſe to the Shore, and in the common Harbour. This Harbour runs up a great Way into the Iſland, and almoſt divides it into two, ſo that they are, in a manner, two Iſlands, being only joined by a ſmall Neck of Land, ſo narrow, that the *Malayans* often hale their Canoes over. At the Entrance into the Harbour on the Eaſt Side, there is a ſmall Fortification of about ſix Guns; and, cloſe to it, is twenty Fathom Water; and, about a League farther up, is the Harbour for Ships, where they lie under the Command of their great Caſtle; which, ever ſince the Maſſacre of the *Engliſh*, has been called the Caſtle *Victoria*. About two Miles further to the North-eaſt, within the Harbour, is the Place where formerly our *Engliſh* Factory was ſettled; and near it is ſaid to be the Hole into which the *Engliſh* were thrown, after they had been maſſacred by the *Dutch*. There were few of us now here but expected the ſame Fate; and ſome of the Inhabitants were no way ſhy to tell us, that the Journal, which was ſent in the *Dutch* Ships that we met going out from hence for *Batavia*, was our Protection; for they were ſenſible, that, upon thoſe Ships Arrival at *Batavia*, it would be preſently known, that a Part of Captain *Dampier*'s Company was arrived at *Amboyna*, and from thence it would ſpread all over *India*; and ſo they knew, if we fared otherwiſe than well, we ſhould be inquired after. A little to the Eaſtward of this Iſland are ſeveral other ſmall Iſlands; the moſt noted and biggeſt of which are *Boangbeſſay* and *Hinomſa*; they lie Eaſt from *Amboyna*, at a ſmall Diſtance: They are of an indifferent Height, and not above a third Part ſo big as the Iſland of *Amboyna*; they are both pretty well fortified, and produce Store of Cloves: But the *Chineſe* Place for Nutmegs is the Iſland of *Banda*, which alſo belongs to the *Dutch*. It lies in the Latitude of 40° 20′ South, and bears from *Amboyna* Eaſt South-eaſt, Diſtance 28 Leagues. The Iſland is ſaid to be in form of a Man's Foot and Leg, and to be pretty well fortified; and, as it has the ſame Reputation for Nutmegs as *Amboyna* for Cloves, the Governor of *Amboyna* is reckoned the chief Governor of all thoſe Spice Iſlands, even to *Ternate* and *Tidore*, which are alſo Spice Iſlands, in Poſſeſſion of the *Dutch*, and lie about forty Miles to the Northward of the Equator. Whilſt we were at this Iſland of *Amboyna*, we were ſo much troubled with Muſkitoes, (which are a ſort of Gnats) that every Night we were forced to put ourſelves in a Bag before we could go to ſleep; for otherwiſe thoſe Creatures would ſo bite us, that there was no getting Reſt; and where-ever they bit, they commonly raiſed a red Bliſter, almoſt as broad as a Silver Peny, itching very much; and many cannot forbear ſcratching themſelves, ſo as to cauſe Inflammations, which ſometimes occaſion the Loſs of a Limb. During our Stay here, we had the Liberty of a broad paved Yard, about ſixty Yards ſquare; but they would by no means let us go out into the Town, being very jealous of us, and deſirous to prevent our knowing their Strength, or making any other Diſcoveries, which they thought might be prejudicial to them. Here we remained from *May* 31. to *September* 14. 1705. at which time there being three of the Company's Sloops ready to ſail hence, laden with Cloves, twenty-five of our Men were ſent away with them for *Batavia*, and ten of us left behind, who were, as they ſaid, to go in another Veſſel, which was almoſt ready to ſail. On *September* 27. a *Malayan* Man was brought in here at *Amboyna* to the Stadt-houſe, to be tried for his Life: He was accuſed, by his own Wife, for murdering his Slave: The Slave had been dead about ſix Months, and ſhe had concealed it; but, happening to fall out with her Huſband, ſhe went before the Fiſcal, in the Heat of her Anger, and declared it: So her Huſband was put in Priſon, and the Corps of the dead Slave dug up; but, it being conſumed and rotten, no Marks of Violence could be perceived upon it; and it was generally believed, that the Man's Wife accuſed him wrongfully: He was upon his Trial when the Earthquake happened, at which time I obſerved, that it is a common Error to ſuppoſe, that, during an Earthquake, it is always calm; for we had a fine freſh Gale at South South-weſt, both Days on which the Earthquake happened. This Earthquake made all the Court break up, being in fear the Houſe ſhould fall on their Heads: So the Man was committed to Priſon again; and the next Day, being *September* 28. about eleven at Noon, the Court being ſet again, the Man was again brought to his Trial; when, in about a Quarter of an Hour, when his Wife was in her greateſt Violence againſt him, the Earth ſhook very much again, and cauſed them all to break up a ſecond time. The ſame Day myſelf, with four more of our Men, were ſent on board a *Chineſe* Sloop for *Batavia*: The other five of our Men, which were left behind, they promiſed ſhould be ſent after us in a ſhort time; yet we never heard of them ſince: But whether they languiſhed out their Days in Confinement, found ſome quicker Period to their Miſeries, or were detained in the *Dutch* Service during Life, are Points that will not be ſpeedily cleared up, ſince our Government has never thought fit to inquire after, or demand them.

32. After we had left *Amboyna*, we ſailed South-weſt by Weſt, till we came to the Iſland of *Lancas*, which lies in the Latitude of 5° 27′ South; and I make its meridian Diſtance from *Amboyna* 2° 35′ Weſt, or 155 Miles. We then ſteered Weſt by North, till we made the two Iſlands *Cabeſes*; where, it falling calm, we ſent our Boat aſhore on the Eaſtermoſt, and cut down ſome hundred of Cocoa-nuts, which were brought on board. This Eaſtern Iſland of *Cabeſes* is low, not inhabited, but full of Cocoa-nut-trees, which are planted here for the Uſe of ſuch *Dutch* Ships and Veſſels as paſs by for *Batavia*; for it is a ſort of Miracle, to ſee any *European* Ship here except the *Dutch*. Off this Iſland we met our Bark, which had brought us from *America* to *Amboyna*; the *Dutch*, after they had taken her from us, had fitted her up, put a Mizen-maſt in, and made a very good Veſſel of her. This Iſland lies in the Latitude of 5° 23′ South, and nearly Weſt by North from the Iſland *Lancas*, diſtant about forty-five Miles; it is Shole two Miles from the Shore. To the South-weſt of this lies the other Iſland of *Cabeſes*, which is a pretty high Iſland, and upon it the *Dutch* always keep a Corporal and ſix Soldiers, who, two or three times a Year, go round the Iſland, to ſee that no Cloves are planted; and if there be, they cut them down and burn them, for fear any other Nation ſhould take it from them; which if they ſhould, I am apt to believe *Amboyna* would be of little Uſe to them, Cloves being the only Product that is valuable upon it. We paſſed next by the South End of the Iſland *Bouton*, which is a pretty large Place, in the Latitude of 5° 45 South. We ſteered Weſtward from hence, paſſing between the Iſland *Cebeles* and the Iſland *Zalayer*. The South Part of the Iſland *Celebes* is very high Land: It is very well inhabited, and is a very large Iſland, taking up ſeven Degrees in Latitude. At the South End of this Iſland, on the Weſt Side, the *Dutch* have a Factory called *Macaſſar*, where they have a Fort of about ſeventy Guns, manned with ſix or ſeven hundred *Dutch* Soldiers. The chief Product of the Place is Rice, with which they ſupply all or moſt of their Eaſtern Iſlands. Here are alſo ſaid to be ſeveral Gold Mines, of which the *Dutch* are not yet Maſters; for the Inhabitants are often at War with the *Dutch*, and have kept them hitherto from thoſe Places. There lie between the South End of this Iſland *Celebes*, and the Iſland of *Zalayer*, three low ſmall Iſles; and the very beſt Paſſage is that which lies between the Iſland next to *Zalayer*, and another very little one which lies to the Northward. This is called the ſecond Paſſage, and the firſt, third, and fourth of theſe Paſſages are exceedingly dangerous, ſo that Ships generally avoid them if it be poſſible.

33. I ſhould willingly give an Account of every Iſland I mention, if it was in my Power; but, as it is not, the Reader muſt be ſatisfied with what I can ſay without Injury to Truth. This Iſland of *Zalayer* is of a moderate Height; it is inhabited by *Malayans*, and planted all round with Cocoa-nut-trees. The Inhabitants are forced yearly to ſend Store of Oil and Match to the *Dutch* at *Macaſſar*, by way of Tribute. From hence we ſteered Weſt by North, till we had paſſed a dangerous Shole, called the *Brill*, and then we haled up South-weſt; and, in the Night, ſaw a ſmall Iſland juſt by us, which finding we could not weather, we tacked and ſtood the other Way till Day-light; and then, finding ourſelves to the Southward of the ſaid Iſland, we tacked and ſtood to the South-weſtward, and ſoon after ſaw two other low ſmall Iſlands, bearing from the North to the North-weſt. We could ſee the Ground very plain for about two Miles, and never had above ſix, or under five Fathom Water, though it looked as if there was not above two Fathom: We came over this Shole about a League to the Southward of theſe two ſmall Iſlands; and this is accounted the narroweſt Shole; for, further to the Southward, it is five or ſix Leagues over; but there alſo is no Danger, becauſe you have very even Soundings, as five or ſix Fathom, ſeldom over or under. But to the Northward of theſe two Iſlands it is very dangerous, it being all very foul rocky Ground, and in ſome Places not above four or five Feet Water. Therefore go to the Southward of theſe

Iſlands, and you will be ſafe: Although the *Dutch*, in their Maps, have laid down the Dangers to the Southward, which ſhould have been laid down to the Northward of thoſe two Iſles; and the ſafe Sholes, which we and they always go over, they have laid down to the Northward of thoſe two Iſlands, whereas we and they always went over to the Southward of them. We had a Draught on board belonging to the Captain of the Veſſel, which ſhewed all this very exactly as we found it: I compared it with ſeveral others which were on board, and found a great deal of Difference: I asked the Captain the Reaſon of their Difference; and he told me, that the *Hollanders* knew all the Sholes and dangerous Places hereabouts very well; but did not deſire any body elſe ſhould know them; ſo that, if any Foreigner ſhould come into thoſe Parts amongſt theſe Sholes, and ſail by their Draughts, they might unexpectedly be amongſt Rocks and Sholes, where they would certainly loſe their Ship, as we had done, if we had ſail'd by the common Draughts, it being the *Dutch* Policy to keep all Ships, belonging to the *Engliſh* or *French*, as far off theſe Iſlands as they can; or, at leaſt, if they come amongſt them, and happen into their Hands, as we did, they take care to ſend them away, and let them know as little of them as may be. How far the *Dutch* may be able to juſtify ſuch a Method of acting, from the Conduct of other Nations, where they conceive either their Safety or Intereſt as nearly concerned, I cannot take upon me to determine: But this, I think, is very plain, that Mankind in general ſuffer by all theſe narrow Schemes of Thinking, which undoubtedly contribute to the keeping us in Ignorance of thoſe Parts of the World, which the Divine Providence never meant to conceal. If, in private Life the Welfare of the Family ought to be preferred to the Caprice, and even to the Intereſt, of any ſingle Perſon; if, from the juſt Maxims of Policy, the Good of Society ought always to take place of private Intereſt; then, methinks, the ſame Method of Reaſoning ſhould have Force with regard to the Concerns of a Company, and even of a whole Nation, when they interfere with the common Good of Mankind. It may be thought a little enthuſiaſtic, but, I muſt confeſs, it has been always my private Opinion, that, as all theſe great Diſcoveries have been made, not only ſince the Chriſtian Diſpenſation took place, but ſince the fundamental Doctrines of Chriſtianity have been ſet free from the Errors of Superſtition, it looks as if the Almighty deſigned, that all the inhabited Parts of the Globe ſhould have an Opportunity afforded them of embracing ſo excellent a Rule of Life; and therefore I perſuade myſelf, that all the Attempts made to limit or prevent this, are not only impious in their Nature, but will likewiſe be found impracticable in the End. To ſeek new Countries for the ſake of ſpoiling them of their Wealth, or making Slaves of the People who dwell in them, is a Deſign ſo baſe and barbarous, that no Nation certainly will avow it; but to aim at the Diſcovery of Countries hitherto unknown, in order to employ our Poor at home, and to extend the Bleſſings we poſſeſs to the moſt diſtant and diſtreſſed People in the Univerſe, is a great and good Deſign; and ſeems ſo exactly to coincide with the Views of Providence, that I think the Nation can ſcarce fail of becoming rich, happy, and glorious, that purſues it with a Spirit worthy of ſo noble, generous, and humane an Undertaking.

34. On *October* 21. 1705. we entered the Harbour of *Batavia*; and, as ſoon as we landed, we were ſent to the reſt of our Men, who were ſtill in Cuſtody. A little after, the Major of the Caſtle was ſent to us, and deſired we would tranſmit the General, by him, an Account of our Loſſes, which we received by our being taken at *Amboyna*; and that we ſhould be ſatisfied on all Accounts as to our Effects, Loſs of Time, and Impriſonment. Accordingly, we each of us drew up an Account of our Loſſes, and ſent it by the Major to the General, who returned us for Anſwer, that very ſpeedily we ſhould have our Freedom. On *October* 27. we were all ſent for to the Fort, and moſt of our ready Money was returned to us again; but for our Goods, Loſs of Time, and Impriſonment, we could have no Satiſfaction; only the General told us, he had given us all that the Governor of *Amboyna* had ſent to him; and that, if there was any thing more, he knew nothing of it; and that we were now at our Liberty to go whither we pleaſed. We deſired, that, ſince our Veſſel was taken from us by the Company, he would be pleaſed to take care to find us ſome Ship, in which we might return home; which he promiſed he would. We were forced to be content, and went and took Lodging in the Town, till we could meet with an Opportunity of returning home. In the Space of about ſeven Weeks that I remained here, I made all the Obſervations I could on the Place, and its Inhabitants. The former I found in as good Condition as it was poſſible, and the latter appeared to me as prudent and induſtrious a People as ever I ſaw; but the Deſcriptions that have been already publiſhed of both are ſo exact, as to render it unneceſſary for me to trouble the World with my Collections. I ſhall content myſelf, therefore, with making a very ſhort Deſcription of the Place, as I think it neceſſary to render my Work all of a Piece; and ſhall refer the curious Reader, for further Satisfaction, to the large Accounts that have been publiſhed by *Dutch*, *French*, and *Engliſh* Writers; but eſpecially the firſt, who are equally capable and willing to repreſent it fairly.

35. This City of *Batavia* is the chief Place the *Dutch* have in *India*, receiving, by Shipping, the Product of *India*, *Japan*, and *China*. It is inhabited by ſeveral ſorts of People, as *Dutch*, *Portugueſe*, *Chineſe*, *Perſians*, and Negroes; but the *Malayans* are the Natives: The *Dutch* are Maſters of the Place, and have a very fine large Town, in which are ſeven Churches, *Dutch*, *Portugueſe*, *Malays*, and *Chineſe*, with ſeveral very ſpacious Houſes, built after the *European* manner: The Town is all walled and moted round; and the Walls are abundantly provided with Cannon. In the Middle of the Town, in a great ſquare Place, is a very fine Stadt-houſe, where all public Affairs are tranſacted. The Town, with all the Fortifications, is commonly governed by one of the States of *Holland*, who has the Title of General of *India*, and all other Governors are ſubordinate to him. The Inhabitants here do not care how often they change their General; for, at the coming of a new one, all Priſoners are releaſed, except ſuch as have committed Murder. He has twelve to aſſiſt him, who have always the Title of Rads, or Lords of *India*: Theſe are ſuch as have been formerly chief Governors in ſeveral Places in *India*, as of *Ceylon*, *Amboyna*, *Malacca*, &c. The Town is divided by Canals, over which, almoſt in every Street, there are Bridges laid, and Boombs to hale acroſs, which let no Boats go in or out after Sun-ſet. The chief Produce of the Place is Pepper, of which the *Dutch* yearly export great Quantities: Here are alſo ſome few Diamonds, and other Precious Stones. Of Fruits here are Plantains, Bananas, Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Mangaſtans, and Rumboſtans. The Mangaſtan is about the Bigneſs of a Golden-runnet; it is quite round, and looks like a ſmall Pomegranate. The outſide Rind is like that of a Pomegranate, only of a darker Colour; but the Inſide of the Rind is of a fine Red; within this Rind is the Fruit, which is of a fine White, and lies in Cloves almoſt like Garlick; there are commonly four or five Cloves in each, and they are very ſoft and juicy; within the Clove is a ſmall black Stone. We commonly ſuck the Fruit from the Stone, and the Fruit is very delicious; the Stone we throw away, being very bitter, if chewed. The Rumboſtan is about the Bigneſs of a Walnut, when the green Peel is off. It is alſo pretty near the Shape of a Walnut, and hath a thick tough outer Rind, which is of a deep Red, full of little Knobs of the ſame Colour; within the Rind is the Fruit, which is quite white, and looks almoſt like a Jelly; and within the Fruit is a large Stone; it is very delicate, and though a Man eat ever ſo much, yet it never does him any Harm, provided he ſwallows the Stones as well as the Fruit; but otherwiſe they are ſaid to cauſe Fevers. The Iſland of *Java*, on the North Side of which *Batavia* ſtands, is in Length, from Eaſt to Weſt, about ten Degrees. The Wind and Weather is extremely regular at *Batavia*, and the *Dutch* Inhabitants know how to make uſe of it at all Seaſons to the beſt Advantage. In the Eaſtern Monſoon the Land-winds are at South-eaſt, ſometimes more Southerly; and the Sea-winds at North-eaſt fine pleaſant Gales. This Eaſterly Monſoon is accounted the good Monſoon, it being fine fair clear Weather, beginning in *April*, and

ending in *October*; but the Weſterly Monſoon is called the bad Monſoon, being rainy and bluſtering Weather, with much Thunder and Lightning, eſpecially in *December*, *January*, and *February*. This bad Monſoon begins in *November*, and ends in *Marth*, or the Beginning of *April*. In it the Land-winds are at Weſt South-weſt, and South-weſt; and the Sea-winds at North-weſt, and Weſt North-weſt. The Anchor-ground, all along the North Side of *Java*, from the Iſland *Madura* to *Batavia*, is fine ouſy Ground, and clear of Rocks. The principal Places on this Side of the Iſland are *Batavia*, *Bantam*, *Japara*, *Samarang*, *Surabon*, *Taggall*, the *Quale*, and *Rambang*; all theſe Places are ſettled by the *Dutch*: They afford Rice, with which they ſupply all their Out-factories hereabouts, as alſo very good Plank for building Ships with. The chief Place for building is *Rambang*, whither the Freemen go to build their ſmall Veſſels, as Sloops and Brigantines; alſo ſeveral Ships of five, ſix, or ſeven hundred Tons, lade with Timber at *Rambang*, the *Quale*, *Japara*, &c. and each Ship, when full, taketh a great Raft of the largeſt of the Timber in a Tow to *Batavia*: Some of theſe Rafts are ſaid to be thirty Feet ſquare, and to draw twenty-two Feet Water: There are commonly ſix of theſe Ships, which are thus laden with Timber; and they commonly make four Voyages in the good Monſoon; for in the bad they cannot do any thing. All this Timber is commonly landed upon a ſmall Iſland, between four and five Leagues from *Batavia*, where the Ship-carpenters are uſually kept at Work; nay, they are ſaid to be never out of Employ; they are about 200 in Number; and the Iſland is called *Unreſt*, or *Onruſt*. The *Dutch* careen their Ships here; and it is very well fortified, being (to uſe a Sea Phraſe) all round a Bed of Guns.

36. We had Notice given us on *September* 2. that all of us who deſired to return to *England*, ſhould go immediately on board the *Dutch Eaſt India* Fleet; which accordingly we did, and ſailed the next Day. This Fleet conſiſted of twelve Sail, as well provided in every reſpect as any Ships I ever ſaw; and we made the Voyage in as good Order, arriving on *February* 3. 1706. at the Cape of *Good Hope*. The *Dutch* have here a ſtrong Fortreſs; and, about half a Mile Diſtance from thence, a very fine Town, conſiſting of a ſmall Church, and 150 Houſes. The Land in the Neighbourhood is very high, and moſt of the Mountains are barren, producing only a few Shrubs. The Country within is full of Lions, Tygers, Elephants, and other wild Beaſts, which give the People, who are ſettled here, great Diſturbance. It is for this Reaſon, that the Government has found it neceſſary to promiſe to any one who kills a Lion fifty-two Guilders, which amounts to four Pounds ſix Shillings and Eight-pence; and for killing a Tyger, he has a Reward of twenty-four Guilders, or forty Shillings: There was a *Scotchman*, while we were here, who killed four Lions, three Tygers, and three wild Elephants; for which he had his Reward accordingly, to the aforeſaid Proportion. This Country produces ſeveral ſorts of Fruits, common, and not common, with us in *Europe*, as Pomgranates, Water-melons, Cheſnuts, with ſome Plantains and Bananas; and great Plenty of very good Grapes, of which the *Dutch* make a very pretty pleaſant Wine, called Cape Wine, in great Quantities, which, by Retale, is commonly ſold at Eight-pence a Quart. It produces likewiſe plenty of Garden-fruit, which is very refreſhing to thoſe that arrive here ſick of the Scurvy: Here are alſo abundance of Sheep, very large, and, I think, as good Meat as ever I eat. Of Fowls here are ſeveral ſorts, but the moſt remarkable is the Oſtrich, which is a very large Fowl: The Bird itſelf is little valuable, but its Feathers are ſent as Rarities to ſeveral Parts of the World: Their Eggs are very good Meat, as I have experienced many times. That theſe Birds feed upon Iron, Stones, or any thing that chances to be near them, is fabulous; but, like a great many other Fowls, they pick up ſmall Stones, which only ſerve to digeſt their proper Food; they are of ſeveral Colours, as black, white, *&c.* The moſt remarkable amphibious Animal here is the Seal, or, as the *Dutch* call it, the Sea Hound: They are the ſame as thoſe before ſpoken of at the Iſland *Juan Fernandez*; only the Fur of theſe is not ſo fine. In this Harbour, on the South Side, are two high Mountains; the one called the *Table Land*, which is pretty plain and even at the Top, and the other called the *Sugar-loaf* from its Shape; at the Top of this Sugar-loaf the *Dutch* have a ſmall Houſe, and four Guns mounted: Here they always keep a good Look-out; and at the Approach of any Ship or Ships, hoiſt a Flag, and fire as many Guns as they ſee Ships, to give notice to thoſe at the Town. It is not eaſy to gueſs what the Reaſons were, which induced the *Engliſh* to part with their Property in this Place, which is of ſuch mighty Conſequence to the *Dutch*, and which might have been made ſo advantageous to themſelves: To ſpeak the Truth, the *Dutch* are very civil and complaiſant here; and, except their not permitting us to travel up into the Country, which might have produced more Knowledge of it, than perhaps would have been convenient for them, they indulged us in every thing we could aſk, and furniſhed us with Proviſions of all kinds, extremely good, and at very reaſonable Rates. It is impoſſible to leave this Place, without making a few Reflections on the Conduct of the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, with reſpect to their Policy, in providing Places of Refreſhment for their Ships in their Paſſage to the *Indies*. Both have found the Neceſſity of having ſuch Places, and, by an unaccountable Accident, have exchanged the Places of which they are poſſeſſed: The *Engliſh* have the Iſland of *St. Helena*, lying in the Latitude of 16° South, and 22° Longitude Weſt from the Cape of *Good Hope*. This Iſland was firſt diſcovered by the *Portugueſe*, who put ſome Goats and Swine on Shore there, the Breed of which ſtill continues, and the Place is very plentifully ſtocked with them. The *Dutch* inhabited here firſt, but afterwards thought fit to quit it; and then we took Poſſeſſion of it, from whom the *Dutch* took it again, but were ſoon diſpoſſeſſed of it, and we have enjoyed it peaceably ever ſince. This Iſland is about nine or ten Leagues in Length, not quite ſo much in Breadth, and above 300 Leagues from the Continent of *Africa*: Next the Sea it is almoſt every-where encompaſſed with high Rocks, which hinder the Approach, there being but one Place for landing; and within there are many Mountains, but moſt of them covered with wholſome Herbs and Plants; and the Valleys are ſo fruitful, that they produce whatſoever is brought from other Parts, and planted in great Perfection. It would be certainly one of the moſt delightful Spots upon the Globe, and afford the pleaſanteſt Living, if it was ſomewhat larger, nearer ſome Continent, or more frequented, than it is at preſent. The Air is wonderfully wholſome, the freſh Water excellent, the Fruits in the higheſt Perfection, and the Sea abounding with Fiſh. The only Misfortune there is, flows from the want of Induſtry in cultivating theſe Advantages, and correcting ſuch Inconveniencies as fall within the Power of Man to remedy. The *Dutch*, when they took Poſſeſſion of the Cape of *Good Hope*, found it the moſt barren deſpicable Spot that was ever ſeen, or indeed could be well imagined; yet, perceiving the Importance of it, they reſolved to ſettle there, and improve it, coſt what it would: In this they met with many Difficulties; but they were reſolved not to be diſcouraged; and, by perſevering, they have rendered it, in all reſpects, the fineſt Settlement in the World, and have proved many ſettled Points in Planting-policy to be abſolutely falſe; of which I ſhall inſtance one, and that is, the making Wine, which has been over and over declared a thing impracticable in that Climate; but they have now great Plenty both of Red and White, but eſpecially of the latter, which, after two Years keeping, is very juſtly eſteemed preferable to the fineſt Canary. The Induſtry of the *Dutch*, and their great Succeſs in their Improvements, invites our Ships, as well as theirs, to the Cape of *Good Hope*; and this is the principal Reaſon why we do not make all thoſe Advantages of *St. Helena*, of which the Place is capable. This, at the ſame time, ſhews the different Genius of the two Nations; for, if the Cape had been ever ſo long in our Poſſeſſion, there is great Reaſon to doubt, whether we ſhould have made any ſuch Improvements; as, on the other hand, if the *Dutch* could have kept *St. Helena*, after they took it from us in 1673, it is probable they would have made it another ſort of Place than it now is; and not have ſuffered the Inhabitants to want Bread, merely from their not having Power to deſtroy the Rats that breed in the Rocks, and from thence ſally out in ſuch

Numbers, as to deſtroy the Kitchen-gardens belonging to their Plantations: I ſay, they would hardly have ſuffered this, conſidering one Advantage that *St. Helena* has, not only beyond the Cape, but even beyond any other Settlement; which is, that, as it is at preſent fortified, it may be juſtly accounted impregnable, though there ſhould be but a very moderate Garriſon to defend it. But enough of this: Let us now return to the Voyage which gave Occaſion to theſe Reflections.

37. We were now to continue our Voyage to *Europe* in the *Eaſt India* Fleet; and it was impoſſible to ſee, without Surprize and Satisfaction, the Care taken of their Trade by the Government eſtabliſhed here. It would take up much more Room than we have to ſpare, to enumerate the many Inſtances that might be given of the *Dutch* Prudence in this reſpect. One, however, ſhall ſuffice. The *Eaſt India* Company's Admiral not only hoiſts his Flag in Company with the Men of War belonging to the States, but his Signals alſo are obeyed by thoſe Men of War as chearfully as if he was Admiral of their own Fleet. Hence proceeds that Regularity that is obſerved in all their Voyages to and from the *Eaſt Indies*, when theſe Squadrons ſail with as much Harmony, in every reſpect, as if it was compoſed intirely of Ships of War; which is the Reaſon that our Ships, eſpecially in a Time of War, are content to make ſome Stay at the Cape of *Good Hope*, in order to have the Opportunity of coming home with them. It is alſo very ſurpriſing, to ſee how great an Effect the Example of the *Dutch* has upon our Countrymen, who become, in every reſpect, as regular, and as attentive to Signal, as They are; ſo that very rarely any Accidents happen to the Ships of either Nation, when they ſail thus in Company. We had an Opportunity of obſerving this during the Time of our Voyage to and from the Cape, where we were excellently provided with every thing requiſite for our Voyage, on which we proceeded on the 24th of *March*, with a freſh Gale of Wind at South-eaſt; and went out between *Penguin* Iſland and the Main-land, having the Main on the Starboard-ſide, and the Iſland on the Larboard. This is a pretty low ſandy Iſland; in the Middle of which, upon the higheſt Part of it, they have a few Guns mounted, and near them a Flag-ſtaff, on which, at the Approach of any Ship, they hoiſt a Flag, and Fire a Gun, to give Notice to the Town. This Iſland takes it Name from a vaſt Number of Birds, called Penguins, which commonly reſort near it. Theſe Birds are about the Bigneſs of a wild Duck; they do not fly, but flutter, having no Wings, but Stumps only, like young Ducks, and theſe Stumps ſerve them for Fins in the Water. They have a ſharp Bill, but Feet like a Duck, and their Fleſh but indifferent Food. This Kind of Fowl is not ſo large here as in the Streights of *Magellan*, nor ſo good; however, more Uſe would be made of them, if the *Dutch* Ships were not always ſo well provided when they ſail from the Cape, that the Seamen do not find themſelves under any Temptation to take up with rank or diſagreeable Food: And this may be one Reaſon, why they are, generally ſpeaking, pretty free from Diſeaſes; one Effect, among many, of their ſtrict Diſcipline, of which they ſtand in need as much as the Sailors of any Country, being extremely fond of ſtrong Liquors, and very abuſive when intoxicated with them; and, therefore, their Officers are very commendably careful in their Endeavours to prevent it, which they never omit. We were now twenty-four Sail of us, *viz.* nine *Engliſh*, and fifteen *Dutch*; and the Gale continuing, ſoon carried us to the true Trade. We met with nothing material till the 10th of *April* 1706. when two of the *Engliſh* Ships, ſailing very heavily, fell a-ſtern, and loſt our Company: They put into *St. Helena*, and, as we afterwards heard, were taken out of the Road by the *French*. On the 11th, we had 25 Hogs killed for the Ship's Company, and the Commodore ordered an Hog to a Meſs, that is, to every ſeven Men, to diſpoſe of as we pleaſed, beſides our daily Allowance, ſo that we had more Victuals than we could tell what to do with. On the 15th, a Man being barbarouſly murdered on board the *Dutch* Vice-admiral, the Murderer was brought on board our Ship, and tried for his Life, and the ſame Day condemned to die. He owned the Murder, and deſired the Favour of the Court, that he might chuſe his own Death, which was granted; and he choſe to be ſhot; which the next Day was accordingly done, all the Fleet lying by till his Death, and then we all made Sail again. On the 17th, we ſaw the Iſland of *Aſcenſion*, but did not touch here for Turtle, although it was their Laying-time: The Reaſon was, becauſe we were ſo well ſupplied with Proviſions at the Cape, that we had no Occaſion for more; and the *Engliſh* Ships being willing to keep us Company, they alſo did not touch here. On the 19th, we had fine fair Weather, with a freſh Gale at South-eaſt: About eleven this Morning happened a great Earthquake; at firſt it ſeemed as if the Ship ran along upon the Ground: So we heaved out a Lead on each Side, with two hundred Fathom of Line, but found no Ground. The whole Fleet felt the Shock at the ſame time, ſo that for half a Quarter of an Hour there was nothing but making of Signals, and firing of Guns. We then reckoned the Iſland of *Aſcenſion* to bear South-eaſt, diſtant about forty Leagues. We ſteered thence to the North-weſt, and had ſoon an Opportunity of obſerving the great Advantage reſulting from our imitating the Regularity of the *Dutch*: When I ſay this, I mean it of the *Engliſh* Ships in Company, which had quitted their Deſign of bearing up for the Iſland of *Aſcenſion*, in order to remain with the Fleet.

38. On the 14th of *June*, we ſaw four Sail of *French* Privateers, which were waiting there for our homeward-bound Ships: They came up, and looked on us; but thought it not adviſeable to make any Attempt, and ſoon bore away. On the 30th, we found ourſelves in the Latitude of 62° 40′ North, which was the furtheſt Northward that I ever was; and I could not but take notice of the Difference of Cold in this Place, and in 60° of Southern Latitude; for there we had continual Showers of Snow or Hail, and the Weather very cold; whereas here, on the contrary, we found the Weather very fair and moderate: The Reaſon of which, I ſuppoſe, was this; when we were to the Southward, we were always pretty near to the Main of *America*, having it to the Weſt of us; likewiſe, when we were to the Northward, we were always pretty near the Main-land of *Europe*, having it to the Eaſt of us. Now, being near the Land, we always account the Land-winds the coldeſt, and the Sea-winds the warmeſt. Thus the North-eaſterly Wind is accounted the coldeſt Wind we have in *England*, *Holland*, &c. but in the ſame Latitude North, near the Coaſt of *America*, the North-weſt Wind is commonly accounted the coldeſt; and, in the ſame Height of South Latitude, on the Coaſt of *America*, the South-weſt Wind is the coldeſt; as, near the Cape of *Good Hope*, the South-eaſt Wind is the coldeſt. Now, the Weſterly Winds, at ſuch a Height, both in North and South Latitude, having generally the Predominancy over the Eaſterly, very much alter the Degrees of the Heat or Cold of the Weather; for which Reaſon, in the South Part of *America*, the Weſterly Wind cauſed cold Weather; but, to the Northward, the Weſterly Wind cauſed warm Weather; and, as the Eaſterly Wind, being near the *European* Shore, is the coldeſt, ſo, being near the *American* Shore, in the ſame Height of Southern Latitude, the Weſterly Wind is the coldeſt. Theſe Obſervations are of very great Uſe to Seamen, and eſpecially to Commanders, becauſe they enable them to gueſs what Weather they are to expect on any Coaſt, and even to have a tolerable Foreſight of what may happen in Voyages for Diſcovery; the Appearance of which Foreſight in the Commander is of infinite Conſequence to encourage the private Men, who obey with the greateſt Chearfulneſs, and undertake, with the greateſt Alacrity, whatever they are commanded, by a Man, of whoſe Judgment they have a good Opinion, and of whoſe Skill they have had frequent Experience; whereas the leaſt Diffidence in a Commander ſinks the Courage of his Sailors, doubles the Fear of every Danger, and becomes an Occaſion for future Suſpicion and Contempt.

39. We ſaw, in the Evening of the 3d of *July*, the Iſlands of *Faro*, bearing Eaſt and by North, diſtant about ten or twelve Leagues. We ſounded, but had no Ground at 110 Fathom; at twelve at Night we had Ground at 85 Fathom, and at 75 by three in the Morning. On the

4th of *July* at Noon, the two Iſlands of *Faro* bore South-eaſt, diſtant about eight Leagues. We then, ſteering North-eaſt, had Ground at eighty Fathom, ſmall Pieces of broken Shells. All laſt Night we kept firing a Gun every Half-hour, to give notice to the Cruiſers, whom we expected to meet here. On the 5th, according to our Expectations, we met with our Convoy, which had been cruiſing for us; they conſiſted of eight *Dutch* Men of War, four Victuallers, and three of the Company's Privateers: After mutual Salutations, we proceeded to the South-eaſtward, being all bound for *Amſterdam*: And, on the 15th of *July*, we all arrived ſafely in the *Texel*; and, on the 17th, we got to *Amſterdam*. After which, myſelf, and the reſt of our Company, went to ſee ſeveral Parts of *Holland*: And, on the 26th of *Auguſt* 1706, after many Dangers both by Sea and Land, we happily arrived in *England*, being but eighteen out of one hundred eighty-three. The News of our Miſfortunes reached home before us, and every body was ſolicitous to have an Account of what had befallen us in the *Eaſt Indies*, and eſpecially in the Iſland of *Amboyna*, under the Power of the *Dutch*. Theſe Importunities led me into an Opinion, that as complete an Account of our Voyage, as it was in my Power to give, might not be unacceptable to the Public; which occaſioned the Pains I have taken in compiling this ſmall Work; wherein, as there are many Adventures not altogether unentertaining, ſo I hope, that ſome of the Deſcriptions, Obſervations, and Diſcoveries, may with Juſtice be thought uſeful.

40. It has hitherto been the juſt Complaint of ſuch as read Voyages with Attention, that they are often left in the Dark, as to very material Circumſtances, while, at the ſame time, they are more than ſufficiently informed as to Circumſtances of very little or no Importance. I have often wondered, that, conſidering the many Editions through which *Dampier*'s Voyages have paſſed, there never was any Care taken to ſupply their viſible Deficiencies. The Reaſons are very evident to me, why *Dampier* did not publiſh this laſt Voyage of his to the South Seas. If he had ſpoken the Truth, he muſt have done himſelf no great Credit; and, if he had attempted to impoſe Falſhoods on the World, his Officers were moſt of them alive, and ready to contradict him: He choſe, therefore, and I think it the moſt prudent Choice he ever made in his Life, to be abſolutely ſilent. This Silence, however, gives not the leaſt Satisfaction to the Reader, who, no doubt, would be glad to be informed of all the Tranſactions of that Voyage, of which Mr. *Funnell* has related only a Part; though, to ſay the Truth, that was all in his Power. This Taſk I ſhall endeavour to perform the beſt I can, having taken a great deal of Pains to ſatisfy myſelf in theſe Particulars. The Reader may remember, that, the 19th of *May* 1704, Captain *Dampier*, in the *St. George*, left his Conſort, Captain *Stradling*, in the *Cinque-ports*, at the *King's Iſland*, in the Bay of *Panama*; after which, we hear no more of them. The Force that Captain *Stradling* had with him was very inſignificant, and, therefore, they could not maintain themſelves long in the South Seas; which drove them, for the ſake of Shelter and Refreſhment, to the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*; and in ſuch a Condition they were when they came thither, that honeſt *Alexander Selkirk* choſe rather to ſtay by himſelf in that Iſland, than run the Hazard of returning into the South Seas on board the *Cinque-ports*: In which he ſhewed a great deal of Judgment; for the *Cinque-ports* actually foundered on the Coaſt of *Babacora*, and only Captain *Stradling*, and ſix or ſeven of his Men, were ſaved, and ſent Priſoners to *Lima*, where Captain *Stradling* was actually living at the time Captain *Rogers* came into the South Seas; but what became of him afterwards, I cannot ſay. The next Perſon that left our famous Captain, was his Mate, Mr. *Clippinton*, as he calls him; but the Gentleman's Name was *John Clipperton*, of whom we ſhall have Occaſion to ſay much in a ſucceeding Voyage. He was certainly a Man of Parts and Spirit, and, in all human Probability, would not have left Captain *Dampier*, if he had not thought, that he would obſtinately remain in the South Seas in his old craſy Ship the *St. George*, till ſhe foundered; and, finding that a great Part of the Crew were of the ſame Opinion, thought proper to leave him at the Middle Iſlands, where he was careening; and where it was plain to all who ſaw her, the *St. George* was no longer fit to put to Sea. This was on *Sept.* 2, 1704; and Mr. *Clipperton* had now with him no more than twenty-one Men, in a Bark of ten Tons, with two Maſts, and two Square-ſails, two Pattereroes, and two or three Barrels of Powder and Shot; yet he ventured into *Rio Leon*, on the Coaſt of *Mexico*, where he took two *Spaniſh* Ships at Anchor: One was very old and worm-eaten, for which Reaſon he ordered her to be immediately ſunk; the other Ship was new, and had on board her Goods to a conſiderable Value. Captain *Clipperton* therefore, for ſo he was now called, ſent on ſhore two of his Priſoners, with a Letter to the *Spaniſh* Governor, demanding ten thouſand Pieces of Eight, by way of Ranſom for that Ship. The Priſoners ſpoke ſo handſomely of *Clipperton*, that the Governor reſolved to treat with him; and therefore ſent him Word, that he did not think his Propoſition unreaſonable; but that, as the Owners were abſolutely ruined, and the Town very poor, it was impoſſible for him to comply with it; but if 4000 Pieces of Eight, which was all they could raiſe, would content him, it ſhould be ſent aboard in ready Money, and they would rely upon his Honour for the Diſcharge of the Ship. Captain *Clipperton* accepted the Propoſal; but, at the ſame time, informed the Governor, that they were in great want of Proviſions and Water; and therefore expected, that whatever could be eat or drank, ſhould not be included in the Capitulation. This was very readily agreed to, the Money ſent on board the next Morning, and, as ſoon as the Proviſions could be got out of her, the Ship was very honourably reſtored. Captain *Clipperton* ſailed from thence to the Gulph of *Salinas*, where they drew their little Veſſel aſhore, in order to clean and refit her, which they did very effectually; and then reſolved, even in this Cockle-ſhell of a Boat, to ſail for the *Eaſt Indies*; which they did, and, keeping in the Latitude of 18° North, reached the *Philippine* Iſlands in fifty-four Days. While they were among theſe Iſlands, there came off a Canoe, with a *Spaniſh* Prieſt in it, whom they detained till they were furniſhed with freſh Proviſions, and then ſet him at Liberty. The next Scheme they formed, was to go to the *Engliſh* Settlement at *Pulo Condore*, which lies in the Latitude of 8° 40′ North; and accordingly came thither: But, underſtanding that the *Engliſh* had been maſſacred by their *Indian* Soldiers on *March* 3. 1705, they found there was no Safety to be expected there; and therefore inſtantly bore away for *Macao*, a Port belonging to the *Portugueſe* in *China*, where they all ſhifted for themſelves as well as they could. Some went to *Benjar*, in order to enter into the *Eaſt India* Company's Service; others to *Goa*, to ſerve the *Portugueſe*; and ſome entered into the Pay of the Great Mogul; for, after ſo long a Voyage, they were ſo bare, that any Means of providing for themſelves appeared very agreeable. As for Captain *Clipperton*, he returned to *England* in 1706. and lived afterwards to make another Voyage round the World in the *Succeſs*, of which, in its proper Place, we ſhall give an Account. It is requiſite, in the mean time, to go back again to Captain *Dampier*, in order to ſhew what became of him, after ſo great a Part of his Ship's Company had deſerted him. It is not eaſy to conceive a Man in a worſe Situation, than Mr. *Dampier* found himſelf at the time Mr. *Funnell* and his People left him. It was at the Cloſe of the Year 1704, they took this Reſolution; and all the People that it was in the Power of *Dampier* to keep with him were but twenty-eight; and even theſe he prevailed upon to ſtay, by repreſenting, that there was nothing eaſier than to make their Fortunes by ſurpriſing ſome ſmall *Spaniſh* Village; and that the fewer there were of them, the fewer there would be to ſhare the Booty. After ſome Conſultation, they reſolved to attack *Puna*, an Hamlet or Village conſiſting of about thirty Houſes, and a ſmall Church. There is a Lieutenant who commands there, and the Inhabitants were pretty well to paſs. Accordingly he landed in a dark Night, ſurpriſed the Inhabitants in their Beds, and ſo took Poſſeſſion of the Place with very little Trouble. After plundering this Town, they repaired to the Iſland of *Lobos de la Mar*, in order to conſider what they ſhould do next; and, by the Way, took a ſmall *Spaniſh* Bark, well furniſhed with

Proviſions. After ſome Conſultation, it was reſolved to quit their own Ship, and to endeavour, in this Bark, to continue their Voyage to the *Eaſt Indies*. Accordingly they left the *St. George* at Anchor under this Iſland, after having taken out all that was valuable; and then executed their Reſolution of ſailing to the *Indies*, where they were in hopes all their Troubles would have ended. In this, however, they were quite miſtaken; for, arriving in one of the *Dutch* Settlements, their Bark was ſeized, their Goods ſold, and themſelves turned looſe into the World to ſhift as well as they could: This was the End of Captain *Dampier*'s unfortunate Expedition, who returned naked to his Owners, with a melancholy Relation of his and their Misfortunes, occaſioned chiefly by his own odd Temper, which made him ſo ſelf-ſufficient and overbearing, that few or none of his Officers could endure him; and, when once Diſſenſion begins amongſt thoſe who have Command, all Succeſs may be juſtly deſpaired of. Yet, as there was a Degree of Compaſſion due to ſo eminent a Man, notwithſtanding all his Failings, the Public expreſſed it, in the ſtrongeſt manner poſſible, to Captain *Dampier*, on his coming home, even in this Diſtreſs; and he was introduced to the Queen, had the Honour to kiſs her Hand, and to give her ſome Account of the Dangers he had run through. The Merchants, however, were ſo ſenſible of his Want of Conduct, that they reſolved never to truſt him more with any Command; and this, with the Poverty brought upon him by his laſt unlucky Voyage, obliged him to make the Tour of the World once more, in Quality of Pilot, on board the *Duke*, commanded by Captain *Woodes Rogers*: The Hiſtory of whoſe Voyage will be the Buſineſs of the next Section; the preſent I ſhall cloſe with a very few Remarks.

41. It is very clear, from the ſeveral Particulars recorded in this Voyage, which I take to be as honeſtly and ſincerely written, as any I have ever met with, that there is no mighty Force requiſite to carry on a Privateering War in the South Seas; ſince, if *Dampier*'s Temper would have ſuffered him to live on ſuch Terms as were requiſite to preſerve the Affections of his People, it is moſt certain, that he might have raiſed an immenſe Fortune for himſelf, and his Owners, in ſpite of any thing the *Spaniards* did againſt him. It is alſo very apparent, that, with due Care and Attention, there was no ſort of Danger of their ever wanting Proviſions. But the thing that ruined their Voyage was, that Spirit of Diſcord which remained among themſelves, and which, at laſt, rendered them incapable of any kind of Diſcipline. It is Command that makes one Body of Men ſuperior to another equal in Number, and as well provided with Arms; for, by this means, they are broke, exerciſed, and know their Duty in all Situations, which others do not; and this naturally gives them a prodigious Advantage. The late Attempts that have been made in the *Weſt Indies* ſeem to diſcredit this Opinion; and the Stories we have been told of the Bucanneers, have drawn many People to imagine, that, in ſuch Attempts, they are ſuperior to Men under regular Command. Theſe are dangerous Miſtakes, ſuch as may have fatal Effects, if they ſpread; and, therefore, every Opportunity ſhould be taken to refute them. In order to do this, we muſt firſt conſider, what is meant by regular Troops, and Men under regular Command; which certainly implies, Men acquainted with the Principles of their Profeſſion, commanded by experienced Officers. It is not the Cloth and Arms that conſtitute a regular Force, but the Knowledge the Men have acquired in military Diſcipline; and, as to Officers, it is certain, that an old Man, who has never ſeen Service, is by no means fit for Command, eſpecially in a Country where he never ſet his Foot before. As to the Bucanneers, they were, with reſpect to their perſonal Qualifications, regular Troops, and, in time of Action, they were pretty much under Command; to which all their Succeſs was owing: But then, as their Officers had no Authority, but what they derived from the Choice of their own People, and held this only during their Pleaſure, there was no ſuch thing as forming regular Deſigns, or conducting them, for any Length of Time, with Prudence and Diſcretion: Whence it came to paſs, that all their Succeſſes were mere temporary Advantages, not at all beneficial in their Conſequences to themſelves, or their Country. To ſay the Truth, the only Uſe that can be made of them, is to prove, that much greater Things may be done by Men better commanded. There is the ſame Difference between Bucanneers and regular Forces, as between Men of ſtrong Parts without Education, and Men of equal Parts with the Advantages of Learning: The former ſometimes produce lively and ſurpriſing Pieces, but all excellent and laſting Works come from the latter. I do not know whether this Compariſon will at firſt Sight be well reliſhed; but, I am confident, that, when throughly conſidered, it will be found perfectly juſt, and equally agreeable to Reaſon and Experience. The next Remark that I ſhall make on this Voyage is, that it fully demonſtrates the Capacity of our Seamen, to do any thing that can be expected from Perſons ſkilful in that Profeſſion. We ſee, by the Inſtance of Captain *Clipperton*'s ſailing, with twenty-one Men, in a Bark of ten Ton, from the South Seas to *China*; by Mr. *Funnell*'s doing the ſame thing in a Veſſel not much bigger, and with very few more Men; and by Captain *Dampier*'s doing the like, in Circumſtances very little better; that this is not ſuch a terrible, ſuch an impracticable Navigation, as ſome People of late, for what Reaſons I know not, have endeavoured to repreſent it: And if great Advantages may ariſe to the Commerce of this Nation, by Voyages into this Part of the World, I think no Man in his Senſes can be perſuaded, that there is any thing very difficult, much leſs impoſſible, in purſuing them; ſince theſe Examples ſhew, that this is, in Fact, the eaſieſt and the ſhorteſt Way to the *Eaſt Indies*, and to the richeſt and moſt valuable Parts of them. The Uſage Captain *Dampier* met with in this, as well as in his former Voyage, and the Treatment of Mr. *Funnell*, and his People, at *Amboyna*, are Proofs ſufficient of the Temper of the *Dutch*, and of their preferring the Intereſt of their Commerce to any Reſpect for their Allies. If we think this right in them, as one would imagine our Government did, from their never inquiring after thoſe Subjects that were loſt, or reſenting the Uſage thoſe met with that eſcaped, Why are we not as careful of our own Trade? Why do we not proſecute it with the ſame Vigour? or, Why are we bound to have ſo much more Complaiſance for our Allies, than they have for us? It ſeems to be a Matter quite out of Queſtion, that Commerce is not of greater Conſequence to them than to us: Both ſubſiſt by it, and both muſt be undone without it. I do not mean to inſinuate, that we ought to differ with the *Dutch*, much leſs that we ſhould invade their Settlements, or endeavour to ruin their Trade; all I aim at is, to ſhew how reaſonable, and how practicable a thing it is, to extend our own, and how much therefore it ought to be our Study. To this I beg Leave to add, that as this was always right, ſo it is now become abſolutely neceſſary: The Nation launches out into much larger Expences, than in former Times; and from hence it is evident, that, if ſhe does not draw larger Advantages from Trade, ſhe muſt be undone: This is a Truth of ſo great Conſequence, that no Man, who loves his Country, can prevail upon himſelf to mince the Matter: Beſides, all national Expence conſiſting in the Export of Wealth, it follows, that we ought, at this Juncture eſpecially, to encourage ſuch kind of Commerce, as may repair this Loſs in the quickeſt and moſt effectual Manner. This Voyage, and ſeveral of the preceding, ſhew us, that here is a ſhort and ſpeedy Paſſage to very rich and pleaſant Countries; from whence we may derive immediately large Quantities of Gold, excluſive of other valuable Commodities. Beſides, we are now at War with *Spain*, and that Crown has very conſiderable Dominions in thoſe Parts; where, though I believe they may be comparatively ſtronger than they are in the *American* Dominions, yet moſt certain it is, that they are every-where upon bad Terms with the Natives, and have a much greater Compaſs of Territory than they are able to defend. There is no doubt to be made, that two or three Ships, well manned, would be able to make a very profitable Voyage this Way. I would not be underſtood to be a warm Advocate for Privateering, which, I muſt confeſs, I think below the Dignity of the *Brittiſh* Nation; but, as we were drawn into this War by the Depredations of the *Spaniſh* Privateers,

vateers, as we can get very little by it in any other Shape than that of Privateering, as the Expence it has brought upon us, in the Interruption of our Trade, requires effectual and quick Supplies, we have unqueſtionably a Right to indemnify ourſelves; and our Intereſt makes it our Duty to purſue it. Nay, this is the moſt probable Method of putting an End to the War: We may, by this means, interrupt the Commerce between their *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies* to ſuch a Degree, that, in Conjunction with the other Methods already taken to diſtreſs them, it may deprive them of the Means of carrying on the War; and thereby incline them, not only to a preſent Peace; but to maintain and preſerve it, that they may not have to do again with a Power ſo capable of diſturbing, and even deſtroying them, in all thoſe Parts of the World, where no other Power can reach them. I cannot help adding a Word or two more upon this Subject, before I leave it; and that is, with reſpect to the Policy of Maritime Powers in the Management of their Wars; becauſe, if we may judge from the Reaſon of Things, or the Courſe of Events, this has not been hitherto ſo well underſtood as it ought to be: A Maritime Power ought certainly to avoid, as much as poſſible, quarrelling with her Neighbours, and making an endleſs or vain-glorious Shew of her Naval Strength. Small Squadrons, ſent frequently on long Voyages, will ſerve to air and exerciſe her Seamen in the public Service, without burdening herſelf, or frighting the reſt of the World by frequently drawing together numerous and uſeleſs Fleets. The Neglect of this Maxim has been the Ruin of every Maritime Power that ever exiſted, with the Addition of another Error of a contrary Nature, I mean, the carrying on of lingering Wars, and not making a ſhort Uſe of ſuperior Power at Sea. When Peace can be no longer preſerved, the next beſt Meaſure is, to reſtore it as ſoon as poſſible; and this can be done no other way, than by a bold and vigorous Proſecution of the War; for, to act coolly, and protract, is to diſcredit your own Power, and to encourage the Enemy. This leads me to the laſt Remark, which this Voyage ſhall furniſh: The Misfortunes that attended *Dampier*, *Stradling*, *Clipperton*, and *Funnell*, induced a Notion, that it was to no manner of Purpoſe to fit out Privateers from hence to the South Seas; and abundance of plauſible Arguments were brought to prove it; which met with greater Encouragement, becauſe the *Britiſh* Adminiſtration, at that time, was engaged in the Proſecution of a War upon the Continent, that rendered it very inconvenient to diſoblige any of our Allies, more eſpecially the *Dutch* and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, neither of which were well pleaſed with ſuch Kind of Expeditions: Yet, in ſpite of theſe concurring Circumſtances, Mr. *Dampier* could not forbear endeavouring to ſpirit up a new Voyage to the South Seas, where he had already ſpent ſo many Years of his Life to ſo very little Purpoſe. He was well ſatisfied, that it was not through any Difficulty in the Voyage, from the ſuperior Strength of the Enemy, or the Want of proper Qualities in our People to ſucceed in ſuch Schemes, that ſo many of them had failed, but merely from their being but indifferently conducted; and therefore he flattered himſelf, that, if this Evil was once removed, things would go better, and he might ſtill have an Opportunity of retrieving his Circumſtances, or, at leaſt, of acquiring a tolerable Subſiſtence. It was with this View that he addreſſed himſelf to the Merchants of *Briſtol*, who are juſtly reputed the moſt active and puſhing People in this Nation. They heard his Propoſals with Patience, examined them with Attention, and, at laſt, ſaw ſo much of Probability in what he offered, and ſuch Likelihood of his proving a good Pilot, tho' he had been but an unlucky Captain, that they determined to fit out two Ships at his Inſtance; but reſolved to diſpoſe of them as they thought proper. This gave Riſe to that Voyage, which is to be the Subject of our next Section; a Voyage the beſt concerted, and the beſt conducted, of its kind; and therefore we need not wonder, that it was the moſt ſucceſsful. We draw now near the Cloſe of this Part of our Work; and I ſhould very readily incline to ſhorten the remaining Relations as much as poſſible: But there are ſo many Circumſtances curious in themſelves, and Tranſactions of ſuch Importance to the Trade and Welfare of this Nation, that, I flatter myſelf, my Readers will be very well pleaſed to find, that I have preſerved the ſame Order in theſe, as in the reſt, and do not fruſtrate their juſt Expectations by haſty and imperfect Abridgments.

SECTION XVI.

The Voyage of Captain Woodes Rogers *in the* Duke, *and Captain* Stephen Courtney *in the* Ducheſs, *round the World.*

1. *An Account of the Undertaking, and of the principal Proprietors.* 2. *The Rules fixed by them for the Conduct of the Voyage.* 3. *The* Duke *and* Ducheſs *ſail from* Briſtol, June 15. 1708. 4. *They arrive at* Cork, *and make up their Complement of Men.* 5. *Proſecute their Voyage from* Cork *to the* Canaries. 6. *A Prize taken, and diſcharged.* 7. *Another Prize taken, which occaſions great Diſputes.* 8. *Articles framed for the Regulation of Plunder, with a Copy of thoſe Articles.* 9. *The Linguiſt left behind on the Iſland of* St. Antonio, *for diſobeying Orders.* 10. *State of the* Cape de Verd Iſlands *at that time.* 11. *A dangerous Mutiny ſuppreſſed.* 12. *A Deſcription of the Iſland of* Grande. 13. *The Hiſtory of the famous* Alexander Selkirk, *on which the Story of* Robinſon Cruſo *was founded.* 14. *Deſcription of the Iſland of* Juan Fernandez. 15. *Proceed in their Voyage to the South Seas.* 16. *Their Adventures on the Coaſt of* Peru. 17. *A* Spaniſh *Prize taken after an obſtinate Engagement.* 18. *The Town of* Guiaquil *taken, and a Copy of the Capitulation.* 19. *Account of the Plunder taken there.* 20. *Deſcription of the Town of* Guiaquil. 21. *A copious Account of the Province of the ſame Name, and of its Inhabitants.* 22. *They ſail for the* Gallopagos Iſlands. 23. *Continue to cruiſe on the South Sea.* 24. *They fit up a Prize, and call her the* Marquis. 25. *Grant reaſonable Terms to their Priſoners.* 26. *New Diſturbances amongſt the Ships Companies.* 27. *Remarkable Occurrences on the Cruiſe.* 28. *A further Account of the* Gallapagos Iſlands. 29. *Repair to the Coaſt of* Mexico. 30. *Arrival on the Coaſt of* California. 31. *They diſcover, attack, and take the leſſer* Acapulco *Ship.* 32. *Diſcover the larger Ship, and reſolve to engage her.* 33. *They attack, but, after an obſtinate Engagement, are forced to leave her.* 34. *High Diſputes among themſelves.* 35. *Deſcription of* California. 36. *They proceed from thence to the Iſland of* Guam. 37. *Continue their Voyoge to the* Eaſt Indies. 38. *Deſcription of the Iſland of* Bouton. 39. *Arrival at* Batavia, *and an Account of what happened there.* 40. *Proceed, with their Prize, for* England, *and arrive ſafely in the* Downs, October 1. 1711. 41. *Remarks upon the Voyage.*

1. IT has been univerſally allowed by ſuch as are proper Judges of ſuch Expeditions, that there never was any Voyage of this nature ſo happily adjuſted, ſo well provided for in all reſpects, or in which the Accidents, that uſually happen in Privateers, were ſo effectually guarded againſt. All this, I conceive, was chiefly owing to the perſonal Abilities of the Gentlemen at *Briſtol*, who charged themſelves, not only with the Expences of this

Expedition, but with the Care of all things relating to it. Theſe worthy Gentlemen were, as far as I have been able to learn; *viz.* Alderman *Batchelor*, *John Rumſey*, Eſq; Mr. *James Hollidge*, Captain *Philip Freake*, *Chriſtopher Shuter*, Eſq; Sir *John Hawkins*, Mr. *Francis Rogers*, Mr. *Thomas Goldney*, Captain *Thomas Dover*, Mr. *Webb*, Mr. *John Duckinfield*, Mr. *John Corſeley*, Mr. *William Saunders*, Mr. *John Grant*, Mr. *Daniel Hickman*, Mr. *Richard Hawkſworth*, Mr. *Thomas Clemens*, Mr. *Thomas Coutes*, Captain *Stephen Courtney*, Mr. *Laurence Holliſter*, Merchants of *Briſtol*, and Mr. *Palmer*, and Mr. *Acton*, with ſome other Gentlemen of *London*, who were not concerned till the Ships were at Sea. Their firſt Care was to make Choice of proper Officers, in which they were very fortunate: Captain *Woodes Rogers*, who commanded in chief, was a bold, active, indefatigable Officer, one that would not give up his Opinion too readily to others, and who was not to be flattered by other Peoples giving up their Opinions to him. He had been a large Sufferer by the *French*, and was naturally no great Friend to that Nation; but his moſt ſingular Quality, and that which indeed recommended him to this Command, was a peculiar Art he had of maintaining his Authority over his Seamen, and his Readineſs in finding out Expedients in the moſt difficult Conjunctures. Captain *Stephen Courtney* was a Man of Birth, Fortune, and of very amiable Qualities: He contributed conſiderably to the Expence of the Voyage, and took a Share in it, that he might ſee how it was managed, and be able either to prevent Miſcarriages, or, at leaſt, to make a faithful Report of them. Captain *Thomas Dover*, who was third in Command, was a Proprietor alſo, and went for the ſame Reaſon. He was by Profeſſion a Phyſician, and, towards the Decline of his Life, made a Noiſe in the World, by recommending the Uſe of crude Mercury. He was a Man of a rough Temper, and could not eaſily agree with People about him: But his untoward Diſpoſition had one good Effect, which was this; that it hindered his making any Party to ſupport him in his ill Humours. As for Captain *Edward Cooke*, who was ſecond to Captain *Courtney*, he had been twice taken by the *French*, once by four *Dunkirk* Privateers, and again by two Men of War of fifty Guns. The Pilot, in the larger Ship, was Captain *William Dampier*, who was now to proceed for the fourth Time into the South Seas, where his Name was very well known, and, from his Exploits, terrible to the *Spaniards*; and they were alſo extremely careful in the Choice of their inferior Officers, and, as far as it was poſſible, even of their private Men.

2. The Proprietors, in the next Place, undertook to lay down Rules for the Conduct of the Voyage; which were digeſted into the following Piece, ſigned by a Committee of the Proprietors, and ſtyled very properly *The Conſtitution*. It ran thus:

'For the better Government, and regulating of Affairs of the preſent Voyage, we, whoſe Names are underwritten, Owners, and appointed Directors for the Ships *Duke* and *Ducheſs*, do hereby appoint and conſtitute Captain *Woodes Rogers*, Captain *Thomas Dover*, Captain *William Dampier*, Mr. *Carlton Vanbrugh*, Mr. *Green*, Mr. *Fry*, Mr. *Charles Pope*, Mr. *Glendall*, Mr. *Bullet*, and Mr. *Waſſe*, all Officers on board the *Duke*, to be Council on board the ſaid Ship; and Captain *Stephen Courtney*, Captain *Cooke*, Mr. *William Stretton*, Mr. *Bathe*, *John Rogers*, Mr. *White*, and the Maſter, Officers on board the *Ducheſs*, to be Council on board the ſaid Ship, in caſe they ſhould be ſeparated from each other; but, when in Company, the Officers of both Ships above-named are, conjunctly, at the Summons of the Captains *Rogers*, *Dover*, and *Courtney*, or any two of them, to come on board either Ship, and be the Council referred to in our general Orders, to determine all Matters and Things whatſoever that may ariſe, or be neceſſary for the general Good, during the whole Voyage. In caſe of Death, Sickneſs, or Deſertion, of any of the above Officers of either Ship, the reſt that are of the Council appointed as aforeſaid for the Ship, ſhall convene on board their own Ship, and chuſe another fit Perſon into that Office and Council. We farther require and direct, that all Attempts, Attacks, and Deſigns, upon the Enemy, either by Sea or Land, be firſt conſulted and debated, either in the Particular, if ſeparated; or in the general Council, if together; and, as the Majority thereof ſhall conclude, how or when to act or do, it ſhall be indiſpenſably, and without unneceſſary Delay, put chearfully in Execution. In caſe of any Diſcontents, Differences, or Miſbehaviour, amongſt the Officers and Men, which may tend to the Diſturbance of the good Concord and Government on board, either the Men, or Perſons, may appeal to the Captain to have a Hearing and Deciſion by a Council; or the Captain ſhall call a Council, and have it heard and decided, and may prefer or diſplace any Man according to Deſert. All Deciſion and Judgment of this Council ſhall be finally determined by the Majority of Voices; and, in caſe of an Equality, Captain *Dover* is to have the double Voice, as Preſident of the Council; and do accordingly order him to be Preſident. All Matters tranſacted in this Council ſhall be regiſtered in a Book by the Clerk appointed for that Purpoſe. Dated in *Briſtol*, *July* the 14th, 1708.'

John Batchelor, &c.

3. We have two Accounts of this Voyage, one by Captain *Rogers*, the other by Captain *Cooke*, and both in the manner of a Journal. I ſhall follow Captain *Rogers* chiefly; but, where it is neceſſary, ſhall take in explanatory Circumſtances and Deſcriptions from Captain *Cooke*; yet, as they were both Eye-witneſſes, and agreed pretty well in their Relations, I do not think it neceſſary to break the Thread of the Diſcourſe, in order to mention their Names, but proceed, as near as may be, in the Words of Captain *Rogers*. All Things neceſſary being provided, ſays he, we were firſt to ſail for *Cork*, in order to make up our Complement of Men; our Force ſtanding thus: The *Duke*, Burden about 300 Tons, 30 Guns, and 170 Men, Captain *Woodes Rogers* Commander, Captain *Thomas Dover* ſecond Captain, with three Lieutenants, *&c.* and the *Ducheſs*, Captain *Stephen Courtney* Commander, Captain *Edward Cooke* ſecond Captain, with three Lieutenants, Burden 270 Tons, 26 Guns, and 151 Men: Both Ships had legal Commiſſions from his Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, to cruiſe on the Coaſts of *Peru* and *Mexico*, in the South Seas, againſt her Majeſty's Enemies, the *French* and *Spaniards*, and to act jointly, as belonging to the ſame Owners, Merchants in *Briſtol*. On the 15th of *June*, 1708. we towed down from *Hong-road* to *King-road*, in order to fit our Ship, and the better to keep our Seamen on board; where we continued till *Monday August* the 1ſt; and then, at eleven in the Forenoon, unmoored; and at two weighed, with our Conſort the *Ducheſs*, eight Sail of other Ships, and two Sloops; and having little Wind, and that Weſterly, towed down about five Miles below the *Holmes*, where we anchored in about nine Fathom Water: At one in the Morning weighed, and made Sail with a ſmall Eaſterly Breeze; ſhortened Sail, at eight, for our Conſort; and, at twelve, the Iſland of *Londy* bore Weſt by South, diſtant about three Leagues; in the Evening, ſaw a Sail right a-head, which we chaſed till Night, and then ſhortened Sail for the Ships a-ſtern.

4. On the 5th of *Auguſt*, we had Sight of the *Iriſh* Shore; and, about eight in the Evening, we weighed with the Flood, a ſmall Gale at Eaſt: It came on to blow, and veered to the Northward. We had a *Kinſale* Pilot on board, who endangered our Ship, it being dark and foggy. Before Day, he would have turned us into the next Bay to the Weſtward of *Cork*, had not I prevented it; which provoked me to chaſtiſe him for undertaking to pilot a Ship, ſince he underſtood his Buſineſs no better. The reſt of our Company, except the *Diamond* and *Shereſtone* Galley, got into *Cork* before us; only our Conſort ſtaid in the Harbour's Mouth, till we came up with her. On the 9th, in the Afternoon, came in the *Haſtings*, with the Fleet under her Convoy, which we left in *King-road*. We ſpent the Time, till the 27th of *Auguſt*, in adjuſting all Things, and taking on board our freſh Men provided for us at *Cork*, and in diſcharging ſeveral we had brought from *Briſtol*, and whom, by Experience, we knew not to be fit for our Purpoſe. On the 28th, in the Morning, we fell down to the *Spit-end*, by the *Haſtings* Man of War, as our Conſort did

the Night before: When I came without the *Spit-end*, I ſaluted the *Haſtings* with ſeven Guns; ſhe returned five, and I three for Thanks. We had now above double the Number of Officers uſual in Privateers, and a large Complement of Men to each Ship. We took this Method of doubling our Officers, to prevent Mutinies, which often happen in long Voyages; and that we might have a large Proviſion for a Succeſſion of Officers in each Ship, in caſe of Mortality. Our Ship was now ſo full, that we ſent our Sheet-cable, and other new Store-cordage, to Mr. *Noblet Rogers*, at *Cork*, to make Room for our Men and Proviſions, having three Cables beſides, and being willing rather to ſpare that, than any thing elſe we had on board. Our Crew were continually marrying while we ſtaid at *Cork*, though they expected to ſail immediately. Among others, there was a *Dane* coupled by a Romiſh Prieſt to an *Iriſh* Woman, without underſtanding a Word of each other's Language, ſo that they were forced to uſe an Interpreter; yet I perceived, that this Pair ſeemed more afflicted at Separation, than any of the reſt: The Fellow continued melancholy for ſeveral Days after we were at Sea. The reſt, underſtanding each other, drank their Cans of Flip till the laſt Minute, concluded with a Health to our good Voyages, and their happy Meeting, and then parted unconcerned. Moſt of us, the chief Officers, embraced this Deſign of Privateering round the World, to retrieve the Loſſes we had ſuſtained by the Enemy. Our Complement of Sailors in both Ships was 333, of which above one-third were Foreigners from moſt Nations; ſeveral of her Majeſty's Subjects on board were Tinkers, Taylors, Haymakers, Pedlars, Fidlers, *&c.* one Negro, and about ten Boys. With this mixed Crew we hoped to be well manned, as ſoon as they had learnt the Uſe of Arms, and got their Sea Legs, which we doubted not ſoon to teach them, and bring them to Diſcipline.

5. On the firſt of *September* we took ſailing Orders, the better to keep Company with the *Haſtings* and Fleet; and, after having agreed with our Conſort Captain *Courtney*, on Signals between us, which are ſo common, that I need not inſert them here, and appointed Places of Rendeſvous, in caſe of Separation, and how long to lie for each other at every Place, about ten in the Morning we came to ſail with the *Haſtings*, and about twenty Merchant Ships bound to the Southward and Weſtward, Wind at North and by Weſt: We ſhould have ſailed the Day before, but could not weigh and caſt our Ships clear of the reſt; ſome at that time drove, and the *Sherſtone* Galley ran quite aſhore on the *Spit*. In the Night it grew moderate Weather, and Captain *Paul* of the *Haſtings* got her off to ſail with us. Our Holds were full of Proviſions, our Cables, a great deal of Bread, and Water-caſks between Decks, and 183 Men aboard the *Duke*, with 151 aboard the *Ducheſs*; ſo that we were very much crouded, not fit to engage an Enemy, without throwing Proviſion and Stores overboard. The next Day, we, and our Conſort, ſtood out of the Fleet, to chaſe a Sail we ſaw to Windward. Our Ships ſailed as well as any in the Fleet, not excepting the Man of War; ſo that we began to hope we ſhould find our Heels, ſince we went ſo well, though deep-laden. We found the Chace to be a ſmall Veſſel coming into the Fleet from *Baltimore*. On the 4th, it blew freſh in the Morning: Captain *Paul* made a Signal for me, Captain *Courtney*, and Captain *Edwards*, Commander of the *Scipio*; and, after ſpeaking with him, he ſent his Boat for us, being larger than ours: We, with Mr. *Dover*, and Mr. *Vanbrugh*, went in her, and found Captain *Paul* aboard his Ship. He propoſed to me and Conſort, when he left the Fleet, which would be very ſoon, to cruiſe a few Days together off Cape *Finiſtre*. After having aſked us what we wanted, that he could ſupply us with, he gave us Scrubbers, Iron Scrapers for the Ship-Bottom, a Speaking-trumpet, and other Things, that we had not; but he would accept nothing from us, becauſe our Voyage would be long; but told us, he ſhould be well pleaſed, if our Owners returned him the ſame Neceſſaries for his Ship when he came back. About ſix in the Evening we returned to our own Ship, and, having called all our Crew upon Deck, we acquainted them whither we were bound, and what our Deſigns were, that, in caſe any Diſputes had ariſen, we might have ſent the Mutineers home in her Majeſty's Ship of War; but there was nobody at all diſſatisfied, except one poor Fellow, who was to have been Tything-man that Year, and was apprehenſive his Wife would be obliged to pay forty Shillings for his Default; but, when he ſaw every body elſe eaſy, and ſtrong Hopes of Plunder, he likewiſe grew quiet by degrees, and drank as heartily as any body, to the good Succeſs of the Voyage.

6. On the 10th, about ſix in the Morning, we ſaw a Sail, to which we immediately gave Chace: About three in the Afternoon we came up with her, and then ſhe bore downright upon us, ſhewing *Swediſh* Colours: I fired twice at her, before ſhe brought to; then went aboard her with my Yawl, Captain *Courtney*'s Boat being juſt before me. We examined the Maſter, and found he came round *Scotland* and *Ireland*; we ſuſpected he had contraband Goods on board, becauſe ſome of the Men, we found drunk, told us, they had Gunpowder and Cables on board: So we reſolved to examine her ſtrictly, put twelve Men on board her, and kept the *Swedes* Maſter, and twelve of his Men, on board our Ships. The next Morning, after we had examined the Men, and ſearched the Ship, we found it difficult to prove ſhe was a Prize; and not willing to hinder Time to carry her into any Harbour, to examine her farther, we let her go without the leaſt Embezzlement. The Maſter gave me two Hams, and ſome rough-dried Beef; and I gave him a dozen Bottles of *Redſtreak* Cyder: They ſaluted us at parting with four Guns: She belonged to *Stadt* near *Hamburgh*, and was a Frigate-built Ship, of 22 Guns, about 270 Tons. While I was on board the *Swede* Yeſterday, our Men mutiny'd; the Ring-leaders being our Boatſwain, and three other inferior Officers. This Morning, the chief Officers having kept with me in the After-part of the Ship, we confined the Authors of this Diſorder, in which there was not one Foreigner concerned: We put ten of the Mutineers in Irons, a Sailor being firſt ſoundly whipped for exciting the reſt to join him; others, leſs guilty, I puniſhed and diſcharged; but kept the chief Officers all armed, fearing what might happen. The Ship's Company ſeeming too much inclined to favour the Mutineers, made me more eaſy to forgive: Some begged Pardon, and others I was forced to wink at: However, they began to find their Deſign fruſtrated, which was to make a Prize of the *Swede*, who they alleged had much contraband Goods aboard, though we could ſee none: Yet they obſtinately inſiſted, that we apparently gave away their Intereſt, by letting her go without plundering her. I laboured to convince them of the Neceſſity of our making Diſpatch; and that, if we could make her a Prize, it would unman our Ships too much to ſend her into any Port; beſides other Diſadvantages it might procure to ourſelves and Owners, ſhould we be miſtaken; which pacified the major Part: Our Conſort's Men were at firſt very uneaſy; but, finding the Malecontents quelled aboard our Ship, they all kept quiet. We had afterwards a great deal of Trouble with theſe Fellows, who did us more Miſchief when in Irons than before, by ſtirring up the Men to releaſe them; pretending, that they ſuffered in the Cauſe of the Crew, and therefore the Crew ought to riſe and reſcue them. This determined me to make ſome Examples; but I ſtill reſolved to go the mildeſt way to work I could; and therefore began with removing *Giles Caſh* from being Boatſwain, and made another in his room, without intending any thing farther. But, on *September* 4. this inteſtine Storm roſe higher than ever; for a Sailor came up to me at the Steerage-door, with the beſt Part of the Ship's Company [illegible] his Heels, demanding the Boatſwain immediately out of Cuſtody: Upon this, I deſired him to ſpeak with me by himſelf on the Quarter-deck; which he did; where the Officers aſſiſting me, I ſeized him, and made one of his chief Comrades whip him. This Method I thought beſt for breaking any unlawful Friendſhip among themſelves; which, with different Corrections to other Offenders, allayed the Tumult; ſo that now they began to ſubmit quietly, and thoſe in Irons begged Pardon, and promiſed Amendment. This Mutiny would not have been eaſily laid, were it not for the Number of our Officers, which we began to find very neceſſary to bring our Crew to Order and Diſcipline; which is always very difficult in Privateers, and without which 'tis

impoſſible to carry on any diſtant Undertaking like ours. The next Evening, we put our old Boatſwain on board the *Crown* Galley in Irons; and ſent home Letters to our Owners, by the Commander, to juſtify our Conduct in treating him ſo harſhly. The next Day I diſcharged the Priſoners out of Irons, on their humble Submiſſion, and moſt ſolemn Promiſes of dutiful Behaviour for the future: Such among them as were petty Officers, we reſtored to their Commands, and all on board were forbid to diſobey or reproach them, on account of any paſt Errors in their Conduct; ſo that now we were all quiet again, and the Crew in exceeding good Humour, Things having ended much beyond their Expectations, there not being a Man in Irons who would not willingly have compounded for a Whipping; and were therefore exceſſive briſk and diligent to ſhew their Gratitude for having eſcaped it.

7. On the 18th, at five in the Morning, we ſaw a Sail right a-head, between *Fuerteventura* and *Grand Canary*: We chaſed, and at ten came up with and took her, being a ſmall *Spaniſh* Ship, bound from *Teneriff* to *Fuerteventura*, with ſeveral Men and Women Paſſengers, and laden with ſundry ſorts of Goods: The next Day, at eight in the Morning, bore away for *Oratavia* Road, where we ſtood off-and-on, and ſent away the Prize's Boat, with one of the Owners Agents, a Prieſt, and the Maſter of the Prize, to treat about ranſoming the Veſſel, and to get Wine, Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, for both Ships. About eight in the Morning, of the 20th, a Boat came from the Town, with a Letter from the *Engliſh* Merchants reſiding there, wherein they expoſtulated with us for making a Prize of the Bark, alleging, that there was a free Trade agreed to in thoſe Iſlands, between her Majeſty of *Great Britain*, and the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, ſo religiouſly obſerved by the latter, that they had cauſed an *Engliſh* Ship, taken there by a *French* Privateer, to be reſtored: And farther, repreſenting the Danger that might ariſe to themſelves, living upon Permiſſion in the Enemy's Country, if the ſaid Bark were not immediately reſtored, for which Repriſals would be made on them; as alſo, that we ſhould be anſwerable at home for interrupting the ſettled Commerce. This Letter was ſigned by *John Poulden*, Conſul, *Bernard Walſh*, *John Crope*, and *George Fitzgerald*, Merchants. Captain *Rogers*, and Captain *Courtney*, immediately returned an Anſwer; importing, that, having no Inſtructions relating to the *Spaniſh* Veſſels trading among thoſe Iſlands, they could not juſtify parting with the Bark on their bare Opinions, without ſome Order or Proclamation of her Majeſty; the *Engliſh* being protected there only on Anchoring-ground, and the Bark being taken at Sea: That, in caſe Mr. *Vanbrugh* were not reſtored, they would carry away all the Priſoners they had; and, if they apprehended any Detriment to the Factory, they might ranſom the Bark, and ſeek their Redreſs in *England*. They deſired Diſpatch, there being no Time to loſe; and, upon ſending back Mr. *Vanbrugh*, they would releaſe their Priſoners. At Night another Letter came in Anſwer to this, from Mr. *William Poulden*, the Conſul; the Effect whereof was, That the *Engliſh* Men of War were civilly received there, and never committed Hoſtilities; and that it was ſtrange we ſhould inſiſt on ranſoming any *Spaniards*, who were never made Priſoners in *England*, or elſewhere: And the Governor there delivered up to him any *Engliſh* Priſoners that were brought in by Privateers; wherefore he deſired thoſe in our Cuſtody might be diſmiſſed, and the Bark diſcharged, excepting a Preſent of Wine in Return. With this, from the aforeſaid Conſul at the City *Laguna*, came another from the above-mentioned Merchants at *Oratavia* Port, much to the ſame Purport with the others, only offering to pay the Value of 450 Pieces of Eight, the Sum demanded for the Bark, in Wine, Brandy, Sugar, Oil, Barley, and Greens, to prevent incenſing the Natives againſt them, not queſtioning but Reparation would be made them in *England*. The Captains *Rogers* and *Courtney* replied at the ſame time, threatening to cruiſe among the Iſlands, to make Amends for their loſt Time, and to cannonade the Town of *Oratavia*, unleſs they received Satisfaction. On the 22d, at four in the Morning, we ſtood in for the Shore, making a clear Ship; but, ſoon after, we ſaw a Boat coming, with our Owners Agent, and Mr. *Croſs*, one of the *Engliſh* Merchants, bringing five Buts of Wine, and other Refreſhments. We lay by off the Town, took the Goods out of the Prize, ſold the Bark to Mr. *Croſs* for 450 Dollars, and put the Priſoners aboard her. Thus ended this troubleſome Affair, and we were once more at Liberty to mind our own Concerns, and to think of proſecuting our Voyage, which we did, after firſt holding a Committee, where the Whole of the late Tranſaction was candidly examined, and unanimouſly approved; which Method, for every body's Security, we ſteadily purſued through the whole Voyage; and felt the happy Effect of it on our Return, when every Tranſaction appears in its proper Light to our Owners.

8. On the laſt of *September* we ran by *Santa Lucia*, one of the Cape *de Verd* Iſlands; and, by eight in the Morning, being very near the Weſt End of the Iſland of *St. Vincent*, we bore away between it and the Iſland of *St. Antony*, and then into the Harbour of *St. Vincent*; and, about eleven a Clock, came to an Anchor in ten Fathom Water, within the Rock: Then ſeeing ſeveral Men aſhore, and knowing the Iſland not to be inhabited, Captain *Cooke* went in the Pinnace armed, to ſee what they were, and found them to be *Portugueſe*, come from the Iſland of *St. Antony* to catch Sea Tortoiſes, or, as the Seamen call them, Turtles; who told him, we might wood and water here. This Iſland lies in Latitude of 16° 55′ N. and 25° 36′ Longitude from the Meridian of *London*. There are on it great Plenty of *Guiney* Hens, ſome Hogs and Goats; and, in the Road, we caught Plenty of Fiſh. In the Woods there are abundance of large Spiders, as big as ſmall Walnuts; and their Webs very troubleſome to get thro', being as ſtrong as ordinary Threads, and very many of them. While we lay here, new Diſturbances aroſe amongſt the Men in relation to Plunder; for here we had an Opportunity of purchaſing Things, and therefore every Man wiſhed, that he had ſomething to purchaſe with. The Effects taken in the late Prize occaſioned theſe Heart-burnings; to put an End to all which, and to fix the People in a firm Reſolution of doing their Duty, we determined to ſettle this Affair at once, by framing ſuch Articles, as, without giving our Owners any Ground of Complaint, might inſpire the Seamen with Courage and Conſtancy, and make them as willing to obey, as their Officers were ready to command. It coſt ſome Trouble, to be ſure, to adjuſt and ſettle theſe Articles; but that was thoroughly compenſated, by our finding, that they effectually anſwered our Purpoſe; and that, among ſuch a Number of People, there was not one who refuſed to comply. This Paper was drawn up in the following Terms.

The Articles to be obſerved on board the Duke *and* Ducheſs.

1. THAT all Plunder, taken on board any Prize by either Ship, ſhall be equally divided between the Companies of both Ships, according to each Man's reſpective whole Shares, as ſhipped by the Owners, or their Orders.

2. That what is Plunder ſhall be adjudged by the ſuperior Officers and Agents in both Ships.

3. That if any Perſon on board either Ship do conceal Plunder, exceeding the Value of a Piece of Eight, during twenty-four Hours after the Capture of any Prize, he ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed, and loſe his Share of the Plunder. The ſame Penalty for being drunk in the Time of Action, or diſobeying the ſuperior Officer's Command, or concealing himſelf, or quitting his Poſt in Sea or Land Service.

4. If any Prize be taken by Boarding, then whatſoever is taken ſhall be every Man's own, as follows; *viz.* a Sailor, 10 *l.* any Officer below a Carpenter, 20 *l.* a Mate, Gunner, Boatſwain, and Carpenter, 40 *l.* a Lieutenant or Maſter, 80 *l.* and the Captains, 100 *l.* each, above the Gratuity promiſed by the Owners to ſuch as ſhall ſignalize themſelves.

5. Public Books of Plunder are to be kept in each Ship, atteſted by Officers; and the Plunder to be appraiſed by the Officers choſen, and divided as ſoon as poſſible after the Capture; every Perſon to be ſworn and ſearched as ſoon

as they come aboard, by ſuch Perſons as ſhall be appointed for that Purpoſe; the Perſon or Perſons refuſing ſhall forfeit their Share of the Plunder as above.

6. In Conſideration that Captain *Rogers*, and Captain *Courtney*, to make both Ships Companies eaſy, have given the whole Cabin-plunder, which, in all Probability, is the major Part, to be divided as aforeſaid, we do voluntarily agree, that they ſhall have 5 *l. per Cent*, to each of them, over and above their reſpective Shares, in Conſideration for what is their Due out of the Plunder aforeſaid.

7. That a Reward of twenty Pieces of Eight ſhall be given to him who firſt ſees a Prize of good Value, or exceeding fifty Tons in Burden.

8. That ſuch of us as have not already ſigned to the Articles of Agreement, indented with the Owners, do hereby oblige themſelves to the ſame Terms and Conditions as the reſt of the Ships Companies have done, half Wages and half Shares.

9. And for the true Execution of the above Articles, according to the Intent and Meaning thereof, and to prevent Frauds relating to Plunder, we do actually agree, that four Men ſhall be choſen out of the *Duke*, and four Men out of the *Ducheſs*, two for the Ship's Company, and two for the Officers of each Ship, who are to receive Plunder into their Poſſeſſion, and to ſearch every Man aboard, and coming from each Prize; and we make this public, to the end that no Perſon, either Officer, or Fore-maſt-man, may refuſe being ſearched by thoſe Men choſen to that Purpoſe, on Penalty of loſing their Shares in the Prize and Plunder, and undergoing ſuch Puniſhment as the Captains ſhall think proper to inflict on them.

To which Articles of Agreement we have ſet our Hands, as our full Intent and Meaning, without any Compulſion, dated *October* 7. 1708.

Signed by the Officers and Men of both Ships.

9. We were at this time under ſome Difficulties upon another Account: We had ſent our Linguiſt on ſhore to get Refreſhments. After ſtaying two Days, in which time we heeled and cleaned our Ships, and got Wood and Water on board, our Boat returned with nothing but Limes and Tobacco, and no News of our Linguiſt: But, ſoon after, there came another Boat, belonging to that Part of the Iſland where the Governor lives, with his Deputy Governor, a Negro, who brought Limes, Tobacco, Oranges, Fowls, Potatoes, Hogs, Bananas, Muſk, Water-melons, and Brandy, which we bought of him, and paid in ſuch Prize-goods as we had left of the Bark's Cargo, cheap enough. They are poor People, and will truck at any Price for what they want, in ſuch Payments as they can make. We were now ready to ſail, and, therefore, called a Council, to conſider what was to be done with reſpect to our Linguiſt, who had promiſed the Deputy Governor to wait for him at the Water-ſide, but was not ſo good as his Word; and, therefore, as this appeared to be intirely his own Fault, the Officers of both Ships came unanimouſly to a Reſolution, that we had better leave him behind, than ſuffer two Ships to wait for one Man who had diſobeyed his Orders. We were the more inclined to do this, in order to ſet a proper Example, that other People might learn, when ſent aſhore, to comply with their Inſtructions, and come on board directly when they had done their Buſineſs, without flattering themſelves, that fine Words, and fair Excuſes, would atone for Breach of Orders, and the Delay of the Voyage, to gratify the Humours and Fancies of private Men. It was, indeed, but a very indifferent Place to leave him; but, on the other hand, as he knew the Language, was well acquainted with the People among whom he was left, and might eaſily find a Paſſage home, we perſiſted in our Reſolution, and gave the neceſſary Directions for ſailing as ſoon as poſſible, that we might not loſe the Advantage of the Seaſon, or be obliged to double *Cape Horn* at a wrong Time of the Year.

10. On the 8th of *October*, at ſeven in the Evening, after putting the Deputy Governor aſhore, where he muſt lie in an Hole of the Rocks, there being no Houſe on that Part of the Iſland, we ſailed, our Conſort having got before us, and lying with a Light for us. There were ſeveral Negroes on the Iſland, that came from *St. Nicolas*, and *St. Antonio*, to make Oil of Turtle, there being very good green-Turtle at this time of the Year, which I ſometimes allowed our Men to eat; they have likewiſe wild Goats, but in no great Plenty, wild Aſſes, *Guiney* Hens, Kerlews, and abundance of Sea Fowls. Captain *Dampier*, and others aboard our Ships, that had formerly put in at *St. Iago*, another of theſe *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, told us, that though this Iſland is not often frequented by Ships, yet it is preferable to *St. Iago*, for ſuch as are outward-bound; becauſe it is a much better Road for Ships, and more convenient for Water and Wood, and has better Landing. The Iſland is mountainous and barren; the plaineſt Part lies againſt this ſandy Bay, where we rode. The Wood that grows in it is ſhort, and fit for no Uſe but Firing. They have very large Spiders here, which weave their Webs ſo ſtrong betwixt the Trees, that 'tis difficult to get through them: Where we watered, there is a little Stream, that flows down the Hill, from a Spring, and is very good; but, in other Parts, it is brackiſh. This Iſland was formerly inhabited, and had a Governor; but is now only frequented, in the Seaſon for catching Tortoiſes, by the Inhabitants of the other Iſlands, who are, for the moſt part, Negroes and Mulattoes, and very poor. The Stock of wild Goats in this Iſland is almoſt deſtroyed by the People of *St. Nicolas* and *St. Antonio*. The Heats were exceſſive to us, who came newly from *Europe*; ſo that ſeveral of our Men began to be ſick, and were blooded. Some of our Officers, that went aſhore to hunt, could meet no Game, but a wild Aſs, which, after a long Chace, they got within Shot, and wounded; yet he afterwards held out ſo as to tire them, and they returned empty and weary. Theſe Iſlands are ſo well known, that I need not ſay much of them: They are ten in Number, of which *St. Iago*, *St. Nicolas*, *Bonaviſta*, *St. Antonio*, *Brava*, *Mayo*, and *Fuego*, are inhabited; the latter is ſo named from a Volcano. *St. Iago* is much the largeſt and beſt, and the Seat of the chief Governor: It produces a ſmall Matter of Indico, Sugar, and Tobacco, which, with their Goat-ſkins, and others, they ſend to *Liſbon*. The Capital is of the ſame Name, and the See of a Biſhop. There is alſo a Town, called *Ribera Grande*, which is ſaid to conſiſt of 500 Houſes, and has a good Harbour towards the Weſt. The Air of this Iſland is not very wholſome, and the Soil uneven. Their Valleys produce ſome Corn and Wine. Their Goats are fat, and good Meat; and the Shes are ſaid to bring three or four Kids at a time, once in four Months. *St. Nicolas* is the beſt-peopled next to *St. Iago*. The Iſland *Mayo* has a great deal of Salt, naturally made by the Sun, from the Sea-water which is left from time to time in Pits on ſhore: It is known, they load many Ships with that Commodity in a Year, and are able to furniſh ſome Thouſands, had they Vent for it. The fine *Marroquin* Leather is made of their Goat-ſkins. The other inhabited Iſlands afford more or leſs of Proviſions: They have their Name from *Cape Verd*, on the *African* Coaſt, from whence they lie about 160 Leagues to the Weſtward. In our Paſſage towards the Coaſt of *Braſil*, ſome new Diſputes aroſe amongſt the Men; and, after various Conſultations, it was reſolved, that one *Page*, who was a ſecond Mate on board the *Ducheſs*, ſhould be ſent to ſerve on board the *Duke*, from whence Mr. *Ballet* was to remove on board the *Ducheſs*. Captain *Cooke* was ſent to execute this Order; but *Page* refuſed to obey it; upon which a Diſpute followed, that ended in Blows: However, *Page* was at laſt brought on board our Ship, where, being charged with Mutiny, he deſired to go to the Head to eaſe himſelf, before he made his Defence; which being permitted, he jumped over-board, in hopes of getting back to the *Ducheſs*, while both the Captains were abſent; but he was taken up, brought on board again, and puniſhed, which put an End to this Diſſenſion.

11. On the 18th of *November*, we anchored before the Iſland of *Grande* in eleven Fathom Water. While we lay here, there were new Quarrels, and things had certainly come to a great Height on board the *Ducheſs*, if Captain *Courtney* had not put eight of the Ringleaders immediately into Irons; which frighted the reſt, and, in all Probability, prevented an Attempt to run away with the Ship: Yet it

did not quite free us from ill Humours; for, on the 25th, in the Afternoon, two *Iriſh* Land-men ſtole into the Woods, thinking to get away from us, though two ſuch Sparks ran away the 23d from the *Ducheſs*, and in the Night were ſo frightened with Tygers, as they thought, but really by Monkeys and Baboons, that they plunged into the Water, hollowing to the Ship, till they were fetched aboard again. About four next Morning, the Watch on the Quarter-deck ſpied a Canoe, and called her to come on board; but they not anſwering, and ſtriving to get away, made our People ſuſpect they had either got our Men that ran away, or were coming, by Agreement, to fetch them off the Iſland which was uninhabited. We immediately ſent the Pinnace and Yawl after them; the Pinnace, coming up near the Canoe, fired, to ſtay them, but to no Purpoſe; at laſt, they wounded one of the *Indians* that rowed in the Canoe: He that owned and ſteered her was a Frier, and had a Quantity of Gold, which he got at the Mines, I ſuppoſe by his Trade of confeſſing the Ignorant. The Frier had juſt run the Canoe aſhore on a little Iſland, full of Wood, as our Boats landed; and afterwards told us he had ſome Gold there. A *Portugueſe*, that would not run away with the Father, becauſe he had no Gold to hide, knew our People to be *Engliſh*, and called the Father back. The Man that was wounded could not move, and was brought by our Men, with the Father and ſeveral Slaves, that rowed the large Canoe, on board our Ship, where our Surgeon dreſſed the wounded *Indian*, who died in two Hours time. I made the Father as welcome as I could; but he was very uneaſy at the Loſs of his Gold, and the Death of his Slave; and ſaid, he would ſeek for Juſtice in *Portugal* or *England*. The next Day, both our Men were taken and put in Irons; and the laſt Day of this Month we left this Place, of which I ſhall give the Reader a ſhort Deſcription.

12. The Iſland *Grande* is remarkably high Land, with a ſmall Cliff and a Tip ſtanding up on one Side, in the Middle of the higheſt Land, eaſy to be ſeen, if clear. And there is a ſmall Iſland to the Southward without it, which riſes in three little Hummocks: The neareſt Hummock to the Iſland is the leaſt; as we came in-and-out we ſaw it, and it appears alike on both Sides. There is alſo a ſingularly round white Rock, that lies on the Larboard Side neareſt to *Grande*, between it and the Main at the Entrance going in. On the Starboard Side there are ſeveral Iſlands, and the Main is much like Iſlands, till you get well in. The beſt Way, when you open the Coves that are inhabited on the Starboard Side going in, is to get a Pilot to carry you to the Watering-cove within *Grande*; otherwiſe ſend in a Boat to the freſh-water Cove, which lies round the inner weſtermoſt Point of the Iſland, and near a League in the Paſſage is between ſmall Iſlands, but room enough, and bold: It is the ſecond Cove under the firſt high Mount, and round behind the firſt Point you ſee when you are in between the two Iſlands. This is the Cove where we watered; there are two other Coves very good, with ſome Shole-banks between them, but no Shole-ground before we come to this Cove. We ſounded all the Paſſage in, and ſeldom found leſs than ten Fathom Water, but had not Time to know or ſound the reſt of the Coves. The Town bears North-eaſt about three Leagues diſtant from this Cove. The Iſland of *Grande* is near about nine Leagues long, high Land, and ſo is the Main within: All you ſee near the Water-ſide is thick, covered with Wood. The Iſland abounds with Monkeys, and other wild Beaſts; has Plenty of good Timber, Fire-wood, and excellent Water, with Oranges and Lemons, with Guavas growing wild in the Woods. The Neceſſaries we got from the Town were Rum, Sugar, and Tobacco, which they ſell very dear, tho' not good to ſmoke, 'tis ſo very ſtrong. We had alſo Fowls and Hogs, but the latter are ſcarce; Beef and Mutton are cheap, but no great Quantity to be had; *Indian* Corn, Bananas, and Plantains, Guavas, Lemons, Oranges, and Pine-apples, they abound with, but have no Bread, except Caſſado, (the ſame Sort as is eaten in our *Weſt Indies*) which they call *Faranada Pan*, Bread of Wood; they have no kind of Salading. We had fine pleaſant Weather moſt of the Time we were here, but hot like an Oven, the Sun being right over us. The Winds we did not much obſerve, becauſe they were little and variable, but commonly between the North and the Eaſt. We cleared an ordinary *Portugueſe* here, called *Emanuel de Santo*, and ſhipped another, whoſe Name was *Emanuel Gonſalves*. I had *Newhoff*'s Account of *Braſil* on board; and, by all the Inquiry and Obſervation I could make, found his Deſcription of the Country, its Product, and Animals, to be juſt, particularly of that Monſter called Liboya, or the Roebuck Serpent; which I inquired after, thinking it incredible, till the *Portugueſe* Governor told me, there are ſome thirty Feet long, as big as a Barrel, and that devour a Roebuck at once, from whence they had their Name. I was alſo told, that one of theſe Serpents was killed near this Place a little before our Arrival. Tygers are very common here on the Continent, but not ſo ravenous as thoſe of *India*. The Product of *Braſil* is well known to be Redwood, Sugars, Gold, Tobacco, Whale-oil, Snuff, and ſeveral ſorts of Drugs. The *Portugueſe* build their beſt Ships here. The Country is now become very populous, and the People delight much in Arms, eſpecially about the Gold Mines, where thoſe of all Sorts reſort, but moſtly Negroes and Mulattoes. 'Tis but four Years ſince they would be under no Government, but now they have ſubmitted. Some Men of Repute here told me, the Mines increaſe very faſt, and that Gold is got much eaſier at thoſe Mines, than in any other Country. The *Braſilian* Women are very fruitful, have eaſy Labour, retire to the Woods, where they bring forth alone, and return after waſhing themſelves and their Child; the Huſbands lying a-bed the firſt twenty-four Hours, and being treated as if they had endured the Pains. The *Tapoyars*, who inhabit the inland Country on the Weſt, are the moſt barbarous of the Natives, taller and ſtronger than the reſt, and indeed than moſt *Europeans*. They wear little Sticks through their Cheeks and Under-lips, are ſaid to be Man-eaters, and uſe poiſoned Darts and Arrows; they change their Habitations according to the Seaſon, and live chiefly by Hunting and Fiſhing. Their Kings, and great Men, are diſtinguiſhed by the manner of ſhaving their Crowns, and their long Nails. Their Prieſts are Sorcerers; make them believe, that the Devils appear to them in Form of Inſects; and perform their diabolical Worſhip in the Night, when the Women make a diſmal Howling, which is their chief Devotion: They allow Polygamy, yet puniſh Adultery by Death; and when young Women are marriageable, but courted by nobody, their Mothers carried them to their Princes, who deflower them, and this they reckon a great Honour. Some of theſe People were much civilized by the *Dutch*, and very ſerviceable to them, but ſtill kept under Subjection to their own Kings. We continued our Voyage, coaſting very far to the South, where we endured great Cold, which affected our Men extremely, inſomuch that a third Part of both Ships Companies fell ſick; and this induced us to bear away for the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*; which we, however, did not find very eaſily, on account of its being laid down differently in all the Charts; and Captain *Dampier* was likewiſe a good deal at a Loſs, tho' he had been here ſo often, and tho' he had a Map of the Iſland in his Head, that agreed exactly with the Country when we came to ſee it: Which ought to induce Sea-officers to prefer what is properly their Buſineſs to idle Amuſements; ſince, with all this Knowledge, we were forced to make Main-land of *Chili* in order to find this Iſland, and did not ſtrike it without Difficulty at laſt.

13. On *February* 1. 1709. we came before that Iſland, having had a good Obſervation the Day before, and found our Latitude to be 34° 10' South. In the Afternoon, we hoiſted out our Pinnace; and Captain *Dover*, with the Boat's Crew, went in her to go aſhore, though we could not be leſs than four Leagues off. As ſoon as the Pinnace was gone, I went on board the *Ducheſs*, who admired our Boat attempting going aſhore at that Diſtance from Land. It was againſt my Inclination; but, to oblige Captain *Dover*, I let her go: As ſoon as it was dark, we ſaw a Light aſhore. Our Boat was then about a League from the Iſland, and bore away for the Ships as ſoon as ſhe ſaw the Lights: We put our Lights aboard for the Boat, tho' ſome were of Opinion, the Lights we ſaw were our Boat's Lights: But, as Night came on, it appeared too large for that: We fired

our Quarter-deck Gun, and ſeveral Muſquets, ſhewing Lights in our Mizen and Fore-ſhrouds, that our Boat might find us whilſt we were in the Lee of the Iſland: About two in the Morning our Boat came on board, having been two Hours on board the *Ducheſs*, that took them up a-ſtern of us; we were glad they got well off, becauſe it began to blow. We were all convinced the Light was on the Shore, and deſigned to make our Ships ready to engage, believing them to be *French* Ships at Anchor, and we muſt either fight them, or want Water. All this Stir and Apprehenſion aroſe, as we afterwards found, from one poor naked Man, who paſſed, in our Imagination, at preſent, for a *Spaniſh* Gariſon, a Body of *Frenchmen*, or a Crew of Pirates. While we were under theſe Apprehenſions, we ſtood on the Backſide of the Iſland, in order to fall in with the Southerly Wind, till we were paſſed the Iſland; and then we came back to it again, and ran cloſe aboard the Land that begins to make the North-eaſt Side. We ſtill continued to reaſon upon this Matter; and it is in a manner incredible, what ſtrange Notions many of our People entertained from the Sight of this Fire upon the Iſland. It ſerved, however, to ſhew Peoples Tempers and Spirits; and we were able to give a tolerable Gueſs how our Men would behave, in caſe there really were any Enemies upon the Iſland. The Flaws came heavy off the Shore, and we were forced to reef our Top-ſails when we opened the middle Bay, where we expected to have found our Enemy; but ſaw all clear, and no Ships, nor the other Bay next the North-eaſt End. Theſe two Bays are all that Ships ride in, which recruit on this Iſland; but the middle Bay is by much the beſt. We gueſſed there had been Ships there, but that they were gone on Sight of us. We ſent our Yawl aſhore about Noon, with Captain *Dover*, Mr. *Fry*, and ſix Men, all armed: Mean while we and the *Ducheſs* kept turning to get in, and ſuch heavy Flaws came off the Land, that we were forced to let go our Top-ſail Sheet, keeping all Hands to ſtand by our Sails, for fear of the Winds carrying them away: But when the Flaws were gone, we had little or no Wind. Theſe Flaws proceeded from the Land, which is very high in the Middle of the Iſland. Our Boat did not return; we ſent our Pinnace with the Men armed, to ſee what was the Occaſion of the Yawl's Stay; for we were afraid, that the *Spaniards* had a Gariſon there, and might have ſeized them. We put out a Signal for our Boat, and the *Ducheſs* ſhewed a *French* Enſign. Immediately our Pinnace returned from the Shore, and brought abundance of Cray-fiſh, with a Man cloathed in Goat-ſkins, who looked wilder than the firſt Owners of them. He had been on the Iſland four Years and four Months, being left there by Captain *Straddling* in the *Cinque-ports*; his Name was *Alexander Selkirk*, a *Scotſman*, who had been Maſter of the *Cinque-ports*, a Ship that came here laſt with Captain *Dampier*, who told me, that this was the beſt Man in her. I immediately agreed with him to be a Mate on board our Ship: 'Twas he that made the Fire laſt Night when he ſaw our Ships, which he judged to be *Engliſh*. During his Stay here, he ſaw ſeveral Ships paſs by, but only two came in to Anchor: As he went to view them, he found them to be *Spaniards*, and retired from them; upon which they ſhot at him: Had they been *French*, he would have ſubmitted; but choſe to riſque his dying alone on the Iſland, rather than fall into the Hands of *Spaniards* in theſe Parts; becauſe he apprehended they would murder him, or make a Slave of him in the Mines; for he feared they would ſpare no Stranger that might be capable of diſcovering the South Seas. The *Spaniards* had landed, before he knew what they were; and they came ſo near him, that he had much ado to eſcape; for they not only ſhot at him, but purſued him to the Woods, where he climbed to the Top of a Tree, at the Foot of which they made Water, and killed ſeveral Goats juſt by, but went off again without diſcovering him. He told us, that he was born at *Largo*, in the County of *Fife*, in *Scotland*, and was bred a Sailor from his Youth. The Reaſon of his being left here, was a Difference between him and his Captain; which, together with the Ship's being leaky, made him willing rather to ſtay here, than go along with him at firſt; and, when he was at laſt willing to go, the Captain would not receive him. He had been at the Iſland before to wood and water, when two of the Ship's Company were left upon it for ſix Months, till the Ship returned, being chaſed thence by two *French* South Sea Ships. He had with him his Cloaths and Bedding, with a Firelock, ſome Powder, Bullets, and Tobacco, a Hatchet, a Knife, a Kettle, a Bible, ſome practical Pieces, and his mathematical Inſtruments and Books. He diverted and provided for himſelf as well as he could; but, for the firſt eight Months, had much ado to bear up againſt Melancholy, and the Terror of being left alone in ſuch a deſolate Place. He built two Huts with Pimento-trees, covered them with long Graſs, and lined them with the Skins of Goats, which he killed with his Gun as he wanted, ſo long as his Powder laſted, which was but a Pound; and that being almoſt ſpent, he got Fire by rubbing two Sticks of Pimento Wood together upon his Knee. In the leſſer Hut, at ſome Diſtance from the other, he dreſſed his Victuals; and in the larger he ſlept, and employed himſelf in reading, ſinging Pſalms, and praying; ſo that he ſaid, he was a better Chriſtian, while in this Solitude, than ever he was before, or than, he was afraid, he ſhould ever be again. At firſt he never eat any thing till Hunger conſtrained him, partly for Grief, and partly for want of Bread and Salt: Nor did he go to Bed, till he could watch no longer; the Pimento Wood, which burnt very clear, ſerved him both for Fire and Candle, and refreſhed him with its fragrant Smell. He might have had Fiſh enough, but would not eat them for want of Salt, becauſe they occaſioned a Looſeneſs, except Cray-fiſh, which are as large as our Lobſters, and very good: Theſe he ſometimes boiled, and at other times broiled, as he did his Goats Fleſh, of which he made very good Broth, for they are not ſo rank as ours: He kept an Account of 500 that he killed while there, and caught as many more, which he marked on the Ear, and let go. When his Powder failed, he took them by Speed of Feet; for his way of Living, continual Exerciſe of Walking and Running, cleared him of all groſs Humours; ſo that he ran with wonderful Swiftneſs thro' the Woods, and up the Rocks and Hills, as we perceived when we employed him to catch Goats for us: We had a Bull-dog, which we ſent, with ſeveral of our nimbleſt Runners, to help him in catching Goats; but he diſtanced and tired both the Dog and the Men, caught the Goats, and brought them to us on his Back. He told us, that his Agility in purſuing a Goat had once like to have coſt him his Life; he purſued it with ſo much Eagerneſs, that he catched hold of it on the Brink of a Precipice, of which he was not aware, the Buſhes hiding it from him; ſo that he fell with the Goat down the Precipice, a great Height, and was ſo ſtunned and bruiſed with the Fall, that he narrowly eſcaped with his Life; and, when he came to his Senſes, found the Goat dead under him: He lay there about twenty-four Hours, and was ſcarce able to crawl to his Hut, which was about a Mile diſtant, or to ſtir abroad again in ten Days. He came at laſt to reliſh his Meat well enough without Salt or Bread; and, in the Seaſon, had Plenty of good Turneps, which had been ſowed there by Captain *Dampier*'s Men, and have now overſpread ſome Acres of Ground. He had enough of good Cabbage from the Cabbage-trees, and ſeaſoned his Meat with the Fruit of the Pimento-trees, which is the ſame as *Jamaica* Pepper, and ſmells deliciouſly: He found alſo a black Pepper, called Malageta, which was very good to expel Wind, and againſt Griping in the Guts. He ſoon wore out all his Shoes and Cloaths by running in the Woods; and, at laſt, being forced to ſhift without them, his Feet became ſo hard, that he ran every-where without Difficulty; and it was ſome time before he could wear Shoes after we found him; for, not being uſed to any ſo long, his Feet ſwelled, when he came firſt to wear them again. After he had conquered his Melancholy, he diverted himſelf ſometimes with cutting his Name on the Trees, and the Time of his being left, and Continuance there. He was at firſt much peſtered with Cats and Rats, that had bred in great Numbers, from ſome of each Species, which had got aſhore from Ships that put in there to wood and water: The Rats gnawed his Feet and Cloaths whilſt aſleep, which obliged him to cheriſh the Cats with his Goats Fleſh, by which many of them became ſo tame, that they would lie about him in Hundreds, and ſoon delivered him from the Rats: He likewiſe tamed ſome Kids; and, to divert himſelf, would, now-and-then, ſing and dance with them, and his Cats: So that, by the Favour of Providence, and Vigour of his Youth, being now but thirty Years old, he came, at laſt, to conquer all the Inconveniencies of his Solitude, and to be very eaſy. When his Cloaths were out, he made himſelf a Coat and a Cap of Goat-ſkins, which he ſtitched together, with little Thongs of the ſame, that he cut with his Knife. He had no other Needle, but a Nail; and, when his Knife was worn to the Back, he made others, as well as he could, of ſome Iron Hoops, that were left aſhore, which he beat thin, and ground upon Stones. Having ſome Linen-cloth by him, he ſewed him ſome Shirts with a Nail, and ſtitched them with the Worſted of his old Stockings, which he pulled out on purpoſe. He had his laſt Shirt on, when we found him in the Iſland. At his firſt coming on board us, he had ſo much forgot his Language, for want of Uſe, that we could ſcarce underſtand him; for he ſeemed to ſpeak his Words by halves. We offered him a Dram; but he would not touch it, having drank nothing but Water ſince his being there; and it was ſome time before he could reliſh our Victuals. He could give us an Account of no other Product of the Iſland, than what we have mentioned, except ſome black Plums, which are very good, but hard to come at, the Trees, which bear them, growing on high Mountains and Rocks. Pimento-trees are plenty here, and we ſaw ſome of ſixty Feet high, and about two Yards thick; and Cotton-trees higher, and near four Fathom round in the Stock. The Climate is ſo good, that the Trees and Graſs are verdant all the Year round. The Winter laſts no longer than *June* and *July*, and is not then ſevere, there being only a ſmall Froſt, and a little Hail; but ſometimes great Rains. The Heat of the Summer is equally moderate; and there is not much Thunder, or tempeſtuous Weather of any ſort. He ſaw no venomous or ſavage Creature on the Iſland, nor any other ſort of Beaſts, but Goats, the firſt of which had been put aſhore here, on purpoſe for a Breed, by *Juan Fernandez* a *Spaniard*, who ſettled there, with ſome Families, till the Continent of *Chili* began to ſubmit to the *Spaniards*; which, being more profitable, tempted them to quit this Iſland, capable, however, of maintaining a good Number of People, and being made ſo ſtrong, that they could not be eaſily diſlodged from thence. *February* 3. we got our Smith's Forge on ſhore, ſet our Coopers to work, and made a little Tent for me to have the Benefit of the Air. The *Ducheſs* had alſo a Tent for their ſick Men; ſo that we had a ſmall Town of our own here; and every-body employed, a few Men ſupplied us all with Fiſh of ſeveral ſorts, all very good, in ſuch abundance, that, in a few Hours, we could take as many, as would ſerve 200. There were Sea-fowls in the Bay, as large as Geeſe; but eat fiſhy. The Governor never failed of procuring us two or three Goats a Day for our ſick Men; by which, with the Help of the Greens, and the wholſome Air, they recovered very ſoon of the Scurvy; ſo that Captain *Dover* and I both thought it a very agreeable Seat, the Weather being neither too hot, nor too cold. We ſpent our Time, till the 10th, in refitting our Ships, taking Wood on board, and laying in Water, that which we brought from *England* and *St. Vincent*, being ſpoiled by the Badneſs of the Caſks. We likewiſe boiled up about eighty Gallons of Sea-lions Oil, as we might have done ſeveral Tons, had we been provided with Veſſels. We refined it for our Lamps, and to ſave Candles. The Sailors ſometimes uſe it to fry their Meat, for want of Butter, and find it agreeable enough. The Men, who worked on our Rigging, eat young Seels, which they preferred to our Ship's Victuals, and ſaid, it was as good as *Engliſh* Lamb, though I ſhould have been glad of ſuch an Exchange. We made what Haſte we could to get all the Neceſſaries on board, being willing to loſe no Time; for we were informed at the *Canaries*, that five ſtout *French* Ships were coming together to theſe Seas.

14. The Iſland of *Juan Fernandez* lies in the Latitude of 33° 49′ South, Longitude from *St. Mary's* 5° 38′, meridian Diſtance from the ſame 4° 43′ Weſt, the Variation of the Compaſs here 6° Eaſt. This Iſland is high ragged Land, in Length about ſix Leagues, and about three in Breadth. I know of nothing about it that may endanger a Ship, but what may be ſeen. We anchored in the great Bay, our beſt Bower in forty Fathom Water, and then carried the Stream-anchor in with the Shore, which we let go in about thirty Fathom Water, mooring on and off about a Mile from the Bottom of the Bay, where we found plenty of Fiſh of ſeveral ſorts, as Silver-fiſh, Snappers, Bonetoes, and a very large Cray-fiſh. The Wind here commonly blows off the Shore, ſometimes very hard Squalls, elſe generally calm; and the Water we rode in very ſmooth, by reaſon of the Winding of the Shore. The Man we found here, mentioned at our coming to this Iſland, told me, it had never blown in above four Hours all the time he was there. The Situation of the Iſland is North-weſt and South-eaſt, and receives its Name from its firſt Diſcoverer *John Fernandez* a *Spaniard*. It is all Hills and Valleys, and, I queſtion not, would produce moſt Plants, if manured; for the Soil, in moſt Places, promiſes well; and there are ſome Turneps, and other Roots, which, I ſuppoſe, were formerly ſowed; and there is great plenty of Wood and Water, as alſo of wild Goats, which we daily took with Dogs, or elſe ſhot them. In every Bay, there are ſuch Multitudes of great Sea-lions, and Seels of ſeveral ſorts, all with excellent Furs, that we could ſcarcely walk along the Shore for them, as they lay about in Flocks, like Sheep, the Young-ones bleating like Lambs. Some of the Sea-lions are as big as our *Engliſh* Oxen, and roar like Lions. They cut near a Foot in Fat, having ſhort Hair, of a light Colour, which is ſtill lighter in the young ones. I ſuppoſe they feed on Graſs and Fiſh; for they come aſhore by the Help of their two Fore-feet, and draw their Hinder-part after them, and lie in great Numbers in the Sun. Theſe we kill chiefly to make Oil, which is very good; but it is an hard Matter to kill them. Both the Seels and Lions are ſo thick on the Shore, that we were forced to drive them away, before we could land, being ſo numerous, that it is ſcarce credible to thoſe, who have not ſeen them; and they make a moſt prodigious Noiſe. Beſides, we met with ſuch plenty of Fiſh, as Polloc, Cavallos, Hakes, Old-wives, and large Cray-fiſh, as good as our Lobſters, *&c.* that, in four Hours, two Men in a Boat near the Shore, in five or ſix Fathom Water, might take enough to ſerve 200 Men. There are but few Birds: One ſort burrows in the Earth, like Rabbets, which the *Spaniards* call *Pardelas*, and ſay, they are good to eat. One of them flew into the Fire at our ſick Mens Tent. And here are alſo Humming-birds, about as big as Bees; their Bill about the Bigneſs of a Pin; their Legs proportionable to the Body; the Feathers mighty ſmall, but of moſt beautiful Colours. They are ſeldom taken, or ſeen, but in the Evening, when they fly about, and ſometimes, when dark, into the Fire. I had almoſt forgot the wild Cats here, which are of ſeveral Colours; but, being of the *European* kind, no more need be ſaid of them. I believe there is no venomous Creature on the Iſland. This Iſland produces a ſort of Cabbage-tree, which is in the nature of a Palm; the Cabbage ſmall, but very ſweet. The Tree is ſlender and ſtrait, with Knots about fourteen Inches above one another, and no Leaves, except at the Top. The Branches are about twelve Feet in Length; and, about a Foot and an half from the Body of the Tree, ſhoot out Leaves, which are four Feet long, and an Inch broad, growing ſo regularly, that the whole Branch looks like one intire Leaf. The Cabbage, when cut out from the Bottom of the Branches, is about a Foot long, and very white; and, at the Bottom of it, grow Cluſters of Berries, five or ſix Pounds Weight, like Bunches of Grapes, as red as Cherries, bigger than our black Cherries, with a large Stone in the Middle, and taſte almoſt like our Haws. The Trunk of the Tree is eighty or ninety Feet long, being always cut down to get the Cabbage. We found here ſome *Guiney* Pepper, and Silk Cotton-trees, with ſeveral other ſorts of Plants, whoſe Names I am not acquainted with. Pimento is the beſt Timber, and moſt plentiful, on this Side the Iſland; but very apt to ſplit, till a little dried. We cut the longeſt and cleaneſt to ſplit for Fire-wood. The Cabbage-trees abound about three Miles in the Woods, and the Cabbage very good. Moſt of them are on the Tops of the neareſt Mountains. In the firſt Plain, we found ſtore of Turnep-greens, and Water-creſſes in the Brooks, which mightily refreſhed our Men, and cleanſed them from the Scurvy. The Turneps, Mr. *Selkirk* ſays, are good in our Summer Months, which

is Winter here; but, this being Autumn, they were all run to Seed: So that we could not have the Benefit of any thing, but the Greens. The Soil is a looſe black Earth, the Rocks very rotten; ſo that, without great Care, it is dangerous to climb the Hills for Cabbages. Beſides, there are abundance of Holes dug in ſeveral Places by a ſort of Fowls, like Puffins, which fall in at once, and endanger the wrenching or breaking of a Man's Leg. Mr. *Selkirk* told me, he had ſeen Snow and Ice here in *July*; but the Spring, which is in *September*, *October*, and *November*, is very pleaſant, when there was abundance of good Herbs, as Parſley, Purſlain, Sithes in great plenty, beſides an Herb found by the Water-ſide, which proved very uſeful to our Surgeons for Fomentations. It is not much unlike Feverfew, of a very grateful Smell, like Balm; but of a ſtronger and more cordial Scent. It is in great plenty near the Shore. We gathered many large Bundles of it, dried them in the Shade, and ſent them on board, beſides great Quantities that we carried in every Morning to ſtrew the Tents; which tended much to the ſpeedy Recovery of our ſick Men, of whom none died, but two belonging to the *Ducheſs*; *viz. Edward Wilts*, and *Chriſtopher Williams*.

15. On *February* 13. we held a Conſultation, in which we made ſeveral Regulations for preſerving Secrecy, Diſcipline, and ſtrict Honeſty, on board both Veſſels; and, on the 17th, we ſettled another Matter of as great Importance, which was, that two Men from on board the *Duke* ſhould be put on board the *Ducheſs*, and two Men from on board the *Ducheſs* on board the *Duke*, in order to ſee, that Juſtice was reciprocally done by each Ship's Company to the other. On the 28th, we hoiſted both Pinnaces into the Water, to try them under Sail, with a Gun fixed in each of them, and whatever elſe was requiſite to render them very ſerviceable ſmall Privateers. We found the Nights very cold, and the Days not near ſo warm as might have been expected in that Latitude, where there never falls any Rain, but ſuch Dews in the Night, as are equivalent to it, tho' the Air is, generally ſpeaking, ſerene. On *May* 15. in the Evening, we ſaw a Sail: Our Conſort, being neareſt, ſoon took her. She was a little Veſſel, of ſixteen Ton, from *Payta*, bound to *Cheripe* for Flour, with a ſmall Sum of Money to purchaſe it; the Maſter's Name *Antonio Heliagos*, a *Meſtizo*, or one begotten between an *Indian* and a *Spaniard*; his Crew eight Men, one of them a *Spaniard*, one a Negro, and the reſt *Indians*. We aſked them for News; and they aſſured us, that all the *French* Ships, being ſeven in Number, ſailed out of theſe Seas ſix Months ago; and that no more were to return: Adding, that the *Spaniards* had ſuch an Averſion to them, that, at *Callao*, the Seaport for *Lima*, they killed ſo many of the *French*, and quarrelled ſo frequently with them, that none were ſuffered to come aſhore there for ſome time before they ſailed from thence. After we had put Men aboard the Prize, he haled off cloſe on a Wind for *Lobos*, having ſhot within it; and, had we not been better informed by the Crew of the Prize, might have endangered our Ships, by running in farther, becauſe there are Sholes between the Iſland and the Main. There is a Paſſage for Boats to Windward to come into the Road, which is to the Leeward of theſe Iſlands, in a Sound between them. It is not half a Mile broad; but above a Mile deep; has from ten to twelve Fathom Water, and good Anchor-ground. There is no coming in for Ships, but to Leeward of the Iſlands. We went in with a ſmall Weather-tide, though I never perceived it to flow above three Feet whilſt we lay here. The Wind commonly blows Southerly, veering a little to the Eaſtward. On the Eaſtermoſt Iſland, (which was on our Larboard Side as we lay at Anchor in the Sound) there is a round Hummock, and behind it a ſmall Cove, very ſmooth, deep, and convenient enough for a Ship to careen in. There we haled up, and fitted our little Frigate. The higheſt Part of the Iſland appears, in the Road, not much higher than a large Ship's Top-maſt-head. The Soil is an hungry, white, clayiſh Earth, mixed with Sand and Rocks. There is no freſh Water, or green Thing, on the Iſlands. Here is abundance of Vulturs *alias* Carrion-crows, which looked ſo like Turkeys, that one of our Officers, at landing, bleſſed himſelf at the Sight, and hoped to fare deliciouſly here. He was ſo eager, that he would not ſtay till the Boat could put him aſhore; but leaped into the Water with his Gun, and, getting near enough to a Parcel, let fly at them: But, when he came to take up his Game, it ſtunk inſufferably, and made us merry at his Miſtake. The other Birds here are, Penguins, Pelicans, Boobies, Gulls, and a ſort of Fowls like a Teal, that neſtle in Holes on the Land. Our Men got Loads of them, which they ſkinned, and praiſed them for very good Meat. We found abundance of Bulruſhes, and empty Jars, that the *Spaniſh* Fiſhermen had left aſhore. All over this Coaſt they uſe Jars inſtead of Caſks for Oil, Wine, and all other ſorts of Liquids. Here is abundance of Seels, and ſome Sea-lions. The Seels are much larger than at *Juan Fernandez*; but the Fur not ſo fine. Our People killed ſeveral, with a Deſign to eat their Livers; but one of our Crew, a *Spaniard*, dying ſuddenly after eating them, I forbad the Uſe of them. Our Priſoners told us, they accounted theſe old Seels very unwholſome. The Wind, always blowing freſh over the Land, brought an ugly noiſome Smell aboard from the Seels aſhore; which gave me a violent Head-ach; and every body elſe complained of this nauſeous Smell. We found nothing ſo offenſive at *Juan Fernandez*. Our Priſoners told us, they expected the Widow of the late Viceroy of *Peru* would ſhortly embarque for *Acapulco*, with her Family and Riches, and ſtop at *Payta* to refreſh, or ſail near in Sight, as cuſtomary, in one of the King's Ships of thirty-ſix Guns; and that, about eight Months ago, there was a Ship, with 200,000 Pieces of Eight aboard, the reſt of her Cargo Liquors and Flour, which had paſſed *Payta* for *Acapulco*. Our Priſoners added, that they left Seignor *Morel* in a ſtout Ship, with dry Goods, for *Lima*, recruiting at *Payta*, where he expected in a few Days a *French* built Ship belonging to the *Spaniards* to come from *Panama* richly laden, with a Biſhop aboard. *Payta* is a common recruiting Place to thoſe, who go to or from *Lima*, or moſt Parts to Windward, in their Trade to *Panama*, or any Part of the Coaſt of *Mexico*. Upon this Advice, we agreed to ſpend as much Time as poſſible cruiſing off of *Payta*, without diſcovering ourſelves, for fear of hindering our other Deſigns.

16. On *April* 1. we took a Galleon, by which I mean no more than a Ship built in that manner, commanded by two Brothers, whoſe Names were *Joſeph* and *John Morel*. She was of the Burden of 500 Ton, laden with dry Goods and Negroes. The next Day we took another Prize; and, on the 7th, Mr. *Vanbrugh* was removed from the Council. But here our Authors differ: Captain *Rogers* ſays, that Captain *Dover* accuſed him of great Inſolence to him; but Captain *Cooke* ſays, that it was Captain *Rogers* himſelf that accuſed him, for offering to vote with him, right or wrong, upon all Occaſions. It was a great Pity theſe Diſputes happened at that time, when all things were preparing for Action, and a Reſolution taken to attack the Town of *Guiaquil*, however provided; in order to which, it was determined to ſend the *Duke* and the *Beginning* to *Payta*, the latter to go in and take a View of the Harbour, to ſee if there were any Ships in it, and afterwards to cruiſe with thirty Men, in hopes of falling in with the aforeſaid Biſhop. This was a Seaſon of great Conſultation, which was ſoon ſucceeded by Action. And here I chuſe to follow both Authors, in order to avoid that Air of Partiality and Vanity, which appears in one of them, the World deſiring to know only Facts, and not being at all edified with the Diſputes amongſt two or three Captains for Command, tho' it does not appear, that Captain *Courtney* was ever affected with this ſort of Folly. On *April* 11. there was a grand Council held on board the *Duke*, wherein all things were fully conſidered, the Conqueſt of *Guiaquil* reſolved on, and a Paper, in the Nature of Inſtructions from the Committee to the Commanders in chief, was prepared; which, however formal it might ſeem, was undoubtedly a very right Method, and kept, as well as taught, every Man in his Duty.

17. On *April* 12. it was reſolved in a Committee, not to ſend the *Beginning* Prize into *Payta*, as had been agreed on, for fear of being diſcovered; but to attempt the Town of *Guiaquil*, the Enterprize to be conducted by the three Captains *Dover*, *Rogers*, and *Courtney*; the firſt to command a Company of Marines of ſeventy Men; the ſecond a Company of Officers and Sailors of ſeventy-one Men; the third ſuch another Company of ſeventy-three Men; Captain

Dampier, with the Artillery, and, for a Reſerve, upon Occaſion, twenty-two Men: In all, 238. Captain *Edward Cooke* to command the *Ducheſs*, with Forty-two Men; Captain *Robert Fry*, the *Duke*, with forty Men; Total, 320 Men: The *Blacks*, *Indians*, and Priſoners, were about 266 more. On the 13th, we haled in for *Cape Blanco*, that is, *White Cape*; and at Noon it bore Eaſt South-eaſt, diſtant ten Leagues: A Committee being held, it was agreed, for the Encouragement of Officers and Men, that all Bedding and Cloaths, Gold Rings, Buttons and Buckles, Liquors and Proviſions, for their own Expence and Uſe, with all Sorts of Arms, except great Guns for Ships, ſhould be allowed as Plunder, to be equally divided to every Man aboard, or aſhore, according to his whole Shares; that all wrought Gold or Silver, Crucifixes, Watches, found about the Priſoners, or wearing Apparel of any Kind, ſhould alſo be Plunder, except Money, Womens Ear-rings, looſe Diamonds, Pearls, and Precious Stones; and, in caſe any thing was not ſufficiently explained in this Order, a Committee ſhould, after the Expedition, meet again, upon Application made to them; and determine what further ought to be reputed Plunder, without Fraud to the Owners, or Prejudice to the Officers and Men: That no Perſons ſhould miſinterpret this Allowance, ſo as to ſecure or conceal either wrought or unwrought Gold or Silver, Pearls, Jewels, Diamonds, or Precious Stones, not found about Priſoners, or their wearing Apparel, which ſhould be looked upon as a high Miſdemeanour, and ſeverely puniſhed: That none ſhould keep any Plunder, but deliver it to his Officer publicly, and carry it to the Place appointed to depoſit it: That in caſe any Town, Fort, or Ship, were taken by Storm, the Encouragement agreed on at the Iſland of *St. Vincent* mentioned, ſhould be allowed to each Man, over-and-above the Gratuity promiſed by the Owners to thoſe that ſignalized themſelves: But if any Party ſhould be engaged with another of the Enemy, and defeat them, then all the Priſoners, and the Arms and Moveables about them, ſhould be divided among them only who were in Action: All the Plunder taken aſhore, to be taken aboard by Perſons appointed for that Purpoſe, and entered in public Books, for the Satisfaction of all concerned. Thoſe who ſhould commit any Diſorder aſhore, diſobey Command, quit their Poſt, diſcourage the Men, behave themſelves cowardly in any Action, burn or deſtroy any thing without Orders, or debauch Priſoners, to loſe all their Shares of the Plunder, and be ſeverely puniſhed otherwiſe. On the 15th in the Morning, we ſaw a Sail near the Shore; and, having little Wind, the *Duke*'s Boat, commanded by Capt. *Fry*, and the *Ducheſs*'s, by Capt. *Cooke*, rowed directly for her, going off in ſuch Haſte, that neither of us had the Swivel Guns we uſed to carry in the Boats, nor our full Complement of Men, only ten Muſquets, four Piſtols, and not much Powder and Shot, nor any Water; and rowed very hard to come with the Ship for the Space of ſix Leagues: The *Duke*'s Boat coming firſt near her, ſhe put out *Spaniſh* Colours, fired a Gun at them, and hoiſted a *Spaniſh* Flag at the Main-top-maſt-head: The *Duke*'s Boat then lay-by for us to come up; we ſaw ſhe was *French* built, and, by the Account the Priſoners had given us before, concluded it muſt be the Ship we had been ſo long cruiſing for, which was to carry the Biſhop. Our Ships being almoſt out of Sight, and the *Spaniards* ſo near the Coaſt, and making the beſt of her Way to run aſhore in a ſandy Bay, we reſolved to lay her aboard in each Bow, and accordingly made the beſt of our Way, I being then on her Weather Quarter, and Captain *Fry* on her Lee: We deſigned to have told them we were Friends, till got out of the Way of their Stern-chace; but the *Duke*'s Men, thinking the *Spaniards* had been going to give us a Volley, poured in their Shot among them, then laid in our Oars, and fell to it: The Diſpute was hot for a long time, we keeping a conſtant Fire, and the Enemy anſwering; who killed two of Captain *Fry*'s Men, and wounded one of his, and two of mine. One of the dead Men was Captain *John Rogers*, our ſecond Lieutenant, and Brother to Captain *Rogers*, who behaved himſelf very well during the Action. The *Duke*'s Boat, finding the Enterprize too difficult, bore away; and ſome time after we did the like. Captain *Fry*, having put ſome of his Men aboard us, given us ſome Powder and Shot, and taken in our wounded Men, ſtood away for the Ships, whilſt I made again to the Ship, reſolving to keep her from the Shore, and, rather than fail, to clap her aboard; the *Spaniards*, perceiving what we deſigned, edged off to Sea, and we after them. Our Ships came up apace, and we kept cloſe to the *Spaniard*, ſometimes firing at him. The *Ducheſs*, being come up, fired a Shot or two at him; and then he ſtruck, and we clapt him aboard. The Men begged for good Quarter, and we promiſed them all Civility imaginable. This Ship came from *Panama*, and was bound for *Lima*, to be fitted out for a Man of War, the Captain having his Commiſſion accordingly. There were ſeventy Blacks, and many Paſſengers, with a conſiderable Quantity of Pearls aboard; the Lading, Bale-goods, and ſomething belonging to the Biſhop; but they had ſet him on Shore, with ſeveral Paſſengers, where they touched laſt. The Veſſel was about 270 Ton Burden, commanded by *Don Joſeph Arizabala*, who told us, the Biſhop had been landed at Point *St. Helena*, and gone by Land to *Guiaquil*. We found ſeveral Guns in the Hold, for the Ship would carry twenty-four, but had only ſix mounted. Many of the Paſſengers were conſiderable Merchants at *Lima*, and the briſkeſt *Spaniards* I ever ſaw. When the *French* had this Veſſel, ſhe was called *la Lune d'Or*, the Golden Moon. Captain *Cooke* (whoſe Account we follow) remained aboard her, ſending the Captain and Priſoners to our Ships.

18. On the 21ſt in the Morning, the *Beginning* was ſent a-head towards Point *Arena*, on the Iſland of *Puna*, for fear of any Danger; but ſhe found there only an empty Veſſel riding cloſe under the Point: She proved to be a new *Spaniſh* Bark, that had been ſent to load Salt; but the Men, having Sight of us, thought proper to abandon her: All Apprehenſions were now totally removed, and, at five in the Afternoon, the Tranſports rowed for the Town of *Guiaquil*, and at eleven ſaw a Light in the Town; whereupon we rowed as eaſy as could be, for fear of Diſcovery, till within a Mile of it; then heard a Centinel call to another, talk ſome time, and bid him bring Fire. Perceiving we were diſcovered, we rowed over to the other Side, againſt the Town, ſaw a Fire made where the Centinels talked, and, ſoon after, many Lights all over the Town; and, at the Water-ſide, heard them ring the Alarm-bell, fire ſeveral Volleys, and light a Fire on the Hill where the Beacon was kept, to give the Town Notice, that we were come up the River. Hereupon the Boats came to a Grappling, and ſuch an hot Diſpute aroſe among ſome of our chief Officers, that they were heard aſhore; but the *Spaniards*, not underſtanding what they ſaid, fetched an *Engliſhman*, and conducted him along the Shore, to interpret what they heard. However, before he came, the Diſpute was over. This Account we had from that very *Engliſhman*, who afterwards came over to us, and proceeded in the Voyage. A Council was held in the Stern of one of the Boats, to reſolve, whether we ſhould land immediately, or ſtay till Day-break; and the Officers differing in their Opinions, it was agreed, ſince we did not know the Ground, and the Barks were not come up, which had near half the Men and the Artillery, to ſtay till Day-light, when it was hoped the Barks would join; and fell a little Way down the River to meet them, hearing ſeveral Muſquet-ſhots in our Way, which, at firſt, we thought might be from the *Spaniards* along the Shore. On the 22d, at Break of Day, we ſaw one of our Barks at Anchor cloſe under the Shore, within a Mile of the Town, and at Flood, the other coming up the River; then rowed back to the Bark which had fired thoſe Muſquets at ſome Fiſhermen paſſing by, whom we took. When all our Forces were joined, we held a Council in the Pinnace, proceeded up the River, and ſent a Flag of Truce with the Captain of the *French* built Ship, the Governor of *Puna*, and another Priſoner; then towed up the Barks a-breaſt againſt the Town, and came to an Anchor. When the Captain of the *French* built Ship came to the Corregidor, or Mayor of the Town, he aſked our Number, which the Captain magnified. The Corregidor anſwered, They were Boys, and not Men: And the Captain replied, He would find they were Men; for they had fought him bravely in their

open Boats, though he had killed one of the Commanders Brothers, and wounded and killed others; and, therefore, adviſed him to agree for the Ranſom of the Town, for, though he had 3000 Men, he would not be able to withſtand them: To which the Corregidor replied, My Horſe is ready. On the 23d, having towed the Barks cloſe up before the Town, and brought them to the Pinnace, went up the River after ſome Veſſels, and brought ſix of them to an Anchor by our Barks; we alſo took Poſſeſſion of two new, of about 400 Ton each; then went aſhore with a Flag of Truce, and the Governor came on board one of the Prizes, to agree about the Ranſom of the Town and Ships; but could not be then concluded, but promiſed to meet the Captains again at ſeven in the Evening; yet he was not ſo good as his Word. The Boats went up the River again to ſee for more Ships, and returned without finding any: However, we took ſeveral Canoes, with ſome Plate on board. On the 24th in the Morning, the Governor came off again to treat: Our Captains thought to have ſeized him, becauſe he had forfeited his Word in not returning over Night, and ſending Word that Morning, that he had more People come into the Town; but he, alleging that it was contrary to a Flag of Truce, was ſet on Shore again, and an Hour's Time given him to get his Men ready. However, the Boat went and came two or three times with the Flag of Truce; but the Governor and Captains not agreeing, all Things were made ready, and towed nearer the Shore, wearing our Union Jack at our Main-top-maſt-heads. At four in the Afternoon the Men landed, with ſo much Bravery, that the *Spaniards* fired only their firſt Volley, and fled, our People preſſing them, and purſuing them to their Cannon, which they ſoon gained, only the Gunner, who was an *Iriſhman*, ſtanding by them till he was wounded in four Places, whereof he died ſoon after, as we were informed by ſome Priſoners we took. Our Men marched in a Body through both Towns. driving out the Enemy, placed three Guards in the three Churches, and ſet Fire to five or ſix Houſes in the old Town, that ſtood adjoining to the Wood, leſt the *Spaniards* ſhould have any Cover from them to annoy our Guard, which was within Piſtol-ſhot. All this Night they kept firing out of the Woods at our Centinels, or any other, that ſtirred out of the Guard, yet did no harm; ſeveral Parties of Horſe and Foot came down, without making any Attempt: In the mean while the *Ducheſs*'s Pinnace, which was commanded by Lieutenant *Connely*, with twenty-two Men, went up the River, landed at every Houſe, took their Plate, and what elſe of Value they found, and had ſome Skirmiſhes with the Enemy, in which one of our Men was wounded. On the 25th, the Enemy appeared thick in the Woods, ſometimes coming out; and our Guards had ſome Skirmiſhes with them, in which one Man was wounded, ſo that they expected to be attacked. In the Night, one of our Centinels ſhot another of ours, who was going a little Way from his Poſt, and did not anſwer when challenged three times. Our firſt Lieutenant's Piſtol went off by his Side, and wounded him in the Leg; and another of our Men was ſhot through the Foot by one of our People. Our Surgeon cut off a Man's Arm, who had been hurt with one of our Grenade-ſhells, which broke in the Bark when fired out of a Cohorne. The Afternoon was ſpent in ſhipping off Proviſions from the Town, and diſpoſing all Things, in caſe we ſhould be attacked in the Night, the Enemy appearing about the Outhouſes; for which Reaſon, the Captains thought fit to join all the Forces at the main Guard, where they had their Cannon mounted. On the 26th in the Morning, Captain *Courtney* marched to his Guard again, to cover the Men who were getting down Proviſions, *&c.* Several Priſoners were taken, and brought to the main Guard. Meſſengers, with a Flag of Truce, came about ranſoming the Town, but could not agree: In the Afternoon brought one Boat of Proviſions aboard the Barks; and at three returned, to ranſom the Town, which was at laſt agreed on for 30,000 Dollars; we to have three Hoſtages, and to ſtay at *Puna* till they could raiſe the ſaid Sum, the People having carried their Money out of Town, and being ſo diſperſed, that there was no raiſing it whilſt we were there, the Inhabitants of the adjacent Country having withdrawn all their Effects. On the 27th in the Morning, the Hoſtages for Ranſom were put on board, as was a Boat's Lading of Brandy: We took down our Union Flag, and hoiſted a Flag of Truce, firing a Gun for a Signal, that the *Spaniards* might come into the Town, and that no Hoſtilities ſhould be committed on either Side during the Time we had agreed to ſtay for the Money, having before concerted with the *Spaniards* to make the ſaid Signal for them to come in to ſecure what we had left, that the *Indians* and *Blacks* might not rob: And, I am apt to believe, they had plundered as much as we had taken; for we took ſeveral, as we went the Rounds, laden with Goods, which they owned they had ſtolen; and were afterwards informed, that, in the Hurry, the Inhabitants had given Plate and Money to *Blacks* to carry out of the Town, and could never hear of it after. In the Evening, Mr. *Haſley*, and Mr. *Duck*, were ſent from the Ships in the laſt Prize, and the *Beginning* Galley, to the Iſland *Puna*, for Water, of which there began to be Want on board; and with Inſtructions to go up the River, to get Intelligence of the Forces on Shore, we at Sea having heard nothing from them ſince their Departure, and the Priſoners ſaying, they were certainly all cut off; which was but little regarded, any farther than to keep a ſtrict Watch over them. In the Afternoon, the Men aſhore went aboard the Barks, which carried them, and ſome others we had taken, up the River: At ſix weighed, and rowed off the Shore. On the 28th in the Morning, our Barks weighed with the firſt of the Ebb, the *Duke*'s Pinnace making the beſt of her Way down to the Ships, and the Float going aſhore to fetch off the great Guns, then weighed, and fell down the River. Two of the Barks ran a-ground on the middle Shole, that lies right againſt the Iſland. In the Evening they were afloat again; then we towed them over on the Starboard Side, where the Chanel was, firing a Gun for the reſt to weigh; and, at the laſt of the Ebb, came to an Anchor about a Mile from the Iſland, and ſaw the *Beginning*, and another Veſſel, under the Shore, whether they were come for Water, took Water out of the Barks, and put into the *Beginning*, and diſpatched her to the Ships. On the 29th in the Morning, the Barks weighed, and got down to *Puna*, where they anchored off the Town. Captain *Rogers*, in the *Duke*'s Pinnace, came on board, and gave an Account, that they had taken, plundered, and ranſomed the Town of *Guiaquil*; that three of our Men had been killed; two by our own People, and one by the *Spaniards*; and four wounded: That the Inhabitants, whilſt treating, had carried off their Money and Plate, retiring to the Woods, and leaving their Guns; four whereof were taken, with a conſiderable Quantity of Meal, Peaſe, Sugar, Brandy, and Wine, which was coming down in the Barks. What we killed and wounded of the Enemy could not be known, becauſe they carried them off. The ſame Day *Hugh Tidcomb*, who was ſhot by his fellow Centinel, died. Having from the Ship-ſide diſcovered a Sail ſtanding up the River, with the Tide of Flood; we ſent both Ships Boats after her, and, at four in the Afternoon, ſhe ſtruck to the Boats. They brought her in at Night. She was a ſmall *Spaniſh* Bark from *Cheripe*, and bound up to *Guiaquil*, having on board 330 Bags of Meal, and 140 Arrobas, that is, 35 hundred Weight of Sugar, ſome Onions, Quince, and Pomegranates: This, with the ſix Barks, and two great Ships ranſomed with the Town of *Guiaquil*, makes fourteen Prizes taken in thoſe Seas. Captain *Woodes Rogers*, in his Relation, blames Captain *Courtney* for being in a Hurry to quit the Place, though he acknowledges, that his Lieutenant Mr. *Streton*, was ſhot by Accident in his Leg, his own Piſtol going off unluckily, which rendered it neceſſary to ſend him inſtantly on board the Small-craft; and that moſt of their Men were grown careleſs, weak, and heartily weary of their new Trade of being Soldiers. One Circumſtance he mentioned, which deſerves Notice for its Singularity. As he was marching out of the Town, he happened to miſs one *John Gabriel*, a *Dutchman*, who ſerved in his own Company; and took it for granted, that he was either taken or killed. But the poor Fellow had a better Time of it: He happened to take up his Quarters in a certain Houſe, where there was ſome excellent Brandy; which the *Dutchman* attacked ſo often, that, at laſt, it laid him on the Floor; and in this Condition he was, when Captain *Rogers* and his Men quitted the Place. A little after, the Maſter of the Houſe returned, and found the *Dutchman* ſtretched at his full Length, and ſo faſt, that it was a difficult Matter to diſtinguiſh, whether he was dead or aſleep. The *Spaniard* reſolved to make the Experiment; but, firſt of all, called in his Neighbours, who adviſed him to ſecure the *Dutchman*'s Arms; which being done without any Difficulty, they next raiſed him up, and ſet him on his Feet, when, after a little Tottering, he opened his Eyes, and began to ſtare about him, being ſenſible that he was not aſleep, and not very well ſatisfied to find himſelf awake, and in ſuch Company. His Landlord, however, ſoon ſet his Heart at Reſt, by reſtoring him his Arms, and adviſing him to make all the Haſte he could to join his Companions, who were not yet embarqued. There did not need many Intreaties to ſet the *Dutchman* forward; he moved with all the Alacrity imaginable, and got ſafely aboard. If this Story be a little ſtrange, Captain *Rogers* adds an Obſervation, that is ſtill ſtranger, which is, that, of all the Men who landed on this Occaſion, there was not a Soul, that drank a Cup too much, but this poor *Dutchman*; which if true, the Town of *Guiaquil* had the Honour to be plundered by the ſobereſt Set of People, that ever were of their Profeſſion. But it is now time to come to the Forms of Capitulation, which the *Spaniards*, as Perſons moſt deeply intereſted in it, deſired might be drawn up in proper Form; and ſo they were, with the Omiſſion only of a ſingle Circumſtance; *viz.* that the Place was taken by Force of Arms, which, the *Spaniards* inſiſted, ſhould be particularly ſpecified, to demonſtrate, that they had been beaten, before they conſented to treat; and to this the *Engliſh* very willingly yielded, which produced the following Scheme of Articles, which ſatisfied both Parties, procuring one the Money they wanted, and ſatisfying the other as to the Point of Honour; a thing no *Spaniard* ever willingly gave up.

Contract for the Ranſom of the Town of Guiaquil.

'Whereas the City of *Guiaquil*, lately in Subjection to *Philip* V. King of *Spain*, is now taken by Storm, and in the Poſſeſſion of the Captains *Thomas Dover*, *Woodes Rogers*, and *Stephen Courtney*, commanding a Body of her Majeſty of *Great Britain*'s Subjects; we the Underwritten are content to become Hoſtages for the ſaid City, and to continue in the Cuſtody of the ſaid Captains *Thomas Dover*, *Woodes Rogers*, and *Stephen Courtney*, till 30,000 Pieces of Eight ſhall be paid to them for the Ranſom of the ſaid City, two new Ships, and ſix Barks; during which time no Hoſtility is to be committed on either Side between this and *Puna*; the ſaid Sum to be paid at *Puna*, in ſix Days from the Date hereof; and then the Hoſtages to be diſcharged, and all the Priſoners to be delivered immediately: Otherwiſe the ſaid Hoſtages do agree to remain Priſoners, till the ſaid Sum is diſcharged in any other Part of the World. In Witneſs whereof, we have voluntarily ſet our Hands this 27th Day of *April*, O. S. and the 7th of *May*, N. S. in the Year of our Lord 1709.'

19. The Plunder we took here, excluſive of the Ranſom we received for the Town, was very conſiderable; for we found there 230 Bags of Flour, Beans, Peas, and Rice; fifteen Jars of Oil; 160 Jars of other Liquor; ſome Cordage, Iron-ware, and ſmall Nails; with about four half Jars of Powder; about a Ton of Pitch and Tar; a Parcel of Cloathing and Neceſſaries; and, as I gueſs, about 1200 *l.* in Plate, Ear-rings, *&c.* and 150 Bales of dry Goods; four Guns; and about 200 *Spaniſh* ordinary uſeleſs Arms and Muſquet-barrels; a few Packs of Indico, Cocoa, and Anotto; with about a Ton of Loaf-ſugar. We left abundance of Goods in the Town, beſides Liquors of moſt ſorts, and Sea-ſtores, with ſeveral Warehouſes full of Cocoa, divers Ships on the Stocks, and two new Ships unrigged, upwards of 400 Ton, which coſt above 80,000 Crowns; and then lay at Anchor before the Town. We were alſo to deliver four Barks aſhore, and leave two here, to bring down the Ranſom. By this it appears, the *Spaniards* had a good Bargain; but this Ranſom was far better for us, than to burn what we could not carry off. The Hoſtages informed us, that, during the Treaty, 80,000 Pieces of Eight of the King's Money were ſent out of the Town, beſides their Plate, Jewels, and other Things of the greateſt Value; ſo that it is certain, that, if we had landed at firſt, and given them no Time at all, we had been much greater Gainers than we were; and I have great Reaſon to believe, that we might, in that Caſe, have made 200,000 Pieces of Eight, in ready Money, Plate, and Jewels; and yet the Place had never been ſo poor for forty Years paſt, as at the Time we took it, there having been a Fire about a Year and an half before, which had burnt down beſt Part of the Town, and occaſioned a very great Expence in rebuilding it. As it was, we thought ourſelves very happy; and all imaginable Care was taken, that every Man concerned in the Expedition found his Account in it; by which the Expediency of the Articles before-mentioned fully appeared; and our People were ſo perfectly ſatisfied with the Uſage they received on this Occaſion, that they expreſſed the greateſt Alacrity in the Execution of every Enterprize, that was afterwards undertaken. To ſay the Truth, this is a Matter of the utmoſt Importance with Privateers; for, if the Men have the leaſt Jealouſy of their being ill-treated, ſuch Diſputes ariſe, as do infinitely more Miſchief, than the Value of what can be gotten by ſuch Practices. But to proceed with our Affairs: When *May* 2. came, which was the laſt Day appointed to wait for the Money, and no Boat arriving, we began to be very uneaſy. At length, however, a Boat arrived, and brought us 22,000 Pieces of Eight; which we received, and diſpatched the Boat back again, telling them we deſigned to leave the Place the next Morning, and would carry away the Hoſtages, if they did not come time enough to prevent it. We ſtaid, however, till the 6th; and then Captain *Courtney* was reſolved to depart, being apprehenſive, that we ſhould be attacked by the *French* and *Spaniſh* Squadron. I endeavoured, but in vain, to convince him, that, as yet, we were not in any Danger of being attacked; becauſe it was not poſſible, that the *French* and *Spaniards* could have received notice by this time at *Lima*, and have fitted out a Force ſufficient to engage us. We ſailed however, and came to an Anchor, about four in the Afternoon, a few Leagues before Point *Arena*. The next Morning about two o'Clock, we were preparing to ſail, when Mr. *Morel*, and a Gentleman from *Puna*, related to our Priſoners, brought us 3500 Pieces of Eight more towards the Ranſom. This put us in ſo good an Humour, that, in the Afternoon, we diſcharged all our Priſoners, except the *Morels*, the three Hoſtages, and three or four more. The Gentleman, that came from *Guiaquil*, had a Gold Chain, and ſome other things of Value, with which he bought our Bark the *Beginning*, which was now of no further Uſe. We gave the Captain of the *French* Ship, three Negro Women; Mr. *Morel*, another; and to moſt of the Priſoners, their Wearing-apparel; ſo that we parted very good Friends. They told us, that one Don *Pedro Cienfuegos*, whom we put aſhore at *Puna*, and who was a Man of great Credit, had got together a conſiderable Sum of Money, and deſigned to buy Goods of us; for which Purpoſe he would be down in twelve Hours time: But the Majority of our Officers would not believe them; but, conceiving this to be a Scheme for detaining us till the *French* and *Spaniſh* Fleet came, were in ſo much the greater Hurry to get away. But, before we proceed, let me give you a ſhort Deſcription of the Town of *Guiaquil*, as we found it.

20. *Guiaquil* is divided into two Parts, called the *Old* and the *New Towns*; both of them together conſiſting of about 500 Houſes, joined by a long wooden Bridge, for People to paſs over on Foot, above half a Mile in Length, with ſome Houſes on each Side at a Diſtance. It is ſituated in a low boggy Ground, ſo dirty in Winter, that, without this Bridge, there would be ſcarce any going from one Houſe to another: There is but one regular Street along the River-ſide to the Bridge, and from it along the *Old Town*. Before the Church of *Sant Iago* is a very handſome Parade; but the Church itſelf lies in Ruins. There are, in all, four Churches, *viz. Sant Iago*, or *St. James* the Apoſtle, which, as I ſaid, is deſtroyed; *St. Auguſtin*, *St. Francis*, and *St. Dominic*; and before this laſt another Parade, with an Half-moon, on which ſix Guns may be planted; but there were none when we came. Beſides theſe,

there is a Chapel, and there had been a Church of *St. Ignatius*, belonging to the Jeſuits, but burnt down. They were all decently adorned with Altars, carved Work, Pictures, an Organ in that of *St. Auguſtin*; but the Plate belonging to them was carried away, the Prieſts and Students being all gone into the Woods: Some of the Houſes were of Brick, particularly about the Parade, before the Fire; the reſt of Timber, or Bamboes ſplit, and ſome of them decently furniſhed. In the Merchants Storehouſes, there were great Quantities of Meal, Brandy, Sugar, Cloathing, Cordage, and Iron. The Inhabitants had ſome Calaſhes; but I know not of what Uſe they could be, unleſs to carry them a Stone's-throw to Church; eſpecially in Winter, all about being ſo foul and boggy, that there could be no Road made for them. This moraſs Ground was full of the largeſt Toads I ever ſaw, ſome of them as big as an *Engliſh* Two-peny Loaf. There were 2000 Inhabitants of all ſorts, including *Indians*, Mulattoes, and Blacks. The *Engliſhmen*, who had lived in the Town, told us, that the *December* before, when they had made public Rejoicings for the Birth of the Prince of *Aſturias*, which laſted three Weeks, they had muſtered 1100 Foot, and 500 Horſe, all in Arms, which came from the Country round about; beſides a much greater Number unarmed, the greateſt Part whereof muſt have been *Indians*. They baited 200 Bulls to Death after the *Spaniſh* Faſhion, and ran at the Ring with their Spears; both which Exerciſes they are very expert in, and much addicted to. The *Sunday* before we landed, they had launched one of the new Ships in Preſence of the Biſhop; who aſked what they might coſt building; and was told, the one 40,000 Dollars, the other more, both of which deſigned to trade to *Chili*; and Orders were given not to employ the Carpenters about any other Work, till the King's two Ships, then expected from *Lima*, were rebuilt. This Town is well ſeated for Trade, and for building of Ships, as lying fourteen Leagues from Point *Arena*, and ſeven from *Puna*, up a large River, which receives ſeveral ſmall ones that fall into it, with many Villages and Farm-houſes round about. The Water is freſh for four Leagues below it; and all along the Banks grow abundance of Mangroves and Sarſaparilla; and, on account of this latter, the Water is accounted good for the *French* Diſeaſe: However, when the Floods come down from the Mountains, the Water is not reckoned ſo wholſome, by reaſon it brings along ſeveral poiſonous Plants and Fruits, among which is the *Manchanilla* venomous Apple, whereof all Birds that taſte die; and we ſaw Hundreds of them dead on the Water whilſt we were there. They have great Plenty of Beeves, Goats, Sheep, Hens, Ducks, *Muſcovy* Ducks, and ſome Sorts unknown to us in *England*; as alſo Horſes, and great Numbers of Carrion-crows, which the *Spaniards* will not ſuffer to be killed, preſerving them to devour all Carrion. The Ships here are built under Sheds, to ſhelter the Men from the Sun. The Town is governed by a Corregidor, being the ſupreme Magiſtrate appointed by the King. At our coming, the Officer was one Don *Jeronimo Bos*, a young Man about twenty-four Years of Age, born in the *Canaries*. It may ſeem a little extraordinary, that ſo young a Man ſhould be intruſted with ſuch a Command; but it is to be conſidered, that native *Spaniards*, for ſo ſuch are accounted that are born in the *Canaries*, have much earlier Titles to Honour, than Perſons born in this Country; and, indeed, by the Regularity of the *Spaniſh* Government, it is no hard Matter for a young Man, of a reaſonable Capacity, to perform the Functions of it with Credit to himſelf, and ſo as to give Satisfaction to the People. The Accounts which have been given of this Place by the *French* Bucanneers are ſo falſe, that there is not the leaſt Degree of Truth in them; inſomuch that, from their Deſcriptions, it ſcarce appears to be the ſame Place, had they not left infamous Marks of their being here: For when they took the Town of *Guiaquil*, about twenty-two Years ago, they diſcovered little or no Bravery in the Attack, (tho' they loſt a great many Men) and committed a deal of Barbarity and Murder after they had the Place in their Power, which was above a Month, here and at *Puna*. The Seaſons here are improperly called Winter and Summer: The Winter is reckoned from the Beginning of *December* to the laſt of *May*; and all that Seaſon is ſultry hot, wet, and unhealthy: From the latter End of *May* to *December* is ſerene, dry, and healthy, but not ſo violently hot as what they call Winter. Their Cocoa is ripe, and moſtly gathered between *June* and *Auguſt*; and of the other Fruits, natural to thoſe Climates, ſome are ripe, and others green, all the Year. But, as our Priſoners furniſhed us with a very full and exact Account of all the adjacent Country dependent on the Government of *Guiaquil*, I have judged it requiſite to add to this Account of the Town, a View likewiſe of the Province, that the Reader may perfectly apprehend the Condition of the *Spaniſh* Inhabitants therein; and judge from thence, as from a Sample, of the State of this great Empire of *Peru* at the Time that we were thus engaged in attacking its Ports and Coaſt; where we acted as became Men who had legal Commiſſions, and did nothing that was not juſtified by the Law of Arms, which, in time of War, is the Law of Nations. Having done this, I ſhall return to our Expedition, and not trouble the Reader with any Digreſſions for the future.

21. The City or Town of *Guiaquil* is the Metropolis of a Province of that Name in *Peru*, governed by a Preſident, with five or ſix *Oiodors*, which make a Royal *Audiencia*, or chief Court of Judicature, accountable only to the Viceroy in military Affairs; every Province has a Government of the ſame Nature. The Governors are commonly appointed, or, to ſpeak more properly, purchaſe their Offices, in *Old Spain* for Life, or good Behaviour; and in caſe any die, or miſbehave themſelves, the Viceroy may name another during his Time, which ought to be but five Years; but ſometimes he gets theſe Officers of his own placing confirmed by an Order from *Spain*, which is a conſiderable Part of the Viceroy's unknown Profits. The late Viceroy continued fourteen Years, ſeveral new ones having died by the Way. The King of *Spain* himſelf ſcarce lives in more Splendor, than his Viceroy in the City of *Lima*, where the chief Courts of Judicature are kept, and Appeals are brought thither from all Courts and Provinces of this extenſive Kingdom. I ſhould not here mention the vaſt Wealth the late Viceroy obtained during his Government, the Sum being ſo large, that I thought it fabulous; but that I was informed of it by ſo many Hands, who told me, that about four Years ago he died, worth, at leaſt, 8,000,000 Pieces of Eight; and left it to his Widow and Children, but the greateſt Part to his eldeſt Son, the *Conde de la Monclo*, beſides vaſt Sums he gave away in Charity during his Life-time, and the Churches, Frieries, and Nunneries that he built. He left a better Character behind him, than any Viceroy had done for an Age paſt. The *Conde*, his eldeſt Son, waits here, expecting to ſucceed the preſent Viceroy of *Peru* or *Mexico*, if the Government holds in *Old Spain*; but the People hope he will follow his Father's Example, rather than that of the preſent Viceroy: For whereas all former Governors diſcouraged Foreigners as much as poſſible, to ſecure the Trade to the *Spaniards*, the preſent Viceroy does all for the *French*; for he openly eſpouſes their Intereſt, and encourages them; whereas the *Spaniards* ſay, that he racks, and heavily oppreſſes, their own Countrymen. The Corregidor that laſt died at *Guiaquil*, tho' he had poſſeſſed the Office but four Years, had amaſſed 300,000 Pieces of Eight, tho' his Poſt was not allowed to exceed above 2000 Pieces of Eight *per Annum*; but all the Corregidors make vaſt Advantages by Seizures, and trading privately by themſelves. The Trade to and from *Mexico* is forbidden here, under the ſevereſt Penalty; eſpecially tranſporting Quickſilver from *Peru* thither, becauſe Quantities are brought from *Old Spain*, which is impoſed on the Refiners at great Rates. Here are many Ships employed coaſting in this Kingdom; but a Trade is ſo ſeverely prohibited between them and *Mexico*, that all the Commodities, with Silver and Gold in Returns, may have little other Circulation in theſe vaſt Countries, but by the Flota and Galleons to and from *Old Spain*. Yet, notwithſtanding the Severity uſed againſt private Traders by the Viceroys and Corregidors, there are ſome that uſe it, who have no Mercy ſhewed them, if caught, all being ſhewed in the King's Name, tho' his Majeſty has little or no Share of it, all ſuch Seizures (as I am told) being divided amongſt thoſe Officers, and the poor Sufferer baniſhed, or confined

to a Gaol. All *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Goods, except what comes by the Galleons, are prohibited here; ſo that the private Traders, after they have, by Stealth, purchaſed them in the North Seas, muſt vend them in like manner all over *Peru*. And if the wholeſale Merchants have not a good Certificate from the Commerce of *Sevill*, that their Commodities come by the Flota or Galleons, whenever the Goods are queſtioned, they muſt diſcover them, for fear of worſe Puniſhment, unleſs they have a good Intereſt in the Viceroy, which coſts dear to purchaſe and preſerve; ſo that the Trader makes little Profit, but where the chief Officers have a Feeling: Yet tho' thoſe mercenary Viceroys are ſo ſevere on others, they themſelves employ the Corregidors to negotiate a Trade for them by a third Hand, which cannot be done to the Purpoſe without being publicly known; ſo that Ships are conſtantly employed on their Account, and carry Quickſilver, and all manner of prohibited Goods, to and from *Mexico*, out of bye Ports. Thus, being their own Judges, they get vaſt Eſtates, and ſtop all Complaints in *Old Spain* by Bribes. The Goods they trade for have a free Paſſage, and ſail through the Continent; whilſt others, if they do but offer at it, are puniſhed as above. Their other Ways of getting Money unjuſtly are too many; but, in ſhort, in my Opinion, there is no Country naturally more rich, nor any People more terribly oppreſſed. The *Spaniards* ſay, and I believe not without Reaſon, that a Viceroy, after purchaſing his Place with all that he has, and quitting *Old Spain* as poor as *Job*, comes hither like an hungry Lion, to devour all that he can; and that every Officer under him in the Provinces (who are ten times more than neceſſary) are his Jackals to procure Prey for him, that they may have a Share of it themſelves. The Province abounds with ſeveral ſorts of good Timber, which makes it the chief Country of *Peru* for building and repairing of Ships; there is ſeldom leſs than ſix or ſeven at a time on the Stocks before the City of *Guiaquil*. The chief Commodity this City, and its chief Province, afford, is Cocoa, which is ſo plentiful, as to ſupply moſt Places of the South Sea; they ſay, there is never leſs exported in a Year than 30,000 Cargaus, each Cargau 81 lb. Weight, and ſometimes double the Quantity: It was purchaſed generally at half an Rial *per* Pound, but now much cheaper, ſo that the Cargau may be bought for two Pieces of Eight and a half. Their Coaſting Trade is for Salt and Salt-fiſh from Point *Santa Helena*, and moſt vended at *Quito*, and other diſtant Places within Land: A vaſt Quantity of Timber is laden here for *Truxilo*, *Chana*, *Lima*, and other Sea-ports, where it is ſcarce. It pays a great Freight, and is a profitable Trade. They export alſo from hence Rice, Cotton, and ſome dried jerked Beef. There are no Mines of Silver or Gold in this Province, but Plenty of all ſorts of Cattle, and very cheap, eſpecially on the Iſland *Puna*, where we ſupplied ourſelves with what we could conveniently. Here is no other Corn but *Indian*; ſo that all their Flour is brought from *Truxillo*, *Cheripe*, and other Places in the windward Parts: It blows here always Southerly. They are alſo ſupplied with ſeveral ſorts of Woollen Cloth, and very ſtrong good Bays made at *Quito*. Their Wines, Brandy, Oil, Olives, and Sugar, *&c.* come from *Piſcola*, *Naſca*, and other Places to Windward: All ſorts of *European* Goods come hither from *Panama*, whither they are brought over Land from *Porto-Bello* out of the North Seas; ſo that the Number of Ships that come and go from hence, without including Coaſters, are no leſs than forty Sail every Year; which ſhews, that the Port of *Guiaquil* is no mean Place of Trade in this Part of the World. A Market is alſo kept on Bark Logs and Boats in the River, every Day, before the Town, with all that the Country affords, in great Plenty. The other Towns of the Province are governed by Lieutenants, deputed by the Corregidor; above half of them border on the ſame River, and its Branches; ſo that they can join theſe of the Capital in two Tides, tho' at ſeveral Leagues Diſtance. *Porto Vaco* was formerly the Metropolis of the Province, before the Government was removed to *Guiaquil*. In the Towns, and the whole Province, the *Spaniards* compute at leaſt 10,000 Inhabitants; but, I believe, there are many more, taking in all the mixt Races between the *Spaniards*, *Indians*, and Negroes, which they divide and ſubdivide into eleven Denominations. The natural *Spaniards* are the feweſt by far of all the Inhabitants; and, were it not for theſe Mixtures, which the Fathers of the Church keep united, the *Indians* might again take Poſſeſſion of their Country; for the *Spaniards* would be too few to keep it, and much more uncapable of peopling it. Few of thoſe Priſoners that fell into our Hands were healthy and ſound; near half of the *Spaniards* diſcovered publicly to our Doctors their Malady, in order to get Phyſic from them againſt the *French* Diſeaſe, which is ſo common here, that they reckoned it no Scandal to be deep in the Powdering-tub; and, the Heat of the Country facilitating the Cure, they make very light of it. All the *Spaniards* I diſcourſed allow, that this rich Country is not a tenth peopled, nor are half the *Indians*, far within Land, civilized; tho' they affirm, their King has, in the *Weſt Indies*, more Subjects of ſeveral Colours, than in all *Spain*, or the reſt of his Dominions in *Europe*; which may be true.

22. On *May* 11. we had a ſtrong Gale at South South-weſt. We bore away for the *Gallapagos Iſlands*; and in a very melancholy Condition we were: For we had upwards of twenty Men taken ill on board the *Duke*, and near fifty on board our Conſort ſeized with a malignant Fever, contracted, as I ſuppoſe, at *Guiaquil*, where I was informed, that, about a Month or five Weeks before we took it, a contagious Diſeaſe, which reigned there, ſwept off ten or twelve Perſons every Day for a conſiderable time; ſo that the Floors of all the Churches (which are their uſual Burial-places) were filled ſo faſt, that they were obliged to dig a large and deep Hole, of about a Rood ſquare, cloſe by the great Church, where I kept Guard; and this Hole was almoſt filled with the Corpſes half-putrefied. The Mortality was ſo very great, that many of the People had left the Town; and our lying ſo long in the Church, ſurrounded with ſuch unwholſome Scents, was enough to infect us too. About this time Captain *Courtney* was taken ill; and Captain *Dover* went on board to preſcribe for him. In twenty-four Hours, we had fifty Men down, and the *Ducheſs* upwards of ſeventy; and, in the following twenty-four Hours, there were ten more down in each Ship. On the 17th, we diſcovered Land; and, on the 18th at Day-break, we were within four Leagues of two large Iſlands, almoſt joining together, having paſſed the other that we ſaw Yeſterday. We ſent our Boat aſhore to look for Water, and agreed with our Conſort where to meet, in caſe of Separation. They turned towards the Windward, and left us to try this Iſland for Water. All our Prizes were to ſtay near us under Sail, by a remarkable Rock. But, in the Afternoon, the Boat returned with a melancholy Account, that no Water was to be found, the Prizes we expected lying to Windward for us by the Rock, about two Leagues off Shore; but Mr. *Hatley* in a Bark, and the *Havre de Grace*, turned to Windward, after our Conſort the *Ducheſs*; ſo that only the Galleon, and the Bark that Mr. *Selkirk* was in, ſtaid for us. We kept plying to Windward all Night, with a Light out; which they followed. At five in the Morning, we ſent our Boat aſhore again, to make a further Search in this Iſland for Water. In the Evening, the Boat returned, and reported, that there was no Water to be found, though the People went three or four Miles up into the Country. They likewiſe told me, that the Iſland is nothing but looſe Rocks, like Cinders, very rotten, and heavy; and the Earth ſo parched, that it will not bear a Man, but breaks into Holes under his Feet; which makes me ſuppoſe there has been a Vulcano here, tho' there is much ſhrubby Wood, and ſome Greens, on it; yet there is not the leaſt Sign of Water; nor is it poſſible, that any can be contained on ſuch a Surface. In ſhort, we found theſe Iſlands very little anſwered either our Expectations, or the Deſcriptions we had of them; and our Loſs of Mr. *Hatley*, who, with five of our Men, two *Spaniſh* Priſoners, and three Negroes, loſt us in a Bark, where they were provided only with Water for two Days, and ſcarce any other Neceſſaries, together with many unlucky Accidents, made us wiſh ourſelves from amongſt theſe Iſlands; and therefore, on *May* 26. Captain *Dover* and I went on board the *Ducheſs*, where, after a Conſultation, it was reſolved to run in for the Iſland *Plata* to water, and ſo

come off again, for fear of meeting with two *French* Ships, one of ſixty, and the other of forty-ſix Guns, and the *Spaniſh* Man of War, who, we were adviſed, would be ſuddenly in Search of us; but, if we could find no Water in any of thoſe Iſlands going in, we deſigned to fit our Ships there, and not go near the Main, our Ships being out of Order, and our Men ſickly and weak, and ſeveral alſo having been buried. We ſailed on the 27th; and, on the 30th, we held another Council on board the *Ducheſs*, where it was agreed to go firſt to *Gorgona*, to ſee if there were any *Engliſh* Ships there, and afterwards to *Mangla*, *Malaga*, or *Madulinar*, where are ſome *Indians*, Enemies to the *Spaniards*, who, as the Pilots informed us, ſeldom came thither, nor could thence get Intelligence of us; and, if we could trade with the *Indians*, might have Swine and Fowls, good Bananas, Plantains, and other Refreſhments. In this Courſe, the *Ducheſs* took a Prize, which proved to be a Veſſel of the Burden of ninety Ton, bound from *Panama* to *Guiaquil*, called the *St. Thomas de Villa Nova*, *Juan Navarro Navaret* Commander. There were about forty People aboard, including eleven Negro Slaves; but little of *European* Goods, except ſome Iron and Cloth. The next we made the Iſland of *Gorgona*; and, on the 8th, our Boats brought in another Prize, which was a ſmall Bark, of about fifteen Tons, called the *Golden Sun*. She belonged to a Creek on the Main, and was bound for *Guiaquil*, *Andros Enriquis* Maſter, with ten *Spaniards* and *Indians*, and ſome Negroes; no Cargo, but a very little Gold-duſt, and a large Gold Chain; together about 500 *l.* Value, which were ſecured aboard the *Ducheſs*. On *June* 19. in the Evening, there was a Conſultation on board the Ship abovementioned, at which ſome of my Officers and Captain *Dover* aſſiſted. Being diſcompoſed, I was not with them; but reſolved to act in Conſortſhip, according to their Agreement. After they had examined the Priſoners, they reſolved to go to *Malaga*, an Iſland which had a Road, where we deſigned to leave our Ships, and, with our Boats, row up the River for the rich Gold Mine of *Barbacore*, called alſo by the *Spaniards* the Mines of *St. Juan*, from a Village about two Tides up the River, of that Name. There we deſigned to ſurpriſe Canoes, as fitter than our Boats to go againſt the Stream; for this Time of the Year being ſubject to great Rains, which make a ſtrong Freſh down the River, our Pilot, an old *Spaniard*, did not propoſe to get up to the Mines in leſs than twelve Days. I had often before ſuſpected his Knowledge; but, according to their Reſolutions on board the *Ducheſs*, we made Sail about twelve o'Clock that Night, and ſteered North-eaſt for the Place. In the Morning, I diſcourſed Captain *Morel*, as I had done ſeveral times before, and all the reſt of the Priſoners, who agreed, that this Iſland called *Malaga* was an unfrequented Place, and not fit for Ships, that ever they heard of. I had alſo two Priſoners on board, that were taken in the laſt Prize, who had been at the ſaid Iſland very lately. I examined them ſeparately, and they agreed, that a Ship could not be ſafe there; and that, the Place being ſo narrow, it was impoſſible to get in, but with the Tide, which ran very ſtrong; that the Entrance was full of Sholes, and had not Water enough, but at Spring-tides, for our Ships to get out or in: Beſides that, if a Ship gets looſe, (as we muſt moor Head and Stern) ſhe would turn all a-drift, and very much endanger the Whole. They added, that the River was ſo narrow, before we could get to the Mines, that the *Indians* and *Spaniards* might fell Trees acroſs, and cut off our Retreat, there being thick Woods on the Banks of the River, from whence the *Indians* would gall us with their poiſoned Arrows; for thoſe about the Mines were at Amity with the *Spaniards*, and a bold and very numerous People. Upon this Information, I was ſurpriſed, that the Council had not informed themſelves better, before they reſolved on going to this Place, and immediately ſent Mr. *White* our Linguiſt, with the two Priſoners, on board the *Linguiſt*, to undeceive Captain *Courtney*, and his Officers, and to deſire his Company, with ſome of the reſt, without Loſs of Time, that we might agree how to act for our Safety and Intereſt, and not to proceed farther on this hazardous Enterprize. On a ſolemn Conſultation, this was accordingly reſolved; and, in Compliance of that Reſolution, we came back to *Gorgona*, our Condition being ſo bad at this Juncture, that, if we had been attacked, we ſhould ſcarce have been in a Condition to have defended ourſelves.

23. On the 13th of *June*, about four in the Morning, we anchored in forty Fathom Water, and reſolved to careen the *Ducheſs* firſt, and then the *Duke*; our Sick we removed aboard the Galleon, and the ſick Officers on board the *Havre de Grace*, where they had all the Conveniencies we could afford them. We likewiſe ſet up a Tent aſhore for the Uſe of the Armourer, and Cooper's Crew, and directed a Place to be cleared for our ſick Mens Tents; all which was performed with ſuch Diligence, that, by the 28th, we got our Proviſions on board, mounted all our Guns, having in fourteen Days caulked our Ships all round, careened, rigged, and ſtowed them again both fit for the Sea; which was great Diſpatch, conſidering what we had to do was in an open Place, with few Carpenters, and void of the uſual Conveniencies for careening. The *Spaniards*, our Priſoners, being very dilatory Sailors, were amazed at our Expedition; and told us, they uſually take ſix Weeks, or two Months, to careen one of the King's Ships at *Lima*, where they are provided with all Neceſſaries, and account it good Diſpatch. On the 29th, we ſet up a Tent on ſhore for the Sick, who were, even by this time, much better than when we came to the Iſland, notwithſtanding the *Spaniards* repreſented it as extremely ſick and unwholſome; but the bare lying aſhore, having their Doctors with them, and an Opportunity of walking about when they grew a little better, had ſo good an Effect, that, while our ſound Men were employed in fitting our Ships for Sea, our ſick Men gathered Strength enough to return to their Duty. Our *Spaniſh* Priſoners went into the Woods with us, ſhewed us Timber that was proper to be cut, and gave us every other kind of Aſſiſtance in their Power. We not only ſet up Coopers and Armourers Tents, but now ſet out Ground for a Rope-yard, erected a Tent for a Smith, another for a Block, the third for a Sail-maker; and each had his Crew to act under him, for the better Diſpatch of Buſineſs. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that theſe People were all excellent in their Profeſſions; but, however, they made a ſhift to carry on Things very well for our Work, Neceſſity and Practice having taught them many Reſources, which the ableſt Man, in their Branches of Buſineſs, would never have thought of, or, perhaps, could have been brought to believe practicable, if they had been told of them by others. By this Method of acting, we had ſettled not only a Plantation, but a Manufacture, on the little Iſland of *Gorgona*; and, as every Officer had his Charge, and ſurveyed a particular Sort of Artizans, we had Buſineſs enough upon our Hands, and were all throughly and pleaſantly employed. Our *Spaniſh* Priſoners looked on with Amazement at our working from Break of Day till Night in that Climate, and in that manner; and, what moſt of all ſurpriſed them, was our finding out ſome new Expedient, when preſſed by new Difficulties, and when, in the Judgment of our *Spaniards*, it was impoſſible for us to proceed any further; ſo that our Diligence and Succeſs raiſed our Credit with them prodigiouſly. The Natives of *Old Spain* are accounted but ordinary Mariners; but here they are much worſe, all the Prizes we took being rather cobbled, than fitted out for the Sea; ſo that, had they ſuch Weather as we often met with in the *European* Seas in Winter, they could ſcarce ever reach a Port again, as they are fitted; but they ſail here Hundreds of Leagues. The *French* uſed her as a Victualer, and ſold her at *Lima*, as they had done ſeveral others, for four times the Money they coſt in *Europe*. 'Tis certainly a good Method they took, at firſt trading hither, to bring a Victualling Ship, with no other Goods but Proviſions and Stores, along with them. Generally one of theſe ſmall Ships comes out with two Traders; and ſince in ſix, nine, or twelve, Months time which they ſtay in thoſe Seas, they expend their Proviſions, and leſſen their Men by Mortality or Deſertion, they ſell their Victualling Ship; and, being recruited with Men and Proviſions out of her, they return, well victualled and manned, to *France*: But now they put into *Chili*, where they ſell the remaining Part of the Cargo, and ſalt up a new Stock of Proviſions for their homeward-bound Paſſage; ſo that they need bring no more Victuallers.

24. While we were here, we agreed together to fit out the *Havre de Grace* with twenty Guns, and put Men out of each Ship aboard her under Captain *Cooke*'s Command, reſolving to carry her home with us, and to make a third Ship to cruiſe in our Company whilſt we were in theſe Seas. This was the great Work on which we were employed from the 29th of *June* to the 9th of *July*, when ſhe was completely finiſhed; and we gave her the Name of the *Marquis*, having provided a good Entertainment: We ſaluted each of the other Ships with three Huzzas from on board her, diſtributed Liquor among the Company, drank her Majeſty's and our Owners Healths, and to our own Succeſs, in Conjunction with our new Conſort. We ſoon after ſent two of our Main-deck Guns on board the *Marquis*; the *Ducheſs* did the like; which, with four taken at *Guiaquil*, and twelve that were in the Ship, made twenty very good ones; the Carriages all new, or ſo well repaired, that they were as good and ſtrong, as if mounted in *England*. The next thing to be conſidered was, how to provide her with Men: This was very ſoon ſettled; for I agreed to put thirty-five on board her, and Captain *Courtney* twenty-ſix, ſo that her Complement was ſixty-one white Men, and twenty Negroes, Captain *Edward Cooke* Commander, and our ſecond Lieutenant, Mr. *Charles Pope*, to command under him. We agreed, that the Captain, with his Officers and Men, ſhould have equal Wages with ours in the like Poſts, to encourage them.

25. The next thing of Conſequence was to get rid of our Priſoners, which began to be a Burden upon us, and of no Uſe at all. It was therefore determined, that they ſhould be all ſet aſhore, after trying every Method poſſible to engage them in a Scheme for trading with us. We had ſeveral times diſcourſed the two *Morells*, and *Don Antonio*, about ranſoming the Goods, and were in Hopes of ſelling them to Advantage, but deferred coming to Particulars till now; becauſe we plainly ſaw, that unleſs they could have the Cargoes under a Quarter Value, they would not deal with us. I propoſed going to *Panama*, and lying ſix Days as near it as they pleaſed, till they brought the Money we ſhould agree for, at a moderate Rate, provided they left Hoſtages on board us, whom, on Failure, we would carry to *England*. To this they would have agreed, provided we would take 60,000 Pieces of Eight for all the Prize-goods. Then I propoſed their ranſoming the Galleon, and putting a great Part of the Goods aboard her, provided one of thoſe three, and another they could procure, would be Hoſtages for the Sum. They anſwered, that neither of them would go Hoſtage to *England* for the World. I mentioned delivering the Galleon and Cargo to them here, provided two of them would be Hoſtages to pay us the Money at any other Place but *Panama* or *Lima*, in ſix Days, if they would give us 120,000 Pieces of Eight, being the loweſt Price we would take for all the Prizes and Goods, Negroes, &c. They told us, that trading with Strangers, eſpecially the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, was ſo ſtrictly prohibited in thoſe Seas, that they muſt give more than the prime Coſt of the Goods in Bribes, to get a Licence to deal with us; ſo that they could not aſſure us of Payment, unleſs we ſold the Goods very cheap: Therefore, not finding it worth our Time, and knowing the Danger we muſt run in treating with them, we deſiſted, and ordered them all aſhore, ſtill hoping that this would compel the *Morells* and *Navarre* to get Money for us, and prevent our burning the Ships we could not carry away. Some of our People were for keeping ſeveral others when they were firſt taken, but they were over-ruled; though now every body ſeem to confeſs, that had been a better Method, becauſe it would have given us a greater Opportunity of trading, and of ridding our Ships of thoſe Goods which were of no Value to us here, and ſerved only to hinder our ſailing. But to proceed: On the 10th of *July*, we put ſeventy-two Priſoners on board the Bark, and, with our two Pinnaces, ſhe ſailed for the Main. On the 13th in the Morning, theſe Veſſels returned from Landing our Priſoners, and brought off ſeven ſmall Black Cattle, twelve Hogs, and ſix Goats, ſome Limes and Plantains, which were very welcome to us. They met with little elſe of Value in the Village they were at; and, the others being far up the River, they did not think it worth while to viſit them. The Country where they landed was ſo poor, that our Men gave the Priſoners five Negroes, ſome Bays, Nails, &c. to purchaſe themſelves Subſiſtence. The Inhabitants aſhore had Notice of our taking *Guiaquil*, and were jealous of our being at this Iſland, becauſe they heard our Guns when we fired, in order to ſcale them after careening. According to the Report of our People, our Priſoners were not extremely well pleaſed with the Change of their Situation, or even with the Recovery of Liberty, in ſuch a Place; and ſeemed to regret the Advantages they enjoyed on board us. To ſay the Truth of the Matter, I verily believe, that *Don Antonio*, the *Fleming*, Sig. *Navarre*, and the *Morells*, did not expect to part with us ſo ſuddenly; but, by continuing with us, and knowing we could not carry away all the Prizes and Goods, they hoped we ſhould of courſe have freely given them what we could not keep: We apprehended that was the principal Reaſon of their not cloſing with our Terms, which were advantageous to them; beſides, ſhould we have been attacked, they believed we muſt then put them in Poſſeſſion of their Ships, which were of no Uſe for fighting. But, to obviate all their Hopes of benefiting themſelves at this eaſy Rate, without participating of their Money, the Magnet that drew us hither, I made them ſenſible, at parting, that, as we had treated them courteouſly, like generous Enemies, we would ſell them good Bargains for whatever Money they could bring us in ten Days time; but that we would burn what we did not diſpoſe of, or carry away. They begged we would delay burning the Ships, and promiſed to raiſe what Money they could, and return within the Time to ſatisfy us. One of the chief Priſoners we now parted with, was *Don Juan Cordoſo*, deſigned Governor of *Baldivia*, a briſk Man, of about thirty-five Years of Age: He had ſerved as a Colonel in *Spain*, had the Misfortune to be taken in the North Seas by an *Engliſh* Privateer near *Porto-Bello*, and carried to *Jamaica*, from whence he was ſent back to *Porto-Bello*. He complained heavily of the Uſage he met with from the *Jamaica* Privateer; but we parted very good Friends, and he returned us hearty Thanks, and a Stone Ring for a Preſent to one of the *Ducheſs*'s Lieutenants, that had lent him his Cabin while he was ſick on board. We allowed Liberty of Conſcience on board our floating Commonwealth to our Priſoners; for, there being a Prieſt in each Ship, they had the great Cabin for their Maſs, whilſt we uſed the Church of *England* Service over them on the Quarter-deck. On the 15th of *June*, came on board, in a ſmall Canoe, one *Michael Kendall*, a free Negro of *Jamaica*, who had lived for ſome time as a Slave in the Village our People had plundered: He happened not to be there then; but, as ſoon as he had an Account of it, he fairly ventured his Life to get away to us. From him we received the following remarkable Account of an Attempt made upon the Gold Mines, in which he was himſelf concerned. His Relation was to this Effect: That, when War was declared at *Jamaica*, he embarqued under the Command of one Captain *Edward Roberts*, who was joined in Commiſſion from the Governor of *Jamaica*, with the Captains *Raſh*, *Golding*, and *Pilkington*. They had 106 Men, and deſigned to attempt the Mines of *Iago*, at the Bottom of the Gulph of *Darien*. There were more Commanders and Men came out with them, but did not join in this Deſign. They had been about five Months out, when they got near the Mines undiſcovered. They ſailed fifteen Days up the River in Canoes, and travelled ten Days by Land afterwards: By this Time, the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, being alarmed, laid Ambuſcades, and ſhot many of them. The Enemy having aſſembled at leaſt 500 Men, and the *Engliſh* being diminiſhed to about ſixty, including the Wounded, the *Spaniards* ſent them a Flag of Truce, and offered them their Lives, after a ſmall Skirmiſh, wherein the *Engliſh* loſt four, and the Enemies about twelve Men. The *Engliſh*, being in want of Proviſions, quite tired out, and not knowing their Way back, agreed to deliver their Arms, on condition to be uſed as Priſoners of War. Having thus yielded, the *Spaniards* and *Indians* carried them in Canoes three Days up the River that leads to the ſame Mines they deſigned to attempt, treated them very well, and gave them the ſame Food that they eat themſelves. But the

fourth Day, when they came to a Town beyond the Mines, and thought all Danger had been paſt, an Order came from the chief *Spaniſh* Officer to cut them all off, which the *Indians* and *Spaniſh* Troops did, as thoſe poor diſarmed Wretches ſat at Victuals; ſo that in this barbarous Manner they were all maſſacred in a few Minutes, except a *Scots*, a *French*, and an *Engliſh* Boy, with twelve free Negroes, which, at the Interceſſion of a Prieſt, they kept for Slaves. This Man, being one of them, happened to be ſold firſt to the Mines, where, he ſays, he cleared at leaſt three Pieces of Eight a Day for his Maſter; and from thence he was ſold to this Place. We took Notice of this to the *Morells*, who came the next Morning with Money to ranſom what they could of us, putting them in mind of the different Treatment they had from us, and how grateful they ought to be for it; which they ſeemed very readily to acknowledge, and, indeed, behaved, upon all Occaſions, with much Honour. We ſold them good Bargains, 'tis true; but, on the other hand, they ran great Hazards in trading with us, and truſted us always with their Perſons and Money, at the ſame time that we had the Effects in our Hands they came to purchaſe. On the 18th, a Negro, belonging to the *Ducheſs*, was bit by a ſmall, brown, ſpeckled Snake, and died within twelve Hours, notwithſtanding the Doctor uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to ſave him. There are abundance of Snakes on this Iſland; and, the *Spaniards* ſay, ſome are as thick as the Middle of a Man's Thigh. I ſaw one as big as my Leg, and above three Yards long. Their Bite proves generally mortal. In the Afternoon we had a Conſultation, and agreed, that the ſame Bark we took, belonging to the Main, right againſt this Iſland, ſhould be given to the Lieutenant's Brother that we plundered, and who came over with our Bark; for, being a Man in ſome Authority on ſhore, we hoped this Favour would influence them to trade with us whilſt we were here. That Morning, Meſſieurs *Morell* and *Navarre* went a ſecond time in our Bark for Money. One of the ſame Sort of Snakes, that killed the Negro, was found on our Fore-caſtle, as they went off, and killed by our Men. We ſuppoſe it came aboard on the Cable, they being often ſeen in the Water.

26. On the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, the Officers we appointed to appraiſe the Plunder, met on board the Galleon, and valued the Clothing, in order to divide it amongſt the Officers and Men of each, according to their reſpective Shares. On the 3d in the Afternoon, they made an End of appraiſing the Cloths, at a very low Rate, amounting to four hundred Pounds; and the Silver-hilted Swords, Buckles, Snuff-boxes, Buttons, and Silver Plate in Uſe aboard every Prize we took, and allowed to be Plunder, at four Shillings and Sixpence *per* Piece of Eight, amounted to 743*l.* 15*s.* beſides 3 *lb.* 12 *oz.* which was in Rings, Gold Snuff-boxes, Ear-rings, and Gold Chains, taken about Priſoners. This I believe an exact Account. Early next Morning we had like to have had a Mutiny amongſt our Men: The Steward told me, that ſeveral of them had laſt Night made a private Agreement; and that he heard ſome Ringleaders, by way of Encouragement, boaſt to the reſt, that ſixty Men had already ſigned the Paper. Not knowing what this Combination meant, or how it was deſigned, I ſent for the chief Officers into the Cabin, where we armed ourſelves, ſecured two of thoſe mutinous Fellows, and preſently ſeized two others: The Fellow that wrote the Paper we put in Irons: By this time, all Hands were upon Deck, and we had got their Agreement from thoſe who were in the Cabin: The Purport of which was, to oblige themſelves not to take their Plunder, nor to move from thence, till they had Juſtice done them, as they termed it. There being ſo many concerned in this Deſign, the Captains *Dover* and *Fry* deſired I would diſcharge thoſe in Confinement, upon their aſking Pardon, and faithfully promiſing never to be guilty of the like, or any other Combination, again. The Reaſon we ſhewed them this Favour was, that there were too many guilty to puniſh them at once; and, not knowing what was deſigned aboard the *Ducheſs* and *Marquis*, we were of Opinion, they had concerted to break the Ice aboard the *Duke*, and the reſt to ſtand by them. Upon this, I uſed all the Arguments I could offer, ſhewed them the Danger and Folly of Combinations, and exhorted them to believe, they would have Juſtice done them in *England*, ſhould any thing ſeem uneaſy to them now, or in the whole Courſe of the Voyage; adding, that we had done all that we could for their Good, and would continue our Endeavours, not doubting their good Intentions, provided they were not miſled. With theſe, and other healing Arguments, all appeared eaſy and quiet, and every Man ſeemed willing to ſtand to what had been done, provided the Gentlemen, that were Officers, and not Sailors amongſt us, had not ſuch large Shares, which they alleged was unreaſonable; and that they could not poſſibly, in a Privateer, deſerve what they were allowed, in proportion to the Ship's Company. This we did in part yield to, in order to appeaſe theſe Malecontents, by making ſome Abatements on Mr. *White*'s, Mr. *Bath*'s, and Mr. *Vanbrugh*'s Shares; ſo that we hoped this difficult Work would, with leſs Danger than we dreaded, be brought to a Concluſion; for Diſputes about Plunder are the common Occaſion of Privateers quarrelling amongſt themſelves, and ruining their Voyages. Another Paper was drawn up, for every Man to ſwear what Cloaths, Goods, &c. he had received of the Agents, and to reſtore whatever he had taken without the Agents Knowledge, in order to a juſt Diſtribution of the Plunder; and every one was to oblige himſelf in a Penalty of twenty Shillings for every Shilling Value that ſhould be found about him concealed, beſides the former Penalty agreed on, of loſing his Share of any Prize or Purchace, for concealing above the Value of half a Piece of Eight. And, for the Encouragement of Diſcoveries, the Informer was to have half the Penalty, and the Protection of the Commander. This Paper was objected againſt by ſeveral of the Officers, who inſiſted, that there ought to be a greater Latitude allowed them to advantage themſelves, ſince they had ventured their Lives thither on ſo difficult an Undertaking: Which made us defer ſigning it till a better Opportunity; for, unleſs ſuch Agreements as theſe had been conſtantly promoted, as Occaſion required, the Temptation of Intereſt would have made us fall into irrecoverable Confuſions aboard, which generally end in a Separation, or worſe. Some time after this, I propoſed another thing, which, I thought, would prove very advantageous for our Owners, and the common Intereſt; and this was, the ſending Captain *Cooke*, in the *Marquis*, with a Cargo of our Prize-goods, to the *Braſils*; which Commiſſion he would have executed. By this I propoſed to ſave our Proviſions, ſince he would not have required any great Stock for that Voyage, and, conſequently, might have remained longer in the South Seas. In the next Place, I propoſed Profit; for theſe Goods would have come to an extraordinary Market at the *Braſils*, and have yielded twice or thrice as much as we could make of them any other Way: And, laſtly, after ſecuring, in this manner, ſo conſiderable an Advantage on our Voyage, as we muſt have reaped from the Produce of theſe Goods, our Ships had been ſufficiently provided for attacking the *Acapulco* Ship. But my Conſorts did not underſtand, or at leaſt would not approve, theſe Reaſons; and ſo the Project fell to the Ground, which they, however, repented afterwards, when it was too late.

27. On the 7th, we gave Sig. *Morell* and *Navarre* their Ships, and all the Goods we could not carry away, for what Money our Agents received of them. As for the Effects in the Bark, we agreed for 12,000 Pieces of Eight, which, with 3000 there remained of the old Debt for the Ranſom of *Guiaquil*, made 15,000 in the Whole, and which were to be brought in twelve Days. Captain *Cooke* valued the Money now on board, for the Uſe of the Owners, 20,000 Pounds, and the Goods at 60,000 Pounds. We gave theſe Gentlemen a Paper, which might ſerve to protect them, in caſe they fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*; and we intended to have taken an Acknowledgment under their Hands, as to the Particulars of the Bargain; but the Bark ſailed away from us in the Night. I cannot help taking notice here of the honourable Behaviour of our Crew during the Time theſe Priſoners were on board, in order to ſhew how much they regarded the Credit of their Commiſſion, and of their Country. Amongſt our Priſoners taken on board Sig. *Navarre*'s Ship from *Panama*, there was a Gentlewoman, and her Family; her

eldeſt Daughter, a pretty young Woman, of about Eighteen, was newly married, and had her Huſband with her. We aſſigned them the great Cabin aboard the Galleon; and none were ſuffered to intrude amongſt them, or to ſeparate their Company: Yet the Huſband (I was told) ſhewed evident Marks of Jealouſy, the *Spaniards* epidemic Diſeaſe. But, I hope, he had not the leaſt Reaſon for it amongſt us, my third Lieutenant *Glendall* alone having Charge of the Galleon and Priſoners; for, being above fifty Years of Age, he appeared to be the moſt ſecure Guardian to Females, that had the leaſt Charms, tho' all our young Men had hitherto appeared modeſt, beyond Example amongſt Privateers: Yet we thought it improper to expoſe them to Temptations. At this time, Lieutenant *Conneley*, who behaved himſelf ſo modeſtly to the Ladies of *Guiaquil*, was ſome Days in Poſſeſſion of *Navarre*'s Ship, before we ſtopped here to remove theſe Priſoners aboard the Galleon, where he gained their Thanks, and public Acknowledgments, for his Civilities to theſe Ladies; and even the Huſband extolled him. We had notice theſe Ladies had ſome concealed Treaſure about them, and ordered a Female Negro, that we took, and who ſpoke *Engliſh*, to ſearch them narrowly; and found ſome Gold Chains, and other Things, cunningly hid under their Cloaths. They had before delivered to Captain *Courtney* Plate, and other things, of good Value. We gave them moſt of their Wearing-apparel and Neceſſaries, with three Female Mullatto Slaves, and parted very friendly. They confeſſed to our People, who put them on ſhore, that we had been much civiller than they did expect, or believed their Countrymen would have been in the like Caſe; and ſent back the Huſband with Gold, to purchaſe ſome Goods and two Slaves of us. The Iſland of *Gorgona* has been more than once deſcribed, and therefore it is needleſs to trouble the Reader with it here; for which Reaſon we ſhall proceed in the Hiſtory of the Voyage.

28. *Auguſt* 11. we ſailed, and, the next Morning, came up with a Bark which created ſo much Uneaſineſs; and put Mr. *Selkirk* and his Crew on board her. As our Ships were but very thinly manned, and there was likely to be more Action than ſince we had been in theſe Seas, it was therefore thought adviſeable to recruit a little; which, conſidering where we were, will ſeem a little extraordinary: But the Myſtery will be very ſoon explained, by my telling the Reader, that, on the 16th, we muſtered the Negroes on board the *Duke*, and found them thirty-five, ſtrong able Fellows, fit for Service. When they were together, I told them, that, if they would behave bravely, and act faithfully, their Slavery was at an End; on which thirty-two of them engaged, and deſired they might be improved in the Uſe of Arms, which ſome of them already underſtood; adding, that, if I would allow them Arms and Powder, theſe would teach the reſt. Upon this, I made *Michael Kendall*, the *Jamaica* free Negro, who deſerted from the *Spaniards* to us at *Gorgona*, their Leader; and charged him to be continually exerciſing them, becauſe I did not know how ſoon we might meet with an Enemy. I took down the Names of thoſe that had any; and thoſe that wanted, I beſtowed Names on them; and, to confirm our Contract, I made them drink a Dram all round, to our good Succeſs. At the ſame time, I gave them Bays for Cloaths; and told them, they muſt look upon themſelves as *Engliſhmen*, and no more as Negro Slaves to the *Spaniards*: At which they expreſſed themſelves highly pleaſed. The next Morning, we ſaw a Sail; and both the *Ducheſs* and we gave Chace, and took her in an Hour's time. She was a Veſſel of ſeventy Ton, and had four-and-twenty Negroes, Men and Women, in her. After this, we ſtood over to the Bay of *Jecames*, where the *Indians* are free; and, with much-ado, by the Help of a Prieſt, entered on Trade with them. On the 27th, we began to heel and clean our Ships Bottoms; and ſent ſeveral of our beſt Sailors, and two Carpenters, to aſſiſt the *Marquis* aſhore. Our Men kept one half at Arms, while the reſt loaded the Boats, leſt the *Indians*, who are generally treacherous, ſhould watch an Opportunity to fall on them. Our People, that came off the Shore, took particular Notice, that the red Paint, with which the *Indians* were firſt daubed, was a Declaration of War; and, after we had amicably treated with them, they rubbed it off; but ſtill kept their Arms. We ſent them three large wooden *Spaniſh* Saints, that we had out of *Morell*'s Ship, to adorn their Church; which they accounted a great Preſent: And I ſent a feathered Cap to the chief *Indian*'s Wife; which was likewiſe very well accepted: And I had a Preſent of Bows and Arrows in Requital. In the mean time, our Linguiſt and Priſoner managed their Buſineſs beyond Expectation, ſelling very ordinary Bays at one Piece of Eight and an half *per* Yard, and other things in Proportion; ſo that we had Proviſions very cheap. On *September* 1. we ſailed from thence; and, on the 6th, Captain *Courtney*, Captain *Cooke*, and Captain *Dampier*, dined on board of me, when Captain *Cooke* complained of his Ship being crank; and that we need not have tacked ſo near the Shore, ſince we might eaſily have fetched the *Gallapagos* without tacking. All agreed to this, except our Pilot, who was poſitive of ſeeing other Lands about 100 or 110 Leagues from the Main, under the Equinox. He told us, he was at them formerly, and has deſcribed them in one of his Voyages; and that thoſe Iſlands we were at, lay to the Weſt of them: But we judged him miſtaken, or we had ſeen them in the laſt Runs to and from theſe Iſlands. On the 8th, we ran over and beyond where our Pilot affirmed the Iſlands were; ſo that we all agreed, that the Iſland he was at, when a Bucanneering, could be no other, but thoſe we were at, and were going to now, the neareſt Part of them lying 165 Leagues to the Weſtward of the Main-land. The ſame Day, we made one of the *Gallapagos* Iſlands; and, the next Day, hoiſted out our Pinnace: Captain *Dover* and Mr. *Glendall* went in her for the Shore. The *Ducheſs*'s Pinnace returned very ſoon, laden with Turtles. In the mean time, we came to an Anchor in about thirty Fathom Water, about two Miles off Shore, being rocky at Bottom. In letting go the Anchor, the Buoy-rope was immediately cut off, and our Ship drove; ſo that we thought our Cable was alſo cut: But, after driving about half a Mile, the Ship rode very well. In the Evening, our Boats, that left us after we came to an Anchor, returned, laden with excellent Turtle. We ſent our Yawl and ſome Men aſhore, to turn theſe Creatures in the Night: But to no Purpoſe; becauſe we afterwards found, they only came aſhore in the Day. I ſent our Pinnace, and Lieutenant *Fry*, to ſound out a better Anchoring-place, while we hove up the Anchor, and came to Sail. Our Boat returned; and, by ten o'Clock, we had our Ship again to an Anchor within leſs than a Mile of the Shore, right againſt a white ſandy Bay. I went aſhore in the Pinnace, and carried Men to walk round the Bay, to get Turtles. The Iſland is high, like the reſt; but ſome low Land on this Side down to the Sea. It is very rocky, dry, and barren, without Water, like thoſe we had already ſeen. On the 12th, I ſent to the *Ducheſs*, who was at an Anchor a good Diſtance from us, to know how they were ſtocked with Turtle. At ten the Boat returned, with an Account, that they had about 150 Land and Sea Turtles; but not generally ſo large as ours. We had no Land Turtles as yet; but about 150 Sea Turtles. The *Marquis* had the worſt Luck. On the 13th, the *Ducheſs*'s People having informed us where they got their Land Turtles, I ſent our Pinnace, which, at Night, returned with thirty-ſeven, and ſome Salt they found in a Pond; and the Yawl brought twenty Sea Turtles: So that we were very full of them. Some of the largeſt of the Land Turtles are about 100 Pounds Weight; and thoſe of the Sea upwards of 400. The Land Turtles laid Eggs on our Deck. Our Men brought ſome from the Shore, about the Bigneſs of a Gooſe's Egg, white, with a large thick Shell, exactly round. The Creatures are the uglieſt in Nature; the Shell not unlike the Top of an old Hackney-coach, as black as Jet; and ſo is the outſide Skin, but ſhriveled, and very rough. The Legs and Neck are long, and about the Bigneſs of a Man's Wriſt; and they have Club-feet, as big as one's Fiſt, ſhaped much like thoſe of an Elephant, with five thick Nails on the Fore-feet, and but four behind; and the Head little, and Viſage ſmall, like Snakes; and look very old and black. When at firſt ſurpriſed, they ſhrink their Neck, Head, and Legs, under their Shell. Two of our Men, with Lieutenant *Stratton*, and the Trumpeter of the *Ducheſs*, affirm they ſaw vaſt large ones of this ſort, about four Feet high. They mounted two Men on the Back of one of them, which, with its

uſual ſlow Pace, carried them, and never regarded the Weight. They ſuppoſed this could not weigh leſs than 700 lb. I do not affect giving Relations of ſtrange Creatures, ſo frequently done by others; but where an uncommon Creature falls in my Way, I cannot omit it. The *Spaniards* tell us, they know of none elſewhere in theſe Seas; but they are common in *Braſil*. On the 15th, we had a fine Breeze, came up to the reſt, and agreed to lie by, with our Heads to the Eaſtward, till Midnight, being in Sight of the Rock, where we loſt poor *Hatley*, when laſt here. On the 16th at four o'Clock in the Afternoon, we ſent our Yawl for Captain *Cooke* and Captain *Courtney*, with whom we agreed to bear away, ſeeing ſo many Iſlands and Rocks to the Weſtward, we did not care to incumber ourſelves among them in the Night. By ſix, we found the Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe, and, at Maſt-head, could ſee all low Rocks, almoſt joining from Iſland to Iſland, that we ſeemed Land-locked for three Points of the Compaſs, and no-way open, but to the South-eaſt, from whence we came; ſo we reſolved to return that Way, and made ſhort Trips all Night, keeping continual Sounding, for fear of Sholes, and had from forty to ſixty Fathom Water. In the Morning, we had got far enough to Windward to return. We could have no Obſervation, the Sun being in our Zenith, tho' we found the Weather here much colder, than in any Latitude within ten Degrees of each Side the Equator. The *Ducheſs* (not being ſo well provided with Turtle as we) ſent her Boat aſhore on another Iſland, where they got her Lading of excellent Turtle, leaving a vaſt Number on ſhore that they could not bring away. We had as many aboard as we had Room for. At ſeven we all joined, and agreed to lie-by till two in the Morning, whence we continued our Courſe, with an eaſy Sail, till Day-break: We were a-breaſt of the *Thoroughfare*, where we tried for Water the laſt time. I ordered a Gun to be fired at a venture, to ſee if it were poſſible Mr. *Hatley* could be there alive, and then ſeeing, or hearing us, might make a Smoke on ſhore, as a Signal; but we had no ſuch good Luck; ſo that our Hopes for him were all vaniſhed, and, we finally concluded, that we could do no more for him, than we have done already. The 18th and 19th, we ſaw ſeveral more Iſlands, one of them a large one, which we ſuppoſed reached near the Equinoctial, and abundance of ſmall Iſlands betwixt us. The 19th at Noon, we had an indifferent good Obſervation, Latitude 2° 2′ North. We ſaw in all (ſome that we ſearched, and others that we viewed at a Diſtance at both times) no leſs than fifty, but none that had the leaſt Appearance of freſh Water. Sig. *Morell* tells me, that a *Spaniſh* Man of War, employed to cruiſe for Pirates, was once at an Iſland that lies by itſelf in Latitude 1° 20′ or 30′ South; they called it *St. Maria del Aquada*, a pleaſant Iſland, and good Road, full of Wood, and plenty of Water, and Turtle of both Sorts, with Fiſh, *&c.* lying about 140 *Spaniſh* Leagues Weſt from the Iſland of *Plata*; but, I believe, it is at leaſt thirty Leagues more, and that it is no other but the ſame Iſland where Captain *Davis*, the *Engliſh* Bucanneer, recruited; and all the Light he has left to find it again is, that it lies to the Weſtward of theſe Iſlands he was at with the other Bucanneers, which, as I have before examined, can be no other than theſe Iſlands we have been twice at. We had no Occaſion to look for this Iſland the ſecond Trip, though, I believe, it is eaſy to find it without farther Directions. Here are moſt Sort of Sea-birds among theſe Iſlands, and ſome Land-birds, particularly Hawks of ſeveral Sorts, and Turtle-doves, both ſo very tame, that we often hit them down with Sticks. I ſaw no Sort of Beaſts; but there are Guanas in abundance, and Land-turtle almoſt on every Iſland. 'Tis ſtrange how the latter got here; becauſe they cannot come of themſelves, and none of that Sort are found on the Main. Seels haunt ſome of theſe Iſlands, but not ſo numerous, nor their Fur ſo good, as at *Juan Fernandez*: A very large one made at me three ſeveral times, and, had I not happened to have a Pike-ſtaff, pointed with Iron, in his Hand, I might have been killed by him: I was on the level Sand when he came open-mouthed at me, out of the Water, as quick and fierce as the moſt angry Dog let looſe: I ſtruck the Point into his Breaſt, and wounded him all the three times he made at me; which forced him at laſt to retire, with an ugly Noiſe, ſnarling, and ſhewing his long Teeth at me out of the Water. This amphibious Beaſt was as big as a large Bear.

29. On the firſt of *October* we made the Main-land of *Mexico*, which Captain *Dampier* no ſooner ſaw, than he declared, it was in the Neighbourhood of that Place that he attacked the Leſſer *Manilla* Ship in the *St. George*. Our Men began to grow ill again, and two of them dropt down on the Deck, occaſioned by a kind of ſcorbutic Apoplexy; but, upon Bleeding, they came ſoon to themſelves. The next Day we made Cape *Corientes*, which we knew by our Charts. Captain *Dampier*, indeed, had been here; but it was a long time ago, and, therefore, he ſeemed to know but little of the Matter; yet, when he came to land in Places, he recollected them very readily. Our Buſineſs now was, to look for the Iſlands called *Tres Marias*, to procure ſome Refreſhments; and found this a Work of Difficulty, being very uncertain as to their Situation. On the 4th in the Afternoon, Cape *Corientes* bore Eaſt North-eaſt about ten Leagues: The next Morning, being very clear Weather, we diſcovered two Iſlands at the Diſtance of fourteen Leagues, one bearing North by Weſt, the other North by Eaſt. At Noon we had an Obſervation, and found ourſelves in the Latitude of 20° 45′ North. The Sight of theſe Iſlands was very ſatisfactory; for, though our Men had their Fill of Land and Sea-turtle, which kept them from the Scurvy, yet I found them weak, it being but a faint Sort of Food, except they had enough Bread or Flour with it; whereas they had but a Pound and a Quarter of Bread or Flour for five Men a Day; which was done to prolong our Stock of Bread againſt we came to live wholly on our ſalt Proviſions, and ſhould be then forced to allow more. On the 6th, we ſent Lieutenant *Fry*, in the Pinnace, on ſhore, on the Eaſtermoſt Iſland, to try whether there was any good Road or Conveniency for us to recruit there. At nine they returned, and told me, the Iſland had foul Ground near half a Mile from the Shore, bad Anchorage, worſe Landing, and no freſh Water, but Wood enough. A melancholy Fate to us, our Water growing ſhort. We haled on a Wind for the middle Iſland, which Captain *Dampier*, I believe, can remember he was at, when he belonged to Captain *Swan*, and found Water. Having little Wind, we ſent our Boat towards the Iſland, to view it, before we could get up thither with the Ship. The *Ducheſs*'s People, and our Pinnace, had been aſhore at ſeveral Places on the South-eaſt Side of the Iſland, and found better Water at every Place. On the 8th, thoſe that had been on the Iſland reported, they ſaw no Sign of any Peoples being lately there, but found a human Skull above-ground; which we ſuppoſed to be one of the two *Indian* Captains *Dampier* tells us were left here by Captain *Swan* about 23 Years ago; for Victuals being ſcarce with theſe Bucanneers, they would not carry the poor *Indians* any farther; but, after they had ſerved their Turns, left them to make a miſerable End on a deſolate Iſland. We kept a Light out all Night, and a Fire in the Iſland, that, if the *Marquis* and Bark, who had left Company, ſaw it, and had a Gale, they might come into Anchor-ground: But, having no Sight of them at Day-break, I went on board our Conſort, and propoſed my going out to look after them; but they made light of it, and thought it needleſs, believing they would be in after us without any Aſſiſtance. The Recruit of Cattle, Hogs, and Plantains, at *Fecames*, held to the *Gallapagos*; and we fed on the Turtle ever ſince, excepting thoſe two laſt Days. This accidental Stock of freſh Food was ſome Refreſhment to our Men, and prolonged our Stock of *European* Proviſions. On the 9th, I ſent Lieutenant *Glendall* to view the other Side of the Iſland; and he told me, on his Return, that it was much better than this, had ſeveral ſandy Bays, in which he ſaw the Tract of many Turtle. Upon this Intelligence, I ſent back the Boat thither in the Evening, and next Morning they came aboard with a full Load of Turtle, and left another behind them ready turned; and, which was of much greater Conſequence, they found pretty good Water; whereas what we had hitherto drank was phyſical, and purged exceſſively. As we wooded, watered, and furniſhed ourſelves with freſh Proviſions here, and as theſe

are Places very little known, I ſhall deſcribe them. The Iſlands of *Tres Marias* lie North-weſt, in a Range about four Leagues aſunder. The largeſt Iſland is the Weſtermoſt, which appears to be high double Land, and about five Leagues in Length; the Middle Iſland about three Leagues the longeſt Way; and the Eaſtermoſt ſcarce two Leagues: Theſe are alſo high Lands, and full of Trees. Near the leaſt Iſland are two or three ſmall, broken, white Iſlands. One of the outermoſt of theſe appeared ſo much like a Ship under Sail at a Diſtance, that we gave the uſual Signal for a Chace, but ſoon found our Miſtake. Theſe Iſlands have abundance of different Sorts of Parrots, Pigeons, Doves, and other Land Birds, of which we killed great Numbers, with excellent Hares, but much leſs than ours: We ſaw abundance of Guanas, and ſome Raccoons; the latter barked and ſnarled at us like Dogs, but were eaſily beat off with Sticks. I think the Water more worthy of Remark, than any thing we ſaw here; becauſe we found but two good Springs, which ran down in large Streams near others, that were very bitter and diſagreeable, which, I ſuppoſe, might proceed from Shrubs and Roots that grow in the Water, or from ſome Mineral. The Turtle here are very good, but of a different Shape from any I have ſeen; and, though vulgarly there are reckoned but three Sorts of Turtle, we have ſeen ſix or ſeven different Sorts at ſeveral times, and our People have eat of them all, except the very large Whooping or Loggerhead Turtle, (as they are called) found in *Braſil* in great Plenty, and ſome of them above 500 lb. Weight; we did not eat of that Sort, becauſe then our Proviſions were plentiful. Thoſe at the *Gallapagos* Iſlands, both Male and Female, I obſerved came aſhore in the Day-time, and not in the Night, quite different from what I have ſeen or heard of the reſt. All that we caught in this Iſland, was by turning them in the Night, and were She's, which came aſhore to lay their Eggs, and bury them in the dry Sand; one of theſe had 800 Eggs in its Belly, 150 of which were ſkinned, and ready for laying at once. I could not imagine, that Turtle were ſix Weeks in hatching, as ſome Authors write, conſidering the Sun makes the Sand ſo very hot where-ever thoſe Eggs are found, and, inſtead of a Shell, they have nothing but a very thin Film: In order therefore to be better informed, I ordered ſome of our Men on ſhore to watch carefully for one, and ſuffer her to lay her Eggs without Diſturbance, and to take good notice of the Time and Place. Accordingly they did ſo, and aſſured me, they found the Eggs addled in leſs than twelve Hours; and, in about twelve Hours more, they had young ones in them, completely ſhaped, and alive: Had we ſtaid a little longer, I might have given myſelf, and others, thorough Satiſfaction in this quick Production of Tortoiſes: From whence I am inclinable to credit the Report of divers of our Sailors, who aſſert, that where they have found Eggs in the Sand, and looked for them in three Days time after, in the ſame Place, they found nothing but Films: This ſhews, that the young ones are hatched within that time. They aſſured me alſo, that they had obſerved, more than once, that the young Brood run out of the Sand every Day, directly for the Sea, in great Numbers, and quicker than the old ones. There was little Fiſh about the Shores of this Iſland, and of the ſame Sorts mentioned at other Places in theſe Seas; but the Plenty of Turtle, at this time, ſupplied that Defect: We, the chief Officers, fed deliciouſly here, being ſcarce ever without Hares, Turtle-doves, Pigeons, and Parrots of various Sizes and Colours: Many had white, or red Heads, with Tufts of Feathers on their Crowns. We found good Anchor-ground about this middle Iſland, and gradual Soundings, from twenty to four Fathom Water, cloſe by the Shore. Between this and the leaſt Iſland, 'tis about the ſame Depth, where we were: Between them I found no Shole, but what was viſible; as a Rock off the South-weſt Point, and a Shole off the North-eaſt Point of the ſame, with another at a great Diſtance from that Point of the leaſt Iſland, but neither runs above half a Mile from the Shore.

30. On the 1ſt of *November* we ſaw High-land, which proved the Point of *California*, or that Head-land which the Sailors call Cape *St. Lucas*. It was now neceſſary to put in Execution the Rules we had formerly laid down for Cruiſing; as alſo to ſettle our Regulations about Plunder, and againſt Gaming; which was done on the eleventh. According to our Agreement, mine was to be the outermoſt Ship, the *Ducheſs* in the Middle, and the *Marquis* next the Land; the neareſt Ship to be ſix Leagues at leaſt, and nine at moſt, from the Shore; the Bark to ply to-and-fro, and carry Advice from Ship to Ship: By this Agreement, we could ſpread fifteen Leagues, and ſee any thing that might paſs us in the Day within twenty Leagues of the Shore; and, to prevent the Ships paſſing in the Night, we were to ply to Windward all Day, and drive all Night. On the 5th of *November* we changed our Situation, and the *Ducheſs* was next the Shore, and the *Marquis* in the Middle. It gave us great Satiſfaction, to conſider, that in this very Place, and about this very Day, Sir *Thomas Candiſh* took the *Manilla* Ship. On the 16th, we ſent the Bark to look for Water on the Main; and next Morning they returned, having ſeen wild *Indians*, who paddled to them on Bark-logs: They were fearful of coming near our People at firſt, but were ſoon prevailed with to accept of a Knife or two, and ſome Bays; for which they returned two Bladders of Water, a couple of live Foxes, and a Deer's-ſkin. Till now, we thought the *Spaniards* had Miſſionaries among theſe People; but they being quite naked, having no Sign of *European* Commodities, nor the leaſt Word of *Spaniſh*, we concluded they were quite ſavage. We diſpatched the Bark and Boat a ſecond time with Trifles, in hopes to get ſome Refreſhment from them. On the 18th, before Sun-ſet, we could perceive our Bark under the Shore; and, having little Wind, ſhe drove moſt Part of the Night, to be near us in the Morning: We ſent our Pinnace, and brought the Men aboard, who told us, that their new Acquaintance were grown very familiar, but were the pooreſt Wretches in Nature, and had no manner of Refreſhment for us: They came freely aboard to eat ſome of our Victuals, and, by Signs, invited our Men aſhore. The *Indians* ſwam aſhore to guide the Bark-logs that our Men were on, there being too much Sea to land out of our Boat. After they got ſafe on ſhore, the *Indians* led each of our Men, betwixt two of them, up the Bank, where there was an old naked Gentleman, with a Deer-ſkin ſpread on the Ground, on which they kneeled before our People, who did the like, and wiped the Water off their Faces without a Cloth. Theſe that led them from the Water-ſide, took the ſame Care of them for a Quarter of a Mile, and led them very ſlowly, through a narrow Paſs, to their Huts, where they found a dull Muſician, rubbing two jagged Sticks acroſs each other, and humming to it, to divert and welcome their new Gueſts. After theſe Ceremonies were over, our People ſat on the Ground with them, eat broiled Fiſh, and were attended back in the ſame manner, with the *Indian* Muſic. The Savages brought a Sample of every thing they had, except their Women, Children, and Arms, which we find are not common to Strangers. Their Knives, made of Sharks Teeth, and a few other of their Curioſities, our People brought aboard to me, which I preſerved, to ſhew what Shifts may be made. On the 28th in the Afternoon, we heard the *Marquis* fire a Gun, which was anſwered by the *Ducheſs*, who had the middle Birth. We tacked immediately, and made all poſſible Sail, ſuppoſing they had ſeen a Stranger. The *Marquis* ſtood to us, towards the Shore, and we ſoon met her: By four o'Clock I was aboard them, and inquired into the Cauſe of the Alarm; was ſurpriſed to hear they took us for the *Manilla* Ship, and the Gun they fired, was to alarm the *Ducheſs* to give Chace, as ſhe had done all the Day, though not regarded by us, who knew the *Marquis*, and admired they could miſtake the *Duke*. Immediately each Ship returned to his Station. Soon after our main Tie gave way, and our main Yard came down at once, but did no other Damage. Next Morning we ſaw the Bark coming off Shore, where ſhe had been becalmed: Being longer wanting than uſual, we were afraid they were cut off by the *Indians*. We got our Bale-goods up from ab-aft, to ſee for the Leak; but all to no Purpoſe; we found ſeveral of the Bales that had received ſome Damage, which we dried and repacked, and ſold what was damaged,

among the Ship's Company. The ſame Night, our Lazareto-door being broken open, and loſing Bread and Sugars, this Morning I ordered a Search, and found the Thief. I blamed the Steward for his Remiſſneſs: He told me, he lay next the Door, with the Key faſtened to his privy Parts, becauſe he had it once ſtolen out of his Pocket; I ſuppoſe by the ſame Thief, who was ſo dexterous as to get it now, without diſturbing him; but, not being ingenious enough to faſten it to the ſame Place, he was diſcovered: His Meſs-mate was alſo guilty, but, knowing his Friends at *Briſtol*, I was unwilling to puniſh him, though, Proviſions being ſcarce, it made the Crime the greater; for we expected no Recruit till we got to the *Eaſt Indies*. I ordered the firſt to be ſeverely whipt at the Geers, and the other, and a *Dutchman*, to be afterwards left with him in Irons. On the 9th of *December*, Mr. *Duck*, the Maſter of the Bark, came aboard, and preſented me with ſome Dolphins he had from the *Indians*. I ordered our Maſter to go with him, and endeavour, if poſſible, to diſcover the Shore along to the Northward, to find out a better Harbour than that where the *Indians* lived; and, if they met with the *Ducheſs*, to tell Captain *Courtney*, I thought it convenient for one of the Ships to go into the Bay we had already diſcovered, and there to take in Water and Wood, &c. ſo to fit our Ships by turns, to ſave Time, and, conſequently, Proviſions, which began now to grow ſhort with us. We were alſo ſomething dubious of ſeeing the *Manilla* Ships, becauſe it was near a Month after the Time they generally fall in with this Coaſt that we were here cruiſing for them; but, what embaraſſed us moſt was, the Impoſſibility of procuring any Intelligence which might deliver us from this Perplexity. To act with Judgment and Spirit in ſo nice a Conjuncture, it was reſolved on the 4th, that the *Marquis* ſhould go into the Harbour, in order to refit; that I and the *Duke* ſhould keep the outward Birth, and the *Ducheſs* remain between us and the Shore. It was likewiſe fixed, that we ſhould cruiſe but eight Days longer in hopes of this *Manilla* Ship. On conſidering our Proviſions, we found the Bread on board all the Ships, at our preſent ſhort Allowance, for about ſeventy Days at moſt. Our Run to *Guam*, one of the *Ladrones*, could not poſſibly be performed in leſs than fifty Days; which, added to the Time we were ſtill to remain here, made it evident, that, on our Arrival there, we ſhould have Bread only for eleven Days: And, even then, we ran two Hazards; the firſt, that our Voyage might be longer, and, in that caſe, our Bread muſt fail, before we arrived at *Guam*; the other, that, in caſe we had ſuch a Remainder of Bread when we came there, it was not quite certain, that we ſhould obtain a Supply. Yet, at all Events, we were obliged to reſolve upon this Courſe, becauſe it was ſimply impoſſible for us to go round by *Cape Horn*, and ſo to the *Braſils*, where we might have ſold our Goods to vaſt Advantage, and made our Voyage back to *Great Britain* in much leſs Time.

31. The Thoughts of all theſe Difficulties naturally made us a little melancholy: However, on the 21ſt of *December*, we bore away for the Port where the *Marquis* was refitting; but, about nine in the Morning, the Man at the Maſt-head cry'd out, that he ſaw a Sail, beſides the *Ducheſs* and Bark, diſtant about ſeven Leagues from us. We hoiſted our Enſign immediately, and bore away after her; the *Ducheſs* did the like; but, it falling calm, I ordered the Pinnace to be manned, and ſent out, to make what ſhe was. In the mean time, our Ship's Company were ſtrangely divided in their Opinions: Some were very poſitive, that it was the *Marquis* come out of Port; and, to confirm this, they aſſerted, that the Sail had no Fore-top-maſt; upon which we recalled the Pinnace, put a Cap aboard her for ther *Marquis*, and then ſent her away again; and by this time it was Noon. All the reſt of the Day we had very little Wind, ſo that we made no great Way; and the Boat not returning, kept us in a languiſhing Condition, not being able to determine, whether the Sail was our Conſort the *Marquis*, or the *Acapulco* Ship. Our Pinnace was ſtill in Sight, and we had nothing to do but to watch her Motions: We could ſee, that ſhe made towards the *Ducheſs*'s Pinnace, which rowed to meet her: They lay together ſome time, and then the *Ducheſs*'s Pinnace went back to their Ship, which gave us great Hopes. In order to obtain ſome Certainty, I ordered Mr. *Fry* on board the *Ducheſs*, in our Yawl, to know what that Ship was, and to agree, if ſhe was not the *Marquis*, how to engage her: As ſoon as the Yawl was gone, we hoiſted *French* Colours, and fired a Gun, which the Stranger anſwered; and this, in ſome meaſure, cleared the Doubt. Mr. *Fry*, however, quickly returned, with the joyful News, that this was really the *Manilla* Ship, for which we had waited ſo long, and of ſeeing which we now began to deſpair. This revived all our Courage, and every body was as active in preparing for the Engagement, as we could poſſibly deſire. The Thoughts of being made at once, diſperſed all our melancholy Reflections on the Shortneſs of our Proviſions, and our long Run to *Guam*: We had now nothing in our Heads, but being Maſters of the mighty Treaſure on board this *India* Ship; and every Moment ſeemed an Hour, till we came up with her. We agreed the two Pinnaces ſhould tend her all Night, and keep ſhewing falſe Fires, that we might know whereabout they and the Chace were; and, if we were ſo fortunate as to come up with her together, we agreed to board her at once. We made a clear Ship before Night, had every thing in Readineſs to engage her at Day-break, and kept a very good Look-out all Night for the Boat's falſe Fires, which we ſaw, and anſwered frequently. At Day-break we ſaw the Chace upon our Weather-bow, about a League from us, the *Ducheſs* a-head of her to Leeward, near about half as far. Towards ſix our Boat came aboard, having kept very near the Chace all the Night, and received no Damage; but told us, the *Ducheſs* paſſed by her in the Night, and ſhe fired two Shot at them, but they returned none. We had no Wind, but got out eight of our Ship's Oars, and rowed above an Hour; then there ſprung up a ſmall Breeze. I ordered a large Kettle of Chocolate to be made for our Ship's Company (having no ſpirituous Liquor to give them); then we went to Prayers, and, before we had concluded, were diſturbed by the Enemy's firing at us. They had Barrels hanging at each Yard-arm, that looked like Powder-barrels, to deter us from boarding them. About eight o'Clock we began to engage her by ourſelves; for the *Ducheſs*, being to Leeward, and having little Wind, did not come up. The Enemy fired her Stern-chace upon us firſt, which we returned with our Fore-chace ſeveral times, till we came nearer; and, when cloſe aboard each other, we gave her ſeveral Broadſides, plying our ſmall Arms very briſkly; which they returned as thick for awhile, but did not ply their great Guns half ſo faſt as we. After ſome time, we ſhot a little a-head of them, lying thwart her Hawſe, cloſe aboard; and plied them ſo warmly, that ſhe ſoon ſtruck her Colours two-thirds down. By this time the *Ducheſs* came up, and fired about five Guns, with a Volley of ſmall Shot; but the Enemy, having ſubmitted, made no Return. We ſent our Pinnace aboard, and brought the Captain, with the Officers, away; and, having examined them, found there was another Ship come out of *Manilla* with them, of larger Burden, having about forty braſs Guns mounted, and as many Pattereroes; but, they told us, they loſt her Company three Months ago, and reckoned ſhe was got to *Acapulco* before this time, ſhe ſailing better than this Ship. This Prize was called by the ſwelling Name of *Noſtra Seniora de la Incarnacion Diſenganio*, Sir *John Pichberty* Commander; ſhe had twenty Guns, twenty Patereroes, and 193 Men aboard, whereof nine were killed, ten wounded, and ſeveral blown up with Powder. We engaged them about three Glaſſes; in which time, we had only myſelf and another Man wounded. I was ſhot through the Left Cheek; the Bullet ſtruck away great Part of my upper Jaw, and ſeveral of my Teeth, Part of which dropt down upon the Deck, where I fell: The other, *William Powell*, an *Iriſh* Landman, was ſlightly wounded in the Buttock. They did us no great Damage in our Rigging, but a Shot diſabled our Mizen-maſt. I was forced to write what I would ſay, to prevent the Loſs of Blood, and becauſe of the Pain I ſuffered by ſpeaking. On the 23d of *September*, after we had put our Ships to rights, we ſtood in for the Harbour, which was diſtant about ſeven Leagues to the North-eaſt. Our Surgeons went on board the Prize, to dreſs their wounded Men. About four in the Afternoon

we came to an Anchor, and received the Compliments of all on board the *Marquis*, on our ſudden and unexpected Succeſs, and which afforded us no ſmall Satisfaction: We found that Ship in good Condition, ready to ſail, and all the Men on board her very briſk, and eager for Action. At eight in the Evening, we had a Conſultation on the two great Points; firſt, what ſhould be done with the Hoſtages; and, next, how we ſhould act with reſpect to the other *Manilla* Ship, which we thought there was at leaſt a great Probability of our taking, if we could remain here a little longer. We agreed that it would be beſt, ſince we had good Reaſon to believe the Hoſtages from *Guiaquil*, and the Commander of the *Manilla* Ship, who was a *French* Gentleman, *viz.* the Chevalier *Jean Pichberti*, Brother to the famous Mr. *du Caſs*, to be Men of ſtrict Honour, to make the beſt Terms poſſible, and then ſet them at Liberty. As to the other, we met with greater Difficulty. I was very deſirous of going out with the *Ducheſs* to cruiſe for the other *Manilla* Ship; but there having been ſome Reflections caſt, on account of the *Ducheſs* not engaging our laſt Prize ſo ſoon as it was thought ſhe might have done, Captain *Courtney* was abſolutely bent on going out with the *Marquis*; and the Officers of both Ships voting for this in the Committee, my Propoſal was over-ruled, and we were forced to ſtay in the Harbour againſt our Will. It was, however, agreed, that we ſhould put ten of our beſt Hands on board the *Ducheſs*, that ſhe might be the better able to attack the *Acapulco* Ship, if we ſaw her; and, on *Chriſtmas-eve*, ſhe and the *Marquis* ſailed. As ſoon as they were gone, we put Part of the Goods aboard the Bark into the Prize, in order to ſend away our Priſoners. The Agreement we made with them was this: As there were ſtill 4000 Pieces of Eight due for the Ranſom of *Guiaquil*, we agreed to ſell them the Bark and Cargo for 2000 more; and to take the Chevalier *Pichberti*'s Bills, payable in *London*, for the round Sum of 6000 Pieces of Eight; which he very readily gave us, and an Acknowledgment under his Hand, that he thought it a good Bargain. When this was ſettled, we had nothing to look to but our own Security, during the ſmall time that our Conſorts were cruiſing; and for this we made the moſt prudent Diſpoſition we could.

32. On *Chriſtmas-day* we poſted two Centinels on the Top of an Hill, from whence they had a fair View of the Sea, with Inſtructions, whenever they ſaw three Sail of Ships in the Offing, to make three Wafts with their Colours, that we might have Time enough to ſecure our Priſoners, and to get out to the Relief of our Conſorts; which indeed we expected, as having certain Intelligence, that this was a much ſtronger Ship than the other, better manned, and better provided in all reſpects; ſo that, if ſhe was carried, it muſt prove very hot Work on both Sides, for which we were to prepare. On the 26th, in the Afternoon, the Centries made three Wafts, and we immediately ſent the Yawl to them for better Satisfaction, and found there were three Sail out at Sea: Upon which we inſtantly put all the Priſoners aboard the Bark, taking away her Sails, and fetched our Men aboard, leaving only twenty-two Hands belonging to us aboard the Prize, to keep, aſſiſt, and look after them. The Priſoners, who were about 170, being ſecured aboard our Bark without Arms, Rudders, Sails, or a Boat, and moored near a Mile from our Prize, a few more of our Men than was ſufficient to give them Victuals and Drink, might have guarded them very ſafely; yet, for the more Security, we left a Lieutenant of each Ship, and the above Men well armed, aboard our Prize, and immediately weighed, in order to go and aſſiſt our Conſorts to attack the great Ship, when ſhe came in Sight. Captain *Dover* thought fit to go on board the Prize, and exchange Poſts with one of the Lieutenants that guarded the Priſoners, and ſent him to us in his ſtead. I was in ſo weak a Condition, and my Head and Throat ſo much ſwelled, that I yet ſpake in great Pain, and not loud enough to be heard at any Diſtance; ſo that all the reſt of the chief Officers, and our Surgeons, would have perſuaded me to ſtay in the Harbour in Safety aboard our Prize. We weighed our Anchors, and got under Sail at ſeven a Clock; we ſaw Lights ſeveral times in the Night, which we took to be our Conſorts Boats making falſe Fires. In the Morning, at Day-break, we ſaw three Sail to Windward of us; but were ſo far diſtant, that we could not make which were our Conſorts, and which the Chace, till about nine a Clock, when we ſaw the *Ducheſs* and Chace near together, and the *Marquis* ſtanding to them with all the Sail ſhe could croud. We made what Sail we could, but were to Leeward of them three or four Leagues, and, having a ſcant Wind, made little Way. At Noon, they bore South-eaſt of us, being right to Windward about three Leagues. In the Afternoon, we ſaw the *Marquis* come up with the Chace, and engage her pretty briſkly; but ſoon fell to Leeward out of Cannon-ſhot, and lay a conſiderable time, which made us think ſhe was ſome way or other diſabled. I ordered the Pinnace to be manned, and ſent away to her; and, if what we ſuſpected proved true, and we had no Wind to get up with them before Night, our Boat might dog the Chace with Signals till the Morning, that ſhe might not eſcape us, and the other Ships; but, before the Boat could get up with them, the *Marquis* made Sail, and came up with the Chace; and both went to it again briſkly for four Glaſſes and upwards. Then the Ship, which we took to be the *Ducheſs*, ſteered a-head to Windward of the Enemy, I ſuppoſe to fix her Rigging, or ſtop her Leaks. Meanwhile the other Ship kept her in Play, till ſhe bore down again; and each, firing a Broadſide or two, left off, becauſe 'twas dark. They then bore South of us, which was right in the Wind's Eye, diſtant about two Leagues: By Midnight we were pretty well up with them, and our Boat came aboard, having made falſe Fires, which we anſwered. They had been aboard the *Ducheſs*, and the *Marquis*; and told me, the former had her Fore-maſt much diſabled, and the Ring of an Anchor ſhot away, with ſeveral Men wounded, and one killed, having received a Shot in the Powder-room, and ſeveral in their upper Works, but all ſtopt: They engaged the Ship by themſelves the Night before, which was what we took to be the Boats Lights, being out of the Hearing of the Guns. At that time they could perceive the Enemy was in Diſorder, her Guns not being all mounted, and conſequently their Netting-deck and Cloſe-quarters unprovided; ſo that had it been my good Fortune, in the *Duke*, to accompany the *Ducheſs*, as I deſired, we all believed we might then have carried this great Ship; or if they, in the *Ducheſs*, had thought of taking moſt of the Men out of the *Marquis*, who did not ſail well enough to come up to their Aſſiſtance at firſt, they alone, very probably, might have taken her, by boarding at once, before the *Spaniards* had experienced our Strength, being afterwards ſo well provided, as encouraged them to lie driving, and give us all Opportunity to board them when we pleaſed. Captain *Cooke* ſent me Word, that the *Marquis* had fired near all her Shot and Powder; but had eſcaped very well, both in Maſts, Rigging, and Men. I ſent our Boat with three Barrels of Powder, and Shot in Proportion, and Lieutenant *Fry*, to conſult our Conſorts how to engage the Enemy to the beſt Advantage at Break of Day. The Chace had made Signals to our Ship all the Day and Night, becauſe ſhe took us for her Conſort, which we had in Poſſeſſion; and, after it was dark, had edged away to us; otherwiſe I ſhould not have been up with her, having very little Wind, and that againſt us. In the Morning, as ſoon as it was Day, the Wind veering at once, put our Ship about, and the Chace fired firſt upon the *Ducheſs*, who, by means of the Wind's veering, was neareſt the Enemy; ſhe returned it ſmartly; we ſtood as near as poſſible, firing as our Guns came to bear: But the *Ducheſs* being by this time thwart the Haws, and firing very faſt, thoſe Shot that miſſed the Enemy, flew from the *Ducheſs* over us, and betwixt our Maſts; ſo that we ran the Riſque of receiving more Damage from them, than from the Enemy, if we had lain on her Quarters, and croſs her Stern, as I deſigned, while the Enemy lay driving there: This forced us to lie along-ſide, cloſe aboard her, where we kept firing Round-ſhot, and did not load with any Bar or Partridge, becauſe the Ship's Sides were too thick to receive any Damage by it; and, no Men appearing in Sight, it would have been a Clog to the Force of our Round-ſhot.

33. We kept cloſe aboard her, and drove as ſhe did, as near as poſſible: The Enemy kept to their Cloſe-quarters; ſo that we did not fire our ſmall Arms, till we ſaw a Man

appear, or a Port open; then we fired as quick as poſſible. Thus we continued for four Glaſſes, about which time we received a Shot in the Main-maſt, which much diſabled it: Soon after, the *Ducheſs* and we firing together, we came back cloſe under the Enemy, and had like to have been all aboard her; ſo that we could make little Uſe of our Guns. Then we fell a-ſtern in our Birth Along-ſide, where the Enemy threw a Fire-ball out of one of her Tops, which, lighting upon our Quarter-deck, blew up a Cheſt of Arms and Cartouch-boxes, all loaded, and ſeveral Cartridges of Powder in the Steerage; by which means Mr. *Vanbrugh*, our Agent, and a *Dutchman*, were very much burnt. It might have done more Damage, had it not been quenched ſoon. After we got clear of each other, the *Ducheſs* ſtood in for the Shore, where ſhe lay braced to, mending her Rigging, &c. The *Marquis* fired ſeveral Shot, but to little Purpoſe, her Guns being ſmall: We were cloſe aboard ſeveral times afterwards, till at laſt we received a ſecond Shot in the Main-maſt, not far from the other, which rent it miſerably, and the Maſt ſettled to it; ſo that we were afraid it would drop by the Board; and, having our Rigging ſhattered very much, we ſteered off, and brought to, making a Signal to our Conſorts what to do: In the Interim, we got ordinary Fiſhes for a Support to the Main-maſt, and faſtened it, as well as we could, to ſecure it at preſent. Captain *Courtney* and Captain *Cooke* came aboard, with other Officers; where we conſidered the Condition the three Ships were in, their Maſts and Rigging being much damaged, in a Place where we could get no Recruit; that, if we engaged her again, we could propoſe to do no more than what we had already done, which was evident did her no great Hurt, becauſe we could perceive few of our Shot entered her Sides to any Purpoſe; and our ſmall Arms availed leſs, there being not a Man to be ſeen Above-board; that the leaſt thing in the World would bring our Main-maſt, and likewiſe the *Ducheſs*'s Fore-maſt, by the Board, either of which, by its Fall, might carry away another Maſt, and then we ſhould lie a perfect But for the Enemy, having nothing to command our Ships with; ſo that, by his heavy Guns, he might either ſink or take us: That, if we went to board her, we ſhould run a great Hazard in loſing a great many Men, with little Hopes of Succeſs, they having above treble the Number aboard to oppoſe us; and there being now, in all our three Ships, not above 120 Men fit for boarding, and thoſe but weak, having been very ſhort of Proviſions; ſo that, if we had boarded her, and been forced off, or left any of our Men behind, the Enemy by that means might have known our Strength, and then gone into the Harbour, and took Poſſeſſion of the Prize in ſpite of all we could do to prevent it. Beſides, our Ammunition was very ſhort, having only enough to engage a few Glaſſes longer: All this being ſeriouſly conſidered, and knowing the Difficulty we ſhould have to get Maſts, and the Time and Proviſions we muſt ſpend before we could get them fitted, we reſolved to forbear attempting her further, ſince our battering her ſignified little, and we had not Strength enough to board her: Therefore we agreed to keep her Company till Night, then to loſe her, and make the beſt of our Way into the Harbour, to ſecure the Prize we had already taken. We engaged firſt and laſt about ſeven Hours, during all which time we had, aboard the *Duke*, but eleven Men wounded, three of whom were ſcorched with Gunpowder. I was again unfortunately wounded in my Left Foot with a Splinter, juſt before we blew up on the Quarter-deck; ſo that I could not ſtand, but lay on my Back in a great deal of Miſery, Part of my Heel-bone being ſtruck out, and all under my Ancle cut above half-through; which bled very much, and weakened me, before it could be dreſſed and ſtopped. The *Ducheſs* had about twenty Men killed and wounded: Three of the latter, and one of the former, were my Men. The *Marquis* had none killed or wounded, but two ſcorched with Powder. The Enemy's was a brave lofty new Ship, the Admiral of *Manilla*, and this the firſt Voyage ſhe had made. She was called the *Vigonia*, of about 900 Tons, and could carry ſixty Guns, about forty of which were mounted with as many Pattereroes, all Braſs; her Complement of Men on board, as we were informed, was above 450, beſides Paſſengers; they added, that 150 of the Men on board this great Ship were *Europeans*, ſeveral of whom had been formerly Pirates, and, having now got all their Wealth aboard, were reſolved to defend it to the laſt. The Gunner, who had a Poſt in *Manilla*, was an expert Man, and had provided the Ship extraordinary well for Defence, which made them fight ſo deſperately. They had filled up all between the Guns with Bales, to ſecure the Men: She kept a *Spaniſh* Flag at her Main-top-maſt-head all the Time ſhe fought us: We ſhattered her Sails and Rigging very much, ſhot her Mizen-yard, killed two of her Men out of her Tops, which was all the Damage we could ſee we did them, tho' we could not place leſs than 500 Shot (Six-pounders) in her Hull. Theſe large Ships are built at *Manilla*, with excellent Timber, that will not ſplinter; they have very thick Sides, much ſtronger than we build in *Europe*. Thus ended our Attempt on the biggeſt *Manilla* Ship; which I have heard related ſo many ways at home, that I thought it neceſſary to ſet down a very particular Circumſtance of it, as it ſtood in my Journal. Had we been together at firſt, and boarded her, we might probably have taken this great Prize; but, after the Enemy had fixed her Netting-neck, and Cloſe-quarters, they valued us very little. I believe alſo we might have burnt her with one of our Ships; but that was objected againſt by all the Officers, becauſe we had Goods of Value on board all our Ships. The Enemy was the better provided for us, becauſe they had heard at *Manilla*, from our *Engliſh* Settlements in *India*, that there were two ſmall Ships, fitted from *Briſtol*, that deſigned to attempt ſomewhat in the South Seas, and that Captain *Dampier* was Pilot; which was the Reaſon they had ſo many *Europeans* aboard the great Ship, moſt of whom having, as I ſaid, their Wealth aboard, they would fight to the utmoſt; and, having agreed to pay no Freight there, had filled up all between the Guns with Bales, to ſecure the Men. The two Ships were to have joined at Cape *St. Lucas*, expecting to meet us off Cape *Corientes*, or *Natividad*. This was a great Diſappointment to us, and gave, no doubt, much Reputation to them: Indeed they defended themſelves gallantly; and, in all human Probability, would have defended her to the laſt; and yet, perhaps, they were as much indebted to our Squabbles, as to their own Courage and Conduct: Which ſhews what Care ought to be taken on board all ſuch Veſſels, to avoid Diſputes, which are always fatal to great Undertakings, and ſmall ones. We were ſenſible of it, when it was too late; but our Senſe of it would not recal what was paſt, nor could it prevent what was to come; for, inſtead of taking Warning, as reaſonable People ſhould have done, by the Effects of this groſs Miſtake, we, on the contrary, ſuffered ourſelves to be thrown by it into new and greater Diſorders, than had hitherto ariſen during the Voyage.

34. On *January* 1. 1710. we returned again into Port; and, as we were now determined to make as quick Diſpatch as poſſible in our Paſſage to the *Eaſt Indies*, we immediately parted with our Priſoners, giving them the Bark, with Water and Proviſions ſufficient for their Voyage to *Acapulco*. Then we applied ourſelves to ſettling our own Affairs. We ſpent our Time to the 7th in refitting, wooding, and watering; and very ſatisfactory it was for us to find as much Bread on board the Prize, as, with our old Stock, might ſupply us in our long Run to *Guam*. On the 3d, we fetched our three wounded Men from on board the *Ducheſs*. One of them, whoſe Name was *Thomas Young*, a *Welſhman*, had loſt one of his Legs; another, who was alſo a *Welſhman*, had his Face miſerably torn; and a third, whoſe Name was *John Gold*, was wounded in the Thigh; and, beſides theſe, there was a very honeſt *Portugueſe*, one *Emanuel Gonſalvez*, killed. About this time, Captain *Courtney*, and his Officers, with thoſe on board the *Marquis*, were too willing to compliment Captain *Dover* with the chief Command of the Prize, which, till now, I thought he would not have accepted, his Poſts already being above a Commander of any of our Prizes; but I and my Officers were againſt it; becauſe we believed Captain *Fry*, or others, were fitter Perſons to take Charge of her; which we inſiſted on: And Captains *Courtney* and *Cooke* came to me, where they agreed to a Paper, that was drawn up while we were all together, in ſuch a manner, as I thought would have ſatiſfied every one. Captain *Courtney* carried this Agreement

to Captain *Dover* to ſign it; not doubting, but all would be content with what we had concluded; yet, to our Surprize, they ſpent the Remains of the Day, and, inſtead of making Captain *Dover* comply with it, undid all, and brought a Paper, which impowered him to be ſole Commander, without the leaſt Reſtraint of not moleſting thoſe that ſhould navigate the Ship, but to order every thing as he ſhould think fit. I ſent a Letter to Captain *Courtney* this Morning, to know what Meaſures were going forward, having heard nothing from him ſince the 7th Inſtant; and deſired that there might be no Loſs of Time, but that the Committee might meet once more, to try if they would make uſe of their unbiaſſed Reaſon: They were then all aboard the *Marquis*, where I heard they had, ſince our laſt Meeting, concerted how to frame a Proteſt againſt me, and my Officers of the Committee, which was immediately anſwered by a Proteſt from me, both which were ſigned on the 9th. I had always deſired, that Captain *Dover* might be aboard her; for, being a conſiderable Owner, we all agreed he was a very proper Perſon to take care of her Cargo, and to have all Accommodation that could be made for him in that Ship, which was of ſuch vaſt Conſequence to us, and our Employers: That, in their Inſtructions to me, they ſtrictly charged me to uſe the ſecureſt Methods to bring her ſafe home, in caſe we ſhould be ſo fortunate, as we now were, to take one of the *Acapulco* Ships; ſo that, after the Proteſts were over on both Sides, I deſired they might aſſemble together, and finally determine what the Majority would agree on, that no Time might be loſt: So all the Council met again on board the *Batchelor*, to endeavour an Accommodation. After a long Debate, they voted Mr. *Fry* and Mr. *Stretton* both to act in equal Poſts, to take Charge of the navigating the Ship, tho' under Captain *Dover*; but they were not to be moleſted or contradicted in their Buſineſs by him, whoſe Duty it was to ſee, that nothing ſhould be done contrary to the Intereſt of the Owners, and Ships Companies, in the Nature of an Agent, almoſt in the ſame manner I propoſed at firſt; only he had the Title of chief Captain in that Ship, which was ſo ſmall a Difference, where Titles were ſo common, that we all conſented to it: And at the ſame time they choſe Officers, agreeing, that we ſhould put thirty Men aboard her, the *Ducheſs* twenty-five, and the *Marquis* thirteen, which, with thirty-ſix *Manilla Indians*, called *Laſ-Car*, and other Priſoners we had left, made her Complement about 110 Men. The Majority keeping to their firſt Agreement, I was obliged to come into it, according to my Inſtructions from our Owners; ſo that all our Differences about this Affair were at an End, and we drank to our ſafe Arrival in *Great Britain*. In the Morning, we put thirty-five good Hands aboard her: The *Ducheſs* and *Marquis* put no more than their Share. The Captains *Courtney* and *Cooke*, and two or three more of the Committee, came to me, where we ſigned a Paper for Captain *Dover*, and the two Commanders, recommending Peace and Tranquillity amongſt them; and that, in caſe of Separation, the Place of Rendezvous was to be *Guam*, one of the *Ladrone Iſlands*, where we deſigned to touch. I ſhould have been very unwilling to have committed all this Diſpute to Writing, if I had not been ſatisfied, that it was no longer in my Power to conceal it; and that, ſince it was known in part, I ought, in Juſtice to myſelf, my Friends, and to Truth itſelf, to give the Whole; which I conceive ſo much the more reaſonable, becauſe it may hereafter prove uſeful to Perſons in the like Circumſtances: And, in ſo perplexed a Buſineſs as ours, there is nothing ſo ſerviceable as Precedents.

35. As I have not filled this Work with a Variety of Deſcriptions, ſo, before I quit *America*, it may not be amiſs to give the Reader ſome Account of *California*; the rather becauſe moſt of what I relate I was Eye-witneſs of, and therefore it deſerves the greater Credit. I have heard from the *Spaniards*, that ſome of their Nation had ſailed as far betwixt *California* and the Main as 42° North Latitude, where, meeting with ſhole Water, and abundance of Iſlands, they durſt not venture any farther; ſo that, if this be true, in all Probability, it joins to the Continent a little farther to the Northward: For ſhole Water and Iſlands are a general Sign of being near ſome Main-land. But the *Spaniards*, having more Territories in this Part of the World, than they know how to manage, are not curious after further Diſcoveries. The *Manilla* Ships, bound to *Acapulco*, often make this Coaſt in the Latitude 40° North; and I never heard of any, that diſcovered it farther to the Northward. Some old Draughts make it join to the Land of *Jeſſo*; but all this being yet undetermined, I ſhall not take upon me to affirm, whether it is an Iſland, or joins to the Continent. The *Dutch* ſay, they formerly took a *Spaniſh* Veſſel in thoſe Seas, which had ſailed round *California*, and found it to be an Iſland; but this Account cannot be depended on, and I chuſe to believe it joins to the Continent. There is no certain Account of its Shape or Bigneſs; and, having ſeen ſo little of it, I ſhall refer the Reader to our common Draughts for its Situation. What I can ſay of it from my own Knowledge is, that the Land where we were is, for the moſt part, mountainous, barren, and ſandy, and had nothing but a few Shrubs and Buſhes, which produced Fruit and Berries of ſeveral ſorts. Our Men, who went in our Bark to view the Country about fifteen Leagues to the Northward, ſay, it was there covered with tall Trees. The *Spaniards* tell us of ſeveral good Harbours in this Country; but we found none of them near this Cape. We frequently ſaw Smoke in ſeveral Places; which made us believe the Inhabitants were pretty numerous. The Bay, where we rode, had but very indifferent Anchoring-ground in deep Water, and is the worſt Recruiting-place we met with ſince we came out. The Wind, at this Time of the Year generally blowing over Land, makes it good Riding on the Starboard Side of the Bay, where you anchor on a Bank, that has from ten to twenty-five Fathom Water: But the reſt of the Bay is very deep; and, near the Rocks, on the Larboard Side, going in, there is no Ground. During the Time of our Stay, the Air was ſerene, pleaſant, and healthful; and we had no ſtrong Gales of Wind, very little Rain, but great Dews fell by Night, when it was very cold. The Natives we ſaw here were about 300. They had large Limbs, very ſtrait, tall, and of a much blacker Complexion, than any other People, that I had ſeen in the South Seas; their Hair long, black, and ſtrait, which hung down to their Thighs: The Men ſtark-naked; and the Women had a Covering of Leaves over their Privities, or little Clouts made of Silk-graſs, or the Skins of Birds and Beaſts. All of them, that we ſaw, were old, and miſerably wrinkled. We ſuppoſe they were afraid to let any of their young ones come near us; but needed not: For, beſides the good Order kept among our Men in that reſpect, if we may judge by what we ſaw, they could not be very tempting. The Language of the Natives was as unpleaſant to us, as their Aſpect; for it was very harſh and broad, and they pronounced it ſo much in their Throat, as if their Words had been ready to choak them. I deſigned to have brought two of them away with me, in order to have had ſome Account of the Country, when they had learnt ſo much of our Language, as to enable them to give it; but, being ſhort of Proviſions, I durſt not venture it. Some of them wore Pearls about their Arms and Necks, having firſt notched it round, and faſtened it with a String of Silk-graſs; for, I ſuppoſe, they knew not how to bore them. The Pearls were mixed with little red Berries, Sticks, and Bits of Shells, which they looked upon to be ſo fine an Ornament, that, tho' we had Glaſs-beads of ſeveral Colours, and other Toys, they would accept none of them. They coveted nothing we had, but Knives, and other cutting Inſtruments; and were ſo honeſt, that they did not meddle with our Coopers or Carpenters Tools; ſo that, whatever was left aſhore at Night, we found in the Morning. We ſaw nothing like *European* Furniture or Utenſils about them. Their Huts were very low, and made of Branches of Trees and Reeds; but not ſufficiently covered to keep out Rain. They had nothing like Gardens or Proviſions about them. They ſubſiſted chiefly on Fiſh while we were here, which, with the Miſerableneſs of their Huts, that ſeemed only to be made for a time, made us conclude, they had no fixed Habitation here, whatever they might have elſewhere; and that this was their fiſhing Seaſon. We ſaw no Nets or Hooks, but wooden Inſtruments, with which they ſtrike the Fiſh very dextrouſly, and dive to Admiration. Some of our Sailors told me, they ſaw one of them dive with his Inſtrument, and, whilſt he was under Water, put up his Striker, with

a Fiſh on the Point of it, which was taken off by another, that watched by him in a Bark-log. The Reader may believe of this what he pleaſes; but I give it the more Credit, becauſe I myſelf threw ſome ruſty Knives over-board, on purpoſe to try the Divers, who ſeldom miſſed catching a Knife before it could ſink above three or four Fathom; which I took to be an extraordinary Proof of their Agility. Inſtead of Bread, they uſed a little black Seed, which they ground with Stones, and eat by Handfuls. Some of our Men thickened their Broth with it, and ſaid, it taſted ſomewhat like Coffee. They have ſome Roots, that eat like Yams; a ſort of Seeds, that grow in Cods, and taſte like green Peaſe; a Berry, which reſembles thoſe of Ivy, and, being dried at the Fire, eats like parched Peaſe. They have another, like a large Currant, with a white tartiſh Pulp, a Stone, and a Kernel. This ſort of Fruit they ſeem to value much. They have alſo a Fruit, which grows on the Prickle-pear-tree, taſtes like Gooſberries, and makes good Sauce. They have many other Seeds and Plants unknown to us; but I was not in a Condition to view and deſcribe them. They ſeem to have an hunting Seaſon, by the Skins of Deer we ſaw among them. They paid much Reſpect to one Man, whoſe Head was adorned with Feathers, made up in the Form of a Cap. In other Reſpects, they ſeemed to have all things in common; for, when they exchanged Fiſh with us for old Knives, of which we had plenty, they gave the Knives to any that ſtood next; and, after they had enough, we could get no Fiſh from them. They appeared to be very idle, and ſeemed only to look after a preſent Subſiſtence. They obſerved our Men very attentively, while they cut Wood, and filled Water; but did not lend us an Hand at either, or indeed in any thing that required hard Labour. Their Arms are Bows and Arrows, with which they can ſhoot Birds flying. Their Bows are about ſeven Feet long, and of a tough Wood, unknown to us, with Strings of Silk-graſs; their Arrows about four Feet and an half, made of Cane, and pointed with Fiſh-bones, that they ſhape for the Purpoſe. Moſt of their Knives, and other cutting Inſtruments, are made of Sharks Teeth. I ſaw two or three large Pearls in their Necklaces and Bracelets; and the *Spaniards* told me, they had Quantities of them from the inner Part of the Gulph of *California*, where they have Miſſionaries planted among them. Our Men told me, they ſaw heavy ſhining Stones aſhore, which looked as if they came from ſome Mine; but they did not inform me of this, till we were at Sea; otherwiſe I would have brought ſome of them, to have tried what Metal could have been extracted out of them. The *Spaniards* likewiſe informed me, that the Country in general within, on the Main-land of *Mexico*, is pleaſant, and abounds with Cattle and Proviſions of all ſorts. The Natives grew very familiar with us, and came frequently aboard, to view our Ships; which they mightily admired. We ſaw no Boats or Canoes among them, or any Craft, but Bark-logs, which they ſteered with Paddles at each End. We gave one of the Natives a Shirt; but he ſoon tore it in Pieces, and gave it to the reſt of his Company, to put the Seeds in, which they uſed for Bread. We ſaw no Utenſils for Cookery amongſt them; nor do I ſuppoſe they have any, for they bury their Fiſh in an Heap of Sand, and make a Fire over it, till they think it fit for eating. There were in this Bay all the Fiſh uſual in theſe Seas. The freſh Water here is good; and they have abundance of Samphire. They make a Fire in the Middle of their Huts, which are very low and ſmoky. We ſaw no extraordinary Birds here. I was told by our People, that had been aſhore, that they obtain Fire, by rubbing two dry Sticks one againſt the other, as cuſtomary amongſt the wild *Indians*. The Entrance into the Harbour may be known by four high Rocks, which look like the *Needles* of the Iſle of *Wight*, as you come from the Weſtward; the two Weſtermoſt in form of Sugar-loaves; the innermoſt has an Arch, like a Bridge, through which the Sea makes its Way. Here you ride Land-lockt from Eaſt by North back to the South-eaſt by Eaſt: Yet it is but an ordinary Road, if the Wind ſhould come ſtrong out of the Sea; which it never did while we lay there. I think it may not be amiſs to add to theſe Facts, which cannot be diſputed, ſome Conjectures, that carry in them great Probability, and, if ever they ſhould be demonſtrated to be Certainties, would be attended with very important, and to us, that inhabit this Northern Part of the World, advantageous Conſequences. There have been many Opinions ſtarted about the Peopling of *America*; but that which, to me, appears the moſt probable, is, that its Inhabitants came hither from *Tartary*, by that Northern Continent, which is ſuppoſed to join this Country to ſome Part of *Aſia*: I ſay, to me this appears the moſt probable, and my Reaſon for it is this; becauſe the *Spaniards*, who come hither annually from *Manilla* or *Luconia*, one of the *Philippine Iſlands* in the *Eaſt Indies*, are forced to keep in an high Latitude, for the Benefit of the Weſterly Winds; and have often ſounded, finding Ground in Latitude 42° North, in ſeveral Places of the Ocean betwixt the *Eaſt Indies* and *America*, which makes me conclude there muſt be more Land, tho' none of them, as I have heard of, ever ſaw any Continent, till they fell in with *California* in about 38° or 39° North Latitude. I have often admired, that no conſiderable Diſcoveries have yet been made in South Latitude from *America* to the *Eaſt Indies*. I never heard the South Ocean has been run over by above three or four Navigators, who varied very little in their Runs from their Courſe, and, by conſequence, could not diſcover much. I give this Hint, to encourage our *South Sea* Company, or others, to go upon ſome Diſcovery that Way, where, for aught we know, they may find a better Country than any yet diſcovered, there being a vaſt Surface of the Sea from the Equinox to the North Pole, of at leaſt 2000 Leagues in Longitude, that has hitherto been little regarded, tho' it be agreeable to Reaſon, that there muſt be a Body of Land about the South Pole, to counterpoiſe thoſe vaſt Countries about the North Pole. This I ſuppoſe to be the Reaſon, why our antient Geographers mentioned a *Terra Auſtralis incognita*, tho' very little of it has been ſeen by any-body. The Land near the South Pole in the South Sea, from *California* to *Japan*, is wholly unknown, altho' the old Maps deſcribe the Streights of *Anian*, and a large Continent, which is but imaginary; for the *Dutch* themſelves, who now trade to *Japan*, ſay, they do not yet know, whether it be an Iſland, or joins to the Continent. I have now done with *California*, of which the *Spaniards* would know very little, but for theſe annual Veſſels, that ſail from *Manilla* to *Acapulco*. As I have mentioned theſe Ships, I ſhall take Occaſion to obſerve, that, generally ſpeaking, thoſe that come from *Manilla*, are much richer than our Prize; for ſhe waited a long time for the *Chineſe* Junks to bring Silk; which not arriving, ſhe came away with a Cargo mixed with abundance of coarſe Goods. Several of the Priſoners aſſured me, that it was a common thing for a *Manilla* Ship to be worth 10,000,000 Pieces of Eight; ſo that, had it not been for this Accident, we had taken an extraordinary Prize indeed. After my Return into *Europe*, I met, in *Holland*, with a Sailor, who had been on board the large Ship, when we engaged her; and he let us into the Secret, that there was no taking her; for the Gunner kept conſtantly in the Powder-room, declaring, that he had taken the Sacrament to blow the Ship up, if we boarded her; which made the Men, as may be ſuppoſed, exceedingly reſolute in her Defence. I was the more ready to credit what this Man told me, becauſe he gave as regular and circumſtantial an Account of the Engagement, as I could have done from my Journal.

36. *January* 10. we weighed from Port *Seguro*, but were becalmed under the Shore till the 12th in the Afternoon, when there ſprung a Breeze, which ran us out of Sight of the Land. We took our Departure from Cape *St. Lucas*, which bore North by Eaſt, at twelve o'Clock, Diſtance fifteen Leagues: We were forced to go with little or no Refreſhment, having but three or four Fowls, and a very ſlender Stock of Liquor: Several of our Men were in a weak Condition, beſides myſelf, Mr. *Vanbrugh*, and the reſt that were wounded. We were forced to allow but one Pound and an half of Flour, and one ſmall Piece of Meat, to five Men in a Meſs, with three Pints of Water a Man, for twenty-four Hours, for Drink, and dreſſing their Victuals. We ſtruck down ten of our Guns into the Hold, to eaſe our Ship. On the 16th, the *Batchelor* made a Signal, to give us ſome Bread, they having found a good Quantity of Bread and Sweet-meats on board her, but little of Fleſh-kind. We had one thouſand Weight of Bread for

our Share, the *Ducheſs* as much, and the *Marquis* five hundred Weight; in lieu of which, we ſent back to the Prize two Caſks of Flour, one of *Engliſh* Beef, and one of Pork, they having but forty-five Days Proviſions aboard in Fleſh. On the 26th in the Morning, the Water was very much diſcoloured, at which being ſurpriſed, we immediately ſounded, but found no Ground. We ſpoke with the *Ducheſs*, and agreed to go away Weſt South-weſt, till we got into the Latitude of 13°, becauſe our *Spaniſh* Pilot told us, it was dangerous going into 14°, by reaſon of Iſlands and Sholes, where a *Spaniſh* Veſſel was loſt ſome time ago. Ever ſince, the *Manilla* Ship, in her Return from *Acapulco*, runs in Latitude 13°; and keeps the Parallel, till they make the Iſland of *Guam*. On the 28th, the Steward miſſing ſome Pieces of Pork, we immediately ſearched, and found the Thieves: One of them had been guilty before, and forgiven, on Promiſe of Amendment; but was puniſhed now, leſt Forbearance ſhould encourage the reſt to follow this bad Practice, Proviſions being ſo ſhort, and our Runs ſo long, which might prove of ill Conſequence: I ordered them to the Main-jeers, and every Man of the Watch to give them a Blow with a Cat-of-nine-tails; and their Meſs-mates, being privy to the Theft, were put in Irons. *March* the 11th, we had Sight of both Iſlands, the Northermoſt bearing North North-weſt, diſtant about ſeven Leagues; and the Body of the Weſtermoſt Weſt South-weſt five Leagues. The *Spaniards* ſay there is a great Shole between theſe Iſlands, but neareſt to *Serpana*. We ran along the Shore, being ſatisfied it was the Iſland of *Guam*, from whence there came ſeveral flying Proes to look at the Ships; they ran by us very ſwift, but none would venture on board. At Noon, the Weſtermoſt Part of the Iſland bore Weſt; and, at the ſame time, we made a low ſmall Iſland, joining to *Guam*, with a Shole between it and *Guam*. The Iſland appeared green, and very pleaſant: Off it there runs a Spit of Sand to the Southward; but, keeping it a good Birth from you, as you come near it, there is no Danger, being gradual Soundings to the Shole. After we were clear of it, we ſprung our Loof, and ſtood in for the Harbour, which lies Midway betwixt this and the North Part of the Iſland. There came heavy Flaws of Wind off Shore, ſometimes for us, and at other times againſt us; but we got to an Anchor in the Afternoon in twelve Fathom Water, about half a Mile off Shore, where there was a little Village. The ſmall Iſland to the South bore South of us, diſtant about three Leagues; and another ſmall one to the Northward bore North North-weſt, about two Leagues. The Neceſſity of our ſtopping at theſe Iſlands to get a Refreſhment of Proviſions was very great, our Sea-ſtore being almoſt exhauſted; and what we had left, was very ordinary, eſpecially our Bread and Flour, which was not enough for fourteen Days, at the ſhorteſt Allowance. In order to recruit quietly, we endeavoured to get ſome of the Natives aboard, that were in the Proes, to keep them as Hoſtages, in caſe of ſending any of our Men to the Governor. One of them, as we were turning into the Harbour with *Spaniſh* Colours, came under our Stern: There were two *Spaniards* in the Boat, who, on our aſſuring them, that we were Friends, came on board; and, ſoon after, came a Meſſage from the Governor, to whom we wrote a very reſpectful Letter, and the next Day received a civil Anſwer to it, with a generous Offer of any thing the Iſland afforded; which made us very eaſy. On the 13th, an Entertainment was provided on board the *Batchelor* for the *Spaniſh* Gentlemen, to which I was carried, being not able to move myſelf; but was hoiſted in a Chair out of the Ship into the *Batchelor*, where we agreed, that a Deputation ſhould be ſent from each Ship to wait on the Governor with an handſome Preſent, in Acknowledgment for his great Civility, and the Readineſs he expreſſed to ſupply us. On the 15th, there was another Entertainment on board the *Marquis*, to which I was carried as to the former; and, after which, a Committee was held, in which our former Reſolution was confirmed. On the 16th, our Pinnace went with ſeveral of our Officers to the Governor's aſhore, who received them with all imaginable Friendſhip and Reſpect, having near 200 Men drawn up in Arms at their Landing, and the Officers and Clergy of the Iſland, to conduct them to the Governor's Houſe, which was a very handſome Seat, conſidering where we found it. They entertained them with at leaſt ſixty Diſhes of ſeveral Sorts, the beſt that could be got on the Iſland; and, when they took their Leaves, each fired a Volley of Small-arms. They preſented the Governor, according as we had agreed, with two Negro Boys, dreſſed in Liveries, twenty Yards of ſcarlet Cloth-ſerge, and ſix Pieces of Cambrick, which he ſeemed wonderfully pleaſed with, and promiſed to aſſiſt us in whatever lay in his Power. The very next Day we got our Dividend, being about 60 Hogs, 99 Fowls, 24 Baſkets of *Indian* Corn, 14 Bags of Rice, 44 Baſkets of Yams, and 800 Cocoa-nuts. On the 18th, there was an Entertainment aboard us, where we had moſt of our Officers, and four *Spaniſh* Gentlemen from the Governor. I made them as welcome as Time and Place would permit, diverting them with Muſic, and our Sailors dancing till Night, when we parted well-pleaſed on both Sides. We got ſome more Bullocks on board, being ſmall lean Cattle, but what we gladly accepted. Each Ship had fourteen in all. Next Morning each Ship had two Cows and Calves more: Being the laſt, we had a Meeting on board the *Marquis*, where it was agreed to make an handſome Preſent to the Governor's Deputy, who got our Proviſions together, wherein he uſed all poſſible Diſpatch. We gave him, and the reſt of the Gentlemen, what they eſteemed double the Value of what we received of them; which they certified under their Hands, and that we had been very civil to them: We alſo gave them the like Certificate, ſigned by all our Officers, to ſhew to any *Engliſh* that might have Occaſion to recruit there; and parted very friendly. Having finiſhed that Affair, it was agreed, that we ſhould ſteer from hence a Weſt by South Courſe, to go clear of ſome Iſlands that lie in our Way; and then thought it proper to ſteer directly for the South-eaſt Part of *Mindanao*, and from thence the cleareſt Way to *Ternate*. In the mean time I put an old *Spaniard* aſhore, called *Antonio Gomes Figuero*, whom we took in the firſt Bark in the South Seas, and kept in order to carry him to *Great Britain*, to condemn all our Prizes taken there; but, he being now not likely to live, we agreed to diſmiſs him, he giving us a Certificate, that he ſaw us attack and take ſeveral Prizes, all Subjects to *Philip* V. King of *Spain*, &c. I gave him ſome Clothes, and other Things, to help him in his Sickneſs; then put him aſhore to the Deputy Governor, and the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Officers, who gave us a Certificate, that they received ſuch a Perſon. The Governor preſented us with one of their flying Proes or Prows, which I ſhall here deſcribe, becauſe of the Oddneſs of it: The *Spaniards* told me it would run twenty Leagues in an Hour, which I think exceeds the Truth; but, by what I ſaw, I verily believe they may run twenty Miles, or more, in the Time; for, when they viewed our Ships, they paſſed by us like a Bird flying. Theſe Proes are about thirty Feet long, two broad, and about three deep; they have but one Maſt, which ſtands in the Middle, with a mat Sail, made in the Form of a Ship's Mizen. The Yards are ſlung in the Middle, and a Man ſits at each End to ſteer her; ſo that when they go about, they don't turn the Boat as we do, to bring the Wind on the other Side; but only change the Sail, ſo that the Jack and Sheet of the Sail are uſed alike, and the Boat's Head and Stern are the ſame; only they change them, as Occaſion requires, to ſail either Way; for they are ſo narrow, that they could not bear any Sail, were it not for Booms that run out from the Windward Side, faſtened to a large Log, ſhaped like a Boat, and near half as long, which becomes contiguous to the Boat: On theſe Booms a Stage is made, above the Water, on a Level with the Side of the Boat, upon which they carry Goods or Paſſengers. The greateſt Inconveniency in ſailing theſe Boats is before the Wind; for, by the Outlayer, which is built out on one Side, if the Wind preſſes any thing heavy on the contrary Side, the Boat is overſet, which often happens. As ſoon as the Boat returned from landing Signior *Figuero*, we put under Sail, having a fine Breeze of Wind at Eaſt North-eaſt. *April* 14. in the Afternoon, we made Land, which bore Weſt North-weſt, diſtant about ten Leagues; and ſuppoſed it to be the North-eaſt Part of *Celebes*. We ſaw three Water-ſpouts; one of which had like to have broken on the *Marquis*, but the *Ducheſs*, by firing two Shot, broke it before it reached her. We ſaw a very large Tree afloat, with a Multitude of Fiſh about it, and two large Iſlands, the Southermoſt bearing South-weſt, diſtant about eight Leagues, and the Northermoſt Weſt North-weſt, ſeven Leagues, both being the ſame Land we ſaw the Day before; and the latter we then ſuppoſed to be the South-eaſt Part of *Moratay*; and the other, the North Part of *Gilolo*. In this Condition we ſailed till towards the latter End of the Month, with this additional Vexation, that our Ship was ſo leaky, that it was as much as four Men were able to do to keep her free half an Hour. Captain *Dampier* diſcouraged us very much: He had been twice here, and therefore what he ſaid amongſt the Seamen, paſſed without Diſpute; and he laid it down as a thing certain, that if we could not reach *Ternate*, or find the Iſland of *Tula*, it was impoſſible for us to get any Refreſhment, there being nothing to be met with on the Coaſt of *New Guiney*. There were, in the mean time, great Heart-burnings on board all the Ships about the Reduction of our Allowance, ſo that we were obliged to inlarge it again; ſo little is Reaſon able to prevail againſt Hunger. We held frequent Conſultations, but to very little Purpoſe; and, though we ſailed the beſt Part of the Month of *May* through the Streights of *New Guiney*, yet we were able to obſerve nothing worth mentioning, except that it is moſt certain, theſe Iſlands, which are ſcattered through the Streights, and few or none of which are peopled, would all of them bear Spice, and afford immenſe Riches to this Nation, if they were ſettled. It may, indeed, be objected; That, from the Account I have given of the Difficulty of this Paſſage, no great Encouragement can ariſe to the fixing Colonies or Plantations there: But to this I anſwer; That this Difficulty ariſes intirely from the Want of proper Charts, for the Direction of ſuch as ſail in thoſe Seas; and theſe might certainly be very ſoon provided, if ſuch Settlement came once to be conſidered as a national Concern. The Paſſage, otherwiſe, is not either difficult or dangerous: But, when Men are at a Loſs how to ſteer, are ſhort of Proviſions, in leaky Ships, and clogged with great Cargoes, they may have many Reaſons to complain, which, with good Management, might never befal any of the Veſſels employed in ſettling thoſe Iſlands. On the 18th of *May*, we paſſed between the High-land of *New Guiney* and the Low-land of *Gilolo*: And, on the 20th, we made another high Iſland, which we took to be *Ceram*; and Captain *Dampier* inclined to think our Conjecture was right.

37. On *May* 24. being in the Latitude of the Iſland of *Bouro*, we expected to make that Land, which is about twenty Leagues to the South-weſt of *Ceram*, and near the ſame Diſtance, in a Parallel, with *Amboyna*, which we deſigned to have touched at, if the Wind had proved favourable: But, as the South-eaſt Monſoon was now ſet in, we were out of hopes of reaching it; and, notwithſtanding the Skill of Captain *Dampier*, we were ſtill very doubtful, whether the Iſland we paſſed by laſt, was *Ceram* or *Bouro*. By an Obſervation we had at Noon, it appeared, that we were in 4° 30′ South Latitude, and 237° 29′ Longitude Weſt from *London*. As we were now in the Latitude of the Southern Part of *Bouro*, we imputed our not ſeeing it, to the Currents ſetting us to the Weſtward of it. The next Day, we came to a Reſolution not to ſpend any more Time in ſearching for *Bouro*; as alſo to drop our Deſign of going to *Amboyna*, and to make the beſt of our Way for the Streights of *Bouton*; where, if we arrived ſafely, we might get Proviſions ſufficient to carry us to *Batavia*. In purſuance of this Agreement, we haled away South-weſt by South for them, having a freſh Gale of Wind at Eaſt; but, by two in the Morning, we fell in with a Parcel of Iſlands to the Eaſtward of *Bouton*; and had certainly been aſhore on one of them, had not the Weather cleared up at once. We made a ſhift, and wore: The Ships then ſtood off North-eaſt from the Land till Day-break, when we ſaw it trending from South by Eaſt, to South-weſt by South, about ſix Leagues Diſtance, which made a fine large Bay; but, as we ſtood in, we perceived an Opening, and that there were two Iſlands, with three lying thwart the Outlet to the Southward of both: We hoiſted out our Pinnace, and ſent her aſhore; the *Ducheſs* did the ſame, from whence they brought off ſome Cocoanuts, of which there were Plenty there; and told us, there were *Malayan* Inhabitants, who ſeemed to be very friendly. Up the Bay we ſaw ſeveral Boats, Houſes, and abundance of the native *Malayans* walking along the Shore: We ſent in our Boats for Proviſions and Pilots, and myſelf and the *Marquis* turned up very near to the Town; but, ſounding ſeveral times, found no Ground. The Natives informed us, there was a Bank, oppoſite to the Town, where we might anchor. Abundance of People came off with *Indian* Wheat, Cocoa-nuts, Yams, Potatoes, Papas, Hens, and ſeveral ſorts of Birds, to truck with us for Cloaths, Knives, Sciſſars, and other Toys, being very civil to all Appearance. They are *Mohammedans*, of a middle Stature, and tawny; but the Women are ſomewhat clearer than the Men; having very long black Hair, their Mouths, Lips, Noſes ſmall; they wear a Linen Waiſtcoat, which reaches only to the lower Part of their Breaſts; and about their Waiſt a Piece of Cloth, three or four Yards wide, and a Yard deep, which they wrap about them, inſtead of a Petticoat. The Men that came off were all naked, having only a Cloth rolled about their Middle, to cover what ought to be; ſome of the better ſort of People had a looſe ſort of Waiſtcoat, and a Piece of Linen rolled about their Heads, with a Cap of Palm-tree-leaves, to keep the Sun from ſcorching. They brought off ſeveral Cicatoes and Parrots, very fine Birds. Along the Shore-ſide, we ſaw ſeveral Weirs they had to catch Fiſh. In turning up, we found the Current very ſtrong againſt us, and the Prize loſt Ground conſiderably; wherefore, in the Evening, the *Ducheſs* fired a Gun; we ran out, and drove all Night. The Names of theſe two Iſlands are *Cambava* and *Wanſhut*: Theſe Iſlands lie in Latitude 5° 13′, Longitude 238 Weſt from *London*. We ſtood from thoſe Iſlands to the Weſtward, and ran along-ſhore, as near as we durſt, to weather the Weſtermoſt Point of Land, where we expected to find an Harbour; but, as we neared it, found a long Tract of High-land, trending to the Southward as far as South-weſt and by South: We agreed in Opinion That was the Iſland *Bouton*, but that we had overſhot the Streights. We made Sail to ſee if we could diſcover any Land farther to the Southward; but, finding none, we ſailed on, keeping the Wind as near as poſſible, becauſe of the Current, which ſets ſtrong to the South-weſt. By two a Clock in the Morning, we were near a ſmall Iſland, that bore South South-weſt of us about two Leagues; but, having clear Weather, we ſtood from it till Day-break, there being no other Land near it that we ſaw, except that we came from, which we had opened five Points farther to the Weſtward. I was unwilling to act any longer without the Conſent of the Committee: So the major Part of us met aboard the *Ducheſs*, where we agreed to ſtand back and make the Land plain, ſo as to be fully ſatisfied what it was, and withal to find a Recruit of Water and Wood, before we proceeded any farther, being in want of every thing, being then in South Latitude 5° 50′, Longitude 238° 38′ W. from *London*. In purſuance of this Agreement, we ſtood back the next Day, and made little or no Sail all Night: In the Morning, we had very fine clear Weather, and made the Land exceeding plain, which was very high, with Iſlands under it. It looked moſt of it as if inhabited, being pretty thick of Wood, and promiſing us, in other reſpects, Plenty of Refreſhments; but our Misfortune was, that we could not meet here with any Ground that would hold our Anchors; and, the next Day, the *Ducheſs*, ſtanding over to the other Side of the Bay, had no better Fortune, but was forced to return, without anchoring, to us again. A little before ſhe came back, our Boat, which we had ſent on ſhore, returned; the People on board having, by Preſents, engaged ſome of the *Malayans* to come on board with them; in which they certainly judged right, tho' we could make no Uſe of their Intelligence for want of an Interpreter: I ſent to the *Batchelor*, who had one; but Captain *Dover* refuſed to let him come to me, notwithſtanding he had no Uſe for him: Then I ſent a ſecond time, that I might know the beſt Anchoring-place for our Ships, and treated the People with Sweetmeats, and other

Things they fanſied, but could not keep them, or ſend them aboard the *Batchelor* to ſecure her, ſeeing white Shole-water near us; but they paſſed by us, in danger of running on the Sholes, not knowing the beſt Anchoring-place for want of the Linguiſt, I ſo earneſtly deſired to underſtand the *Malayans* that had now left us. At parting, they made Signs, and pointed to the Land to the Northward, which they called *Booroo*. Our Pilot, Captain *Dampier*, ſays he has been formerly through the Streights; and, in his Book, tells us of a Town, near the South Part of them, where the King reſided; but he knew nothing of it now, except the bare Story. Upon this, we agreed to ſend one of the Pinnaces and the Linguiſt along with him, to find out the Town, being willing to venture him to wait on his Majeſty the King of *Bouton*, to ſolicit for a Supply of Proviſions, for which we would gladly pay; and, to make the better Appearance, we ſent Mr. *Vanbrugh* and Mr. *Connely* along with him. The Water flows here above fifteen Feet. There are Places near to the Town, which lie to the Northward ſix Leagues, from whence we rode, where a Ship might, on Occaſion, be laid aſhore to refit; and we could have carried the *Duke* thither to ſtop her Leak, but were not willing to loſe Time, ſince we found it did not increaſe more than one Pump could vent, which we had Men enough to keep continually going.

38. On the 30th, in the Morning, a Prow came from the King, with a Nobleman on board, who had neither Shoes nor Stockings; and a Pilot to carry us up to Town. The firſt Queſtion this *Indian* Lord aſked, after he came on board, was, How we durſt come to an Anchor there, without Leave firſt had and obtained of the great King of *Bouton?* He brought each Commander a Piece of *Bouton* ſtriped Cloth, a Bottle of Arrack, ſome Rice in Baskets, *&c.* as a Preſent from the King; as alſo a Letter from the Officers we had ſent aſhore, giving an Account, that they had been very well received; and that the Town where the King reſided, is large, walled, and fortified, and has ſeveral great Guns: Another Preſent was returned, and five Guns fired by every Ship, at the Meſſenger's going off, at which he ſeemed very well pleaſed. We wooded and watered at the Iſland *Sampo*, and ſeveral Prows came off to us with Fowl, *Indian* Corn, Pompions, Papas, Lemons, *Guiney* Corn, *&c.* which they trucked for Knives, Sciſſars, old Cloaths, *&c.* The People were civil, but ſold very dear; yet our Officers making a longer Stay at the Town than was intended, we began to ſuſpect they were detained, thoſe *Moors* being very treacherous: However, we heard from them every Day; and, on *June* 5. the *Ducheſs*'s Pinnace came down with Mr. *Coneley*, who told us, there were four Laſts of Rice coming, which was bought of the King, and coſt 600 Dollars, 50 Dollars in Tale being allowed to make up the Weight, becauſe the Royals were light; and that Mr. *Vanbrugh* was detained for the Payment. The next Morning it came, and was equally diſtributed among the four Ships; ſome great Men coming to deliver it, and receive the Money: A *Portugueſe*, ſent by the King, was detained till our Boat returned, and Proviſions began to come more plentifully, and cheaper. The Town of *Bouton* is ſeated on the Aſcent of an Hill; on the Top whereof is a Fort incloſed with an old Stone Wall, on which there are Guns and Pattereroes mounted. The King, and a conſiderable Number of People, live in the ſaid Fort, where an Herb-market is kept every Day. The King has five Wives, beſides Concubines, and four Men, called *Pury Baſſas*, who carry great Canes, with Silver Heads, to manage their Affairs. His Majeſty, on his long black Hair, wears a ſort of green Gauſe, ſtrewed with Spangles; goes always bare-footed and bare-legged; is ſometimes clad like a *Dutch* Skipper; but, when he appears in State, has a long Calico Gown over his ſhort Jacket. In Council, he ſits on a Chair covered with red Cloth; is always attended by a Serjeant and ſix Men, with Match-locks; beſides three others, one of which wears a Head-piece, and carries a large Scimiter in his Hand; another holds a Shield; and the third a great Fan. Four Slaves ſit at his Feet, one of them holding his Betele-box, another a lighted Match, another his Box to ſmoke, and a fourth his Spitting-baſon. The petty Kings and great Men ſit on his Left Hand, and before him; every one attended by a Slave in the Council-chamber, where they chew Tobacco, and chew Betele, in the King's Preſence; and ſpeak to him ſitting croſs-legged, joining their Hands, and lifting them up to their Forehead. The Town of *Bouton* is very populous; and by it runs a fine River, which, they ſay, comes down from ten Miles up the Country, ebbs and flows conſiderably, and has a Bar at the Entrance; ſo that Boats cannot come out at Low-water. At leaſt 1500 Boats belong to this River, fifty whereof are Prows for War, carrying Pattereroes, and forty or fifty Men each. About fifty Iſlands are tributary to the King, who ſends ſome of his Prows, once a Year, to gather in the Tribute, which conſiſts of Slaves, each Iſland giving him ten Inhabitants out of every hundred. There is one Moſque at *Bouton*; which is ſupplied with Prieſts from *Moca*, the People being *Mohammedans*. They are great Admirers of Muſic; their Houſes are built upon Poſts; *Dutch* Money is current here, and *Spaniſh* Dollars. On the 17th, our Pinnace returned, with Mr. *Vanbrugh*, and all our Men, having parted very friendly with his Majeſty, but could not get a Pilot for Money: However, we reſolved to ſtay no longer, and to truſt wholly to Almighty Providence for our future Preſervation. We diſmiſſed the *Portugueſe* Linguiſt, and began to unmoor our Ships. The next Day, we made three Iſlands to the Northward of *Zalayer*; and the Looming of other Land to the Weſtward of all which, we took to be the Southermoſt Part of *Celebes*. On the 10th, our Pinnaces came up with this ſmall Veſſel; who told them, they were bound for *Macaſſar*, a *Dutch* Factory, on the South Part of *Celebes*. The Pinnace took the Maſter of her on board, who promiſed to pilot us, not only through the Streights of *Zalayer*, but to *Batavia*, if we would keep it ſecret, for fear of the *Dutch*. He ſent his Veſſel to lie in the narrower Paſſage, between the Iſlands, till ſuch time as our Ships came up. About four a Clock we entered the Streight, betwixt the Iſlands that are next to *Zalayer*, and another little one to the Northward of that, being the middlemoſt of the three; having found a good Paſſage, three Leagues over, all deep Water, ſteering through North-weſt by Weſt, to give the Larboard Iſlands a good Birth; then we made the Southermoſt Part of *Celebes*. The ſame Morning, the Pilot promiſed to carry us through the Chanel the great *Dutch* Ships generally went for *Batavia*, and by that means avoid the Sholes, called the *Brill* and *Bunker-ground*. The *Brill* has very uneven Soundings; and, in many Places, but three Fathom Water, and leſs: So we haled away to the Northward, keeping the Iſland *Celebes* aboard, the South-weſt Part of which trends away in Low-land, with high Mountains at the Back of it; and off the Point there lies a Rock, pretty high and remarkable. At four o' Clock we came in to Sounding, and had ten Fathom; the firſt caſt the Rock off; the South-weſt Point bore then North, diſtant about ſix Leagues; and we had an Iſland a-head of us, from North-weſt by Weſt, to North North-weſt, being low and level, about three Leagues long, and near the ſame Diſtance from the Main: As we entered, it grew narrower; we ſtemmed with the North Part of the Iſland, till we came within a League and half of it; then ſteered North a little, to weather a Spit of Sand lying off the Iſland, by which means we opened three ſmall Keys; after we were clear of the Shole, we haled up about ſeven, and came to an Anchor under the Iſland, behind the Spit of Land, in ten Fathom Water, very good clean Ground. The Rock of *Celebes* then bore North-eaſt by North four Leagues, the Northermoſt of the Keys two Leagues, and the middlemoſt Weſt South-weſt three Leagues: The other being ſhut in with the long Iſland, we kept the Land going all the Way conſtantly thro'; and had never leſs than ſix Fathom, nor more than ten: As ſoon as it was Day, we weighed, and went betwixt the two ſmall Keys, keeping neareſt the Northermoſt Sounding all the Way, and had no more than ten Fathom. The Water ſtill deepening, being clear of them, we haled away Weſt, and then South-weſt, having a freſh Gale at South-eaſt, and South-eaſt and by Eaſt; no Land in Sight at Noon, but Part of the High-land at *Celebes*, which bore Eaſt, diſtant about twelve Leagues. It was very well for us that we met with this Pilot; for, having no good Charts, nor any one acquainted with thoſe Seas, we had

run greater Hazards. On the 14th, we ran by the Iſland *Madura*, which is about four Leagues long, lying Eaſt and Weſt, on the North Side of *Java*, the Land we made in the Morning being the North-eaſt Part of it; which, agreeing with the Pilot's Knowledge, made us the more certain. On the 17th, we made the High-land of *Cheribon*, which bore South-weſt. In the Morning, we ſaw a great Ship right a-head; and, being very eager to hear News, I ſent our Pinnace aboard, to know what ſhe was. She proved a *Dutch* Ship, about 600 Ton, and fifty Guns, belonging to *Batavia*, and was plying to ſome of the *Dutch* Factories for Timber. They told us, that it was thirty *Dutch* Leagues from hence to *Batavia*; but no Danger. We borrowed a large Draught, which was very uſeful to us, and left them at Anchor. Towards Noon we made the Land, being very low; but had gradually Soundings, by which we were ſatisfied in the Night how to ſail by the Sand. In the Afternoon, we ſaw the Ships in the Road of *Batavia*, betwixt thirty and forty Sail, great and ſmall; and got happily to Anchor juſt after Sun-ſet, betwixt ſix and ſeven Fathom Water, at the long-deſired Port of *Batavia*, in Latitude 6° 10′ South, Longitude 252° 51′ Weſt from *London*. By our Reckoning here, we altered our Account of Time, having, as is cuſtomary, loſt almoſt one Day in running Weſt ſo far round the Globe. When we came in Sight of *Batavia*, and eſpecially after ſome Sloops had been aboard us, I found, that, after ſailing ſo long with them, I was abſolutely a Stranger to the Humours of our People. A few Days before, they were perpetually quarrelling and jangling; a diſputed Title to a Lump of Sugar would have created a Tumult, which could have been laid by nothing, but the Proſpect of a ſmall Dram: But now there was nothing but hugging and ſhaking by the Hand, and bleſſing their Stars, and queſtioning if there was ſuch a Paradiſe upon Earth; and all this becauſe they had Arrack for Eightpence a Gallon, and Sugar at a Peny a Pound: The next Minute all together by the Ears again, about who ſhould put the Ingredients together; for, the Weather being hot, and the Materials exceſſively cheap, Labour was now become a very conſiderable Thing.

39. We anchored here in five Fathom Water, the Ground ſo ſoft and ouſy, that the Anchor ſinks above a Fathom; ſo that it cannot foul: And therefore Ships always ride ſingle. The Town bore South by Eaſt, diſtant a Mile and an half; and the Iſland *Onreſt* bore North-weſt by North, diſtant two Leagues and an half. At this Iſland the *Dutch* clean and careen all their Ships, and have two Windmils on it to ſaw Timber. They hale their Ships along the Side of a Wharf, where there are two Cranes to diſcharge them, and Storehouſes to lay up the Goods. The *Ducheſs* fired thirteen Guns to ſalute the *Dutch* Flag; but, it being Night, he did not anſwer: Yet the next Morning he ſent his Boat aboard, to beg my Pardon for that Omiſſion, which he would then repair. Soon after, the *Duke* fired thirteen Guns; and the *Dutch* Flag anſwered both our Ships Gun for Gun. Between twelve and one, two *Engliſh* Gentlemen came aboard us, the one Captain of an *Engliſh* Ship, there being three and a Sloop in the Road, all belonging to *Madraſs*. All of us, who were Commanders, went aſhore, and landed at *Bomb* Key, whence we proceeded to the Shabander, who conducted us to the Caſtle before *Abraham van Ribeck*, General of *India*, who received us very civilly; but was very inquiſitive, and ſhewed viſibly an Intention to find ſome Pretence for denying us what we aſked, and had Occaſion for. To ſatisfy him effectually, and prevent all Diſputes, we not only ſhewed him our Commiſſions, which, in Fact, was all he had a Right to demand; but we likewiſe gratified him with an Extract of our Journal and Proceedings, that he might be convinced, that we had acted fairly, and done nothing, but what was juſtified by our Commiſſions. After all, we were forced to bear, not only with his haughty Airs, and the natural Slowneſs of *Dutch* Councils, but with many other diſagreeable Circumſtances, that ſhewed us plainly, we owed little, if any thing, to Friendſhip or Good-will. Soon after our Arrival at *Batavia*, we went about fitting the *Marquis*; but, being firſt ordered upon the Careen, the Shabander having allowed us ſeveral *Malayan* Caukers, when we came down to the Bends, we found them, as well as the Stern and Stern-poſt, ſo much worm-eaten and rotten, the Ship being very old, and having only a ſingle Bottom, that we ordered a Survey of Carpenters to view her, who all agreed, there was no fitting her in that Place for going about the Cape of *Good Hope*, her Condition being extraordinary bad; which obliged us to hire a Veſſel to take out her Lading. Then we applied ourſelves to fitting of the other Ships; but could not, at any rate, obtain Leave of the Government to repair to the Iſle of *Onreſt*; but were allowed to go to the low ſmall Iſland *Horn*, which is near the other, inhabited by a few *Malayan* Fiſhermen: And on it was abundance of Cocoanuts, Plantain, Papa, Guava, and other Fruit-trees. The Government allowed us a ſmall Veſſel of that ſort they call *Champans*, to careen our Ships by. We then hove down the *Duke* and *Ducheſs*, and found their Sheathing alſo very much worm-eaten in ſome Places. The *Ducheſs*, in heaving down, ſprung her Fore-maſt; but we ſoon got another: And the *Duke*, after careening, was ſtill leaky. The *Marquis* took in all the Lading of the other Ships, and lay aboard on the Off-ſide, to relieve the other Ships when on the Careen. When the Ships were fitted, we returned again to *Batavia* Road, where we rigged the three, and ſold the *Marquis*, after taking out all the Goods, and moſt of the Stores, to Captain *Opie* and Captain *Oldham*. Then all the Officers and Men were diſtributed among the other Ships, except one *Dutchman*, who ran away. The Weather was extreme hot during our Stay. Many Officers and Men fell ſick; and I was one of the Number. The Maſter of the *Duke*, the Gunner of the *Ducheſs*, and ſeveral of our Men, died of the Flux. *John Read*, a young Man belonging to the *Ducheſs*, venturing to ſwim, had both his Legs ſnapped off by a Shark, which, at the ſecond Bite, before we could get him on board, took off the Bottom of his Belly; ſo that he was dead before we could take him up. During our Stay, we had the Liberty of the Town and Markets, to buy what we pleaſed; yet found it very difficult to get ſalt Proviſions, and were therefore obliged to kill ſeveral Bullocks, and pickle the Fleſh, taking out all the Bones. Arrack, Rice, and Fowls, were cheap; and Beef not above two Stivers a Pound. Several *Engliſh* Ships arrived here at this time; as the *Rocheſter* and *Springer* for *China*, Captain *Opie* in a ſeparate Stock-ſhip; and others of thoſe Parts. The Bay is ſeldom without ſome large *Dutch* Veſſels, driving a great Trade from thence to all the Countries round about. There are various Deſcriptions of this famous City in all Languages; ſo that I might well diſpenſe with a Deſcription of it here: But, as what I have to ſay regards Time as well as Place, and may ſerve to exhibit a Picture of the State of Things at that particular Juncture, I flatter myſelf, that the following ſuccinct Account will not be found either uſeleſs or diſagreeable. The City of *Batavia* lies on the North-weſt Side of the famous Iſland of *Java*, in the Latitude of 5° 50′ South. The Eaſt and Weſt Winds blow all the Year along the Shore, beſides the ordinary Land and Sea-winds, which exceedingly cool the Air, and make it pleaſant; otherwiſe it would be intolerably hot. Their Summer begins in *May*, with continual Breezes from the Eaſt, and a very clear Sky, till the latter End of *October*, or Beginning of *November*, when the Winter begins with hard Rains, which hold ſometimes three or four Days without Intermiſſion. In *December* the Weſt Winds blow very violently; ſo that there is little Trade on the Coaſt of *Java*. In *February* the Weather is changeable, with ſudden Thunder-ſtorms. In *March* they begin to ſow. *June* is their pleaſanteſt Month. In *September* they gather in their Sugar and Rice. And, in *October*, they have plenty of Fruit and Flowers, Plants and Herbs of moſt ſorts. There is a large, fenny, plain Country before the City; but this is exceedingly well improved by the *Dutch*: And, to the Eaſt, it is very full of Wood and Moraſſes. The City is ſquare, with a River running thro' it, and fortified by a ſtrong Wall, and twenty-two Baſtions. About ten Years paſt, there was an Earthquake, which overturned Part of the Mountains in the Country, and altered the Courſe of the River; ſo that the Canals in and about *Batavia* are not near ſo commodious as they have been, nor the Entrance into the River ſo deep; and, for want of a ſtrong Current of Water to keep it open, they are forced to employ a large Engine to preſerve the Mouth of the River navigable, for

ſmall Veſſels to come into the Canals of the City. It lies in a Bay, in which there are ſeventeen or eighteen Iſlands, which ſo break off the Sea, that, tho' the Road is very large, yet it is ſafe. The Banks of the Canals through the City are faced with Stone on both Sides, as far as the Boom, which is ſhut up every Night at nine o'Clock, and guarded by Soldiers. There are Chanels cut out of the main River for ſmaller Veſſels; and every Boom pays Toll. All the Streets run in ſtrait Lines, moſt of them being above thirty Feet broad on each Side, clear of the Chanels, and paved next the Houſes with Bricks. All the Streets are very well built and inhabited, fifteen of which have Chanels; and they reckon fifty-ſix Bridges on them, moſt of them of Stone. The Country-ſeats and Buildings round the City are generally neat and well-contrived, with handſome Gardens for Fruit and Flowers, Fountains, and Statues. The vaſt Quantities of Cocoa-nut-trees every-where afford delightful Groves. They have fine Structures here; particularly the Croſs Church, built of Stone, and the Inſide very neat. There are two or three Churches for the *Dutch*, and two for the *Portugueſe* Proteſtants, who are a mixt ſort of People. There is one Church alſo for the Proteſtant *Malayans*. The Town-houſe is built of Brick, in a Square, about the Centre of the City, two Stories high, and very finely built; where all Courts are held, and all Matters relating to the Civil Government of the City are determined; and the Senators and Directors of the Military Affairs meet. There is an inner Court, incloſed with an high Wall, and a double Row of Stone Pillars, where the Officers of Juſtice live. Here are Hoſpitals, Spin-houſes, and Raſp-houſes, the ſame as in *Amſterdam*, with all other public Buildings, equal to moſt Cities in *Europe*. The *Chineſe* have alſo a large Hoſpital in this City for their aged and ſick Perſons; and manage their Charity ſo well, that you never ſee a *Chineſe* that looks deſpicable in the Street. The *Dutch* Women have greater Privileges in *India*, than in *Holland*, or any-where elſe; for, on ſlight Occaſions, they are divorced from their Huſbands, and ſhare the Eſtate betwixt them. A Lawyer told me at *Batavia*, he has known, out of fifty-eight Cauſes all depending in the Council-chamber, fifty-two of them were Divorces. Great Numbers of the Natives, who are Criminals, are chained by Pairs, and kept at hard Labour, under a Guard, perpetually clearing the Chanels and Moats round the City, or any other Work for the Public. Three Leagues Weſt from the Town is the Iſland *Onreſt*, where all the Company's Ships are refitted. There are Magazines of naval Stores, defended by Platforms of Guns. And the Caſtle at *Batavia* is quadrangular, lies in a Level, and has four Baſtions and Curtains, faced with white Stones, and provided with Watch-houſes. In this Caſtle, or rather Citadel, the *Dutch* Governor General, and moſt of the Members of the Council of *India*, with the other Officers of *Batavia*, have their Reſidence. The Governor's Palace is of Brick, large and well-built. In this Palace is the Council-chamber, the Secretary's Office, and Chamber of Accounts. The General's Hall is hung with bright Armour, Enſigns, Flags, &c. taken by the *Dutch* here. The Governor gives Audience to Strangers, who are introduced to him by the Shabander, who is Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms. The Gariſon on Duty is generally about 1000 ſtrong; and all the Outworks are ſaid to be furniſhed with Proviſions, as well as can be; but the Soldiers are kept much under, except the Governor's Guards, who have large Privileges, and make a fine Appearance. The Governor General lives in as great Splendor as a King: He has a Train and Guard; *viz.* a Troop of Horſe, and a Company of Foot, with Halbards, in Liveries of yellow Sattin, richly adorned with Silver-lace and Fringes, to attend his Coach, when he goes abroad. The Guards are as well equipped as thoſe of moſt Princes in *Europe*. His Lady has alſo her Guards and Train. He is choſen but for three Years, out of the twenty-four Counſellors, called *Rads of India*, twelve of whom muſt always reſide in the City. The *Chineſe* have the greateſt Trade here, farm moſt of the Exciſe and Cuſtoms, live according to their own Laws, and are allowed their idolatrous Worſhip; and have a Chief, that manages their Affairs with the Company, who allows them great Privileges, and particularly a Repreſentative in Council, who has a Vote, when any of the *Chineſe* are tried for Life. But theſe Privileges are allowed only to ſuch *Chineſe* as inhabit here; for others are not permitted to ſtay above ſix Months in the Town, or on the Iſland *Java*. The other Strangers, beſides *Europeans*, are *Malayans*, with ſome from moſt Parts of *India*. The *Javaneſe*, or antient Natives, are numerous, and ſaid to be barbarous and proud, of a dark Colour, and flat Faces, thin, ſhort, black Hair, large Eyebrows and Cheeks. The Men are ſtrong-limbed; but the Women are ſmall. The former have a Wrapper of Calico three or four times round their Bodies; and the latter from their Arm-pits to their Knees. The Men have two or three Wives, beſides Concubines; and the *Dutch* ſay, they are much addicted to lying and ſtealing. Thoſe on the Coaſt are generally *Mohammedans*; but the others *Pagans*. The Women are not ſo tawny as the Men, and many of them handſome; but, in general, amorous, and unfaithful to their Huſbands, being very apt to give Poiſon, which they do very cunningly. The Town is very populous; but not One-ſixth of them *Dutch*. The *Chineſe* here go all bare-headed, with their Hair rolled up, and long Gowns, carrying Fans in their Hands. The *Dutch* ſay, they are more induſtrious, and acute in Trade, than themſelves. The Diſcipline and Order of the *Dutch* here, both in Civil and Military Affairs, is truly admirable. They have all the Neceſſaries for building and careening Ships, as well as in *Europe*; and their Officers as regular as in his Majeſty's Yards; whereas we have nothing like it in *India*. They keep the Natives very much in Awe, being perfectly deſpotic in their Government; becauſe, they ſay, the Natives are naturally ſo treacherous, that they are obliged to puniſh them ſeverely for ſmall Faults: But they are more tender to the *Chineſe*, becauſe of the great Trade they have by their Means; and that they pay great Rents for their Shops, beſides large Taxes; and from 16 to 30 *per Cent.* for Money, which they frequently borrow of the *Dutch*. I was told there are here about 80,000, who pay the *Dutch* a Dollar a Head each Month, for Liberty to wear their Hair, which they are not allowed to wear at home, ſince they were conquered by the *Tartars*. There come hither from *China* fourteen or ſixteen large Junks yearly, being flat-bottomed Veſſels, from 3 to 500 Tons Burden. The Merchants come along with their Goods, which are lodged in different Partitions in the Veſſels, like Warehouſes, for which they pay a certain Price, and not for the Weight or Meaſure of the Cargo, as we do; ſo they fill them with what they pleaſe. They come in with an Eaſterly Monſoon, and generally arrive in *November* or *December*, and return the Beginning of *June*; ſo that the *Dutch* have all *Chineſe* Commodities brought to them, cheaper than they can fetch them: And, being conveniently ſituated for the Spice-trade, they have all in their own Hands. *Batavia* wants no Commodities that *India* affords. They have ſeldom leſs than twenty Sail of Ships at *Java*, from thirty to fifty and ſixty Guns each, with Men enough for them on all Occaſions; ſo that they might eaſily drive us out of moſt Parts, if not all *India*, ſhould we ever have an unfortunate War with them. Their Soldiers are very well trained, and there is a Company always on Duty at every Gate of the City and Citadel; and they have 7 or 8000 diſciplined *Europeans* in and about the City, who can be aſſembled and ready for Action at a very ſhort Warning. It is the Metropolis of their *Indian* Settlements, and ſends Governors and Officers to all the reſt. The late General, before we came hither, had War with the *Indians*, which, I was informed, had like to have ſpoiled their Settlements; but, at laſt, they divided the Natives amongſt themſelves, brought them to a Peace on advantageous Conditions, and are now pretty ſecure of the Sea-coaſts. There are many pleaſant Seats about the City, and the adjacent Country abounds with Rice, Sugar-cane-fields, Gardens, and Orchards, Mills for Sugar, Corn, and Gunpowder; ſo that this is one of the pleaſanteſt Cities in the World. I do not think it ſo large as *Briſtol*; but it is more populous. They have Schools for *Latin*, *Greek*, &c. and a Printing-houſe. They have lately begun to plant Coffee here, which thrives very well; ſo that, in a little time, they may be able to load a Ship or two: But I am told, it is not ſo good as that in *Arabia*.

40. On the 17th of *October* we arrived at the Watering-place on the Main, having ſailed from *Batavia* on the 14th.

On the 19th, at two in the Afternoon, we came to an Anchor with our beſt Bower, in a Bay about a League to the Weſtward of *Java* Head, in fifteen Fathom Water, ouſy Ground, about a Mile from the Shore; ſent our Pinnace for Water, and then our Sail-maker, Wooders, &c. Captain *Pike*, and Mr. *Block*, came in a Boat from *Batavia*, the firſt of them, chiefly, after his Steward, who, I ſuppoſe, had concealed himſelf, unknown to moſt of us, aboard the *Batchelor*. In the Evening, Captain *Pike* lent us his Boat and Men; we put into her ſeveral of our Men, with Arms and Proviſions from each Ship; and ſent her away to *Pepper Bay*, to buy Fowls, and other freſh Proviſions, giving them for that Purpoſe Knives, and other Toys, which the Natives there value above Money. In the Evening we had much Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, which put us in Fear for the Men ſent to *Pepper Bay*; continued wooding and watering till the 28th, and ſent ſeveral Men aſhore to kill Buffaloes, which being extremely wild, they could ſhoot none, and durſt not ſtay aſhore at Night, by reaſon of the many Tygers: One of them was very near ſeizing a Man of ours, who, to ſave himſelf, was obliged to take the Water; at leaſt twenty Shots were made at the Tyger before he went off, and they ſaw ſeveral others at the ſame time. The *Indian* King, and his People, dealt friendly with us, trucking Fowls, and what elſe they had to ſpare, for Knives, and the like. They generally came aboard every Day, and, we giving them ſome Trifle at parting, they were kind to our Men aſhore. The Wind being commonly at South-eaſt, and a freſh Gale, we were under ſome Apprehenſions for our Men ſent to buy Fowls in *Pepper Bay*, having heard nothing of them ſince their Departure, and miſtruſting the Boat might be overſet, or the Men detained by the *Javans*. But, on the 25th in the Evening, the Boat returned, to our great Satisfaction, with the Men, bringing about twelve Dozen of Fowl, ſome Mangoes, &c. Captain *Pike*'s Steward came on board the *Ducheſs*, hoping we would conceal him; but was immediately ſent on board the *Batchelor* to his Commander, who gladly received, and promiſed to pardon him. On the 28th of *December*, Mr. *James Waſe*, our chief Surgeon, died; and we buried him decently the next Day, with our Naval Ceremonies, as uſual, being a very honeſt uſeful Man, a good Surgeon, and bred up at *Leyden*, in the Study of Phyſic, as well as Surgery. We made Land the 15th of *December*, came in with the Shore the 18th, and had Sounding in 60 and 70 Fathom, the Ground grey-gret with ſmall Stones and Shells; had a ſtrong Southerly Current, South Latitude 34° 2', Longitude 334° 34' Weſt from *London*. The ſame Day we had very hard Flaws of Wind off the High-land, till we came within Sight of the Lion's Head and Rump, two Hills over the *Cape Town*; and this Day we arrived in the Harbour of the Cape, ſaluted the *Dutch* Fort with nine Guns, and were anſwered by ſeven. We anchored in ſix Fathom Water, about a Mile off Shore, and found only one *Engliſh* Ship, called the *Donegal*, Captain *Cliff* Commander, homeward-bound from *Mocho*, and two *Middleburghers*, outward-bound for *Batavia*, in the Harbour, beſides the Guard-ſhip, and two or three Galliots. On the 29th, we moored our Ship, and got down our Yards and Top-maſts, to guard againſt the hard Flaws of Wind off the Table-land, which frequently blow very freſh betwixt Eaſt South-eaſt and South-eaſt. We ſent ſixteen ſick Men aſhore. On the 1ſt of *February*, I offered ſome Propoſals, in Writing, to Captains *Dover* and *Courtney*, with the reſt of the Committee; wherein I told them, It was my Opinion, we ſhould loſe too much Time to ſtay for the *Dutch* Fleet, in order to have the Benefit of her Convoy to *Holland*; which would not only be out of our Way, but very tedious and chargeable; and we having large Quantities of decaying Goods on board, the Time we ſhould loſe by waiting for the *Dutch*, might be advantageouſly employed in *Braſil*, where we could lie in very little Danger of the Enemy, and vend them at great Rates, and thence get to *Briſtol* through the North Chanel, having the Summer before us, continuing in the Latitude of 55° or 56°, two or three hundred Leagues before we got the Length of the North of *Ireland*; and by that means, might avoid the Tract of the Enemy. I earneſtly preſſed, that, if they could not agree to this, one of our Privateers might take this alone, and the other keep with the *Batchelor* and *Dutch* Fleet. But the Majority was againſt any thing but going home with the *Dutch* Fleet all together; ſo that all I could do more, was to remind them of examining the Goods aboard the *Batchelor*, and to take out of her ſo much Goods in ſafe Package, as would lie in the like Room of *European* Goods, on board the *Ducheſs*; that, if any Accident ſhould happen to the *Batchelor*, we might have Part of her Value in another Bottom. I deſired, if any amongſt them were not of this Opinion, they would give their Reaſons to the contrary in Writing; but we could agree on nothing. On *April* 5. at Day-break, the Flag hoiſted a blue Enſign, looſed the Foretop-ſail, and fired a Gun, as a Signal to unmoor: As we were heaving in our Cable, it rubbed againſt the Oakam, which had got into the Leak, and occaſioned the Ship to be as leaky again as ever, ſhe having been indifferent tight for ſome time, and we were in hopes it would have continued. About Noon I came aboard very thin, and in no better Health than I was when I went firſt aſhore at our Arrival here: Preſently after I went aboard the Flag, there being a Signal made for all the *Engliſh* Commanders. We had before received our Orders, which were very particular, and to be punctually obſerved. About four in the Afternoon, the Flag, Vice, and Rear-admirals, weighed with Part of the Fleet, and fell down to *Robins* or *Penguin* Iſland, where they lay for the reſt of the Ships. On the 6th, in the Afternoon, we all weighed from *Penguin* Iſland, being ſixteen *Dutch*, and nine *Engliſh* Ships, having a fine freſh Breeze at South South-eaſt. The Cape of *Good Hope* has been ſo often deſcribed, that I do not think it neceſſary to detain the Reader with any Account of it here. There happened nothing remarkable in our Voyage till *June* 5. when the Admiral made a Signal for all the *Engliſh* Commanders, and ſome of the *Dutch* Skippers, to come on board; where we found an excellent Entertainment; and the good Humour of the *Dutch* Admiral ſoon made all the Company underſtand each other without a Linguiſt, tho' we had much ado to get one at firſt meeting: We parted before the Sun ſet, and had a fine Day. The 28th, being got into the Latitude of 51° North, we had thick foggy Weather; ſo that the Flag fired two Guns every Half-hour, and each Ship anſwered with one. This continued ſeveral Days, which conſumed a great deal of Powder; but, by the Noiſe of the Guns, it was eaſy to keep Company, tho' ſometimes ſo thick for ſeveral Hours, that we could not ſee three Ships Lengths. On *July* 14. we ſaw two Ships in the Afternoon; one of which we ſpoke with, being a *Dane*, bound for *Ireland*; ſhe informed us of the *Dutch* Men of War that were cruiſing for us off *Shetland*, (being ten Sail) whom we ſaw four or five Days ago, and reckoned herſelf now about forty Leagues from the Land. We had Sounding then in ſeventy Fathom Water, brown gravelly Ground. I juſt had time to ſend the Owners a Copy of my Letters from the Cape of *Good Hope*; and to let them know, that we were now got ſo far ſafe towards the Concluſion of a fatiguing Voyage. In the Morning, we made *Fair Iſland*, and *Foul Iſland*, lying off of *Shetland*. Preſently after we ſaw the Men of War; but, having little Wind, and they a good Way diſtant from each other, we could join but one of them by Noon. The next Day all the Men of War joined us, except one or two, with the Fiſhing-doggers, which were cruiſing off to the North-eaſt of *Shetland*. After mutual Salutations, both by the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch* Ships, one of the Men of War was ſent out to ſee for the miſſing Ships. The Inhabitants of thoſe Iſlands came aboard with what Proviſions they had, being very poor People, and ſubſiſt moſt by Fiſhing. On the 17th, I wrote a ſingle Letter to the Owners in general, by a *Scots* Fiſhing-boat belonging to *Shetland*, adviſing them of our joining the Men of War who are ordered with the Fleet to the *Texel*, where we hoped to meet an *Engliſh* Convoy. The *Dutch India* Admiral, though but a Company's Ship, wears his Flag; gives Signals and Orders to the *Dutch* Men of War, which is not ſuffered among the *Engliſh*; and, in the whole Run from the Cape, kept an exact Diſcipline in the Fleet, not ſuffering any of the Commanders to go out of the Ships to viſit each other at Sea without a Signal, or Leave. On the 23d, the Weather being cloſe, the Commodore made a Signal about ten o'Clock for ſeeing Land; preſently all the Fleet anſwered him with their Colours. The Pilot-boats coming off aboard the Ships, we parted with the *Rotterdam* and *Middleburgh* Ships, moſt of the Men of War going with them to ſee them ſafe in. The Flag, and all the *Engliſh* Ships, ſaluted the Commodore, and afterwards we ſaluted the Flag, to welcome him in Sight of *Holland*; and, as ſoon as they were got over the Bar, the *Dutchmen* fired at their ſafe Arrival in their own Country, which they very affectionately called *Fatherland*. About eight at Night we all came ſafe to Anchor in ſix Fathom Water, about two Miles off Shore. On the 24th in the Morning, the *Dutch* Flag weighed, in order to go up to the unlivering Place: As he paſſed by us, we gave him three Huzzas, and nine Guns. In the Afternoon I went up to *Amſterdam*, where we had Letters from our Owners, to direct us how to act, and proceed from hence. On the 28th, the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Ships had Orders to be in Readineſs for ſailing with the firſt *Dutch* Convoy for *London*. We got ſome Proviſions aboard from *Amſterdam* on the 30th. When I came aboard, on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, by Conſent of our Council, we diſcharged what Men we ſhipped at *Batavia* and the Cape, and afterwards went away from *Amſterdam*. On the 4th, the *Ducheſs* and *Batchelor* went up to the Road called the *Vlieter*, being a better Road than the *Texel*. In the Evening, we had News of ſome of our Owners being at the *Hildar*: Mr. *Pope* went to wait upon them, and, in the Morning, came aboard with them: After a ſhort Stay, they went for the *Ducheſs* and *Batchelor*, deſigning thence for *Amſterdam*. We welcomed them with fifteen Guns at their coming and going. The *Engliſh Eaſt India* Ships, and others, bound for *England*, weighed with the *Dutch* Convoy the ſame Day, having a fine Gale at North-eaſt. On the 6th, we weigh'd from the *Texel*, and went up to our Conſorts, it being by a particular Order from the Owners, for our better Security, being obliged to wait here, fearing the *India* Company would be troubleſome, although we had dealt for nothing but Neceſſaries in *India*. In order to obviate this, and convince the World, as well as the *Eaſt India* Company, of our Honeſty and good Conduct in this reſpect, the Officers firſt drew up an Affidavit, ſetting forth, there never was any Commerce carried on in the *Indies*, or any Tranſactions of buying and ſelling, but for Proviſions, and other Things, for the Ships; and, that no Suſpicion might remain, an Abſtract of our Journal was drawn up, and the beſt Part of the Ship's Company voluntarily ſwore to it. On the 19th in the Afternoon, we had News of our Convoy lying without the *Texel*; which was very acceptable to the Crews of each Ship, who were in the utmoſt Uneaſineſs at our long Stay, being juſt at home, ſo that we had much ado to keep the Companies aboard, till now we got every thing in Readineſs, in order for falling down to them. On the 20th, about five in the Afternoon, we got down to the *Texel*, where we found our Convoy at Anchor, being the *Eſſex*, *Canterbury*, *Medway*, and *Dunwich* Men of War. On the 22d in the Morning, the Wind being at North-eaſt, we weighed from the *Texel*, and by ten of the Clock got clear of the Chanel. In the Afternoon, the Commodore took the *Batchelor* in tow; and next Morning, the Wind being againſt us, we bore away again for the Harbour; as did likewiſe four *Dutch* Men of War, that came out with us, bound for *London*: After ſeeing us ſafe in, he ſtood off to the Northward, with the *Canterbury* and *Medway*, but came in the next Morning. On the 24th, our Officers met, where, conſulting, that our three Ships wanted Neceſſaries to keep the Sea, in caſe we ſhould meet with bad Weather, we requeſted Captain *Roffey* our Commodore, that he would pleaſe to ſtay, ſhould the Wind be fair, till ſuch time as we could be provided with the ſaid Neceſſaries from *Amſterdam*; which was granted. On the 30th, at Break of Day, we weighed, as did likewiſe four *Dutch* Men of War. On the 1ſt of *October*, about eleven o'Clock, we came to an Anchor in the *Downs*, where ſeveral of our Owners came on board; and, after they had viſited every Ship, went on ſhore with ſome Priſoners, to examine them about our Capture, &c. At three this Morning, the *Eſſex* made a Signal to unmoor; and betwixt nine and ten weigh'd, he being ordered up to the *Buoy in the Nore*, and we to make the beſt of our Way to the *Hope*. *October* 14. at eleven o'Clock, we and our Conſort got up to *Eriff*, where we came to an Anchor, which ends our long and fatiguing Voyage.

41. It was owing to this Expedition of *Woodes Rogers*, that the Spirit of Privateering in the South Seas was not totally loſt in *England*, where abundance of Art had been uſed to propagate an Opinion, that it was ſimply impoſſible for any Privateer Squadron to act with Succeſs, at leaſt for their Owners; and that, if any thing was taken, it muſt be in a bucanneering Way, that is, for the ſole Advantage of the Crew: But, in all theſe reſpects, this Voyage has undeceived us, and plainly ſhewn, that, under proper Command, our People are able to do as great Things now, as ever they did in the Days of *Elizabeth*; and, indeed, it is offering the greateſt Indignity to our Seamen to think otherwiſe. Amongſt the reſt of the Bug-bears invented to terrify our People from going into thoſe Seas, one was, the dreadful Treatment they met with from the *Spaniards*, when, by any Accident, they fell into their Hands. As to this, Captain *Rogers* has ſet the Matter in its true Light. He deplores the Loſs of Mr. *Hatley* in the moſt affecting Terms; probably from an Opinion, that he might be ſtarved at Sea, or forced to live aſhore on ſome of the barren *Gallapagos* Iſlands; but he very fairly tells us, that, after that Gentleman fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, he was very kindly treated, and ſent up to *Lima* as a Priſoner of War, which was what he had Reaſon to expect. It is indeed true, that, when he and his Boat's Company landed at Cape *Paſſao*, and ſurrendered themſelves, they were very barbarouſly uſed, having their Hands tied behind them, hung up by their Necks, and almoſt half-flayed with Whips: But then, by whom was this done? Why, by a mixed People, the Off-ſpring of Negroes and *Indians*, who bore an implacable Hatred to every Man of a white Complexion, out of mere Averſion to the *Spaniards*. In this Diſtreſs they had probably ended their Days, but for a Prieſt, who interpoſed, and preſerved them. As for the *Engliſhmen*, that remained in that Country, (which is perhaps the hardeſt Caſe that can be put, with reſpect to the Danger of thoſe Expeditions) Captain *Stradling*, of whom we have ſaid ſo much in the laſt Section, after returning ſafe to *London*, though he remained long a Priſoner in thoſe Countries, gives us the following Account of their Condition, melancholy indeed, as Exiles from their native Country, but not very frightful in other reſpects.

“ In *Mexico*, the Priſoners, who are employed in cutting Logwood, have no way to eſcape the Severity of the *Spaniards*, but to turn Papiſts, and be baptized after their manner: Then they have the Liberty to chuſe a Godfather, who is generally a Man of Note, and they ſerve him as a Footman in Livery. One *Boyſe*, who joined Captain *Rogers* at *Guiaquil*, was baptized there by an Abbot in the Cathedral of *Mexico*; had Salt put in his Mouth, and Oil poured upon his Head; and ſmall Parcels of Cotton, which rubbed it off, were diſtributed as precious Relics among the Penitents, becauſe taken off the Head of a converted Heretic, as they called him. The native *Spaniards* enjoy all Poſts in the Church and Monaſteries, and admit no *Indians*, nor any mixed Breed, to thoſe Preferments; which they think a neceſſary Piece of Policy, that they may the better keep the Country in Subjection to *Spain*. Some of thoſe Priſoners, who are forced to be pretended Converts, do now-and-then make their Eſcape, tho' it be dangerous to attempt it; for, if taken, they are generally confined to the Workhouſes for Life. There are ſeveral *Engliſhmen*, who were Priſoners in this Country, that, by Compliance, have obtained their Liberty; particularly one *Thomas Bull*, who was born in *Dover*, and taken in *Campeche*. He was a Clockmaker, had been eighteen Years here, and was about forty-five Years old, lives in the Province of *Tabaſco*, and grown very rich. One Captain *Thompſon*, born in the *Iſle of Wight*, had been here about twenty Years, is about fifty Years old, grown rich, and com-

“ manded the Mulattoes, who took Captain *Pack* at the Beginning of the War. The Perſon who told me this, was a Combmaker, and endeavoured to eſcape from *La Vera Cruz*; but was taken, and ſent Priſoner to *Mexico*, where he came off to *Peru*, after he had his Liberty, by pretending he went to buy Ivory to make Combs. He gave me a long Account of his Ramble amongſt the *Indians*, and ſays, that he was at the Mouth of the River *Miſſiſippi*, which falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*, but could not paſs it: He adds, that the *Indians*, on the Bay *Pillachi*, have murdered ſeveral of the *Padres*, out of an Averſion to the *Spaniards*, but ſhewed a great Inclination to trade with the *Engliſh*. Such of them as will not turn Papiſts, are kept in cloſe Cuſtody, either in the Mines, or Workhouſes, at *Mexico*, which City is about as long as *Briſtol*. Thoſe that are put in Workhouſes are chained, and employed in carding of Wool, raſping of Logwood, *&c.* They have more Manufactures of Woollen and Linen in *Mexico* than in *Peru:* Abundance of Raw Silk is brought from *China*; and, of late Years, wrought up into rich Brocades, equal to any made in *Europe*. The Mulattoes and *Indians*, on very ſlight Occaſions, are put into the Workhouſes, and kept there till they pay their Debts or Tribute; but no *Spaniards*, except for the worſt of Crimes. There are many *Engliſhmen*, who were taken cutting Logwood in the Bay of *Campeche*, in ſeveral of thoſe Workhouſes. They have abundance of Sheep in the Country, which yield excellent Wool, of which the *Engliſh* Priſoners have taught them to make Cloth, which would be worth about 15 *s.* a Yard in *England*; but there it yields eight Pieces of Eight. They have alſo taught them to make Bays, and other ſort of coarſe Woollens. At *Chopa* in *Mexico*, about Latitude 12° North, there is a great River, which ſinks into the Earth at once, runs under the Mountains, and riſes with a large Stream, about fifteen Leagues from the Place where it ſunk. This River is twice as broad as the *Thames*; it afterwards joins that of *Tabaſco*, and falls into the North Sea, as moſt of the great Rivers of this vaſt Continent do. About this Place there are high Mountains, with Plains on the Top, where the Air is very temperate, and all our *European* Fruits grow; whereas, at the Bottom of thoſe Mountains, they have none but the Fruits of hot Climates, tho' 'tis not above five Leagues aſunder. There are alſo Woods of Pines, *&c.* on thoſe Mountains, amongſt which there are Birds, which ſing together in an agreeable Concert, that reſemble a fine Organ; ſo that Strangers are amazed to hear ſuch Muſic ſtrike up of a ſudden in the Woods. There is alſo a ſtrange Creature in thoſe Woods, called by the *Spaniards* an *Ounce*, much of the Size of a Wolf-dog; but it has Talons, and the Head is more like that of a Tyger: It kills Men and Beaſts, which makes travelling thro' the Woods dangerous; yet this Creature is reported to eat nothing but the Heart of its Prey. I had many more Relations from this Man, who had been ſeven Years a Priſoner in this Country; but they being too tedious, I ſhall add nothing more concerning *Mexico*, but that the Worm is larger, and eats the Bottoms of the Ship more, on its Sea-coaſt, than any other Place. All the Coaſts, from *Guiaquil* in *Peru*, to the Northward, as far as the Latitude of 20° in *Mexico*, are reckoned unhealthful, but the contrary from *Guiaquil* Southward.”

The next remarkable Thing in this Voyage, is the Prudence ſhewn in the Oeconomy of it, which ought to recommend it as a Precedent on all ſuch Occaſions for the future; and this excellent Management appeared particularly in the Method taken of holding Councils before any Tranſactions of Importance, to conſider the proper Means for effecting it; and then, when the Thing was freſh in every body's Head and Memory, to bring the Conduct of the Affair under Examination, ſo as to procure another Reſolution of the Committee, either approving or diſapproving it. By this Meaſure all Facts were ſo effectually ſettled, that they would admit of no Diſputes after they came home; and it is very plain, that the Debates which happened aboard, were hindered from growing to a dangerous Height by this very thing: For, as nothing could be abſolutely determined while they were aboard, every body was anxious and aſſiduous in ſettling properly the Papers, upon the Teſtimony of which, the Senſe of their Owners, in regard to their Conduct, was to be determined; and thus the Hopes of prevailing at home, made People eaſy under what they took to be Hardſhips abroad. In ſaying this, however, I differ in Opinion from Captain *Woodes Rogers*, who, tho' he had experienced the Benefits reſulting from this Method of acting, yet is pleaſed to ſay, “ Another great Inconveniency we laboured under, was the want of Power to try Offenders, as on board his Majeſty's Ships of War; which obliged us to connive at many Diſorders, and to be mild in our Puniſhments: But which was ſtill worſe, there was no ſufficient Power lodged in any one Hand, to determine Differences amongſt our chief Officers; which was a great Omiſſion, and might have proved of dangerous Conſequence, becauſe of the Diviſions which happened amongſt us.” Yet I dare ſay it will be apparent, notwithſtanding the Captain's Obſervation, that if any ſuch Power had been lodged, even in himſelf, it muſt have done more Hurt than Good; ſince nothing but the Incertainty of whoſe Conduct would be approved or diſapproved at their Return, prevented Malecontent Officers from endeavouring to form Parties among the Ship's Company, which, Reaſon and Experience ſhews us, is the moſt dangerous Thing that can happen in Expeditions of this ſort; and which, as the Reader will remember, proved the Ruin of Captain *Dampier*'s Deſign, of which we have given a long Account in the preceding Section: But it is natural for Men in Power to believe the Extenſion of their own Authority as profitable to others, as agreeable to themſelves.

A third Circumſtance that deſerves Regard, is the Weakneſs of the *Spaniards*; for it appears plainly, that they were not, at this time, in a much better Condition than when *Drake* and *Candiſh* ravaged their Colonies; and of this Captain *Rogers* was ſo ſenſible, that, in the Preface to his Book, he lays it down as a thing extremely practicable, not only to plunder the *Spaniſh* Settlements on the Coaſt, but even to fix Gariſons there, which, he thinks, it would not be in the Power of the *Spaniards* to expel, before they received a Relief from *Britain*. “ Our taking of *Guiaquil*, ſays he, with an Handful of raw undiſciplined Men, is a ſufficient Proof of this; and they may ſoon fortify themſelves, ſo as no Power, that can be brought againſt them, would be able to diſlodge them. The whole *Spaniſh* Force in that Sea conſiſts but of three ſmall Ships; and their Land Troops are ſo little accuſtomed to War, that they are not able to look a Body of diſciplined Men in the Face, as we ourſelves and others have found by Experience: Beſides, the Natives of *Chili*, who are a brave People, have ſuch an Averſion to the *Spaniards*, becauſe of their Cruelty and Oppreſſion, that, when they find the Mildneſs of an *Engliſh* Government, they will readily join us, in order to be freed from that intolerable Servitude, under which they have groaned ſo long.” I will not take upon me to ſay, that, at this time, ſuch a Scheme as he recommends would be practicable; but this, I think, I may ſafely ſay, that nothing that has ſince happened, down to the Time of the preſent War, has ſhewn ſuch a Deſign to be impoſſible. At the time Captain *Rogers* wrote, he had before his Eyes the Example of the *French* carrying on, partly with, and partly without the Conſent of the *Spaniards*, ſuch a Commerce in that Part of the World, as enabled them to make head againſt the reſt of all *Europe:* Which is a Circumſtance that deſerves to be very well conſidered; ſince, if the Wealth of *Spain*, in the Hands of *France*, may prove the Ruin of all her Neighbours, it ſeems to be a natural Inference, that it is not only lawful, but abſolutely incumbent upon us, to proſecute the only Method that can poſſibly prevent it. The Account he has given of the Matter is this: “ The *French* ſent from *Rochelle*, in 1698, two Ships, under the Command of M. *Boucheſne Gonin*, of *St. Malo*, to the South Sea, with a Cargo of Goods, to try what could be done in Trade there, as appears by his Journal. They have ſo improved his Diſcovery, and carried on ſuch a vaſt Trade in thoſe Seas ever ſince, that there have been in the South Sea, in one Year, ſeventeen Ships of War and Merchantmen, with all ſorts of Goods; and the Advantage they made of it was ſo great, that I was in-

“ formed, by ſeveral Merchants whom we took in thoſe “ Seas, that, by a modeſt Computation, the *French*, in a “ few of the firſt Years of that Trade, carried home 100 “ Millions of Dollars, which is near twenty-five Millions “ Sterling, beſides the Advantages they made by trading “ to the North Sea, when they convoy the *Spaniſh* Gal- “ leons and *Flota* to and from the *Weſt Indies*.” This was written before the Cloſe of the laſt War; and it is worthy of Notice, that, ſince the preſent War commenced, the *French* and *Spaniards* have had recourſe again to the ſame Expedient, I mean that of licenſing Ships from *St. Malo* to trade to the South Seas, contrary not only to Treaties, but in direct Violation of the Privileges of the native *Spaniards*, who cannot but be ſenſibly affected, to ſee the only Trade they have, and by which alone they are able to bear the heavy Burden of a *French* Government, thrown into the Hands of Foreigners. But, however angry they may be, it does not appear, that at this Juncture they have the Means of redreſſing this Grievance in their own Hands; whereas, ſo far as it affects us, we certainly have; and, either by following theſe *French* Interlopers into the South Seas, or by watching them cloſely in their Return home, may render ineffectual this Expedient for turning the Riches of the new World to the Subverſion of the Peace of the old. If this cannot be done, our ruining the *French* Trade elſewhere will fall ſhort of the End propoſed; becauſe, being temporary only, if they can find a Way to carry on this Commerce effectually in the mean time, it will, in a great meaſure, ſupply the Loſſes they ſuſtain in the other Branches of their Commerce: As, on the other hand, if we can put an End to this, as well as to the reſt, it muſt ſoon bring the War to a Concluſion; for the modern Maxim, that Money does all Things, is never found more agreeable to Truth, than when applied to military Affairs, which demand ſo great and ſo conſtant an Expence, that, if a Nation cannot ſupply it, ſhe muſt be content to accept of thoſe Terms, and remain in that Condition, which her Neighbours are willing ſhe ſhould be in; and this is that, Condition, to which I conceive we would be willing to reduce the *French*.

Before I take my Leave of this Subject, I cannot forbear putting the Reader in mind of the great Utility of Voyages to the South Seas; and obſerving, that as theſe can never be undertaken but when we are at War with the *Spaniards*, ſo that Opportunity ought never to be let ſlip; ſince, otherwiſe, we are in Danger of loſing all Knowledge of that Navigation, to which we have a Right in common with the reſt of Mankind; which, ſome time or other, may turn to the infinite Advantage of the *Britiſh* Nation. The Reader has ſeen what Succeſſion of Adventurers there has been from the Days of Queen *Elizabeth* to this time; all of whom have intimated the mighty Advantages that might be expected from our endeavouring to fix in ſome Part, rather than be continual Wanderers in the South Seas. The grand Objection has been, that it is very difficult to furniſh Proviſions for ſo long an Expedition, or to keep our Ships ſufficiently manned, ſo as to be in a Condition of ſettling when they come thither. But, perhaps, we ought to inquire, whether theſe Difficulties really ſpring from the Deſign itſelf, or from our Method of managing it; for, undoubtedly, if there be not as much of Prudence in the Conduct of a public Scheme, as is generally ſeen in the Management of a private Concern, we may eaſily gueſs what will be the Fate of it. The good Senſe and great Attention of the *Briſtol* Merchants, appear in the Precautions they took for the right Management of this Expedition, which effectually anſwered their Intentions: And ſhall we be weak enough to believe, that a Project, formed for the common Benefit of the *Britiſh* Nation, might not be as well regulated, and as ſucceſsfully executed, as one which tended only to the Benefit of a few Merchants in one of its Ports? It is eaſy enough to conceive, that if wrong Methods are uſed, or right ones neglected, if Ships go out at improper Seaſons of the Year, heavily loaded with Things unneceſſary, commanded by unexperienced or freſh-water Seamen, who think any Hardſhip intolerable, we need not wonder that things miſcarry. But this very Voyage of Captain *Woodes Rogers* clearly demonſtrates ſuch a Deſign to be very practicable, notwithſtanding what is daily thrown out to make the contrary Notion gain Belief; for their Ships were much fuller of Men than is uſual for Ships of their Burden, and yet they carried Proviſions for ſixteen Months; which puts it beyond all Diſpute, that Men of War, and Tranſports, may conveniently go on this Expedition, well filled with Men, and carry twelve Months Proviſion at leaſt for each Ship: Beſides, for every Man of War, or Tranſport, that carries conſiderable Numbers of Men, a proportionable Victualler may be allowed, with no more Men than are enough to ſail her; ſo that ſhe may carry eight or ten Months Proviſions more for the other Ships, that embarque the Men. Thus a ſufficient Number may go for a Settlement, and fully victualled for twenty-two Months, which is time enough, and to ſpare, to go and return from the South Seas; and, if any Ship ſhould loſe Company, there is little Danger of their meeting again at Places appointed for Rendezvous. 'Tis true, the Diſtance from Home is great, but the Ships that have traded thither find it an eaſy Paſſage in a proper Seaſon; and their Men continue more healthful, than thoſe that trade to the *Weſt Indies* by the North Seas. The general Diſtemper in ſuch long Voyagers is the Scurvy; and the Methods to prevent the ill Effects of it are ſo well known, that they may be eaſily provided againſt. The Ships may likewiſe refreſh by the Way, firſt at the Cape *de Verd* Iſlands, and then at *Braſil*; betwixt which, and the South Sea, is the longeſt Paſſage, and that, in all Probability, cannot exceed ten Weeks at Sea; ſo that, when they arrive at *Chili*, the Climate is ſo wholſome, and agrees ſo well with *European* Conſtitutions, that ſuch as are ſick ſpeedily recover. Then, as to proper Places for a Settlement, where Proviſions abound, there are ſo many of them on the Coaſt of *Chili*, &c. that a Body of Men diſciplined, and under good Commanders, may eaſily ſettle there. It is not indeed eaſy to ſay, where ſuch a Settlement might be made with the greateſt Probability of Succeſs; but, ſure, it is very ſtrange, that no Attempt has been hitherto made to diſcover that Continent that lies between *California* and *Japan*; ſince, that there is ſuch a Continent, ſeems to be a Point the *Spaniards* are as induſtrious to conceal, as other Nations are negligent of inquiring after it, though none of their Subjects, that ever were in thoſe Seas, quitted them, without recommending it to the Notice of their Countrymen. Sir *Francis Drake*, the firſt, and, perhaps, the moſt knowing of our Diſcoverers, took Poſſeſſion of *California*, with this View particularly. The brave *Candiſh*, his only Rival in Reputation, ſuggeſted the ſame thing; and, if I miſtake not, delivered his Thoughts at large on this Subject, in a Diſcourſe directed to the Queen his Miſtreſs, and delivered to his Patron the Lord *Hunſdon*, in relation to a Map of *China*, which he brought over, and of which I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak more largely in another Place. Captain *Dampier*, though he was far from being a deep Politician, yet ſaw and mentioned the Expediency of ſome ſuch Settlement; which was again hinted by Captain *Rogers*. If the Reader ſhould incline to be farther informed, as to the Advantages that might be reaſonably expected from our having a Colony in thoſe Parts, I will endeavour to give him ſome Satisfaction in that Particular. Firſt, then, this Situation would afford us an Opportunity of correſponding in both the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, and that with much greater Eaſe than the *Spaniards* find in carrying on their Trade between *Manilla* and *Acapulco*; becauſe we ſhould not have above half the Run of their Ship to either of the *Indies*; and, as the Winds on that Coaſt are conſtant and regular, we muſt, in the Space of a few Years, eſtabliſh a ſafe and certain Correſpondence. In the next Place, there is the higheſt Probability, that, in ſuch a Climate, we might meet with, or, in a ſhort Space, create, a conſiderable Demand for our coarſe Cloths, and other Manufactures, which would be doubly advantageous to the Nation, by encouraging Induſtry at home, and increaſing and inlarging our Navigation. There is another Circumſtance that deſerves to be mentioned, and it is this; that ſuch a Colony would give us an Opportunity of examining effectually, whether there be any ſuch thing as a practicable Paſſage into theſe Seas, either from the North-eaſt, or the North-weſt; which is an old Queſtion revived of late Years, and with good Reaſon, ſince the Solution of it would not only redound to the Benefit of ſeveral Nations, but to that of *Europe* in general.

If, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid, there ſhould appear ſomething romantic, or, perhaps, ridiculous, in ſuppoſing the public Councils of this Nation in ſuch a Situation, as that Projects of this Sort ſhould be eſteemed worthy their Notice, or any Part of our Naval Force employed at ſuch a Diſtance, and where their Commanders could expect ſo little, even from the Succeſs of their Undertaking, what hinders, that a private Company, by which I mean a Copartnerſhip of particular Merchants, may not carry into Execution ſuch a Deſign? We have ſeen, by a Variety of Inſtances, by the *Eaſt India* Company in *Holland*, by the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company, by our *Levant*, by our *Hudſons-bay*, but eſpecially by our *Ruſſia* Company, what private Merchants are able to do, if properly countenanced and encouraged. The *Dutch* and *Engliſh Eaſt India* Companies roſe both of them out of private Undertakings, while the State wiſely aſſiſted and ſupported them by her Authority, for the ſake of promoting the public Good. If, therefore, at this Juncture, when there are ſo many private Men who have acquired large Fortunes, while the ſettled and ordinary Trade of the Nation is in ſome meaſure neceſſarily ſuſpended by the War; while the Intereſt of the public Debt continues low, and yet that Debt is daily increaſing; if, I ſay, while Things are in ſuch a Situation, a Body of Merchants ſhould undertake to diſcover new Countries, and to make new Settlements, what Reaſon is there to doubt of their meeting with Encouragement and Succeſs? There needs no mighty Sum to fit out two Privateers, and a Tender; and, beſides, the very Expences of the Voyage might be probably borne by the Prizes taken in the South Seas, or both Schemes purſued at once, by wintering in *California*, and waiting the Arrival of the *Acapulco* Ships upon thoſe Coaſts. It is on all Hands acknowledged, that the Climate is temperate and healthy, that the Natives are friendly and honeſt, that the oppoſite Continent of *America* is very rich, and but thinly peopled by the *Spaniards*; ſo that, on the Whole, there is nothing aſtoniſhing or abſurd in ſuppoſing, that 3 or 400 Men, well-diſciplined, and under experienced Commanders, ſhould maintain themſelves here, without any great Difficulty or Inconvenience, for ſeven, eight, or nine Months: We think it no Hardſhip to keep them continually on Shipboard, for two or three Years, in other Services, to at leaſt as little Purpoſe. There is, however, another Thing to be conſidered, and it is this; that, ſailing from *California* in a higher Latitude than uſual, they might, if they found it practicable, winter in any new-diſcovered Port, and be ſure to return time enough to *California*, to accompliſh the other Part of their Scheme; or, if they ſhould fail of meeting with a proper Port in any of the Iſlands or Continent between *California* and the *Eaſt Indies*, they may continue their Voyage to *China*, where they might find themſelves at Liberty to form and execute new Projects, equally honourable to themſelves, and advantageous to their Owners. At all Events, therefore, a Scheme of this ſort, judiciouſly carried into Execution, muſt be very beneficial to the Nation: It would ſerve to extirpate old Errors, by informing us of new Truths; it would heighten our Credit for Maritime Power and Skill, it would exerciſe Men of active Spirits, improve their natural Parts, and point out to them the Means of tranſmitting Wealth to their Deſcendants, and their own Fame to lateſt Poſterity. If it ſhould be demanded, why I am ſo warm in recommending ſuch a Deſign; my Anſwer is, becauſe I think it for the Service of my Country, which can never be made happy at home, or maintain her Reputation abroad, but from the Appearance of ſuch a Spirit, as would be neceſſary to accompliſh ſuch a Deſign: And therefore to labour in exciting this, ſeems the higheſt Point of Patriotiſm, of which a private Man is capable. If a ſeverer Critic ſhould inquire, What Connexion this has with my Hiſtory; I anſwer, The cloſeſt that can be: For, to what End do we record the Tranſactions of Times paſt, but that they may become Examples to ſucceeding Ages? This Voyage of the *Duke* and *Ducheſs* was, by far, the moſt ſucceſsful of any that was ever ſet on foot at the Expence, and under the Management, of private Merchants; and, beheld in that Light, is, of all others, the propereſt to encourage *Britiſh* Traders to exert themſelves in the ſame Way. I might perhaps go too far, ſhould I aſſert, that this Voyage gave Riſe to the *South Sea* Company; but thus much I can ſafely ſay, that the Succeſs of this Voyage was what the Patrons of that Company chiefly inſiſted upon in their Defence, when the Plan of it was attacked as inſufficient and chimerical. I ſhall, however, conclude with this Remark; that, as this is the laſt *Engliſh* Voyage of its kind ſo proſperous, and ſo well conducted, as to merit ſuch Obſervations, ſo the Succinctneſs with which I treat the reſt, will ſufficiently excuſe my dwelling ſo long on ſo agreeable and ſo important a Subject.

SECTION XVII.

The Voyage of Captain JOHN CLIPPERTON *round the World, from an authentic Journal.*

1. *The Occaſion of the Voyage, and the Reaſon of obtaining the Emperor's Commiſſion.* 2. *The* Engliſh *and* Flemiſh *diſagree, and the Emperor's Commiſſion is laid aſide.* 3. *Captain* Shelvocke *removed, and Captain* Clipperton *appointed Commander in Chief.* 4. *Inſtructions given by the Owners.* 5. *The Ships ſail from* Plymouth, February 15. 1719; *and are ſeparated in a Storm.* 6. *Captain* Clipperton *proſecutes his Voyage to the* Canaries. 7. *Arrival, and Deſcription of the* Cape de Verde Iſlands. 8. *Continuation of his Voyage to the Streights of* Magellan. 9. *They arrive at the Iſland of* Juan Fernandez, *and cruiſe there for the* Speedwel. 10. *Proceed for the South Seas, where they make abundance of Prizes.* 11. *One of the Prizes eſcapes, and alarms the Coaſt.* 12. *They continue cruiſing with good Succeſs.* 13. *A further Account of their Tranſactions in thoſe Seas.* 14. *Their amazing Succeſs, notwithſtanding the Smalneſs of their Number.* 15. *A Conſpiracy among the Crew to run away with the Ship, and turn Pirates.* 16. *Sail for the* Gallapagos *Iſlands.* 17. *Meet with Captain* Shelvocke *very unexpectedly on the Coaſt of* Mexico. 18. *Separate from him again, and go to the* Eaſt Indies. 19. *Arrive at* Guam, *and are very ill treated by the Governor.* 20. *Continue their Voyage thence for* China. 21. *Come into the Port of* Amoy *with great Difficulty.* 22. *A Mutiny there, in which Captain* Clipperton *is deprived of his Command.* 23. *The Conſequences of that Mutiny, and the Captain's Care for his Owners.* 24. *Their Arrival at* Macao. 25. *The Crew ſeparate, and ſhift for themſelves.* 26. *Captain* Clipperton *returns Home, and dies of a broken Heart.* 27. *Remarks upon the Voyage.*

1. AT the time that the Affairs of this Nation, and of all *Europe*, were extremely embarraſſed, by Diſputes between the late Emperor *Charles* VI. and his Catholic Majeſty King *Philip* V. of *Spain*, and the Quadruple Alliance was negotiating, ſome Merchants here, foreſeeing that it could not be long before we broke with *Spain*, or *Spain* broke with us, reſolved, about the Beginning of the Year 1718, to fit out two Ships for the South Seas, in hopes that they might make as happy a Voyage as the *Duke* and *Ducheſs* had done, under the Command of Captain *Woodes Rogers*; and, with this View, they provided two fine Ships, in every reſpect fit for the

Voyage; the one called the *Speedwel*, and the other the *Succeſs*. But the War not breaking out ſo ſoon as was expected between the two Crowns, it was judged requiſite to have his Imperial Majeſty's Commiſſion. When the Scheme was ſettled and adjuſted on this Foot, it was thought very neceſſary to find out ſome Gentleman who had ſerved on board the Royal Navy, that might take upon him the Command of the Expedition, and be able to carry a proper Authority over the *Flemiſh* Soldiers, as well as *Engliſh* Seamen, who were on board. This Situation of Things induced the Gentlemen Proprietors, on the warm Recommendation of one of their own Number, to make Choice of Captain *George Shelvocke*, who had ſerved as a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, had the Character of being a good Officer, and was certainly as accompliſhed a Seaman as ever bore Command. He was, beſides, a Man of quick Parts, ready Speech, and very winning Addreſs; which made him a very proper Perſon for carrying into Execution this Scheme, as it was then modelled. The firſt Inſtructions he received, were to proceed with the *Speedwel*, then commanded by Captain *Robert Mitchell*, to *Oſtend*, there to wait for the Emperor's Commiſſions, and to receive his *Flemiſh* Officers and Seamen on board the Ship, together with as much Wine and Brandy, as was thought proper for the Supply of both Ships, during ſo long a Voyage, in ſo cold a Climate, as that of *Cape Horn*; and for their Proviſion in the South Seas, which was bought in that Country for the ſake of Cheapneſs.

2. It was in the Month of *November* 1718, that Captain *Shelvocke* ſailed to *Oſtend*, in order to execute this Part of his Commiſſion. To ſhew the greater Reſpect to the Imperial Court, and, at the ſame time, to give this more the Air of a *German* Expedition, it was reſolved to change the Names of the Ships; and therefore the biggeſt, of thirty-ſix Guns, and 180 Men, was called the *Prince Eugene*; and the leſſer, of twenty-four Guns, and 106 Men, was named the *Starenberg*, after Count *Starenberg*, his Imperial Majeſty's Prime Miniſter. The Complement of Men Captain *Shelvocke* was to take in, was ſixty *Flemings*, under 3 Officers; and when he had got them on board, together with his Wine and Brandy, he was to proceed directly for the *Downs*, where he was to meet his Conſort the *Prince Eugene*, that had been fitted and manned in the River: He was likewiſe inſtructed to make no ſort of Shew or Parade there, by hoiſting of Colours, giving Entertainments, inviting Strangers aboard, or, in ſhort, doing any thing that might give inquiſitive People an Opportunity of prying into the Deſign of the Voyage, or the Strength of the Ship. But Captain *Shelvocke*, apprehending that he had a diſcretionary Power, and, perhaps, finding it impoſſible to manage Things in that Country without a little Shew, ſome Firing of Guns, and now-and-then a Dinner, gave into it by degrees; and, at laſt, ſailed for the *Downs* with ninety *Flemings*, and ſix Officers on board; where he found his Conſort the *Prince Eugene*, which had waited for him there ſome time. The Accident of his ſtaying ſo long, created the firſt Uneaſineſs, his Owners having ſome of them waited at *Deal* for ſeveral Days, in Expectation of him; but Diſputes quickly grew high, when it was found, that the *Flemiſh* Seamen, confiding in their Numbers, and proud of being commanded by their own Officers, behaved in ſuch a manner, that the *Engliſh* knew not how to act with them; and, as there was conſtantly a mixed Command, theſe Diſputes were ſo often repeated, that at laſt the whole Ship's Crew was in a Flame, and the Owners ſaw, what they might eaſily have gueſſed before, that to ſend out a mixt Company, of *Engliſhmen* and *Flemings*, to cruiſe upon the *Spaniards*, was, in itſelf, a very ill-judged, and, in the Event, a very impracticable thing; ſo that, after all the Care and Expence it had coſt them, they found themſelves obliged to lay aſide all Thoughts of proceeding under the Emperor's Commiſſion; to which they were the more eaſily induced, ſince they were no longer under a Neceſſity of making uſe of it, the War being, by this time, begun between *Great Britain* and *Spain*. It was, therefore, reſolved to procure King *George*'s Commiſſion, and to ſend back all the Men and Officers to *Flanders*, paying their Charges, and allowing two Months Wages to the Men. This Reſolution was no ſooner taken, than it was put in Execution: But, before we part with his Imperial Majeſty's Commiſſion, it may not be amiſs to take a Copy of it. I have always had a great Diſlike to filling up Books with public Inſtruments and Records; but this Commiſſion of the Emperor's is really a Curioſity, in point both of Stile and Subſtance; and, as I believe it is the only one of its kind that ever was procured by *Britiſh* Subjects, I hope my Readers will be very well ſatisfied with my inſerting it, eſpecially when I obſerve, that this Commiſſion was obtained before the *Eaſt India* Company was erected at *Oſtend*; which ſhews how dangerous a thing it is, for the Subjects of the maritime Powers to apply to foreign Princes for Commiſſions, ſince it opens the Secrets of their Trade, and puts ſuch Courts upon Schemes they would not otherwiſe have thought of. But to the Commiſſion: Thus it ran.

A Tranſlation of the Imperial Commiſſion.

“CHarles VI. by the Grace of God, Emperor of the *Romans*, always Auguſt; King of *Germany*, *Caſtile*, *Leon*, *Arragon*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Jeruſalem*, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, *Navarre*, *Granada*, *Toledo*, *Valentia*, *Galicia*, the *Balearic Iſlands*, *Seville*, *Sardinia*, *Corduba*, *Corſica*, *Murcia*, *Juan Algarve*, *Algier*, *Gibraltar*, the *Canary Iſlands*, alſo of the *Eaſt Indies*, the Iſlands and foreign Lands of the Weſtern Sea, &c. Archduke of *Auſtria*; Duke of *Burgundy*, *Brabant*, *Milan*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, *Luxemberg*, *Wirtemburgh*, the *Upper* and *Lower Sileſia*, *Athens*, and *Neapatita*; Prince of *Suabia*; Marquis of the ſacred *Roman* Empire, *Burgau*, and *Moravia*; Earl of *Habſburgh*, *Flanders*, *Tyrol*, *Barcelona*, &c. We make known and teſtify to all the World, by the Tenor of theſe Preſents, that of our own Motion, and from the Fulneſs of our Power, we have allowed and granted our Imperial Permiſſion, and free Liberty, to the faithful, and (of us) moſt deſerving Man *George Shelvocke*, upon a certain and experienced Opinion of his Honeſty, confirmed by a long Series of good Actions, to prepare and fit out for War the Ship called the *Prince Eugene*, able to carry thirty-two Guns, or thereabouts, and to ſail with her well fitted and furniſhed with Arms, thro' any Seas far and wide, to follow and purſue any ſuch as are the Enemies of our moſt Auguſt Houſe, but chiefly the Enemies of the Chriſtian Name, and to take and ſeize their Ships, to the end that our Subjects, and our Shores, may be freed from the Incurſions of the *Turks*, and be rendered ſafe from all Enemies; or that our Enemies may be puniſhed for their Inſolence, ſhould they offer any Injury to our Dominions or Subjects. But we have not otherwiſe granted and allowed this Power and *Cæſarean* Permiſſion to the aforeſaid *George Shelvocke*, than upon Condition that he ſuffer the aforenamed Ship, with all the Effects wherewith ſhe is laden, to be eſtimated and valued by our General Archithalaſſic College, commonly called The Office of Admiralty of the *Spaniſh Flanders*; and that he fit out and furniſh the ſaid Ship for War, by Order and Appointment of the ſaid Office of Admiralty; and alſo give the proper Security, and take the uſual Oath required by the ſaid Office, or to whomſoever the Admiralty ſhall authorize and impower, by Order of our Governor, or our Plenipotentiary in *Flanders*, viz. that he is the true Commander of the Ship; and that he will exactly obſerve our Orders and Rules relating to Naval Affairs and Hoſtilities; and take care, they be inviolably obſerved by the Seamen, and ſuch as ſail with him: Likewiſe, that a Liſt or Catalogue be made, in which the Names and Surnames of the Perſons who ſerve in the ſaid Ship, with their Birth, Country, and Habitation, be clearly expreſſed, that the Commerce of our Subjects own Confederates ſhall not be diſturbed, or any ways hindered; that Ships taken from the Enemy ſhall not be ſunk in the Sea, nor the Priſoners ſet on ſhore, or diſperſed on Iſlands, or diſtant and remote Countries, to hide and conceal the nature of their Booty: That no Cheſts, Boxes, or Trunks, which ſhall be found in the Ship when taken, ſhall be opened, or any Part of the Prize-goods taken away, moved, or clandeſtinely ſold; Laſtly, that he uſe his beſt Endeavours to procure the Writings and Proofs relating to the Goods aboard the Prize-ſhips, that the Action and Seizures may be approved by the Officers of the Admiralty above-mentioned; to which Officers he is to deliver thoſe Proofs, together with the Prize; and alſo to acquaint them with the Day, Hour, and Place of the Sea, in which the Ship was taken: But if he ſhould be compelled by Streſs of Weather, or Enemies, to make into another Port, he muſt inform the above-mentioned Office of Admiralty of all theſe Things; and, by the Direction and Appointment of the ſame, pay the tenth Part of the Value of the Prize, the Expences in unloading the Goods, and Warehouſe-room, being firſt deducted.

“ Upon theſe Conditions we do allow and grant, to the above-named Captain *George Shelvocke*, the free Uſe of our *Cæſarean* and Imperial Flag, Arms, and Enſign; and we command our Generals, Governors, and chief Commanders, by Sea or Land, and all the Officers and Attendants of our Ports, (and we alſo deſire of the Governors, Commanders, and Attendants, and Officers of our Allies, and neutral Princes) that they kindly receive the ſaid Captain *George Shelvocke* into the Ports or Stations of their Juriſdictions, protect him with their Patronage, and allow and permit him freely to ſail, paſs and repaſs, and act in an hoſtile manner againſt our Enemies, under the Limitations above-mentioned, for we think it expedient for our Imperial Service; nor ſhall we act otherwiſe towards the Subjects, or any Commanders of Ships of our Allies, or neutral Princes, but treat them with the ſame Favour and Protection: In Teſtimony of which, we have ordered and commanded theſe Preſents, ſubſcribed by our own Hand, and authorized by the Seal of our Imperial Arms, and under-written by *Ramundus a Vilina Perlas*, Marquis of *Rialp*, our Secretary of State, as uſual, to be made. Given in our City of *Vienna*, 16 *July*, *A. D.* 1718, of our Government of the Empire 5. of *Spain* 13. of *Bohemia* and *Hungaria* 5.

“ CHARLES.”

“ The ſaid Captain *George Shelvocke* may make uſe of this Imperial Commiſſion in warring againſt the *Spaniards*, and any Subjects of the Poſſeſſor of that Crown; but not againſt any other Power, though even Enemies to the Chriſtian Name, on either Side of the Equinoctial Line, nor do them the leaſt Injury. Done at *Bruſſels*, the 28th of *Sept.* 1718.

“ CASTILLON.”

3. A Commiſſion once obtained from his *Britannic* Majeſty, the Ships returned to their old Names, the *Succeſs* and *Speedwel*; but another Revolution happened of a more extraordinary Nature, which was, the turning Captain *Shelvocke* out of his Command, and making him but ſecond in this Expedition. This was, in all Probability, owing to ſome little Miſtakes in his Conduct when he made that ſhort Trip to *Flanders*, as well as to the Change of Circumſtances, which might have inclined the Proprietors to prefer another Officer, ſince now the whole Fate of the Expedition depending on the perfect Knowledge of, and right Conduct in, the South Seas, a Man of another Turn was neceſſary. This Officer, who was thus preferred to Captain *Shelvocke*, was a Perſon we have often mentioned before; *viz.* Captain *John Clipperton*, who, in Captain *Dampier*'s Voyages, is called *Clippington*, who ſerved under him in the Capacity of a Mate, and of whoſe Adventures, after his Separation from *Dampier*, we have already given a Detail: But, as we are now to accompany him a ſecond time round the World, it may not be amiſs to give a farther Account of him; the rather, becauſe what I deliver, is from unqueſtionable Authority, having been favoured with many Lights in compiling of this Voyage. He was born at *Yarmouth*, in the County of *Norfolk*; and his Relations being moſt of them Seafaring People, he was from his Infancy bred up in that way; and, having ſailed in almoſt all Sorts of Veſſels to moſt of the Ports of *Europe*, once to the *Weſt Indies*, and once round the Globe, he had by this means gained great Experience, and was allowed, by all who knew him, to be an able Pilot, an experienced Seaman, and an Officer as capable of conducting the Expedition he undertook, as any Man then in *Great Britain*. It is true, Captain *Clipperton* had his Faults; as, indeed, who is without them? but they were very far from being either groſs in themſelves, or dangerous to other Men. He was a blunt, rough, free-ſpoken Sailor, had not much the Air of a Gentleman, and, therefore, he never affected it; was free and eaſy amongſt his Seamen; and, though he was ſomewhat paſſionate, yet he was ſoon appeaſed, and was ready to repair any Injury or Injuſtice he had done in Heat of Blood. He had a ſtrict Regard to what he took to be his Duty, was a Man of honeſt Principles; and had a great deal of Juſtice and Humanity in his Nature. His Circumſtances were but indifferent, which induced him to undertake this Voyage for the Raiſing himſelf, and his Family, which he left during this time in *Ireland*. The Character Captain *Clipperton* had obtained amongſt the Merchants for his Skill, Fidelity, and ſteady Courage, recommended him to the Proprietors of this Expedition, who, having now advanced upwards of fifteen thouſand Pounds towards it, thought proper to put him into the *Succeſs*, and intruſt him with the chief Command, leaving Captain *George Shelvocke* in the *Speedwel*, where he had under him, as his ſecond Captain, a Perſon we have often mentioned before, *viz.* Captain *Simon Hatley*, the ſame whom Captain *Woodes Rogers* loſt among the *Gallapagos* Iſlands, and who was a long time afterwards Priſoner among the *Spaniards*.

4. The Inſtructions theſe Gentlemen received, were in Subſtance theſe: That they ſhould proceed with all imaginable Diligence to *Plymouth*; from whence they were to ſail, with the firſt fair Wind, for *Cape Horn*, or the Streights of *Magellan*, and to make their Paſſage either round that Cape, or through thoſe Streights, as ſhould to them appear moſt convenient; then to ſail into the South Seas, cruiſe on the Coaſts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*, and endeavour, if poſſible, to meet the *Acapulco* Ship. To prevent all Diſputes and Diſorders, their Proprietors directed the Captains to adhere ſteadily to theſe three Maxims: Firſt, To be careful, above all things, not to ſeparate from each other; becauſe that would, in all Probability, prove the Ruin of their Voyage. They were next injoined to undertake nothing of Importance without holding a Council of Officers, ſtating the Queſtion in Writing that was to be debated, drawing up the Reſolution, with the Reaſons upon which it was grounded, in conciſe Terms, and obliging every Officer preſent to ſign it. They were, laſtly, directed to call a Council in the ſame manner, as ſoon as poſſible, after any Action had happened, or any Prize of Conſequence been taken, in which the Conduct of the Officers concerned might be examined, and a true Judgment paſſed upon it on the Spot, ſubſcribed by the Perſons aſſiſting at the Council, to prevent all Poſſibility of Diſpute. That neither of the Commanders might take Offence at the Strictneſs of theſe Rules, or not enter ſufficiently into the Motives of them, the laſt thing the Proprietors did, was, to preſent each of the Captains with Mr. *Rogers*'s Voyage, that they might never be at a Loſs for proper Precedents throughout the Expedition. But theſe Precautions proved in a great meaſure uſeleſs, ſince the Expedition wore an unfortunate Aſpect from the Beginning; for the Ships were obliged to lie three Months at *Plymouth*, waiting for a Wind: During which time, all Things fell into Confuſion, and Factions were formed, in which the Crews of both Ships were involved, as one of the Hiſtorians of this Voyage rightly obſerves, from the Captains down to the Cabin-boys. Captain *Shelvocke* highly ſtomached the Affront that had been offered him, in giving his Ship, and the chief Command, to another Perſon; and Captain *Clipperton* being a boiſterous Man, knowing *Shelvocke*'s Reſentment, having himſelf ſtrong Paſſions, and not being able to conceal them, there was nothing but Debate and Diſputes; ſo that every Poſt carried up Complaints to the Proprietors, and brought down Inſtructions, Reproofs, and Exhortations to Concord and Harmony, ſo long as they remained in Port. It is certainly a very tedious and troubleſome Office, to be obliged to record theſe ſort of Quarrels; but, as the Fate of the

Voyage depends upon them; and, as it would be impoſſible to underſtand what follows, without ſuch a previous Account, we muſt go through it as well as we can. It had, indeed, been happy for the Proprietors, the Reader, and myſelf, if, on mature Conſideration on the Conſequences that muſt attend perpetual Heart-burns and Diſputes between the Commanders, they had wiſely removed one, or both; in which caſe, they might, very probably, have made as proſperous a Voyage as the *Duke* and *Ducheſs*. But it ſo fell out, that the Concern every Gentleman had for his Friend in Poſt, got the better of that Concern which he ought to have had for himſelf, his Fellow-Owners, and the common Good of the Voyage; ſo that in this, as well as in many other Caſes, private Views proved the Cauſe of public Ruin.

5. On the 13th of *February* 1719, the *Succeſs*, Captain *Clipperton*, and the *Speedwel*, Captain *Shelvocke*, ſailed with a fair Wind, but, with as odd a Circumſtance, as perhaps ever happened; which was this: That the *Speedwel* had ſtill on board the whole Stock of Wines, Brandies, and other Liquors, deſigned for the Supply of both Ships; and, how fatal a Miſtake it was not to divide them before this time, will very ſoon appear. On the 15th, they had freſh Gales, ſqually, with Rain. In the Evening, they unbent their beſt and ſmalleſt Bowers in the *Succeſs*, ſtowed their Anchors, and found themſelves often obliged to ſhorten Sail for the *Speedwel*. Captain *Shelvocke* tells us, that he came this Day under the Lee of the *Succeſs*, and complained to Captain *Clipperton* of the Crankneſs of his Ship, which proceeded from their having too much Weight aloft; and therefore deſired him to ſend for his Wine and Brandy, which would give him (Captain *Shelvocke*) an Opportunity of ſtriking down ſome of his Guns into the Hold, which would have enabled him to have ſailed much better than he did: But this, it ſeems, was neglected; and was, undoubtedly, a very great Omiſſion in Captain *Clipperton*; though, at the ſame time, we muſt acknowledge, it argued very little Diſtruſt in him of Captain *Shelvocke*'s leaving him; and is the fulleſt Proof poſſible, that *Clipperton* had not any Intention to deſert the *Speedwel*, in order to have the ſole Conduct and Management of the Voyage. On the 19th, there aroſe a violent Storm between nine and ten at Night, which obliged both Ships to take in their Top-ſails. The Gale increaſing, the *Succeſs* made a Signal for the *Speedwel* to bring to; which Captain *Shelvocke* readily obeyed; and, by eleven o'Clock, both Ships were under bare Poles, not able to ſuffer one Knot of Canvas all the Night through. On the 20th, about two in the Afternoon, the Storm abated, and Captain *Clipperton*, in the *Succeſs*, made Sail, ſteering South and by Eaſt, whereas Captain *Shelvocke*, according to his own Journal, ſtood away to the North-weſt; ſo that from this Day they never ſaw each other, till they met in the South Seas by mere Accident. Here then properly begins the Hiſtory we propoſe to include in this Section, *viz.* that of Captain *Clipperton*, in the *Succeſs*, round the Globe, of which hitherto the World has had no diſtinct Relation, though there are two Hiſtories of this Voyage already extant; *viz.* one written by Captain *Shelvocke*, and the other by Captain *Betagh*. The former is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the Captain's Apology for his own Conduct; though it contains abundance of curious Things, is written in a very entertaining Style, and has a Spirit in it, which enlivens the Account very agreeably. The other, though publiſhed ſome Years after, contains the Charge againſt Captain *Shelvocke*, and is written with uncommon Acrimony. The Author profeſſes an Intention to do his Adverſary all the Prejudice in his Power, and appears to have perſiſted very ſteadily in his Reſolution to the very laſt Page in his Book; in which, however, there are many curious Things, and ſome Extracts from a Journal of Captain *Clipperton*'s Voyage. But this whole Book is ſo blended with Reflections and Invectives, that it is no eaſy Matter to purſue the Thread of the Relation, ſo as to judge of the Effects of either Voyage: And, therefore, I found it neceſſary to divide them; and, having ſtated, as fairly as was in my Power, the Riſe and Subject of this Diſpute, I have now done with it, and ſhall content myſelf with proſecuting Captain *Clipperton*'s Voyage round the World; in which he met with a great Variety of Accidents that deſerve to be known; performed ſome Things worthy of Notice; and, certainly ſhewed as great an Inclination to do Juſtice to his Proprietors, and to maintain the Honour of his Country, as, from a Man under his Circumſtances, could be expected: And therefore I have always thought it hard, that private Prejudices ſhould hinder his Merit from being brought into public View.

6. As Captain *Clipperton*, who was now at Sea, was very indifferently provided, and without his Conſort, he was obliged to take upon him a diſcretionary Power of diſpenſing, in ſome reſpects, with his Inſtructions; but this he exerciſed very rarely, and with the uttermoſt Caution. In regard to eſſential Points, he never digreſſed from them, but conſulted his Officers conſtantly, and did his utmoſt to proſecute his Voyage with Effect. The firſt Place of Rendeſvous appointed by them was the *Canary* Iſlands; and, therefore, he ſailed thither with ſuch Expedition, that he arrived there on the fifth of *March*; and, having taken in ſome Refreſhments, for which, as all his Liquors were on board the *Speedwel*, he had great Occaſion, he continued cruiſing, as directed by his Inſtructions, in that Station, for ten Days, in hopes of ſeeing his Conſort; but, being diſappointed, he reſolved to continue his Voyage, for fear he ſhould miſs her at the next Place of Rendeſvous, which was at the Cape *de Verd* Iſlands; and, accordingly, he left *Gomera* on the 15th, in order to be early in his next Station. Theſe Iſlands, which the Antients called the *Fortunate Iſlands*, by reaſon of their Fertility and Temperature of Air, having been diſcovered by the *Spaniards* in the Year 1402, they named them the *Canaries*, or the *Iſlands of Dogs*, becauſe they found great Numbers of theſe Creatures here. They are ſeven in all; *viz.* *Lancerota*, *Fuerte* or *Forte Ventura*, the *Great Canary*, *Teneriff*, *Gomera*, *Hiero* or *Fero*, and *Palma*. The *Great Canary* is far diſtant from the others, and contains 9000 Inhabitants. It is the Seat of the Biſhop, the Inquiſition, and of the Council Royal, which governs all the ſeven Iſlands. There is a Mountain on the *Teneriff*, called the *Pic of Teneriff* or *Terraira*, which, according to the common Opinion, is the higheſt in the World. It may be diſtinctly ſeen at ſixty Leagues Diſtance. There is no travelling to the Top of it but in *July* and *Auguſt*, becauſe all the Year beſides it is covered with Snow; though there is none to be ſeen at other Places of that Iſland, nor in the other ſix, at any Time of the Year. It is three Days Journey to the Top of it; whence you may eaſily ſee all the *Canary* Iſlands, though ſome of them are ſixty Leagues diſtant. *Hiero*, or *Fero*, is alſo one of the biggeſt, but very barren, and ſo dry, that there is not one Drop of freſh Water to be found in it, except in ſome Places on the Sea-ſide, where it is alſo very troubleſome and dangerous to fetch it; but this Place the Providence of God ſupplies with Rain, to remedy that Inconvenience; for there grows, almoſt in every Place, a ſort of Tree, which is pretty big, and incomparably thick of Branches and Leaves; and its Leaves are long and narrow, always green and lively: This Tree is always covered with a little Cloud, that hangs over it, and wets the Leaves by its Dew, ſo that a fine clear Water diſtils from them into little Pails, which the Inhabitants ſet to catch it. This Water falls in ſuch large Quantities, that it not only abundantly ſupplies the Neceſſity of the People, but is ſufficient alſo to water the Cattle. The *Canaries* in general are very fertile, and abound with all Sorts of Proviſions: They afford great Store of Cattle, Store of Corn, Honey, Wax, Sugar, Cheeſe, and Skins. The Wine of that Country is pleaſant and ſtrong, and tranſported into all Parts of the World. The *Spaniſh* Ships, that ſail into *America*, commonly ſtay at thoſe Iſlands to take in Proviſions. On the Right-hand of thoſe Iſlands, about 100 Leagues off, the Mariners very often perceived an Iſland named *S. Baranora*; they ſay it is all over green, very pleaſant, and full of Trees, and has Plenty of all manner of Proviſions: They likewiſe ſay it is inhabited by Chriſtians, but no Man can tell of what Denomination they are, nor what Language they ſpeak. The *Spaniards* in the *Canaries* often have attempted to go thither, but never could find the Way into it; which raiſed an Opinion in the People, that it was an

Illuſion, or an inchanted Iſland; or that the Iſland is only ſeen at certain times, and not always. But others allege a better Reaſon, by ſaying, the Iſland is ſmall, and almoſt covered with Clouds; and that the Strength of the Currents is ſo powerful there, that they drive the Ships from it. However, it is certain, that there is ſuch an Iſland, at ſuch a Diſtance from the *Canaries* as I mentioned before.

7. On the 21ſt in the Evening, they ſaw *St. Vincent*; and, about ten the next Morning, anchored in the Bay, where they found a *French* Merchant-ſhip, and the *Diamond* of *Briſtol*, taking in a Cargo of Aſſes for *Jamaica*. This was the next Place of Rendeſvous. They ſpent ten Days cruiſing in the Neighbourhood, in hopes of meeting with their Conſort the *Speedwel*, but in vain; which put the Crew much out of Heart: So that Captain *Clipperton* found it a very difficult Matter to engage them to continue the Voyage. And indeed, conſidering the Condition they were in, it is no Wonder, that they were a little diffident of the Succeſs of their Expedition, conſidering the Courſe they were to ſteer, which was for the Streights of *Magellan*, without any Supply of Wine, Brandy, or other Liquor, to keep up their Spirits; and withal their Force ſo inconſiderable, that they had great Reaſon to doubt, whether it would be poſſible for them to undertake any thing, or even get ſafely out of the South Seas, in caſe they found nothing worth undertaking. Before we quit theſe Iſlands, it will be proper to give a ſhort Account of them, as they were at this time: The *Cape de Verd Iſlands*, which are, by the *Dutch*, called the *Salt Iſlands*, from the Quantity of Salt found there, were diſcovered by the *Portugueſe* in the Year 1572, who inhabit ſome of them to this Day. They are ten in Number; *viz. St. Iago*, *St. Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, *St. Antonio*, *St. Nicolas*, *Ilha Blanca*, *Ilha de Sal*, *Ilha de Maio*, *Ilha de Fogo*, and *Ilha de Bona Viſta*. They reach from the *Green Cape*, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, 160 Leagues into the Sea. Some were of Opinion, that they were named *Green Iſlands* from the *Green Cape*; others, becauſe the Sea that ſurrounds them is covered with a green Herb, by the *Portugueſe* called *Sergalſo*, or Creſſes; becauſe it is much like Water-creſſes. This Herb ſo covers the Sea, that you can hardly ſee the Water; nor can Ships ſail thro' it, but with a ſtiff Gale of Wind. It produces Berries, much like white Gooſeberries; but they have no manner of Taſte. Nobody can tell how it grows; for there is no Ground or Land about the Place where it floats upon the Water: And it cannot come from the Bottom of the Sea, becauſe the Sea is very deep, and, in many Places, unfathomable. You begin to ſee that Herb, when you come to the Latitude of 34°, where it lies ſo thick, that one would take it for ſo many Iſlands; but, what is more obſervable, you cannot ſee this Herb any-where elſe. When the *Portugueſe* diſcovered thoſe Iſlands, they were all deſert and uninhabited; but now they afford plenty of Rice, Meal, *Tartarian* Wheat, Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, Bananas, Ananas, Ignanes, Bataras, Melons, Cucumbers, Pompions, and ſeveral other ſorts of Fruits. They produce alſo Garden and Wild-figs, have Vineyards which bear Grapes twice a Year, and abundance of great and ſmall Cattle, but eſpecially Kids. The Iſlands of *Bona Viſta*, *Maio*, and *de Sal*, have Meat enough to lade the Ships, that go to *Braſil*. The Capital City is *St. Iago*, the Governor whereof commands all the Iſlands under the King of *Portugal*, and reſides there. It hath alſo an Archiepiſcopal See; and the Juriſdiction of that Prelate reaches not only over the Iſlands, but over all the Conqueſts the *Portugueſe* have made on this Side the Cape of *Good Hope*. All the Iſlands of *Cape de Verd* are good Places to take in freſh Water upon a long Voyage; for, in the Iſland of *Maio*, as we ſaid before, there is a little River to the Eaſt, and, the Land being uninhabited, nobody can hinder you from taking it; and, coming back, you may touch at the Iſland of *St. Antonio*, where there is alſo very good freſh Water, with good Refreſhment of Fruits, as Oranges, *&c.* There are in that Iſland ſome *Portugueſe*; but ſo few, that they cannot hinder you from taking what you pleaſe.

8. On *May* 29. they had an Obſervation, and found themſelves in the Latitude of 52° 15′ South, being then off Cape *Virgin Mary*, the North Point of the Entrance of the Streights of *Magellan*, diſtant from *Fuego*, one of the *Cape de Verd Iſlands*, 1580 Leagues, meridional Difference 36° 4′ Weſt. The next Day, they entered the Streights, which appeared like a large deep Bay. Proceeding higher up to *Queen Elizabeth's Iſland*, they ſent their Pinnace aſhore on the Main to a freſh-water River, which was at this time frozen up. They ſaw large Flocks of Geeſe and Ducks hereabouts; but they were very ſhy. The Surgeon's Mate, by ſome Accident, was left aſhore, when the Boat came off; and the next Morning, when he was brought aboard, he was near dead with Cold. They remained ſome time at *Queen Elizabeth's Iſland*, which is dry, and, generally ſpeaking, barren, except as to Salads, of which they found great plenty, that were of infinite Service to them at that time, when they were ſick of the Scurvy. The only Herb, that deſerves to be particularly taken notice of, was Smallage, of an extraordinary Size, which they eat raw, boiled in their Soops, and kept the Juice of it in Bottles. On *June* 14. they ſent their Carpenter, with their Caſks, on ſhore, to fill their empty ones, and to look a proper Piece of Wood for a Mizen-maſt. They met with great plenty of Wild-fowl and Shell-fiſh on ſhore; which were very welcome to all the Ship's Company, who found their Stomachs increaſe, as they were obliged to come to Short-allowance. On the 22d, they anchored in a fine Bay, which, from its Depth, they called *No-bottom Bay*. The Trees on ſhore were very high, and loaded with Snow; ſo that there could not be a more aſtoniſhing Proſpect. On the 29th, came a Canoe, with four *Indians*, that is to ſay, two Men, a Woman, and a Boy, on board them. They were of a middle Stature, dark Complexion, their Faces broad and round, low Foreheads, black Hair, very lank, and ſhort, with no Cloathing, except a Piece of Skin to cover their Middles. What ſeemed moſt remarkable was, their having a kind of a Streak round their Wriſts, of an Azure, perfectly fine. It ſeems, that theſe Savages are extremely jealous of their Women; for, notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid to them, they would not permit the Woman, who was with them, to come on board. Captain *Clipperton* ordered them Bread and Cheeſe, and a Dram of Brandy, tho' it was very ſcarce. The former they eat very heartily, or rather greedily; but the latter proved diſagreeable to their Smell, and they could not be prevailed upon to taſte it. They brought ſome wild Geeſe and Ducks, which they exchanged for Knives; and had a Fire in the Middle of their Canoe, which was made of the Bark of Trees ſewed together. They had Bows and Arrows, and ſome Fiſhing-tackle along with them. After about two Hours Stay, they rowed aſhore, making Signs, that they would come again. The next Day in the Afternoon, the Pinnace was ſent aſhore, and returned in the Evening, with the *Indian* Canoe laden with large Muſſels, which the *Indians* had trucked with their People for Bread, Knives, and other Things. In the Beginning of the Month of *July*, they found the Weather very moderate. The Natives were very far from being ſo miſchievous a People as they are generally repreſented; of which they had two remarkable Inſtances: The firſt was, that one of their Men, whom they had on ſhore two Nights and a Day, was very kindly treated by them: The other, that one of the Natives being, by Accident, left on board the Ship, they came the next Day, without any Fear, and carried him away with them; which ſhews, that, if they are well treated, they are not treacherous. Another *Indian* Canoe, that came on board, had ſeveral Women in it, each with a Necklace of very ſmall ſhining Shells of five or ſix Rows, very nicely ſtrung, which looked like Mother-of-pearl. All this time, their Ship's Company was very ſickly, and ſcarce a Day paſſed, but ſome or other died; which was generally attributed to their want of ſomething comfortable in ſo rigorous a Climate; for, tho' they had ſometimes fair moderate Weather for two or three Days together, yet it was continually varying; and, perhaps, for two or three Days afterwards, they had nothing but Snow, Rain, and Sleet, with great Flaws from the Shore, that were intolerably ſharp. On *July* 8. they buried their Maſter Gunner aſhore, under a treble Diſcharge of their Small-arms. They cauſed a ſtrong Plank to be driven at the Head of his Grave, on which was the following Inſcription: *Mr.* William Pridham, *Gunner of the* Succeſs, *deceaſed* July *the 7th*, 1719, *in this Streight, and lies buried here.* On the 20th in the Morning, Captain *Mitchel* and Lieutenant *Daviſon* went in the Pinnace to

Terra del Fuego, or the South Shore, in order to make a Diſcovery of the Paſſage that the *French Tartan* is ſaid to have went through into the South Sea *May* 1713. and to ſee if there was any anchoring beyond Cape *Quad*, being furniſhed with all Neceſſaries for that Purpoſe. On the 29th, the Pinnace returned, having found the Paſſage thro' which the *Tartan* paſſed, but ſo narrow, that it was judged hazardous to go far that Way: But their Proviſions fell ſhort, and, that Place affording no manner of Supply, they were forced to return, before they could ſatisfy themſelves thoroughly; yet they found ſeveral good Bays to the North-weſt of Cape *Quad* to anchor in. The *Indians* gave them a Seel, which they broiled and roaſted, and ſaid it eat as well as any Veniſon. On *Auguſt* 1. in the Morning, Captain *Mitchell*, with three other Officers, went a ſecond time to look for this new Paſſage; but, after the ſtricteſt Examination, could not find, that it led into the South Seas, but only into an icy Bay, and this Paſſage too ſo narrow, that their Ship could not have made Way through it. After Captain *Mitchell* returned, they reſolved to proſecute their Voyage through the Streights, which, with much Danger and Difficulty, they did, being all the time at very ſhort Allowance, *viz.* at one Piece of Beef or Pork to ſix Men. On *Auguſt* 18. they arrived in the South Seas, but the Crew were then in ſo weak and weary a Condition, that it was ſimply impoſſible for them to undertake any thing immediately: Beſides, Captain *Clipperton* was determined to purſue his Inſtructions cloſely; and therefore reſolved to ſteer for the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, the third and laſt Place of Rendeſvous.

9. On *September* 7. Captain *Clipperton*, in the *Succeſs*, anchored before the Iſland *Juan Fernandez*, which he ſearched very diligently, in Hopes of finding ſome Teſtimony of the *Speedwel*'s having been there, but to no manner of Purpoſe. His next Care was to comply, in all reſpects, with his Inſtructions, by remaining upon, and cruiſing about the Iſland for a full Month. He likewiſe ordered an Inſcription to be cut, on a remarkable Tree, fronting the Landing-place; ſo that it was impoſſible for any Ship's Crew to come aſhore, and not ſee it. This Inſcription ran thus. Captain *John* — *W. Magee*, 1719. This *William Magee* was Surgeon on board the *Succeſs*, and a Perſon extremely well known by Captain *Shelvocke*, and all his Ship's Company. The Reaſon why Captain *Clipperton*'s Name was not inſerted in this Inſcription, was plainly this; that having cruiſed before in the South Seas, and having been alſo a long time Priſoner among the *Spaniards*, he did not think fit to give them Notice of his Return into thoſe Parts. He next ſent aſhore moſt of his ſick People, and made uſe of all the Conveniencies the Iſland afforded for their Recovery; but found it extremely difficult, either to reſtore the Sick to Health, or to preſerve thoſe that were well in tolerable Spirits, without ſo much as a Drop of Wine, Brandy, or other ſtrong Liquor; not that his People were given to drinking in an extravagant Degree, but becauſe the Thoughts of being without any Cordial, if they fell ſick, dejected them exceſſively. The Weather was very changeable while they continued there, abundance of Rain falling, and they had alſo ſome hard Gales of Wind: However, they took a great many Goats, which not only ſerved them for the preſent eating, but likewiſe ſerved to increaſe their Sea Store, becauſe they had an Opportunity of ſalting them; ſome *French* Ships that had touched on the Iſland, having left a great Quantity there ready made. They likewiſe wooded and watered with great Conveniency, and cleaned their Ship, that ſhe might be in the better Condition to act in the South Seas, where it was now viſible they were to cruiſe alone; for Captain *Clipperton* was clearly of Opinion, that the *Speedwel* was loſt; or at leaſt he gave out ſo to his Ship's Company to pacify them, and to hinder them from curſing continually Captain *Shelvocke*, for running away with their Liquors, which, however, ſome of the ſick Men did with their dying Breaths. One thing was very extraordinary, that the Beauty and Fertility of this Iſland, compared with the Dangers and Difficulties they were ſure to meet with in the South Seas, tempted four of Captain *Clipperton*'s Men to enter into a Scheme for remaining in Poſſeſſion of ſo valuable a Country. In purſuance of which, they actually ran away from the Ship, and betook themſelves to the Mountains: As it was very inconvenient to loſe ſo many good Hands at ſuch a time, and not a little dangerous to leave them in ſuch a Place, Captain *Clipperton* ordered the neceſſary Meaſures to be taken for apprehending them, but without Effect. At laſt, the Day before the Ship was to leave the Iſland, Captain *Mitchell*, with ſome more Officers, went in the Pinnace to the Eaſt Part of it, to look for theſe four Men, who had then abſented a Fortnight, two of which Men they found in the Cuſtody of the Goat-hunters, having met with them in Purſuit of their Game; who affirmed, they had greater Difficulty in ſecuring theſe Fellows, than in killing double the Number of Goats; becauſe they were forced to fire ſeveral times at them before they would ſurrender. The Priſoners acknowledged, that, for the firſt five Days, they were hard put to it, being forced to ſubſiſt wholly on the Cabbage-trees, of which here is great Plenty; but added, that, having, by good Fortune, one Night found ſome Fire that was left by their Hunters, it ſerved them in good ſtead; for they could then dreſs their Fleſh, and fill their Bellies. The ſame Evening, they brought on board all the Fiſh they had ſalted, four Casks of Seel-oil, and whatever elſe belonged to them. As ſoon as the Crew were on board and muſtered, on *October* 7. they prepared to ſail; and, in the mean time, Captain *Mitchell* went on ſhore again in the Long-boat, to ſet up a Croſs already cut for that Purpoſe, at the Foot of which he buried a Bottle, in which was contained a Letter for Captain *Shelvocke*, directing another Place of Rendeſvous, and ſome proper Signal to know each other by at Sea. At eight in the Morning, they weighed from the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, and left their two Men in Poſſeſſion of it, who are to be reputed Succeſſors to Governor *Selkirk*; tho', for any thing I know, we have not the ſlighteſt Memoirs of their Adminiſtration.

10. After leaving the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, Captain *Clipperton* ſailed Northward, till he was in the Parallel of *Lima*, where he intended to act, though he was now in a very indifferent Condition, having loſt thirty Men between the Time of his paſſing the Equator, and his leaving the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*. His Men expreſſing ſome Uneaſineſs in relation to Plunder, he reſolved, if poſſible, to ſet that Point to rights, by fixing a Paper to the Main-maſt, which was aſſented to by the whole Ship's Company.

" I. The Man who firſt 'ſpies a Sail, proving a Prize,
" to have five Dollars for every hundred Ton the Prize
" meaſures.

" II. Every Man aboard a Prize, found drunk, or in
" any indecent Act with a white or black Woman, to be
" puniſhed according to the Nature of his Offence.

" III. Every Man, of whatſoever Degree, concealing
" any Money, or other Thing, above the Value of half
" a Dollar, ſhall forfeit his Share of ſuch Prize, and
" twenty Dollars out of his Share in the next that ſhall be
" taken."

On *October* 25. being in the Latitude of *Lima*, they gave Chace to a ſmall Veſſel, which they came up with, and took about eleven a Clock. She was their firſt Prize, and but an ill Omen of their Succeſs in this Profeſſion, ſince ſhe proved, in all reſpects, hardly worth taking. She was a Snow of forty Ton Burden, laden with Sand and Rubbiſh for Manure: She had ſeven *Indians*, and two Negroes aboard, her Maſter being left ſick aſhore. All that Captain *Clipperton*'s People could find worth taking, was two Jars of Eggs, as much Treacle, and a Couple of Pieces of Eight in ready Money. The next Day, they met with a better Prize, which was a Ship called the *St. Vincent*, of 150 Tons, laden with Wood from *Guiaquil*. There were two Friers, ſixteen *Indians*, and four Negroes aboard. On the 30th, they had the good Fortune to take a large Ship, bound from *Panama* to *Lima*: She was called the *Trinity*, of the Burden of 400 Tons; and had been taken by Captain *Rogers*, when he plundered *Guiaquil* ten Years before: She had a great many Paſſengers on board, and a Lading of conſiderable Value. On *November* 2. they took another Prize, which was a Veſſel of ſeventy Tons, on board of which were the Counteſs of *Laguna*, and ſeveral other Paſſengers, a great deal of ready

Money, and upwards of 400 Jars of Wine and Brandy, which were Articles very much wanted. Captain *Clipperton* deſired the Counteſs to inform him, whether ſhe was inclined to ſtay on board the Prize, or accept of the Accommodations they were able to afford her on board the *Succeſs*. She made the former her Choice, and the Captain very politely ſent an Officer of Marines, with a Guard, on board the Prize, to prevent her being moleſted; and with ſtrict Orders, to ſuffer nobody to enter her Cabin but her own Domeſtics: And he likewiſe ſent Part of the Wine and Brandy on board the other Prizes, for the Uſe of his Seamen, who were in Poſſeſſion of them, and to whom, no doubt, this was a very welcome Refreſhment.

11. It is a Miſtake that many able Officers, both by Sea and Land, have committed, and therefore we need the leſs wonder at it in Captain *Clipperton*; that the Deſire of Acquiring grows with Acquiſition, till the Power of preſerving is abſolutely loſt: He had already detached ſeveral Officers, and above a Third-part of his Company, to take care of his Prizes; and yet was as eager to take more, as if, inſtead of a Privateer weakly manned, he had commanded a Squadron of Ships of War. On the 12th, they diſcovered a Veſſel at ſome Diſtance, which was a *London* built Pink, of 200 Tons Burden, bound from *Panama* to *Lima*, with Wood, a Cargo of very little Value to them; yet this Prize they added to their Number. The Name of her was the *Roſario*; and her Maſter, who was a very cunning Fellow, ſoon ſaw the Error that *Clipperton* had committed, and reſolved to take Advantage of it: He gueſſed, by the Number of Prizes that were already with the *Engliſh* Commodore, he could not ſend many Men on board his Ship; and, having about a dozen Paſſengers, he directed them, under the Command of a *French* Boatſwain, to hide themſelves in the Hold, with Orders, on his making a certain Signal, to ſeize as many of the *Engliſh* as came down; aſſuring them, that he, with the Ship's Company, would be able to manage the reſt. As ſoon as the Ship ſtruck, Captain *Clipperton* ſent Lieutenant *Serjeantſon*, with eight Men, to take Poſſeſſion of her; who, as ſoon as he came on board, ordered all that appeared to him, ſuch as Seamen, *Indians*, and Negroes, into the great Cabin, and placed a Centinel at the Door of it. Thinking that all Things were now ſecure, he commanded the Topſails to be hoiſted, in order to ſtand to the Commodore: The Men, not in the leaſt apprehenſive of Danger, went down into the Hold to ſee what was in the Ship; upon which the Paſſengers, who were concealed, ſallied out; knocked moſt of them down; and the *French* Boatſwain, coming behind Mr. *Serjeantſon*, knocked him down likewiſe, and then ordered them to be all bound. The *Spaniards* in the great Cabin, in the mean time, ſecured the Centinel, and, having thus recovered their Ship, began next to conſider what they ſhould do with her. The Captain was for getting aſhore at all Events; which Deſign of his he purſued ſo eagerly, as to run his Ship upon the Rocks, where himſelf, his Company, and his Priſoners, were all in equal Danger; which he no ſooner perceived, than he ordered all the *Engliſh* to be unbound, and, by good Fortune, every Man of them got ſafe on ſhore; after which, Lieutenant *Serjeantſon*, and his People, were ſent away directly Priſoners to *Lima*. The Viceroy of *Peru* was no ſooner acquainted with this hardy Action, than he gave Orders for the building a new Ship at *Guiaquil* for the Captain, and ordered all the Traders to be taxed towards the Expence of her; intending this as a Reward for the Service he had rendered to the Public, and hoping thereby to encourage others to behave as he had done. On the Arrival of the Priſoners at *Lima*, they were cloſely examined; and one of them gave a full Account of every thing he knew, and particularly of the two Men left upon the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, and of the leaving there a Bottle, with a Letter in it for his Conſort: Upon which, the Viceroy ordered a ſmall Veſſel to be fitted out, to fetch away thoſe two Men, and the Bottle containing the Signals; and this was accordingly performed. I have drawn the Whole of this Relation together, that the Reader might have it in one View; and ſhall now return to Captain *Clipperton*, and the manner in which he proſecuted his Voyage after this unlucky Accident.

12. It was the 20th, about three in the Afternoon, when he perceived, that his laſt Prize was retaken; for, making a Signal to attack, and obſerving that the Pink, inſtead of obeying it, made all the Sail ſhe could for the Shore, he immediately ſuſpected what had happened; and, finding it impoſſible to come up with her, began to conſider next what was fitteſt for him to do, to prevent the bad Effects that might be reaſonably apprehended from her Crew getting on ſhore: And therefore the next Morning he very prudently determined to ſet all his *Spaniſh* Priſoners at Liberty, as well to ſave Proviſions, which, at that time, he could very ill ſpare; as that their good Uſage might be ſpeedily known, and returned to ſuch of his Men as were in their Power. It is not eaſy to conceive, how a wiſer, or a better, Expedient could be thought of at ſuch a Juncture; and therefore it is but doing Juſtice to this Officer to remark, that his ſo ſuddenly recollecting himſelf, and correcting his Error, was ſufficient to excuſe him; eſpecially if we reflect, that, for one Officer, capable of makeing ſuch an Amends for it, there might be twenty found, who, after falling into ſuch a Miſtake, could never think of making any Amends at all, but rather employ their Wits in framing Fictions to conceal it. On the 24th, they took another Prize, called *Cayetan*, of about 200 Tons Burden, laden with Wood from *Panama* for *Lima*, having on board forty Negroes, and thirty *Spaniards*, moſt of them Paſſengers. On the 27th, they came to an Anchor with all their Prizes at the Iſland *La Plata*, where the Captain began ſeriouſly to conſider, how he ſhould make the moſt of this Expedition for his Owners, as well as himſelf, and his Company. He knew that all the Coaſt was alarmed; and that two Men of War, one of fifty, the other of thirty Guns, were fitted out on Purpoſe to take him: He was ſenſible, that the Goods he had on board were not likely to be ranſomed in that Part of the World; and that they would prove mere Drugs, if brought into this; and therefore laid all theſe Things together; and, reflecting on a Propoſition formerly made by Captain *Woodes Rogers*, to ſend a Cargo of ſuch kind of Prize-goods to *Braſil*, he reſolved to try the Experiment; and according he fitted out the Bark, in which he took the Counteſs of *Laguna*; mounted her with eight Guns; and, putting on board her thirteen *Engliſhmen*, and ten Negroes, with what Proviſions and other Neceſſaries he could ſpare, he called her the *Chickly*. Into this Veſſel he put a Cargo of *European* Commodities, valued at 10,000 Pounds and upwards; and, on the 27th, ſhe ſailed for *Braſil*, under the Command of Captain *Mitchell*. As ſoon as ſhe was gone, the Captain determined to part with his other Prizes, both of which he preſented to the *Spaniards*, after taking out of them what he thought valuable, and detaining only the Captain of one of them for his Pilot, and all the Negroes; after which he ſailed from that Iſland, in order to cruiſe in his former Station.

13. On *December* 12. they ſaw a Sail about five in the Evening, and, at ſeven, took her. She was called the *Roſary*, bound from *Cherripe* for *Panama*, laden with Proviſions. Their Launch and Pinnace were all Day employed in bringing on board the Flour, and other Proviſions, in order to diſcharge her. Having got as much Flour out of her as they could well ſtow away, they cut her Main-maſt by the Board, leſt ſhe ſhould overſet, and ſo let her go. The Priſoners informed them, that their Men, who were lately taken by the *Spaniards*, were ſent to *Lima* by Land. Here they continued to cruiſe, ſtanding off all Day, and towards the Shore at Night; but nothing happened till the 27th, that they anchored in *Guanchaco* Bay, in nine Fathom, clay Ground, and found two Ships at Anchor. They fired a Shot at each; but they made no Return. Sending then their Boats aboard, they found them abandoned, and could diſcover, that all the Lading had been juſt taken out, and nothing left aboard, except ſome Bread, and a few Jars of Water. They hung out a Flag of Truce, and fired two Guns at half an Hour's Interval, hoping they would have come aboard to ranſom their Ships. They anſwered from Shore; but, no Boat coming, they fired again, and remained there till the next Day, when, ſeeing it was in vain to wait any longer, and that they would neither ranſom nor beg their Ships, they pulled down the Flag, and ſet the

Ships on Fire. After the taking of theſe Ships, it was reſolved to bear away for Refreſhment to the *Gallapagos* Iſlands, there being a greater Probability of their doing it there unmoleſted, than in any other Part of the South Seas; and accordingly, towards the latter End of the Year, they put this Deſign in Execution. On *January* 9. 1720, they anchored in *York* Road, on the North Side of the *Duke of York's Iſland*, immediately under the Equinoctial, where they found good Water, ſcrubbed and cleaned their Ship, and after ten Days quitted thoſe Iſlands, and ſailed to the Northward. I cannot help remarking upon this Occaſion, that this intirely juſtifies Captain *Cowley* from the Aſperſions thrown upon him by later Writers, as if he had given a fanciful Account of thoſe Iſlands; and I muſt intreat my Readers to obſerve, that, among other Advantages reſulting in this Hiſtory of Circum-navigators, it is no ſmall one, that, by comparing their Accounts, we correct abundance of their Miſtakes, committed chiefly from their Prejudices againſt each other, and from the Paſſion that almoſt every one of them entertained, of paſſing for an abler Seaman than the reſt.

14. On the 21ſt, they made a Sail, and continued chaſeing till eleven at Night, when they came up with her; and, on their firing of their firſt Gun, ſhe ſtruck. This Ship proved to be the *Prince Eugene*, bound from *Panama*, and having on board the Marquis *de Villa Roche*, who had been Preſident there, and all his Family, who were going to *Lima*. This was the very Ship, in which Captain *Clipperton* was circumvented, and taken in his laſt Voyage in theſe Seas, when he was very indifferently uſed by this Marquis, who now lay at his Mercy, and whom he uſed, notwithſtanding, with all the Civility poſſible. On *February* 26. a *Spaniard* dying of a Wound he had received at the taking this Ship, the Marquis deſired he might be buried according to their Ceremonies; which was granted. When the Office for the Dead had been performed, and the Corpſe, which lay ready on a Grating, was thrown over-board, with a large Bag of Ballaſt tied at his Feet, the *Spaniards* crying thrice, as their Cuſtom is on ſuch Occaſions, *Bon Viage*, i. e. a good Voyage, the Body, to the Admiration of every one, preſently floated, and continued floating as far as they could ſee it; which the Marquis *de Villa Roche* concluded to be a very ill Omen, and declared, that he expected ſome ſurpriſeing Accident to be the Conſequence. On *March* 8. a Prieſt, who was on board the *Prince Eugene*, and the Boatſwain of that Ship, deſired Leave to go on ſhore on the Iſland of *Velas*; which was granted them, on condition they would perſuade the Inhabitants to drive ſome Black-cattle to the Shore, in order to exchange them for what Goods they liked beſt; which they faithfully promiſed. On the 16th, they returned with four Head of Black-cattle, ſome Fowls and Fruit, as a Preſent to the Marquis; but at the ſame time declared, that their Alcalde or Governor would not ſuffer them to trade. They likewiſe ſaid, that Captain *Mitchell* had been aſhore there, and had ſhot ſome of their Cattle; but that 200 Men appearing under Arms, they had been forced to retire: Which Account of theirs appeared the more probable, from their having Linen and Cloaths belonging to Captain *Mitchell's* Men in their Cuſtody. The next Day, ſome Letters from the Marquis *de Villa Roche* were intercepted, very little ſuitable to that Honour, to which the *Spaniſh* Nobility uſually pretend, ſince he endeavoured to ſtir up the People to ſurpriſe their Men, and ſecure the Boat, when they came aſhore to water. Upon this, Captain *Clipperton* confined him for ſome Days; yet, on the 20th, he allowed the Marquis and his Lady to go aſhore, leaving their only Child as an Hoſtage. On *April* 14. the Marquis, his Lady, and the Governor, came aboard; and, an Agreement being made for their Ranſom, the Lady and Child were ſent on ſhore, and the Marquis only remained as an Hoſtage. The Prize was ſoon after delivered up to the Captain. In this whole Tranſaction, Captain *Clipperton* appears to have been deceived and outwitted by this Nobleman, who baſely broke his Word, and thereby provoked the Crew to murmur againſt the Captain for truſting him. On *April* 20. they anchored in the Gulph of *Amapala*; and, not being able to water there, repaired to the Iſland of *Tigers*, where they did it with great Eaſe. On *June* 4. they ſailed to *Gorgona* on the ſame Errand, and were well ſupplied. On the 24th, they made another Prize, which proved the *St. Vincent*, which they had taken once before. She was now commanded by Don *Clement de Andrado*, laden with Timber and Coco-nuts. On *Auguſt* 11. they anchored, with their Prize, at the Iſland of *Lobos de la Mar*, where they ſet up Tents on ſhore, ſcrubbed and cleaned their Ship, and took whatever they thought valuable out of their Prize.

15. The Ship's Company, while they lay here, talked over their Affairs, till they began to think them deſperate. Sometimes they reflected on the Captain, for pretending to remain in theſe Seas without their Conſort: At other times, they blamed him for giving into the *Spaniſh* Marquis's Project for ranſoming his Ship, which, they believed, would never be performed: And now-and-then the Ship's Corporal, one *James Roch*, a bold, buſy, intriguing Fellow, threw in ſome ſly Inſinuations, that, if they muſt go through ſuch Hardſhips, it was better they ſhould do it for their own ſakes, than for other Peoples. And one *Joſeph Maynard*, the Boatſwain's Mate, puſhing Things ſtill further, a Plot was at laſt formed for ſeizing the Captain, the reſt of the Officers, and running away with the Ship. They likewiſe agreed, that, when their Deſign was brought to bear, the Officers ſhould be ſet on ſhore on the Iſland of *Lobos*, and all, who afterwards oppoſed them, ſhot without Mercy. This wicked Contrivance, however, was happily diſcovered on *September* 6. the two Ringleaders ſeverely puniſhed, and the reſt pardoned; by which wiſe Conduct the Conſpiracy was ſuppreſſed. On the 17th, they took a Fiſhing-boat, with a good Quantity of Salt-fiſh, well cured; but found the *St. Vincent*, which they had left at Anchor under the Iſland of *Lobos*, driven aſhore, and ſunk; and, upon this, they put thirty-eight *Spaniſh* Priſoners on board the Fiſhing-boat, and ſent them away. On *November* 1. they entered the Bay of *Conception*, where miſſing a Prize that outſailed them, they bore away for *Coquinbo*, where they took a Ship laden with Tobacco, Sugar, and Cloth, in their Paſſage. On the 6th in the Afternoon, they opened that Harbour, where they ſaw three Men of War lying, with their Top-ſails looſe; and theſe no ſooner 'ſpied them, than they cut their Cables, and ſtood after them. The *Succeſs* haled cloſe on a Wind, and their Prize did the ſame; upon which the *Spaniſh* Man of War, that ſailed beſt, gave Chace to the latter, and, at three in the Afternoon, came up with, and took her. The other two Ships crouded all the Sail they could, till about four in the Afternoon, when the biggeſt, having her Mizen-top-maſt carried away, fired a Gun, tacked, and ſtood in for the Shore; which favourable Opportunity the *Succeſs* embraced to make her Eſcape. In the *Spaniſh* Prize, they loſt their third Lieutenant Mr. *James Milne*, and twelve of their Men. The Captain of the *Spaniſh* Man of War, who took him, was the famous Don *Blas de Leſſo*, who was Governor of *Carthagena*, when attacked by Admiral *Vernon*. Don *Blas* treated his Priſoner a little roughly at firſt, being enraged to find he had miſſed the *Engliſh* Privateer, and only retaken a *Spaniſh* Prize, and, in the firſt Tranſport of his Paſſion, ſtruck Mr. *Milne* over the Head with the Flat of his Sword; but, when he came to himſelf, he ſent for him up; and, finding him ſtripped by his Soldiers, he generouſly aſked his Pardon, ordered him a new Suit of Cloaths, and kept him for ſome time on board his Ship. He afterwards procured his Liberty at *Lima*, paid for his Paſſage to *Panama*, where he gave him a Jar of Brandy, and another of Wine, for his Sea-ſtores, put 200 Pieces of Eight in his Pocket, and ſent him to *England*. This unlucky Accident of loſing their Prize revived the ill Humours among *Clipperton's* Men, who did not indeed plot again, but became exceedingly dejected. On the 16th, they ſaw another Sail, and gave Chace, which, after a few Guns fired on both Sides, bore away, being a clean Ship, and left them; which was another lucky Eſcape: For ſhe was likewiſe a Ship of Force, fitted out to take Captain *Shelvocke*, and commanded by one *Fitzgerald*, who, knowing this was not *Shelvocke's* Ship, and doubting what Strength ſhe might be of, had no great Stomach to engage her. Theſe repeated Diſappointments, as they broke the Spirits of his Crew, ſo they had a very bad Effect on Captain *Clipperton* himſelf, who began now to betake himſelf to drinking; and, as this Vice generally grows upon

People under Miſfortunes, he grew at laſt to ſuch a Pitch, that he was hardly ever quite cool or ſober. It was chiefly owing to this unhappy Practice, that he fell into ſo many Errors in his future Conduct. And, though it is true, that Drunkenneſs is rather an Aggravation than an Excuſe, yet, if we conſider, that this poor Man was a mere Sailor, and had not had the Benefit of a liberal Education, that he fell into it purely through Deſpair, and that he ſtill ſhewed, upon all Occaſions, great Marks of an humane and generous Diſpoſition, together with an inflexible Honeſty, in regard to his Owners Concerns, we cannot help pitying him; becauſe it is impoſſible to ſay, how far human Nature is able to bear, without the Help of certain Supports, ſuch an heavy Load of Miſfortunes as this poor Gentleman met with.

16. In this ſad Plight they reſolved to continue cruiſing to the North, not only in Search of Plunder, but alſo of a Supply of Proviſions, and eſpecially of Flour, having expended all they had, and being reduced to three Pounds of *Indian* Corn for a Meſs of ſix Men, and that but once a Day. In this Cruiſe they had but indifferent Fortune; and, therefore, on the 27th, being in Sight of Point *Helena*, they reſolved to ſet aſhore the *Spaniſh* Priſoners taken in the laſt Prize, in which they afterwards loſt Lieutenant *Milne*; and then determined to go once more to the *Gallapagos* Iſlands, in order to refreſh quietly, and reſtore their People to Health and Spirits; which Scheme they immediately put in Execution. In their Paſſage to theſe Iſlands, they began to ſuſpect ſome Error in their Log-line; and, upon meaſuring, found it three Fathoms too ſhort, which occaſioned an Error in this Run of fifty-two Miles, or thereabouts. On the 4th of *December*, they loſt Mr. *Thomas Fairman* their Purſer; and the ſame Day found themſelves very near the *Gallapagos* Iſlands, and in the Latitude of 36′ North, with a very ſtrong Current to the South-weſt; againſt which they were obliged to ply. On the 6th, they ſent the Pinnace to diſcover an Anchoring-place at one of the Iſlands, which returned without finding any, but ſaw abundance of Tortoiſe aſhore. Upon this, they ſent the Pinnace and Yawl to get ſome; and they returned with Fiſh enough to ſerve the Company a Day; but, there running a prodigious Surf, they could not land or look for Turtle. They kept plying off and on, and ſounded in foul Ground from eighty to fifty Fathom. The Lat. of the Iſland 9′ North. It was a mere Rock; ſo they left it, and ſteered away for another South-weſt, being the ſame which the *Spaniards* make to lie under the Equator; they run along ſhore, but could find no Anchoring; ſo that, being unwilling to loſe more Time, they made the beſt Way they could to the Iſle of *Cocos*, where they hoped certainly to get ſome Fiſh, Fowl, and Cocoa-nuts, moſt of their People being very ſick and weak. On the 7th and 8th, they ſaw ſeveral Iſlands to the North-eaſt, but paſſed through them very happily, and got quite clear of them by the 9th; but, as their People daily fell ſick, they grew very apprehenſive of the Dangers that muſt enſue in caſe of their miſſing the Iſland. On the 17th in the Morning, they had the Satisfaction of beholding the long-looked for Iſland of *Cocos*, at the Diſtance of about nine Leagues to the North-weſt, which filled them with inexpreſſible Joy. On the 18th, they went all aſhore, that could be ſpared from on board the Veſſel with Safety, in order to build a kind of Booth for the Reception of their Sick; which, as ſoon as it was finiſhed, were carried aſhore, and conveniently lodged. The Marquis *de Villa Roche* went alſo aſhore, where they got great Plenty of Fiſh, Fowl, and Eggs, together with Cocoa-nuts, and other Refreſhments. The Captain opened here the laſt Hogſhed of Brandy for the Uſe of the Ship's Company, and gave every Man a Dram a Day; and, on *New Year's-day*, he allowed a Gallon of ſtrong Beer to every Meſs; and, by having this Plenty of nouriſhing Food, and much Eaſe, the Crew began to recover, and were able to wood and water, though with much Difficulty; for there was a great Swell coming in from the Northward conſtantly at Full-moon and Change; therefore they were forced to wait till the Spring-tides were abated, before they could get any thing off. On the 17th of *January* 1721. the Captain made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for ſailing; but it was three Days before he could get his People on board, and then there were no leſs then eleven of them miſſing, *viz.* three *Engliſhmen*, and eight Negroes. It is not eaſy to conceive, what could induce the former to hazard themſelves in ſuch a Place as this, at ſo great a Diſtance from the Continent, ſo little frequented by Ships, and where they had but a ſmall, indeed ſcarce any, Chance of ever getting off; but it muſt be attributed to their Dread of the Dangers and Fatigues to which they were continually expoſed on board, and to their living conſtantly at Short-allowance; whereas here they were ſure of Plenty of Proviſions, without any other Labour than that of procuring and dreſſing them. It is alſo more than probable, that they might receive ſome Aſſurances from the Marquis, of their having a Ship ſent for them, when he obtained his Liberty; which, at beſt, was an hazardous Contingency, and, there is great Reaſon to doubt, was never performed, as the Reader will ſee in the Sequel of this Voyage.

17. On the 25th, they arrived on the Coaſt of *Mexico*, where they met with an extraordinary Adventure; for, diſcovering a Sail about ſeven in the Evening, they ſent their Pinnace to give Chace; to whom ſhe ſtruck about eleven: And, on the Return of the Pinnace, they had the ſurpriſing Account, that this was a *Spaniſh* Ship, called the *Jeſu Maria*, but now in the Hands of Captain *Shelvocke*, who commanded her; and the Account he gave of the Matter to their People was this, that he had no more than forty of his Men aboard, the reſt being all dead, or diſperſed: That he loſt the *Speedwel* at *Fernandez*, where they ſtaid five Months, and built a Bark out of the *Speedwel*'s Wreck; with which they put to Sea, and coaſted along *Chili* and *Peru*, meeting ſeveral Ships; but could do nothing with them, till they came to *Piſco*, near *Lima*, where they took this Prize, being the Ship he went in there to look for. They differed much in their Account, but had no regular Command among them, being all alike: As the Method is in the *Weſt India* Privateers, they had choſen a Quarter-maſter, carrying every thing by a Majority of Votes; ſo that they found they had quite broken their Articles with their Owners, and had ſhared all among themſelves. On the 27th, Captain *Shelvocke* hoiſted *St. George*'s Colours, and fired three Guns, as a Signal to ſpeak with them; on which the *Succeſs* lay-to for his Boat, which came aboard with a Letter for Captain *Clipperton*; who immediately ſent back the Boat for their Purſer, to be examined concerning their Actions on the Coaſt of *Braſil*, and elſewhere: They ſent away the Boat; but the Purſer, Mr. *Hendric*, ſtaid, who gave but a dark Account of their Proceedings, that he was not allowed to take any Account of the Treaſure for the Owners: At eight Captain *Shelvocke* came aboard, being ſent for by Captain *Clipperton*, and the Agent, to give an Account of his Tranſactions. The Boat brought Mr. *Dod*, their Lieutenant of Marines, to continue in the *Succeſs*, having been uſed very ill for his Attachment to the Owners Intereſt, at leaſt as he aſſerted, and was firmly believed by Captain *Clipperton*, and his Officers. The next Day Captain *Shelvocke* ſent on board them ſix Cheſts of Pitch and Dammer, and two Barrels of Tar, with ſix Slabs of Copper: Captain *Clipperton* ſpared him twenty-four Quarter-deck Guns, ſome great Shot, and Compaſs, and a few other Neceſſaries: His People laid out a great deal of Money with the Crew of the *Succeſs*, for Cloaths, Shoes, Hats, and other Neceſſaries: There remained with them alſo two of the *Speedwel*'s Officers; Mr. *Hendric*, the Purſer, and Mr. *Dod*, the Lieutenant of the Marines, deſigning to go with them for *China*. The *Succeſs*, ſtill keeping to the Northward, on the Coaſt of *Mexico*, ſaw Captain *Shelvocke* ſeveral times, as they were ſenſible, by his making Signals; but, conſidering, in the Beginning of the Month of *March*, that both Time and Place afforded them a fair Opportunity of coming up with the *Manilla* Ship, before ſhe entered *Acapulco*, the Officers determined, the next time they ſaw Captain *Shelvocke*, to propoſe to him the making ſuch an Attempt. On the 13th, they made a Sail, which, by the Signals, proving to be Captain *Shelvocke*, they brought-to; and the Captain, with his Lieutenants, came on board them. At this general Conſultation it was agreed, by the Officers of both Ships, that the Attempt ſhould be

made jointly; and that, to prevent their meeting with the ſame Fate which befel Captain *Rogers* and Captain *Courtney*, when they attempted the biggeſt *Manilla* Ship, they ſhould run her aboard at once, having indeed no other Chance for taking her. Accordingly they cruiſed for her; and, on the 15th, Captain *Clipperton* held another Conſultation, wherein Propoſals being agreed on, were ſigned, and ſent to Captain *Shelvocke*; that if he and his Crew would refund all the Money ſhared among themſelves contrary to the Articles with the Owners, and agree to put it in a joint Stock, then all Faults ſhould be forgot, both Companies would unite, and proceed to cruiſe for the *Acapulco* Ship. This Propoſition was but indifferently received by Captain *Shelvocke*, and his People, who did not care to part, in any Shape, with what they poſſeſſed, and therefore declined giving any Anſwer to this Propoſal. We ſhall, in the next Section, mention the Reaſons aſſigned by Captain *Shelvocke* for this manner of proceeding: Our Buſineſs at preſent lies with Captain *Clipperton*, and his People, who, perceiving that there was nothing to be expected from their Conſort, determined to manage their own Affairs the beſt way they could. In the firſt Place, they conſidered, that the Time of meeting with the *Manilla* Ship was by ſome Days elapſed; that moſt of their People were weak and ſickly; that, even at their preſent ſhort Allowance, they were victualled but for five Months; and that, conſequently, it was their Buſineſs to think of going directly to the *Eaſt Indies*, without Loſs of Time, in order to preſerve what they had got for their Owners and themſelves. This Reſolution appeared, in every reſpect, ſo reaſonable and well-founded, that it was inſtantly put in Execution; and, without waiting for, or conſulting Captain *Shelvocke* any more, they concluded to leave the South Seas, being then to the South South-eaſt of Port *Marquis*, and in the Latitude of 16° 50′ North. In order to underſtand the latter Part of this Account, it is neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat of the Times when theſe *Acapulco* Ships ſail. They uſually leave the *Philippine* Iſlands about the Beginning of *July*, and they arrive at the *Ladrones* about the Beginning of *September*: From thence they proceed to *Acapulco*; in which Port they are commonly expected about the Middle of *January*; and then the Ship uſually remains in Port till towards the latter End of the Month of *April*, and then ſhe ſails again from *Acapulco* for *Manilla*. Yet this is not to be conſidered as a conſtant Rule; for, according as the Winds ſet in earlier or later, it alters. In the preſent Caſe, it is plain, the Ship they waited for, was not the Veſſel expected from, but the Galleon that was to return to, the *Philippine* Iſlands; on board which, there is always a prodigious Quantity of Silver: Yet it muſt be owned, that either the Ship ſailed earlier than uſual, or elſe they left her behind them when they ſailed for the *Eaſt Indies*, whither we now are to attend them.

18. The Run from the Coaſt of *Mexico* to the Iſland of *Guam*, they performed in fifty-three Days; and, on the 10th of *May*, arrived in Sight of the Iſland *Serpana*, in the Latitude of 13° 42′ North; though, in the *Spaniſh* Charts, this Iſland is generally laid down in 14°. In this Paſſage they loſt ſix of their People, and the reſt of them were ſo weak and low, that nothing could be a more joyful Sight to them than this Iſland. They determined, however, to proceed to that of *Guam*, as beſt known to *Europeans*, and where they were moſt likely to meet with Proviſions; in which, perhaps, they judged the Matter wrong; for, in their preſent weak Condition, it would have been more adviſeable to have gone to *Serpana*, where the *Spaniards* have not ſo great a Force. *May* the 13th, they anchored in the Road, and ſent their Pinnace aſhore, with a Flag of Truce, in order to obtain ſome Proviſions; but the People ſent them for Anſwer, That, without the Governor's Leave, they could not trade with them for Fiſh, Fowl, or Greens: And, therefore, Applications were immediately made to him for that Purpoſe; which had, at preſent, a favourable Reception. Mr. *Godfrey*, the Owners Agent, who had been ſent up to *Umatta*, where the Governor lives, returned on the 16th on board one of their Proes, with a Meſſage, importing, That if they behaved civilly, and paid honeſtly, they ſhould be furniſhed with Proviſions. Soon after their own Launch arrived, and brought on board ſome Cattle, Bread, Sugar, Brandy, Fruit, and Greens. On the 17th, the Governor ſent them an handſome Preſent of Palm-wine, Sugar, and Brandy, with a large Quantity of Chocolate. In Return for which, his Health was drank by the whole Ship's Crew, under a Salvo of Seven Guns: This was the laſt Act of Civility that paſſed between them: But, before we come to theſe Diſputes, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the State of the Iſland at that Time. This Iſland lies directly North and South; and, according to the beſt Account that could be obtained of it, from a Negro belonging to the Marquis *de Villa Roche*, who travelled quite round it, it is near ten Leagues in Length, and five in Breadth: There are ſeveral Villages upon it; but the moſt remarkable are theſe that follow; *viz.* *Amatta*, *Atry*, *Agana*, *Anigua*, *Aſa*, *Hugatee*, and *Rigues*. The native Inhabitants were formerly very numerous, not fewer, it is ſaid, than 15,000; but, at this time, there were ſcarce a tenth Part ſo many, at leaſt under the Dominion of the *Spaniards*; for there are ſtill ſome hundreds that have eſtabliſhed themſelves in the Mountains, and preſerve their Freedom, notwithſtanding all the Efforts made by the *Spaniſh* Governor to reduce them. Theſe *Indians* are a ſtrong, active, vigorous, and warlike People; but, withal, reputed equally cruel and treacherous: Perhaps, the *Spaniards* exaggerate their ill Qualities to extenuate their own; for it is certain, they have uſed theſe People hardly. The *Spaniſh* Gariſon conſiſts of 300 Men, which are relieved from time to time from the *Manillas*; and his Catholic Majeſty allows 30,000 Pieces of Eight *per Annum* for their Maintenance; though it is of no other Uſe, than to afford Succour to the annual Ship in her Paſſage to and from the *Eaſt Indies*, in which reſpect it is of great Service.

19. On the 18th of *May*, their Priſoner, the Marquis *de Villa Roche*, went aſhore, in Company with the Agent, the firſt Lieutenant and Doctor having agreed with the Governor about his Ranſom; they gave him five Guns at landing. Our Launch was employed ſix Days in bringing Wood, Water, and Proviſion aboard; during which time, the Governor deſired he might have ſome Arms and Ammunition in Exchange: Accordingly Captain *Clipperton* ſent him twelve Fuzees, three Jars of Powder, ſixty round Shot, four Pair of Piſtols, beſides Cutlaſſes, long Swords, and Daggers. The 25th, they received a Letter, wherein the Governor demands the Marquis's Jewels, ſome conſecrated Plate, and two Negroes, being Chriſtians, and Subjects to the King of *Spain*; as alſo a Certificate, under the Captain and Officers Hands, that Peace was proclaimed, detaining Mr. *Godfrey* and Mr. *Pritty* till all this was performed. Hereupon the Captain ſent a Letter, with a Certificate, that the *Solidad*, the laſt Prize we took on the Coaſt of *Chili*, told us, there was a Peace between *England* and *Spain*; but, withal, aſſured the Governor, that if he did not, in twenty-four Hours, ſend the Ranſom with the two Gentlemen, he would demoliſh the Houſes upon the Shore, burn the Ship in the Harbour, and do all the Miſchief he could at the *Philippine* Iſlands. Soon after they received a Letter, that the Governor would pay for the conſecrated Plate, and deſired more Powder and Shot: To which the Captain anſwered, That he would not ſpare any more, or Negroes. On the 28th, their Yawl went aſhore for more Proviſion; but the Officer, who had the Government of the Village, told them, we ſhould have no more, unleſs they ſent more Powder and Shot: Upon which they immediately weighed, ſtaying for no Anſwer by Mr. *Godfrey* or Mr. *Pritty*, and ſent the Pinnace a-head to ſound, making the beſt of their way to the Ship in the Harbour. The People aſhore had raiſed a Battery during this ſham Treaty, from whence they began to fire at their Pinnace; which, being returned, gave Account, that what Chanel they found, was within Piſtol-ſhot of the Shore. At ſix in the Afternoon, making up to the Ship, they ran a-ground, the *Spaniards* having carried her in ſhole Water; ſo that now they ſuſtained two Fires, one from the Battery over their Heads, and another from the Ship. At nine they got foul of the Rocks, where they cut away two of their Anchors, endeavouring to get the Ship off; during which time, the Enemy fired ſo warmly with Stones and

Shot, from a new Battery erected on an Hill, that they ſuffered extremely in their Hull and Rigging. They had three Men wounded, beſides the Misfortune of loſing Mr. *Daviſon*, their firſt Lieutenant, who was an honeſt Man, and a good Officer. Thus the *Succeſs* was forced to lie in a miſerable Condition, expoſed to the continual Fire of the Enemy, who, in the Night, had ſtill this Advantage of them, that the Surface of the Water being as ſmooth as a Mill-pond, eaſily ſhewed them their Poſition; whereas they had no other Direction for their Aim than the Flaſhes of the Guns from the *Spaniſh* Battery. In this Emergency, the Captain being overcome with Liquor, and quite unable to command the Ship, the Officers came to a Reſolution of running out clear of the Enemy as ſoon as they could get the Ship afloat; and ſigned a Paper to indemnify Mr. *Cook*, if he would take upon him the Command. At four in the Afternoon they ſet her a floating, and cut away the ſmall Bower-anchor; but, in ten Minutes, they run a-ground again; at nine carried out the Kedge-anchor; but, in heaving, the Hawſer broke: They immediately carried out another Hawſer, with a Lower-deck Gun to it, having now loſt all their Anchors, and ſtill a-ground. At two in the Forenoon the Enemy hail them ſeveral times to ſurrender, or expect no Quarter; at five they carried out the Main-top-maſt Shrowd-hawſer on the Starboard-bow, with another Gun, ſtill plying the Enemy with their great Guns below, and Small-arms in the Poop. They did them little Miſchief, though the *Spaniards* never miſſed them; eſpecially their Boats, as ſoon as they ſaw them ſtir. At eleven in the Forenoon they carried out the reſt of the ſmall Bower, with two Lower-deck Guns, right a-head, into five Fathom; they cleared away the Hold, ready to ſtart their Water, to make the Ship lighter; got their Upper and Lower-deck Guns forward, to bring her by the Head, the Ship hanging abaft on the Rock; they kept two Guns out of the Stern-ports continually firing at the Enemy's new Battery, but could not bring them to bear: During this twenty-four Hours, they had happily only one wounded; but the Ship was wretchedly torn and mangled between Wind and Water. The 30th, at ſix in the Afternoon, the Ship floating, they cut away the Yawl, being ſunk with the Shot; the other Boats were much damaged; they hove-to their ſmall Bower, then cut away it and the other two Hawſers, and ſent their Pinnace a-head, to tow the Ship off: Juſt as they got afloat, the Enemy fired ſo ſmartly from the new Battery, that their Shot raked them through between Wind and Water, killing one of their People, and wounding two others. Thus they loſt both their Bow-anchors and Cables, the Stern and Kedge-anchors, four Hawſers, four of their Lower-deck Guns, and nineteen Barrels of Powder, two Men killed, and ſix wounded, having ſtood for no leſs than fifty Hours a fair Mark for the Enemy to fire at; and, if they had not got clear, it was believed they would have ſunk them before Morning. The whole Crew were very ſorry for Mr. *Godfrey* and Mr. *Pritty*, not knowing how the Governor might uſe them aſhore. At ten in the Forenoon they brought-to, and began to ſplice their Rigging, not a Rope of which eſcaped a Shot; as for the Maſts and Yards, they were all ſeverely peppered, and the Carpenters worked all Night, ſtopping the Holes in the Ship's Bottom. At ſeven in the Forenoon they ſtowed their Guns in the Holdbar in the Ports, hoiſted in the Launch and Pinnace, and at Noon ſteered away Weſt, with an eaſy Sail, hoping to ſave their Paſſage before the Monſoons came on. Their Carpenters were employed in fixing the Maſts and Yards, and the reſt of their People in fixing the Rigging. At ſix in the Afternoon the Body of the Iſland *Guam* bore Eaſt ſeven Leagues; from whence they took their Departure, North Latitude 13° 20', allowing half a Point North-eaſt Variation, deſigning now for *China*. This was certainly one of the worſt Errors committed by *Clipperton*; for he ſhould never have quitted the Marquis, who had behaved ſo dirtily to him before, without having the Money in his Hand; nor had the Marquis any Title to Favour: A Nobleman, that acts the Scoundrel, degrades himſelf. Beſides, if Captain *Clipperton* had kept the Marquis, there had been an End of all his Schemes, and either the *Spaniſh* Governor of *Guam* would not, or could not, have treated him as he did; for it is more than probable, that he was forced to behave in this ſtrange Manner by the Marquis. The laſt Miſtake of *Clipperton*'s was his pretending to attack the Town in the manner he did. The Commander of a Privateer ſhould never attempt Revenge, unleſs he is certain of compaſſing his Deſign; and, if he had diſſembled, as well as the Enemy, he might have found an Opportunity of making them repent their ill Uſage.

20. It was a very dangerous Voyage upon which they were now to enter: The Run from *Manilla* is generally eſteemed 400 Leagues, and they were to ſail much farther, without any conſiderable Addition to their Stock of Proviſions, ruffled by the late Accident, and apprehenſive that their Veſſel would ſcarce laſt out the Voyage; for, on the 23d of *June*, they found her, on a ſtrict Examination, in a very ſhattered Condition, having ſcarce a whole Timber in her upper Works, diſcovered one of their Faſhion-pieces to be ſhot through, which, being the chief Support of the After-part of the Ship, they were obliged to trap her, to keep her together. It blowing pretty freſh, they durſt not carry Sail, but were forced, for a Week together, to ſcud under bare Poles, through variable Winds, and bad Weather. This was a melancholy Condition for People to be in, in Seas with which they were little acquainted, and ſailing by Draughts on which they could not depend. Yet, the Journal I make uſe of, acknowledges, that both *Dampier*'s Accounts and Charts were right, and that to a Degree of Exactneſs, much ſuperior to thoſe laid down by Perſons of much greater Figure; ſo that if it had not been for his Aſſiſtance in his Books and Charts, they could ſcarce have extricated themſelves from the Difficulties they were in. On the 24th of *June*, they were in Sight of the *Baſhee* Iſlands; and, on the laſt Day of the Month, they ſaw the Iſland-ſholes of *Prata*. On the 1ſt of *July*, they fell in with other Iſlands, and found ſeveral Boats that were fiſhing; though no ſuch Iſlands are laid down in any Chart, and this put them intirely out of their Way; ſo that, not being able to form any Judgment of their true Courſe, they anchored under one of theſe Iſlands, in 13 Fathom Water, and diſpatched away their Pinnace for Intelligence, how *Macao* bore from them, for which Port they were bound.

21. On the 2d of *July*, the Pinnace returned with a Boat, in which there were three *Chineſe* Sailors, whom they could not underſtand, and from whom all they could learn was, that *Canton* lay to the South-weſt. On the 3d, finding they were too far to Leeward of *Macao*, and not being able to get a Pilot, they reſolved to take the only Courſe there was left them to take, which was, to ſail for *Amoy*; before which Port they arrived on the 5th in the Evening, but were afraid to enter it in the Night, and therefore plied off and on till Day-light. They took notice of a great Number of Snakes in the Sea, which were brought down by the Rivers that empty themſelves on that Coaſt. The Entrance of the Port of *Amoy* is remarkable enough; for it has an high Mountain, on the Top of which is a Tower, which may be ſeen twenty Leagues off at Sea; on one Side of it is a little Iſland, that lies immediately before the Bay. The River *Changeben* diſcharges itſelf here into the *Chineſe* Sea, and thereby forms a ſpacious Bay, about eight Leagues in Circuit, where Ships may lie very ſafely at Anchor, all the Difficulty being in their getting once into Port; which they accompliſhed very happily in the Evening of the 6th of *July*, and were extremely well pleaſed to find themſelves once more in a Place where they might hope to obtain Refreſhments, to be able to repair their Ship; or, if that ſhould be found impracticable, to obtain a Paſſage from thence for *Europe*. The Captain too rejoiced as much as any of them; for, having had his full Share of Afflictions and Misfortunes at Sea, he was extremely delighted with the Proſpect of ſecuring a ſmall matter of Money to his own Uſe, and ſending home what belonged to the Owners, in caſe his Ship was really, as his People reported, paſt repairing.

22. They were no ſooner anchored in this Port, than they had ten Cuſtomhouſe Officers put on board them. At *Amoy*, as in moſt other Ports in *China*, the Cuſtoms are under the Direction of a ſingle Mandarin, ſtiled the *Hoppo*, or Maſter General of the Cuſtoms. The *French* call this

Officer *Hoppou*; which may, perhaps, ſet us right as to the Pronunciation. The *Chineſe*, in general, are very juſtly reputed the craftieſt People in the World; and it is an invariable Maxim of their Policy, to chuſe the cunningeſt Man they can find to execute the Office of Hoppo; and, after ſaying this, we need not deſcend to the particular Character of the Man Captain *Clipperton* had to deal with. I ſhall only add, that the People of *Amoy*, in general, are thought to be the leaſt nice in Points of Honour, or Principles of Honeſty, in *China*. The firſt thing theſe Cuſtom-houſe Officers demanded was, what the Ship was reputed to be; and what Buſineſs ſhe had there. Captain *Clipperton* anſwered, the Ship belonged to the King of *Great Britain*; and that ſhe put in there by Streſs of Weather, in order to obtain Proviſions and other Neceſſaries. The Cuſtom-houſe Officers next demanded an exact Account of the Number of Men and Guns, their Cargo, and the Time they intended to ſtay; all which they put down in Writing, and then they departed. The very next Morning, the Men mutinied, and inſiſted, that the Captain ſhould immediately pay them their Prize-money, becauſe they were ſatisfied the *Succeſs* was in no Condition to put to Sea. The Man, who made this Demand, was one *John Denniſon*; and Mr. *Taylor*, to whom we are indebted for this Account, interpoſing in the Captain's Behalf, one *Edward Boreman* told him, He had beſt deſiſt, unleſs he had a mind to have a Brace of Balls through his Head; ſo that here was plainly an End of all regular Proceedings, as well as of the Captain's Authority. The People brought aboard a good Quantity of Rice, ſome Cattle, Fowls, Wood, and Water; for which they were paid: And, on the 12th, the Officers went on ſhore, to wait on the Hoppo, who had a very fine Palace, and who treated them with great Civility, and gave them Leave to anchor in the Harbour, and to remain there till the Monſoons were over; for which, however, he demanded, and ſoon after received in ready Money, a very extraordinary Compenſation, under the Title of Port Charges, amounting to 1700 Dollars, which is about 400 *l.* Sterl. We have already taken notice, that Captain *Mitchell* went out Second to Captain *Clipperton*; and that, on his going to *Braſil*, Mr. *Daviſon* ſucceeded him; and, on his being killed in the unfortunate Affair of *Guam*, Mr. *Cook* ſucceeded him, who now demanded thirty Shares, in Right of his Office; in which he was ſupported by the Men, whom he courted by a continual Compliance with their Humours. Captain *Clipperton*, and the reſt of the Officers, ſeeing the Turn things were likely to take, were very deſirous, that ſome Allowance ſhould be made to the Officers that were taken Priſoners, and to Mr. *Hendrie* and Mr. *Dod*, who came on board them from the *Speedwel*: But their Endeavours were fruitleſs; for the Men would hear of no ſuch Allowances. While theſe Diſputes laſted, ſome took it in their Heads to go aſhore, without aſking Leave; and, when Captain *Clipperton* would have corrected them, the whole Company declared on their Side, and prevented it. After this, all things fell into Confuſion: The Men refuſed to work till they had their Prize-money; and, to ſhew they valued the Credit of their Country no more than they did the Reſpect due to their Officer, they applied to the chief Mandarin of the Place, whom the *Chineſe* ſtyle *Hybung*, and deſired, that he would do them Juſtice againſt their Captain. Upon this, Mr. *Clipperton* was ſummoned before him; and, on the Mandarin's demanding a Reaſon why he refuſed to give his Men Satisfaction, the Captain produced the Articles, which ſhewed that they were not to ſhare their Prize-money, till their Return to *London*. But Captain *Cook* (for ſo he was now ſtyled) gave the Mandarin another ſort of Account; which produced a Guard of Soldiers being ſent on board the Ship, with a peremptory Order from the Mandarin to Captain *Clipperton*, immediately to ſettle the Shares, and pay them over to the Men; with which he was obliged to comply. This Tranſaction would admit of ſome Remarks; but, as they muſt be obvious to every Reader, I ſhall not dwell upon them, but proceed with my Relation.

23. On *September* 16. this Diſtribution was made, purſuant to the Mandarin's Order; and, no Allowance being reſerved for ſuch as were taken Priſoners, the Repreſentatives of thoſe who were dead, or the two Gentlemen, who had ſerved on board the *Speedwel*, the Prize-money ſtood thus:

	Dollars.
The Share of Money and Plate - - -	280
The Share of Gold - - - - -	100
The Share of Jewels - - - - -	39
The Total of a Fore-maſt-man's Dividend -	419

Which, at 4 *s.* 8 *d.* a Dollar, makes *Engliſh* Money 97 *l.* 15 *s.* 4 *d.*

According to this Diſtribution,	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
The Captain's Share was - - - -	1466	10	00
The ſecond Captain - - -	733	35	00
The Captain of Marines, Lieutenants of the Ship, and Surgeon - - -	488	16	08

But tho' Captain *Cook*, and his Aſſociates, had the good Luck to carry their Point in this manner, yet Captain *Clipperton*'s Defence had ſo much Weight with the chief Mandarin, that, before he obliged him to proceed to this Diſtribution of Shares, he ordered one Half of the Cargo to be ſecured for the Benefit of the Owners; which, in ready Money, wrought Silver, Gold, and Jewels, amounted to between 6 and 7000 *l.* Sterl. which he cauſed to be immediately put on board a *Portugueſe Eaſt Indiaman*, called the *Queen of Angels*, Don *Franciſco la Vero* Commander: Which Ship was unfortunately burnt at *Rio Janeiro* on the Coaſt of *Braſil*, *June* 6. 1722. So that of theſe Effects the Owners received no more, the Charges of Salvage deducted, than 1800 *l.* I have drawn all theſe Facts together, tho' the laſt of them did not happen till their Arrival at *Macao*, that the Reader might, in one View, ſee the Conſequences of this Mutiny, and the Means, by which the Proprietors of this Expedition were defeated of its Profits, notwithſtanding all the Care that Captain *Clipperton* could take to ſecure their Property. The Reader will eaſily perceive, that there was a ſtrange Mixture of Right and Wrong, of Juſtice and of Violence, in the Conduct of the *Chineſe* Mandarin towards Captain *Clipperton* and his People. I have endeavoured already to throw ſome Light upon the Subject, by giving the Reader a general Account of the Diſpoſition and Conduct of theſe People; but, as I have ſome very particular Memoirs, not only of this Tranſaction, but of the State of Things in general in this Port at that time, I preſume I ſhall do him a Pleaſure, if I dwell ſomewhat longer upon this Subject. The People, and even the Mandarins, at *Amoy*, have ſo managed Matters for a long Space of Time, that, amongſt their Countrymen, who ſhould know them beſt, they have acquired to their Port the Epithet of *Hiamuin Booz*, i. e. *Amoy* the wicked, or, ſtill more literally tranſlated, *Amoy* the roguiſh. The Fiſhermen upon the Coaſt ſhake their Heads, and pronounce theſe Words with a very ſignificant Air, whenever they meet with any *European* Ship inclined to put into that Port; but, for want of underſtanding the Language, or, perhaps, from a Confidence in their own Prudence, they very rarely make a right Uſe of theſe Warnings; which, in a ſhort time, however, they are ſure to repent: For it is a certain Rule, that particular Provinces never acquire ſuch Marks or Characters of Diſhoneſty, without deſerving them. The Cuſtom of this Port is, to diſarm every Ship that comes into it, and then to ſend two Frigates, or, as they are called in the *Chineſe* Tongue, *Chanpans*, full of Men, to ride near the Veſſel, in order to obſerve her, and execute the Directions, which the Mandarins may ſend them. Beſides the monſtrous Impoſition, under the Name of Port-Charges, which has been already mentioned, they have ſome other ſtrange Methods of coming at Money here; for tho' the Small-craft of the Country ſeem to have free Liberty of carrying on board all ſorts of Proviſions, which, being in great plenty there, ought to be afforded at a moderate Price, yet, in Reality, every one of theſe Veſſels goes on board the *Chanpan* firſt, and there pays a Conſideration for Leave to go on board the ſtrange Veſſel; and, by this means, the Price of all manner of Proviſion is raiſed about a third. Another mean Artifice, practiſed by the Mandarins, is, ſending Preſents of Wine, Proviſions, and coſtly Curioſities, to the Captains, and other Officers, of which, when the Ship is ready to ſail, they ſend a very exact Memorial, with the Prices tacked to it; and the laſt Article is ſo much for the Clerk's writing the Bill: Which muſt be diſcharged in Money or Commodities,

dities, before their Arms or Ammunition are returned. It would require a Sheet or two to lay open all the reſt of their Practices; and therefore I ſhall content myſelf with giving the Reader an Account of what happened to a *Britiſh* Ship in this Port in the Year 1715, which, very probably, was of Service to Captain *Clipperton*, and hindered him from being worſe treated than he was. This Ship anchored in the Port of *Amoy*; and, having run through the whole Circle of their Frauds, ſold the beſt Part of their Cargo, at laſt, to Merchants recommended by the chief Mandarin, who very fairly became Bankrupts in twenty-four Hours after they had the Goods in their Hands. The Captain bore this with the greateſt Patience; he did not ſo much as ſuffer any harſh Expreſſion to eſcape him; he took all things in good Part, and even duped the *Chineſe* themſelves by his ſtudied Diſſimulation; but, as ſoon as he had Licence to depart, he made a clear Ship, loaded all his Guns, ordered his Men to their reſpective Poſts, and then cut away a *Japoneſe* Junk of twice the Value of his Cargo, and carried her into the Bay directly. This ſurpriſed the *Chineſe* exceſſively; but they immediately fitted out twenty or thirty Chanpans, crouded full of Men, who had the Courage to venture very near the *Britiſh* Ship, till the Captain diſcharged a Stern Gun; and then they fled precipitately into Port. This Affair being brought before the Emperor, he ordered all the Mandarins at *Amoy* to be caſhiered, and Satisfaction to be made for the *Japoneſe* Junk out of their Effects; only the chief Mandarin had a milder Sentence than the reſt, being mulcted a Year's Profits of his Employment. This gave them a great Dread to the *Engliſh* Ships; and perhaps one Reaſon that induced them to ſide with the Seamen againſt Captain *Clipperton* was, that they might have Power on their Side. In ſhort, during the Stay they made of ten Weeks, they ſufficiently experienced all the Artifices of this fraudulent and covetous People, from whom the Captain had now no way to defend himſelf, but was obliged to ſubmit to whatever they demanded. By *December* 25. the Seaſon and their Inclinations concurred to deliver them from ſo uneaſy a Situation; for, by this time, even the common Men began to be weary of the Place, or rather of the People, who carried their Scheme of Politics quite through, and, in ſmall as well as great Matters, ſhewed themſelves as finiſhed Cheats, as the World could poſſibly produce, of which almoſt every Man, who dealt with them, was a competent Witneſs. On *September* 25. their Arms and Ammunition were again put on board the *Succeſs*, and the very ſame Day they weighed out of the Harbour, and got into the Road or Gulph, from whence they propoſed going to *Macao*, in order to have the Ship ſurveyed, the Crew inſiſting, that ſhe was not in a Condition to put to Sea, in order to return home; and Captain *Clipperton* affirming the contrary, as well knowing, that they inſiſted on this Point purely to juſtify their own Conduct, and prevent their being puniſhed in *England* for their Behaviour in *China*.

24. On *September* 30. they weighed Anchor from the Bay of *Amoy*, which lies in the Province of *Tonkin*, in order to proceed to *Macao*, in the Road of which they anchored *October* 4. This was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable Places in *China*, tho' it is now much fallen to Decay. This Place has been now above 150 Years in the Hands of the *Portugueſe*: And the Manner in which they became poſſeſſed of it is an excellent Specimen of *Chineſe* Generoſity; for they, coming from *Malacca* and *India* to trade with the *Chineſe*, and being overtaken with the bad Weather, ſome Ships miſerably periſhed, for want of ſecure Harbours, in the Iſlands about *Macao*; which made them aſk ſome Place of Safety to winter in, till the Seaſon would allow them to return home: And the *Chineſe*, for their own Advantage, gave them a Spot of rocky Land, then inhabited by Robbers, that they might expel them, as they did. At firſt, they were permitted to build thatched Houſes; but afterwards, having bribed the Mandarins, they not only erected ſubſtantial Structures, but Forts. One of theſe is at the Mouth of the Harbour, called the *Fort of the Bar*, the Wall of which terminates at the Rock called *Appenha*, which is an Hermitage of the Fathers of the Order of St. *Auguſtin on the Hill*. The other, being the biggeſt, is called the *Fort of the Mountain*, becauſe ſituated on the very Top of an Hill. There is alſo another high Fort, called *Nueſtra Senhora da Guia*, or, Our Lady of Guidance. The City of *Macao* ſtands on a Peninſula; and there is a very ſtrong Wall built acroſs the Iſthmus, with a Gate in the Middle of it, through which the *Chineſe* go in and out at Pleaſure; but it is Death for any *Portugueſe* to paſs that way. Some Travellers have reported, that the *Portugueſe* were Sovereigns here, as in other Places in the *Eaſt Indies*: But they never were; for the *Chineſe* are much too wiſe a People to ſuffer any thing of that kind. It is indeed true, that, taking all things together, the City of *Macao* is as fine, or perhaps a finer City, than could be expected, conſidering its untoward Situation. It is likewiſe true, that it is very regularly and very ſtrongly fortified; and that there are upwards of 200 Pieces of Braſs Cannon upon its Walls: But, with all this, it can only defend itſelf againſt Strangers. The *Chineſe* ever were, and ever will be, Maſters of it, without firing a Cannon, or ſtriking a Blow. They have nothing to do, but to ſhut that Gate, which they have often done, and place a Guard there; for *Macao* is then undone. The Inhabitants cannot ſubſiſt ſo much as for a Day, without receiving Proviſions from the adjacent Country; and, beſides, the Place is ſo ſhut in by well-peopled Iſlands, and the *Chineſe* are ſo much Maſters at Sea, that, on the ſlighteſt Difference, the *Portugueſe* at *Macao* might be ſtarved. But to proceed from Reaſoning to Facts: The *Portugueſe* have indeed the Government within the City-walls over their own People, and yet *Macao* is, ſtrictly and propely, a *Chineſe* City; for there is a Governor reſident upon the Spot, and an *Hoppo*, or Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms; and theſe *Chineſe* Mandarins, with all their Officers and Servants, are maintained at the Expence of the City, who are at the Charge of the *Portugueſe* Government alſo. In ſpite of all this, the Inhabitants were formerly exceſſively rich, which was owing to the great Trade they carried on to *Japan*; which is now, in a manner, loſt: Bnt, as they are ſeated near *Canton*, and are allowed to go to the two annual Fairs at that City, and to make trading Voyages when they are over, they ſtill find a way to ſubſiſt, and that is all; for the prodigious Preſents they were forced to make to the *Chineſe* Mandarins upon all Occaſions, eat up, in a great meaſure, their Profit. A Veſſel, that goes to *Canton*, pays, in the firſt Place, 100 *l.* Sterl. for Leave to trade; they are next forced to make a conſiderable Preſent for Permiſſion to have their Goods brought on board by the *Chineſe*, to whom they not only pay ready Money for what they buy, but advance it likewiſe ſometimes a Year beforehand. After all this, there is a Preſent neceſſary for Leave to depart, which is at leaſt double to what was given for Leave to trade; and they pay Duties to the Emperor for all they buy, over and above theſe Preſents to his Miniſters. As ſoon as Captain *Clipperton* in the *Succeſs* entered this Port, he ſaluted the Fortreſs; which Compliment being returned, he went on ſhore, and found in the Place the Captain of a *Portugueſe* Man of War, whoſe Name we have mentioned before, and who undertook to carry what belonged to the Owners to *Braſil*. The Crew found themſelves a little at a Loſs here, the *Portugueſe* Captain declaring abſolutely in favour of their Commander; and therefore Mr. *Cook*, and another Gentleman, propoſed going to *Canton*, to conſult Mr. *Winder*, Supercargo to an *Eaſt Indiaman*, and Son to one of the principal Proprietors, as to the Meaſures which ſhould be taken about carrying the *Succeſs* home; and, upon their Return, the Ship was ſurveyed, condemned, and ſold for 4000 Dollars; which was much leſs than ſhe was worth; but that was none of Captain *Clipperton*'s Fault, who, to ſhew that he ſtill adhered to his former Opinion, agreed with the Perſons who had bought her for his Paſſage in her to *Batavia*; a plain Indication, that there was no Danger of her foundering at Sea. The Ship ſold, the Crew immediately conceived, that every Man was at Liberty to ſhift for himſelf, and to uſe his beſt Endeavour to ſave what little was left him, after ſo unlucky an Expedition. They had Reaſon indeed to think it unlucky, ſince they were, by this time, ſatisfied, that Captain *Mitchell*, his Crew, and Cargo, were all gone to the Bottom, or elſe fallen into the Hands of the *Spaniards*; which was to them pretty much the ſame thing. It was, however, ſome Conſolation to them, that they were in the Neighbourhood of the *Engliſh* Factory at *Canton*; and therefore,

ſix Dollars apiece being required for a Paſſage in one of the *Chineſe* Boats thither, twenty of them agreed to it immediately, in hopes of getting a Paſſage from thence home to *England*; and of this Number Mr. *Taylor* the Mate was one: But, before they came to ſail, he had a Foreſight of the Danger; and therefore choſe to loſe his Money, and wait for another Conveniency; and he had Reaſon to look upon this Loſs as a Piece of Frugality, ſince the next News they heard was, that the Boat had been taken by a Pirate, and that moſt of the People had loſt their Things. After a ſhort Stay at *Macao*, an Opportunity offered for Mr. *Taylor*'s getting ſpeedily and ſafely to *Canton*, a Mandarin going thither in an armed Boat, for which he, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* Seamen that went with him, paid twenty Dollars an Head: And their Paſſage taught them, that, in ſome Caſes, there may be Frugality in Expence; for, in their Paſſage, they ſaw a Pirate take a Boat in Sight of the Mandarin's; which plainly ſhewed, that the Government winked at thoſe things, and perhaps thought it good Policy to raiſe a conſiderable Revenue, partly by Preſents from the Pirates, and partly by Sums paid by Merchants and Paſſengers for their Protection; which is one among a Number of Facts that might be brought to prove, that the boaſted Wiſdom of the *Chineſe* is nothing more, than the Science of dextrouſly hiding their Robberies from the Inſpection of the Law; a ſort of Practice, in which, perhaps, they are as much exceeded by ſome Northern Nations, as in the Uſe of the Compaſs, of which, notwithſtanding, the *Chineſe* boaſt that they were the firſt Inventors; and, perhaps, a better Title might be made to that Invention by them, than by any body elſe; but, with reſpect to Improvement, their Compaſs, and their Manner of managing this political Trade of Pirating, are equally clumſy.

25. On *November* 4. they arrived at the *Engliſh* Factory at *Canton*, where they were well received, and promiſed all imaginable Aſſiſtance towards their getting home, which was what they now chiefly aimed at. There were, at this time, ſeveral Ships there ready to ſail, firſt for ſeveral Ports in *India*, and then for *Europe*. The Captains of theſe Veſſels being ſolicited by the Factory to take Captain *Clipperton*'s Men on board, they met, and agreed to carry them to *Great Britain* for five Pounds a Man, being a very great Favour; and accordingly they all paid their Money. Mr. *Taylor*, and two or three more, went aboard the *Maurice*, Captain *Peacock*, at *Wanapo*, being the Place where the *European* Ships lay, about three Leagues down *Canton* River. The reſt of their Company divided in ſeveral Ships. On the 9th, they ſailed, in Company of the *Macclesfield*, an *Engliſh Eaſt Indiaman*, and an *Oſtender*, called the *Houſe of Auſtria*. Mr. *Taylor* arrived ſafely at *Batavia* in the Month of *December*, ſailed from thence to the Cape of *Good Hope* in *February*, came to *St. Helena* in *March*, and, in *May* 1722, arrived in *London*. The reſt of the Ship's Company returned, ſome ſooner, ſome later, as Opportunities offered; but, as for Captain *Mitchell*, who was ſent to *Braſil* with a ſmall Crew, he was never heard of, and moſt probably was deſtroyed on the Iſland of *Velas*, where he went aſhore for the ſake of getting freſh Proviſions. This has been generally conſidered as the greateſt Blemiſh of Captain *Clipperton*'s Adminiſtration, I muſt confeſs I think, without any juſt Reaſon. In the firſt Place, I conceive, the great Streſs Captain *Rogers* lays upon that Expedient might very well engage Captain *Clipperton* to try what might be done in this Way, eſpecially ſince the Owners had ſo ſtrongly recommended Captain *Rogers*'s Account of his Voyage, as the Rule and Guide of that, which was to be made at their Expence. In the next Place, I muſt own, I think the Project in itſelf ſo very reaſonable, that I do not wonder an Officer, who had the Good of the Voyage at Heart, was deſirous of trying the Experiment. They very well knew, that the Prizes they had taken would produce little or nothing in the South Seas, becauſe the Sums, demanded by the Governors for Licences to trade, were ſo extravagant, that no Profits could reſult from ſuch a Commerce, either to Buyers or Sellers. They knew too, that carrying thoſe Goods back again to *Europe* was doing little or nothing; and therefore, if there was a Probability of ſending them to a Place, where they might be ſold to great Advantage, and the Produce inveſted ſo, as to procure conſiderable Profit on the Voyage from *Braſil* to *London*, it appears to me in the Light of a very good Deſign. As to the Veſſel in which Captain *Mitchell* embarked, it was very fit for his Purpoſe, and every way well provided; and his Crew, of thirteen *Engliſh*, and ten Negroes, ſufficient for the Navigation. Captain *Mitchell* himſelf was a very good Officer, and, for any thing that appears, was very well ſatiſfied with the Command to which he was appointed: Neither is there the leaſt Intimation, that this Scheme of Captain *Clipperton*'s was cenſured, even by his own mutinous Crew, till the Event ſhewed, that it was unſucceſsful: So that, on the Whole, I think, the Captain was rather to be commended than condemned for this Action, by which he could propoſe no Advantage to himſelf, but in common with the Owners, from the Succeſs of the Voyage. But it is time to quit theſe Reflections, in order to come to the laſt Scene of Captain *Clipperton*'s Life.

26. He ſailed in the *Succeſs*, after ſhe was ſold, as a Paſſenger, from *Macao* to *Batavia*; from whence he procured a Paſſage home in a *Dutch Eaſt India* Ship, and arrived, in the Beginning of *June* 1722, at *Galway* in *Ireland*, where he left his Family, in a very bad State of Health, occaſioned partly by his great Fatigues, but chiefly through the Concern he was under for the Loſs the Owners had ſuſtained by this unfortunate Voyage. It may indeed be objected, that, on his Arrival in *Holland*, he ought to have returned thence to *London*, and given the Proprietors the beſt Account in his Power of the Undertaking, and of his Management. But, when we reflect, firſt, on his ſending home their Moiety of the Profits in the *Portugueſe* Ship, which, by the way, very nearly reimburſed the Expence they had been at in fitting out the *Succeſs*, the Purchaſe-money of the Ship being taken in, and if we next advert to the weak Condition he was in, when he went to *Galway*, where he did not live a Week, we may very well excuſe him. He might very probably have hoped, that the Comfort of ſeeing his Wife and Children might contribute to reſtore his Health, and enable him to make a Voyage to *London*, when in a Condition, to ſettle his Accounts; or, if he found himſelf ſo very low, as abſolutely to deſpair of recovering at all, it was very natural for him to deſire the Satisfaction of ſeeing his Family in his laſt Moments. But, above all, we ought to remember, that it was not in his Power to do more for the Proprietors, than he had done; and therefore he was at the greater Liberty to take all the Care he could of his private Concerns. It is a very eaſy matter to cenſure the Conduct, blacken the Memory, and miſrepreſent the Actions, of a poor Man in his Grave; but, from this plain and faithful Account of all his Tranſactions, I dare ſay, every impartial Reader will agree, that he was an Object of Pity, rather than Reſentment, ſince, after ſo many long Voyages, in which he ſuffered ſo many and ſo great Hardſhips, he died at laſt of a broken Heart, with a broken Fortune.

27. The Remarks that have been made on the laſt Voyage, have ſuch a Relation to this, that, if I was not, as I really am, pretty much ſtreightened for Room, I ſhould not take up much of the Reader's Time in Obſervations. A very few Remarks are neceſſary, and I ſhall make but a few, and ſuch as have a Tendency to explain the Nature of all Expeditions of this Kind. In the firſt Place, I ſhall take notice, that the Expence of this Adventure, though much larger than it need have been, by procuring his Imperial Majeſty's Commiſſion, and the waſting ſome Money in *Flanders*, was not exceſſively great, or ſuch as ought to diſcourage all future Undertakings of this Nature. It was, as the Proprietors themſelves admit, no more than 14,000*l.* and, when it is conſidered, that two large fine Ships were fitted out, capable, in all reſpects, if their Commanders had agreed, and done their Duty, of combating the whole Force of the *Spaniards* in the South Seas, if, I ſay, we conſider this, and ſuffer ourſelves at the ſame time to remember, that at leaſt as much is ſpent in a Seaſon at *Vauxhall*, or *Ranelagh*, we may juſtly wonder, that the South Seas do not ſwarm with *Engliſh* Privateers. It is true, there are ſome *French* Ships gone thither by Permiſſion, which may be of tolerable Strength; but, except theſe, there is no Reaſon to ſuſpect, that the *Spaniards* are ſtronger, than at the Time Captain *Clipperton* made his Voyage. Our Efforts, during this War, have been chiefly

made in the North Seas; and, therefore, the *Spaniſh* Governors have turned their Attention moſtly on that Side, and, conſequently, they neglected this. It muſt be owned, that Captain *Clipperton*'s Voyage proved a great Loſs to his Owners, who did not receive above 2000 *l.* for between ſeven and eight that they laid out: Yet, if we conſider, that, notwithſtanding his Separation from his Conſort, and many other unlucky Accidents that he met with, he actually ſecured 6000 *l.* for his Owners, beſides 5000 *l.* loſt with Captain *Mitchell*, and one thouſand more, for which the *Succeſs* was ſold, we ſhall find, that he made more than a ſaving Voyage of it; and that, conſequently, if both Ships had done their Duty, the Expedition had been at leaſt as gainful as that of the *Duke* and *Ducheſs*, which coſt very little more than this, and which produced 170,000 Pounds, one Moiety of which belonged to the Proprietors; which is ſufficient to ſhew, the ill Turn that this Affair took, ought by no means to diſcourage us from undertaking ſuch an Expedition for the future; ſince we can ſcarce propoſe any other, that has a Proſpect of being more advantageous, or leſs hazardous. I ſhall next obſerve, that the Skill of Captain *Clipperton* has fully ſhewn us, that there is nothing extremely dangerous in a Voyage to the South Seas. He ſailed on the 15th of *February*, and he entered the Streights of *Magellan* the 29th of *May*, which makes but ſeventy-three Days in the Whole, out of which we are to take twenty, that he cruiſed for his Conſort at the *Canaries*, and Cape *de Verde* Iſlands; ſo that we may very well ſuppoſe, that, if the Ships had been together, and had met with none of theſe unlucky Accidents, they might in three Months have doubled Cape *Horne*. To theſe Obſervations I ſhall add another, and ſo conclude. It appears to have been Captain *Clipperton*'s Intention to have come home in the *Succeſs*, inſtead of ſelling her at *Macao* for about half what ſhe was worth; and, if he had done this, it is very highly probable, he had ſaved all the Money which was loſt in the *Portugueſe Eaſt Indiaman*, and made a tolerable Voyage. The contrary Scheme, of ſelling, deſtroying, and getting home at any Rate, appears to have been purſued by Captain *Cook*, and the Ship's Company, who, provided they got Poſſeſſion of the Shares they had carved out for themſelves, were not in any Pain about the Intereſt of the Proprietors. This ſhews how neceſſary it is to be ſecure as to the Characters of under Officers, before they are employed in Expeditions of this Nature. A Man of a narrow and ſelfiſh Diſpoſition, who has nothing at Heart but the adding to his own Fortune by any Method, and at any body's Expence, will never fail to invent, or to promote, any Scheme that ſeems calculated for his own Advantage, tho' diametrically oppoſite to the Deſign of the Voyage: And the having a Spirit or two of this Sort, is ſufficient to diſturb and confound any Privateer's Crew; ſince ſuch are generally made up of Men low in Birth, mean in Underſtanding, and neceſſitous in point of Fortune, which was the Caſe here, as Captain *Betagh* acknowledges in the Account of the Voyage, where he profeſſes, that, when they left *Plymouth*, he was ſure the Ship's Company could not raiſe 5 *l.* amongſt them all It is true, there might be a Difficulty in getting many Perſons of Senſe, Probity, and in tolerable Circumſtances, to undertake a Privateering Voyage to the South Seas: But, this is what need not be endeavoured; for tolerable Terms, granted to half a dozen Seafaring People, would anſwer the End, and procure the Captain, or Commander in Chief, Friends enough to ſupport him, whenever he was in the Right; for, though it be very eaſy to ſeduce the private Men by enſnaring Speeches, yet it rarely happens, that they plot and execute any wicked Deſign, without the Encouragement, or Connivence at leaſt, of ſome of their Officers; but, when once they are ſatisfied, that a Party is formed amongſt them againſt the Commander in chief, they are always backward in their Duty, think every thing that is expected from them a Hardſhip, and are never to be ſatisfied as to their Demands of Plunder, *&c.* As a further Proof of this, the Reader need only obſerve, that while Captain *Mitchell*, and Mr. *Daviſon*, were on board, there fell out none of theſe Diſputes, none of theſe Mutinies; but, after the unfortunate Buſineſs at *Guam*, when Captain *Clipperton* had made ſo free with the Glaſs, as not to be able to command when the Ship was in the utmoſt Danger, there was an End of Diſcipline; and *Cook*, who appears to have been raiſed on that Occaſion to a temporary Command, by the Conſent of the Ship's Crew, inveſted himſelf thenceforward with a Title and Authority of ſecond Captain; and puſhed the Buſineſs of ſharing the Prize-money, that he might be conſidered in that Quality upon the Diſtribution of the Money; which ſingle Act was the abſolute Ruin of the Voyage. Such untoward Influence may one Man's Vices have on the Fortunes of many.

SECTION XVIII.

Captain GEORGE SHELVOCKE's *Voyage round the World from his own Account.*

1. *The Author's Departure from* England, *and Separation from* Clipperton. 2. *Proceed to the* Canaries, *and Cape* de Verd *Iſlands.* 3. *Their Arrival at the Iſland of* St. Catharine's, *on the Coaſt of* Braſil; *Proceedings there, and Deſcription of that Iſland.* 4. *Diſputes and Diſturbances among the Ship's Crew; and the Means taken to appeaſe them.* 5. *Continuation of the Voyage to the Streights of* le Maire, *and Paſſage through them.* 6. *They cruiſe on the Coaſt of* Chili, *with indifferent Succeſs.* 7. *Arrival at, and Deſcription of, the Iſland of* Chiloe. 8. *Arrival in the Bay of* Conception. 9. *Sail for the Iſland of* Juan Fernandez. 10. *Proſecute their Voyage, and cruiſe on the Coaſt of* Peru. 11. *Arrival in, and Deſcription of, the Port of* Arica. 12. *Tranſactions in the Cruize from thence to* Payta. 13. *Arrival at, and Attack of, the Town of* Payta. 14. *A ſmart Engagement with the* Spaniſh *Admiral in the South Seas.* 15. *Sail back to the Coaſt of* Chili, *and are ſhipwreck'd on the Iſland of* Juan Fernandez. 16. *Account of their Tranſactions while forced to remain on that Iſland.* 17. *Build a Bark there, in order to proceed again into the South Seas.* 18. *Deſcription of the Iſland of* Juan Fernandez, *in the Condition in which they found it.* 19. *They attack and make themſelves Maſters of* Iquique. 20. *Take a large* Spaniſh *Ship, called the* Jeſu Maria, *on the Coaſt of* Peru. 21. *Continue their Voyage to the Iſland of* Quibo. 22. *Their ſeveral Interviews with Captain* Clipperton *in the* Succeſs. 23. *Cruiſe on the Coaſt of* Mexico, *and take another large* Spaniſh *Ship, called the* Sacra Familia. 24. *Sail once more for* Quibo, *and are expoſed to great Hardſhips in their Paſſage.* 25. *They are attacked by a ſtout* Spaniſh *Ship, and, after an obſtinate Diſpute, take her.* 26. *Other Adventures in thoſe Seas.* 27. *Arrival at* Puerto Seguro, *on the Coaſt of* California. 28. *Deſcription of the South Part of that Country, and its Inhabitants.* 29. *Sail from thence for the* Eaſt Indies, *and arrive ſafely at* Canton. 30. *Proceed from thence for* England, *and arrive ſafely at* London, Auguſt 1. 1722. 31. *Remarks upon this Voyage.*

1. IN the Introduction to the former Voyage, I have given a large Account of the Motives on which it was founded; the original Plan of acting under an Imperial Commiſſion; the Reaſon why this Plan was changed, and Captain *Clipperton* advanced to the chief Command; ſo that there needs nothing more on that Subject here. I ſhall therefore obſerve, that, according to the new Scheme of the Voyage, Captain *Shelvocke* retained the Command of the *Speedwel*, a Ship of 24 Guns, and 106 Men; his ſecond Captain was Mr. *Simon Hatley*, who has a very good Character in Captain *Rogers*'s Voyage; and Mr. *William Betagh* was Captain of Marines. The Captain himſelf has written an Account of the Expedition, and therefore I have it in my Choice to make uſe of it as far as it is in my Power; adding, as Occaſion requires, ſuch explanatory Circumſtances from Captain *Betagh*'s Account, as may let the Reader into the whole Affair. On the 13th of *February* 1719. we ſailed, ſays Captain *Shelvocke*, in Company with the *Succeſs*, from *Plymouth*, and kept Company together no longer than to the 19th, when, between nine and ten o'Clock at Night, there came on a violent Storm of Wind at South-weſt, which obliged us to take in our Top-ſails: The Gale increaſing upon us, and being very much preſſed, I haled up my Fore-ſail under the *Succeſs*'s Lee; upon which they made a Signal for bringing-to: By eleven o'Clock we were under bare Poles, with our Yards a-portland, not being able to ſuffer one Knot of Canvas all Night, except for a little while a-reefed Mizen. About Midnight, a Sea ſtruck us upon the Quarter, and drove in one of our Quarter's, and one of our Stern dead Lights, where we ſhipped great Quantities of Water before we were able to ſtop them again, and were, for a conſiderable time, under continual Apprehenſions of foundering. This Accident expoſed us to the greateſt Danger; we were not able to get the Ship before the Wind, nor could we work the Pumps upon Deck, the Lee one being all the time under Water; and, beſides this, had a Succeſſion of prodigious Seas driving over us, ſo that none could ſtand on their Legs. In theſe melancholy Streights, the Chain-pump was the only thing we could have recourſe to, by means of which it pleaſed God that we were delivered from impending Deſtruction. On the 20th, we had no Sight of the *Succeſs*, or any other Veſſel, ſo that at Noon we ſet the Main-ſail double-reefed, at Midnight ſet the Top-ſails, and ſtood to the North-weſt. In the Morning, the Helm-coat was waſhed away, which was not ſecured again without much Difficulty. This Storm ſo terrified the greateſt Part of our Ship's Company, that I was informed, that ſeventy of them were reſolved upon bearing away for *England*, and that they had formed a Complaint againſt the Ship; for they alleged, that ſhe was ſo very crank, that ſhe would never be able to carry us to the South Seas. I endeavoured to appeaſe theſe Mutineers by Reaſon, and fair Uſage; but to very little Purpoſe: They continued, in ſpite of all I could ſay, in a firm Reſolution of purſuing their firſt Deſign, and returning to *England*; but, having recourſe to my Officers, who, appearing upon the Quarter-deck, well armed, and appearing reſolute, the Mutineers loſt their Spirits, and ſeemed inclinable to do their Duty, except two or three hardy ſtubborn Fellows, whom I ordered to the Geers; but the reſt of the Crew interpoſed, and, promiſing to wipe off all Memory of paſt Offences, by the Regularity of their future Conduct, obtained their Pardon.

2. As the *Canaries* was the firſt Place of our Rendeſvous, we continued our Courſe thither; and, meeting ſeveral Ships in our Paſſage, inquired carefully after the *Succeſs*, but were able to gain no Intelligence of her whatever. On the 17th of *March*, we arrived at the *Canaries*, and cruiſed there the Time appointed by our Inſtructions; in which Time there happened very little remarkable, except the taking a ſmall Prize of ſixteen Ton, with a little Salt, and ſome Wine, on board; and the beſt Part of the latter the Boat's Crew drank, before they brought the Prize to the Ship. The next Place I thought of going to was the Cape *de Verde* Iſlands, in Hopes, that, amongſt them, we might either meet with, or at leaſt gain ſome Intelligence of, Captain *Clipperton*. We arrived on the 14th of *April* in the Road of the Iſle of *May*, where we ſaw a Wreck, and an *Engliſh* Enſign flying near a great Smoke on the Land. As we ſtood in for Information, a Boat came off, and acquainted us, that it was the *Vanzitern Eaſt Indiaman*, Captain *Hide* Commander, who had the Miſfortune of running aſhore about three Weeks before. Upon which, I began to think, that this might be a good Opportunity of ſupplying myſelf with ſuch Neceſſaries as we wanted; and therefore aſked the Mate, If I could have any Planks or Nails out of the Wreck? He told me, that the Ships in the Road to Leeward had got every thing that could be ſaved out of her. But, when I came to enter the Road, all the Ships that were there, being thirteen in Number, oppoſed it, from a Suppoſition, that I was a Free-booter; but, being convinced, the Commodore, and the reſt of the Maſters, came on board, and made their Excuſes, promiſing I ſhould have whatever I wanted. But, after all, I was able to obtain nothing more than two or three Sheathing-boards, and a few Tons of Salt. A little before we arrived here, my Gunner, whoſe Name was *Turner Stevens*, very gravely propoſed to me, and the reſt of the Officers, cruiſing in the Red Sea: For, ſaid he, there can be no harm in robbing thoſe *Mahomedans*: The poor *Spaniards* they are good Chriſtians, and it would, doubtleſs, be a Sin to injure them. Upon which, I immediately ordered him into Confinement. After this, he, in a very outrageous Manner, threatened to blow up the Ship. Therefore, for theſe, and many other Reaſons, I diſcharged him, at his own Requeſt, being very glad to ſee every body elſe as well pleaſed as myſelf at his Departure: I alſo left my chief Mate here, at his own Deſire, having been guilty of ſeveral Miſdemeanours; but particularly, the Night after we anchored, he had the Imprudence to quarrel with Mr. *Brooks*, the firſt Lieutenant, and to fight with him; which cauſed no ſmall Diſturbance on board; for which I corrected him, and was very well ſatisfied to find him ſo inclinable to leave us, he having been a very troubleſome Perſon. On the 18th, we weighed from the Iſland of *May*, and arrived the ſame Day in the Road of *Porto Praya*, on the Iſland of *St. Iago*, which is the chief of the Cape *de Verdes*, and had Abundance of fair Promiſes from the commanding Officer; which ended, however, in nothing more than getting a little Proviſions: And here I ſold our ſmall Prize for 150 Dollars to the Governor (Captain *Betagh* affirms, the Purchaſe-money was but eighty Dollars); and finding, after repeated Experiments, that there was no ſort of Dependence to be made on this *Portugueſe* Officer, I reſolved to quit this Iſland without Delay; the rather, becauſe I had thought of another Place, where I had Hopes of obtaining whatever was neceſſary for our Paſſage into the South Seas. The Place I intended for was the Iſland of *St. Catharine*'s, on the Coaſt of *Braſil*, in the Latitude of 20° 30′ South; which, according to the Account given of it by Mr. *Frezier*, abounds with all the Neceſſaries of Life, and with ſuch Conveniencies eſpecially as are requiſite in long Voyages. On the 20th, we ſailed from *St. Iago*, from whence we had a very bad Paſſage, being twenty-one Days before we croſſed the Equinoctial: While we were between the two Trade-winds, we had generally little variable Breezes all round the Compaſs, ſometimes great Squalls of Wind and Rain, with Thunder, Lightning, *&c.* and, in ſhort, the moſt uncertain Weather imaginable. We were fifty-five Days in going to *St. Catharine*'s, during which, little remarkable happened; except that, on the 4th of *June*, we made Cape *Frio*, bearing Weſt ſeven Leagues diſtant at Noon, Latitude, *per* Obſervation, 23° 41′ South; and, on the 5th in the Afternoon, we ſaw a Ship ſtemming with us, whom we ſpoke with. I ordered the five-oar'd Boat to be hoiſted out, and ſent Captain *Hatley* in her, to inquire what News on the Coaſt; and gave him Money to buy ſome Tobacco; for the *Succeſs* had got our Stock on board of that, as well as other Things, which created a Weſt-country Famine among us. When *Hatley* returned, he told me, ſhe was a *Portugueſe* from *Rio Janeiro*, and bound to *Pernambuco*; that he could get no Tobacco; and had therefore laid out my Money in unneceſſary Trifles, *viz.* China Cups and Plates, a little Hand-neſt of Drawers, four or five Pieces of *China* Silks, Sweet-meats, Bananas, Plantains, and Pompions, *&c.* I gave him to underſtand, that I was not at all pleaſed with him for ſquandering away my Money in ſo ſilly a Manner: He anſwered, "That he "thought what he did was for the beſt; that he had laid "out his own Money as well as mine, and, in his Opi-"nion, to a good Advantage; and that, to his Know-"ledge, the Things he bought, would ſell for double the

“ Money they coſt, at the next Port we were going to.” However, I aſſured him, I did not like his Proceedings by any means. The Account which Captain *Betagh* gives of this Matter, is very different. He aſſerts, that Captain *Shelvocke* ordered Imperial Colours to be hoiſted, and then obliged the *Portugueſe* to bring to: Captain *Hatley*, going aboard with a Boat's Crew, armed each Man with a Cutlaſs, and a Pair of Piſtols, put the *Portugueſe* Captain in ſuch a Fright, that he not only ſent all Sorts of Refreſhments, but a dozen Pieces of Silk, flowered with Gold and Silver, worth about three Pounds a Yard, ſeveral Dozens of China Plates and Baſons, a Japan Cabinet, and three hundred Moidores in hard Gold, ninety-ſix of which were afterwards found upon *Hatley* when taken Priſoner by the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt Indies*, where this Fact, having ſo ſtrong an Appearance of Piracy, had like to have coſt him his Life.

3. On the 23d of *June*, they anchored before the Iſland of *St. Catharine*, where, ſays Captain *Shelvocke*, the firſt thing I did, was to ſend the Carpenter aſhore, with all the People that could be uſeful to him, in felling of Trees and ſawing them into Planks: The reſt of the Crew were employed in other neceſſary Services: And, in the mean time, the Captain of the Iſland, and the reſt of the Inhabitants, came off every Day with freſh Proviſions; which was a very great Convenience, becauſe it hindered our People from breaking in upon their Sea-ſtores, while they continued in this Harbour. I purchaſed likewiſe 21 Black Cattle, ſeveral Hogs, and 200 large ſalted Drum-fiſh; together with 150 Buſhels of a ſort of Meal which the *Portugueſe* call *Farino de Fao*, which is the Flour of Caſſador-root, as fine as our Oatmeal; a very hearty Food, and prepared with very little Trouble. I likewiſe bought 160 Buſhels of Calavances, ſome with Money, at the Rate of a Dollar a Buſhel, and ſome with Salt, exchanging one Buſhel for another; adding to all this a very neceſſary Article; which was, a good Quantity of Tobacco. The Account given by Monſieur *Frezier*, of this Iſland, is very exact, except in two Particulars: The firſt is, that he takes no notice of an Iſland lying between that of *Gall*, and the Continent of *Braſil*; the next, a Reef of Rocks, which is a very material Omiſſion. In all Deſcriptions of this Kind, Care ſhould be taken to ſet down every thing plainly, ſo as to prevent any Doubts from ariſing in the Minds of ſuch as are to make uſe of theſe Deſcriptions, eſpecially with regard to Roads, Anchoring-places, and where Water is to be taken in. For want of Accuracy in this reſpect, ſuch as have no other Guide but their Books and Charts, which was our Caſe, are liable to run into dangerous Errors, and ſuch, perhaps, as admit of no Remedy; and, for this Reaſon, where-ever I venture upon any Deſcriptions, I ſhall be more careful to lay down what may be of Uſe, than to entertain the Reader with Matter of Amuſement. But, to return from theſe Reflections, to that which occaſioned them. In order to arrive at the Anchoring-place, you muſt continue to ſail in the Chanel between *St. Catharine*'s and the Continent, till you come within or near two ſmall Iſlands, which, as yet, have had no Name given them: Over-againſt the Northermoſt of theſe is the Watering-place on *St. Catharine*'s, near to the Entrance of a ſmall Salt-water Creek; oppoſite to which, you may come-to in ſix or ſeven Fathom very ſafely, the Bottom being a fine grey Sand. The Iſland of *St. Catharine*'s is about eight Leagues and an half in Length, but, in Breadth, no-where exceeds two Leagues; and the Chanel, between it and the Continent, ſo narrow in one Part, as not to be much above a Quarter of a Mile in Breadth: It is all over covered with inacceſſible Woods, ſo that, excepting the Plantations, there is not a clear Spot upon it. The leaſt Iſland about it is in the ſame Manner, abounding with a great Variety of Trees, and Undergrowth with Brambles and Thorns, which hinder any Acceſs; and the main Continent of *Braſil* may be juſtly termed a vaſt continued Wilderneſs. The Saſſafras, ſo much eſteemed in *Europe*, is ſo common there, that we laid in a good Quantity, inſtead of other Wood, for firing. They have there great Plenty of Oranges, both China and Seville, Lemons, Citrons, Limes, Bananas, Palm, Cabbage, Melons of all Sorts, and Potatoes. They have the Sugar-cane very large and good, but make little or no Uſe of it for want of Utenſils; ſo that the little Melaſſes and Rum they have they ſell very dear. As to their Game, there is hardly any to be had, although the Woods are full of Parrots, which are good Eating, and are always ſeen to fly in Pairs, notwithſtanding there may be ſome hundreds in a Flock, Maccaros, Cockatoes, Plovers, and a great Diverſity of other Birds, of curious Colours, and peculiar Shapes, particularly one ſomewhat larger than a Thruſh, which has a Spur in the Joint of each Wing. The Flamingoes are very often ſeen here in great Numbers; they are of a very fine Scarlet, and appear extremely beautiful when flying; they are about the Size of an Heron, and not unlike them in Shape. 'Tis quite otherwiſe with the Fiſhery; for, as they have abundance of ſeveral Sorts of good Fiſh, ſo they have almoſt every-where the beſt Conveniency for haling the Seyne. All their Bays and Creeks are very well ſtocked with Mullets, large Rays, Grunters, Cavallies, and Drum-fiſh, ſo called from the Noiſe they make, by which they are followed to Shole-water, and taken; ſome of which are twenty or thirty Pounds Weight, and their Scales are almoſt as big as a Crown-piece; the *Portugueſe* call them Moroes. You may go up three or four Miles into the ſalt-water Creek before-mentioned, to be near the Watering-place, where each Rock, Stone, and even the Roots of the Mangrove-trees, afford a delicious Sort of ſmall green Oyſters: Likewiſe, among the Rocks by the Sea-ſide, you find what is commonly called the Sea-egg; in its outward Form, it nearly reſembles a Dockbur, excepting that they are generally three or four times as big, and are of a Sea-green or deep-purple Colour; but, in the Inſide, they are divided in Partitions, like Oranges; each Partition contains a yellow Subſtance, which is eaten raw, and, in my Opinion, exceeds all the Shell-fiſh I ever taſted; they have Prawns of an extraordinary Size; and, in our Nets, we ſometimes caught the Sea-horſe. On the Savannahs of *Areziliba*, on the Continent, over-againſt the Southermoſt Part of *St. Catharine*'s, they have great Numbers of Black Cattle, ſome of which we were ſufficiently ſupplied with from thence, and which we bought at a very reaſonable Price. The Character of the *Portugueſe* of this Iſland is, that they are a Parcel of Banditti, which come for Refuge here from the neighbouring and more ſtrictly governed Colonies of *Braſil*: *Emanuel Manſa*, who was what they called the Captain of the Iſland, was ſtill their Chief, as much as in *Frezier*'s Time; however, for my Part, I can but do them the Juſtice to ſay, that they traded with me very honeſtly, and were very civil to every one, but thoſe who gave them thoſe groſs Affronts hereafter mentioned. They enjoy the Bleſſings of a fertile Country, and a wholſome Air; and ſtand in need of no Neceſſaries, except Cloathing. They have Fire-arms ſufficient for their Uſe; and, indeed, they have need of them very often; for they are greatly troubled with Tygers; but Uſe has made them eaſy under that Inconveniency; yet, in their Houſes, they are obliged to keep a great many Dogs, to deſtroy thoſe ravenous Creatures, who oftentimes make a prodigious Havock amongſt them. I have been told, that a Tyger has killed eight or ten Dogs in a Night; but, if it be Daylight, they ſeldom eſcape from them; for they then afford the Inhabitants a kind of Diverſion, and an Opportunity to deſtroy them effectually. In ſhort, nothing is more common, than to ſee the Prints of Tygers Paws upon the ſandy Beach: As to their fine Dwelling-houſes, mentioned by Monſieur *Frezier*, none of us could ſee any ſuch thing; nor have they any Place worthy the Name of a Town, nor any Fortification of any kind, except the Woods, which are a certain Retreat and Security againſt any Enemy that may attack them. As to the *Indians* of thoſe Parts, I cannot ſay much of them, having never ſeen above two or three of them.

4. There happened, during the Stay we made at *St. Catharine*'s, ſome Paſſages worthy of Notice, of which therefore I ſhall give a conciſe Account: On *July* 2. we ſaw a large Ship at Anchor under *Parrots* Iſland, about five Miles below the Place where we lay; upon which, after taking the neceſſary Precautions for ſecuring the Watering-place, and what we had aſhore there, I ſent my Launch, well manned and armed, under the Command of a Lieutenant,

to know what ſhe was; but with a ſtrict Injunction to him not to go on board. About Noon, the Launch returned; and the Lieutenant reported, that ſhe was the *Ruby*, formerly one of our Men of War, but now one of *Martinet*'s Squadron, commanded by one M. *la Jonquiere*; that his Officers and Seamen were, moſt of them, *French*, to the Number of about 420; and that, tho' ſhe was actually in the *Spaniſh* Service, yet they had not the leaſt Deſign to moleſt us, having quitted the South Seas, upon a Report of a Rupture between *France* and *Spain*. I was very well pleaſed with this Information; but by no means ſatisfied with the Manner in which it had been obtained, becauſe my Lieutenant had diſobeyed my Orders, and had been on board the Stranger. It appeared, however, afterwards, that that M. *la Jonquiere* was a Man of ſtrict Honour. The next Day, he ſent me an Aſſurance of his good Intentions, with an Invitation to dine with him; which I accepted, and was extremely well entertained. About this time I firſt heard, that *Hatley* had plundered the *Portugueſe* Captain of 100 Moidores, and had diſtributed Part of them among his Boat's Crew, in order to engage them to Secrecy. I examined into this as ſtrictly as poſſible, with Intent, if he had been found guilty, to have delivered him up to the Captain of the *Portugueſe* Iſland; but, not being able to obtain ſuch Proof as was neceſſary, all I could do was to proteſt againſt him; which Proteſt I gave to Captain *Clipperton* in the South Seas. The ſame Man committed ſo many vile Actions on the Iſland, that our People were in the utmoſt Danger of their Lives, from the Reſentment of the *Portugueſe*; which ill Conduct of his I was neither able to prevent or puniſh, becauſe he was now become the greateſt Favourite with my mutinous Crew. On *July* 6. the *French* Captain, with ſeveral of his Officers and Paſſengers, came on board to dine with me. While they were in the Ship, my Boatſwain, whoſe Name was *Hudſon*, raiſed a Mutiny; which, with the Aſſiſtance of the *French* Gentlemen, was eaſily quelled: And M. *la Jonquiere*, when things were quiet, made a very handſome Diſcourſe to them on the Madneſs of their Behaviour; which had ſo good an Effect, that, the next Day, they appeared very ſubmiſſive, and laid all the Blame upon the Boatſwain; who excuſed himſelf, by alleging, that he was mad with Drink, beſeeching me at the ſame time, that he might have Leave to go home in the *French* Ship; which I readily gave him, knowing him, by Experience, to be a very dangerous Fellow, and one who was continually incenſing the People againſt their Officers, of whom, he pretended, there were too many; and was wont, upon all Occaſions, to ſtyle them the Bloodſuckers. On the 15th, we ſaw a large Ship lying in to the Harbour's Mouth; who, as ſoon as they diſcovered us, turned out again: Which filled M. *la Jonquiere* with ſuch Apprehenſions of her being our Conſort, that he reſolved to be gone immediately; and accordingly, when Night came on, he weighed, and fell down the Harbour, and went to Sea the next Morning, and, at his Departure, ſaluted me with five Guns. Three *Frenchmen* belonging to me went away with him; but I had two *Frenchmen*, and one *Morphew* an *Iriſhman*, in lieu of them. On the Whole, I muſt do M. *la Jonquiere* the Juſtice to ſay, that he behaved towards me, in every reſpect, as became a Gentleman, a good Officer, and a Man of Honour. On the 25th, the large Ship appeared again under *French* Colours. She was called the *Wiſe Solomon* of *St. Malo*, of forty Guns, and about 160 Men, commanded by M. *Dumain Girard*, and bound to the Coaſts of *Chili* and *Peru* to trade, and the ſame Ship we ſaw coming in before, and had ſpoken with the *Ruby* at Sea. This Gentleman abuſed M. *la Jonquiere* to me in the moſt ſcurrilous Manner, calling him Renegado, for having ſerved under a foreign Crown againſt his own Countrymen; for he being one of *Martinet*'s Squadron, their Buſineſs in the South Seas was, to ſweep thoſe Coaſts clear of the *French* Interlopers: Which they did very effectually; for there were not above two or three, out of twelve or thirteen, that eſcaped falling into *Martinet*'s Hands, who made them all legal Prizes. He likewiſe gave M. *Frezier* a very bad Character; and aſſerted, that there were many groſs Miſtakes in his Book; which, however, I did not abſolutely believe, becauſe I was a little ſuſpicious of his having a ſiniſter Deſign of depriving me of the Lights this Book affords: And indeed I found him, in every reſpect, a very ſubtle mercenary Man, full of Conceit and Vanity. I made, however, what Uſes of him I could, by purchaſing Cheeſe, Butter, Nails, and other Neceſſaries; which made me conceive myſelf in a pretty good Capacity for finiſhing the Voyage, which was now upon my Hands. This Succeſs abroad did not hinder our having great Storms at home; for my Crew, being informed, that the People on board the *Duke* and *Ducheſs* had been but indifferently uſed with reſpect to their Prize-money when they came home, reſolved to ſecure themſelves in time; and, by the Advice of one *Matthew Stewart*, who was chief Mate, drew up a Paper of Articles relating to Plunder, and ſent me a Letter, ſigned by them, in which they inſiſted on its being made the Rule of our Voyage. I took ſome time to conſider of this, which did not pleaſe them; and therefore they drew up a Letter of Attorney to this *Matthew Stewart*, and ſent him to ſolicit an Anſwer, or rather my Conſent, to their Demands; which, finding my Officers equally cold in adviſing or acting with me, I laboured to decline. But, after ſome few Days Murmuring and Uneaſineſs amongſt themſelves, and no Work going on, the Ship's Company came all on the Quarter-deck to me in a mutinous Manner, deſiring to know my final Reſolution, ſaying, that I knew theirs, which was that they would ſtand by; telling me, that they knew how to provide for themſelves, without running ſuch certain Hazards for uncertain Gain; and clamoured, in a moſt outrageous Manner, againſt Mr. *Godfrey*, who was our principal Agent, and againſt one of the chief of the Gentlemen Owners, ſaying, They had been well informed what a Pay-maſter he would make, if their Fortunes ſhould fall into his Hands, with a thouſand ſcurrilous Expreſſions; which aſtoniſhed me. In ſhort, finding them deaf to any thing I could urge againſt them, and ſo perverſely obſtinate in requiring me to comply with them, by ſigning their Articles; and conſidering the Proſpect I had of meeting Captain *Clipperton* in the South Seas, when they muſt be again reduced, and made ſubject, to their firſt Articles, or, at leaſt, under the ſame Reſtriction with thoſe under his Command; and verily believing, that the Conſequence of my Refuſal, in this Particular, would be no leſs than their running away with my Ship, and following the old Gunner's Scheme (It muſt certainly have been ſomething like; for I could not think of any other way they could have of providing for themſelves, as they called it); therefore, upon theſe Conſiderations, both myſelf, and all my chief Officers, thought it more adviſeable, for the general Good, to ſign, rather than to ſuffer them to proceed in ſuch piratical Manner. As ſoon as they had gained their Point, they expreſſed a great Satisfaction; and promiſed me, that they would always be ready to hazard their Lives on any Undertaking, that I ſhould think conducive to attain the Ends we were fitted out for. However, upon the Whole, tho' it may be called a deſperate Remedy, when one was not certain what might be the Conſequence of it, it ought to be looked on as applied to a deſperate Diſeaſe, and as the only Means left to prevail on them to go on quietly in our Expedition; for the moſt favourable Conjecture that could be made, in caſe of my not condeſcending to their Requeſt, was, that they would have certainly deſerted, and have left me and a few others here, to have ended ſo promiſing an Undertakeing in this Port. But to go on with our Voyage: *Auguſt* 3. there came in the *St. Franciſco Xavier*, a *Portugueſe* Man of War, of forty Guns, and 300 Men, from *Liſbon*, bound to *Macao* in *China*, commanded by Captain *Riviere*, a *Frenchman*. I made no doubt, but that Captain *Hatley*'s Affair would be reported to this Gentleman by ſome of the Inhabitants; and therefore told him, that I expected he would go and vindicate himſelf to the *Portugueſe* Captain, to prevent any Diſturbances that might ariſe by the Account of his Miſmanagement on board the *Portugueſe*, which we met at Sea; to which he readily replied, that he would. Therefore, to give him an Opportunity of doing it, I ſent a Compliment by him to M. *Riviere*, to whom he acquitted himſelf ſo well, as to give that Gentleman Satisfaction. On the 6th, three of my Men deſerted; and, having Intelligence, that they had been ſeen at our Tents, I ſent one of my Mates in the Pinnace after them, with Orders to go no farther than the Tents, but to return without Loſs of Time;

for I was heaving up my Anchor, with Deſign to fall below the Road that Night, that I might be in Readineſs the next Morning: But, miſſing them at the Place they were ſent to, they thought fit to go up to the *Portugueſe* Plantations, which were two Leagues farther. It being Midnight, the Inhabitants were apprehenſive it was *Hatley*, who was come to take his Leave of them in the Manner he had threatened. However, they ſuffered them to go up to their Dwellings, to ſearch for thoſe they wanted; but my Men, finding a different Reception from what they uſed to meet with, ſuſpected ſome Malice againſt them, and therefore made their Way to the Boat. In the mean time, ſome of the *Portugueſe* had placed themſelves in Ambuſcade, to deſtroy them as they returned to the Water-ſide. No ſooner had they got into the Boat, than they heard them ruſhing from the Woods, crying, *Kill the Dogs! kill all the* English *Dogs!* This Outcry was followed by a Volley of Small-arms; which wounded three, two through their Thighs, and another through the Arm. After this, they diſcharged ſeveral times; but did no further Damage. The Wounded ſuſtained a great Loſs of Blood, being ſo long before they got aboard; for they were above three Leagues diſtant from the Ship. This Accident obliged me to weigh again the next Morning, and return into the Road, to try to puniſh thoſe, who had been concerned in this Barbarity. With this View, I ſent a Letter by *Hatley* to the Captain of the *Portugueſe* Man of War; but, at his Entrance into the Ship, he was furiouſly aſſaulted by *Emanuel Manſa*, the Captain of the Iſland, crying out, That this was the Rogue, who had committed ſo many Inſolences towards them; who had burnt one of their Houſes, and had made it a common Practice to reproach him with the Name of *Querno*, i. e. Cuckold. Upon his Exclamations, the Ship's Company ſided with *Manſa*, and mobbed *Hatley*, and would have certainly uſed both him, and his Boat's Crew, very ſcurvily, had not the Captain, and his Officers, with much Difficulty, prevented it; for they were exaſperated to that outrageous Height, that it is more than likely they would have murdered him, had they not been hindered. The *Portugueſe* Captain wrote me a Letter, to excuſe what had happened, and to deſire, that I would come aboard; which I did, and was very kindly entertained, receiving eleven Guns at parting. The next Morning, M. *la Riviere* came aboard, with his chief Officers, to breakfaſt with me, and fell a Tide's Work down the River with us. At his going away, I could give him but three Guns, having only four mounted, the reſt being ſtruck down into the Hold, to eaſe the Ship, and make her ſtiff when we came to Sea. We were now ready to depart, and I had made the Ship perfectly fit to go thro' the tempeſtuous Navigation we were to expect in ſailing to the Southward. I had made our Stern as firm as poſſible, covering it intirely with thick Plank; and had only left two ſmall Skuttles to give Light into the great Cabin, and had furniſhed ourſelves with Plank to build an Awning; but choſe rather to ſet it up at Sea, than make a longer Stay here.

It is proper to take notice, that Captain *Betagh*, in his Account, gives a very different Turn to every one of theſe Facts; for he aſſerts, that Captain *la Jonquiere* could not ſpeak one Word of *Engliſh*; and that they had not five People in the Ship who could ſpeak *French*: So that, had he really harangued the Company of the *Speedwel*, his Eloquence had been all thrown away. He aſſerts, that all the Buſineſs of *Matthew Stewart* the Mate was the Captain's own Contrivance. He charges him likewiſe with breaking or reducing many of the Officers; denied, that he purchaſed a third Part of the Proviſions he mentions; and poſitively affirms, that it was Lieutenant *Randal*, and not *Hatley*, who burnt the Houſe on *St. Catharine's*, and thereby exaſperated the *Portugueſe* to ſuch a Degree, that they would have been glad of any Opportunity to have cut off his People as they went aſhore. But the worſt of all is the Story he tells us of the Money, which purchaſed thoſe Proviſions at *St. Catharine's*, which, as it reſts intirely on the Credit of Mr. *Betagh*, I ſhall give it you in his own Words, tho' I do not mean to perplex my Reader with many ſuch Anecdotes: A *Creolian Spaniard*, ſays he, belonging to one of Captain *Jonquiere*'s Lieutenants, having robbed his Maſter of 100 Quadruples, each of which is four Piſtoles, abſconded into the Woods, deſigning to take his Paſſage with us round Cape *Horne* to his own Country again. *La Jonquiere*, and his Lieutenant, applied to *Shelvocke*, deſiring, that, in caſe he ſhould be found, and the Money upon him, he would ſecure him, and take it from him, giving *Shelvocke* Directions how to remit the Money to *France*, on his Arrival in *Europe*: All which he faithfully promiſed to perform. As ſoon as the *Ruby* ſailed, the Fellow appeared to our Men at the Watering-place, with one Moiety of the Money in his Pocket, deſigning, I ſuppoſe, to pay for his Paſſage with it; but *Shelvocke*, not content, ordered him to be ſeized to the Geers, where he was whipped and pickled; which was repeated every *Monday* for a Month. But the Fellow, who had run the Riſque of hanging for it, and knew the Value of Money as well as the Captain, ſtood the Laſh, without confeſſing he had any more: So he remained on board, and had his Paſſage. He attributes the Civilities of M. *la Jonquiere* to his having a great Sum of Money for the King on board a Ship, which was crouded likewiſe with twenty Prieſts; and, out of 400 Seamen, he had not ſixty that were able to walk the Deck: Which was owing to his doubling Cape *Horne* in the Winter, and being furniſhed with but indifferent Proviſion, becauſe the *Spaniards* know not either how to cure, or to pack it.

5. On *Auguſt* 9. we took our Departure from the Northermoſt Point of *St. Catharine's* in the Latitude of 27° 20′ South, 50° Longitude Weſt from the *Lizard*. From thence to the 19th, we had ſhowery foul Weather. I kept the Lead conſtantly going on the Coaſt of *Patagonia*, and met with regular Soundings; and, from the Latitude of 40° to that of 50° 30′ South, we frequently ſaw Shoals of Seels and Penguins, and were conſtantly attended with Pintado-birds, about the Bigneſs of a Pigeon. The *French* call them *Damiers*, becauſe their Feathers, being black and white, are diſpoſed in ſuch a Manner, as to make their Backs and Wings appear chequered, like a Draught-board. Theſe were accompanied with Albitroſſes, the largeſt ſort of Sea-fowls, ſome of them extending their Wings twelve or thirteen Feet: And, whilſt we had the River of *Plate* open, the Sea thereabouts was covered with prodigious Quantities of large Sea-weed, which often incommoded us, it being impoſſible to avoid running ſometimes amongſt it; which gave us much Trouble to clear ourſelves of it, and at the ſame time deadened our Way: But, as we went Southward, we were freed from this Inconveniency; after which, we had, on the Surface of the Water, abundance of Things, like white Snakes. We took ſome of them up; but could not perceive there was any Life in them, nor were they formed into the Shape of any kind of Animal, being only a long Cylinder of a white ſort of Jelly, and may probably be the Spawn of ſome of the large kind of Fiſh. As we advanced to the Southward, I obſerved, that moſt of my People's Stomachs increaſed; which was to be attributed to the Sharpneſs of the Cold, and was a Circumſtance that had been obſerved before. This occaſioned Diſputes in all Quarters of the Ship, and even at my own Table, where Captain *Betagh* of the Marines inſiſted on an Augmentation of Proviſions in ſuch coarſe Terms, and with ſuch Circumſtances of Diſreſpect, that I thought it neceſſary to confine him, till he wrote me a ſubmiſſive Letter; and then I reſtored him. But, however, this Squabble occaſioned my being obliged to grant the People an extraordinary Meal every Day, either of Flour or Calavances; which at once reduced our Stocks of Proviſions, Wood, and Water, which, as I then foreſaw, proved afterwards a great Inconvenience. But to return to our Voyage, and ſuch Occurrences as were remarkable therein: I think, tho' it has not hitherto been noted, it is a Matter not altogether unworthy of our Obſervation and Reflection, that the Whales, Grampuſes, and other Fiſh of a monſtrous Bulk, are in ſuch Numbers on the Coaſt of *Patagania*, that they were really offenſive to us very often; for they would come ſo cloſe to us, as almoſt to ſtifle us with their Stench when they blew; and would lie ſo near to us, that I have thought it impoſſible to eſcape ſtriking upon them on every Scud of a Sea. I am a Stranger to the *Greenland* Fiſhery; therefore cannot ſay, whether a Trade might not be carried on here. I may venture to affirm, that it is a ſafer Navigation; and I am apt to believe, that there is a greater Certainty of ſucceeding. On

September 19th about Midnight, I perceived the Water to be diſcoloured all at once; whereupon we ſounded, and found twenty-ſix Fathom: Which done, I ſtood off to Sea; but did not deepen our Water in the running of five Leagues. At ſix the next Morning, we had thirty Fathom; but had no Sight of Land, tho' ſome were of Opinion, that they had; which I did not depend upon. This Bank muſt lie very near the Entrance of the Streights of *Magellan*. On this Bank-ſhole, we ſaw great Numbers of Blubbers, appearing like the Tops of Umbrellas, curiouſly ſtreaked with all ſorts of Colours; which were a Species intirely different from what I had ever ſeen before. From hence I ſhaped my Courſe for the Streights of *le Maire*; and, as we approached the Coaſts of *Terra del Fuego*, met with very foggy Weather. On the 23d, the Fog clearing up, we ſaw ſome Mountains of ſtupendous Height on *Terra del Fuego*, intirely covered with Snow. The neareſt Point of Land to us was at leaſt eight Leagues diſtant, bearing South-weſt; but, before we could make any further Diſcovery, the Miſt returned: Therefore I ſtood off for ſome time, and then brought-to. At four the next Morning, I made an eaſy Sail to the South-eaſtward, and, at Day-light, it proved very clear; when I found I had fallen in with the Land about five Leagues to the North-weſtward of the Streights of *le Maire*. We had now a full, but melancholy Proſpect of the moſt deſolate Country (to all Appearance) that can be conceived, ſeeming to be no other than continued Chains of Mountains one behind another, perpetually hid by the Snow. Before we came on the Coaſt of *Terra del Fuego*, we had not been ſenſible of any Help or Hindrance by any Currents, from the Time that we had got to the Southward of the River of *Plate*; but, this Afternoon, we were hurried with incredible Rapidity into thoſe Streights; and, juſt as we had gained ſomewhat more than Mid-paſſage, the Tide ſlacked. We then ſounded, and had but twenty-ſeven Fathom, a rocky Bottom. At the ſame time, I took an Opportunity to make what Obſervation I could of the Place. We had a clear View of *Staten-land*, which yields a moſt uncomfortable Landſchape of a ſurpriſing Height, covered with Snow to the very Waſh of the Sea, and bears more of the Likeneſs of an huge white Cloud, than of firm Land. Theſe Streights ſeem to anſwer very well to Mr. *Frezier*'s Map of them, being about ſeven Leagues through, ſix Leagues wide, and lie almoſt North and South; but the Northern Tide ruſhed upon us with a Violence equal to that which had brought us in. It prevented my making any further Remarks, and afforded Matter of Aſtoniſhment to us all, to ſee how faſt we were driven out again, notwithſtanding we had a freſh fair Gale at North-weſt, and when, at the ſame time, we went ſix Knots by the Log; by which I cannot judge this Tide to run leſs than ten Knots in an Hour. In ſhort, we were quite carried out in about an Hour's time. Upon the ſhifting of the Tide to Windward, there aroſe ſuch a ſhort Sea, which, at the ſame time, was ſo lofty, that we alternately dipped our Bowſprit and our Poop-lanterns into the Water. Our Ship laboured in the moſt violent Manner, and did not anſwer the Guidance of her Helm; but, at Midnight, the Tide ſhifted, and we put through the Streights, ſteering South, with a briſk Gale at North-weſt, without ſeeing the Land diſtinctly; and, in the Morning, had a very good Offing to the Southward. After we had got well to Sea, we unſtocked our Anchors, and brought them aft, and got in our Spritſail-yard, to eaſe our Bows, and make every thing as ſnug as poſſible. We had found it very cold before we came this Length; but now began to feel the Extremity of it. The bleak Weſterly Winds of themſelves would have been ſufficiently piercing; but they were always attended either with Snow or Sleet, which, continually beating on our Sails and Rigging, had caſed the Maſts, and every Rope, with Ice, and had, in a manner, made our Sails almoſt uſeleſs to us. So much were we accuſtomed to the moſt ſevere Storms, that we uſed to think it tolerable Weather, if we could bear a reefed Mainſail; for it was common with us to be two or three Days together lying-to under bare Poles, and expoſed to the Shocks of prodigious Seas, much larger than any I ever ſaw. Now we began to be throughly ſenſible of the Benefit of our Awning; and indeed we could have ſcarce lived without it. The Winds reigning thus tempeſtuouſly, without Intermiſſion, in the Weſtern Board, we were driven to the Latitude of 61° 30′ South. Add to this, our Miſfortune of having continual miſty Weather, which laid us under hourly Apprehenſions of running foul of Iſlands of Ice; but, thank God, we eſcaped that Danger, though we had many Alarms by Fog banks, and other falſe Appearances. Notwithſtanding we had the Days very long, yet it was very ſeldom that we could get a Sight of the Sun; ſo that we had but one Obſervation of the Variation in all this Paſſage, which was in the Latitude of 60° 37′ South, 5° to the Weſtward of the Streights of *le Maire*, where we found it 22° 6 North-eaſt. On *October* 1. at ſeven in the Evening, as they were furling the Mainſail, one *William Camell* cried out, That his Hands and Fingers were ſo benumbed, that he could not hold himſelf; but, before thoſe that were next him could come to his Aſſiſtance, he fell down, and was drowned. The Cold is certainly much more inſupportable in theſe, than in the ſame Latitudes to the Northward; for, altho' we were pretty much advanced in the Summer-ſeaſon, and had the Days very long, yet we had continual Squalls of Sleet, Snow, and Rain; and the Heavens were perpetually hidden from us by gloomy Clouds. In ſhort, one would think it impoſſible, that any living Creature could ſubſiſt in ſo rigid a Climate; and indeed we all obſerved, that we had not had the Sight of one Fiſh of any kind, ſince we were come to the Southward of the Streights of *le Maire*, nor one Sea-bird, except a diſconſolate black Albitroſs, which accompanied us for ſeveral Days, hovering about us, as if it had loſt itſelf; till Mr. *Hatley*, obſerving, in one of his melancholy Fits, that this Bird was always hovering near us, imagined, from its Colour, that it might be an ill Omen; and ſo, after ſome fruitleſs Attempts, at length ſhot the Albitroſs, not doubting that we ſhould have a fair Wind after it. On the 22d about eight at Night, our Fore-top-maſt was carried away; and we rigged another the next Morning. We kept creeping very ſlowly to the Northward, having, from that time we paſſed the Streights of *le Maire*, met with contrary Winds, and the moſt uncomfortable Weather; under which nothing could have ſupported us, but the Hopes of coming ſpeedily into a warmer and better Climate.

6. We cheared our Spirits as well as we could with theſe Expectations till the 14th of *November* at Noon, when we firſt ſaw the Coaſt of *Chili*; and here again we found ourſelves under very great Difficulties; for our tedious Paſſage, and extraordinary Conſumption of Proviſions, had reduced us to ſuch an extreme Neceſſity of Water and Wood, as well as dry Food, that every body ſaw the Neceſſity of our repairing to ſome Place where, we might ſupply ourſelves with all we wanted; but, where this Place was to be found, was the next Queſtion, and that none of the eaſieſt to reſolve. I thought firſt of *Narborough*'s Iſland; but, when we came thither, we found the Road ſo unſafe, that I was forced to ſail for the Mouth of the River *St. Domingo*, on the Continent; at the Entrance of which, we found twenty-eight Fathom Water; but, as we advanced, we found it ſhole from eighteen to leſs than five Fathom, as faſt as a Man could heave the Lead: Being therefore unwilling to run too great a Riſque in a Place ſo unfrequented, and being only a ſingle Ship, I inſtantly ſtood out to Sea again, where, meeting with windy, rainy, and thick Weather, we were blown farther to the Northward than we deſigned. In this Diſtreſs, a *Frenchman* I had on board, whoſe Name was *Joſeph de la Fontaine*, propoſed going to the Iſland of *Chiloe*, which lay a little to the Northward, and where he aſſured us we could not fail of meeting with whatever we wanted, there being, as he aſſerted, no Place in the South Seas capable of accommodating us ſo well in all reſpects. He told us farther, of his own Knowledge, having been there, that the Towns of *Chacao* and *Calibuco*, the firſt on the Iſland, and the ſecond on the Continent, were rich Places; that the former was the uſual Reſidence of the Governor; and that, at the latter, there was a wealthy College of Jeſuits; and that there were conſiderable Magazines, which were always well-ſtocked with Proviſions of all Kinds. At the ſame time that he acquainted me with this, he inſinuated the ſame Account, with ſome Additions, into his Shipmates, who, with one Voice, concluded, that, if I paſſed

by this Iſland, our Expedition might probably end without doing any thing; ſince it was likely, that Captain *Clipperton* had already alarmed the Coaſt, the natural Conſequence of which muſt be, an Embargo laid on all Ships trading to Leeward. Yet it was not without mature Deliberation, that I formed a Reſolution of going to *Chiloe*, and could not but think myſelf happy in having ſo good a Proſpect, in this Exigence, of preventing ſuch Evils as might, in all Likelihood, have enſued. The chief Thing that encouraged me to make an Attempt at *Chiloe*, was to get ſuch an additional Supply of Proviſions, as ſhould (in caſe the Coaſts were already alarmed) enable us to retire to ſome obſcure unfrequented Iſland, there to remain till the *Spaniards* ſhould imagine we had abandoned their Seas; and then to come upon them again, where they had not the leaſt Apprehenſions of being moleſted by us. On the 30th, we entered the Chanel that divides the Iſland of *Chiloe*, and the Continent of *Chili*, and ſtood in for the Harbour, under *French* Colours, with Intent to ſurpriſe and attack the Towns of *Chacao* and *Calibuco*; but, when we came into the Chanel, our Pilot ſeemed to be as much a Stranger to it as myſelf; and the Wind beginning to blow freſh, and thick Weather coming on, I anchored at ten in the Morning in thirteen Fathom, between the Point of *Carelampo*, and a ſmall Iſland called *Pedro Nunez*. Immediately after we had come to the Windward, the Tide made out with a prodigious Rapidity, which inſtantly cauſed a great Sea; and the Wind increaſing, made the Chanel all about us appear like one continual Breach. In the mean time our Ship laid a great Strain on her Cable, which parted at two in the Afternoon. We could have no Hopes of recovering our Anchor, becauſe the Buoy had been ſtaved and ſunk an Hour or two before we had been thus forcibly ſet adrift. In ſhort, I did not think it ſafe, or prudent, to hazard the Loſs of another Anchor, where there was nothing to be looked for but Misfortunes; and therefore directly croſſed the Chanel for the Iſland of *Chiloe*, in a boiſterous Gale, thick rainy Weather, all ſurrounded with ſeeming Sholes, and in a manner loſt in a Navigation unknown to any of us: When we had advanced within a Mile of *Chiloe*, we ranged along-ſhore to the Southward, in hopes to diſcover the Town of *Chacao*: We paſſed by two commodious Bays, but had nothing like a Town appearing near them; and at length came about a Point of Land, which is to be known by an high Rock, like a Pyramid, which almoſt joins to it. Having rounded this Point, I found myſelf intirely out of the Tide, and commodiouſly ſheltered from all other Inconveniencies; and therefore anchored over-againſt a Croſs which was fixed on the Northern Side of the Harbour, and had juſt Day-light enough to direct us to a Retreat from the Dangers we might have been expoſed to amongſt ſuch Variety of violent Tides, unfrequented Chanels, and foul Weather. In order to execute my Deſign effectually, I ſent the next Morning my ſecond Lieutenant in my Pinnace, well manned and armed, to look for theſe two Towns; and, at the ſame time, Captain *Hatley* went in the Launch, to find out, if he could, a Watering-place; nor was it long before he returned with an *Indian*, who had ſhewn him as convenient a Place as he could deſire, where he might at once get both Wood and Water without any great Trouble, even under the Command of our Cannon, and out of all Danger of being ſurpriſed; upon which I ſent ſome Hands into the Launch with Casks immediately to be filled, and People to cut Wood, well armed, with an Officer of Marines, and ten Men, to be on the Guard. The *Indian* gave us Hopes of a ſufficient Supply, but came in the Evening to my People who were aſhore, to acquaint them, that the Country was forbidden to bring any thing to us. The Pinnace not being yet returned, this Information made me apprehend, that the Enemy had taken her, and had by that means learnt what we were. This gave me inexpreſſible Concern, inaſmuch as I knew not which way to act; for, being in an abſolute State of Uncertainty, I was more at a Loſs, and more confounded, than if I had been ſure that the Pinnace had been in the Enemies Hands, for then there had been but one Way left for me to take; which was to have proceeded by Force, and to have been contented with what, by this means, we could have obtained. On the 3d of *December*, about ſeven in the Evening, a *Spaniſh* Officer, in a Boat rowed by eight *Indians*, came on board from the Governor, to know what we were. As I intended to paſs upon him for a *French* Captain, who was well enough known in thoſe Seas, at leaſt by Name, I ordered, that none ſhould appear upon Deck but ſuch as ſpoke either *French* or *Spaniſh*, that this Officer might ſee or hear nothing which might give him juſt Grounds to ſuſpect the Truth of that Account which I thought proper to give him. This Precaution was taken as ſoon as the *Spaniſh* Boat appeared in Sight: As it drew near, I hoiſted *French* Colours; and, when the Officer came on board, I told him, that my Ship was the *St. Roſe*, homeward-bound; that my Name was *Janis le Breton*; and that all the Buſineſs I had upon this Coaſt, was to intreat the Governor to ſpare me what Proviſions he could with Conveniency afford. The Officer heard me with great Civility, and ſeemed to yield an implicit Credit to all I ſaid; ſtaid on board all Night, and went off the next Morning, in all Appearance, very well pleaſed. On the 5th in the Morning, two Boats lay towards us, full of armed Men; who, after taking a View of us, went to a ſmall Iſland in the Mouth of the Harbour; upon which, I ordered all my Men to put on their Grenadiers Caps, and ſpread themſelves upon the Deck, in order to appear as terrible to them as poſſible. On the 6th, we ſaw a white Flag flying on Shore; on which I ſent away my Launch, completely manned and armed, to the Place where the Flag was; but they found none to treat with them, nor any thing there except a Letter, which was made faſt to the Flag-ſtaff, and a Dozen of Hams lying cloſe by. This Letter was from Don *Nicolas Salvo*, Governor of the Iſland, who firſt intimated, that he much doubted, whether the Ship was the *St. Roſe*; next, he complained of the Behaviour of the People in the Pinnace; and, laſtly, he deſired me to quit the Coaſt. To this Letter I returned an Anſwer in the propereſt Terms I could deviſe. Early the next Morning the white Flag was hoiſted again; and, on ſending aſhore, I obtained an Anſwer, couched in civil Terms indeed; but, at the ſame time, refuſing me abſolutely any Refreſhments, which was what I wanted; and inſiſting, that I ſhould reſtore the *Indians* taken by my Pinnace; when, in Fact, I knew leſs of the Pinnace than he did, and was really of Opinion, that he had the People in his Hands, of whom he pretended to complain. As I was now in Deſpair of ever ſeeing my People, which were abſent in the Pinnace, and being as much at a Loſs to know how or whereabouts *Chacao* was ſituated, as I was the firſt Day I came here, becauſe we had no Draught of this Iſland that I could depend on, I determined to alter the Style of my Letters, and try what could be done by breaking with him, being determined, by ſome means or other, to make Amends for my Loſs of Time in coming hither, by ſuch a Recruit of Proviſions as could be got, though even in the moſt hazardous Manner, ſince it was impoſſible I ſhould proceed without it. In purſuance of this Reſolution, I wrote him a very briſk Letter; in which I told him, That Proviſions I was determined to have; by fair Means, if I could; but by other Means, if they could not be had that Way; adding, in order to ſtrike a Terror, that if they brought down all the Forces of the Country upon the Coaſt, it ſhould not deter me from the Proſecution of my Deſign; and this Letter was conveyed in the ſame manner with the former. But, by this time, beginning to doubt, whether much was to be got by a Negotiation with the Governor, I the next Day diſpatched my firſt Lieutenant, Mr. *Brooks*, in the Launch, with nine-and-twenty Men, completely armed, and ordered him to bring on board all the Proviſions he could meet with. In a ſhort time after he was gone, there came a Boat, with a Meſſage from the Governor, ſignifying, that, if I would ſend an Officer to *Chacao*, he would treat with me. But, I gave him for Anſwer, That I would treat no-where except on board my own Ship; and farther gave him to underſtand, that it was now too late, ſince I had already diſpatched eighty Men to take all they could find. In the Evening the Launch returned, and brought with her a large Piragua ſhe had taken, and were both laden with Sheep, Hogs, Fowls, Barley, and green Peaſe and Beans; and, ſoon after, the

Pinnace arrived, with all their Crew; but were ſo terrified, that I had no Hopes of their being fit for Service in a little time. The Officer told me, that he had fought his Way through ſeveral Canoes of armed *Indians*, and that it was with great Difficulty he got clear of them; which he did by making his Paſſage round the Iſland, which was ſeventy Leagues. This nothing but an Exceſs of Terror could have urged them to, even if they had had ſuch Numbers to encounter as they reported; but, eſpecially, when there was but one Boat of unarmed *Indians*, with a *Spaniſh* Sergeant, who came off to them without the leaſt Shew of Violence, as the Governor mentions in his firſt Letter, and as ſome of themſelves afterwards confeſſed; but, with this Addition, that there were great Numbers of People on ſhore, whom they were apprehenſive would follow them. The Officer had no Excuſe, nor could he allege any better Reaſon for not returning on board as ſoon as he had got a Sight of the Town, but that the Tide hurried him away; and that in the Fright he had forgot, that he had a Grappling in the Boat, to come-to with, till the Tide had ſhifted. By this ſtrange Miſmanagement of theirs, I miſſed a favourable Opportunity, which otherwiſe I ſhould have ſeized, of reducing the Town of *Chacao*. Had I appeared before it in forty-eight Hours after my Arrival, when the Governor was totally unprovided, whereas now he had been for a whole Week together muſtering the whole Force of the Iſland, and had brought together (as the *Indians*, who were on board my Pinnace, told me, that there were) near a thouſand armed *Spaniards* on the Iſland; and my *Frenchman* was of the ſame Opinion; but both agreed, that, if I would let them alone in their City, I might do what I pleaſed in the Country, where the poor *Indians* muſt bear the Weight of all Damages; upon this, I laid aſide all Thoughts of going to their Towns, under Hopes of furniſhing myſelf with what we wanted from the *Indian* Plantations and Farms, which, in the Sequel, afforded us, what I propoſed to myſelf in coming hither, a competent Stock of Proviſions; to which Purpoſe, I kept one of my Boats continually employed in bringing Proviſions. By the 16th, we had our Decks full of live Cattle, Poultry, and Hams in abundance; and ſuch Quantities of Wheat, Barley, Potatoes, and *Indian* Corn, that I was ſatisfied: On a moderate Computation, we had added four Months Proviſions to the Stock we brought from *England*; ſo that I was very well ſatisfied with the Effects of our Stay at *Chiloe*, and prepared for my Departure. I might certainly have done much more for my own Credit, and my Owners Profit, if I had been properly ſeconded by my Officers. As I do not know of any exact Deſcription of this Iſland in our Language, and as I had a very good Opportunity of being acquainted with it, I think it my Duty therefore to give the beſt Deſcription of it in my Power.

7. *Chiloe* is the firſt of the *Spaniſh* Poſſeſſions on the Coaſt of *Chili*; and, though it produces neither Silver nor Gold, is conſidered by them as a Place of very great Conſequence; and for which they would be under much greater Concern, when ſtrange Ships enter the Ports or Harbours of it, if they did not confide in the Number of its Inhabitants, which, for this Part of the World, is really very extraordinary; at which the Reader will the leſs wonder, when he has gone through this Deſcription, and finds how fine a Place it is. The Body of this Iſland, lying in 42° 40′ South, is, from North to South, about thirty Leagues in Length, but in Breadth not above ſix or ſeven Leagues. It is watered by ſeveral Rivers, and produces ſeveral kinds of uſeful Trees; and yields an agreeable Proſpect when you are near it, when one ſees the great Number of *Indians* Farms and Plantations, which are diſperſed at ſmall Diſtances from one another, among the Woods, on riſing Grounds. Within it is formed an Archipelago, which contains more Iſlands than are well known; the leaſt of which are ſaid to have many Inhabitants, and abound in Cattle. Among theſe, there are very uncertain Tides and Currents, ſo violent, that it is by no means ſafe to venture near. I would adviſe all Strangers, who go in at the North-end, to keep the Iſland-ſide of the Chanel aboard, giving the Northermoſt Point of *Chiloe* a good Birth; that is, keeping it at a pretty good Diſtance; which done, run along-ſhore to Southward, and you will paſs by two Bays, which ſeem to be commodious; but hold your Way till you come to a Point, almoſt contiguous to which is a high Rock, ſomewhat like a Pyramid; paſs between this Rock and a ſmall high Iſland, which you will ſee near it, and run a little Way directly up the Harbour, which looks like the Entrance of a River, and you will have a ſafe Port to drop your Anchor; but, in going in, take care that you do not fall under five Fathom Water from the Shore; for the nearer you advance to the ſmall Iſland before-mentioned, the leſs Water you meet with; therefore keep your Lead going, and be bold with the Shore towards the North Side of the Harbour; when you are in, you will have the greateſt Depth, but the Southermoſt Side is Shole. My Pilot carried me a contrary Way to what I have now directed; for he adviſed me to keep to the Main-land of *Chili*, which I did till I had got the Length of the Point of *Carelmapo*, having to the Southward of me ſeveral ſmall Iſlands, which you will ſee as ſoon as you have the Chanel open. This proved a frightful and unfortunate Paſſage to me, ſince the Loſs of my Anchor here was one of the greateſt Damages I could have ſuſtained: In ſhort, if any Ship ſhould be by Neceſſity, or otherwiſe, driven to this Iſland, I have given the ſafeſt Inſtructions they can follow. The Soil is very fertile, and produces all ſorts of our *European* Fruits and Grains, together with fine Paſture-lands, wherewith they graze great Numbers of Cattle, particularly Sheep. The Air is wholſome, it being ſituate in a temperate Climate: But I think it reaſonable to conclude, that their Winter Seaſon is very rigid, the Iſland being bounded on the Weſt by an immenſe Ocean, without any other Land to ſcreen it from the cold moiſt Vapours, which are brought thither by the Violence of the tempeſtuous Weſterly Winds, which, for the Generality, reign in theſe Latitudes; all which muſt render it an uncomfortable Place in the Winter Months; foraſmuch as it is to be conſidered, that the ſame Parallels of Latitude to the Equator are much more cold, than they are to the Northward. They have abundance of very handſome middle-ſized Horſes, which are ſaid to mount with great Dexterity; and have likewiſe a Creature, which they call *Guanacoes*, or *Carneros del Tierra*, i. e. the Country Sheep; theſe partake very much of the Reſemblance of a Camel, but are not near ſo large: They have long Necks, and I have ſeen of them between five and ſix Feet high; their Wool (which is no other than a fine ſort of Hair) is extremely fine; they ſmell very rank, and move with a very ſlow majeſtic Pace, which hardly any Violence can make them quicken. Nevertheleſs, they are of great Service at the Mines in *Peru*; where they are employed in carrying the Ore, *&c.* Their Fleſh is very coarſe, which we experienced by ſome of them we had ſalted for our future Uſe: Beſides theſe, they have *European* Sheep, and great Numbers of Hogs, but are not overſtocked with Black Cattle. Here is no want of Fowl, both wild and tame: Of the wild there are ſeveral ſorts peculiar to the Country; and, in particular, a ſort of ſmall Geeſe, which are found on the Banks of their Rivers, which not only afford an agreeable Proſpect of their beautiful Whiteneſs, but are alſo of an excellent Taſte: As to their tame Poultry, they are of the ſame kind with ours. The Inhabitants are almoſt, in all reſpects, the ſame with thoſe on the main Continent of *Chili*. They are of a moderate Stature, of a deep olive-coloured Complexion, and have coarſe ſhaggy black Hair, and ſome of them have Countenances by no means diſagreeable: They ſeem to be naturally of a fierce warlike Diſpoſition; but the common Oppreſſions of the *Spaniards*, and the Artifices of the Jeſuits, who are Miſſioners in thoſe Parts, have ſufficiently curbed and broken their Spirits. Monſieur *Frezier* gives us an Account, that the *Indians*, inhabiting the Continent to the Southward of this Iſland, are called *Chonos*; and that they go quite naked; and that, in the inland Part, there are a Race of Men, of an extraordinary Size, called *Cacahues*; that theſe, being in Amity with the *Chonos*, have ſometimes come with them to the Dwellings of the *Spaniards* at *Chiloe*. He adds, he was credibly informed, by ſeveral who had been Eye-witneſſes, that ſome were about nine or ten Feet high: But I had a Sight of two, one whereof was a *Cacique*, who came from the Southward of

the River *St. Domingo*, who ſeemed to me to differ little or not at all from the *Chilinians* as to their Perſons; as to their Habit, they are decently clad, in what they call *Poncho Montena*, and *Poulains*: The *Poncho* is a ſort of ſquare Carpet, with a Slit cut in the Middle of it, wide enough to ſlip over their Heads; ſo that it hangs upon their Shoulders, half of it falling before, and the other behind them; under this, they generally wear a ſhort Doublet on their Heads. They have the *Montera*, which is a Cap made almoſt in the ſame manner with thoſe of our Poſtilions; and on their Legs they ſometimes have the *Poulains*, which are a ſort of knit Buſkins, without Feet to them; in ſhort, their Appearance bears little or no Likeneſs to the Savage. Their Habitations are better than are commonly made uſe of by ſuch a ſort of People, being indifferently large, and firmly built with Plank, but have no Chimneys: Their Houſes are very black and ſooty withinſide; they incloſe ſome of their Grounds with Paliſadoes. Notwithſtanding a ſufficient Plenty of every thing neceſſary for a comfortable Subſiſtence, the Inhabitants are debarred, in ſome meaſure, from taſting of the Fruits of their Labour, particularly in the Article of Bread; for, not having the Conveniencies for grinding and preparing their Wheat, they are put to the miſerable Shift of making Cakes of the Sea-weeds, which, however, through Uſe, are eſteemed by them, and were not diſapproved of by ſeveral of my People, who eat ſome: Beſides this, they have their Maize, or *Indian* Corn, which they manage in ſeveral manners to anſwer the End of Bread; and add to all this, their Abundance of Potatoes, and other Roots. As to Liquors, theſe *Indians* have not been contented with the Produce of Brooks and Springs, like many Nations of their Complexion; but have found out a Means of making a Liquor called *Chicha*, of the *Indian* Corn: In this they, doubtleſs, followed the Footſteps of their near Neighbours on the Continent of *Chili*; but their Drunken-bouts being generally the firſt Riſe of Seditions and Revolts, the *Spaniards* take care to ſet Bounds to them in that Particular, as much as they poſſibly can. Their Arms are of ſeveral Sorts; thoſe that have no *European* Weapons, retain their own, ſuch as Pikes, Darts, &c. They are particularly dextrous in throwing a ſlinging Nooſe, at the End of a long Thong of Leather, wherewith they are ſure of catching an Ox, Horſe, &c. or any thing, even in its full Career; this they call a *Lays*. In ſhort, by all I could ſee of theſe, and hear of the *Chilinians*, they ſeem to reſemble them in almoſt every reſpect; and there can be no Wonder at that, when one conſiders their cloſe Neighbourhood with the Mainland of *Chili*. They make uſe of ſmall Drums, ſome of which I have ſeen; they are very ſmall, and the Heads of them made with Goats-ſkins with their Hair on, and make a ſad dull Sound. They carry on a ſmall Woollen Manufacture, conſiſting in Carpets, and Neceſſaries for Apparel before-mentioned. They likewiſe export Cedar, both in Plank, and wrought in Boxes, Cheſts, Eſcritoires, &c. wherewith they ſupply all *Chili* and *Peru*. As to their *European* Trade, they have none; but the *Spaniard*, who came from the Governor, told me, that the People of this Iſland wondered, that trading Ships never put in here: For, ſaid he, we have a great deal of Money amongſt us; and have here a ſafe Port, free from the Dangers incurred by going to Leeward, where they are in perpetual Uneaſineſs for fear of the Men of War; whereas Buſineſs might be done, and all be over, before they could be adviſed of it at ſo great a Diſtance as *Lima*, could be there fitted out, and come ſo far to Windward. It has been obſerved of the *Indians* of *Chili*, that, in two Articles in their way of Living, they differ from all other Nations that have yet been heard of. The firſt is, that they have no Notion of a ſuperior Being of any ſort, and of conſequence pay no Worſhip to any ſupreme Power: And the ſecond is, that they are ſuch Enemies to civil Society, that they never live together in Towns and Villages; ſo that the Country ſeems to be thinly inhabited, tho' it is very populous; for they live diſperſed in Farms at a good Diſtance one from the other, every one having their Plantations; ſo that almoſt every Family enjoys the Neceſſaries of Life of their own manuring and feeding: However, though they are thus ſcattered, they are not wholly independent; for they have all of them a Chief of their particular Tribe or Clan, who is called a *Cacique*; and his Dwelling is conveniently ſituated amongſt them, for the more ſpeedy ſummoning them together on Affairs of Importance; which he does by ſounding a ſort of Horn, which heard by his Vaſſals, they repair to him without Delay. The Cacique commands them in War, &c. and has an abſolute Power of executing Juſtice amongſt his Subjects, who are likewiſe his Relations, he being only the Head of a Family, all the inferior Branches of which adhere to the Intereſt, and obey the Commands, of their Lord, whoſe Authority is hereditary. In all theſe reſpects, the Inhabitants of this Iſland reſemble thoſe of the neighbouring Part of the Continent, excepting that their Caciques are, in ſome meaſure, ſtript of their real Authority by the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*; who, haveing theſe People in a more ſecure Subjection than thoſe on the Continent, keep them in the moſt laborious Slavery by their Menaces, and hard Uſage; whilſt the Miſſionaries blind them with the ſuperſtitious Duſt of an imperfect Converſion to Chriſtianity, of which none of them know any more, than that they were baptized, without learning for what End; ſo that their Devotion conſiſts of mere Idolatry to the Image of the Croſs, or any of the Saints. The *Spaniſh* Clergy take no Pains to undeceive them; but probably think they have gained their Ends, if their Ignorance contribute towards the making them contented under the Rigour of the *Spaniſh* Government. Thus the common Sort being deluded, and the Caciques having changed their lawful Prerogative for the vain Oſtentation of being allowed to wear a Silver-headed Cane, which puts them upon the Rank of the *Spaniſh* Captains in outward Appearance, they are become a miſerable Prey to the Will of their deſpotic Maſters. The *Spaniards*, notwithſtanding all this, have ſometimes ſtretched their Adminiſtration to ſo great a Height, that the *Indians* have been obliged to defend themſelves, and have begun to think, that Death is preferable to their Slavery; for Mr. *Frezier*, in his Voyage, has given us an Account of what happened at the Time that he was at the South Seas, wherein the *Indians* killed fourteen or fifteen of the *Spaniards*, who took a ſufficient Revenge; for, in Return, they maſſacred 200 of them, going into the very Iſlands to deſtroy them; which ſtruck ſuch a Terror to thoſe poor People, that they were glad to ſit down quietly under their Misfortune: And, though the *Spaniards* are but badly equipped with Arms, they have never dared to take ſuch Advantages over their Oppreſſors as they daily might, ſince the Number of Whites is but inconſiderable, when compared with the Multitude of the Natives; and to which they might be encouraged by the indolent Neglect of the *Spaniards*, who ſuffer what little fortified Places they have in this Iſland to run to Ruin; ſo that any *European* Power might, with Eaſe, poſſeſs themſelves of it; which might be of the greateſt Conſequence, ſince it is capable of affording a Subſiſtence to a very numerous Colony, which might be of unſpeakable Detriment to the Inhabitants of *Chili* and *Peru*. In regard to ourſelves, of what Benefit (in caſe of a War with the Crown of *Spain*) the taking of this Iſland might be, I leave to more penetrating Judgments to conſider; and ſhall only add, that the Artifices of the Miſſionaries are the chief Security of the *Spaniards* in this Place, as well as in moſt of the reſt of their Settlements in *South America*. Their Embarkations are particular in this, that, for want of Nails, and other Utenſils, they ſew their Boats together very artificially with Oziers: They are compoſed of three Pieces, *viz.* the Sides and the Bottom, each of which is an intire Piece of Timber; and row in the ſame manner that we do, with more or fewer Oars, according to their Bigneſs. Our Buſineſs being now over, I propoſed to ſail from hence for the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*.

It is now requiſite to take notice of what Captain *Betagh* ſays, as to ſome of the Points mentioned in the foregoing Part of the Relation: He admits, that there were Differences between him and Captain *Shelvocke* on the Subject of eating; and he gives this Reaſon for it, that *Shelvocke* drank hard, and had a very ſmall Stomach; which made him think other People, who had a better, were downright Gluttons: And, upon this Falling-out, he was ordered into Confinement, and ſuch a Confinement, as might very well induce him to take any Step, that was thought neceſſary to procure his Inlargement; for he was laid at his full Length on the Arms-cheſt at the Bulk-head in the Steerage, and confined juſt there; and, what with the Height of the Cheſt, and the Bedding, the upper Deck was ſo very cloſe, he had hardly Room to lie extended upon it, there being no Poſſibility of ſitting up; ſo that his Victuals were brought him there: And, when he offered to make Water upon Deck, the Centinel was always cloſe at his Heels, with a drawn Sword. And thus he continued twelve or fourteen Days, nobody daring to ſpeak to him, except Mr. *Kendric*, who, before this, was alſo turned out of the Meſs. Upon this Occaſion it was, that he wrote a Letter to Captain *Shelvocke*; but he aſſerts, that it was not the Letter that the Captain has produced in his Book; and avers, if ſuch a Letter could have been produced, as it might have been, had the Copy in the Book been printed from the Original, he would acknowledge every Title of the Charge, and ſubmit to be thought as bad a Man by the Reader, as the Captain was pleaſed to repreſent him; which, to me, I own, appears a very fair Propoſal. As to the Scheme of going to *Chiloe*, he repreſents it as the Captain's own, calculated purely to avoid meeting Mr. *Clipperton* at *Juan Fernandez*; and aſſerts, that the People, generally ſpeaking, were againſt it. He ſays, that this was a Port known to nobody; and that its being unfrequented was a Proof, that it was a dangerous and difficult Navigation; which was often repreſented to Captain *Shelvocke*, but to no manner of Purpoſe. All theſe Difficulties and Dangers they experienced in the End; for they were no ſooner entered, but they found themſelves ſurrounded with terrible Breakers; for ſuch were the Uncertainty and Rapidity of the ſeveral Tides or Currents meeting there, as at once to aſtoniſh and baffle the moſt judicious Mariner to deſcribe them. They were firſt taken under the Bow with a Current ſetting from the Lee of one Iſland, then immediately under the Quarter with another; ſo that the Ship could not anſwer her Helm. At laſt, the moſt powerful of thoſe Currents horſed her away on the Weſt Shore into three Fathom and an half, where the Torrent ran with ſuch Impetuoſity, and the Ground was ſo foul, that the Sand appeared on the Surface from the Bottom; all which together afforded a diſmal Proſpect. However, the Anchor brought her up, which if they had not let go when they did, every Man muſt inevitably have periſhed; for, had ſhe touched the Bottom, there ſhe muſt, in a Moment, have broken to Pieces, or overſet by the Strength of the Current. He ridicules the whole Affair of changing the Ship's Name, and aſſuming the *French* Captain's, as a very poor Contrivance, which had little or no Effect; for the *Spaniſh* Governor was not ſo eaſily cheated, but had the worſe Opinion of the Perſon he dealt with, for endeavouring thus to impoſe upon him. And, as to the ſending Men aſhore to exerciſe, he repreſents that as very little better than a formal Deſign of throwing them into the Hands of the *Spaniards*. As to the Project of ſeizing *Chiloe*, he will not allow it any kind of Merit, becauſe of the dangerous going in, which muſt expoſe Ships of any Size to the utmoſt Peril. Such is the Commentary of *Betagh* upon this Part of the Voyage. Let us now return to the Text of Captain *Shelvocke*, and the Proſecution of the Voyage from this Iſland of *Chiloe* to the Bay of *Conception*; after which we will hear Captain *Betagh* again.

8. I was determined, ſays he, to go from hence to the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, as my Inſtructions directed; and ſhould certainly have done ſo, but that the Ship's Company were unluckily poſſeſſed with an Opinion of mighty Advantages that might be obtained by a ſhort Trip to the Bay of *Conception*. This was put into their Heads by the *Frenchman*, who perſuaded us to go to *Chiloe*; and, tho' that Expedition was not over-advantageous, yet, as it failed rather through the Faults of our own People, than from any Miſtakes in the *Frenchman*'s Information, which, on the Whole, had anſwered tolerably well, the Crew were ſtill inclined to credit him; a thing natural enough in a ſtrange Part of the World, where we knew not well what Courſe to ſteer, and where he, who had never ſo little more Knowledge than the reſt, was ſure to be eſteemed much wiſer than he really was. But the Secret, by which this Man captivated our Company to ſuch a Degree, was this: He flattered them with the Hopes of making their Fortunes in a very ſhort Time, and at a very ſmall Hazard. He premiſed, that he had been there before, and therefore knew what he ſaid; and next laid it down as a Fact abſolutely certain, and not all to be controverted or called in queſtion, that there were always five or ſix Sail of Ships in the Road of *Conception*, and others daily coming in and going out; that they had very often, both Ways, conſiderable Sums of Money and Plate, and other valuable Things, on board; that, tho' they were large Ships, they had little or no Force; and that there was no Fortification to protect them, ſo that, if there were twenty Sail, we could not meet any Oppoſition in the taking them all; that their Cargo conſiſted chiefly of Corn, Wine, Brandy, Flour, Bread, jerked Beef; that the Ships bound to *Conception*, always bring Money with them to purchaſe their Cargoes, beſides the Booty that might be got from rich trading Paſſengers, who carry on a conſiderable Commerce between this Port and *Buenos Ayres* over Land; and that we could not fail of having the Ships ranſomed, that ſhould fall into our Hands, at very great Rates; inſomuch that, if we could but get into *Conception* before they had any Knowledge of us, it was paſt all Doubt, that we ſhould make our Fortunes. He therefore adviſed them to endeavour to prevail upon me to make the beſt of my Way thither: For, tho' it was certain, the Governor of *Chiloe* would ſend our Deſerter to *Conception* with all imaginable Diſpatch; and that, ſince it would be two or three Months Journey by Land, he would infallibly convey him by Sea in ſome ſmall Veſſel; and that, if they arrived at *Conception* before us, the reſt of the Coaſt would, in a very ſmall time, be univerſally alarmed; by which means we ſhould not have an Opportunity left of meeting with any thing, till they had imagined, that we had abandoned their Seas; as every-body, in thoſe Caſes, are fond of delivering their Sentiments, and as it is impoſſible to keep a Ship's Company in ſo much Awe, in ſo remote a Part, as in ſhort Voyages near home, every one of my Ship's Company, who could ſay any thing at this Juncture, did not fail to ſpeak their Minds ſomewhat inſolently. One *William Morphew*, who was one of thoſe I had out of the *Ruby*, and had been in theſe Seas ſeveral Years, took upon him to tell me, that it could not ſignify much, if we arrived two or three Days ſooner or later at *Juan Fernandez*; that I was a Stranger here; but that the *Frenchman* and himſelf were ſo well acquainted, that every body hoped I would be adviſed, and go to *Conception*: And begged I would not put a mere Punctilio of Orders in the Balance againſt ſuch a Proſpect, nay, Certainty of Succeſs, if we were ſo happy as to arrive there in time. In ſhort, they all together aſſured me, that they had the Proprietors Intereſt in View, as much as their own; and that they would periſh, before they would injure them in any reſpect: But at the ſame time told me, that, if I had not Succeſs in my Proceedings, nobody could be blamed, but myſelf; intreating me not to loſe this Opportunity, wherein they were reſolved to ſtand by me, and the Gentlemen in *England*, with all Fidelity. In our Way to *Conception*, we made the Iſlands of *Mocha* and *St. Mary* on *December* 23. and, the ſame Evening, arrived in the Bay of *Conception*; but could not be certain, that we ſaw any Ship in the Road: And therefore I immediately gave Orders to man and arm our Boats, to go up in the Night to ſurpriſe whatever Veſſels might be there; with ſtrict Orders, if they found any thing too ſtrong for them, to make it their Buſineſs to prevent the Ships ſending any thing aſhore, till the Wind permitted me to work up to them; which I endeavoured all Night long, but to very little Purpoſe: For, at Day-light, I could diſcern nothing above us. Captain *Hatley* returned about Noon in the Pinnace, and informed me, that he had taken a Ship called the *Salidad d'Auday*, which was the only one there, that was about 150 Tons Burden; and, being lately come from *Baldivia*, had nothing on board, except a few Cedar-planks; that there was nobody on board of her, except the Boatſwain, an old Negro, and two *Indian* Boys; and that he had left Mr. *Brooks* the firſt Lieutenant in Poſſeſſion of her, with Orders to bring her down the firſt Opportunity. In his Return to my Ship, he took a ſmall Veſſel of about twenty-five Tons, near the Iſland *Quiriquice*, (which lies in the Harbour) where ſhe had been to take in

Pears, Cherries, and other Fruits, for the *Conception* Market. This Veſſel belonged to a Prieſt, who had been gathering Fruits, and was now made a Priſoner in her; for, having the Curioſity to advance too near my People, in order to diſcover what they were, he and his Cargo unluckily fell into their Hands, together with four or five *Indians*. Immediately after they had taken this, there was another ſmall Boat, which came in between the Iſland of *Quiriquine* and *Talgaguana*. I perceived by my Glaſs, that ſhe paſſed within leſs than Piſtol-ſhot of my Pinnace, and yet Captain *Hatley* did not engage her; for which he made no other Excuſe when he came aboard, but that he did not mind her, tho' his Boat's Crew all agreed, that ſhe was full of Men. On the 26th about Noon, Mr. *Brooks* brought down the Ship they had taken, and anchored about half a Mile ſhort of us. The Boatſwain of her had not been aboard of us above two Hours, before he gave an Information of a Veſſel laden with Wine, Brandy, and other valuable Things, bound to the Iſland of *Chiloe*, lying at Anchor in the Bay of *Herradura*, about two Leagues to the Northward of us. Upon this, I ordered Mr. *Randall*, ſecond Lieutenant, with the Boatſwain of the *Solidad*, with twenty-five Men, to go thither in the *Mercury*, as we called our Fruit Bark, with poſitive Orders not to ſet a Foot on Shore, or make any hazardous Attempt. But, the next Evening, they returned with a diſmal Story; *viz.* that they went into the Bay, and found the Veſſel haled dry aſhore; upon which the Officer ordered his People to land, and bring away what they could out of her, whilſt himſelf, and three or four more, kept the Bark afloat. When they came up to her, they found her empty; but, at the ſame time, ſeeing a ſmall Houſe juſt by the Veſſel, they began to be of Opinion, that the Cargo was lodged there: Upon which, the Officer immediately ordered them up; ſo away went the poor Fellows, with nobody at the Head of them, without any Regard to Order, every one endeavouring to be foremoſt: But their Career was ſoon ſtopped; for they had no ſooner got upon the Bank, than they diſcovered the Enemy ruſhing furiouſly upon them. Some of our Seamen were of Opinion, that they might have made a ſafe Retreat, if they had not been aſtoniſhed at the very ſtrange Manner in which they were attacked, by having a Number of Horſes come up without Riders; but, as ſoon as they heard thoſe behind them, my People beſtirred themſelves, in order to make the beſt of their Way to the *Mercury*; by which means, all, except five, eſcaped; and theſe five were taken after they were gotten into Sholewater. It was very fortunate for them, that, by ſome Accident, their Veſſel was aground; for otherwiſe they muſt have been all cut off. As it was, the *Spaniards* thought fit to retire as ſoon as they were within Muſquet-ſhot, and our People then found it no difficult matter to get their Veſſel afloat again. The Water being now very low, they were obliged, as they went out, to keep near to a Point of Land, from whence the *Spaniards*, under the Shelter of the Wood, galled them; but, the Wind being fair, they ſoon paſſed it, and, lying all cloſe in the Bottom of the Bark, they had only one Man wounded, who was ſhot through the Thigh. They told me, they perfectly ſaw the Manner how the *Spaniards* came down upon them; *viz.* that they were preceded by twenty or more Horſes abreaſt, linked to each other; theſe were two deep; then came the Enemy mounted, and lying upon their Horſes Necks, driving the others along; and were not once ſeen to ſit upright in their Saddles, except when there was no Danger, or to fire their Muſquets. When they had got near my People, they threw out Lines, with Nooſes at the End of them, to catch them; and, accordingly, *James Daniel*, one of my Foremaſt-men, was enſnared, after he had run a good Way into the Water, but was dragged out again after the Rate of ten Knots an Hour. In ſhort, they are univerſally dexterous at this; for I have ſeen a *Spaniard* bring a Man up by the Foot as he ran along the Deck; and, they ſay, they are ſure of any thing they fling at, at the Diſtance of ſeveral Fathoms. Theſe Misfortunes and Diſappointments made my Crew extremely uneaſy, and might have had very bad Conſequences, if, when we leaſt expected it, we had not been agreeably ſurpriſed by the Sight of a large Ship, which we ſaw coming about to the Northermoſt Point of the Iſland of *Quiriquine*. It being almoſt dark, ſhe could not perceive what we were, ſo that they ſtood in without Fear or Apprehenſion. This ſudden Appearance put us into no Hurry; for we were always clear, and ready for Action; our Launch was immediately manned to intercept their going aſhore, or going to Sea again, and my Cable was ready to ſlip, if there had been a Neceſſity for it. As ſoon as ſhe had approached us near enough, I hailed her; to which they returning no Anſwer, I fired into her; which was no ſooner done, than I ordered the Launch to put off directly: The Enemy, upon this, ſhortened Sail, but kept faſt their Anchor; and, juſt as I was going to ſlip my Cable, the Launch came up with her, and gave her a Volley of Small-arms, and they inſtantly came-to, and called for Quarter. It was about two o'Clock in the Morning before my Boat returned to inform me of any News of her, when they brought with them the *Spaniſh* Captain, and ſome of the chief Paſſengers, who acquainted me, that their Ship was called the *St. Fermin*; that ſhe belonged to, and came laſt from *Callaco*; that ſhe was about 300 Tons Burden, and had a very ſmall Cargo on board, which conſiſted of Sugar, Melaſſes, Rice, coarſe *French* Linen, and ſome Cloths and Bays of *Quito*, together with a ſmall Quantity of Chocolate, and about 5 or 6000 Dollars in Money and wrought Plate. I ſent Mr. *Hendry*, the Owners Agent, on board of her in the *Mercury*, to inſpect her Lading, and to order every thing he could find valuable out of her; and the Ship's Company ſent their Agent likewiſe: In the Afternoon they returned, and brought all the Bales, Boxes, Cheſts, Portmanteaus, *&c.* that were in her; and alſo all the Rice, with a large Quantity of Sugar, Melaſſes, and Chocolate, and about 7000 Weight of very good Ruſk, with all the other Eatables and Stores. Don *Franciſco Larragan*, who was the Captain, intreated the Liberty to ranſom this Ship; which I willingly conſented to, and gave him Leave to go in his own Launch to *Conception*, with a Merchant, who was likewiſe a Priſoner, to raiſe the Money: In the mean time we were buſy'd in ſearching our Prize, that nothing might be conceal'd; and every body was ſtrictly looked after, by People appointed for that Purpoſe, who examined the Pockets, *&c.* of all ſuch who at any time came from on board the *St. Fermin*; and our Carpenter was employed in making a ſlight Deck over the *Mercury*, it being probable, that ſhe would be of great Uſe in coaſting alongſhore. On the 30th, a Boat came aboard from the Governor, with a Flag of Truce, and an Officer, who acquainted us, that two of the People taken in the laſt Skirmiſh were alive, but much wounded; he likewiſe brought a Preſent of ſeven Jars of very good Wine, and a Letter from the Governor Don *Gabriel Cano*, in which he demanded a Sight of my Commiſſion, the ſending aſhore *Joſeph de la Fontaine*, who had been Servant to Captain *la Jonquire*'s Mate, and ſome other Things, that I thought unreaſonable; with a Promiſe, that, in caſe I complied with them, he would enter into a Treaty. To cut Matters ſhort, I reſolved to ſend Captain *Betagh* to the Governor, in order to treat by Word of Mouth. In the mean time I received other Meſſages, and other Letters, from the Governor; and, at laſt, a formal Treaty was begun, in which I demanded 16,000 Dollars for the Ranſom of the *St. Fermin* alone, and they offered 12,000 for both the Ships and Bark: And, while Things remained in this Situation, the Governor employed all his Skill and Care to draw together ſuch a Body of Men, as might not only free him from any Apprehenſions of our attempting any thing aſhore, but likewiſe enable him to make ſome Attempt upon us; ſo that, finding all his *Spaniſh* Puncto tended to entrap and abuſe us, I firſt ſet Fire to the *Solidad*; and then, having firſt given them Time to comply with the Propoſal I made, I next ſet Fire to the *St. Fermin*, as I had threatened to do, having taken care beforehand to be in a Condition to quit the Bay of *Conception* immediately. Captain *Betagh*, in his Remarks, aſſerts poſitively, Captain *Hatley* chaſed the Bark, which Captain *Shelvocke* ſays he ſuffered to eſcape, till he was within the Reach of the Enemies Guns upon their Platform. He informs us likewiſe, that the Cargo of the *St. Fermin* was worth about 1500 *l.* and that the five Men out of the *Mercury* were loſt in attempting to take an empty Ship.

On

9. On the 7th of *January* 1720. I ſailed, ſays the Captain, to *Juan Fernandez*; and, on the 8th, we obſerved the Sea was perfectly red; the *Spaniards* ſay, that this was occaſioned by the Spawn of Camarones, or Prawns; which, for any thing I know, may be a Miſtake. The next Day Mr. *Steward*, the Ship's Agent, took an Account of the Prize; and I ordered Mr. *Hendrie*, the Agent for the Owners, to take an Account on their Behalf. The Plunder was ſold at the Maſt, by the Ship's Agent, at very extravagant Prizes. Captain *Betagh* inſiſted poſitively, that whatever was not entered in Bills of Lading, or put on board upon Freight, ought to be conſidered as Plunder. This might have occaſioned very bad Conſequences, if I had not referred them to their own Articles at *St. Catharine*'s, telling them plainly, that they had gone far enough in theſe, and that they ſhould not exceed them; upon which they acquieſced, not a Soul ſeconding Captain *Betagh*'s Motion. The Account being taken, and Shares calculated, they demanded a Diviſion; which I could not refuſe: Accordingly each Man had, for Prize-money and Plunder, after the Rate of ten Pieces of Eight *per* Share, in Money or Goods. On the 11th, at ſix in the Morning, we ſaw the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*; at Noon, the Body of it bore Weſt South-weſt, diſtant five Leagues; Meridian Diſtance from *Conception* 275 Miles Weſt; Variation, *per* Amplitude, 6° 23′ Eaſt: To the 15th, I kept ſtanding off and on the Shore for my Boats, which were a fiſhing, who, not having hitherto diſcovered any Marks, that *Clipperton* had been here, ſent the *Mercury* aſhore to ſtop her Leaks, while the Boats we employed in catching Fiſh, of which we ſalted as many as filled five Puncheons. At length, going on ſhore to make a nicer Search for any thing that might inform us of ſome News of my Conſort, ſome of my Men accidentally ſaw the Word *Magee*, which was the Name of *Clipperton*'s Surgeon, and Captain *John* cut out under it, upon a Tree, but no Directions left, as was agreed on, by him, in his Inſtructions to me: His Actions being thus groſly repugnant to his Inſtructions, it was evident, he never meant I ſhould ever keep him Company, or join with him again. However, being by this confirmed in the Certainty of his Arrival in thoſe Parts, I directly made the beſt of my Way from hence, being, with the additional Stock of Fiſh caught here, in a pretty good Condition as to Proviſions, and having all our Caſks filled. On the 21ſt, having a Deſign to look into *Copiapo*, as I went along-ſhore, I ſent Mr. *Dodd*, ſecond Lieutenant of Marines, with eight Men, as a Reinforcement to the *Mercury*'s Crew; and the next Evening they left us, ſteering in for the Land, whilſt I kept the Offing, to prevent our being diſcovered from the Shore. I took care to let the Officer have a Copy of my Commiſſion, together with all neceſſary Inſtructions; and appointed the Moro, or Head-land of *Copiapo*, to be our Place of meeting again: Their Buſineſs was to look into the Harbour of that Place, which is called *Caldera*; near to which there are ſome Gold Mines, and from whence they export that Metal in conſiderable Quantities, in ſmall Veſſels; and the *Mercury* had this Advantage, that, being built in the Manner of the Country, they could have no Suſpicion of her. The next Day myſelf in the Ship came in Sight of the Head-land of *Copiapo*, and lay-to to the Southward of it, that I might not be perceived by the Port, which lies to the Northward. Lying in this Poſture over-againſt a ſmall Iſland, which lies athwart the Mouth of the River *Copiapo*, I ſent the Pinnace to fiſh between the Iſle and the Continent, and ſoon after ſaw a Sail crouding towards us; ſhe at firſt appeared to be too big for the *Mercury*, but proved the ſame. The Officer told me, that he had looked into the Port, but could ſee no Shipping there; upon which I made him ſenſible of his Error, and ſent him to the right Place, which was about ſix Leagues to the Northward of us; and ordered him to be ready to look into *Caldera* by Day-light. The next Morning, as ſoon as they were gone, the Pinnace returned with nothing but a few Penguins, which they had taken on the Iſland, which abounds with them; the *Mercury* had looked into the *Caldera* the next Morning, and ſaw nothing; but, inſtead of making uſe of the Land-wind to come off to me, they kept along-ſhore, in the Bottom of the Bay, till the Sea-breeze came in ſo ſtrong, that they were very near loſing their Veſſel on a Lee-ſhore, and could not come to me till the Morning; by which they hindered me almoſt a whole Day and Night's ſailing, which was more than our Circumſtances could diſpenſe with. On the 27th, I ſent Mr. *Brooks*, the firſt Lieutenant, and Mr. *Rainor*, firſt Lieutenant of Marines, to relieve Mr. *Randal*, and Mr. *Dodd*, in the *Mercury*. I had fitted her up with a Gang of Oars; and, upon Trial, they gained Way, after the Rate of three Knots, which might render her extremely beneficial and uſeful to us in a Calm. *February* 5. I diſpatched Mr. *Brooks* a-head, to diſcover if there were any Shipping at *Arica*, in the Latitude of 18° 20′ South. The next Day, at one in the Afternoon, (after having ranged along-ſhore by the Breaks of *Piſagua*, *Camarones*, and *Vitor*) I had a Sight of the Head-land of *Arica*, and the Iſland of *Guano*, with a Ship at Anchor on the Northern Side of it, and ſaw the *Mercury* ſtanding out of the Bay; by which I judged the Ship was too warm for her, and therefore made all poſſible Haſte to get up to her with my Ship. When we came into the Port, we found the Ship had been already taken, and that the *Mercury* was accidentally adrift. This Prize was called the *Roſario*, of the Burden of one hundred Ton, laden with Cormorants Dung, which the *Spaniards* called *Guana*, and make uſe of it for manuring the Land which produces the Codpepper, of which they make a vaſt Profit in the Vale of *Arica*. There was not in this Ship one white Face, except the Pilot, whom I reſolved to ſend aſhore, to ſee if the Owners would ranſom the Ship, knowing that the Cargo was worth Gold to them, though it was downright Dung to us; and the Event verified my Conjecture.

10. The next Morning I received a Letter from the Owner, wherein, after inſiſting pitifully on his Diſtreſs and Poverty, as well as his having a large Family to provide for, he promiſed to meet us at *Hilo*, or at *Quaco*, in order to treat for a Ranſom: This Letter was ſigned *Miguel Diez Gonzales*. Soon after, we took a ſmall Veſſel, of ten Tons Burden, with a Cargo of dried Fiſh and *Guana*, lying within a Mile of the Town. By this Time all the adjacent Country was in Arms, and drew down in great Numbers to the Coaſt, well mounted and armed, and, to all Appearance, well diſciplined. However, to make Trial of their Courage, and, indeed, to give my own People Spirits, by ſhewing them what ſort of an Enemy they had to contend with, I ordered the *Mercury* and Launch to advance towards the Shore, as if I had really intended to make a Deſcent, though the Landing-place is altogether impracticable there, at leaſt to *European* Embarkations. I likewiſe cannonaded the Town very briſkly, and, though the Balls did not do Execution, yet they ploughed up the Sand before the *Spaniſh* Line of Horſe, and threw it all over them; but neither this, nor the Approach of my Small-craft, made any ſort of Impreſſion, but they remained firm, and ſhewed, at leaſt, the Countenance of as good Troops as could be wiſhed for, to my very great Diſappointment, ſince it ſhewed my People, that the *Spaniards* were far from being ſuch Cowards as they were repreſented. The Merchant that wrote to me in the Morning, came on board as ſoon as it was dark; and, having Reaſon to believe him perfectly honeſt, but ſtreightened in his Circumſtances, I agreed on reſtoring to him his Ship, and ſix Negroes, for 1500 Pieces of Eight, with this Reſervation, that I would have every thing out of her that might be uſeful to us. In ſhort, he was ſo punctual, and ſo expeditious, that at ten the next Night he brought the Sum agreed for; *viz.* 1300 Dollars Weight in Ingots of Virgin-ſilver, which the *Spaniards* call *Pinnas*, and the reſt in Pieces of Eight; for which I reſtored him his Ship and Negroes. This Gentleman made a great Inquiry after *Engliſh* Commodities, and offered great Prices for them, complaining, that the *French* only ſupplied them with paltry Things, and Trifles, for which they ran away with many Millions; and asked, Whether all the *Engliſh* Merchants were aſleep, or grown too rich, ſince, notwithſtanding their Ports were not ſo open as in other Parts of the World, yet they knew how to manage Matters very well; and that their Governors, being generally *Europeans*, whoſe Stay in the Country ſeldom exceeds above three

Years, they made uſe of any Means to improve their Time; and that there were Ways of gaining them ſo far, as to make them act very obligingly: Much more he ſaid, as to the Blindneſs of the *Engliſh*, who had ſuffered the *French* Pedlars to carry on, uninterrupted, the moſt conſiderable Branch of Commerce in the World. Before he took his Leave, he deſired me to carry his Ship to Sea with me two or three Leagues, and then turn her adrift: The Intent of which was, to deceive the Governor, and the King's Officers: And told me farther, That if I would meet him at *Hilo*, which was about twenty-five Leagues to the North-weſtward, he would purchaſe what little coarſe Merchandize we had, which might be done there with all imaginable Privacy: The Maſter alſo of the ſmall Boat came off upon a Balſe, which is an odd Sort of Embarkation, made of two large Seel-ſkins, ſeparately blown up like Bladders, and then made faſt, and joined together by Pieces of Wood; on this he brought off two Jars of Brandy, and forty Pieces of Eight, which, conſidering his mean Appearance, was as much as I could have expected. One Part of his Freight was valuable, which was a good Parcel of excellent dry'd Fiſh.

Captain *Betagh*, in his Remarks, is very ſevere on almoſt every one of the Tranſactions mentioned: In two long Paragraphs, he defends himſelf from the Imputation of Mutiny, by abſolutely denying the Facts Mr. *Shelvocke* produces in Support of it. He obſerves, that Captain *Clipperton*, during his Stay at the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, did every thing that became him, in order to ſecure the Company of his Conſort, by burying a Bottle, with Inſtructions, at the Foot of the Croſs he erected on that Iſland; and if this, by an unforeſeen, unavoidable Accident, was afterwards diſcovered to, and taken away by the *Spaniards*, that was none of *Clipperton*'s Fault; and, as the Fact was known to Mr. *Shelvocke* before he wrote, he ought to have forborne any Reflections on that Subject. Then, as to the Attack on *Arica*, he puts it in this Light: The Captain, ſays he, went on board the *Mercury*, accompanied by Mr. *Stewart*, three more Officers beſides myſelf, and a few Men; brought the *Speedwel* and *Mercury*'s Broad-ſide to bear on the Town; he began to cannonade it, which really had no other Effect, than to ſcare away the Women and Children; for the Men, contrary to our Expectation, aſſembled on the naked Beech, and ſuddenly erected a good Breaſt-work of Stones, and what Rubbiſh they could find, gallantly ſtanding our Fire; but the Swell giving us ſome Motion, we could not bring our Guns to bear, ſo as to diſlodge any of them. Mr. *Shelvocke*, being tired with deſtroying his Ammunition, ſends an *Indian* Priſoner, under a Flag of Truce, to demand of the Town what they would pleaſe to give to be rid of us; and, though he ſays nothing of this, the *Indian* leaped out of the Boat, ſwimming through the terrible Breakers, which made Landing there impoſſible, delivered his Meſſage, and returned faithfully the ſame Way to the Boat, with their Anſwer; *viz.* That they cared not a Fig for any ſuch *Borracho*, that is, Drunkard, the moſt contemptuous Name they can make uſe of. Upon which, our Captain called for his Pinnace, and, taking *Stewart* with him, went aboard in a Pet, but left the reſt of us to unmoor the *Mercury*, and carry her out into the Road: At his getting into the Boat, the Inhabitants gave us a regular Hedge-fire, and three Huzzas, or Horſe-laughs. The Number of *Spaniards* which aſſembled on this Occaſion, might be about five or ſix hundred. It is certain, that theſe Accounts are very different, and yet I am very far from conceiving them irreconcileable. Mr. *Betagh* tells us very truly what he ſaw, and what his Opinion was; but, as to Captain *Shelvocke*'s Deſign, nobody could let us into that but himſelf; and he owns it very fairly; and, at the ſame time, frankly acknowledges, that he was diſappointed, and that the *Spaniards* behaved in a manner very different from what he expected; in which his Antagoniſt alſo agrees. We are now to take a View of the Town of *Arica*, at the time theſe Gentlemen were there; and, to be ſure, nothing is more uſeful, than ſuch accurate Deſcriptions, drawn by Eye-witneſſes, becauſe they ſhew us, how Things alter in that Part of the World, and hinder Poſterity from thinking they are to find every Place in the South Seas in the ſame, or a better Situation, than it was fifty or an hundred Years ago.

11. The Port of *Arica*, which was formerly ſo famous for the great Quantities of Plate continually ſhipped off there, is now much diminiſhed in its Riches, and appears to be no other than an Heap of Ruins, except the Church of *St. Mark*, and two or three more, which look tolerably well: That which helps to make it look the more diſconſolate is, that the Houſes below are covered only with Mats. This Town, being ſituated on the Edge of the Sea, in an open Road, has no Fortification of any kind to defend or command the Anchoring, they thinking it ſufficient, that Nature has provided for their Security by the great Breach of the Sea, and the rock Bottom near the Shore, which threatens inevitable Deſtruction to an *European* Boat, or any other Embarkation, but what is contrived for that Purpoſe. To obſtruct the Landing of Enemies, the *Spaniards* had made Intrenchments of unburnt Bricks, and a Battery, in the Form of a little Fort, which flanks the three Creeks; but it is built after a wretched manner, and is now quite falling to Ruin, ſo that the ſaid Village deſerves nothing leſs than the Name of a ſtrong Place, given it by *Dampier*, becauſe he was repulſed there in the Year 1680. The *Engliſh* being convinced of the Difficulty of landing before the Town, landed at the Creek of *Chacota*, which is to the Southward of the Head-land, whence they marched over the Mountain to plunder *Arica*. The Earthquakes, which are frequent there, at laſt ruined the Town; for what bears the Name of *Arica* at preſent, is no more than a Village of about 150 Families, moſt of them Blacks, Mulattoes, and *Indians*, and but few Whites. On the 26th of *November* 1605. the Sea, being agitated by an Earthquake, ſuddenly flooded, and bore down the greateſt Part of it: The Ruins of the Streets are to be ſeen to this Day, ſtretching out near a Quarter of a League from the Place where it now ſtands. What remains of the Town, is not ſubject to ſuch Accidents, becauſe it is ſeated on a little riſing Ground at the Foot of the Head-land. Moſt of the Houſes are built with nothing but Faſcines, of a ſort of Flags or Sedge, called *Totora*, bound together, ſtanding Endways, with Leather Thongs, and Canes, croſſing them; or elſe they are made of Canes ſet upright, and the Intervals filled up with Earth. The Uſe of unburnt Bricks is reſerved for the ſtatelieſt Houſes, and for Churches; no Rain falling there, they are covered with nothing but Mats, which makes the Houſes look as if they were Ruins when beheld from without. The Pariſh-church is handſome enough, being dedicated to Saint *Mark*. There is a Monaſtery of ſeven or eight Mercenarians, an Hoſpital of the Brothers of *St. John of God*, and a Monaſtery of *Franciſcans*, who were coming there to ſettle in the Town. After having deſtroyed the Houſe, they had half a Quarter of a League from it, though in the pleaſanteſt Part of the Vale, and near the Sea. The Vale of *Arica* is about a League wide, next the Sea, all a barren Country, except the Place where the old Town ſtood, which is divided into little Meadows of Clover-graſs, ſome Spots of Sugar-canes, with Olive and Cotton-trees intermixed, and Marſhes full of the Sedge uſed, as above, to build Houſes. It is thruſt in to the Eaſtward. Growing narrower that Way, a League up, is the Village of *St. Michael de Sapa*, where they begin to cultivate the Agi, that is, *Guiney* Pepper, which is ſown throughout all the reſt of the Vale; and there are ſeveral ſcattered Farms, which have no other Product but that Pepper. In that little Space of the Vale, which is very narrow, and not above ſix Leagues long, they ſell yearly of it to the Value of above 80,000 Crowns. The *Spaniards* of *Peru* are ſo addicted to that Sort of Spice, that they can dreſs no Meat without it, though ſo very hot and biting, that there is no enduring of it, unleſs well uſed to it; and, as it cannot grow on the *Puna*, that is, the Mountain-country, abundance of Merchants come down every Year, and carry away the *Guiney* Pepper that grows in the Vales of *Arica*, *Sama*, *Taena*, *Locumba*, and others ten Leagues about; whence it is reckoned, there is exported to the Value of above 600,000 Pieces of Eight, though ſold cheap. Conſidering the Smalneſs of the Place, it is hard to believe that ſuch vaſt Quantities ſhould go from thence; for, ex-

cepting the Vales, the Country is every-where ſo parched up, that there is no Green to be ſeen: This Wonder is produced by means of that Bird's Dung, which, as was ſaid before, is brought from *Iquique*, and fertilizes the Earth in ſuch a manner, that it yields four or five hundred for one of all Sorts of Grain, Wheat, *Indian* Corn, &c. but particularly the Agi, or *Guiney* Pepper, when they know how to manage it right: When the Seed is ſprouted, and fit to be tranſplanted, the Plants are ſet winding, that is, not in a ſtrait Line, but like an S; to the end that the Diſpoſition of the Furrows, which convey the Water to them, may carry it gently to the Foot of the Plants; then they lay about each Plant of *Guiney* Pepper, as much Guanan Birds-dung, above-mentioned, as will lie in the Hollow of a Man's Hand: When it is in Bloſſom, they add a little more; and, laſtly, when the Fruit is formed, they add a good Handful, always taking care to water it, becauſe it never rains in that Country; otherwiſe, the Salts it contained, not being diſſolved, would burn the Plants, as has been found by Experience. For this Reaſon it is laid down at ſeveral times, with a regular Management, the Neceſſity whereof has been found, by Uſe, and the Difference of the Crops produced. For carrying of the Guana, or Dung, to the Lands, they generally at *Arica* make uſe of that Sort of little Camels, by the *Indians* of *Peru*, called *Llamas*; by theſe of *Chili*, *Chille hucque*; and, by the *Spaniards*, *Carneros de la Tierra*, or the Country Sheep. Their Heads are ſmall, in proportion to their Bodies, ſomething reſembling both an Horſe and a Sheep's Head; the Upper-lip, like an Hare's, is cleft in the Middle, thro' which they ſpit ten Paces from them againſt any that offend them; and, if that Spittle falls on their Faces, it makes a reddiſh Spot, which is often followed by an Itching: Their Necks are long, bowing downwards, like the Camels, towards the Fore-part of the Body, which would well enough reſemble them, if they had a Bunch on the Back: The Figure I here inſert, may ſerve to explain what is wanting in Deſcription; their Height is from four Feet, to four and an half. They generally carry only an hundred Weight, and walk, holding their Heads up with wonderful Gravity and Majeſty, ſo regular a Pace, that no beating will make them go out of it. At Night it is impoſſible to make them move with their Burden; they lie down till it is taken off, to go and graze; their common Food is a Sort of Graſs ſomewhat like the ſmall Ruſh, except that it is a little finer, and has a ſharp Point at the End; it is called *Yebo*. All the Mountains are covered with nothing elſe; they eat little, and never drink, ſo that they are Creatures eaſily kept. Though they have cloven Feet, like Sheep, yet they make uſe of them in the Mines to carry Ore to the Mill: As ſoon as loaded, they go without any Guide to the Place where they are uſed to be unloaded. Above the Foot they have a Spur, which makes them ſure-footed among the Rocks, becauſe they make uſe of it to hold or hook by. Their Wool has a ſtrong Scent, and even diſagreeable; it is long, white-grey Ruſſet, in Spots, and very fine, though much inferior to that of the Vicunnas. The Vicunnas are ſhaped much like the Llamas, except that they are much ſmaller and lighter; their Wool being extraordinary ſmall, and much valued. They are ſometimes hunted after ſuch a manner, as deſerves to be related: Many *Indians* get together to drive them into ſome narrow Paſs, where they have made Cords faſt acroſs, three or four Feet from the Ground, with Bits of Wool and Cloth hanging at them; the Vicunnas, coming to paſs them, are ſo frighted at the Motion of theſe Bits of Wool and Cloth, that they dare not go any farther, ſo that they preſs together in a Throng, and then the *Indians* kill them with Stones made faſt at the End of Leather Thongs. If any Guanacos happen to be with them, they leap over the Cords, and then all the Vicunnas follow them. The Guanacos are larger, and more corpulent; they are alſo called Viſcachas. There is another Sort of black Creatures like the Llamas, called *Alpagues*, whoſe Wool is extraordinary fine, but their Legs are ſhorter, and their Snouts contracted, ſo that it has ſome Reſemblance of an human Countenance. The *Indians* make ſeveral Uſes of theſe Creatures; they make them carry a Burden of about 100 Weight; their Wool ſerves to make Stuffs, Cords, and Sacks; their Bones are uſed to make Weavers Utenſils; and, laſtly, their Dung ſerves to make Fires to dreſs Meat, and to warm them. Before the laſt Wars, the Armadilla, a little Fleet, compoſed of ſome Ships of the King's, and of private Perſons, reſorted every Year to *Arica*, to bring thither the *European* Commodities, and Quickſilver, for the Mines of *La Paz*, *Oruro la Plata*, or *Chuguizaca*, *Potoſi*, and *Lipes*, and then carried to *Lima* the King's Plate, being the fifth of what Metal is drawn from the Mines; but, ſince no more Galeons came to *Porto-Bello*, and the *French* have carried on the Trade, that Port has been the moſt conſiderable Mart of all the Coaſt, to which the Merchants of the five Towns above, being the richeſt in Mines, reſort. It is true, that the Port of *Cobija* is nearer to *Lipes*, and *Potoſi* than *Arica*; but, being ſo deſert and barren, that there is nothing to be had for Men or Mules to ſubſiſt, they chuſe rather to go ſome Leagues farther, and be ſure to find what they want; beſides that it is not a very difficult Matter for them to bring their Plate thither privately in the Maſs, and to compound with the Corregidors, or chief Magiſtrates, to ſave paying the Fifth to the King.

12. As ſoon as I got out of the Road of *Arica*, ſays Captain *Shelvocke*, I ſhaped my Courſe for the Road of *Hilo*, in Sight of which we came in the Afternoon, where we ſaw a large Ship, and three ſmall ones, at Anchor: The great Ship immediately hoiſted *French* Colours, and proved to be the *Wiſe Solomon*, of forty Guns, commanded by Mr. *Dumain*, who was now reſolved to protect the Veſſels that were with him, and obſtruct my coming in. It being dark before I could get into the Road, I ſent my third Lieutenant, Mr. *La Porte*, who was a *Frenchman*, to let him know who we were; but my Officer had no ſooner got into the Ship, than they tumbled him out again, calling him Renegade; and ſent me Word, that, if I offered to anchor there, they would ſink me. Mr. *La Porte*, upon this, told me, that, to his Knowledge, the *French* Ships had often taken *Spaniſh* Commiſſions, at ſuch times as there were *Engliſh* Cruiſers on thoſe Coaſts; as a Recompence for which Service, they had great Liberties allowed them in the way of Trade. He farther aſſured me, that he could plainly ſee, that Mr. *Dumain* had double-manned his Ship with the Inhabitants of the Town, who were partly *French*; and that, in ſhort, he deſigned to be with me as ſoon as the Wind came off ſhore. While we were talking this Matter over, the *Frenchman* fired ſeveral Guns at us, to ſhew they were ready, and deſigned to be with us ſpeedily. I muſt confeſs, this heated me not a little; and the firſt thing that occurred to me, was turning the *Mercury* into a Fireſhip, by the Help of which I might, without any great Difficulty, have roaſted this inſolent *Frenchman*. But, reflecting on the Situation of Things at Home, and fearing that, however unwarrantable his Conduct might be, my attacking him might be thought as unjuſtifiable, I thought it beſt to ſtand out of the Harbour, which accordingly I did. On *February* 12. the Moiety of the Money taken at *Arica* was divided amongſt the Ship's Company, according to the Number of their Shares. On the 22d, we found ourſelves in the Height of *Calao*, which is the Port of *Lima*; upon which I furled all my Sails, to prevent being ſeen, reſolving to get away in the Night; becauſe, if we had been diſcovered from thence, we were morally certain of being purſued by ſome of the *Spaniſh* Men of War that are always in that Harbour. On the 26th, the Officers in the *Mercury* deſiring to be relieved, I ſpoke to Captain *Hatley*, whoſe Turn it was to command her. As this Gentleman had been for a long time Priſoner among the *Spaniards*, he knew the Country perfectly well; and, having travelled between *Lima* and *Payta* by Land, he had obſerved ſeveral rich Towns; which put it into his Head, that ſomething might be made of cruiſing along that Coaſt, as far as the Iſland of *Lobos*, which lies in the Latitude of 7° South; and I, as it was very natural for me to do, approved of this Propoſition, the rather becauſe it was extremely probable they might meet with ſome of the *Panama* Ships, which always fall in with the Land, in order to receive the Benefit of the Land Winds. As the whole Ship's Company ſeemed to be extremely delighted with Captain *Hatley*'s Project, I judged it requiſite to augment

their Complement of Men, put a Month's Proviſion on board, mounted two Quarter-deck Guns on the *Mercury*, lent Captain *Hatley* my Pinnace, gave him a Copy of my Inſtructions; though it was very likely, that I ſhould have frequent Sight of the *Mercury*, between the Time of our Separation and our coming to the Iſland of *Lobos*, where was our Rendezvous, and not above ſixty Leagues from us. As ſoon as every thing was ready for their Departure, Captain *Betagh*, whoſe Turn it was to relieve the marine Officer in the *Mercury*, being unwilling to go, went amongſt the People; and, with a frightful Countenance, told them, that he, and the reſt that were to go with him, were ſent for a Sacrifice. Upon this, I addreſſed myſelf to the Ship's Company; telling them, that I did not know what this ungovernable Fellow meant by this Uproar; and appealed to them all, if it had not been cuſtomary with me to relieve the Officers in this manner, ever ſince we had this Veſſel in Company; and aſked them, if ever they heard me call upon any particular Perſon by Name to go on any Enterprize, but left it to every Man's Choice to go out of the Ship upon any Service; and, in a Word, deſired to know who among them were of *Betagh*'s Opinion: Upon this, they with one Voice declared, that they had never entertained any ſuch Thought; but, on the contrary, I ſhould find them obedient to any Commands I ſhould lay upon them. This done, I ordered the *Mercury* alongſide, and acquainted her Crew with the Speech *Betagh* had made in the Ship; and deſired to know, if any of them were under any Apprehenſions of being ſold or ſacrificed: At which they ſet up an Huzza, and begged that they might go on the intended Cruize in the *Mercury*. Accordingly, *Hatley* and *Betagh* went on board of her, and put off from us, gave me three Chears, and ſtood right in for the Land. I think it will not be altogether improper to take notice of their Proceedings after they left me, as I have been informed by themſelves and by Priſoners; *viz.* The very next Day they took a ſmall Bark, laden with Rice, Chocolate, Wheat, Flour, *&c.* and the Day following another; on the 4th Day, they became Maſters of a Ship of near 200 Tons, 150,000 Pieces of Eight. Fluſhed with this Succeſs, *Betagh* prevailed on *Hatley*, and the greateſt Part of the People with them, not to join me again; telling them, that they had ſufficient to appear like Gentlemen as long as they lived, but that it would be nothing when the Owners Parts were taken out, and the Remainder divided into 500 Shares: And therefore he thought, ſince Fortune had been ſo kind to them, they would be highly to blame, if they did not lay hold of this Opportunity of going to *India*; ſince they had Proviſions, and every thing they could wiſh for in their Voyage, and the Happineſs, into the Bargain, of having a Gentleman amongſt them, Captain *Hatley*, who was, doubtleſs, able to conduct them to ſome Part of the Coaſts of *Aſia*. This was ſoon reſolved on, and they fell to Leeward of the Place of Rendezvous. But *Hatley*, weighing within himſelf the vaſt Run, and the many Hazards of the Undertaking, and knowing well what Treatment he ſhould find in *India*, if his Treachery was diſcovered, could not readily determine what he had beſt do in this Caſe, but kept hovering on the Coaſt; and, in the Interim, ſome of his Crew went away with his Boat to ſurrender themſelves to the Enemy, rather than be concerned in ſuch a piratical Action. But *Betagh* and his Gang ſtill kept *Hatley* warm in Liquor, and, in the End, brought him to a fixt Reſolution of leaving theſe Seas. But no ſooner had they clapped their Helm a-weather, than they ſaw a Sail ſtanding towards them, which, in ſhort, proved to be a *Spaniſh* Man of War, who caught them, and ſpoiled their *India* Voyage. The *Engliſh* were treated very indifferently; but *Betagh*, who was of their Religion, and of a Nation which the *Spaniards* are very fond of, was made an Officer, and uſed very reſpectfully. On the 29th, in the Morning, we ſaw a Sail at Anchor in the Road of *Guanchaco*; at 11, we came up, and anchored along-ſide of her: There was no body on board of her but two *Indian* Men and a Boy: She was called the *Carmaſita*, of about 100 Tons, and had nothing in her but a little Timber from *Guiaquil*, from whence ſhe lately came. By theſe Priſoners I was informed, that there was a rich Ship in the Cove of *Payta*, who put in there to repair ſome Damages ſhe had ſuſtained by a Gale of Wind: Upon which I immediately went to Sea; but, in purchaſing the Anchor, the Cable parted, and I loſt it. I took my Prize with me, ſhe being new and well-fitted, and like to ſail well: I called her the *St. David*, and deſigned to have made her a complete Fireſhip as ſoon as the *Mercury* joined us, who had Materials on board of her for that Purpoſe. The next Day I looked into *Cheripe*, from whence I chaſed a ſmall Veſſel, of which when I came within half Cannon-ſhot, the Crew ran her on ſhore. The next Morning, finding myſelf in the Neighbourhood of the Iſland of *Lobos*, where I had appointed our Rendezvous with the *Mercury*, I ſent Mr. *Randall*, my ſecond Lieutenant, aſhore, with two Letters in two Bottles, directing Captain *Hatley* to follow us to *Payta*, towards which Port I now made the beſt of my Way; and, on *March* 8. found myſelf before it; and ſent Mr. *Randall* to look into the Cove, in order to bring us an Account what Ships were there, that we might know what to think of the Information we had received.

There is ſcarce a Circumſtance in all this Account, which Captain *Betagh* does not only diſpute, but deny. As to the *Mercury*, on board which they were ſent to cruiſe, he obſerves, that ſhe was a flat-bottomed Veſſel, that would neither row nor ſail, and, in ſhort, an abſolute Lighter. He ſays next, that the Courſe they were directed to ſteer, was exactly in the Tract of the Enemy; ſo that he really judged it to be the Captain's Deſign he ſhould be taken: And he likewiſe admits, that, upon his hinting this to the Purſer, Captain *Shelvocke* called up all Hands, and diſcourſed them in the manner before-mentioned. With regard to Prizes, he admits the taking of two, one a Bark, the other an old *Engliſh* Pink, bound from *Panama* to *Lima*; which, inſtead of having 150,000 Dollars on board, after they had examined her very cloſely, did not appear to have on board her ſo much as a ſingle Half-crown, the Veſſel being bound in her Ballaſt with a ſmall Parcel of Pedlary Ware from *Panama* to *Lima*; whereas, had ſhe been going from *Lima* to *Panama*, ſhe might probably have had a conſiderable Sum on board. We went into this Prize immediately, leaving only a Hand or two to take care of the *Mercury*, ſays Captain *Hatley*; and we were ſoon after taken by one of the *Spaniſh* Cruiſers, called the *Brilliant*, of thirty Guns, as we were plying between *Lobos* and Cape *Blanco*, having been twice on ſhore in this Iſland, without being able to diſcover any Signs of our Captain's having been there, much leſs meeting with any Inſtructions to join him at *Payta*. As to the perſuading Captain *Hatley* to go to *India*, and all that depends upon that Story, Captain *Betagh* denies it utterly; affirms, that, though he was brought up a Papiſt, he became a Proteſtant ſo ſoon as he came to Years of Diſcretion; that he never was in the *Spaniſh* Service; tho' he owns he was very kindly treated by Don *Pedro Midranda*, Admiral of the South Seas, on account of Mr. *Betagh*'s having ſome Knowledge of Sir *Charles Wager*, to whom Don *Pedro* thought himſelf exceſſively obliged. As the Author of this Hiſtory, I do not pretend to enter at all into the Diſcuſſion of theſe Points: I only report Facts as I find them, and leave it intirely to the Reader's Judgment, who was, and who was not, in Fault. I proceed now with the Voyage, as it is repreſented by Captain *Shelvocke*, whom we left beating up for *Payta*.

13. On the 21ſt, ſays he, I came within ſeven Leagues of the Place; and, ſteering directly for it, entered the Cove of *Payta* about four in the Afternoon, with *French* Colours, there being a ſmall Ship in the Harbour, of which Mr. *Brooks*, my firſt Lieutenant, ſoon became Maſter, being ſent in with the Launch well manned for that Purpoſe. About 7 in the Evening, I came to an Anchor about three Quarters of a Mile from the Town: The taking of *Payta* being in the Scheme of our Voyage treated as a Matter of great Importance, I conſulted my Officers concerning the propereſt Methods of doing it. The Town appeared to be indifferently large and populous; and it was very probable there might be ſome Land Forces, to defend a Place ſo well known as this, which is the Rendezvous of Ships coming from *Panama* and *Calao*: However, I landed with forty-ſix Men at two of the Clock the next Morning, leaving Mr. *Coldſea*, the Maſter, and ſome others, not only to

look after the Negroes we had, who ought not to be truſted with the Ship by themſelves, but alſo to bring the Ship nearer in, that we might the more expeditiouſly embark what Plunder we might get. Being now aſhore, I marched up to the great Church without meeting any Oppoſition; and, indeed, found the Town intirely deſerted by the Inhabitants. At Day-light, we ſaw great Bodies of Men on the Hills on each Side of us, who, I expected, would have paid us a Viſit, but found, as we marched up the Hill towards them, we drove them before us. All this time, we took no Priſoners, except an old *Indian* and a Boy, who told me, Captain *Clipperton* had been here, ſome time before, to ſet Priſoners aſhore; who aſſured them, that he would do them no Injury, nor give them any Trouble. But the Inhabitants, not thinking fit to truſt him, had removed their Effects up the Mountains, amongſt which was Part of the King's Treaſure, amounting to 400,000 Pieces of Eight, which would have been a fine Booty, had Captain *Clipperton* thought fit to have accepted of it; ſince it is certain, he would have met with no more Difficulty in ſubduing this Place, than I did: But ſuddenly, upon hearing a Gun fired, I halted; and, Word being brought me, that the Ship was aſhore, I hurried off with ſome Precipitation, carrying with us the Union Flag, which I had cauſed to be planted in the Church-yard ever ſince Sun-riſing. As we re-embarked, the Enemy came running down the Hills hallowing after us: When I came on board, I found her intirely afloat, but within her Breadth of the Rocks; the Water being ſmooth, I ſoon warped her off again; after which, we returned to take Poſſeſſion of the Town in the manner we had done before, and the *Spaniards* as peaceably retired up the Hills again. But this Accident being happily over, the Remainder of the Day was ſpent in ſhipping off what Plunder we had got, which conſiſted in Hogs, Fowls, brown and white Calavances, Beans, *Indian* Corn, Wheat, Flour, Sugar, and as much Cocoa-nut, as we were able to ſtow away, with Pans and other Conveniencies for preparing it; ſo that we were ſupplied with Breakfaſt-meat for the whole Voyage, and full of Proviſions of one kind or other. In the Afternoon, there came a Meſſenger to know what I would take for the Ranſom of the Town and Ship; to which I anſwered, that I would have 10,000 Pieces of Eight, and thoſe to be paid within twenty-four Hours, if he intended to ſave the Town, or Ship either. At eight, the next Morning, I received a Letter from the Governor, ſignifying, that, as I wrote in *French*, neither he, nor any about him, could underſtand the Contents; but, if I would let him know my Demands in *Latin* or *Spaniſh*, I ſhould not fail of a ſatisfactory Anſwer. In the Afternoon, I ſent one of the Quarter-deck Guns aſhore; which, being mounted at our Guard, was fired at Sun-ſet, Midnight, and Break of Day. The next Morning early the Meſſenger returned, and brought with him the Captain of the Ship I had taken; and, as ſoon as I had heard of their Arrival, I went on ſhore to know what they had to propoſe. I very ſoon underſtood from them, that the Governor was determined not to ranſom the Town at all Events; and that he did not care what I did to it, provided the Churches were not burnt: To which I anſwered, that I ſhould have no Regard to Churches, or any thing elſe, when I ſet the Town on Fire; though, in fact, I never deſigned to deſtroy any Place conſecrated to Divine Worſhip. As for the Captain of the Veſſel, I told him plainly, that, if he did not ranſom her immediately, he might expect to ſee her in Flames. This ſeemed to make as great an Impreſſion upon him as I deſired; and he promiſed, in three Hours time, to be down with the Money. As ſoon as I had given theſe People the Hearing, I cauſed every thing to be taken out of the Town that could be of any Uſe to us; and, when this was done, I ordered it to be ſet on Fire in two or three Places at once; and, as the Houſes were old and dry, the Place became a Bonfire inſtantly. In the midſt of this Conflagration, the People on board my Ship made continual Signals for me to come on board, and kept firing perpetually towards the Mouth of the Harbour. As I could only gueſs, from theſe Appearances, that ſomething extraordinary had happened, the ſole Meaſure left for me to take, was to get on board as ſoon as I could, which accordingly I did, in a Canoe, with only three Men aboard with me.

14. It was evident enough to me, before I reached my Ship, what had thrown my People into ſuch a Panic; for I ſaw a large Ship lying, with her Fore-top-ſail a-back, with her *Spaniſh* Flag flying at her Top-maſt-head; at which Sight two of my three Men were ready to faint; and, if it had not been for my Boatſwain, I doubt whether I ſhould have got on board the Ship. When I looked back to the Town, I could not help wiſhing I had not been ſo haſty, ſince, had the *Spaniſh* Admiral acted with Vigour, he had taken the Ship long enough before I could have gotten on board. In Juſtice to Mr. *Coldſea* the Maſter, I muſt obſerve, that he fired ſo ſmartly on the *Spaniard* as he came in, that he put him upon taking thoſe Precautions, which, had he known our Strength, were very unneceſſary; and, as this took up Time, it gave me an Opportunity of coming on board. In the mean time, my Officers aſhore were ſo unwilling to leave behind them a Gun we had mounted in the Town, that they ſpent ſo great a Space in getting into the Boat, that I began to be much afraid the Enemy would have attacked us, before the Launch could have rowed aboard. But he was not in ſuch an Hurry, thinking that I could not well paſs by him, and therefore ſuffer'd my Men to come off, who were about fifty in Number; but was within leſs than Piſtol-ſhot of us, before they had all got into the Ship. Upon which, we cut our Cable, and, our Ship falling the wrong Way, I had but juſt Room enough to fall clear of him. Being now cloſe by one another, his formidable Appearance ſtruck an univerſal Damp on every one's Spirits. Some of my People, in coming off, were for jumping into the Water, and ſwimming aſhore, as ſome actually did; But now, when they ſaw a fine *Europe*-built Ship of fifty Guns, the Diſproportion was ſo great between us, that there could be no Hopes of eſcaping him, being under his Lee. I endeavoured to get into ſhole Water; but he becalmed and confined me for the greateſt Part of an Hour, handling me very roughly with his Cannon; but made little Uſe of Small-arms. He never had Patience to let us be quiet along his Side; but, whenever he was ready with his Fire, he gave his Ship the Starboard-helm, to bring as many of his Guns as he could to bear on us, and, at the ſame time, kept me out of the true Wind. We made the briſkeſt Returns we could; but the Misfortune was, that, in the precipitate Confuſion in getting off from the Town, moſt of our Small-arms were wet; ſo that it was late before they were of any Uſe. There was, during this, a confuſed Scene aſhore, of the Town on Fire, and the People, who had flocked down the Hills to extinguiſh it, ſome of whom anſwered the End of their coming, whilſt others were employed in beholding the Engagement. I was long in Deſpair of getting away from the *Spaniard*, and could foreſee nothing, but that we ſhould be torn in Pieces by him, unleſs we had an Opportunity of trying our Heels with him whilſt our Maſts were ſtanding. I expected every Minute they would board us; and, upon hearing an Hallowing amongſt them, and their Forecaſtle full of Men, I concluded they had come to a Reſolution of entering us: But I preſently ſaw the Occaſion of theſe Acclamations was, their having ſhot down our Enſign-ſtaff, upon which they were in hopes we had ſtruck; but I ſoon undeceived them, by ſpreading a new Enſign on the Mizen-ſhrowds; upon Sight of which, they lay as ſnug as before, and held their Way cloſe on our Quarter. Intending at laſt to do our Buſineſs at once, they clapped their Helm a-ſtarboard, in order to bring their whole Broadſide to point on us; but their Fire had very little Effect, and it muzzled themſelves; which gave us an Opportunity of getting away from them. This was certainly a lucky Eſcape, after an Engagement for about three Glaſſes with an Enemy ſo much ſuperior; for he had fifty-ſix Guns, we but twenty mounted; they had 450 Men, we, on our Part, did not exceed ſeventy-three, and eleven Negroes and two *Indians* included in that Number: He had further this vaſt Odds over us, of being in a ſettled Readineſs, whilſt we were in the utmoſt Diſtraction. Add to all this, our Small-arms being uſeleſs, by being wet; and, in the Middle of the Engagement, One-third of my People, inſtead of fighting, were hard at Work to make a further Preparation for an

obſtinate Reſiſtance; particularly the Carpenter, and his Crew, were buſied in making Ports for Stern chaſe Guns, which (as it happened) we made no Uſe of. Yet we were not altogether unhurt; the Loſs of my Boat and Anchor was irreparable, and may be ſaid to be the Cauſe of that Scene of Trouble, which followed; for we had now but one Anchor, that at *Payta* being the third we had loſt; and were intirely deſtitute of a Boat of any kind. I have been ſince informed, that we placed ſome Shots very well, and that we killed and wounded ſeveral of the Enemy.

It is a very different Account that Captain *Betagh* gives of this Matter, of which, however, he tells us, he was extremely well informed; becauſe, in the firſt Place, he had the Story freſh at *Payta*, within a Day or two after the Thing happened, and was afterwards on board the *Peregrine* at *Lima*, by which means he was an Eye-witneſs of the Force of the Ship. Inſtead of fifty-ſix Guns, he inſiſts, ſhe carried but forty; and, inſtead of 450 Men, he is clear, that 350 were the moſt that ever were on board, and theſe ſuch a mixt Crew of ignorant Wretches, that twenty expert Seamen, in his Opinion, had been more than a Match for them. As for the Commander, continued he, whom Captain *Shelvocke* calls an Admiral, he was a *Creolian*, a mere freſh-water Man, who never ſaw any Action before: And, as for the People aboard him, they were compoſed of Negroes, *Meſtizos*, and *Indians*; beſides which, there were not above a dozen white Faces in all: For this Ship was deſigned to carry the late Viceroy Prince *Santo Bueno*, his Family, and Retinue, to *Acapulco*; but, in the mean time, being ordered a ſhort Cruize on the Coaſt, ſhe ſailed ſo heavy, that the *Spaniards* never expected ſhe would be of any Uſe againſt the *Engliſh* Privateers, and, for that Reaſon, put all their able-bodied Men aboard the other three Cruiſers the *Zelerin*, *Brilliant*, and *San Franciſco*, which were light Ships, and good Sailors. The *Peregrine* was ſo unable and unwilling too, that, if ſhe had not found the *Speedwel* in Harbour, ſhe would never have followed her to Sea; for it was related at *Payta*, the firſt Fire from the *Speedwel* terrified the Enemy ſo very much, that they could not tell whether they were dead or alive. They all immediately ran from their Quarters, and the very Steerſman, who had the Helm, quitted it; ſo that the Ship, which was then cloſe-haled ſtanding in, came with her Head-ſails in the Wind, and muzzled herſelf; that is, ſhe lay bobbing up and down, with her Sails flapping againſt the Maſt; nor could it be otherwiſe, where there were only a few good Officers among a mere Mob of black People, ſcared out of their Wits. The Commander, and his Officers, did all they could to bring them to their Duty: They beat them, ſwore at them, and pricked them in the Buttocks: But all would not do; for the poor Devils were reſolved to be frightened. Moſt of them ran quite down into the Hold, while others were upon their Knees, praying the Saints for Deliverance. The *Speedwel* did not fire above eight or nine Guns, and, as theſe were found ſufficient, Captain *Shelvocke* had no Occaſion to waſte his Powder. But it is plain the *Peregrine* might eaſily have run him aboard, if there had been but a few good Seamen to ſtand by the Bowlins and Braces. However, this Panic of theirs gave *Shelvocke* a fair Opportunity to get his Men aboard, cut his Cable, and go away right afore the Wind. This, he aſſures us, was the Truth of the Matter. But to return to the Captain, and his Relation:

15. In the Evening, I, with much-ado, ſlipped away from the *Brilliant*, the Admiral's Conſort, on board of which was *Betagh*, who deſired he might have the Honour to board me firſt; and this Eſcape I made with Difficulty enough, and found myſelf, when at Liberty, in a very uncomfortable Condition; for we had not the leaſt Hopes now, or at leaſt any Certainty, of meeting with the *Succeſs*; ſo that we had little Good to expect from Friends. As to our Enemies again, I was informed at *Payta*, that they had laid an Embargo of five or ſix Months; ſo that we had nothing to expect on that Side. A third Misfortune was, that I ſaw our Prize, which I intended for a Fireſhip, taken by the *Brilliant*; and therefore had all the Reaſon in the World to expect, they had perfect Information of all our Deſigns. Add to theſe Miſchiefs, that I had but one Anchor, and no Boat at all; and it will not be wondered, that I gave up all Views on the Town of *Guiaquil*, where I propoſed to have made an Attempt, having certain Intelligence, that ſeveral Ships of conſiderable Value lay in that River, by dint of the Embargo, which, if I had been better provided, would, in this Caſe, have done me a Service. In this Situation, I called my Officers together, to let them know, that it was my Sentiment, that we had much better go to Windward, ſince, in ſpite of all their Embargoes, the *Spaniards* muſt carry on their Trade with *Chili*; after which, I propoſed watering at *Juan Fernandez*, and then cruiſing out the whole Seaſon on the *Conception*, *Valparaiſo*, and *Coquimbo* Traders, amongſt whom we ſhould be ſtocked with Anchors, Cables, Boats, and a Veſſel to make a Fireſhip of; on which I mightily depended, ſince I could ſee but little Probability of joining the *Succeſs*. I alſo propoſed, before I left the Coaſt of *Chili*, to make the Town of *la Serena* or *Coquimbo*. This being univerſally approved of, we got our Tacks aboard, and ſtretched to Windward. My Intention, after this, was for the Coaſt of *Mexico*, there to run to the Height of the *Tres Marias* and *California*, as the moſt likely Place to meet the *Succeſs*; both of which Places would have been commodious, the firſt for ſalting Turtles, and the laſt for Wooding and Watering. There I ſhould alſo be ready in the Seaſon to lie in the Track of the *Manilla* Ship; which if I ſhould have the Fortune to meet, (having a Fireſhip) I would have tried what I could have done with her; but, if I could not have prevailed, I muſt have contented myſelf with cruiſing on the *Peruvian* Ships, which bring Silver to *Acapulco*, to purchaſe the *Indian* and *Chineſe* Commodities, which the *Manilla* Ships bring thither. On the 26th, we ſecured our Maſts, and bent a new Suit of Sails, and ſtood to the Southward, expecting to gain our Paſſage in about five Weeks. The Day after, the Carpenter began to build a Boat to water the Ship. On the 31ſt, as we were pumping the Ship, the Water came out of the Well, not only in a greater Quantity than uſual, but alſo as black as Ink; which made me judge, that ſome Water came at our Powder; and accordingly, going into the Powder-room, I heard the Water come in like a little Sluice, which had quite ſpoiled the greateſt Part of our Powder; ſo that we only ſaved the Quantity of ſix Barrels, which I ordered to be ſtowed away in the Bread-room. It pleaſed God, that we had fair Weather; otherwiſe it would have been an hard Matter for us to have kept ourſelves above-water. We found the Leak to be on the Larboard-ſide, under the lower Cheek of the Head, occaſioned by a Shot, which had lodged there; which, falling out, left Room for a Stream of Water. We brought the Ship by the Stern, and, with great Difficulty, ſtopped it ſecurely. At this time, we had a large Stock of Proviſions, and every one lived as well as he could have wiſhed, each Man having a Quart of Chocolate, and three Ounces of very good Ruſk, for Breakfaſt every Morning, and freſh Meat or freſh Fiſh every Day, of which we had ſuch a Plenty about the Ship, that we could almoſt always take our Choice of Dolphin or Albicore. On *May* 6. we made the Weſtermoſt of the Iſlands of *Juan Fernandez*, the Body of it being North-eaſt by North, diſtant twelve Leagues; and, the Day after, the Carpenters completed the Boat, which would carry three Hogſheads. On the 11th, we ſaw the great Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, bearing Eaſt half South, by Obſervation the Body of it lying in the Latitude of 33° 25′ South: A joyful Sight at that time, tho' ſo unfortunate to us afterwards. In Captain *Betagh*'s Account, the going to *Juan Fernandez* is repreſented as a direct Deſign to loſe the Ship, and ſo cruiſe for the future in a Bottom, to which, in their Judgment, the Owners had no Title. I muſt, for my own Part, acknowledge, that I cannot underſtand this, becauſe, in a Bark built out of the Remains of the *Speedwel*, they were as much in an Owners Bottom, as in the Ship herſelf; and, if they could imagine this would be obviated by taking and cruiſing in another Ship, then he might as well have quitted the *Speedwel*, under Pretence of the Leak, and gone to Sea in a Prize, without the hazardous Experiment of the Shipwreck. Captain *Betagh* mentions the Suſpicions of the Seamen, as direct Evidence of the Fact; that they looked for it, and expected it would fall out, juſt as it really did. It is alſo ſuggeſted by Captain *Betagh*, that abundance of Things of Value were brought on ſhore,

without their knowing how; which is another thing I cannot comprehend; for Captain *Shelvocke*, and his Son, could not carry a vaſt Quantity on ſhore themſelves; and it is very plain to me, that there was not a ſingle Man in the Ship, who, if he had been truſted with ſo dark a Secret, would not have diſcovered it. But to proceed with the Captain's Relation: I plied, ſays he, off and on till the 21ſt; but could not get ſo much Water as we daily expended; which made me think it requiſite to anchor in the Road for a few Hours: And, in order to it, I prepared twenty Tuns of Caſks to raft aſhore; then worked in, and anchored in forty Fathom Water, and made a Warp, which was of the Length of three Hauſers and an half, which, being made faſt to the Rock, kept the Ship ſteady, and gave us an Opportunity of haling our Raft of Caſks aſhore and aboard. The next Morning, we were ready to go to Sea; but had no Opportunity of doing ſo for four Days together, during which we anchored in the ſame Manner. On the 25th, an hard Gale of Wind came out of the Sea upon us, and brought in a great tumbling Swell; ſo that, in a few Hours, our Cable parted: A diſmal Accident this, there being no Means to be uſed, or the leaſt Proſpect of avoiding immediate Deſtruction. But Providence interpoſed in our Behalf ſo far, that, if we had ſtruck but a Cable's Length farther to the Eaſtward or Weſtward of the Place where we did, we muſt have inevitably periſhed. As ſoon as ſhe touched the Rock, we were obliged to hold faſt by ſome Part or other of the Ship, otherwiſe the Violence of the Shocks ſhe had in ſtriking might have been ſufficient to have thrown us all out of her into the Sea. Our Main-maſt, Fore-maſt, and Mizen-maſt, went all away together. In ſhort, Words are wanting to expreſs the wretched Condition we were in, or the Surprize we were under of being unfortunately ſhipwrecked. In the Evening, all the Officers came to bear me Company, and to contrive to get ſome Neceſſaries out of the Wreck; and, having lighted a Fire, wrapped themſelves up in what they could get, lay round it, and, notwithſtanding the Coldneſs of the Weather, ſlept very ſoundly. I would have ſet the People to Work in doing what we propoſed the Night before; but they were ſo ſcattered, that there was no ſuch thing as getting them together: So that all Opportunities were loſt of regaining any thing, but ſome of our Fire-arms. But, while they were employed in building Tents, and making other Preparations to ſettle themſelves here, the Wreck was intirely deſtroyed, and every thing that was in her loſt, except one Caſk of Beef, and one of *Farina de Pao*, which were waſhed whole on the Strand. Thus were our Proviſions of all ſorts irrecoverably gone, and whatever elſe might have been of Uſe to us, except what I have already mentioned. I ſhould have obſerved, that I ſaved 1100 Dollars belonging to the Gentlemen Owners, which were kept in my Cheſt in the great Cabin. The reſt, being in the Bottom of the Bread-room for Security, could not be come at. I took ſome Pains in finding a convenient Place to ſet up my Tent, and at length found a commodious Spot of Ground, not half a Mile from the Sea, and a fine Run of Water within a Stone's-caſt of each Side of it, with Firing near at hand, and Trees proper for building our Dwellings. The People ſettled within Call about me, as well as they could; and, having a cold Seaſon coming on, ſome of them thatched theirs, and others covered them with Skins of Seels and Sea-lions, whilſt others got up Water-buts, and ſlept in them, under the Cover of a Tree. Having thus ſecured ourſelves, as well as poſſible, againſt the Inclemency of the approaching Winter, we uſed to paſs our Time in the Evening in making a great Fire before my Tent, round which my Officers in general aſſembled, employing themſelves quietly in roaſting Crayfiſh in the Embers; ſometimes bewailing our unhappy State, and ſinking into Deſpair; at other times feeding ourſelves up with Hopes, that ſomething might be done to ſet us afloat again. I conſulted firſt with the Carpenter, who anſwered, That he could not make Brick without Straw; and walked away from me in a ſurly Humour. From him I went to the Armourer, whom I found at the Wreck, and aſked him, What he could do for us in his Way, that might contribute towards the building of a ſmall Veſſel. To which he anſwered, He hoped he could do all the Iron-work, that was neceſſary for ſuch a thing; that he had, with much Labour, gotten his Bellows out of the Wreck, with four or five Spadoes, which would afford him Steel; and that there could be no want of Iron along the Shore; and that he did not doubt, but we ſhould find a great many uſeful Things, when we came to ſet to work in good Earneſt; and deſired I would, without Loſs of Time, order ſome Charcoal to be made for him, whilſt he ſet up his Forge. Upon which I called all Hands together, and gave it them as my Opinion, that there was a great Probability we ſhould be able to effect the building a Veſſel to tranſport us; but that it would undoubtedly be a laborious Taſk, and would require the utmoſt Endeavours from them all; and put the Queſtion to them, Whether we ſhould make a Beginning, or no. To which they, with one Voice, conſented, and promiſed to be extremely diligent in Work; and begged me to give them Inſtructions how to proceed. I then ordered thoſe, who were wooding before the Ship was loſt, to bring in their Axes, that I might ſend them to cut Wood to make Charcoal, while the reſt went down to the Wreck, to get the Bowſprit aſhore, of which I intended to make the Keel; and prevailed on the Carpenter to go with me, to fix on the propereſt Place to build upon. In a Word, the People found a great many uſeful Materials about the Wreck, and, amongſt the reſt, the Top-maſt, which, being made faſt to the Main-maſt, was waſhed aſhore, and, tho' of no ſmall Weight, would not, at this time, have been exchanged for Gold.

16. On *June* 8. we laid the Blocks to build upon, and had the Bowſprit ready at hand. The Carpenter, ſuddenly turning ſhort upon me as I ſtood by him, ſwore an Oath, He would not ſtrike another Stroke upon it; that he, truly, would be nobody's Slave; and thought himſelf now upon a Footing with myſelf. I was at firſt angry; but at laſt came to an Agreement to give him a four Piſtole Piece as ſoon as the Stern and Stern-poſt were up; and 100 Pieces of Eight when the Bark was finiſhed; and the Money to be committed to the Keeping of any one he ſhould name till that time. Upon this, he went to work on the Keel, which was to be thirty Feet in Length, her Breadth by the Beam ſixteen Feet, and ſeven Feet deep in the Hold. In two Months time we made a tolerable Shew, which was, in a great meaſure, owing to the Ingenuity of *Poppleſton* my Armourer, who did not loſe a Minute's time from the Work of his Hand, and Contrivance of his Head. This Aſſiduity of his, I dare ſay, was greatly owing to the juſt Senſe he had of our forlorn State, with which he ſeemed to be much affected. This Man made us a little double-headed Maulet, Hammers, Chiſels, Files, and a ſort of Gimblets, which performed very well; nay, he even made a Bullet-mould, and an Inſtrument to bore our Cartouch-boxes, which we made of the Trucks of Gun-carriages, which waſhed aſhore (theſe we covered with Seels-ſkins, and contrived ſo as to be both handy and neat): And had enabled himſelf to perform any Iron-work the Carpenter wanted; and did not only do us this Service in his Way, but alſo began and finiſhed a large ſerviceable Boat, which was what we much ſtood in need of. But I muſt obſerve, that, in the Beginning, the People behaved themſelves very regularly, half of them working one Day, and half another, and ſeemed to be eaſier and eaſier under our Misfortunes every Day. They treated me with as much Regard as I could wiſh, and, in a Body, thanked me for the Proſpect they had of a Deliverance. I never failed to encourage them by ſuch Stories of Things or Actions that I heard to have been done by the Number of Men in Diſtreſſes of this kind; and always preſſed them to ſtick cloſe to the Work, that we might get the Bark ready in time; and told them, that, to our Comfort, we had three of the beſt Ports in *Chili* within 120 Leagues of us. This inſtilled new Life into them; and they often declared, that they would do their utmoſt to finiſh her with all Expedition, which was a moſt agreeable Hearing. But, inſtead of enjoying Peace long, we became a Prey to Faction; ſo that it was a Miracle, that we got off from this Place by any Endeavours of our own: For, after they had gone through the moſt laborious Part of the Work, they intirely neglected it; and many of my Officers deſerted my Converſation, to herd with the meaneſt of the Ship's Company. I was now confirmed in the Suſpicion I had

ſome time before, that there was a black Deſign in Embryo; for, when I met by chance any of my Officers, if I aſked them, What they were about, and why they would act ſo contrary to their Duty, as to divert the People from their Work, one would anſwer, That he did not know whether he ſhould go off the Iſland, or no, if my Bundle of Boards was ready; and others told me, That they did not care how Matters went; they could ſhift for themſelves, as well as the reſt. And, when I ſpoke with the meaner Sort, ſome would be ſurly, and ſay nothing; others would be Slaves to nobody; but would do as the reſt did. In the Midſt of theſe Confuſions, I ordered my Son to ſecure my Commiſſion on ſome dry Place of the Wood or Rocks, if ſuch could be found; for I well remembered how *Dampier* had been ſerved in theſe Seas. At length I, one Afternoon, miſſed all the People, and could ſee nobody, but Mr. *Adamſon*, Surgeon, Mr. *Hendry* the Agent, and my Son, and Mr. *Dodd*, Lieutenant of Marines, who, for ſome Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, had feigned Lunacy. I could not deviſe what could have become of them all; but at Night was informed, that they had aſſembled at the great Tree, to conſult together; where they had formed a new Regulation, and new Articles, whereby they excluded the Gentlemen Adventurers in *England* from having any Part of what we ſhould take for the future; and diveſted me of the Authority of their Captain; and had regulated themſelves according to *Jamaica* Diſcipline. The chief Officers, among the reſt, had choſen one *Morphew* to be their Champion and Speaker. This Man addreſſed himſelf to thoſe that were preſent, to acquaint them, "That they were now their own Maſters, "and Servants to none; that altho' Mr. *Shelvocke*, their "former Captain, took upon him to command them to do "this and that, *&c.* he ought to be made ſenſible, that, "whoever was their Commander now, it was their Courteſy that made him ſo; but that, however, Mr. *Shelvocke* "might have the Refuſal, if the Majority thought fit, but "not elſe. But, at the ſame time, obſerved to them, that "my Command was too lofty and arbitrary for a private "Ship; that I ſhould have continued in Men of War, "where People were obliged quietly to bear all Hardſhips "impoſed upon them, whether right or wrong." To which ſome preſent, who had a Regard for me, anſwered, "That they never knew or ſaw me treat any body unjuſtly "or ſeverely; and that, however rigid I might be, they "had nobody elſe to depend on; and that they would all "do well to conſider, how many Difficulties I had already "brought them through; that, ſuppoſing we were preſerved out of the Hands of our Enemies, how many more "were to come, no one could tell; that, if they expected "or intended to return to *England*, it could be by no other "Means than taking a Turn round the World; and that, "in that Caſe, there was none capable to undertake the "Care of them, but myſelf: And reminded them of my "Commiſſion, and the Reſpect due to me upon that, beſides the Protection they would receive from it, ſhould "they fall into the Hands of the *Spaniards*." This had ſome Effect on the meaner Sort; but they were diverted from the Thoughts of returning to Obedience by the chief-concerned, who were no leſs than my firſt Lieutenant *Brooks*, &c. who had made the fore-mentioned *Morphew* his Confident, even on board the Ship; for having ſerved as Foremaſt-man the Voyage before he was made my Lieutenant, he had contracted a mighty Liking to the Forecaſtle Converſation: And, beſides this, they were again ſupported by Mr. *Randall* my ſecond Lieutenant, who was *Brooks*'s Brother-in-law, and others, who, forgetting all the Obligations they owed to the Gentlemen in *England*, and all the Reſpect due to me, were now running into Ingratitude, and into an irrecoverable Damage to their Characters and Intereſts. The firſt and moſt remarkable Outrage committed by this Gang of Levellers, was on Mr. *la Porte* my third Lieutenant, whom *Morphew* aſſaulted in a barbarous Manner, and knocked him down on the Beech, whilſt Mr. *Brooks* ſtood by an Eye-witneſs of this Brutality. I expoſtulated with him upon his Conduct warmly; but with very little Effect: So that I ſaw plainly, that there was an End of all regular Authority amongſt us. Very ſoon after, the Affair came to be fully explained; for the Men framed a new Set of Articles, by which they put themſelves upon the *Jamaica* Diſcipline, declaring, that, as I had been their Captain, ſo they were content I ſhould be their Captain ſtill; and, as a further Mark of their Regard, they were willing to allow me ſix Shares; whereas, according to the *Jamaica* Model, I ought to have only four. Upon the ſame Plan, many of my Officers were reduced; for Inſtance, Mr. *le Porte*, Mr. *Dodd*, and Mr. *Hendry*, were declared Midſhipmen: And to this Scheme their ſuperior Officers readily conſented; ſo that there was no hindering it from being carried into Execution. Only Mr. *Coldſea* the Maſter maintained a kind of Neutrality, and neither promoted nor oppoſed the Deſigns, that were going forward. In this Diſtreſs, I thought it lawful, and even neceſſary, to comply with their Demands; and therefore, in Conjunction with the reſt of my Officers, I ſigned thoſe Articles: And then I thought I ſhould have been able to have got them to work hard on the Bark, that was to carry us off; but I ſoon found, that I was ſure to be miſtaken, whenever I entertained any good Opinion of them. Inſtead of liſtening to my Advice, which, at the ſame time, was intirely calculated for their Service, they broke into another Mutiny at the great Tree, where they came to a Reſolution to demand what little Money I had ſaved for the Owners, which amounted to 750 Pieces of Eight in Virgin Silver, a Silver Diſh weighing 75 Ounces, and 250 Dollars in ready Money; with which I was obliged to comply, and was then treated worſe than ever, having only the Refuſe of the Fiſh, when they had choſen the beſt, being glad, after an hard Day's Work, to dine upon Seel; while Mr. *Morphew*, and his Counſellors, feaſted on the beſt Fiſh the Sea afforded. The next Stroke of their Inſolence was, to get the Arms out of my Hands, of which I had hitherto taken the greateſt Care, becauſe, having but one Flint to a Muſquet, and but very little Ammunition, I foreſaw, that, if this was waſted, we muſt be undone: All which I repreſented to them, when they made their Demand, but to no manner of Purpoſe; for they not only took the Arms, but, as I imagined, they ſquandered away the little Powder, and the few Bullets we had left, in killing Cats, or any thing elſe that came in their Way, and they could fire at. This is a conciſe Hiſtory of our Tranſactions in the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, from *May* 24. to *Auguſt* 15. and, I believe, the impartial Reader will agree, that no Man could ſuffer more than I did, lead a worſe Life, or have a more uncomfortable Proſpect.

The Account Captain *Betagh* gives, is ſo diametrically oppoſite to what we have already had from Captain *Shelvocke*, that, to ſhew my Impartiality, I am obliged to report what he has delivered. All his People, ſays Captain *Betagh*, have aſſured me, and many others, that there was no Wind at all when the Ship was loſt; for, as Captain *Shelvocke* very well knew, that if he ſhould be caught by a Gale in that perilous Road, and ſo poorly found with Ground-tackle, they muſt inevitably have periſhed, by reaſon of the prodigious Breaks the Sea makes in any thing of Weather againſt the ſunk Rocks and Stones all along the Shore, he therefore took care to ſecure all their Lives by deſtroying his Ship in fine ſerene Weather; which the ingenious Captain performed by bringing a Spring on his Cable, with which he ſtove his Ship's Broadſide againſt the Swell, and kept her in that Poſition while the Cable was torn aſunder. Mr. *Dodd*, who did not pretend to be a Seaman, aſſerted, that, about three Hours before the Ship went aſhore, ſome Hands were at work on the Quarter-deck, haling in an Hauſer, which was made faſt to the Cable; and that he inquired of *Gilbert Henderſon*, the Gunner, what that was for. *Henderſon* anſwered him, that, if he would be rightly informed, he muſt go and aſk the Captain. To confirm this, ſeveral of his People made Affidavit, that it blew no Wind at all; that every Soul of them got commodiouſly on ſhore; and that it is their Belief, he loſt the Ship on Purpoſe: And it is remarkable, he made not one Trial to prevent it. As ſoon as the Cable parted, Mr. *la Porte*, his third Lieutenant, ſeeing immediate Ruin, cry'd out, Set the Foreſail, hoping thereby to do ſome good; and, while *Edward Phipps*, and others, were actually upon the Yard, *Shelvocke* haſtily ordered them down, and, taking the Helm in his Hand, ſaid, Never mind it, Boys; ſtand all faſt; I will lay her on a

Feather-bed; which, as it proved a very hard one, ſhewed his great Indifference as to the Fate of the Ship. Another thing Captain *Betagh* inſiſts peremptorily upon, is this; That, by the Change of Circumſtances, Captain *Shelvocke* was ſo far from loſing, that he was a very conſiderable Gainer; and this he demonſtrates in the following manner: According to the original Articles, half the Value of every Prize was to be ſet aſide for the Owners, and the remaining Part divided into Shares, in Proportion to the whole Ship's Company, which made them 650; out of which the Captain was to have ſixty; Captain *Hatley*, as ſecond Captain, thirty; Captain *Betagh*, of the Marines, twenty; and ſo on from the Alteration of Circumſtances, the leſſening the Number of the Ship's Company, and the Reduction of the Officers that ſtill ſurvived, there were now leſs than fifty-two Shares; out of which the Captain was to have ſix, according to the new Regulation. This, I ſay, is Captain *Betagh*'s manner of demonſtrating this Propoſition; but, upon conſidering it attentively, I think an Example will make it much clearer. I will ſuppoſe a *Spaniſh* Prize taken of the Value of ſix hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling; then half of it belonging to the Owners, the Shares are plainly worth ten Shillings apiece, conſequently, the Captain's ſixty Shares come to thirty Pounds: But, according to the new Rule of dividing, each Share would be worth twelve Pounds ten Shillings; and, therefore, the Captain's ſix Shares were worth ſeventy-five Pounds. As to the getting Poſſeſſion of the Arms, Captain *Betagh* gives a very ſtrange Account of it; for he ſays, that Captain *Shelvocke*, for certain Reaſons, celebrated the 10th of *June* as a Feſtival; and that the Men having got the Arms, with his Conſent, to fire Vollies upon that Occaſion, they abſolutely refuſed to part with them. But, according to Captain *Shelvocke*'s Relation, this muſt have happened long after the 10th of *June*, ſince it was the eighth before their Bark was put upon the Stocks, which gave Occaſion to all the ſubſequent Diſputes. It is impoſſible to ſay any thing as to the Merits of this Cauſe, ſince there are poſitive Aſſertions on both Sides, and no abſolute Evidence, or authentic Proof, on either; ſo that all I can do is, to report the Facts fairly, as both Sides have ſtated them; which having done, I return to the Captain's Relation.

17. On the 15th of *Auguſt*, the Sight of a large Ship at Sea put us into the utmoſt Confuſion. Before he croſſed the Bay, I ordered the Fires to be put out, and confined the Negroes and *Indians*, leſt the Ship ſhould be becalmed under the Land, and any of them ſhould attempt ſwimming off to her. I conceived it impoſſible, that ſhe ſhould be a Man of War, which, having Advice of our being loſt, came to ſeek us; yet I knew, if ſhe diſcovered what we were about, and the Wreck on the Shore, we ſhould ſoon have the whole Force of the Kingdom of *Chili* upon us. I was not long under theſe Apprehenſions; for ſhe kept away large, and at too great a Diſtance to perceive any thing of us. On this Occaſion I got moſt of the People under Arms, and was glad to ſee ſo many of them, in ſome meaſure, obedient to my Command. I, upon this, told them, I was pleaſed to ſee their Arms in ſuch good Order: To which they anſwered impertinently, That it was for their own Sakes. But, before they were diſperſed, I told them, that the Neceſſity of our Affairs was ſuch, that it required every one to give their Aſſiſtance, and uſe their beſt Endeavours, to get the Bark afloat, inſtead of caballing againſt their Captain, which would in the End be highly prejudicial; that, if we were diſcovered, all Hopes would be gone, and we could reaſonably expect no other, than to be Slaves in ſome of the Mines; that we had ſtill a great deal of Work, and never above ten of the more conſiderate, and commonly but ſix or ſeven, who attended it; and that, (as they knew) to ſhew an Example, I was always one of the Number. But they were ſo obſtinate, and ſo wilfully inſenſible of the impendent Deſtruction which was likely to fall upon us, that the more I made uſe of Reaſon to reclaim them, the more I remonſtrated to them the ill Conſequences that would attend their continual Mutinies, and the more I encouraged them by future Proſpects of Advantage, the more they ran into a confuſed Diſtraction and Interruption of any thing that might be of Service to them in any reſpect. The next Day they divided amongſt themſelves, upon this Queſtion, Whether the Bark ſhould be carried on, or whether they ſhould build two large Shallops, and ſet what was done of the Bark on Fire. The Favourers of this new Deſign, who were headed by *Morphew*, and his Friend, aimed at a Separation by this Means, and did not doubt they ſhould have their Ends, conſidering the great Influence they had as yet had over their Fellow-ſufferers; but, as this muſt be carried by a Majority of Votes, according to their own Articles, they aſſembled before my Tent to debate this Matter; which they did in a noiſy clamorous Manner on both Sides. But, in order to come to a Concluſion, I poſitively aſſured them, that Boats would be impracticable; becauſe our Tools, and Materials too, were almoſt worn out and gone; therefore it was in vain for them to diſpute about it. The Workmen, and a conſiderable Majority of the reſt, ſided with me in the Behalf of the Bark; but, at Night, the Carpenter ſent me Word, that if I did not deliver him the Money agreed at the Beginning, notwithſtanding the Terms for the Payment of it were not executed, I ſhould not ſee his Face again; ſo I was obliged to raiſe the Money for him. The moſt provoking Part of this Propoſal was, that the Fellows who took upon them to harangue and ſtickle firſt, were thoſe who had never done an Hour's Work ſince we had been caſt away; but, not gaining their Point, they openly declared I ſhould not be their Captain, and that none but *Brooks* ſhould be their Commander; which was (perhaps) what that young Man aſpired to, and had long expected, if one may draw reaſonable Concluſions from his Deportment to me; and he, undoubtedly, might have been their Commander, had it not been for the People of the Boatſwain's Tent, who, although they were fond of thinking themſelves their own Maſters, and would not ſubmit to regular Command, yet had that Reſpect left, as not to give their Conſents, that I ſhould be left on the Iſland. I muſt own, that it was a thing very indifferent to me, had I not thought, that I acquitted myſelf of my Duty, in doing what in me lay, to hinder ſo many of his Majeſty's Subjects, entruſted under my Care, from becoming Vagabonds. To complete our Diviſions, there aroſe a third Party, who reſolved to have nothing to do with the other two, purpoſing to ſtay on the Iſland. Theſe were to the Number of twelve, who had ſeparated from the reſt, and never appeared, except in the Night, when they uſed to come about our Tents to ſteal Powder, Lead, and Axes, and, in ſhort, whatever elſe they could lay their Hands on. But in a little time I found means to manage them, and took all their Arms, Ammunition, and the reſt of their Plunder from them; and threatened, that, if they were found within Muſquet-ſhot of our Works or Tents, they ſhould be treated as Enemies. A little afterwards, theſe Diviſions ſo weakened the Power of the whole Body, that by degrees they began to liſten to what I ſaid; and I prevailed ſo far, as to get moſt of them in a working Humour. Mr. *Brooks* came now with a feigned Submiſſion, to deſire he might eat with me again; but, in the main, did not leſſen his Eſteem for *Morphew*: However, his Diſſimulation proved of ſingular Service, in contributing to the finiſhing the Bark, which claimed the Aſſiſtance of all our Heads and Hands; for, when we came to plank the Bottom, we had very vexatious Difficulties to encounter with; for, having no Plank, except Pieces of the Wreck's Deck, we found it ſo dry and ſtubborn, that Fire and Water had hardly any Effect in making it pliable, and fit for Uſe; it rent, and ſplit, and flew, like Glaſs; ſo that now I had ſubſtantial Reaſons to believe, that all our Labour was vain, and that we muſt quietly ſit down with the diſagreeable Hopes of being taken off by ſome *Spaniſh* Ship ſome time or other, and, after all our Troubles, be led to a Priſon to reflect on our paſt Misfortunes: However, by conſtant Labour, and Variety of Contrivances, we in the End patched her up, in ſuch a manner, that, I dare ſay, the like was never ſeen; and I may ſafely affirm, that ſuch a Bottom never ſwam on the Surface of the Sea before. *September* the 9th, the Boat that I have already mentioned to be begun by the Armourer, was launched; and, being now in a way of completing our Bark, there yet remained unconſidered, and undetermined, what Proviſions we could get to ſupport us in our Voyage: This was as neceſſary to be looked into, as the finiſhing our Embarkation,

barkation, the one being uſeleſs without the other; and all the Stock we had, was one Caſk of Beef, five or ſix Buſhels of Farina, or Caſſador Flour, together with four or five live Hogs. I made ſeveral Experiments to ſave both Fiſh and Seel, but it was impoſſible to be done without Salt: At length, we luckily thought on a Method of curing the Conger-eel, by ſplitting them, and taking out the Backbone; then dipped them in Sea-water, and, laſtly, hung them up to dry in a great Smoke. But no other Fiſh could be preſerved after that manner: Therefore the Fiſhermen were ordered to make it their Buſineſs to catch what Congers they could; and now ſeveral of the People, who had not yet ſtruck a Stroke, began to repent of their Folly, as they grew weary of living on this Place; and offered their Service to go a fiſhing, with ſome fooliſh Excuſe or other, for being ſo long idle, and asked my Pardon, promiſing not to loſe a Moment for the time to come. The new Boat, being ſent to try her Fortune, returned at Night, and brought with them a great Parcel of Fiſh of ſeveral Sorts; amongſt which were 200 Eels, which was a good Beginning, and every Tent took their Proportion of them to ſave and cure, and the Boat was haled up every Night, and a ſtrict Watch was kept over her, to prevent any making their Eſcape. Having this Conveniency of a large Boat, I deſired Mr. *Brooks*, our only Diver, to try what he could recover from that Part of the Wreck which lay without: He accordingly went, and could find but one ſmall Gun, which he weighed, and brought aſhore, together with two Pieces of a large Church Candleſtick, which was a Part of the Gentlemen Owners Plate. Our Boat was daily employed in fiſhing, the Armourer conſtantly ſupplying them with Hooks, and there was no want of Lines, which were made of twiſted Ribband, of which, a great Quantity was driven aſhore. In the mean time, thoſe who were aſhore made Twine-ſtuff for Rigging, &c. and patched up the Canvas for Sails; the Cooper completed his Caſks, and, in a ſhort time, we had Maſts on-end, tolerably well rigged, and made a good Figure. But, notwithſtanding this Shew, I had a Damp upon my Spirits, when I reflected within myſelf on the certain and unavoidable Difficulty we ſhould find in calking her tight, which was like to prove a very ugly Piece of Work, where one had bad Seams, wretched Tools, and indifferent Artiſts to deal with, which was our Caſe: However, when we had done it, and came to put it in the Water, to try the Fitneſs of our Work, it was followed by an univerſal Outcry, A Sieve! a Sieve! And now every one appeared truly melancholy and deſpirited, inſomuch that I was afraid they would not have uſed any farther Means; but, in a little time, by inceſſant Labour, we brought her into a tolerable Condition, and, having repaired the Ship's Pumps, I contrived them to fit our Bark: This, they cry'd, was a poor Dependence; but I deſired them to have Patience, and continue their Aid, in doing what more could be thought of, and prepare to launch her, and then we ſhould be better able to judge what we might expect before we ventured to Sea in her; and that, in the mean time, the Cooper ſhould make a Bucket for each Man, if his Materials would hold out. This being approved on by all, we agreed to put her in the Water the next Spring-tide, which fell out the 5th of *October* 1720. by which time we had ſaved 2300 Eels, weighing, one with another, one Pound each, and about ſixty Gallons of Seels Oil, to fry them in. This, with what I mentioned before, was all our Sea-ſtock. The appointed Time being come, we were all ready; but, in launching her, as ſhe fell from the Blocks, that which was to receive her abaft gave way, and down ſhe ſettled, and ſtuck faſt, our Launch being with the Head towards the Sea. I thought we were irretrievably ſpoiled now; but, when we came to make Purchaces to raiſe her again, happily found ſhe did not hang ſo heavy as I dreaded; by which means we got her clear off, and ſaved the ſame Tide. As ſhe went off, I named her *The Recovery*, though I was ſadly afraid of hearing ill News from thoſe afloat in her. All Things, however, anſwering pretty well, we reſolved to run the Hazard of going off in her; and, with that View, made all poſſible Diſpatch in getting Things on board: After all, a dozen of our People choſe to remain on ſhore, rather than run the Hazard of going to Sea in ſuch a Veſſel; and ſent me Word, when I preſſed them to it, That as yet they did not think themſelves ſufficiently prepared for the other World; and with them remained about as many Negroes and *Indians*. When we firſt came on ſhore, the Weather would not permit us to go a fiſhing, ſo that we were then conſtrained to live upon Seels; the Entrails of which, I muſt confeſs, are tolerable Food; but the conſtant and prodigious Slaughter we made of them, frighted them from our Side of the Iſland. Such as eat Cats, which I could not do, declared them to be ſweet nouriſhing Food. When we were able to fiſh, we were in a great meaſure delivered from theſe Hardſhips; but ſome of our miſchievous Crew, for what Purpoſe it is impoſſible to ſay, ſet the Boat adrift, and ſo ſhe was loſt. We were then reduced to the Neceſſity of making Wicker-boats, covered with Sea-lions Skin, which did well enough on the Coaſt; but we durſt not venture with them into the Bay, and, conſequently, were worſe provided with Fiſh than we need have been. We fry'd our Fiſh in Seel-oil, and then eat it, without Bread, Salt, or any thing to reliſh it, except a little wild Sorrel. We ſlept under as indifferent Covering as ever People had, our Habitations being partly covered with the Boughs of Trees, and partly with Seel and Sea-lions Skins, which were often torn away in the Night by ſudden Flaws of Wind from the Mountains. It is certain, that, take it all together, a moſt wretched Life we led; and therefore there is nothing more aſtoniſhing, than that the Senſe of common Miſery did not oblige us to live in Unity, and in a friendly Correſpondence; which might have leſſened many of theſe Inconveniencies, and have rendered the reſt tolerable. Some Men, however, are of ſuch boiſterous and unruly Tempers, that neither good Uſage can oblige, or Hardſhips compel them to a reaſonable Behaviour.

18. This Iſland of *Juan Fernandez* has been ſo often deſcribed, that I ſhall give the Reader only my particular Remarks as an Eye-witneſs, intending thereby to repreſent the State of the Iſland as we left it. It lies in the Latitude of 3° 30' South, at the Diſtance of about 90 Leagues Weſt from the Continent of *Chili*. It may be about three Leagues long, and two broad, made up intirely of Mountains and Valleys; ſo that there was no walking a Quarter of a Mile upon a Flat. The Anchoring-place is on the North Side of the Iſland, which is diſtinguiſhed by a Table-mountain, with an high ſharp Peak on each Side. It is not ſafe to anchor in leſs than forty Fathom Water; and, even there, Ships are very much expoſed to ſharp Gales from the North, which blow frequently, and do ſometimes a great deal of Miſchief. To ſay the Truth, there cannot be a more unpleaſant Place to anchor in; for the Bay being ſurrounded with high Mountains, there is a conſtant Succeſſion of dead Calms, and of ſudden ſtormy Guſts of Wind. But it is now time to confine ourſelves to the Land, and deſcribe what is met with on ſhore. It enjoys a fine wholſome Air, inſomuch that, out of ſeventy of us that were on it for the Space of five Months and eleven Days, not one had an Hour's Sickneſs, notwithſtanding that we fed on ſuch foul Diet without Bread or Salt; ſo that we had no Complaints amongſt us, except an inceſſant craving Appetite, and the want of our former Strength and Vigour. For my own Part, I muſt acknowledge the Bounty of Providence, that gave me Strength to cope with ſuch Vexations as I met with; for, although I loſt much of my Fleſh, I became one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt active Men on the Iſland: From being very corpulent, and almoſt crippled with the Gout, I walked much, and worked hard every Day, without being in the leaſt afflicted with that Diſtemper; and may ſay, that, if it had not pleaſed God ſo to have enabled me, we might probably have remained there for Years to come, ſince it is a Place little frequented by the *Spaniards*. The Soil is fruitful, abounding with various ſorts of large and beautiful Trees, moſtly aromatic; the Names of thoſe we knew were the Pimento-tree, which bears a Leaf like a Myrtle, but ſomewhat larger, with a blue Bloſſom; their Trunks are ſhort and thick, and their Heads very buſhy, and as round and regular as if they were kept ſo by Art. There is another Sort, much ſuperior in Bulk to the former, which I take to be ſomewhat like that which affords the Jeſuits Bark. On the Tops of ſome of the Mountains are Plains covered with Groves of the *Italian* Laurel, mentioned by *Frezier*

in his Deſcription of *Chili*; theſe grow up in a ſtrait ſlender Body, from which ſprout ſmall irregular Branches, from the Root to the Top, bearing Leaves like the Laurel, but ſmaller. Palm-trees are likewiſe found in moſt Parts of the Iſland, growing in ſmooth Joints like a Cane, ſome thirty, ſome forty Feet high: The Head of them is like that of a Cocoa-nut-tree, except that the Leaves of them are of a paler Green, and bear large Bunches of red Berries, bigger than a Sloe; they taſte like our Haws, and have a Stone as big as that of an Heart-cherry. That which we call the Palm-cabbage, is the very Subſtance of the Head of the Tree; which being cut off, and diſmembered of its great ſpreading Leaves, and all of it that is hard and tough, you find incloſed a white and tender young Head, with its Leaves and Berries perfectly formed, and ready to ſupply the Place of the old one. When in Search of them, we were obliged to cut down a lofty Tree for every one we got. One good Quality belonging to the Woods which cover this Iſland is, that they are every-where eaſy of Acceſs, there being no Undergrowth, except in ſome of the deepeſt Valleys, where the Fern grows exceeding high, and of which there are even large Trees, with Trunks of good Subſtance. Some of the *Engliſh*, that have been here formerly, have ſowed Turneps, which have ſpread very much; as have alſo two or three Plantations of ſmall Pompions; but my Men had never Patience to let any of theſe come to Maturity. We likewiſe found Plenty of Water-creſſes, and wild Sorrel: There are ſome Hills remarkable for a fine red Earth, which I take to be the ſame with that of which the Inhabitants of *Chili* make their Earthen-ware, which is almoſt as beautiful as the red *China*. The Northern Part is very well watered, by a great many Streams which come down the narrow Valleys: This Water keeps well at Sea, and is, I dare ſay, as good as any in the World. Down the Weſtern Peak, contiguous to the Table-mountain, fall two Caſcades, at leaſt 300 Feet perpendicular, cloſe by each other, about twelve Feet in Breadth, which probably ſupply moſt of the other Runs of Water: What with the rapid Deſcent of theſe Waters, and the Palm-trees which grow up cloſe by the Edges of them, adorned with vaſt Bunches of red Berries, it yields as agreeable a Proſpect as can be. We ſhould have had no want of Goats in the Mountains, could we have conveniently followed them; and Cats are alſo numerous; they are, in Size and Colour, exactly the ſame with our Houſe-cats; thoſe who eat them have aſſured me, that they found a more ſubſtantial Relief from one Meal of them, than from four or five of Seel or Fiſh; and, to their great Satisfaction, we had a ſmall Bitch, which would catch almoſt any Number they wanted in an Hour or two. The *Spaniards*, before they ſettled in *Chili*, left a Breed of Goats here, and have ſince endeavoured to deſtroy them, by leaving another Breed of Dogs, but with no great Effect. There are not many ſorts of Birds; but the Sea, on the Coaſt, abounds with a greater Variety of all ſorts of fine Fiſh, than almoſt any I know: As for the Seels, and Sea-lions, ſo much has been ſaid of them by others, that I need not dwell upon them. The former are called by the *Spaniards Lobos de la Mar*, from their Reſemblance of a Wolf; but the *Dutch* call them Sea-dogs. My Opinion is, that they may very probably be called Sea-wolves, their Heads reſembling that Creature: They have a fine iron-grey Fur, and are of the Bigneſs, when full grown, of a large Maſtiff: They are naturally ſurly, and ſnarl on the Approach of any body: They have two Fins, which compoſe their Tails, with which they make Shift to get along much faſter than the Lions, which are very large unwieldy Creatures, but withal prodigiouſly full of Oil.

19. *October* 6. in the Evening, we departed, with nothing to ſubſiſt at Sea with but the ſmoked Congers, one of which was allowed to each Man for twenty-four Hours, one Caſk of Beef, and four live Hogs, which had fed all the time on the putrefied Carcaſes of the Seels we had killed, with three or four Buſhels of Meal. We were upwards of forty crouded together, lying upon the Bundles of Eels, in no Method of keeping themſelves clean; ſo that all our Senſes were as much offended as poſſible. There was not a Drop of Water to be had, without ſucking it out of the Caſk with the Barrel of a Muſket, which was made uſe of by every body promiſcuouſly; and the little unſavoury Morſels we daily eat, created perpetual Quarrels, every one contending for the Frying-pan. All the Conveniency we had for a Fire, was only a Half-tub filled with Earth, which made it ſo tedious, that we had a continual Noiſe of frying from Morning to Night. I propoſed that we ſhould ſtand to the South-eaſt, toward the Bay of *Conception*, that being neareſt to us. Every Day, while the Sea-breeze continued, we were hard put to it; for, not having above ſixteen Inches free Board, and our Bark tumbling prodigiouſly, the Water continually ran over us; and, having only a grating Deck, and no Tarpawlin to cover it, except the Bark's Top-ſail, which was but thin, our Pumps would but juſt keep us free; notwithſtanding which, I was uneaſier by bearing away, *Conception* being our chief Dependence. On the 10th, at four in the Morning, we fell in with a great Ship; and, by the Moon-light, I could plainly ſee ſhe was *Europe* built. We were obliged to act in ſuch a manner, as the Nature of our Caſe required, which was deſperate: Therefore I ſtood for her; and, we being rigged after the manner of the Small-craft of the Country, they did not regard us till Day-light; which coming on, before we could get quite up with her, they diſcovered the Brownneſs of our Canvas, and immediately ſuſpected us, wore Ship, and haled cloſe on a Wind to the Weſtward; then hoiſted their Colours, and fired a Gun, and crouded away from us, and left us behind them at a great rate; but, it falling calm two Hours after, we had recourſe to our Oars, and approached them with tolerable Speed; and, in the mean time, overhaled our Arms, which we found to be in a very bad Condition, One-third of them being without Flints, and but three Cutlaſſes; ſo that we were not at all prepared for boarding, which was the only means we could have of taking any Ship: We had but one ſmall Cannon, which we could not mount, and therefore were obliged to fire it as it lay along the Deck; and, to ſupply it, we had no more Ammunition than two Round-ſhot, a few Chain-bolts, and Bolt-heads, the Clappers of the *Speedwel*'s Bell, and ſome Bags of Beech-ſtones to ſerve for Partridge. In four Hours we came up with them, every one ſeeming as eaſy in their Minds, as actually in the Poſſeſſion of her; and were only ſorry, that ſhe was not deeper laden than ſhe ſeemed to be: But, as we advanced nearer, I ſaw her Guns, and Pattereroes, and a conſiderable Number of Men on the Deck, with their Arms glittering in the Sun. The Enemy defied us to come on board them; and, at the ſame time, gave us a Volley of great and ſmall Shot, which killed our Gunner, and almoſt brought our Fore-maſt by the Board. This unexpected Reception ſtaggered a great many, who before ſeemed to be the forwardeſt, that they lay on their Oars for ſome time, notwithſtanding that I urged them to keep their Way; but, recovering again, rowed cloſe up with them, and engaged them, till all our ſmall Shot was expended, which obliged us to fall a-ſtern to make ſome Slugs: In this manner we made three Attempts, without any better Succeſs. All the Night we were buſied making Slugs, and had provided a large Quantity the next Morning, when we came to a final Reſolution, of either carrying her, or of ſubmitting to her; and accordingly, at Day-break, I ordered twenty Men, in our Yawl, to lay her athwart the Hawſe, whilſt I boarded her in the Bark: The People in the Boat put off, giving me repeated Aſſurances of their good Behaviour; but the very Inſtant we were coming to Action, a Gale ſprung up, and ſhe went away from us. This Ship was called the *Margaretta*, and was the ſame which had been a Privateer belonging to *Saint Malo*, and mounted forty Guns all the laſt War. In the Skirmiſhes we had with her, we had none killed, except *Gilbert Henderſon*, our Gunner; and three wounded, which were Mr. *Brooks*, firſt Lieutenant, thro' the Thigh, Mr. *Coldſea*, the Maſter, thro' the Groin, and one of the Fore-maſt-men in the Small of his Back: Two of theſe did very well; Mr. *Coldſea*, indeed, lingered in a miſerable manner for nine or ten Months afterwards, but at length recovered. Our Condition now grew worſe and worſe: The Seas being too rough for our uncomfortable Veſſel, I propoſed that we might get into fair Weather, but to take *Coquimbo* in our Way, to try what could be done there. This was agreed on; but, the very Morning we expected to go into *Coquimbo*, there came on a very

hard Gale of Wind, which laſted four Days; during which time we had no Hopes of living; we were obliged to ſcud under bare Poles, having our Yawl in Tow, and having but a ſhort Scope of Boat-rope for her. The exceſſive Fright of this Storm made many of the People form a Reſolution of going aſhore the very firſt Opportunity they could lay hold on: I had no room left to give them further Hopes, till at length, calling to mind Mr. *Frezier*'s Account of the Iſland of *Iquique*, I mentioned the Surpriſal of that Place, it being but a ſmall Lieutenancy, and where we might, in all Probability, get ſome wholſome Proviſions, and a better Bottom than our own. Every one approved of this; and the Sun ſhining upon us, and lying dry again, it inſtilled ſome Vigour into us, and we directed our Courſe for that Iſland. The Evening after we ſaw *Iquique*, which appeared no other than as a white Rock, at the Foot of the High-land of *Carapucho*. It was Sun-ſet before the Boat departed; which, endeavouring to land under the Covert of the Night, had like to have been loſt among the Breakers. At laſt they heard the Barking of Dogs, and ſaw the Light of ſome Candles; but, having experienced the Hazard of Landing in the Dark, made their Boat faſt to a Float of Sea-weeds, for want of a Grappling: In this Poſture they remained till Day-light, and then rowed in between the Rocks, and were received by ſome *Indians* on the Shore, with an ignorant Welcome: Being aſhore, they went to the Lieutenant's Houſe; and, finding it locked, broke it open, and romaged the whole Village, and found a Booty, more valuable to us at preſent, than Gold or Silver, which conſiſted of ſixty Buſhels of Wheat-flour, 120 of Calavances and Corn, ſome jerked Beef, Pork, and Mutton, 10,000 Weight of well-cured Fiſh, a good Number of Fowls, ſome Ruſk, and four or five Days Eating of ſoft Bread, together with five or ſix Jars of *Peruvian* Wine and Brandy; and had the good Fortune to find a Boat near the Shore, to bring off their Plunder, which otherwiſe would have been of little Uſe to us, our own Boat being laden with Men. Meanwhile we, in the Bark, were carried away to the Northward, by the Current, out of Sight of the Iſland; and they, not having laden their Boats before the Heat of the Day, had a laborious Task to row off their heavy-laden Boats; whilſt we were under the melancholy Apprehenſions, that our People, not finding any thing conſiderable, had taken it into their Heads to ſtay aſhore, and deſert us: But theſe Clouds diſperſed, when, towards the Evening, I perceived two Boats approaching us very faſt, and diſcovered them as much burdened as they could ſafely be. Words cannot expreſs the Joy that reigned among us when they came aboard: The Scene was now changed from Famine to Plenty; the Loaves of ſoft Bread were diſtributed, and the Jars of Wine broached; but I took care they ſhould drink moderately of it, each Man having no more than half a Pint: And, after living a Day or two on wholſome Diet, we wondered our Stomachs could digeſt the rank nauſeous Eels fried in Train-oil; and could hardly believe, that we had lived on nothing elſe for a Month paſt. I was aſſured, by my ſecond Lieutenant, that the *Indians* did not expreſs any great Concern at what happened, but ſeemed rather to be pleaſed at our plundering the *Spaniards*; ſo natural it is for bad Maſters to find Enemies in their Servants.

This little Iſland of *Iquique* lies in the Latitude of 19° 50′ South: It is about a Mile and an half in Circumferenc, and half a Mile, or thereabouts, from the Main-land of *Peru*, the Chanel between full of Rocks. It is of a moderate Height, but the Bulk of it is entirely compoſed of Cormorants-dung, which, as I have before obſerved, is made uſe of for manuring the Land, which produces Cod-pepper. In Colour it is exceeding white; ſo that Places covered with it appear, at a Diſtance, like Chalk-cliffs. The Smell of it is certainly very offenſive, and, in all Probability, very unwholſome; but the Gain that is made of it very conſiderable, ſince ſeveral Ships load here every Year, and carry it to *Arica*. There are no Inhabitants on it but Negro-ſlaves, who clean and prepare it in large Heaps near the Shore, ready for Boats to take it off. As to the Village, where the Lieutenant reſides, that is on the Continent, cloſe by the Sea-ſide; it conſiſts of about ſixty ſcattered ill-built Houſes (which hardly deſerve that Name) and a ſmall Church; there is not the leaſt Verdure to be ſeen about it, nor does it afford the leaſt Neceſſary of Life, nor even Water, which they are obliged to fetch from the *Quebrada*, or the Break of *Piſagua*, in Boats, ten Leagues to the Northward. Being, therefore, a Place ſo miſerable, we may conclude, that the Advantage accruing to them by Guana, or Cormorants-dung, is the only Inducement to bring Inhabitants to this Place. This laſt Inconvenience was what, I ſuppoſe, led them to the Contrivance of building their Habitations on the Main-land; which, though it is a Situation as hideous as can be imagined, and not wholly out of the Stench of the offenſive Vapours of the Iſle of *Iquique*, yet is not quite ſo ſuffocating. But although the Land is ſo deſolate and forbidding, the Sea affords two or three ſorts of excellent Fiſh, of ſuch Kinds as I never ſaw before; one of them is like a large Silver Eel, tho' much thicker in proportion to its Length; theſe and the reſt are equally delicious. They cure them in a cleanly manner, and export great Quantities of them by the Ships which come from *Guano*. By two *Indian* Priſoners we were informed, that the Lieutenant of *Iquique* had a Boat at *Piſagua*, which was ſent for Water, of which as we began to ſtand in need, I ſent Mr. *Randall*, ſecond Lieutenant, in queſt of her; but this failed; and though they miſſed the Veſſel, they landed in a dangerous manner, on a ſort of a Float called *Balſes*, much in Uſe on this Coaſt; they brought off only a few Bladders of Water, and three or four Balſes, very artificially ſewed, and filled with Wind, made faſt along-ſide one of another: On theſe the Rower ſits, looking forward, with a double Paddle; and, as faſt as he can perceive the Wind to eſcape from under, he adds a Supply, by a Contrivance for that Purpoſe. Theſe are the chief Embarkations made uſe of by the Fiſhermen, and are ſerviceable for landing on this Coaſt, which has hardly one ſmooth Beach from one End to the other of it. We ſhould have looked into the Port of *Arica*, but that we heard there was a Ship of Force there. We continued our Courſe to *Le Naſco*, of which Port we met with a large Ship, about two Hours before Day-light. It was ten in the Morning before we came up with her, tho' we rowed very hard; and after a briſk Diſpute, which laſted ſix or ſeven Hours, and then the Sea-breeze coming in very ſtrong, we were obliged to leave her. This Ship was called the *St. Franciſco Palacio*, of 700 Tons, eight Guns, and ten Pattereroes, a great Number of Men, and well provided with ſmall Arms; although ſhe was ſo deeply laden, that, as ſhe rolled, the Water ran through her Scuppers, over her, upon Deck; ſo that ſhe had more of the Reſemblance of an ill-contrived wooden Caſtle, than of a Ship, according to the Faſhion of building at preſent in *Europe*. It was our ill Fortune to meet two of the beſt equipped Ships, in the Private Trade, at that time, in the South Seas. In this Action, we had not above twenty ſmall Arms that were of any Uſe, which was the Effect of their inconſiderate Proceedings on *Juan Fernandez*; but, notwithſtanding this, they were ſo impatient, that ſome of them were reſolved to go and ſurrender immediately to the Enemy. To prevent this, I ordered four Men, I thought I could truſt, into our two Boats, to put it out of their Power; but thoſe two that were in the beſt Boat deceived me, and went away with her; and my firſt Lieutenant, and *Morphew*, made a Party to go away with the only Boat we had left; which they had certainly effected, but that it blew ſo hard the next Day, as to hinder them from executing their Deſign; the Knowledge of which I was forced to diſſemble, as I was conſcious I had not Power enough to puniſh them.

20. We ſtood, the Day following, into the Road of *Piſco*, where we ſaw a very fine Ship, and reſolved unanimouſly to board her. We firſt ordered our Boat to intercept theirs; which they miſſed: But we kept our Reſolution nevertheleſs; and, to our great Satisfaction, when we came to board, the Captain, and all his Officers, met us with their Hats off, beſeeching us to grant them good Quarters; which we readily did. She was a good Ship, of about 200 Tons, called the *Jeſu Maria*, almoſt laden with Pitch, Tar, Copper, and Plank; but nothing elſe. The Captain offered 16000 Dollars for her Ranſom; but I could not comply, the *Recovery* being diſabled in her Maſts by boarding; and not only ſo, but I was hindered by the Conſidera-

tion, that now we might have Room enough to enjoy ourſelves, ſome Cleanlineſs at leaſt, an Article we had been perfect Strangers to ever ſince we had departed from the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*. We therefore made the utmoſt Diſpatch in getting every thing out of the Bark. The *Spaniſh* Captain informed me, that the *Margaretta* had been arrived ſome time at *Calao*, where ſhe had given a full Account of us; that the Captain, and three Men, were killed in the Action; and that the Prieſt, and ſeveral others, were wounded; and that ſhe was now ready to put to Sea again, with an Addition of ten Guns, and fifty Men, to cruiſe for us; and that the *Flying-fiſh*, a Frigate of twenty-eight Guns, was already out with the ſame Intent; and that there was Advice ſent both Ways along-ſhore, and Commiſſions to equip what Strength they had to catch us. All the Night, they were upon the Watch at the Town, making a Shew, by the continual firing of Guns, to give us an Earneſt of what we muſt expect, if we ſhould attempt a Deſcent. Having cleared our Bark the next Morning, we gave her to the *Spaniſh* Captain; and, as ſoon as the Breeze ſprung up, we weighed, and went to Sea, and, in going out, met with our Boat, that had left us. They edged towards us, imagining we were *Spaniards*; by which means we got them again. The two Fellows were almoſt dead, having neither eat nor drank any thing for three Days paſt, and had juſt been aſhore on a ſmall Iſland near this Harbour, to kill ſome Seels, to drink their Blood. They had no Excuſe, but that they fell aſleep; and that the Breezes had wafted us in the Bark away from them. We had not much time to obſerve the Place, which, however, upon a tranſient View, appeared to us very pleaſantly ſituated among Orchards and Vineyards. After we left it, we proceeded along the Coaſt very cautiouſly, as knowing, that we were now almoſt in the Mouths of our Enemies, and that the leaſt Act of Indiſcretion muſt throw us into their Hands. We ventured, however, to look into the Roads of *Guanchaco*, *Malabriga*, and *Cheripe*; but, ſeeing no Shipping in them, paſſed on between the Iſland of *Lobos de Tierra* and the Continent. On *November* 25. we found ourſelves near the Saddle of *Payta*; and I immediately bethought me, that, tho' our Force was much diminiſhed ſince we laſt took it, yet we might, without any Hazard, ſurpriſe them in the Night. Accordingly, we endeavoured to get in with the Ship, till, it growing calm, it was thought better to defer it till the Morning, ſince our being in a *Spaniſh* built Ship would be ſufficient to deceive the Inhabitants, and make it impoſſible for them to ſuſpect us. In the Morning, the People aſhore, obſerving the Fatigue we underwent in making ſo many ſhort Trips to gain Ground to Windward, ſent off a large Boat, full of Men, to help us to bring in our Ship, and inquire News of us. As ſoon as we ſaw them making towards us, I ordered, that none ſhould be ſeen, but ſuch as wore the *Spaniſh* Complexion and Dreſs, who were ready to anſwer ſuch Queſtions as they aſked in hailing us, and give them a Rope to make faſt their Boat when they clapped us aboard, while ſome ſhould be concealed under the Gunnel, with Muſquets ready to point into their Boat, and command them in as ſoon as they had made themſelves faſt. This Stratagem had its Effect. I examined the Priſoners of the Condition of the Town, which, they aſſured us, was very poor at preſent, there being neither Money nor Proviſions in it; and ſhewed me a ſmall Bark on ſhore, which Captain *Clipperton* had ſent in a little while before, with ſome of his Priſoners; upon which every thing had been again removed into the Conntry. This unwelcome News did not hinder us from keeping on our Way, with our *Spaniſh* Colours flying, till we came to the Anchorage. I ſent Mr. *Brooks*, as ſoon as our Anchor was down, with both the Boats, and twenty-four Men, no more of them appearing than thoſe that rowed, and two or three ſitting in each, the reſt, with their Arms, lying in the Bottoms of the Boats; ſo that, when my People landed, they found the Children playing on the Beach, who immediately took the Alarm, and ran away at the Sight of armed Men. In an Inſtant, the whole Place was in a Conſternation, and happy was the Man who could make his Eſcape, the Town being left deſtitute, and the Enemy being too nimble of Foot for ours to overtake them. They ranſacked *Payta*, and, upon a ſtrict Search, found, that our Priſoners had not deceived us in ſaying the Place was poor; for they could find nothing but a few Bales of coarſe Cloth, about 500 Weight of dried Dog-fiſh, two or three Pedlars Packs, and an inconſiderable Quantity of Bread and Sweat-meats: So that we had but ſmall Employment for our Boats. But, though we had ſo little Succeſs in our Land Enterprize, we took a Booty as we lay at Anchor in the Ship; which was a Veſſel with about fifty Jars of *Peruvian* Wine, and Brandy. The Maſter of her told me, that he was come by Stealth from *Calao*, there being Orders, that none but Ships of ſome Force ſhould ſtir out. He told me the ſame Story that the Captain of the *Jeſus Maria* had before, and gave me to underſtand, that it would be next to impoſſible for me to get off from the Coaſt without being taken. But to return to the Town: My People were in no great Hurry to quit it, and, it being now dark, ſome of the *Spaniards*, who were lurking about the Out-ſkirts of the Town, hearing ſo many Small-arms fired in the Road, inſtantly concluded, that our Ship was attacked, and were in hopes, that ſome of their Men of War were come again to deliver them from the Hands of their Enemies. Upon theſe falſe Surmiſes, they began to aſſemble together; and, being appriſed of the ſmall Number of *Engliſh* aſhore, who did not exceed eighteen, came down the Hills in a great Fury. At firſt my People, not doubting they were in Earneſt, took Refuge in the biggeſt Church, reſolving to defend themſelves there; but at length they marched out, and formed themſelves into a Line, kept their Drum beating, and, one of them firing a Muſquet at random, they ſpoiled the *Spaniards* Jeſt, heard no more of them, and embarqued very quietly. From hence we directed our Courſe for the Iſland of *Gorgona*, in the Bay of *Panama*; and, in our Paſſage thither, built a Tank, or wooden Ciſtern, to hold ten Tons of Water. In our Way, we made the Iſland of *Plate*, Cape *St. Franciſco*, and *Gorgonella*, or *Little Gorgona*; and, on *December* 2. arrived at the Iſland of *Gorgona* itſelf, where we had the Advantage of filling our Water-caſk in the Boat, the Water running in ſmall Streams into the Sea; and cut down our Wood at High-water-mark: So that, in leſs than forty-eight Hours, we did our Buſineſs. From this Place we hurried away, for fear of thoſe who might be in queſt of us; and, having got out of the Track of the Enemy's Ships, conſulted on the propereſt Method of proceeding: And then the Majority were for going directly for the Coaſts of *Aſia*. Upon which, we changed our Ship's Name from the *Jeſus Maria* to the *Happy Return*, and applied all our Endeavours towards quitting theſe Coaſts; but the Winds and Current were contrary; and ſome againſt this Motion did ſo much Damage clandeſtinely to our Tank, that the greateſt Part of the Water leaked out, ſo that this, with continual contrary Winds, and dead Calms, which had detained us, till our Proviſions were much exhauſted, rendered us incapable of undertaking ſo long a Run: Therefore, to furniſh ourſelves with what we wanted, I propoſed a Deſcent on *Rio Lejo*, in the Latitude of 11° 50′ North, on the Coaſt of *Mexico*; but, in our Way thither, we accidentally fell in with Cape *Burica*, in the Latitude of 8° 20′ North; and then, on ſecond Thoughts, judged it would be ſafer for us to make ſome Attempts on the Iſland of *Quibo*, in the Latitude of 7° 30′ North, where, by Captain *Rogers*'s Account, I gueſſed there were Inhabitants, who lived plentifully on the Product of that Iſland.

Captain *Betagh*, in his Remarks, gives us quite a different View of every Tranſaction: He aſſerts, of his own Knowledge, that the *Margaretta*, inſtead of being a forty Gun Ship, carried only thirteen Guns; and further aſſerts, that the Commander of her, who was a *Frenchman*, told him, they had not above a dozen Cartridges of Powder on board, and two or three Small-arms belonging to the Paſſengers, with only Stones and Ballaſt for Shot. He likewiſe aſſures us, that they ſuffered no other Hurt, than a Negro being wounded in the Cheek; and that a Man ſtood by the Colours, ready to ſtrike them, in caſe Captain *Shelvocke* had boarded her; but that it was the Captain, and not the Men, who thought it beſt to ſheer off, without making ſuch an Attempt. He admits, however, that Captain *Shelvocke* did his utmoſt Endeavour to take the other great Ship; but that, his Bark being too ſlight, he failed. He likewiſe acknowledges, that the Captain was in the right not to accept the 16000 Dollars offered him for the *Jeſus Maria*; becauſe it gave him an Opportunity of cruiſing in the South Seas, or of going to *Aſia*, whenever he thought it neceſſary. But let us now return to the Voyage:

21. On *January* 13. 1721, we entered, ſays the Captain, between the Iſlands of *Quibo* and *Quivetta*, in twenty Fathom Water, over-againſt a ſandy Bay, which promiſed us great Conveniencies for Wooding and Watering. I therefore ſent the Boat thither to view it, who reported, that there was a good cloſe Harbour a little to the South; and that they ſaw no Signs of Inhabitants, except three or four Huts by the Water-ſide, which, they ſuppoſed, had formerly been made uſe of by Pearl-fiſhers, there being great Quantities of Mother-of-pearl-ſhells about them. I conſidered the Matter attentively, and at laſt reſolved not to ſhut myſelf up in a cloſe Harbour, for fear of bad Conſequences. As ſoon as Day broke the next Morning, we ſaw two large Boats rowing in for *Quivetta*, one of them having *Spaniſh* Colours flying; which gave me ſome Apprehenſions, that they might have ſome Intelligence of, and intended to attack us. It may not be amiſs to inform the Reader here, that the Mulattoes on the Coaſt of *Mexico* are remarkable for their Courage, and have ſometimes done very bold Actions in ſuch ſmall Embarkations as theſe. However, as to the People we had to do with, they continued their Courſe, till we ſaw them go into a ſmall Cove on the Iſland of *Quivetta*; which gave us very great Satiſfaction, as it convinced us, that they had no Thoughts of attacking our Ship. The Tables were now turned, and, from contriving how to defend ourſelves, we began to turn our Thoughts on the Means of engaging them; and, after a little Debate, whether it would be prudent for us to attack them in our Boat, it was reſolved, on all Hazards, to go after them in our Yawl; which Enterprize was commanded by Mr. *Brooks* firſt Lieutenant, who found them all aſhore, brought away their Piraguas, and two Priſoners; the one a Mulatto, the other a Negro. The reſt ſought for Refuge in the Woods. We took all their Proviſions, which conſiſted of a little Pork, and ſome green, ripe, and dried Plantains. There was a large Quantity of the latter, which, being pounded, made a grateful Flour to the Taſte, indifferently white; and, all together, made up a Month's Bread. The Mulatto mortified us very much, by telling us, that a Veſſel, laden with Proviſions, had paſſed very near to us in the Night; but, to make amends, promiſed to conduct us to a Place, where we might ſupply ourſelves without Hazard, provided we were not above two or three Days about it; wherefore we were very briſk in getting our Wood and Water. On *January* 16. we weighed from hence for *Mariato*, that being the Name of the Place we were bound to. In going out from *Quibo*, we were in imminent Danger of being horſed by the Current upon two Rocks, lying at a ſmall Diſtance from one another off the Northermoſt Point of *Quivetta*; but, having cleared them, we ſteered through *Canal Bueno*, or the *Good Chanel*, ſo called, from its Safety, being free from dangerous Sholes and Rocks. It might as properly be called the Streights of *Quibo*, which forms the Weſtern Side of it, extending about eight or nine Leagues North and South. Over-againſt the South Entrance of theſe Streights, at the Diſtance of a League from Point *Mariato*, which is the Weſtermoſt Point of the Gulph of *St. Martin*, lies the Iſland of *Sebaco*, which is, to the beſt of my Judgment, about ten Leagues in Circumference. I ran along the South End of it, and found every Point flat at leaſt a League from the Shore; and, on the 19th in the Evening, we got ſafe in between *Mariato* and the Iſland of *Sebaco*, and anchored in ſix Fathom Water, over-againſt a green Field; which is Inſtruction ſufficient, there being but that clear Spot thereabouts. Our Pilot deſired we might be going at leaſt three Hours before Day-light, and that then we ſhould be in good time at the Plantations. Accordingly, I went at two the next Morning in our own Boat, and ordered the two Lieutenants in the two Piraguas, leaving my Son, and a few with him, to take care of the Ship. Our Pilot, having us in Charge, carried us up ſome Part of the River of *St. Martin*, and, out of that, into ſeveral Branches of very narrow Creeks, amongſt many Groves, where we had not Room to row. I could by no means approve of this Navigation, and therefore kept a ſtrict Eye upon our Guide, and was ready to ſuſpect, that he had no good Deſign in his Head. We landed juſt at Day-break, and, when we came on the Bank, found ourſelves in a fine Savannah or Plain; and, after a March of about three Miles, came to two Farm-houſes: But thoſe belonging to them made their Eſcape, except the Wife and Children of one Houſe. We had the Satiſfaction of ſeeing, that this Place anſwered the Deſcription that had been given us of it, being ſurrounded by numerous Herds of Black Cattle, Hogs, and plenty of Fowls of all ſorts, together with ſome dried Beef, Plantains, and *Indian* Corn; and, for the preſent, we were entertained with a Breakfaſt of hot Cake and Milk: A Diet we had been long unacquainted with. When it was broad Day, I ſaw our Ship cloſe by us; upon which I aſked our Mulatto, How he came to bring us ſo far about? Who anſwered, That there was a River between us; and that he did not know, whether it was fordable, or not. I therefore ſent ſome to try, who found it was not above Knee-deep: Wherefore, to avoid carrying our Plunder ſo far by Land and Water, I ordered, that our Boats ſhould row out of the River of *St. Martin*, and come to the Beach over-againſt the Ship. We had not been long here, before we had the Maſter of the the Family in Cuſtody, who brought Horſes with him, and deſired we would make uſe of him in any thing he could ſerve us. This Offer was kindly received; and I preſently employed him to carry what I thought fit to our Boat. This done, he went among his Black Cattle, and brought us what Number I thought we could ſave; for we had but little Salt, and I could not afford Water to keep them alive when we came to Sea; ſo that, as ſoon as they were on board, they were killed, and their Fleſh preſerved by cutting it into long Slips, of the Thickneſs of one's Finger, and then ſprinkling it with ſo ſmall a Quantity of Salt, that we did not uſe above four or five Pounds to 100 Weight. Having let it lie together two or three Hours, we hung it up to dry in the Sun two or three Days ſucceſſively; which perfectly ſaved it, which could not have been done in any any other way, by any other Quantity of the beſt Salt. As we had now done all we propoſed, we departed from hence the next Morning, with our Decks full of Fowls and Hogs, amongſt which one had his Navel on his Back; which, the *Spaniards* ſay, when wild in the Woods, is a terrible Creature to meet with, altho', at their full Growth, they are but ſmall. We returned by the ſame Way that we came, through *Canal Bueno*, and made a Stop at *Quibo*, to complete our Water; and, when we ſailed, gave our two Priſoners the largeſt Piragua, that thoſe ſtill remaining at *Quivetta* might return from whence they came. But I muſt here inform my Reader, that the Wine and Brandy we had taken, had worked ſo briſkly with my Ship's Company, as to divide them into two Parties, inveterate to the laſt Degree one againſt another, who uſed to be ſo firmly united at firſt; inſomuch that I have had, in one Night's time, the Ringleaders of both of them deſiring me to eſpouſe their Cauſe, both aſſuring me, that the other had a Deſign on my Life; and urged me to take the Opportunity to murder thoſe, who were not of their Faction. It is even unaccountable to myſelf, how the Miſchief was diverted; for I could uſe no Means, but ſpeaking calmly to them on both Sides, and ſuffer them (indeed it was out of my Power to hinder it) to get drunk as often as they would; and, in that Condition, they have often, all together, been ſkirmiſhing with each other; and I have had, more than once, my Cloaths almoſt torn off my Back in endeavouring to part them. It was happy, that this Trade did not laſt long; for, while they had any thing to drink, I judged it unſafe to lay my Head on my Pillow; which almoſt wearied me out of my Life. But their free Acceſs to the Liquor ſhortened the Term of this miſerable Way of paſſing our Time; and tho', while it held, it was attended by ſome vexatious Conſequences, yet it had this one good Effect, that it helped off with the liquid Evil at a great rate. Neceſſitous Hunger obliged them to act jointly and vigorouſly together at *Mariato*; but, after having glutted themſelves a Day or two, they relapſed again, and were as diſtracted as ever, though now in the midſt of a moderate Plenty. My Land, as well as Sea-officers, were now obliged to learn, at leaſt, how to ſteer, in order to take their Turns with the Seamen.

Such was the Paſs they had now brought themſelves to; for, by ſinking my Authority, they had abſolutely loſt their own, and were even in a worſe Situation than I; inaſmuch as the Crew, for their own ſakes, were obliged to have recourſe to me upon all Emergencies, obeying me punctually while thoſe laſted, and abuſing me plentifully as ſoon as they were over.

22. On the 25th of *January* in the Morning, we diſcovered a Sail about two Leagues to the Leeward: We gave them Chace till ſuch time as we diſcovered they were *Europe* built; and then, fearing ſhe might be one of the Enemies Men of War, I clapped on a Wind, and in half an Hour it fell calm. We ſoon after ſaw a Boat rowing towards us, which proved the Pinnace of our Conſort the *Succeſs*, commanded by their firſt Lieutenant Mr. *Daviſon*. This Interview amazed us both; he was ſurpriſed to find me in ſuch a Condition, and I no leſs at finding him in thoſe Seas. I entertained him with a Rehearſal of our Misfortunes, which had happened in the long Interval, ſince we were ſeparated near the Coaſt of *England*, till our preſent Meeting; and he, on his Part, entertained me with remarkable Incidents which had fallen out with them; particularly, that about a Twelvemonth before they had taken a new *French* Brigantine, and put their Officers and Ship's Company's Plunder on board of her, which they valued at 10,000 Pounds Sterling; that their ſecond Captain Mr. *Mitchell* was intruſted with the Command of her, and was ordered to go with her to ſome Iſland on the Coaſt of *Mexico*, and there to ſtay till Captain *Clipperton* joined him with his Ship; but that they never could find the Iſland ſince, and therefore judged, that poor *Mitchell*, and his Men, were either ſtarved, or murdered by the *Spaniards* or *Indians*, who are very dexterous at that kind of Work, or that he had periſhed with the Iſland, which Captain *Clipperton*, and ſome others, were of Opinion was ſunk, ſince by all their Endeavours, they could not find it out. Startled at ſo improbable a Conjecture, Mr. *Daviſon* continued, that I need not be ſurpriſed at it, ſince ſuch Submerſions were very common on the Coaſts; and began to tell me of a dreadful Inſtance of it on the Coaſt of *Peru*, which had happened a little before; for, ſays he, my Captain, having a Deſire to look into the Road of *Cheripe*, when we arrived there, we found the Town, and a great Part of the Land, which formed the Road, intirely under Water; but, I undeceived him in this, by telling him, how lately we had ſeen that very Place. The Truth of it is, that Captain *Clipperton*, though he was reputed to be well skilled in this Navigation, was always unfortunate in finding out any Port, *&c.* and, leſt his continual Blunders ſhould be imputed to his Ignorance, he always found out ſome Expedient to evade any Suſpicion of his Inability. The Story of Captain *Mitchell*, who was a very worthy Man, and an expert Sailor, is, in all its Circumſtances, very tragical; there was always a Jealouſy between him and his Captain, who ordered him to a Place (and pretended to give him infallible Directions to find it) which never could be found afterwards, and, it is my Opinion, never was above Water; and the unfortunate Gentleman, without doubt, periſhed in ſome obſcure miſerable Manner, in the Queſt of a Place that was never yet, and perhaps never will be, diſcovered. In our Diſcourſe, I asked Mr. *Daviſon* the Value of their Booty, who aſſured me, that it did not exceed 70,000 Dollars, but that they had loſt great Opportunities: That in *October* 1720. they were in the Bay of *Conception*, and had the Misfortune of leaving three laden Ships behind them, and miſſed a fourth, that was coming into the Bay, which was ſo near as to hail them, talk to them, and was becalmed by them; and that, though it was probable, that their Launch would have taken them all four, yet, through their Captain's Deafneſs to Advice, they took none of them; and that, moreover, they had never cleaned their Bottom, notwithſtanding they had it ſeveral times in their Power to do it; and that this Negligence had like to have coſt them dear; for, in their Return from *Conception*, they looked into *Coquimbo*, where they ſaw five Ships at Anchor, three of which let ſlip after them, and neared them apace; but, by the Favour of thick Weather, and a hard Gale of Wind, they got clear of them: And further, that off the Port of *Calao*, they fell in with the *Flying-fiſh*, a Frigate, which by unpardonable Miſmanagement on the Part of *Clipperton*, got ſafe from them, although deeply laden with a valuable Cargo. Such was my Diſcourſe with Mr. *Daviſon*, when a Gale ſprung up, which interrupted us, and I bore down upon the *Succeſs*, and went on board of her. I gave Captain *Clipperton*, and Mr. *Godfrey*, the Agent General, the whole Hiſtory of my Voyage hitherto, and expected that I ſhould have been treated by them as one belonging to the ſame Intereſt, but found I was miſtaken; for they were unwilling to have any thing to do with me, ſince my Ship was loſt. However, I conceived, he would not be ſo inhuman as to deny me the Supply of ſuch Neceſſaries as I wanted, and he could conveniently ſpare. The Anſwer was, That I ſhould know more of his Mind the next Day. Amongſt other Diſcourſe, he told me, that he was juſt come from the Land of *Cocos*; that his People were ſickly, and at very ſhort Allowance: Whereupon I offered my Service to pilot him to *Mariato*, which was not above thirty Leagues diſtant from us, where he might have refreſhed his Company, and ſupplied himſelf with what he would. But this was not accepted, he being reſolved to make the beſt of his Way to the *Tres Marias*, where he ſaid there was Turtle enough to be had; ſo I left him for that Night. The next Morning, as I was going on board of him again, with ſome of my Officers, he at once ſpread all his Canvas, and crouded away from us who were in the Boat; upon which I returned to our Ship again, and made Signals of Diſtreſs, and fired our Gun ſeveral times, which was not regarded by him, till his very Officers exclaimed at his Barbarity, and at laſt he brought-to. When I had ſailed up with him, I ſent Mr. *Brooks*, firſt Lieutenant, to know the Reaſon of his abrupt Departure, and to tell him, that we ſtood in need of ſeveral Neceſſaries, which I would purchaſe of him: Upon theſe Terms he ſpared me two of his Quarter-deck Guns, ſixty round Shot, ſome Muſquet-balls and Flints, and a *Spaniſh* Chart of the Coaſt of *Mexico*, and Part of *India* and *China*, an half Hour and an half Minute Glaſs, a Compaſs, and about 300 Weight of Salt; but, all the Arguments I could uſe, could not perſuade him to ſpare us the leaſt thing out of his Surgeon's Cheſt for the Relief of Mr. *Coldſea*, our Maſter, who was ſtill very ill of his Wounds received in the Engagement with the *Margareta*, about three Months before. We returned, for what we had of him, ſome Bales of coarſe Broad-cloth, as much Pitch and Tar as he would have, ſome Pigs of Copper, and I gave him a large ſilver Ladle for a dozen of Spadoes. When this was concluded, I asked him if I could be of any Service to him; and aſſured him, that I had a pretty good Ship under Foot, though ſhe made but a poor Figure; and believed that I could hold him Way, and that he knew that our Cargo was pretty valuable. To which he anſwered, That, if I had a Cargo of Gold, he had no Buſineſs with me; and that I muſt take care of myſelf. Mr. *Hendry* the Agent, Mr. *Rainer*, and Mr. *Dodd*, Lieutenants of Marines, ſeeing but little Proſpect, that we ſhould ever get Home, and being weary of the hard Work that was impoſed on them, deſired I would let them go on board the *Succeſs* for a Paſſage to *England*; which I having conſented to, they went on board accordingly, and *Clipperton* left us to ſhift for ourſelves near the Iſland of *Cano*. Having this Supply, I was for going to the Southward into the Bay of *Panama*, to try our Fortunes there; but the Majority oppoſed me through Fear, and were for going to the *Tres Marias*, to ſalt Turtle there, and then ſtretch over for *India*. We directed our Courſe thither, but the Wind near the Land continued reigning in the Weſtern Board; and the Coaſt of *Mexico* lying neareſt North-weſt by Weſt, and South-eaſt by Eaſt, we crept to Windward, but very ſlowly, and at ſo tedious a Rate, that we began again to be very ſhort of Proviſions before we had got the Length of *Rio Lejo*; which renewed our Deſign of landing there, which had been laid aſide on our Supply got at *Mariato*. But this Intention was no ſooner reſumed, than fruſtrated; for we were blown paſt it by a *Tegoantepaque*, for ſo the *Spaniards* on this Coaſt call a violent Gale at North-eaſt.

As we continued our Voyage along-ſhore, we a few Days after met the *Succeſs* in queſt of *Sonſonate*, where they expected to receive the Marquis of *Villa Roche*'s Ranſom, who had been for ſome time Priſoner on board of them. We ranged cloſe under their Stern, and asked how Captain *Clipperton*, and the reſt of the Gentlemen, did; but it was not thought proper to return us any Anſwer: So, without any Concern, he ſteered one Way, and we another. After this, calm and contrary Winds, and unaccountable Currents, reduced us to a ſmall Allowance, which we were obliged to diminiſh daily; and ſhould have been in worſe Diſtreſs than ever, had it not been for the Turtle which we from time to time took on the Surface of the Water. We had continual Look-outs for them, and they were eaſily known, at a great Diſtance, by the Sea-birds which perched on their Backs; ſo that, upon Sight of theſe, we laid aſide the Advantages we might have made of the Wind, to embrace any Offer of prolonging our Proviſions. Upon the Whole, though we loſt ſome of our Way in Purſuit of them, yet they had a worſe Conſequence, for the Dreſſing them made a great Conſumption of Water; and this Relapſe into a State of Famine, threatening us with certain Perdition, if Means were not timely uſed to avoid it, made me propoſe the Plundering ſome ſmall Town as we coaſted along-ſhore. *Guatulco* was the neareſt to us of any; but, the very Morning that we were ſtanding in for it, we ſaw a Sail a conſiderable Way to Leeward of us: We thought it more proper to take this Ship, than to venture aſhore, and therefore bore down to her, which, in the End, proved to be the *Succeſs*; I forgot to mention the Signal that was agreed on between us at firſt, in caſe of our meeting at Sea, which was, to clew up the Main-top-gallant-ſail, and fire a Gun to Leeward. This Signal I made, as ſoon as I thought we were near enough for him to perceive it; whereupon he haled on a Wind, and did not ſo much as lay-by a Moment for us to come up with him; ſo that we were now ſo far to the Leeward of our Port, by bearing down to him, that it was needleſs to have beat up againſt the Wind for an Uncertainty. This brought us down to a ſmall earthen Plate of Calavances for twenty-four Hours, which not being ſufficient to keep us alive, we had recourſe to the Remainder of our ſmoked Congers, which had for ſome Months been neglected, and had been ſoaking and rotting in the bulge Water, and was certainly as diſagreeable Food as could be taſted.

Under theſe calamitous Circumſtances did we meet the *Succeſs* a fourth time, near the Port of *Angels*, in 16° 50′ North Latitude; and, after having made the appointed Signal, ſtood ſo near to one another, that a Biſcuit might have been toſſed from Ship to Ship, but did not exchange a Word; for Captain *Clipperton* had ordered all his Officers, and Ship's Company, to take no Notice of us; which, I preſume, was the greateſt Indication of an inhuman Diſpoſition, who could unconcernedly ſee us wandering up-and-down an inhoſpitable Coaſt, in want of every thing neceſſary to keep the Sea; nor was the Faultineſs of our Ship all, but we had alſo our Proviſions to ſeek; and, where to find any, none of us could tell; for all of the Coaſt that we had ſeen, was ſo wild and open to the Sea, that it would have been impoſſible for us to have landed, which, indeed, nothing could have urged us to, but the Extremity of Want we were in at this Time. And ſo truly ſenſible was *Clipperton* of the Difficulties and Hazards we had to cope with, if my Deſign was for going to *India*, that he ſaid, that the Child that was born the Day before, would be grey-headed with Age before we ſhould arrive there; intimating, by that Expreſſion, that it was impoſſible for us to do it: Notwithſtanding which, he could ſee us on the Brink of undergoing the greateſt Severities our ill Conduct could load us with, and not lend us a helping Hand to deliver us from impending Ruin, although he could foreſee no means by which we might avoid a lingering Death by Sea, or throwing ourſelves upon the barbarous *Indians*, or *Creolian Spaniards*; who, if we had eſcaped the Fury of the Surf on the Strand, might have put an ignominious End to our Lives, they having been rarely known to give any Quarter.

On *March* 12. being off the Port of *Acapulco*, towards the Evening, we ſaw a Ship between us and the Shore: I bore down to her; till, perceiving her to be a large *Europe* built Ship, with *Spaniſh* Colours flying, I concluded that ſhe was the *Peregrine*; who, as I have been informed, was to have carried the Prince of *St. Bueno* to this Port, in his Way to *Spain*. With theſe Suſpicions, I haled again on a Wind; which he ſeeing, pulled down his *Spaniſh*, and hoiſted an *Engliſh* Enſign, and made the Signal agreed on between *Clipperton* and me for knowing one another; as alſo his old Signal to ſpeak with me, as fixed amongſt other Signals between us before we came out of *England*. Notwithſtanding which, I ſhould hardly have truſted him, had we not been ſo near *Acapulco*; whither, I thought, *Clipperton* might have come with a Reſolution of cruiſing for the *Manilla* Ship, and wait for her coming out of that Harbour; and, thinking herſelf too weak, was now willing to reinforce himſelf with what Strength I could aſſiſt him: So that, making no doubt but it was he, I bore down upon him; and, being come along his Side, he ſent Captain *Cooke*, his ſecond Lieutenant, in his Yawl, with an obliging Letter to me; wherein he informed me, that he was cruiſing for the homeward-bound *Manilla* Ship, and deſired I would aſſiſt him in the Enterprize, and come on board him the next Morning, to conſult on the propereſt Methods of attacking her; and propoſed an Union of our two Ships Companies. I was very well pleaſed at this Offer; and, without Heſitation, returned him Word, that I would be with him early. In the mean time, I read over his Letter to my People publicly, and exhorted them ſeriouſly to conſider the great Benefits that would accrue to us, on all Sides, from it. Upon which, they all expreſſed the utmoſt Willingneſs to join in ſuch an Undertaking: But, as *Clipperton* had uſed us ſo unhandſomely, they deſired I would get ſome Security for their Shares, ſigned by Captain *Clipperton*, Mr. *Godfrey*, the Agent, and the reſt of their Officers. So I went on board, according to Appointment, with Mr. *Brooks* and *Randall*, my Lieutenants, and was received with a ſeeming unreſerved Civility; and, all Animoſities being, as it were, loſt in Oblivion, nothing now appeared among us but a perfect Harmony. I firſt told Captain *Clipperton*, and Mr. *Godfrey*, that my Officers, &c. expected ſuch a Paper from under their Hands, as ſhould intitle them to ſuch Shares, as were allowed them by the Owners Articles: To which they anſwered, that it was but reaſonable that they ſhould be ſatisfied in that; and immediately drew up an Inſtrument fully worded, and ſigned it; which was all my People deſired to make them eaſy. We then proceeded upon our main Buſineſs; and, after a mature Deliberation, it was thought moſt adviſeable, that I ſhould ſend the greateſt Part of my Men on board the *Succeſs*, as ſoon as we ſaw the *Manilla* Ship come out of *Acapulco*, and leave only a Boat's Crew with me to bring me away, in caſe I ſhould have Occaſion to make uſe of mine as a Fireſhip, or a Smoker, as we propoſed, if we found them too hard for us; and it was determined to board her at once, becauſe otherwiſe we ſhould have had much the worſt of it, on account of their ſuperior Weight of Metal, and the better Capacity of their Ships to bear a Cannonading. *Clipperton* aſſured me, he was certain of the Time ſhe would ſail from this Port, which the *Spaniards* ſay is always within a Day or two after *Paſſion-week*, of which we had a Fortnight yet to come. Before I returned to my own Ship, I acquainted Captain *Clipperton* with our Shortneſs of Water: Upon which he told me, that he had eighty Tons, and that he would ſpare me as much as I would have, or any thing elſe his Ship afforded. I had now the Pleaſure of enjoying my Command in as regular a manner as ever, every one, from the higheſt to the loweſt, expreſſing the Satisfaction they had in the Proſpect before us. But *Morphew*, the Ringleader of all our Diſorders, fearing my Reſentment would fall heavily upon him, after all, thought it was his beſt way to inſinuate himſelf into the Favour of the Captain and Officers of the *Succeſs*; which he did effectually, by an humble ſubmiſſive outward Deportment, and prevailing Preſents. In ſhort, he had his End, and left me to go on board there on *March* 14. in the Evening; and, the next Day, Mr. *Rainer* came on board of us to viſit his old Ship-mates, and to ſtay with us all Night. I conſtantly kept reminding *Clipperton* of our want of Water, and he as often promiſed to ſupply us with a large Quantity at once. Thus we cruiſed in good Order, and with a great deal of Hope, until *March* 7. the Time appointed for me to ſuffer the moſt prodigious Piece of Treachery that could be committed. But, in order to give my Reader an exact Account of the Circumſtances of it, I muſt inform him, that we uſed to cruiſe off-and-on the Shore at ſuch a convenient Diſtance, as not to be diſcovered from the Land: At the ſame time it was next to impoſſible, for any Ship to ſtir out of the Harbour of *Acapulco* without our ſeeing them; and we, not ſailing ſo well as the *Succeſs*, it was *Clipperton*'s Cuſtom to ſhorten Sail for us, particularly in the Night, and ſhew us Lights on all neceſſary Occaſions: But, towards this Evening, he ſtretched a-head of us about two Leagues, and I could not perceive, that he ſo much as lowered a Top-gallant-ſail for us to come up with him: However, I kept ſtanding after him, till we were almoſt on the Breakers of the Shore; which of conſequence obliged us to tack, and ſtand out to Sea. The next Morning we had no Sight of any Ship near us, which laid me under the moſt terrible Apprehenſions, conſidering the ſad Condition we were in for want of Water, and the vaſt Diſtance we were from any Place where we could expect to get any; having now no Choice left, but either to beat up 220 Leagues to *Tres Marias*, or to bear away for the Gulph of *Amapala*, at a much more conſiderable Diſtance. I was afterwards informed, by ſome of Captain *Clipperton*'s Officers I met with in *China*, that he committed this Cruelty abſolutely againſt the Will, and even againſt the repeated Remonſtrances, of his Officers, who abhorred ſuch an Act of Barbarity. I was likewiſe informed by ſome *Spaniards* from *Manila*, that the *Acapulco* Ship ſailed about a Week after we left the Cruize: This Ship was called the *Santo Chriſto*, carried upwards of forty Braſs Guns, and was exceedingly rich; ſo that I leave the Reader to judge, how the Thoughts of ſuch a Diſapointment muſt affect me.

Theſe ſeveral Interviews with Captain *Clipperton* are the moſt important Circumſtances in the Hiſtory of this Voyage, and therefore deſerve to be very ſeriouſly examined. We have ſtated them in the former Section in quite another Light, and from unexceptionable Authority, that of an impartial Perſon, who had no particular Prejudice to Captain *Shelvocke*, and who was far enough from being blind to *Clipperton*'s Errors. From the Conſideration of this, Captain *Betagh*, ſpeaking of *Shelvocke*'s Account of the Loſs of Captain *Mitchell* in the *Chichly*, makes the following very judicious Obſervations. The Journal, ſays he, (meaning Mr. *Taylor*'s) tells us how he was fitted out, and whither bound; that his Cargo was 10,000 Pounds Value. It is impoſſible then, ſuppoſing a real Miſunderſtanding, that *Clipperton* would pay ſo dear to get rid of this Gentleman: It is certain, he never embarked his Men in Lighters, or in empty Prizes, with any Deſign to make away with them, as *Shelvocke* ſerved us. Captain *Mitchell* was put aboard a clean Ship, well manned, and provided with Stores and Neceſſaries, and a valuable Parcel of Goods, to diſpoſe of, at *Braſil*, for the Owners Advantage, in order to ſecure them ſomething; and it is true, that neither he, nor the twenty-three Men with him, were ever yet heard of: But how was *Clipperton* chargeable with that? or what Excuſe can Captain *Shelvocke* make for theſe impious Reflections, but a ſort of Pleaſure he has in being revenged on the Memory of the Dead! Thus far *Mitchell* may be accounted for: The Journal tells us, that, being obliged to Wood and Water, he touched to the Northward at Port *Velas*, where, it is very probable, he and his Men became a Prey to the Enemy; for the ſame Article mentions, that ſeveral of *Clipperton*'s Men ſaw ſome Shirts, and other Things worn by the Natives, which, by the Marks in them, convinced them *Mitchell* had been there. As to all that is ſaid from *Daviſon*'s Converſation, we are to conſider, that this Man was dead before it was publiſhed, and therefore could not confirm or diſavow it. It likewiſe appears from the Journal, that Captain *Clipperton*, and his Company, looked upon *Shelvocke*, and his, as Perſons on a different Footing: And, indeed, how could they think otherwiſe? Does not Captain *Shelvocke*'s own Account ſpeak it? And might he not very well apprehend, that Captain *Clipperton* might fear the Corruption of his Crew, by their aſſociating too freely with Men who had given ſuch Evidence of their bad Principles. As to their adjuſting all Differences, and conſorting together again, let us hear what Captain *Betagh* ſays on it. As to the Remarks, ſays he, that Captain *Shelvocke* has made upon this Tranſaction, and the Pains he has taken to repreſent *Clipperton* as a Monſter, they do not deſerve any Regard. The Journal ſays, the Propoſal to *Shelvocke* was this; That if he and his Crew would refund all the Money ſhared amongſt themſelves, contrary to the Owners Articles, and put it in a Joint-ſtock, then all Faults ſhould be forgot, both Companies unite, and proceed to cruiſe for the *Acapulco* Ship: The very next Article in the Journal is, that, not hearing from Captain *Shelvocke*, and the Time for the *Acapulco* Ship ſetting out for *Manilla* being ſeveral Days paſt, reſolved in Council to make our beſt Diſpatch for the *Eaſt Indies*. Here is the plain true Account of the Affair, and how the Treaty broke off. But *Shelvocke* has laboured hard to pervert the Truth of this Fact, as he has done all the reſt, thinking to gain Pity from Mankind, by telling what he ſuffered through the Deceit of *Clipperton*, never expecting that theſe Things would be refuted and cleared up. Beſides, there may be other Reaſons aſſigned for *Clipperton*'s ſudden Separation, though not entered in the Journal; for he knew, before he left *England*, that the *Spaniſh* Fleet were all taken and deſtroyed by Admiral *Byng*, and therefore a Peace was probably concluded, being two Years paſt; and might think *Shelvocke*, who had not made his Fortune while the War laſted, and had really ruined the Project, ought, of the two, to be the Sufferer: It is very likely *Clipperton*, for theſe Reaſons, did not care to embaraſs his Ship juſt upon the Point of his leaving the South Seas; but, on ſecond Thoughts, concluded, it was better to keep what he had got. Theſe, I ſay, are very fair Conjectures; but the Reaſon, mentioned in the Journal above, is ſufficient of itſelf; for *Shelvocke* thought the Conditions propoſed by *Clipperton* were too ſtrict: He did not care to refund what he had unlawfully ſhared, which, doubtleſs, he ought to have done; and, for the Neglect of which, it is evident, the whole Affair ended. Diſcuſſing this Buſineſs has taken up a great deal of Room, though I have been as conciſe as poſſible; but it is ſome Comfort, that we have now, in ſome meaſure, arrived at the End of theſe Diſputes, and may purſue our Relation without any farther Interruptions. We will therefore reſume the Captain's Narration, and take notice of that Change of Fortune he met with, at a time, when, in his own Opinion, his Affairs were moſt deſperate; which ſhews, that, in theſe Seas, Men never want Reſources, if there be any Degree of Courage and Conduct in their Commander.

23. In the Situation we were in, all Things were to be hazarded, and any Experiment to be tried, which had the leaſt Appearance of ſucceeding. We continued our Courſe therefore, under all the Inconveniencies that perhaps any Ship's Company ever endured, diſtreſſed for Proviſions, weak in point of Number, and ſo far from being united, that the Senſe of common Danger could not reſtrain us within the Bounds of common Civility to each other, though all Things depended upon right Behaviour. The Winds and Weather, however, continued ſo favourable to us, that on the 30th of *March* we found ourſelves before the Port of *Sanſonnate*: It was about Sun-ſet when we looked into this Harbour, where we diſcovered a Ship of good Size, lying at Anchor: Upon this, as it was a fine Moon-light Evening, I ſent my firſt Lieutenant, with ſome of our beſt Hands, in the Yawl, to ſee what ſhe was. The Boat had not been long gone before we heard two Guns fired; and ſoon after my Lieutenant returned, and reported, ſhe was a ſtout large Ship, with one Tire of Guns at leaſt. We little regarded her Strength, or our own Weakneſs, believing our Neceſſities would make us a Match for her; and therefore I continued plying in all Night, and prepared to engage her. At Sun-riſing, the Land-breeze blew ſo freſh off from the Shore, that we worked in but ſlowly; in the mean time, we received all

their Fire upon every Board we made, without making them the leaſt Return, and their Boat was employed to tranſport Soldiers from the Shore to the Ship. They hoiſted a Jar, of about ten Gallons of Powder and Match, at each Main and Fore-yard-arms, and Bowſprit-end, to let fall on our Decks, if we boarded them; which Contrivance, if it had taken Effect, would have ſoon made an End of both Ships, and thoſe that were in them. Seeing them ſo deſperate in their Preparations to receive us, I could not but expect a warm Diſpute; but, as our Caſe would not admit any Neglect of what offered, though at ever ſo hazardous a Rate, their Contrivances for Defence did not much diſmay us. About eleven in the Morning the Sea-breeze came in; and, that I might make our ſmall Force the moſt beneficial to us, I ordered our three Guns to be brought over on the Side we were like to engage them; and, being within leſs than Muſquet-ſhot, diſcharged them: The Sea-breeze freſhing ran us upon them very faſt, whilſt our Small-arms were effectually employed to break the Powder-jars before we actually boarded them; which we did without Delay; and, after the Exchange of a few Shot, when aboard of each other, they ſubmitted. This Ship was called the *Sacra Familia*, of three hundred Tons, ſix Guns, and ſeventy Men. She had a great Number of Small-arms, Grenade-ſhells, and Shot; they had been for ſome time before arrived from *Calao*, with Wine and Brandy; but had now nothing in her but fifty Jars of Gunpowder, a ſmall Parcel of Ruſk, and jerked Beef: In ſhort, ſhe could hardly be ſaid to be worth the Trouble we took, or the Riſque we ran; but ſhe having the Character of being a better Sailor, and viſibly better fitted than ours, I changed Ships, and we all went on board our Prize, which had been equipped in the warlike Manner we found her, and commiſſioned on Purpoſe to take us, if ſhe ſhould chance to meet us in her Way. Our Small-arms (to do Juſtice to my People) were handled with the greateſt Dexterity; but, being employed moſtly in ſhattering the Powder-jars, that the combuſtible Matter in them might fall into the Water, there was none killed but the Boatſwain, and only one ſlightly wounded; but, if our Small-arms had not been ſo uſefully diverted, there could not have failed of being a conſiderable Slaughter amongſt them; on our part, we did not receive the leaſt Damage. The Merchant we had taken in this Action, ſeemed to be inclinable to purchaſe the *Jeſus Maria*, which we had quitted; and, when he heard, that her Cargo conſiſted of Pitch, Tar, and Copper, he immediately conſented to my Demand, and went aſhore to raiſe the Sum. We had ſo little Proviſions to ſpare, that we could not afford to keep any Priſoners in Poſſeſſion; and therefore diſmiſſed all the Whites, *Indians*, &c. detaining only the Negroes; and, that we might loſe as little Time as poſſible, we ſet immediately to work, to over-haul our Rigging and Sails, that we might get our Ship ready for the Sea: But I was interrupted in this, by a Letter which came from the Governor of the Place in the Evening, which none of us could underſtand: But, by the Meſſenger that brought it, we found it was ſome Account of a Truce on foot between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*; and that the Governor requeſted me to ſtay five Days, that he might thoroughly ſatisfy me in it, by ſhewing me the Articles of Accommodation. I thought this very odd; and told the *Spaniſh* Gentleman, that it was not a peaceable or friendly Reception I met withal; and aſked, how they came to arm themſelves in ſo deſperate a Manner, and why the Governor did not chuſe to ſend a Flag of Truce to me with this Information, before we engaged, having the whole Morning beforehand; and why theſe Articles were not on board the Ship, ſhe coming from *Lima*, from whence they ſaid they received theſe Papers: And proceeded to tell him, that it was very ſtrange to me, that none of the Officers we had taken Priſoners, ſhould know any thing of the Matter: But that, notwithſtauding all this, I had ſuch a Regard for the very Name of Peace, that I would ſtay fifteen Days, if the Governor would ſupply us with Water and Proviſions; and that, if he did not, I could not pretend to make above Twenty-four Hours ſtay here. I ſent him alſo a ſhort Anſwer to his Letter, excuſing myſelf, on account of our underſtanding *Spaniſh* but indifferently; in which I told him, that if, as he ſuggeſted, there was a Peace concluded between their *Britannic* and *Catholic* Majeſties, I was ready, on due Proof, to act as he expected; but, in the mean time, I hoped, that as we were now Friends, he would permit me to have ſuch ſmall Refreſhments as we wanted from his Port. The Governor, upon the Receipt of my Letter, expreſſed great Satisfaction, and ſeemed to make no Difficulty of granting my Requeſt. Our Boats therefore, went on ſhore every Morning with their Flag of Truce. We received, for the firſt four Days, eight ſmall Jars of Water; and, on the 5th, they reduced us to five Jars; and, during the whole time, had but one ſmall Cow, which was attended by a Boat full of Men; amongſt which were two Prieſts, who, with a Shew of Friendſhip, brought with them a Paper in *Spaniſh*, which they called the Articles of Peace, ſo wretchedly written and blotted, that, had it been *Engliſh*, we ſhould have been puzzled to read it. I therefore deſired the Prieſts to tranſlate it fairly into *Latin*, which they promiſed to do; they took the Papers with them, and, for my farther Satisfaction, told me, that the Governor would ſend for ſome *Engliſhmen*, who lived at the City of *Guatimala*, if I would continue in the Road three Days longer: To which I anſwered, that he might take his own Time. In two Days after this, when the Boat went aſhore as uſual, the Governor ordered them to be made Priſoners as ſoon as they landed. I was all the Day in Suſpenſe, not being able to gueſs what could detain them on ſhore; but was far from imagining, that the Governor would make ſuch a Breach in the Laws of Nations. But, in the Evening, I was aſtoniſhed to ſee only two of my Boat's Crew, in a ſmall leaky Canoe, with two Letters, one from the Governor, the other from Mr. *Brooks*, my firſt Lieutenant: The Governor in his required me to deliver up the *Sacra Familia*, and ſurrender myſelf, and that otherwiſe he would declare us Pirates: And Mr. *Brooks* in his told me, that all he could learn, ſince he had been a Priſoner, was, that the Governor was endeavouring to bully me. The Governor propoſed two Ways of conveying us out of the *Spaniſh* Dominions; the one to *Vera Cruz* by Land, or to *Lima*, in *Peru*, by Sea. Theſe Offers I equally diſliked; for I did not like a Journey, of 1300 Miles at leaſt, through ſuch a Country of barbarous People, nor yet a Voyage to *Lima*, under their Conduct. My two Men, who brought theſe Letters, told me, that *Frederic Mackenzey* had let the Governor into the Secret of our Neceſſities, and of my former Deſign of getting Water on the Iſland of *Tygers*, in the Gulph of *Amapala*, which he ſaid he would take care to prevent, if we dared to attempt it; and believed, that he had us now ſafe enough, knowing that we had no other Boat left but a very ſmall Canoe. Notwithſtanding this, and though I ſaw there was no relying on the Honour of theſe People, I was willing to come to a farther Treaty; but I knew not how to communicate my Mind to the Governor, ſince it would have been an unreaſonable Requeſt in me, to have deſired any of my Men to carry a Meſſage to a Place where they were to be made Priſoners: But the two who brought the Letters off, voluntarily offered their Service, and a third went with them to throw out the Water; and I ſent a Letter by them, in *French*, to this Purpoſe: "If I could be aſſured of a ſafe and ſure Conduct for ourſelves and Effects to *Panama*, and from thence, by the Way of *Portobel*, to ſome of the *Britiſh* Plantations, we would come to a farther Treaty; which, if he intended, he muſt ſignify by firing two Guns, and by ſending my People, and the uſual Supply; otherwiſe Neceſſity would oblige me to ſail that Night." But I received no manner of Anſwer to this; therefore I weighed before Day the next Morning, and lay-to in the Bay till ten of the Clock, expecting I ſhould hear from the Shore; but nothing appearing, I made Sail, leaving behind me the *Jeſus Maria*, a much more valuable Ship than the other. The Actions of this Gentleman ſhewed there could be no Peace: However, I inſtantly ordered a formal Proteſt to be drawn up againſt him.

24. When we got out to Sea, we reduced ourſelves to a Pint of Water for twenty-four Hours, and directed our Courſe for *Amapala*, which was about thirty-five Leagues to the South South-eaſt of this Place, in order to get

Water there on the Iſland of *Tygers*. The Loſs of my Officers and Boat's Crew ſenſibly diminiſhed the Number of white Faces amongſt us, and our Strength would have been ſo much weakened by it, that we ſhould never have been able to have managed this great Ship, with her large heavy Cotton Sails, if we had not taken our Negro Priſoners along with us, who proved to be very good Sailors. The Loſs of our Boat was a great Inconveniency to us; but, as I thought of only taking Water enough to *Panama*, where we were fully bent to ſurrender ourſelves, if it was really Peace, I thought we could make ſhift with her to get ſuch a Quantity as we ſhould want in two or three Days time. The Winds being favourable, we arrived there in ten Days following: As ſoon as we entered the Gulph, we found ourſelves in the midſt of ſeveral ſmall Iſlands, amongſt the reſt the Iſland of *Tygers*, where we expected a Supply of Water: But our Expectations proved vain; for, after an hazardous and fruitleſs Search for it, not only on that, but ſome of the greeneſt of the other Iſles, there was not the leaſt Drop of freſh Water to be found on any of them. Surrounded on all Sides with unhappy Circumſtances, we weighed our Anchor on the 13th of *April*, before Day-break; and, having now open Sea before us, I brought my People in general to an obſtinate Reſolution, not by any means to ſurrender on this Part of the Coaſt, let the Conſequence be ever ſo miſerable. Upon this unanimous Agreement, having not forty Gallons of Water in the Ship, and no other Liquids, we came to ſo ſmall Allowance as half a Pint of Water for twenty-four Hours; and even this Allowance was rather too large, conſidering that there was no Place that we knew of, where we could get any, nearer than the Iſland of *Quibo*, which was about two hundred Leagues Diſtance from us; and we were forty-three in Number, reckoning our Negroes. Thus reſolved, we ſhaped our Courſe for *Quibo*; but, having very uncertain Winds and Weather, were thirteen Days at this Allowance; during which time, there is none, that has not experienced it, can conceive what we ſuffered in a ſultry Clime, by the perpetual Extremity of Thirſt, which would not permit us to eat an Ounce of Victuals in a Day. We conſtantly drank our Urine, which, though it moiſtened our Mouths for a time, excited our Thirſt the more. Some attempted to drink large Quantities of the Sea-water, which had like to have killed them.

We were, however, unexpectedly aſſiſted; for, on *April* the 25th, we came up with the Iſland of *Cano*, in the Latitude of 9° North, which, by the Verdure of it, promiſed to yield us Water, if we could get our Canoe aſhore. Under Hopes of Succour from this little Iſle, we came to an Anchor on the North-weſt Side of it, and it was as much as we could do to hand our Sails, ſtop the Cable, *&c.* We ſoon began to imagine that we could ſee a Run of Water; but, at the ſame time, dreaded the dangerous Surf, which broke on the Beach all round thoſe Parts we had ſeen of it. Nevertheleſs, Mr. *Randal* was ſent with ſome Jars, to try what could be done; but they not returning till it was very late at Night, I was fearful they were loſt, or that, not finding Water there, they were gone to the Continent; but, to my unſpeakable Satisfaction, they came aboard with their Jars filled. Any one may gueſs the Exceſs of Joy which there muſt naturally be amongſt Men who were thus opportunely delivered from the Hands of Death; but, as they did not bring above ſixty or ſeventy Gallons of it, I took care to reſtrain them from the Uſe of it, allowing to each Man only a Quart to be immediately diſtributed to them. What made me the more ſtrict in this was, that Mr. *Randal* aſſured me, that the Breakers were ſo hazardous, that he believed we ſhould not be able to get any more; but that very Night we chanced to have a Shower of Rain, which we made the beſt Uſe of, by catching what we could of it in Sheets, Blankets, *&c.* During this Thirſt, we conſtantly wiſhed for rainy Weather, and had often good Reaſon to expect it by louring black Clouds, which ſeemed every Minute to be ready to diſcharge their Burdens; yet never did before to any Purpoſe. Being willing to make another Eſſay the next Day, I ſent the Boatſwain, and ſome with him, to make a ſecond Attempt; but, after having been quite round the Iſland, and waſted the whole Day in Search of a ſmooth Beach, he could not ſee one Spot where he might venture on ſhore. Therefore, thinking we had a Stock ſufficient to carry us to *Quibo*, which was about thirty Leagues from us, I weighed the next Day, and, in ranging near the Iſland, ſaw a ſmooth Beach, which induced me to ſend the Boat a third time, that we might be provided againſt ſuch contrary Currents or Calms as we might meet with in our Way: Accordingly they went and filled nine Jars; which done, we held our Way to the South-eaſtward, and in a few Days arrived at *Quibo*, and anchored at the ſame Place where we had been twice before.

Captain *Betagh* is very ſevere in his Reflections on Mr. *Shelvocke*'s Management at *Sanſonnate*, where he ſays expreſly, that he got rid of ſix more of his People; after which, he explains his Meaning, and vindicates his Aſſertion thus: I don't expect, ſays he, the World will judge of this Affair as I do, becauſe thoſe who are ignorant of the Circumſtances of theſe Things, and unacquainted with *Shelvocke*'s perſonal Behaviour, cannot make a proper Cenſure. When a Man dies in a Courſe of Phyſic, who knows whether it is Chance or Deſign in the Doctor? The Patient is gone by legal Preſcription: So here, a Gentleman is clearly ordered aſhore into the Enemy's Hands, and, if he never returns, who can ſay it is a Deſign, or Accident? Thus much is certain, they went without a Hoſtage; though *Shelvocke* always had ſtrong Notions of the *Spaniards* Reſentment, and their manner of Revenge, eſpecially in *Mexico*, where the *Indians* are the cruelleſt People alive; and, while he was ſpeaking of *Mitchell*'s Story, we find him quick enough to leave it paſt Doubt, that he and his Men periſhed in ſome obſcure Manner; and yet he muſt now ſend a young Gentleman aſhore into the Clutches of this Enemy, at a time, when he knew the whole Coaſt was exaſperated, and himſelf deſtitute of all common Neceſſaries, with a very indifferent Force, and, conſequently, not able to reſent any Affront, much leſs to avenge himſelf on the Governor, in caſe he detained *Brooks* and his Men. *Shelvocke*, immediately before and after this, acted in an hoſtile Manner on that Coaſt; and, even in their View, he took this Ship, called the *Holy Family*, where the Boatſwain loſt his Life; ſo that, if poor *Brooks* and his Men were ſacrificed by way of Atonement, it is no ſevere Suſpicion. He adds to this ſome other Circumſtances to ſupport the Opinion he has given; but as theſe are not at all material to the Hiſtory of the Voyage, I ſhall not dwell longer upon them, but proceed.

25. We purſued our Buſineſs of wooding and watering in this Iſland pretty chearfully, and yet without being in any great Hurry, for ſeveral Reaſons; but the principal was, that as we were now within fourſcore Leagues of *Panama*, it was very requiſite to deliberate ſeriouſly on our Scheme of ſurrendering there to the *Spaniards*, ſince we all knew, that this Step once taken, there would remain no room for Deliberation afterwards. We conſidered, that the very Situation of this Place afforded us many Advantages; for *Panama* is by no means ſtrong towards the Sea, and, therefore, having a good Ship, we thought it would be no difficult Matter to ſettle the Terms of the Treaty while we continued at a Diſtance. We likewiſe reckoned upon ſome Aſſiſtance from the South Sea Company's Factors who were ſettled there, who might have interceded for us; and, in caſe a Peace was concluded, procure us a ſafe and ſpeedy Paſſage to *Europe*. But, as there was ſomething exceedingly diſagreable in the Notion of a Surrender, eſpecially to ſuch kind of Enemies as the *Spaniards*, it cannot be wondered, that we were not much in a Hurry about it, eſpecially as we were here a little at Eaſe, and enjoyed a great many Conveniencies that we had been Strangers to a long time before. The free Uſe we made of the excellent Fruits of this Iſland brought the Flux amongſt us, which, though in the main, I believe, did little Hurt, but ſerved rather to preſerve us from the Scurvy; yet it weakened us very much, and interrupted our Work for two or three Days; which time we ſpent in Conſultations about our future Conduct, whenever it ſhould pleaſe God we ſhould put to Sea again; but our Views were ſo different, and our Minds ſo diſtracted, that we could come to no Reſolution, but that of con-

tinuing here, till we ſaw what might happen, and in hopes of meeting with ſomething to our Advantage.

It may not be amiſs to enter into a particular Account of ſo remarkable a Place as this, becauſe hitherto our Travellers have ſcarce vouchſafed to take notice of it, as if there was not as much Reaſon to give Deſcriptions of Places where good Settlements may be made, as where good Settlements are made. This Iſland of *Coiba* or *Quibo* is almoſt in the ſame Parallel of Latitude with *Panama*, and is about nine Leagues in Length, and four in Breadth, of a moderate Height, covered all over with inacceſſible Woods, always green; and though it was, perhaps, never inhabited, yet it abounds with Papas, Limes, and ſome other Fruits I never ſaw before, which are near as good, though wholly neglected, as thoſe that have the greateſt Care taken of them in ſome other Iſlands in as promiſing a Latitude; from whence we inferred, that the Soil is fruitful: And, if ever it be inhabited, and cleared of the Incumbrances of Woods, with which it is choaked at preſent, it might be made productive of every thing our beſt Iſlands yield in *America*. But the *Spaniards* having ſo much more on the Continent than they know what to do with, and it being Prudence in them not to ſend away Colonies from amongſt them to people Iſlands, which might weaken their Force on the Continent, and knowing they are ſecure from the Attempts of an *European* Nation to ſettle on them, who might, by that means, annoy their Coaſts, it lies neglected; though I cannot help thinking, being a very conſiderable Pearl-fiſhery, it would be worth while to make a ſmall Settlement here: But the Pearl-fiſhers, not being able to dive with their Piraguas in the time of the Vandevals, which is a black ſtormy Seaſon, for four or five Months in the Year, beginning about *June*, and ending in *November*, and being withal ſo near the Continent, and *Panama* in particular, which muſt be the Market for a Commodity of that Price, they have not yet thought it worth while; ſo that all the Settlement they have here, are a few Huts ſcattered up and down in ſeveral Parts of this Iſland and *Quivetta*, made uſe of by the Divers at the Seaſon they come hither, to open the Oyſters, eat, and ſleep in. The ſandy Beach is covered with Shells of fine Mother-of-pearl of all Sizes; and, in going no farther than up to the Middle in the Sea, you may reach large Oyſters from the Bottom. This pleaſed us at firſt, not ſo much from the Hopes of finding any valuable Pearl in them, as to eat them; but, when we came to make Trial, we found, that Nature had not ordained this Fiſh to be at once Riches and Food; for they are tough as ſo much Leather, and by no means palatable. As to any other ſorts of Fiſh, as we had no Seyn, I cannot ſay much of them, nor give any Account of their various Kinds; but only take notice, that we uſed to obſerve a large Sort of flat Fiſh, that often jumped a great Height out of the Water. Theſe are reported to be very deſtructive to the Pearl-divers; for, when they return up again, if they take not great Heed, theſe wrap their broad Sides about them, and keep them in their mortal Embraces, till they are drowned: Therefore, to prevent this, the Divers always carry a ſharp-pointed Knife, and, upon Sight of any of theſe as they look upwards, they carry the Point of it above them, and, by that means, ſtick it into his Belly, and hinder him from his miſchievous Intent. There is yet another thing, which muſt make Diving here a Matter of great Danger, ſince the Sea hereabouts is dreadfully peſtered with Alligators, one of which, ſome of us fanſied, we ſaw ſwimming under the Water near Point *Mariato*, which is but a few Leagues from hence. There is a great Variety of Birds, and alſo great Numbers of black Monkeys and Guanoes, who moſtly frequent the Streams of freſh Water. There are ſome Guanoes here of an extraordinary Size, moſtly of browniſh-yellow Streaks about the Head, and in other Places grey, with black Streaks, *&c.* There cannot be a more convenient Place for Wooding and Watering in; for the freſh Water runs in ſeveral Streams, larger and ſmaller, on the Sand of the Beach; and Wood grows within leſs than twenty Yards of the Sea-ſide. Having got clear of this Place, and nothing thought of but our ſpeedy Return, we met with ſtrong Currents againſt us, together with contrary Winds and Calms, which detained us ſeveral Days under the Mountains of *Guanacbo*. On the 15th of *May*, a ſmall Bark, taking us for *Spaniards*, bore down to us. The Maſter of her was mightily ſurpriſed, when he found his Miſtake; but ſoon recovered, when he learned we were bound for *Panama*; and readily offered to pilot us thither; but had heard of nothing like a Truce. He belonged to, and was bound for, that Port. This Veſſel was called the *Holy Sacrament*, and came laſt from *Cheriqui*, laden with dried Beef, Pork, and Hogs. He deſired I would take her in tow, complaining, that the Currents drove him off Shore; ſo that he could not fetch the Land, tho' he had conſtant Sight of it; and that, by this means, all his live Cattle were almoſt dead for want of Water; and that ſhe was, at the ſame time, ſo leaky, that his People were no longer able to ſtand at the Pumps. Upon the hearing of this, I took her into tow, and kept the Maſter of her on board, ſending ſome of my Hands to aſſiſt them; and ſpared them as much Water and *Indian* Corn as I could. It may appear ſtrange, that this Opportunity of ſupplying ourſelves with Proviſions did not make an Alteration in our intended Proceedings; but every one was ſo tired of the Sea, ſo worn out by a continual Want of all Neceſſaries, and diſheartened by our perpetual Misfortunes, that they were willing to embrace any Opportunity of going aſhore at any rate. Indeed, as to myſelf, I was glad, that this Bark fell into our Hands; becauſe, if we found the Governor of *Sanſonates News* to be falſe, we might be throughly enabled, by this Help, to go to *India*. To this End, I deſigned to anchor a great Way ſhort of the Town, and keep Poſſeſſion of the *Holy Sacrament*, in caſe the Preſident ſhould not have complied with ſuch Terms as I eſteemed ſafe and honourable; and then we ſhould have it in our Power to redreſs ourſelves, by keeping out of their Hands. But, all this while, we had not determined who ſhould be the Perſon intruſted with the Flag of Truce; for my People, having known ſo much Treachery acted amongſt themſelves, were apprehenſive the Perſon ſent would only make his own Caſe good to the Governor, and not return again. Therefore, after all, my Son was thought the propereſt to go, as being ſure of his Return, if it was purely for my ſake. This, and many other Objections, were ſtarted, that could not be ſo eaſily removed; notwithſtanding we kept on our Way, fixed in our Reſolution.

On the 17th, another Bark came down upon us, ſtood pretty near us, and then ſheered off again. Upon which, I ſent Mr. *Randal* in our Canoe, to inform them of our Deſign; but they no ſooner ſaw him approaching them, than they hoiſted *Spaniſh* Colours, and fired. The next Morning, we looked into the Bay, to ſee if ſhe had lain at Anchor there all Night; and, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw us coming, ſhe renewed her Fire, Upon which, at his own Requeſt, I ſent the Maſter of our Bark, with four Negroes, in a Canoe, with a Flag of Truce, to inform them of our Intentions. A Gale of Wind interrupted this Diſpute, and at laſt forced the Canoe we ſent on ſhore, without Danger, I dare ſay, to their Lives; for they ſeemed to make this their Choice, On the 19th, we ſaw a Sail a-head of us, ſtanding along-ſhore: Upon which, we let go the Bark we had in tow, and ſpread all the Sail we could; ſo that, by Night, we were at a conſiderable Diſtance from our Bark, which had four of our own People, and five *Spaniards* in it. I was for lying-by in the Night, that our own Veſſel might come up; but my Company differed from me, and it was carried by a great Majority, that we ſhould continue to croud Sail all Night; ſo that, by Day-break on the 26th, we were within leſs than Gun-ſhot of the Chace. I immediately ordered our Colours to be ſpread, fired a Gun to Leeward, and ſent a Man upon our Poop to wave a Flag of Truce; but they, upon the firſt Sight of our *Engliſh* Enſign, fired at us, and ſo continued to do, with their Decks full of Men, hollowing, and abuſing us with the groſſeſt Appellations. Notwithſtanding this, I made no Return, until I came cloſe upon their Quarter, and then ſent one of their Countrymen to the Bowſprit-end, to inform them in *Spaniſh*, that we were bound to *Panama*; and deſired to treat peaceably with them; and hoped, at leaſt, that they would have ſome Regard to the white Flag, which they ſaw flying: But ſtill they continued their Fire, and *Borachos*, and *Peros Ingleſes*, i. e. *Drunkards*, and *Engliſh Dogs*, was all we could get from them: And perceiving, that the more complaiſant our Deportment was, the more inhumanly they inſulted us, I conceived it full time to begin with them; and therefore met them with our Helm, and ſoon convinced them of their Error, and, in a Word, gave them ſo warm a Reception, that they ſheered round off from us. We juſt miſſed getting hold of them; but, it falling almoſt calm, we continued our Engagement for the Space of two or three Hours, at the Diſtance of Muſquet-ſhot: But at length a Breeze wafting us nearer to them, we found, as faſt as we approached, their Courage cooled. But their Captain, ſtill bravely perſiſting, and encouraging them, and expoſing himſelf in the moſt open Manner, was at length ſhot through the Body, and dropped down dead. Upon this, they immediately, with one Voice, cried out for Quarter, and put an End to our Diſpute. We commanded them to hoiſt out their Launch; but they anſwered, That their Tackle, and all their Rigging in general, were ſo ſhattered, that they could not poſſibly do it in any time. Therefore we hoiſted out our Canoe, which we had taken out of the *Holy Sacrament* the Day before; and Mr. *Randall*, and two or three more, went in her on board the Prize. They found all the Priſoners in the moſt ſubmiſſive Poſture, aſking Mercy; which they could have no great Cauſe to expect, after their direct Breach of the Laws of Arms and Nations. Mr. *Randall* ſent away the moſt conſiderable of the Priſoners, who informed me, that their Ship was called the *le Conception de Recova*, belonging to *Calao*, but came laſt from *Guanchaco*, of the Burden of 200 Ton, laden with Flour, Loaves of Sugar, Boxes of Marmelade, Jars of preſerved Peaches, Grapes, Limes, *&c.* mounted ſix Guns, and had ſeventy odd Men, well provided with Small-arms, *&c.* and was, in particular, one of thoſe Ships, which were fitted out in an extraordinary Manner, and commiſſioned to take us; ſo that ſhe was the ſecond of thoſe warlike Merchant-ſhips that we had taken. In this Engagement, the *Spaniſh* Captain and a Negro were killed, and one or two ſlightly wounded; but their Rigging, Maſts, and Sails, were much diſabled, particularly their Fore-maſt, which, by a Shot that paſſed through the Body of it, was much ſhattered. On our Part, there was little or no Hurt done, except to our Gunner, who was ſlightly wounded in the Forehead by a Piſtol-ball, and our Main-maſt, which had a ſmall Piece carried out of the Side of it. We had now about eighty Priſoners of all Colours, and not above twenty-ſix of ourſelves. When the *Spaniſh* Gentlemen came on board, they would not give me Time to aſk them, how it came to paſs, that they would not hearken to our peaceable Offers; but fell to excuſing themſelves, and laying all the Fault upon their dead Captain Don *Joſeph Deſorio*, who vowed in a Paſſion, that we ſhould have no Terms, but his own; and that he would take us by Force. And indeed it is my Opinion, that this was the Inclination of all of them, till they found our Strength; and then, ſeeing their own Caſe deſperate, would have been for a Parly. Amongſt our Priſoners, we had ſeveral of Note, particularly Don *Baltazzar de Abarca Conde de la Roſa*, an *European* Nobleman, who had been for ſome time Governor of *Piſco*, on the Coaſt of *Peru*, and was now upon his Return to *Spain*; and Captain *Morell*, who had formerly been taken by Captain *Rogers*, &c. All of them were treated with the utmoſt Civilities, which they wondered at; becauſe, from a Prejudice they had againſt our Cruiſers, and from a Self-conviction of their own Behaviour towards their Priſoners, they could not expect but to have been dealt with very roughly.

In this Situation, we were in the very Track of all the Shipping bound to *Panama*, not above thirty Miles from that Place, few in Number, and Part of us ſick; all which Conſiderations moved us to be as expeditious as poſſible in examining the Contents of our new Prize the *Conception*; and, tho' the beſt Part of the Work was done by our Priſoners, yet it took us up full two Days. We were, by this means, as well as by faint Winds, and ſtark Calms, hindered from rejoining our Bark, till the 22d. As we bore down towards her, and came pretty near, we were extremely ſurpriſed to ſee, that ſhe only came to, and fell off, altho' all her Sails were ſet; and what amazed us moſt was, that we ſaw nobody ſtirring in her. As ſoon as we came up with her, I ſent the Boat on board; and the Officer, that went in her, immediately called out to me, that there was no Soul in her; but that her Decks and Quarters were covered with Blood. This was a melancholy hearing, ſince it plainly appeared, by many Circumſtances, that the *Spaniſh* Crew had murdered thoſe of my People, who were ſent to aſſiſt them: A cruel Return for our Civilities and Services to them! It ſeemed ſtrange to me, that our Men ſhould run the leaſt Hazard of expoſing themſelves to be thus butchered; for they were four in Number, completely armed, and there were but five of the *Spaniſh* Crew, two of whom were Boys. Theſe vile Wretches doubtleſs took the Opportunity of the *Engliſh* being loſt in Sleep, and then murdered them, not doubting but they ſhould meet with Thanks and Encouragement for ſo foul a Barbarity. The Names of thoſe thus deſtroyed were *John Giles*, *John Embin*, *John Williams*, and *George Chappel*. But it is very probable, that theſe Murderers paid with their Lives for thoſe they had taken away; for, being above four Leagues from the Land, and having no Boat, they probably jumped into the Sea on the Appearance of our Ship, thinking they ſhould meet immediate Death, if they had fallen into our Power, as a juſt Reward of ſo horrid a Crime; which they themſelves were ſo ſenſible of, that they endeavoured to hide the Deck, which was dyed with Gore all over, by throwing the Flocks out of Beds over it; ſo that, till they were removed, the Blood was not to be ſeen. This tragical Accident was the Cauſe of a general Melancholy amongſt us, and ſpoiled the Satisfaction we had enjoyed a Day or two paſt, on account of our late Prize. Our Priſoners, ſeeing ſuch an univerſal ſudden Change in us, began to be alarmed, and looked at each other, as if they all expected to undergo the ſame Fate our unhappy Companions had met with. This made me fearful, on the other Side, leſt their dreadful Apprehenſions of our Revenge upon them, ſhould ſtir them up to offer at ſome deſperate Attempt upon us, they being eighty in Number, and we not above ſeventeen on board at that time, and, when we were all together, not above twenty-five, that could ſtand on their Legs: Therefore I was directly forced to ſhew ſome Heat, in ordering all our Priſoners to go into the Stern-gallery, (which was very large) except the Nobleman, and ſome of the chief of them, whilſt we kept Guard in the great Cabin. The *Spaniſh* Gentlemen, who were not confined, in a very moving Manner, lamented to me the unhappy Deaths of my Men, and their own hard Fate, in having been, in ſome meaſure, Eye-witneſſes of this bloody Murder; and let fall ſome Expreſſions, whereby I perceived, that they were afraid, that I intended to ſhew ſome Severities towards their People on this Occaſion. Having a good Interpreter between us, I aſſured them, that, if I had ſo revengeful an Inclination, the Laws of my Country would reſtrain me from putting it in Execution; that I acted by virtue of my King's Commiſſion, who, in his Orders, forbad, in the ſtricteſt Manner, all Acts of Inhumanity or Oppreſſion towards our Priſoners; which Aſſurance, I deſired, might make them perfectly eaſy: And they ſolemnly promiſed, that, if it was poſſible any of thoſe Murderers could be found living, the two Kingdoms of *Peru* and *Mexico* ſhould be alarmed to bring them to Juſtice; and begged of me to think myſelf ſecure as to themſelves, and the reſt of their Countrymen my Priſoners, who would ſooner ſuffer any thing, than harbour any Thought, that might be prejudicial to our Lives and Liberties, even though they ſhould have the moſt encouraging Opportunity of putting it in Execution; and aſſured me, on their Honour, that they thought they ſhould never be able to make a juſt Return for the generous Entertainment they had met with from me. Notwithſtanding this, I took ſome Meaſures to ſecure our Priſoners of the meaner Sort; and then haled the *Holy Sacrament* along-ſide of us. She was half-full of Water, and the greateſt Part of her dried Beef was wet, and ſpoiled; but all that was not damaged we took out, together with ſome live Hogs, and then gave her to Don *Baltazzar de Eſpina*, who, by the Death of Captain *Joſeph Deſorio*, became Commander of the *Conception*; and, that Night, kept a ſtricter Watch than we had before, tho' none of us had had ſcarce any Sleep ſince we had taken this Ship. The next Day, being as willing to get rid of them, as they were to have their own Ship reſtored to them, and purſue their Voyage, I delivered the *Conception* into the Poſſeſſion of Don *Baltazzar de Eſpina*, &c. after having taken out of her twelve Months Proviſion of Bread, Flour, Sugar, and Sweetmeats, and a like Proportion for the *Succeſs*, which I expected to find at the *Tres Marias*. I likewiſe took away their Launch, and their Negroes, to aſſiſt us in the Management of our Ship, knowing, that we could not well hold out much longer, if the Work was not made eaſier; and, ſince we had a large Ship, and a Run of 175° to ſail, I thought we could do no other, than reinforce ourſelves by the Aſſiſtance of theſe Blacks, who are commonly good Sailors in thoſe Parts; and indeed, as it afterwards happened, we ſhould never have reached the Coaſts of *Aſia*, or any other Land, without them.

The moſt important and remarkable Part of Captain *Betagh*'s Book is that which has Relation to the Circumſtances mentioned in the foregoing Paragraphs, every one of which he either controverts or denies. He thinks, that the Sailing to *Panama* is a full Proof, that the Men ſet on ſhore with Lieutenant *Brooks* at *Sanſonnate* were ſacrificed; becauſe, ſays he, had the Captain intended them fairly, he would have gone to *Panama* at once, where he was ſure of a better Reception than in any other Port of the South Seas. He next remarks, that the Captain got rid of four of his Men more, by putting them on board of the Bark, out of pure Civility, as the Captain calls it; upon which Mr. *Betagh* is extremely ſevere: But then the Reader is to conſider, that the Juſtice of his Obſervation depends on the Truth or Falſhood of Captain *Shelvocke*'s Relation; for if we take the Thing upon his Stating, that he actually informed the Captain of the Bark of his Intention to ſurrender, and put his Men on board purely to aſſiſt in working the Veſſel, then there is nothing abſurd or ridiculous in Captain *Shelvocke*'s ſtiling this a Piece of Civility, which aggravated the Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, in killing the Men that were put on board: But if theſe Men had Poſſeſſion of the Bark, as a Prize, that will alter the Caſe, and juſtify Mr. *Betagh*'s Reflections. I muſt confeſs, it ſeems very probable, that the *Spaniards* conſidered the Thing in this Light; for otherwiſe, why did the Maſter of the Bark, and thoſe who were with him, run themſelves on ſhore, when he ſent them into the Bay of *Panama* in a Canoe? Or, why does Captain *Shelvocke* blame his Men for not taking ſufficient Precautions? If they were put on board out of Civility, they were to truſt the *Spaniards*; if they did not, it is plain they were in Poſſeſſion, and the Bark was their Prize. For my own Part, I take the Truth of the Matter to be this: The Captain of the Bark underſtood her to be a Prize; and, after he got aſhore, procured ſufficient Aſſiſtance to retake her; but, doubting whether he ſhould be able to get into Port before *Shelvocke*'s Return, he carried off his own Crew, and murdered the *Engliſh*. This, I ſay, is my Notion of the Matter; and I leave it intirely to the Reader's Conſideration, whether 'tis probable or not. But we are now come to a Matter of far greater Conſequence, indeed a Matter which gives us the greateſt Light into the true Scheme of, at leaſt, the latter Part of the Voyage; and therefore I ſhall give it in Mr. *Betagh*'s own Words, from whom we have this Information. It is, indeed, a very extraordinary Piece of ſecret Hiſtory, and worthy the Reader's Attention; the rather as it ſeems to be ſupported by Evidence, and explains abundance of dark Things in the preceding and in the ſubſequent Part of this Expedition, and is intirely different from any thing that is to be met with in the Conduct of Captain *Clipperton*, who is loaded with ſo many heavy Charges by Captain *Shelvocke*. Thus ſpeaks Captain *Betagh*: " This being the great Criſis " of Captain *Shelvocke*'s Voyage, I ſhall be more parti" cular in relating the Affair of this laſt Prize, which will " open the moſt notorious Scene of Deceit that has ap" peared yet. This Ship was called the *Conception*, Don " *Stephen de Recova* Commander, bound from *Calao* to " *Panama*, having on board ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, " particularly the *Conde de la Roſa*, a *Spaniſh* Nobleman, " who had been ſome time Governor of *Piſco*, and was " now going to *Spain*, laden with Flour, Sugar, Marme" lade, Peaches, Grapes, Limes, *et cætera*. Now, be " it known to all Men, that that *et cætera* was an hundred " and eight thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſix Pieces " of Eight; and *Shelvocke* little thought, when he took " this Prize, or compiled his Book, that I, of all Men, " ſhould have this exact State of this Affair: He often " ſaid, he would never give the Gentlemen Owners a fair " Account; and I have often promiſed, in this Treatiſe, " to prove that he did ſay ſo; and now we have both " made our Words good, I have not only an authentic " Account, but I will declare alſo how I got it. When I " was carried Priſoner to *Lima*, I had Leiſure enough to " reflect on my Misfortunes, how likely I was to be ruined, " and the Owners to be cheated; ſo that, to prepare them " in Defence of their Rights, I wrote over to one of them " the Subſtance of what had occurred to me; how *Shel*" *vocke* had miſmanaged, how arbitrarily he had acted in " Defiance of their Articles, and what his private Inten" tions were in the future Part of the Voyage. As ſoon " as I came to *London*, which was in *October* 1721, I " confirmed the Purport of my Letter, with ſeveral new " Circumſtances; for all which Performance of my Duty, " I do ſuppoſe my Name has met with ſo much Reproach " in Captain *Shelvocke*'s Book; but, beſides my Advices, " the Gentlemen had many Proofs from other Priſoners, " and other People. Eleven Months after, being *Auguſt*, " Captain *Shelvocke* himſelf arrived, and waits immedi" ately on the ſaid Gentlemen, to compound in the Lump " for all his Tranſactions, not owning any thing of this " Prize, which he had unlawfully ſhared, and every thing " elſe, among three-and-thirty of them. Inſtead of com" promiſing the Matter, the Gentlemen read him a Let" ter, ſecured him, and the ſame Day had him confined " in *Wood-ſtreet Compter*. A few Days after, his Pupil, " *Stewart*, arrived at *Dover*, and was ſeized by the honeſt " Warden of the Caſtle, according to Directions, who " faithfully ſecured his Book of Accounts, and brought " it, with the Priſoner, to the Owners, from whom I " had the Book, and copied the Dividend, which is as " follows:

Names	Quality	Number of Shares	Dollars	*Engl.* Money
George Shelvocke	Commander	6	11325	2642 10 0
Samuel Randal	Lieutenant	2½	4718	1100 17 4 each.
John Rayner,	Capt. Marines	2½	4718	
Blowfield Coldſea	Maſter	2½	4718	
Nicholas Adams	Surgeon	2½	4718	
Matthew Stewart	Firſt Mate	2	3775	880 16 8
Monſieur *Laporte*	Second Mate	2	3775	
George Henſhal	Boatſwain	2	3775	
Robert Davenport	Carpenter	2	3775	
William Clark	Gunner	2	3775	
James Daniel,	Midſhipman	1½	2830	660 0 0 each.
David Griffith	ditto	1½	2830	
Chriſtopher Hawkins	ditto	1½	2830	
Oliver Leſevee	Sail-maker	1½	2830	
John Doydge	Surgeon's Mate	1½	2830	
William Morgan	ditto	1½	2830	
John Poppleſtone	Armourer	1½	2830	
James Moyett	Cooper	1½	2830	
John Pearſon	Carpenter's M.	1½	2830	
Geo. Shelvocke, jun.		1½	2830	
William Clement	Able Seaman	1	1887¼	440 7 2 each.
John Norris	ditto	1	1887¼	
James Moulville	ditto	1	1887¼	
George Gill	ditto	1	1887¼	
Peter Fero	ditto	1	1887¼	
John Smith	ditto	1	1887¼	
Edward Atcocks	ditto	1	1887¼	
John Theobald	Barber	1	1887¼	
William Burrows	Old Seaamn	¾	1415¼	330 6 10 each.
Daniel Mc Donald	ditto	¾	1415¼	
Richard Croft	ditto	¾	1415¼	
John Robins	Grommet	½	943¼	220 4 2 each.
Benedict Harry	Cook	½	943½	
33		52½	98604½	23007 15 6

" Here the Reader perceives the Sum Total of this Di" vidend to be ſhort of what I ſaid the Capture amounted " to; but, in order to ſet that Matter right, there is a ſe" cret Article of 627 Quadruples of Gold, which *Shel*" *vocke* graciouſly ſhared among private Friends; each of " which Quadruple, or double Doubloon, is worth ſixteen " Dollars, or Pieces of Eight;

			l.	s.	d.
And makes in whole	Dollars 10,032	which, at 4 *s.* 8 *d.* each, makes	2340		
which being added to the	98,604¾,	—— or ——	23,007	15	6
makes	108,636¾	—— or ——	25,348	11	6

“ All which Money *Shelvocke* has the prodigious Modeſty to conceal; and only ſays, the Prize was laden with Flour, Sugar, Fruit, *&c.* *Stewart*'s Book mentions the 627 Doubloons, but not a Word how they were divided; ſo that we muſt imagine them to be ſunk among both the *Shelvockes* and *Stewart*; for, as *Stewart* was Agent, Caſhier, and Paymaſter, it was an eaſy Matter to hide a Bag of Gold from the Public, and diſpoſe of it afterwards in a Committee of two or three.”

26. It was not only an Act of Generoſity towards our *Spaniſh* Priſoners, but an Act of Prudence alſo with regard to our own Conduct, the parting, as we did, with the *Conception*, and all on board her. They were but three Days in our Poſſeſſion, and in that time treated with ſo much Humanity, that we had the uttermoſt Reaſon to believe they retained a grateful Senſe of our Kindneſs. The great Point now to be managed, was to obtain the Conſent of my People to ſail as far North as *California*, before our intended Voyage to the *Eaſt Indies*, for which, if we were not in as good a Condition as we could wiſh, we were, at leaſt, in a better than we were before, or than, all Things conſidered, we had any Reaſon to expect, ſince we had a good Ship, fifteen Guns, Ammunition enough to ſupply them, and a reaſonable Quantity of Proviſions. We ſtill wanted, however, ſomewhat to complete our Wood and Water for ſo long a Voyage; ſo that the procuring this was naturally our firſt Care. The Ship's Company thought of going to the Iſland of *Quibo*, which was, indeed, the neareſt Place to us: But the going thither was attended with two great Inconveniencies: Of theſe, the firſt was the Danger of the Road; which, as the ſtormy Seaſon was coming on, and we were but very indifferently provided with Ground-tackling, muſt have expoſed us to many Dangers: The ſecond, that, as the Iſland of *Quibo* was at a very ſmall Diſtance from *Panama*, we had Reaſon to fear the *Spaniards* would ſend a Ship of War from thence in Search of us; which would have put an End to all our Deſigns, ſince we had now no further Hopes of there being a Peace, and conſequently had laid aſide all Thoughts of ſurrendering. Upon theſe Conſiderations, it was determined to ply up to *Cano*; where, having a good Boat, we ſoon did our Buſineſs. In our Paſſage thither, the Sweetmeats of all kinds were divided among the Meſſes; but one of the Men complained he had a Box of Marmelade he could not ſtick his Knife in, and deſired it might be changed: I opened it, and found a Cake of Virgin-ſilver in it, moulded on purpoſe to fill ſuch Boxes; and, being very porous, was of near the ſame Weight of ſo much Marmelade, the Weight being 200 Pieces of Eight: In overhaling the reſt, we found five more: This was a Contrivance to defraud the King of *Spain* of his Fifths, which he lays a Claim to in all the Silver taken out of any of the Mines in *Peru*. We, doubtleſs, left a great many behind us; ſo that this Deceit ſerved them in a double Capacity, of wronging their King, and blinding their Enemies. An Affair, as vexatious as this, fell out on board a Prize the *Succeſs* had taken, where they found a very conſiderable Quantity of Pinas, or Virgin-ſilver, in the Form of Bricks, very artfully plaiſtered over with Clay, and dried in the Sun: As they never burn their Bricks in that Country, they took them to be really ſuch; and therefore threw a great Number of them overboard, as ſo much Rubbiſh, and made no Diſcovery till the four or five laſt Pieces. How true this is, I can't ſay; but it was reported to me as Matter of Fact by ſeveral of the Officers belonging to Captain *Clipperton*. I muſt obſerve here, that every thing taken in the *Conception* was divided according to the Articles laſt ſettled at the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*; or, in other Words, according to the uſual Cuſtom of Privateers, which gave me ſix Shares only inſtead of ſixty; and they refuſed to allow me an hundred Pounds, which I had laid out of my own Money for neceſſary Supplies at the Iſland of *St. Catharine's*. I found myſelf alſo under many other Difficulties as to the Courſe we were to ſteer, becauſe the Ship's Company were well enough informed, that, in order to go to the *Eaſt Indies*, there was no Neceſſity of running farther to the North than the Latitude of 13°; and therefore I was obliged to inſiſt, in the beſt manner I could, on the Advantages that might be drawn, with reſpect to cleaning and refitting our Ship, from the favourable Situation of *Porto Seguro* in *California*; and it was not without a great deal to do, that I induced my People to liſten to this with a Degree of Patience. At laſt, having brought them to my Purpoſe, I weighed from *Cano*, and ſteered Northward, having favourable Winds for forty-eight Hours, and afterwards inconſtant Gales, and very bad Weather, which induced me to think of getting farther out to Sea, in hopes of meeting there with more ſettled Weather; which, in our Circumſtances, was a Point of the utmoſt Importance. This Deſign I immediately put in Execution, and found, that, at ſixty Leagues Diſtance, we had Winds variable, and between ſeventy and eighty Leagues Diſtance they ſettled at Eaſt North-eaſt and North-eaſt: Therefore I kept this Diſtance from the Land, till we had run the Height of 20° North; and were not, in all this Paſſage, in the leaſt ſenſible of any Currents, being alſo intirely out of the Way of the frightful Riplings, and Overfalls of the Water, which we frequently met withal nearer to the Land, which alarmed us in the Night, when we have been becalmed in deep Water; for we frequently heard a Noiſe, as of the Fall of Water paſſing through a Bridge, a conſiderable time before it came to us, which afterwards paſſed by us at a very great Rate: All the Effect it had on the Ship, was to make her anſwer her Helm wildly, if we had any Wind; but when it has happened, that we have met theſe moving Waters very near the Shore, we could not perceive, that we either gained or loſt any Way by them, though we have continued in them for a Quarter of an Hour together. I have obſerved theſe Overfalls both to come from the Weſtward and Eaſtward; but, by getting out to Sea, we were not only clear of theſe Inconveniencies, but were alſo out of the Way of the black Seaſon, which began to be fixt on the Coaſts; for, at *Cano*, in going thither, we felt very hard Guſts, with black rolling Weather, frequent and violent Thunder and Lightning, attended by heavy Showers of Rain. In this Paſſage, we were continually accompanied by vaſt Sholes of Fiſh, ſuch as Dolphin, Bonita, Albicore, and Angel-fiſh, which are in Shape like Salmon, and have Scales like them, but a Tail like the Dolphins; and alſo nearly reſemble them when in the Water, they appearing in all the beautiful Colours that the Dolphin has; and as for eating, are by much the beſt Fiſh that ſwim near the Surface. We were almoſt continually plagued with Flocks of theſe ſort of Birds, ſo well known to Seamen by the Name of Boobies; and their Dung, which ſtinks intolerably, proved a Nuiſance not to be deſcribed, notwithſtanding all the Pains we could take to keep the Yards, Tops, and Decks clean. In the Beginning of *Auguſt*, we reached the Iſland *Tres Marias*, but could ſee no Sign of Captain *Clipperton*'s having been there; and were alſo diſappointed in our Hopes of finding Water; ſince, on the ſtricteſt View we were able to take of all three Iſlands, nothing like a Spring was to be diſcovered in any of them, notwithſtanding what ſome former Writers have ſaid of their meeting there with Water in abundance.

27. After having ſpent about three Days in ſearching of theſe Iſlands, I thought it beſt to ſtand over for the Main-land of *California*, as well for procuring what was wanting in our own Ship, as in Hopes of meeting once more with the *Succeſs*. Accordingly, on *Auguſt* 11. we made that Coaſt; and the Inhabitants, as ſoon as they diſcovered us, made Fires on the Shore as we ran by them: Towards the Evening, two of them came off to us on a Bark-log, but were a long time before they would accept of our Invitation to come into the Ship; at length, after a great many Signs which we made to them, they ventured; when, in a Moment, ſeeing the Whites and our Blacks promiſcuouſly ſtand together, they, with angry Countenances, ſeparated them from us, and would hardly ſuffer

them to look upon us: They then made Signs to us all to ſit down; which done, one of them put himſelf into ſtrange Poſtures, and ran from one to the other of us, talking to us with great Vehemence, and ſeemed to be in a perfect Tranſport of Ecſtaſy, continually ſinging or ſpeaking, and running about ſo faſt, till he was quite out of Breath. The Night coming on, they were for departing, and we gave them a Knife or two, an old Coat, and ſome other Trifles, which pleaſed them very well; and they, by Signs, gave us repeated Invitations to go aſhore with them. On the 13th, at Day-break, we found ourſelves near *Puerto Seguro*; ſome of the Natives came out on Bark-logs to meet us, whilſt others got upon the Tops of the Hills and Rocks near the Sea-ſide, making Fires for us: There was an univerſal Joy ſpread through them; thoſe that were near the Rocks to ſee us, came in running up-and-down to one another; and thoſe that came out to ſee us on Bark-logs, paddled with all their Strength, impatient to have a nearer View of us. Our Anchor was no ſooner down, than they came off to us in Crouds, ſome few on their Bark-logs, but moſt of them ſwimming, talking and calling out to one another in a confuſed Manner; our Ship was in an inſtant full of theſe ſwarthy Gentry, quite naked; amongſt the reſt was their King, or chief Man, whom we could not diſtinguiſh by any particular Ornament, nor by any Deference that was paid to him; the only Enſign of Sovereignty which he bore about him, was a black round Stick, made of an hard Wood, of about two Feet and an half in Length; this being obſerved by ſome of my People, they brought him to me; upon which, he concluding that I was the Chief in the Ship, in a very handſome manner delivered his black Sceptre to me, which I immediately returned to him. This Man, notwithſtanding his ſavage Appearance, had a good Countenance, and his Behaviour had ſomething noble. I ſoon found a way to regale them; for we had a great Quantity of Sweetmeats: I therefore ordered what deep Diſhes I had to be brought upon the Deck; the Jars were broached, and the Diſhes filled with the choiceſt of *Peruvian* Conſerves; they were every one accommodated with Spoons, and, though they could not ſit regularly to their Entertainment, becauſe of their Numbers, who had all an equal Welcome to the good Chear, yet, as we kept continually repleniſhing their empty Diſhes, they were all ſatisfied with as much as they cared to eat: Their Food they liked extremely well; and the Spoons, which were moſtly Silver, they returned with great Honeſty, which they would doubtleſs have done, had they been Gold, the Value of thoſe Metals being unknown to them. Having thus commenced a Friendſhip with them, I ſent an Officer aſhore to view the Watering-place; and, to make him the more Welcome, I ſent with him ſome coarſe blue Baiſe, and ſome Sugar, as a Preſent to the Women, amongſt whom it was to be equally diſtributed. The King, ſeeing our Boat ready to put off, was for waiting on her with his Bark-log, but I intreated him to take a Paſſage in our Boat; which he ſeemed to be mightily pleaſed with. The Remainder of the Day was ſpent in an Interview between us and our wild Viſitors, who behaved themſelves in general very quietly and peaceably. The Officer returning with an Account of his civil Reception, we prepared our Caſks to ſend aſhore the next Morning. Indeed, from ſome Accounts which I had read concerning theſe People, I apprehended no Moleſtation from them in wooding and watering; though, at the firſt View, the Country and Inhabitants would diſſuade me from venturing freely amongſt them; they even appeared ſo terrible amongſt our Negroes who had been born in *Guiney*, that one of them, who had been ſent with the Officer on ſhore, was afraid to ſtir from the Boat, and all the while kept an Ax in his Hand to defend himſelf from any that might attack him: But this Dread proceeded from the Contempt which the two firſt that came off to us had expreſſed towards our Negroes, in ſeparating them from the Whites. As ſoon as the Night approached, all the *Indians* ſwam aſhore again, ſo that we had the Pleaſure of a clear Ship to reſt ourſelves in after the Fatigues of the Day.

The next Morning by Day-break our Boat went aſhore with thoſe deſigned to cut Wood, and fill Water; and, before the Sun was up, we were again crouded with our former Gueſts, who ſeemed as if they were never tired with gazing at us, and our Ship. But, that nothing ſhould be wanting in us to keep up the Amity we had already contracted, I ordered a great Boiler to be carried aſhore, with good Store of Flour and Sugar, and a Negro Cook, to be continually boiling Haſty-pudding for the numerous Spectators on the Beach; and it really behoved us to keep in their Favour, ſince, whether in the Ship, or on the Strand, we were wholly in their Power; thoſe on ſhore being perpetually ſurrounded by Multitudes, and we in the Ship were from Morning till Night ſo incommoded by them, that we could hardly move fore and aft through the Crouds of them that were ſtaring at us. They at firſt were idle Lookers on, till their natural Compaſſion for the few Men, whom they ſaw rolling of great Caſks of Water over the heavy Sand, in the ſultry Heat of the Day, induced them to help us, together with the kind Treatment they met with from us; and the particular Readineſs of their Chief to ſerve us, by ſhewing his People a good Example; for, after Mr. *Randall*, my Lieutenant, took up the firſt, he took up the ſecond Log of Wood, to carry to the Boat, and was immediately followed by two or three hundred of them, ſo that they eaſed my Men of a great Fatigue, and ſhortened the Time we had Occaſion to ſtay at this Place: They likewiſe rolled our Caſk down to the Boat, but always expected a white Face to aſſiſt them, who, if he did but touch it with his Finger, was ſufficient Encouragement for them to perſevere in their Labour. We even found Means to make them, who uſed to be all Day on board, uſeful to us; for when we came to heel the Ship, we crouded them all over on one Side, which, together with other Shifts, gave us a very conſiderable Heel, while we cleaned and paid our Bottom with Pitch and Tallow; and ſo tractable were they, that they would ſit very quietly on the Side they were bid to go to, till we ordered them to diſperſe themſelves, that we might bring the Ship upright again. Thus they repaid our Civilities by their Services, and every Day they ſeemed more and more fond of us. When our Boat went on ſhore in the Morning, there was a conſtant Retinue waiting for our People on the Beach, and particularly thoſe, who, by a better Dreſs, they gueſſed to be above the common Rank; theſe they always received with ſuch formal Ceremonies, as could not be expected in ſuch a Place; for, as ſoon as they came out of the Boat, they were immediately laid hold on by two *Indians*, who led them between them, and were followed by a great many Couples, Hand-in-Hand; thus they led them up to the River, and then left them to their own Liberty, to proceed in the Direction and Execution of their Buſineſs. By this time the Rumour of our Arrival was ſpread through all the neighbouring Parts; and ſome of different Clans, from thoſe who inhabited the Land about this Bay, came daily to view us; thoſe who came from any Diſtance in the Country could not ſwim; and, that they were different from thoſe we had firſt ſeen, appeared by the Manner of painting themſelves, and other little Diſtinctions, which were viſible amongſt them; but they all united amicably to aſſiſt us, and hardly any were idle but the Women, who uſed to ſit in Circles, on the ſcorching Sand, to give Attendance for their Share of what was going forwards, which they uſed to receive without any quarrelling amongſt them about the Inequality of the Diſtribution, although ſome, who had no Spoons, fared but poorly; but, at laſt, there were few of them that had not ſomething to ſerve them to eat their Spoon-meat, encouraged thereto by our conſtant Supplies of it, with which we fed ſeveral Hundreds every Day. Thus, by a mutual Exchange of good Offices one toward another, they thought themſelves happy in us, and we thought ourſelves fortunate in meeting ſo timely and neceſſary Aſſiſtance; for it is probable, that my Men might have contracted a dangerous Sickneſs by working ſo laboriouſly in the Heat of the Day, after being in a manner worn out by what they had already undergone. Having already completed our Buſineſs in the Space of five Days, we, on the 18th of *Auguſt*, prepared for our Departure, and employed the Morning in making a large Diſtribution of Sugar amongſt the Women; and to the Men we gave a great many Knives, old Axes, and old Iron, which we had taken in our Prizes; theſe were the moſt uſeful Things to them, and of which they ſtood moſt in need. In Return, ſome of them gave us Bows and Arrows, Deer-skin Bags, live Foxes and Squirrels, *&c.* That we might appear as awful to them as poſſible, I ordered five Guns to be fired on the looſing our Top-ſails; the Noiſe of which mightily frightened them; and, upon ſeeing our Sails looſed, there was an univerſal Damp upon their Spirits, which might be eaſily perceived by the lively Sorrow that was painted in all their Countenances; Their Women were all in Tears, when my People had executed their Orders, and were coming off to the Ship; and a great many of the Men ſtaid in the Ship all the while we were purchaſing our Anchor, and did not offer to ſtir till we were under Sail; and then, with the moſt dejected Aſpects, leaped overboard. That Evening we took our Departure from Cape *St. Lucas*, in our Way to *China*.

28. After making ſome Stay in *California*, and having ſo thorough an Acquaintance with its Inhabitants, it is but natural for me to attempt, as others have done, to give ſome Account of it, the rather, becauſe great Things have been expected from a perfect Knowledge of its Extent and Boundaries; though, for my Part, I muſt confeſs, I believe ſuch a Diſcovery would produce few real Advantages, how much Satisfaction ſoever it might give to the Curious. The *Spaniards*, whoſe Intereſt and Opportunities are greater than ours, or, indeed, than any other Nation in *Europe*, have, of late eſpecially, been extremely negligent in this reſpect. Their annual *Acapulco* Ships are often obliged to run into high Latitudes for the Benefit of Weſterly Winds; and, in doing this, have ſometimes had Soundings in their Paſſage, which certainly afforded a great Probability of finding Land, tho' I never heard, that they puſhed any ſuch Diſcovery. However, for this, and many other Reaſons, I am inclined to think, that *America* and *Aſia* are joined by ſome Tract of Land to the Northward. Leaving, however, theſe Conjectures to be ſupported or confuted by future Diſcoveries, I ſhall confine myſelf to Facts, and report only what I have ſeen or known, for the Information of the preſent Age, and of Poſterity. The Eaſtern Coaſt of that Part of *California*, which I had a Sight of, appears to be mountainous, barren, and ſandy, and very like ſome Parts of *Peru*; but, nevertheleſs, the Soil about *Puerto, Seguro*, and (very likely in moſt of the Valleys) is a rich black Mould, which, as you turn it freſh up to the Sun, appears as if intermingled with Gold-duſt; ſome of which we endeavoured to waſh and purify from the Dirt; but though we were a little prejudiced againſt the Thoughts that it could be poſſible, that this Metal ſhould be ſo promiſcuouſly and univerſally mingled with common Earth, yet we endeavoured to cleanſe and waſh the Earth from ſome of it; and the more we did, the more it appeared like Gold. In order to be further ſatisfied, I brought away ſome of it, which we loſt in our Confuſions at *China*. But, be that as it will, it is very probable, that this Country abounds in Metals of all Sorts, though the Inhabitants had no Utenſils or Ornaments of any Metal whatſoever; which is no wonder, ſince they are ſo perfectly ignorant in all Arts.

This Soil produces Plenty of Wood; but the Trees are very ſmall, hardly deſerving a better Name than that of Buſhes: But Woods, which are an Ornament to moſt other Countries, ſerve only to make this appear the more deſolate; for the Locuſts ſwarm there in ſuch abundance, that they don't leave a green Leaf on the Trees. In the Day-time, theſe deſtructive Inſects are perpetually on the Wing, roving in Clouds, and are extremely troubleſome by flying in one's Face: They are in Shape and Bigneſs exceedingly like our green Graſshoppers, but differ from them in their Colour, which is yellow. No ſooner had we come to an Anchor, than they came off in ſuch abundance, that the Sea about us was ſtrewed with their dead Bodies. Thus, by the inceſſant Ravages of thoſe Locuſts, the Proſpect of the Country thereabouts is ſtripped naked, notwithſtanding the natural Warmth of the Climate, and the Goodneſs of the Soil. I don't know, that any of our former Navigators have obſerved this in their Accounts of this Place; and therefore am perſuaded, that they are troubled with this Plague only at this Seaſon of the Year; and, in Confidence of this, I gave them a large Quantity of Calavances, and ſhewed them how to ſow them. But, if I ſhould be miſtaken in my Conjecture, and theſe Vermin infeſt the Country the whole Year round, the ſowing theſe, or indeed any other kind of Vegetable, will be of very little Uſe. The Harbour of *Puerto Seguro* was ſo called by Sir *Thomas Candiſh*: It lies about two Leagues to the North-eaſt of Cape *St. Lucas*; and is, when you are in it, a very ſafe and good Port, and extremely convenient for Privateers that are cruiſing for the *Manilla* Ship. The Watering-place is on the North Side, in a ſmall River, which there empties itſelf into the Sea, and may be known by the Appearance of a great many green Canes, which grow in it, and which always preſerve their Verdure, becauſe the Locuſts will not touch them, which is owing to ſomething in thoſe Canes noxious to that Inſect.

It is now requiſite, that I ſhould enter on a particular Deſcription of the People of this Country, for various Reaſons, but particularly theſe: That hitherto they have been little known, have been ſometimes miſrepreſented, and have been particularly conſidered by me, in Lights, which, very probably, no other Man will enjoy, as it is certain no *Engliſhman* ever had them before me. The Men are all tall, ſtrait, and well-ſet, have very large Limbs, with coarſe, black, ſhag Hair, which does not reach down to their Thighs, as a late Navigator reports in his Voyage, nay, deſcends hardly down to their Shoulders. The Women are of a much ſmaller Size, their Hair much longer than the Mens, with which ſome of them almoſt cover their Faces. Some of both Sexes have good Countenances, but of a much darker Complexion than any *Indians* I ſaw in theſe Seas, being of a deep copper Colour. Such is their Simplicity, that the Men go quite naked, without the leaſt thing to cover them, and wear nothing but a few Trifles, which they look upon as Ornaments; ſuch as a Band or Wreath of red and white Silk-graſs, which ſome wear round their Heads, adorned on each Side with a Tuft of Hawks Feathers; others have Pieces of Mother-of-Pearl, and ſmall Shells, tied in their Hair, and hanging about their Necks; ſome have a large Necklace, of ſix or ſeven Strings, compoſed of ſmall red and black Berries; ſome are ſcarified all over their Bodies; others uſe a kind of Paint, ſome beſmearing all over their Faces and Breaſts with black, and others are regularly painted all over, from the Face to the Navel, with black, and from thence, down to their Feet, with red. The Women, on the contrary, wear a thick Fringe of Silk-graſs, reaching from their Middle down to their Heels, and have a Deer-skin careleſly wrapped over their Shoulders; ſome of the better Sort have the Skin of a large Bird wrapped about them in the ſame manner. From what I have been relating, the Reader may reaſonably conclude, that nothing can be more ſavage: But there is a wide Difference between what one would upon the firſt Sight expect to find from them, and what they really are; for all that I could diſcern in their Behaviour towards one another, and their Deportment towards us, they are endued with all the Humanity imaginable; for, all the time we were there, and conſtantly among ſo many Hundreds of them, there was nothing to be perceived but the moſt agreeable Harmony, and moſt affectionate Eſteem for one another, inſomuch that when any of us gave any thing that was eatable to any one of them in particular, he always divided it into ſo many Shares as there were Perſons about him, and commonly reſerved the leaſt for himſelf: They ſeldom walk ſingle, but go moſt by Pairs, Hand-in-Hand: They appear to be perfectly meek; and there is no Indication of Cruelty in either their Aſpects or Actions: They, indeed, ſeem to be pretty haughty towards their Women; which, perhaps, may proceed from too great an Opinion of the Superiority of their own Sex. They lead a careleſs Life, and have every thing in common, ſearching for nothing beyond the neceſſary Supports of Life; by which means they are free from the anxious Troubles to which thoſe are ſubject, amongſt whom Luxury and Pride have got any Footing. They never offered to pilfer or ſteal any of our Tools, or other Utenſils, which might have been of Service to them: So ſtrict was their Honeſty in this particular, that ſome of my Men, who had been cutting Wood all Day, and were coming on board in the Evening, forgetting that they had left their Axes in the Wood; it being obſerved by one of the *Indians*, he immediately ſpoke to the King; who ſent him into the Woods to fetch the Axes; which he did, and delivered them to my People, with an apparent Satisfaction, that they did not go away without them.

In a Word, they paſs their Lives in the pure Simplicity of the earlieſt Ages of the World, before Diſcord and Contention were heard of amongſt Men. They, as yet, have never been tainted with the Converſation of other Nations, which might have perverted their Morals; and have never been irritated by the Oppreſſions of a Conqueror, who, by exerciſing Cruelties over them, might have taught them to delight in Barbarity, as happened to the *Indians* of *Mexico* and *Peru*, who doubtleſs had their Propenſity to Inhumanity greatly augmented by the *Spaniards*, who ſhewed them an horrid Example, by their continual Butcheries of the *Indians*. Hitherto the *Californians* may be ſaid to act according to the Dictates of Nature, whilſt we act contrary to Reaſon. One of our late Navigators has repreſented them as idle and lazy, and jealous of their Women; alleging, that he could never have a Sight of any, but ſuch as were old. I cannot tell how that Gentleman, and his People, treated them; but we found, that they are not ſo by Inclination, but rather from their being under no Neceſſity of doing any thing laborious. And, as to their Women, we have had the Company of ſome Hundreds of young and old every Day, who never made any Scruple of appearing amongſt us; nor did the Men ſhew the leaſt Diſcontent at it: And I may venture to ſay, that we engaged them ſo far by trifling Preſents and Entertainments, that nobody, upon thoſe Terms, need want their Aſſiſtance for the future, tho', perhaps, ſcarce any may have ſo much Proviſions to ſpare, as I had at that time, to regale them.

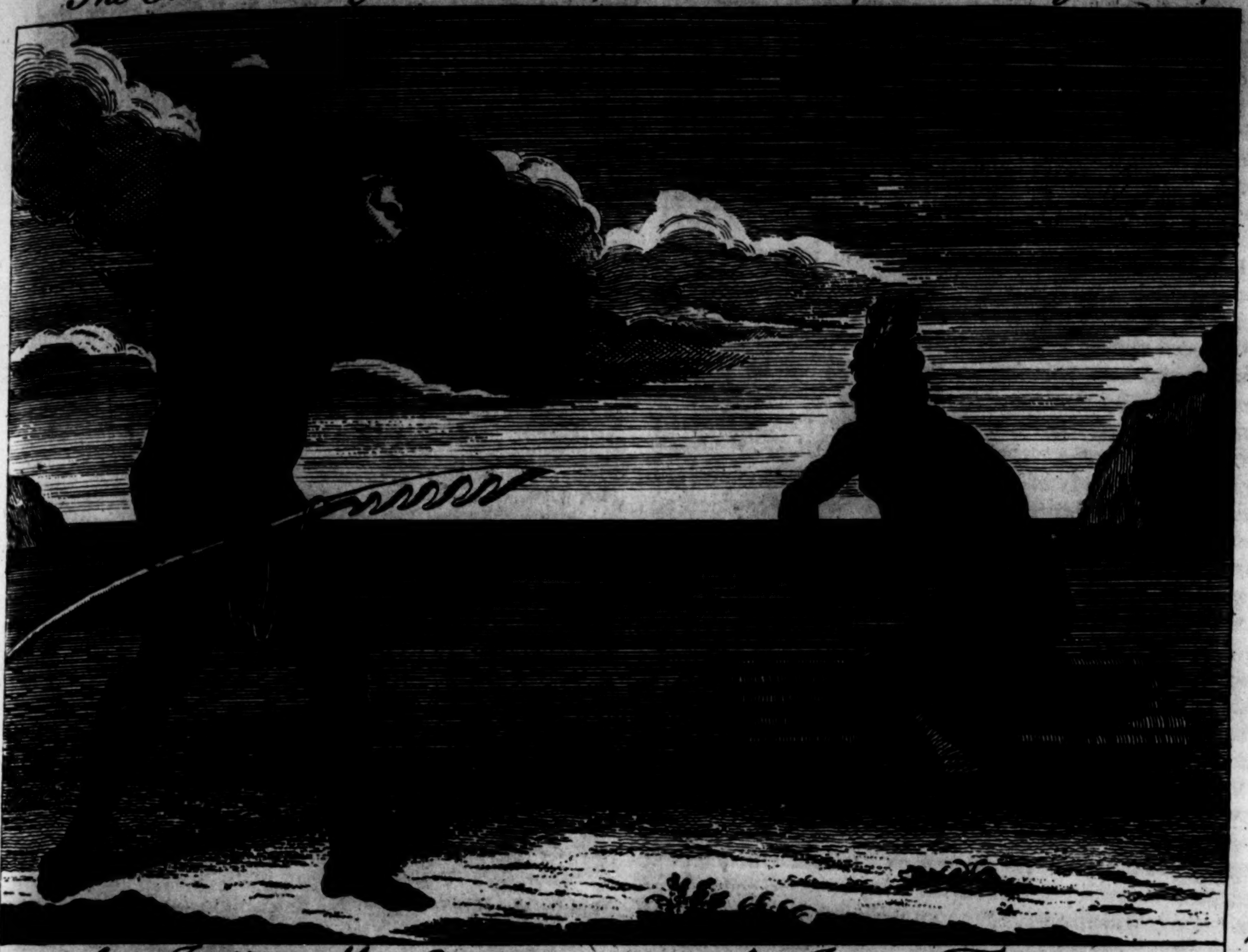
I muſt not omit one thing, in which they would always have the Maſtery of us; and that was in taking Snuff, which they would never permit any of us to uſe, but immediately, upon ſeeing us take a Pinch out of our Boxes, they would run to us, and, with great Earneſtneſs, twiſt it from between our Fingers, and throw it away. What could be the Ground of this Averſion, I cannot conceive, except that ſome of them had ſuffered Death or Sickneſs by taking ſome particular Thing up their Noſes. They likewiſe would never ſuffer me to look through my Proſpective, imagining, that there was ſomething extraordinary in that Piece of Wood, that I had ſo often recourſe to it to look on the Shore; which I did to obſerve how the Work went on on the Beach, they not apprehending, that it was poſſible that my Eyes could receive any Aſſiſtance by it. Their Language is guttural and harſh; they talk a great deal; but we never could ſo much as underſtand one Word. I had once ſome Thoughts of bringing ſome of them away with me, eſpecially the youngeſt, that they might learn our Language, and give us ſome Information of their Country; but, as we could not make them underſtand us, we muſt have ſeemed to them to have taken them away by Force; which perhaps would have exaſperated them: And as this would have been of ill Conſequence to ſuch Ships as may have Occaſion to go thither for the future, I therefore laid aſide all Deſigns of that kind. Their Manner of living in their Dwellings is very mean; for they can ſcarce ſhelter them. And, as to their Diet, I believe it is moſtly Fiſh, which they frequently eat raw: They ſometimes bake it in the Sand. They ſeldom want plenty of this, becauſe the Men, being expert Harponiers, go out to Sea on their Bark-logs. On theſe they venture out, rowing with a double Paddle, and, with their Harpoons, (which are made of a ſort of hard Wood) ſtrike the largeſt Albicores, and bring them in. This was ſurpriſing to us, who had often experienced the Strength of that Fiſh; for, tho' we frequently got hold of them with very large Hooks, made faſt to Eight-ſtrang-rope, we were obliged to bring the Ship to, in order to get them in, and that by the Help of nine or ten Men; which is as much as they can ſometimes do: So that one would imagine, that, as ſoon as the *Indians* had ſtruck one of thoſe on his light Embarkation, it would run away with him, and his Bark-log; but they have ſome Slight in their Way of managing them, that their Reſiſtance and Struggling is in vain. There are hardly any Birds there, except a few Pelicans. When they want to drink, they go up to their Middle in the River, and there take up the Water between their Hands, or ſtoop down, and ſuck it up.

Thus, between Hunting, Fiſhing, Eating, and Sleeping, their Time is divided, which, between their Exerciſes, and the Sparingneſs of their Diet, is prolonged to a great Extent; and many of both Sexes live to a very old Age, as their grey Hairs, and extraordinary Wrinkles, teſtify. Their Bows are about ſix Feet in Length; and their Arrows ſeem to be ſomewhat too long for their Bows. Conſidering they have not Tools requiſite to make ſuch Things, it muſt take them up a great deal of Time. Their Bow-ſtrings are made of Deer-ſinews; and their Arrows are compoſed of an hollow Cane, Two-thirds of their Length; and the other, next the Point, is of an heavy kind of Wood, headed with a Piece of Flint, and ſometimes Agate, the Edges of which are cut in Teeth, like a Saw; and the Point is very ſharp. They made no manner of Shew with their Arms to us; and it was rare to ſee any in the Hands of the Men. The Women commonly go out with them in the Woods, in Search of Game; which is their chief Employment. They have need of ſome Arms to defend them againſt the wild Beaſts; for I ſaw ſome of the Men, who had received great Hurts from them, particularly one old Man, who had his Thigh almoſt torn in Pieces by ſome Tyger or Lion; and his Thigh, tho' quite healed, was frightfully ſcarred. It is impoſſible for me to ſay any thing particular concerning their Government, except this, that it is not very ſtrict or rigorous. When their King went abroad, he uſed to be attended by a Train of a great many Couples, Hand-in-Hand. In this Manner was he coming out of the Woods the firſt Morning after our Arrival, when, perceiving one of my Officers cutting down a Tree, with Silver Lace on his Waiſtcoat, he judged him to be better than ordinary, and immediately took an Opportunity of ſhewing both his Authority, and his Civility, by ordering one of his Attendants to take the Ax from him, and work in his ſtead. In ſhort, in every reſpect, they ſeemed to enjoy perfect Tranquillity, to the Happineſs of which nothing could be added, but the true Knowledge of God, and the right Way of worſhipping him.

As remarkable Accidents naturally ſtrike the Spectator in ſuch a manner, as to create deep Impreſſions, I cannot conclude this Deſcription of the Country and People of *California*, without taking notice of a Circumſtance in relation to their Fiſhing, which ſurpriſed me very much; and, as it is a remarkable Inſtance of their Agility in the Water, and will convey a clearer Idea of their Manner of Fiſhing, than can be given any other way, I lay it before the Reader, to whom, I perſuade myſelf, it will be very agreeable: It happened one Day whilſt I was there, that a monſtrous kind of flat Fiſh was ſunning himſelf on the Surface of the Water, near the Shore. Some of the *Indians*, ſeeing it, went into the Water, to the Number of twelve, and ſurrounded him; which, upon finding himſelf diſturbed, dived; and they went down after him; and it was with much Difficulty that he got from them the firſt time. In an Hour afterwards, he came again; and ſixteen or ſeventeen of the *Indians* ſwam off, and encompaſſed him, as before; and, by tormenting him after their Manner, they, by their Art, inſenſibly drove him aſhore; for all their Strength, put together, was certainly inconſiderable to his, when in the Water. When his Belly touched the Ground, the Force, with which he ſtruck the Beach with his Fins, is not be expreſſed, no more than their Agility about him, who were endeavouring to kill him, for fear the Surf ſhould ſet him afloat again. They at length diſpatched him by the Help of a Dagger, which my Lieutenant *Randall* lent them, who was ſtanding by. They ſoon cut him in Pieces, which were diſtributed to all that came. The Fiſh, by the neareſt Computation, was fourteen or fifteen Feet broad, but not ſo much in Length. Notwithſtanding he was of the flat Kind, he was very thick, and had an hideous large Mouth. But it is now time to return to our Voyage.

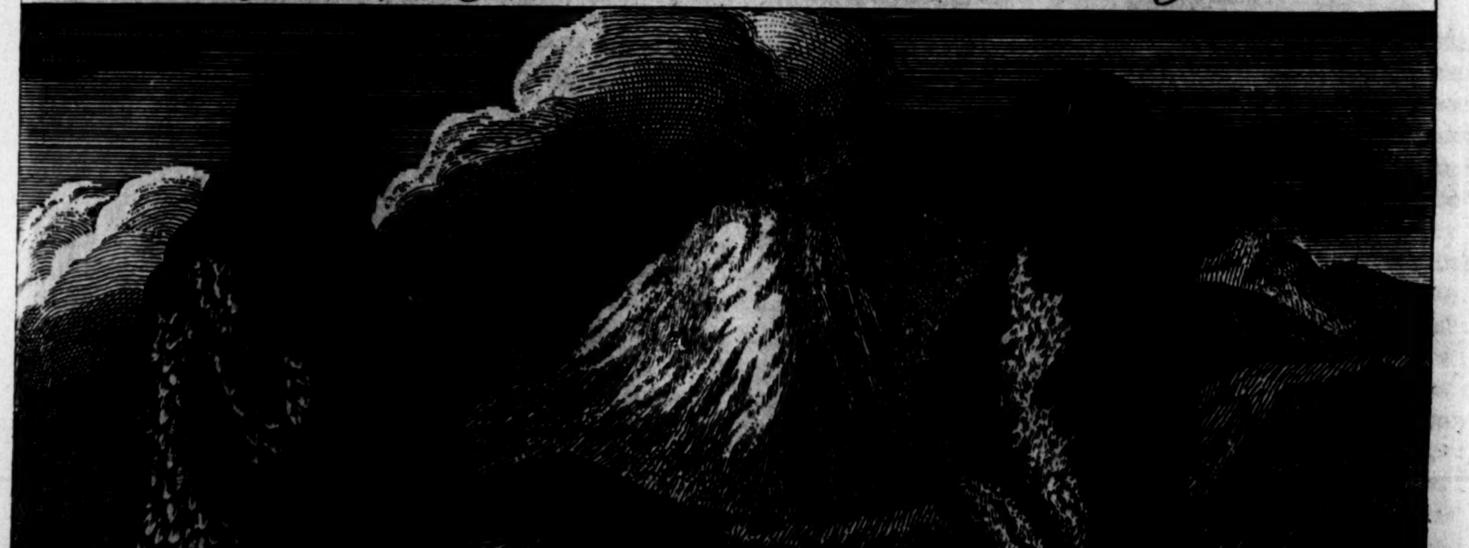
29. On *Auguſt* 18. 1721, we ſailed from *Puerto Seguro* for *Canton* in *China*, as the Place where it was moſt likely

The Inhabitants of CALIFORNIA *in their respective Dresses.* Vol. I. p. 234.



An Indian Man returned from Fishing.

An Indian Fishing on his Bark-Log.



An Indian Woman of Distinction covered wth the Skin of a Bird in its Feathers.

An Indian Woman in the ordinary Deer Skin Dreſs.

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to find *Engliſh* Ships, on board which we might ſecure our Paſſage home. Our Ship was in a very bad Condition, the Length of our Voyage conſidered, ſince our Sails and Rigging were ſo thin and rotten, that if, in this very long Paſſage, any Accident had befallen us, either in our Maſts or Sails, it would have gone very hard with us, having no Change of either, and being at ſuch a dreadful Diſtance from any Place, where we might hope for Relief; but, as this was a Caſe of Neceſſity, we were obliged to run all Hazards, and to endeavour, by Care and Induſtry, to ſupply thoſe Deficiencies, which were not to be remedied any other Way: And, as we had already happily got over many Difficulties, that ſeemed unſurmountable in their Proſpect, it filled us with Hopes, that we ſhould likewiſe get over theſe; which, with the pleaſing Expectation of reaching our native Shore, gave us Spirits enough to undertake ſo tedious a Navigation in ſo weak and comfortleſs a Condition; for, beſides the bad State of our Ship, we were now ſo thinly manned, that, without the Aſſiſtance of our Negroes, it would ſcarce have been poſſible for us to have managed the Veſſel, there not being now thirty white Faces amongſt us: So much had untoward Accidents reduced our Crew!

On the 21ſt, we diſcovered an Iſland, bearing Weſt South-weſt, 110 Leagues diſtant from Cape *St. Lubas*: I endeavoured to get in with it, but could not approach it nearer than the Diſtance of two Leagues; and, the Night coming on, and it blowing very freſh, I did not think it proper to loſe ſo much Way, as we might in the Night, by lying-by, or plying in, for it. I judged it to be ſeven or eight Leagues in Circumference; on the South-weſt of it there appeared a large Bay, with an high Rock in the Middle of it. This Iſle my People called *Shelvocke*'s Iſland, after my Name. From hence we ſteered down gradually, into the Parallel of 13° North, but had our Way ſtopped for two or three Days by Weſterly Winds, which none could ever have expected in ſuch Latitudes, and at a Diſtance of 5 or 600 Leagues from any Land. We grew impatient at ſuch an uncommon Delay, and began to dread meeting with many ſuch contrary Winds in this Paſſage; we made ſeveral Conjectures on what might be the Cauſe of it, but none that were very probable; but the Trade-wind prevailing again, we kept in the Tract of 13° North, except when we judged ourſelves to be near the Sholes of *St. Bartholomew*, and then haled a Degree more Northwardly, and ſo continued for a Run of about ſixty or ſeventy Leagues. A Fortnight after we had left *California*, my People, who had hitherto enjoyed an uninterrupted State of Health, began to be afflicted with a Sickneſs which particularly affected their Stomachs, which was, undoubtedly, owing to the Quantities of Sweetmeats they were continually devouring; and alſo to our common Food, Puddings made of very coarſe Flour, and Sweetmeats, and ſalt Water inſtead of freſh to moiſten them; and dried Beef, the beſt Part of which was deſtroyed by Ants, Cockroches, and other Vermin. We could not afford freſh Water to boil the Kettle once in the whole Paſſage; ſo that this way of living brought the Scurvy and other Diſtempers upon us, which was a very melancholy State. This Sickneſs increaſed upon us every Day, inſomuch that, out of our ſmall Number, we buried two in one Day, which were *John Popple ſtone*, the Armourer, and the Carpenter's Mate; beſides whom, the Carpenter, Gunner, and ſeveral others, together with ſome of our beſt Negroes, died.

We now laboured under the greateſt Misfortunes that could happen to us, the greateſt Part of my People being diſabled, and my Ship being very leaky; and we had juſt at this time the ill Luck to have one of our Pumps ſplit, and rendered uſeleſs: Under theſe unhappy Circumſtances were we puſhed forward by favourable Gales, till we came within eighty Leagues of *Guam*, one of the *Ladrone* Iſlands, where we met with diſmal Weather, tempeſtuous Winds, varying round the Compaſs: This was the more frightful to us, as we were not in a Condition of helping ourſelves, there not being above ſix or ſeven that were able to do any Work, though Neceſſity obliged even thoſe that were extremely low and weak to lend what Help they could. Theſe boiſterous Gales had raiſed a Sea, wherein our Ship laboured ſo much, that the Knee of her Head, and the whole Beak-head, became looſe; ſo that the Bowſprit fetched away, and played with the Motion of the Ship, continued ſo to do all the reſt of the Time we were at Sea: Our Main-maſt ſtood for ſome time without Shrouds on the Larboard-ſide, till we could unlay our beſt Cable to make more, having knotted and ſpliced the old ones, till our Labour was in vain. In the midſt of this I was taken violently ill, and had no Expectation of living much longer, till the Gout, ſeizing me, gave me ſome painful Hopes of the Continuance of my Life. In the Beginning of *October*, we made the Iſland of *Guam*, 100 Leagues ſhort of Captain *Rogers*'s Account, who makes 105° Difference of Longitude between this and Cape *St. Lucas*, and we did not make quite 100°. We paſſed between the forementioned Iſle and *Serpana*, and ſaw ſeveral flying Proes, but none came near us that Day: We had heavy ſqually Weather, which obliged me to keep the Deck, where, in the Rain, I caught a Cold, which threw me into a worſe Condition than before, in which I continued all the Time I was in *China*. The Iſland of *Guam* appears very green, and is of a moderate Height; the Proſpect of Land was very agreeable to us, after haveing run ſo great a Length; and we could, with the greateſt Pleaſure, have ſtopped to have purchaſed ſome Refreſhments of Fruits, ſuch as Lemons, *Seville* Oranges, *&c.* which would have been very good for ſuch of us as had the Scurvy: But tho' we were upon the Point of periſhing, we dared not venture in, for fear the Inhabitants ſhould take the Advantage of our Weakneſs, to make ſome Attempt upon us. The Night after we had ſeen the Iſland of *Guam*, we had our Main-top-ſail ſplit, which, as it happened, proved no Loſs of Way; for, during ſeveral Days afterwards, we had ſuch Weather, that we could bear no more than our lower Canvas, which ſufficiently tried the Strength of our Ship, which was now very much impaired. I ſhaped my Courſe from *Guam* for the Iſland of *Formoſa*, to which we had a very long Voyage, and of courſe a very melancholy one, ſince the Sickneſs increaſed daily; ſo that, by *November* 3. when we had Sight of that Iſland, the Ship and Ship's Company were both in a manner worn out. The next Day, we doubled the South Cape of that Iſland, and paſſed within a League of the Rocks of *Vele Rete*, and by them were ſenſible of a very ſtrong Current. The Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Formoſa*, from the Time they had Sight of our Veſſel, made Fires continually along the Coaſt; but we were ſo weak, that we did not think it prudent to put into any of their Harbours. We directed our Courſe from thence for the neighbouring Coaſt of *China*; and, on the 6th, found ourſelves at the Mouth of the River *Loma*, where we had twelve Fathom Water. Here we ſaw abundance of Fiſhing-boats, but, the Weather proving hazy, we could not plainly diſcover whereabouts we were; and therefore uſed all the Methods we could deviſe, to get ſome of the Fiſhermen on board, who might pilot us to *Macao*; but, as we neither underſtood them, nor they us, we ſoon found that was impracticable; and therefore were forced to keep the Land cloſe aboard all Day, and come to an Anchor every Evening; which was a mighty Fatigue to our Ship's Company, who were ſo univerſally down with the Diſtemper reigning amongſt us, that it was as much as we could do to find any body to ſteer the Ship: Thus we were four Days loſt in the Miſt, and ſurpriſed at the Sight of a great many Iſlands, which were omitted in our Charts, on ſome of which we ſaw large Fortifications: This made us believe, that the Current had carried us to the Southward of our Port, and ſuggeſted to us every thing that might caſt us down; for, though the Sea was covered with Fiſhing-barks, we could not find any of them that could ſet us right, or give us any Directions we could underſtand. On the 10th, towards the Evening, as we were paſſing thro' a very narrow Chanel, between a Couple of Iſlands, a Fiſherman that was near us, obſerving, by our manner of working, that we were afraid to venture thro', made Signs to us with his Cap to bring to, till he came up with us: When he came, he ſeemed to underſtand, in general, that we inquired of him about the Situation of *Macao*; and therefore made Signs to us, that he would conduct us thither, if we would give him as many Pieces of Silver, as he counted little Fiſh out of his Baſket, which amounted to forty: We accordingly counted out forty

Dollars in an Hat, and gave them to him; upon which he came into the Ship, and took us in Charge, and carried us through the narrow Chanel, and, at Sun-ſet, brought us to an Anchor: The next Morning we weighed again, and kept the Main-land of *China* cloſe aboard; and, at Noon, he brought us abreaſt of *Pulo Lantoon*, from whence we could ſee two *Engliſh* Ships under Sail, who were paſſing by the Iſland of *Macao*, in their Way from the River of *Canton*. They took no Notice of us, and kept on their Way: This made us very uneaſy, fearing that we ſhould miſs of a Paſſage to *England* this Seaſon. The next Day, in the Aſternoon, we anchored in the Road of *Macao*, near the Entrance of the River of *Canton*, which we never ſhould have found out by any of our Charts. I much admire at the Incorrectneſs with which theſe Coaſts are laid down to the Eaſtward of *Pulo Lantoon*; for there runs a Cluſter of Iſlands, extending upwards of twenty Leagues, which are not in the leaſt taken notice of by our Hydrographers; nor did I ever meet with any Navigator that knew any thing of them. The Coaſt of *China*, near them, is rocky, mountainous, and barren; but, as to the particular Situation of theſe Iſles, my Sickneſs hindered all the Obſervation I ſhould have made of them. *Macao* being a Place where Ships always ſtop for a Pilot to carry them up the River of *Canton*, I ſent an Officer with a Compliment to the Governor, and with Orders to bring off a Pilot with him; but I heard nothing of him till the next Morning, which gave me many diſquiet Apprehenſions.

Early the next Morning, there came off a great many of the *Succeſs*'s People; I was amazed at the Sight of them, and was at firſt very glad to ſee them; but my Mind changed a little when I heard their Story; wherein they acquainted me, that their Commander *Clipperton* had left me deſignedly; that they went directly to *Guam*, one of the *Ladrone* Iſlands, where they were very well refreſhed and ſupplied with Proviſions; that their Captain there ſold the Governor a great Quantity of Powder and Shot, and ſeveral other valuable Things; and permitted the Marquis of *Villa Rocha* to go aſhore, with Mr. *Godfrey* the Agent, and a marine Officer, who went to ſettle the Accounts. As ſoon as they were landed, and the Boat came off again, Captain *Clipperton* weighed with his Ship, in order to attack a Ship of twenty Guns from *Manilla*, which had lain quietly in the Road with them all the time till now: In approaching her, he ran his Ship upon the Rocks, and ſoon found the Enemy was prepared; for they had raiſed two Batteries, of half the Ship's Guns, to receive him. I am almoſt aſhamed to relate this Man's Behaviour in this Skirmiſh; for *Clipperton*, perceiving his Caſe deſperate, and the Loſs of his Ship paſt Redemption, had recourſe to his Caſe of Brandy for a Supply of Spirits, to animate him in making a vigorous Defence; but he took ſo abundantly of that intoxicating Cordial, that he, in an inſtant, became dead-drunk, tumbled down on the Deck, and ſnored out his Time in a beaſtly Manner, whilſt his firſt Lieutenant, *Daviſon*, undertook the Command of the Ship, which he bravely executed till he was killed. He was ſucceeded by Captain *Cooke*, their ſecond Lieutenant, who made a gallant Reſiſtance, and got the Ship aſloat again, after ſhe had lain on the Rock forty-eight Hours, all which Time *Clipperton* had been loſt between ſleeping, and drinking as faſt as he waked; ſo that he did not recover himſelf, till they were out at Sea. Thus they loſt their Priſoner the Marquis *de la Villa Rocha*, and alſo Mr. *Godfrey*, the Agent-general, and one of their Marine Officers; which gave the Ship's Company ſuch a Diſtaſte of *Clipperton*, that they would not ſuffer him to have the Command of them, but locked him up in his Cabin, and intreated Captain *Cooke* to take the Command of the Ship. They endured bad Weather between *Guam* and *Amoy*, in *China*, whither they got with much Difficulty: There they made a Dividend of all they had taken, half to the Owners, and half to the Ship's Company. From thence Captain *Clipperton* deſigned for the Streights of *Malacca*; but his People, fearing he had no good Intention in his Head, would go no farther than *Macao*, that being a Chriſtian Port. They told me, the Gentlemen Adventurers in *England* were much obliged to the Governor of this Place; who, being informed that *Clipperton* could not be prevailed on to remit their Effects Home in the *Engliſh* Ships lying at *Canton*, obliged him to ſend what belonged to them in one of their own Ships, which was ready to depart for *Lisbon*: There he ſold his Ship the *Succeſs* for about 1000 *l.* Sterling. I muſt obſerve on this Paſſage, that whatever theſe Officers told him, in Excuſe of themſelves, the Facts were quite otherwiſe, as appears in the foregoing Section; where it is fully ſhewn, that Captain *Clipperton* ſent the Money to the Owners of his own Motive, and would have brought the Ship Home, if he had not been hindered. But to return to the Captain's Relation. On the 12th, about Noon, a Pilot came off to us, and we immediately weighed, and entered the River of *Canton*, being aſſured, that there ſtill remained ſome *European* Ships at *Wampo*, where they lie in this River, about ten Miles ſhort of the City of *Canton*. We were four Days plying up to the Road, between the lower Bars; where, finding the *Bonetta* and *Haſtings*, two *Engliſh Indian* Traders, I anchored, and ſent an Officer, to deſire them to inſtruct us how to behave ourſelves in this Port, and to acquaint me with the Cuſtoms of it: To which they anſwered, that ſince the *Cadogan* and *Francis*, two *European Engliſh* Ships, were lying at *Wampo*, they would adviſe me to ſend up to their Factories at *Canton*, to acquaint them of our Arrival, and the Reaſons which obliged me to come thither: Which I accordingly did the next Day, and borrowed one of their Flags the next Day, to hoiſt in our Boat, without which we ſhould have met with great Trouble from the *Hoppomen*, or Cuſtom-houſe Officers. I ſent, by my Officer, Letters to the Captains of the *Engliſh* Ships, ſignifying the Neceſſity which forced me into thoſe Parts; and deſired they would, as far as in them lay, ſuccour and protect us; aſſuring them, that I acted by virtue of his Majeſty's Commiſſion, which I alſo ſent to them, that they might peruſe it. I weighed the next Morning, and worked up to *Wampo*, where I found, beſides two *Engliſh* Ships, three *French* ones, *viz.* the *Galatea*, the *Prince of Conti*, and the *Maur*; and alſo one *Oſtender*, and a ſmall Ship from *Manilla*. Here I was in Hopes that all my Troubles would have ended, and that I ſhould have had full Leiſure to refreſh myſelf after ſo many and great Fatigues: But I ſoon found, that theſe Expectations were very ill-grounded; and that, after all the Perils from which I had eſcaped, I was to fall into that which is leaſt to be endured, I mean Perils amongſt falſe Brethren.

30. A moſt unlucky Accident, which happened the very ſame Evening that we anchored at *Wampo*, gave Birth to my Troubles in *India*, though, with reſpect to me, it was not only unforeſeen, but abſolutely unavoidable, and the pure Effects of that Eagerneſs, which poſſeſſed all the Ship's Company, to get out of this Part of the World at any rate. If there had been any Government among the *Engliſh* ſettled here, ſo as that my Authority might have been ſupported, undoubtedly this unlucky Buſineſs never would have fallen out; but, as it was, it could be imputed to nothing, but the Want of ſuch an Eſtabliſhment. The Thing, in few Words, fell out thus: One of my Men, whoſe Name was *David Griffith*, being in an Hurry to remove his Effects on board the *Bonetta*'s Boat, in which he was, happened to be chaſed by an *Hoppo* or Cuſtom-houſe Boat. The Fellow, being a little in Liquor, and fearing they would take what Silver he had from him, fired a Muſquet at them, and killed an *Hoppoman* or Cuſtom-houſe Officer. Early the next Morning, the Corpſe was laid at the Door of the *Engliſh* Factories; and there were *Chineſe* Officers lying in Watch for the firſt *Engliſhman* that came out. It happened, that a Supercargo belonging to the *Bonetta* was one of the firſt; and they immediately ſeized on him, carried him away, and afterwards led him about the Suburbs of *Canton* in Chains. All that could be ſaid or done by the moſt conſiderable of the *Chineſe* Merchants, who were Correſpondents with the *Engliſh*, availed nothing. In the mean time, my Man, who had committed the Fact, and another, were put in Irons on board the *Francis*, which was *chopped*, that is, ſeized, till the Man guilty of the Crime was delivered to them; and, when he was put into their Hands, and carried to *Canton* in Chains, the Supercargo was releaſed. I had not been here many Days, before I was deſerted by all my Officers and Ship's Company, who were continually employed in removing their Effects from on board my Ship, to ſome of the

European, contrary to my Knowledge, then confined to my Bed. My Officers were engaging the *Indian* Gentlemen in their Intereſt, and had left my Son, with a few Negroes, to look after my Ship, and defend my Effects, which I thought on the Brink of falling into the bottomleſs Pit of *Chineſe* Avarice. In ſhort, the Ship's Company had ſo many Ways of diſpoſing of their Effects, that it was impoſſible to oblige them to do what I ſhould have thought Juſtice to the Gentlemen in *England*. In few Words, they were all ſoon recovered of their Illneſs, by the Aſſiſtance they met with, and were become their own Maſters. There were no Magiſtrates to appeal to onſhore, that would have done me ſo much Service, as to have obliged them to keep to their own Ship; and my Brother Officers, commanding the *Engliſh* Ships, could not, through Fear of a Miſrepreſentation of their Actions to the *India* Company by their Supercargoes, afford me ſuch an Help, as, perhaps, they would have been inclined to, through a Senſe of their Duty. But the Gentlemen, who preſided over the Trade, ſo little regarded it, that they had a mind to refuſe me a Paſſage in one of their Ships; and, in Effect, I was treated by them, as one Enemy would treat another in a neutral Port; for as ſuch they looked upon me, for offering to come within the *Eaſt India* Company's Limits, without conſidering the Neceſſities that forced me to commit that Treſpaſs.

The Captains *Hill* and *Newſham*, when they came to ſee me, were aſtoniſhed at the ruinous Appearance of my Ship, and could ſcarce think it was poſſible ſhe ſhould have undertaken ſo long a Stretch. The Rottenneſs of our Cordage, and the Raggedneſs of our Sails, filled them with Admiration and Pity of my Condition; inſomuch that, at their firſt Viſit, when I had given them a ſhort Hiſtory of my Voyage, and deſired they would receive my Officers and Ship's Company, with their Effects, they anſwered, That, ſince they plainly ſaw my Ship was in no Condition to ſtir any farther, upon Payment of our Paſſages, they would entertain us, as ſoon as we pleaſed. This I depended upon, and expected no further Trouble, than to remove ourſelves at any time; but I found that I had, through Ignorance, applied to the wrong Perſons; for the Supercargoes were angry, that I had not ſent to them, who, when aſhore, are the chief Men, tho' they are only Paſſengers when aboard; ſo that I was quite neglected, and the *Engliſh* Captains ordered to fall down with their Ships five or ſix Miles below us. Thus was I left deſtitute, in the Company of five foreign Ships, who, ſeeing that my own Countrymen were ſo careleſs of me, were ſo kind as to offer me their Service, and aſſiſted me with what they could: And, had it not been for them, I do not know but that I might have ſuffered to the laſt degree; for I was under perpetual Apprehenſions, that the *Chineſe* had a Deſign to ſeize my Ship. When the Murder of the Cuſtom-houſe Officer was, in a manner, forgot, there was an outrageous Action committed by what they call a *Little Mandarin*, who, at the Beginning of theſe Troubles, had Warrants given him to take all the *Engliſh* he ſhould meet; which he neglected, till all was over: But, paſſing by the *European* Factories, he ordered his Attendants to ſeize on all the *Engliſh* they ſaw in the Shops thereabouts; and accordingly they took nine or ten, as well *French* as *Engliſh*, and carried them away, with Halters about their Necks, to the *Chantock*'s or Viceroy's Palace in the City. Upon this, there was Application made to the *Hoppo*; who repreſented Matters to the *Chantock* in favour of the injured *Europeans*: Upon which, the Mandarin, who was guilty of this Violence, was ſent for; and he, being unable to vindicate himſelf, was degraded from his Poſt, bamboo'd, which is a ſevere Puniſhment uſed in moſt of the Eaſtern Governments, and rendered incapable of acting again; and the *Europeans* directly diſcharged. However, in the mean time, the *Engliſh* ſeem to me to be tyrannized over by the *Chineſe*, and expoſed to the Caprices of every Magiſtrate; which made me the more urgent to be on board one of the *European* Ships: And, as I had now diſcovered my Miſtake in addreſſing the Captains, which had diſguſted the Supercargoes, I ſent a Letter to them, not to deſire, but to demand, a Paſſage for me, my Officers, and Ship's Company; which, I was ſenſible, they could not refuſe: And indeed they did not; but their Condeſcenſion was accompanied with a Charge to the *India* Captains, not to receive any thing belonging to us, except it was conſigned to the *Eaſt India* Company in *England*. I was now informed of the *Hoppo*'s Demand for Anchorage in the River. I had been long in Suſpenſe upon that Head, and all along apprehended, that I ſhould have ſome extravagant Exaction impoſed upon me: And indeed ſo it happened; for they demanded 6000 *Tabel*; and, to quicken me in the Payment of it, and to ſhew me they were in Earneſt, there was a Penalty annexed to this Extortion, of 500 additional *Tabel*, for every Day we failed in the Payment. In ſhort, there was no means by which I could evade this unconſcionable Impoſition. In vain I ſhewed the *Hoppo* my Commiſſion, which was alſo read in the *Chineſe* Tongue to him; and to as little Purpoſe did I alſo remonſtrate, that I came with no other Deſign, than to obtain a Paſſage home in one of our Country Ships, my own being incapable of going farther. It was inſiſted upon, though it was but a Day before I could poſſibly ſend that Sum up, I ſhould add 500 *Tabel* for Neglect of Payment; ſo that they received from me 6500 *Tabel*, 2166 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* Sterling; which was about ſix times as much as the *Cadogan* paid, which was the largeſt *Engliſh* Ship there, and meaſured a third more than mine. I ſoon after ſold her for 2000 *Tabel*; which Money, and the reſt of my Effects, were conſigned to the *India* Company: And I prevailed with moſt of my Officers and Ship's Company to take their Paſſages in the *Engliſh* homeward-bound Ships.

It cannot be expected, conſidering the ſhort Stay I made here, the bad State of Health I was in, and the Troubles I met with during that Space, I ſay, theſe Circumſtances being conſidered, it cannot be expected, that I ſhould be able to give any tolerable Account of this Place, from my own Obſervation; and, to copy others, would be inconſiſtent with the Deſign of this Work. I ſhall content myſelf therefore with obſerving, that, at the time I was there, the *Engliſh* had no ſettled Factory at *Canton*, but were only permitted to hire large Houſes, or, as they are called in the Language of the Country, *Hongs*, with convenient Warehouſes adjoining, to receive their Goods before they are ſhipped off; and, when this is done, they pay the Proprietors their Rent, and take other Warehouſes, if they think proper, the next time they have Occaſion for them. The Buſineſs I had to tranſact kept me, notwithſtanding the utmoſt Diligence I could uſe, in a conſtant Hurry, till the Ships were ready to depart, which was in *December* 1721; at which time, heartily tired of the Country, and the Uſage I had met with, I ſailed in the *Cadogan*, Captain *John Hill*, in Company with the *Francis*, Captain *Newſham*, who, ſailing better than we did, left us as ſoon as we got out to Sea. Captain *Hill*, finding his Ship very tender, put into *Batavia*, to bring her into a better Trim. At *Batavia* we continued about ten Days; but I can give no particular Deſcription of this Place, being, at that time, not able to ſtand on my Legs, and was abroad but twice in a Coach to take the Air two or three Miles out of the City; in which little Tour we had a great Variety of very beautiful Proſpects of fine Country-ſeats and Gardens: And indeed every thing round us carried a Shew of the greateſt Induſtry. As to the City itſelf, the Buildings are, in general, very handſome, which form very regular Streets, having Canals running through moſt of them, with Trees planted on each Side of them; ſo that this City may be juſtly called a fine Place. But, I confeſs, the Sight is the only Senſe that is gratified here; for, when the Tide is low in the Canals, they ſmell very offenſively, and breed great Numbers of Muſkitoes; which are more troubleſome here, than ever I felt them in any other Part of the World. A great Part of the Inhabitants of *Batavia* are *Chineſe*, who are remarkable there for wearing their antient *Chineſe* Dreſs, with their Hair rolled up in ſuch a manner, that there is no great Difference between the Mens Appearance and the Womens: Ever ſince the Revolution in *China*, the *Tartarian* Dreſs has been impoſed upon the whole Kingdom, which was not effected without great Bloodſhed; for many of the *Chineſe* were ſo ſuperſtitiouſly fond of their old Modes, that they unaccountably choſe the Loſs of Life, rather than the Loſs of their Hair, it being the *Tartarian* Cuſtom to ſhave their Heads all over, except the Crown, from whence hangs a long Lock, which they plat in much ſuch a manner as we do a Thong. The *Dutch* have laid hold of this ſuperſtitious Folly of thoſe *Chineſe*, who live under their Protection, and exact from all the Men a Poll-tax, of a Dollar a Month, for the Liberty of wearing their Hair, which, if they contented themſelves with a Dollar a Year, would amount to a conſiderable Revenue.

While we were at *Batavia*, Captain *Hill* was informed, that there were ſeveral Pirates in theſe Seas: He therefore joined the *Dutch* homeward-bound Fleet in *Bantam* Bay. The *Dutch* Commodore promiſed to aſſiſt Captain *Hill* in Wooding and Watering at *Mew* Iſland, the Water at *Batavia* being very bad. We met the *Francis* in the Streights of *Sunda*, who, we imagined, had been a great Way a-head of us. Upon our joining Captain *Newſham*, the *Dutch* made it a Pretence to leave us before we had got the Length of *Mew* Iſland; and Captain *Newſham* alſo deſerted us the ſame Evening; ſo that we were left by ourſelves. We continued at *Mew* Iſland ſix or ſeven Days, during which time ſeveral Boats came from *Prince's* Iſland, and brought us Turtle, Cocoa-nut, Pine-apples, and other Fruits: Some of theſe informed us, that there had been two or three Ships at this Iſland a few Days before us, which gave us ſome Uneaſineſs, not knowing what they could be: Some of the People, having ſeen ſome wild Cattle grazing near the Iſland, went on ſhore to kill them; but, before they had advanced near enough, they diſcovered a ſmall Tyger, and a Tract of an old one, upon which they retired to the Boat. From *Mew* Iſland we had a very pleaſant Paſſage to and about the Cape of *Good Hope*, which, in my Opinion, was greatly owing to Captain *Hill*'s good Conduct, in coming in with the Land betimes; I mean, upon the Eaſtermoſt Part of the Bank; and keeping a moderate Diſtance from the Land; I cannot be poſitive, but I think we never exceeded a Degree, generally leſs, and ſometimes even made the Land. The three Voyages I have been this Way, I had the good Fortune of being with Gentlemen who proceeded in the ſame manner as Captain *Hill* did, and with the like Succeſs. The ſmall Experience of my own before, and an Inſtance or two in this laſt Paſſage, makes me of Opinion, that there is too much Caution uſed in coming in with the Land in Soundings; for it is known, that the ſevereſt Gales in this Part reign from the North-weſt to the South-weſt; the firſt Quarter blows off from the Land, and the other is a bold Wind on the Coaſt; and it is certain, that the Wind out of the Sea has ſcarce ever been obſerved to blow ſtrong for any time, and never home to the Shore. This I have been informed of, both by *Engliſh* and *Dutchmen*, of greater Experience than myſelf in thoſe Parts of the World. I don't remember, that, in all the time we were approaching the Cape of *Good Hope*, we took in our Top-ſails above once for a Squall, which was over in an Hour's time; and another time, being threatened by the Appearance of bad Weather, Captain *Hill* made all the requiſite Preparations to receive it; which done, he ſtood in for the Land, under Hopes of avoiding the ſeemingly approaching Storm; and he was undoubtedly right in his Judgment; for, in a few Hours, we had fair Weather, a favourable Gale, and all our ſmall Sails ſet; and, at the ſame time, there remained a great Appearance of foul Weather to the Southward, and ſo continued to do for ſeveral Days afterwards. This I ſhould not have obſerved, did not what I am going to relate evidently demonſtrate, that it blows hard Weſterly ſome Diſtance from the Land, when you have fair Weather nearer the Shore. I have obſerved before, that the *Francis*, and *Dutch* Ships, had ſeven Days Advantage of us, by leaving us in the Streights of *Sunda*; notwithſtanding which, we gained the Cape as many Days before the *Francis* did, altho', at the ſame time, ſhe ſailed very conſiderably better than we; and, as to the *Dutch* Ships, there was no Shew of their Arrival when we left the Cape. The Officers of our Ship, by comparing their Accounts with ſome of the Gentlemen belonging to the *Francis*, found that ſhe had ſuffered a great deal of bad Weather; whilſt we, who were within ten Leagues, or thereabouts, to the Northward of them, or nearer Shore, enjoyed fine pleaſant Weather, and fair Wind, continually, till we arrived in *Table Bay*, which we did the latter End of *March* 1722. This I ſhould think of ſufficient Weight to induce others to purſue the ſame Tract. We found here Governor *Boon*, in the *London Eaſt Indiaman*, and others, bound for *England*. From the Cape of *Good Hope* we had an agreeable Paſſage to *St. Helena*, and from thence to *England*. We made the Land's End the latter End of *July*; and, being come into the *Britiſh* Chanel, met with briſk Gales from the Weſtern Quarters, with thick foggy Weather. The 30th, in the Evening, we anchored under *Dungeneſs*; and, the ſame Night, ſome of the Supercargoes and Paſſengers, and myſelf, hired a ſmall Veſſel to carry us to *Dover*, where we arrived early the next Morning, and, the ſame Day, proceeded towards *London*, where we arrived the 1ſt of *Auguſt* following. Thus ended a long fatiguing Voyage, of three Years, ſeven Months, and eleven Days, after having ſailed conſiderably more than round the Circumference of the Globe; and having undergone a great Variety of Troubles and Hardſhips, both by Sea and Land, and made ſome Diſcoveries, which, it is hoped, are worthy the Notice of the Curious.

31. As we have been obliged to take up a great deal of Room in giving the Reader the Hiſtory of this Voyage, we ſhall be as ſuccinct as poſſible in our Remarks upon it, though there are many Things which might juſtify a fuller and more copious Criticiſm on the Captain's Conduct. It is very clear, from the Whole of this Relation, that the Captain's Work was intended to be what we have repreſented it, *viz.* An Apology for his own Behaviour; which was occaſioned by a Law-ſuit commenced by the Proprietors againſt him upon his Return home. This created a great Noiſe in the World, and People gave their Opinions very freely, without, perhaps, entering into the Merits of the Cauſe. Captain *Shelvocke*, therefore, wrote this Book to bring the Affair before the Public, and to leave, for the Judgment of Poſterity, his State of his own Caſe. It muſt be confeſſed, that he has put it into a very fair Light, and ſhewn a great deal of Skill and Addreſs in finiſhing, to the very utmoſt, ſuch Parts of the Picture as are likely to ſtrike the Reader moſt, and to give him ſtrong Impreſſions in the Captain's Favour. Such are the Mutinies that fell out in the Beginning of the Voyage; the tedious, troubleſome, and melancholy Sojournment in the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*; the Diligence, Skill, and Care, he ſhewed in getting a Bark framed out of the Wreck, and carrying off in it ſuch a Body of People, almoſt againſt their Conſent, at leaſt without their Aſſiſtance; and many more, which the Reader will eaſily diſcern, without my pointing them out. But Captain *Betagh*, being returned from the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, thought it requiſite, for his own Juſtification, to attack Captain *Shelvocke*'s Account almoſt in every Part of it, as we have already ſhewn; all which Remarks tend to ſupport a Charge which falls naturally under the three following Heads:

The firſt is, that the Diſputes which happened amongſt the Crew were of his own contriving and fomenting; in Proof of which, he alleges, that *Matthew Stewart*, who was at the Head of all theſe Mutinies, was abſolutely *Shelvocke*'s Creature. He takes notice likewiſe, that this ſeditious Temper of his Crew ſerves for a general Excuſe for every wrong Step taken through the Voyage. It was an Attempt of his Men to return to *England*, that made him do many ſtrange Things at firſt ſetting out. At *St. Catharine's*, he ſays, that they forced him to ſign the new Articles, or elſe they would have run away with the Ship. Going into *Chiloe*, he ſays, was the Mens Fault, where they ſo narrowly eſcaped a Shipwreck. At going into *Conception*, a little to Leeward, he ſays the ſame. At *Fernandez*, he ſays, they forced him to divide the Owners Money, and enter upon the new *Jamaica* Diſcipline. Upon meeting *Clipperton*, he ſays, it was his Men demanded a Confirmation of the firſt Articles with the Owners, after they had twice made new ones for themſelves. When he left the four Men aboard the Bark, where they were murdered, he ſays, his People would not let him bring-to till ſhe came up; yet it was theſe very Men, that profeſſed themſelves willing to obey him in every thing, when he put Captain *Hatley* on board the *Mercury*, and treated with Scorn the Objections made to his Conduct, though founded in a Deſire of preſerving them from the bad Effects of it: It was theſe Men, alſo, who thanked him for their Preſervation at *Juan Fernandez*; though, if ſome of them may be believed upon their Oaths, they might, with full as much Reaſon, have thanked him for their Shipwreck; and, after all, it was theſe very People that made him a Preſent of an Iſland in his Paſſage home, and obſtinately perſiſted in calling it by the Name of a Captain they neither loved nor feared. Is not this very ſtrange, and does it not prove, that theſe Accounts are very inconſiſtent, and, conſequently, deſerve no great Credit? This, I ſay, is Captain *Betagh*'s way of Reaſoning; of the Juſtice of which, the Reader will decide as he ſees Cauſe.

The ſecond Head of the Accuſation is, as to the Money taken in the *Conception*, and ſunk in the unaccountable Article of an *& cætera*. This was not only a Fraud upon the Owners, but a Fraud, that, after all his Quarrels with them, he durſt truſt to his whole Ship's Company, which ſeems to ſpeak a greater Confidence in them, than might be expected from the Character given them in the Captain's Book. If he really thought the Loſs of his Ship put an End to the Claim of his Proprietors, why did he conceal the taking of this large Sum of Money, ſince, if he believed his own Notion rightly founded, the owning it could do him no hurt? On the other hand, when he had concealed it, what Hopes could he have of its remaining a Secret, unleſs, notwithſtanding all he has ſaid of his Crew, he was ſatisfied they would not make any Diſcovery of this important Point? The paſſing over of which gives a great Jealouſy, that other Matters are not very fairly ſtated. To which may be added, the palpable Miſrepreſentations of the unfortunate Captain *Clipperton*, and the ſuppreſſing the true Cauſe of his leaving them; *viz.* becauſe Captain *Shelvocke*, and his Company, would not comply with their original Articles, and, conſequently, were no longer to be conſidered as Men acting on the ſame Bottom with thoſe in the *Succeſs*, who had made theſe Articles the conſtant Rule of their Conduct.

The laſt, and by much the worſt, Head of this Accuſation is, that of ſacrificing his People, that he might manage his own Deſigns more eaſily, gain greater Sums on the ſharing of Prizes, and keep the Secrets of his Adminiſtration in fewer Hands. There is ſomething ſo barbarous in this Suppoſition, that one would be tempted to think it incredible, if one had not Captain *Shelvocke*'s Authority to the contrary, who, by blaming Captain *Clipperton* for this very Behaviour, admits, that there are ſome *Engliſh* Captains capable of ſuch things. A Circumſtance ſhocking to every honeſt Mind. Captain *Betagh*, in order to ſupport this heavy Charge, produces the following Account of what became of the People who were originally put on board the *Speedwel*, under the Command of Captain *Shelvocke*, being in all 106 Men. Out of theſe, ſays Mr. *Betagh*, there were turned aſhore, at *St. Iago* and *St. Catherine's*, before we got into the South Seas, eight, *Andrew Pedder*, chief Mate; *Henry Chapman*, third Mate; *Charles Turner*, Gunner; *Henry Hudſon*, Boatſwain; *William Parſons*, and *William Coon*, Boatſwain's Mates; *George Hints*, and *Charles Perry*, Seamen. Commanded aſhore near *Conception*, in *Chili*, where they were murdered, three, *John Eady*, Midſhipman; *John Daley*, and *George Aboigne*, Marines. Sent a cruiſing, to be taken Priſoners, fifteen, *Simon Hatley*, ſecond Captain of the *Speedwel*; *William Betagh*, Captain of Marines; *Gilbert Hamilton*, Enſign; *John Sprake*, ſecond Mate; *Nicolas Laming*, Boatſwain; *Chriſtopher Preſſick*, Surgeon's firſt Mate; *Robert Cobbs*, Sergeant of Marines; *Matthew Appleton*, *Martin Hayden*, *Richard Bond*, *Richard Gloyns*, *John Panther*, Seamen; *John Wilſon*, *John Nicholſon*, and *Thomas Barnet*, Marines. Ordered on a Cruize, in a Bark, with one Week's Proviſion, and obliged then to ſurrender on the Coaſt, eleven, *James Hopkins*, third Mate; *Robert Rowlins*, Midſhipman; *William Dobſon*, *Thomas Wilkinſon*, *Edward Oſting*, *John Bone*, *Charles Weatherly*, *William Kitching*, *Richard Croſs*, *John Guather*, and *John Gundy*, Seamen. Left on *Fernandez*, eleven, beſides thirteen *Indians*, *John Wiſdom*, *Joſeph Monro*, *William Blew*, *John Riddleclay*, *Edmund Hyves*, *Daniel Harvey*, *William Giddy*, *John Robinſon*, *Thomas Hawkes*, *James Row*, and *Jacob Bowden*, Seamen. Left in a Prize, and murdered, four, *John Giles*, Serjeant of Marines; *John Emlin*, Seaman; *John Williams*, Marine; *George Chapple*, a Lad. Sent aſhore, into the Hands of the Enemy, without a Hoſtage, and never ſince heard of, ſix, *Edward Brook*, firſt Lieutenant; *William Tamly*, Midſhipman; *Frederic Makenzie*, *Robert Bowman*, *Richard Philips*, and *John Poulton*, Seamen. Begged their Paſſage with *Clipperton*, to be freed from *Shelvocke*'s Tyranny, three, *James Hendrie*, Agent for the Owners; *Thomas Dodd*, Lieutenant of Marines; and *William Morphew*, Midſhipman. Died four, *Richard Arſcott*, in the *Speedwel*; and *Edmund Philips*, in *Shelvocke*'s Bark; *William Cambell*, drowned, going round *Cape Horn*; and *Richard Hannah*, drowned, going to the Wreck from *Fernandez* Iſland. Deſerted at *St. Catharine's*, three, *Abraham Dutour*, *Antony Wood*, and *William Leveret*. Staid on board the *Ruby*, at *St. Catharine's*, two, *William Mariner*, Sailmaker; and *Laurence Lancette*, of the Carpenter's Crew. Loſt aſhore at *Payta*, *Richard Bavin*. Deſerted at *Chiloe*, *Robert Morris*. In all ſeventy-three. Staid with *Shelvocke*, and divided all, thirty-three; which, taken together, makes the Total of the Ship's Company one hundred and ſix.

It is certain, that all theſe Inſtances are far enough from being poſitive Evidences of the Charge before-mentioned; but it muſt be at the ſame time allowed, that they are abundant Inſtances of Careleſſneſs and Indiſcretion: For, after an Officer had once met with ſuch a Misfortune as loſing a Part of his Crew, either by ſending them on ſhore, or expoſing them in Prizes, it ought to have rendered him exceſſively cautious for the future; more eſpecially when Captain *Betagh* had told him, in the Face of his Men, that the true Deſign of putting him on board the *Mercury* was to get rid of him. Upon the Whole, the Affair had ſo indifferent an Aſpect, and the Proprietors thought themſelves ſo much injured by the Loſs of all the Expences they had been at in fitting out theſe Ships, that they took every Method poſſible to embaraſs and diſtreſs Captain *Shelvocke* on his Return. He was, at the ſame time, attacked by the *Spaniſh* Miniſter, who preſented to the late King *George* I. at *Hanover*, a Memorial, complaining of his attacking and taking a *Spaniſh* Ship worth 100,000 Pieces of Eight, in Breach of the Treaties between the two Crowns. But, after all, there does not ſeem to have been any juſt Foundation for this Complaint, the *Spaniards* themſelves having been the Aggreſſors; and there is no Law ſo cruel as to oblige a Man to ſuffer his Crew to be killed, and his Ship beaten to Pieces, rather than diſpute the Power of thoſe, who are inclined to ſo barbarous an Action. The then Adminiſtration ſeem to have been ſenſible of this; for we do not find, that they directed any Proſecution againſt the Captain for this Conduct, as at that time they certainly would have done, if they had conceived him puniſhable by Law. As to the Diſputes between him and his Owners, I know not how they ended; but, very probably, in a Way little ſatisfactory to either, ſince ſuch Proſecutions as they carried on muſt have given Mr. *Shelvocke* a great deal of Trouble, at the ſame time that they could not in the leaſt contribute to the repairing of their Loſs. The worſt of it was, that the Iſſue of this Voyage gave the Public a bad Idea of all Expeditions to the South Sea, and induced many to ſuppoſe, that whatever Offers were made of that kind on the Diſputes that happened afterwards between us and *Spain*, were calculated purely for the private Advantage of the Perſons by whom they were propounded: And I doubt, that ſomewhat of this ſort ſtill prevails; for otherwiſe, ſurely ſomething had been undertaken before this time by Privateers in the South Seas.

It cannot be denied, that this was, almoſt in every reſpect, an ill-conducted, as well as an unſucceſsful Expedition; and yet, if we examine Things cloſely, we ſhall ſee, that there is no Reaſon to be diſcouraged by the Unluckineſs of this Attempt. There is a Light, in which this Voyage may be viewed, that will afford quite another kind of Proſpect. It is a Fact not to be controverted, that the *Speedwel* made her Voyage round Cape *Horn* into the South Seas, and took afterwards abundance of Prizes on the Coaſts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*, without the leaſt Aſſiſtance from her Conſort. This then furniſhes us with the following Obſervations, that it is poſſible for a Ship of 200 Tons, with 100 ſtout Men on board, under proper Officers, to make ſuch an Expedition into theſe Seas, as may prove very advantageous to them, and to their Owners; for, according both to Captain *Shelvocke* and Captain *Betagh*'s Account, the Expence of this Ship did not much exceed 6000 *l.* and the Profits of their Voyage, if prudently and honeſtly managed, could not have amounted to leſs than 50,000 *l.* If therefore we conſider this Caſe as it is now ſtated, inſtead of frightening, it ought to encourage us to Undertakings of a like kind; for, if ſuch a Ship, ſo indifferently manned, ſubject to perpetual Mutinies, and without any juſt Regard to the true Intereſts of the Voyage, could perform ſo much, and the principal Officers on board her come off ſo well, it is a natural Concluſion, that a Ship of the ſame Force, well manned, and properly commanded, might do much more, and return ſafe. If we ſuffer our Opinions to be governed purely by Events, we may come to fanſy, that the greateſt Naval Power in the World can perform little by Sea, becauſe, perhaps, ſome Inſtances may be given in ſome certain Period of Time, wherein ſomething like this may have happened; but, alas! this is a very wild Way of Reaſoning, and we may, with the ſame Juſtice, imagine, that, becauſe a ſtout Man does not reſent a Scratch on the Forehead in his Sleep, he could not avenge himſelf, if awake, upon the feebleſt of his Enemies. To ſay the Truth, it is ſuch Notions as theſe that keep us aſleep. One ſuch Expedition, as that of Captain *Rogers*, proves more in favour of our ſending Ships to the South Seas, than ten ſuch unlucky Adventures as this can prove againſt it; for theſe only ſhew, that, when Commanders diſagree, and their Men become mutinous, Miſtake follows upon Miſtake, till all falls to Ruin: Which is a Leſſon that may be learnt, without going to the South Seas; and therefore concludes nothing as to the Point in queſtion.

SECTION XIX.

Captain BETAGH's *Obſervations on the Country of* Peru, *and its Inhabitants, during his Captivity.*

[By Way of APPENDIX to the former Section.]

1. *The Reaſon of adding this Relation to the foregoing Voyage.* 2. *The Manner of the Captains* Hatley *and* Betagh*'s being taken by the* Spaniards. 3. *Are ſent to* Lima. 4. *Obſervations on the Pedlars, or Travelling Merchants, on that Road.* 5. *Arrival at* Lima; *and Captain* Hatley*'s Misfortune there.* 6. *Condition of the* Engliſh *Priſoners in thoſe Parts.* 7. *Deſcription of the City of* Lima. 8. *Account of the Government of that City.* 9. *The exceſſive Gallantry of its Inhabitants.* 10. *Their public Diverſions.* 11. *The Backwardneſs of the* Spaniards *in making Diſcoveries in* America. 12. *The principal Mines in* Chili *and* Peru. 13. *The Manner of Working theſe Mines.* 14. *Some Remarks on their Product, and of its different Value at different Times.* 15. *Obſervations on the Trade of* Chili. 16. *A ſhort Hiſtory of the* French *Interlopers.* 17. *The Author's Return to* England.

1. AFTER having given the Readers ſo much dry and unpleaſant Matter from Captain *Betagh*'s Book, I think it but Juſtice to him, and to myſelf, to extract, from the ſame Performance, what may ſerve to juſtify the Character I have already given this Work, and which, I really think, it deſerves. The Time he lived among the *Spaniards*, and the Manner in which he was treated by them, gave him ſuch an Opportunity of not only acquainting himſelf with their Manners and Cuſtoms, but with their Genius, and Maxims of Government, as no *Engliſhman*, of late Years, can pretend to; and the lively Manner, in which he tells his Story, gives it ſo much Beauty and Spirit, that, I think, I cannot do better, than to keep as near his own Words as poſſible. And, as to its finding a Place here, the principal Motive that determined me was, its coming in more naturally as a Supplement to Captain *Shelvocke*'s Voyage, to which there are frequent References, than it would have done any-where elſe.

2. It was, ſays he, in the Beginning of the ever-memorable Year 1720, and about the Middle of *March*, when Captain *Shelvocke* ſent *Hatley*, and the reſt of us, to ſeek our Fortunes in the Lighter called the *Mercury*. Himſelf, in the *Speedwel*, went to plunder the Village of *Payta*, where we might eaſily have joined him, had he imparted his Deſign to us. However, we had not cruiſed long in Sight of Cape *Blanco*, before we took a ſmall Bark, with a good Parcel of Chocolate and Flour. There was an elderly Lady aboard, and a thin old Frier, whom we kept two or three Days; and, after taking out what we wanted, we diſcharged the Bark, and them together. Soon after this, we took the Pink, which *Shelvocke* calls the rich Prize. She had no Jealouſy of our being an Enemy, but kept her Way, till, ſeeing the *Mercury* ſtanding towards her, ſhe began to ſuſpect us. About Noon, ſhe put the Helm hard-a-weather, and crouded all the Sail ſhe could afore the Wind; and, being in her Ballaſt, this was the beſt of her Sailing, which alſo proved the greateſt Advantage they could give us; for, had ſhe held her Wind, we, in our flat Bottom, could never have come up. About ten at Night, with rowing and hard ſailing, we got within Shot of the Chace, and brought her to, being pretty near the Shore. They were about ſeventy Perſons aboard, thirty of whom were Negroes. *Hatley*, upon going aboard, left myſelf and *Preſſick*, with four more Hands, in the *Mercury*, where we continued two or three Days, till an heavy Shower of Rain ſpoiled all our Bread, and other dry Proviſions. It was then time for us to get aboard the Prize; which we did, ſending three Hands to take care of the *Mercury*.

We ſtood off-and-on the ſaid Cape ſeven or eight Days, expecting to meet the *Speedwel*; and there we ſet aſhore the *Spaniſh* Captain, the Padre, and ſome Gentlemen Paſſengers: At laſt we ſpied a Sail plying to Windward. Not doubting it was the *Speedwel*, or the *Succeſs*, we ſtood towards her, whilſt ſhe edging towards us, about ten in the Morning, we were got near enough to diſcover ſhe was a Ship of War, as ſhe proved, tho' neither of theſe we wiſhed for. The Maſter of our Prize had before informed us, that he met the *Brilliant* cruiſing for our Privateers, which, till now, we intirely diſregarded. Upon this, Captain *Hatley* adviſing with me what to do, we concluded, that ſome Advantage might be made of the Information given us by the *Spaniards*; that, as the *Brilliant* had ſpoken ſo lately with the Pink, probably there would not be many Queſtions aſked now: Upon which, *Hatley* and I dreſſed ourſelves like *Spaniards*, and hoiſted *Spaniſh* Colours; we confined our Priſoners, in the great Cabin, ſuffering none of them but the *Indians* and Negroes to appear upon Deck, that the Pink might look as ſhe did before: In which Contrivance we had ſucceeded, but for the Obſtinacy of *John Sprake*, whom we could not keep off the Deck. As the Admiral came up, he fired a Gun to Leeward: Hereupon we lowered our Top-ſail, making eaſy Sail till we got alongſide of him: Their firſt Queſtion was, If we had heard any thing of the *Engliſh* Pirvateer? We anſwered, No: The next was, How it happened we were got no farther in our Way to *Lima*? We anſwered, By reaſon of the Currents: They aſked us two or three more Queſtions, which we ſtill anſwered in *Spaniſh*. They ſeemed thoroughly ſatiſfied, and were getting their Tacks aboard in order to leave us, when *Sprake*, and two or three more of our Men, appeared on the Main-deck; a *Frenchman* aboard the Admiral, looking out at the Maſt-head, cried out, ſeeing their long Trowſers, *Par Dieu, Monſieur, ils ſont Anglois*; they are *Engliſhmen*: Upon this they immediately fired a Broadſide into us, with round and Partridge-ſhot, by one of which *Hatley* was ſlightly wounded in the Leg.

3. As ſoon as we ſtruck our Flag, the Enemy ſent for all the *Engliſh* on board, and ordered two of their own Officers into the Prize. The *Spaniſh* Admiral then bore directly down upon the *Mercury*, and fired into her five-and-twenty Guns at leaſt, which bored her Sides through and through; but, ſuch was the Conſtruction of that extraordinary Veſſel, that, though full of Water, there was not Weight enough to ſink her, and the three Men who were in her eſcaped unhurt. Don *Pedro Midranda*, the *Spaniſh* Commander, ordered theſe three Men into his own Ship, in which he intended to ſail to *Payta*: As for me, he gave Directions, that I ſhould be ſent forty Miles up the Country, to a Place called *Piura*; and was ſo kind as to leave Mr. *Preſſick*, the Surgeon, and my Serjeant *Cobbs*, to keep me Company: As for Captain *Hatley*, and the reſt, they were ordered to *Lima* by Land, which was a Journey of four hundred Miles; for that poor Gentleman had the Miſfortune to be doubly under their Diſpleaſure; firſt, for returning into thoſe Seas after having been Priſoner ſo long, and being ſo well uſed amongſt them; and next, for the *Cape Frio* Buſineſs, I mean the ſtripping the *Portugueſe* Captain, a good Quantity of whoſe Moidores were found about him. The Deſign of the Admiral, in this, was, to have that Affair ſearched to the Bottom, and the Guilty ſeverely puniſhed, without expoſing the Innocent to any Danger. Here, therefore, I ſhall take my Leave of Captain *Hatley* for the preſent, and proceed to the Obſervations I made on the Road, as the Admiral was ſo good as to ſend me up into the Country till his Return from his Cruize to *Payta*, when, as I ſhall inform the Reader in its proper Place, I again rejoined him.

As the Weather in this Part of the World is much too hot to permit People to labour in the midſt of the Day, the Cuſtom is to travel from ſix in the Evening till eight in the Morning. My *Indian* Guide ſet me on the beſt Mule he had, which not caring to follow Company, I led my Fellow-travellers the Way till ten o'Clock, while Day-light laſted. I obſerved the Country one open Plain, with *Indian* Plantations, regularly enough laid out on each Side of us. This champagne Country is from thirty to one hundred Miles broad, and extends three hundred Miles along-ſhore; for I was moving to the Southward, having the *Cordelier* Mountains on the Left Hand, and the great Ocean on the Right. If this Land was well watered, as the Soil is pleaſant and fertile, it might be as fine a Country as any in the World; but Travellers are here obliged to carry Water for their Mules, as well as themſelves. At the Approach of Night we were puzzled in the Way; I often found myſelf ſtopped by great Hills of Sand, and my Mule as often endeavoured to pull the Reins out of my Hand; which proving troubleſome, the *Indian* adviſed me to throw the Reins on the Mule's Neck; and, as ſoon as that was done, the Creature eaſily hit the Way. Theſe Sands are often ſhifted from Place to Place, which I take to be occaſioned by the ſtrong Eddies of Wind reverberated from the Mountains. At Night we reſted a little at an old empty Houſe in a Coppice, about half Way, which the Guide told us was built by the Inhabitants of *Piura*, for the Accommodation of the Prince *St. Bueno*, Viceroy of *Peru*, when they met him at his Entrance on his Government, and regaled him. At ſeven in the Morning we arrived at *Piura*, being an handſome regular Town, ſituate on the Banks of the River *Collan*. The *Indian* conducted us to the Houſe of an honeſt *Spaniſh* Gentleman, and his Wife, who having received his Charge, the Guide returned to *Payta*. In a Quarter of an Hour's time, the Town's-people flocked in to ſee the Raree-ſhew; and, inſtead of being uſed like Priſoners at Diſcretion, we were entertained with Reſpect and Civility, which we were not ſure to meet with. Our Landlord, I ſhould ſay, Keeper's Name, was *Don Jeronimo Baldivieſo*: He had five Daughters; upon the Sight of whom, and their beneficent way of receiving us, we hoped our Time would ſlide eaſily away; and our Captivity prove no-way diſagreeable. I began now to be ſenſible of the Admiral's Favour, in ordering us to this Place; for he had ſuch Intereſt in all the Kingdom of *Peru*, that, for his ſake, we found very good Treatment. After we had refreſhed ourſelves, according to the Cuſtom of the Place, with Chocolate, Biſcuit, and Water, we were diverted with the Sound of a *Welſh* Harp in ſome inner Apartment: The Artiſt had good Command of it; for I heard Parts of ſeveral famous *Italian* as well as *Engliſh* Compoſitions; and, upon inquiring, found, that all the honeſt *Spaniard*'s Daughters had learned Muſic, and ſung or played upon ſome Inſtrument or other. Though, at firſt, this ſeemed a little unaccountable to us, yet I afterwards found, that Muſic was common in *Peru*; for the *Italian* Party having a few Years before prevailed at the Court of *Madrid*, the laſt Viceroy, Prince *St. Bueno*, who was an *Italian*, had brought a great many Muſicians of that Country along with him, which has now ſpread Muſic every-where; and it is as good in *Peru*, as in *Old Spain*. I the rather take notice of this, becauſe, by our being Lovers of Muſic, and behaving peaceably and civilly to the Inhabitants, we paſſed our Time very quietly and chearfully, being expoſed only to one Inconvenience, which laſted ſo long as we remained here: This was, the daily aſſembling of the People to ſtare at us, which myſelf, and my Serjeant *Cobbs*, bore pretty well; for, being uſed to exerciſe in Public, we could turn to the Right and Left without being much incommoded: But our Companion Mr. *Preſſick*, being a graver Man, at firſt hung down his Head, and was very melancholy; but, by degrees, he grew better acquainted with the People, and found Reaſon to like them ſo well, that, when we were to remove, we had much to do to make him change his Quarters.

4. Almoſt all the Commodities of *Europe* are diſtributed through the *Spaniſh America* by a Sort of Pedlars or Merchants, on Foot, who come from *Panama* to *Payta* by Sea, and, in their Road from the laſt-mentioned Port, make *Piura* their firſt Stage to *Lima*, diſpoſing of their Goods, and leſſening their Burdens, as they go along. Some take the Road through *Caxamarca*, others through *Truxillo*, along-ſhore from *Lima*: They take their Paſſage back to *Panama* by Sea, and perhaps carry a little Cargo of Brandy with them: At *Panama* they again ſtock themſelves with *European* Goods, returning by Sea to *Payta*, where they are put on ſhore; there they hire Mules, and load them, the *Indians* going with them, in order to bring them back; and ſo theſe Traders keep in a continual Round, till they have got enough to live on. Their travelling Expences are next to nothing; for the *Indians* are brought under ſuch Subjection, that they find Lodging for them, and Provender for their Mules: This every white Face may command, being an Homage the poor *Indians* are long accuſtomed to pay; and ſome think they have an Honour done into the Bargain, except, out of Generoſity, they now-and-then meet with a ſmall Recompence. In the *Britiſh* and *French* Nations, a Pedlar is deſpiſed, and his Employment looked upon as a mean Shift to get a Living; but it is otherwiſe here, where the quick Return of Money is a ſufficient Excuſe for the Manner of getting it; and there are many Gentlemen in *Old Spain*, who, when their Circumſtances in Life are declining, ſend their Sons to the *Indies* to retrieve their Fortune this way: Our Lodging was in an Outhouſe purpoſely for theſe travelling Merchants. According to the *Spaniſh* Cuſtom, we had our Dinner ſent to the Table under Cover, where *Don Jeronimo* and we eat together, while the good Lady of the Houſe, and her Daughters, ſat together in another Room. This is the Practice at all Meals, and, if any ſtrong Liquors are drank, it is then. In all our Conduct, I think the good *Spaniard* was never diſobliged, except once, when he ſaw me drinking a Dram with the Doctor at a little Victualling-houſe. As nothing is more diſagreeable to the *Spaniards* than Drunkenneſs, I had much ado to make Amends for this Step towards it; though they admit of Gallantry in the utmoſt Exceſs; ſo that it is only changing one Enormity for another. After we had paſſed about ſix Weeks at *Piura*, our *Indian* Guide came again to conduct us to *Payta*, the Man of War being returned. When we were

upon the point of taking Leave, our Surgeon was miſſing, which retarded us a Day longer. They had concealed him in the Town, and deſigned to keep him there, as he was a very uſeful Man; and if he could have had a ſmall Cheſt of Medicines, he might ſoon have made a handſome Fortune. However, the next Day we mounted our Mules, and parted with great Reluctance, eſpecially with our kind Hoſt *Don Jeronimo*, and his Family. We went aboard the *Brilliant* at *Payta*, which, having done nothing at Sea, made a ſort of cruiſing Voyage to *Calao*, the Port of *Lima*. The Civility I received from the Admiral or General of the South Seas, as he is there called, is what I have already mentioned. I ſhall here only add one Circumſtance to the Honour of Monſieur *de Grange*, a Captain under the General. As ſoon as we were taken by the *Brilliant*, as aforeſaid, this Gentleman, ſeeing the Soldiers had ſtripped us, being the Conquerors uſeful Perquiſites in all theſe Caſes, he generouſly gave me an handſome Suit of Cloaths, two Pair of ſilk Stockings, a Hat, Wig, Shirts, and every thing according; ſo that inſtead of ſuffering, I was, in reality, a Gainer by this Accident.

5. Our Voyage to *Lima* took up about five Weeks; and, as ſoon as we arrived there, we were immediately ſent to the ſame Priſon in which the Ship's Company were confined, who were ſent hither before us, Mr. *Hatley* only excepted; who, for the Reaſons before-mentioned, was confined by himſelf, and very roughly treated. In a ſhort time after our Arrival, Commiſſioners were appointed to hear our Cauſe, and to determine, whether we ſhould be treated as Criminals, or as Priſoners of War: The Reaſon of this was, the Charge brought againſt us for Piracy, not for what we had done in the South Seas, or, at leaſt, not for that only, but upon a Suppoſition, that we plundered the *Spaniards* there, becauſe none but *Spaniards* were to be met with, having uſed the like Violence, as their Charge ſet forth, againſt other Nations, before our Arrival in theſe Seas: Which would have ſhewn a piratical Diſpoſition through our whole Conduct. And of this they thought they had probable Proof, ſince, by the Moidores found upon *Hatley*, it appeared they were taken from the Subjects of a Prince in perfect Amity with the Crown of *England*: But, it was happy for us, that the Viceroy, Don *Diego Morſilio*, who was an Archbiſhop, and in the Decline of Life, was pleaſed coolly to diſcriminate the Affair, and, finding really but one of us guilty, would not ſign any Order for ſhedding innocent Blood: As for *Hatley*, ſome were for ſending him to the Mines for Life, others for hanging him; but the ſeveral Accounts of Captain *Shelvocke*'s vile Proceedings contributed to his Deliverance, the Truth of which here were enough of our People at *Lima* to witneſs; for, beſides Lieutenant *Serjeantſon*, and his Men, who were brought hither, came the Men who *Shelvocke* ſent with *Hopkins* to ſhift for themſelves in a poor empty Bark, who, for want of Suſtenance, was forced to ſurrender to the *Indians*; ſo that the Court believing *Shelvocke* more a Principal in that piratical Act than *Hatley*, and ſuppoſing we had been plagued enough before we came hither, they thought fit to let us all go by degrees: *Hatley* indeed was kept in Irons about a Twelvemonth, and then was allowed to return to *England*. I was much more happy in this reſpect, ſince my Impriſonment laſted but a Fortnight; which was owing to the Interpoſition of Captain *Fitzgerald*, a Gentleman born in *France*, who had a great Intereſt with the Viceroy, and who, upon his becoming Security for me, permitted me to have the Liberty of the City, provided I was always forthcoming when I was called for. As I was now pretty much at Eaſe, I began to look about me, and to inform myſelf of what was paſſing in this Part of the World.

6. Among the firſt of my Inquiries, was that after the Condition of other *Engliſh* Priſoners, in the Place; and, upon aſking for Mr. *Serjeantſon*, and his Men, who were here before us, I underſtood, that moſt of them had taken up the Religion of the Country, had been chriſtened, and were diſperſed among the Convents in the City. The firſt that I ſaw, had got his new Catechiſm in one Hand, and a Pair of large Beads dangling in the other. I ſmiled, and aſk'd the Fellow, How he liked it. He ſaid, very well; for, having his Religion to chuſe, he thought theirs better than none, ſince it brought him good Meat and Drink, and a quiet Life. Many of *Shelvocke*'s Men followed this Example; and I may venture to ſay, this was as good a Reaſon as moſt of our People could give for their occaſional Conformity. It is here reckoned very meritorious to make a Convert, and many Arguments were uſed for that End; yet was there no Rigour ſhewn to bring any of us over. Thoſe who thought fit to be baptized, had generally ſome of the Merchants of *Lima* for their Padrons or Godfathers, who never failed giving their Godchildren a Suit of Cloaths, and ſome Money, to drink their Healths. About this time, four or five of *Clipperton*'s Men, and as many of *Shelvocke*'s, got Leave from their Convents to meet together at a Publick-houſe kept by one *John Bell*, an *Engliſhman*, who had a Negro Wife, that, for ſome Services or other, had got her Freedom. The Deſign of this Meeting, was to confirm their new Baptiſm with a Bowl of Punch: The Conſequence of which was, they all got drunk, and quarrelled; and, forgetting they were true Catholics, miſtook an Image of ſome honeſt Saint, that ſtood in a Corner, for one of their own Company, knocked him down, and demoliſhed him. I, miſſing the Fellows for a few Days, inquired at *John*'s Houſe what was become of them: He told me the Story, and ſaid, they were all put in the Inquiſition; for, the thing having taken Air, he was obliged to complain of it, or go thtiher himſelf; but promiſed, that, underhand, he would endeavour to get them releaſed; which, I found afterwards, was done in five Days, ſo that they had time to repent, and be ſober. *Bell* ſaid, if the Men had ſtill remained Heretics, this Drunken-bout had not come within the Verge of the Eccleſiaſtical Power; but, being Novices, and juſt admitted into the Church, they were the eaſier pardoned, as their Outrage upon the Saint was no Proof of their Relapſe into Error, or an Affront to the Catholic Faith, ſince done when they were all diſordered in Liquor. At length, about a dozen Men in both our Ships, being well inſtructed, were diſcharged from the Cloyſters, and ſent to *Calao*, to help to careen and fit out the *Flying-fiſh*, then deſigned for *Europe*: Here they entered into a Project to run away with the *Margarita*, a pretty ſailing Ship, that lay in the Harbour, and go upon the Account for themſelves, which differs nothing from Piracy; but, not knowing what to do for Ammunition, and a Compaſs, they applied to Mr. *Serjeantſon*, telling him, they had a Deſign to ſteal away by Land to *Panama*, where, being an *Engliſh* Factory, they might have a Chance to get home; that they had got half a dozen Firelocks, with which they might kill wild Hogs, or get ſome Game, as they went along, if he would be ſo kind as to help them to a little Powder and Shot, and a Compaſs to ſteer their Way through the Woods. The Fellows, by begging, and making Catholic Signs to the good People at *Lima*, that they were poor *Engliſh* newly baptized, had got together ſome Dollars, which they deſired *Serjeantſon* to lay out, who, not miſtruſting the Plot, took their Money, and bought them what they wanted. Thus furniſhed, one of them came to me at *Lima*, and ſaid, there was an Opportunity offered to make my Fortune, by running away with the *Margarita* at *Calao*, if I would embrace it: Whereupon he told me the Story, and that *Sprake* was to have the Command, as being the only Artiſt among them. I anſwered, that it was a bold Deſign; but, as Captain *Fitzgerald* had engaged for my Honour, I was obliged not to meddle with it. In a few Days the Plot was diſcovered, their Lodgings were ſearched, their Arms taken away, and they put in Priſon. The Government was greatly provoked, and had near determined their Execution, when an Order came to releaſe all but *Sprake*, who, being the Projector, was kept in Irons two or three Months, and then ſet at Liberty. If this ſhews the reſtleſs enterpriſing Temper of our Seamen, it proves, at the ſame time, that the *Spaniards* in *Peru* are by no means ſo cruel, either in Religious or State Proſecutions, as in *Europe*; though I am inclined to think, that the Converſion of theſe People, ſuch as it was, operated greatly in their Favour: It may be alſo, that they were ſome way influenced by Fear, ſince the *Engliſh* Privateers were ſtill upon the Coaſt; and, in caſe they had received Intelligence of theſe People being ſeverely dealt

with, might have revenged it on ſome of their Priſoners. But it is to little Purpoſe to employ one's Thoughts in attempting to diſcover the Motives of an Act of *Spaniſh* Policy, ſince, whatever thoſe Motives were, the Act in itſelf was compaſſionate and good.

7. The Dominions, which the *Spaniards* poſſeſs in *America*, are ſo large, and ſo valuable, that there is no Doubt, if they were properly governed, they might render that Monarchy equally formidable in *Europe*, and the *Indies*. The long Stay I made in *Peru*, the preſent State of which there are few Opportunities of knowing in this Part of the World, afforded me the Means of examining with Leiſure and Attention their Manner of Living, the Form of their Government, the Nature of their Amuſements and Diverſions, which, in this Country, take place of Buſineſs, and furniſhed me with many Opportunities of inquiring into thoſe Things very minutely, which did not fall immediately under my Obſervation as an Eye-witneſs: And of theſe I ſhall endeavour to give the Reader as clear, as diſtinct, and as accurate an Account, as is in my Power, with the greateſt Regard to Truth, and conſtantly diſtinguiſhing between what fell immediately under my Knowledge, and what was derived to me by the Information of others. This was certainly the beſt Uſe I could make of that Leiſure I enjoyed, while a Priſoner in the Hands of the *Spaniards*; and may poſſibly contribute more to the Service of my Country, than if I had employed myſelf in Privateering on the Coaſt. I ſhall begin with the Deſcription of the Place, where I ſpent moſt Part of my Time, and which, as it is the Centre of the *Spaniſh* Government in theſe Parts, enabled me to gain a greater Inſight into their Affairs, than if I had paſſed my Days in any of their Ports, or in an inland City, leſs frequented. The Liberty I was allowed, and the kind Uſage I received, made this ſtill the more eaſy; and therefore it may be depended upon, that what I offer the World is a fair and genuine Repreſentation of Matters of Fact, and not a fine-ſpun Story, framed from Conjecture and Hearſay. If, after all, the wide Difference between the Manners of theſe People and thoſe in the Northern Part of *Europe*, ſhould give it an Air of Extravagance, I muſt deſire the Reader to reflect, that this is not owing to me, but to the Subject. A Man, who undertakes to deſcribe Things he has ſeen, muſt deſcribe them as they are, without Regard to the Appearance they may make in the Eyes of others. But to come to the Point: The great and rich City of *Lima* is the Metropolis of *Peru*, and the Seat of an Archbiſhop. It is a regular-built City, the Streets all ſtrait and ſpacious; ſo that you go through it any Way, without turning a Corner. It is compoſed of little Squares, like *St. Iago*, the Capital of *Chili*; which was copied from this. It ſtands in an open Vale, having only a gentle Stream to water it, and which divides it, as the *Thames* does *London* from *Southwark*, allowing for the great Diſproportion. The Port of *Lima* is at *Calao*, ſeven Miles below it. The Houſes are only one Story high, of twelve or fourteen Feet, becauſe of the frequent Earthquakes in that Country. There are about eight Pariſhes, three Colleges for Students, twenty-eight Monaſteries of Friers, and thirteen Monaſteries of Nuns; ſo that the Religious take up a fourth Part of the City. However, by the quick Flow of Money, and the vaſt Sums beqeathed, being the Effects of Celibacy, they are all well endowed and ſupported; beſides which, there are two Hoſpitals for the Sick, Poor, and Diſabled, and where ſeveral of our Men were kindly looked after. The Length of the City, from North to South, is two Miles, the Breadth one and an half, the Wall, with the River, making a Circumference of ſix Miles. On the Eaſt Part of the Stream lies the other Part of the City, being joined by a very handſome Stone Bridge of ſeven Arches. I computed that there were 60 or 70,000 Perſons in *Lima*, all Sorts and Colours included; and I do not wonder at any Multiplication in a City, which is the Centre of ſo much Affluence and Pleaſure; for, beſides the natural Increaſe of the Inhabitants, all Ships that trade that Way, whether private or public, generally leave ſome Deſerters, who chuſe to ſtay behind, from the Encouragement all white Faces meet with. Of all Parts of the World, the People here are moſt expenſive in their Habit. The Men dreſs as they do in *England*, their Coats being either of Silk, or fine *Engliſh* Cloth, and Hair Camlets, embroidered, or laced with Gold and Silver; and their Waiſtcoats commonly the beſt Brocades. The Women never wear Hoops or Stays, only a ſtitched Holland Jacket next their Shifts. They generally throw over their Shoulders a ſquare Piece of Swan-ſkin Flannel, intirely covered with *Flanders* Lace; beſides the Silver or Gold Lace round the Petticoat. When they walk out, the Creolian Women are veiled, but not the Mulatto; and, till the Age of thirty or forty, they wear no Head-cloaths, their Hair being tied behind with fine Ribbans: But the Pride of the Sex appears chiefly in *Methlin* and *Bruſſels* Lace, with which they trim their Linen in a moſt extravagant Manner, not omitting their Sheets and Pillows, beſides the outward Covering of the Mantle aforeſaid. Their Linen is doubly bordered with it, Top and Bottom, with Ruffles of four or five Furbelows hanging down to the Knee. Then, as to Pearls and precious Stones, which they wear in Rings, and Bracelets for the Neck and Arms, they are very extravagant, tho' the Value is hardly equal to the Shew they make.

8. The Viceroy has an handſome Palace in the great Quadrangle of the City, which I take to be near as large as *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, London*. His Salary is ten thouſand Pounds a Year; and his Perquiſites double that Sum: And though his Government expires at three, four or five Years End, as the King pleaſes, yet, it is ſuppoſed, he makes a good Fortune for Life; for he has all Places in his Gift, both in the Government and Army, throughout *Peru*, except particular Perſons are ſent or nominated by the King. The judicial Court conſiſts of twelve Judges, not to mention the inferior Officers, Counſel, and Solicitors: Here all Cauſes ſhould come to be decided, but they are too often determined beforehand in Favour of the Party who gives moſt Money; and tho' theſe vaſt Dominions abound in Riches, yet there is not abundance of Work for the Lawyers, becauſe the Statutes are few and plain, which is certainly happier than a Multitude of Laws explaining one another, till they are ſo intricate, that the Iſſue of a Cauſe depends more upon the Craft of a Solicitor and Advocate, than the Truth of the Caſe. Beſides all this, a Multiplication of Laws begets an Infinity of Attorneys and Counſellors, who live high and great upon the Diſtreſſes of other People, and as often argue a Man out of his Right as into it. Theſe Hardſhips are paſt retrieving; becauſe every Magiſtrate knows his Reign to be but ſhort, and, if he don't make a Fortune he is laughed at; ſo that they wink one at another; and the great Diſtance between *Peru* and *Spain*, is a Reaſon the King's Orders are ſeldom regarded, being two Years going backward and forward; whence ariſe many clandeſtine Doings; for, according to Law, the King ſhould have a twentieth Part of the Gold, and a fifth Part of all Silver; but there are vaſt Quantities that never pay Duty, carried privately over the Continent the North Way, as well as the South, by trading Ships; and tho' there are prodigious Sums allowed for the Militia, Gariſons, and Repairs of Fortifications, yet it is not One-half applied: From all which it is eaſy to imagine, what immenſe Revenues would come to the Treaſury at *Madrid*, if his Catholic Majeſty was but faithfully ſerved.

The Country in *Peru* is naturally ſubject to Earthquakes; at *Lima* they had two great ones about fifty Years ago, which overturned Houſes, Churches, and Convents; and, in the Reign of *Charles* II. the late King of *Spain*, there was an Earthquake near the Equinoctial Line, that lifted up whole Fields, and carried them ſeveral Miles off: Small Shocks are often felt without doing any Harm; and I have been two or three times called out of Bed when ſuch a thing has happened, tho' we have heard no more of it; but, upon theſe Occaſions, the Bells always toll to Prayers. Notwithſtanding this Country, eſpecially nigh the Coaſt, has ſuffered much by Earthquakes, yet their Churches are lofty enough, and neatly built: That Part of their Architecture, which requires moſt Strength, is generally finiſhed with burnt Bricks; but their Houſes are all built with Bambo, Canes, and Bricks, dried only by the Weather, which are durable enough, becauſe it never rains: The Covering is a Matting with Aſhes upon it, to keep out the Dews, which is all the Wet they have. The ſmall River of *Lima* is moſtly Snow-water, deſcending from the neighbouring

Mountains, which are covered all the Year with Snow, but partly diſſolved in the Summer Seaſon, which is from *September* to *March*. One would expect it much hotter thereabouts than it is, there being no Proportion between the Heat of this Climate in *America*, and the ſame Degree of Latitude in *Africa*: For which there are two Reaſons; the one is the cool Temper of the Air, proceeding from the congealed Snow on the Mountains, which diffuſes itſelf every Way; the other is the Humidity of the Vapours, which hang over the Plains, and which are ſo frequent, that, when I came firſt to *Lima*, I often expected it would rain. Theſe Vapours are not ſo coarſe, low, and gloomy, as our Fogs; nor ſeparated above, like our Summer Clouds; but an Exaltation between both being ſpread all round, as when we ſay the Day is overcaſt: So that ſometimes a fine Dew is felt upon the outward Garments, and diſcerned by the Eye upon the Knap of the Cloth. This is an happy Convenience at *Lima*, the People being thus ſcreemed One-half of the Day from the Sun; and, tho' the Afternoon be Sun-ſhine, 'tis very tolerable, being mixed with the Sea Breezes, and not near ſo hot as at *Liſbon*, and ſome Parts of *Spain* in *Europe*, which are thirty Degrees further from the Equator. The want of Rain in this Part of the Continent obliged the poor *Indians*, before the Conqueſt, to make Drains and Canals, for bringing down Water from among the diſtant Mountains; which they have done with ſuch great Labour and Skill, that the Valleys are properly refreſhed, producing Graſs, Corn, and Variety of Fruits, to which the aforeſaid Dews may alſo a little contribute; and therefore this ſhews, that there is no judging from Circumſtances, whether a Country be habitable or not, ſince, in this reſpect, nothing would ſeem more concluſive, than the abſolute want of Rain. A *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian has given us the natural Cauſe of this perpetual Drought: He obſerves, that the South-weſt Winds blow upon the *Peruvian* Coaſt all the Year round, and the Ocean is therefore called *Pacific*, becauſe the Winds never diſturb the Waters: Theſe eaſy Gales always bear away the Vapours from the Plains, before they can riſe, and form a Body ſufficient to deſcend in a Shower; but, when they are carried farther and higher, they grow more compact, and at length fall, by their own Weight, into Rain. They have Plenty of Cattle, Fowl, and Fiſh, and all Proviſion common with us, except Butter, inſtead of which they always uſe Lard; they have Oil, Wine, and Brandy enough, though not ſo good as in *Europe*. They drink much of the Jeſuits Herb Camini, brought from *Paraguay* by Land; for all *Eaſt India* Tea is forbid: They make a Decoction of it, and ſuck it thro' a Pipe; it is generally here called *Mattea*, being the Name of the Bowl out of which they drink it. Chocolate is their uſual Breakfaſt, and a Grace-cup after Dinner; ſometimes they drink a Glaſs of Brandy for Digeſtion, but ſcarce any Wine at all. In the Kingdom of *Chili* they make a little Butter, ſuch as it is; and their way of doing it is remarkable: The Cream is put into a Sheep-ſkin, and kept on Purpoſe for that Uſe; two Women lay it on a Table, and ſhake it between them, till it comes.

9. The *Spaniards* are no Friends to the Bottle; yet Gallantry and Intrigue are here brought to Perfection; for they devote ſo much of their Time to the Service of the Fair Sex, that it is unmannerly not to have a Miſtreſs, and ſcandalous not to keep her well. As for the Women, they have many Accompliſhments, both natural and acquired; their Converſation is free and ſprightly, their Motion graceful, their Looks winning, and their Words engaging: They have all a delicate Shape, not injured with ſtiff-bodied Stays, but left to the Beauty of Nature; ſo that there is no ſuch thing as a crooked Body among them. Their Eyes and Teeth are particularly excellent; and their Hair, being generally of a dark poliſhed Hue, is finely combed, and platted and tied behind with Ribbands, but never diſguiſed with Powder; for the Brightneſs of their Skins round the Temples appears very well ſhaded through the Hair, like Light through a Landſkip. Tho' Amours are univerſal at *Lima*, yet the Men are careful enough to hide them; for no indecent Word or Action is allowed in public: They have two Seaſons for theſe Entertainments; one is at the *Seiſta*, or Afternoon's Nap, which is commonly with the Miſtreſs; the other is in the Evening, croſs the Water, in Calaſhes, or at the great Square in the Town, where the Calaſhes meet in great Numbers towards the Duſk; theſe are ſlung like our Coaches, but ſmaller, and many of them fit only for two, ſitting oppoſite: They are always drawn by one Mule, with the Negro Driver upon his Back; and it is uſual, among thoſe Calaſhes, to obſerve ſeveral of them with the Windows cloſe up, ſtanding ſtill for half an Hour together. In theſe Amuſements, they have ſeveral Cuſtoms peculiar to themſelves: After Evening Prayers, the Gentleman changes his Dreſs from a Cloak into a Montero, or Jockey-coat, with a Linen laced Cap, and a Handkerchief about his Neck inſtead of a Wig: If he wears his Hair, it muſt be tucked under a Cap, and that flapt all down; ſo that it is an univerſal Faſhion to be diſguiſed ſome way or other; for thoſe who have no Miſtreſs, are aſhamed to be thought virtuous, and muſt be in ſome Maſk or other to countenance the Way of the World. But, as all this is Night-work, they have an eſtabliſhed Rule to prevent Quarrels, which is, never to ſpeak or take Notice one of another, whether they are going in queſt of, or viſiting their Ladies; ſo that, in ſhort, the Forepart of the Night is a Maſquerade all the Year round. Among the Rank of People who do not keep Calaſhes, there are ſeveral Points to be obſerved, particularly when they take the Evening Air; one Couple never walks cloſe upon the Heels of another; but, to prevent the publiſhing any ſecret Whiſpers, each Couple walks at the Diſtance of twelve Yards at leaſt; and if any Lady drops a Fan, or any thing, by Accident, a Gentleman may civilly take it up; but he muſt not give it to the Lady, but the Gentleman who is with her; for ſhe may be the Siſter or Wife of him that takes it up; and, as the Women are all veiled, theſe wiſe Laws are invented to prevent any impertinent Diſcoveries. A Freedom of that kind is looked upon as the higheſt Affront in all Gallantry, and merits a drawn Sword through the Liver: They are ſo careful in theſe Rules, that if any Man ſees his intimate Friend any-where with a Woman, he muſt in no wiſe take notice of him, or ſpeak of it afterwards: Things of this Nature are all done with the greateſt Gravity imaginable, and the Practice of Gallantry becomes, by this means, decent, ſoft, and eaſy: But, notwithſtanding the Commerce of Love is here ſo regularly ſettled, yet there are Jealouſies now-and-then ſubſiſting, which ſometimes have ended fatally. There was a Story of this ſort pretty freſh when I was at *Lima*: A young Lady had for ſome time, as ſhe thought, been the ſole Sovereign of her Lover's Heart; but, by Chance, ſhe found him in Company with another Woman; and, as our inimitable *Shakeſpeare* has it, "Trifles, light as Air, are, to the Jealous, Confirmations ſtrong," ſhe waited therefore no further Proof of his Infidelity, nor expected any Excuſe for the Wrong done her; but ſuddenly drew his Dagger, and diſpatched him. She was ſoon brought to Trial; and, when every one expected ſhe would pay the Forfeit of her Life, her Judges gave it this Turn, that it was not Malice, but Exceſs of Love, that prompted her to the raſh Deed: She was therefore acquitted; but ſome nice Caſuiſts thought ſhe ſhould, in Honour, have hanged herſelf. How agreeable ſoever theſe Practices are to the *Creole Spaniards*, yet they cauſe an Inconvenience to Society; for the Men are ſo ſeriouſly taken up with theſe ſort of Matters, that the Women ingroſs moſt of their Time, and ſpoil public Converſation. For this Reaſon, there are no Taverns or Coffee-houſes; ſo that the Men are only to be met with at their Offices, or at Church. The ſame Inconvenience, in a greater or leſs Degree, attends this Propenſity to Gallantry, where-ever it prevails; and may be juſtly conſidered as the Bane of Induſtry, corrupting the Minds of both Sexes, and inſtilling the baſeſt Principles of Indolence and Debauchery.

10. It is chiefly owing to this effeminate Diſpoſition, that all manly Exerciſes, all uſeful Knowledge, and that noble Emulation, which inſpirits Virtue, and keeps alive Reſpect to the public Good, are unthought of here: For, as there is naturally a great Mixture of Phlegm and Stubbornneſs in *Spaniſh* Conſtitutions, ſo whatever ſettles amongſt them into a Cuſtom, obtains the Force of an inviolable Law; and, however abſurd, however contrary to Religion or Virtue, however noxious to Society, or fatal to private Peace, is not to be rooted out by Art or Force. The

Amuſements, therefore, that ſerve to relax the Labours of the Induſtrious in other Countries, and yet keep alive the Vigour and Activity of Body, and of Mind, are never known in *Peru*; and whoever ſhould attempt to introduce them, would be conſidered as an Innovator, which, among *Spaniards*, is a frightful Thing: Nor would they ſuffer themſelves to be convinced, that martial Exerciſes, or literary Conferences, are preferable to Intrigues. They have, however, a ſort of Playhouſe, where the young Gentlemen and Students divert themſelves after their Faſhion; for what Performances they have in the Dramatical Way are ſo mean, that they are hardly worth mentioning, being Scripture Stories interwoven with Romances, and, which is ſtill worſe, with Obſcenity.

It was at this Theatre, that two *Engliſhmen*, of Monſieur *Martinet*'s Squadron, fought a Prize a little before I came to *Lima*: They firſt obtained Leave of the Viceroy to exerciſe at the uſual Weapons; and, after the Shew-day was fixed, moſt of the Time was taken up with preparatory Ceremonies, to bring, as we phraſe it, an Houſe; preceded by Beat of Drum, in their *Holland* Shirts and Ribbands, ſaluting the Spectators at the Windows with a Flouriſh of the Sword; ſo that, by the extraordinary gallant manner of the Thing, the whole City came to ſee the Trial of Skill: Some gave Gold, but few very leſs than a Dollar: When the Company, Male and Female, were cloſe packed together, the Maſters mounted the Stage; and, after the uſual Compliment, peculiar to the *Engliſh* Nation, of ſhaking Hands before they fight, they retired in great Order, and ſtood upon their Guard. Several Bouts were played without much Wrath or Damage; but the Deſign of this Meeting being more to get Money, than Cuts or Credit, one of the Maſters had the ſeaſonable Fortune to receive a ſmall Hurt on the Breaſt, which, having blooded his Shirt, began to make the Combat look terrible; upon which the Company fearing, from ſuch a dreadful Beginning, that the Zeal of the Champions might grow too warm, and conceiving, till they were reconciled, no Man in the Houſe was ſafe, unanimouſly cried out *Baſta*, *Baſta*, which ſignifies *Enough*, *Enough*; and ſo the Houſe broke up. The Sailors, finding this a better Prize than any they ever met with at Sea, humbly beſought his Excellency to grant them a Licence for another Trial of Skill; but the Viceroy, and all the People, were againſt it, from a religious Objection that could never be got over; and that was, leſt the Fellows ſhould kill one another, and die without Abſolution. One cannot help obſerving, when ſo fair an Opportunity offers, that the public Diverſions of any Place always ſhew the Temper of a People; whence appears the Danger of introducing, under the Notion of Elegance, the Amuſements of a dejected or an effeminate Nation, becauſe, in time, they every-where produce the ſame Effects; that is to ſay, they mould thoſe, amongſt whom they are introduced, into the ſame Temper with thoſe from whom they are derived; and I dare ſay, if Gallantry prevailed here as much as in *Peru*, we ſhould ſoon grow as much out of Love with Prize-fighting, and with whatever elſe had any Affinity with Labour or Danger, as they: So natural it is, for the Love of Pleaſure to daſtardize the very braveſt People.

11. A further Inſtance we have of this Deficiency of Spirit in the *Spaniards*, from their Careleſſneſs with reſpect to thoſe Countries and Iſlands yet undiſcovered, in the Neighbourhood of their vaſt Dominions in *America*; notwithſtanding the Aſſurances they have had, that ſome of theſe Countries are richer, and of much greater Conſequence, than thoſe they have already conquered or ſettled. The firſt *Spaniſh* Governors of *Mexico* and *Peru* were not of this indolent and unaſpiring Temper; but beſtowed great Care and Pains in endeavouring to obtain the moſt perfect Knowledge poſſible of the Places bordering upon thoſe under their reſpective Governments; but now that generous Thirſt of Fame is abſolutely extinguiſhed, and the *Spaniſh* Governors, inſtead of aiming at new Diſcoveries, content themſelves with plundering their Fellow-ſubjects, that are ſettled in the old. The Regions which lie North of the Kingdom of *Mexico*, are known to abound with Silver, precious Stones, and other rich Commodities; yet the *Spaniards* not only decline their Conqueſts on that Side, but diſcourage, as much as they can, the Reports ſpread of the Wealth and Value of thoſe Countries. Upon the ſame Principles, they give no ſort of Encouragement to attempt penetrating into the Heart of *South America*, whence the beſt Part of the Riches of *Peru* is known to come; the Mountains, which are at the Back of the Country, being extremely rich in Gold; and the Regions on the other Side towards the North Seas, known to be inhabited by Nations that have abundance of that valuable Metal; though, for fear of being oppreſſed by the *Europeans*, they conceal it as much as poſſible. If this proceeded from a Maxim of true Policy, *viz.* that of being content when they have enough, and applying themſelves to govern well what they already poſſeſs, it would be extremely commendable, and would certainly contribute to the Safety, Peace, and Continuance of their Empire in thoſe Parts. But while it appears plainly, from the Conduct of their Viceroys and other Officers, that they have nothing in View but accumulating Wealth, at the Expence of thoſe they ſhould protect, it is natural for the People to wiſh, that they would apply themſelves to Diſcoveries, which would afford the Governors means of makeing their Fortunes, without diſtreſſing ſuch as are already Subjects to the Crown of *Spain*.

But, of all the Diſcoveries that have ever been talked of amongſt the *Spaniards*, that which has made the moſt Noiſe, is the Iſland or Iſlands of *Solomon*. Theſe are ſuppoſed to be the ſame with thoſe diſcovered by the famous *Ferdinand de Quiros*: He reported them to be exceſſively rich, as well as extremely populous; and deſired, by repeated Memorials, that he might be authorized, by the Crown of *Spain*, to proceed in, and finiſh that Diſcovery; but, as all his Inſtances were neglected, in the Space of a few Years it became a Queſtion, whether there really were any ſuch Iſlands or not; and the Treating this Matter as a Romance, was, for ſome time, a political Maxim with the Viceroys of *Peru*; and perhaps, by degrees, the very wiſeſt People in *America* would have been brought over to this Opinion; but it ſo happened, that, towards the latter End of the laſt Century, ſuch Diſcoveries were made as to the Reality of theſe Iſlands, that Don *Alvaro de Miranda* was ſent in the Year 1695. upon diſcovering them, in which he miſcarried; but, in the Search, met with four Iſlands, between 7 and 10° of South Latitude, wonderfully rich and pleaſant; the Inhabitants of which were a better looking People, and far more civilized, than any of the *Indians* upon the Continent. This occaſioned a good deal of Diſcourſe at that time; but the Diſturbances that followed ſoon after, took up Peoples Thoughts to ſuch a degree, that all Hopes of finding, or even endeavouring to find, theſe happy Iſlands, were intirely laid aſide.

Yet, while I was in *Peru*, this Attempt was renewed again, though to very little Purpoſe, by an odd Accident. Before I enter upon this, I muſt be obliged to ſay ſomething of the Perſon employed in the Diſcovery: Among the reſt of the *French* Traders or Interlopers, that were deſtroyed by *Martinet*'s Squadron, there was one Mr. *Thaylet*, with whom I was well acquainted at *Lima*, who loſt all his Effects: But even this hard Uſage could not drive him out of *Peru*; he came thither to make a Fortune, and he did not, by any means, care to return home a Beggar. He had formerly commanded ſeveral good Ships, and was an expert Artiſt. He offered his Service to the Government, and this Offer of his was very kindly received. The firſt Affair of Importance in which he was employed, was an Expedition to the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, in order to find there the Bottle, with the Inſtructions, which Captain *Clipperton* left behind him for Captain *Shelvocke*, when, in purſuance of his Inſtructions, he touched at that Iſland, and cruiſed in its Neighbourhood for a Month. Of this the Viceroy was informed by one of *Clipperton*'s Men, that was taken Priſoner; which Information immediately produced a Reſolution to ſend for thoſe Inſtructions, in order to prevent the *Engliſh* Privateers from joining; and a more proper Man for ſuch an Expedition could not have been found than Mr. *Thaylet*, who, in point of Ingenuity and Practice, was a much more capable Man than moſt in the *Spaniſh* Service. This Circumſtance of ſending for the Bottle is the moſt authentic Teſtimony that can poſſibly be expected to the Truth of *Thaylet*'s Journal, and the Hiſtory already given of *Clip-*

perton's Proceedings. I might add, that it is as direct a Refutation of all that Captain *Shelvocke* has advanced upon this Subject; ſo that it is impoſſible for any Man, who conſiders it, to believe what he charges Captain *Clipperton* with to be true; or to dream, that it ever was the Intention of *Clipperton* to deſert *Shelvocke*. It might alſo be obſerved, that the latter does not ſo much as pretend to have left any Inſtructions for *Clipperton*, in caſe he ſhould come to any of the Places where *Shelvocke* had touched; the Inference from which is very eaſy.

While Mr. *Thaylet* was gone upon his Cruize, a *Spaniſh* Ship arrived at *Calao*, the Maſter of which reported, that, being driven out of his Courſe, he had made the Iſlands of *Solomon*. This occaſioned much Diſcourſe on that Subject, and the comparing all the different Accounts that had been given of theſe Iſlands, and their Inhabitants, which appeared ſo clear, ſo probable, and well connected, as ſcarce to leave any Doubt of the Veracity of ſuch as pretended to have made this Diſcovery. In the Midſt of the Diſcourſes raiſed by this Accident, another Ship arrived, with the like Account, attended with Circumſtances, which rendered it evident, that there could not be any Fraud or Colluſion in the Caſe; but that both had, by pure Accident, been driven upon the ſame Iſland. This was very lucky for Mr. *Thaylet*, ſince, while he was employed in one Expedition, another was thus unexpectedly provided for him. On his Return with the Inſtructions, and the two Men who deſerted there, the Viceroy, willing to encourage him, thought of this ſhort Expedition for him in the ſame Veſſel, being an *Engliſh* Ketch of about ſixty Ton, and in which he had ſerved Captain *Martinet* as a Tender; for the Intelligence he had received of *Solomon*'s Iſland made his Excellency curious to purſue the Diſcovery. He therefore ordered the Ketch to be fitted out for two Months, under *Thaylet*'s Command; who accordingly ſailed into 10° South, in which Latitude the Iſland was ſaid to lie. He cruiſed thereabouts till his Proviſion was very nigh expended, and returned, without Succeſs. However, as the ſame Account came by two different Ships, who touched there, the *Spaniards* verily believe there is ſuch a Place; for the Men reported, that the Natives, as to their Perſons and Behaviour, were much like the *Indians* on the Continent; that they had Gold and Silver Things among them; but that their Language was ſtrange and unintelligible. The Reaſon why Mr. *Thaylet* could not meet with *Solomon*'s Iſland, might be from the Uncertainty of the Latitude, and his Inability of making further Search, being provided only for two Months; for I have been informed in *London*, that the ſaid Iſland or Iſlands lie more Southerly in the *Pacific Ocean*, than where they are laid down in the *Dutch* Maps; and the two *Spaniards*, who had been there, were only ſmall trading Veſſels, carried thither by irregular Currents; and could give no certain Account of the Latitude, becauſe they kept no Reckoning. And thus ended all Thoughts of proſecuting this Diſcovery at that time.

12. As the Riches of *Peru* conſiſt chiefly in their Silver Mines, I ſhall endeavour to treat of theſe, not only from my own Experience, but from the beſt Lights I have been able to derive from the ſtricteſt Inquiry I had it in my Power to make from others. There are two Sorts of Silver Mines, the one where Silver is found ſcattered about in ſmall Quantities; the other, where it runs in a Vein between two Rocks; the one exceſſively hard; and the other much ſofter: And it is theſe laſt, which beſt deſerve, and are generally diſtinguiſhed by, the Name of Silver Mines. This precious Metal, which is, in other Countries, the Standard or Meaſure of Riches, is, in *Peru*, the Riches of the Country, conſidered in another Light, I mean that of a natural Commodity; for, throughout the Whole of that vaſt Country, there are almoſt every-where Silver Mines to be met with, of more or leſs Value, according as the Ore produces more or leſs Silver, and can be wrought at a greater or leſs Expence. There are ſome, but not a great many, Mines to the Northward of *Lima*; but, to the South, they are very numerous. On the Back of the *Andes*, there lies a Nation of *Indians*, called *los Plateros*, or the *Plate-men*, from the vaſt Quantities they poſſeſs of Silver; but the *Spaniards* have very little Communication with them. The beſt part of the Mine-countries are to the South of *Cuſco*, from thence to *Potoſi*, and ſo to the Frontiers of *Chili*; and where, for the Space of 300 Miles, there is a continued Succeſſion of Mines, ſome being diſcovered, and others deſerted, every Day.

It is a common thing for the People here, as well as elſewhere, to complain of the preſent Times, and commend the paſt, as if heretofore there were infinitely greater Quantities of Silver dug out of the Mines than at preſent: And, perhaps, with regard to particular Mines, it may be ſo; but, upon the Whole, doubtleſs the Quantities of Silver that are annually obtained in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies* abundantly exceeds what was formerly exported from thence. As to the Names of thoſe, which have been moſt remarkable, or are ſo at preſent, in the Country of *Peru*, they are theſe; *viz.* the Mines of *Loxa* and *Camora*, *Cuenca*, *Puerto Veio*, *St. Juan del Oro*: Theſe are wrought at preſent. Thoſe of *Oruro* and *Titiri* are neglected. Thoſe of *Porco* and *Plata* filled up. At *Potoſi* there are a great Number of Mines. And thoſe of *Tomina*, *Chocaia*, *Atacuma*, *Xuxui*, the *Calchaques*, *Guaſco*, *Iquique*, &c. are all wrought with more or leſs Profit; and this according to the Skill of their Proprietors, or of ſuch as have the Direction of theſe Works. It is generally believed, and there ſeems to be ſome Reaſon for it, that Experience has taught the Creolians here a perfect Acquaintance with Minerals, and the Art of treating them, ſo as to obtain the largeſt Profit. But, however, when one conſiders their Ignorance in other Arts, their going on conſtantly in the ſame beaten Track in this, together with their vaſt Waſte of Quickſilver, one is almoſt tempted to believe, that our *European* Miners might manage their Works to ſtill greater Advantages. This ſeems the more probable, when one reflects, that this Knowledge of theirs is not at all founded upon Principles, but is, properly ſpeaking, an Art built upon accidental Diſcoveries, in which there is little of Accuracy, and abundance of Uncertainty; which will be more evident to the Reader, when he has peruſed and conſidered the following Account of the Manner, in which the Silver is extracted from the Ore at the Mines.

The moſt perfect Silver that comes from thence, is in that Form which the *Spaniards* call *Pinnas*, which is a Lump of Silver extremely porous, becauſe it is the Remainder of a Paſte, made of Silver-duſt and Mercury; and the latter being exhaled, leaves this Remainder of the Maſs ſpongy, full of Holes, and light. It is this kind of Silver that is put into different Forms by the Merchants, in order to cheat the King of his Duty, though that is but very moderate; and therefore all Silver in this Condition, if found any-where on the Road, or on board any Ship, is looked upon as contraband Goods, and is liable to Seizure. In regard to the Art of Refining, therefore, I am to ſhew the Progreſs of the Ore from the Mine to this kind of Maſs or Cake: After having broken the Stone taken out of the Vein of Ore, they grind it in their Mills with Grind-ſtones, or in the *Ingenios Raales*, or Royal Engines, which conſiſt of Hammers or Pounders, like the *French* Plaſter-mills. They have generally a Wheel of about twenty-five or thirty Feet Diameter, whoſe long Axle-tree is ſet with ſmooth Triangles, which, as they turn, hook or lay hold of the Iron Hammers, lift them up to a certain Height, from whence they drop at once at every Turn; they generally weigh about 200 Weight, and fall ſo violently, that they cruſh and reduce the hardeſt Stones to Powder by their Weight alone. They afterwards ſift that Powder through Iron or Copper Sieves, to take away the fineſt, and return the reſt to the Mill. When the Ore happens to be mixed with ſome Metals, which obſtruct its falling to Powder, as Copper, then they calcine that in an Oven, and pound it over again.

In the little Mines, where they uſe none but Mills with Grind-ſtones, they, for the moſt part, grind the Ore with Water, which makes a liquid Mud, that runs into a Receiver; whereas, when it is ground dry, it muſt be afterwards ſteeped, and well moulded together with the Feet for a long time. To this Purpoſe they make a Court or Floor, where they diſpoſe that Mud in ſquare Parcels about a Foot thick, each of them containing half a *Caxon* or Cheſt, that is, twenty-five Quintals, or 100 Weight of Ore; and theſe they call *Cuerpos*, that is, Bodies. On each of them they throw about 200 Weight of Sea or common Salt, more or leſs, according to the Nature of the Ore, which they mould, and incorporate with the Earth for two or three Days. Then they add to it a certain Quantity of Quickſilver, ſqueezing a Purſe made of a Skin, into which they put it, to make it fall in Drops, with which they ſprinkle the Body or Maſs equally, according to the Nature and Quality of the Ore. They allow to each Maſs ten, fifteen, or twenty Pounds; for, the richer it is, the more Mercury it requires to draw to it the Silver it contains: So that they know not the Quantity, but by long Experience. An *Indian* is employed to mould one of theſe ſquare Parcels eight times a Day, to the end that the Mercury may incorporate with the Silver. To that Effect they often mix Lime with it, when the Ore happens to be greaſy, where Caution is to be uſed; for they ſay, it ſometimes grows ſo hot, that they neither find Mercury nor Silver in it; which ſeems incredible. Sometimes they alſo ſtrew among it ſome Lead or Tin-ore, to facilitate the Operation of the Mercury, which is ſlower in very cold Weather, than when it is temperate; for which Reaſon, at *Potoſi* and *Lipes*, they are often obliged to mould the Ore during a whole Month, or a Month and an half: But, in more temperate Climates, the Amalgama is made in eight or ten Days.

To facilitate the Operation of the Mercury, they in ſome Places, as at *Puno* and elſewhere, make their *Buiterons* or Floors on Arches, under which they keep Fires, to heat the Powder of the Ore, for twenty-four Hours, on a Pavement of Bricks. When it is thought, that the Mercury has attracted all the Silver, the Eſſayer takes a little Ore from each Parcel apart, which he waſhes in a little earthen Plate, or wooden Bowl; and, by the Colour of the Mercury found at the Bottom of the Bowl, knows whether it has had its Effect: For, when it is blackiſh, the Ore is too much heated; and then they add more Salt, or ſome other Drug. They ſay, that then the Mercury *diſpara*, that is, ſhoots or flies away. If the Mercury is white, they put a Drop under the Thumb, and, preſſing it haſtily, the Silver there is amongſt it remains ſticking to the Thumb; and the Mercury ſlips away in little Drops. In Concluſion, when they perceive, that all the Silver is gathered, they carry the Ore to a Baſon, into which a little Stream of Water runs, to waſh it, much in the ſame Nature as I ſhall ſhew they waſh the Gold, excepting that this being only a Mud without Stones, inſtead of an Hook to ſtir it, an *Indian* ſtirs it with his Feet, to diſſolve it. From the firſt Baſon it falls into a ſecond, where another *Indian* is, who ſtirs it again, to diſſolve it throughly, and looſen the Silver. From the ſecond it paſſes into a third, where the ſame is repeated, to the end that what has not ſunk to the Bottom of the firſt and ſecond, may not eſcape the third.

When all has been waſhed, and the Water runs clear, they find at the Bottom of the Baſons, which are lined with Leather, the Mercury incorporated with the Silver; which they call *Lapella*. It is put into a woollen Bag, hanging up, for ſome of the Quickſilver to drain through. They bind, beat and preſs it as much as they can, laying a Weight upon it, with flat Pieces of Wood; and, when they have got out as much as they can, they put the Paſte into a Mould of wooden Planks, which, being bound together, generally form the Figure of an octagon Pyramid, cut ſhort, the Bottom whereof is a Copper-plate, full of little Holes. There they ſtir, in order to faſten it; and, when they deſign to make many *Pinnas*, as they call them, that is, Lumps of various Weights, they divide them with little Beds or Layers of Earth, which hinder their coming together. To that End the *Pella* or Maſs muſt be weighed, deducting two-thirds for the Mercury that is in it; and they know, within a ſmall Matter, what net Silver there is. They then take off the Mould, and place the *Pinna* or Maſs, with its Copper Baſe, on a Trivet, or ſuch-like Inſtrument, ſtanding over a great earthen Veſſel full of Water, and cover it with an earthen Cap or Covering, which they again cover with lighted Coals; which Fire they feed for ſome Hours, that the Maſs may grow violent hot, and the Mercury that is in it evaporate in Smoke; but that Smoke having no Paſſage out, it circulates in the Hollow that is between the Maſs and Cap, or Covering, till, coming down to the Water that is underneath, it condenſes, and ſinks to the Bottom again, converted into Quickſilver. Thus, little of it is loſt; and the ſame ſerves ſeveral times: But the Quantity muſt be increaſed, becauſe it grows weak. However, they formerly conſumed at *Potoſi* 6 or 7000 Quintals or hundred Weight of Quickſilver every Year, as *Acoſta* writes; by which a Judgment may be made of the Silver they got.

When the Mercury is evaporated, there remains nothing, but a ſpongy Lump of contiguous Grains of Silver, very light, and almoſt mouldering, which the *Spaniards* call *la Pinna*; and is, as I obſerved, a contraband Commodity from the Mines, becauſe, by the Laws of the Kingdom, they are obliged to carry it to the King's Receipt, or to the Mint, to pay the fifth to his Majeſty there. Thoſe Maſſes are caſt into Ingots, on which the Arms of the Crown are ſtamped, as alſo that of the Place where they were caſt, their Weight and Quality, with the Fineneſs of the Silver to anſwer the Meaſure of all Things, according to an antient Philoſopher. It is always certain, that the Ingots, which have paid the fifth, have no Fraud in them; but it is not ſo with the *Pinnas* or Maſſes not caſt. Thoſe who make them, often convey into the Middle of them Iron, Sand, and other Things, to increaſe the Weight; ſo that, in Prudence, they ought to be opened, and made red-hot at the Fire, for the more Certainty; for, if falſified, the Fire will either turn it black, or yellow, or melt it more eaſily. This Trial is alſo to extract a Moiſture they contract in Places where they are laid on purpoſe to make them the heavier. In ſhort, their Weight may be increaſed one-third by dipping them in Water when they are red-hot, as alſo by ſeparating the Mercury, with which the Bottom of the Maſs is always more impregnated than the Top. It alſo ſometimes happens, that the ſame Maſs is of different Fineneſs. The Stones taken from the Mines, the Ore, or, to ſpeak in the Language of *Peru*, the *Mineray*, from which the Silver is extracted, is not always of the ſame Nature, Conſiſtence, or Colour. There are ſome white and grey, mixed with red or bluiſh Spots, which is called *Plata Blanca*, or white Silver. The Mines of *Lipes* are moſt of them of this ſort. For the moſt part there appear ſome little Grains of Silver, and very often ſmall Branches, extending along the Layers of the Stone. There are ſome, on the other hand, as black as the Droſs of Iron, in which the Silver does not appear, called *negrillo*, that is, blackiſh. Sometimes it is black with Lead, for which Reaſon it is called *Plomo ronco*, that is, coarſe Lead, in which the Silver appears as if ſcratched with ſomething that is harſh; and it is generally the richeſt, and got with leaſt Charge, becauſe, inſtead of moulding it with Quickſilver, it is melted in Furnaces, where the Lead evaporates by dint of Fire, and leaves the Silver pure and clean.

From that Sort of Mines the *Indians* drew their Silver, becauſe, having no Uſe of *Mercury*, as the *Europeans* have, they only wrought thoſe whoſe Ore would melt; and, having but little Wood, they heated their Furnaces with Ylo, and the Dung of Llamas, or Sheep, and other Beaſts, expoſing them on the Mountains, that the Wind might keep the Fire fierce. This is all the Secret the Hiſtorians of *Peru* ſpeak of, as of ſomething wonderful. There is another Sort of Ore like this, as black, and in which the Silver does not appear at all; on the contrary, if it be wetted, and rubbed againſt Iron, it turns red; for which Reaſon it is called *Roſicler*, ſignifying the Ruddineſs of the Dawn of the Day. This is very rich, and affords the fineſt Silver. There is ſome that glitters like Talc or Iſinglaſs; this is generally naught, and yields little Silver; the Name of it is *Zoroche*; the Peel, which is of a yellowiſh Red, is very ſoft, and broken in Bits, but ſeldom rich; and the Mines of it are wrought on account of the Eaſineſs of getting the Ore: There is ſome green, not much harder than the laſt, called *Cobriſſo*, or copperiſh; it is very rare: However, though the Silver generally appears in it, and it is almoſt mouldering, it is the hardeſt to be managed, that is, to have the Silver extracted from it; ſometimes, after being ground, it muſt be burnt in the Fire, and ſeveral other Methods uſed to ſeparate it; doubtleſs, becauſe it is mixed with Copper. Laſtly, there is another Sort of very rare Ore, which has been found at *Potoſi*, only in the Mine of *Cotamiſo*, being Threads of pure Silver, intangled or wound up together like burnt Lace, ſo fine, that they called it *Arana*, Spider, from its Reſemblance to a Cobweb.

The Veins of Mines, of what Sort ſoever they be, are generally richer in the Middle, than towards the Edges; and, when two Veins happen to croſs one another, the Place where they meet is always very rich. It is alſo obſerved, that thoſe which lie North and South, are richer than thoſe which lie any other Way. Thoſe which are near Places where Mills can be erected, and that are more commodiouſly wrought, are often preferable to the richer, that require more Expence; which is the Reaſon, that, at *Lipes*, and at *Potoſi*, a Cheſt of Ore muſt yield ten Marks, of eight Ounces each Mark, of Silver, to pay the prime Charges: and, at thoſe of the Province of *Tarama*, five pay them. When they are rich, and ſink downwards, they are ſubject to be flooded; and then they muſt have recourſe to Pumps and Machines, or elſe drain them by thoſe they call *Cocabones*, being Paſſages made in the Side of the Mountain for the Water to run out at; which often ruin the Owners, by the exceſſive Expence they inſenſibly draw them into. There are other ways of ſeparating the Silver from the Stones that confine it, and from the other Metals that are mixed with it, by Fire, or ſtrong ſeparating Waters, made uſe of at ſome Mines, where other Means fail, and where they make a ſort of Ingots, which they call *Bollos*; but the moſt general and uſeful Method is to make *Pinnas* or Maſſes, above-mentioned, which are preferred to other Forms, on account of their Eaſineſs in making, and that they ſave Fire, and other Ingredients; which is a thing of great Conſequence in Works of this Nature, where, to ſave in the Expence, has the ſame Effect as finding the Mine.

13. It is very natural to ſuppoſe, that, in Mines, as well as other Things, there happen great Variations in their Products, and in the Value of the Product. The Mines which very lately yielded moſt Silver, are thoſe of *Oruro*, a little Town eighty Leagues from *Arica*. In the Year 1712. one ſo rich was found at *Ollachea*, near *Cuſco*, that it yielded 2500 Marks, of eight Ounces each, out of every Cheſt, that is almoſt one fifth Part of the Ore; but it has declined much, and is now reckoned but among the ordinary Sort. Next to theſe are thoſe at *Lipes*, which have had the ſame Fate. Laſtly, thoſe at *Potoſi* yield but little, and cauſe a vaſt Expence by reaſon of their great Depth. But, notwithſtanding the Mines here are far diminiſhed in their Product, yet the Quantity of Ore that has been already wrought, and lain many Years upon the Surface, is thought capable to yield a ſecond Crop; and, when I was at *Lima*, they were actually turning it up, and new-milling it, with great Succeſs; which is a Proof, that theſe Minerals generate in the Earth like all other inanimate Things; and it is likewiſe certain, from all Accounts of the *Spaniards*, that Gold and Silver, as well as other Metals, are continually growing and forming themſelves in the Earth. This Opinion is verified by Experience in the Mountain of *Potoſi*, where ſeveral Mines have fallen in, and buried the Workmen, with their Tools; after ſome Years, they have dug the ſame Place, and diſcovered many Bones, and Pieces of Wood, with Veins of Silver actually running through them. Theſe Mines belong to him who firſt diſcovers them: He immediately preſents a Petition to the Magiſtrates to have ſuch a Piece of Earth for his own; which is no ſooner done than granted: They meaſure eighty *Spaniſh* Yards in Length, and forty over, which is about 1200 Foot in Length, and 100 in Breadth; and yield it to the Diſcoverer, who chuſes what Space he thinks fit, and does what he pleaſes with it. Then they meaſure juſt the ſame Quantity for the King, which is ſold to the beſt Bidder, there being many who are willing to purchaſe a Treaſure which may prove ineſtimable. If any other Perſon has a mind to work Part of the Mine himſelf, he bargains with the Proprietor for a particular Vein. All that ſuch an one digs out is his own, paying the King's Duty, which is for Gold a 20th Part, and for Silver a 5th; and ſome Landlords find ſuch an Account in letting out their Ground, and their Mills, that they live upon the Profit.

At *Copiapo* there are Gold Mines juſt beyond the Town; and all about the Country likewiſe, which have brought many Purchaſers and Workmen thither, to the great Damage of the *Indians*; for the *Spaniſh* Magiſtrates take away not only their Lands, but their Horſes, which they ſell to the new Proprietors, under Pretence of ſerving the King, and improving the Settlements: There is alſo a great deal of Magnet and Lapis Lazuli, which the *Indians* know not the Value of: And, ſome Leagues in the Country, there is plenty of Salt and Saltpetre, which often lies an Inch thick on the Ground. About an hundred Miles Eaſt, upon the *Cordelier* Mountains, there is a Vein of Sulphur two Feet wide, ſo fine and pure, that it needs no cleaning. This Part of the Country is full of all Sorts of Mines; but, in other reſpects, is ſo barren, that the Natives fetch all their Subſiſtence from *Coquimbo*, and that Way, being a mere Deſert for 300 Miles together; and the Earth abounds ſo much with Salt and Sulphur, that the Mules often periſh for want of Graſs, and ſweet Water. There is but one River in 200 Miles, which the *Indians* call *Ancalulae*, or *Hypocrite*, becauſe it runs only from Sun-riſe to Sun-ſet: This is occaſioned from the great Quantity of Snow melted from the *Cordeliers* in the Day time, which freezes again at Night, where the Cold is often ſo great, the People's Features are quite diſtorted. Hence *Chili* takes its Name, *Chile* ſignifying Cold in the *Indian* Language; and we are certainly informed by the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians, that ſome of their Countrymen, and others, who firſt traded this Way, died ſtiff with Cold upon their Mules; for which Reaſon the Road is now always lower towards the Coaſt.

The Mine Countries are all ſo cold and barren, that the Inhabitants get moſt of their Proviſion from the Coaſt; this is cauſed by the Salts and Sulphurs exhaled from the Earth, which deſtroy the Seed of all Vegetables. The *Spaniards* who live thereabout, find them ſo ſtifling, that they drink often of the *Mattea*, to moiſten their Mouths. The Mules, that trip it nimbly over the Mountains, are forced to walk gently about the Mines, and ſtop often, to fetch Breath. If theſe Vapours are ſo ſtrong without, what muſt they be within the Mine itſelf, where, if a freſh Man goes, he is ſuddenly benumbed with Pain? And this is the Caſe of many an one; but this Diſtemper ſeldom laſts above a Day, and they are not ſo affected a ſecond time; but Vapours have often burſt out ſo furiouſly, that Workmen have been killed on the Spot, ſo that one way or other Multitudes of *Indians* die in their Calling. An Obſervation occurs here to my Memory, that, upon the Road to *Piura*, at Night, when we lay down to ſleep, our Mules went eagerly to ſearch for a certain Root, not unlike a Parſnep, though much bigger, which affords a great deal of Juice, and, in ſuch a ſandy Plain, often ſerves inſtead of Water: But, when the Mules are very thirſty, and they cannot eaſily rake up the Root with their Feet, they will ſtand over it and bray, till the *Indians* come to their Aſſiſtance. One would wonder, that, throughout all this Part of the World, that Portion of the Country ſhould be beſt inhabited which is moſt barren and unwholſome, while thoſe Spots, that ſeem to vie with Paradiſe itſelf for Beauty and Fertility, are but thinly peopled. Yet, when one conſiders, that it is not the Love of Eaſe, but the Thirſt of Wealth, that draws People hither, the Difficulty is very eaſily ſolved; and we ſee at once, how much the Hopes of Living rich, gets the better of the Hopes of Living; as if the ſole End, for which a Man was created, was to acquire Wealth, at the Expence of Health and Happineſs.

It is generally underſtood, that Silver is the peculiar Wealth of *Peru*; and the *Spaniards* uſually talk, as to Gold Mines, of thoſe that are to be found in *Chili*; but, notwithſtanding this, there are one or two Waſhing-places for Gold in the South Part of *Peru*, near the Frontiers of *Chili*. About the Year 1709. there were two ſurpriſing large Lumps of Virgin Gold found in one of theſe Places, one of which weighed thirty-two Pounds complete, and was purchaſed by the Count *de Moncloa*, then Viceroy of *Peru*, and preſented to the King of *Spain*; the other was ſhaped ſomewhat like an Ox's Heart; it weighed twenty-two Pounds and an half, and was bought by the Corregidor of

Arica. To find theſe Lavadores, or Waſhing-places, they dig in the Corners of a little Brook, where, by certain Tokens, they judge the Grains of Gold to lie. To aſſiſt in carrying away the Mud, they let a freſh Stream into it, and keep turning it up, that the Current may ſend it along. When they are come to the Golden Sand, they turn off the Stream another Way, and dig with Mattocks; and this Earth they carry upon Mules to certain Baſons, joined together by ſmall Chanels; into theſe they let a ſmart Stream of Water, to looſen the Earth, and carry all the groſs Part away. The *Indians* ſtanding in the Baſons, and throwing out all the Stones, the Gold at Bottom is ſtill mixed with a black Sand, and hardly to be ſeen, till it be farther cleared and ſeparated, which is eaſily done. But theſe Waſhing-places differ; for, in ſome, there are Gold Grains as big as Bird-ſhot; and in one, belonging to the Prieſts near *Valparaiſo*, ſome were found, from two or three Ounces to a Pound and an half Weight. This Way of getting Gold is much better than from the Mines; here is no need of Iron Crows, Mills, or Quickſilver; ſo that both the Trouble and Expence are much leſs. The Creolians are not ſo curious in waſhing their Gold, as the People in *Europe*; but great Plenty makes them careleſs in that and many other Articles.

15. It would be needleſs to attempt in this Place a Deſcription of the large Kingdom of *Chili*, becauſe it has been already done by many Authors: All that is deſigned here, is to give ſuch a Repreſentation of it, as may enable the Reader to comprehend the Nature of its Trade, the Manner in which it is connected with the general Commerce of *Peru*, by which the Wealth drawn from it is tranſmitted to *Europe*. It is in Length, from North to South, about 1200 Miles, the Breadth of it very uncertain; the Air is very temperate and wholſome, unleſs rendered otherwiſe by peſtilential Exhalations, that are moſt common after Earthquakes, to which this Country is very ſubject. The Winter Rains, during the Months of *May*, *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, are exceſſively heavy; but then, for eight Months together, they have, generally ſpeaking, fine Weather. The Soil is prodigiouſly fertile, where it admits of Cultivation; ſuch Fruit-trees as are carried thither from *Europe*, come to the greateſt Perfection; ſo that the Fruit is coming forward all the Year; and it is common to ſee Apple-trees in that Situation, which we ſo much admire in Orange-trees; that is to ſay, with Bloſſoms, Apples juſt formed, green Apples, and ripe Fruit all at the ſame time. The Valleys, where-ever they have any Moiſture, wear a perpetual Verdure; and the Hills are covered with odoriferous Herbs, very uſeful in Phyſic. There are Trees of all ſorts, and fit for every kind of Uſe; inſomuch that, independent of its Gold Mines, *Chili* might be well accounted one of the richeſt and fineſt Countries in the Univerſe. And, indeed, there are ſome Places in it, which are as beautiful as any thing the warmeſt Imagination can paint: For inſtance, the Town of *Coquimbo*, in Lat. 30° South, a ſhort Mile from the Sea, ſtanding on a green riſing Ground, about ten Yards high, which Nature has regularly formed like a Terrace, North and South, in a direct Line, of more than half a Mile, turning at each Side to the Eaſtward. The firſt Street makes a delightful Walk, having the Proſpect of the Country round it, and the Bay before it; all this is ſweetly placed in a Valley ever green, and watered with a River; which, taking its Riſe from among the Mountains, flows through the Vales and Meadows, in a winding Stream, to the Sea.

But notwithſtanding all theſe Advantages, this vaſt Country is very thinly inhabited; inſomuch that, through its whole Extent, there are ſcarce five Towns that deſerve that Appellation, and but one City, which is that of *St. Iago*; throughout all the reſt there are only Farms, which they call *Eſtancias*, ſo remote from one another, that the whole Country, as I have been informed from good Hands, cannot raiſe 20,000 Whites fit to bear Arms, and particularly *St. Iago* 2000; the reſt are all Meſtizos, Mulattos, and *Indians*, whoſe Number may be three times as great, without including the friendly *Indians* beyond the River *Biobio*, who are reckoned to amount to 15,000, whoſe Fidelity, however, is not much to be depended on. The Trade of this Country is chiefly carried on by Sea, and is, at preſent, rather in a declining than flouriſhing Condition. The Port of *Baldivia* was formerly very famous, on account of the very rich Mines of Gold that were in its Neighbourhood, which are now, in a great meaſure, diſuſed; ſo that it is only kept as a Gariſon, and ſerves in this reſpect to *Peru*, as the Fortreſſes on the *Barbary* Coaſt do to *Spain*, *viz.* to receive Malefactors, who are ſent thither to ſerve againſt the *Indians*. All the Trade of that Town conſiſts in ſending ten or twelve Ships a Year to *Peru*, laden with Hides, tanned Leather, ſalt Meat, Corn, and other Proviſions, which are to be had here in great Plenty.

The Port of *Conception* is more conſiderable, by reaſon of their Commerce with the *Indians*, which are not ſubject to the Crown of *Spain*. Theſe *Indians* are of a Copper Colour, have large Limbs, broad Faces, and coarſe lank Hair. The Nation of the *Puelches* differ ſomewhat from the reſt, becauſe amongſt them there are ſome pretty white, and who have a little Colour in their Cheeks, which is ſuppoſed to be owing to their having ſome *European* Blood in their Veins, ever ſince the Natives of this Country revolted from the *Spaniards*, and cut off moſt of their Gariſons. They preſerved the Women, and eſpecially the Nuns, with whom they cohabited, and had many Children, who have a ſort of natural Affection for their Mothers Country; and, though they are too proud to ſubmit to the *Spaniards*, yet they are not willing to hurt them. Theſe People inhabit that Ridge of the Mountains which the *Spaniards* call *La Cordilera*; and, as the Manner of Trading with them is very ſingular, it may not be amiſs to give an Account of it.

When the *Spaniſh* Pedlar, or walking Merchant, makes a Tour into this Country, he goes directly to the Cacique, or Chief, and preſents himſelf before him without ſpeaking a Word: The Cacique breaks Silence firſt; and ſays to the Merchant, Are you come? Then he anſwering, I am come. What have you brought me? replies the Cacique. I bring you, rejoins the *Spaniard*, Wine (A neceſſary Article!) and ſuch a thing. Whereupon the Cacique fails not to ſay, You are welcome. He appoints him a Lodging near his own Cottage, where his Wives and Children, bidding him welcome, each of them alſo demand a Preſent, which he gives, though never ſo ſmall: At the ſame time the Cacique, with the Horn-trumpet which he has by him, gives notice to his ſcattered Subjects of the Arrival of a Merchant, with whom they may trade: They come and ſee the Commodities, which are Knives and Axes, Combs, Needles, Thread, Looking-glaſſes, Ribbands, *&c.* The beſt of all would be Wine, were it not dangerous to ſupply them therewith, to make them drunk; for then they are not ſafe among them, becauſe they are apt to kill one another. When they have agreed upon the Barter, they carry the Things home without paying; ſo that the Merchant delivers all without knowing to whom, or ſeeing any of his Debtors: In ſhort, when he deſigns to go away, the Cacique orders Payment by ſounding the Horn again; then every Man honeſtly brings the Cattle he owes; and, becauſe theſe conſiſt of Mules, Goats, and eſpecially Oxen and Cows, he commands a ſufficient Number of Men to conduct them to the *Spaniſh* Frontiers. By what has been ſaid may be obſerved, that as much Civility and Honeſty is to be found among theſe People, whom we call Savages, as among the moſt polite and well-governed Nations.

That great Number of Bullocks and Cows, which are conſumed in *Chili*, where abundance are ſlaughtered every Year, comes from the Plains of *Paraguay*, which are covered with them. The *Puelches* bring them through the Plain of *Tapapapa*, inhabited by the *Ptebeingues*, or unconquered *Indians*, being the beſt Paſs to croſs the Mountains, becauſe divided into two Hills, of leſs difficult Acceſs than the others, which are almoſt impaſſable for Mules. There is another, eighty Leagues from *La Conception*, at the burning Mountain, called *Silla Velluda*, which now-and-then caſts out Fire, and ſometimes with ſo great a Noiſe, that it is heard in the City; that Way the Journey is very much ſhortened, and they go in ſix Weeks to *Buenos Ayres*. By theſe Communications, they generally make good all the Herds of Beeves and Goats, which they ſlaughter in

Chili by Thouſands, for Tallow and Lard, made by trying up the Fat and the Marrow of the Bones, which, throughout all *South America*, ſerves inſtead of Butter or Oil, not uſed by them in their Sauces: The Fleſh they either dry in the Sun, or in the Smoke, to preſerve it inſtead of ſalting, as is uſed in *France*. Theſe Slaughters alſo afford the Hides, and eſpecially the Goats-skins, which they dreſs like *Morocco* Leather, by them called *Cordovanes*, and ſent to *Peru* to make Shoes, or for other Uſes. Beſides the Trade of Hides, Tallow, and Salt-meat, the Inhabitants of *La Conception* deal in Corn, with which they, every Year, lade eight or ten Ships, of forty or fifty Tons Burden, for the Port of *Calao*; beſides the Meal and Biſcuit they ſupply the *French* Ships with, that take in Proviſions there to proceed to *Peru*, and to return to *France*. All this would be inconſiderable for ſo fine a Country, ſince, if the Land were well improved, it is ſo extraordinary fertile, and ſo eaſy to till, that they only ſcratch it with the Plough for the moſt part, made of one ſingle crooked Branch of a Tree, drawn by two Oxen; and, though the Grain is ſcarce covered, it ſeldom produces leſs than an Hundredfold: Nor do they take any more Pains in procuring their Vines to have good Wine; but, as they know not how to glaze the Jars they put it into, they are fain to pitch them, which, together with the Taſte of the Goat-skins, in which they carry it about, gives it a Bitterneſs like Treacle, and a Scent, to which it is hard for Strangers to accuſtom themſelves. The Fruit grows after the ſame manner, without any Induſtry, on their Part, in Grafting: Apples and Pears grow naturally in the Woods; and, conſidering the Quantity there is of them, it is hard to comprehend how theſe Trees, ſince the Conqueſt, could multiply, and be diffuſed into ſo many Parts, if it is true, there were none before, as they affirm. The Mines of *Quilogoya* and *Quilacura* lie within four Leagues of this Port, and afford vaſt Quantities of Gold; and the *Eſtancia del Re*, or King's Farm, which is alſo at no great Diſtance, is by very far the moſt plentiful *Lavadero*, or Waſhing-place, in all *Chili*, where there are ſometimes found Lumps of pure Gold of a prodigious Size. The Mountains of *La Cordillera* are reported to be a continual Chain of Mines, for many hundred Miles together; which is ſo much the more probable, becauſe, hitherto, ſcarce any of theſe Mountains have been opened, but vaſt Quantities of Metals have been found in them, particularly Copper, remarkably fine, of which all the Artillery in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, or at leaſt in the South Seas, are caſt.

There is another conſiderable Port in *Chili*, and, indeed, the moſt conſiderable of them all, which is that of *Valparaiſo*, which is eſteemed one of the beſt Harbours in the South Seas. It lies upon a River, fifteen Leagues below *St. Iago*, the Capital of *Chili*. To this Port all the Riches of the Gold Mines behind it, and on every Side, are brought, particularly from thoſe of *Tiltil*, which are immenſely rich, and lie between this Port and the City of *St. Iago*. The Gold here is found in a very hard Stone, ſome of which ſparkles, and betrays the incloſed Treaſure to the Eye; but moſt of it has not the leaſt Sign of Gold, but appears to be an hard harſh kind of Stone, of very different Colours, ſome white, ſome red, ſome black. This Ore, broken to-pieces, is ground in a Mill, by the Help of Water, into a groſs Powder, with which Quickſilver is afterwards mixed: To this Paſte they let in a ſharp Stream of Water; which having reduced it to a kind of Mud, the earthy Particles are carried off by the Current, and the Gold and Quickſilver precipitated, by their own Weight, to the Bottom: When this Mud has ſettled a little into a ſort of Paſte, they put it into a Linen Bag; ſtrain it very hard, by which Operation the Mercury is driven out, or at leaſt the greateſt Part of it; and the Remainder they evaporate by the Help of Fire; ſo that they have all the Gold together in a little Wedge, like a Pine-apple, and thence it derives its Name of *Pinna*. In order to clear the Gold from the Silver it is firſt impregnated with, the Lump muſt be run; and then they know the exact Weight, and the true Fineneſs; it is not done any otherwiſe there. The Weightineſs of the Gold, and the Facility of its making an Amalgama, or Paſte, with the Mercury, makes the Droſs immediately part from it: This is an Advantage the Gold-miners have over thoſe of Silver; they every Day know what they get; whereas the others ſometimes do not know it till two Months after, as has been ſaid in another Place. According to the Nature of the Mines, and the Richneſs of the Veins, every Caxon, or fifty Quintals, that is, Hundred-weight, yields, four, five, or ſix Ounces: When it yields but two, the Miner does not make good his Charge, which often happens; but he has alſo ſometimes good Amends made him, when he meets with good Veins; for the Gold Mines are, of all Mines, thoſe which produce Metals the moſt unequally. They follow a Vein, which grows wider, then narrower, and ſometimes ſeems to be loſt in a ſmall Space of Ground. This Sport of Nature makes the Miners live in Hopes of finding what they call the Purſe, being the Ends of Veins, ſo rich, that they have ſometimes made a Man wealthy at once: And this ſame Inequality ſometimes ruins them; which is the Reaſon, that it is more rare to ſee a Gold-miner rich than a Silver-miner, or of any other Metal, though there be leſs Expence in drawing it from the Mineral, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. For this Reaſon, alſo, the Miners have particular Privileges; for they cannot be ſued to Execution on civil Accounts; and Gold pays only a twentieth Part to the King, which is called *Covo*, from the Name of a private Perſon, to whom the King made the Grant, becauſe they uſed before to pay the fifth, as they do of Silver.

On the Deſcent of this Mountain, there runs, during the Winter, or rather during the rainy Seaſon, a pretty brisk Stream of Water, which, paſſing through the Gold Ore, waſhes away abundance of that rich Metal, as it ripens and breaks from its Bed: And therefore, for about four Months in the Year, this is accounted one of the richeſt Lavaderos in *Chili*; and very well it may, ſince there are ſometimes found Pellets of pure Gold, of the Weight of an Ounce. At *Palma*, which is but four Leagues from *Valparaiſo*, there is another rich Lavadero; and every-where, throughout the Country, the Fall of a Brook, or Rivulet, is attended more or leſs with theſe kind of Golden Showers, the richeſt of which fall into the Laps of the Jeſuits, who farm or purchaſe abundance of Mines and Lavaderos, which are wrought for their Benefit by their Servants. The Soil about this Port is exceſſive rich and fruitful; ſo that forty Ships a Year go from hence to *Lima*, laden with Corn; and, notwithſtanding their prodigious Exportation, that Commodity is ſo cheap here, where Money at the ſame time is ſo plenty, that an *Engliſh* Buſhel may be bought for leſs than three Shillings; and it would be much cheaper ſtill, if all the Country could be cultivated; but, as they have dry Weather for eight Months together, this is impoſſible, except where there are Brooks, or little Rills, running from the Mountains through the Vales.

But before we cloſe this Subject, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that there is a great Trade carried on through all *Chili*, from the North Seas, by the Way of *Buenos Ayres*, by which they receive ſome *European* Goods, and a very large Balance of Silver in Return for their Commodities. This is, perhaps, the greateſt Inland Commerce in the World; for the Road, from *Buenos Ayres* to *Potoſi*, is 1500 Miles; and, though the Diſtance from *Valparaiſo* be not above 160 Leagues more, yet it is croſſed with greater Difficulty than all the reſt; becauſe they are obliged to paſs that Chain of Mountains ſo often mentioned, called by the *Spaniards La Cordillera*, which Paſſage can be attempted only during the three firſt Months in the Year, when the Paſſages are open, and the Merchants come from *Mendoza*, which is an Inland Town, about 300 Leagues from *Buenos Ayres* to the City of *St. Iago*, which lies at the Opening of the Paſſes from the *Cordilleras*. This Journey through the Mountains takes up ſix or ſeven Days, tho' not above ſixty Leagues; and the Paſſengers are obliged to carry with them not only Proviſions for themſelves, and their Attendants, but Provender likewiſe for their Mules, the whole Road being a continual Tract of Rocks and Precipices, and the Country round about ſo exceſſively barren, and withal ſo expoſed to Snows in the Winter, that there is no living in it. The Journey, however, from *St. Iago* to the Mines, and from thence to *Valparaiſo*, is equally ſafe and pleaſant; and the Merchants have nothing to trouble them, but the Fear of ſtaying too long, and loſing their Paſſage

Home through the Mountains; in caſe of which, they muſt be obliged to ſtay at leaſt nine Months longer than they intended. The Reader will obſerve, that this Journey, from *Buenos Ayres* to *Valparaiſo*, is directly athwart the whole Continent of *South America*; which is a clear Proof of the mighty Extent of the *Spaniſh* Empire, which reaches here from Sea to Sea. On the Whole, though a very great Part of the Country be abſolutely deſert; and, in ſome Places where it is inhabited, the People do not acquire great Fortunes; yet, unqueſtionably, the *Spaniards* ſettled in *Chili* acquire annually immenſe Riches; ſince, as we obſerved before, the Country is very thinly peopled, and all the Gold that is drawn from the Mines, or Lavadores, muſt be divided amongſt them.

Yet it is agreed, that a great Part of the Inhabitants do not ſeem to abound in Wealth; which, however, may be very well accounted for, if we conſider, that ſuch as deal in Cattle, Corn, and the other Product of the Country, acquire but moderate Fortunes; and ſuch as are concerned in Mines are frequently ruined, by launching into too great Expences about them. But, after all, ſuch as are eaſy in their Circumſtances, and, in conſequence of that Eaſe, retire to *St. Iago*, live in ſuch a Manner, as ſufficiently demonſtrates the Riches of *Chili*, ſince all their Utenſils, even thoſe that are moſt common, are of pure Gold; and it is believed, that the Wealth of that City alone cannot fall ſhort of 20,000,000. Add to this, that the Gold Mines are continually increaſing, and it is only for want of Hands that they are not wrought to infinitely more Advantage, thoſe already diſcovered, and neglected, being ſufficient to employ 40,000 Men. It may be likewiſe obſerved, that the Frauds practiſed for deceiving the King increaſe daily; and, as they meaſure the Riches of the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies* by the Standard of the King's Revenue, this muſt neceſſarily make them appear poorer than they really are. We have an Inſtance of this in the Mines of *Potoſi*, which are ſaid to yield leſs Silver than they did formerly; yet, on a Computation for fifty Years, the King's annual Revenue from thoſe Mines has amounted to 220,000 Peſos of thirteen Rials and a quarter each; which ſhews, that the annual Produce of theſe Mines, for which the legal Duty is paid, amounts nearly to 2,000,000 Pieces of Eight *per Annum*; and we may boldly aſſert, that the King does not receive above half of what is due: And from this Example we may judge of the reſt.

16. As the Policy of the *Spaniard* conſiſts chiefly in endeavouring, by all Ways and Means poſſible, to reſtrain the vaſt Riches of thoſe extenſive Dominions from paſſing into other Hands, ſo the Knowledge that other Nations have of the mighty Wealth of theſe Countries, on the one hand, and of the great Demand for *European* Manufactures among their Inhabitants, on the other, has excited almoſt every Nation in *Europe* to practiſe all Methods poſſible, in order to gain a Share in them; and this with ſo good Effect, that it is very doubtful, whether any conſiderable Part of the Riches in the *Weſt Indies* centres among the Inhabitants of *Old Spain*. This will appear very plainly to the Reader, if he conſiders, that, in the firſt Place, the very Trade carried on from *Spain* is of much greater Conſequence to Foreigners, than to the *Spaniards* themſelves; for, as there are few Commodities, and ſcarce any Manufactures in that Country, the *Spaniſh* Merchants at *Cadiz* make up their Cargoes out of what they purchaſe from other Countries; or rather, the Merchants at *Cadiz* are barely Factors for the *Engliſh*, *French* and *Dutch*, whoſe Goods they ſend to *America*, and pay them out of the Returns made by the Plate Fleets. We are likewiſe to conſider, that *Spain* itſelf is a Country very ill provided with ſome of the Neceſſaries, and moſt of the Conveniencies, of Life; ſo that prodigious Sums of Money are annually exported to obtain theſe.

But, beſides ſuch Drawbacks as thoſe we have mentioned, to which the *Spaniards* would willingly ſubmit, there are many others, which they are forced to endure: For Inſtance, all the Negroes they employ in their Plantations, where every kind of Labour is done by theſe ſort of People, all theſe Negroes, I ſay, are purchaſed from Foreigners, particularly the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, at a very large Expence every Year. Add to this, that, under Pretence of furniſhing them with Negroes, there is a clandeſtine Trade continually carried on from one End to the other of their Coaſts upon the North Sea.

But, in the South Seas, they were pretty ſafe from every thing, but the Depredations of Pirates, till the laſt general War on account of the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Spain*; which created a new kind of contraband Trade, unknown to former Times, I mean, that of the *French* Interlopers, who carried vaſt Quantities of Goods directly from *Europe* into the South Seas, which, till then, ſcarce any other Nation had attempted. This was always looked upon with an evil Eye by the Court of *Madrid*, as being directly repugnant to the Intereſt of *Spain*, and the Maxims of their Government; but, as there were many Circumſtances at that time, which rendered this a kind of neceſſary Evil, the *Spaniards* were forced to ſubmit to it, I mean by *Spaniards*, the Inhabitants of *Old Spain*; for, as to the Creolians, if they had *European* Goods, and at a cheaper Rate, it would not give them much Concern who took their Money for them. The Hiſtory of theſe *French* Interlopers is, in itſelf, ſo important, as well as curious, and is, at the ſame time, ſo very little known in *England*, that there is good Reaſon to believe, it will prove acceptable, and be well received; the rather becauſe it is compoſed of ſuch Remarks, as fell immediately within my own Sphere of Obſervation, and as to the Truth of which I am myſelf a competent Witneſs: So that every thing may be taken for certain, that I advance. I may have Leave alſo to put the Reader in mind, that, having a great Intimacy with moſt of the Officers I mention, this enabled me to come at many Particulars, which another Man, in my Situation, would have been abſolutely unacquainted with. But to come to Matters of Fact:

The Town of *St. Malo* has always been noted for good Privateers: They annoyed the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* very much in their Trade during the whole Reign of King *William*, and Part of Queen *Anne*; and, tho' ſome religious-headed People fancy, that Money got by Privateering won't proſper, yet I may venture to ſay, the *St. Malomen* are as rich and flouriſhing, as any People in *France*. It has thrived ſo well with them, that all their *South Sea* Trade is owing to their Privateering; and, in the late War, they were ſo generous, that they made ſeveral free Gifts to *Lewis* XIV. And tho' our *Engliſh* Admiralty always kept a ſtout Squadron cruiſing in the *Atlantic Ocean*, yet we never took one of their *South Seamen*: And my Reaſon for it is this; they kept their Ships extremely clean, having Ports to careen at, which we did not think of; for, in the Year 1709, when I belonged to her Majeſty's Ship the *Loo*, being one of the Convoys that Year to *Newfoundland*, we ſaw upon the Coaſt a fifty-gun Ship, which we chaſed, and ſoon diſcovered ſhe was *French* built; but ſhe crouded Sail, and left us in a very little time. She had juſt been cleaned at *Placentia*: And we might well wonder to find ſuch a Ship in that Part of the World; but were afterwards informed by *French* Priſoners, that ſhe was a *Frenchman*, and bound to *St. Malo*, with two or three Million of Dollars aboard; and was then ſo trim, that ſhe truſted to her Heels, and valued nobody. By their going ſo far to Weſtward, and Northward withal, they had the Advantage of Weſterly Winds, which ſeldom failed of ſending them into Soundings at one Spirt, if not quite home. But, ſince *Placentia* has been yielded to *Great Britain*, they now make uſe of *St. Catharina*, the Iſland *Grande* on the Coaſt of *Braſil*, and *Martinico* in the *Weſt Indies*.

This Trade ſucceeded ſo well, that they all fell into it, ſending every Year to the Number of twenty Sail of Ships. I ſaw myſelf eleven Sail together on the Coaſt of *Chili* in the Year 1721, among which were ſeveral of fifty Guns, and one that could mount ſeventy, called the *Flower-de-Luce*, formerly a Man of War. This being contrary to the *Aſſiento* Treaty between *Spain* and *Great Britain*, Memorials were frequently preſented at *Madrid*; and the King of *Spain*, willing to keep to his Engagements with *England*, reſolved to gratify the *Britiſh* Court, by deſtroying the *French* Trade to the *South Sea*. His Catholic Majeſty knew there was no Way to do this, but by a Squadron of Men of War; he knew alſo, that few of his own Subjects were acquainted with the Navigation of Cape *Horn*, or could bear the extreme Rigour of the Climate; therefore was obliged to make uſe of Foreigners for this Expedition; and three of the four Ships that he ſent, were not only manned with, but commanded by, *Frenchmen*. The firſt was the *Glouceſter*, of fifty Guns, and 400 Men, formerly an *Engliſh* Man of War; the ſecond was the *Ruby*, fifty Guns, 350 Men, another *Engliſh* Ship; the third was a Frigate of forty Guns, and 200 Men; the fourth was the *Leon Franco*, a *Spaniſh* Man of War of ſixty Guns, and 450 Men, all *Spaniards*. Monſieur *Martinet*, a *French* Gentleman, was Commodore of this Squadron, and commanded the *Pembroke*; M. *le Jonquiere* had the *Ruby*; the reſt I do not recollect. The *French* performed their Navigation well enough, and got round the Cape, tho' it was in the Middle of Winter; but the laſt of the four, manned by the *Spaniards*, after ſeveral Attempts, could not weather Cape *Horn*, but was forced back to the River of *Plate*, where, at laſt, the Ship was unfortunately caſt away. It looks as if, by this Expedition, an Experiment was made to ſee, if the *Spaniards* were hardy enough to go through this terrible Navigation; but, as they have little or no Trade into any cold Climates, and unuſed to hard Work, it is no Wonder they failed in that Point. The *Biſcaneers*, indeed, are robuſt Fellows enough; and, if the *Leon Franco* had been manned with them, ſhe had certainly doubled the Cape with the other three Ships; but the *Spaniards*, in general, ever ſince acquiring their Poſſeſſions in *America*, are grown ſo delicate and indolent, that it would be hard to find an intire Ship's Company able to perform that Navigation.

The prodigious Advantage of the Trade of *Chili* this Way is ſo manifeſt, that his Catholic Majeſty is obliged by Treaties to ſhut out all Nations, as well as the *Engliſh*, though he makes nothing of it himſelf; and it is very rare, that a *Spaniſh* Ship has gone by Cape *Horn*: From hence ariſes the extraordinary Price all *European* Goods fetch at *Chili* and *Peru*. I have been told at *Lima*, that they are often ſold at 400 *per Cent*. Profit; and, I may ſay, the Goods that are carried from *France* by Cape *Horn*, are in themſelves 50 *per Cent*. better than thoſe that go in the Flota of *Cales* to *Carthagena* or *La Vera Cruz*; becauſe the former are delivered freſh and undamaged in ſix Months, whereas the other are generally eighteen Months before they can come to *Chili*; ſo that the *French*, during the importing Trade, made their Markets, furniſhed themſelves with Proviſion, and got Home again in twelve or fourteen Months time. When *Martinet* arrived at *Chili* in the Year 1717. with the King of *Spain*'s Commiſſion to take or deſtroy all his Countrymen that were trading clandeſtinely, he ſoon found Employment for his three Ships, the fourth being loſt, as I have obſerved; and of fourteen Sail of *St. Malomen*, there was but one eſcaped him, ſhe being land-lock'd in a little Creek, where ſhe lay hid, till he was got to Leeward; after which ſhe weighed, and came away with half her Cargo unſold. Though all this was to execute the Orders of his Catholic Majeſty, and doing a ſenſible Pleaſure to the *Britiſh South Sea* Company, yet the Creole *Spaniards*, eſpecially the trading Part of them, found themſelves almoſt ruined by it, becauſe it hindered the Circulation of Money, and ſpoiled Buſineſs, ſo that they could not bear the Sight of the *French* Men of War, though they liked the *French* Merchantmen well enough: On the other hand, the *French*, imagining they had done the *Spaniards* effectual Service, expected, no doubt, civil Treatment in Return, while they ſtaid among them. But, as ſoon as *Martinet* brought his Prizes into *Calao*, and the *Frenchmen* had received their proper Shares, they, forgetting the old Antipathy of the *Spaniſh* to the *French* Nation, gave themſelves extravagant Airs aſhore by dancing and drinking; and this ſtill incenſed the Creolians more againſt them, who called them Cavachos and Renegados, for falling foul on their own Countrymen. From one thing or other, their mutual Quarrels grew ſo high, that the *Frenchmen* were forced to go in Parties about *Lima* and *Calao*, the better to avoid public Outrages and Affronts. At laſt, a young Gentleman, who was Enſign on board the *Ruby*, and Nephew to Captain *Jonquiere*, was ſhot from a Window, and the Malefactor took Refuge in the great Church at *Calao*. *Martinet*, *Jonquiere*, and the other Captains, joined in a Petition to the Viceroy, that the Murderer might be delivered to Juſtice: But the Viceroy, being an Archbiſhop, would by no means violate the Rights of the Church to humour any body: Upon which they ordered all their Men on board by public Beat of Drum, and brought their three Ships, with their Broadſides, to bear on the Town of *Calao*, threatening to demoliſh the Houſes and Fortifications, unleſs the Aſſaſſin was delivered up or executed. All this Bluſtering could not prevail with the Viceroy to give them any Satisfaction, though they had ſeveral other Men killed beſide that Gentleman.

At laſt, *Jonquiere*, unwilling to uſe Extremities, and no longer able to bear the Place where his Nephew was murdered, obtained of his Commodore *Martinet*, that he might make the beſt of his Way home. About this time, many Fathers, and many rich Paſſengers, were got together at the Town of *Conception*, intending, when this Squadron came by, to take their Paſſage to *Europe*; for they knew, that all Ships bound to Cape *Horn*, muſt touch at *Conception*, or thereabouts, for Proviſion: Herein *Jonquiere* got ſtart of his Commodore, having now the Advantage of ſo many good Paſſengers in his Ship; for, as the King of *Spain* has no Officers at *Conception* to regiſter the Money ſhipped there, ſo it is unknown what vaſt Sums thoſe Paſſengers and Miſſionaries put on board the *Ruby*. By this Opportunity, the Padres and others gained two great Advantages; firſt, they were ſpared the Trouble of a Voyage to *Panama* or *Acapulco*, and thence traverſing the Continent to *Porto Bello*, or *La Vera Cruz*, where they muſt have had their Coffers viſited, to ſee if the Indulto to his Majeſty was fairly accounted for; and then they ſaved every Shilling of that Indulto, or Duty, becauſe the *Ruby* touched firſt in *France*, where no Cognizance at all was to be taken of the Affair; ſo that as they ſaved one Moiety of the Duty payable in *America*, they likewiſe got clear of the other payable in *Spain*; becauſe the Ship arrived in *France*, where they put all the Money on ſhore. There was on board the *Ruby*, beſides theſe Paſſengers Money, a conſiderable Sum ariſing to his Catholic Majeſty for the Confiſcation of the thirteen Interlopers taken by this Squadron; all which together, I was well informed, amounted to four Million of Dollars aboard that Ship: What a fine Booty then we miſſed through *Shelvocke*'s obſtinate Conduct! For, when this ſame Ship the *Ruby* found us in the Harbour of *St. Catharine's*, *Jonquiere*'s Company, as I ſaid before, were ſo infirm, that he had not more than ſixty ſound Men out of four hundred, ſo that he really was afraid of us, and would not even ſend his Boat aſhore to the Watering-place, where we kept Guard, and our Coopers and Sailmakers were at Work, till he had firſt aſked our Captain Leave: Nor is this at all ſtrange; for, underſtanding we had a Conſort, he was really in Pain all the time he was there, leſt the *Succeſs* ſhould come in.

After Captain *Martinet* had cleared the Coaſt of *Peru* and *Chili* of his Countrymen, he ſent Expreſs with the News, to *Madrid*, his Brother-in-Law Monſieur *de Grange*, who came by Way of *Porto-Bello*, *Jamaica*, and *London*. Upon delivering his Meſſage, the King aſked him what he ſhould do for him: *De Grange* humbly begged, that his Majeſty would pleaſe to give him the Command of a Ship to go round Cape *Horn* again. He accordingly had the *Zelerin* of fifty Guns: He came firſt to *Calais*, where the Ship was getting ready; but was ſurpriſed to find a cold Reception from the *French* Merchants, and other Gentlemen of his Acquaintance reſiding there; for, as there were Merchants of ſeveral Nations intereſted in the Ships taken and confiſcated as aforeſaid, they unanimouſly looked upon him, and all the *French* aboard that Squadron, as falſe Brethren, for ſerving a foreign Power to the Prejudice of their own Countrymen; and, while he expected a valuable Cargo conſigned to him, being what he aimed at, he found himſelf quite diſappointed; for no Man would ſhip the Value of a Dollar with him. Captain *Fitzgerald*, who was then at *Cales*, ſeeing this, made him a conſiderable Propoſal for the Privilege of going his next Officer, and to take aboard what Goods he could procure in his own Name. *De Grange*, being a little embaraſſed, accepted the Offer, and obtained at Court a Commiſſion for him as ſecond Captain. Accordingly they manned the *Zelerin* chiefly with *French* and ſome *Engliſh* Seamen; and got very well round the Cape, when our two Privateers, *Succeſs* and *Speedwel*, were known to be in the South Sea, this ſame Ship *Zelerin* was one of thoſe Ships commiſſioned by the Viceroy of *Peru* to cruiſe for us. *Fitzgerald* ſold his Goods at *Lima* to great Advantage, where he continued, while *de Grange* ſerved as Captain under the Admiral *Don Pedro Miranda*, who took myſelf, and the reſt of us, Priſoners. The *St. Malo* Merchants, though great Sufferers by ſo many Confiſcations, were not much diſcouraged; for, in the Year 1720, we found the *Solomon* of *St. Malo*, carrying forty Guns, and 150 Men, at *Hilo*, on the Coaſt of *Chili*, with ſeveral ſmall *Spaniſh* Barks at her Stern. She ſold her Cargo in ſix Weeks time, got a freſh Supply of Proviſion, and left the Coaſt without Interruption; for by this time *Martinet*'s Squadron was all come away.

The *Solomon*'s good Succeſs gave ſuch Encouragement, that they immediately fitted out fourteen Sail together; all which arrived in the South Sea in the Beginning of the Year 1721. three of whoſe Commanders, having the beſt Acquaintance among the Creolians, quickly ſold their Cargoes, and returned Home: About this time the People of *Lima* judged the *Engliſh* Privateers were gone off the Coaſt, at leaſt, that no more Hoſtilities would be committed, becauſe of the Truce made between the two Crowns; whereupon the three *Spaniſh* Men of War, fitted out to cruiſe on us, were ordered againſt thoſe freſh Interlopers. I was on board the Advice-boat, called the *Flying-fiſh*, in Company of the ſaid three Men of War, when they came up with the eleven Sail of *St. Malo* all together, on the Coaſt of *Chili*; and, inſtead of firing upon them, the *Spaniards* joined them like Friends. The *French*, expecting to be attacked, kept all together in a Line, and dared the Men of War to begin. This to me ſeemed new, that three ſuch Ships, purpoſely fitted for this Cruize, ſhould, on their own Coaſt, decline doing their Duty; for, had they proved too weak, they had Ports of their own under their Lee. In ſhort, the Men of War contented themſelves to watch the others Motion, keeping them always in Sight; and, when any of the *French* Ships ſteered to the Shore, the *Spaniards* ſent their Pinnace, or Long-boat, with the *Spaniſh* Flag hoiſted; the Sight of which effectually deterred the Creoles from treating or trading with the *French*. Thus they made ſhift to hinder all theſe Ships diſpoſing of their Goods, except they were met by chance at Sea, and ſold ſome clandeſtinely. At length, being tired out, the *Frenchmen* got Leave to take in Proviſion, and went Home with at leaſt half their Goods unſold. Notwithſtanding all this, and the ſevere Edicts againſt it in *France*, I know they ſtill continue the Trade, tho' privately; nor is it probable they will ever leave off ſo lucrative a Commerce, except ſome other Power prevent it.

17. I ſhall now return to my own Affairs, and the manner of my Return from that Part of the World: A plain Relation of which will be a ſufficient Refutation of what Captain *Shelvocke* has been pleaſed to deliver to the World in his Book upon this Subject. I have acknowledged the kind Reception I met with from the Admiral of the South Seas, and the Reaſon of his treating us ſo civilly. In eleven Months time that I continued at *Lima*, I think it is but Juſtice to mention the ſeveral Favours I received, particularly from Don *Juan Baptiſta Palacio*, a Native of *Biſcay*, and Knight of the Order of St. *James*, who came weekly to the Priſon while we were there, and gave Money to all of us, according to our ſeveral Degrees. Captain *Nicolas Fitzgerald* procured my Inlargement by becoming Security for me, gave me Money, and furniſhed me with Neceſſaries thenceforward to the time of my Departure; and gave not only me, but twenty more, a Paſſage to *Cadiz* in a *Spaniſh* Advice-boat, called the *Flying-fiſh*; Mr. *Preſſick*, our Surgeon's Mate, acted as Surgeon in her, receiving Wages; and ſo did all our Men, being releaſed from Priſon to aſſiſt in navigating the Veſſel home. For my part, as I was well treated, I would not eat the Bread of Idleneſs, but kept my Watches, as other Officers: And, pray, where is the Harm of all this? Though *Shelvocke* had the Stupidity to call it Treaſon; and it muſt appear a very malicious Charge, as well as an ignorant one, that, after a Man has been driven amongſt the Enemy, he muſt be called a Traitor for being uſed kindly, and accepting his Paſſage back again; that, becauſe I was not murdered there, I ought to be executed at home! This is *Shelvocke*'s great Chriſtianity, and good Conſcience! But, to return to what I was ſaying: On my Arrival at *Cadiz*, Captain *John Evers*, of the *Britannia*, gave me his Table, and my Paſſage to *London*; where, upon my Arrival, and the Repreſentation of my Hardſhips, the following Perſons of Honour and Diſtinction were pleaſed to expreſs their Concern for my Sufferings, by making me a Preſent each of ten Guineas; *viz. Edward Hughs*, *William Sloper*, and *Alexander Strahan*, Eſquires; *Samuel Winder*, *Beak Winder*, *Henry Neal*, and *John Barnes*, Merchants; *Humphry Thayer*, and *Thomas Stratfield*, Druggiſts. This afforded me the Satisfaction of ſeeing, that ſuch as were the beſt Judges, had a proper Idea of the Miſeries I had ſuſtained, and approved of the Manner in which I behaved, the only Conſolation which I could receive in the Circumſtances in which that unfortunate Voyage left me. The fair Account I have given of Facts, the Detail of my Proceedings in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, and the Account of what I obſerved worthy of Notice during my Stay in thoſe Parts, will, I hope, acquit me in the Opinion of every candid and impartial Reader, from the Aſperſions thrown upon me in *Shelvocke*'s Book; and acquire me, what every Man would wiſh to have, the Approbation of him, to whom, of his own free Choice, he ſubmits the Cenſure of his Actions.

As we have already given the Reader our Remarks on the Voyages of *Clipperton* and *Shelvocke*, we ſhall not detain him very long in our Remarks upon Mr. *Betagh*'s Narrative, which contains, however, ſome things of ſuch Importance, that they cannot be ſlipped over without Reflection. In the firſt Place, let it be obſerved, that he has fully ſhewn us the Navigation round Cape *Horn* is no ſuch dangerous, no ſuch wonderous Voyage, as ſome People would make it. If twenty Ships from *St. Malo* could perform it in one Year, and not a ſingle Veſſel either ſhipwrecked, or put back, what ſhould hinder, not an *Engliſh* Ship, but an *Engliſh* Fleet, from doing the ſame, if the Service of the Nation required it? Muſt it not inſpire Strangers with a very indifferent Opinion of the Skill and Courage of *Engliſh* Seamen, when they hear, that our ſtouteſt Ships take Shelter, like the *Spaniards*, whom we ſo much deſpiſe, in the River of *Plate*, or in the Ports of *Braſil*, and relinquiſh, as impracticable, a Voyage which a *French* Privateer can make at Pleaſure? Will it not affect the Heart of every *Engliſhman*, who has not loſt all Jealouſy for his Country's Honour, when he thinks of this? And can he be blamed, either for thinking, or expreſſing his Sentiments, by any who have the leaſt Concern for their Country's Glory? Could *Drake* and *Candiſh*, in an *Engliſh* Bark, do more than an *Engliſh* Man of War can now? What Days then were thoſe of *Elizabeth*, and how juſt that ignominious Sarcaſm of a *French* Wit; *That the* Engliſh *of the preſent Age are no more comparable to their* Anceſtors, *than the* Italians *to the* old Romans! Happy, happy, for us, that we have ſtill a SEAMAN left, who has wiped off this Reproach, and ſhewn, that the Race of Heroes is not extinct; that we have a *Drake* and *Candiſh* (I will not add more, for Fear of offending his Modeſty) in Admiral ANSON, that great, that fortunate Commander, who enjoys this ſingular Felicity, in an Age of Sloth, Luxury, and Corruption, that his EASE is the Reſult of his LABOUR, that his TITLE is the Reward of his MERIT, and that his WEALTH does Honour to his COUNTRY!

But to return from ſo pleaſing a Digreſſion, to what is more immediately our Subject. We ſee, from Captain *Betagh*'s Account, with how much Eaſe the *French* carried on a prodigious Trade to the South Seas, at a Time when the Appearance of an *Engliſh* Ship there was conſidered as a Prodigy. Had the *French* any more Right than we, or can the Catholic King give them a better Right, if he would? If the preſerving to *Spain* an excluſive Right to the Riches of *America* be, as ſometimes it has been, aſſerted to be the common Intereſt of all the *European* Powers, but eſpecially of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, How come the *French* to invade it without exciting that Jealouſy, the Fear of which is pretended to be a Motive ſufficient to hinder us from makeing ſuch an Attempt? Are the Riches of the *Indies*, in

French Hands, leſs dangerous to the Peace of *Europe* than in ours? Would they more affect the Balance of Power, would they create greater Cauſe for the States of *Europe* to be uneaſy? Surely not. It is plain, that *France* does not ſeek Wealth with a View to make her People rich and happy, but from quite a different Motive, to extend the Power of her King, to increaſe the Number of his Subjects, and to gain an Influence deſtructive to the Freedom of other Nations. If the Wealth of the *Indies* muſt, by the Violence of War, or any other Accident whatever, be diverted from falling into the *Spaniſh* Coffers, why ſhould it not come immediately into the Hands of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*?

Amongſt them it would not be expended to the Detriment of others, but for the general Good of their Subjects: It would be ſpent in improving their native Countries, in converting every Waſte, every Common, into a rich and plentiful Field of Huſbandry of ſome ſort or other, and in making the Owners of Land at Home, the better for what was acquired at their Expence Abroad. The Maritime Powers have often ſupported, but never attempted to ſubject, their Neighbours; it is not agreeable to the Maxims of their Government; nay more, it is abſolutely repugnant to thoſe of their Intereſt. Such States as depend upon Commerce, muſt always deſire to ſee other Nations as free as themſelves; becauſe there can be no Safety nor Profit in dealing with Slaves. Such as ſend their Goods into Countries under arbitrary Government, run a double Hazard, that of feeling the Weight of ſuch a Government, and of meeting with no Returns, if they ſhould eſcape the firſt Danger. It is impoſſible, that Slaves ſhould be rich; Captain *Betagh*'s Remarks are a Proof of it: He ſhews us, that the hapleſs *Indians* of *America* are miſerable in the fineſt Climate, ſtarving in the richeſt Soil, and indigent amongſt Mines of Gold and Silver, where they work, nay, work themſelves to Death, for the Benefit of others. He ſhews you, that this is the Reſult of the Tyranny of the *Spaniſh* Government; but I will ſhew you more, the *Indians* in *America* are what *Europeans* muſt be, if the Influence of *France* prevails.

Of all Nations, therefore, the *French* have the leaſt Title, though hitherto they have had the beſt Luck, in becoming Interlopers in the South Seas. My Arguments have the ſame Weight, whether it be War or Peace. We are wanting to ourſelves, if, while we contend with them in *Europe* for our Liberties, we ſuffer them to draw from the *Weſt Indies* the Means of Oppreſſing. They have, ſince the preſent War began, had recourſe to the old Method: The *St. Malomen* are again abroad; and it is the great Scheme of the *French* Miniſtry, to ſupply the vaſt Expences of the preſent War, from the ſame Source which ſupplied the laſt; which renders our Attention to this Account ſo much the more neceſſary. But, in a time of War, we have it certainly in our Power to deprive them of this, as of moſt other Reſources. We can ſend our Frigates thither, as well as the *Saint Malomen*; and we might make it worth the while of our Merchants to ſend Ships laden with proper Goods under their Convoy. This would have a double Effect; it would annoy the Enemy, and enrich our own People: It would anſwer the Queſtion that the *Spaniſh* Trader put to Captain *Shelvocke*, *viz.* Whether the *Britiſh* Merchants were all aſleep, or too rich to mind Trade any longer, that they ſuffered the *French* Pedlars to run away with the Wealth of *Chili* and *Peru?* It was a wiſe and well-put Queſtion; for when we are at War with *Spain*, when all the Effects of Treaties are ſuſpended on her Side, it is certainly not lawful only, but a Piece of Juſtice due to ourſelves, to repair that neceſſary Loſs of Trade, which is the Conſequence of a *Spaniſh* War, by protecting another ſort of Trade, a Trade in the South Seas on *Engliſh* Bottoms.

In time of Peace we have a Title, by Treaties, that never can expire, or loſe their Force, to exclude the *French* from all Commerce in the South Seas: I ſay, that theſe Treaties can never expire, or loſe Efficacy, becauſe, when his Catholic Majeſty ſhall diſclaim thoſe Treaties, he muſt, at the ſame time, renounce his Title to the Crown of *Spain*, at leaſt with regard to us, and the reſt of the contracting Powers in the Treaty of *Utrecht*. It is by the Conceſſions made in that Treaty, that he is known to, and acknowledged by, us, and the other contracting Powers, for King of *Spain*; and whenever he breaks through theſe Conceſſions, or attempts to reſcind them, he loſes all Title to his Crown under that Treaty, which is the very Title that he profeſſes to hold by, and without which he would be no more than a Viceroy to his Neighbour and Nephew the King of *France*. It is for this Reaſon, and becauſe, as prudent Men, they cannot help foreſeeing to how low a State there Country muſt be reduced, that the *Spaniſh* Grandees always inſiſt upon the ſame Point. For tho' *Spain* ſhould loſe the Money equally both ways; that is to ſay, ſhould have the ſame Balance of Trade againſt her by the ordinary Method of ſending Goods from *Cadiz*, and by the extraordinary Method of their being carried by the *French*, with the Permiſſion, or at leaſt by the Connivance, of the *Spaniſh* Court; yet *Spain* would greatly ſuffer by ſuch a Commerce: Becauſe, in the firſt Place, tho' ſhe is not abſolute Miſtreſs of the Money, ſhe ſtill enjoys the Influence that reſults from the Diſtribution of it, which, to People in the Condition the *Spaniards* now are, is of very great Conſequence; to ſay the Truth, it is of the laſt Conſequence; for Influence is a Species of Power, and almoſt the only Species of Power the *Spaniards* can manage with Effect; and there is Reaſon therefore to believe, that whenever this Crown is in Earneſt inclined to a Peace, ſhe will not heſitate a Moment at renewing this Excluſion of the *French*, which is as much her Intereſt, as it is ours, and a Point of ſuch Conſequence to other *European* States, that it never can be given up, while they are reſolved to maintain their Liberty and Independency.

I know very well, that it may be objected, that the *French* Trade to the South Seas ruined itſelf; that is to ſay, the *French* Interlopers ſent ſuch vaſt Quantities of *European* Goods into the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, that at laſt they would not ſell for prime Coſt; and that this induced the *French* Court to comply with repeated Remonſtrances from that of *Spain*, and to concur in prohibiting this illicit Trade. But this is very fallacious Reaſoning; for, let us conſider firſt, what it was induced the *French* to overtrade themſelves; and this, on all Hands, is allowed to be the prodigious Gain of the firſt Traders. Theſe then were all ſafe; the *French*, as a Nation, had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſo many Millions of Silver, in Return for Goods and Manufactures; that is to ſay, they were poſſeſſed of an immenſe Maſs of ſolid, intrinſic, and permanent Treaſure, inſtead of the Ribbands, Laces, and other Baubles, they had ſent abroad. This was their Profit, and we know how much they muſt be the better for it. Let us next conſider their Loſs: They exported a vaſt Quantity of the ſame kind of Goods, and received for them no more than they were worth. This might, and poſſibly did, affect the Merchants; but the *French* Nation gained as before, not ſo much indeed, but ſtill it was Gain. The Goods were converted into Silver; and thoſe who were employed in making up theſe Goods, remained poſſeſſed of what they received for them: Will any Man ſay, that this was not a mighty Advantage to *France?* Did it not make the People in general richer? Did it not make Money circulate? Did it not put it in the Power of the *French* King to raiſe Taxes? And, which is of the greateſt Conſequence to us, and to them, did it not contribute to the Support and Improvement of the *French* Manufactures, and the ſinking and deſtroying thoſe of this Nation, with which the *Spaniards* in *America* would have otherwiſe been, by the Way of *Cadiz*, ſupplied? This plainly ſhews, what a prodigious Benefit reſulted to *France* by this Trade, and how great a Loſs we ſuffered thereby; for tho' it be certainly true, that the *Spaniards* in *America* will always prefer *Engliſh* Goods, when they get them, yet this Preference is out of the Caſe, when the Market is only ſtocked with *French*. Beſides, when Things came to that Paſs, which the *French* complain of, that their Goods produced little or no Profit, we ſuffered much more than they; for the *Spaniards* had their Hands full of *French* Goods, for which they had paid at ſome Rate or other, becauſe brought in *French* Bottoms to their very Door; while our Goods, by the Way of *Cadiz*, and upon which the *Spaniards* received Freight, lay rotting in our Factors Warehouſes, and would fetch no

Price at all. It muſt be confeſſed, that theſe Reflections have not much to do with the Voyage round the World; but they have a very near Relation to the great End of all our Reading, all our Study, all our Endeavours, I mean the Service of our Country. I look upon it as the ſtrongeſt Recommendation of Captain *Betagh*'s Book, that he neglects no Opportunity of reporting what may be uſeful, amongſt the many Things he tells us that are curious and entertaining. There is an Air of Sincerity in what he ſays, that muſt affect every Reader; and the Readineſs with which he acknowledged the Obligations he received, is ſufficient to convince us, that he was far from being of a ſurly, or an envious Diſpoſition. The Civilities he received from the *Spaniards*, are very handſomely repaid by the Candour with which he owns, and the Gratitude he expreſſes for them. His Account of their Conduct at Sea appears perfectly juſt and natural; he commends the Generoſity of their Offers, and cenſures that want of Skill and Courage, which are the Reproach of their Seamen in the *Weſt Indies*. His Characters of the *French* are equally curious and pleaſant; and, I dare ſay, he has done them all the Juſtice they deſerved, by repreſenting them as the moſt ſelf-intereſted People in the World.

I had well-nigh ſlipt over a very uſeful and important Hint, given by *Betagh* in his Account; which, however, deſerves particular Notice. It is, as to the great Uſe the *French* made of *Placencia*, while it was in their Hands, by carrying in thither their Homeward-bound South-Sea-men to clean and careen them; ſo that afterwards they were in no Pain for the *Engliſh* Men of War that might be upon the Coaſt. This ſhews the Uſefulneſs of the *French* Settlements in thoſe Parts in a new Light, and fully informs us of the Importance of defending *Newfoundland*, and *Nova Scotia*, at any rate, as the only means of hindering them from practiſing the ſame Thing again. One cannot help wondering, on the Peruſal of the Naval Hiſtory of *Great Britain*, to find this Excuſe of clean Ships perpetually offered, to ſave the Reputation of our Cruiſers, either in ſingle Ships or Squadrons: And, indeed, Mr. Secretary *Burchet* tells us plainly, that the Reaſon why our Men of War ſo ſeldom did what was expected from them, was owing to their being foul Ships, whereas the Enemies Veſſels were always clean. In the Courſe of that War, there was ſcarce an Inſtance of any of theſe *St. Malo* Ships taken; which is very ſurpriſing, ſince the Fleets, from moſt of our Colonies, fell often, either in whole, or in part, into the Enemies Hands.

But if theſe lucky Eſcapes of theirs depend, as they certainly do, on their Ships being cleaner, and in better Trim, than ours, then it is plain this Advantage may be taken from them, if we can prevent their getting into any Ports, where they may clean or careen. *Placentia* is at preſent in our Hands, and cannot be loſt, but through the want of Attention. We have, moſt certainly, a Naval Power ſufficient to protect all our Colonies; and, at the ſame time, to ſpare Ships enough to cruiſe off the Iſland of *St. Catharine's*, or the *Rio Grande*, on the Coaſt of *Braſil*, in order to prevent the *French* from careening there, where they met with much leſs Conveniency, than in any Ports of their own. In the Month of *January* laſt, they loſt one of their beſt outward-bound Ships, at the Mouth of the laſt-mentioned River; ſhe was called the *Marchioneſs d' Antin*, ſailed from *Cadiz* laſt *October*, and was loſt on *New Year's-day*; her whole Crew, conſiſting of 400 Men, were drowned, together with twenty-four Jeſuits, and fourteen Miſſionaries, that were on board her, the Value of her Cargo being about a Million of Pieces of Eight. She was one of the firſt *French* Ships licenſed by the King of *Spain* ſince the preſent War began. A ſmall Squadron, cruiſing here at the proper Seaſons of the Year, might be ſure to meet with the *French* Ships, going out or coming Home; and either way they muſt prove rich Prizes, ſince *European* Goods come to a quick Market on the Coaſt of *Braſil*, and the taking ſuch an Interloper, ſaves a Voyage to the South Seas.

As I have mentioned the Loſs of this *French* Ship in her Voyage from *Cadiz* to the South Seas, it may not be amiſs to inform the *Engliſh* Reader of the Diſtinction between the *St. Malomen*, that proceed with Licences, and the Interlopers. There is a regular and conſtant Correſpondence carried on between *St. Malo* and *Cadiz*. The *French* Ships carry thither all ſorts of Goods of the Manufacture of that Kingdom, from the rich Brocades of *Lyons* and *Tours*, to the ſlight Stuffs of *Amiens*. All theſe are ſent to the *Weſt Indies* in the regular Way; and, in about eighteen Months, the *St. Malomen* carry home the Return from *America*, conſiſting of Gold, Silver, Cochineal, Indigo, Dying-woods, and other rich Commodities, to the Amount of from ſeven to twelve Millions, or 600,000 *l.* of our Money. In times of War, the *Spaniſh* Merchants are glad to employ ſome of theſe *St. Malomen*, which are always ſtout large Ships, and well equipped, to go to *Buenos Ayres*, or any other Port, with a Cargo from *Cadiz*; and theſe are the licenſed Ships. But, as this Intercourſe gives the Captains of theſe *St. Malomen* a perfect Knowledge of the *Weſt India* Commerce, they frequently go thither, without Licence, on their own Account; and this is what is properly called Interloping.

There are, however, a third Sort of Ships that go from this Port; *viz.* ſuch as are fitted out directly from *St. Malo* for the South Seas, by Permiſſion of the *Spaniſh* Court, which is but rarely granted, as being directly againſt Treaties. There has been of late, indeed, a Scheme projected in *France* for eſtabliſhing an *Aſſiento* Company at *St. Malo*, to whom the Commerce of our South Sea Company, as ſettled by the *Utrecht* Treaty, is to be transferred; but, perhaps, before the End of the War, we may oblige the *Spaniards* to think of ſome other Expedient. All this, however, contributes to ſhew, how faſt the *French* are growing upon us in this Branch of Trade, and how much it improves and increaſes their Seamen, at the ſame time that it raiſes their Reputation for maritime Skill, while there are Hundreds of People, at this ſingle Port, capable of carrying a Ship round Cape *Horn*, which, to the *Spaniards*, and ſome other Nations, appears ſo frightful a Navigation. But the beſt way, beyond Queſtion, to deal with the *St. Malomen*, is to ſend ſome Men of War, or Privateers, into the South Seas, with Tenders, laden with Goods and Proviſions, which muſt neceſſarily produce great Returns from their Trade, and their Prizes, at the ſame time that it would facilitate the making Diſcoveries in theſe Seas, and exerciſe our Sailors in a ſort of Navigation, which, through Diſuſe, is almoſt forgotten; for, by an unaccountable Piece of ill Luck, ſince our erecting a Company for carrying on that Commerce, there has ſcarce been an *Engliſh* Ship, except thoſe mentioned in the two laſt Sections, ſeen in the South Seas; ſo that there are various Reaſons for renewing this kind of Navigation, which could not be any-where ſo properly laid open, as at the Cloſe of theſe Remarks of Captain *Betagh*, who ſeems to have had the ſame thing in View, and to have written them with no other Deſign, than to induce his Countrymen to ſtruggle for a Share in that Trade; with the Value of which, and the Poſſibility of improving it, his long Stay in thoſe Countries had made him ſo perfectly acquainted.

We have now run intirely through the Hiſtory of the Circum-navigators, ſo far as they have been hitherto publiſhed in our Language; having alſo made uſe of ſuch foreign Aſſiſtance as was neceſſary to render them more complete. The regular Order in which they lie, enables the Reader to take in at once the Whole of this kind of Hiſtory, ſo as to be able to digeſt and compare their Diſcoveries, and proportion the Praiſes due to every one of thoſe great Commanders. He will, doubtleſs, make many Obſervations that have eſcaped me; but there are ſome few, relative to this general Hiſtory, which incline me to conclude this Section, with recommending them to his Notice: In the firſt Place, I think it very memorable, that this Art of ſailing round the Globe, was not, as ſome other Arts are, the Effect of a lucky Accident, and ſtruck out by Chance, but proceeded from the judicious Obſervation of that great and wiſe Man *Columbus*, who, for practical and uſeful Knowledge, was ſcarce ever equalled, and never exceeded. *Magellan*, who perfected what the other had begun, and paſſed through that Streight, which will preſerve his Memory as long as the World laſts, did not proceed by Gueſs, or at Random, but purſued his Diſcovery with fewer Difficulties than ſome have met with, who have followed him.

All theſe Diſcoveries had ſomething in them noble and ſurpriſing; they excited a generous Emulation among all great Minds of that Age all *Europe* over; inſomuch that we every-where hear of Attempts of that kind, ſince to that we may refer the Attempts for finding a North-eaſt and a North-weſt Paſſage to the *Indies*, which, in Fact, would have proved but a new Route for a Circum-navigation, being all founded on the ſame Principle, that there are Paſſages from one Ocean to the other at both Poles. While this Spirit prevailed, the Practice of Navigation grew to Perfection, and theſe long Voyages were performed more happily, than they have been ſince; the Reaſon of which I take to be this, that, in thoſe Days, Men of great Abilities made ſuch Voyages in Perſon; whereas they now content themſelves with forming Syſtems in their Cloſets: And, except the late famous Profeſſor *Halley*, we have ſcarce heard of any Man of acknowledged Capacity, who has ventured on a long Voyage, merely to compare the Notions derived from Theory with the Reſult of Practice.

After the eſtabliſhing the Trade of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* to the *Eaſt Indies*, excluſive Companies came in, which put a Stop to Diſcoveries, and to the nobler Expeditions in Search of new Lands, as the great *de Witte* long ago obſerved in his admirable Maxims of the Policy of *Holland*. From this time Diſputes about Trade commenced; and, inſtead of extending their Commerce, by finding out freſh Markets, all the great Maritime Powers have been employed in circumſcribing each others Trade, and even in ruining one another. This Evil, indeed, has been accidentally productive of freſh Diſcoveries, by the Means of Privateers, who, not by Deſign, but through Force, have become Circum-navigators; which is the Reaſon, that moſt of their Diſcoveries have been lame and imperfect, as being made by Men more intent on Plunder, than on acquiring Fame, or on rendering Service to the Public. By degrees, this Humour of confining Trade to particular Nations, and to particular Companies of Men in each of thoſe Nations, has increaſed to ſuch a Degree, that Propoſals for new Diſcoveries have fallen into Diſrepute, and ſuch as turned their Heads that way treated as Projectors; which, with us, is looked upon as only a ſofter Name for Madmen.

We have a notable Inſtance of this in the Conduct of the *French* Court, about the Year 1666. when they rejected an Offer made them by two of their own Subjects, for the Diſcovery of *Hudſon*'s *Bay*; by which Accident that rich Trade fell into our Hands, and has been a Bone of Contention between the two Nations ever ſince. There is, however, Reaſon to believe, that this kind of Temper is wearing out; and that, in moſt trading Nations, the true Spirit of inlarging Trade, by the finding new Markets, begins to revive. The late Czar *Peter* was the firſt that endeavoured to promote the Commerce, not only of his own Subjects, but of Mankind in general, by cauſing a ſtrict Search to be made into all the hitherto unknown Countries, bordering upon his wide Empire, of which we ſhall have occaſion to treat in another Place. His Example excited a like Diſpoſition in the *Swedes* and *Danes*; and here, in our own Country, ſome Projects of the ſame Nature have been better received, than formerly they were.

But the lateſt and moſt remarkable Voyage that has been for Diſcoveries, is that which will be the Subject of the next Section, performed by the Direction, and at the Expence, of the *Dutch Weſt India* Company; which is a very ſingular Inſtance of a right Application of a Company's Powers; and it would be a very happy thing, if ſome great Companies, in another Country, would follow their Example. Moſt certain it is, that, in all Countries, this was the original Motive to their Inſtitution, as appears by Charters, and other public Acts; and, indeed, many of them proſecuted this Deſign for ſome time, and made conſiderable Progreſs that way, till the Love of Money, and Over-fondneſs of Power, and the Deſire of providing for their own Dependents at the public Expence, got the better of thoſe old-faſhioned Principles, and taught Men to verniſh, with fair Pretences, the Purſuit of private Advantage, tho' at the Expence of the common Good.

SECTION XX.

An Account of Commodore Roggewein's *Expedition, with three Ships, for the Diſcovery of Southern Lands, under the Direction of the* Dutch Weſt India *Company,* * *from an original Journal.*

1. *An Account of the original Scheme of this Voyage, and the Diſcoveries propoſed thereby.* 2. *The Fleet ſails from the* Texel, July 16. 1721. 3. *Account of their Paſſage to the Iſland of* Teneriffe. 4. *The ſame continued till their Arrival on the Coaſt of* Braſil. 5. *Deſcription of the City of* St. Sebaſtian, *of the Country round it, and Things remarkable therein.* 6. *Other Occurrences in the Voyage.* 7. *Diſcovery of a new Iſland, called* Belgia Auſtralis. 8. *Paſſage through the Streights of* Le Maire *into the South Sea.* 9. *Adventures in thoſe Seas, and Deſcription of the Iſland of* Juan Fernandez. 10. *Reflections on the Nature and the Importance of the intended Diſcoveries, with the Reaſons which render it probable, that ſuch Diſcoveries may be made.* 11. *Diſcovery and Deſcription of a new Iſland, with an Account of its Inhabitants.* 12. *Arrival at* Badwater *Iſland, and Diſcovery of five other Iſlands.* 13. *Shipwreck of the* African *Galley.* 14. *Diſcovery and Deſcription of nine new Iſlands.* 15. *Reſolution taken to quit this Coaſt, and the Reaſons for and againſt it.* 16. *Continuation of the Voyage to* New Britain *and* New Guiney. 17. *Five new Iſlands diſcovered and deſcribed.* 18. *Deſcription of* New Britain, *and of ſeveral Iſlands in its Neighbourhood.* 19. *Unlucky Diſpute with its Inhabitants, and the Conſequences of that Diſpute.* 20. *A large Account of that Country, and its Inhabitants.* 21. *Deſcription of the Iſlands of* Moa, *and* Arimoa, *with an Account of their Inhabitants.* 22. *Diſcover an* Archipelago, *to which they give the Name of the* Thouſand Iſlands. 23. *Deſcription of the Iſlands* Bouro *and* Buton. 24. *Arrival at the Iſland of* Java, *and Deſcription of the Coaſt.* 25. *Their Veſſels ſeized at* Batavia, *and their Companies made Priſoners.* 26. *The preſent State of* Batavia, *with a large Account of its Inhabitants.* 27. *The Manner in which the Affairs of the* Dutch *Company are adminiſtered in the* Eaſt Indies. 28. *The Diſtribution of their Government into all its Parts, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, and Military.* 29. *Farther Deſcription of* Batavia, *and the Iſland of* Java. 30. *Deſcription of the Iſland of* Ceylan, *or* Ceylon, *its Government and Inhabitants.* 31. *The preſent State of* Amboyna, *with an Account of the Clove Trade.* 32. *The Iſland of* Banda, *its Government and Inhabitants, deſcribed.* 33. *A diſtinct Account of the four Governments of* Macaſſar, Ternate, Malacca, *and of the Cape of* Good Hope. 34. *Deſcription of the four Directories of* Coromandel, Surat, Bengal, *and* Perſia. 35. *The Commanderies of* Malabar, Gallo, Java, *and* Bantam, *deſcribed.* 36. *An Account of*

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* There never was any Account of this Voyage in our Language.

the Reſidences of Cheribon, Siam, *and* Moca. 37. *The State of the Company's Commerce in the Iſland of* Borneo, *and in the Empire of* China. 38. *The Author's Arrival at the Cape of* Good Hope, *with a Deſcription of the Country belonging to the* Dutch Eaſt India *Company.* 39. *Departure from the Cape of* Good Hope, *and Occurrences in the Voyage.* 40. *Deſcription of the Iſland of* St. Helena, *and the* Aſcenſion. 41. *The Author's ſafe Arrival in the* Texel, July 11. 1733. 42. *An Account of a Suit commenced between the* Eaſt *and* Weſt India *Companies, on account of this Voyage, and the Iſſue of it.* 43. *Remarks on this Expedition.*

1. THERE is, perhaps, no Country in the World, where Commerce is either more honourable, or more profitable, than in *Holland*, or where, at the ſame time, there is a greater Reſpect ſhewn to it by the Government; for, as the Republic chiefly ſubſiſts by Trade, every thing that relates to it, is conſidered as an Affair of a public Nature, which deſerves the quickeſt and ſtricteſt Attention. The great Companies in *Holland*, are, as in other Parts of *Europe*, deſtructive to Trade, conſidered in ſome Lights; but very neceſſary to it, when conſidered in others. The *Weſt India* Company was originally erected in the Year 1621. and held, by an excluſive Charter, the Commerce on the Coaſt of *Africa*, from the Tropic of *Cancer*, to the Cape of *Good Hope*; and, in *America*, from the South Point of the *Newfoundland*, by the Streights of *Magellan*, or of *le Maire*, to the ſuppoſed Streight of *Anian*, including both the North and South Seas. The Directors were divided into five Chambers, and conſiſted, in the Whole, of Seventy-two Perſons, out of whom eighteen were again choſen for the Adminiſtration of the Company's Affairs, to whom a nineteenth was added by the States General. The Affairs of this Company were once in ſo flouriſhing a Condition, that they were not only on a Level, but, in ſome meaſure, ſuperior to the *Eaſt India* Company, which was owing to the happy Succeſs of their Affairs at Sea; for, in the Year 1629. their Admiral, *Peter Haines*, took the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet, which was immenſely rich, and brought it into *Holland*. They made themſelves Maſters of the greateſt Part of *Braſil*, and were ſo conſiderable, that the great Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau* did not think it beneath him to accept of a Commiſſion from this Company, to be Governor General of *Braſil*; which, however, after it had coſt them immenſe Sums to defend, they at laſt loſt.

The Term of their Charter was limited to twenty-four Years, which, in 1647. being expired, was renewed for twenty-five more; during which time, their Affairs grew very perplexed, ſo that towards the Cloſe of that Term, they were content, that it ſhould be diſſolved; and, in the Year 1674. a new Company was erected, with pretty near the ſame Powers, by Letters Patent from the States General; which Company has ſubſiſted ever ſince with great Reputation. The Capital of this new Company conſiſts of ſix Millions of Florins, which make about ſix hundred thouſand Pounds of our Money; and the Limits of their Authority are, the Coaſts of *Africa* and *America*; that is to ſay, all the Eſtabliſhments of the *Dutch*, in thoſe Countries, are under their Direction; ſo that whoever propoſes any new Scheme, for the Improvement of Commerce in thoſe Parts, muſt neceſſarily apply himſelf to that Company.

It was this that induced Mr. *Roggewein*, a Gentleman of great Parts and Penetration, to frame a Project for the Diſcovery of that vaſt Continent, and the many Iſlands which are ſuppoſed to lie in the Southern Part of the Globe, and of which the World has hitherto had but very imperfect Notices from others; which Project, together with the Reaſons in Support of it, and a Plan for carrying his deſigned Diſcovery into Execution, he preſented to the *Eaſt India* Company in 1696. by whom it was very well received, and he was aſſured of having all the Aſſiſtance he could deſire or expect, as ſoon as the Affairs of the Company would permit: But the Diſturbances that ſoon after followed, put a Stop to the Company's good Intentions; and, before any thing could be done, Mr. *Roggewein* breathed his laſt. He was a Gentleman of the Province of *Zealand*, who, from his Youth, had addicted himſelf to mathematical Studies, and had a true Zeal for the Service of his Country; of which he gave many Proofs, and perhaps none, that, in his own Judgment, was ſo great as the Framing this Scheme; at leaſt, we have Reaſon ſo to believe, ſince, upon his Death-bed, he recommended it to his Son, and exacted from him a Promiſe, that, at a Time convenient, he would endeavour in Perſon to execute what himſelf had propoſed. The young Gentleman, after his Father's Deceaſe, applied himſelf to his Studies with the utmoſt Vigour, and made ſo happy a Proficiency in them, as to qualify himſelf for the Poſt of Counſellor in the Court of Juſtice at *Batavia*, whither he went, and reſided there many Years.

2. After his Return from the *Eaſt Indies*, in which he had acquired an handſome Fortune, he bethought himſelf of performing the Promiſe he made his Father on his Death-bed; and, in the Year 1721. preſented a Memorial to the *Weſt India* Company, ſetting forth, that, at ſuch a Time, his Father had propoſed diſcovering the Southern Continent and Iſland; which Propoſal they had been pleaſed to accept, and he was now ready to perform. The Company received this Memorial with the ſame Readineſs they did his Father's; and, as their Affairs were now in better Order, they acquainted Mr. *Roggewein*, that they would immediately give Directions for equipping ſuch a Squadron as might be neceſſary for executing his Deſign. It conſiſted of three Ships; *viz.* The *Eagle*, of 36 Pieces of Cannon, and 111 Men, commanded by Captain *Job Coſter*, on board of which embarked the Commodore: The *Tienhoven*, of 28 Pieces of Cannon, and 100 Men, commanded by Captain *James Bowman*: The *African* Galley, of 14 Pieces of Cannon, and 60 Men, commanded by Captain *Henry Roſenthall*. This ſmall Squadron ſailed from the Port of *Amſterdam* the 16th of *July*, in the ſame Year; and arrived happily, in the Space of 36 Hours, in the *Texel*. Before we proceed farther, it is requiſite, that I ſhould acquaint the Reader, that we ſtand indebted for the Journal of this Voyage to the Gentleman who commanded the Land Forces that were on board the Commodore, whoſe Name I am not at Liberty to mention, or that of another Perſon, who made the Voyage, and from whom I have received conſiderable Aſſiſtance. The Nature of the Expedition is ſufficient to recommend it to the Peruſal of the Curious; and the many remarkable Particulars it contains, with regard to the State of the *Dutch* Company's Affairs in the *Indies*, will, I dare ſay, juſtify what I think myſelf obliged to ſay of it; that it is at once as inſtructive and as entertaining a Piece in its kind, as I ever peruſed.

3. As ſoon as the Ships could be provided with every thing neceſſary for ſo long a Voyage, they ſailed, which was on the 21ſt of *Auguſt* 1721. with a fair Wind; which, however, changed the next Day, and obliged them to ſpend three Days beating through the Chanel. They continued their Courſe to the South-weſt, in order to gain the Coaſt of *Barbary*; but were prevented by a great Storm, which did them much Damage. To this ſucceeded a ſtark Calm; during which, the Waves ran Mountain-high, as having not yet loſt that Agitation into which they had been put by the late high Wind. This brought upon them new Miſchiefs; one of their Veſſels loſt its Main-top and Mizen-maſt; and, in the Commodore, the Main-ſail Yard came down, with ſuch Force, as wounded ſeveral People upon Deck, and all this from the Rolling of the Ship; ſo that our Author concludes, that, in the *Spaniſh* Seas, there is infinitely more Danger from the ſudden Calm, which uſually follows a Storm, than from the wildeſt Tempeſt; inſomuch that he poſitively declares, that, in the *Baltic*, and other Northern Seas, in which he had often ſailed, he never met with any Tempeſt comparable to this; which he attributes to the Deepneſs of the Sea, ſuppoſing, that the greater the Maſs of Water, the longer, when once put in Motion, that Motion laſts. But, as this is a Conjecture

only, I preſume to offer the Reader another Reaſon; which is, the Nearneſs of the Shores, or oppoſite Coaſts, in the *Mediterranean*; for, as we ſee in a Baſon that has been ſhook, the Motion of the Water remains after the Baſon ſtands ſtill; ſo it is plain, that the Violence of the Motion is greater in proportion to the Smalneſs of the Veſſel, becauſe the Strokes from the oppoſite Side are repeated quicker, and the Water has leſs room to play.

After two Days the Wind freſhened, and they began to recover the Fatigues they had ſuſtained: During that Space of Time, they continued to ſteer South-weſt, in hopes of gaining the *Canaries*; and diverted themſelves with obſerving the Manner in which the Flying-fiſh endeavours to eſcape its Enemies, the Albicores and Bonitoes. The Flying-fiſh is not much bigger than an Herring, and the Fins it flies with, are, for Strength and Texture, not unlike the Wings of a Bat. The *Dutch* Sailors eſteem them very good Food, and, therefore, are never better pleaſed, than when they meet with Plenty of them. The Bonito is a Fiſh about two Feet long, of a greyiſh Colour, and finely ſtreaked from Head to Tail; the Fleſh dry, hard, and of a diſagreeable Taſte. The Albicore reſembles the Bonito in every reſpect, except its Size; for the Albicore is, generally ſpeaking, five or ſix Feet long, and weighs ſometimes 150 lb. They ſaw likewiſe ſome Water-fowl, and particularly Teal, which the Seamen always account a Sign of the Land's being near.

At laſt, finding themſelves in the Latitude of 28°, they expected they ſhould have ſeen very ſoon ſome of the *Canary* Iſlands; when, of a ſudden, the Man at the Maſt-head informed them, that he diſcovered a Sail, which carried *Engliſh* Colours. As ſoon as they drew near enough to diſcern her Motions, they perceived that ſhe ſtruck her Colours, and bore away from them. In about an Hour's time ſhe appeared again, with four Sail more in her Company, which ſometimes carried white, and ſometimes black, and, at laſt, red Colours; which gave Reaſon to ſuſpect, that they were Pirates. The Commodore immediately made the Signal for a Line of Battle; all Hands were employed in making a clear Ship, in filling Grenades, and preparing every thing that was neceſſary for the enſuing Engagement, in which they were ſo lucky as to have the Advantage of the Wind. The Pirates, obſerving this Diſpoſition, immediately put themſelves in a fighting Poſture; and began by ſtriking their red, and hoiſting a black Flag, with a Death's Head in the Centre, a Powder-horn over it, and two Bones acroſs underneath. They likewiſe formed a Line; and, in an Hour's time, the Action began. The Pirates fought briſkly for ſome time, ſuppoſing them to be Merchantmen; but, after a Diſpute of two Hours, and perceiving that the Commodore ſought to board the Veſſel with which he was engaged, they ſpread all the Canvas they could, and crouded away as faſt as poſſible. The *Dutch* Commodore cried out, as ſoon as he ſaw them bearing away, *Let the Raſcals go:* In which he ſtrictly obeyed his Inſtructions; for all the *Dutch* Ships, belonging to their *Eaſt* and *Weſt India* Companies, have ſtrict Orders never to give Chace, but to purſue their Courſe. It is true, that ſometimes their Captains neglect this Order; but it is at their Peril, and they are always made anſwerable for the Conſequences on their Return home.

This unlucky Accident coſt the Squadron a great many Men. In the Commodore they had four killed, among whom was a Quarter-maſter, and nine wounded; and there were ſeven killed, and twenty-ſix wounded, in the other two Ships. The Carpenters likewiſe found themſelves fully employed in ſtopping Leaks, and repairing the Damage they had received. As ſoon as this was done, which was by the 15th of *November*, they continued their Voyage, and arrived in Sight of the Iſland of *Madeira*, which afforded a beautiful Proſpect at a Diſtance. There is good Anchorage on its Coaſts, where Wood and Water may be conveniently taken in; but, notwithſtanding this, the *Dutch Eaſt* and *Weſt India* Ships rarely touch there. In the Neighbourhood of *Madeira*, they ſaw a deſert Iſland, which is much frequented by the Pirates, who wood and water there, and obtain other Refreſhments. They had likewiſe a Sight of the Pike of *Teneriff*, at the Diſtance of about twenty-five Leagues. This is generally eſteemed the higheſt ſingle Mountain in the World, which is the Reaſon that Geographers place there the firſt Meridian; a Cuſtom, however, from which many of the Moderns vary, but with which the Globe and Map-makers in *Holland* conſtantly comply, believing, that, from this Regularity, they derived great Advantages. On the other hand, the *French* and *Engliſh*, of late Years eſpecially, incline to fix the firſt Meridian in their reſpective Maps at *Paris*, or at *London*; which creates great Confuſion in the Longitude of Places, when this Diſtinction is not previouſly taken notice of by the Writers who make uſe of ſuch Maps. King *Lewis* the XIIIth of *France* endeavoured to prevent this Inconvenience by an Edict, dated *April* 25. 1634. by which he directed the firſt Meridian to be placed in the Iſland of *Fero*, the moſt Weſtward of the *Canaries*.

From theſe Iſlands they continued ſteering South-weſt, for thoſe of the Cape *de Verde*, of which they had likewiſe a Sight. This Cape *Verde*, or *Green Cape*, is a Point in *Afriea*, or rather a Mountain, ſhooting forth into the Sea, which *Ptolemy* calls *Arlinarium*. It was diſcovered by the *Portugueſe* in the Year 1474, in the Reign of *Alphonſus* the Vth; it is bounded by the two Rivers *Gambia* and *Sanega*, formerly called *Stachiris* and *Garatius:* To the Weſt Side of it there is an Iſland full of an infinite Number of Birds, whoſe Eggs are commonly gathered by the Mariners. This Cape is a dangerous Landing-place, becauſe of a great many Rocks about it ſunk under Water; therefore it is better to land three Leagues off it, though in a Place uninhabited, and which affords nothing but Wood and Stones. The Continent is peopled by Negroes, who trade with all Nations, and ſpeak ſeveral Languages, eſpecially *French* and *Portugueſe*. The moſt Part of them go naked, having only a Piece of linen Cloth about their Middle, to cover their privy Parts: But the Noblemen and Grandees clothe themſelves a little better; for they wear a long Garment of Calico, made like a Woman's Shift, and ſtriped with Blue: They hang little ſquare leather Bags upon their Arms and Legs, but we could not learn of them what they put in theſe Bags: They wear Necklaces made of Sea-horſes Teeth, with glaſs Beads between; on their Heads they wear a Cap of Calico, ſtriped with Blue. They are a prudent and wiſe People, employing themſelves in cultivating the Ground, which bears good Rice, and other Things, ſufficient to maintain them: The richer Sort among them keep Cattle, which are very dear in that Country, becauſe there are but a few. Here are a great many good Blackſmiths; for Iron is much valued amongſt them; and you find long iron Bars, forged like Spears, which ſerve them for fiſhing, and ploughing the Ground: They make likewiſe ſeveral Sorts of Weapons, as Arrows, Darts, Javelins, *&c.* They have little or no Knowledge of Almighty God, except ſome of them, who converſe with Chriſtians. In general, what Religion they have, comes neareſt to the *Mohammedan*; for they are circumciſed. They are very laſcivious Men, and may have as many Wives as they pleaſe, and Women are ſeldom ſatisfied with one Husband; but, above all, they love Strangers very paſſionately. The *Portugueſe* who live there are free, and trade with all Nations, but have no Authority or Power, but over their Slaves and Servants. The Country is altogether under the Subjection of the Governors of each Town or Village, who row in little Boats to the Ships when they arrive, to make them pay the Cuſtom.

They had at this time only a Sight of thoſe People in their Boats; for, having the Advantage of a ſtrong North-eaſt Wind, they continued their Courſe for ſix Weeks, without coming to an Anchor, or handling a Sail. In this long Paſſage they had ſome Days in which the Heat was almoſt inſupportable; and the Crew began to murmur exceſſively, on account of their being at ſhort Allowance for Water, of which, they ſaid, they had too little to ſuſtain Life, eſpecially conſidering the hard Labour they were obliged to undergo. This ſhort Allowance produced ſoon after a very extraordinary Accident: One of the Swabbers, being exceeding thirſty, got down into the Hold, and pierced a Caſk, which very unluckily proved to be Brandy, inſtead of Water; at which he pulled ſo heartily, that he ſoon intoxicated himſelf to a degree of Madneſs. This Liquor made him quarrelſome, and in this Condition he ran directly into the Cook-room, where he threw down a Pan of Greaſe: The Cook, not dreaming that the Fellow was drunk, ſaid in a pretty quick Tone, *You Raſcal, I have a great mind to break your Neck. Say you ſo?* replied the Swabber; *and I will cut your Throat, if you ſpeak another Word*, drawing his Knife as he ſpoke to him, and ruſhing upon him without the leaſt Notice. Some of the Crew gathered about immediately, and endeavoured, as ſoon as it was poſſible, to get the Knife out of the Fellow's Hands, which at laſt they did, but not before he had drawn it twice or thrice acroſs the Cook's Face. For this they drubbed the Fellow heartily, which he reſented to ſuch a degree, that, as ſoon as he got looſe, he took up a Knife, and gave himſelf three or four Stabs in the Belly. The utmoſt Care was taken of him, till his Wounds were cured, in order to make him a public Example to the Ship's Crew, that ſuch Accidents might be prevented for the future. After his Recovery, he was treated in the following manner. In the firſt Place, he was declared infamous at the Foremaſt, he was then thrice Keel-haled; then he had 300 Strokes upon the Buttocks; and, laſt of all, his Right-hand was faſtened to the Maſt with his own Knife. When he had ſtood in this Condition ſome Minutes, he was carried to the Forecaſtle, and chained; where, for a certain Number of Days, he was allowed only Bread and Water, and, after all, put in Irons, till he could be ſet on ſhore in the firſt barren uninhabited Iſland they came to.

There happened nothing very remarkable beſides, in this Paſſage, except that they ſaw ſeveral of the Cape *de Verde* Iſlands, in ſome of which, it is ſaid, it never rains; and yet the Dew falls ſo copiouſly, that the Soil produces abundance of Herbs, and excellent Fruits. I cannot, adds the Author, ſay much as to this, but I think it ſo much the more probable, becauſe we are acquainted with other Countries, where, it is certain, it never rains. For Inſtance, about the *Rio de Lagao*, on the Coaſt of *Africa*, near the Tropic of *Capricorn*, where the *Chriſtians*, who inhabit in that Neighbourhood, never remember to have ſeen Rain. In like manner, it never, or at leaſt very rarely, rains in *Peru*, from Cape *Blanco* to *Coquimbo*. In *Egypt* alſo it rains very ſeldom; which, in my Opinion, is owing to the North-eaſt and South-eaſt Winds blowing conſtantly in their Turns. Theſe Winds, as I apprehend, do not bring Vapours ſo humid, as thoſe that attend a Weſt Wind, but rather ſuch as fall in Dew. It is very rare, on this Side the Line, that a South-eaſt Wind brings any Rain; and, on the other Side, the North Wind blowing along the Line is warm, and has exactly the ſame Effects that a South Wind has with us. It is alſo obſerved throughout all *Aſia*, that the Monſoons reign conſtantly the whole Year through; that is to ſay, the North-weſt blows ſix Months, and the other ſix Months the South-eaſt; and it is alſo obſervable, that it is the Weſt Wind that brings Rain. This Rain is often intermixed with Thunder and Lightning; from all which it ſeems reaſonable to infer, that the South-eaſt blowing conſtantly towards the North Pole, and the North-eaſt blowing as conſtantly towards the South Pole, is the true and certain Cauſe why in ſome Parts of the World it never rains. But to leave theſe Speculations, which are, however, far from being uſeleſs, let us now return to the Thread of our Relation.

4. They continued their Voyage, till they approached the Line: The frequent ſhifting of the Wind incommoded them exceedingly; their Thirſt increaſing exceſſively at the ſame time, many of the Ship's Crew were down of the Scurvy; and when they met, as they ſometimes did, with a Calm, when the Heat of the Sun was greater than ordinary, ſome of the Crew were quite diſtracted, others fell into high Fevers, and ſome had Fits like the Falling Sickneſs; moſt of them loſt their Appetite through an exceſſive Thirſt. Their freſh Water, as it grew low, not only ſtunk abominably, but was alſo full of Worms: Their ſalt Proviſions were, in a manner, quite ſpoiled, and ſerved only to turn their Stomachs, and increaſe their Drought. It is generally ſaid, that, of all Torments, Hunger is the greateſt; but theſe People apprehended that Maxim to be ill-founded; and that, inſtead of Hunger, we ought to inſert Thirſt, if we would be thoroughly acquainted with the utmoſt Miſery incident to human Nature. About this time, their Cares were ſomewhat diverted, by an Accident which very much ſurpriſed them: They obſerved often, towards Evening, that the Sea appeared to be all on Fire, as if covered with flaming Brimſtone: They took up ſeveral Buckets of Water when it was in this Condition, in order to examine it more cloſely; they then found it to be full of an infinite Number of little Globules, of the Size, Form, and Colour of Pearls: They obſerved farther, that they retained their Luſtre for ſome time after they were held in their Hand; but that, when preſſed between the Fingers, they diſcovered themſelves to be nothing more than an earthy fat Subſtance like Mud: The moſt experienced Mariners on board confeſſed, that they had never ſeen any thing like it; and withal owned, they knew not what to make of it. The Author ſays, that he leaves it to ſuch as are ſkilled in Phyſics, to explain and account for this Phenomenon; and, in order to give them ſome Aſſiſtance, he delivers this as his own Opinion, *viz.* that theſe Globules contain nothing, either of Sulphur or Salt-petre, as at firſt Sight they ſeemed to do; but are, in reality, nothing more than the phlegmatic and groſſer Part of the Salts contained in the Water, concreted by the exceſſive Heat of the Sun in calm Weather, and again broken and diſperſed among the Water, by the Motion of the Winds and Waves; to which, perhaps, the Current of the Coaſt of *Guiney*, in the Height of which they ſaw the ſame Thing, might in ſome meaſure contribute.

At length they paſſed the Line, with the Loſs only of a ſingle Man, who died of an high Fever. When they arrived in the Latitude of 3° South, they met with the true Monſoon, before which they bore away at a great Rate. In the Latitude of 5°, they had the Sun directly over their Heads; which caſting then no Shadow, they were for ſome Days without making an Obſervation. In the Latitude of 6° South, they caught a great Number of Dorados and Dolphins. Our Author ſays, that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, theſe are the ſame Fiſh; that the Dolphin is the Male, and the Dorado the Female. There are ſome of them ſix Feet in Length, but not at all proportionable in Bulk; they appear in the Water exceſſively beautiful, their Skins ſhining as if ſtreaked with Gold, but they loſe all theſe fine Colours as ſoon as they are taken out of that Element. Their Fleſh is very ſweet and well-taſted, ſo that the Seamen always feaſt, ſo long as Plenty of this Sort of Fiſh is to be had. They likewiſe ſaw abundance of Sharks, many of which were ten Feet long; the Fleſh of theſe Creatures is hard, ſtringy, and of a very diſagreeable Taſte; notwithſtanding which, the Seamen very frequently hang them up for a Day or two in the Air, and then eat them; which Compliment the Sharks never fail to return, if, by any Accident, a Seaman comes in their Way, either dead or alive; and ſeem to attend their Ships for that Purpoſe.

They now drew near the Coaſt of *Braſil*, and paſſed by, though at a pretty good Diſtance, ſome of the uninhabited Iſlands that lie on the Coaſt, ſuch as *Trinity Iſland*, and ſome others. Their Deſign was to have anchored at the Coaſt of the Iſland *Grande*; but, finding they were paſt it, they continued their Route, till they arrived off *Porto*, in the Latitude of 24° South, where they came to an Anchor. As ſoon as they arrived in Sight of *Porto*, ſome of the Ship's Company, of whom our Author was one, got into the Shallop, in order to go aſhore, as well for the ſake of getting Water, Wood, and other Refreſhments, as in order to bury one of their Seamen. Before they could get on ſhore, they ſaw a Body of *Portugueſe* well armed, moveing along the Coaſt, and who appeared to have no other Deſign than to keep them from landing; and, as they drew nearer, they beckoned to the *Dutch* to keep off, threatening to fire upon them, if they attempted to land: But, upon ſhewing them the dead Body, they ſuffered them to land, and even ſhewed them a Place where they might interr it.

As the *Dutch* were very deſirous of gaining ſome Intelligence, they aſked a good many Queſtions about the Country; to which they could obtain no other Anſwer than this, that *Porto* was an Advance-port to *St. Sebaſtian*,

out

not marked in the Chart; and that they were Inhabitants of *Rio Janeiro*, which lay about eight Miles off. The *Dutch* endeavoured to perſuade them to go on board their Veſſels; but they refuſed, fearing that they might be Pirates. This, to ſay the Truth, was no unreaſonable Suppoſition, ſince ſuch Veſſels frequently appear on the Coaſt; and, under Pretence of getting freſh Water, land and pillage any of the little Towns that are near the Sea. About ſix Months before their Arrival there had beeen one there; the Crew of which were preparing to make a Deſcent; when, unluckily for them, a *French* Ship of Force arrived, and with one Broadſide ſunk her to the Bottom. It was believed ſhe had near ſeven Millions on board her; and, as ſhe ſunk in thirteen Fathom Water, they had ſent for Divers from *Portugal*, in order, if poſſible, to recover Part of her Treaſure. Another, not long after, had the ſame Fate upon that Coaſt: However, with the warmeſt Intreaties, and the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances poſſible, two of them were prevailed upon to go on board the *Dutch* Ship, where they were very kindly received, had Preſents made them of Cloaths, which induced them to promiſe they would carry the whole Squadron into a ſafe Port; and they were as good as their Words, which was extremely acceptable to Men in their Condition, almoſt worn out with Fatigues, and, in a manner, deſtroyed for want of Liquids.

5. This Harbour of *Porto* affords good Anchorage, from ſix to eight Fathom Water. In entering it on the South-weſt, they had the Main-land on the Right, and a large Iſland on the Left. All the Coaſt, along which they ſailed, appeared to be very high Land, intermingled with Mountains and Valleys overgrown with Shrubs. *Porto* lies in a pleaſant Situation, but there were no Inhabitants there at this time. The Fiſh and Tortoiſes caught here were of an exquiſite Taſte, and very nouriſhing; ſo that moſt of the People, who were ill of the Scurvy, which, at the Time of their Arrival there, might be about forty, recovered very faſt. After ſtaying there two Days, in which Time they ſupplied themſelves with Wood and Water, they weighed Anchor, and continued the ſame Courſe to the South-weſt; After ſailing about ſix Leagues, and ſeeing many ſmall Iſlands at a Diſtance, they found themſelves in the Road of *St. Sebaſtian*. At the very Inſtant they entered the Mouth of the River, there aroſe a Storm, which blew with ſuch Violence, that, for fear of being driven on the Rocks, they were forced to drop their Anchors, and wait the Return of the Tide. The next Day they weighed, entered the Port, and came to an Anchor before the Town; which they ſaluted thrice, with ſeven, five, and three Pieces of Cannon, but without receiving the leaſt Anſwer, either becauſe the *Portugueſe* Guns were not in Order, or becauſe the People were not very well pleaſed with their Arrival, as ſhrewdly ſuſpecting, notwithſtanding they hoiſted a *Dutch* Flag, that they were very little better than Pirates. In order to remove theſe Doubts, the Commodore wrote a Letter to the Governor; informing him who they were, and deſiring that he would furniſh them with Cattle, Herbs, Fruits, Wood, and Water, for ready Money. He likewiſe deſired, as a Matter of Favour, that his Excellency would be pleaſed to allow them a few Huts on ſhore, for the Refreſhment of their ſick Men. The Governor returned for Anſwer, that nothing of this Sort was in his Power, as he was ſubordinate to the Governor of *Rio de Janeiro*; that, however, he would diſpatch an Expreſs thither immediately, and hoped they would allow him Time to learn the Senſe of his ſuperior Officer. The *Dutch* Commodore was very far from being ſatisfied with this Anſwer; and gave the *Portugueſe* Governor to underſtand, that, as he was very willing to deal with him for Money, ſo, if he could not obtain what he wanted by fair Means, he ſhould be obliged to take it by foul, how much ſoever againſt his Inclination; but, having learned that there was a *Franciſcan* Monaſtery in the Town, at the ſame time that he diſpatched this Meſſage, he ſent to acquaint the Fathers with his Arrival, accompanied with a Preſent.

It happened very luckily for them, that, in this Monaſtery, there was one Father *Thomas*, a Native of *Utrecht*, who immediately came aboard with ſeveral of the Monks. This honeſt Father was ſo delighted at the Sight of his Countrymen, that he declared he ſhould now die in Peace, having, for twenty-two Years, earneſtly wiſhed to enjoy this Satisfaction. The Commodore made him exceedingly welcome, and gave them whatever they deſired for the Uſe of their Monaſtery. The Prior, who was of the Number of thoſe that came on board, deſired the Commodore to have Patience a little, till the Return of the Expreſs from *Rio de Janeiro*; and promiſed that he would uſe his utmoſt Intereſt with the Governor, in order to engage him to comply with the Commodore's Demands; ſo that they parted on both Sides very well ſatisfied with each other. In the mean time, the *Portugueſe* came down in great Bodies, well armed, to the Coaſt; and poſted themſelves particularly in thoſe Places where it was believed the *Dutch* Shallop might attempt to put her Men on ſhore. On the Approach of the Shallop, the *Portugueſe* thought fit to fire upon them, by which one of the *Dutchmen* was dangerouſly wounded in the Shoulder: Thereupon the Boat's Crew returned the Compliment, by a general Diſcharge of their ſmall Arms, by which two of the *Portugueſe* were laid on the Ground; at the Sight of which, the reſt made a precipitate Retreat, and the *Dutch*, landing immediately, filled what Water they had Occaſion for, and then returned on board.

On the Report of what had happened, the Commodore made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for the Attack of the Place, and ſtationed his Ships accordingly: The ſmalleſt was ordered in as near the Town as poſſible; the *Tienhoven* was ordered to watch the Coaſt; and the Commodore anchored as near as could be to the Convent, as if he had intended to ſet it on Fire, or beat it down to the Ground: All this, however, was deſigned only to fright the *Portugueſe* into a better Behaviour; and it had the deſigned Effect; for the Deputy-Governor ſoon after came on board, and entered into a Treaty, by which the *Portugueſe* granted all that had been deſired; but, at the ſame time, expreſſed a great Diffidence of their being paid for what they furniſhed; becauſe, having lately treated with a *French* Ship in the ſame manner, the Captain, at his Departure, threatened to beat the Town about their Ears, in caſe they inſiſted on being paid according to his Promiſes when he came in. The Sick, being landed on the Iſland, were furniſhed daily by the *Portugueſe* with Beef, Mutton, Fowl, Herbs, Fruits, and whatever elſe they wanted. The Ship's Company alſo, having Leave to go aſhore, ſoon contracted Acquaintance among the *Portugueſe*, from whom they obtained Sugar, Tobacco, Brandy, and whatever elſe they deſired, in Exchange for *European* Goods, notwithſtanding the Governor had prohibited any kind of Commerce, on the ſevereſt Penalties. Thus, in a very ſhort time, the Scene was effectually changed, and the *Portugueſe* ſo well ſatisfied as to the Honeſty and good Intentions of the *Dutch*, that they brought back, of their own Accord, all the rich Effects that had been carried out of the Town, when their Ships firſt appeared before it. The *Portugueſe*, however, complained bitterly of the Uſage they met with from the *French*; who, according to their Accounts, frequently came before the Place with their Ships, took whatever they pleaſed by Force, and plundered the Houſes, in which they were permitted to lodge their Sick; which induced the *Portugueſe* to believe, that all the *Europeans* would treat them in the ſame manner.

The Town of *St. Sebaſtian* is ſituated in the Latitude of 24°, and in the Longitude of 60°; it is a Place of moderate Extent, indifferently fortified, being ſurrounded with Paliſadoes, and furniſhed only with a few Pieces of Cannon. The Church, however, is a very beautiful Building, the Palace of the Governor very magnificent, and the Houſes of the Inhabitants, ſuch as are commonly met with in the *Indies*. The *Franciſcan* Monaſtery ſtands on the South Side of the Town, and is the Habitation of about thirty Monks, who live there very commodiouſly, and behave themſelves as become Perſons of their Profeſſion. The Prior ſhewed the Commodore, and the reſt of the Officers, an Idol, which had been worſhipped by the antient Inhabitants of the Place. This was the Statue of a Creature half Tyger, half Lion, about four Feet high, and one and an half about. They were told, that this Statue was of maſſy Gold; but the Author ſuſpected, that it was only gilt: The Feet of this Creature reſembled the Paws of a Lion; his Head was adorned with a double Crown, in which ſtuck up twelve *Indian* Darts, one of which, on each Side, was broken in the Middle; behind his Head, on each Shoulder, there was a large Wing, like that of a Stork. In the Inſide of the Statue was that of a Man, completely armed, after the manner of the Country, having at his Back a Quiver of Arrows, in his Left Hand a Bow, and in his Right a Shaft. The Tail of this monſtrous Idol was very long, and turned three or four times round the Body of the armed Man: The Inhabitants of the Country, who worſhipped ſo frightful a God, called this Statue *Naſil Licbma*. The *Dutch* looked upon it with Aſtoniſhment, and ſaw, with great Pleaſure, a numerous Collection of *European* and *American* Curioſities that were in the Poſſeſſion of the Monks. The Port, or rather the River, of *St. Sebaſtian*, is three or four Leagues in Length, and about one in Breadth. On the North-eaſt lies a very fine Iſland, of about four Miles round, and on every Side of it lie ſmaller Iſlands. The Haven, as well as the Town, is called *St. Sebaſtian*. The Country of *Braſil* is, as all the World knows, very large, and very rich, inſomuch that the King of *Portugal* is ſaid to draw as great Riches from thence, as the King of *Spain* from all the reſt of *America*; and this may very well be, ſince his Catholic Majeſty is content with a very ſmall Part of the Gold and Silver found in his Dominions, whereas the King of *Portugal* ſweeps all. The Province of *Braſil* extends South, Eaſt, and North: The Capital of this Country is *Babia*, or *St. Salvador*, *Siara*, *Olinda*, *Rio de Janeiro*, *St. Vincent*, &c. This Country was diſcovered about the Year 1500; but then it is to be conſidered, that, even to this Day, they have not penetrated much above eighty Leagues within Land. The Soil is good, and the Country would, doubtleſs, produce Corn and Wine ſufficient for the Uſe of its Inhabitants at leaſt, if, from a Principle of Policy, the People were not hindered from cultivating their Grounds, and conſtantly ſupplied with theſe neceſſary Commodities from the *Portugueſe*. The principal Rivers in this Country are, *Topuca*, *Janeiro*, *Patipa*, *Daſpedres*, *San Franciſco*, *Parayba*, &c. It is the common Opinion of the *Portugueſe* here, that the antient Inhabitants were *Anthropophagi*, or Man-eaters; and it is even ſaid, that human Fleſh was ſold in their Markets as common as Beef or Mutton; but of this there is no authentic Proof. Thoſe of the Natives the *Dutch* ſaw were large Men, of a dark Complexion, thick-lipped, flat Noſes, and very white Teeth. The *Portugueſe* here are very numerous, as well Natives of the Country, as thoſe that flock over hither from *Portugal*, from time to time, in order to repair their broken Fortunes. Among other Riches, the Author aſſures us, that, a little before their Arrival, the *Portugueſe* had diſcovered a Diamond Mine not far from *St. Sebaſtian's*, of which, at that time, they were not in full Poſſeſſion, but were meditating an Expedition againſt the *Indians*, in order to become the ſole Maſters of ſo valuable a Prize; and, with this View, they invited the *Dutch* to join with them, promiſing them, in caſe they ſucceeded, a Share in the Riches; by which Inſinuations nine of their Soldiers were tempted to deſert: The Author ſays, that he does not know whether they were ſo lucky as to ſucceed; but, in all Probability, they did; becauſe, ſince that time, great Quantities of Diamonds have been imported from *Braſil* into *Europe*. It is ſaid, that they are found on the Tops of Mountains, amongſt a red kind of Earth, which holds a great deal of Gold, waſhed out of it by great Rains, and carried down by the Torrents into the Valleys, where the Negroes are employed in waſhing it.

Braſil abounds with all Sorts of Birds, Fiſh, and Beaſts, tame and wild. They have Tygers there, that do a great deal of Miſchief: There are likewiſe abundance of Elephants, the Teeth of which are of great Value; neither is there any Country, where Serpents, and other venomous Creatures, are more frequent, or of a larger Size. The Popiſh Religion prevails as far as the Power of the *Portugueſe* can extend it. There are, however, vaſt Numbers of the native Inhabitants, who are yet unſubdued, live in their old idolatrous Religion, and are ſo cruel and vindictive, that, if a Chriſtian unluckily falls into their Hands, the beſt thing he can expect, is to have his Throat cut; for very often they put them to Death by intolerable Tortures. The Air of the Country is extremely wholſome, though, at ſome certain Times of the Year, it is exceſſively hot. The Author experienced the Excellency of the Clime by his ſpeedy and perfect Recovery from the Scurvy, and other Diſtempers; and it had the like Effect on the reſt of their ſick People. There are vaſt Numbers of a venomous Kind of Muſkitoes about *St. Sebaſtian's*, which ſting People to ſuch a Degree, that they are all covered over with Bliſters. An Accident of this Kind happened to their Pilot, who, having drank too freely of the Rum made in that Country, ſlept afterwards in the open Air, and had his Face, Arms, Head, and Legs, ſo ſtung, that his Life was in the utmoſt Danger; and it was not without abundance of Care, and after a long Space of Time, that he throughly recovered. The *Dutch* Commodore, while they remained here, obliged his People to obſerve a very ſtrict Diſcipline; and, upon Complaint being made, that ſome of his Sailors were too familiar with ſome of the *Indian* Women, he cauſed them to be ſeverely chaſtiſed, and would never afterwards permit them to go on ſhore. But, how well ſoever the *Dutch* and *Portugueſe* might agree, the Governor was far enough from being ſatisfied with his new Gueſts: He had learned from ſome of the Deſerters, that the Deſign of their Voyage was to make Diſcoveries towards the South, which diſpleaſed him very much; and therefore he practiſed every Art he could deviſe to hinder and diſtreſs them: With this View, he furniſhed them with Proviſions only from Day to Day, to prevent their adding to their Sea Stores; he likewiſe talked of five or ſix Men of War coming from *Rio de Janeiro*, in order to put the *Dutch* in Fear of being attacked: To carry this as far as it would go, he actually ſent for the only Ship that was then there, to come to *St. Sebaſtian's*. The Commodore underſtood the Meaning of all this very well, and took no notice of it, complying exactly with the Terms ſtipulated by the Treaty with the Deputy-Governor, ſaving Part of his freſh Proviſions daily, and ſalting them, cleaning and repairing his Ships one by one, taking on board Tobacco, Sugar, and whatever elſe he wanted, till he thought himſelf in a Condition to continue his Voyage; and then he fully ſatisfied the Governor in Fire-arms, Hats, ſilk Stockings, Linen, Stock-fiſh, and other *European* Commodities, for whatever he had received; and made him a very conſiderable Preſent beſides. The Governor, in Return, ſent him ſome Black Cattle, and a Certificate of his honeſt Behaviour, to be made uſe of in *Europe*: And, all Things being thus ſettled, to the mutual Satiſfaction of all Parties, the *Dutch* Commodore ſailed with his Squadron, keeping ſtill to the South-weſt; and, finding a deſert Iſle, about three Leagues from the Coaſt, he ſet on ſhore there the Swabber, who had attempted to murder the Cook, according to the Sentence that had been paſſed upon him, as has been before related.

6. After leaving the Coaſt of *Braſil*, the Commodore propoſed viſiting the Iſland of *Aukes Magdeland*, ſo called from its firſt Diſcoverer, who, about one hundred Years ago, ſaw a Light in that Iſland, which is ſaid to be ſituated in the Latitude of 30° South; but did not go on ſhore. As the Situation of this Iſland muſt have been very advantageous, and in a good Climate, the Commodore intended to ſettle a Colony there, for the Service of ſuch Ships as ſhould afterwards be bound to the Southern *Indies*, that, by this means, they might obtain Wood, Water, and other Refreſhments, without being obliged to touch at any of the Countries ſubject to the *Portugueſe*. He found it, however, abſolutely impracticable, becauſe, in ſpite of all the Pains he could take, he never could diſcover that, or any other Iſland, in or near the Latitude of 30°; which obliged him to change his Courſe, and to ſteer towards the *New Iſlands*, ſo called by the *Dutch*; but, by a *French* Privateer, that firſt diſcovered them, named *St. Lewis*. The Squadron proſecuted its Voyage very happily, by continuing always within 40 and 50 Leagues of the *American* Shore, by which they enjoyed the Benefit of the Land and Sea Winds; whereas, if they had kept farther from Land, they would have infallibly fallen in with the Weſt Monſoon.

On the 21ſt of *December*, when they were in the Latitude of 40° South, they were ſurpriſed by an Hurricane, attended with Thunder and Lightning. All they could do was to furl their Sails, and lie at the Mercy of the Wind and Waves: The Sea ran ſo very high, that they expected every Moment to be ſwallowed. In this Storm they were ſeparated from the *Tienhoven*, and did not meet with her again till three Months afterwards. The Violence of the Hurricane laſted about four Hours, but was not intirely over in ſome Days. It was very happy for the Commodore, that, in ſpite of the prodigious Force of the Wind, his Maſts ſtood firm. Theſe Hurricanes are extremely dangerous, and Ships often founder through their Violence. They are far more frequent in the *Weſt*, than they are in the *Eaſt Indies*. They happen uſually at one Seaſon of the Year, particularly when the Weſt Monſoon reigns, which is from the 20th of *July* to the 15th of *October*. For this Reaſon, on Coaſts where they are frequent, Veſſels often continue in Port, till they imagine they have nothing of this kind to fear. But, as Storms of this ſort are not exactly periodical, and as there are ſome Years in which happen no Hurricanes at all, Ships truſting to ſuch Calculations, or to certain pretended Prognoſtics, are very often caught. In the *Mediterranean* they have a kind of Hurricane, which returns every Year at the ſame time, or very near it. In the Neighbourhood of the *Ganges*, they have annually eight Hurricanes, as the moſt experienced Mariners report. They call theſe kind of Storms here, as well as in the *Mediterranean*, by the Name of the *Elephant*. Such as ſail to *Japan*, are often expoſed to ſuch rough Encounters; and, therefore, the Voyage to that Iſland is juſtly reputed the moſt hazardous of any in the *Indies*. It is reported, (but I do not aſſert it) that Ships have ſometimes ſpent three Years in the adjacent Seas, without being able to hit their intended Port. The ordinary, or at leaſt the ſureſt, Sign of an Hurricane, is very fair Weather, and ſo dead a Calm, as that not a Wrinkle can be diſcerned; then a Cloud, about the Size of a Man's Hand, riſes in the Air, very dark; and, in a little time, the whole Sky is covered. The Wind then begins to blow from the Weſt, and, in a ſmall Space of Time, whisks round the Compaſs, ſwelling the Sea to a dreadful Height; and, as the Wind blows now on the one Side, and then on the other, the Shock of the contrary Waves beats the Veſſels ſo forcibly, that they very rarely eſcape Shipwreck. Such as perceive the Cloud early, cannot do better than to get out to Sea. It is very remarkable, that, as Ships approach either Pole, thoſe Hurricanes are leſs frequent, ſo that, in an higher Latitude than 55°, they are not to be feared. It is true, that the Winds towards the Poles blow with greater Force, and the Air is more ſharp and piercing; but then contrary Winds are not ſo often met with, or, to ſpeak with greater Propriety, the Wind does not move ſo rapidly round the Compaſs. The Winds alſo in that Quarter ſink more gradually than under the Tropics, where they ſuddenly ſwell to the greateſt Height, and then as ſuddenly ceaſe to blow. The Cauſe, poſſibly, of this Difference may be, the Warmth of Air between the Tropics, and the conſtant South or North Wind under the Pole. It is likewiſe obſerved, that this Hurricane rarely happens in the midſt of the wide Ocean, but chiefly on the Coaſts of ſuch Countries as abound with Minerals, or at the Mouths of great Rivers. Another ſurpriſing Phænomenon at Sea is, what they call a Whirlwind, and which, in ſome Countries, is called a Siphon. Theſe are occaſioned by the Sun, and are diſtinguiſhed from other Winds by a kind of ſpiral Motion, which carries up into the Air whatever comes within the Circle of their Force. It ſometimes happens, that they carry Fiſh, Graſs-hoppers, and other Things, very high in the Air, where they appear like a thick Vapour or Cloud. The *Engliſh* fire at a Whirlwind, in order to ſtop its Progreſs; and in this they often ſucceed; and, the circular Motion ceaſing, all that it had taken up, falls of itſelf, and the Sea becomes preſently calm. But it is time to leave this Digreſſion, and to return again to the Hiſtory of our Voyage.

As ſoon as the Hurricane was intirely over, the Commodore, and his Conſort the *African Galley*, continued a South South-weſt Courſe, till, by the Aſſiſtance of the Land Winds, they were in the Height of the Streights of *Magellan*.

7. There they diſcovered an Iſland of near 200 Leagues in Circumference, and at the Diſtance of about fourſcore Leagues from the Main-land of *America*; and, as they ſaw no Smoke, nor any Boat, or other Embarkation, on the Coaſt, they concluded that it was uninhabited. A *French* Privateer diſcovered the Weſt Coaſt of it, and called it the Iſland of *St. Lewis*; but the *Dutch*, obſerving its many Capes, fanſied them to be ſo many different Iſlands; and therefore beſtowed on them the Name of the *New Iſlands*. This Squadron firſt diſcovered the Iſland all round, and particularly the Eaſt Coaſt of it; the firſt viſible Points of which they named the Points of *Roſenthall*, becauſe they were firſt diſcovered by a Captain of that Name, who commanded the *African Galley*; the uttermoſt Eaſtern Point they called *New-Year's Cape*, becauſe diſcovered upon that Day: This Iſland lying in the Latitude of 52° South, and in the Longitude of 95°, they called it *Belgia Auſtralis*, becauſe, whenever it comes to be inhabited, ſuch as dwelt thereon will be ſtrictly and properly Antipodes to the Inhabitants of the *Low Countries*. The Land appeared extremely beautiful, and very fertile: It was chequered with Mountains and Valleys, all of which were clothed with very fine ſtrait Trees. The Verdure of the Meadows, and the Freſhneſs of the Woods, afforded a moſt delightful Proſpect, inſomuch that all the Ships Companies agreed, that, if they had landed, they ſhould have found excellent Fruits: But the Commodore would not allow them to land, for fear of loſing Time; and, from an Apprehenſion, that any Delay might hinder his getting round Cape *Horn*, he therefore choſe to defer a thorough Examination of this new Country, till he ſhould return from the Diſcovery of the Southern Continents and Iſlands; but that, alas! however reaſonable, proved, as in the Sequel we ſhall ſee, a vain Expectation, becauſe he was obliged to return home with his Squadron by the *Eaſt Indies*. This fine Iſland, therefore, is like to continue ſtill, in a great meaſure, unknown; and the Commodore regretted exceſſively his not laying hold of that fair Opportunity of ſpending a few Days there, which, perhaps, might have produced the fixing a Colony on that Iſland; from whence, without doubt, many other conſiderable Diſcoveries might, in a ſhort time, have been conveniently made.

8. Quitting this Iſland, they returned to the Mouth of the Streights of *Magellan*, in order to wait there for a Wind favourable to their Navigation; and, in a few Days, it very luckily changed; for, if it had continued to blow from the Weſt, they could not poſſibly have obtained their Paſſage into the South Seas. This they were reſolved to attempt by the Streights of *Le Maire*, becauſe this laſt Paſſage is infinitely more commodious than that of *Magellan*, where the Sea has but a ſmall Depth, and the North and South Currents, by their meeting, occaſioned conſtant rough Seas. Add to this, that the Bottom is rocky, and affords no good Anchorage; and that the Flaws from the Mountains on both Sides endanger all Ships that venture into theſe perilous Streights: But, having, as is before obſerved, a fair Wind, they continued their Courſe to the South, in order to paſs the Streights of *Le Maire*. In their Way they ſaw abundance of Whales, and other large Fiſh of that kind: Amongſt the reſt, they were followed for a whole Month by that kind of Fiſh which the *Dutch* Sailors call the *Sea Devil*. They took the utmoſt Pains to catch it, but to no Purpoſe. It has a large Head, a thick ſhort Body, and a very long Tail, like that which Painters beſtow on the Dragon. Arriving at length in the Height of 55°, they began to conceive they could not be far diſtant from the Mouth of the Streights, and immediately after they ſaw *Stateſland*, which makes one Side of them. The Fury of the Waves, and the Claſhing of contending Currents, gave ſuch terrible Shocks to their Veſſels, as made them reel in ſuch a manner, that they expected every Moment their Yards would have broken, and their Maſts come by the Board. In this Situation they would have been glad to come to an Anchor, eſpecially when they found, by ſounding, that the Bottom was very good; but the Weather was ſo rough as not to permit it.

They paſſed the Streights, which are about ten Leagues in Length, and ſix over, where they are the broadeſt, with a Swiftneſs not to be expreſſed, which was owing to the Force of a Current. Theſe Currents without the Streights, joined to a ſtrong Weſt Wind, carried them out a great Way from the Coaſt of *America*; and, that they might be ſure to get round Cape *Horn*, they ſailed as high as the Latitude of 62° 30′. There, for three Weeks together, they ſuſtained the moſt dreadful Guſts of a furious Weſt Wind, accompanied with Hail, Snow, and the moſt piercing Froſt. They were very apprehenſive, leſt the Violence of the Wind might, while they were inveloped with thick Miſts, have driven them upon Mountains of Ice, which muſt have expoſed them to certain Shipwreck. Whenever the Weather was a little ſerene, they had ſcarce any Night at all; for, being the midſt of *January*, the Summer was at its Height in that Climate, and the Days at their utmoſt Length. Theſe Mountains of Ice, of which they were ſo much afraid, were viſible from the Height of Cape *Horn*; and are certain Proofs, that thoſe Southern Countries extend quite to their Pole, as well as thoſe under the North; for, without Queſtion, ſuch vaſt Hills of Ice cannot either be produced in the Sea, or formed by the common Force of Cold. It muſt therefore be concluded, that they are occaſioned by the Violence of Currents, and of ſharp piercing Winds, blowing out of Gulphs, or the Mouths of large Rivers. It is, on the other Side, no leſs certain, that the Currents diſcerned in this Ocean proceed all from the Mouths of Rivers, which, rolling down from an high Continent, fall into the Sea with ſuch Impetuoſity, that they preſerve a great Part of their Force, even after they have entered it. The great Quantity of Birds that are ſeen here, is an additional Proof, that Land cannot be far off.

It may be demanded, whether this Continent is inhabited or not: For my Part, ſays the Author, the Affirmative ſeems the moſt probable to me. It may, poſſibly, be aſked, how it can be imagined, that Men ſhould live in ſuch a Climate as that of 70 Degrees, where the Winter is ſo very long, the Summer ſo ſhort, and where, for a great Part of the Year, they muſt be involved in perpetual Night? To this I anſwer, that ſuch as dwell here, come hither only in the fine Seaſon, in order to fiſh, and retire on the Approach of Winter, as many of the Subjects of the *Ruſſian* Empire, and the Inhabitants of *Davis*'s Streights, who, after they have throughly provided themſelves with Fiſh on the Coaſts of a frozen Climate, retire farther within Land, and eat, during the Winter, in their Cabins, the Fiſh they have taken in the Summer. I ſay farther, ſays he, that if the People, who are to be met with in *Greenland*, and *Davis*'s Streights, are to be relied on, they inform us, that the Country is inhabited, even to the Height of 70° in Winter as well as Summer; and what is practicable in one Country, cannot juſtly be reputed incredible when ſuppoſed in another. The contrary Winds having driven theſe *Dutch* Ships 500 Leagues from the Continent, the Commodore believed, that he was now beyond Cape *Horn*, and therefore ſteered North-eaſt and by North, in order to fall in with the Coaſt of *Chili*. After continuing this Courſe for three Weeks, and ſeeing no Land, they began to conclude, that they had not doubled Cape *Horn*, but had ſtood away Northerly too ſoon. On the 10th of *March*, however, being in the Latitude of 37° 30′, they diſcovered, to their great Joy, the long wiſhed-for Coaſt of *Chili*, and ſoon after anchored on the Coaſt of the Iſland *Mocha*, which is three Leagues from the Continent. They were in hopes of finding on this Iſland, at leaſt, a Part of the Refreſhments they wanted, but more eſpecially freſh Meat and Herbs; but, to their great Surprize, were diſappointed, by perceiving it intirely abandoned, and that all its Inhabitants had tranſported themſelves to the Main-land. They ſaw, however, upon the Iſland, a Multitude of Horſes and Birds; and, in two Cabins near the Shore, they found ſome Dogs. Upon a ſtricter and cloſer Search, they diſcovered the Wreck of a *Spaniſh* Ship, from whence they concluded the Dogs had got on ſhore. As to the Horſes, they concluded, that they were left there to graze, and that their Owners came at certain times from the Main to take them up, as they had Occaſion for them. They killed abundance of Geeſe and Ducks; and, after having traverſed every Part of the Country, finding the Coaſt extremely rocky, and no Place where they could anchor with Safety, they reſolved to put to Sea again without Delay.

9. But, before they executed this Reſolution, the Commodore held a Council with his Officers, in order to conſider how they ſhould proceed, and what Courſe was to be taken next; in which it was determined to continue, for ſome time, on the Coaſt of *Chili*, in hopes of meeting with ſome Port where they might anchor with Safety, and get ſome Refreſhments. This Reſolution, however, they afterwards laid aſide, becauſe they perceived the *Spaniards* every-where upon their Guard, and their Coaſts ſo well provided, that it would have been dangerous for them to have made any Attempt. They likewiſe obſerved, that, notwithſtanding the Country of *Chili* appeared extravagantly high at a Diſtance, yet, as they ſailed along-ſhore, they diſcovered it was not higher than the *Engliſh* Coaſt, and that they had been led into this Miſtake by the prodigious Height of the Mountains behind it; the Tops of which were hid in the Clouds, and covered with perpetual Snows. After much Deliberation, the Commodore and *African* Galley, which no Storms could ever ſeparate from him, ſteered Weſt North-weſt for the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, at the Diſtance, as they apprehended, of about ninety Leagues. As they had a favourable Wind, they made Way at a great Rate, ſo that on the 4th Day they had Sight of the Iſland, but could not come to an Anchor in the Road, by reaſon of its falling calm.

The next Day, when they were juſt ready to go in, they ſaw, to their exceſſive Surprize, a Ship riding there. At firſt Sight, they conjectured, that ſhe was either a *Spaniſh* Ship of Force, or a *French* Interloper; but, upon more mature Conſideration, they concluded, ſhe muſt be a Pirate. While they were conſulting what was beſt to be done, they ſaw the Shallop, belonging to the Ship, in the Road, making towards them, with a *Spaniſh* Flag; upon which they prepared for an Engagement; but their Amazement was not to be deſcribed, when, on its nearer Approach, ſome of the Sailors cried out, That it was the Shallop of the *Tienhoven*, their Conſort, ſeparated from them three Months before in the Storm, and which they concluded had been buried in the Waves. Captain *Bowman* himſelf was in the Shallop, who, upon this Occaſion, ſhewed how well he deſerved the Truſt that had been repoſed in him; for, by the Commodore's Orders, in caſe of a Separation, this was to be the firſt Place of Rendezvous; and, after cruiſing for ſix Weeks, they were to repair to the Height of 28° South Latitude, and to cruiſe there for the ſame Space of Time; but, in caſe they failed in meeting the Commodore in both Places, they were then to open their ſealed Inſtructions, delivered with their Commiſſions, and to purſue them exactly. As ſoon as Captain *Bowman* was on board, he made the Signal agreed on with his own Ship, in order to acquaint them, that theſe two Ships were their Conſorts; ſo that, entering into the Harbour, they ſaluted each other reciprocally with five Pieces of Cannon. As ſoon as they had Leiſure to enter into Particulars, the Captain gave them an Account of all that had happened ſince their Separation. He acquainted them with the Dangers he had run through in paſſing the Streights of *Magellan*, what Storms and Tempeſts he had met with on the Coaſt of *America*; and, in the End, freely acknowledged, that he concluded the Commodore, and the *African* Galley, were both loſt in the Hurricane, and never expected to ſee them more. He likewiſe told them, that his Ship was in a very bad Condition, and that he arrived in this Road only the Evening before. After hearing this, the Captains dined very chearfully together on board the *Tienhoven*, where they commiſerated their paſt Misfortunes, and rejoiced at their preſent Meeting in Safety. As there ſtill continued a dead Calm, it was impoſſible for them to come to an Anchor in the Place where they intended, and therefore they were obliged to remain that Night in fourſcore Fathom Water; but the next Day they got up cloſe by the *Tienhoven*, where they anchored in forty Fathoms Water, that Veſſel lying within Muſquet-ſhot of the Shore.

As ſoon as the Ships were brought to an Anchor, they hoiſted out their Shallops, in order to ſend the Sick on ſhore, as well as to look for Proviſions and Refreſhments: And as ſoon as the Men landed, who were appointed to take a View of the Iſland, and amongſt whom the Author was one, they began to conſider the propereſt Method for collecting together what might be neceſſary towards forming Cabins or Huts for the Uſe of the Sick: Accordingly they got together a great Quantity of Oat-ſtraw, with which they thatched the Huts, that were ſoon run up with green Boughs. This may reaſonably ſurpriſe the Reader, who probably might not expect to hear of Oats in an uninhabited Iſland: And, indeed, the Author does not pretend to account for their coming there; for he ſays plainly, that it was a Doubt with him, whether they grew there of themſelves, or had been ſowed. He ſpeaks likewiſe of Muſtard-ſeed and Turneps, but complains that the latter were very bitter. In the Courſe of theſe Voyages, we have met with ſeveral Deſcriptions of theſe Iſlands of *Juan Fernandez*; and therefore we ſhall diſpenſe here with ſome of the *Dutch* Author's Remarks; but there are others of too great Importance to be ſlighted, eſpecially when we conſider the Deſign with which they were made. According, therefore, to this Writer, the larger Iſland of *Juan Fernandez* is one of the fineſt and beſt ſituated Countries in the World; the Climate equally pleaſant and wholſome; the Air ſo temperate and ſweet, as to reſtore Health to the Sick, and give a conſtant Flow of Spirits to thoſe that were well; which the Author himſelf experienced by recovering here from a bad State of Health, and a Complication of Diſtempers. The Hills are covered with tall Trees of different kinds, fit for all ſorts of Uſes; and the Valleys are ſo fruitful, as to produce, with a very little Cultivation, all the Neceſſaries of Life.

Here are abundance of little Rivers and Brooks, the Banks of which are covered with wholſome Plants; and the Waters that run from the Mountains, though not in the leaſt diſagreeable to the Taſte, are ſo charged with mineral Particles, that they never corrupt. On the Eaſt Side of the Bay there are three Mountains, the middlemoſt of which reſembles the *Table* at the Cape of *Good Hope*: Behind theſe, there are many other Mountains, that riſe to a prodigious Height, and are generally covered with a very thick Miſt, eſpecially in the Mornings and Evenings: Whence our Author conjectures, that theſe are mineral Exhalations; and that, in theſe Mountains, rich Mines might be found, which is an Obſervation that I have not met with before. He concludes his Deſcription with this Remark; that, in order to give a juſt Idea of the Iſland to his Reader in a few Words, he cannot think of a better Expedient, than telling him, that the Country reſembles, in all reſpects, that about the Cape of *Good Hope*, where, every body knows, the *Dutch* have one of the fineſt Plantations in the World, and the greateſt Plenty of all *European* and *Indian* Fruits. He ſpeaks much, as all our *Engliſh* Writers do, of the vaſt Plenty of wild Goats here; but adds, that they were ſo unable to catch them by hunting, and ſo much at a Loſs how to come at their Bodies when ſhot, that, during the Time they ſtayed here, they ſcarce taſted them. But the Truth ſeems to be, that an unlucky Accident, which befel one of their Ship's Stewards ſoon after their Arrival, frighted them from this ſort of Sport; for this Man, rambling towards Evening among the Mountains, pitched ſuddenly from the Top of a Rock, and was found next Morning beat to-pieces.

Our Author mentions not only Sea-lions and Seles, which are called Sea-calves, but Sea-cows alſo of an enormous Size, ſome of them weighing, as he aſſures us, near a thouſand Weight; and adds, that this Creature is well known in *Guiney*, where they not only eat the Fleſh, as ſweet and well-taſted Meat, but believe it alſo exceedingly wholſome. The ſame Notion prevails likewiſe among the Inhabitants of the Iſthmus of *Darien*, who eſteem this Food a kind of univerſal Medicine. He mentions the Plenty and Excellency of the Fiſh on that Coaſt with Admiration; and informs us, that, during their ſhort Stay there, they caught and cured many thouſand of them, which proved extraordinary good, and were extremely ſerviceable during the reſt of their long Voyage. They took ſo much Time alſo, as to examine very cloſely the *Spaniſh* Wreck before-mentioned, but to very little Purpoſe; for all that was any way valuable had been taken out of her as ſoon as ſhe was caſt away. I cannot help interpoſing an Obſervation here, the Truth of which will be obvious to every attentive Reader, *viz.* that our Author was miſtaken in thinking this a *Spaniſh* Wreck; ſince, without Queſtion, it was the Remains of the *Speedwel*, Captain *Shelvocke* loſt here exactly a Year before: However, the *Dutchmen* did not altogether loſe their Labour, ſince ſome of the Sailors, by diving, recovered ſeveral Pieces of Silver Plate.

The *Dutch* Commodore, having attentively conſidered the advantageous Situation, and the many Conveniencies this Iſland afforded, immediately conceived a Deſign of ſettling it, as the moſt proper Place that could be thought of, for affording Shelter and Refreſhment to Ships bound, as he was, to Southern Lands: And he was encouraged particularly to perſevere in this Deſign, from the Conſideration of the Iſland's Fertility, which, as our Author obſerves, allowed them no Reaſon to doubt, that it would afford ſufficient Subſiſtence for 600 Families at leaſt. However, this, like the Settlement of *Belgia Auſtralis*, was put off to their Return; by which Accident it happened, that neither of theſe Iſlands was ſettled at all. It muſt be allowed, that both theſe Projects of the *Dutch* Commodore were every way wiſe and prudent, and ſhewed how fit a Man he was to execute what his Father had deſigned; for, by the Help of theſe two Colonies, undoubtedly the Southern *Indies* had been, by this time, effectually diſcovered. The former Settlement would have afforded a proper Place for Ships to careen in, and refit, after ſo long a Voyage as from *Europe* to the Streights of *Magellan*; and the latter would have furniſhed them with all imaginable Conveniencies for repairing whatever Injuries they might have received by ſo hazardous a Paſſage as that round Cape *Horn*. I therefore venture to pronounce it the beſt-laid Scheme for promoting Southern Diſcoveries, that ever yet entered the Head of Man; and I make no manner of Queſtion, that whatever Nation ſhall revive and proſecute Mr. *Roggewein*'s Plan, will become, in a few Years, Maſter of as rich and profitable a Commerce, as the *Spaniards* have from their own Country to *Mexico* and *Peru*, or the *Portugueſe* to *Braſil*.

10. As they were now ready to enter on the Diſcoveries, the Hopes of which had brought them into thoſe Seas, it was but natural for the Commodore, and his principal Officers, to lay before the Ship's Company a Part of the Reaſons, which induced them to believe their Pains and Labour would not be thrown away. Our Author has preſerved the Subſtance of thoſe Diſcourſes, which are, beyond Queſtion, the moſt valuable Part of his Book, inaſmuch as they diſtinguiſh between Wanderers or Adventurers, who know not what they ſeek, and ſuch as have a real Title to the honourable Name of Diſcoverers, as going in actual Search of what their prudent Foreſight has ſhewed them might be found; and alſo plentifully reward their Trouble in finding. The main End propoſed, in ſuch States as ſubſiſt by Commerce, with regard to Diſcoveries, is the finding ſuch Countries as may take off their Commodities, and be in a Condition to furniſh them with what may be more valuable in Return. It is agreeable to Reaſon, and juſtified by Experience, that Countries exceſſively cold are generally barren; and that thoſe which are immoderately hot, are not the moſt fruitful: It follows therefore, that the middle Climates are, by the Laws of Nature, the moſt fruitful. In order to diſtinguiſh thoſe, we are to remember, that, in the Height of 66° 30′, the Days are twenty-four Hours long; and conſequently the middle Climate, which Geographers have diſtinguiſhed in their Tables for the fifth, will be found in the Height of 38°. If this appears agreeable to Reaſon, it ſeems to be put out of doubt, when we join the Arguments derived from Experience; for it muſt be allowed, that ſuch Provinces of *Barbary*, *Perſia*, *Syria*, *Chaldea*, and *Indoſtan*, as well as the Iſlands *Candia*, *Cyprus*, and *Japan*, which lie all in this Climate, that is to ſay, from the thirtieth to the thirty-ſixth Degree of Latitude, are the richeſt, pleaſanteſt, and moſt fruitful Countries in the World. The ſame thing is remarkable in the Country

of *Canaan*, where the Province of *Galilee* was eſteemed the faireſt, and moſt fruitful, becauſe ſituated fartheſt to the North, and conſequently neareſt to that Latitude we recommend.

In the New World again, the Provinces of *Carolina*, *Florida*, *New Mexico*, and *California*, all lying in the fifth North Climate, are comparable, in point of Beauty and Fertility, to any Part of the known World; and it is certainly a great Fault in their Inhabitants, not to have cultivated thoſe Countries as they deſerve. In *South America*, again, the Provinces in this Climate equal in Beauty, and in Riches, any Countries hitherto diſcovered. The Cape of *Good Hope* is ſo charming a Place, that there are very few Countries that equal, and none that ſurpaſs it. The Air there is exceedingly wholſome; the Soil produces, in abundance, Wine, Corn, and the moſt excellent Fruits; they have likewiſe ſuch infinite Quantities of Cattle, tame and wild Fowl, that the People live, as it were, in Paradiſe. The Country of *Chili* is likewiſe conſidered as one of the fineſt in the World; and the City of *St. Iago*, its Capital, ſtands in the Latitude of 33° 40′ South. The *Spaniards* would have us believe, that there is nothing equal to it; and it is, at the ſame time, certain, that the Provinces behind it, and which extend quite to the North Seas, are almoſt incredibly fruitful.

Such as are acquainted with different Climates will readily agree with me, that the Heat is much greater in the Iſland *Ceylon*, and on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, than in the Countries ſituated under the Torrid Zone, and in the firſt Climate. On the other Side it is certain, that the Kingdom of *Bengall*, and the Country of *Surat*, is ſtill much warmer than *Malabar*, as being in the third Climate, whereas *Malabar* is in the ſecond. The Warmth of the Air, and the Fertility of the Soil, increaſe from *Surat* to *Delli*, which is the Capital of the Dominions of the *Great Mogul*, the former lying in 21, and the latter in 30° Latitude. The Heat is much greater at *Gambron*, which is ſeated on the Gulph of *Balſora*, than at *Surat*, the former being in the fourth Climate. All that I have advanced is ſo clear, and withal ſo certain, that it is not liable to the leaſt Objection: From theſe Remarks, founded upon Experience, we may juſtly infer, becauſe we can invincibly prove, that the fifth Climate is ſuperior to the reſt, and the Countries ſeated therein, the beſt and the moſt fertile; if it was not ſo, the Heat under the Torrid Zone would be abſolutely inſupportable, the Earth would be burnt up, and incapable of producing any thing for the Nouriſhment of Men, or the Subſiſtence of Beaſts. On the other hand, the Northern Countries, even in the midſt of Summer, would have ſo little Heat, that they would produce nothing: We ſee, however, that in our Northern Regions, ſuch, for Inſtance, as *Sweden*, *Poland*, and *Livonia*, the Force of the Sun produces, in a Fortnight or three Weeks, as great Effects, as in two or three Months in the Countries under the Line itſelf: The Reaſon is plainly this, that in the Northern Countries, the Nights being extremely ſhort, the Earth has not time to cool, but remains continually heated, and that, to a Degree, ſometimes as vehement as under the firſt Climate: But this does not laſt long; for as ſoon as the Rays of the Sun begin to fall obliquely, the Nights grow long, which is the Reaſon, that, in theſe Countries, neither Plants nor Fruits ever arrive at full Maturity.

The Countries in the ſixth Climate are leſs fertile than thoſe in the fifth; and, for the ſame Reaſon, the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth Climates yield to the ſixth; and thus the Richneſs and Fertility of the Soil conſtantly and regularly diminiſhes to the twenty-fourth Climate, under which lie the *Laplands*, the Extremity of *Ruſſia* and *Siberia*. To conclude, if a Traveller had a mind to put this to the Teſt, by making a Voyage through all the different Climates of the Earth, he would certainly find the Poſition before laid down, *viz.* that the moſt fruitful, the moſt delightful, and, of conſequence, the moſt deſirable Countries, lie in the fifth Climate, certain and inconteſtable. Such a Journey would lead him to *Tyre* in *Syria*, the Country about which all Writers agree to be the moſt delightful; thence he ought to proceed to *Tunis*, and along the Coaſt of *Barbary*, celebrated likewiſe for the Wholſomeneſs of the Air, and the Fertility of the Soil: He muſt take the Cape of *Good Hope* alſo in his Paſſage, where he would find a Country lovely beyond Deſcription; laſtly, he muſt proceed to *Nankin*, and the Province of *Honan*, in *China*; but if he would ſave himſelf this Trouble, let him examine the Accounts of thoſe who have been in theſe Countries, and he will no longer have any Doubts.

11. The *Dutch* Commodore, when he quitted the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, propoſed to viſit that Part of the Southern Continent, which was reported to be diſcovered by Captain *Davis*, in the Year 1680. Our Author gives us but a dark Account of this Matter; and therefore I ſhall inſert, as it is very ſhort, Mr. *Wafer*'s Story of this Diſcovery. He was a Man of Senſe and Knowledge, and actually on board Captain *Davis*'s Ship, when the Diſcovery was made. "We ſteered, ſaid he, from the *Gallapagos* Iſlands, South and by Eaſt, half Eaſterly, until we came to the Latitude of 27° 20′ South; when, about twelve Hours before Day, we fell in with a low ſmall ſandy Iſland, and heard a great roaring Noiſe, like that of the Sea beating upon the Shore, right a-head of the Ship: Whereupon the Sailors, fearing to fall foul upon the Shore before Day, deſired the Captain to put the Ship about, and to ſtand off till Day appeared; to which the Captain gave his Conſent: So we plied off till Day, and then ſtood in again with the Land, which proved to be a ſmall flat Iſland, without the Guard of any Rocks: We ſtood in within a Quarter of a Mile of the Shore, and could ſee it plainly; for it was a clear Morning, not foggy nor hazy. To the Weſtward about twelve Leagues, by Judgment, we ſaw a Range of High-land, which we took to be the Iſlands; for there were ſeveral Partitions in the Proſpect. This Land ſeemed to reach about fourteen or ſixteen Leagues in a Range; and there came great Flocks of Fowls: I, and many more of our Men, would have made this Land, and have gone aſhore at it, but the Captain would not permit us. The ſmall Iſland bears from *Copayapo* almoſt due Eaſt, 500 Leagues; and from the *Gallapagos*, under the Line, 600 Leagues." We ſee by this, that Mr. *Roggewein*'s Scheme was built, not only on a rational Conjecture, but, as far as might be, on the Lights afforded by Experience. He thought he had good Grounds to believe, that there was a Southern Continent; and this Account of *Davis*'s, for under his Name it has always gone, and in the Maps we find it marked by the Name of *Davis*'s Land, ſhewed itſelf Part of it; which therefore he meant firſt to examine.

In their Paſſage, the firſt Land they ſaw, was that of the leſſer Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, which lies about ten Miles from the great one, appears lower, and leſs fertile, at a Diſtance; but, as our *Dutch* Diſcoverers had not an Opportunity of landing, we cannot depend much upon their Account of it. As they had now the Benefit of the South-eaſt Monſoon, they quickly arrived in the Latitude of 28 Degrees, and in the Longitude of two hundred and fifty-one, where they expected to have met with *Davis*'s Land, of which alſo they had the greateſt and moſt probable Hopes, when they perceived abundance of Fowls flying, and obſerved alſo, that the Wind ſhifted often, both which are looked upon as certain Signs of Land. Some of the Company flattered themſelves that they ſaw it; but, to the great Grief, and no ſmall Aſtoniſhment, of the Commodore, no ſuch Land was to be found. Our Author thinks, that either they paſſed it, or that there is no ſuch Country. I muſt own, that I do not wonder they miſſed it; for whoever conſiders Mr. *Wafer*'s Deſcription attentively, will ſee that they ſought it near ten Degrees too far to the Weſt. Our Author obſerves afterwards very ſenſibly, that, as theſe Southern Countries lie Eaſt and Weſt, or to the Eaſt and to the South-weſt, this Situation renders it almoſt impracticable to diſcover them; for a Weſt North-weſt Wind carries a Ship by them at ſome Diſtance, and a North-weſt Wind bears a Ship quite away from them; ſo that, while theſe Winds reign, the Search muſt, humanly ſpeaking, be abſolutely vain. The Conſideration of this will ſufficiently explain the Accounts hitherto given us of theſe Southern Countries; they are ſeen, as it were, accidentally, and by chance; when looked for, they are not to be found. This, to ſuch as are inadvertent, brings former Diſcoveries into Doubt, and even into Contempt; but a little Thought, and a ſmall Acquaintance with the Nature of ſuch Things, will ſet us right again; and we need only conſider the Courſe that Captain *Davis* ſteered, in order to be ſatisfied, that his was a true Diſcovery, and that, by the ſame Courſe, this Country might be found again. But to proceed with our Voyage:

The *Dutch* Commodore ſailed Weſt twelve Degrees, having ſtill Sight of a vaſt Number of Birds, which attended them, till they arrived on the Coaſt of a ſmall Iſland, about ſixteen Leagues in Extent; which Iſland, as they diſcovered it on *Eaſter-day*, which fell that Year on the $_{7}\frac{3}{4}$ of *April*, they called *Paſch* or *Eaſter Iſland*. The *African Galley*, being the ſmalleſt, and withal the beſt Sailer in the Squadron, went firſt to examine this new Country, and reported, that it ſeemed to be very fertile, and withal well inhabited too, ſince they had ſeen abundance of Smoke in all Parts of it; which gave great Joy to the Commodore, who immediately reſolved, that the whole Squadron ſhould go in. The next Day they ſpent in looking for a Port; and, when they were about two Miles from the Shore, an *Indian* came off to them in his Canoe. They made Signs to him to come on board; which he very readily did, and was exceedingly well received. As he was naked, the firſt Preſent they made him was a Piece of Cloth to cover him. They gave him likewiſe Pieces of Coral, Beads, and other Baubles, all which, together with a dried Fiſh, he hung about his Neck. His Body was painted all over with all kind of Figures; his natural Complexion appeared to be a dark-brown, and his Ears exceſſively large and long; ſo that they hung down upon his Shoulders, occaſioned, no doubt, by the wearing of Ear-rings ſo large and heavy, as to extend them in this Manner; which is a thing likewiſe practiſed by the Negroes in the *Mogul*'s Country, who make their Ears large and long by the ſame Method. He was tall, well-made, robuſt, and of a very happy Countenance. He was briſk, active, and appeared to be merry, by his Geſtures and Manner of ſpeaking. They gave him a Glaſs of Wine to drink, which he threw away in a Manner that ſurpriſed them. Our Author thinks, he was afraid of being poiſoned; but, perhaps, being uſed to Water, the Smell of a ſtrong Liquor might offend him. They next cloathed him from Head to Foot, and clapped him an Hat on; with which he was not at all pleaſed, but ſeemed to be aukward and uneaſy. They gave him Victuals, which he eat heartily; but could not be perſuaded to uſe either Knife or Fork. They then ordered their Muſic to play; with which he was extremely well pleaſed, and, whenever they took him by the Hand, would leap and dance. As they found it impoſſible to come to an Anchor that Day, they thought proper to ſend off the *Indian*, allowing him, however, to keep what he had got, in order to encourage others; but, what is really ſurpriſing, the poor Creature had no mind to go. He looked at them with Regret; he held up both his Hands towards his native Iſland, and cried out in a very audible and diſtinct Voice, *Odorroga! odorroga! odorroga!* They had much-ado to get him into his Canoe; and he made them clearly comprehend, by his Signs, that he had much rather they would have carried him in their Ship.

They imagined he called upon his God, becauſe, when they landed, they ſaw abundance of Idols erected on the Coaſt. The next Morning by Day-break, they entered a Gulph on the South-eaſt Side of the Iſland; and many thouſands of the Inhabitants, as our Author ſays, came down to meet them, bringing with them vaſt Quantities of Fowls and Roots. Many came on board them with theſe Proviſions. As for the reſt, they ran to and fro from Place to Place, like wild Beaſts. As the Ships drew nearer, they crouded down to the Shore, in order to have the better View of them; and at the ſame time lighted Fire, and offered to their Idols, probably to implore their Protection againſt theſe Strangers. All that Day the *Dutch* ſpent in mooring their Ships. The next Morning very early, they obſerved the People proſtrated before their Idols towards the riſing Sun, and offering them Burnt-offerings. All the neceſſary Preparations were made for a Deſcent, when the friendly *Indian*, who had been with them before, came on board a ſecond time, and brought with him abundance of his Countrymen, who, to make themſelves welcome, took care to load their Canoes with plenty of living Fowls, and of Roots dreſſed after their Manner. There was, amongſt this Troop of *Indians*, one Man perfectly white, in whoſe Ears hung round white Pendants, as big as one's Fiſt. He had an Air extremely devout, and ſeemed to be one of their Prieſts. One of the Iſlanders was, ſome way or other, (theſe are our Author's Words) ſhot dead in his Canoe by a Muſquet. This unlucky Accident threw them into ſuch a Conſternation, that the beſt Part of them flung themſelves at once into the Sea, in order to get the ſooner aſhore. The reſt, who remained in their Canoes, rowed with all their Force, in order once more to attain a Place of Safety.

The *Dutch* preſently followed them, and made the ſo long wiſhed-for Deſcent with 150 Soldiers and Seamen. Among theſe were the Commodore in Perſon, and the Author, who commanded the Land Forces. The People crouded ſo hard upon them, that they thought themſelves obliged to make way by Force, eſpecially as ſome of them were ſo bold, as to lay hold of their Arms. The *Dutchmen* fired therefore, which diſperſed them, and frighted them almoſt out of their Wits; and yet, in a few Moments, they rallied again. They did not, however, advance quite ſo far to their new Gueſts as before, but kept at the Diſtance of about ten Yards, ſuppoſing that there they might be ſafe from the Muſquets. It happened, ſays our Author, unfortunately, by this ſingle Diſcharge a great many were killed, and, among them, the poor *Indian*, that had been twice on board; which gave them great Concern: Yet theſe good People, continues he, brought us, in Return for the dead Bodies we had given them, vaſt plenty of Proviſions of all Kinds. Their Conſternation, however, was very great, and they howled, and made diſmal Lamentation. That they might leave, however, no Means untried to pacify theſe Invaders, they all, Men, Women, and Children, preſented themſelves before them, with the Branches of Palm, in Token of Peace. In ſhort, they endeavoured to teſtify, by the moſt humble Poſtures, how deſirous they were to mollify and make Friends of theſe Strangers. They even ſhewed them their Women, gave them to underſtand, that they were totally at their Diſpoſal, and that they might carry as many of them on board their Ships as they pleaſed.

The *Dutch*, ſoftened with ſuch Tokens of Humility, and deep Submiſſion, did them no further Harm; but, on the contrary, made them a Preſent of a Piece of painted Cloth ſixty Yards long. They gave them likewiſe a good Quantity of Coral-beads, and ſmall Looking-glaſſes, with which they were extremely well pleaſed. As they now ſaw, and were fully convinced, that the *Dutch* intended to treat them like Friends, they brought them at once 500 live Fowls, which, by the way, differed nothing from the Barn-door Fowls of *Europe*, accompanied with a great Quantity of red and white Roots, and Potatoes; which theſe Iſlanders uſe inſtead of Bread. They gave them likewiſe ſome hundreds of Sugar-canes, and a great Quantity of Piſans. Theſe are a ſort of *Indian* Figs, as big as a Gourd, and covered with a green Rind. The Pulp of theſe Figs is as ſweet as Honey: There grow ſometimes 100 of theſe Figs upon a ſingle Bough. The Leaves of this Tree are ſix or eight Feet long, and about three Feet broad. It is ſaid, that of theſe Leaves our Firſt Parents made the Coverings they uſed after their Fall; but this our Author takes to be a mere Conjecture, without any other Foundation than this, that theſe Leaves are the largeſt and ſtrongeſt of any hitherto found, either in the Eaſt, or in the Weſt. They ſaw in theſe Iſlands no other Animals, than Birds of all Sorts; but they thought it probable, that, in the Heart of their Country, there might be Cattle, and other Beaſts, becauſe, when they ſhewed the *Indians* ſome Hogs aboard their Ships, they gave them to underſtand by Signs, that they had ſeen ſuch Animals before. They make uſe of earthen Pots to dreſs their Meat in, as the *Europeans* do. It appeared to the *Dutch*, that every Family or Tribe amongſt them had its ſeparate Village. The Huts or Cabins, of which theſe Villages are compoſed, may be from forty to ſixty Feet long, and ſix or eight Feet broad. They are made by a certain Number of Poles ſtuck upright, and the Spaces between them filled up with a kind of Loom, or fat Earth, covered at Top with Palm-leaves. As for their

Diet or Subſiſtence, they draw it intirely from the Earth. Every thing with them is ſown, and raiſed by Cultivation.

All their little Plantations were ſtaked out, and very neatly divided. At the Time the *Dutch* were there, almoſt all their Fruits and Plants, Herbs and Roots, were in full Maturity; and our Author aſſures us it was his Opinion, that, if they had ſearched the Country throughly, they ſhould have found abundance of good Things. In their Houſes, however, they had not many Moveables, and thoſe they had were of no great Value, except ſome red and white Coverlets, that ſerved them, when walking, for Cloaths, and, when ſleeping, for Quilts. This Stuff was as ſoft to the Touch as Silk, and, in all Appearance, was abſolutely of their own Manufacture. Theſe Iſlanders were, in general, briſk, ſlender, active, well-made People, and very ſwift of Foot. They were, in point of Temper, of a ſweet, agreeable, and modeſt Diſpoſition, but extremely timorous and faint-hearted. Whenever they brought the *Dutch* either Fowls, or any other kind of Proviſions, they haſtily threw themſelves on their Knees; and, as ſoon as they had delivered them, retired as faſt as their Legs could carry them. They were, generally ſpeaking, of as brown a Complexion as *Spaniards*. There were, however, ſome amongſt them almoſt black, and others again white. There was yet another kind of People, whoſe Skins were perfectly red, as if they had been burnt by the Sun; their Ears hung down to their Shoulders; and ſome of them had white Balls hanging at them, which they ſeemed to conſider as a great Ornament.

Their Bodies were painted all over with the Figures of Birds, and other Animals; and ſome were much better painted, than others. All their Women, in general, had an artificial Bloom upon their Cheeks, but of a Crimſon far ſurpaſſing any thing known to us in *Europe*; nor could the *Dutch* diſcover what it was, of which this Colour was compoſed. On their Heads they wore a little Hat made of Reeds or Straw, and had no other Covering than the Quilts before-mentioned. Their Women were none of the modeſteſt; for, our Author ſays, they beckoned them into their Houſes, and, when they ſat by them, would throw off their Mantles. It is very ſingular, with regard to theſe Iſlanders, that they ſaw nothing that had the Appearance of Arms amongſt them; but, whenever they were attacked, they fled for Shelter and Aſſiſtance to their Idols, Numbers of which were erected all along the Coaſt. Theſe Statues were all of Stone, of the Figure of a Man, with great Ears, and his Head covered with a Crown, the Whole very nicely proportioned, and ſo highly finiſhed in every reſpect, that the *Dutch* ſtood amazed. Round theſe Idols there were Paliſadoes of white Stone, at the Diſtance of twenty or thirty Yards. There were many of the Inhabitants, who ſeemed to be more frequent and more zealous Worſhippers of theſe Idols, than the reſt; which made the *Dutch* believe they were their Prieſts: And they were the rather inclined to think ſo, becauſe they had many other Marks of Diſtinction; ſuch as large white Balls hanging at their Ears, and their Heads clean ſhaven. Theſe Prieſts wore a kind of Bonnet of black and white Feathers, which exactly reſembled thoſe of a Stork; which induced the *Dutch* to conceive, that, when theſe Birds leave *Europe*, Part of them, at leaſt, take up their Reſidence here.

However, ſays our Author, upon more mature Reflection, I am convinced, that theſe Conjectures are not well-founded. It is true, continues he, that, if the Storks ſought only a warm Climate, they might certainly find it here, ſince this Iſland lies in the Height of 28° 30′. But Experience ſhews us the contrary, this Bird being in *Europe* about the Beginning of the Spring. For my own Part, my Opinion is, that, when the Stork quits *Europe*, ſhe flies to ſome Place under the South Pole. The principal Motive, if I may be ſo allowed to ſpeak, which can induce this Bird thus to change her Climate, is her Fear of not finding in *Europe* her proper Food beyond the Autumn; and therefore ſhe goes in Search of a Country, where ſhe may find the Spring, at her Arrival, juſt begun, and be in no Fear of meeting with Food for half the Year. It may be therefore, that, when the Stork leaves *Europe*, ſhe goes in Search of Food into ſome Climate under 40° or 50° of South Latitude, either in Countries totally unknown, or in that Land, which was diſcovered by *Hernando Gallego* in the Year 1595; and that ſhe remains there till Autumn, and then returns to *Europe* again. *Epiphanes*, *Heidelin*, *Guieciardin*, *Munſter*, and other learned Men, have written very ingeniouſly upon this Subject; but, perhaps, none of their Conjectures were at all better founded than thoſe of our Author. Theſe Speculations appear to many light and trivial Things; but, with reſpect to natural Knowledge, there is ſuch a Connection between ſeeming Trifles and Things of real Importance, that it is no eaſy Matter to ſay, which are Trifles, and which not. The Loadſtone is a ſufficient Proof of this. Perhaps, if we throughly underſtood the Nature of Birds of Paſſage, we might be led thereby to Truths of great Conſequence, that now lie hid, and out of Sight. But to return to the People in *Paſch Iſland*:

The *Dutch* could not diſtinguiſh among theſe Iſlanders any Appearance of Government or Subordination, much leſs any Prince or Chief, who had Dominion over the reſt. On the contrary, they all ſpoke and acted ſeemingly with equal Freedom. The old People among them wore on their Heads feathered Bonnets, which looked like the Down of Oſtridges, and had Sticks in their Hands. They obſerved, indeed, in particular Houſes, that the Father of the Family governed it, and was, with the greateſt Readineſs, obeyed. The Author thinks, that this Iſland might be ſettled to great Advantage, inaſmuch as the Air is extremely wholſome, the Soil very rich and fruitful, proper for Corn in the low Lands, and, where it riſes high, might be improved into Vineyards; which, ſuppoſing it poſſible, would be of infinite Conſequence to ſuch as took this Iſland in their Way, when bound to diſcover diſtant Lands in the Southern Part of the Globe. They had doubtleſs made much greater Diſcoveries with reſpect to this Iſland, and poſſibly with regard to the Continent, from which, there is Reaſon to believe, it cannot be far diſtant, if they had not been obliged to leave it ſuddenly, and when they leaſt expected it. The thing happened thus:

They had been in the Evening on ſhore, and the Commodore, on the Report of the Officers, determined to land the next Morning, with a Force ſufficient to make a ſtrict Examination of the whole Iſland; but, before Morning, there aroſe ſo ſtrong a Weſt Wind, as drove them from both their Anchors; ſo that they were obliged to put to Sea, to avoid being ſhipwrecked; which, however, our Author thinks, would have been no great Misfortune, ſince, if their Veſſels had been loſt, they might have paſſed their Days quietly and happily among the *Indians*, and have converted them to Chriſtianity After this Misfortune, they cruiſed ſome time in the ſame Latitude; and, having ſought in vain to diſcover *Davis's Land*, they at length reſolved to bear away to the *Bad Sea of Schovten*, ſteering ſtill a Weſt Courſe, in hopes of diſcovering ſome new Country. In this, the Author thinks, the Commodore was to blame; for he is of Opinion, that, inſtead of ſteering Weſt, they ought to have ſteered South, becauſe they ſoon fell in with a South-eaſt Wind, which blew very ſtrong; ſo that thenceforward they ſaw no more Birds, which, he thinks, was a certain Proof, that they were driven farther and farther from the Land they were ſeeking; whereas, if they had ſailed South-weſt, they could not, in his Opinion, have failed of falling in with the Southern Continent.

12. After leaving the Iſland of *Paſch*, they were not long before they found themſelves in the Height of that Iſland called *Badwater*, diſcovered by *Schovten* in the Year 1615. and to which he gave that Name, becauſe all their Springs were brackiſh. They were in hopes of diſcovering at this Height ſome Part alſo of the Southern Continent; but, by changing their Courſe, they ran three hundred Leagues out of their Way, and at leaſt one hundred and fifty Leagues farther than *Schovten*. That famous Seaman ſays, in the Account of his Voyage, that he gave one Day Chace to a ſmall Veſſel, that bore away from him directly South; from whence he concluded, and with great Reaſon, that there muſt certainly be Land on that Side. Indeed, from all the Lights that Reaſon and Experience afford, I am more and more confirmed in my Opinion, that there is a Tract of Land on that Side, extending above two thouſand Leagues: In order to come upon which Coaſt, the proper Courſe from *Europe* is certainly South South-weſt;

but from *America* the beſt Courſe would be North-eaſt, or North-eaſt and by North. In this wide Sea the *Dutch* Commodore ſailed upwards of 800 Leagues without diſcovering Land; and, though he frequently varied his Courſe, ſteering now this Way, and then that, yet it was all to no Purpoſe, till, arriving in the Height of 15° 30′ South Latitude, they diſcovered a very low Iſland, the Coaſt of which was covered with a very yellow Sand. As they ſaw in the midſt of it a kind of Pond or Lake, the principal Officers of the Squadron were unanimouſly of Opinion, that it was the ſame Iſland *Schovten* had diſcovered, and to which he had given the Name of the Iſland of *Dogs*; and, for that Reaſon, they did not think fit either to go on ſhore there, or to examine it more particularly. Our Author, however, is clearly of Opinion, that *Schovten* never ſaw this Iſland, which is in the Latitude of 15° 45′ South, and in the Longitude of 280°. As he conceived this to be abſolutely a new Diſcovery, he beſtowed on the Iſland the Name of *Carlſhoff*, i. e. *Charles's-Court*: He deſcribes it to be a low flat Iſland, about three Leagues in Extent, with a Lake in the Middle. After they left this Iſland, the Wind began to come about to the South-weſt; which was a Sign, that they were near ſome Coaſt, that altered the Current of the Air.

This ſudden Change drove their Veſſel in the Night amongſt ſome ſmall Iſlands, where they found themſelves not a little embarraſſed. The *African* Galley then led the Squadron, as being the Ship that ſailed beſt, and drew the leaſt Water; but, notwithſtanding all the Care her Crew could take, ſhe ſoon found herſelf in ſuch imminent Danger among the Rocks, that ſhe began to fire Gun after Gun, as Signals of her Diſtreſs. The *Tienhoven*, which was the fartheſt from her, plied towards her with the utmoſt Diligence; and ſo did the Commodore, who found himſelf, ſooner than he expected, along-ſide with her, which alarmed his own Ship's Company very much; but, upon heaving the Lead, and finding no Bottom, they grew tolerably eaſy, and thought of nothing but ſaving their Friends. In order to this, they immediately ſent out their Shallop, to diſcover the Situation the *African* Galley was in, which, at firſt Sight, diſcovered no Hopes of diſengaging her, ſince ſhe ſtuck faſt between two Rocks; ſo that it was impoſſible to get her off, or to do any further Service, than to ſave the People that were in her. In this they ſucceeded tolerably well, though many of the *African* Galley's Crew were miſerably bruiſed by the Shocks the Veſſel received before ſhe ſettled on the Rocks. There was but one poor Man loſt, and he was a Sailor on board the *Tienhoven*, who, being too eager in ſaving his Friends, dropped over-board, and was drowned. The Iſlanders, rouſed by the prodigious Noiſe that this Accident made, kindled a great many Fires upon the Hills, and came down in Crouds to the Coaſts. The *Dutch*, not knowing what their Deſign might be, and conſidering the Opportunities, which the Darkneſs of the Night, and their own Confuſion, might give to any who thought fit to attack them, fired upon them without Ceremony, in order to have as few Dangers as poſſible to deal with at one time. In the Morning, as ſoon as it was Light, they had a clear Proſpect of the mighty Danger all their Ships were in the Evening before; for they found themſelves invironed on all Sides by four large Iſlands, facing towards the Sea, with a continued Chain of ſteep Rocks, and ſo cloſe to each other, that they could hardly diſcern the Chanel by which they entered: They had, therefore, all the Reaſon in the World to be thankful to the Divine Providence, which had ſo wonderfully preſerved them in the midſt of ſo much Danger. It muſt be obſerved, that the Commodore only entered this rocky Bay, at the Mouth of which the *African* Galley was ſhipwrecked, and where the *Tienhoven* remained to aſſiſt in ſaving her Crew.

13. The Danger was not altogether over as ſoon as diſcovered, ſince it coſt the *Dutch* Commodore no leſs than five Days to extricate himſelf out of this unfortunate Situation; during which time, his Ship's Company were abſolutely ignorant of the Fate of the *African* Galley, and of her Crew: At laſt, the Shallop of the *Teinhoven*, having ſailed quite round the Iſlands, came to inform them, that only one Man was loſt; that the Crew got ſafe on ſhore; and that, after once firing upon them, the Inhabitants of the Iſland had retired into the Heart of the Country as expeditiouſly as they could. As ſoon as the Commodore was ſafe, he ſent his Shallop, with a Detachment of the Ship's Company, to bring off the People that had been left on ſhore. They accordingly brought the Crew of the *African* Galley on board the Commodore; when, upon muſtering them, it appeared, that a Quarter-maſter, and four Seamen, were miſſing. Upon Inquiry, it was found, that theſe Men made it their Choice to ſtay in the Iſland; for, having quarreled amongſt themſelves, when they firſt got on ſhore, they mutinied againſt their Officers, who had interpoſed to prevent their killing one another with their Knives; and, Captain *Roſenthall* having threatened them with Death whenever he got them on board the Commodore, they fled into the Country, in order to eſcape Puniſhment: The Commodore, however, was unwilling they ſhould be loſt; and therefore ſent our Author, with a Detachment of Soldiers, to bring them away. The Deſerters, having Sight of the Shallop, as it approached the Shore, fired from behind a Coppice, ſo briskly, that they durſt not land: Rowing, however, to an open Place, they got on ſhore; and, marching towards the Wood where the Deſerters were, they called to them without firing, aſſuring them, that they had nothing to fear, that the Commodore had promiſed them an Indemnity, and that they might ſafely depend upon his Word. But the Deſerters Guilt made them deaf to all Intreaty, ſo that our Author's Eloquence was intirely thrown away, and he very wiſely choſe to leave them where they were, rather than hazard his own, and the Lives of the People under his Command, in attempting to reduce deſperate Men, who, by thus rejecting all Hope, ſufficiently ſhewed, that there was nothing they any longer feared.

All theſe Iſlands are ſeated between 15 and 16° of South Latitude, and at the Diſtance of twelve Leagues Weſt from that of *Carlſhoff*, each of them being four or five Leagues in Compaſs. That on which the *African* Galley was ſhipwrecked, they called *Miſchievous* Iſland; the two next to it, the *Brothers*; and the fourth Iſland, the *Siſter*. All four Iſlands were covered with a Verdure inexpreſſibly charming, and abounded with fine tall Trees, and eſpecially Cocoas. The Herbs that grew here were ſo refreſhing and medicinal, that the Ship's Crew, many of whom were ill of the Scurvy, were ſurpriſingly recovered by them: They found there likewiſe a prodigious Plenty of Muſſels, Cockles, Mother-of-pearls, and Pearl-oyſters, which gave Reaſon to hope, that a very advantageous Pearl-fiſhery might be ſettled here. Theſe Iſlands are extremely low, ſo that ſome Parts of them muſt be frequently overflowed; but the Inhabitants are well provided againſt ſuch Accidents, ſince they have not only good Canoes, but ſtout Barks, with Cables and Sails. The *Dutch* likewiſe found upon the Shore Pieces of Ropes, that ſeemed to be made of Hemp. The Inhabitants of the Iſland, upon which the *African* Galley was loſt, were of an extraordinary Size, inſomuch that the *Dutch* had never ſeen Men ſo tall: One of the Seamen aſſerted, that he meaſured the Print of one of their Feet in the Sand, and that he found it twenty Inches. All their Bodies were painted of all Sorts of Colours: They had fine long black Hair, for the moſt part; but ſome of them had brown, inclined a little to red. They were armed with Pikes or Lances of eighteen or twenty Feet long. They had nothing ſoft or agreeable in their Countenances, but fairly ſpoke their Temper in their Looks, which were fierce and cruel. They marched in ſmall Bodies of fifty or an hundred, and made Signs to the *Dutch*, when they ſaw them, to come to them; but ſo ſoon as they ſaw them advancing, they retired athwart the Iſland, on purpoſe to draw them into ſome Ambuſcade, which might give them an Opportunity of revenging the Loſs they ſuſtained by their firing upon them when they were ſhipwrecked. As the Commodore ſaw there was no doing any good with them, and found the Coaſts of all the Iſlands exceſſively rocky and foul, he was reſolved to leave them, in order to ſeek ſome other Country, where, with leſs Hazard, he might meet with ſome

Refreſhments, of which his Company ſtood in great need; for they were now ſo eaten up with the Scurvy, that not a Day paſſed but ſome of them died.

14. The very next Morning after they weighed from *Miſchievous* Iſland, they ſaw, at the Diſtance of eight Leagues to the Weſt, a new Iſland, which they called *Aurora*, becauſe, in the Commodore's Veſſel, they diſcerned it as the Day broke. The *Tienhoven* was nearer it, and, indeed, ſo near it, that, if the Sun had roſe half an Hour later, ſhe muſt have had the ſame Fate with the *African* Galley, ſince they were but a Cannon-ſhot from the rocky Shore, when the Danger was perceived. The Commodore immediately made the Signal to tack, which was done with great Difficulty, and the Ship, with much ado, eſcaped. The Fright into which this put the Mariners, ſoon after produced a Mutiny; in which the Seamen inſiſted, one and all, that the Commodore ſhould immediately return, or that, at leaſt, he ſhould give them Security to pay them their Wages, though they ſhould be ſo unlucky as to loſe their Veſſel. To ſay the Truth, this Demand of the Seamen was very juſt and reaſonable. They were every Day expoſed to the moſt exceſſive Fatigues in theſe ſtormy and unknown Seas; and, at the ſame time, ran the Hazard of loſing, in a Moment, all the Reward they were to expect from their Labours, ſince the Cuſtom of *Holland* is, that the Seamen loſe their Wages whenever the Ship is loſt. The Commodore liſtened to their Complaints with an Humanity worthy a Man of Honour, and immediately took an Oath, that whatever happened to the Ships, they ſhould receive their Wages to the laſt Farthing. He kept it too with the utmoſt Exactneſs; for though the *African* Galley was loſt before, and both the other Ships were condemned at *Batavia*, yet every one of their reſpective Crews had their Wages paid them to the full, as ſoon as they arrived at *Amſterdam*.

The Iſland of *Aurora* was about four Leagues in Extent, the Country covered with a charming Verdure, and adorned both with high Trees, and ſmaller Wood. But, as they found all the Coaſt rocky and foul, they left this Iſland too without landing, after having taken only a Proſpect of it at a Diſtance. Towards Evening, the ſame Day, they had Sight of another Iſland, which, for that Reaſon, they called *Veſper*. It was about twelve Leagues in Circuit, the Ground very low, but, withal, covered with fine Graſs, and ſtored with great Plenty of various Sorts of Trees. They continued their Courſe ſtill, ſteering Weſt, to the Height of about 15°; and the next Morning they diſcovered another Country, which, ſeeing covered with Smoke, they concluded was inhabited, and therefore made all the Sail they could, in hopes of meeting with Refreſhments: and, as they approached the Country nearer, they ſaw ſome of the Inhabitants diverting themſelves on the Coaſt in their Canoes. They perceived likewiſe, by degrees, that what they had taken for one Country, was, in reality, abundance of Iſlands crouded cloſe to each other; among which they had now entered ſo far, that they found it a very difficult thing to extricate themſelves. In this Situation, they ſent a Man to the Top-maſt Head, to diſcover a Paſſage out; and, as the Weather was perfectly ſerene, they had the good Luck to get once more into the open Sea, without any Accident; tho', in paſſing by ſeveral Ranges of ſteep Rocks, they had Reaſon to conſider this as a very great, as well as freſh Deliverance. There were ſix of theſe Iſlands, exceedingly beautiful and pleaſant to the Eye, and which, taken together, could not be leſs than thirty Leagues in Circumference. They were ſituated twenty-five Leagues Weſt of *Miſchievous* Iſland: The *Dutch* gave them the Name of the *Labyrinth*, becauſe they had been obliged to tack ſeveral times to get clear of them.

As it was very dangerous to anchor on the Coaſt, and as, beſides, none of the Inhabitants came to meet them in their Canoes, or on the Shore, they did not think fit to make any Stay. They ſtill continued a Weſt Courſe, and, in a few Days, diſcovered another Iſland, which appeared at a great Diſtance very high, and extremely beautiful; but, on a nearer Approach, they found no Ground for Anchorage, and the Coaſt appeared ſo rocky, that they were afraid to venture any cloſer: They therefore manned each of their Shallops with twenty-five Men, in order to make a Deſcent. The Inhabitants no ſooner perceived their Deſign, than they came down in Crouds to the Coaſt, in order to oppoſe their Landing. They were armed with very long Pikes, and gave them ſpeedy Demonſtrations of their knowing how to uſe them to the utmoſt Advantage. When the Shallops were pretty near the Iſland, they found the Shore ſo ſteep, and full of Rocks, that it was impoſſible to land; upon which, the beſt Part of the Sailors threw themſelves into the Sea, with their Arms in their Hands, and ſome Baubles, fit for Preſents, tied upon their Heads, while the reſt kept a conſtant Fire from the Boats, in order to clear the Shore, and facilitate their Landing. This Expedient ſucceeded to their Wiſh, and the Seamen got on ſhore without any conſiderable Reſiſtance from the Inhabitants, who, frighted by the Diſcharge of their Fire-arms, quitted the Coaſt, and retired up the Mountains, but came down again as ſoon as the *Dutch* ceaſed firing. When thoſe who were landed had advanced in Sight of the Iſlanders, they ſhewed them their Looking-glaſſes, Strings of Coral, *&c.* The People came up to them without the leaſt Fear, took their Preſents, and ſuffered them to ſearch where they pleaſed for Herbs and Salading for the Sick: Of theſe they found ſuch Plenty, that, in a very little time, they filled twelve great Sacks, ſix for the Commodore, and as many for the *Tienhoven*; for, when the People once ſaw what they were about, they not only ſhewed them the beſt Sorts, but aſſiſted in gathering them. They ſaw in this Iſland prodigious Quantities of Jaſmin, which was then in full Flower. They carried their Cargo of Greens immediately on board, which were much more acceptable to the Sick, than if they had brought them ſo much Gold and Silver.

The next Morning a greater Body of Men were ordered on ſhore, as well to gather Herbs, as to try to make farther Diſcoveries. The firſt thing they did, was to make a Preſent to the King, or Chief, of a conſiderable Quantity of all Sorts of Trinkets, which he received indeed, but with ſuch an Air of Indifference and Diſdain, as did not ſeem to promiſe any great Good with reſpect to their future Commerce. It is true, that, in Exchange, he ſent the *Dutch* a conſiderable Quantity of Cocoa-nuts, which were very agreeable to them in their preſent Circumſtances. This Chief, or Prince, was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Inhabitants by the Ornaments he wore, conſiſting of various Things of Pearl, to the Amount of about 600 *Dutch* Florins in Value. Their Women ſeemed to admire the white Men very much, and almoſt ſtifled them with Careſſes; but this was all a falſe Shew of Love, which theſe Traitreſſes employed to lull the *Dutch* into Security, that the Plot, laid by their Men, might ſucceed more effectually; and, if they had executed it with the ſame Subtilty with which they contrived it, they had certainly cut off every *Dutchman* that came on ſhore.

The thing happened thus: When the *Dutch* had filled twenty Sacks with Greens, they advanced farther into the Country, till ſuch time as they came to the Top of certain ſteep Rocks, which hung over a large and deep Valley, the Iſlanders going before and behind them, of whom the *Dutch* had not the leaſt Suſpicion: But, as ſoon as they thought they had them at an Advantage, they quitted them on a ſudden, and Thouſands came pouring out from Caves and Holes in the Rocks; the Sailors immediately formed themſelves, and ſtood upon their Defence: The Chief, or Prince, then made a Signal to the *Dutch* to keep off; of which they took no notice, but ſtill continued to advance in a Line: He then gave the Signal of Battle to his own People, and it was followed by a prodigious Shower of Stones: The *Dutch*, in Return, made a general Diſcharge of their Fire-arms, which did great Execution; and, amongſt the firſt that fell, was the Chief. The Iſlanders, however, were ſo far from flying, that they continued throwing Stones with greater Fury than before, ſo that moſt of the *Dutch* were ſoon wounded, and, in a manner, diſabled, which made them retire behind a Rock; from whence they fired, with ſuch Succeſs, that great Numbers of the Iſlanders were killed; yet they obſtinately maintained their Ground, and the *Dutch* were forced to retreat, having ſome killed, and a great many wounded, who, by reaſon of their ſcorbutic Habit of Body, died not long after, notwithſtanding all the Care that could be taken of them. As ſoon as they had diſengaged themſelves from the Enemy, they retired, and carried the Sacks of Herbs they had gathered, on board their Ships; where the Report they made of what had befallen them, affected their Ship's Company to ſuch a Degree, that when a Motion was made for landing again, there was no body could be brought to bear the Thoughts of it.

To this Iſle, before the happening of this unlucky Accident, they had given the Name of the Iſland *Recreation*, on account of the Herbs and Sallading they found there. This Iſland is ſituated in the Height of 16° South Latitude, and in the Longitude of 285°: It is in Extent about twelve Leagues, the Soil extremely fertile, producing great Quantities of Trees, but more eſpecially Palms, Cocoas, and Iron-wood; the *Dutch* thought they had Reaſon to believe, that, in the Heart of the Country, there were rich Mines, and other valuable Things; but, as they were not at Liberty to make a very ſtrict Search, our Author ſays he cannot poſitively affirm it. The Inhabitants were Men of a middle Size, robuſt, active, and ſeemed to be very well exerciſed in their ſort of Diſcipline; their Hair was long, black, and ſhining, owing principally to anointing it with Oil of Cocoas, which is practiſed by other *Indian* Nations. They were painted all over like the Natives of the Iſland of *Paſch*. The Men cover the Middle of their Bodies with a kind of Net-work, which is drawn between their Legs, and tucked up behind. As for the Women, they were intirely covered with a kind of Mantle of their own Manufacture, which, to the Sight and Touch, had a near Reſemblance to Silk; and they wear about their Necks and Wriſts, by way of Ornament, long Strings of Pearl. As the Anchorage was every-where bad, and the rocky Shore of this Iſland ſo exceſſively ſteep, as not to permit, from the Sea, any View of the inner Part of the Country, the Commodore thought proper to ſail, without farther Loſs of Time, as knowing, that it was to no Purpoſe for him to remain longer, ſince the Men abſolutely refuſed to attempt going on ſhore any more, becauſe thoſe who had been wounded in the late Skirmiſh, were dropping off daily.

15. The Commodore, before his Departure, thought fit to hold a Council of War, in which he communicated to his Officers the Contents of his Inſtructions; which were, that if, in the Latitude and Longitude they were now in, they could make no Diſcovery of Importance, he ſhould return Home. There were ſome of the Council who were very much aſtoniſhed at this Order, and could not forbear telling the Commodore, that, being advanced ſo far, and having met with ſo great Encouragement, it would betray a great want of Spirit, if they did not proceed. To this he anſwered, that they had been already out ten Months; that they had ſtill a long Voyage to make to the *Eaſt Indies*; that Proviſions began to grow very ſhort; and, above all, that their Crew was already ſo much diminiſhed, and thoſe who ſurvived in ſo weak a Condition, that, if twenty more ſhould die, or fall ſick, there would not be enough left to navigate both Ships; not to mention other Reaſons of equal Importance.

The true Secret, however, ſays my Author, of this ſudden Change, was the great Deſire, that ſome of the principal Officers had to get to the *Eaſt Indies*; for they were afraid of miſſing the Monſoon, in which caſe they muſt have remained ſtill ſix Months longer in the *South Seas*. Thus, ſays he, all our grand Deſign was at once defeated and overturned, after our having taken ſuch incredible Pains to ſucceed, and after meeting with ſo many Omens of Succeſs. Some Officers, however, oppoſed this Motion to the very laſt; and, foreſeeing the Miſchiefs that muſt attend it, earneſtly perſuaded the Commodore to attempt rather wintering in the Countries mentioned by *Ferdinand de Quiros*, from which, as they ſhewed him, they could not be above an hundred and fifty Leagues. But when they found he was inflexible, a new Diſpute aroſe about the Paſſage home: Thoſe who had the Good of the Voyage only at Heart, inſiſted peremptorily, that it was wrong to think of going by the *Eaſt Indies*, ſince it was directly contrary to the Deſign of their Inſtructions; that, by continuing the firſt Courſe, they muſt neceſſarily fall in with ſome Iſland or other, where they might land, take in Refreſhments, and ſtay till their ſick Men recovered: That, in this caſe, they ought firſt of all to erect a Fort for their own Security againſt the Natives; in the next, to treat thoſe People with all imaginable Gentleneſs and Candour; that, by this means, they ſhould infallibly engage them to trade and converſe with them, which would enable them to learn their Language, and carry Home a clear, diſtinct, and full Account of the Country in which they had lived. They farther repreſented, that, if this Propoſal was complied with, they ſhould have it always in their Power to return Home, by ſteering an Eaſt Courſe, and, by taking time, perfect effectually the Diſcoveries they were ſent to make.

Theſe Reaſons were heard with Patience and Civility, though they had not the Weight that they deſerved; and, on the Whole, a Reſolution was taken to continue their Courſe towards *New Britain* and *New Guiney*, and thence by the Way of the *Moluccas* to the *Eaſt Indies*, where they were in hopes of procuring not only a Supply of Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, but of Seamen alſo, in caſe they ſhould be in ſo weak a Condition, as not to be able to navigate their Ships back to *Europe*. By this Reſolution, our Author ſays, an End was put to all Hopes of viſiting the Land of *de Quiros*, which, it was the Opinion of the beſt Seamen on board, they might certainly and eaſily have diſcovered. This Opinion of theirs was grounded upon three Reaſons: Firſt, that the Situation of this Country is better laid down, than thoſe of moſt new-diſcovered Countries, which are not as yet thoroughly known. Secondly, that the Iſlands they had hitherto met with, agreed, in every reſpect, as to their Situation, Inhabitants, and Product, with the Deſcriptions in *de Quiros*'s Memorials. And laſtly, becauſe the Wind plainly blew off ſome Continent, or very large Iſland, and would therefore have been extremely favourable to their Deſign, if they had thought fit to proſecute it. Our Author takes Occaſion here to enter into a large Diſcourſe on the Certainty of ſuch a Southern Continent, the Advantages that would probably reſult from the Diſcovery of it, and the Means moſt likely to effect that Diſcovery, the Subſtance of which we ſhall endeavour to give the Reader in as few Words as it is poſſible.

It is very certain, that the Diſcovery of *Terra Auſtralis incognita* is conſidered, by many wiſe and knowing People, as a kind of Philoſophers-ſtone, perpetual Motion, or, in plain *Engliſh*, as a Chimera, fit only to take up the empty Brains of wild Projectors. Yet this ſeems to be no ſufficient Reaſon, why ſuch as are competent Judges of the Matter in Diſpute, ſhould decide, peremptorily, that there is no ſuch Country; or, if there be, that it is not worth the finding. Theſe ſort of haſty Concluſions are extremely fatal to Science in general, and to the Art of Navigation in particular. To ſay the Truth, all Notions built upon Conjectures only, however beautifully ranged in a Syſtem, ſerve only to puzzle and miſlead People. The Diſcovery of all Parts of the World ſeems to be, at once, the Buſineſs and the Glory of Man. It is the peculiar Privilege of our Species, that we can traverſe this Globe by Land and Water, and thereby become intelligent with reſpect to all the various Scenes of Wiſdom, which the World's Creator and ours has diſplayed therein. This is ſufficient to ſhew, that there cannot be any thing more noble, or more worthy of a great Mind, than the ſurveying, either in Theory or Practice, the Diſpoſition of this terraqueous Globe, the Harmony of its Parts, and their Relation to each other. Whoever employs any Part of his Time in this Way, will diſcern that there is wanting to the Eye a Southern Continent, in order to give one Side of the Globe a Reſemblance to the other. This is the firſt Argument, that there is ſuch a Southern Continent; the next is, that Experience confirms this Notion; the Fowls, the Winds, the Currents, the Ice, beyond Cape *Horn*, all confirm this Opinion, that there is Land towards the Southern Pole. We are to conſider again, that tho' we have numberleſs Voyages to the *Eaſt Indies*, and a great many round the Globe, yet we have few, very few, thro' that Ocean, in which this Continent is ſuppoſed to lie; and theſe Voyages, ſerve all, in ſome meaſure, to confirm this Opinion;

Opinion ; becauſe, in every one of theſe Voyages, ſome Land or other was diſcovered, either Continent or Iſland. Now it is certain, that Iſlands, great and ſmall, are ſeldom, if ever, at a very great Diſtance from a Continent ; and therefore, where there are many Iſlands, it is at leaſt a very probable Sign, that there is ſome Continent not far from them. Thus much as to the Certainty of the Thing, that there really is ſuch a Country.

With regard to the next Point, Whether it is worth the Diſcovery ? this requires a much more ample Inquiry. It is obvious, in the firſt Place, that the Diſcovery of all new Lands has a natural Tendency to the Increaſe of Commerce ; of which we have an Inſtance in the Whale-fiſhery on the Coaſt of *Greenland*, and the Trade carried on in *Hudſon's Bay* ; but, with reſpect to the Lands we are now ſpeaking of, we have as much Certainty as the Nature of the Thing will admit, that they are really as rich and plentiful, as any Countries on the Face of the Globe, without Exception. We have already proved, that the fifth Climate is, according to the Laws of Nature, the moſt fertile, as well as the moſt wholſome ; and it muſt on all Hands be allowed, that a great Part of the *Terra Auſtralis* lies under that Climate. *Ferdinand de Quiros*, in his Memorials, calls it a fourth Part of the Globe, and with good Reaſon ; for, from the Weſtern Point of *New Guiney*, to the Eaſtern Extremity of the Country diſcovered by *Hernando Gallego*, there is a Space of 2000 Leagues, a great Part of which has been, and the reſt may be, certainly diſcovered. But, of all Proofs that can be offered in ſuch a Caſe, thoſe are certainly the moſt convincing, that are taken from Facts. Now *de Quiros*, and *Torres*, who actually viſited thoſe Iſlands, which, by their firſt Diſcoverer *Alonſo Savedera*, were called the Iſlands of *Solomon*, not only report, that the Country is beautiful in Proſpect, and exceedingly fertile in its Produce, but that it abounds alſo with every thing that has hitherto been accounted Riches, ſuch as Gold, Silver, Precious Stones, and Spices.

It is true, that they acknowledged they viſited only the Coaſts ; but this rather fortifies than leſſens their Teſtimony ; for though the Coaſts are often the moſt pleaſant, yet they are ſeldom the richeſt Part of a Country. It is owing to Accident, and the Curioſity of ſuch as report theſe Things, that we have ever heard of theſe Countries ; and it is chiefly the Effect of the Impatience of Diſcoverers, that we are not better acquainted with them. A Man cannot be expected to deſcribe a Country he has only gallopped through ; and it is the ſame Thing with regard to Diſcoverers, who pretend to give diſtinct Accounts of Countries, without viſiting any Part of them but their Ports : Yet ſuch People may have Leave to ſay, that they have ſeen, and later Experience ſeems to confirm, the Relations of *de Quiros* and *Torres*, with this Difference only, that they remained longer on ſhore, and were conſequently more capable of entering into Particulars.

All who have viſited theſe Southern Countries agree, that there are in them three different ſorts of Inhabitants, *viz.* the Olive-coloured, the Black, and the White. *William Schovten* obſerves, as a kind of Prodigy, that, amongſt a great Number of Blacks, he ſaw one perfectly white Man. The *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian *Herrera* tells us, that, on the Eaſtern Point of *New Guiney*, and eſpecially about *Madre de Deo*, the Inhabitants are all white, though that Country received its Name from its Inhabitants appearing to be Negroes. Our Author confirms all this of his own Knowledge, and carries it ſtill further ; for he ſays, he ſaw not only yellow, black, and white People, but a fourth Sort likewiſe, who were red : He adds, that, having inquired of ſuch as had lived ſome time in *New Guiney*, about the white Men, which *Herrera* mentions, he found the Fact to be true, though theſe People could give but a very indifferent Account of them. In this, however, they all agreed, that theſe white People had very little Converſation or Commerce with the *Blacks* : That they wore a different Dreſs, reſembling that of the oriental Nations, wore long Beards, and had not either Idols or Ornaments in their Temples. They likewiſe aſſured him, that the Language of theſe white People differs greatly from the Languages ſpoken by their Neighbours. In the Memorial of *de Quiros* it is ſaid, that the Inhabitants of the Iſlands he viſited were prone to Idolatry, which is very agreeable to the Account that has been given of the People in *Paſch* Iſland.

As to Government, *de Quiros* reports the People he ſaw to have lived under a Republic, which agrees with the Situation of Things in that Iſland which has been laſt mentioned : With reſpect, again, to Food and Proviſions, *de Quiros* affirms, that he found, in thoſe Countries he viſited, ſuch Plenty of Cattle, Hogs, Goats, and Fowl, that the People had not only wherewith to live in Plenty themſelves, but were able, without diminiſhing that Plenty, to ſupply their Neighbours. *Schovten* affirms the ſame Thing with reſpect to the Iſlands he ſaw, and ſo do other Travellers ; and our Author rightly obſerves, that the Size, the Strength, and the Activity of the People they ſaw in the Iſland of *Paſch*, made it ſufficiently evident, that they lived upon nouriſhing and ſucculent Food. *De Quiros* informs us, that the *Indians* made a very ſweet, ſolid, and nouriſhing Bread of three ſorts of Roots. It appears from this Voyage, that they met, in almoſt all the Iſlands they diſcovered, with different kinds of Roots, which ſerved inſtead of Bread, and were very pleaſant and wholſome. Some of them, our Author ſays, were very like Beet-roots ; but whether it was of theſe Roots that the Inhabitants made their Bread, he does not pretend to ſay : They had likewiſe Plenty of Potatoes, which were very good in their kind. As to Plants, Herbs, and Flowers, we find in *de Quiros*'s Memorial, that the Countries, in which he was, abounded with them, as well as with Sugar-canes, which are indeed plenty in moſt warm Countries, and of which there was ſuch abundance in the Iſlands viſited by our Author in this Voyage, that the People often brought the *Dutch* more than they wanted, or could tell what to do with, and therefore they returned them ; and as to other Fruits of different ſorts, ſome known, ſome unknown, but all excellent in their kind, the Plenty of them has been already mentioned more than once.

Both our Author, and all former Travellers, agree, that theſe Southern *Indians* are not only much pleaſed with, but tolerably ſkilled in, Muſic. *Abel Taſman*, whoſe Diſcoveries from the original *Dutch* ſhall hereafter find a Place in this Work, heard an Horn ſounded among the *Indians* he converſed with ; and *Schovten* ſays, that, at an Entertainment made by two *Indian* Kings, at which he was preſent, there was a Perſon ſent for to play upon the Flute. Utenſils in their Houſes were, according to *de Quiros*, moſt of them made of Earth ; and, as we have ſeen before, our Author found it ſo likewiſe. *De Quiros* abſolutely affirms, that they made uſe of Veſſels, tolerably well built, for the Carrying on of Commerce between their Iſlands, of the Truth of which our Author ſays he was an Eye-witneſs ; and *Schovten* in his Voyages confirms this, by telling us, that he took a Veſſel with a conſiderable Stock of live Proviſions on board, which muſt therefore have been intended for a Voyage of ſome Length. Our Author not only maintains the Truth of this from his own Knowledge, but adds farther, that they examined the Sails of ſome of theſe Veſſels, and found them as good as if they had been made in *Holland* ; the Thread of them reſembling Hemp, and the Canvas ſurpaſſing, in all reſpects, any thing of that kind made in *Java*, or the *Indies*. We find, in *de Quiros*'s Memorial, an Account of a very fine Gulph, in the Latitude of 15°, where Ships might anchor very commodiouſly : He thought fit to call it *Golfe de Philippe*, where, according to him, Ships might anchor ſafe from Winds, inaſmuch as it ran twenty Leagues up into the Country. *Hernando Gallego* writes, that, in his Paſſage from *New Guiney* to the Streights of *Magellan*, he was driven, by a Weſt Wind, to a Country lying to the South, which he looked upon as cut off from the Continent : This very probably might be the Gulph mentioned by *de Quiros*. *Abel Taſman* reports, that he found, in the Southern Continent, a large and ſpacious Gulph, very commodious for Shipping ; *William Schovten* and *Herrera* make frequent mention of Havens and Rivers in theſe Southern Countries ; and *Dampier*, as we ſhall ſhew elſewhere, actually ſaw ſome of theſe. If, therefore, we conſider all the Circumſtances that have been mentioned, the Credit of the ſeveral Authors who report them, their apparent Connexion, and Impoſſibility of making Forgeries tally ſo exactly, we muſt conclude, that there is very full Evidence in Support of both theſe Poſitions; *viz.* that there is a great Continent, and many Iſlands, to the South; and that this Continent, and thoſe Iſlands, are very probably rich and well-peopled, to which if a Trade could be opened, it might, nay, muſt, be very commodious, and produce as great or greater Advantages, than thoſe which have reſulted from the Diſcoveries of *America*.

It is indeed aſtoniſhing, that, conſidering even the imperfect Accounts that have been had of theſe Southern Lands within the laſt and the preſent Century, no *European* Potentate ever ſeriouſly undertook the Conqueſt of them. It is true, that many Expeditions have been made for diſcovering, but not one for making a Settlement. There never yet was fitted out any Squadron ſtrong enough, either in Ships or in Men, to attempt penetrating into the Heart of any of theſe Countries. The *Engliſh* and the *Dutch* have contented themſelves with running along the Coaſts, without ever venturing to make a Deſcent, either for fear of being overpowered by the Inhabitants, or in Apprehenſion of wanting Proviſions in their Return, in caſe they amuſed themſelves too long in this Part of the World. Such are the Reaſons aſſigned by our Author for the Miſcarriage of the Deſign in which he was concerned, as well as of all the reſt upon that Plan. He concludes his Diſcourſe with laying down certain Maxims, which, he thinks, if ſteadily purſued, would greatly contribute to, if not abſolutely effect, this uſeful and important Diſcovery. In the firſt Place, ſays he, ſuch a Deſign is not to be undertaken with one or two Ships, but with a Squadron, and thoſe too of ſeveral Kinds; ſome Ships of Force, ſome Tenders, all well provided, and victualled for a long Voyage. Secondly, ſays he, the Ship's Company ought to be compoſed chiefly of good Seamen; whereas hitherto the Majority of the Crews of ſuch Veſſels have conſiſted of Soldiers, or of mere Land-men of ſome ſort or other. He gives this Reaſon in Support of the Maxim he lays down: In ſuch a Voyage, it is natural that both Sorts ſhould decreaſe; but the Conſequence is, by no means, equal: For, if there be Seamen enough left, they can always fight; but, let there be ever ſo many Land-men, they cannot work the Ship in Time of Danger. His third Maxim is, that, ſome Months after fitting out the firſt Squadron, there ſhould be another ſent after them, which, as he obſerves, would prevent the bad Effects of the Scurvy, and of corrupt Proviſions, ſince it would give an Opportunity of ſhifting Crews, and prevent either Squadron remaining too long at Sea without a convenient Supply. In the fourth Place, he ſays, that, as it is impoſſible to foreſee the Accidents that may happen in a Voyage, a certain Place of Rendeſvous ſhould be fixed before the firſt Squadron ſails, and the Captain of each Veſſel ſtrictly injoined to repair thither, and continue there for a certain Time, in order to wait for his Conſorts. The laſt Rule he lays down is this, that whoever is truſted with the chief Command of ſuch an Expedition, ſhould not be limited or reſtrained by his Commiſſion, but that much ſhould be left to his Diſcretion; becauſe otherwiſe he will either be at a Loſs when to follow what the Circumſtances of the Voyage direct, and when to adhere to his Orders; or elſe, for his own Security, he will only conſider the latter: Whereas the Succeſs of the Deſign muſt always depend on his judging and acting rightly with regard to the former. In all Probability, the true Reaſon, why none of the Princes of *Europe* have hitherto undertaken any thing in this Affair, as if they were in Earneſt, is, that they all wait till ſome one ſhall begin, who having opened a Way at his own Expence, they may be able to follow him with more Certainty, and leſs Danger: Yet what Reaſon is there, in this Caſe, to hope, that the firſt Diſcoverer ſhould be leſs tenacious of his Rights, than the *French* are of theirs in *Canada*, the *Spaniards* in *Peru*, the *Portugueſe* in *Braſil*, the *Engliſh* in *Virginia*, and the *Dutch* at the *Moluccas?* The Law of Nations gives an excluſive Right of Trade to the firſt Diſcoverer; and an Attempt to violate this would be conſidered as an open Rupture. The great Point then is to be the firſt Diſcoverer, the lawful Lord and Proprietor of this new Trade; which muſt very ſoon render the Power poſſeſſed of it, if properly managed, the moſt conſiderable Maritime Power in *Europe*.

16. When the *Dutch* Commodore quitted the Iſland of *Recreation*, he ſteered a North-weſt Courſe, purſuant to the Reſolution of the laſt Council, in order to attain the Height of *New Britain*. The third Day after they ſailed, they diſcovered in the Latitude of 12° South, and in the Longitude of 290, ſeveral Iſlands, which appeared very beautiful at a Diſtance; and, as they came nearer, they plainly diſcerned, that they were well planted with Fruit-trees of all Sorts; that the Country produced Herbs, Corn, and Roots, in great plenty, laid out, towards the Coaſt, in large and regular Plantations. As ſoon as the Inhabitants diſcerned the Ships, they came in their Boats, and brought them Fiſh, Cocoa-nuts, *Indian* Figs, and other Refreſhments; in Return for which, the *Dutch* gave them, as uſual, ſmall Looking-glaſſes, Strings of Beads, and other Trifles.

It quickly appeared, that theſe Iſlands were very fully peopled, ſince many Thouſands of Men and Women, the former, generally ſpeaking, armed with Bows and Arrows, came down to the Shore to look at them. They ſaw, amongſt the reſt, a very majeſtic Perſonage, whom, from the Dreſs he wore, and the Honours that were paid him, they eaſily diſcovered to be the Prince or Sovereign of this Nation. He preſently ſtepped into his Canoe, accompanied by a fair young Woman, who ſat cloſe by his Side. His Canoe was immediately ſurrounded by a vaſt Number of other Veſſels, that crouded about it, and ſeemed intended for a Guard. All the Inhabitants of theſe Iſlands were white, and differed nothing in their Complexion from *Europeans*, except that they were a little ſun-burnt. They ſeemed to be a very harmleſs good ſort of People, very briſk and lively, treating each other with viſible Marks of Civility, and diſcovering nothing that was wild or ſavage in their Behaviour. Their Bodies were not painted like thoſe of the other *Indians* they had ſeen, but very handſomely cloathed from the Girdle downwards with a ſort of Silk Fringes, very neatly folded. On their Heads they wore Hats of a very neat kind of Stuff, and very large, to keep off the Sun; and, about their Necks, they wore Collars of very beautiful and odoriferous Flowers. The Country itſelf appeared exquiſitely charming, every one of the Iſlands being agreeably diverſified with Hills and Valleys, as lovely as Imagination can paint. Some of them were ten, ſome fifteen, and ſome again twenty Miles in Compaſs. They thought fit to call them *Bowman's Iſlands*, after the Captain of the *Tienhoven*, who firſt diſcovered them. It appeared, that each Family or Tribe had its particular Diſtrict, and compoſed of ſeparate Governments, all of them being laid out into fair regular Plantations, after the ſame manner with thoſe of the Iſland of *Paſch* before deſcribed. Our Author ſays, that it is a Point of Juſtice due to theſe Iſlanders to acknowledge, that they were, in all reſpects, the moſt civilized and beſt diſpoſed People they met with in the South Seas. Inſtead of ſhewing any Terrors or Apprehenſions at their Arrival, they expreſſed the utmoſt Joy and Satisfaction, treated them with a Kindneſs and Reſpect not to be deſcribed, and manifeſted the moſt ſincere and moſt deep Concern, when they perceived, that, in ſpite of all their officious Diligence, theſe New-comers were not like to ſtay amongſt them.

It ſeems the *Dutch* themſelves felt many of them a like Concern, and would have been extremely well pleaſed to have made a longer Stay in ſo plentiful a Country, and among ſo kind a People; the rather becauſe it was morally certain, that, by the Help of the vaſt abundance of good Proviſions, with which theſe Iſlanders willingly furniſhed them, all their ſick People, in a Month's time, would have perfectly recovered. Add to all this, that theſe Iſlands had one Conveniency ſuperior to thoſe they had before met with; *viz.* that there was exceeding good Anchoragea long their Coaſts, where they rode in fifteen or twenty Fathom Water in the greateſt Safety. So many advantageous Circumſtances ought certainly to have prevailed on the Commodore, and his Officers, to have remained there; but their Heads were ſo full of an *Eaſt India* Voyage, and they were ſo extremely fearful of miſſing the Eaſt Monſoon, that they could not be brought, by any means, ſo much as to hear of that Propoſal: Yet this unlucky Precaution of theirs, which hindered them from viewing theſe Iſlands, was built upon a falſe Foundation, ſince, as they afterwards diſcovered to their Coſt, they were two Months too early, inſtead of two Months too late, for that Trade-wind, in hopes of meeting with which, they had abandoned a Diſcovery, that would, in all human Probability, have amply rewarded their paſt Pains and Labour; and, which was ſtill worſe, by this indiſcreet and haſty Departure, they ſacrificed the Health and Strength of their Crew to ſuch a Degree, that they found themſelves ſo weakened, as to be ſcarce in a Condition to navigate their Ships; which once put them on thinking of a very deſperate and dangerous Expedient, *viz.* that of burning one Veſſel, in order, with leſs Difficulty, to manage the other. All ſuch Inconveniencies had been avoided, if, embracing this Opportunity, offered them by the Favour of Divine Providence, they had been content to ſtay in a Place of Safety, Plenty, and Pleaſure, till their ſick People had recovered, inſtead of wilfully ſeeking new Dangers, with which they were ſo little able to encounter.

17. Weighing from *Bowman's Iſlands*, they continued their Courſe towards the North-weſt, which gained them, the next Morning, the Sight of two Iſlands; which they took to be the Iſland of *Cocos*, and *Traitors Iſland*, ſo called by *William Schovten*, by whom they were diſcovered. Captain *Bowman* would very willingly have approached them more nearly; but the Commodore would not permit him. The Iſland of *Cocos*, at the Diſtance they ſaw it, ſeemed very high Land, and about eight Leagues in Compaſs. The other appeared to be much lower, the Soil red, and without Trees. This laſt Iſland, they believed, lay in the Latitude of 11° South; but our Author ingenuouſly owns, that they ſailed at too great a Diſtance to be able to give any good Account of them. They ſoon after ſaw two other Iſlands of very large Extent, one of which they called *Tienhoven*, and the other *Groninguen*; which laſt, many of their Officers were clearly of Opinion, was no Iſland, but the great South Continent they were ſent to diſcover; with reſpect to which, however, our Author ſuſpends his Judgment, becauſe the Proofs on neither Side ſeemed to him convincing. As for the Iſland of *Tienhoven*, it appeared to be a rich and beautiful Country, moderately high, the Meadows exceedingly green, and within-land adorned with Trees. They coaſted along the Shore for a whole Day, without coming to the End of it. They obſerved, however, that it extended in the Form of a Semicircle towards the Iſland of *Groninguen*; ſo that, after all, it is very probable, that theſe two Countries, that were at firſt taken for Iſlands, may, in Reality, be Lands contiguous to each other, and both of them Parts of the *Terra Auſtralis incognita*: Yet our Author acknowledges they found, in that Neighbourhood, Iſlands of 150 Miles in Circumference; which agrees very well with the Account given by *Dampier*, who affirms, that he found a Streight between *New Guiney* and *New Britain*; and, if ſo, this muſt be conſidered as an Iſland. A great Part of the Company were for anchoring on the Coaſt, and making a Deſcent; but that was now become a very diſagreeable Motion; and, to be rid of it the more eaſily at preſent, the Officers, who were ſo fond of going to the *Eaſt Indies*, ſuggeſted, that it muſt, at this time, be attended with great Danger, ſince, if the Party landing was cut off, they ſhould not then have Men enough left to carry their Ships home.

They were obliged therefore to continue their Courſe, how diſagreeable ſoever that Meaſure might be to the Majority of the Company, who, as they came out to make Diſcoveries, were unwilling to go home with imperfect Stories. It was not now doubted but that they ſhould very ſoon ſee the Coaſts of *New Guiney*, or of *New Britain*; but, after ſailing for many Days without ſeeing any Land at all, they began to be ſatisfied of the Vanity of theſe Calculations; but, at the ſame time, could not help murmuring a little at their Effects, which were very dreadful, ſince the Scurvy began to carry off three, four or five of their beſt Hands every Day: So that, though they had already reduced three Ships Companies to two, they more than once deliberated, whether it might not be expedient to burn one of the remaining Veſſels; and the only Argument that reſtrained them from doing it was, that, in caſe any Accident befel one, there was ſtill a Poſſibility left of eſcaping with the other. There cannot be any thing more terrible than the Account our Author gives of the Miſeries they endured; but, at the ſame time, it is too curious, and too important, to be omitted.

At this time, ſays he, there was nothing to be ſeen on board but ſick People, ſtruggling with inexpreſſible Pains, and dead Carcaſes, that were juſt releaſed from them, and from which aroſe ſo intolerable a Smell, that ſuch as yet remained ſound were not able to endure, but frequently ſwooned with it. Cries and Groans were perpetually ringing in their Ears; and the very Sight of the People moving about was ſufficient to excite at once Terror and Compaſſion; for ſome of them were ſuch perfect Skeletons, that their Skins ſeemed to cleave to their Bones, in which ſad Circumſtances they had this Conſolation, that they felt no Pain, but conſumed and extinguiſhed like the Snuff of a Candle. Others, again, were ſwelled and puffed up to a monſtrous Size, and were tormented with ſuch violent Pains, as threw them frequently into a furious kind of Madneſs. Others were worn away by the Dyſentery, and bloody Stools, while many ſuffered the moſt excruciating Pains from the Rheumatiſm; and others dragged their dead Limbs after them, the Feeling of which had been taken away by the Palſy. To all theſe Diſeaſes of the Body, there were likewiſe added many Diſtempers of the Mind: An Anabaptiſt of about twenty-five Years old cried, without ceaſing, for twenty-four Hours before he died, *Baptize me! baptize me!* When the Captain was told of it, he anſwered in a very quick Tone, *If he had a mind to have paſſed through that Ceremony, he ſhould have thought of it before he embarked*; adding with a Sneer, *The Fellow knows well enough we have no Parſons here.* When the poor Man was told this, he remained quiet, and died with great Reſignation. There were two Papiſts on board, the one a *French*, the other a *Dutchman*, who gave what little Money they had to their Friends, beſeeching them, that, if ever they returned to *Holland*, they would lay it out in procuring a certain Number of Maſſes to be ſaid for the Repoſe of their Souls, to the Honour of St. *Anthony* of *Padua*. But they were not all of ſo religious a Diſpoſition; on the contrary, many of them would not hear any thing that had the leaſt Savour of Religion, for ſome time before they expired. Our Author aſſures us, that he ſaw ſome, who neither eat nor drank for four-and-twenty Days before they died; and ſome, again, were carried off ſo ſuddenly, that, in the midſt of their Diſcourſe, they ſtopped ſhort, and were found to be dead. All theſe different Kinds of Sickneſſes our Author attributes chiefly to their bad Proviſions, their ſalt Meats being corrupted, their Bread full of Maggots, and their Water ſtinking to an intolerable Degree. In ſuch Circumſtances as theſe, Medicines, at the moſt, could only defer Death, but could never work a Cure. The only effectual Remedy was freſh Meat, Herbs, and Water. Even ſuch as were reputed in Health were low, weak, and much afflicted with the Scurvy. Our Author tells us, that tho' he was as well as any body, yet he had the Scurvy to ſuch a degree, that his Teeth were all looſe, his Gums torn and inflamed, and his Body covered with Spots of different Colours. At laſt, however, it pleaſed God to put a Period to their Miſeries, by giving them a Sight of the Coaſt of *New Britain*, the Joy of which filled their Sick with new Spirits, and encouraged ſuch as were able to move, to hope they might yet return to their native Country; whereas, if they had been obliged to continue many Days longer at Sea, they muſt certainly have periſhed, as well through Deſpair, as through the many Miſeries they ſuffered, of which tho' he has given us a long and melancholy Account, he yet aſſures us, that it is but a faint Deſcription, and falls very far ſhort in expreſſing the manifold Diſtreſſes to which they were expoſed.

18. The Country of *New Britain*, as well as the reſt of the Iſlands in its Neighbourhood, is very high Land, many of the Mountains hiding themſelves in the Clouds; but, for the Sea-coaſts, they are equally fertile and pleaſant, the Meadows wearing a perpetual Verdure, and the Hills being covered with various Sorts of Fruit-trees. It lies in the Lati-

tude of between 4° and 7° South; ſo that, in point of Situation and Appearance, there could not any Country promiſe more, than this did. The *Dutch*, therefore, after ſome Conſultation, reſolved, at all Events, to go on ſhore, tho' there certainly were ſome very ſtrong Arguments againſt it; for they were now weakened to ſuch a degree, that they could ſcarce, out of both Ships, ſpare Men enough to man a Boat, and leave a ſufficient Number to navigate one Ship, ſuppoſing that they ſhould conſent to give up all Hopes of carrying home the other; but the Paſſions of the Ships Companies were ſo ſtrong for going on ſhore, and their Neceſſities ſo great, that, on the Whole, it appeared abſolutely requiſite to venture a Deſcent, let the Conſequences of it be what they would.

Accordingly, our Author was ordered into the Shallop, with a certain Number of Men, with Inſtructions to go on ſhore at any rate, by fair Means, if poſſible, and with the Conſent of the Inhabitants, for whom they carried a great Quantity of Trifles by way of Preſent; but, if this had no Effect, then they were to make uſe of Force, ſince the Circumſtances they were under made it as eligible to die by the Hands of Barbarians, as to periſh piece-meal through Want and Diſeaſes. The nearer they drew to the Coaſt, the more they were pleaſed with it, ſince it gave them a View, and that a very near one, of all the Refreſhments they could wiſh for. The Inhabitants alſo came down in Crowds; but not in a Manner that added at all to their Satisfaction: For they were well armed with Bows, Arrows, and Slings, demonſtrating ſufficiently by their Geſtures, that they were not at all pleaſed with theſe New-comers; and that they did not intend, by any means, to let them land peaceably. As the Shallop drew nearer the Shore, the Inhabitants threw themſelves into a frantic Deſpair, made frightful Faces, howled, tore their Hair, and, as if they had borrowed Courage from the quick Senſe of their Diſtreſs, hurried off in their Canoes, in order to meet that Danger, which they ſaw was unavoidable.

19. The *Dutch* continued to make the beſt of their Way towards the Land; which when the *Indians* ſaw, they diſcharged a Flight of Arrows, which was followed by the Javelins they had in their Hands. This was ſucceeded by a prodigious Shower of Stones, diſcharged from their Slings; and as there needed no more to convince the *Dutch*, that they had nothing to truſt to but Force, they fired upon them without ceaſing; and this with ſuch Effect, that many of them were killed, and the reſt terrified to ſuch a degree, that many of them threw themſelves out of their Canoes into the Water, and the reſt were at laſt obliged to follow their Example; for ſuch was their Confuſion, that they were no longer able to diſtinguiſh the proper Chanels, by which they might ſafely have returned with their Canoes, but ran them on the Rocks and Sholes that lay before their Coaſts. This almoſt took from the *Dutch* all Hopes of following them; and, while they were thus embaraſſed, there aroſe a moſt violent Storm, of that Kind which the *Dutch* Seamen ſtyle a *Traffat*, and which commonly ſprings in the midſt of a Calm, when the Air is perfectly clear and ſerene; and, by its Violence, frequently brings the Maſts by the board, and carries the Sails into the Air, if they are not furled in an Inſtant. This Storm forced the Ships out to Sea, and left the poor People in their Shallop, without Relief, and almoſt without Hope. They ran ſuddenly on a Bank of Sand, where they were beaten with ſuch Violence by the Winds and Waves, that there ſeemed to be no Means of Safety left; but, as Deſpair uſually gives Men Spirits and Strength beyond what they have at other times, they had the good Fortune to drag their Veſſel ſafe to Land, where, by the Favour of Divine Providence, all of them got on ſhore, fatigued indeed to the laſt Degree, but without any other Hurt.

The firſt thing they did was, to endeavour to find out ſome Place of Retreat, where they might be ſafe from any ſudden Attack of their Enemies; but, before ſuch a Place could be found, the Night drew on, and they were forced to content themſelves with getting together, where they were, as many Pieces of Wood, and broken Branches of Trees, as poſſible, in order to dry and warm themſelves. When they had, by this means, made a pretty good Fire, their Spirits began to revive, and they had Time to look about them. The Light of the Fire enabled them to diſcover ſeveral Cabins and Huts in the Neighbourhood of the Place where they had taken up their Abode; nor was it long before they went to examine what theſe contained; but without finding any of the Inhabitants; and as for Utenſils or houſhold Goods, they had none. All that the *Dutch* met with, worth taking away, were a few Nets, curiouſly wrought. They ſaw likewiſe abundance of Cocoa-trees; but, as they had brought no Hatchets, they were not able to come at any Fruit, and had conſequently a very comfortleſs Night, during which they were perpetually diſturbed by the frightful Noiſe, that the Inhabitants made in the Woods, whence they naturally apprehended they were every Moment coming to attack them.

20. This Country appears to be exceeding fertile, eſpecially in all ſorts of Fruits. The Mountains, that are very high, promiſe Mines of all kinds, ſince there are hardly any Countries in this Climate, the Mountains of which do not produce Metals. As for the Inhabitants, they are a tall well-made People, perfect Mulattoes in point of Complexion, with long black Hair, that curls down to their Waiſts. They are extremely vigorous and nimble, and ſo dextrous in the Uſe of their Arms, that no Doubt can be made of their living in a perpetual State of Warfare. It has been long queſtioned, even with the moſt experienced Navigators, whether this Land ought to be accounted a Continent, or an Iſland; and perhaps the Point is not yet clear, ſince the Diſcoveries made by theſe *Dutchmen* are, in that reſpect, very inconſiderable. The Iſlands near the Coaſt are, in a manner, numberleſs; ſo that it was with great Difficulty that they obtained a Paſſage through them. It may not be amiſs here to obſerve, that this Account agrees exactly with that of *Dampier*; ſo that I make no Queſtion, that the Place, where our Author landed, was the ſame to which *Dampier* gave the Name of *Slingers Bay*, from the Dexterity of the Inhabitants in the Management of that Inſtrument.

But I do not think, that either his ill Succeſs, or theirs, ought to hinder the Proſecution of ſo important a Diſcovery, ſince it is certainly very poſſible for Ships to reach this Country, without meeting with their Misfortunes. The Coaſt of *New Britain* is now very well known from their Accounts, and ſo accurately laid down in our Charts, that there is no ſort of Danger of an able Seaman's miſſing them; and, if a ſmall Squadron ſailed from hence directly for that Coaſt, there is all the Probability in the World, that we ſhould very ſoon be Maſters of a Country, little, if at all, inferior to the *Dutch* Spice Iſlands. As for our *Dutch* Diſcoverers, they no ſooner heard the Signal made by their Ships, which was a little after Midnight, than they haſtened on board; and the next Morning they ſailed, making their Way as well as they could through that numerous Archipelago before-mentioned. The Misfortunes that had befallen them on ſhore made ſuch an Impreſſion, that they called this Part of the Country *Stormland*: Yet they immediately reſolved to venture on a Deſcent the next Opportunity that offered, ſince they had not ten Men in both Veſſels, that were in perfect Health; and their Stockfiſh, upon which they had lived for ſome time paſt, was now ſo full of Worms, and ſtunk to ſuch a degree, that, inſtead of eating, they could not come near it. The Officers could not now pacify the Men with Stories of the *Eaſt Indies*; for they declared abſolutely, that any Death on ſhore would be more welcome, than living longer at Sea in ſuch a Condition: And in this Situation they were, when they arrived in the Height of 2° South Latitude, where they expected to find the Iſlands of *Moa* and *Arimoa*, diſcovered by *Schouten*.

21. They had Reaſon to commend the Care and Exactneſs of that able Seaman, ſince they quickly diſcovered both thoſe Iſlands, and immediately reſolved to attempt getting ſome Relief from *Arimoa*, which is the biggeſt of the two. The Inhabitants no ſooner ſaw them approach, than they came out to meet them in their Canoes; of which they had a prodigious Number. Theſe People were all armed with Bows and Arrows, even their Women and Children. They brought with them Cocoa-nuts, *Indian* Figs, various kinds of Roots, and other Refreſhments; and rowed directly on board the Ships, without the leaſt Sign of Fear or Diſtruſt. The *Dutch* offered them ſuch kind of Trifles as they had

on board, by way of Preſent; which they received kindly: But, when they ſhewed them more of theſe, and gave them to underſtand, that they were that ſort of Merchandize, which they intended to barter with them for Refreſhments, they contented themſelves with turning them over, and looking at them, without expreſſing any Intention to deal. They returned, however, the next Day, with great Quantities of the ſame kind of Things they had brought before, when the *Dutch* endeavoured to perſuade them to bring ſome Hogs on board; but, as they converſed only by Signs, the *Indians* miſtook them ſo far, as to bring them the next Day two or three Dogs; which proved an inexpreſſible Diſappointment. Our Author was, at this time, again in a very bad State of Health; but the Refreſhments procured from the Iſland of *Arimoa* had ſo good an Effect, that, in a little time, he found himſelf much better; and aſſures us, that, if he could but have had Liberty to have gone on ſhore for two or three Days, he ſhould have found himſelf perfectly recovered. The Iſlanders did all that in their Power lay to perſuade them to take this Step, and never came on board without inviting them on ſhore; but, inaſmuch as they were now extremely weakened, and, for ſome Days before their Arrival, had thrown over-board regularly four or five of their People a Day, it was thought too great an Hazard to run, the rather, ſays our Author, becauſe, in the midſt of all their Civilities, there was ſomething in the Air, the Look, and the Language, of theſe People, that ſeemed to ſavour of Perfidy: But he afterwards ſeems to aſſign a better Reaſon for this Precaution; for he tells us, that the Iſland of *Arimoa* was extremely populous; which might well render them afraid of venturing aſhore.

They obſerved, however, that as often as theſe Iſlanders went on board their Veſſels, they took in their Hands a Stick, with a Piece of ſome white Stuff fixed to it; which they gueſſed to be in the nature of a Flag of Truce; and from thence, very probably, conjectured, that they were in continual War with ſome Nation or other, moſt likely with their Neighbours the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Moa*; in which Conjecture they were ſoon confirmed, when they obſerved, that none of their Canoes ever went aſhore on that Iſland, but, on the contrary, paſſed it with viſible Precipitation. Theſe Remarks furniſhed them with a new Scheme for acquiring ſpeedily a conſiderable Stock of Proviſions: They were ſatisfied, that the Iſland of *Moa* was but thinly peopled, tho' as pleaſant and fertile as the other; and this engaged them to attempt, by a ſudden Deſcent upon that Iſland, to carry off at once what might enable them to proſecute their Voyage, without Danger of falling into the Diſtreſſes, which they had ſo lately endured. This Project was very bold in itſelf, and required a great deal of Prudence in the Conduct of it: It was therefore thought expedient to land in different Places; but at the ſame time Orders were given, that one Party only ſhould advance into the Country, and that the others ſhould join as ſoon as poſſible, in order to be at hand to ſupport them. This Scheme they carried into Execution as happily as they could wiſh; for though, as ſoon as they began to fell the Cocoa-trees, the *Indians*, who lay in Ambuſcade behind the Buſhes, diſcharged a Shower of Arrows at them, yet they were ſo fortunate as to eſcape unhurt; whereas the Diſcharge of their Small-arms laid abundance of the Natives dead on the Ground; which ſo frighted the reſt, that they took Shelter immediately in their Canoes, and afterwards endeavoured, by Cries and Shouts, to alarm the reſt of their Countrymen, and bring them to their Aſſiſtance: But it was in vain; for the *Dutch* had poſted themſelves ſo judiciouſly, as to be able to attack them in Flank and Rear, in caſe they had deſcended from their Mountains. However, as they remained quiet, the *Dutch* had Time given them to bring away 800 Cocoa-nuts; with which Booty they returned ſafe on board their Shallops, and ſoon after rejoined their Ships, very well ſatisfied with their Expedition.

The Cocoa-tree is a Species of the Palm, which grows in moſt Places in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*. It is large, ſtrait, and grows narrow inſenſibly from the Bottom to the Top. The Fruit hangs to the Trunk by Bunches, united by a Tendril, not unlike the Twig of a Vine, but ſtronger. Its Flowers are yellow, like thoſe of the Cheſnut. The Threads or Branches hang up towards the Top. As it bears Bunches of Fruit every Month, there are always ſome full-ripe, others green, and ſome juſt beginning to button. The Fruit is triangular, of a greeniſh Hue, and of different Bigneſs; *viz.* from that of an ordinary Ball, to the Size of a Man's Head. It is covered with two Rinds, the outer compoſed of long, tough Threads, of a Colour between red and yellow; the ſecond Shell is as hard as a Man's Skull. Within theſe there is a thick, firm, white Subſtance, which, in Taſte, reſembles a ſweet Almond. The Inhabitants of the Countries, where theſe Trees grow, eat them with their Victuals, as we do Bread; and draw, by preſſing, a Liquor, which, in Taſte and Conſiſtence, reſembles Almond-milk. This Milk, being expoſed to the Fire, changes into a kind of Oil, which they uſe, as we do Butter, in their Sauces, and alſo in their Lamps. They likewiſe uſe it medicinally, and often rub their Bodies with it. Beſides this white Subſtance, that is found in the Nut, there is, in the Middle of it, a conſiderable Quantity of a clear, bright, cool Liquor, which, in Taſte, reſembles ſugared Water. They draw likewiſe from the Tree itſelf a Liquor, which the *Indians* call *Sura*. This is what the *Europeans* ſtyle Palm-wine. It is of a very agreeable Taſte, and falls but little ſhort of *Spaniſh* white Wine, except in keeping; for, in about two Days time, it turns ſour. They then expoſe it to the Sun, and, by this Method, render it excellent Vinegar. As the Sura is very ſtrong and heady, they, generally ſpeaking, temper it with that freſh clear Water, which is drawn from the Nut. In order to extract this Wine, they cut one of the largeſt Twigs at the Diſtance of about a Foot from the Tree, and hang to it either a Bottle, or a Calabaſh. This Wine, when boiled, produces another, which the Natives call *Orraqua*, and, by diſtilling it, they acquire a ſtrong Water or Spirit, which they ſtyle *Arac*, and which many People prefer to that of the ſame Name made in the *Eaſt Indies*, and which is ſo well known, and ſo much eſteemed, in *Europe*.

They found in this Iſland likewiſe a vaſt plenty of Pomegranates of a moſt excellent Taſte, as well as Piſans, or *Indian* Figs, which have been before deſcribed. Theſe Refreſhments were of prodigious Service to them; and our Author declares, that, without them, the Whole of both Ships Companies muſt have infallibly periſhed. They were no ſooner on board their Veſſels, than they began to make the neceſſary Preparations for quitting that Place. While they were doing this, the Iſlanders from *Moa* came off in about 200 Canoes, all laden with Proviſions of different Kinds, which they exchanged with them for various Sorts of Merchandize. This the *Dutch* underſtood as intended purely to prevent a ſecond Deſcent; and therefore, though they received them kindly, and treated them fairly in the Purchace of their Cargo, yet they ſuffered only a few of them to enter their Ships; and, when they attempted to ruſh on board by Crouds, they fired upon them; upon which they all ducked their Heads, and, as ſoon as they had raiſed them up again, broke out into a loud Laugh. The Exchange was no ſooner over, than they weighed Anchor, and parted with their *Indians* in pretty good Terms. One thing, our Author remarks, as very ſingular; *viz.* that, while they remained here, ſuch of their Sick, as had any Strength left, recovered wonderfully; and ſuch as were quite exhauſted, died.

22. After leaving the Iſlands of *Moa* and *Arimoa*, they continued their Voyage through a Sea ſo very full of Iſlands, that, finding it difficult, if not impoſſible, to count them, they contented themſelves with impoſing on them the general Name of *Thouſand Iſlands*. The Inhabitants of theſe Countries were Negroes, of a ſhort ſquat Make, and their Heads covered with thick curled Wool. They were a bold, miſchievous, intractable Race of Savages. They went all naked, Men, Women, and Children, having no other Ornament than a kind of Belt, about two Fingers broad, compoſed of Teeth; and they likewiſe wore Bracelets of the ſame. Some of them wore on their Heads light Straw Hats, mingled with the Feathers of the Birds of Paradiſe. It is ſaid, that theſe Birds are found no-where but in theſe Iſlands. There are indeed ſome, that go under the ſame Name, found on the Coaſt of *Africa*; but they differ very much from theſe in their Plumage. Such of theſe Iſlands as are ſituated near the Weſt Point of the Continent of *New Gui-*

ney, are ſtill called the *Iſlands of Popoes*, as the Continent itſelf was called the *Land of Popoes*, before *Schovten* impoſed that upon it which it now bears, to which he was principally induced, by its lying in the ſame Latitude with *Old Guiney*.

Whenever the Inhabitants of thoſe Iſlands go to *Ternate*, *Banda*, *Amboyna*, or any of the *Moluccas*, in order to expoſe to Sale their Merchandizes, ſuch as ſalt Pork, Amber, Gold-duſt, *&c.* they likewiſe carry with them ſome of theſe Birds of Paradiſe. They conſtantly ſell them dead, affirming, that they always find them ſo, and that they are abſolutely ignorant whence they come, or where they breed. Thus much is certain, that this Bird is always ſeen very high in the Air. It is extremely light, inaſmuch as it conſiſts chiefly of Feathers, which are exceſſively beatiful, and render it one of the greateſt Curioſities in the World. The Plumage of its Head are as bright as Gold; thoſe of its Neck reſemble a Drake's, and thoſe of its Tail and Wings are very like a Peacock's. As to the reſt, in its Beak and Form it comes neareſt to a Swallow, except that it is ſomewhat bigger. Such as deal in them would perſuade Strangers, that they have no Feet, and that, when they ſleep, they hang themſelves by their Feathers to the Branch of a Tree; but the Truth of the Matter is, that theſe Traders cut them off, in order to render their Birds more wonderful. They likewiſe tell another pretty Tale to heighten the Value of their Birds; which is this, that the Male has a Cavity in his Back, where the Female lodges her Young, till they are able to fly. To give a greater Appearance of Truth to theſe ſtrange Stories, they cut off the Legs ſo cloſe to the Body, that, when the Fleſh begins to dry, the Skin and the Feathers unite ſo perfectly, that it is ſimply impoſſible to perceive the leaſt Scar. They likewiſe aſſert, that theſe Birds are continually flying; that they live by the Birds and other Inſects they catch in the Air. The Feathers of the Male are brighter, and more beautiful, than thoſe of the Female. In the Eaſtern Languages this Bird is generally called *Mancodiata*, that is to ſay, the Bird of God. There are a great many of them ſent to *Batavia*, where, generally ſpeaking, they are ſold for three Crowns apiece. The *Moors*, the *Arabians*, and the *Perſians*, eſteem them mightily. They make uſe of their Feathers to adorn their Saddles and Horſe-furniture; and, to heighten their Luſtre, they intermingle them with Pearls and Diamonds. They wear them likewiſe in their Turbans, more eſpecially when they go to War, from a ſuperſtitious Notion, that they are a kind of Charm, capable of ſecuring them from Wounds. The Shah and the Great Mogul thought it formerly the higheſt Mark of their Eſteem to preſent any of their Favourites with one of theſe Birds.

The Inhabitants of the *Thouſand Iſlands*, beſides their Girdle, have another Ornament, which conſiſts in a Bit of Stick, of the Size of a Tobacco-pipe, and of the Length of one's Finger, which they run through the Griſtle of their Noſes, which they look upon as a means of making them appear fierce and terrible to their Enemies; in which they reſemble ſome *Europeans*, who, for the ſame Reaſon, are equally fond of *Muſtaches*. Theſe Iſlanders, our Author aſſures us, were the very worſt People they met with in the South Seas. As to the neighbouring Continent of *New Guiney*, it appeared to them a very high Country, extremely full of Plants and Trees, ſo that, in ſailing 400 Leagues along the Coaſt, they did not obſerve one barren Spot; whence our Author thinks it extremely probable, that this Country abounds with many precious Commodities, ſuch as rich Metals, Spices, *&c.* the rather, becauſe hitherto none of the Countries, diſcovered in that Parallel, are deficient in theſe ſorts of Riches. He adds, that Perſons worthy of Credit aſſured him, that ſome of the free Burgeſſes in the *Moluccas* go annually to *New Guiney*, and there exchange ſmall Pieces of Iron for Nutmegs. *Schovten*, and other Navigators, have conceived very high Ideas of this Country, and have repreſented it as one of the richeſt and fineſt in the World: But they were not able to penetrate far into it; neither is it to be expected, that this ſhould ever be done with a ſmall Force, ſince it is extremely populous, the People of a very martial Diſpoſition, and, generally ſpeaking, well-armed.

The Officers of the *Dutch* Squadron were at this time under ſome Doubts, whether they ſhould continue their Courſe as *Dampier* did, or whether they ſhould paſs by the Iſlands of *Ternate*, *Tidore*, and *Bacian*, as the leſs dangerous Paſſage. To gain Time, however, they made Choice of the firſt, becauſe otherwiſe they muſt have coaſted round the Iſlands laſt-mentioned, in order to come at the *Moluccas*. Theſe three Iſlands of *Ternate*, *Tidore*, and *Bacian*, are each of them governed by its reſpective Monarch. The *Dutch Eaſt India* Company allow each of theſe Princes a kind of annual Tribute, on condition that they cut up by the Roots all the Spice-trees that grow in their Dominions. The reſt of the Kings of the *Moluccas*, to the Number of one hundred, are all dependent upon theſe three great Princes. It is ſaid, that, from theſe Iſlands, the three *Magi*, or wiſe Men of the *Eaſt*, of whom the Scripture ſpeaks, went to *Jeruſalem*, and thence to *Bethlehem*, there to adore the Infant *Jeſus*: And they farther aſſure us, that all the little Princes of the *Moluccas* were antiently famous for their Skill in Aſtronomy; in which Art, they followed principally the Grounds laid down by the *Egyptians*; and it is farther ſaid, that ſome Monuments, ſome Remembrance, of this Fact are ſtill preſerved in their old Books; the Leaves of which were made of Barks of Trees.

On the Feaſt of the *Holy Epiphany*, the *Dutch* Sailors carry a Star, by way of Compliment, to theſe three Kings; who, in Return, make them very valuable Preſents, and treat them very ſplendidly. But as, on the one hand, this is a very ſuperſtitious Cuſtom in its Nature, ſo it is no leſs ſcandalous on the other, from the Manner in which it is performed, as reſembling much more a Pagan Revel, than a Chriſtian Feaſt. The King of *Ternate* has embraced the Chriſtian Religion; but the other two Princes are ſtill Pagans. Our Author adds, that ſome *Malayan* Prieſts, who had ſtudied at *Meccha*, aſſured him, they had ſeen in the Library of that City a Chronicle, in which mention is made of the three Kings of the *Moluccas*, and in which it is expreſly ſaid, theſe three Kings, many Years ago, made a Voyage by the Way of *Arabia* to *Judea*, on account of an extraordinary and miraculous Appearance in the Heavens; and that, ſome time after, they returned all three ſafely to their own Dominions. The Author ſubmits this Story to the Reader's Judgment, to which I alſo recommend the following Memorial relating to the State of the Spice Iſlands, at the Time they fell into the Hands of the *Dutch*.

As to the Iſland of *Banda*, the Country is very hilly, and yet fruitful as well as populous. The Government is a kind of a Commonwealth, in which the Affairs are managed by Mohammedan Clergy, who are mighty ſtrict and ſevere. There are not, in the whole Iſland, above 12,000 Souls, and about 4000 fighting Men. The People of this Country live to a great Age. The *Dutch*, when they firſt came, ſaw a Man that was 130 Years old, and ſeveral above 100 Years of Age. The Men are always walking Abroad, and the Women at Home at work; for, beſides the Houſhold-work, they employ themſelves in drying of Nutmegs, and ſhelling them. This admirable Fruit, which is ſo much valued, grows in no Place in the World, that we know of, but in the Iſland of *Banda*, and in a few other ſmall neghbouring Iſlands, namely, *Orattan*, *Guimanaſa*, *Wayer*, *Pulo Wai*, and *Pulo Rion*. This Tree bears three times in the Year, *viz.* in *April*, *Auguſt*, and *December*: *April* Nutmegs are the beſt; and the Crop in that Month is more plentiful than in the other two. This Tree is much like a Peach-tree, only the Leaves are ſhorter and rounder; the Fruit is at firſt covered with a thick Shell, like a Walnut-ſhell; when it ripens, that Shell, growing ripe, opens itſelf; and then you ſee a fine ſmooth Skin, or Peel, which covers the Nutmeg; and that Skin is the Flower of it, or Mace; next to that thin Skin you find another, which is harder and blackiſh, and much like Walnut-ſhells; and, when you open this large Shell, you ſee the Nutmeg. Mace is at firſt of a fine ſcarlet Colour; but, when it is ripe, it falls off the Shell, and aſſumes an Orange-colour, as you ſee it here in *Europe*. They preſerve whole Nutmegs with Sugar, which makes the beſt Sweetmeats in the *Indies*, and are much eſteemed. The Inhabitants of *Banda* call Nutmegs *Palla*, and Mace *Buas Palla*: There are two Sorts of Nutmegs; ſome are long, and are called Males; others round and reddiſh, which have a better Taſte than the former, and are ſtiled *Males*. No Fruit in the World is better to ſtrengthen the Brain, and the Memory, to warm the Stomach, to ſweeten the Breath, and provoke Urine. It is a ſovereign Remedy againſt Wind, Looſeneſs, Head-ach, Pain of the Stomach, Heat of the Liver, and Stoppage of the Womb. Oil of Nutmegs is an admireable cordial Medicine. Mace is an effectual Remedy againſt the Weakneſs of the Stomach; it helps Digeſtion, conſumes ill Humours, and drives out the Wind: It keeps above nine Years good. A Plaiſter made with Mace and Nutmegs beaten to Powder, diluted with Roſe-water, and applied to the Stomach, ſtrengthens it mightily. As this precious Fruit is peculiar to this Iſle of *Banda*, and the adjacent Iſlands, the Merchants of *Java*, *Malacca*, *China*, and from all the Parts of the *Indies*, come to *Nera*, and other Towns of *Banda*, to buy Nutmegs and Mace. As ſoon as theſe Merchants are arrived in the Iſland, they buy a Wife to keep their Houſe, and dreſs their Victuals, as long as they remain there, which may be two or three Months; and, when they go away into their own Country again, they give the Liberty to their Wife to go where ſhe pleaſes. This may appear a very ſtrange, and even incredible Cuſtom; but whoever is acquainted with the *Eaſt Indies*, will be ſatisfied as to the Truth of it, ſince the ſame Cuſtom prevails in ſome other Places.

As to the next valuable and admired Spice to the Nutmegs, *viz.* Cloves, we know not what immenſe Sums the People of *Holland* make of this profitable Fruit, which are ſo much eſteemed throughout *Europe*, and for which the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* ſtruggled ſo long, and to ſo little Purpoſe. This valuable and noble Spice grows nowhere elſe but in the Iſland of *Amboyna*, and the *Molucca* Iſlands, which are five in Number, and the Iſlands of *Meao*, *Cinomo*, *Cabel*, and *Marigoran*. The *Indians* call Cloves *Callafar*, and the Inhabitants of the *Moluccas* call them *Chinke*. The Trees which bear Cloves, are much like our Laurel-trees; only the Leaves of the Cloves are a little narrower, and reſemble the Leaves of Almond and Willow-trees. The very Wood and Leaves taſte as ſtrong as the Cloves themſelves. Theſe Trees bear a great Quantity of Branches and Flowers, and each Flower brings forth a Clove. The Flowers are at firſt white, then green, at laſt they grow red, and pretty hard, and are properly the Cloves. While they are green, they have a Smell ſo ſweet, and ſo comfortable, that it is beyond all the Smells in the World. When they are dry, they are of a yellow Colour; but, when gathered, they aſſume a ſmoky black. They don't gather them one by one, as they do other Fruit; but they tie a Rope to the Bough, and ſo ſtrip it off by Force. That hurts the Tree for the next Year, but the Year after it bears a great deal more. Others beat the Trees with long Poles, as we do Walnut-trees; and the Cloves fall down, and commonly the Tree bears more Fruit than Leaves. They grow with little Stalks, hanging on the Tree like Cherries; they ſell them with theſe Stalks, Dirt and Duſt together, to the *Indians*: But the Cloves that are tranſported to *Holland* are clean, and without Stalks. If you leave them on the Tree without gathering them, they grow thick, and are called the Mother of Cloves. The *Javaneſe* value theſe more than others; but the *Dutch* chuſe rather to buy the leaſt.

They never trouble themſelves to plant Clove-trees; for the Cloves that fall on the Ground produce enough of them, and the Rain makes them grow ſo faſt, that they bear Fruit when they are eight Years old, and continue bearing for above 100 Years. Some are of Opinion, that Clove-trees do not grow well on the Sea-ſide, or when they are too far from the Sea: But many Seamen, who have been in the Iſland, aſſure me, that they grow very well every-where, whether a great Way off the Sea, upon Mountains, in the Valleys, or near the Sea-ſide. They ripen from the latter End of *Auguſt*, to the Beginning of *January*. Nothing groweth about them, no Graſs, Green, or Weed; for their Heat draws in all the Nouriſhment and Moiſture of the Ground. Cloves themſelves are very hot; if you lay a Sack of Cloves upon a Veſſel full of Water, you will find, in a little while, ſome of the Water waſted, but the Cloves are not the worſe for it. Leave a Pitcher full of Water, in a cloſe Room where you clean Cloves, and the Heat of the Air will conſume all the Water in two Days time, though the Cloves are removed. *China* Silk hath the ſame Virtue; for, if you lay it in a Room one or two Feet above the Ground, and water the Floor all over, provided the Water don't touch the Silk, the next Day the Silk will have ſucked in all the Water. The *Indians* uſe that Trick to make the Silk heavier. They preſerve Cloves in Sugar, and they are extraordinary good; they alſo pickle them; and many *Indian* Women chew Cloves to have a ſweet Breath. They diſtil Clove-water out of them when they are green, which has an excellent Smell; the Water is admirable to ſtrengthen the Sight, by pouring a Drop or two into the Eyes. Powder of Cloves, laid upon the Head, cures the Head-ach; if taken inwardly, it provokes Urine, helps Digeſtion, is good againſt a Looſeneſs, and, drank in Milk, will procure Sleep.

As to the Inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, they are very lazy, and love ſo much their Eaſe and Pleaſure, that they are ſeldom at Work; for their Slaves and Servants do all the Work: They live upon the great Quantities of Cloves that grow there; for they have no other Trade, and no Manufacture. They have no houſhold Implements, but earthen Pots and Pans, and ſome Mats, upon which they ſit and lie. Their Slaves build Houſes of Timber and Ruſhes, with nothing elſe, not ſo much as a Nail in them: Their Cloaths are decent, and pretty well made, of light Stuffs, and cheap: But the Country is ſo hot, that they have no need of warm Cloaths to defend them from the Cold. The young Men wear upon their Head Pieces of Calico, made in Treſſes, and woven in the Figure of a Crown; and, in the Holidays, they adorn them with Flowers. The Men perfume their Cloaths to pleaſe their Wives, of which they have as many as they pleaſe, and are ſo jealous of them, that they invite nobody into their Houſes, and they never ſee them before they are married. The Women are of a middle Size; their Hair is tied up in Treſſes about their Heads: They are of a pleaſant and merry Humour; and, though they are kept very ſtrict, they are very briſk, and not at all ſcrupulous; they ſpin Cotton, and weave Calicoes. The pooreſt Sort ſell dry Fiſh, Fowls, Bananas, Sugar-canes, and other Commodities; in the Market, you ſeldom ſee any other Women abroad. The Inhabitants of the *Moluccas* are the beſt Soldiers of all the Iſlands; they ſcorn to fly before their Enemies, and will fight with great Courage: They think it a great Honour to die in Fight, and to reſiſt their Enemies to the laſt Extremity. They have no Money; for all their Riches conſiſt of Cloves, and with which they may purchaſe all Neceſſaries. Their Language is different from that of the other *Indians*, and they have the ſame Characters for Writing as the *Arabians*. So much at preſent for the Produce and Inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, at the Time when they fell under the *Dutch* Dominions. Hereafter we ſhall have Occaſion, or rather be obliged, to reſume the Subject, and ſpeak of the ſame things again, as they now ſtand.

23. They ſteered their Courſe along-ſhore, and through an innumerable Chain of ſmall Iſlands, that are extended between the Weſt Point of *New Guiney*, and the Iſland of *Gilolo*. They made this Paſſage with the utmoſt Hazard, and ſaw, therefore, with a Joy mixed with Aſtoniſhment, the Iſland of *Bouro*, in the Latitude of 2° South, the moſt Weſtern Country in which the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company maintain a Factory. This Iſland of *Bouro* is, for the moſt part, pretty high Land, and abounds every-where with Trees and Shrubs of various Kinds. As ſoon as they arrived upon the Coaſt, they were ſpoken with by a ſmall Veſſel, on board of which were two white Men, and ſeveral Negroes, who examined them very categorically, to whom they belonged, from whence they came, and whither they were going. To which they anſwered, that they came from the Coaſt of *New Guiney*, and were bound for *Batavia*; but very wiſely concealed their belonging to the *Weſt India* Company, becauſe they knew, that the *Eaſt India* Company permitted no Veſſels, but their own, to ſail upon that Coaſt, and had even given Orders for attacking any ſtrange Veſſels that ſhould appear there: Yet, in ſpite of theſe Precautions, the *Engliſh* ſometimes find their Way through this Chanel, to the Company's no ſmall Diſpleaſure, not-

withſtanding they keep Ships cruiſing here in both the Monſoons, in order to preſerve, what of all Things they moſt affect, their Monopoly of Spices. In former times, when they were not ſo ſtrict, there is the greateſt Reaſon in the World to believe, that the *Engliſh* found Ways and Means to ſhare with them in this Trade by means of this Paſſage, ſince it is certain, that they carried large Quantities of Spices into *Europe*, while the *Dutch* never could divine whence they had it.

The Inhabitants of this Iſland told them, that they had abundance of Clove-trees grew in their Country, but that a Detachment of Soldiers, in the Service of the Company, came every Year, and grubbed them up, as they did in the reſt of the *Molucca* Iſlands, becauſe the Company thought *Amboyna* produced ſufficient for maintaining their Commerce. This Iſland of *Bouro* is about forty or fifty Leagues in Circumference; the Country is indifferently fertile, and the *Dutch* were formerly, in a great meaſure, Maſters of it, having a very ſtrong Fort there; of which, however, the Inhabitants, after a long Siege, made themſelves Maſters, and demoliſhed it, after having put all the Gariſon to the Sword. At preſent, therefore, the Company content themſelves with ſending an annual Detachment to root out the Clove-trees, for which the Natives receive ſome kind of Preſent. The two white Men who were on board the *Dutch* Bark, were the firſt Chriſtians our Voyagers had ſeen in the Space of ten Months; that is, from the time they quitted the Coaſt of *Braſil*, to their Arrival here.

I cannot help obſerving, in this Place, that if any Dependence can be had, either on what our own Diſcoverers ſay, or on what our Author aſſerts, as to the Produce of *New Guiney*, it ſeems to be an unaccountable Neglect in us not to eſtabliſh a Colony there, ſince we ſhould then infallibly ſhare in the Spice Trade, without breaking in upon the *Dutch*; for, if the free Burgeſſes of *Amboyna* can trade for Nutmegs with the Inhabitants of *New Guiney*, why may not we? The ſettling a Colony there, would give us the ſame Rights that the *Dutch* have in the *Moluccas*; though, I hope, we ſhould never practiſe ſo tyrannical a Cuſtom, as that of forcing People to deſtroy the Gifts of God, in order to enhance the Price of them, to enrich a particular Company, in a particular Nation; than which, there cannot be a plainer or a more direct Violation of the Laws of Nature; which, whatever ſome ſelf-intereſted Writers may pretend, can never be juſtly ſuperſeded by the Politics of Man, on any Pretence whatever. If Force conveys a Right of depriving Mankind of Cloves, the ſame Force, in an higher Degree, might juſtify the depriving them of Fire, Air or Water.

They continued their Courſe through the neighbouring Iſlands, in order to reach the Coaſt of *Buton*, in hopes of meeting there with the Refreſhments, of which they were now in extreme Neceſſity. In a ſhort time, they arrived in the Height of 4° South Latitude, and ſailed for a whole Day along the Coaſts of that Iſland, without perceiving any Sign of that Streight, for which they ſought. At laſt they found they were eight Leagues paſt it, which our Author attributes to the Management of the principal Officers, who were in ſuch an Hurry to get to the *Eaſt Indies*, that they very little regarded the inexpreſſible Miſeries, to which, by their treacherous Conduct, the poor Men were expoſed. To conceal this, however, as much as poſſible, and to put on an Air of public Spirit, they pretended to attempt bearing up for that Port, when they knew the thing to be abſolutely impracticable, conſidering the Force with which the Monſoon blew. There were now no further Hopes of finding any Streight, where they might get Refreſhments ſhort of the Iſland of *Java*; for, where-ever they attempted to anchor, they very well knew their Ships muſt have been confiſcated, in conſequence of Maxims inviolably obſerved by the *Eaſt India* Company. All the Men therefore on board both Ships, but eſpecially the ſick and the feeble, caſt a languiſhing Look on that fertile Country they left behind them, preſaging in their Minds the melancholy Effects, which muſt neceſſarily attend a Meaſure ſo pernicious.

The Situation of this Iſland of *Buton* is remarkably advantageous. It lies from the fourth to the ſixth Degree of South Latitude, and is in Extent nearly equal to that of *Bouro*. It is extremely fertile in Rice, enjoys an extraordinary plenty of Cattle and Fiſh, and would produce a great Number both of Clove and Nutmeg-trees, if they were permitted to grow. The King has a very ſtrong Fort, on which the *Dutch* Standard is diſplayed, tho' there is no *Dutch* Gariſon; and indeed there is no Need of one. The *Dutch* Company content themſelves with ſending thither every Year certain Deputies, to ſee the Spice-trees deſtroyed; and, in Conſideration of his ſubmitting to this, the Company pays the King a conſiderable Sum in ready Money. This Nation is, of all others, the moſt faithful to the *Eaſt India* Company, having not only aſſiſted them in expelling the *Portugueſe*, but alſo againſt the Inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, whenever they have attempted to take up Arms againſt them; and, by this means, have rendered that Company intirely Miſtreſs of the Trade of this Part of the World; in Conſideration of which, the Inhabitants of *Bouton* enjoy many Privileges, which are denied to all other *Indian* Nations: As for Inſtance, whenever they enter any Fort belonging to the Company, in whatever Country it be, they are permitted to keep their Arms; which is not allowed even to the Inhabitants of the Country where the Fort is ſituated, and who conſequently ought to be conſidered as the Subjects of the Country.

Some time ago, the King of this Iſland ſent his eldeſt Son as his Ambaſſador to the Governor-General of the *Dutch Eaſt Indies* at *Batavia*. He was received with all poſſible Marks of Diſtinction, and the Company piqued itſelf on paying him all poſſible Honours; yet it would not have been eaſy to have diſtinguiſhed this young Prince to have been an *Indian*, if he had not worn a Turban of three Rows high, richly embroidered with Gold and precious Stones. The reſt of his Dreſs was intirely *European*; and it was obſerved, that, inſtead of a Cutlaſs, he wore a Sword, which no *Indian* had ever done before. His Train was extremely numerous, all of them dreſſed after the *Indian* Manner. Twelve of theſe went armed, each with a Cuiraſs and Buckler, having alſo a naked Sword in his Hand, which reſted on his Shoulder. Our Author obſerves, that he ſhould not have taken notice of this Ambaſſador, or of his entering into *Batavia*, if it had not put him in mind of a very remarkable Accident, which happened about that time; and this was a prodigious Mortality amongſt Men and Beaſts, which carried off 500 of the Attendants of this young Prince, and, in the Courſe, it deſtroyed no leſs than 150,000 Perſons in one Year's time. This Mortality was occaſioned by a malignant or peſtilential Fever, with which the *Europeans*, the Natives of the Country, the *Chineſe*, the Negroes, and, in ſhort, all the various Nations which inhabit *Batavia*, were attacked. The Author himſelf had a Touch of it, but eſcaped. This epidemic Diſeaſe prevailed not only through the *Dutch* Plantations, but ſpread itſelf alſo over the Kingdom of *Bengal*, and through all the Dominions of the Great Mogul, where it made incredible Ravages; yet it was felt in the moſt extreme Degree in the Iſland of *Japan*, where the Inhabitants, who went out of their Houſes in perfect Health, fell down dead in the Streets by Heaps. It was obſerved, that this Malady raged in all the Weſtern Countries; and the Cauſe of it was ſuppoſed to be an exceſſive Drought: For, as there had no Rain fallen during the Space of two Years, it was conceived, that the Air was overcharged with mineral Vapours. But to return from this Digreſſion to the Thread of our Relation: The *Dutch* Commodore, having left the Coaſts of *Bouton*, and paſſed thro' the Chanel of the *Moluccas*, arrived, after his Crew had ſuffered inexpreſſible Miſeries, which carried off the greateſt Part of them, on the Coaſt of the Iſland of *Java*, towards the Cloſe of the Month of *September* 1722.

24. He anchored immediately with his two Ships in the Road of *Japara*; and ſaluted, according to Cuſtom, both the City and the Fort. They quickly hoiſted out their Shallops, in order to go aſhore at *Japara*; and, on their Arrival, were ſurpriſed to find, that, on ſhore, it was *Saturday*, tho', at quitting their Ships, they conceived it to be *Friday* Morning. The firſt Step the Commodore and his Officers took, was to pay a Viſit to the Perſon who reſided there on the Part of the Company, in order to acquaint him with their Reaſons of coming thither. This Gentleman happened to be one Enſign *Kuſter*, a very civil,

well-behaved Man; who inſtantly aſſembled a Council, to conſider what Meaſures were to be taken upon this Occaſion. They were all extremely moved at the Recital given by the Commodore of the Misfortunes they had met with; and pitied him, his Officers, and Ships Companies, exceedingly.

To ſay the Truth, there never was ſeen a Set of Men more worthy of Compaſſion. There were no more than ten Perſons in tolerable Health left, among which our Author was one; and no leſs than twenty-ſix were down of Sickneſs, by which they had loſt, in the Courſe of their Voyage, excluſive of thoſe who were killed in their ſeveral Engagements with the *Indians*, no fewer than ſeventy Men. As ſoon as they had notified their Arrival, their next Care was to get their ſick Men on ſhore; which was performed with all the Diligence and Tenderneſs imaginable, by ſlinging them in their Hammocks into their Shallops. There were, however, four amongſt theſe poor People in ſo very low a Condition, that it was not thought poſſible to move them, and therefore they were left on board; the very Thoughts of which, after their Companions were removed, killed them. Such as were carried aſhore were lodged in an Iſland, under Tents ſet up for that Purpoſe; where they had every Neceſſary afforded them, that the Country produced; and yet, after all the Care that could be taken, many of them laid their Bones in this Iſland.

Mr. *Kuſter* did not fail to ſend an Account of their Arrival to the Commandant of the Coaſts of *Java*, who inſtantly tranſmitted it to Mr. *Swaardekroon*, who was at that time Governor-General of the *Eaſt Indies*. The Anſwer he gave was extremely favourable. He promiſed to aſſiſt them with every thing in his Power; and, if I miſtake not, ſays our Author, he promiſed to ſupply us with Proviſions and Men; adding, that we had nothing to do but to get to *Batavia* as ſoon as we could. While they waited for the General's Anſwer, and the Recovery of their Sick, they paſſed their Time very agreeably; for their Countrymen, having a true Senſe of the Miſeries they had endured, did not fail to uſe every Means to make them forget them; which very ſoon had its Effect: Inſomuch that our Author obſerves, their Seamen, in a very few Days, were as frolic and gay, as if they had made the moſt pleaſant and moſt fortunate Voyage in the World. He adds, that it ſhocked him extremely to ſee thoſe, who, but a few Days before, were weeping, ſighing, praying, and making the warmeſt Proteſtations of their leading new and regular Lives, if God, in his great Mercy, would be pleaſed to ſave them, running headlong into the greateſt Extravagancies. Their whole Time, ſays he, was now ſpent in Swearing, Drinking, and in paſſing whole Days and Nights in debauched Houſes. This, however, he attributes, in a great meaſure, to the bad Example of thoſe, among whom they lived, all the lower ſort of People at *Japara* being as profligate and lewd, as it is poſſible to conceive a People; inſomuch that the firſt Queſtion many of them aſked of Strangers arrived from *Europe* is, whether they have not brought ſome new Oaths over; and whether they cannot teach them a more lively and extravagant Method of Swearing.

The Town of *Japara* is ſeated at the Bottom of a Mountain of a moderate Height, is of a middling Size, and inhabited chiefly by *Javaneſe*, *Chineſe*, and *Dutch*. When it was in the Hands of the *Portugueſe*, it was much more conſiderable in Extent, than it is at preſent. The *Eaſt India* Company, before they got Poſſeſſion of *Jacatra*, fixed here the principal Magazines for their Merchandize, and it was their chief Factory, on which all the Factories on the Iſland of *Java* were dependent; but that Eſtabliſhment was ſunk long ſince, the Factory being transferred to *Samaran*. The Port of *Japara* is equally ſafe and commodious; and there is a Fort, built moſtly of Wood, erected on the Top of the Mountain, at the Foot of which the Town is ſeated, that commands the whole Road. This is called the *Invincible Mountain*, becauſe, when the *Portugueſe* were Maſters of the Place, the *Javaneſe* were conſtantly defeated in all the Attempts they made to get it into their Hands.

The King of *Japara*, generally ſpeaking, reſides at a Place called *Kattaſura*, which lies twenty-nine Leagues up the Country, where the *Dutch* have a ſtrong Fort, and a good Gariſon; which ſerves not only to ſecure their Conqueſt, but, at the ſame time, for a Guard to the King. This Prince is a *Mahammedan*, and, according to the Practice of moſt Eaſtern Monarchs, is conſtantly ſerved by Women, of whom he takes as many as he pleaſes, either as Wives, or Concubines. Some of his Prieſts are obliged to go every Year in Pilgrimage to *Meccha*, in order to make Vows there for the Safety and Proſperity of the King and Royal Family. His Subjects are extremely faithful, and, to the laſt degree, devoted to his Service. The principal Perſons in his Court are obliged, as often as they have an Audience, to approach him creeping on their Knees; but, in Time of War, this ſlaviſh Cuſtom is diſuſed. Such as commit the ſlighteſt Fault are poinarded on the Spot with a little Dagger, called a *Krid*; and as this is almoſt the only Puniſhment in Uſe amongſt them, ſo the ſlighteſt as well as the greateſt Faults are, among theſe People, capital. The Natives of this Country are, for the moſt part, of a very brown Complexion, tolerably well-ſhaped, and have long black Hair; which, however, they often cut. Their Noſes are flat and broad, and their Teeth exceſſively bad, which is owing to their Betel and Faufel, which they are chewing continually.

The Faufel is a kind of Nut, not much unlike, yet ſomething ſmaller than the Nutmeg, without Taſte, and yielding, when chewed, a red kind of Juice. It is this very Juice that the *Indians* make uſe of in painting the Chintz, which we admire ſo much in *Europe*. The Tree, that bears this Nut, is very ſtrait, and reſembles, in its Leaves, the Cocoa-tree. The Betel is a Plant, which produces long rank Leaves, which, in their Shape, reſemble thoſe of the Citron; in Taſte, they are of an agreeable Bitter. The Fruit it bears grows in the Shape of a Lizard's Tail, about two Fingers Breadth, long, of an aromatic Flavour, and, in its Smell, extremely grateful. The *Indians* carry with them continually the Leaves of Betel; and, at all Viſits, they are preſented in Ceremony. They are almoſt perpetually chewing them; and, as the Taſte of them is very bitter, they, for the moſt part, qualify them with Araca, Faufel, or the Powder of calcined Oyſter-ſhells. Thus prepared, they have a very agreeable Taſte. After they have chewed all the Juice out of them, they ſpit forth the dry, hard Maſs. There are ſome again, who mix their Betel-leaves with Lime, Amber, and Cardamom-ſeeds; others again with *China* Tobacco. Abundance of *Europeans* are got into the Way of chewing it to ſuch a degree, that they cannot leave it off, tho' it has been very fatal to ſome of them, ſince the *Indians* are ſo very ſkilful in preparing Betel, that it ſhall do a Man's Buſineſs as effectually as a Piſtol or a Dagger. The prevailing Diverſion among theſe People is what they call their *Tandakes*, which are, in Fact, a kind of Comedies. The Women, who act in theſe ſort of Shews, are very richly dreſſed; but the Entertainment conſiſts chiefly in Singing and Dancing, accompanied by their Muſic, which, after all, is not very extraordinary, or very pleaſant, at leaſt to *European* Ears. They have no other Inſtrument than a kind of little Drums, which they beat dextrouſly enough. As for their Dancing, it is generally of the Groteſque kind, in which, without Doubt, they are excellent, throwing their Bodies, with inexpreſſible Agility, into all ſorts of Poſtures, and expreſſing by them the Paſſions of the Mind ſo comically, that it is ſimply impoſſible to avoid laughing. Theſe *Indians* practiſe alſo the War-dance, in which their King, and his Grandees, often take a Share. They likewiſe amuſe themſelves, like the *Engliſh*, with Cock-fighting; and lay ſuch conſiderable Sums, that they are very often beggared.

This Country abounds with all the Neceſſaries of Life: Here are horned Cattle, Hogs, and an amazing Quantity of Fowls. The only Thing that is ſcarce here is Mutton, and that is chiefly occaſioned by the Richneſs of the Paſture, where the Sheep burſt with Eating: As to wild Creatures, they have Buffaloes, Stags, Tygers, and the Rhinoceros, which Animal the *Indians* hunt chiefly for its Horn, of which they make Drinking-veſſels, that are valued at a very high Rate, from a Notion that they will not hold Poiſon, but inſtantly break as ſoon as it is poured into them. The high Price of theſe Veſſels, inſtead of proving their Virtue, ſerves only to ſhew, that the *Javaneſe* are ſtrongly given to this infamous Practice of Poiſoning. The Land is everywhere

where extremely fertile, producing in vaſt abundance Pepper, Ginger, Cinnamon, Rice, Cardamoms, *&c.* Of late Years they have planted Coffee there with great Succeſs, inſomuch as they hope, and not without Reaſon, to render it the principal Commodity of the Country: As to Fruit-trees, ſuch as Cocoas, Figs, *&c.* they grow every-where; and, as they are green throughout the Year, and conſtantly planted in Rows along the River-ſides, here are the moſt beautiful Walks in the World. Sugar-canes abound in *Java*. Their Vines bear Grapes ſeven times a Year, but they are fit only for Raiſins, and not for Wine, becauſe the Climate ripens them too haſtily. The Sea, and all the Rivers, furniſh them with an infinite Variety of the fineſt kinds of Fiſh; ſo that, take it all together, one may ſafely affirm of *Java*, that there is not, under the Canopy of Heaven, an Iſland more plentiful, or more pleaſant.

After refreſhing themſelves at *Japara* for about a Month, they began to think of continuing their Voyage to *Batavia*, in order to reap there the Fruits of the Governor-General's fine Promiſes: When all Things were ready, they ſpent about two Days in taking Leave of their Friends, who gave them all ſorts of Proviſions, and much more of every kind than was neceſſary for ſo ſhort a Voyage. At laſt they quitted, not without a ſenſible Regret, a Place where they had been ſo kindly treated, where all their Wants had been ſo generouſly relieved, and where, after ſo many Hardſhips, ſo many Sufferings, they had ſpent a few Weeks in Peace and Plenty. They ſteered, in ſailing from hence, a Weſt Courſe for about ſeventy Leagues, and then, with as fair a Wind as they could wiſh, entered the Road of *Batavia*; where, as ſoon as they had ſaluted the Fort, they anchored cloſe to the Ships that were lading for their Voyage Home, believing that now all their Pains were over, and that themſelves would be ſpeedily the Companions of the Ships that were homeward-bound; but they ſoon found, that the moſt flattering Hopes are not always the beſt grounded!

25. As ſoon as the Commodore ſaw his Ships ſafely anchored, he went with his Captain to his Shallop, intending to have gone to *Batavia*; but before they had rowed well from the Ship's Side, they ſaw the Shallop of the Commandant of *Batavia* rowing towards them, with the Fiſcal on board, and ſome other Members of the Council. Theſe Gentlemen bid the Commodore go back, which he did without the leaſt Heſitation; and by that time both Shallops were within hearing of the Ship, the Fiſcal proclaimed aloud the Governor-General's Sentence of Confiſcation. At this time both the *Dutch* Veſſels were ſo blocked up by large Ships of the Harbour, that it was impoſſible for them to eſcape; and not long after arrived ſome Hundreds of Soldiers, who took both the Ships, and their Companies, into their Cuſtody. The Commodore, taught by ſo many, and thoſe too ſuch unexpected Diſaſters, began to repent extremely that ever he had propoſed returning by the Route of the *Eaſt Indies*; but it was a little of the lateſt, the thing was now over, there was no calling Time back, the Diſcovery had been neglected, and that Neglect juſtly puniſhed by the Sentence of the *Eaſt India* Company, however unjuſt in itſelf. By this Sentence, both Ships were declared good Prize, the Goods on board them confiſcated, and to cut Matters ſhort, and prevent any Trouble from Repreſentations or Memorials, every thing was expoſed to public Sale, and diſpoſed of to the beſt Bidder. As for the Crew of both Ships, they were divided, and put on board ſeveral Ships that were homeward-bound. But enough on this melancholy Subject: Let us now proceed to ſomething more inſtructive, and more entertaining; that is to ſay, the Obſervations made by our Author on the State of Things in the *Eaſt Indies*, during the Time that he ſtaid there.

26. The City of *Batavia*, in the Iſland of *Java*, lies in the Latitude of 6 South, and is the Capital of all the vaſt Dominions belonging to the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company. It ſerves alſo for the Emporium, where all the Merchandize and Riches which that great and wealthy Company poſſeſs are laid up. It fell into the Hands of the *Dutch* in the Year 1618, and was till that Time known by the Name of *Jacatra*: Soon after it came into their Poſſeſſion, they built, in the Neighbourhood of the old City, a Fort, which they called *Batavia*. By that time it was well finiſhed, the Natives of the Iſland, animated and aſſiſted by the *Engliſh*, attacked it ſeveral times, but always without Succeſs, and to their own great Loſs. The laſt time they kept it blocked up for ſome time, till the *Dutch* were ſuccoured by a powerful Squadron from *Europe*, under the Command of Admiral *Koen*. Then it was that Affairs began to change their Face; the Siege was immediately raiſed, and the Iſlanders obliged to retire with the utmoſt Precipitation. The *Dutch*, thus delivered from their Enemies, had time to look about them; and, having conſidered the excellent Situation of the Fort, and the many Advantages reſulting from it, they immediately reſolved to built a Town near it. It was, with this View, that they demoliſhed *Jacatra*; and, upon its Ruins, erected that famous City, which, from the Name of their Fort, they called *Batavia*. This City arrived at Perfection in a very ſhort Space of Time, by the extraordinary Diligence with which it was carried on, notwithſtanding the many Obſtacles it met with on the Part of the two Kings of *Matarana* and *Bantam*; the former of whom beſieged it in 1629, and the latter in 1649.

It is ſurrounded by a Rampart, of one-and-twenty Feet thick, covered on the Outſide with Stone, and fortified with twenty-two Baſtions. This Rampart is environed by a Ditch, about forty-five Yards over, eſpecially when the Tides are high in the Spring: The Avenues to the Town are defended by ſeveral Forts, each of which is well furniſhed with excellent Braſs Cannon. Among theſe Forts, there are ſix, which deſerve to be particularly mentioned, *viz. Anſiol*, *Anke*, *Jacatra*, *Ryſwyk*, *Noordwych*, and *Vythock*. The Fort of *Anſiol* is ſeated on a River of the ſame Name, Eaſtward from the Sea, and at the Diſtance of about twelve hundred Yards from the City: It is built intirely of ſquare Stone, and is always provided with a ſtrong Garriſon. The Fort of *Anke* is on a River of the ſame Name, to the Weſtward of the Coaſt, and diſtant from the City about 500 Yards; built like the former, of ſquare Stone intirely. The Fort of *Jacatra* lies alſo on a River of the ſame Name, is exactly like the other two Forts, and lies at the Diſtance of about 500 Paces from the City. The Road thither is between two Rows of very fine Trees, regularly planted, with very fine Country-houſes and Gardens on each Side: The other three Forts are built in the ſame manner, and of the ſame Materials, lying all on the Land-ſide of the Town, and at a very ſmall Diſtance from it. By this means the two firſt ſerve to ſecure the City on the Side of the Sea, and the other four defend its Entrances on the Land-ſide; and, at the ſame time, protect the Houſes, Plantations, and Gardens, of the Inhabitants. By theſe Diſpoſitions it is eaſy to comprehend, that no Enemy can ever ſurpriſe this City; becauſe, on whichever Side they ſhould attack it, they would be ſure to meet with a ſtrong Reſiſtance. They take, beſides, another Precaution, which is, not ſuffering any Perſon to go beyond theſe Forts without a Paſſport.

The River, which preſerves its antient Name of *Jacatra*, paſſes through the midſt of the Town, and forms fifteen Canals of running Water, all faced with Free-ſtone, and adorned with Trees that are evergreen, and which conſequently afford a moſt charming Proſpect. Over theſe Canals there are fifty-ſix Bridges, beſides thoſe which lie without the Town. The Streets are all of them perfectly ſtrait, and, generally ſpeaking, thirty Feet broad; the Houſes are built of Stone, after the manner of thoſe in *Holland*; and are moſt of them very high, becauſe the Place has not of late Years been expoſed to Hurricanes. The City is about a League and an half in Circumference; it is ſurrounded with a vaſt Number of Houſes; ſo that there are, at leaſt, ten times the Number of Houſes without the City that there are within it; and therefore, ſtrictly ſpeaking, they ought to be regarded as its Suburbs. This City has five Gates, including that of the Port, near to which there is a Barrier, which is regularly ſhut at nine a Clock in the Evening, and at which there is poſted, Night and Day, a ſtrong Guard of Soldiers. There were formerly ſix Gates; the laſt, being called *Speelman*'s Gate, becauſe built by Governor *Speelman*, who died *January* 11. 1684, has been walled up ſince. There is a very fine Town-houſe, and four Churches for the Uſe of the Reformed Religion, that is to ſay, the *Calviniſts*. The firſt of theſe was built in the Year 1640, and is called *Kruiſhkirk*, i. e. *Croſs Church*: The

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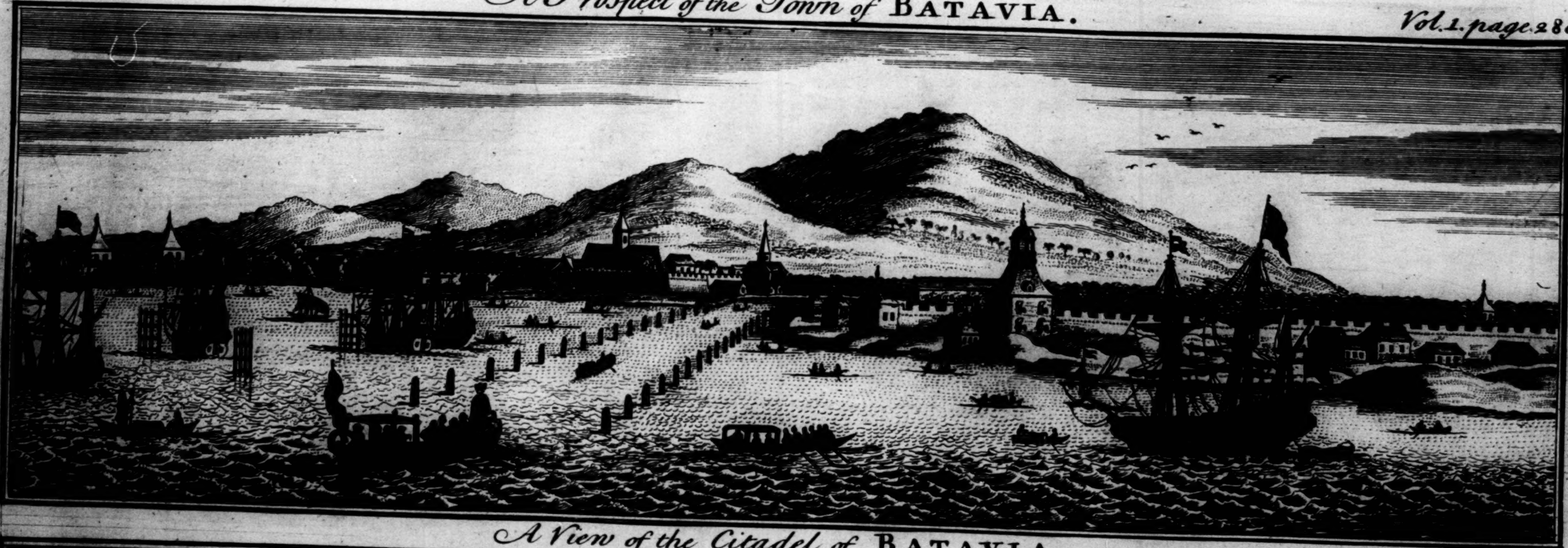
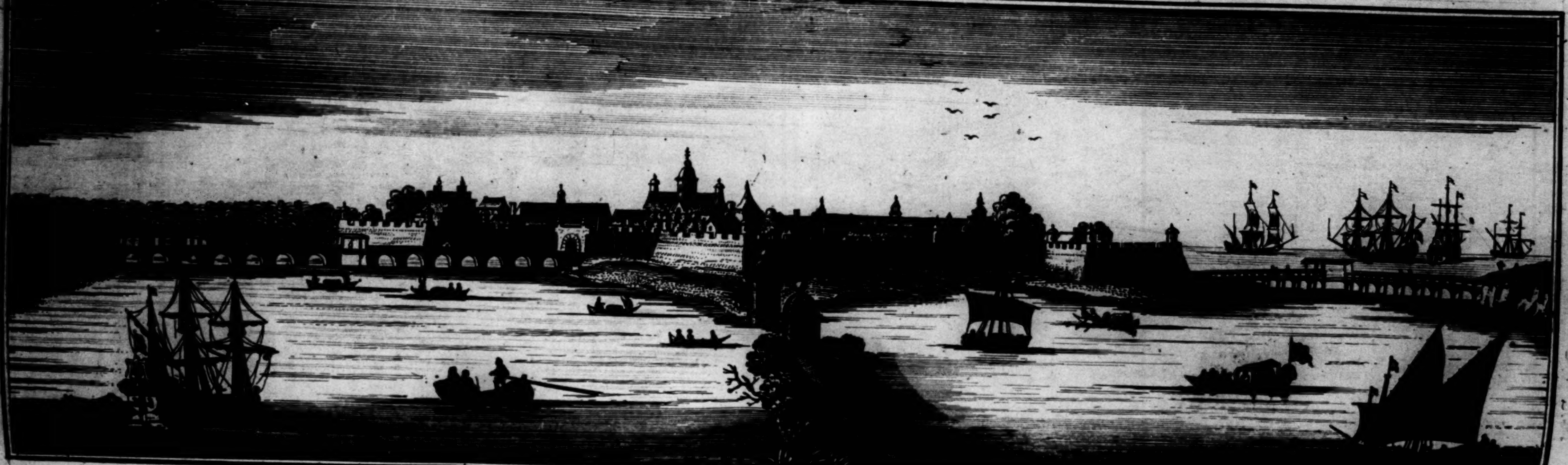


A View of the Citadel of BATAVIA.



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The ſecond was built in 1670. In both theſe they preach in *Dutch*. The third belongs to the Proteſtant *Portugueſe*; And the fourth to the *Malayans*. Beſides theſe Churches, there are abundance of other Places of Worſhip for all ſorts of Religions.

They have likewiſe in this City a *Spin-Huys*, or an Houſe of Correction, in which Women, who behave looſely, are confined; an Orphan-houſe, a Magazine of Sea-ſtores, many for Spices, Wharfs, Cord-manufactures, and many other public Buildings. The Gariſon conſiſts commonly of between 2 and 3000 Men. Beſides the great Number of Forts before ſpoken of, there is the famous Citadel of *Batavia*, which is a very fine, regular Fortification, ſituated at the Mouth of the River, facing the City, and flanked with four Baſtions, two of which command the Sea, and the the other two the Town. This Citadel hath two great Gates, the one called the *Company's Gate*, which was built in 1636, with a Bridge of ſquare Stone, conſiſting of fourteen Arches, each twenty-ſix Yards long, and ten Feet broad: The other called the *Water-Gate*, built in 1630. All the Keepers of the Magazines have their Lodgings in the Citadel, along both Sides of the Curtain. There are, beſides, two Poſterns, one in the Eaſt Curtain, the other in the Weſt, which are never opened, but for the Service of the Gariſon. It is in this Citadel that the Governor-General of the *Indies* has his Habitation. His Palace is built of Brick, two Stories high, with a moſt noble Front, after the *Italian* manner. Over-againſt this Palace is that of the Director-General, who is the next Perſon to the Governor: The Counſellors, and other principal Officers of the Company, have alſo their Apartments there, as have likewiſe the Phyſician, the Surgeon, and the Apothecary. There is a little Church, which was built in 1644, remarkably neat and light. There are, beſides, in the Citadel, Arſenals and Magazines, furniſhed with Ammunition for many Years; in a Word, this Citadel is the general Factory, where all the Archives are kept, and where all the Affairs of the Company are tranſacted.

The City of *Batavia* is not only inhabited by *Dutch*, but alſo by a vaſt Number of *Indians* of different Nations: The former, that is to ſay, the *Dutch*, are all of them either free Burgeſſes, or in the Service of the Company. There are likewiſe abundance of *Portugueſe*, *French*, and other *Europeans*, eſtabliſhed here on account of Trade. Theſe *Portugueſe* are, for the moſt part, Deſcendants of thoſe who lived here formerly, or at *Goa*; and who, finding their Accounts in living under ſo mild a Government, did not think fit to remove, when the Sea Coaſts of the Iſland of *Java* were reduced under the Dominion of the *Eaſt India* Company. They are, at preſent, at leaſt a far greater Part of them, of the Eſtabliſhed, that is to ſay, of the Proteſtant Reformed Religion. As for the *Indian* Inhabitants, they are *Javaneſe*, or Natives of the Country, *Chineſe*, *Malayans*, *Negroes*, *Amboyneſe*, *Armenians*, Natives of the Iſle of *Bali*, *Mardykers*, *Macaſſars*, *Timors*, *Bougis*, &c. There cannot be any thing more curious, or any Spectacle more entertaining, than to ſee, in ſo large a City, ſuch a Multitude of different Nations living, all of them at their own Dwellings, after their own manner. One ſees every Moment new Cuſtoms, ſtrange Manners, Variety of Habits, and Faces of different Colours, *viz.* black, white, brown, olive-coloured: Every one lives as he pleaſes, every one ſpeaks his own Tongue. Notwithſtanding ſuch a Variety of Cuſtoms, ſo oppoſite to one another, one obſerves an Union very ſurpriſing among theſe Citizens, which is purely the Effect of Commerce, which is the common Soul that actuates this great Body of People; ſo that they move uniformly and harmoniouſly in every reſpect, and live eaſily and happily under the gentle and prudent Laws eſtabliſhed by the *Eaſt India* Company. With regard to Liberty of Conſcience, all the Inhabitants of this City enjoy it, let them be of what Sect they will; only they have not the public Exerciſe of their Worſhip. It is not permitted here, any more than in the *United Provinces*, that Prieſts or Monks ſhould walk the Streets in the Habits of their reſpective Orders; yet all are allowed to live there in Peace, except the Jeſuits; and they are excluded, not on account of their Religion, but for fear of their Intrigues, and their exciting Troubles and Diſturbances here, as they have done in moſt Places where they are already eſtabliſhed. As for the *Chineſe*, as their Religion is an Abomination, they are not allowed a Pagoda in the City, but they have one at a Place about a League off, where they likewiſe bury their Dead.

Every *Indian* Nation at *Batavia* has its Chief, or Head, who takes care of its Intereſts; but he has not the Power of deciding any thing that is at all conſiderable; and his Function, properly ſpeaking, regards only the Affairs of their Religion, and any ſlight Controverſies that may ariſe among his Countrymen. In order to give a clear Idea of the Manner in which theſe People live at *Batavia*, it will be proper to ſay ſomewhat of each of theſe *Indian* Nations, and of their different Manners of employing themſelves. The *Javaneſe* addict themſelves chiefly to Agriculture, Fiſhing, and Ship-building. They wear, generally ſpeaking, no other Habit than a kind of ſhort Petticoat, reaching to their Knees, all the reſt of their Bodies naked: They have likewiſe, acroſs their Shoulders, a ſort of Saſh, or Scarf, in which hangs a little ſhort Sword: On their Heads they wear a little Bonnet: Their Cabins are remarkably neater than thoſe of other *Indian* Nations, built of ſplit Bamboos, with a large ſpreading Roof, which hangs over the Houſe, and under which they ſit and take the Air.

The *Chineſe* Inhabitants are very numerous; it is reckoned, that, in the City and Suburbs, they are at leaſt five thouſand. Theſe People ſeem naturally born for Trade, Enemies to Idleneſs, and who think nothing hard or laborious, the Performance of which is attended with a Certainty of Gain. They can live upon a very little, are bold, enterpriſing, have a great deal of Addreſs, and are indefatigably induſtrious. They have a Penetration and Subtilty very extraordinary, inſomuch that they ſeem to make good their own Saying, that the *Dutch* have one Eye, and they have two; but, with all this, they are deceitful to the laſt Degree, take a Pride in impoſing upon thoſe who deal with them, and boaſt of that Cunning, of which they ought to be aſhamed. In Huſbandry and Navigation they very far ſurpaſs all other *Indian* Nations. Moſt of the Sugar-mills in *Batavia* belong to them, and the Diſtillery of Arrack is intirely in their Hands. They are the Carriers of *Aſia*; and the *Eaſt India* Company itſelf frequently makes uſe of their Veſſels. They keep all the Shops, and moſt of the Inns, in the City; and are likewiſe the Farmers of the Duties, Exciſes, and Cuſtoms. The *Chineſe* are, generally ſpeaking, well-made Men, of an olive Complexion, their Heads very round, their Eyes ſmall, and their Noſes ſhort and flat: They do not cut their Hair, as thoſe who remain in *China* are obliged to do, ſince the *Tartars* became Maſters of their Country. As often as any come from *China*, they immediately ſuffer their Hair to grow, as a Token of their Freedom, and curl and dreſs it to great Advantage; their Prieſts only excepted whoſe Heads are always cloſe ſhaved.

Theſe People are always bare-headed, with an Umbrella in their Hands, to keep off the Sun; they likewiſe ſuffer their Nails to grow to an immoderate Length, which gives them a prodigious Dexterity in Slight-of-hand, an Art of great Extent, and of conſiderable Conſequence, as it is managed by theſe People. Their Dreſs differs pretty much here from what they wear in their own Country: Their Robes are very ample, and their Sleeves, which are of Cotton-cloth, very large; underneath they have a Pair of Breeches, which reach to their Ancles; they wear no Shoes, but a kind of little Slippers, and go without Stockings intirely. Their Women alſo wear very long Cotton Robes, are very briſk and lively, and withal very impudent, and extravagantly debauched. The *Chineſe*, in general, have not the leaſt Notion of any Diſtinction of Meats; on the contrary, they eat, without Ceremony, the Fleſh of any Animal that comes to hand, let it be Dog, Cat, Rat, or what it will.

They are prodigiouſly fond of Shews, and of Entertainments. The Feaſt of their new Year, which they celebrate in the Beginning of *March*, laſts commonly for a whole Month. During this time, they do nothing but divert themſelves principally in Dancing, which they do in an odd Way, running round to the Sound of Baſons, Flutes, and Trumpets, which makes none of the moſt agreeable Concerts. They make uſe of the ſame Muſic at their Comedies, and other theatrical Diverſions, of which they are very fond. Yet there is no great Matter in this Comedy of theirs, which is, in Fact, a Mixture of Play, Opera, and Pantomine; for they ſometimes ſpeak, ſometimes ſing, and ſometimes the whole Buſineſs of the Scene is performed by Geſture only. They have none but Women-players, who are bred up to this Trade from their Infancy; but many of them act the Parts of Men, and, for that Purpoſe, change their Dreſs, and diſguiſe themſelves. Whenever a Comedy is acted, the City receives the Sum of fifty Crowns for a Licence. They erect their Theatres in the Streets, before the Houſe of him who is at the Expence of the Play, which turns intirely on the Exploits of their antient Heroes, and the auſtere Lives of their old Saints. The Funerals of the *Chineſe* are very remarkable, as well as very rich, and very pompous. Their Tombs are very magnificent, and the funeral Proceſſions very ſolemn and grand, at which ſometimes no leſs than 500 Perſons of both Sexes aſſiſt. The Women, upon ſuch Occaſions, are all clad in White. At their Funerals they not only make uſe of muſical Inſtruments to heighten the Shew, but alſo of coloured Umbrellas and Canopies: It is under one of theſe Canopies their principal Idol is placed, whom they call *Jooſtje de Batavia*, of which we ſhall have Occaſion to give a large Account.

The *Chineſe* here follow the Religion of their Country, and have, at a Place about a League's Diſtance from the City, a *Pagoda*, where they aſſemble for the Exerciſe of their Religion. They are, perhaps, the greateſt Idolaters, and the moſt ridiculous in their Opinions, of all the *Indian* Pagans, ſince they openly profeſs, that they worſhip and adore the Devil. This does not proceed from their not knowing, or not believing in, a God, but rather from miſtaken Notions in their Belief about him. They ſay that God is infinitely merciful and good; that he gives Men all they poſſeſs out of his mere Mercy, but that he never does them any Hurt; and that, therefore, there is no need of worſhipping or praying to him, but to the Devil, who is the Author of all Miſchief, and with whom they are willing to live upon good Terms, and to omit nothing that may intitle them to his good Graces. Such are the fundamental Principles of their Religion at *Batavia*: How they refine or diſguiſe them at home, falls not under our Conſideration here. It is the Devil they endeavour to repreſent by the Idol we have before-mentioned; in whoſe Honour they have frequently great Feaſts and Rejoicings. The *Chineſe*, like the *Javaneſe*, are extravagantly addicted to Gaming, and laying of Wagers; and this Humour drives them ſometimes, eſpecially at the Cock-matches on the new Year's Feaſt, into downright Madneſs: They will then not only loſe all their Money, Houſes, and Goods, at Play, but will likewiſe ſtake their Wives and Children; and, after theſe are loſt, their Beards, their Nails, and the Winds; that is to ſay, they bind themſelves not to ſhave their Beards, to cut their Nails, or to go on board of any Ship to trade, till they have paid what they have loſt. They become by this means the moſt miſerable Creatures in the World; and, when in this Condition, are forced to let themſelves out to hire, as the Slaves of ſome other *Chineſe*. Under ſuch Miſfortunes, they have but one Reſource, which is this; that ſome of their Relations, either here, or in *China*, will, out of mere Tenderneſs and Compaſſion, pay what they have loſt; and then they enter into Poſſeſſion as before. The *Malayans* that live at *Batavia*, employ themſelves chiefly in Fiſhing: Their Veſſels are very neat and ſhewy, and their Sails very ingeniouſly made of Straw. They are a moſt wicked and profligate People, and one often hears of their committing Murders, for very trifling Gains. They profeſs the *Mohammedan* Religion, but are abſolutely void of Morals; ſo that, inſtead of making a Scruple, they make a Merit, of cheating of Chriſtians. The laſt Captain or Chief they had, was publicly whipped and branded for his Frauds and Villainies; his Goods were confiſcated, and himſelf baniſhed to the Iſland of *Cylon*. Since that time they have been aſhamed to chuſe another Chief. The Habits they wear, are either Silk or Cotton-ſtuff. The Men wear a Piece of Cotton-cloth about their Heads, with their black Hair tied up in a Knot behind. The Negroes who live at *Batavia*, are moſt of them *Mohammedans*. They come moſt of them from the Coaſt of *Bengal*, dreſs in the ſame manner as the *Malayans*, and live alſo in the ſame Quarter. Some of them work at mechanic Trades, others are a kind of Pedlars: The moſt conſiderable of them trade in Stone for building, which they bring from the neighbouring Iſlands.

The *Amboyneſe* addict themſelves chiefly to building of Houſes with Bamboos, the Windows of which are made of ſplit Cane, very neatly wrought, in different Figures. They are a very bold boiſterous People, and ſo turbulent, that they are not ſuffered to live in the City, but have their Quarter near the *Chineſe* Burying-ground. They have a Chief, to whom they pay deep Submiſſion; and he has a very magnificent Houſe in their Quarter, and well furniſhed, after their Manner. Their Arms are, for the moſt Part, large Sabres, and long Bucklers. The Men wear a Piece of Cotton-cloth round their Heads, letting the two Corners of it hang down behind, and adorn this kind of Turban with abundance of Flowers. The Women wear a ſort of Habit cloſe to their Body, wrapping a Cotton Mantle round their Shoulders, which leaves their Arms naked. Their Houſes are built of Boards, covered with Leaves, are two or three Stories high, and the Ground-floors, particularly, divided into ſeveral Apartments. The *Mardykers*, or *Topaſſes*, are Idolaters, compoſed of divers Nations of *Indians*, and are of different Trades and Profeſſions; being furniſhed with Paſſports from the Company, their Merchants carry on a great Commerce in all the neighbouring Iſlands. Some of them are Gardeners, others breed Cattle, and ſome Fowls. The Men generally dreſs after the *Dutch* Faſhion; but the Women go like other *Indians*. They dwell both in the City and Country. Their Houſes are much better than thoſe of the reſt of the *Indians*, built, generally ſpeaking, either of Stone or Brick, ſeveral Stories high, and very neat.

There are alſo at *Batavia* ſome of the *Macaſſars*, ſo famous for their little poiſoned Arrows, which they blow through a Trunk. This Poiſon is made of the Juice of a certain Tree which grows in the Iſland of *Macaſſar*, and in the *Bougi* Iſlands; they dip the Points of their Arrows in this Juice, and then let them dry; the Wound they give is abſolutely mortal. The *Bougis* are the Inhabitants of three or four Iſlands near that of *Macaſſar*; and, ſince the Conqueſt of this laſt Iſland, have ſettled themſelves at *Batavia*. They are very hardy and very bold Fellows, for which Reaſon the Company uſe them as Soldiers. Their Arms are Bows and Arrows, Sabres and Bucklers. The *Armenians*, and ſome other *Aſiatics*, that reſide in *Batavia*, come thither purely on the ſcore of Trade, and ſtay no longer than their Occaſions call them. The Natives of the Country who are eſtabliſhed in the Neighbourhood of *Batavia*, and for a Tract of about forty Leagues along the Mountains of the Country of *Bantam*, are immediately ſubject to the Governor-General. The Company ſend Droſſards or Commiſſaries amongſt them, who adminiſter Juſtice, and take care of the public Revenues. The principal Men amongſt them reſort at certain times to *Batavia*, in order to give an Account how theſe Commiſſaries behave.

27. The City of *Batavia*, and all the Dominions which the Company poſſeſſes in the *Eaſt Indies*, are governed by two ſupreme Councils, one ſtiled the Council of the *Indies*, and the other the Council of Juſtice. They are both of them fixed in this City of *Batavia*, as the Capital of all the Countries under the Dominion of the Company. To the firſt of theſe Councils belong all Matters of Government, and the Direction of public Affairs; and to the latter, the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in all its Branches. The Governor-General always preſides in the firſt-mentioned Council, which is ordinarily compoſed of eighteen or twenty Perſons, who are called Counſellors of the *Indies*. It very rarely happens, that they are all at *Batavia* together, becauſe they are uſually provided with ſome or other

of the ſeven Governments, which are in the Company's Diſpoſal. This Council aſſembles regularly twice a Week, and extraordinarily, as often as the Governor-General pleaſes: They deliberate therein on all Things that concern the Intereſt of the Company: They likewiſe ſuperintend the Government of the Iſle of *Java*, and whatever depends upon it: If the Affair be of very great Importance, the Approbation and Conſent of the Directors of the Company is likewiſe neceſſary. It is alſo from the Council of the *Indies* that Orders iſſue, and Inſtructions are ſent, to other Governments, which are implicitly obeyed. In this Council, all Letters directed to the Governor-General, or to the Director, are read, debated, and Anſwers agreed on by a Plurality of Voices.

The Council of Juſtice is compoſed of a Preſident, who is uſually a Counſellor of the *Indies*; eight Counſellors of Juſtice, a Fiſcal, or Attorney-General, for Affairs of Government, another Fiſcal for maritime Buſineſs, and a Secretary. The Preſident is, by his Office, Keeper of the Great Seal. All the Counſellors of this College are Doctors of the Civil Law. The firſt Attorney-General has a Vote as well as the other Counſellors, and has the third of all Fines under an hundred Florins, and a ſixth Part of the Fines that are above that Sum. The Duty of his Office conſiſts in taking care, that the Laws are ſtrictly obſerved, and in preferring Informations againſt ſuch as preſume to break through them. The other Attorney-General, or Fiſcal of the Sea, takes the like Care with regard to Frauds committed in Commerce, Acts of Piracy, or whatever has a Tendency to diſturb the ſettled Rules in maritime Affairs. There are, beſides theſe two ſovereign Boards, the Council or Tribunal of the City of *Batavia*, compoſed of nine Aldermen, including the Preſident, who is always a Counſellor of the *Indies*, and a Vice-Preſident: The Bailiff of the City, and the Commiſſary of the Country adjacent, have likewiſe Seats in that Aſſembly, and, with a Secretary, make up the Board.

The Governor-General is the Head of the Empire which the Company has eſtabliſhed in the *Eaſt Indies*; he is, in Fact, the Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral. He is, by his Office, Preſident of the Council of the *Indies*, in which he has two Votes. He has the Key of all the Magazines, and directs every thing relating to them, without being accountable to any body. He commands by his own proper Authority, and every body is bound to obey him; ſo that one might ſafely ſay, his Authority equalled, and even ſurpaſſed, that of ſeveral of the Kings of *Europe*, if he was not accountable for his Conduct to, and liable to be removed by, the Directors of the Company at home. In caſe, however, of Treaſon, or any other enormous Crime, the Council of Juſtice have a Right to ſeize his Perſon, and to call him to an Account. The Manner of his Election is as follow: As ſoon as a Governor-General is dead, or reſigns his Charge, the Council of the *Indies* aſſemble, and chuſe another, by a Plurality of Voices. As ſoon as this is done, they write to the Directors of the Company at home, deſiring them to confirm and approve of their Choice: They write likewiſe, for the ſame Purpoſe, to the States General, their High Mightineſſes having reſerved to themſelves this Power of confirming or excluding a Governor-General in their Charter. It is uſual, however, for the States, and for the Directors, to approve of the Governor-General that is choſen, and to ſend him his Letters Patent, conformable to the Deſire, in that reſpect, of the Council of the *Indies*. Yet ſome Inſtances there have been, of the Directors rejecting the Governor thus elected, and ſending another.

The Company allow their Governor 800 Rixdollars a Month, and 500 more for his Table; and pay, beſides, the Salaries of ſuch as compoſe his Houſhold. But theſe Appointments make but a very ſmall Part of his Revenue, the legal Emoluments of his Office being ſo great, that, in the Space of two or three Years, he is able, without oppreſſing the People, or burdening his Conſcience, to raiſe an immenſe Fortune. As he is Head, and, in a manner, Sovereign, of the Countries belonging to the Company, it has been found requiſite, in Compliance with the Mode of the Eaſtern Countries, to allow him a Court, and moſt of thoſe Honours which are paid to Crown'd Heads. Whenever he ſtirs out of his Palace, in order to go to his Country-ſeat, he is preceded by the Maſter of his Houſhold, at the Head of ſix Gentlemen on Horſeback, with a Trumpet; two Halbardiers on Horſeback go immediately before his Coach; on the Right, he has his Maſter of the Horſe, at the Head of ſix Halbardiers, on Horſeback; then follow the other Coaches, which carry his Friends and Retinue; and the Whole is cloſed by a Troop of Horſe, conſiſting of forty-eight Men, commanded by a Captain, and three Quarter-maſters, and preceded by a Trumpet richly clothed.

If this Office be extremely conſiderable by its Revenues, its Power, and the Honours annexed thereto, it is likewiſe extremely fatiguing. The Governor-General is employed, from Morning till Night, in giving Audience to ſuch as have Buſineſs with him, in reading of Letters, and in giving Orders for the Company's Service; ſo that he ſpares but one Half-hour for Dinner; and, even at Table, diſpatches ſuch Affairs as are extremely preſſing. He alſo receives all the *Indian* Princes, and their Embaſſadors, who come to *Batavia*, and of whom there are many that arrive every Year.

After the Governor, the Director-General has the greateſt Authority, and is the ſecond Perſon in the Council of the *Indies*. This Employment demands likewiſe a great deal of Care and Attention; he who is inveſted with it, has the Buying and Selling all the Commodities that enter into, or go out of, the Company's Magazines: He it is, who orders what Sorts, and what Quantity of each Sorts of Goods ſhall be ſent to *Holland*, or elſewhere; he has the Key of all the Magazines; and every Officer in the Company's Service makes a daily Report to him of the State of every thing under his Charge. In a Word, he has the ſupreme Direction of whatever relates to the Company's Commerce, as well at *Batavia* as at other Places; and the Members of all the Factories belonging to the Company are accountable to him for their Conduct in their reſpective Stations.

The third Perſon in the Government is the Major-General, who, under the Governor, has the Command of all the Forces. The Number of regular Troops in the Service of the *Eaſt India* Company throughout the *Indies* may be about 12000, excluſive of the Militia, who are alſo very well diſciplined, conſtantly arrayed in Time of Danger, and who are about 100,000 Men. In fine, the military Strength of the Company by Land and Sea, Officers, Soldiers, and Seamen, included, may be about 25,000 Men. For the Support of its Commerce, the Company keeps in conſtant Pay 180 Ships, from thirty to ſixty Pieces of Cannon; and, in caſe of Extremity, are able, at any time, to fit out forty of a larger Size.

Some Months before the Arrival of our Author at *Batavia*, a very extraordinary Affair happened there; that is to ſay, a Plot was diſcovered, and exemplary Juſtice done on the Traitors. This Affair deſerves to be the more taken notice of, becauſe it has been ſince found no more than a Branch of a great and general Conſpiracy, for the intire Subverſion of the *Dutch* Government, which was with Difficulty prevented, ſome Years ago, by the general Maſſacre of all the *Chineſe* at *Batavia*. The Fact with which we are at preſent concerned, happened in the following Manner: There was one *Peter Erberfeld*, who had framed a Deſign, in Conjunction with a great many *Javaneſe*, and other *Indian* Chiefs, to ſurpriſe the Citadel and Forts of *Batavia*, to maſſacre the Governor, and all the Counſellors, together with ſuch as were in the Service of the Company, and, finally, all the Chriſtians in the Iſle of *Java*, in order for ever to extirpate the Colony, and put an End to the Power of the *Eaſt India* Company in theſe Parts. This deteſtable Deſign was diſcovered on the very Eve of its Execution; *Peter Erberfeld*, and the chief of his Accomplices, made Priſoners, put to the Torture, and, on their own Confeſſion, received Sentence, as appears from the following Record of their Conviction, which is drawn up in the cleareſt and moſt ſignificant Terms.

Sentence againſt Peter Erberfeld, *and his Accomplices, pronounced at* Batavia, April 8th, 1722.

‘ Foraſmuch as *Peter Erberfeld*, Burgeſs, born at *Batavia*, of a white Father, and black Mother, of the Age of fifty-eight or fifty-nine; *Catadia*, otherwiſe called *Rading Javan de Cartaſaura*; *Maja Praja de Chias*, Sergeant of *Javaneſe*; *Sana Suta Calia Wangſu de Badong*; and the Perſon called *Anga Tſitra deBagall*, both *Javaneſe*; *Layech de Sumbowen*, a *Malayan*, heretofore a Slave in the *Chineſe* Hoſpital, and ſome time ſince made free; *Jap Kiko*; *Cartanaja de Pacalongan*; *Anga Sarana de Batong*; *Canta Sinia de Cheribon*; *Singa Ira*; *Marangie de Bengal*; *Sàrapaca de Indermajo*; *Majai Diaja de Banjermoas*; *Wambſa Dita de Pamelang Pandjang*; *Wieia Suſa de Banjermoas*; *Canta Wangſa Baſpa Mulut de Saraja*; and *Singa Patria* (Chief) of *Sikias*; together with the Wives of the ſixteenth, nineteenth, and thirteenth Criminals, all Priſoners at preſent, and in ſafe Cuſtody; have confeſſed and acknowledged before the Court of Juſtice eſtabliſhed at *Batavia*, that they have been engaged in, and, throwing aſide all Fear of God, and of Juſtice, have managed a moſt execrable Conſpiracy againſt the City, Citadel, and Colony of *Batavia*, tending to defeat and put an End, by the Aſſiſtance of certain *Mohammedan* Princes, and many of the Chiefs of the neighbouring People, ſuch as *Javaneſe*, *Baleyans*, and *Malayans*, and others, to the Poſſeſſion and Government of the *Eaſt India* Company: We are the more aſtoniſhed at this horrible Contrivance, becauſe this Company has never ceaſed to govern with all poſſible Mildneſs and Tenderneſs, under the Auſpices of their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces, all the People under their Obedience, *Mohammedans* as well as *Pagans*, without Diſtinction of Religion; and protected them againſt all and every one, who ſought to trouble or moleſt them; ſo that there was the greateſt Reaſon to believe, that the Eſtabliſhment of the *Eaſt India* Company at *Batavia* ſhould laſt long, and not the leaſt Reaſon to apprehend any thing from thoſe, who were enjoying the Sweets of Peace and Tranquillity under its Wings. Nevertheleſs the aforeſaid Criminals have acknowledged, that, in order to carry their deteſtable Scheme into Execution with as much Succeſs as they could deſire, they had agreed upon the following Methods; that is to ſay, firſt, and above all things, to maſſacre the *Dutch*, and other *Europeans*, and conſequently all Chriſtians, without ſparing ſo much as one, in hopes that, upon this Blow being ſtruck, all the Nations in the flat Country, in the Iſland of *Java*, and all Foreigners reſiding at *Batavia*, or living in the Neighbourhood, ſuch as *Chineſe*, Negroes, *Macaſſars*, &c. would immediately have joined the Rebels, or at leaſt have implored their Clemency; and, in caſe any had oppoſed them, they were likewiſe to have been murdered without Mercy.

‘ During the firſt Attack of the Conſpirators, *Peter Erberfeld* was to have commanded, and given Orders in Quality of Chief; and the other, named *Catadia*, as his Lieutenant, or Perſon next to him in Power; and, in order to acquire the greater Authority and Reſpect, the former was immediately to have aſſumed the Title of *Thowang-Guſti*, which is as much as to ſay, great Lord, or ſupreme Governor; and the latter the Name of *Rading*, which implies as much as Prince. This dangerous Conſpiracy was concerted in the Houſe of *Erberfeld*, ſituated without the City, at one Corner of the Road which leads to *Jacatra*, where one turns off to go to the *Portugueſe* Church; and their Aſſemblies uſually held in a Room on the Ground-floor. The Conſpirators likewiſe met often at a Country-houſe of his, ſituated on the *Sunder*, from whence they carried on a Correſpondence with ſeveral *Mohammedan* Princes, and many Chiefs of the *Indian* Nations, whom they had found Ways and Means to draw over to their Party. The Letters upon this Subject were written by the ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth, of theſe Criminals; who alſo read thoſe they received in Anſwer, becauſe the firſt-mentioned *Peter Erberfeld* was not able either to write or read the Languages they made uſe of: And it was likewiſe the ſame Criminals that were charged with the Care of delivering thoſe Letters, or cauſing them to be delivered, to thoſe to whom they were addreſſed, and of receiving their Anſwers.

‘ The Accuſed have likewiſe acknowledged, that ſome of them diſperſed themſelves through different Quarters of the flat Country, in order there to ſell or diſtribute amongſt the Inhabitants a kind of Diemats, or little Stamps, marked with certain Characters, which were to ſecure thoſe, who carried them about them, from Muſquet-ſhots, or Wounds from Swords or other Weapons; and that the ſaid Stamps were fabricated by the ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth, of the ſaid Priſoners. The Conſpirators had agreed, that the firſt Attack ſhould be made on the Houſe of the Governor-General, and on the Reſidences of the Council, and other Magiſtrates, in the Citadel, and in the City, ſo as to maſſacre all the principal Perſons of the Government; which, had it been effected, would certainly have contributed very much to the Succeſs of their Enterprize. The firſt, ſecond, and third, of the Criminals were to have had the Command in the Attack of the Citadel; and the fourth, fifth, and ſixth, that of the Town. The Attack was to be made on *New-year's-day*, as ſoon as ever the Gates were open. The laſt Rendeſvous of the Conſpirators was fixed for the Evening, that ſhould have preceded the Attack, at an Houſe of the principal Conſpirator *Erberfeld*, ſituate, as is before-mentioned, in the Road to *Jacatra*, in order for them to confer together, and to ſlide away from thence, ſome into the Citadel, and ſome into the Town.

‘ To prevent all Miſintelligence among themſelves, and that the Affair might be conducted with the greateſt Order poſſible, they agreed beforehand on this Regulation; *viz.* that *Peter Erberfeld*, as ſoon as the Maſſacre was over, ſhould aſſume the Title of *Guſti*, or King, as well in the City, as in the Citadel; and that the ſecond Criminal *Catadia* ſhould have the Title of *Rading*, or Prince, in the low Country without the City, quite to the Mountains. As to the reſt, they were to have the Title of *Paingerans*, or Princes, and were to be eſtabliſhed *Mantries*, or Chiefs, and Counſellors to the King: They were alſo to execute, in their ſeveral Diſtricts, the Function of *Tummagums*, that is, Generals, in Conjunction with *Singa Patria*, who had been actually eſtabliſhed, by the Company's Authority, Chief of *Sikias*. The Conſpirators had moreover agreed, that, after the Execution of their Deſigns, their Chief *Peter Erberfeld* was to take into his Service a College of Board of twelve young Men, each of the Age of twenty, or thereabouts, to be drawn out of the Families of the principal Conſpirators; which twelve Perſons were to have been ſent to the Princes and Chiefs of the *Mohammedans*, in order to have ſettled the Duties and Cuſtoms they were, for the future, to pay at *Batavia*; all which appears clearly from the intercepted Letters, to which the Confeſſion and Depoſition of the five principal Criminals are agreeable in every reſpect.

‘ Conformable to this deteſtable Plan, the Conſpirators had taken ſufficient Precaution for ſecuring to themſelves the Means neceſſary to aſſiſt and ſupport them after the Maſſacre was begun, by a Body of 17,000 Men, drawn from ſeveral Places in the Neighbourhood of *Batavia*, and, for the moſt part, named by the Priſoners. According to their Scheme, this Body was to have been divided into ſeveral Detachments, all of which were to have been ready to march at a certain Time. The Signal being given, each of theſe Detachments was to have put itſelf in Motion, and, by the high Roads, as well as by private Ways, to have advanced, and taken Poſſeſſion of all the Gates, to hinder ſo much as a ſingle Perſon's eſcaping, that the News of this bloody Action might be the longer before it reached *Holland*. With this View, and for the better Execution of their Project, the Conſpirators had already ſecured, by the Diſtribution of the *Diemates* before-mentioned, 1000 Men. *Maja Praja* had undertaken to ſend as many; and 2000 had Orders to deſcend from the Mountains of the South, and to join thoſe, who were hid in the Neighbourhood, in order to the Perpetration of this horrible Deſign, on *January* 2. 1722.

‘ The whole Scheme was intirely ſettled three Days before the intended Maſſacre, *Peter Erberfeld* having diſpoſed all things, and given his Orders for the Execution 'of it in the following Manner; *viz.* 800 Men were to have poſted themſelves at *Crolot* on the *Mill River*, beyond the advanced Guard of the Fort *Ryſwyk*; 2000 Men were to have marched into the Country of the Chief *Peter d'Alida*, particularly to *Grogol*, and the Places in its Neighbourhood; and another Body of 1000 Men was to have defiled to *Mangadova*, *Pieſang*, *Batu*, and the Places in that Neighbourhood. To theſe ſeveral Bodies it was agreed that all the reſt of the Conſpirators ſhould have joined themſelves from the different Retreats in which they were concealed, in Places adjacent to *Batavia*, that, by the Junction of ſo great a Force, they might have executed their Schemes in their full Extent, and maintained themſelves in Poſſeſſion. In caſe they had ſucceeded in their Deſign, they were to have been, as their own Letters ſufficiently ſhew, ſupported and ſuſtained by another Body of upwards of 10,000 *Baleyans*, whom they had engaged to paſs the Mountains on the Side of *Cadiri*, by *Maturin* on the South Side, and by *Campongbaru*, in order to have taken Poſt on the Mountain of *Guru*. In caſe it ſhould have ſo happened, that the Inhabitants of *Campongbaru* had refuſed to ſubmit, the *Baleyans* had Orders to put them all to the Sword, and to march immediately towards the City, to have completed the Maſſacre of all ſuch as ſhould have oppoſed them, and totally to have exterminated the Chriſtians, that the Company might not only have been deprived of their Dominions for the preſent, but prevented from ever recovering them, or carrying on the ſmalleſt Commerce in theſe Parts.

'*Peter Erberfeld* had been ſolicited, for two Years together, to enter into this wicked Deſign, by the ſecond Criminal *Catadia*, who had ſpent ſix Years in framing it; during which time he had been continually travelling up-and-down the Country, and fixing ſecret Correſpondencies for the bringing about his Purpoſe; and, if he did not carry things ſoon into Execution, it was for no other Reaſon, but becauſe he had a mind to ſee what Turn the War of *Java* would take, that he might make an Advantage of it. The Priſoner *Maja Praja* was of very great Uſe to the Rebels, having had an Opportunity of informing himſelf very exactly as to the Forces of the Company, and their Reſolutions, while he lived heretofore as Clerk with Mr. *John Mantien*, who was Major in the Company's Service. The Priſoners *Tomboain*, *Grambrek*, and *Mietas*, had alſo a perfect Knowledge of all theſe villainous Deſigns, and contributed all in their Power towards carrying on this Conſpiracy, having often aſſiſted at the Deliberations, that were held at the Houſe of *Peter Erberfeld*, as is before-mentioned.

'All the Points of this Conſpiracy, however abominable and amazing, are but too well eſtabliſhed as Facts, by the Proofs that have been obtained; nay, ſome of the Chiefs were ſo audacious, as to divulge their Deſign, believing, no doubt, that they had taken their Meaſures ſo effectually, that it was not poſſible for them to miſs of Succeſs. Of this, it is certain, the Company had felt the ſad Experience, if, through the Mercy of the Divine Providence, always watchful over the Elect, this terrible Conſpiracy had not been traverſed; inſomuch that every Circumſtance was diſcovered, and all the Accomplices ſecured, without the leaſt Emotion happening amongſt their numerous Adherents. The Enormity of this Deſign becomes ſo much the deeper, when it is conſidered, that the Conſpirators had fixed on a *Friday* for the Execution of their Deſign, which is the *Mohammedans Sabbath*, on which it is not lawful for them to ſhed human Blood; inaſmuch as they ought then to be taken up with the Acts of their Religion: But they thought, no doubt, they ſhould be able to expiate this Sacrilege, by the butchering ſuch a Number of Chriſtians.

'That which is moſt abominable in this execrable Affair falls upon *Peter Erberfeld*, who is, or at leaſt has always given himſelf out to be, a Chriſtian; and yet has forgot himſelf to ſuch a degree, as to put himſelf at the Head of a Body of Rebels and Aſſaſſins, who were to have cut the Throats of his Superiors, and of his Brethren, at the ſame time that he was guilty of the blackeſt Ingratitude, ſince his Father was heretofore a Member of the Provincial College, and a Captain of Horſe. In ſpite of all theſe Circumſtances, which ought moſt certainly to have reſtrained him within the Bounds of his Duty towards his lawful Sovereign, he has been wanting therein to ſuch a degree, as to form the moſt barbarous and wicked Deſign, that was ever heard-of, conſiſting, as himſelf has confeſſed, in a fixed Reſolution of butchering, without Diſtinction, every Chriſtian in the Iſland of *Java*, in order to make himſelf Maſter of the City and Citadel of *Batavia*. He ought, however, to know, that Heaven never ſuffers ſuch flagrant Offences to remain unpuniſhed, but expoſes ſuch as are guilty of them to the ſevereſt Chaſtiſements.

'We the Judges having heard and examined the Information preferred *ex officio* by *Henry van Steel*, Droſſard of the flat Country, againſt the before-mentioned Criminals, who have confeſſed the Whole, and ſubmitted themſelves voluntarily to this Concluſion; it is therefore concluded, Regard being had to the before-mentioned Crimes, and all the Circumſtances relating to them, and we hereby conclude and decree in Juſtice, in the Name, and on the Part, of their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces, that we condemn the before-mentioned Priſoners, with the Approbation of the Governor-General Mr. *Swaardekroon*, and of the Counſellors of the *Indies*, to be tranſported to the Place before the Citadel, where it is uſual to execute Criminals, there to be delivered into the Hands of the Hangman, in order to receive their reſpective Puniſhments in the Manner following: The two Criminals *Erberfeld* and *Catadia*, otherwiſe ſtyled *Rading*, ſhall be extended and bound each of them on a Croſs, where they ſhall each of them have their Right Hands cut off, and their Arms, Legs, and Breaſts, pinched with red-hot Pincers, till Pieces of the Fleſh are torn away. They ſhall then have their Bellies ripped up from Bottom to Top, and their Hearts thrown in their Faces; after which, their Heads ſhall be cut off, and fixed upon a Poſt; and their Bodies, being torn in Pieces, ſhall be expoſed to the Fowls of the Air without the City, in whatever Place the Government ſhall pleaſe to direct.

'The other four Criminals *Maja Praja*, *Sana Suta*, otherwiſe *Wangſa*, *Suta Tſiſtra*, and *Layeck*, are to be each of them bound upon a Croſs, and have their reſpective Right Hands cut off, their Arms, Thighs, and Breaſts, pinched, their Bellies ripped open, and their Hearts thrown in their Faces, and their Limbs expoſed upon a Wheel in the uſual Places, there to become a Prey to Birds. The other ten Criminals ſhall be each of them tied upon a Croſs on the Scaffold, and, in caſe there be not Room on the Scaffold itſelf, on a Place near it, where they ſhall be broken alive, without receiving the *Coup de Grace*. They ſhall be afterwards carried to the ordinary Place of Execution, and there expoſed on a Wheel, and guarded ſo long as they ſhall live there; and, after they expire, be left a Prey to the Birds. The other three, *Tomboam*, *Grambiek*, and *Mitas*, are condemned to be each of them tied to a Stake, and there ſtrangled, till they are dead. Their Bodies ſhall be then carried, like the reſt, to the common Place of Execution, and there expoſed on Wheels, for the Nouriſhment of the Birds. We likewiſe further condemn the ſaid Criminals to the Coſts and Expences of Juſtice, and to the Confiſcation of half their Effects: This being paid, renouncing all further Pretenſions. Done and decreed in the Aſſembly of my Lords the Counſellors of Juſtice, this *Wedneſday* the 8th of *April*, all the Judges, except Mr. *Craivanger*, being preſent.' This Sentence was executed as pronounced, on *Wedneſday*, *April* the 22d, 1722.

In Proceſs of Time, there were abundance of their Accomplices diſcovered, and, one after another, executed. The Houſe, in which *Peter Erberfeld* lived, was pulled down, and razed to the Ground; and, on that Side of it, which looked to the great Road, a Column of Infamy was erected, on the Chapiter of which was placed a Death's-head. There was alſo a Table placed on the ſaid Column, on which was engraved in five different Languages; *viz.* in *Dutch*, *Portugueſe*, *Malayan*, *Javaneſe*, and *Chineſe*, the following Inſcription: *In this Place heretofore ſtood the Houſe of that unworthy Traitor* Peter Erberfeld, *on which Spot no other Houſe ſhall ſtand henceforth for evermore.* It was never certainly known how this Treaſon was diſcovered: Some ſay, that it was owing to a Slave; others, that it was betrayed by a Woman. There are ſome likewiſe of Opinion, that one or other of the Conſpirators themſelves revealed it. But that which has the moſt Appearance of Truth is, that the Government received its Informations from the King of *Bantam*; for it is certain, that *Peter Erberfeld* wrote to him, not only every Circumſtance of his Conſpiracy, but informed him likewiſe, that, when he had extirpated the Chriſtians, he intended to attack the Emperor of *Java*. The King of *Bantam*, perceiving by this the daring and ambitious Spirit of the Man, began to think, that his own Safety was, in ſome meaſure, concerned; and that there could not be a better or ſhorter Method taken to prevent his having it in his Power to do Miſchief, than to diſcover his Schemes immediately to the Company. It is alſo remarkable, that Mr. *Vanden Boſch*, Miniſter at *Macaſſar*, who wrote a Poem on this Conſpiracy, inſinuates, that the Diſcovery was owing to the Friendſhip of a great Monarch.

28. The Eccleſiaſtical Government at *Batavia* conſiſts generally of eleven Perſons, all Miniſters of the Reformed Religion; *viz.* five for the two *Dutch* Churches in the City, and that in the Citadel, beſides the Miniſter that reſides in the Iſland of *Onruſt*; three *Portugueſe* Miniſters, and two *Malayans*. The five laſt likewiſe are *Dutchmen* by Birth, though they preach in the *Portugueſe* and *Malayan* Tongues: And as it is neceſſary, that the State ſhould be very well informed of whatever paſſes amongſt their Clergy when they meet together, the eleventh Perſon is a Deputy on the Part of the Government, who is to ſee, that they undertake nothing prejudicial to the Civil Government, or inconſiſtent with the Laws, which the Company has preſcribed. Beſides theſe Miniſters, the Conſiſtory is compoſed of eight Elders, and twenty Deacons. One great Branch of their Buſineſs is, to ſend Miniſters into other Governments, where, after a certain Term of Years, they are relieved, and return either to *Batavia*, or to *Holland*, to enjoy in Peace the Fruits of their Labours. Our Author tells us, that there came home with him a certain Preacher, who had made ſo good Uſe of his Time, that, on his Return, he bought a noble Fief, and of a Paſtor immediately became a Man of Quality.

In other little Places, they have no ordinary Miniſter; but one is ſent thither regularly every three or four Years, to baptize, marry, and give the Lord's Supper; which is ſo much the more neceſſary, becauſe the Synods have taken a Reſolution not to permit any Religion, but the Reformed, to make any Progreſs in the Dominions of the *Eaſt India* Company.

The *Lutherans*, for a long Space of Time, have warmly ſolicited for a Church at *Batavia*, but have been conſtantly refuſed it, though certainly their Demand was equally juſt and reaſonable, eſpecially in a Place where *Mohammedans* and *Pagans* are freely tolerated in the Exerciſe of their Religions; nay, and even the *Chineſe*, who, as we before obſerved, worſhip the Devil himſelf. This Eccleſiaſtical Council have alſo dependent, upon them, the Conſolators of the Sick, Schoolmaſters and Catechiſts. Of theſe laſt the Company have a great many in their Service on board their Ships, whoſe Duty it is to ſay Prayers conſtantly every Day, and to inſtruct ſuch as embrace the Chriſtian Religion. Theſe Catechiſts are, for the moſt part, Natives of the Country; and, as they ſpeak ſeveral Languages, they are the better enabled to give the neceſſary Inſtructions, and to teach the Confeſſion of Faith to ſo many different Nations; who, after being converted and baptized, are to receive the Communion. For the better Preſervation of Uniformity, there is an annual Viſitation made by the Miniſters of all the new Converts.

In conſequence of theſe Regulations, the Reformed Religion makes a great Progreſs, eſpecially among the Negroes, of whom our Author ſays he has ſeen 150 at a time who demanded Baptiſm; which, however, is not raſhly granted, ſince all who receive it are obliged to be well inſtructed, and to be able to make their Confeſſion of Faith before it is beſtowed; and in this the *Dutch* are ſo ſtrict, that they do not diſpenſe, in this Particular, even with Princes and Princeſſes themſelves. It is well enough known, that the *Chineſe* are ſo obſtinately addicted to their *Great Confucius*, as not to be over-ready to embrace any other Religion; yet there are, from time to time, ſome of them who abjure their Idolatry, and embrace the Proteſtant Faith. Our Author, however, ſeems to doubt a little the Sincerity of theſe Confeſſions, from an Apprehenſion, that the *Chineſe* are ſeldom ſincere in any thing; and, as a Reaſon for his Suſpicion, he tells us, that a *Chineſe*, having renounced his Superſtition, made uſe of this remarkable Phraſe; At preſent I am going to embrace the Religion of the Company.

As to the Military Eſtabliſhment, it is pretty much the ſame in the *Eaſt Indies* as in the *United Provinces*; the Troops in the Company's Service being as regularly paid, and as well diſciplined, as thoſe in *Holland*. The firſt Officer, in Command, in Time of Peace, has, ſtrictly ſpeaking, no higher Rank than that of Major, under whom are Captains, Lieutenants, and Enſigns: But, when the Troops are in the Field, the Lieutenants and Enſigns are at the Head of Companies, the Captains lead Brigades, and the Major, as a Major General, commands in chief. All the Forces, as hath been before obſerved, are under the immediate Command of one of the Counſellors of the *Indies*; the Natives of the Country are under the Command of their own Officers, who are capable of riſing to the Rank of a Captain, but not higher. The Burgeſſes of *Batavia* chooſe alſo their own Officers, as high as the Rank of Captains of Horſe and Foot: They are under the Command of a Colonel, who is alſo one of the Counſellors of the *Indies*, and, at the ſame time, Preſident of the Council of War.

The Maritime Force, in the Service of the *Eaſt India* Company, is regulated on the ſame Foot, and on the ſame Maxims, as their Military Eſtabliſhment; that is to ſay, there are no Officers wanting neceſſary to the Preſervation of good Diſcipline; nor are there any honoured with high Titles, merely to ſecure large Appointments to them, without any Benefit to the State. The whole Fleet is under the Direction of one Officer, who has the modeſt Title of Commander, or Commodore; he has under him a Vice-Commander; and, beſides theſe, there are no Flag-officers, but every Captain has the Command of his Ship. When their Veſſels are in the Harbour of *Batavia*, the Captains are obliged to repair every Morning to the Commander, or Commodore, in order to make Report to him of the State of their Veſſels, and to receive his Orders: Yet, even this Commander of the Fleet does nothing of Conſequence without the Conſent and Approbation of the Governor-General, to whom, in fact, all the Officers of the Company, Civil, Military, and Marine, are accountable; ſo that it plainly appears, the *Dutch* are forced to retain the Stadtholderſhip, or Government of a ſingle Perſon, in the *Indies*, though they have thought fit to rid themſelves of it at Home; and, indeed, without ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, it is not eaſy to conceive, how their Affairs in the *Indies* could be ſo well carried on as they are.

29. The Country about *Batavia* is inexpreſſibly beautiful, inſomuch that one may ſafely aver, Nature and Art ſeem to ſtrive which ſhall have the greateſt Share in adorning it. The Air is ſweet and mild, the Land fertile, and finely diverſified with Hills and Valleys; and all theſe are improved by regular Plantations, beautiful Canals, and whatever elſe may contribute to render a Country pleaſant and agreeable. But to ſtep a little out into the Iſland: *Java* may be about 300 Leagues in Circumference, divided into abundance of Kingdoms and Principalities, all of them dependent on the Emperor, who reſides at *Kattaſura*. We muſt, however, except out of the Number of theſe tributary Princes the Kings of *Bantam* and *Japara*, who do not acknowledge his Authority. The Country produces, not only all Things neceſſary for the Subſiſtence of Man, but alſo large Proportions of thoſe valuable Effects which form the Commerce of the Country. It is divided by many Rivers, Woods, and Mountains, in all of which Nature has very bountifully beſtowed her Treaſures. It is certain, that in ſome Parts of the Iſland there are Gold Mines: The Regency at *Batavia*, in hopes of profiting by them, wrought for ſome Years the Mountains of *Parang*; but it ſo fell out, that the Marcaſſites were not fully ripened, ſo that, after all, the Company were at the Expence of a Million to no Purpoſe. Such as had the Direction of this Enterprize were very much cenſured, and the Works have

been long ſince diſcontinued. There are People, however, who are thoroughly perſuaded, that the Natives of the Country find, in many Places, conſiderable Quantities of Gold, which Places, however, they carefully conceal from the *Europeans*. During the laſt War in *Java*, which laſted from the Year 1716 to 1721, the Inhabitants of ſome Parts of the Country were ſo often, and ſo miſerably, plundered, that they were reduced to abſolute Beggary; yet it was obſerved with Aſtoniſhment, that, in the Space of one Year's Peace, theſe very People grew exceſſively rich, and had not only great Quantities of Gold in Duſt, but alſo in Ingots.

The Mountains in this Iſland are many of them ſo high, as to be ſeen at the Diſtance of thirty or forty Leagues. That which is called the *Blue Mountain*, is by far the higheſt of them all, and ſeen the fartheſt off at Sea. They have frequent and very terrible Earthquakes in this Country. There happened one when our Author was there, which frightened him to ſuch a degree, that he did not recover it in a Week. It began about eight of the Clock in the Morning, and ſhook the City, and Places adjacent, to ſuch a degree, that the Fall of the Houſes was expected every Moment. The Waters in the Road were exceſſively agitated, inſomuch that their Motion reſembled that of a boiling Pot. In ſome Places the Earth opened, which afforded a ſtrange and terrible Spectacle. The Inhabitants are of Opinion, that theſe Earthquakes are cauſed by the Mountain *Parang*, which is full of Sulphur, Salt-petre, and Bitumen, which, taking Fire by their inteſtine Commotions, cauſe a prodigious Struggle in the Bowels of the Earth, and of conſequence an Earthquake; and they aſſure us, that it is very common, after ſuch an Accident, to ſee a large Cloud of Smoak hanging over the Top of the Mountain. About thirty Years ago, General *Ribeck*, who then commanded in the Iſland, went, with a conſiderable Number of Attendants, to the Top of that Mountain. On his Arrival there he perceived a large Cavity in the Mountain, into which he cauſed a Man to be let down, that he might examine the Inſide. The Man, when he returned, reported, that the Mountain was hollow within; that he had heard a moſt frightful Noiſe of Torrents of Water on every Side; and that here-and-there he had ſeen Flames burſt out, ſo that he was abſolutely afraid of going far, from an Apprehenſion of being either ſtifled by the Vapours, or of falling through ſome of the Chaſms.

It is certain, that the Waters in the Neighbourhood of this Mountain are very far from being wholſome, and that even thoſe that come to *Batavia* are impregnated with Sulphur. Thoſe who drink much of them contract various Diſtempers, but chiefly a Dyſentery: Yet this Water, being boiled, is freed thereby from all thoſe ſulphureous Particles, and does no ſort of Hurt, though drank ever ſo copiouſly. The Fruits and Plants in this Iſland are in their Kinds excellent, and almoſt out of Number. That, however, which is, or ought to be, eſteemed moſt, is the Cocoa, which, as a Fruit, has been already deſcribed, and therefore ſhall be conſidered here purely as a Tree. The Bark of it is reduced into Threads, of which they make very good Cordage, and particularly Cables. The Timber is equally fit for building Ships and Houſes, which are covered with Leaves of the ſame Tree. It is ſaid, that when the Father of a Family in this Country has a Child born, he orders a Cocoa-tree to be planted, that it may know its own Age; for this Tree has a Circle riſes annually on its Bark, as on the Horns of a Cow, ſo that its Age is known by Inſpection; and if any body aſk the Father how old his Children are, he ſends them to his Cocoa-trees.

There are abundance of Woods and Foreſts ſcattered over the Iſland, in which are all kinds of wild Beaſts, ſuch as Buffaloes, Tygers, Rhinoceroſes, and wild Horſes; and they likewiſe abound with an infinite Variety of Serpents, ſome of them of a prodigious Size. Crocodiles are prodigiouſly large in *Java*, and are found chiefly in the Mouths of Rivers; for, being amphibious Animals, they delight moſt in Marſhes and Savannahs. This Creature, like the Tortoiſe, lays its Eggs in the hot Sands, without taking any farther Care of them, and the Sun hatches them at the proper Seaſon, when they run inſtantly into the Water. Some ſmall time before our Author came to *Batavia*, a Crocodile was taken in a River's Mouth to the Eaſtward of the City, which was upwards of thirty-three Feet in Length, and proportionably big. There is, in ſhort, no kind of Animal wanting here: Fowls they have of all ſorts, and exquiſitely good, eſpecially Peacocks, Partridge, Pheaſants, Wood-pigeons; and, for Curioſity, they have the *Indian* Bat, which differs little in its Form from ours, but its Wings, when extended, meaſure a full Yard, and the Body of it is of the Size of a Rat.

They have Fiſh in great Plenty, of different Sorts, and very good; ſo that, for the Value of Three-pence, there may be enough bought to dine ſix or ſeven Men. They have likewiſe a Multitude of Tortoiſes, the Fleſh of which is very little inferior to Veal, and there are many who think it better. As the flat Country abounds in this manner with all ſorts of Proviſions, there are daily great Quantities brought to *Batavia*; and, to prevent any Danger of Scarcity, the Veſſels belonging to the Company are continually employed in bringing, from the moſt diſtant Parts of the Iſland, Proviſions, Spices, and other Neceſſaries, ſuch as Indigo, Rice, Pepper, Cardamoms, Coffee, &c. There are alſo laid up, in the Magazines at *Batavia*, all the various kinds of rich and valuable Commodities, not of *Java* only, but all the *Indies*, ready to be tranſported thence, either to other Ports of the Company's Dominions, or in the Ships that return annually to *Holland*. Theſe may be, in ſome meaſure, compared to the Flota and Flotilla of the *Spaniards*; and therefore of theſe we ſhall give a very clear and diſtinct Account.

Theſe Ships ſail from *Batavia* for *Holland* five times a Year: The firſt go in the Month of *July*, and this Squadron conſiſts of four or five Sail, which touch in their Paſſage at the Iſland of *Ceylon*: The ſecond, making a Fleet of ſixteen or twenty Sail, leave *Batavia* in the Month of *October*; they formerly did not ſail till the Month of *December*, but that Regulation is changed, and they ſail now conſtantly in the Month of *October*: The third Squadron, of ſix or ſeven Veſſels, ſails in *September*; the 4th, of four or five, in *January*; and the laſt Veſſel, in the Month of *March*, but not till the *Chineſe* Fleet is arrived, which brings the Tea; and of this the beſt Part of the Cargo of the homeward-bound Veſſel is made up; and, therefore, this is commonly called the Tea Ship; the common People likewiſe call it the Book Ship, becauſe it brings the current Account of the Company for the Year, by which they ſee the State of their Trade in the *Indies*. It is to be obſerved, that all theſe Veſſels, laden with the Riches of ſo many Countries, ſail from the ſame Port of *Batavia*. The Ships from *Mocha*, which bring home the Coffee, are the only Veſſels in the *India* Company's Service allowed to proceed directly home, without going to *Batavia* at all. Such is the State of *Batavia*, and the Iſland of *Java*; ſuch the domeſtic Œconomy of that great Company in its principal Plantation. We will now look abroad, examine the Extent of its Dominions, the valuable Commodities they produce, and the Means by which the Company governs ſo wide an Empire, and manages ſo extenſive a Commerce.

30. The firſt and the beſt Government, after *Batavia*, is that of the Iſland of *Ceylon*. The Governor, who reſides there, is uſually one of the Council of the *Indies*; and his Council, appointed to aſſiſt him, is framed in the ſame manner with that of *Batavia*; the ſingle Difference is, that the latter are not quite ſo great Men as the former. Tho' the Governor of *Ceylon* is dependent on the Council of the *Indies* at *Batavia*, he is, however, at Liberty to write directly to the Directors of the Company in *Holland*, without aſking the Permiſſion of the Governor-General, and without being obliged to give him any Account of their Conduct in that reſpect. This ſingular Prerogative has had very bad Effects, becauſe it has frequently tempted the Governors of *Ceylon* to endeavour to withdraw themſelves from the Obedience of the Company, in order to become abſolute Sovereigns of the Iſland. There have been many Examples of this kind, but it will be ſufficient to dwell here on the two laſt, which have made ſo much Noiſe in *Europe*.

Theſe *Indian* Commotions were owing to the Tyranny of two Governors, who immediately ſucceeded each other, the one named *Vuiſt*, and the other *Verſluys*. The whole Tranſaction fell out thus: As ſoon as Mr. *Rumpf* left his Government of *Ceylon*, Mr. *Vuiſt*, his Succeſſor, began to act the Barbarian towards all thoſe who were not ſo lucky as to be in his good Graces: He perſecuted the *Europeans* as well as the *Indians*, and was alike terrible to all. As he had, from the Beginning, this Project in his Head, of rendering himſelf an independent Sovereign, he purſued it ſteadily, and by the Methods that were fitteſt for accompliſhing his Purpoſe. In the firſt Place, he thought it neceſſary to rid himſelf of the richeſt Perſons in the Iſland, and of ſuch as were of the greateſt Reputation for Wiſdom, Experience, and Penetration. In order to ſave Appearances, and play the Villain with an Air of Juſtice, he thought it requiſite to forge a Plot; and cauſed Informations to be preferred againſt ſuch as he intended to ruin, for being in a Conſpiracy to betray and deliver up the principal Fortreſſes in the Iſland to ſome foreign Power: Which Scheme of his ſerved him doubly; for, in the firſt Place, it ſeemed to manifeſt a great Zeal for the Company's Service; and, in the next, it gave him an Opportunity to convict thoſe he hated of High Treaſon, which deprived them at once of Life and Fortune.

To manage this more effectually, he thought it requiſite to change his Council, and to bring into it ſuch as he could depend upon. The Confiſcation of the Eſtates and Effects of a Number of innocent Perſons, whom he condemned and murdered under colour of his Attention to the public Welfare, put it in his Power to oblige many, and to raiſe a vaſt Number of Creatures. To make this ſhort Hiſtory the more intelligible, it will be proper to give the Reader the Character of the Man. Mr. *Vuiſt* was born in the *Indies*, of *Dutch* Parents; he had naturally a ſtrong Capacity, which he had improved by an aſſiduous Application to his Studies. His dark Brow, and cloudy Air, ſufficiently ſhewed the Cruelty of his Diſpoſition, and that Flintineſs of Heart, which diſtinguiſhed him from other Men. He loved and protected the *Indians*, either from a natural Inclination, as they were his Countrymen, or becauſe he thought them leſs capable of penetrating, and leſs willing to traverſe, his Deſigns. In order to gain them intirely to his Devotion, he preferred them as often as any Vacancies which fell in his Government would permit; and this in direct Oppoſition to the repeated Inſtructions of the Company, directing him to beſtow the principal Poſts in the Iſland on *Dutchmen*, or other *Europeans*.

This did not proceed from an abſolute Diffidence, in the Company, of the *Indians* in general, which they neither had, nor ought to have, ſince Experience has taught them, that there are, amongſt the *Indians*, Perſons of as much Probity, and approved Fidelity, as among the *Dutch* themſelves: And our Author aſſures us, of his own Knowledge, that ſome, with whom he had occaſion to contract Acquaintance, diſtinguiſhed themſelves towards him by indubitable Marks of ſincere Friendſhip, and the greateſt Uprightneſs in their Conduct. He adds farther, that the laſt time he was in the *Indies*, the General who commanded all the Forces, in the Service of the Company, was an *Indian* born: His Name was *Dirk de Cloon*, a Man of very great Capacity, an excellent Officer, and of acknowledged Virtue and Merit; of which his riſing to that high Poſt, though not a *Dutchman* born, ought to be conſidered as the moſt convincing Proof. But to return to Mr. *Vuiſt*, and his Tranſactions, which brought upon him ſuch a Reward as every Traitor ought to meet with.

He carried on his Deſigns, for a long time, with the greateſt Dexterity and Cunning, acquiring by Gifts, and other Artifices, a prodigious Number of Dependents, who were ready to ſupport him even in the blackeſt of his Deſigns. This, however, he could not do without giving Umbrage to ſome of the Company's faithful Servants, who ſent over to *Holland* ſuch clear and perfect Informations of his Behaviour, as gave ſufficient Light to his real Intentions, in ſpite of all the hypocritical Arts he made uſe of to conceal them. At laſt, therefore, the Company ſent Mr *Verſluys* directly to *Ceylon* to ſucceed him, with Orders to ſend *Vuiſt* Priſoner to *Batavia*, where he was called to an Account for his Conduct. As ſoon as he came thither, abundance of Informations were preferred againſt him, for a Variety of Crimes, of a private as well as public Nature; into all which the Council of Juſtice cauſed the ſtricteſt Inquiſition to be made, and took care to be furniſhed with every kind of Proof. In fine, after abundance of Examinations and Interlocutories, he freely confeſſed, that he had cauſed nineteen innocent Perſons to be moſt cruelly put to Death; adding farther, that as he had, to keep up a Shew of Juſtice, put them all to the Torture, ſo, by the Severity of this Proceeding, he had extorted from every one of them a Confeſſion of Crimes, none of which had ever ſo much as entered into their Heads. Such flagrant Offences certainly deſerved the ſevereſt Puniſhment the Laws could inflict! The Sentence paſſed upon him was to this Effect: That he ſhould be broken alive upon the Wheel, his Body immediately quartered, and, thoſe Quarters being burnt on a Pile of Wood, the Aſhes to be put in a Caſk, and thrown into the Sea, as unworthy of any other Interrment: Which Sentence, without the leaſt Mitigation, was put in Execution within a few Days after it was pronounced. Such was the deſerved End of the Traitor and Tyrant *Vuiſt*; but, ſure, the Reader will be aſtoniſhed to hear, that the next Inſtance to be produced of a like, and, perhaps, of a worſe Conduct, is that of his Succeſſor *Verſluys*, who was ſent expreſly to amend what the other had done amiſs, and to make the People forget, by a mild and gentle Adminiſtration, the Exceſſes committed by his Predeceſſor.

This Man had by no means the Cruelty of *Vuiſt*; and therefore he ſhed no Blood, ſtrictly ſpeaking; but he acted as deſpotically and tyrannically as the other, though with much more Subtilty, and under a fairer Appearance. The great Point he aimed at, was not the abſolute Poſſeſſion of the Country, but the Poſſeſſion of all that was valuable in it. As ſoon as ever he was ſettled in his Poſt, he raiſed the Price of Rice, which is the Bread of that Country, to ſuch an extravagant Height, that, in a very ſhort time, the People were not able to purchaſe it, ſo that they were by degrees reduced to Beggary and Starving. Their humble Repreſentations of the great and general Miſery which reigned among all Ranks of People throughout the whole Iſland, made no manner of Impreſſion upon him; but all things went on from bad to worſe, till an Account of his Conduct was ſent over to *Holland*. The States General were no ſooner informed of the Diſtreſs the Inhabitants of *Ceylon* were in, than they immediately appointed a new Governor, one Mr. *Doembourg*, and gave him particular Inſtructions to repair paſt Errors, and to treat the Subjects of the *Eaſt India* Company with all the Tenderneſs and Indulgence poſſible, that they might be convinced, their Grievances proceeded from the Wickedneſs of particular Men, and not from any Diſpoſition in their Sovereigns to Oppreſſion.

On the Arrival of Mr. *Doembourg*, Things took a very new and unexpected Turn; for *Verſluys*, after beggaring a whole Nation, took it into his Head, that they would defend him againſt his Maſters, and therefore abſolutely refuſed to ſurrender the Government; and had even the Inſolence to fire upon the Company's Ships, as they rode at Anchor in the Road of *Colombo*. But all this ſignified nothing; Mr. *Doembourg* landed; his Authority was immediately acknowledged by all in the Company's Service, and by the People. He inſtantly cauſed *Verſluys* to be arreſted, and ſent Priſoner to *Batavia*, where a long criminal Proſecution was carried on againſt him, but with indifferent Succeſs; for he had taken care to cover himſelf ſo effectually, that it was found almoſt impoſſible to obtain other than circumſtantial Proofs: At laſt, he thought proper to lay down a very large Sum of Money, which was to attend the Event of the Suit; and he was ſet at Liberty, that he might be the better able to defend himſelf. Our Author ſays, he has no Account of the Event of this Affair; but, at the Time he wrote his Book, there were new Diſturbances and Complaints in *Ceylon*; of which Country he has given us the following Deſcription.

Of all the *Aſiatic* Iſlands, *Ceylon* is, perhaps, the faireſt, and moſt fruitful: It lies to the South-eaſt of the Peninſula of *India*, beyond the *Ganges*, and ſeparated from the Coaſts of *Coromandel* by the Streights of *Chilao*, or of *Manar*. Its Situation is between 6° and 10° of North Latitude, and 121° and 123° of Longitude, ſo that it contains about fifty-five Leagues in Length from North to South, and thirty from Eaſt to Weſt. It is a Spot ſo delicious, that many have believed it the Seat of the terreſtrial Paradiſe; and it is certain, that the Inhabitants generally believe this, which they pretend to prove, by ſhewing, at this Day, the Tomb of *Adam*, and the Print of his Foot, on the Mountain called the *Pike of Adam*, which is one of the higheſt Mountains in all the *Indies*. On another Mountain there is a ſalt Lake, which the Inhabitants affirm was cauſed by the Tears ſhed by *Eve* in her hundred Years weeping for the Death of *Abel*. With regard to the Tomb, the People of *Ceylon* are ſure, that there is nothing more certain, than that the Father of Mankind lies interred in it: This they think is put out of Diſpute by the Epitaph, which, however, nobody can read. Abundance of curious Travellers have ſeen and copied the Letters, but to no manner of Purpoſe; for the Learned, in all Nations, have declared themſelves at a Loſs for the Senſe of it, and the oriental Critics as much as the reſt: Whence our Author infers, that we ought to ſuppoſe it written in the primitive Language of Mankind, ſpoken all the World over, before the Confuſion of Tongues at *Babel*. Some learned Men are of Opinion, that this primitive Language conſiſted in the five Vowels, a, e, i, o, u, in which is contained the Name of the living GOD, *viz.* IEOVA, and of which five Vowels it is impoſſible to compoſe any other Word, in any Language whatever. It is ſaid, that the late Mr. *Muller*, who was Provoſt of *Stettin*, and juſtly famous for his great Learning, was very well verſed in this ſort of Science, and that it was his Opinion, the Myſteries of all Languages might be diſcovered by the Help of theſe Letters. It is alſo certain, that Mr. *Muller* offered to diſcover this Key to all Languages to the States General of the *United Provinces*, for a certain Sum of Money. Undoubtedly, if we had this Key, it would be of great Advantage in reſpect to our Commerce with the Eaſtern Nations; but this Affair of the Purchace being drawn out to a tedious Length, that great Man died before any thing could be done in it, and ſo this important Secret was buried with him.

I have attentively conſidered the Epitaph in Queſtion, ſays our Author; and it ſeems to me, that it ought to be decyphered, in the ſame manner that is uſed in reading *Roman* Inſcriptions. If I had, continues he, the Science, and the Key, of Mr. *Muller*, I flatter myſelf, that I ſhould be able to diſcover the Senſe of it. It does not, however, appear, that this Epitaph has any Relation whatever to our firſt Parent; and, if it was made for any other Perſon who was interred there, the Opinion of thoſe, who hold that Paradiſe was ſeated in this Iſland, falls of itſelf to the Ground; for we know, that the Angel of God drove *Adam* and *Eve* out of Paradiſe after their Fall. *Adam*, therefore, could not poſſibly die, or be buried, there, unleſs we ſhould ſay, that Paradiſe was no more than a Diſtrict, or little Country, in this Iſland. Some Hiſtorians, ſuch as *Munſter*, and others, aſſure us, that *Adam* and *Eve*, after their Fall, went to dwell in the Neighbourhood of *Damaſcus*: They ſhew, to this Day, at the Diſtance of two Leagues from that City, the Place where *Cain* ſlew his Brother *Abel*. *Damaſcus*, ſay they, ſignifies a Place of Blood; which Name was given to this Country to perpetuate the Memory of this firſt Murder, agreeable to what God ſaid to *Cain*, *The Voice of thy Brother's Blood crieth unto me from the Ground, which hath opened her Mouth to receive thy Brother's Blood from thy Hand*. Moſt Travellers to oriental Countries have remarked, in their Itineraries, that *Adam* was buried in the Mountain of *Golgotha*; and that, on the Paſſion of our Lord, the Rocks being rent, there was found in the Cliffs of them the Skull of our firſt Parent. *Epiphanius* ſeems to have been of that Sentiment, when he ſays, that *Adam*, being driven out of Paradiſe, went to live in the Neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*; and that dying there, he was buried in the Mountain *Golgotha*, where his Skull was afterwards found; and that, for this Reaſon, the Mountain was in ſucceeding Times called *Calvary*: But this Opinion, ſays our Author, appears to me to be ill-founded; for the Earth being overturned, and broken to Pieces, in moſt Parts, by the Deluge, we muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe, that the Tomb of *Adam*, wherever it was placed, could not retain its firſt Situation. It ſeems to me, therefore, continues he, that the Epitaph found in the Iſland of *Ceylon* regards *Noah*, or ſome of his Family, who eſtabliſhed their Dominion in this Iſland, and who, for that Reaſon, by a Figure natural enough in any oriental Language, might be ſtyled the Father of Mankind.

This Iſland was diſcovered in the Year 1509. by *Jaques Lopes de Siguairo*. The principal Places therein are *Jaſnapatam*, *Trinkenemall*, *Materolo*, *Punta de Galo*, *Columbo*, *Nijombo*, *Scitavaca*, and *Candy*. The *Eaſt India* Company are poſſeſſed of the whole Coaſts of the Iſland, and ten or twelve Leagues within Land, and of moſt of the Towns before-mentioned. The *Portugueſe*, who were formerly eſtabliſhed here, had built abundance of Forts for their own Security, ſo that it was a very difficult Matter to diſlodge them; but, when once the *Dutch* had contracted a ſecret Alliance with the King of *Candy*, who was Sovereign of the Iſland, they ſuddenly found themſelves attacked on all Sides, by Land, and by Sea, and were by degrees driven totally out of all their Poſſeſſions: As the *Dutch* have ever ſince taken a great deal of Pains to keep up a good Correſpondence with that Monarch, they have obtained from him almoſt whatever they demanded. The Company ſend every Year an Embaſſador to him with various Preſents; in Return for which, his Majeſty ſends the Company a Cabinet of Jewels, of ſo great Value, that the Veſſel which carries it home, is looked upon to be worth half the Fleet. The Governor-General takes care himſelf to have it ſo packed up among the reſt of the Merchandize, that not only none of the Ship's Company, but even the Captain of the Veſſel that carries it, knows not whether it be on board his Ship or no; which ſhews not only the immenſe Wealth the Company draws from her Dominions in the *Indies*, but the wiſe and prudent Meaſures ſhe employs to ſecure the Riches ſhe obtains.

The two principal Places in this Iſland are, *Punta de Galo*, and *Columbo*. This laſt Place is the Reſidence of the Governor, and his Council; and the other is properly no more than the Port of that City. The Air of *Ceylon*, though very hot, is, notwithſtanding, eſteemed to be very wholſome. The Country abounds with moſt excellent Fruits of all Kinds. They have likewiſe great Plenty of Rivers, and Sea-fiſh of various Sorts; Fowls, wild and tame; as alſo Animals, particularly Elephants, much larger than in any other Country of the *Indies*, Tygers, Bears, Civet-cats, Apes, *&c.* But that for which the Iſland is moſt famous, is its Cinnamon, which is eſteemed by far the beſt in all *Aſia*. The *Eaſt India* Company have at preſent the Monopoly of that, as well as all other Spices, and furniſh therewith all other Parts of the World.

Cinnamon is, properly ſpeaking, the inner Bark of a Tree, which reſembles an Orange; the Flowers of which differ but little from thoſe of the Laurel-tree in their Size and Figure. There are three Sorts of Cinnamon; the fineſt, which is taken from young Trees; a coarſer Sort, taken from the old ones; and wild Cinnamon, which grows not only here, but in *Malabar*, *China*, and, of late Years, in *Braſil*. The Company likewiſe drives a great Trade in the Oil which is drawn from this Spice, and which is of very great Value. The Company gains alſo very conſiderably by the precious Stones that are found in this Iſland, which are Rubies, Sapphires white and blue, Topazes, *&c.*

There is likewiſe eſtabliſhed on the Coaſt of the Iſland *Manar*, and of *Tockecorin*, a fine Pearl-fiſhery, which brings in a prodigious Profit. This is let twice a Year to Farm to certain Negro Merchants. The Oyſters in which the Pearls are found, lie at the Bottom of the Sea. This Fiſhery is carried on only in fair Weather, and when the Sea is extremely calm. The Diver has a Cord which paſſes under his Arms, and is faſtened to the Boat; he has a large Stone fixed to his Feet, that he may deſcend the quicker, and a Sack or Bag about his Waiſt, into which he puts his Oyſters as faſt as he finds them. As ſoon as he is at the Bottom of the Sea, he takes up as many as lie within his Reach, and puts them into his Bag as faſt as poſſible. In order to aſcend, he pulls ſtrongly a different Cord from that which is tied about his Body, upon which Signal, thoſe left in the Boat draw him up as faſt as they can, while he endeavours to rid himſelf of the Stone at his Feet, that he may riſe the faſter. When theſe Boats are full of Oyſters, the Negro Merchants carry them all over the Coaſts, and ſell them at ſo much an Hundred. This kind of Trade is very hazardous for thoſe who purchaſe the Oyſters, ſince ſometimes they find Pearls of great Price, and ſometimes none at all, or thoſe that are but of little Value.

The Company draws alſo a conſiderable Profit from the Manufactures of Muſlin, Chintz, and other Cloths: Yet the greateſt Part of the Muſlins ſent into *Europe* come from the Coaſt of *Malabar*. The Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Ceylon* are called *Cingoleſians*. They are, generally ſpeaking, very tall, of a very dark Complexion, their Ears exceſſively large; which is owing to the Ornaments they wear in them, that are very large, and very heavy. They are Men of great Courage, live very hard, and therefore make good Soldiers. They are, generally ſpeaking, of the *Mohammedan* Religion; but there are alſo amongſt them Idolaters, who worſhip Cows and Calves. They do not pay great Reſpect to the *Dutch*; but treat them rather with Contempt, and ſcornfully ſtile them their *Coaſt-keepers*. But the *Dutch* do not trouble themſelves much about this, but, like good Politicians, take all the Care in the World to keep up a perfect Correſpondence with the King of *Candy*, that he may never be tempted to quarrel with, and refuſe them his Aſſiſtance; which would effectually deſtroy the moſt valuable Part of their Commerce. This, however, his Majeſty might do, if he thought fit, without being under any great Apprehenſions from their Power, ſince his Dominions are ſeparated from theirs by a large rapid River, and by Foreſts ſo thick, that it is ſimply impoſſible to penetrate them. The Inhabitants of this Iſland are particularly remarkable for their great Skill in taming Elephants, which they uſe as Beaſts of Burden in time of Peace, and, in time of War, make them very ſerviceable againſt their Enemies.

31. The ſecond Government the Company has to beſtow, is that of *Amboyna*, one of the *Moluccas*. This Iſland was formerly the Seat of the Governor-General, before the building of *Batavia*, and was transferred to that City, on account of its advantageous Situation, in the midſt of all the Company's Settlements; whereas *Amboyna* lay too far to the Eaſt. Beſides, the Iſland of *Java* was infinitely more fertile than *Amboyna* in all Things neceſſary for Life; ſo that there was no Neceſſity of ſearching for Proviſions in other Places; which is a thing they were obliged to do, while the Government-General remained fixed at *Amboyna*. This Iſland, however, is one of the biggeſt of the *Moluccas*. It is ſituated in the Archipelago of St. *Lazarus*, between the third and fourth Degree of South Latitude, and 145° of Longitude from the *Canary Iſlands*, and diſtant 120 Leagues to the Eaſtward of *Batavia*. This Iſland was conquered by the *Portugueſe* in 1519; and they built a Fort there, not only to bridle the Inhabitants, but with a View to keep ſuch a Force, as might ſubject all the adjacent Iſlands. This Fort, however, was taken from them by the *Dutch* in 1605; but they did not render themſelves intirely Maſters of *Amboyna*, and the adjacent Countries, till the Year 1627.

This Conqueſt put the Clove-trade wholly into their Hands, not only without a Partner, but without a Competitor alſo. Theſe Iſlands are ſtyled the *Gold Mine* of the Company; and ſo indeed they have proved, if we conſider how vaſt a Profit they draw from them, and how little Fear there is of their being ever exhauſted. To convince the Reader of this, we need only obſerve, that a Pound Weight of Nutmegs, or of Cloves, coſts the Company, in Fact, not much above an Halfpeny; and every body knows at what Rate they are ſold in *Europe*. This Iſland of *Amboyna* is the Centre of all this rich Commerce; and, to keep it more effectually in her Hands, the Company takes care to have all the Clove-trees in the adjacent Iſlands grubbed up, and deſtroyed; and ſometimes, when the Harveſt is very large in *Amboyna*, Part of the ſame is burnt likewiſe. A few Days after the Fruit is fallen from the Tree, they collect the Cloves together, and dry them before the Fire on Hurdles; by which means they loſe the beautiful red Colour they derive from Nature, and change into a deep-purple, or rather a black; which is, perhaps, occaſioned by their being ſprinkled with Water. It is pretended, that this Sprinkling is neceſſary to hinder the Worm from getting into the Fruit; but it is thought, a better Reaſon may be aſſigned for it; which is, the adding Weight to the Cloves.

It is at leaſt certain, that ſuch as are ſent for this Commodity in the Company's Ships, practiſe a Fraud of this Nature, in order to conceal their Thefts; for, having taken out a certain Quantity of Cloves when firſt received on board, they place two or three Hogſheads of Salt-water amongſt them, which, in the Space of a few Days, is drawn in, and ſucked up, by the Cloves; ſo that, upon opening of the Hogſheads, they are found quite empty, while the Veſſels that contain the Cloves, have recovered their former Weight. By this Contrivance, a Captain of a Ship, and a Merchant or Supercargo, agreeing together, find a Way to cheat the Company of this rich Merchandize with great Facility. However, this Practice, tho' eaſy and expeditious, is withal extremely dangerous; for as the Company never wants Spies, ſo, whenever a Man is detected in a Fraud of this ſort, it infallibly coſts him his Life: Of which there are abundance of Inſtances; inſomuch that it has given Occaſion to call the Cloves by the Name of *Galgenkruid*, i. e. the Gallows-ſpice; that is to ſay, the Spice that brings a Man to an ill End. The leaſt private Trade in Cloves is looked upon as ſo flagrant a Contraband, that the Company will rather ſpare a Man who has broken all the Ten Commandments, than one who has cheated them of Five Pounds of Cloves.

Of this I will give the Reader, ſays our Author, two Inſtances, that fell within the Compaſs of my Knowledge. There was a certain Provoſt, or Executioner, whoſe Surname I have forgot, but his Chriſtian Name was *Joachim*, and he was a Native of *Lubec*, who, out of Malice, ſhot a Neighbour of his through the Head. There was, at the ſame time, a *German* Apothecary, whoſe Name was *Gunther*, who dealt in aromatic Oils, and had found a Way to cheat the Company of a Parcel of Cloves; they were both condemned at the ſame time, *Joachim* to be ſhot, and poor *Gunther* to be hanged. In purſuance of their Sentences, they came together to the Place of Execution; and after the uſual Time allowed for Prayers was over, Mr. *Gunther* was fairly truſſed up, and *Joachim*, who was upon his Knees, expecting the Bullet, had his Eyes unbound, and was ſent home in one of the Company's Ships. The laſt time, continues he, that I was in the *Indies*, there were no leſs than twenty People at a time taken up for Frauds of this kind. I cannot tell, ſays he, what became of them; but this I am very clear in, that if there was as plain Evidence againſt them as againſt the Apothecary, they certainly met with his Fate; nor would they have been ſpared, if there had been twice the Number.

The King of *Amboyna* receives an annual Penſion from the Company, and has, beſides, a Guard of *European* Soldiers maintained at their Expence. The Inhabitants of the Iſland are of a middle Stature, and of a very black Complexion. They are all of them very lazy, and have moſt of them a ſtrong Propenſity to Thieving; ſome of them, who are very ingenious, have a ſingular Art of working up the Cloves, while they are green, into abundance of curious Toys, ſuch as Ships, Crowns, little Houſes, &c. which are uſually ſent home to *Europe* as Preſents, and are eſteemed of great Value. Such of the *Amboyneſe* as are ſubject to the King, profeſs the *Mohammedan* Religion; but there are, beſides theſe, a great Number of Idolaters in the Iſland, who live in the Mountains, and acknowledge no Maſter. They conſider themſelves as free; but the King and the Company look upon them as Savages; and as they are frequently guilty of Robberies and Murders, ſo whenever there is any of them caught, they are condemned to perpetual Slavery, employed in the hardeſt kind of Work, and are treated with the utmoſt Rigour. There ſubſiſts, on this account, an Hatred not to be expreſſed between them and the reſt of the People of the Iſland, with whom they are in perpetual War, and to whom they very rarely give any Quarter. Their Arms are a Sword, a Buckler, and a kind of Pike or Javelin.

As to the Force which the Company has in *Amboyna*, it conſiſts principally in the Gariſon they have in their Fort, which is very numerous, compoſed of their beſt Troops, kept conſtantly in excellent Order. The Fort itſelf is ſo ſtrong from Art and Nature, that it is, in a manner, impregnable; and ſo effectually commands the Harbour, that it is ſimply impoſſible for a Veſſel to go in or out without being ſunk by the Cannon of the Fort, if the Governor ſhould give Orders for that Purpoſe. One would imagine, that ſo rich a Commerce, as that of Cloves, might be a ſufficient Return for the Expence the Company is at about this Iſland: But ſuch is their Care to improve every thing to the utmoſt Advantage, that, of late Years, they have cauſed Coffee to be planted in *Amboyna*, which is like to turn to great Account. Under the Government of Mr. *Barnard*, however, there was a Diſcovery made of a Commodity more valuable than Coffee or Cloves; for, through his Vigilance, it was found out, that in ſome of the Mountains there were conſiderable Quantities of Gold-duſt waſhed down by the Torrents; and this Diſcovery, it is ſaid, he purſued with ſuch Effect, as at laſt to find out the Mine; ſo that the Wealth of theſe *Indian* Countries is continually growing, when in the Hands of thoſe who know how to make the beſt Uſe of every thing; and, without doubt, if the *Dutch* had ſuſpected, that, beſides Sugar, Gold and Diamonds might have been found in *Braſil*, they would not have ſo eaſily parted with that Country to the *Portugueſe*, who yet, perhaps, do not draw near ſo much Riches from thence, as the *Hollanders* would have done, had it been continued in their Poſſeſſion.

But as the Thing then ſtood, and they knew of no other Wealth than what aroſe from Sugar, Tobacco, and Dying-woods, they preferred the Trade on the Coaſt of *Gua*, becauſe there they were ſure to meet with Gold. In Proceſs of Time, perhaps, the ſame Thing may happen with regard to *Terra Auſtralis Incognita:* For though, at preſent, it is ſcarce thought worth minding or diſcovering more perfectly, hereafter, when Accident ſhews it to be richer than People are at preſent inclined to believe it, we ſhall ſee the Diſcovery of it proſecuted with the utmoſt Diligence, upon the good old Principle of, Who could have imagined ſo fine a Country ſhould have been ſo long neglected? There is one Thing more to be taken notice of, before we leave *Amboyna*; and that is, a red kind of Wood, which is found in this Iſland, which, beſide the Beauty of its Colour, is exceedingly firm and durable; and, which is ſtill more extraordinary, is naturally embelliſhed in its Grain with abundance of beautiful Figures. With this Wood they make Tables, Cabinets, Eſcritoires, and other Pieces of Furniture, of which Preſents are made to the principal Perſons of the Government, and the reſt ſold all over the *Indies* at a very extravagant Rate; ſo that this Article is to be added to thoſe we have already mentioned of the Riches of *Amboyna*.

32. The third Government of the *Indies* is that of the Iſland of *Banda*, ſituated twenty Leagues from *Amboyna*, and to the South of the *Moluccas*. The Governor is, generally ſpeaking, an eminent Merchant, who reſides at *Nera*, which is the Capital of the Country; and he has, under his Juriſdiction, ſeveral other ſmall Iſlands that lie in this Neighbourhood: The Council of this Government is ſettled on the ſame Foot with that of *Amboyna*. In ſome of the Repreſentations ſent home to, and publiſhed by, the *Eaſt India* Company, this Iſland is ſet forth as a Place very expenſive to the Company; and it is particularly remarked, that it is ſo thinly inhabited, as to take off very little of their Goods; and, at the ſame time, ſo barren, as to require great Supplies of Proviſions: But all this is pure Artifice; though *Banda* is a very ſmall Iſland, in Compariſon of *Amboyna*, as not containing above twelve Leagues in Circumference, yet it certainly produces as great Profits to the Company.

This ariſes from the important Commerce in Nutmegs, which grow there in ſuch prodigious Quantities, as to enable the *Dutch* to ſupply all the Markets in *Europe*. The Tree which produces this excellent Fruit, very much reſembles a Pear-tree, but its Leaves are like that of a Peach, except that they are ſmaller. The Nutmeg, when ripe, is pretty much of the ſame Size as a Walnut, and is covered with two Skins or Shells; the firſt is very tough, and of the Thickneſs of a Finger, which falls off of itſelf, as the Fruit ripens. When it is candied, it has a very fine Taſte. The ſecond is of a red Colour, and has a very fine Smell: On the Opening of this, the Fruit appears with a little Flower at the Top, which is very beautiful. They gather the Nuts, and dry them; but, in the firſt Place, they are thrown into Quick-lime; for otherwiſe Worms would breed in and deſtroy them. There are ſeveral Iſlands in the Neighbourhood of *Banda*, in which Nutmegs would grow, if the Company did not take care to have them deſtroyed every Year, which, at firſt Sight, may ſeem ſomewhat extraordinary; ſince one would imagine, that their being thoroughly rooted out once, might prevent their growing again: But this Difficulty is eaſily ſolved, when it is known, that the Birds carry them annually into all theſe Iſlands; whence the *Dutch* ſtile them, properly enough, the Gardeners of the Spice-trees.

It is not agreed how this is performed by the Birds, tho' all Travellers allow, that it is performed by them. Mr. *Tavernier* tells us, that the Nutmeg being ripe, ſeveral Birds come from the Iſlands towards the South, and devour it whole, but are forced to throw it up again before it be digeſted: That the Nutmeg then, beſmeared with a viſcous Matter, falling to the Ground, takes Root, and produces a Tree, which would never thrive, if it was otherwiſe planted. Mr. *Thevenot* again informs us, that the Tree is produced after this manner: There are, ſays he, a kind of Birds in the Iſland, that, having picked off the green Huſk, ſwallow the Nuts, which, having been ſome time in their Stomach, they void by the ordinary way, and they fail not to take Root in the Place where they fall, and in time grow up to a Tree. This Bird is ſhaped like a Cuckoo, and the *Dutch* prohibit their Subjects, under Pain of Death, to kill any of them.

There are, among the Inhabitants of this Iſland, a ſort of free Burgeſſes, who are called *Perkiniers*; and theſe People have the ſole curing of the Nutmegs, which they furniſh to the Company in what Quantities they think proper to demand, for which they receive a very moderate Gratification, and yet live much at their Eaſe. There grows here, as well as at *Amboyna*, a ſort of Tree called *Caliputte*, from whence they draw a very rich and ſalutary Oil, which is ſold at a very high Price. The Iſland of *Banda* is ſo well fortified, that it is thought to be impregnable; yet, to prevent any Accident that might happen, in caſe an Enemy ſhould get into the Port under *Dutch* Colours, there is always a large Squadron of ſmall Veſſels plying round the Coaſt, which, upon the firſt Appearance of a ſtrange Ship, immediately ſurround her, and examine whence ſhe comes, whither bound, and of what Strength.

The Gariſon is numerous, but in a much worſe Condition than any other in the Company's Service, which ariſes from the Want of Victuals, the Iſland being of a barren, ſandy Soil, producing very little Food of any ſort, which is the Reaſon that the Soldiers eat Cats, Dogs, and any other Animals that come to hand. The reſt of their Proviſions is the Tortoiſe, of which they have a reaſonable Plenty for about ſix Months in the Year; and, after this, they think themſelves very happy, if they are now-and-then able to get a little ſorry Fiſh: They make their Bread of the Juice of a Tree, which reſembles, when firſt drawn, the Grounds of Beer; but, when dried, it grows as hard as a Stone; yet, when put into Water, it ſwells and ferments, and ſo becomes fit to eat, that is, in a Country where there is nothing elſe to be got. As for Butter, Rice, dried Fiſh, and other Eatables, they are all ſent thither from *Batavia*, and come much too dear for the Soldiers to have any great Plenty of them. To ſpeak the Truth, as the Inhabitants are none of the happieſt, ſo, to do them but Juſtice, they may be ſaid to live full as well as they deſerve, ſince there is not, and perhaps there never was, an honeſt Man upon the Iſland.

The Natives were ſuch a Race of cruel, perfidious, and intractable People, at leaſt as the *Dutch* ſay, that the Company was forced to root them out for their own Security, at leaſt in a great meaſure, and to ſend a *Dutch* Colony into the Iſland; but then it is ſuch a Colony, as hath not much mended the Matter, being compoſed intirely of a raſcally good-for-nothing People, that, not being able to live any-where elſe, were content to come, or otherwiſe were ſentenced to be ſent, to ſtarve here. The beſt of it is, that their Miſery is of no long Date; for, in a very ſhort time, they are carried off by the Dry-gripes, or

Twiſting of the Guts, which is the epidemic Diſtemper of the County. It is for this Reaſon, and becauſe young Fellows that are wild, are ſometimes ſent thither by their Relations, that the *Dutch* at *Batavia*, generally ſpeaking, call *Banda The Iſland of Correction*. The only People who live tolerably there are the Negroes, who were ſettled in it before the *Dutch* Conqueſt, and have lived there quietly ever ſince.

33. The Iſland of *Celebes*, or *Macaſſar*, is conſidered as the fourth Government in the *Eaſt India* Company's Diſpoſal. It lies between *Borneo* and the *Moluccas*, at the Diſtance of about 160 Leagues from *Batavia*: Its Form is in a manner circular, and its Diameter about 130 Leagues. It is called, and with great Reaſon, the Key of the Spice Iſlands. At the Time our Author was there, Mr. *Arweyn* was ſent thither Governor, for the ſecond time, to his Miſfortune; for in a Fortnight after he arrived, he was poiſoned in a Diſh of Coffee, which Act of Villainy was ſuppoſed to be committed by one of his Slaves. The Form of Government here is pretty much the ſame as in the other Iſlands. Since the Time the *Dutch* drove the *Portugueſe* out of theſe Iſlands, they have taken care to fortify themſelves effectually on the Sea-coaſt, and have always a very numerous Gariſon in the Fort of *Macaſſar*, where the Governor reſides; which is ſo much the more neceſſary, becauſe this Iſland is very populous, and the People are, beyond Compariſon, the braveſt and beſt Soldiers in the *Eaſt Indies*. This Nation for a long time gave the *Dutch* inexpreſſible Trouble, and rendered their Commerce very precarious: Yet, at laſt, they were totally ſubdued, and ſtand at preſent as much in Fear of the Company as any other Nation: The Expence, however, of maintaining the Troops that are here, and the other Charges of the Government, are ſo large, that, till very lately, the Company were no great Gainers by their Conqueſts, though the Slave-trade is there very beneficial.

The Reaſon that the Company laid out ſuch large Sums, and took ſo much Pains to poſſeſs themſelves of this Iſland, was in order to render it a Bulwark to the *Moluccas*: For before the laſt War of *Macaſſar*, which ended in the complete Ruin of the Power of the Prince of that Country, he found Means to procure great Quantities of Mace, Nutmegs, and Cloves, which he ſold to the *Engliſh*, and other Nations, at a much more reaſonable Rate than the *Dutch* Company; and therefore they ought, in good Policy, to have ſupported him. The Iſland is very fruitful, eſpecially in Rice, which is a Commodity of great Value in the *Indies*. The Inhabitants are of a middle Stature, of a yellow Complexion, but of good Features, and are extremely briſk and active. They are naturally Thieves, Traitors, and Murderers; and that to ſuch a Degree, that it is not ſafe for any Chriſtian to venture, after it is dark, without the Wall of the *Dutch* Forts, or to travel at any time far into the Country, for fear of being robbed and murdered, than which nothing is more common. Yet there live, under the Protection of the *Dutch* Forts, abundance of the Natives, who are free Burgeſſes, and carry on a conſiderable Trade; as do alſo the *Chineſe*, who ſail from hence in their own Veſſels into all Parts of the Company's Dominions, deriving immenſe Wealth from their extenſive Commerce.

The inland Country is under the Dominion of three different Princes, who, very happily for the *Dutch*, live in a conſtant bad Intelligence with each other; and, if it were not for this, they might at any time drive the *Dutch* out of the Iſland. One of theſe Princes is alſo ſtiled the Company's King, becauſe he lives in a good Correſpondence with them, and promotes their Intereſt as far as lies in his Power. They make him, from time to time, Preſents of Gold Chains, Coronets of Gold ſet with precious Stones, and other Things of Value, in order to keep him ſteady to his Alliance, and prevent his coming to a good Underſtanding with the other two Monarchs, which might be attended with Conſequences very fatal to their Power and Commerce. Some little time before our Author's Arrival at *Batavia*, there happened an extraordinary Event, which, it was thought, would give a great Turn to the Company's Affairs; and this was the Diſcovery of a rich Gold Mine, which was conceived to be of ſo great a Conſequence, that not only a great Number of Workmen, but a Director, was alſo ſent from *Batavia* to carry on the Work there: But how far this has been attended with Succeſs, our Author was not able to ſay, and perhaps it is a Secret that never will be known in its full Extent; ſince it is a Maxim with the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company, never to boaſt of her Power or Riches, but rather to leſſen both in the Repreſentations ſhe makes from time to time to the States General: Which is a Caution very neceſſary to be known and remembered, in order to have a juſt Notion of thoſe Accounts, which do not ſtate the Affairs of the Company as they really are, but as they would have them underſtood to be, the better to intitle themſelves to the Favour and Protection of the State.

The Iſland of *Ternate* is the fifth Government in the Company's Diſpoſal, and is the moſt diſtant of all the Factories they have in the Eaſt; for which Reaſon they conſider it as a kind of Frontier. The Governor is a Merchant, and has a Council, as other Governors have, of whom we have ſpoken before. This Iſland is one of the *Moluccas*, of a conſiderable Extent, and, as we obſerved before, the King of *Ternate* is the beſt Ally the Company have. His Country would abound with Cloves, if, at the Requeſt of the Company, he did not cauſe them to be rooted out every Year, for which the Company pay him an annual Penſion of 18 or 20,000 Rixdollars. He has a numerous Life-guard, a very ſtrong Fort, in which there is a ſtrong Gariſon, maintained by the Company. The Kings of *Tidore* and *Bachian* are his Tributaries. He has concluded a perpetual Alliance with the Company, by which he has obliged himſelf to aſſiſt them againſt all their Enemies, which he performs very punctually; as, on the other hand, the Company treat him with the utmoſt Reſpect, and afford him whatever Aſſiſtance he ſtands in need of at any time. The Iſland in general is fruitful, abounding in all Sorts of Proviſions, and whatever elſe is requiſite to make Life eaſy and happy: Yet, after all, the Commerce of it is not very conſiderable. It is true, the Company diſpoſe there of great Quantities of Cloth, and of ſuch Goods as they receive from *Guiney*: But, notwithſtanding this, the Tortoiſe-ſhell, and other Commodities, they receive in Return, hardly amounts to as much as is neceſſary to defray the Expences of the Government; but there is a great Appearance, that the Factory in this Iſland will for the future turn to a better Account, becauſe ſome Years ago there has been diſcovered there a Gold Mine, much richer than any in the *Moluccas*.

As to the Inhabitants, they are a middle-ſized People, ſtrong, active, and, generally ſpeaking, more faithful than any of their Neighbours, and much better affected to the *Europeans*. In point of Religion, they are moſt of them *Pagans*, or *Mohammedans*; and of late, indeed, abundance of them are become Chriſtians, which is, perhaps, in ſome meaſure, owing to the King's declaring himſelf of that Religion, which, in the *Eaſt Indies*, and, perhaps, in ſome other Countries, is a Point of great Conſequence towards the Converſion of the People. The Inhabitants of *Ternate* make a kind of Palm-wine, which is exceſſively ſtrong; they call it *Seggeweer*; a very ſmall Quantity of it will intoxicate a Man, and, therefore, it is in high Eſteem: There are likewiſe found here a kind of Birds, the moſt beautiful that can be ſeen; their Feathers are of all Sorts of Colours, and ſo finely diverſified, that it is not poſſible to conceive any thing more charming; they are commonly ſent to *Batavia*, where they ſell at a very great Price, not only on account of their Rarity, and of their great Beauty, but of their Docility likewiſe; for they are taught to ſing finely, and to imitate the human Voice. There are brought likewiſe from this Iſland abundance of the Birds of *Paradiſe*, of which we have ſpoken largely before; but it may not be amiſs to add here ſomewhat as to the different Kinds of theſe Birds. The firſt Sort are the common Birds of *Paradiſe*, of a yellow Colour, and their Bodies very ſmall, commonly about eight Inches long, excluſive of the Tail, which is half a Yard, and ſometimes more. The ſecond Sort are the Red, the third the Blue, and the fourth the Black. Theſe laſt are by far the moſt beautiful, and the moſt eſteemed, inſomuch that they ſtile them commonly Kings of the Birds of *Paradiſe.* On their Heads they have generally a Crown, or Tuft of Feathers, which they ſuffer to lie flat, or raiſe it up at Pleaſure, in the ſame manner with the Cadocus of *India*, which is a Bird entirely white, of the Size of an ordinary Pullet, with a yellow Crown upon its Head. I ſaw once, ſays our Author, at *Bantam*, one of theſe black Birds of *Paradiſe*, which was exquiſitely beautiful, and which was a Preſent to the King.

The ſixth Government beſtowed by the Company in the *Indies*, is that of the Cape of *Good Hope.* The Governor is always one of the Counſellors of the *Indies*, and has a Council to aſſiſt him in the Adminiſtration of Affairs, as the reſt of the Governors have, who are appointed by the Company. The Cape is ſituated on the Coaſt of *Taffres*, and is the moſt Southern Point of the Continent of *Africa.* In the Year 1498, it was diſcovered by *Vaſquez de Gama*; and, in the Year 1653, it was taken from the *Portugueſe* by the *Dutch.* It is juſtly eſteemed one of the moſt important Places in the Hands of the Company; though it is certain, that the Profits they draw from it, are not comparable to thoſe which ariſe from ſome of the Iſlands in the *Eaſt Indies*; and formerly Things were in a worſe Situation, the Revenues ariſing from that Settlement, falling ſhort of its Expence. Yet it would be impoſſible for them to carry on their Trade to the *Eaſt Indies*, if they were not poſſeſſed of this Place; becauſe, at the Cape, and only at the Cape, they can meet with freſh Water, and other Refreſhments, in their outward and homeward-bound Voyages, which are abſolutely requiſite, eſpecially for ſuch as are eaten up with the Scurvy, who ſeldom fail to be recovered by the Helps they meet with here. There is ſuch an abundance of all ſorts of Proviſions at the Cape, that, notwithſtanding the vaſt annual Demand for them, both by outward and homeward-bound Ships, yet there is never any Scarcity ariſes; but all Ships, that put in there, meet with the Succours they expect, at a moderate Rate.

Neither are the Refreſhments met with at the Cape confined to any particular Sort, as in moſt other Places; for here are Beef, Mutton, Fowl, Fruit, Herbs, Wine, and, in ſhort, whatever is requiſite either to recover the Sick on ſhore, or to recruit the Ships Stores for the Maintenance of the Men at Sea. In order to have a juſt Notion of the great Importance of this Place, it will be proper to obſerve, that, in the Space of a Year, at leaſt forty outward-bound Ships touch there from *Holland* alone; and in theſe there cannot be leſs than 8 or 9000 People. The homeward-bound Ships from the *Indies* cannot be fewer, in the Space of a Year, than thirty-ſix; and on board theſe there are uſually 3000 Souls, not to ſpeak of foreign Veſſels, that likewiſe put in here, and have alſo all kinds of Refreſhments furniſhed them freely, and at reaſonable Prices. This muſt appear very ſurpriſing, when one attentively conſiders what vaſt Quantities of every ſort of Refreſhments ſuch numerous Fleets muſt require. But this is not all, theſe Ships do not enter the Port, and ſail again directly when they have received the Refreſhments of which they ſtood in need, but continue there for ſome time; inſomuch that there are always Ships in the Road, except in the Months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, when the Road is dangerous, on account of the North-weſt Wind, which blows with the utmoſt Violence during theſe three Months.

The ſeventh and laſt Government is that of *Malacca*; which City is the Capital of a ſmall Kingdom of the ſame Name, the Inhabitants of which are called *Malayans.* The Governor here is a Merchant, and the Eſtabliſhment pretty much the ſame with thoſe in the other Governments. The Kingdom of *Malacca* makes the South Part of the Peninſula of *India* beyond the *Ganges*, and is divided from the great Iſland of *Sumatra* by a Streight, which bears the Name of the *Streights of Malacca.* The *Dutch* conquered this Place from the *Portugueſe* in 1641, and have maintained themſelves in the Poſſeſſion of it ever ſince. The City is large, and drives a great Trade, in conſequence of its excellent Situation, which renders it the Store-houſe and Magazine of all that Part of *India.* It is likewiſe the Rendeſvous of all the homeward-bound Ships from *Japan*, who here make a Diſtribution of their Merchandizes, and ſend them, in different Aſſortments, to all the Company's Settlements throughout the *Indies.* There is one great Inconveniency at *Malacca*, and that is, the Scarcity of Proviſions; and even what is to be had conſiſts only of different kinds of Fiſh.

The Princes, who govern the adjacent Countries, are, as well as their Subjects, moſt notorious Pirates, and diſturb the Trade of the whole *Indies.* They are particularly Enemies to the Company, and loſe no Opportunity of doing her Subjects all the Miſchiefs in their Power. They have, however, met with ſeveral ſevere Checks from the *Portugueſe*, who were formerly eſtabliſhed here, as alſo from the *Dutch*, who have ſucceeded them, which, by degrees, has ſo broken their Power, that, at preſent, they are leſs able than ever to do Miſchief. Our Author tells us, that, ſome Years before he wrote his Book, he had Orders to cruiſe in thoſe Seas in a ſmall Ship, mounted with fourteen Pieces of Cannon, in order to protect the Trade from Pirates. He had not been long in his Station, before he met with one of theſe Corſairs; but, before he could engage her, ſhe was joined by two of her Conſorts. This, however, did not hinder him from attacking them. They made an obſtinate Reſiſtance; ſo that the Fight continued for two Days, till, in the End, he ſunk two of them, and the third eſcaped. On board one of theſe Veſſels there were three Commanders, that were Brethren, who were taken up alive, and carried Priſoners to the *Dutch* Settlements, where they were adjudged to loſe their Heads; which, being fixed on long Poles, were ſet up in *Chiribon* in the Iſland of *Java*, to terrify others from acting as they had done.

The Inhabitants of *Malacca* are of a very dark Complexion; but are briſk, active People, and, withal, great Robbers and Thieves. Some of them are Idolaters; but, generally ſpeaking, they are *Mohammedans.* It may not be amiſs to add here the Manner in which the *Dutch* became Maſters of this Place: They were informed, that great Diſputes ſubſiſted between them and the King of *Johore*; from which they immediately conceived Hopes of reducing it. With this View, they fitted out for the Streights of *Malacca* from *Batavia* a ſtrong Fleet, with a great Body of Land-forces on board; and at the ſame time ſtruck up an Alliance with the King of *Johore*, offenſive and defenſive, as long as the Sun and Moon gave Light to the World: On which, the King of *Johore* aſſiſted the *Dutch* with 20,000 Men, and laid Siege to the Fort by Land, while the *Dutch* diſtreſſed it by Sea; and yet, for all that the Fleet and Army could do, they could not have taken it by Force, but by reducing them by Famine; which would have taken up a great deal of Time: So what they could not effect by Force, they did by Fraud. They heard, that the *Portugueſe* Governor was a ſordid, avaricious Fellow, and much hated by the Gariſon; ſo the *Dutch*, by ſecret Conveyances, tampered with him by Letters, promiſing him Mountains of Gold, if he would contribute towards their reducing the Fort. At length the Price was ſet, and 80,000 Pieces of Eight were to be the Reward of his Treachery; and he was to be ſafely tranſported to *Batavia* in their Fleet, and be made a free Denizen there: So he ſent ſecret Inſtructions to the *Dutch* to make an Attack on the Eaſt Side of the Fort, and he would act his Part; which was accordingly done. He then called a Council, and told them, he had a mind to circumvent the *Dutch*, by letting them come cloſe to the Fort-walls, and then to fire briſkly on them from all Quarters, and deſtroy them at once. So the *Dutch* made their Approaches without Moleſtation, and placed their Ladders. The Gariſon ſent Meſſage after Meſſage, to acquaint the Governor of the Danger they were in for want of Orders to fire, and ſally out on the *Dutch*, as was agreed in Council; but he delayed ſo long, till the *Dutch* got into the Fort, and drove the Guard from the Eaſt Gate; which they ſoon opened, to receive the reſt of their Army, who, as ſoon as they were entered, gave Quarter to none that were in Arms; and, marching towards the Governor's Houſe, where he thought himſelf ſecure by the Treaty, they forthwith diſpatched him, to ſave the 80,000 Dollars.

The *Portugueſe*, to ſhew their Zeal to Religion, while they were Maſters of *Malacca*, had no leſs than three Churches and a Chapel within the Fort, and one without. That, which the *Dutch* now uſe for their Worſhip, ſtands conſpicuouſly on the Top of an Hill, and may be ſeen up or down the Streights at a good Diſtance; and a Flag-ſtaff is placed on the Steeple, on which a Flag is hoiſted on the Sight of any Ship. The Fort is both large and ſtrong, the Sea waſhing the Walls of one-third Part of it, and a deep, rapid, but narrow, River the Weſt Side of it, and a broad, deep Ditch the reſt of it. The Governor's Houſe is both beautiful and convenient, and there are ſeveral other good Houſes in the Fort, and in the Town without the Fort; but the Road is at too great a Diſtance to be defended by the Fort, the Shallowneſs of the Sea obliging them to lie above a League off; which is a very great Inconveniency: For, in 1709, the *French*, coming into the Streights with a Squadron of three or four Sail, and ſeeing a large Ship in the Road newly arrived from *Japan*, ſtood in to the Road, and had certainly carried her out, if the Wind had not failed them about Muſquet-ſhot from her. At *Malacca* the Streights are not above four Leagues broad; for tho' the oppoſite Shore on *Sumatra* is very low, yet it may eaſily be ſeen in a clear Day; which is the Reaſon the Sea is always as ſmooth as a Mill-pond, except it is ruffled with Squalls of Wind, which ſeldom come without Lightning, Thunder, and Rain; and tho' they come with great Violence, yet they are ſoon over, often not exceeding an Hour.

The Country produces nothing for a Foreign Market, except a little Tin and Elephants Teeth; but ſeveral excellent Fruits and Roots for the Uſe of the Inhabitants and Strangers, who call there for Refreſhments. The *Malacca* Pine-apple is accounted the beſt in the World; for, in other Places, if they are eaten to a ſmall Exceſs, they are apt to give Surfeits; but thoſe of *Malacca* never offend the Stomach. The Marigoſtane is a delicious Fruit, almoſt in the Shape of an Apple; the Skin is thick and red; being dried, it is a good Aſtringent; the Kernels (if I may ſo call them) are like Cloves of Garlick, of a very agreeable Taſte, but very cold. The Ramboſtan is a Fruit about the Bigneſs of a Walnut, with a tough Skin, beſet with Capillaments; within the Skin is a very ſavoury Pulp. There is an high Mountain to the North-eaſtward of *Malacca*, that ſends forth ſeveral Rivers, of which that of *Malacca* is one; and all of them have ſmall Quantities of Gold-duſt found in their Chanels. The inland Inhabitants, called *Monacaboes*, are a barbarous, ſavage People, whoſe greateſt Pleaſure is in doing Miſchief to their Neighbours; which is the greateſt Reaſon why the Peaſants about *Malacca* ſow no Grain but what is incloſed in Gardens, with thick-ſet prickly Hedges, or deep Ditches; for when the Grain is ripe in the open Plains, the *Monacaboes* never fail of ſetting Fire to it, in order to conſume it. They are much whiter than their neighbouring *Malayans*, who inhabit the low Grounds; and the King of *Johore*, whoſe Subjects they are, or at leaſt ought to be, could never civilize them. We have now paſſed through all the ſeven Governments, which are in the Gift of the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company, which are a kind of Principalities, ſince, with the Advice and Aſſiſtance of his Council, every Governor is a kind of Sovereign, and acts without Controul, throughout the whole Extent of his Juriſdiction.

34. The Company, as it carries on a great Trade throughout all the *Indies*, has taken care to eſtabliſh Settlements or Factories in all the Countries, where their Affairs require it; and in each of theſe Factories or Settlements there is a Chief, with ſome Title or other, with a Council to ſuperintend, as well the Affairs of Policy, as thoſe of Commerce. The Directories of *Coromandel*, *Surat*, *Bengal*, and *Perſia*, are all of them of great Conſequence, and the Direction of them attended with great Profit. The Directors have, within the Extent of their reſpective Juriſdictions, the ſame Power with the Company's Governors. The ſole Diſtinction between them is, that the Director cannot execute any criminal Sentence in the Country where he reſides, but muſt cauſe it to be done under the Company's Flag; ſo that all Criminals are here executed on board a Ship. The Directory of *Coromandel* is the firſt of the four, and has the Forts and Factories belonging to the *Dutch*, upon that Coaſt, within its Juriſdiction; for, in *Coromandel*, the *Engliſh* and *Danes* have a Share, and have built ſeveral good Fortreſſes for the Protection of their Trade.

The Company have, notwithſtanding, a very conſiderable Intereſt in this Part of *India*: Beſides *Negapatan*, which lies on the Southermoſt Point of *Coromandel*, and the Fort of *Gueldria*, in which the Director reſides, they have the Factories of *Guenepatnam*, *Sadreſpatnam*, *Maliſpatnam*, *Pelicol*, *Datſkorom*, *Benliſpatnam*, *Nagernauty*, and *Golconda*. The whole Extent of the Coaſt, from *Negapatan* to *Maſulipatan*, may be about 100 Leagues. The *Dutch* Director is a principal Merchant: He has a Council about him; and, if he diſcharges his Office with Reputation, he is commonly, after a few Years, choſen one of the Counſellors of the *Indies*. This is a very wiſe Proviſion in the Management of the Company's Affairs, that the Honour and Rank of a Counſellor of the *Indies*, tho' a Poſt of much leſs Profit than that of a Director, or a Governor, makes it aſpired to by ſuch, as are already in much more profitable Employments; for it is not a very extraordinary thing in the *Indies* for a Governor or Director to heap up, in the Space of a few Years, an Eſtate equal to the original Capital of the *Eaſt India* Company, that is, ſix Millions of Guilders and an half, which amounts to upwards of half a Million Sterling. Our Author ſays, it was well known in his Time, that Meſſieurs *Diſhoek*, *Heilman*, *Swaardekroon*, *Pattras*, and *van Cloon*, acquired prodigious Fortunes in the Time that they were Directors or Governors. There are alſo ſome Places at *Batavia* ſo very profitable, that, when the principal Merchants are poſſeſſed of them, they often decline the Dignity of Counſellor of the *Indies*, becauſe, however great and honourable it may be, the Profits that attend it are but ſmall, in compariſon of what may be gained in ſome of theſe lucrative Employments. Thoſe in *Batovia*, that bring in moſt, are the *Sabandar* or Chief of the Cuſtom-houſe; the Fiſcal of the Sea; the Droſſard of the low Countries: All which bring in prodigious Wealth.

Heretofore the Country of *Coromandel* being divided into a great Number of Principalities, theſe little Princes or Chiefs laid ſuch high Duties, and, in other reſpects, gave ſuch Interruptions to Trade, as made the *Dutch* very uneaſy; but, after the War of *Golconda*, which coſt the Company a great deal of Money, but ended at laſt to their Advantage, theſe Princes grew more tractable than formerly. At preſent, the Kings of *Biſnagar* and *Harſinga*, who are the moſt powerful in *Coromandel*, live on pretty good Terms with the *Dutch*, and other *Europeans*. The great Trade carried on here is in Cottons, Muſlins, Chintzes, and ſuch kind of Goods; in Exchange for which the *Dutch* bring them Spices, *Japan* Copper, Steel, Gold-duſt, Sandal and Siampan-woods. The Inhabitants of the Country are ſome of them Pagans, ſome *Mohammedans*, and not a few Chriſtians. During the Eaſt Monſoon, the Weather is exceedingly hot; yet the Country is very fertile in Rice, Fruits, Herbs, and whatever elſe is neceſſary for the Support of Man. All the Manufactures of this Country are tranſported in the Company's Ships to *Batavia*, from whence they are ſent home to *Holland*, and thence diſtributed throughout all *Germany*, and the North.

The ſecond and third Directory are fixed, the former at *Ouglia* on the *Ganges*, thirty-ſix Leagues from the Mouth of that River; the other in the City of *Surat*, both in the Territories of the Great Mogul. Thoſe two Places are the moſt conſiderable for Trade in all *Aſia*. The *Dutch*, *Engliſh*, *French*, and other *Europeans*, traffick to both, and have erected Forts and Magazines for their Security and Convenience. The beſt Part of the Trade is carried on by Negro Merchants, who deal in all ſorts of rich Goods; ſuch as Opium, Diamonds, rich Stuffs, and all kinds of Cotton Cloths. The Empire of the Great Mogul is of a prodigious Extent, and the Countries under his Dominion are eſteemed the richeſt in the World. The Air is tolerably pure; and yet the Head-ach, and a kind of malignant Fever, are common here. The latter generally attacks Strangers, and is a kind of ſeaſoning Sickneſs, in which, if the Patient eſcapes the third Day, he, generally ſpeaking, recovers.

Moſt of the Inhabitants of this Country are tall, black, robuſt Men, and of a gay, lively Diſpoſition. In point of Religion, they are many of them Idolaters, more of them

Mohammedans, and ſome of them Chriſtians; but, after all, that of *Mohammed* is the prevailing Religion. As for the Idolaters, they are ſplit into abundance of Sects, ſome of which believe firmly in the Metempſychoſis, or Tranſmigration of Souls; and, for this Reaſon, they will not take away the Life of any living Creature, not excepting Inſects; inſomuch that they dare not kill a Flea or a Fly. They even eſtabliſh Hoſpitals for the worn-out Oxen, and old Cows, where they are fed and attended, till they die of Age and Diſeaſes. Theſe People are, in general, very induſtrious; but, withal, covetous, falſe, and perfidious to the laſt degree. They have one Cuſtom amongſt them, which is equally ſingular and barbarous; and that is, laying Ambuſcades to entrap and make Slaves of each other; in which whenever they ſucceed, they ſell the poor Captive to a foreign Merchant, and commonly at a very low Rate. They employ themſelves, when they reſide in Towns, in the Silk, Cotton, and Linen Manufactures; and, in the Country, they cultivate their Plantations with the utmoſt Diligence and Care: So that they annually tranſport prodigious Quantities of Grain from hence to *Batavia*.

The *Great Mogul* is one of the richeſt and moſt powerful Princes in the World, has always a numerous Army on Foot, and a moſt magnificent Court; the Directors of *Bengal* and *Surat* know perfectly well how to deal with him, and by making ſhewy Preſents, to extract Diamonds and other precious Stones in Return. *Surat* is a Town of no great Antiquity, ſcarce one hundred Years old at this Day, but very large, and immenſely rich. It is in Compaſs about five Miles within the Walls, and the Number of Inhabitants are computed at 200,000. The *Mooriſh* and even the *Indian* Merchants are many of them prodigiouſly rich. The former addict themſelves chiefly to the Diamond Trade, which is very precarious; for ſometimes a ſmall Stock produces an immenſe Fortune, whereas, at others, a Man waſtes immenſe Sums without finding Stones of any great Value; for, at the Diamond-mines, they purchaſe ſo many Yards Square, at a certain Price, and pay the Slaves who dig and ſift the Earth, and take whatever Stones are found in that Spot; which ſometimes are of great Value, and ſometimes are but ſmall, and ſo few of them, as not to quit Coſts: Other *Mooriſh* Merchants deal largely in foreign Trade; and, as the *Mogul* is a very eaſy Maſter, ſo there are ſome of them that arrive at prodigious Wealth, and carry on ſuch a Commerce as can ſcarce be credited in *Europe*. About twenty Years ago there died a *Mooriſh* Merchant at *Surat*, who fitted out annually twenty Sail of Ships, from three to eight hundred Ton; the Cargoes of which ran from ten to twenty thouſand Pounds, and he had always Goods in his Magazines equal in Value to what he ſent abroad. The Cuſtoms of *Surat* amount every Year to upwards of 160,000 Pounds; and, as the Merchants pay there at a Medium three *per Cent.* the Value of the Goods amount to upwards of 5,000,000 Pounds.

The fourth and laſt Factory under a Director is that at *Gambron*, or *Bandar Abaſſi*, on the Coaſt of *Perſia*. The Director is a principal Merchant, and has always a Council, and a Fiſcal to aſſiſt him. As this City ſtands on the Gulph of *Balſora*, and is the only Port which the *Perſian* Monarch hath on the *Indian* Sea, it lies at a great Diſtance from *Batavia*, which is one Reaſon why this Direction is not ſo much ſought as others: But there is another more potent Reaſon, which is this; that the Heat is greater there than in any other Place in the World, and the Air exceſſively unwholſome. To balance theſe Inconveniencies, the Director of *Gambroon* has an Opportunity of making, in a ſhort time, a vaſt Fortune; ſo that ſome who have been in that Direction four or five Years, have acquired ſuch Eſtates, as rendered it unneceſſary for them to concern themſelves any farther in Commerce. There are ſeveral other *European* Nations ſettled there beſides the *Dutch*; but they have by far the beſt Factory, and have fortified it ſo effectually, that though the Highlanders in its Neighbourhood, who are a Crew of bold and barbarous Robbers, have often attacked, yet they never could maſter it. The King of *Perſia*, who reigned at the time our Author was there, came ſometimes to *Gambroon*, and diſtinguiſhed the *Dutch* from other Nations by the many Marks of his Favour, and by granting them many Privileges: Some time before he had ſent a Preſent to the *Dutch* Governor-General at *Batavia*, of a Gold Saddle, very richly wrought, and adorned with precious Stones, deſiring, in Exchange, an *European* Habit for himſelf, and another for his Queen.

This City is but a diſagreeable Place to live in, ſince, in *Auguſt*, it is ſo intolerably hot, that there is no bearing it; and, in the Winter, it is ſo very cold, that they not only wear *Engliſh* Cloth, but line it with Furs. They have here Black-cattle, Sheep, Goats, Fowl, and Fiſh, very good in their Kind, and tolerably cheap: They have likewiſe Grapes, Melons, and Mangoes, in the utmoſt Perfection: They have likewiſe excellent Wine, eſteemed, by the beſt Judges, ſuperior to that of all other Countries; and, as a Proof of this, it is aſſerted, that it will bear four times its Quantity of Water, and ſtill preſerve a very rich Flavour. The inteſtine Wars in *Perſia* raged to ſuch a Degree, when our Author was in the *Indies*, that it was thought requiſite to leave a Ship conſtantly at *Gambroon*, to carry off the Factory, in caſe it was in Danger.

Another Inconveniency to the Commerce on that Coaſt, was the Multitude of Pirates ſwarming in thoſe Seas, which were chiefly *Europeans*, who, after running away with their Owners Ships, ſubſiſted by robbing all other Nations. Amongſt theſe, our Author informs us, was the *Hare*, a ſtout Ship ſent from *Batavia* to *Perſia*; the Crew of which mutinied in the Voyage, and forced their Officers to turn Pirates. Theſe Fellows, after committing abundance of Ravages on this Coaſt, ſailed for the *Red Sea*, where they attacked and plundered many of the *Arabian* Pirates; at laſt, finding themſelves ſhort of Proviſions, and not daring to put into any Port, they reſolved to return; but, finding themſelves ſhort of Water alſo, they reſolved to ſupply themſelves in a neighbouring Iſland: With this View they hoiſted out the Shallop, into which moſt of the Rebels crouded: This gave an Opportunity to the Officers who were left on board, to reſume their Authority; ſo that, making themſelves once more Maſters of the Ship, they cut the Cable, and brought her ſafely into the Harbour of *Gambroon*. By this means the Ship and Cargo was preſerved to the *India* Company, or rather reſtored to them. Such of the Mutineers as were brought in, were hanged; and the Officers, who had given this convincing Proof of their Integrity, were nobly rewarded, and intruſted with the Care of the Ship back to *Batavia*, where ſhe arrived ſafely.

In the Year 1701. the *Ballowches*, who had rebelled againſt the Schah, attempted, with a Body of 4000 Men, to make themſelves Maſters of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Factories at *Gambroon*; but were beat at both Places; but the *Dutch*, having a Warehouſe at ſome Diſtance from their Factory, in which were Goods to the Value of 20,000 Pounds, it fell all into the Enemies Hands. A ſhort time after this, the famous Rebel *Meriweys*, made himſelf Maſter of *Iſpahan*, where he plundered both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Factories; taking from the former Goods to the Value of half a Million Sterling; and, from the latter, Effects to the Value of 200,000 Pounds. Having finiſhed the Account of the Directories, we ſhall proceed next to the leſſer Settlements.

35. As it is requiſite to have a Subordination in Commands, the *Eaſt India* Company have thought fit to eſtabliſh, in ſuch Places as were not thought of Conſequence enough to require either a Governor or a Director, another principal Officer, with the Title of Commander, or Chief. If the Perſon, veſted with this Authority, be a Merchant, he is accountable for his Conduct to the civil Government; but, if a Captain, then he is under the military Eſtabliſhment. A Commander, or Chief, hath pretty near the ſame Authority with a Governor, that is to ſay, in Conjunction with his Council, except in criminal Caſes; for a Commander, or Chief, cannot execute any capital Judgment, till it has been reviewed and confirmed by the Council of *Batavia*. The Commander at the Fort of *Cochin*, on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, was Captain *Julius de Golnitz*, a Native of *Mecklenbourg*, at the time our Author was at the *Indies*, from whom he received great Civilities. *Malabar* was the firſt Country the *Portugueſe* diſcovered in

the *Eaſt Indies*, and in which they fixed themſelves: They were not able to do this without a great Effuſion of Blood; nor were they many Years in Poſſeſſion, before they were driven out by the *Dutch*. Theſe laſt Conquerors found it a very difficult Matter to ſupport themſelves againſt the Natives, who attacked them with great Spirit, and had at firſt ſo much Succeſs, that, if it had not been for the Courage and Conduct of Major *John Bergman*, they had infallibly been driven out of this Country, which, however, with much ado, he preſerved.

The Coaſt of *Malabar* hath in Extent about an hundred and fifty Leagues, and is in Breadth about twenty. The Climate, though very warm, is very wholſome; the Soil alſo is fertile in Rice, Fruit, and all Sorts of Herbs. This Country is divided into abundance of ſmall Principalities; among which, the following have the Title of Kingdoms; *viz. Canaron*, *Calecut*, *Cranganor*, *Couchin*, *Calicoulang*, *Porcacoulang*, and *Travankor*. As the Capital of the *Dutch* Poſſeſſions in this Country is the City of *Couchin*, we ſhall particularly deſcribe that little Kingdom. It reaches from *Chitwa*, about twenty-four Leagues to the Southward; and, on the Coaſt, is divided by the Rivulets that run from the Mountains of *Gatti*, into a Multitude of ſmall Iſlands; and theſe Rivers have two great Mouths, or Outlets, one at *Couchin*, and the other at *Cranganore*. The firſt *Europeans* that ſettled in *Couchin* were the *Portugueſe*, and they built a fine City on the River-ſide, about three Leagues from the Sea; but the Sea gaining on the Land yearly, it is not now above one hundred Paces from it. It ſtands ſo pleaſantly, that the *Portugueſe* had a common Saying, That *China* was a Country to get Money in, and *Couchin* was a Place to ſpend it in; for the great Numbers of Canals formed by the Rivers and Iſlands, made Fiſhing and Fowling very diverting, and the Mountains are well ſtored with wild Game. On the Inſide of *Baypin* Iſland, there is an old Fort, built by the *Portugueſe*, called *Palliapore*, to inſpect all Boats that go between *Cranganore* and *Couchin*; and, five Leagues up the Rivulets, is a *Romiſh* Church, called *Varapoli*, ſerved by *French* and *Italian* Prieſts; and, when a Biſhop comes into thoſe Parts, it is the Place of his Reſidence. The Padre, Superior of *Varapoli*, can raiſe upon Occaſion 4000 Men, all Chriſtians of the Church of *Rome*; but there are many more St. *Thomas* Chriſtians, that do not communicate with thoſe of *Rome*. About two Leagues farther up, towards the Mountains, on the Side of a ſmall, but a deep River, is a Place called *Firdalgo*, where the Inhabitants of *Couchin* generally aſſemble to refreſh themſelves in the hot Months of *April* and *May*. The Banks and Bottom of the River are clean Sand, and the Water ſo clear, that a ſmall Pebble-ſtone may be ſeen at the Bottom in three Fathom Water.

The Water of this Country, from the Sea Coaſt to *Cranganore* to St. *Andreas*, which is about twelve Leagues, has a very bad Quality of cauſing in the Drinkers of it ſwelled Legs; ſome it affects in one Leg, and ſome in both, ſo that their Legs are above a Yard about at the Ancle; it cauſes no Pain, but itching; nor does the thick Leg feel heavier than the ſmall one, to thoſe who have them. But the *Dutch* at *Couchin*, to prevent that Malady, ſend Boats daily to *Varapoli*, to lade with ſmall portable Casks of ten or twelve *Engliſh* Gallons, to ſerve the City. The Company's Servants have their Water free of Charges, but private Perſons pay Sixpence *per* Cask, if it is brought to their Houſes; and yet, for all that Precaution, there are both *Dutch* Men and Women troubled with that Malady, and no means has been yet found to heal or prevent it. The old Legends impute the Cauſe of theſe ſwelled Legs to a Curſe St. *Thomas* laid upon his Murderers, and their Poſterity, as the odious Mark they ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by. But St. *Thomas* was killed by the *Tilnigue* Prieſts at *Malliapore*, on *Cormandel*, above 400 Miles diſtant from this Coaſt; and the Natives there have no Touch of this Malady.

Couchin is waſhed by the greateſt Outlet on this Coaſt, and, being ſo near the Sea, makes it ſtrong by Nature, but Art has not been wanting to ſtrengthen it. The City built by the *Portugueſe* was about a Mile and an half long, and a Mile broad. The *Dutch* took it from the *Portugueſe* about the Year 1662. when *Heitloff van Ghonz* was General of the *Dutch* Forces by Land, and Commodore of a Fleet by Sea. The Inſolence of the *Portugueſe* had made ſeveral neighbouring Princes become their Enemies, who joined with the *Dutch*, to drive them out of their Neighbourhood; and the King of *Couchin*, particularly, aſſiſted with 20,000 Men. The *Dutch* had not long inveſted the Town, before *van Ghonz* received Advice of a Peace concluded between *Portugal* and *Holland*; but that he kept a Secret to himſelf. He therefore, having made a Breach in the weakeſt Part of the Wall, proceeded to a furious Aſſault, for eight Days and Nights, without Intermiſſion, and relieved his Aſſailants every three Hours; but the *Portugueſe*, keeping their Men continually fatigued, and on Duty all the while, and finding the City at laſt in Danger of being taken by Storm, capitulated, and delivered up the Place. In the Town there were 400 *Topaſſes*, who had done the *Portugueſe* good Service, but were not comprehended in the Treaty: As ſoon as they knew of that Omiſſion, and the Cruelty and Licentiouſneſs of the *Dutch* Soldiery in *India*, they drew up on a Parade within the Port that the *Portugueſe* were to go out at, and the *Dutch* to enter in; and ſwore, that if they had not the ſame Favours and Indulgence that were granted to the *Portugueſe*, they would maſſacre them all, and ſet Fire to the Town. The *Dutch* General knew his own Intereſt too well to deny what they deſired; and offered, moreover, to take thoſe, who had a mind to ſerve, into *Dutch* Pay, which many of them accepted. The very next Day after the *Dutch* had Poſſeſſion, came a Frigate from *Goa*, with the Articles of Peace made with *Holland*; and the *Portugueſe* complained loudly of the General's unfair Dealings; but were anſwered, that the *Portugueſe* had acted the ſame Farce towards the *Dutch*, at their taking *Fernambuco* in *Braſil* a few Years before. The *Engliſh* had then a Factory in *Couchin*, but the *Dutch* ordered them to remove, with their Effects, which they according did, to their Factory at *Pennany*.

As ſoon as the *Dutch* became Maſters of the City, they thought it was too large; and ſo contracted it to what it is now, being hardly One-tenth of what it was. It is about 600 Paces long, and 200 broad, fortified with ſeven large Baſtions, and Curtains ſo thick, that two Rows of large Trees are planted on them for Shade in the hot Seaſon. Some Streets built by the *Portugueſe* are ſtill ſtanding, with a Church for the *Dutch* Service, and a Cathedral, now turned into a Warehouſe. The Commander's Houſe, which is a ſtately Structure, is the only Houſe built after the *Dutch* Mode, and the River waſhes ſome Part of its Walls. Their Flag-ſtaff is placed on the Steeple of the old Cathedral, on a Maſt of ſeventy-five Feet high, and a Staff at the Top of it about ſixty Feet; and the Flag may be ſeen above ſeven Leagues off. The Gariſon generally conſiſts of 300 effective Men, and from Cape *Comerin* upwards. They are allowed in all their Forts and Factories 500 Soldiers, and 100 Seamen, all *Europeans*, beſides ſome *Topaſſes*, and the Militia. They have their Store of Rice from *Barſalore*, becauſe the *Malabar* Rice will not keep above three Months out of the Huſk, but in the Huſk it will keep a Year. The Country produces great Quantities of Pepper, but lighter than that which grows more Northerly. Their Woods afford good Teak for building, and Angelique and Pawpeet for making large Cheſts and Cabinets, which are carried all over the Weſt Coaſts of *India*. They have alſo Iron and Steel in Plenty, and Bees-wax, for exporting. Their Seas afford them abundance of good Fiſh of ſeveral Kinds, which, with thoſe that are caught in their Rivers, make them very cheap.

Cranganore lies a League up the River from the Sea, and the *Dutch* have a Fort there. This Place is remarkable for having been formerly the Seat of a *Jewiſh* Government, that Nation having been once ſo numerous there, that they could reckon above 80,000 Families, but at preſent are reduced to 4000. They have a Synagogue at *Couchin*, not far from the King's Palace, about two Miles from the City, in which are carefully kept their Records, engraven on Copper-plates in *Hebrew* Characters; and when any of the Characters decay, they are new cut; ſo that they can ſhew their Hiſtory from the Reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* to this preſent time. Mynheer *van Reede*, about the Year 1695, had an Abſtract of their Hiſtory, tranſlated from the *Hebrew* into *Low Dutch*. They declare themſelves to be of the Tribe of *Manaſſeh*, a Part whereof was, by that haughty Conqueror *Nebuchadnezzar*, carried to the moſt Eaſtern Province of his large Empire, which, it ſeems, reached as far as Cape *Comerin*, which Journey 20,000 of them travelled in three Years from their ſetting out of *Babylon*. When they arrived in the *Malabar* Country, they found the Inhabitants very civil and hoſpitable to Strangers, giving them Liberty of Conſcience in religious Matters, and the free Uſe of Reaſon and Induſtry in Oeconomy. There they increaſed in Numbers and Riches, till, in Proceſs of Time, either by Policy or Wealth, or both, they came to make themſelves Maſters of the little Kingdom of *Cranganore*; and there being one Family among them, much eſteemed for Wiſdom, Power, and Riches, two of the Sons of that Family were choſen, by their Elders and Senators, to govern the Commonwealth, and reign jointly over them. Concord, the ſtrongeſt Bond of Society, was in a ſhort time broken, and Ambition took Place; for one of the Brothers, inviting his Collegue to a Feaſt, and picking a Quarrel with his Gueſt, baſely killed him, thinking by that means to reign alone. But the Deceaſed, leaving a Son of a bold Spirit behind him, revenged his Father's Death, by killing the Fratricide; and ſo the State fell again into Democracy, which ſtill continues among the *Jews* here. But the Lands have many Ages ſince returned back into the Hands of the *Malabars*, and Poverty and Oppreſſion have made many apoſtatize. Between *Cranganore* and *Couchin*, there is an Iſland called *Baybin*, that occupies the Sea-coaſt. It is four Leagues long, but no Part of it is two Miles broad. The *Dutch* forbid all Veſſels or Boats to enter at *Cranganore*, and at *Couchin*: The Chanel is about a Quarter of a Mile broad, but very deep, though the Bar has not above fourteen Feet Water at Spring-tides.

The Inhabitants of this Country are many of them Idolaters, over whom their Bramins, or Prieſts, have a very great Authority, of which they make a very bad Uſe. Amongſt other odd Cuſtoms, they have introduced one that is very whimſical: When any Man marries, he is abſolutely forbid to bed with his Wife the firſt Night; and this Function is to be performed in his ſtead by one of the Bramins; or, if there be none at hand, by ſome other Man. This was formerly a very conſiderable Advantage to ſuch Foreigners as were ſettled here, the *Malabars* making Choice of them, rather than their own Countrymen; and on ſuch Occaſions they made very large Preſents, which ſometimes amounted to 5 or 600 Florins: But, of late Days, this Source is quite dried up; for the Bramins are become ſo very religious, that they take care never to be out of the Way when this Part of their Duty is to be performed: To ſay the Truth, they puſh this Matter to ſuch a Length, and frequent the Womens Company ſo much, that there is no body, of their Religion, that can pretend to know with Certainty his own Father. It is for this Reaſon, that, by a ſtanding Law of the Country, neither Sons nor Daughters ever inherit, but the Nephews and Nieces, that is to ſay, the Siſters Children of the Perſon deceaſed, as certainly of his Blood; which Rule is obſerved in the Order of Succeſſion eſtabliſhed in their Royal Families, and is a glaring Proof of the ſtrange Effects of boundleſs Superſtition.

The next Commandery is that of *Gallo*, on the Iſland of *Ceylon*, at the Diſtance of twenty Leagues from *Columbo*, which, as we have before ſhewn, is the Capital of that Iſland. *Gallo* was the firſt Place taken by the *Dutch* from the *Portugueſe*, and, at this Day, is a Place of very conſiderable Trade; the Commander of which, however, depends on the Governor of *Ceylon*, and can do nothing without his Approbation. About the Year 1672, the late King *Lewis* XIV. fitted out a Squadron of eight Sail of Frigates, which were to have made themſelves Maſters of this Place. One Mr. *John Martin*, who had ſerved the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company many Years, and had quitted their Service upon ſome Diſguſt, was the Author of this Project; but, finding, when the King's Orders came to be opened at Sea, that another Man was to have the Government of it, in caſe the Place was taken, he took ſuch Methods as rendered the Expedition fruitleſs, Mr. *van Goſſe*, who then commanded the *Dutch* Fleet, ſoon arrived upon the Coaſt; and the *French*, not thinking themſelves ſtrong enough to venture an Engagement, retired without ſo much as attacking the Place. They went then to *Trankamala*, and anchored in that Bay, deſigning to force that ſmall Gariſon to ſurrender; but this vigilant *Dutchman* was ſoon after them with his Fleet, and forced them to fight diſadvantageouſly in *Trankamala* Bay, where the *French* loſt half their Fleet, either ſunk or burnt; with the reſt they fled to *St. Thomas*, on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, intending to ſettle there; but *van Goſſe* was ſoon amongſt them there alſo, and ſeized their Ships, many of their Guns being diſmounted, and carried aſhore: But, finding they could do no Good againſt ſo powerful and vigilant an Enemy, they treated and capitulated with the *Dutch* to leave *India*, if they might be allowed Shipping to carry them away; which the *Dutch* agreed to, and allowed them their Admiral's Ship, *le Grand Breton*, and two more, to tranſport themſelves whither they pleaſed: But Mr. *Martin* was carried to *Batavia*, and there confined for his Life-time, with an Allowance of a Rixdollar *per Diem*.

The third Commandery is that of *Samaran*, in the Iſland of *Java*; and he who is appointed Commander there, has the Direction of all the Factories in that Iſland, except ſuch as depend immediately on the Government of *Batavia*. Within his Juriſdiction lies *Kattaſura*, which is the Reſidence of the Emperor of *Java*: And here it may not be amiſs to take notice of the Cauſe of the laſt War, which has been more than once mentioned by the Name of the War of *Java*. It broke out in the Year 1704, when Mr. *John van Horn* was Governor-General, upon this Occaſion. The Emperor dying, there were two Competitors for the Succeſſion, one of which was the Brother, the other the Son, of the Emperor deceaſed; the *Dutch* ſided with the former, but the latter had the Affections of the People, and drew over to his Party a great Number of *Indian* Soldiers, who had ſerved the *Dutch*, and, being well diſciplined, behaved gallantly on all Occaſions. This War laſted twenty Years, and gave the *Eaſt India* Company ſo much Trouble, that, in all Probability, they will not very readily be drawn into an Affair of this kind again.

At *Bantam*, on the ſame Iſland, the Head of the Factory has the Title of a Chief. There is a very ſtrong Fort there, and a numerous Gariſon, to keep the People in Awe, who are very mutinous, and far enough from being well affected to the *Dutch*. The King has alſo a Fort, at the Diſtance of ſome hundred Paces from the Company's Fort, in which he has alſo a ſtout Gariſon for the Security of his Perſon. The only Commodity of the Country is Pepper, of which they are able to export annually ten thouſand Tons. The Bay of *Bantam* is very ſafe and pleaſant, in which are many Iſlands that ſtill retain the Names given them by the *Engliſh*, who had formerly a very fine Factory at this Place, from which they were expelled in 1683. The *Eaſt India* Company oblige the King to furniſh them with a certain Quantity of Pepper; in all other reſpects they treat him kindly enough, becauſe, as our Author obſerves, it is their Intereſt ſo to do; he is the Sovereign of a great Country, very well peopled; and his Subjects are a very hardy, enterprizing Nation, perfidious, revengeful, and naturally hating all Chriſtians to the laſt degree.

Our Author tells us, that, in his Time, a Lieutenant and twenty Men were ſurpriſed by them, and entirely cut off; which occaſioned the ſending ſuch a Reinforcement, as rendered the Gariſon of the Fort at *Bantam* ſtrong enough to command all the Country in its Neighbourhood; which was the more neceſſary, becauſe *Bantam*, by the Height of its Situation, commands the Streight between the Iſlands of *Java* and *Sumatra*. Our Author obſerves, that the laſt King of *Bantam* died at the Age of one hundred, and was ſucceeded by his Son, who was then a young Man. He diſcovered, while Prince, an Inclination to Piracy; and actually fitted out ſome Veſſels on that Account. Our Author ſaw him, after he was King; and found him a very agreeable Man in his Perſon and Converſation, though his Character was extremely bad: He was exceſſively debauched; and, not being content with keeping upwards of 500 Concubines, committed Inceſts with his Siſters-in-law, and even with his own Daughters. The Governor-General at *Batavia* admoniſhed him often upon this Subject, repreſenting to him, that ſuch a Courſe of Life was utterly unbecoming a Prince, and was what no Law or Religion could tolerate. To this the King anſwered; that he knew of no Laws that could bind him, who gave Laws to others, and was therefore himſelf above them. He once demanded of the Governor-General an *European* Woman, promiſing to make her his Wife; which was refuſed him; however, a Picture was ſent him of an *European* Lady at full Length.

He profeſſed himſelf of the Religion of his Country, that is to ſay, a *Mohammedan*, to which Law his Subjects are, generally ſpeaking, great Bigots; and therefore hated him extremely on account of his looſe Behaviour. It was not only in point of Women that he acted in ſo vile a Way, but his Conduct throughout was ſo mean, ſo baſe, and ſo unbecoming a Prince, that, knowing how much he was deſpiſed and abhorred, he kept always in his Fort, truſting his Safety intirely to his Guards and Fortifications: Yet, in the midſt of theſe, he met with the juſt Reward of his Crimes, that is to ſay, a ſudden Death; but whether violent or not, our Author has not thought fit to explain. He ſays, that the Country of *Bantam* is very fertile, abounding with Cattle, Rice, and Fruits; and adds farther, that, in the Heart of the Country, there are frequently found precious Stones of great Value, of which, however, the *Dutch* rarely get Poſſeſſion, the People fearing, that this may tempt them to extend their Conqueſts, by which they are but too much oppreſſed already.

The ſecond of the Chiefs reſides at *Padang*, on the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, otherwiſe called the *Gold Coaſt:* This Chief has his Council and Fiſcal like the reſt; and it is uſually conſidered as a very profitable, as well as honourable, Employment. *Sumatra* is a very large fine Iſland, which is ſeparated from the Continent of *Aſia* by the Streights of *Malacca*, and is juſtly eſteemed one of the richeſt and nobleſt Countries in all the *Indies*. The *Dutch* have a Factory at *Pullambam*, which lies about eight Leagues from the Sea, on the Banks of a very large River, which empties itſelf into the Sea by four different Chanels. The great Trade carried on there is that of Pepper, which the *Eaſt India* Company would monopolize in the ſame manner they do Cloves, Cinnamon, and Nutmegs; in order to which, they are at a very great Expence for keeping ſeveral armed Barks, cruiſing at the Mouth of this River, to prevent what they are pleaſed to call Smuggling. It muſt be allowed, that they have made a Contract with the King, to take off all the Pepper in his Dominions, at the Rate of ten Pieces of Eight for a Bahaar, or 400 Pounds, which is a very fair Price: They have, however, a ſaving Clauſe in their Contract, by which it is provided, that half the Purchace of the Pepper ſhall be taken in Cloth, at ſuch a Rate, as greatly reduces the Value of their Cargoes; and it is for this Reaſon, that the *Dutch* are ſo much afraid of Smuggling: Yet, in ſpite of all their armed Barks, it is a thing notoriouſly known, that, for a thouſand Florins to his Majeſty of *Pullambam*, and as much to the *Dutch* Chief, a Cargo of a thouſand Bahaars of Pepper may be carried off the Iſland without any great Trouble.

The Country is mountainous, which is not looked upon as a great Inconveniency, ſince almoſt all theſe Hills are known to abound with Gold, Silver, Lead, and other Metals; and the Company is poſſeſſed of ſome Mines of Gold, which are very rich, and great Care taken both to ſecure and conceal the Profits that are made of them. There are likewiſe great Quantities of Gold-duſt found in all the Rivers and Rivulets of this Country, eſpecially during the Time that the Weſt Monſoon reigns, becauſe then the Torrents roll from the Mountains with great Rapidity. Here is abundance of Copper, of which they make good Guns; ſeveral ſorts of precious Stones, and a Mountain of burning Brimſtone, which continually blows out Flames like Mount *Gibel* in *Sicily*; 'tis ſaid here is alſo a Fountain of Balm: It abounds with Spices and Silks; but the Air is not very wholſome, eſpecially for Strangers, becauſe there are ſo many Rivers, Standing-waters, and thick Foreſts in it. There is no Wheat, or any other ſort of Corn, that grows in *Europe*; but there is Plenty of Rice, Millet, and Fruits, which afford good and ſufficient Nouriſhment for the Inhabitants. It produces likewiſe abundance of Honey, Bees-wax, Ginger, Camphire, *Caſſia* Pepper, *&c.* white Sanders, and eſpecially Cotton, of which the Inhabitants make their Garments.

This Iſland is of very great Extent, according to the beſt Accounts, upwards of 400 Leagues in Circumference. The greateſt and moſt powerful Monarch in the Iſland is the King of *Achem*, or, as it is written in the *Indies*, *Acheen*. It was formerly governed always by a Woman; and Queen *Elizabeth*, of *England*, entertained a cloſe Correſpondence with the Queen of *Achem*, who was living in her Time. It is not above forty Years ſince the Government fell into the Hands of a Man; and ſeveral Attempts have been made ſince to reſtore the old Conſtitution, under which the People were much happier than any of their Neighbours. It is, to this Day, a free Port, to which *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Portugueſe*, *Chineſe*, and, in ſhort, all the Nations of *Europe* and *Aſia*, trade with Safety. The Goods which are brought thither are rich Brocades, Silks of all ſorts, Muſlins of all ſorts, Raw Silk, Fiſh, Butter, Oil, and Ammunition, for which they are paid chiefly in Gold, the great Commodity of the Country, and remarkably fine.

There is no Country in the *Indies*, where, during the Weſtern Monſoons, the Rains fall with greater Violence, or are attended with more terrible Storms of Thunder, Lightning, and Earthquakes, than in *Sumatra*; but the People, being uſed to them, are not much alarmed, but bear them patiently, and are ſeldom heard to complain of the Climate. Theſe People are, generally ſpeaking, *Mohammedans*, and are very expert in making all ſorts of Gold Plate with very few Tools, and yet with ſuch inimitable Dexterity, that whatever is of their Workmanſhip, ſells at a very great Rate throughout all the *Indies*. The Company ſends every Year a great Number of Slaves to work in their Gold-mines. The Kings, in that Part of the Country, are very rarely upon good Terms with the *Dutch*; and our Author tells us, that, when he was in the *Indies*, one of thoſe Princes, who was ſtyled King of the Mountains, becauſe he was Maſter of moſt of the Countries where the Mines lay, quarrelled with the Company, and drew all his Subjects out of their Service. The principal Places, where Gold is found by the Natives of the Country, are *Triou* and *Manincabo*. The Method they take in coming at it is this: They dig, at the Bottom of the Mountains, Ditches, where the Water being ſtopped when rolling down the Sides of the Mountains in the Winter, they, in the Summer, draw it off; and, by waſhing the Mud which remains at the Bottom, obtain from thence conſiderable Quantities of Gold-duſt. It is generally believed amongſt ſuch as are beſt acquainted with the Commerce of the *Indies*, that this Iſland furniſhes annually 5000 Pound-weight of this precious Metal; yet very little, if any, of this Gold is ever brought to *Europe*, the *Eaſt India* Company employing it in other Places, where Gold is valuable, and where they can purchaſe other Commodities, which turn in *Europe* to a better Account.

There is a Project with reſpect to this Iſland, which has long employed the Thoughts of the Company; and that is, procuring Ships to be built here, for which, it is certain, there are great Conveniencies, ſince the Wood of this Iſland is ſo firm and durable, that Ships of it would laſt forty or fifty Years; whereas thoſe that come from *Europe* are, generally ſpeaking, worn out in twelve or thirteen. Beſides *Padang* and *Pallambam* before-mentioned, the *Dutch* have a ſtrong Fort, and great Factory, at *Jambie*, and another at *Siack*; which laſt Place is exceſſively unwholſome, occaſioned by a very odd Accident: It ſtands on the great River *Andragbira*, into which, at a certain Seaſon of the Year, there come vaſt Quantities of Shads of a very large Size, one-third of which is owing to their Roes, which are accounted a great Delicacy; and therefore, after taking theſe out, the reſt of the Fiſh is thrown away; and, lying in great Heaps, corrupt, and exhale peſtilential Vapours, that infect the Air. The Perſons therefore that are ſent to *Siack*, are much of the ſame Stamp with thoſe that are ſent to *Banda*, that is to ſay, Men of abandoned Characters, and deſperate Fortunes.

On the Banks of the River *Bancalis*, they have another very conſiderable Factory, which produces a large Profit from the Sale of Cloth and Opium, that are conſtantly paid for in Gold-duſt. This was diſcovered, about forty Years ago, by a Factor in the Company's Service, who, after he had carried it on privately for about ten Years, and acquired by it upwards of a Ton of Gold *per Annum*, which is a *Dutch* Phraſe, that implies as much as 10,000 *l.* Sterling, he reſolved to ſecure what he had got, by making a free Diſcovery of this Branch of Commerce to the Company. There are likewiſe ſeveral *Dutch* Plantations on this Iſland, which are, all together, comprehended under the general Title of the Weſt Coaſt. There ſubſiſts in *Sumatra* a very powerful and warlike People, who have no other Name, than that of the *Free Nation*, and are equally averſe to the Yoke, either of the Monarchs of the Iſland, or of the *Europeans*, having always valiantly defended themſelves againſt both. All the Inhabitants of *Sumatra* are much more inclined to the *Engliſh* than the *Dutch*, perhaps becauſe they are not under their Power; but the latter take all the Pains they can to prevent it, and to force the Natives to deal with none but themſelves. There is one ſtrange Effect, that very probably flows from the great Commerce of Gold in this Iſland; which is this, that, for twenty or thirty Years paſt, the Chiefs at *Padang* have been ſo unlucky, as to have their Honeſty always ſuſpected. This is chiefly owing to their Management of the Mines, that do not turn greatly to the Account of the Company, while all their Officers get immenſe Eſtates out of them; a thing the Council at *Batavia* can neither underſtand, nor digeſt. For this Reaſon, they change the Chief very often, but to very little Purpoſe; and, when our Author was in the *Indies*, they ſent from *Batavia* an Order, not only for arreſting the Chief of *Padang*, but all his Council alſo, on a Charge of Mal-adminiſtration; but, as he ſoon afterwards left the Country, he could not give us any Account of the Iſſue of that Proſecution.

The third Chief reſides at *Japan*. He is always a principal Merchant, and is aſſiſted by ſome Writers in the Company's Service. The Profit, which they formerly made by this Eſtabliſhment, was very conſiderable, amounting frequently to 80 or 100 *per Cent.* but is now ſunk to ſuch a degree, that they rarely make above eight or ten. This great Diminution is chiefly owing to the Practice of the *Chineſe*, who, for ſome time paſt, have purchaſed all ſorts of Goods proper for that Market at *Canton*, and have exported them from thence to *Japan*. It is alſo ſaid, that they have contracted with the *Japoneſe* to furniſh them with all ſorts of Merchandize at the ſame Price as the *Dutch*. Another Cauſe is a Practice eſtabliſhed by the *Japoneſe* themſelves; which is that of fixing the Price of all ſorts of Goods. We will give you, ſay they, ſo much for this, and ſo much for that; and, if you do not like what we offer, there are your Goods; take them home again. It is very poſſible, that this Notion was ſuggeſted to them by the *Chineſe*, who were treated in the ſame manner formerly at *Batavia*. The Governor-General *van Zwol* thought proper to ſet a Price on all ſorts of Silks, and other Goods, the *Chineſe* brought to *Batavia*; and, at the ſame time, fixed the Rate of the Commodities and Manufactures, which the Company were to give in Exchange. This the *Chineſe* looked upon as a prodigious Hardſhip, and a thing altogether incompatible with the Nature of Commerce. They repreſented this in the ſtrongeſt Terms to the General; but to no manner of Purpoſe. They then addreſſed themſelves to their Sovereign, and complained of this Innovation ſo warmly, that, after various Expoſtulations with the Governor to no Effect, all Commerce between the two Nations was broken off; and Things continued in this Poſture till the Death of Mr. *van Zwol*. But his Succeſſor Mr. *Swaardekroon*, purſuing quite different Principles, reſtored all Things to their former State, and put their Commerce on the old Foot again. But to return to *Japan*:

There is no Place in the *Eaſt Indies*, where the *Dutch* have ſo little Authority, and where their Eſtabliſhment is of ſo little Conſequence, as here in *Japan*. They have, it is true, a little Iſland allowed them to themſelves, where they have Warehouſes for their Goods, and a few ordinary Houſes, in which ſuch Perſons live as are in the Company's Service. But then this Iſland is, in effect, a Priſon, in which they are ſhut up for Life, or at leaſt for the Time they ſtay here, and are not ſo much as allowed to paſs the Bridge, that joins this Iſland to the City of *Nangazaqui*. The only Shadow of Liberty that is left them, conſiſts in the Chief's going once a Year, attended by two or three other Perſons, to the Court of the Emperor, in Quality of Embaſſador, in order to renew the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, which ſubſiſts between that potent Monarch and the Company. One great Reaſon that is aſſigned for the holding the *Dutch* to ſuch hard Terms is, their having attempted ſome Familiarities with the *Japoneſe* Women; but the true Reaſon is a well-grounded Suſpicion, that the *Dutch* have an Inclination to fix themſelves there by Force, of which they have, more than once, given ſome remarkable Tokens, the laſt of which fell out not many Years ago, and is like to be ever remembered.

It is to be obſerved, that the *Hollanders* have been more obliged to Foreigners for maintaining their Commerce in *Japan*, than in any other Place. They owe their original Eſtabliſhment there to the Care of one Mr. *Adams* an *Engliſhman*, as ſhall be largely ſhewn in the next Chapter; and they had well nigh brought about what they have been ſo long aiming at, the eſtabliſhing a Fort on their Iſland, by the Contrivance of a *Frenchman*, who was at the Head of their Factory. This Gentleman's Name was Mr. *Carron*, a Perſon of great Parts, and who, in ſeveral Journeys he had made to the Emperor's Court, had found means to ingratiate himſelf with that Monarch, by entertaining him with Accounts of the State of *Europe* at that time; which that Prince, and indeed all the *Japoneſe* Emperors, are curious to know. Having by this means frequent Acceſs to the Imperial Preſence, he, preſuming on his Credit with the Emperor, begged his Permiſſion to build a Houſe on the little Iſland where their Factory ſtood, on his Maſters Account. Which Requeſt the Emperor granted. Accordingly the Foundation was laid very large for an Houſe. However, the Building went chearfully on, till it grew into an handſome Fortification, of a regular Tetragon. The *Japoneſe*, being intirely ignorant of the Art of Fortification, had not the leaſt Suſpicion of Deceit, but ſuffered them to finiſh it. When it was finiſhed, Mr. *Carron* adviſed his Maſters at *Batavia* of the Progreſs he had made; and deſired, by the next Shipping, to have ſome Cannon ſent him in Caſks filled with Rubbiſh, ſuch as Oakam or Cotton, the Caſks to be well-bound with iron Hoops, and the Heads ſecurely fixed in, with ſome Caſks of the ſame Make filled with Spices; which Advice was accordingly followed. When the Shipping arrived, the Lading was landed, according to Cuſtom; but, in rolling the Caſks, one of them, that had a Braſs Gun, had the Misfortune to have one of its Heads fall out; and the Cheat was, by that Accident, diſcovered. This put a Stop to all Commerce, till the Emperor's Pleaſure was known. This Affair gave the Emperor a very bad Impreſſion of the *Dutch*, and of all who were employed by them. He would not, however, prohibit Trade; but gave Orders to put any *Dutchman* to Death, who ſhould preſume to ſtir out of the Iſland; and directed, that Mr. *Carron* ſhould be ſent to anſwer for this Fault to *Jeddo*, where his Imperial Majeſty reſided. On his Arrival, and being interrogated there, he was able to ſay nothing in Excuſe, when the Emperor reproached him with abuſing his Kindneſs; for which he had his Beard pulled out Hair by Hair; and then, being dreſſed in a Fool's Coat and Cap, was expoſed, in that Condition, throughout all the Streets in the City: After which, he was ſent back to his Factory, with Orders to return in the firſt Ship that was ſent to *Batavia*.

Many *Engliſh* Writers call the Iſland, upon which the *Dutch* Factories ſtand, *Nangeſack*; but this ſeems to be a Corruption of the Name of the City, which is properly called *Nankeſaki*, and the Iſland where the *Dutch* reſide *Deſima*. This Iſland is divided from the City by a ſmall Stream of ſalt Water, of about forty Feet broad; over which lies a Bridge, about fifty Feet broad; at one End of which there is a Draw-bridge, of which the *Japoneſe* are Maſters, and over which the *Dutch* dare not paſs without Leave from the Governor of the City; neither dare any of the *Japoneſe* converſe with the *Dutch*, excepting only the Merchants, and the Factors, who have a Licence for that Purpoſe. The Iſland, for the Security of the Factory, is paliſaded quite round; and there are four great Streets that go acroſs it, with large Magazines or Warehouſes on both Sides, and a ſpacious Market-place over-againſt the Bridge, where, at certain times, the Town's-people have Leave to trade with them. The *Dutch* are not even Maſters of their own Ships; for, as ſoon as any one of them enters the Port, the *Japoneſe* inſtantly take Poſſeſſion of her, take out all the Arms and Ammunition, which they carry aſhore, and lay up ſafely, in order to return, when the Ship is ready to ſail; they exact likewiſe a ſtrict Account of the Number and Quality of all the Men on board of her, and even cauſe them to be muſtered by a Commiſſary of their own, in order to be ſatisfied, that the Account they had before taken was true. After taking theſe Precautions, we need not wonder at a Proverb they have common amongſt them; *viz. The* Dutch *have more Cunning than all the Nations of the Weſt, but the* Japoneſe *are ſtill more Cunning than they.*

Japan, with the neighbouring Iſlands under its Dominion, is ſaid be near as big as *Great Britain*; it is in Length, from North-eaſt to South-weſt, near 300 Leagues, and the Mean of its Breadth about 160 Miles; it is well peopled, and produces all Things neceſſary for human Suſtenance in great Plenty; yet the *Dutch*, in their Iſland, pay a round Price for every thing they have, and purchaſe even the Wood they burn by Weight. Their Mountains are very rich in Gold, Silver, and Copper, which laſt is the very beſt in the known World; their Porcelain, or *Japan* Earthen-ware, is finer than *China* Ware, but much thicker and heavier, and the Colours brighter, and it ſells much dearer, either in *India* or *Europe*, than what is made in *China*; but their Tea is not near ſo good. Their lacked or japanned Ware, is, without any doubt, the beſt in the World; the beſt Sort will hold boiling Water without Detriment to it. They abound in Silks, both Wrought and Raw, much ſtronger than what *China* produces. Their Houſes are for the moſt part built of Wood; but the Emperor's Palaces are built of Marble, and are covered with gilded Copper. Their Gilding is very durable, and can withſtand all Winds and Weather many Years. The City of *Jeddo* is their Metropolis, and its Magnitude may be gueſſed by a Fire that happened in it about the Year 1660. which conſumed, in eight Days that it raged, about 120,000 Houſes, beſides above 500 Temples.

Their Religion is purely *Pagan*, and *Amida* is their favourite God; but his Habitation is a great Way off; for they report, that a Soul is three Years in continual Travel before it can reach Paradiſe, which is only the Suburbs of Heaven: However, when they once get thither, they are pretty ſure of going to Heaven, and they live pretty quietly in Paradiſe, becauſe not one of their Fiends dares come thither to diſturb any of them. They have ſeveral other Gods, and each of them has his Adorers and Devotees. One is repreſented as having three Faces, and he is believed to be the Father of the Sun, Moon, and Stars. Every God has his particular Paradiſe, but none is nearer than three Years Journey: Some of their Zealots cut their own Throats, to get an eaſy Paſſage to ſome of them; and others hang themſelves, for the ſame Purpoſe. They carry their Idols in Proceſſion on Horſeback, with inſtrumental and vocal Muſic, to entertain them. They make many Feaſts and Sacrifices to their Idols, but they are only fed with the Smoke; the Votaries eat the Meat. The *Japoneſe* are ſtrict Obſervers of moral Rules, and particularly in Commerce, inſomuch that a Merchant of Reputation, in his Payments, puts up 5, 10, or any decimal Number of Cupangs (which is a broad oblong Piece of Gold of twenty Shillings Value there) into a ſilk Bag; and, putting his Seal on the Bag, paſſes current for what the Seal mentions, for ſeveral Generations, without ſo much as looking what is in the Bag; and Gold is ſo plentiful and cheap, that a Cupang of twenty Shillings, in *Japan*, paſſes current in *Batavia* for thirty-two Shillings; and, when the Lion is ſtampt on it by the Company, it paſſes for forty Shillings Sterling.

They are likewiſe exact Obſervers of Juſtice, and rigorous in puniſhing of Crimes. To a Man of Diſtinction, convicted of a capital Crime, the Emperor ſends a Letter, that on ſuch a Day, and ſuch an Hour, he muſt be his own Executioner, on Penalty of exquiſite Torments, if he ſurvives the appointed Time; ſo that the common Cuſtom is, that the Delinquent ſends for his neareſt and beſt Friends, to a ſumptuous Feaſt, on the Day ſet him; and, after the Feaſt is over, he ſhews them the Emperor's Letter; and, while they are reading it, he takes a Dagger, that he has about him for that Purpoſe, and with it ſtabs himſelf below the Navel, and rips himſelf up to the Breaſt-bone. The inferior Sort are forced to ſubmit to Hanging, Beheading, or Throwing over a high Precipice; and, for ſmall Faults, Whipping and Stigmatizing are common Puniſhments. This Severity ſeems to ſhew, that the Stateſmen and Lawgivers of this Country, who ought to be beſt acquainted with the Genius of the People, are ſatisfied, that nothing but penal Laws, ſtrictly executed, can contain them within due Bounds.

It is certain, that the Government of *Japan* would be well enough pleaſed to encourage a free Trade with all the Nations, if it was not conſtrained by two Conſiderations: The firſt is, the Dread of having their Religion inſulted, which, from a miſguided Zeal, was very frequent, while there were any Chriſtians among the *Japoneſe*. The other is, their Averſion to ſtrange Cuſtoms, or any Innovation in the Manners of their People, from which they apprehend the worſt Conſequences. When the *Dutch* were firſt eſtabliſhed here, the then prime Miniſter of *Japan* gave their Embaſſador this Account of the Matter: We do not condemn your Cuſtoms, or cenſure your Way of Living; but we are determined to preſerve our own: We know very well the Advantages that reſult from the Syſtem of Government eſtabliſhed amongſt us, and we will not run the Hazard of a Change: We know too, that great Revolutions are brought about by imperceptible Degrees, and, therefore, we are reſolved to cure the Itch of Novelty by the Rod of Puniſhment. Upon this Maxim that Law is founded, by which no *Japoneſe* dares leave his Country; and, if he does, he muſt never return. They are ſo wedded to their own Cuſtoms and Opinions, and ſo jealous of having new or foreign Cuſtoms introduced, that they will not ſend Embaſſies to other Kings or States, or ſuffer their Merchants to have Commerce out of their own Dominions; only they ſend ſome ſmall Jonks, or Veſſels, in Summer-time, to the Land of *Yedſo*, about fifty Leagues from the North-end of *Japan*; and it is reported, they bring much Gold from thence: But, whether that Country is Part of their Dominions, or not, is not eaſy to ſay; but it is alſo reported, that the Natives of the Country are robuſt and uncivilized; and that they ſpeak the *Japan* Language.

Our Author affirms, that the *Dutch* have actually ſurrounded the Coaſt of *Japan*, and are ſatisfied, that it is an Iſland; and he farther aſſures us, that they have but one good Port, all the reſt of their Coaſts being ſo guarded by ſteep Rocks, and Shole-water, that they have no Reaſon to fear Invaſions. He obſerves likewiſe, that, in point of Military Diſcipline, they very far exceed the *Chineſe*; and that their People are, by no means, of ſo baſe and effeminate a Temper, as moſt of the Inhabitants of that great Empire. He adds, that the Government is perfectly uniform, and well ſettled; for tho' ſeveral Countries have the Title of Kingdoms, yet all their Monarchs are under the ſtricteſt Subjection to the Emperor, and the Laws of the Country prevail every-where, ſo that there cannot be ſaid to be any Diverſity of Intereſts.

There is likewiſe a very ſtrict Regard had to private Property, the Father tranſmitting to the Son, not only his patrimonial Eſtate, but what he has acquired by his own Induſtry, which is certainly one of the beſt Methods for preventing the Deſire of Change. The *Japoneſe* are not only a very ſubtle and crafty People, but have alſo a ſurpriſing Quickneſs of Parts. The Emperor, though he reſides at *Jeddo*, which is thirty Days Journey from the Port, by the quickeſt Conveyance in Uſe in that Country, has, notwithſtanding, Intelligence, in the Space of three Days, of the Number and Force of all Ships that arrive. This is performed by Flags and Beacons. As ſoon as a Ship arrives, they examine, as we before remarked, the Strength of the Veſſel; of which Report being made to the Governor, he orders the Beacon to be fired; or, if there be two Ships, two Beacons; and, at the ſame time, hoiſts a Flag, the Colour of which intimates the Force of the Ship. This Signal, as ſoon as diſcerned, is repeated from every Hill and Eminence, till it reaches the Gates of *Jeddo*; ſo that the Emperor, and his Council, have time to deliberate on the Meaſures proper to be taken. The Forms obſerved in Buſineſs are wonderfully exact; and the Emperor's Orders or Edicts ſignified in Terms equally expreſſive, and full of Dignity, having very little of that Bombaſt and ſwelling Stile, which is common in oriental Courts: Yet, in the midſt of all theſe Marks of good Senſe, and quick Parts, their Religion is the idleſt and moſt ridiculous than can be imagined; of which the Author gives us one Proof, that is really aſtoniſhing. There is a tutelary God to every Family, whoſe Idol is placed at the Top of the Houſe, and he has Inſtructions given him to keep off Sickneſs, Misfortunes, and every evil Accident; and when any of theſe fall out, they take down their Idol, and whip him, for not having performed his Duty. Such ſtrange Effects has Superſtition, where-ever it prevails.

The Hiſtory of *Japan* will naturally fall into our ſecond Book; but, having ſo fair an Opportunity at preſent, it appears reaſonable to gratify the curious Reader with a Paper which has fallen into our Hands, containing a much clearer, and more diſtinct, Account of the *Dutch* Commerce in this Empire, than is any-where to be met with in our own, or perhaps in any other Language.

An Inquiry into the Nature of the Dutch *Commerce at* Japan.

IT is natural for a Perſon of a curious Diſpoſition, to deſire perfect Information as to thoſe Points, that ſeem doubtful or obſcure in moſt of the Relations that have been publiſhed as to diſtant Countries; and I muſt confeſs, that it ſeems to me the moſt eaſy and certain Method of acquiring Satisfaction, to diſpoſe thoſe Doubts and Difficulties into Queſtions, the Reſolution of which may effectually clear them; and to propoſe thoſe Queſtions to ſuch as have had Opportunities of informing themſelves ſufficiently, in reſpect to the Matters under Conſideration. I cannot give a ſtronger Inſtance of this, than by mentioning what has occurred to me, upon reading the Accounts that have been hitherto printed of the *Dutch* Commerce in *Japan*, which are, in my Opinion, ſo indiſtinct and confuſed, as well for want of Order in thoſe Relations, as for want of the neceſſary Circumſtances which might enable one to connect their ſeveral Parts together, ſuppoſing one inclined to take ſo much Pains, that I preſume you will admit the following Queries to be reaſonable, as I hope, from your Indulgence, to be delivered from the Incertainty I am under, as to the Subjects at which they point. A long Introduction would be unneceſſary, and the Trouble my Queſtions will give you, reſtrains me from adding any thing farther than this Explanation of my Requeſt, that it extends only to the *Dutch* Commerce in *Japan*; and that I do not expect any further Account of that Empire, than is abſolutely neceſſary to ſettle my Notions of the Commerce.

‘ I. *What is the Extent, and what the true Boundaries, of* Japan? It is not poſſible to anſwer this Queſtion very preciſely, becauſe we have not any Accounts that can be abſolutely depended upon, as to the Countries that lie to the North of *Japan*; but, with reſpect to the End propoſed by your Queſtions, it may be anſwered in a manner perfectly ſatisfactory. The Empire of *Japan* is compoſed of three large Iſlands, ſurrounded by a great Number of ſmaller Iſlands of different Sizes, ſome inhabited, and ſome deſert. The moſt Southern of theſe Iſlands, is that which ſome Writers call by the Name of *Bungo*, or, according to the *Portugueſe*, *Ximo*. This Iſland extends from South to North, about ſixty Leagues, and from Eaſt to Weſt about forty. It is on the Weſt Coaſt of this Iſland, that the *Dutch* Factory have their Reſidence, which I ſhall more particularly deſcribe hereafter. To the Eaſt of this Iſland lies the ſecond of theſe Iſlands, which is called *Sikokf*, which, in the Language of the Country, implies a Place that is ſquare; which is a good Deſcription of the Iſland, inaſmuch as it is very near a Square of ſixty Leagues. The great Iſland of *Japan* is ſeparated from both theſe, by a narrow and a rocky Chanel. This Iſland, which the Natives call *Niphon*, extends from Eaſt to Weſt 260 Leagues, and is in Breadth, from North to South, from 60 to 100.

‘ Theſe three Iſlands make up what may be properly ſtiled the Empire of *Japan*. They extend from 31° to 42° North Latitude, and from 157° to 175° of Longitude, placing the firſt Meridian in the Iſland of *Fero*. On the North of *Japan* lies the Land of *Yedſo*; and Part of *Tartary*, *China*, and *Corea*, on the Weſt; *California*, and the reſt of *America*, on the Eaſt; the *Philippines* on the South-eaſt; and the Sea of *China* on the South. The common Opinion, that it is equal to *Great Britain*, may be pretty near the Truth in one Senſe, though not in another; and it is requiſite to diſtinguiſh theſe Senſes. The whole Empire of *Japan*, to ſpeak ſtrictly, all the three Iſlands, are pretty near the Size of the *Britiſh* Iſlands, that is to ſay, with *Ireland* included; and the Iſland of *Japan*, diſtinctly conſidered, is ſomewhat bigger than *Great Britain*, ſtrictly taken, without any of its adjacent Iſlands. As to the Countries dependent on *Japan*, they are, beſides the adjacent Iſlands, many of which are very rich and well cultivated, 1. The Iſlands of *Riuku*, which belong to a Prince who is ſubject to the Emperor, and ſo are reputed to belong to *Japan*. 2. *Tſioſiu*, which is Part of the Peninſula of *Corea*, and belongs likewiſe to one of the Princes of this Empire. 3. The Iſland of *Yedſo*, making Part of the Dominions of a third tributary Prince. This Iſland, however, is to be diſtinguiſhed from the Land of *Jedſo*, which lies ſtill farther North; and, whether it be Iſland or Continent, I cannot take upon me to determine.

‘ II. *What are the Commodities or Manufactures of this Empire, that make its Commerce ſo valuable?* The Commodities of *Japan* are fewer than one would imagine, conſidering that it is as fertile a Country, and the People as induſtrious, as any in the World. The Reaſon of this is, becauſe they chuſe to deal with Strangers for ready Money, that is to ſay, for Silver, which is at once a Commodity, and the Meaſure of all Commodities here. They have great Quantities of Gold, but the Exportation of it is forbid, under the ſevereſt Penalties. Sulphur alſo abounds in this Country to a prodigious degree, ſo that vaſt Quantities are annually diſpoſed of, without any Danger of exhauſting their Stock. But the grand Commodity in point of Value, next to Silver, is Copper, of which they have likewiſe prodigious Quantities, which, at the ſame time, is by much the fineſt in the World; they formerly ſold it with a great Mixture of Gold, but they have now found a Way to extract that; yet their Copper remains ſtill in very high and juſt Repute. They have very fine Pearls, and great Quantities of Mother-of-pearl, which they do not much eſteem. Ambergris, and other rich Drugs, are likewiſe to be met with; there is alſo very fine Silk of ſeveral ſorts, which they ſell very reaſonably; though, at the ſame time, they purchaſe *China* Silk, which is not ſo good as their own; but, in all Probability, this is with a View to ſome Manufacture, for which it is more proper.

‘ All ſorts of Cabinet-work, and Lacker'd-ware, they make in the utmoſt Perfection, and export vaſt Quantities of it; as they do likewiſe of their Porcelain, or Earthen-ware. This was formerly much finer, and much ſtronger, than it is now made; and therefore the old *Japan* Ware is very valuable, even in the Country. I will give you an Inſtance of the *Japoneſe* Sagacity on this Subject. The *Dutch* were very inquiſitive into the Cauſe of it; and were anſwered, *That they put more of Mens Bones into it formerly than they did at preſent*; by which they gave them to underſtand, that it was formerly made with greater Care and Labour than at this Day; which has, however, been ſo far miſtaken, as to create an Opinion among idle People at *Batavia*, that human Bones enter into the Compoſition of their Earthen-ware. I ought to add, to this Liſt of the Commodities and Manufactures of *Japan*, their Tea, which ſome eſteem much better than that of *China*, which is, however, only true upon the Spot; for, as its Flower is more delicate, ſo it is ſooner loſt when the Herb comes to be tranſported; and therefore, however ſome ſorts of *Japan* Tea may be valued in the *Indies*, we never can expect to ſee them in equal Perfection here in *Europe*.

‘ III. *How is the Commerce of* Japan *carried on among themſelves? and what foreign Commerce had they, before this Country was diſcovered by the Inhabitants of* Europe? It is extremely difficult to ſay any thing on this Head worthy your Notice, and at the ſame time to ſay it with Certainty; but, as I am well aware of the Contradictions you have met with in many Books upon this Subject, I will endeavour to ſhew you the Source of them in few Words: In all that has been written upon this Head, it is on the one hand aſſerted, that the *Japoneſe* have a great Contempt for Trade and Tradeſmen; and on the other, that no Nation in the World has ſuch wiſe Regulations in reſpect to Commerce, as are to be found amongſt them. To reconcile this Contradiction, I muſt obſerve to you, that the ſingle Maxim on which the Government in *Japan* proceeds, is this, that Commerce is a Proof either of Poverty, or of Covetouſneſs; and that the greateſt Happineſs a Nation can poſſeſs is, to have all within themſelves. In regard to the Empire of *Japan*, this is ſtrictly true: They derive from the Bounty of Providence, and from their own Induſtry, not only all the Neceſſaries, but alſo all the Conveniencies, all the Elegancies, of Life; and therefore they are abſolutely content, I mean, ſuch as have the Adminſtration of the Government are content, with what they poſſeſs.

‘ This appears, by their neither ſending or receiving Embaſſadors in the manner that other Nations do; and tho' formerly the Government ſo far complied with the Deſires of ſuch as were of a mercantile Genius, as to permit them to trade in certain Countries, under abundance of Reſtrictions, yet they have ſince thought fit to revoke theſe Licences; and their Subjects now carry on no foreign Trade at all, at leaſt with the Permiſſion of the Government. As to their inland Commerce, it is, and always was, very great; but they have ſo ſtrong a Notion, that Buying and Selling corrupt the Morals of Men, incline them to Fraud, to Covetouſneſs, and, above all, to Lying, that they have not only the ſevereſt Laws for puniſhing theſe Vices, but have likewiſe contrived ſome very ſingular Methods for preventing them; particularly theſe:

‘ In the firſt Place, to prevent any Deceit in meaſuring, there is a Steel-yard fixed at the End of every Street, by which all Commodities are meaſured; and it is the ſame with regard to Weight and liquid Meaſures, none, but thoſe authorized by the Government, can be uſed. They have public Fairs, at certain Seaſons in the Year, in all the great Cities, to which Merchants bring their Goods, in ſuch Proportions as they are injoined by Law; and theſe are ſold, not by the Merchants themſelves, but by Officers appointed by the State, to the beſt Bidder: Yet this is not managed by Auction, from an Apprehenſion, that this might create Jealouſies and Hatred among ſuch as bid againſt each other; to prevent which, every Man writes in a little Note what he is willing to give, and his Name. The Officer, having collected theſe Notes, which are all ſealed, opens them; and, having declared the higheſt Bidder, delivers him the Goods, and burns all the Notes. In caſe of any notorious Fraud, they not only condemn the Parties that are guilty, but their whole Families, and even their Neighbours; which puts every Man ſo much upon his Guard, that there are very few Inſtances of Deceit happening throughout this extenſive Empire.

‘ It is not the Government only, but every private Man, that coins Money; but he muſt carry it to the Maſter of the Mint, who ſees that it is fine, and of its proper Weight; which he atteſts by his Stamp: But, if it wants half a Grain, he cuts it in two, and returns it to the Owner. As for large Sums, they are paid in Purſes, containing about 100 Cupangs, which are carried likewiſe to the Officer of the Mint, who tells and weighs the Pieces, and then claps his Seal upon the Purſe, with a Character importing the Value contained therein. This once done, the Purſe paſſes from Hand to Hand for twenty Years; for, ſo long as the Impreſſion remains fair, nobody diſputes its Value. As to the foreign Commerce, of old it was only with their Neighbours the *Chineſe*; and I ſhall have Occaſion to explain it to you hereafter. At preſent, I hope, I have ſatisfied you as to this Queſtion.

‘ IV. *Why are all Nations prohibited from trading here, except the* Dutch *and the* Chineſe? This does not proceed, as is generally imagined, from any Prejudice againſt other Nations, or from any Prepoſſeſſion in favour of the *Chineſe* or *Dutch*, but from Reaſons that I ſhall lay before you as ſuccinctly as I can. The *Japoneſe* do not ſeek foreign Commerce at all; but, on the other hand, it is a Maxim of their Policy not to refuſe it to any Nation, provided they ſend their Goods in their own Veſſels to *Japan*, and ſubmit to the Regulations, which, for its own Security, the State has eſtabliſhed. Their Commerce with the *Chineſe* is ſo old, that it is beyond Memory; and I ſhall ſhew you hereafter, that nothing has been able to bring them to prohibit it.

‘ The *Portugueſe* came thither about the Middle of the ſixteenth Century, and were received with all the Kindneſs and Civility conſiſtent with the Conſtitution of the Empire, and the Genius of the Nation. Some time after, the *Spaniards* from *Mexico* found their Way thither, as the *Engliſh* likewiſe did, after they ſettled in the *Eaſt Indies*. It was owing to the Intrigues of the Prieſts, who put their Converts upon Conſpiracies, Seditions, and Rebellions, that Chriſtians in general were forbidden to trade to *Japan*; and as the *Dutch* had not intermeddled in any ſort with theſe Diſturbances, they were permitted to carry on their Trade under the antient Regulations. This Prohibition happened in the Year 1636, and was intirely owing to the Bigotry and ill Management of the Clergy, who brought an Odium on Chriſtianity, that will hardly ever be effaced. Yet, after all, I muſt own, that, in my Opinion, the Patience and Perſeverance of the *Chineſe* and *Dutch* are the beſt Reaſons that can be aſſigned for their maintaining themſelves in this Commerce, from which other Nations are excluded, not becauſe they are hated by the *Japoneſe*, but becauſe they are incapable of ſubmitting to thoſe ſevere Rules, which are now impoſed upon Strangers, many of which took Riſe from that unfortunate Extirpation of the Chriſtian Religion in *Japan*. It is no leſs true, that the *Dutch* themſelves, though not excluded from Trade, were nevertheleſs extremely hurt by that Accident, ſince they were removed from the Settlement they had firſt obtained, and where they were much eaſier than they are at preſent; which ſhews you, that it was not their Intereſt to procure the Baniſhment of other Nations, ſince, inſtead of turning to their Advantage, it has done them inexpreſſible Miſchief.

‘ V. *In what State are the* Chineſe *in* Japan, *and what Commerce do they carry on?* As the *Chineſe* are by far the moſt docile and tractable People in the World, they are, without Queſtion, the fitteſt to deal with the *Japoneſe*; becauſe, whatever new Regulations are made, whatever freſh Hardſhips are laid upon them, they ſubmit without repining, and appear content, let their Uſage be what it will. In antient times the *Japoneſe* had a great Trade with *China*, in which a Multitude of People were employed; but, in one of the *Chineſe* Sea-ports, where a few *Japoneſe* were ſettled, the Natives having practiſed a little of that Fraud, which is inſeparable from the *Chineſe*, theſe Strangers applied themſelves to the Magiſtrates for Redreſs; but, finding none, they redreſſed themſelves, by ſacking the Town. As ſoon as the Emperor of *China* was informed of this, and that, tho' the Place was very populous, it had been deſtroyed by a very Handful of *Japoneſe*, he reſolved at once to be rid of theſe People, and erected where the City had ſtood a Column of Marble, on which the Edict of Baniſhment was engraved, threatening at the ſame time Death to any *Japoneſe*, who ſhould dare to land in his Dominions; forbidding at the ſame time all his Subjects to carry on any Trade with theſe Iſlanders; which Prohibition remains in Force to this Day: And the *Chineſe* always declare at home, that they are bound to ſome other Market, when they fit out their Junks for *Japan*.

‘ Yet the *Japoneſe* never prohibited Trade with *China*, but ſuffered them to come freely into their Country, as they did before; ſo that the Difficulties the *Chineſe* now labour under are not the Effects of their own, but of the Chriſtians ill Conduct. They are tied down to trade to one ſingle Port, which is that of *Langi-Aſakie*, in the Latitude of 36° 6′ North, and in the Longitude of 151. They have, during their Stay, an Iſland aſſigned them, as well as the *Dutch*, and are ſubjected to many other Rules. They ſail from *Canton* about the firſt of *May*, and, having always a fair Wind, they arrive at the Coaſt of *Japan* before the End of the Month. They dare not approach the Shore nearer than three Leagues, where they wait the coming of the Cuſtom-houſe Officers on board, to whom they make the ſtricteſt Declaration that can be of their Strength and Cargo: After which, a *Japoneſe* Pilot takes Charge of the Ship, and carries her into Port, where all the Goods are immediately ſent on ſhore into the public Warehouſes. The *Japoneſe* Officers meet, and fix a Day for the Sale of theſe Goods, of which they give a public Notice through the Country; but make no mention of the Matter to the *Chineſe*, who have indeed little or nothing to do with the Affair. During this Sale, the *Japoneſe* Merchants bring the Officers Notes of the Goods they want, and the Money they are content to give. The higheſt Bidder has the Preference; and, before the Goods are delivered, his Note is ſhewn to the *Chineſe*, to whom they belong; who never ſcruples the Price, be it what it will. Thus the Sale is quickly over; the *Japoneſe* have the Goods, and the *Chineſe* their Money; but not quite ſo eaſily as may be expected: For tho' the Officers receive all in Caſh, yet they pay them above 60 *per Cent.* in Goods, and theſe too of their own chuſing, which are generally Copper, and three or four ſorts of dried Fiſh. The reſt they have in Money, which they lay out in Porcelain, Pearls, fine Steel, wrought Copper, and a kind of Camphire, which is much eſteemed in *China*. Generally ſpeaking, the *Chineſe* Merchant leaves his Money in the Officer's Hands; and, having purchaſed what Goods he wants, draws on him, payable at Sight. There is nothing paid to the Emperor by way of Cuſtom; the only Duty he impoſes is a Right of Pre-emption, which extends to a few fine Goods: Yet there is ſomething equivalent to Duty in *Japan*; for, as the Officers furniſh the Magazines, they are paid for them at a very high Rate; which is equivalent to an Impoſt.

‘Of late Years, there have been great Alterations made with reſpect to their Commerce: They are, in the firſt place, limited to ſeventy Junks; and there muſt not be above thirty Men employed in each. The Quantity of Goods likewiſe is fixed, which they muſt not exceed, and which is reported to be double what they allow to the *Dutch*. Their Quality alſo is preſcribed, and even the Price fixed. They are obliged to depart as ſoon as their Sale is over; and none of them are allowed to remain, as the *Dutch* do, in *Japan*. In ſome reſpects, indeed, they ſeem to be better treated; but then they only ſeem to be ſo: For inſtance, they are allowed to buy Proviſions, and to deal with whom they pleaſe; whereas the *Dutch* have no ſort of Correſpondence, but with thoſe who are appointed to furniſh them with Neceſſaries. This ariſes from their Apprehenſion of the *Dutch* on one Side, and from their abſolute Contempt of the *Chineſe* on the other; which appears by the Officers Behaviour towards both Nations. Such as tranſact Affairs with the *Dutch*, behave to them with the utmoſt Civility; but thoſe that have to do with the *Chineſe*, uſe them like Slaves; and, if ever they offer to complain, anſwer them with their Canes. All this, however, they endure, becauſe their Profit is large; for, in the firſt place, the Price fixed on their Goods is much above their Value, and, in the next, they gain extravagantly upon ſome of the Goods they purchaſe in the Country, tho' by others they loſe.

‘They leave *Japan* about *October* 10. in order to return to *Canton* in the firſt Week of *November*, that they may be there before the Ships ſail for *Europe*, ſince otherwiſe the beſt Part of the Profit of the Voyage is loſt, becauſe moſt of their Cargo lies, in that Caſe, upon their Hands a full Year. Thus you ſee what a mighty Advantage the Merchants in the *Eaſt Indies* derive from the Trade-winds, which carry them to *Japan* at the proper Seaſon, and bring them back at the proper Seaſon likewiſe. According to the beſt Computations that can be made at *Batavia*, the *Chineſe* gain annually by the Trade of *Japan* eleven Million of Guilders, which make one Million Sterling. This, I hope, you will conſider as a full Anſwer to your Queſtion, tho' it is certain I might have inſiſted upon many other Particulars; but, as I conceive you aim chiefly at a Compariſon between the Commerce of the *Chineſe* and of the *Dutch*, I have inſiſted only on ſuch Circumſtances, as were neceſſary for that Purpoſe.

‘VI. *What is the true Name, Extent, Situation, and Produce of the Iſland, in which the* Dutch *have their Factory? and in what manner do they live there?* The *Dutch* were formerly ſettled in the Iſland of *Firando*; and the Iſland in which they are now ſettled, is properly called *Deſima*. It is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, an artificial Iſland, which was raiſed on purpoſe to confine the *Portugueſe* in the Year 1635. This is generally reported to have been drawn upon them by the Intrigues of the *Dutch*; and, if the Fact be true, they have ſuffered very juſtly for their Contrivance. This Iſland is a kind of Oblong, joined to the City of *Nangaſaqui*, which is ſituated in the Latitude of 33° North, by a ſtone Bridge, with a wooden Draw-bridge at the End. Where the Bridge joins the City, there is a ſtrong *Corps de Guard*, where a conſiderable Number of Men are poſted Night and Day. At the Entrance from the Bridge there is a large ſtone Pillar, upon which hang, in ſeveral Tables, the Emperor's Edicts for the Regulation of the *Dutch* Trade; and three high Poſts are ſet up in the Sea, to mark the Places where the *Dutch* Ships are to anchor, to prevent their coming near the City. The Iſland is paliſadoed round, like a Park, and thoſe Paliſadoes ſpiked. It is not, in its greateſt Extent, above 240 Paces in Length, and not above eighty broad. There is a Street acroſs it, with Houſes, or rather Huts, on both Sides, the lower Story of which ſerves for a Warehouſe, and the upper for the Lodging-rooms of ſuch as reſide there.

‘There is, in this little Spot, a very convenient Houſe for the *Chineſe* Director of Trade, who comes thither when the Ships arrive; beſides another handſome Houſe for the *Japoneſe* Magiſtrate, who always reſides there, which has likewiſe its Garden: For it is to be obſerved, that, in all their great Cities, the *Japoneſe* have a particular Magiſtrate in every Street, who is called the *Ottona*; and they look upon the Iſland of *Deſima* as nothing more than a Street added to their City of *Nangaſaqui*; and therefore there is an *Ottona* here, as well as in other Streets. Another Proof that this belongs abſolutely to the Natives, and is not at all conveyed to the *Dutch*, is, that theſe laſt are obliged to pay a very high Rent for their little wooden Houſes to thoſe who were originally at the Charge of building them, when the *Portugueſe* were ſent thither. By this Account of the Iſland, you will eaſily perceive, that it produces little or nothing, and that there is no Room to plant any thing in, if they were permitted to do it by the *Japoneſe*, which they are not, but are furniſhed from Day to Day with all the Neceſſaries of Life at a very high Price, and by ſuch only as have this Monopoly put into their Hands by the Governor.

‘The *Dutch*, reſident in this Iſland, ſeldom exceed the Number of forty-five; and the *Japoneſe* oblige them to change their Chief every Year, although, after he has been abſent two Years, the ſame Perſon may be ſent again; ſo that commonly there are three Perſons, who have this Poſt by way of Rotation; *viz.* one reſident in the Iſland, another on the Road, and a third repoſing at *Batavia*, till his two Years are expired. On the Whole therefore, tho' the *Dutch* have taken all the Pains they can to make this Place as convenient as poſſible, yet, in ſpite of all their Care, it is a very indifferent Abode, and very little reſembles any of their other Settlements in the *Eaſt Indies*. They are alſo much reſtrained in their adding any thing either to their Houſes, Magazines, or little Wharfs for landing their Goods, ſince they cannot build, or make the leaſt Alteration, without firſt delivering a Petition, with a Plan annexed, to the *Ottona*, by whom it is tranſmitted to the Governor; ſo that it is ſometimes a full Year before they can obtain this Permiſſion; and even then there is an Inſpector appointed to ſee, that in nothing they exceed their original Plan: Yet, if they really had any kind of Fort on this Iſland, it would not put them out of the Power of the *Japoneſe*, who are a very warlike and powerful People, and who, on the leaſt Appearance of Force, would not fail, firſt to prohibit all Commerce with the *Dutch*, and next employ the whole Strength of their Empire to drive them out of their Factory.

‘ VII. *What are the Reſtrictions the* Dutch *uſually labour under here in the carrying on of their Commerce?* In the firſt place, they are forbidden to ſend any Ships hither, that have any Figures whatever at their Sterns; becauſe the *Japoneſe* conſider theſe as Inſults on their Religion, ſome of theſe Figures having accidentally reſembled their Idols. They are reſtrained from ſending Goods beyond the Value of 380,000 Taels or Tayales *per Annum.* As ſoon as their Ships arrive, they fall immediately under the Power of the *Japoneſe*, who take all their Cannon, Small-arms, Sails, Cordage, and ſpare Anchors, into their Poſſeſſion. The Crews of theſe Ships are confined to the Iſland, as well as the People of the Factory, unleſs they have a Licence granted them to go into the City; and even this is reſtrained to four at a time. The Prices of their Goods are ſet by the *Japoneſe* Directors of Trade, as are likewiſe the Prices of the Goods they take in Exchange; and Sales are made when and how they pleaſe.

‘ It is true, they are allowed to ſend the Chief of their Factory, with two or three Attendants, to *Jeddo*, to pay their Reſpects to the Emperor; but, in their Journey, they always travel under the Eſcort of a *Japoneſe* Guard, who will not ſuffer them to make any Excurſions into the Country by the Way, or to viſit any great Lords or Princes. They are under the ſame, or greater, Reſtraints during the ſhort Stay they make at *Jeddo*, where they have little other Buſineſs, than to deliver their Preſents to the Emperor, and to particular Princes and Grandees of his Court; to renew the Treaty of Commerce, which, being a Thing of Form, is ſpeedily diſpatched; and then they are ordered to return, having a Guard about them while they remain there, and another to eſcorte them back. After their Sales are over at their Factory, and the Wind is fair for their Return home, they have their Cannon, Small-arms, Sails, Anchors, and Rigging, reſtored to them, and are directed to depart without Delay; with which they are obliged to comply. It is to be obſerved, that moſt of theſe Reſtrictions have been but lately impoſed, that is to ſay, within theſe laſt fifty Years, ſince the great Troubles in *Japan*, wherein 400,000 Chriſtians loſt their Lives, and the Empire ran the utmoſt Hazard of being overturned; which is the true Cauſe why the *Japoneſe* have Strangers, and the Religion of Strangers, in ſuch Abhorrence; for, before that time, the *Dutch* had great Privileges, and were in high Credit; whereas now they are expoſed to new Hardſhips every Day, which they know not how to avoid, and to which they find it very difficult to ſubmit.

‘ VIII. *What Number of Ships are employed in this Trade? of what Force? when do they ſail from* Batavia? *at what Time do they return? and what are the computed Profits of the Voyage?* The *Dutch* ſend annually four Ships from *Batavia* to *Japan*, of between thirty and fifty Pieces of Cannon; but they are indifferently armed, for two Reaſons: Firſt, becauſe there is little or no Danger in theſe Seas; and, ſecondly, that they may give the leſs Suſpicion to the *Japoneſe*, who do not care to ſee Ships of great Force upon their Coaſt. Theſe Veſſels are laden with ſuch *European* and *Indian* Goods, as are in Demand at *Japan*; ſuch as *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Cloths, Camblets of all ſorts, Brocades Gold and Silver, very rich Silks of all Colours, and eſpecially crimſon, and white raw Silk, raw Cotton, and ſpun Cotton, Tapeſtries, Lead, Steel, and Sublimate; Sugars of all ſorts, Spices of all kinds, *Morocco* Leather, and all ſorts of Skins, particularly Buck and Doe, of which they carry a prodigious Quantity, and about half the Quantity of Ox-hides. They ſail with this Cargo about *June* 20. and the firſt Land they make is uſually the Iſland of *Poltimon*, which is in the Latitude of 2° 50′ North. There they take in Water, and other Refreſhments; and then continue their Voyage to *Japan*, where they generally arrive in the Beginning of *Auguſt*, and find every thing ready prepared for them; ſo that their Goods are quickly got on ſhore, and brought into their Warehouſes, ſorted, and fitted for Sale. The Merchants likewiſe are ſummoned from the adjacent Countries, and have Catalogues given them of the Goods brought by the laſt Fleet; ſo that every thing is over by the latter End of *October*, and the Ships are ready to ſail very early in the next Month, when the *Japoneſe* never fail to preſs them to be gone. Of all the Reſtrictions their Trade labours under at preſent, the *Dutch* are made moſt uneaſy by their having their Quantity of Goods limited; and of this therefore they complained bitterly to the Officers, and at laſt to the Emperor himſelf.

‘ The *Japoneſe* treated them, on this Occaſion, with great Addreſs: They told them plainly, that they knew and underſtood the thing to be an Hardſhip; and at the ſame time inſinuated, that it did not proceed from any Diffidence of, or Diſreſpect to, the *Dutch*, but was done purely to juſtify the ſame Reſtraint on the *Chineſe*, the Number of whoſe Junks increaſed every Year; and as there were frequently *Tartars* amongſt them, they could not help ſuſpecting, that they might have ſome worſe Deſign than getting Money by Trade; but, for fear of bringing that Evil upon themſelves, which they were labouring to avoid, they thought it neceſſary to lay this Reſtraint on the *Dutch*, as well as the *Chineſe*, that the latter might have the leſs Reaſon to complain. They promiſed likewiſe, that this Regulation ſhould be very tenderly executed, ſo as to give the *Dutch* very little Trouble; in which reſpect, it is ſaid, the *Japoneſe* have been as good as their Words, as indeed they are in every thing; for, abating their particular Cuſtoms, and the Warmth with which they are attached to them, there is, perhaps, no Nation in the World more juſt, more reaſonable, or even more civil to Strangers.

‘ The *Dutch* took Advantage of this Stroke of Policy at *Japan*, to make a new Order for the Regulation of their own Affairs; and a very wiſe one it was. They are very ſenſible, that People do not ſettle in the *Indies* to make Obſervations in Natural Hiſtory, but to acquire Fortunes; that Men ſubmit to the Hardſhips they endure, for the ſake of purchaſing future Eaſe; and that the Navigation in the Seas of *Japan* is ſo perilous, that it is but reaſonable, even the Seamen ſhould find an extraordinary Account in it. Upon theſe Motives they have thus ſettled the Commerce of *Japan*: Goods to the Value of three hundred thouſand Taels are ſent on the Company's Account, and the other eighty thouſand is allowed in private Trade, in the following Proportion; *viz.* Forty thouſand Taels on the Account of the Governor-General and Council at *Batavia*; ten thouſand on the Account of the new Chief, who goes on board the Fleet; eight thouſand on the Account of the Chief who is to come Home; and twenty-two thouſand for the Officers and Seamen; ſo that every Captain has eleven hundred Taels on his own Account, and every Seaman twenty. If any of theſe People have not Money to furniſh their Share of the Cargo, it is either advanced on their Wages, or they are allowed to diſpoſe of their Right to ſuch as are richer than themſelves. Thus every Man is intereſted in the Branch of Trade in which he is employed, and finds his private Account in the punctual Diſcharge of his Duty.

‘ In their Return, they touch again, towards the End of the Month of *December*, at the before-mentioned Iſland of *Poltimon*, where all the Gold is put on board one Ship, that ſails immediately for *Batavia*; but the reſt continue their Voyage to *Malacca*, where an Aſſortment is made out of the Goods they bring home for the ſeveral Markets of the *Indies*. It is allowed, that the Commerce of *Japan* is very much ſunk, in point of Profit, to what it was; and it is likewiſe true, that great Loſſes are frequently ſuſtained therein; but, after all, it is ſtill very conſiderable; ſo that, on the beſt Computation that can be made, it produces annually to the Company better than five Million of Guilders, or half a Million Sterling, excluſive of the great Advantages that reſult from the Diſtribution of the Effects brought from

Japan over all the *Indies*; which may perhaps amount to as much more.

‘ I foreſee an Objection, that muſt naturally ariſe in your Mind, to this Account, grounded on the ſettled Report of all Writers on the Affairs of *Japan*; viz. that Gold is a contraband Commodity; which is true, and of late Years ſo is Silver alſo, and Perſons are ſeverely puniſhed, who attempt to tranſport either out of the Country: Yet, as the *Japoneſe* are a wiſe People, and know that every thing has its proper Value, ſo in Conſideration that the *Dutch* trade with them on their own Terms in every reſpect, they grant them Licences, at the Return of every Fleet, for a certain Quantity of Gold, and perhaps are not very exact in ſeeing that Licence complied with: There is another Thing which I ought to explain, and that is, the Value of the Tael or Tayal, which, by the way, is both a Weight and a Coin, the Value of which the *Dutch* eſtimate at three Guilders and an half; and I take it to be very near the *Engliſh* Noble, or the Third-part of a Pound Sterling. I muſt likewiſe obſerve, that the Preſents ſent to the Emperor, and his Miniſters, are not comprehended in the Company's Allowance: And I muſt add to this, that the *Japoneſe* Courtiers have a very ſingular Cuſtom, which is, that they never accept a Preſent from a Man they don't intend to ſerve; nor will they receive them at all, if above the uſual Value, from an Apprehenſion that ſomething extraordinary may be expected. They are likewiſe very candid and open, love to be dealt with freely, and condemn the *Chineſe* as a fraudulent deceitful People, whom, therefore, they uſe with the utmoſt Indignity; whereas, if an *European* does nothing to forfeit his Honour, he is ſure of being treated amongſt them with the utmoſt Friendſhip and Eſteem; but he is not to expect, that they ſhould enter with him into any Secrets of their Government, for that is a Subject on which they are remarkably reſerved.

‘ IX. *How comes it to paſs, that the* Dutch, *who aſſume ſo deſpotic a Power throughout the* Eaſt Indies, *ſubmit to ſuch ſlaviſh Reſtrictions as are put on them by the* Japoneſe? *and, particularly, how comes it that they deny their being Chriſtians?* I muſt confeſs this Queſtion a little ſurpriſes me; becauſe I very little imagined, that one, who ſo judiciouſly diſtinguiſhed the Errors and Confuſions into which Voyage-writers too frequently fall, ſhould himſelf follow them in a Miſtake like this. The *Dutch* do, in *Japan*, what every Man ought to do who reſides in a foreign Country; that is to ſay, they ſubmit to the Laws, and, as far as they are able, avoid giving Offence. In other Countries of the *Indies*, they live as their Circumſtances permit; that is, they are Maſters in ſome, Subjects in others, and Strangers and Sojourners in the reſt. As to their Conduct in *Japan*, it is far from bringing upon them any Diſcredit; they never ſought, either under Pretence of Trade or Religion, to return Evil for Good, or to diſturb thoſe, from whom they received Protection. The *Portugueſe* were, in ſome meaſure, in Poſſeſſion of the Trade when they had firſt Acceſs to *Japan*; and if the *Dutch* procured Leave to ſhare in that Commerce, it was certainly what they had a Right to aſk, and the Emperor of *Japan* to give: Yet it was not without much Difficulty, and all imaginable Oppoſition from the *Portugueſe*, that they procured it.

‘ As to the Hardſhips and Reſtrictions under which they labour, they are partly old, partly new: As to the old ones, they aroſe from the Conſtitution of the Empire, which no Strangers had a Right to alter. That the *Dutch* ſubmitted to theſe, could give no juſt Grounds for Reproach; becauſe the *Portugueſe*, who were as jealous of their Honour, as any Nation, had ſubmitted to them before, without incurring any Reflection. As to the new Reſtrictions, they aroſe from the Seditions and Rebellions of the *Japoneſe* Papiſts, with which the *Dutch* had nothing to do; and if they ſuffer for the Precautions, that the bad Conduct of theſe Converts rendered neceſſary, it ought to be eſteemed rather their Misfortune, than their Fault, that they have been obliged to ſubmit to Hardſhips they did not deſerve to have impoſed upon them: Yet, to ſhew you, that the *Dutch* have done nothing more in this than other Nations would do, I muſt obſerve to you, that all the Nations, excluded by the Edict againſt the Chriſtians, have ſolicited to be reſtored, and to trade upon the ſame Terms with the *Dutch*: And it is to their want of Succeſs in this Application, that you ought to attribute the Reflections you have heard, on the Meanneſs and Puſillanimity of the *Dutch*, in bearing with the *Japoneſe* Impoſitions.

‘ As to the common Imputation of their denying themſelves to be Chriſtians, I flatter myſelf, that I ſhall be able to ſhew you the Folly of it. The *Japoneſe* are much too wiſe a Nation to give any Credit to ſuch an Aſſertion, if the *Dutch* had been wicked enough to have attempted to impoſe on them by it. The Truth of the Matter is this: The *Dutch*, at the Time of the Perſecution, declared, that their Intention in coming to *Japan* was purely for the ſake of Trade; and that they did not pretend to trouble the Peace of the Empire, as the *Portugueſe* had done: They farther allege, and certainly with Truth, that their Religion differed in many reſpects from that of the Papiſts. Now I cannot ſee, what there is blameable in ſuch a Conduct; and, on the Whole, you will find, that, inſtead of denying themſelves to be Chriſtians, they only avowed themſelves Proteſtants. As a Proof of this, give me Leave to put you in mind of the Inſtructions given by *Lewis* XIV. to the Sieur *Francis Carron*, when he intended to have ſent him on an Embaſſy to the Emperor of *Japan*; wherein he directs him to aſſure that Monarch, that, though his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was of the ſame Communion with the *Portugueſe*, yet many of his Subjects were not, but of the ſame Religion with the *Hollanders*; and that, if his Imperial Majeſty would admit the *French* to trade in his Dominions, he would take care that Trade ſhould be managed by ſuch of his Subjects as were of that Religion.

‘ This I think ſo full an Anſwer, in every reſpect, to your Queſtion, that, I hope, it will intirely cure you of your Prejudice in that reſpect, and bring you to acknowledge there is nothing, either of Wickedneſs or Blaſphemy, in their avowing they trade with the *Japoneſe* as *Hollanders*, without drawing Religion at all into the Queſtion: After all, the *Dutch* certainly found their Account, and, perhaps, always will, in their Commerce to *Japan*, notwithſtanding the new Reſtrictions; though I think it very doubtful, whether any other Nation would or not; and for this plain Reaſon: The greateſt Part of the Cargoes they ſend to *Japan*, are the Produce of their own Dominions in the *Eaſt Indies*; as, on the other hand, the principal Markets to which they carry the Commodities of *Japan*, are likewiſe within their own Dominions, or at leaſt Places where they have Factories. Thus, I hope, I have fully anſwered all your Queries, and ſet the Nature of the *Dutch* Commerce, in this Country, in a true Light. It would have been much eaſier for me to have written a Volume upon this Subject, than to have confined myſelf within ſo narrow a Compaſs; but I find you are no great Friend to voluminous Writings, neither indeed am I. Your Queſtions are certainly very plain, and very pertinent, expreſſing fully, though in few Words, what it is you want to know. If my Anſwers ſhall be ſo happy as to appear ſatisfactory to you, and ſupply that Knowledge which you have ſought for elſewhere in vain, they will make ample Amends for the Pains they have coſt me. At all Events, I am confident you will eſteem them, as the Marks of that ſincere Friendſhip which their Author has for you; and will therefore pardon whatever Miſtakes your Penetration may diſcover.’

36. The *Eaſt India* Company have eſtabliſhed three Factories; the Heads of which have the Title of Reſidents, who correſpond directly with the Governor-General of *Batavia*, and are not dependent on any Governor or Director whatever, as other Factors, who have the Title of Reſidents, are. The firſt of theſe independent Reſidents is fixed at *Cheribon*, on the Coaſt of *Java*, at the Diſtance of forty Leagues from *Batavia*, where the Company carries on a very advantageous Commerce in Coffee, Cardamoms, Indico, Cotton, *&c.* The Land is as fertile in Rice, and other Proviſions, as perhaps any Country in the World. It is of conſiderable Extent, and the People who inhabit it are under the Dominion of four great Lords, who were formerly ſtiled Pangerans, *i. e.* Princes; but are now ſtiled

Sultans, *i. e.* Kings, though their Authority is not much extended in conſequence of their new Titles. There is one of them who is particularly called the *Company's Sultan*, becauſe he is always attached to the *Dutch* Intereſt. To ſay the Truth, they might be all four very properly called the *Company's Sultans*, ſince they are under her Protection, and are delivered from all Apprehenſions from the King of *Bantam*; who was heretofore continually at War with them, and had undoubtedly reduced them under his Subjection, if the Company had not aſſiſted them, and driven the *Bantameſe* out of their Territories. Theſe Princes have, ſince that time, as well out of Gratitude for Favours paſt, as in Expectation of conſtant Protection for the Time to come, granted the Company great Privileges in their Dominions; amongſt the reſt, that of erecting a Fort at *Cheribon*, where they have a Gariſon of ſixty Men, as well as a Factory, very well ſituated, and in perfect good Order.

About half a League from this Fort are the Tombs of the Princes of *Cheribon*, in a vaſt Temple, erected probably for that Purpoſe: They are three Stories high, and are built of various Kinds of fine Stones. It is ſaid, that theſe Tombs contain immenſe Riches, which, though left unguarded, the Princes are in no Apprehenſion ſhould be carried away, from a Perſuaſion, that they are protected in ſome ſupernatural Way; and they report many Inſtances of Perſons who have dropped down dead on approaching the Places, where thoſe Riches are hid, with a thieviſh Intent. There are many People who believe, that the *Javaneſe* Prieſts, who are *Mohammedans*, have a Power of cauſing ſudden Death by their Inchantments: Our Author intimates ſome Doubt of this, and yet tells us ſome very odd Stories, of his own Knowledge; ſuch as, that theſe Prieſts are able to inchant Crocodiles and Serpents, making the former go in and out of the Water at their Pleaſure; and the latter remain in what Poſture they pleaſe. If this was really the Effect of any ſupernatural Power, and not produced by ſome natural Cauſe, concealed by the Prieſts from the People, one would think they might have delivered their Princes from the *Bantameſe*, without leaving them to ſeek Aſſiſtance from the Company: However that be, here are a Multitude of theſe Prieſts maintained about this Temple, many of whom have gone in Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, for which Reaſon they have much Reſpect paid them. The whole Body of this Prieſthood is governed by one ſovereign Pontiff, who is more revered than the Sultans themſelves. Our Author tells us, that there was formerly a very conſiderable *Engliſh* Factory at *Cheribon*, with a little Town belonging to it; but that the Perſons belonging to the Factory intriguing with the Natives Wives, this ſo provoked the People, that, in one Night's time, they maſſacred them all, and deſtroyed the Town. It is very probable, if we could come at the Truth of this Story, that they were put upon this cruel Action by ſome of their Chriſtian Neighbours.

The ſecond Reſident has the Direction of the Company's Affairs in the Kingdom of *Siam*, and has an Aſſiſtant or Book-keeper under him. The Company carry on a very conſiderable Trade here, in Tin, Lead, Elephants Teeth, Gums, Lack, Wool, and other Commodities. The King of *Siam* is a very conſiderable Prince, and his Territories are near three hundred Leagues in Extent; and, as he is himſelf much addicted to Commerce, he ſuffers all Nations to trade freely through his Dominions: Ships, however, of any great Burden, are obliged to come to an Anchor, at the Diſtance of thirty-ſix Leagues from his Capital, becauſe the River *Menan*, upon which it ſtands, is ſo rapid, that they could not get up without great Difficulty. This River, like the *Nile*, and many others in the *Indies*, overflows its Banks at a certain Seaſon, ſo that for half the Year the beſt Part of the Country is under Water; and, for this Reaſon, the Houſes are all built upon Poſts.

The Capital of this Country is a very large City, conſiſting of at leaſt 50,000 Houſes; and, as our Author reports, of 30,000 Temples: The People are all *Pagans*, and are famous for a certain Maxim they have, that all Religions are good, provided they tend to the Honour of God. They think, however, their own the beſt; though, upon ſome Occaſions, they are ready to own, that the God of the Chriſtians is moſt powerful, becauſe the Head of their principal Idol has been twice beat to-pieces by Thunder. This Statue is, perhaps, the biggeſt in the World, and the *Dutch* call it in Deriſion *The great Blockhead of Siſt*. He is repreſented ſitting, with his Legs under him, like a Taylor; in which Poſition he is ſeventy Feet high, and every Finger of him as big as a Man: At three Leagues Diſtance from the Capital there is a Temple, prodigiouſly large, in which there is an Idol, not quite ſo tall as the former. The Prieſts tell the People, that this is the Wife of the other; and that once in ſeven Years ſhe goes to ſee him, or he goes to viſit her. They likewiſe perſuaded them, that this enormous Statue, as well as the other, was all of ſolid Gold; but the laſt Clap of Thunder that fell upon it, detected this Part of the Cheat, and ſhewed it to be no more than Brick and Lime, very artificially gilded over.

One may juſtly wonder, that this did not put an End to the Adoration of ſo wretched a Deity; but, where Superſtition prevails, the plaineſt Proofs very ſeldom produce any Effects. It is, however, proper to obſerve here, that our Author's Account ſets us perfectly right as to this Matter, which has been ſtrangely embaraſſed by the Account given by the Jeſuits, who attended the Embaſſador ſent to the King of *Siam* by *Lewis* XIV. They give us a large Deſcription, both of the Temple and the Idol; but, it ſeems, they ſwallowed the Story of the *Javaneſe* Prieſts; for, after talking of the prodigious Size of the Statue, and aſſerting, that one Foot weighed one hundred and twenty-five Pounds, they inform us, with great Aſtoniſhment, that this monſtrous Idol is all of pure Gold; and then enter into a Computation as to the Value of the God of *Siam*, which they very judiciouſly fixed at twelve Millions and an half of *French* Money. At the ſame time they acknowledge, that it is not eaſy to conceive, how this Maſs of Gold was got together, ſince, at the Time they were there, the *Siameſe* were not prodigiouſly rich: But the Thunder-clap has ſolved all theſe Doubts, and ſhewn us, that there is no Reaſon to give Credit to the wonderful Stories that are told by *Indian* Prieſts, to magnify the Power of their Gods, or the Wealth of their Worſhippers.

As for this Kingdom of *Siam*, it ſeems to be a perfect Land of Wonders; for our Author tells us, that they ſhew there a Gallows of a prodigious Height, made of a Wood as hard as Iron, which they affirmed to be the individual Gallows that *Haman* was hanged upon: And this Story, no doubt, is as true as the former; and the Gallows is much the ſame with that recorded in the Book of *Eſther*, as the gigantic Idol was pure Gold. I am, however, inclined to believe, that the *Jews* might formerly erect this Gallows in Memory of that of *Haman*; whence the Miſtake might ariſe. The Country of *Siam* is very rich and fruitful, and there is a conſiderable Trade carried on by the *Chineſe*. Our Author juſtly obſerves, that the *Dutch* have great Privileges here, and are conſidered as the moſt favoured Nation; and he has likewiſe aſſigned the true Cauſe of this, which, he ſays, was the bad Behaviour of other Strangers, meaning very probably the *Engliſh*, who, he ſays, loſt their Credit with the Natives, by their being too familiar with their Women. The Truth of the Matter is, that, ſince the great Revolution which happened at *Siam*, a little after the Departure of the *French* Embaſſadors, the *Dutch* grew into Credit with the new King, becauſe the *Engliſh* were intruſted with the beſt Places in the Government, civil and military, by his Predeceſſor, whom he had murdered. It was not, therefore, conſiſtent with his Policy, to have any great Correſpondence with the Nation that he knew was not well affected to his Title; The Favour he ſhewed the *Dutch*, became a Rule to his Succeſſors, and they have been very much careſſed ever ſince. They have a Factory about a Mile below the City of *Siam*, on the Side of the River, which enables them to collect great Quantities of Deer-ſkins, which are annually ſent to *Japan*; and this Commerce, together with that of Tin, of which there is great Abundance, and very fine, in this Kingdom, makes the Company take more Pains to oblige the King of *Siam*, than moſt of their Neighbours. The *Siameſe* themſelves are much addicted to

Trade, and the *Chineſe* who reſide there more; ſo that they annually ſend Ships to *Japan*; which, the Difficulty of the Navigation conſidered, is not a little extraordinary. They boaſt of having had the Uſe of the Compaſs above 1000 Years before it was diſcovered in *Europe*; but the Jeſuits have obſerved, and it is true, that the Compaſs with them, as with the *Chineſe*, is very imperfect; which, I preſume, is owing to the Regularity of the Trade-winds, which renders an accurate Diviſion of the Compaſs leſs neceſſary among them, than with us.

The third Reſidency is fixed at *Mocha*, where the Reſident is always a Merchant, who has under him two Factors or Book-keepers, as Aſſiſtants; but, as they have all the Titles of Reſidents, there have been, of late Years, ſuch Diſputes amongſt them, as prejudiced the *Dutch* Trade exceedingly; and therefore our Author tells us, that they were, in his Time, all three ſent for to *Batavia*, in order to give an Account of their Conduct, and that the Point of Precedency might be better ſettled for the future. This Country is under the Government of an *Arab* Prince, who has the Title of *Immaum*, or King, who reſides at a Place 200 Miles Eaſt from *Mocha*. The Sea-port of his Dominions was formerly *Aden*; but, that being very inconvenient, he removed it fifteen Leagues farther to *Mocha*; which was then but a Fiſhing-town. It is ſituated cloſe to the Sea, in a large, dry, ſandy Plain, that affords neither Fruits, nor Water, except what is brackiſh, and ſo unwholſome, that ſuch as are forced to drink it have long Worms bred by it in their Legs and Feet; which are equally troubleſome and dangerous. They are ſupplied, however, with very good and wholſome Water from *Moſa*, which lying at the Diſtance of twenty Miles, and the Water coming by Land-carriage, makes it as dear to the Inhabitants, as Small-beer in *England*. The Town of *Mocha*, notwithſtanding this great Inconvenience, is large, indifferently fortified, and makes a fine Appearance from the Sea. The Buildings are lofty, and make a much better Shew without, than within. Their Markets are well furniſhed with Proviſions, ſuch as Beef, Mutton of Sheep and Goats, Lamb and Kid, Camel and Antelopes Fleſh, common Fowls, *Guiney* Hens, Partridges, and Pigeons. The Sea affords Variety of Fiſh, but not well-taſted; which proceeds from the extreme Saltneſs of the Sea-water, and the Nature of their Aliment. The Town is well furniſhed all the Year round with good Fruits, ſuch as Grapes, Peaches, Apricots, and Quinces, of which they make Marmelade, both for their preſent Uſe, and Exportation, tho', near the Town, there is not a Tree or Shrub to be ſeen, but a few Date-trees; and they ſeldom have more than two or three Showers of Rain in a Year, and often no Rain for two or three Years. But, amongſt the Mountains about twenty Miles off, ſeldom a Morning paſſes without a moderate Shower; which makes the Valleys very prolific in Fruit and Corn, ſuch as the Soil will bear; but they have no Rice, tho' plenty of Barley and Wheat.

Since the *Immaum* made *Mocha* the chief Port of his Dominions, and withal a free Port, it is become a Place of great Trade; for, beſides the *Dutch* Factory, there is one alſo belonging to the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company; as alſo a Trade from *India* carried on by *Engliſh* free Merchants, *Portugueſe*, *Banyans*, and *Moors*, and by Veſſels from *Baſſorah*, *Perſia*, and *Muſkat* in *Arabia Petræa*. The Country of itſelf produces very few valuable Commodities, beſides Coffee, and ſome Drugs; ſuch as Myrrh, Olibanum or Frankincenſe from *Caſſin*, and Aloes Soccotrina from *Soccotra*, liquid Storax, white and yellow Arſenic, ſome Gum Arabic, and Mummy, with ſome Balm of *Gilead*, that comes down the *Red-ſea*. The Coffee-trade brings in a continual Supply of Silver and Gold from *Europe*, *Spaniſh* Money, *German* Crowns, and other *European* Coins of Silver; alſo Zequins, *German* and *Hungarian* Ducats of *European* Gold; and from *Turkey* Ebramies and Mograbies: For it is a Point ſettled here, that, notwithſtanding other Goods and Merchandize may be bought and ſold on Credit for a certain Time, Coffee is always bought for ready Money. The *Europe* Shipping lade yearly at *Mocha* about 20,000 Tons, rather more than leſs; and the other Nations about 20,000 Tons more. The whole Province of *Betleſackee* is planted with Coffee-trees, which are never ſuffered to grow above four or five Yards high; and the Bean or Berry grows on the Branches and Twigs; firſt green, then red, at laſt a dark-brown Colour. The Berries cling to the Branches, like ſo many Inſects; and, when they are ripe, they ſhake off.

The *Dutch* have here, as in moſt other Places in the *Indies*, a great Advantage over other Nations, by their being poſſeſſed of the Monopoly of Spices, which are conſumed here in great Quantities, and conſequently enable them to come at Coffee at much eaſier Rates than their Neighbours: Yet this Trade of theirs at *Mocha* is continually ſinking, on account of the vaſt Quantities of Coffee cultivated in their own Colonies, eſpecially at *Batavia*, *Amboyna*, and the Cape of *Good Hope*: Yet the *Dutch* themſelves acknowledge, that there is no Compariſon between the Flavour of the Coffee raiſed in their own Plantations, and that which is brought from *Mocha*. Our Author obſerves, that *Arabia the Happy* is divided into abundance of ſmall Principalities, under the Juriſdiction of independent Princes, ſtiled *Emirs*, by which he means independent of each other; for they all pay a kind of Homage, tho' little or no Obedience, to the Grand Signor. He likewiſe takes notice of a vulgar Error as to the Colour of the *Red-ſea*, which, he aſſures us, is not at all red; but derives that Appellation from ſome Parts of its Bottom being of that Colour. In the next Chapter, however, we ſhall ſhew, that this is a Miſtake likewiſe; and that the Reaſon of this Name is the bad Verſion of its *Hebrew* Denomination, firſt given into by the *Greeks*, and through them propagated amongſt other Nations. Theſe Reſidents are the laſt Officers in the Direction of the Affairs of the *Eaſt India* Company; and this Account of the Diſtinction of their Factories is ſo much the more valuable, as it affords us a clear Notion of every Branch of their Commerce through the *Indies* at this Day, except in the Iſland of *Borneo*, and in the great Empire of *China*, where they have no Factories; but content themſelves with trading to both Places, as other Nations do: And of the Nature of this Commerce our Author has likewiſe given us an Account, which is far from being the leaſt curious or inſtructive Part of his Work.

37. The Iſland of *Borneo* is, in point of Extent, the largeſt in the *Eaſt Indies*, and perhaps in the World. Some Writers ſay, that it is 600 Leagues in Extent; but the *Dutch* tell us, that it is not quite ſo big. It is divided into abundance of little Principalities, of which the moſt powerful is the King of *Banjaar-Maſſeen*; and, after him, the Princes of *Borneo* and *Sambas*. The Air of *Borneo* is reckoned very unwholſome; which is occaſioned by the Country's being low in ſome Places, and marſhy. The Iſland is but thinly peopled, though it abounds in very rich Commodities. When the *Dutch* firſt ſettled in the *Eaſt Indies*, they were very ſolicitous about eſtabliſhing their Factories in *Borneo*; and accordingly they fixed them at the City of that Name, at *Sambas*, and at *Succadano*; but they ſoon found, that there was no ſuch thing as dealing with the Inhabitants, who are certainly the baſeſt, cruelleſt, and moſt perfidious People in the World. The *Dutch* therefore quitted the Iſland, and, though invited thither ſeveral times ſince, have abſolutely refuſed to return.

An *Engliſh* Factory, that was, in ſome meaſure, ſettled at *Banjaar-Maſſeen*, under the Direction of one Mr. *Cunningham*, was obliged to withdraw, and at the ſame time glad to eſcape; which has frighted the *Engliſh* away alſo. The Story is very remarkable, and worth the Hearing: It ſeems, the Place fixed on for the Factory was very ſtrangely choſen, ſince it lay in the Mouth of a River, where ſome of their Buildings had Beams tied together in the Water for their Foundation; and the very beſt of them were built upon Poſts, or rather upon Piles. Theſe Habitations of theirs, ſorry as they were, had not yet attained their utmoſt Perfection, when the Quarrel happened between them and the *Banjaareens*. The Chief, Mr. *Cunningham*, was a very honeſt, worthy Gentleman, bred originally to Phyſic or Surgery, who fell accidentally into Trade, and was now advanced to a Poſt, in which he knew not well how to act. He left therefore the Management of all Things to ſuch as were under him; and theſe happened unluckily to be ſtill leſs capable than himſelf. In ſhort, they began to reſtrain the Natives in their Trade, before they had a Gun mounted, ſtopping their Boats, and ſearching them; and, amongſt the reſt, one which was going to the King's Court with a young Lady on board. This incenſed the King of *Banjaar* to ſuch a degree, that he ordered 5 or 6000 of his Subjects to attack and deſtroy the Settlement; of which Mr. *Cunningham* having Notice, he abandoned it the Day before the Night in which the Attack was to be made, retiring with his People on board of four Ships that were accidentally in the River. The *Banjaarans* did not fail attacking theſe Ships, but were ſo warmly received, that near 1500 of them were killed in the Action: Notwithſtanding which, they burnt the two ſmalleſt, and killed ſeveral People who were on board them. Mr. *Cunningham*, however, and the reſt of the Gentlemen of the Factory, made their Eſcape on board the other two Ships; but left the beſt Part of their Effects behind them.

The King afterwards invited the *Engliſh* to trade in his Port, but declared he would never ſuffer them to have another Factory; and there is not now any *European* Settlement in the whole Iſland. The Commerce of *Borneo* conſiſts in as rich Goods, as any in the *Indies*. At *Sambas*, and *Succadana*, they deal in Diamonds, of which there is a Mine in the Heart of the Country. Theſe Stones are generally from four to twenty-four Carats; and there are ſome found of thirty and forty Carats; but the whole Trade does not amount to above 600 Carats in a Year. They always ſell theſe Stones for Gold, though that likewiſe is the Commodity of the Iſland; and there is a very conſiderable Trade for Gold-duſt carried on at *Pahang*, *Saya*, *Calantan*, *Seribas*, *Catra*, and *Melanouba*. *Bezoar*, of the fineſt ſort, is another Article in their Trade, not at all inferior in its Value to the former. *Japan* Wood, fine Wax, Incenſe, Maſtich, and ſeveral other rich Gums, are alſo met with here; but, after all, the ſtaple Commodity of the Iſland is Pepper, of which there is as much, and as good, as in any Part of the *Indies*. Our Author mentions another very valuable Drug met with in this Iſland, which is a Stone he calls the *Porkſtone*, valued at ſo high a Rate, as to be worth no leſs than three hundred Crowns apiece. The *Indian* Phyſicians, it ſeems, are of Opinion, that, by exhibiting to their Patients the Water in which this Stone has been ſteeped, they can infallibly diſcover whether they will live or die. It is a Pity he has not given us a further Deſcription of this Curioſity, or told us what his Sentiments are of its Virtues, ſince Credulity is ſo common in the Eaſt, that there is no taking Facts of this kind upon Truſt.

Before the *Portugueſe* diſcovered a Paſſage to the *Indies* by the Cape of *Good Hope*, the *Chineſe* were in Poſſeſſion of all the Trade of this Iſland; and, ſince the *Europeans* have declined ſettling there, it is, in a great meaſure, fallen into their Hands again. The Places where they are ſettled, beſides *Banjaar-Maſſeen*, are *Mampua*, *Teya*, *Lando*, and *Sambos*, where they carry on a great Commerce, and furniſh the Inhabitants in Return with Silks, Chintz, Calicoes, and, in ſhort, all the Manufactures of *China* and *Japan*. It has been ſuggeſted, and with great Shew of Reaſon, that a more valuable Trade might be eſtabliſhed in this Iſland of *Borneo*, than in any Part of the *Eaſt Indies*, becauſe there arrive here annually large Fleets of *China* Junks, laden with all the Commodities of that Empire, which might be purchaſed as cheap, or cheaper, than in *China* itſelf, for Reaſons, with which the Reader ſhall ſoon be made acquainted. There come likewiſe annually, from the Iſland of *Celebes*, ſmall Veſſels, which, in ſpite of the Vigilance of the *Dutch*, bring conſiderable Quantities of Cloves, Nutmegs, and other Spices; which is the Reaſon, that the *Dutch* are not able to ſell any great Quantities of theſe Goods in their Traffick with the Inhabitants: Yet they frequently ſend Ships hither to load with Pepper, and endeavour to keep up a good Correſpondence with the Kings of *Borneo* and *Sambas*; for, as to the King of *Banjaar*, he has declined having any thing to do with them.

It is not a little ſtrange, conſidering the mighty Sway the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company have in that Part of the World, that they ſhould have no Factory or Eſtabliſhment in *China*. They have, indeed, formerly ſent Embaſſadors thither, under Pretence of demanding Leave to trade freely; but that was with a Deſign only to gain a greater Inſight into that Commerce; and, in conſequence of the Diſcoveries made thereby, they have been led to decline it. While they were poſſeſſed of the famous Iſland of *Formoſa*, they carried on a direct Trade to that Empire with great Profit; but, ſince they were expelled from thence in the Year 1661, they have not been able to make this Trade turn with any great Profit: Yet, ſince the ſetting up of the Imperial or *Oſtend* Company, they have tried to ſend Ships thither from *Holland* directly; but even this, as our Author informs us, has been to no great Account, their Profit having been ſeldom larger than twenty-five *per Cent.* which, conſidering the Hazard of the Voyage, and other Inconveniencies, was not looked upon as any conſiderable Return. There have been ſeveral Reaſons aſſigned for this, ſome of which it may be proper to mention. It is, in the firſt place, very much doubted, whether in any Place, where both Nations are on a Level, the *Dutch* are able to deal with the *Chineſe*, who are certainly the cunningeſt Traders in the World. It is, in the next place, ſuggeſted, that the *Chineſe* are leſs inclined to deal with them than other *Europeans*; and, when they do, always hold them to harder Terms. It has been likewiſe remarked, that the Port-charges, and the Preſents they make, ſtrike very deep into their Gains: But theſe ſeem to be very ſuperficial Conjectures, and not to reach the Truth in any degree.

But that the *Dutch* do not affect any Settlement in this Empire, may be very well accounted for, from the two following Cauſes, which are certainly very weighty. The firſt is, that, being at ſo great a Diſtance from *Batavia*, and in a Country where it is eaſy to conſign their Effects to *Portugueſe*, *Engliſh*, and other foreign Merchants, the Officers mind their own Concerns more than the Company's; of which a convincing Proof has been had, by the *Portugueſe* vending their Pepper at a greater Advantage than the *Dutch*, though they bought it at an high Price at *Batavia*. But the ſecond Cauſe is ſtill more important: There is a prodigious Trade carried on by the *Chineſe* to *Batavia*, which, though it is a Voyage of 700 Leagues, the *Chineſe* make in their Junks in the Space of ſix Weeks, ſailing from *Canton* in the Beginning of *December*, and arriving in the Middle of *January*. The Company, in the firſt place, have a Duty of four *per Cent.* on all the Goods they bring, which are Gold, Silks of all ſorts, Tea, Anniſeed, Muſk, Rhubarb, Copper, Quickſilver, Vermilion, *China*-ware, &c. for which they receive in Exchange Lead, Tin, Pepper, Incenſe, Camphire, Cloves, Nutmegs, Amber, and abundance of other Things, on all which the *Dutch* ſet their own Prices, and conſequently buy much cheaper than other Nations can purchaſe the ſame Goods in *China*: They have alſo found by Experience, that a direct Trade between *Holland* and *China* leſſens very much this more profitable Commerce at *Batavia*. Neither is it there only that they have an Opportunity of dealing with the *Chineſe*, but in many other Parts of the *Indies*, where, when the *Chineſe* Merchants have completed their Sales to the Natives, they are very glad to part with the Remainder of their Commodities at a very eaſy Rate to the *Dutch*. Thus it clearly appears, that the *Eaſt India* Company are able to ſend Home vaſt Quantities of *China* Goods, without carrying on a direct Trade with that Country, either from *Holland* or *Batavia*.

I cannot ſay how far Things may be altered ſince our Author wrote; but this is certainly a very fair, and a very ſenſible, Account of Matters, as they then ſtood. Here he finiſhes his Remarks on the Oeconomy of the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company, which is certainly, in all reſpects, the cleareſt and beſt that is hitherto extant, in order to reſume the Thread of his Narration, and to proſecute his Voyage Home from *Batavia*, as he was obliged to make it on board one of the Company's Return-ſhips, purſuant to the Order of the Governor-General and his Council, when Commodore *Roggewein*'s Veſſels were ſeized and condemned.

38. There happened nothing remarkable in our Author's Voyage from *Batavia* to the Cape of *Good Hope*, worthy of Obſervation, except their meeting with a violent Storm in the Height of *Angola*, on the Coaſt of *Africa*; by which they were very near being driven upon the Rocks which infeſt that Coaſt; and had a Sight of the Remains of the *Schonenbergh*, a Ship belonging to the *Eaſt India* Company,

which had been wrecked there a little before. They had no ſooner Sight of the Cape, than they diſcovered in the Road abundance of *Engliſh* and *French*, as well as *Dutch*, Ships, ſome of which were outward, ſome homeward-bound. Ships enter this Bay on the South-eaſt, and paſs out of it to the North-weſt. A little before you reach its Entrance, appears a ſmall Iſland, which is called the Iſland of *Seles*, where the Company have always a Guard poſted, compoſed of a Serjeant, and a ſmall Number of Men: They are employed here in drawing of Whale-oil, and raking Oyſter-ſhells, to make Lime. Into this Iſland Malefactors are generally baniſhed from the Cape, and, indeed, from moſt Parts of the *Indies*; where, beſides the Puniſhment of being thus ſeparated from their Friends, they are put to the hardeſt Labour, according to the *Dutch* Maxim, That the worſt kind of Work is beſt done by the Idle. As ſoon as the Serjeant ſaw what Number of Ships the Fleet conſiſted of, he hoiſted a Flag, and fired as many Pieces of Cannon as there were Ships, to give Notice to the Commander of the Cape.

The Bay is very fine and large, having an oval Form, and entering two or three Leagues within-land, ſo that it may be in the Whole about nine Leagues in Circuit, and is certainly capable of holding one hundred large Ships very commodiouſly; yet it muſt be allowed, that the Anchorage is not every-where alike good; and, near the Shore, there is ſome Danger. The Middle of this Bay is commanded by a very ſtrong Fort, which is a regular Pentagon, each of its Baſtions mounted with twenty Pieces of heavy Cannon. The Fort, and the Town, are both ſituated on the Edge of a Plain, about three Leagues in Extent, lying at the Bottom of three very high Mountains; the firſt of theſe is called the *Lion Mountain*, becauſe it has a great Reſemblance to a Lion couching upon his Belly; the next is the *Table Mountain*, which is much higher, and very like a Table, ſo that in a clear Day it may be ſeen twenty Leagues off; the third is called the *Devil's Mountain*, and is not ſo remarkable as either of the former. The Houſes of which this Town is compoſed are very neat and agreeable, but not above two Stories high, becauſe of the furious South-eaſt Winds that ſometimes blow here.

The *Eaſt India* Company, about 1650. bought from the *Hottentots* a certain Diſtrict of their Country, which they took care ſhould be immediately planted, and well inhabited, for the Conveniency of their Ships outward and homeward-bound. The People who dwell at the Cape, and on the Coaſt, are for the moſt part Chriſtians, and are ſtiled *Africans*; thoſe who inhabit the Country farther within-land are called Peaſants. They are all of them either *Europeans*, or deſcended from *Europeans*. There are ſome of them who are ſettled three hundred Leagues from the Coaſt; notwithſtanding which, they are all obliged, once a Year, to appear at a Place called *Stellenbech*, where the Droſſard, or Magiſtrate of the Country, reſides. The Deſign of this is, that they may paſs in Review; for the Peaſants, as well as the Townſmen, are formed into Companies, commanded by proper Officers. After the Review is over, they return to their reſpective Dwellings, and generally carry home with them ſuch Tools as they have occaſion for in their Country-work. Theſe People cultivate their Ground, and ſow Rye, Barley, Beans, *&c.* They likewiſe plant Vines, which produce very fine Grapes, of which they make excellent Wine. There are ſome of theſe Peaſants that are in very happy Circumſtances, having, beſides large and well cultivated Plantations, great Quantities of Sheep and Cattle. Amongſt other Colonies, there is one at the Diſtance of eight Leagues from the Town, which is intirely compoſed of *French* Refugees, who have there a large Tract of Country, very well cultivated; the Place where they live is called *Drachonſtein*, and they are allowed Churches and Miniſters of their own Country. Part of the Inhabitants of the Town are in the Service of the Company, and the reſt are free Burgeſſes. They have their proper Magiſtrates, who decide Cauſes of ſmall Conſequence, and regulate any little Diſputes that happen amongſt them; but, as to Matters of any Importance, they are carried before the Governor, and his Council, who determine them finally, and without Appeal. It is pretty much the ſame thing in the flat Country, where the Droſſard terminates all Things of ſmall Conſequence; but, whenever there happens any thing of Importance, it is always carried before the Governor, and his Council, by whom it is finally determined; and all their Sentences, in civil and criminal Affairs, are executed without Delay. As for the military Eſtabliſhment, it is exactly on the ſame Foot here as at *Batavia*; that is to ſay, the Officer, who commands in Chief, has the Rank and Pay of a Major; but he does the Duty, in all reſpects, of a Major-General. The Officers under him are Captains, Lieutenants, and Enſigns, who take care to keep their Companies always complete, and perfectly well diſciplined, ſo that, in caſe of an Attack, they can draw together at leaſt five thouſand Men, well armed, and as good as any regular Troops, every Peaſant knowing whither to repair, in order to range himſelf under his proper Standard.

It is not eaſy to deſcribe the Adroitneſs with which theſe Peaſants handle their Fire-arms. It is, indeed, an Exerciſe in which, from their very Infancy, they are conſtantly employed; and it is almoſt incredible, with what Boldneſs they attack the fierceſt Beaſts. There are many of them who will not ſhoot a Lion ſleeping, becauſe that, ſay they, ſhews neither Skill nor Courage: When therefore they find a Lion aſleep, they firſt throw Stones, and wake him, never offering to fire, till he is upon his Feet. There happened, as our Author tells us, a very ſingular Accident, upon ſuch an Occaſion, a little before his Arrival; which fell out thus: Two Peaſants went to hunt together; one of them ſaw a Lion, which he fired at, but miſſed him; the Lion immediately flew upon the Man, who, that he might be more at Liberty to defend himſelf, threw his Gun away; the other Peaſant, hearing the Report, made all the Haſte he could to the Place, where he found his Countryman and the Lion cloſe engaged: The poor Fellow, in the Zeal of his Heart, catched up the Gun, and, with half a dozen ſound Blows on the Lion's Head, laid him dead upon the Spot; the other Peaſant, turning his Head, and ſeeing his Gun broke to pieces, began to complain very loudly; aſked his Companion, why he did not ſtay till he was called; and talked of making him pay for his Gun, inſiſting upon it, that he could have killed the Lion without any Help. This, ſays our Author, is an Inſtance of the Intrepidity of theſe People with regard to wild Beaſts; and, no doubt, a notable Inſtance it is, if our Author was but ſure of his Fact. It was formerly, continues he, looked upon as a Wonder, if a Man killed a Lion; but now the thing is ſo common, that they make no more of killing a Lion, than we do of ſhooting a Hare.

The Country round about the Town is full of Vineyards and Gardens; the Company have two, which are, perhaps, the fineſt in the World; the one lies at the Diſtance of two hundred Paces from the Fort, between the Town and *Table Mountain*. It is about 1400 Paces in Length, and 235 in Breadth; a fine Rivulet from the Mountain runs through the midſt of it. It is divided into Quarters, and they cultivate there, with the utmoſt Succeſs, the Fruits and Flowers of all the four Parts of the World. The other Garden is at the Diſtance of two Leagues, in that which is called the *New Country*, and is likewiſe kept in the beſt Order that can be by the Slaves of the Company, of which there are ſeldom leſs than five hundred. The Country hereabouts is mountainous and ſtony, but the Valleys are very agreeable, and exceedingly fertile. The Climate is the beſt in the World; for Cold and Heat are never felt here in any intolerable Degree, and the People live to great Ages without Diſeaſes, which are never known, but when produced by Intemperance of ſome kind or other: The very Mountains, beſides contributing to the Wholſomeneſs of the Place, are ſuppoſed to be full of Gold, and other valuable Metals: Some Aſſays have been made, but as yet no Mines have been diſcovered in ſuch a Situation as would permit the Working of them to Advantage.

The late Mr. *van Steel*, who was Governor of the Cape, travelled the Country, and examined it with great Care and Attention. He cauſed Gardens to be laid out, and Pleaſure-houſes to be built, in ſeveral Places; but the Peaſants, who were employed in building, and cultivating theſe Gardens, ſent over a Complaint to the Company, alleging, that it was prejudicial to their private Affairs, and put it out of their Power to maintain their Families. Upon this, the Governor was recalled immediately. His Diſcoveries, however, were of very great Conſequence; inaſmuch as they made known, not only the inner Parts of the Country, but the Nations that inhabit them. Theſe, ſo far as they are yet diſcovered, conſiſt of ſeven different People, all comprehended under the general Name of *Hottentots*. The firſt of theſe, and the leaſt conſiderable, are without a Chief, live in the Neighbourhood of the Cape, and are moſt of them in the Service of the Company, dwell with Townſmen, or are employed by the Peaſants and Farmers, who buſy them in cultivating their Lands. The ſecond inhabit the Mountains, or, to ſpeak with greater Propriety, live in the Caverns of the Mountains. They are Thieves and Robbers by Profeſſion, and draw their Subſiſtence intirely from plundering the peaceable *Hottentots*, with whom they are in continual War. There is one thing, however, that is very ſingular with reſpect to this thieviſh Nation; which is, that they never rob or moleſt a Chriſtian. The third Nation is called the *Little Macqua*; the fourth the *Great Macqua*; the fifth the *Little Kricqua*; the ſixth the *Great Kricqua*. Theſe Words *Macqua* and *Kricqua* ſignify King or Chief. They are conſtantly engaged in War with each other; but, when any Nation is in Danger of being totally ruined, two or three Nations immediately join them; for the Balance of Power is a Maxim as well underſtood and ſupported by the *Hottentots*, as by the Nations of *Europe*.

Part of theſe *Hottentots* have ſubmitted themſelves to the *Hollanders*, and are therefore ſtiled the Company's *Hottentots*. The *Dutch* ſend annually about fifty or ſixty Perſons to trade with theſe *Hottentots*, who purchaſe their Cattle, and give them in Exchange Arrack, Tobacco, Hemp, and ſuch Seeds as they have Occaſion for, by which means a good Underſtanding is preſerved. Theſe *Hottentots* of the Company are very often attacked by the other Nations; and, when they find they have ſo far the worſt of it, that they are no longer able to defend themſelves by their own proper Force, the King puts himſelf at the Head of a ſmall Body of Troops, and marches down to the Cape, to demand Aſſiſtance. As ſoon as he arrives there, he goes to the Governor, with the principal People of his Nation, with the commanding Staff in his Hand, which was given him by the Company, and has their Arms upon it; and, holding it out towards the Governor, deſires he would grant him Succours. If the Governor does not think fit to grant him his Requeſt, but contents himſelf with giving him good Words, he, without more ado, throws his Staff at the Governor's Feet, and tells him in bad *Dutch*, *Voor my, niet meer Compagnies* Hottentot, that is to ſay, *For me, I will be no more the Company's* Hottentot. The Governor, however, generally ſends an Eſcort of Troops home with him; for it is the Intereſt of the Company to be upon good Terms with this ſort of a Prince, becauſe he is always ready to do for them whatever they deſire of him.

Theſe People are certainly very ſtupid, and very brutal: They rub their Bodies all over with old Greaſe, which has a very bad Smell; ſo that you may noſe them at a conſiderable Diſtance. Their Children are born perfectly white; but, by their being conſtantly rubbed with Greaſe, and expoſed to the Sun, they grow, by degrees, brown, and almoſt black. When a Woman is brought-to-bed of Twins, one of them is immediately condemned to Death, and is tied to a Tree, where it continues, till it expires. Some of them have a Cuſtom of taking out one of the Teſticles of their Male Children, as ſoon as they are able to bear it, in hopes that, by this Method, they may prevent, when they come to be married, their begetting Twins; and this is a Cuſtom of which they cannot be broken, notwithſtanding Experience ſhews them, that it is to no manner of purpoſe. They ſeem, for the moſt part, to have but little Religion: Yet they frequently look up with Admiration to the heavenly Bodies, ſaying, *He that governs them is certainly a Being of infinite Power and Wiſdom*. In many reſpects they are more like Beaſts than Men. They are very diſagreeable in their Perſons, and are, in ſhort, take all things together, (theſe are our Author's Words) one of the meaneſt Nations on the Face of the Earth. Their Complexion is dark, occaſioned, as has been before obſerved, by their rubbing themſelves with Greaſe, and being expoſed continually to the Sun, when they are young. They are ſhort, and thick-ſet; their Noſes flat, like thoſe of a *Dutch* Dog; their Lips very thick, and big; their Teeth exceedingly white, but very long, and ill-ſet, ſome of them ſticking out of their Mouths, like Boars Tuſks. Their Hair is black, and curled, like Wool. They are very nimble, and they run with ſuch Speed as is almoſt incredible. They are generally covered with a Sheep-ſkin, having each a Quiver of Arrows on his Back, and his Bow in his Hand. As ſoon as they come within Sight of an Enemy, they ſet up a moſt dreadful Cry, leaping and dancing at the ſame time in the moſt frightful Poſtures. The ſeventh Nation is that of the *Caffres*. Theſe are properly the *Anthropophagi*, who have made ſo much Noiſe in the World. The *Hottentots* are exceedingly afraid of them, and take all the Care they can to keep out of their Way, for fear of being roaſted or boiled, if they ſhould be taken Priſoners. This abominable Nation would never enter into any ſort of Commerce with the Chriſtians; but, on the contrary, take all the Pains they can to intrap them, in order to murder, and, as is generally believed, to eat them. It is indeed reported, of late Years they are grown ſomewhat more tractable, and entertain ſome ſort of Trade with ſuch as will venture to have any Dealings with them. They are a very potent, and a very warlike Nation, being all of them ſtrong, well-made Men; and tho' their Hair is curled and black, like that of other Negroes, yet they have better Faces, and a much more manly Appearance.

At the Diſtance of about eighteen Leagues from the Cape, there is another Port, called the *Bay of Saldeney*, which is, in all reſpects, an infinitely better Harbour than that of the Cape, except one, and that is in point of Water; but this ſingle Exception is ſufficient to render it unfrequented. As to the Animals of this Country, they are many of them as remarkable as in any Places in the World. The Lion is very common here, and, in hard Winters, will venture very near their Habitations. It is thought, this Creature is reputed the King of Beaſts, becauſe he never eats a Man alive, but beats his Breath out with his Paws before he tears him. He roars, and ſhakes his Mane terribly, before he attacks a Man; and, if he does not give theſe Signals of his Rage, there is no Danger in paſſing him. Tygers and Leopards are alſo very common, and do a prodigious deal of Miſchief. It is pretty probable, that theſe Creatures would be much more numerous, if it was not for a Race of wild Dogs, that are alſo bred in this Country, and hunt in Packs; which renders them ſo bold, that they frequently weary, and then worry, a Lion: Tygers, Leopards, and Wolves, they often deſtroy; and, which is very wonderful, they will ſuffer a Man to take their Prey when they have killed it. Paſſengers are never afraid at the Sight of them; but rather rejoice, becauſe they are ſure, that no wild Beaſts are in that Neighbourhood. Elephants are common here, and of as large a Size, as in any Part of the World, being frequently from twelve to fifteen Feet high, or better, their Teeth weighing from 60 to 120 Pounds. The Rhinoceros alſo is often met with. He is ſomewhat leſs than the Elephant, but ſtronger. His Skin is prodigiouſly thick, and ſo hard, that ſcarce any Weapon will pierce it. He has a Snout like an Hog, upon which grows a ſolid Horn, from twelve to twenty Inches in Length; which is very much valued, becauſe it is eſteemed an excellent Medicine in Convulſions. But there are two Animals peculiar to this Country, and which therefore deſerve Notice: The one is a wild Aſs, which reſembles the tame one in nothing, but its long Ears. He is of the Size of an ordinary Horſe, and is the moſt beautiful Creature in the World. His Hair is very ſoft, and, from the Ridge of his Back down to his Belly, falls in Streaks, that form ſo many Circles. He is a briſk, lively Beaſt, and runs more ſwiftly than any Horſe. It is very difficult to take him alive; and, when taken, it is impoſſible to break him: Notwithſtanding which, they ſell at a prodigious Rate, and one of them is thought a Preſent fit for a ſovereign Prince, on account of their Rarity, and exquiſite Beauty. The other Creature, found in no other Country than this, is by the *Dutch* called the *Stinkbungſem*, or

Stinking-badger. He is of the Size of an ordinary Dog, and, in his Make, reſembles the Ferret. When purſued, either by Man or Beaſt, he retreats but ſlowly; and, when the Enemy draws near, diſcharges from his Belly a Wind ſo intolerably ſtinking, that Dogs tear the Ground, and hide their Noſes in it, to avoid the Smell. When killed, they ſtink ſo abominably, that there is no approaching them; but they muſt be left to conſume where they fell.

Our Author ſays, it would be impoſſible for any Man to deſcribe all the Creatures that are ſeen in the vaſt Foreſts of *Africa*; becauſe the very Inhabitants acknowledge, that they ſee every Year new Animals that are utterly unknown to them, for which they aſſign this Reaſon; that, in the midſt of Summer, when the wild Beaſts are almoſt raging mad with Thirſt, they reſort in Multitudes to the Rivers of *Salt*, of the *Elephant*, and of *St. John*, where the Males of one Species, mixing with the Females of another, produce theſe ſtrange Beaſts that look like a new Species. The *Hottentots*, ſubject to the Company, frequently carry the Skins of theſe Monſters to the Governor of the Cape: Our Author aſſures us, that he ſaw the Skin of one killed not long before: It was of the Size of a Calf of ſix Months old; there ſeemed to have been four Eyes in the Head, which reſembled that of a Lion; but the Hair was perfectly ſmooth and ſleek, and of a dark-grey Colour: It had Tuſks like a Boar, and its fore Legs reſembled thoſe of that Creature, but the hinder Part of it was like a Tyger.

As for the different ſorts of Birds in this Country, they are in a manner infinite; and though it is not often obſerved, that they mingle Species, yet there have been remarked ſome Baſtards amongſt them. The largeſt and the ſtrongeſt Birds are to be found in *Africa*; amongſt the reſt the Oſtrich, which is looked upon as the biggeſt of all; they are commonly ſeven Feet high. The Beak of the Oſtrich is ſhort, and pointed, and his Neck extremely long: The Feathers of the Male are white and black only; but thoſe of the Female mingled grey, white, and black: Thoſe of the former are moſt eſteemed, becauſe their large Feathers are better ſpread, and their Down much ſofter. This Bird is prodigiouſly ſwift of Foot, ſo that they hunt them with Spaniels: They make uſe of their Wings, not to fly, but to aſſiſt them in running, eſpecially when they have the Wind with them. The common Opinion, that they can digeſt Iron, is abſolutely falſe, and without Foundation; they ſwallow Pieces of Iron indeed, but it is only to bruiſe the Meat in their Stomachs, as other Birds ſwallow Stones. There is another Particularity often mentioned with regard to this Bird, that is not found true, with reſpect to thoſe in the Neighbourhood of the Cape; *viz.* that they leave their Eggs uncovered upon the Sand, and take no Care of their Young; whereas, on the contrary, they hide their Eggs in the Sand, and are ſo tender of their Young, that, though they are naturally timorous, yet, if one of them is miſſing, they become ſo furious, that it is not ſafe to go near them. There are abundance of Eagles of all ſorts about the Cape, which are very bold, and frequently do a great deal of Miſchief: They are not exceſſively large, and yet are incredibly ſtrong, inſomuch that they very frequently kill and devour their Cattle as they return Home from Work; and when they have not an Opportunity of attacking an Ox ſingly, they come in great Flocks, of 60 or 100 at once, and ſingle out a Beaſt, as it feeds, among the Herd; and, falling upon it all together, kill and devour it. There are likewiſe many other Birds of Prey, which are not worth mentioning, becauſe they are common in other Countries; but the following Story is extremely remarkable, inaſmuch as it relates to a kind of Bird, unknown even in that Country, where the ſtrangeſt Things are ſcarce thought Prodiges.

There was ſeen, ſays our Author, ſome Years ago, upon *Table Mount*, a Bird, the Body of which was as big, or bigger, than that of a Horſe, covered with grey and black Plumage; his Beak was long and crooked, like that of an Eagle, and his Talons like thoſe of the ſame Bird, but of a moſt dreadful Size; he ſat upon that Mountain, and hovered over it for a long time together; and the common People were, in a manner, perſuaded that it was a Griffin. It frequently carried off Sheep and Calves; and, at laſt, began to deſtroy Cows; upon which, Orders were given to deſtroy it: It was accordingly ſhot; and, the Skin being ſtuffed, was ſent Home as a Curioſity to the *Eaſt India* Company. There has been nothing like this Bird ſeen ſince, and the oldeſt People at the Cape do not remember to have heard or ſeen of any thing like it before. There is ſo ſtrong a Prejudice againſt whatever appears marvellous in the Relation of Travellers, and they are ſo often ſuſpected, either of feigning what they never ſaw, or of exaggerating what they have really ſeen, that it is dangerous for a Man to report Things much out of the Road of common Obſervation: Yet, when Facts are ſo well atteſted as this is, a Traveller is certainly juſtified in relating them. Our Author does not ſay, that he ſaw the Skin of this monſtrous Bird, but he had the Relation from Perſons of Credit at the Cape; and the Circumſtance of the Skin being ſent Home to *Holland*, is ſo ſtrong a Confirmation of the Truth of what was reported, that, I muſt confeſs, I think the Fact far from being incredible.

Africa has been always famous for its Serpents; and of theſe there are ſuch Numbers in the Neighbourhood of the Cape, that many of them are without Name: They are moſt of them extremely venomous; and the Inhabitants would ſuffer by them much more than they do, if they had not a ſpecific Remedy for their Bites, that is not known in *Europe*. This is the Serpent-ſtone, which is allowed to be factitious, and is brought hither from the *Eaſt Indies*, where the Brachmans, or, as ſome call them, the Bramins, have the Secret of compoſing them, which they conceal ſo induſtriouſly, that hitherto no *European* has been able to diſcover them: It is of the Bigneſs of a Bean; in the Middle it is white, but the Outſide is of a fine Sky-blue. The Method of uſing it is this: When a Perſon is bit by any kind of Serpent, this Stone is applied to the Wound, not by a Bandage, or by placing any Plaiſter over it, but barely holding it till it faſtens of itſelf, which it will ſoon do, and then ſticks faſt: The Part immediately begins to ſwell, and becomes inflamed; and the Stone itſelf alſo ſwells, till it is ſo full of the Venom, that it drops off: It is then put into warm Milk, where it ſoon purges itſelf, and reſumes its natural Colour: It is then applied again to the Wound, where it ſticks till it is full a ſecond time, and ſo on, till all the Venom is exhauſted, on which a Cure immediately enſues. There is ſomething extremely wonderful in this; and yet the Truth of the Fact is known to all the Inhabitants of the Cape, and confirmed by the Teſtimony of Writers of unqueſtionable Credit. There are ſome who pretend to have diſcovered the Ingredients of which this Stone is compoſed; but the Account they give is very far from being ſatisfactory; becauſe they make the Baſis of the Remedy to conſiſt of a Stone taken out of a Serpent's Head, which, hitherto, the ableſt Anatomiſts have not been able to find. The true Stone is very commonly met with in the *Eaſt Indies*, where the *Dutch* call them *Slang ſteenen*, and the *Engliſh* Snake-ſtones.

All the Mountains of this vaſt Country are full of Minerals, and of Cryſtal; they contain likewiſe Things of much greater Value, if they could be come at; but the Natives are ſo much afraid of being made Slaves in the Mines, that they take all imaginable Pains to conceal them. There is, particularly, a Mountain which lies at the Diſtance of 500 Leagues from the Cape, that is very famous for the Metals ſuppoſed to be contained in it; this is called the *Copper Mountain*, from the great Quantity of Copper found in it, which is ſaid to be mingled with Gold. Some *Europeans* took it into their Heads to follow ſome of the Natives of the Country, who were ſuſpected of going to that Mountain in order to gather Gold. The Scheme had an Air of Probability in it; and, if it could have been as eaſily executed, as it was well contrived, it might have produced a very valuable Diſcovery; but, as it fell out, they paid very dear for their Curioſity, ſince the *Hottentots* no ſooner diſcovered their Deſign, than they fell upon them, and maſſacred them all, which put an End to their Inquiries ever ſince. The Company are ſo tender with reſpect to their Subjects, and ſo unwilling to riſque a Revolt in this Part of their Dominions, that they have even neglected a Gold Mine much nearer the Cape, the Marcaſites of which gave great Hopes of its holding a great deal of Metal. It is not, however, impoſſible that there may be another Reaſon for acting in this manner; which is their Apprehenſion, that if a Gold-mine ſhould be wrought at the Cape, it might tempt other Nations, the *Engliſh* and *French* particularly, to undertake ſomething to their Prejudice; whereas, in the Circumſtances under which Things are now ſettled there, the *Dutch* Colony at the Cape is ſo far from being a Grievance, that it is really an Advantage to other Nations, as well as their own. In other reſpects, they encourage all Sorts of Diſcoveries: A few Years ago there was found out, in a Mountain very near the Town, a Cavern, where the ***Hottentots*** find that Venom in which they dip their poiſoned Arrows. There have been likewiſe found, at the Diſtance of about twenty Leagues from the Cape, ſome hot Baths, the Waters of which, being impregnated with Particles of Steel, have been known to cure many Diſeaſes. There is great Reaſon to believe, that conſiderable Improvements may ſtill be made here for the Advantage of the Inhabitants, and of the Company, who, as they are not great Gainers by this Eſtabliſhment, otherwiſe than as it affords Refreſhments to their outward and homeward-bound Ships, would be glad of any Means that might increaſe the Value of their Settlement, conſiſtent with their Maxim of Government, and with that Indulgence which it is requiſite to ſhew the ***Hottentots***, who are, perhaps, of all Nations of the World, the moſt tenacious of their Liberty, and the moſt deſperate in their Reſentment of any Attempt made to its Prejudice. It is now time to leave this delicious Country, where the Climate is allowed this peculiar Advantage, that it not only agrees with the Fruits and Herbs of different Countries, but even gives them greater Perfection than ever they attain where they naturally grow.

39. Towards the End of the Month of *March* 1723. their Ship being revictualled, and ready to ſail, a briſk South-eaſt Wind carried them out of the Bay. Their Fleet conſiſted of about three-and-twenty Sail, the beſt Part of which belonged to the Company; the reſt were *India* Ships, that were alſo homeward-bound. They ſteered their Courſe for the Iſland of *St. Helena*, where they arrived in three Weeks: When they thought they were pretty near the Iſland, the Commodore thought proper to detach two Ships, to diſcover whether there were any Corſairs upon that Coaſt; for a little before, they had ſeen and give Chace to a Pirate, and therefore apprehended there might be more upon that Coaſt. As they drew near it, the Commodore fired a Gun, as a Signal for the Line of Battle; which is, in all Caſes, a very uſeful Precaution, though it ſtood them here in little ſtead, becauſe, as it fell out, there were no Pirates on the Coaſt.

The Iſland of *St. Helena* lies in the Latitude of 16° 15′ South, about 550 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*, 500 Leagues from the Coaſt of *Braſil*, and 350 from *Auguſta*, which is the neareſt Land. This Iſland is about ſeven Leagues in Circumference, covered with rocky Hills, which, in a clear Day, may be ſeen forty Leagues off at Sea. It is really ſurpriſing to ſee ſo ſmall an Iſland in the midſt of the Ocean, and at ſo great a Diſtance from Land, with ſo deep a Sea round it, that there is ſcarce any Anchorage to be found. The *Portugueſe* firſt diſcovered it, and that to their Coſt, having one of their large *Indian* Ships wrecked here; of the Remains of which they built a Chapel, which, though long ſince decayed, ſtill beſtows its Name on the fineſt Valley in the Iſland. They planted Lemons, Oranges, and Pomegranates, over all the Country, and left there likewiſe Hogs and Goats, together with Partridges, Pigeons, and Peacocks, for the Conveniency of ſuch Ships as ſhould touch there; but they did not think fit to plant it, becauſe they were afraid ſome other Nation would diſpoſſeſs them. There was an Hermit who choſe to live here by himſelf, killing the Goats for their Skins, which he ſold as Opportunity offered, when the Ships came in; but the *Portugueſe* removed him, as they did afterwards ſome Negro Slaves, who ſettled in the Mountains. It is at preſent poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*, who have a good Fort here, and are ſo well eſtabliſhed, that it is not likely any other Nation ſhould diſturb them. The Valleys are exceedingly beautiful and fertile; the Weather indeed is ſometimes very hot, but even then it is very cool upon the Mountains, ſo that they never can want a Place of Refreſhment. There is not any Country in the World better watered, the Rivulets running from the Tops of the Hills into the Sea, which is never at a great Diſtance, with Streams as clear as Cryſtal; nor can there be any thing more pleaſant, than to behold the Seamen, fatigued with a long Stay in hot Climates, refreſhing themſelves here by waſhing themſelves in the Brooks. Here are Muſtard-plants, Parſley, Sorrel, Purſlain, Winter-creſſes, and other Herbs, exceedingly good for the Scurvy: Neither is the Iſland deſtitute of Trees, though none fit for Timber, but for Fuel only. All Sorts of Refreſhments are to be had here in Plenty, and on reaſonable Terms; and, though there were formerly Diſputes between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, about the Poſſeſſion of the Iſland, yet the former now treat the latter very kindly whenever their Ships put in here, and furniſh them with whatever they want.

They ſailed from hence for the Iſland of *Aſcenſion*, which lies in 8 Degrees South Latitude, about 200 Leagues North-weſt from *St. Helena*: It is about the ſame Bigneſs with the other Iſland, but the Shore is exceſſively rocky, and the Country abſolutely barren; here are neither Graſs nor Trees, but the Surface of the Land looks as if rent aſunder; from whence ſome have conceived, not without great Shew of Reaſon, that here has been formerly a Volcano, or fiery Mountain. There is indeed a pretty high Hill in the Middle of the Iſland, on one Side of which Water has been found. At certain Seaſons of the Year, the Country is almoſt covered with Sea-fowl; but what chiefly engages Ships to put into the only Harbour in the Iſle, is the great Plenty of excellent Tortoiſe, which, when they come aſhore in the Night to lay their Eggs, the Sailors turn upon their Backs, till they have Leiſure to carry them on board. It is wonderful, that theſe Creatures will live above a Month without any other Subſiſtence than what they derive from their ſprinkling a little ſalt Water on them three or four times a Day. The Reaſon of keeping them ſo long is, that the Seamen are never weary with eating them, perſuading themſelves, that they make a perfect Change in the Juices, and free them intirely from the Scurvy, and other Diſeaſes of the Blood, which as they are juſtified by Experience, it ſeems but reaſonable to give Credit to their Report. As this Iſland of *Aſcenſion* is moſt certainly a very indifferent Habitation, it is a thing very common to leave Malefactors here, when they do not care to put them to Death, as happened not long ago to a *Dutch* Book-keeper, who was convicted of Sodomy; but, whether this be not a worſe Puniſhment than Death, conſidering the Miſeries that muſt be endured in one of the hotteſt Climates in the World, on a Place that does not afford the leaſt Shelter, the Reader will determine. However, as it has leſs the Appearance of Severity, and there is a Poſſibility, that the Criminal may be taken off by ſome other Ship, this Practice, eſpecially for ſuch flagrant Crimes, does not deſerve to be condemned.

After leaving this Iſland, they began to approach the Line, which they paſſed without feeling an exceſſive Heat, becauſe, as the Sun was turning then towards the North, they had the Benefit of pretty briſk Winds, which moderated the Weather exceedingly. They now likewiſe began to ſee at Night the North Star, which they had not done for a Year and an half; and it is not to be expreſſed, how much the Seamen were rejoiced by this Incident.

They ſoon found themſelves in the Latitude of 18° North, in that Part of the Sea, which is, generally ſpeaking, covered with Graſs, ſo that at a Diſtance, it really looks like a Meadow. This Graſs has a yellowiſh Caſt, and is hollow within, and, when hard preſſed with the Finger, yields a clammy viſcous Juice. There are ſome Years in which none of this Graſs appears; and others again, in which it abounds, and is found in prodigious Quantities. Some imagine that it comes from the very Bottom of the Sea; becauſe Divers report, that, in ſome Places, the Bottom of the Sea is covered with Graſs and Flowers: Others again believe, that this Graſs is driven from the Coaſts of *Africa*; but our Author ſays, that he diſapproves both theſe Notions; and, for theſe Reaſons: Firſt, if it came from the Bottom of the Sea, why ſhould it not have the ſame Appearance elſewhere? For, if the Report of Divers be of any Weight, there are ſuch green Banks in various Places; and, therefore, one would imagine, that, where-ever ſuch Graſs was found, it would float, as it does here. On the other hand, if it came from the Coaſt of *Africa*, it would be ſeen in different Parts of the Sea, and eſpecially near that Coaſt; which, however, is contrary to Experience, whereas the Weeds in this Sea have been remarked by almoſt all who have publiſhed their Voyages through them *. But, that he might not ſeem to deſtroy without building up, he delivers it as his Opinion, that this Graſs comes from *America*, and particularly from the Gulph of *Bahama*, where it is known to grow in abundance; and where, when it comes to Maturity, it breaks, and ſo is carried away by the Current.

This Notion of our Author's is liable to ſome Objections; however, it is much more probable than either of the other. To ſay the Truth, there is nothing more difficult to account for, than the Motion and Courſe of Currents, which, in ſome Places, run ſix Months one Way, and ſix another; in ſome again they run conſtantly one Way, and never ſhift at all; and there are Inſtances where they run one Way for a Day or two after Full-moon, and then they run ſtrongly the other Way till near the Full-moon again. It is commonly obſerved by Seamen, that in Places where the Trade-winds blow, the Currents are generally influenced by them, and move the ſame Way with thoſe Winds, but not with equal Force in all Places, neither are they ſo diſcernible in the wide Ocean, but chiefly about Iſlands, where the Effects of them are more or leſs felt, according as they lie in or out of the Way of the Trade-winds. It would be no ſmall Advantage to Navigation, if ſenſible Men would take notice of, and inquire into, the Reaſon of theſe ſort of Appearances; becauſe it is certain, that, beſides the Satisfaction neceſſarily reſulting from the Diſcovery of Truth, there are unexpected Advantages that ariſe from ſuch Inquiries: To be convinced of this, we need only look into old Books of Voyages, where we find many more Wonders than in thoſe of a later Date; not becauſe the Courſe of Nature is at all changed, but becauſe Nature was not then ſo well underſtood. A thouſand Things were Prodigies a Century ago, which are not at all ſtrange now; and the Storms about the Cape of *Good Hope*, which make ſo terrible a Figure in the Hiſtories of the *Portugueſe* Diſcoveries, are known to have been the Effects only of endeavouring to double that Cape at a wrong Seaſon of the Year.

It is certain, that both in the *Eaſt Indies*, and in the *Weſt*, the Natives are able to foretel Hurricanes and Tornadoes, not by any great Skill they have, but by barely obſerving, that they are uſually preceded by ſuch and ſuch Signs; which Signs when they ſee, it is natural for them to expect a Storm. There is very often ſo little Connexion between the Sign, and the Thing ſignified, that, Men who value themſelves on their own Wiſdom, are apt to ſlight ſuch Warnings, as impertinent and inſignificant. But it would be better to inquire diligently into Facts, and neither receive nor reject them haſtily. When once it is ſettled, that Things happen in this manner, or in that, it is time enough to inquire why they happen ſo: As in the preſent Caſe, the Matter of Fact is clearly laid down, that in the Latitude of 18° North, the Sea between *Africa* and *America* is frequently covered with Weeds, there is good Reaſon therefore to inquire, whence theſe Weeds come. I cannot forbear putting the Reader in mind, upon this Occaſion, of a Circumſtance that ſeems ſtrongly to confirm the Conjecture of our Author: The famous *Chriſtopher Columbus*, in the firſt Voyage he made for the Diſcovery of the new World, met with this Graſs and Weeds floating upon the Sea, without which he could never have perſuaded the Seamen to have continued the Voyage; and it is very remarkable, that, by purſuing their Courſe through theſe Weeds, they arrived in the very Place he mentions, that is to ſay, in the Gulph of *Bahama*. But it is now time to proſecute the Voyage, and to follow our Author home.

40. As they ſailed farther Northward, they were overtaken by hard Gales of Wind, which are uſual at that Seaſon of the Year, eſpecially in thoſe Seas, by which they were driven into the Latitude of 37°, and within Sight of two Iſlands, which proved to be thoſe of *Flores* and *Corvo*. Their freſh Proviſions being now pretty well ſpent, this Accident, though it delayed Time a little, could not be conſidered as a Misfortune. Their Stay there, however, was very ſhort, being only three Days in the larger Iſland, which was ſufficient for their procuring the Refreſhments they wanted, as well as to take a View of the Country.

Corvo and *Flores* are two of the Iſlands which the *Spaniards* call *Açores*, that is, *The Iſlands of Hawks*, becauſe, at the Time they diſcovered them, they found a great many Hawks in them. The *Dutch* call them the *Vlaamiſche Eilanden*, i. e. *Flemiſh Iſlands*, becauſe the firſt Inhabitants of the Iſland *Fayal*, which is one of the nine Iſlands, were *Flemings*. The Race of its firſt Inhabitants is perpetuated to this Day in that Iſland, and you may know them by their Air and Shape, which reſemble thoſe of the *Flemings*. They dwell upon a little River, running down a Mountain, which the *Portugueſe* called *Ribera dos Flamenas*, the River of the *Flemings*. The Names of the *Açores* Iſlands are, *Terçera*, *St. Michael*, *Santa Maria*, *St. George's*, *Gratioſa*, *Pico*, *Fayal*, *Corvo*, and *Flores*. *Terçera* is the chief of them; it is fifteen or ſixteen Leagues in Circumference, being high, and ſo ſteep, in many Places, that it is almoſt impregnable; and, beſides that, they have built Forts in the Places where it is acceſſible. There is no Harbour or Road wherein the Ships can enjoy Shelter, but before the capital City, called *Angra*, which hath a Port of the Figure of an Half-moon, and therefore called the *Half-moons of Angra*: Upon the two Ends of the Half-moon are two Mountains, called *Braſil*, which ſhoot forth into the Sea, and appear afar off, like two ſmall Iſlands. Theſe two Mountains are ſo high, that, being at the Top of them, you may ſee at any time ten or twelve Leagues; and, when the Weather is fine and clear, above fifteen Leagues off.

Angra hath a fine Cathedral Church, and is the Reſidence of a Biſhop, a Governor, and the Council, which governs all the Iſlands. Three Leagues diſtant lies another Town, called *de Praya*, or the *Town of the Shore*, becauſe it is ſituated near a great Shore, which the Ships can never approach, ſo that the Town is without any manner of Trade, and very deſert, tho' pretty well built and walled about. The Inhabitants live upon the Fruits that grow upon the Iſland; for it is very fruitful and pleaſant, full of fine Corn-fields. The Wine is but ſmall, and will not keep long; therefore the richeſt Inhabitants provide themſelves with *Madeira* and *Canary* Wines. The Iſland is ſo plentiful in Fleſh, Fiſh, and all other Sorts of Victuals, that even in the Time of Scarcity there is enough for the Inhabitants. But they want Oil, Salt, Lime, and Potters-wares, which are imported from other Places. They have abundance of Peaches, Apples, Pears, Oranges, and Lemons; all Sorts of Herbs, Plants, and, amongſt others, the Herb called *Batatas*, which grows like the Stock of a Vine, but the Leaves are not like them. Some of thoſe Roots weigh a Pound, more or leſs: They have ſo great Quantities of them, that the Rich ſlight them, though they are of a good ſweet Taſte, and very nouriſhing. You find alſo another Root in this Country, as big as a Man's two Fiſts, covered with Filaments of Gold-colour, and as ſmooth as Silk: They make Beds thereof; but curious and ſkilful Workmen would certainly be able to make fine Stuffs of it.

One ſees but very few wild Fowl or Birds, except Canaries, Quails, tame Hens, and Turky-cocks, which are very numerous: You meet with ſeveral Places very hilly, and ſo full of very thick Woods, that you can hardly travel through them: But that which makes travelling very difficult, is, that you find very often Rocks a League or half a League long, which are ſo ragged, and ſo ſharp, that you can hardly walk upon them without cutting your

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* It may not be amiſs to obſerve, in Support of our Author's Aſſertion, that, in the old *Portugueſe* Maps and Voyages, this Part of the Ocean is ſtiled *Mar de Sargaſſo*, i. e. *The Sea of Creſſes*; for *Sargaſſo* ſignifies *Creſſes*, or rather *Water-creſſes*, which the Weeds, with which it is ſpread, nearly reſemble.

Shoes off your Feet: At the ſame time, it is very remarkable, that thoſe Rocks are ſo full of Vines, that in the Summer-time you cannot ſee them; becauſe they are covered all over with Vine-leaves. The Vines ſpread their Roots through the Crags or Chinks of the Rocks, which are ſo ſmall, that it is a Wonder how they find any Nouriſhment there; and yet, if you plant a Vine in the other good Ground of this Country, it will not grow. The Corn, and other Fruits, of that Iſland, will not keep above a Year; nay, if you keep the Corn above four Months, without burying it under-ground, it will rot, and be ſpoiled: To prevent this, each Inhabitant has a Pit out of the Town, which is round at the Top, and large enough to let a Man in: The Head is covered with a Stone, and locked up. Some of theſe Pits are ſo large, that they might contain two or three Laſts of Corn, a Laſt containing 108 Buſhels of *Amſterdam* Meaſure, and each Buſhel weighs forty Pounds, or more. They put their Corn in thoſe Pits in *July*, and cover the Stone with Earth, to preſerve it the better, and at *Chriſtmas* they take it out; though ſome keep it longer, but it is then as good, and as fine, as when put in the Pits.

The Oxen in that Iſland are the largeſt and the fineſt that can be, equal to any in *Europe*; their Horns are monſtrous wide; every one hath his Name, like our Dogs; and they are ſo familiar, that when the Maſter calls one of them by his Name, though he is amongſt a thouſand others, he will preſently come to him. One would think, that the Ground of that Iſland was hollow; for, when you walk upon the Rock, it ſounds: And indeed the thing is probable enough; for the Iſland is much ſubject to Earthquakes. You find in many Places of the Iſland of *St. Michael* Holes, or Cracks, out of which there comes a great Smoke, and the Ground all about is burnt: But this is no uncommon thing in moſt of thoſe Iſlands; for all of them have Mountains of Sulphur. Here are Fountains ſo hot, that you may boil an Egg in the Water. Three Leagues off *Angra* is a Fountain which changes Wood into Stone; and there was formerly a Tree to be ſeen, the Roots of which, being in that Water, were ſtony, and as hard as Flint. This Iſland produces excellent Timber, eſpecially Cedar, which is ſo common, that they make Carts and Waggons of it, and even burn it. The Iſland of *Pico*, twelve Leagues diſtant from *Tercera*, produces a Sort of Wood called *Teixo*, which is as hard as Iron, and looks red and ſhining when it is worked. It hath alſo this good Quality, that it is better and finer when it is old; which makes it ſo precious, that nobody dares cut it, but for the King's Uſe, and by virtue of a ſpecial Order from the King's Officers.

The chief Trade in the Iſland of *Tercera* conſiſts in Woad, of which they have a great Plenty: The Fleets of *Portugal* and *Spain*, which ſail to the *Eaſt Indies*, *Braſil*, *Cape Verde*, *Guiney*, and other Countries, ſtanding in for that Iſland to take in Refreſhments, bring a good Trade, not only to the Inhabitants of *Tercera*, but likewiſe to thoſe of the neighbouring Iſlands, who ſell to the *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards* their Manufactures at good Prizes. Seven or eight Leagues South-eaſt of *Tercera* lies the Iſland of *St. Michael*, about twenty Leagues in Length; it hath ſeveral Towns and Villages. The capital City is named *Ponta del Guda*, which drives a more conſiderable Trade in Garden-woad than *Tercera*, becauſe there is a greater Quantity of it here than in any of the other Iſlands; for it produces above two hundred thouſand Quintals every Year: Here are alſo arable Lands, which produce ſuch abundance of Corn, that they tranſport it to the other Iſlands; but it affords no Harbours, nor Rivers, nor Shelter, for Ships. The Iſland of *Santa Maria* is but twelve Leagues South of *St. Michael*, and is ten or twelve Leagues in Circumference. They trade only in Earthen-ware, which they tranſport to the other Iſlands; but they have Plenty of all manner of Proviſions. Seven or eight Leagues North North-weſt of *Tercera*, is the little Iſland of *Gratioſa*, not above five or ſix Leagues in Circumference, and very plentiful and fruitful.

The Iſland of *St. George* is about eight or nine Leagues North-weſt from *Tercera*; it is twelve Leagues in Length, and two or three in Breadth. This is a wild mountainous Country, and bears a little Woad: The Inhabitants ſubſiſt by tilling the Ground, and keeping Cattle; and they have abundance of Cedar, which they export to *Tercera*. Seven *German* Leagues South South-weſt of *St. George's*, you find the Iſland of *Fayal*, which is ſeventeen or eighteen Leagues in Circumference, and is the beſt of the *Açores*, next to *Tercera*, and *St. Michael*; it affords abundance of Fiſh, Cattle, and other Commodities, which they export to *Tercera*, and the other Iſlands; they have likewiſe plenty of Woad. The chief Town is called *Villa Dorta*. Moſt of the Inhabitants of this Iſland are Natives of the *Low Countries*, but they ſpeak now the *Portugueſe* Tongue. They love the *Flemings* naturally, and uſe all Strangers very kindly. Three Leagues to the South-eaſt of *Fayal*, and four Leagues to the South-weſt of *St. George's*, and twelve Leagues to the South-weſt and by Weſt of *Tercera*, lies the Iſland of *Pico*, ſo called from a Mountain in it named *Pike*, ſome being of Opinion that it is higher then the Pike of *Teneriff*, in the *Canaries*. The Inhabitants cultivate the Soil, and keep Cattle, to ſubſiſt on. This Iſland hath Plenty of all Sorts of Proviſions, and yields the beſt Wine in all the *Açores*: It is about fifteen Leagues in Circumference. From *Tercera*, to the Iſland of *Flores*, which lies to the Weſt, they reckon ſeventy Leagues; and about a League to the North of *Flores*, you find the ſmall Iſland of *Corvo*, not above two or three Leagues in Circumference. Theſe two Iſlands are accounted now amongſt the *Açores*, and are under the ſame Governor. *Flores* is about ſeven Leagues in Circumference; it produces Woad, and a vaſt Plenty of all Proviſions. The Winds are ſo ſtrong, and the Air ſo piercing, eſpecially in *Tercera*, that they ſpoil and conſume, in a ſhort time, the Stones of the Houſes, and the very Iron. They have a ſort of Stone, which they find within the Sea-mark, and which is harder, and reſiſts the Sharpneſs of the Air better, than the other Sorts; and for that Reaſon they build the Fronts of their Houſes with it.

41. On their entering the *Spaniſh* Seas, the Weather proved ſo bad, that the Advice-Ship loſt her Rudder. This Accident obliged them to go through the Chanel, in order to purchaſe a new one on the *Engliſh* Coaſt. The *French*, *Daniſh*, and other Ships, generally take that Route; but the Ships belonging to the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company are obliged to ſail round the Coaſt of *Ireland*, from an Apprehenſion, that in caſe they met with ſtormy Weather in the Chanel, they would be obliged to put into ſome *Engliſh* Port, which might be attended with many Inconveniencies. Such Ships, however, as have ſuſtained any Damage at Sea, are permitted to paſs through the Chanel, provided they are not in a Condition to keep the Sea long enough to go round the *Iriſh* Coaſt, as was the caſe of the Advice-Ship before-mentioned: After three Weeks Sail, during which time they were involved in continual Miſts and Fogs, they had Sight at laſt of the *Orkney* Iſlands, where ſome *Dutch* Ships were ſtill employed in the Herring Fiſhery. In the Latitude of 60°, they met with ſome Ships that were waiting for them, which conveyed them to the Coaſt of *Holland*, where every Ship entered its deſtined Port in Safety; and thoſe on board which the Priſoners were, came into the *Texel* the 11th of *July* 1723, and five Days after arrived at *Amſterdam*, the very ſame Day two Years that they ſailed on this Voyage.

42. Upon the Return of the Squadron, the Situation of Affairs was much altered; for the *Weſt India* Company immediately commenced a Suit, in Behalf of themſelves, and of the Perſons employed on board the Squadron under their Protection, in order to obtain Satisfaction for the Injuſtice done them by the *Eaſt India* Company. They ſet forth in the Memorial they preſented to their High Mightineſſes the States General, that theſe Ships had been fitted out in purſuance of the Powers granted to the Company by the States; that they were not ſo much fitted out with a View to the Profit of the Voyage, as from the Regard had to the Advantages that might reſult to the Public from their Diſcoveries; that, though it was true, theſe Ships had not perfected, as indeed it could not be expected, the Deſign on which they were employed, yet they had made great Progreſs therein, and ſuch as gave Hopes of arriving in time at all that was propoſed by this Expedition;

dition; that, in doing this, they had ſpent a great deal of Time, conſumed the beſt Part, if not all, of their Proviſions, and had endured incredible Hardſhips; which had induced them, or rather obliged them, to think of returning Home by the Way of the *Eaſt Indies*; that they had no Deſign, and, in fact, were in no Condition, to carry on any ſort of Trade in thoſe Parts; but ſought merely to meet with ſome Refreſhments, and to obtain ſuch Aſſiſtance amongſt their Countrymen, as, in Quality of Subjects of the States of *Holland*, they had a Right to demand; that, immediately on their Arrival at *Batavia*, without any Hearing, their Ships and Cargoes were condemned and ſold, and the few Men that had ſurvived the Hardſhips they had endured, not in the Company's Service only, but that of the Public, had been ſent Home as Criminals, Priſoners, in the *Eaſt India* Company's Ships, notwithſtanding that the Governor-General, and his Council, were well appriſed of the Nature and Circumſtances of the Caſe: That ſuch a manner of Proceeding is extremely dangerous, not only to the *Weſt India* Company, but to the State, and to the Public, ſince it plainly diſcourages Induſtry, new Diſcoveries, and the Extenſion of Commerce. Therefore it is abſolutely requiſite, their High Mightineſſes ſhould interpoſe in the preſent Caſe, as well for the ſettling this important Point, with regard to Futurity, as for the ſake of redreſſing the *Weſt India* Company, the Officers, and Seamen, that have been thus injured, and giving that Satisfaction to Seafaring People in general, which was ſo apparently neceſſary to free them from the Apprehenſions of being puniſhed by a Company Abroad, for performing what was looked upon to be their Duty at Home.

The States General immediately directed the *Eaſt India* Company to put in an Anſwer to this Memorial, that they might in the firſt place ſee, whether they would avow the Fact; and next, whether any Reaſons could be alleged to juſtify it: The *Eaſt India* Company did not at all heſitate in declaring her Approbation of what has been done by the Governor-General, and his Council, in the *Indies*. In their Memorial, which contained an Anſwer to what had been alleged againſt them, they pleaded, that the *Eaſt India* Company, in *Holland*, was originally erected for ſecuring the Commerce in that Part of the World to the Subjects of the States General, trading under the Limitations of their Charters; that this End had been moſt effectually anſwered through the prudent Management of the Company, to the Envy of all *Europe*; that it had been impoſſible to do this, or to maintain the Power of the Company in that Part of the World, but by the ſtrict Execution of the excluſive Clauſes in their Charter: That the Ships of the *Weſt India* Company were no more privileged than any other Ships in this reſpect; and that, if the *Eaſt India* Company had invaded the Bounds granted to the Company that now complains, they would have taken the very ſame Courſe that the *Eaſt India* Company has lately done for the Maintenance of their Rights, with equal Reaſon: That the Diſcoveries their Ships were intended to make, were within the Bounds aſſigned the *Weſt India* Company; and their Officers directed, by their Inſtructions, to proceed no farther than a certain Latitude, and to return through the Streights of *Magellan*; with which Inſtructions if they had complied, this Event could not have fallen out, and conſequently there could have been no Occaſion given for this Complaint: That the Officers of the *Eaſt India* Company, in the *Indies*, could not act in any other manner, than as the Inſtructions, grounded on the Company's Charter, direct; and conſequently could not, in the preſent Caſe, have done otherwiſe than they have, without being wanting in their Duty to the Company: That, to have prevented any thing in this nature, if the *Weſt India* Company had foreſeen the Neceſſity of their Ships returning by the *Eaſt Indies*, they ought to have applied to the Company for their Licence, and for Inſtructions, in their Behalf, to the Governor-General and Council in the *Indies*; that, for want of taking theſe Precautions, the Ships of the *Weſt India* Company, when in the *Eaſt Indies*, could not be known or conſidered in any manner different from other Ships; but, upon committing any Offence, were liable to the ſame Puniſhment that would have been inflicted upon private Traders: That the very ſetting forth of this to be an extraordinary Caſe exculpates the Officers of the *Eaſt India* Company, who have no Power of taking notice of any extraordinary Caſes, but muſt act in all according to the ordinary Rules preſcribed by their Inſtructions; that if they ſhould either have Power allowed, or ſhould aſſume to themſelves a Power, of acting otherwiſe, it would be attended with very dangerous Conſequences, rather more than leſs prejudicial to the public Welfare, than what has happened in the preſent Caſe; that, in reality, there is nothing very prejudicial, much leſs iniquitous, in the Fact now under Conſideration, ſince the Seizure is of no great Value to the *Weſt India* Company, and, with reſpect to the Public, will be ſo far from preventing Diſcoveries, that it muſt prove a Means of promoting them, by obliging ſuch Officers, as may be hereafter ſent upon Deſigns of this Nature, to purſue their Inſtructions cloſe, without framing Expedients to themſelves, from a Preſumption, that to a Caſe which they think extraordinary, the ſettled Laws of their Country muſt give way: That, upon the Whole, they ſubmit it to their High Mightineſſes, whether the Charter of the *Eaſt India* Company, being an Act of State, ought not, as ſuch, to be conſidered as a Law to their Subjects; and whether, if it be not ſo conſidered, the Charter can be of any Uſe to the Company at all; whether, if the Rules of the Charter be conſidered as a Law by the Officers of the Company in the *Indies*, they have, in this Caſe, done any more than was their Duty; and whether, if either they, or the Company, ſhould be puniſhed for doing their Duty, it would not be, in Effect, doing the very Thing that is here complained of as an Hardſhip. It muſt be allowed, that this Defence of the *Eaſt India* Company was very plauſible, and carried in it a great Shew of Reaſon.

But, according to the Cuſtom of *Holland*, theſe Memorials, after having been conſidered, were remitted into the Hands of the proper Officer, who was appointed to draw up, not only the Judgment given in this Caſe, but the Reaſons upon which that Judgment was given, which were in Subſtance theſe: The *Eaſt India* Company was erected at a time when the Maritime Power of the State was in its Infancy, and that of their Enemies the *Spaniards* very great in thoſe Parts; and that, conſequently, what might be very right, and very requiſite, in ſuch a Situation, ceaſes ſo to be, when the Circumſtances of Things are abſolutely altered, as at this Day: That it is not a Thing to be taken for granted, that the great Power, and extenſive Dominion, of the Company in the *Indies* is equivalent to the Power and Dominion of the States themſelves, with reſpect to the general Good of their Subjects; becauſe this is a Fact which has been doubted by many, and abſolutely contradicted by ſome of the greateſt Stateſmen in *Holland*: That, as to the Right of the *Weſt India* Company, to do the ſame Thing in the ſame Caſe, it proves nothing; becauſe it is a Maxim, from which the States will never depart, that neither of theſe Companies have acquired, by their Charters, a Privilege of doing Wrong. That the Inſtructions of the *Weſt India* Company to their Officers, to proceed to a certain Latitude, and return to the Streights of *Magellan*, is a clear Proof, that they had not the leaſt Intent of breaking in upon the Privileges of the *Eaſt India* Company, or of ſending Ships into their Limits; and if the Officers did not obey theſe Inſtructions, it cannot be imputed as a Fault to the Company, who gave them, or as a Crime to the Officers, who would have obeyed them, if they could, but were compelled, by that Neceſſity which ſuperſedes all Laws, to return as they did: That the Governor-General and Council of the *Indies* might very eaſily diſtinguiſh between Ships coming to trade, and Ships that ſought a Paſſage Home; eſpecially, ſince it was apparent, by the Condition they were in at their Arrival in the *Eaſt Indies*, that they really were in no Circumſtances of Trading; that their Neceſſities were ſuch as they ſet them out to be; and that they were willing to ſubmit to whatever Regulation the Officers of the *Eaſt India* Company thought fit to preſcribe, for preventing any Inconvenience from their remaining in thoſe Seas. The Officers of the *Eaſt India* Company are ſtill Subjects of the States of *Holland*, and are not at all bound to execute the Inſtructions of the Company to the Prejudice of the Public; and therefore they muſt have a Power of diſtinguiſhing in ſuch Caſes, to prevent their being good Servants to the Company, at the Expence of being bad Subjects to the Republic. That it was ſimply impoſſible the *Weſt India* Company ſhould demand a Licence for what they endeavoured to prevent; and that their Inſtructions, in this reſpect, are inconteſtable Proofs of their Deſire to avoid any Diſputes with that Company. Beſides, the diſcovering of new Countries is a Point of evident Advantage to the whole Community, and ought by no means to depend on the Will or Pleaſure of any Company whatever, ſince the Benefit of the Whole ought always to take Place of the Privileges granted to any Part of a People. The Officers of the *Eaſt India* Company were the proper Judges of this, and ought to have made the Diſtinction as Subjects of the State of *Holland*; for they otherwiſe might expect the ſame thing with reſpect to Ships of War; and, under colour of ſupporting the Privileges of the Company, erect a new and independent Sovereignty in the *Indies*. This intirely deſtroys the Notion of great Inconveniencies that muſt ariſe from the Officers of the Company aſſuming to themſelves ſuch a Power; becauſe, if they have not ſuch a Power, they are not at Liberty to diſtinguiſh between the Obedience they owe the Company, and their Duty to the Public. That this Method of treating theſe Ships will contribute to the promoting Diſcoveries, or to any other good End whatſoever, is a Thing not to be preſumed upon the Company's Aſſertion, ſince the contrary is much more probable. This forces one to obſerve, that there is no Point, in which the private Intereſt of this or any other Company more plainly interferes with that of the Public, than in this of diſcovering Lands hitherto unknown; for, as this would infallibly contribute to the Extenſion of Commerce in general, ſo it is no leſs plain, that it would hurt the Intereſt of the Company in particular; eſpecially, if it be true, that the Countries, made known by this Voyage, abound with Spices, and other rich Commodities of the *Indies*. It is this Reflection that ought to incline us to ſuſpect, that the coming into thoſe Seas was not the only Crime that drew on the Perſons on board the Ship ſo heavy a Puniſhment, but rather that it was aggravated by the Reports received of their Diſcoveries; and, if ſo, it very much imports the State to prevent Things of this nature, ſince, as the *Eaſt India* Company cannot prevent other Nations from attempting ſuch Diſcoveries, the plain Conſequence of this Conduct of theirs muſt be, placing the reſt of the Subjects of this State in a worſe Condition, than if they were the Subjects of any other Power, which is a Thing that ought by no means to be permitted. As to the Value of the Ships, and their Cargoes, it cannot alter the Caſe at all; for, whether it be great or little, Satisfaction ought to be made for what has been unjuſtly taken away; and, as to the ſending home the Men on board theſe Ships as Priſoners, it has evidently the worſt Tendency that can be; becauſe, while they were in the Service of the Public, they were eſpecially under its Protection; ſo that, to paſs by ſuch an Act with Impunity, will be to ſacrifice the Honour of the Government, and the Safety of the Nation, to the Prerogatives of a Company miſunderſtood. Beſides, ſhould this Sentence of the Governor-General and Council of the *Indies* be ſupported here, as the Memorial from the Company deſires, it would undoubtedly occaſion frequent Mutinies, ſince a Ship's Company could not promiſe themſelves Protection from their Obedience to their Officers lawful Commands, but muſt ſtand expoſed to the arbitrary Cenſures of another Authority, with the Cuſtoms of which they cannot be acquainted. On the Whole, therefore, we ought to conclude, that, in this Caſe, the Governor-General and Council of the *Indies* have exceeded the Bounds of their legal Authority, and done what cannot be juſtified by the Company's Charter, which conſequently cannot be weakened in any reſpect, by the ſetting this Sentence aſide, and redreſſing the Parties injured; which ought, therefore, to be done immediately, and in an exemplary manner; that the *Eaſt India* Company, and their Officers, may, for the future, learn to make ſuch Diſtinctions as are requiſite for the Security of Commerce in general, and for the Safety of the Subjects of this State in particular.

Accordingly their High Mightineſſes the States General ordered and decreed, that the *Eaſt India* Company ſhould furniſh the *Weſt India* Company with two new Ships, completely rigged in every reſpect, better than thoſe which they had condemned and confiſcated; that the former ſhould likewiſe pay to the latter the full Value of their Cargoes, ſo ſoon as that Value could be fixed and aſcertained; that, with reſpect to the Crew of both Ships, the *Eaſt India* Company ſhould pay them their Wages, to the Time of their Return to *Holland*; that, moreover, the ſaid Company ſhould pay all Coſts of Suit, beſides a certain Sum to the public Uſe, for having thus abuſed their Authority. Such was the End of this important Controverſy, and ſuch the wiſe and equitable Deciſion of the States General, on this Diſpute between the two Companies; which has been the more largely inſiſted upon, becauſe, though it fell out in *Holland*, yet the Point in Debate concerned equally ſome other Countries; to ſay the Truth, every Country, where there is any excluſive Company eſtabliſhed: And I cannot but be perſuaded, that every impartial Reader, who conſiders the Reaſons on both Sides, as they have been before clearly ſtated, will be of Opinion, that their High Mightineſſes diſtinguiſhed very juſtly between the particular Advantages reſulting to a Company eſtabliſhed by their Authority, and the common Benefit of all their Subjects, for the maintaining and promoting of which their own Authority is eſtabliſhed. There is one Thing more I muſt obſerve upon this Sentence, and it is this; that the State have given both Companies a Rule, by which they ought to regulate their Conduct for the future; and have thereby, in all Probability, prevented ſuch Exceſſes, as by this Sentence they puniſhed: And yet, perhaps, this Accident hindered the Proſecution of the Diſcoveries which this Voyage had ſo happily begun.

43. The Remarks that I ſhall make upon this Voyage ſhall be confined to a few Heads, and thoſe of ſuch a Nature, as may contribute at once to the Reader's Amuſement and Information, as well as to the clearing up ſome Points, that may ſeem a little obſcure in the foregoing Voyage. In the firſt place, it is worth obſerving, that the *Weſt India* Company in *Holland* hath been long in a declining Condition; which, inſtead of deſpiriting the Directors, has engaged them to turn their Thoughts on every Method that could be imagined for the Recovery of their Affairs. There is ſo wide a Difference between our Companies, and thoſe in *Holland*, that it may not be amiſs to give a conciſe Account of the flouriſhing State of this Company, the rather, becauſe it will ſhew what great Things a Board of Merchants, for ſuch the Directors generally were, can manage. It appears by the Books of the Company, that, in the Space of thirteen Years, that is to ſay, from 1633 to 1636, they fitted out to Sea eight hundred Ships, either for War or Trade; and that the Expence of Building, Equipping, and Seamens Wages, of theſe, coſt them forty-five Millions of Florins; and that, in the ſame Space of Time, they had taken from their Enemy five hundred and forty-five Veſſels, valued, in the Whole, at ſixty Millions; beſides which, their Spoils amounted to thirty Millions at leaſt: But the greateſt of their Exploits was, that of ſeizing the *Spaniſh* Flota at the *Havanna*, by their Admiral *Peter Heyn*, by which they gained ſeven Millions of Pieces of Eight in Money, and in Ships, Braſs Cannon, and other military Stores, above ten Millions: Such were the flouriſhing Times of the Company. The Cauſes of their Decay ſeemed to be principally theſe: Firſt, their Emulation of the *Eaſt India* Company, which induced them to make the Conqueſt of *Braſil* from the Crown of *Portugal*: This they atchieved at a vaſt Expence; and then appointed Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau* Governor-General, who managed their Affairs with great Skill and Prudence. But then, ſecondly, the Deſire they had of managing all Things themſelves, and their repining at the Expence of that Prince's Government, was another Cauſe of their Misfortunes; for the Merchants, who had conducted their Affairs with great Wiſdom and Capacity, while they confined themſelves to Commerce, and a Maritime War, ſhewed themſelves but indifferent Stateſmen; and, in a very ſhort time, loſt all that Prince *Maurice* had acquired, bringing, withal, ſuch

a Debt upon the Company, as, in the End, compelled them to conſent to a Diſſolution.

The new *Weſt India* Company, warned by the Example of their Predeceſſors, have kept more within Bounds, and have certainly managed their Affairs with great Oeconomy and Prudence. In the Year 1714, they formed a Project of a very extraordinary Nature, which, if it had taken place, might very probably have transferred the whole Commerce of *Europe* to the *Dutch*. This conſiſted in the Uniting of the two Companies, I mean, thoſe trading to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*. In order to this, they offered to transfer all that they poſſeſſed in *Africa* and *America* to the *Eaſt India* Company, in Conſideration of about 120,000 *l.* Sterling; which Sum the Proprietors of the preſent *Weſt India* Company were to have accepted in *Eaſt India* Stock; and nine Directors were to have been added to the preſent College or Board of *Eaſt India* Directors, for the Management of this additional Trade. At the ſame time they offered a Calculation, by which it appeared, that the Funds of the *Weſt India* Company, which, according to this Project, were to be transferred to the *Eaſt India* Company, would more than defray all the Expence, that this Conjunction would create. The Benefits that would have ariſen from this Incorporation of the two Companies into one were many and great, and, which, perhaps, is of no leſs Conſequence, equally viſible and certain; for, as Things now ſtand, the *Weſt India* Company purchaſed the *Couris* and *Boeſies*, which are a ſort of Shells that paſs for Money thro' all the Slave Coaſt of *Africa*, from the *Eaſt India* Company, who, on the other hand, purchaſed from the *Weſt India* Company a great Part of the Gold they bring from the Coaſt of *Guiney*. This kind of Traffick, by this Scheme, would be intirely in the *Eaſt India* Company, who would immediately ingroſs the Slave Trade into their own Hands. By the erecting Fortreſſes, and raiſing Settlements in ſeveral Parts of *Africa*, which would be eaſy for them, tho' the Circumſtances of the *Weſt India* Company would never permit them to attempt ſuch things, ſuch a prodigious Wealth would accrue, on the one hand, by ſaving the Expences of bringing home from the *Eaſt Indies* Commodities fit for the *African* Trade, and from *Africa* Goods proper for the *Eaſt Indies*, which, according to this Plan, might be tranſported directly in both Caſes, without ever coming to *Europe* at all; and, on the other hand, by inlarging the Commerce both Ways, the Power and the Influence of the Company would be ſo increaſed, that it would be ſimply impoſſible for other Nations to contend with them in either Trade. Theſe Settlements in *Africa* would alſo be attended with another extraordinary Advantage, that of diſcovering ſeveral rich Mines of Gold; of which whatever Informations the *Weſt India* Company may have had, they never could attempt to work them, becauſe, knowing their own Weakneſs, they were apprehenſive, that ſuch an Attempt, inſtead of proving advantageous to them, might have induced other Nations to have attacked them, and thereby have expoſed their Country to the Loſs of what might be certainly gained, if undertaken by ſo powerful a Body as the *Eaſt India* Company. The Commerce of the Grain Coaſt of *Guiney*, tho' of no conſiderable Value to the *Weſt India* Company, would prove of incredible Advantage, when in the Hands of the other Company; becauſe the Grain tranſported from *Africa* is, a great Part of it, conſumed in the *Eaſt Indies*, and is ſo neceſſary a Commodity there, that the *Eaſt India* Company would have it in their Power to raiſe and fall the Price of Pepper, as they thought fit; which would enable them to bring about what they have ſo long endeavoured, the getting into their Hands the Monopoly of that, as well as other Spices; which, perhaps, will never be attained by any other Means. The proper Commerce of the *Weſt Indies* alſo would become infinitely more conſiderable under their Management, than it would be any other way; and this eſpecially by erecting Magazines for *Eaſt India* Commodities in the Iſland of *Curaçao*, from whence they might be eaſily ſent into the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, and would produce a mighty Profit, though ſold at a much lower Rate than the ſame kind of Goods, which are annually brought into that Country by the *Manilla* Ship.

How it came to paſs, that this Propoſal was rejected, does not concern my preſent Purpoſe; and therefore I ſhall only obſerve, that, after this Propoſition was rejected, the Directors of the *Weſt India* Company very wiſely turned their Thoughts another Way. It is very probable, that the Encouragement they gave to Mr. *Roggewein*'s Propoſition might be, in ſome meaſure, owing to the ill Treatment, which this Project had received: For what was more natural, after failing in their Scheme of uniting their Company to that of the *Eaſt Indies*, than to aim at coming in for a Share of theſe Commodities, ſo neceſſary for their Commerce, by ſome other Way? And what Way ſo proper as that propoſed by this Voyage, which would, in effect, have put the moſt valuable Part of the *Eaſt India* Trade into their Hands? And this too accounts for the extraordinary Heat and Violence of the *Eaſt India* Company againſt thoſe, who were concerned in this Diſcovery.

The Reader will eaſily recollect an Inſtance of the ſame ſort of Spirit, which they had ſhewn long before, in the Caſe of *James le Maire*; and what Pains they took to diſcredit his Diſcoveries. Here we ſee the true Secret of that Diſpute, which was ſo warmly managed by both Companies, and ſo wiſely decided by the States General. When the *Eaſt India* Company perſecuted and deſtroyed *le Maire*, the Government did not interpoſe, becauſe, at that time, the Maintenance of the Power of the *Eaſt India* Company was of the higheſt Conſequence to the States; but ſuch as were concerned in that Expedition appealed to the Public againſt the Injuſtice they had received, and were heard with all the Favour they could expect: But, by degrees, as the Government of *Holland* became more ſettled, and eſpecially ſince ſuch have had a Share in the Adminiſtration of public Affairs as were well acquainted with Trade, the Concerns of the *Eaſt India* Company are conſidered in a new Light.

That conſummate Stateſman and Patriot, *John de Witte*, was the firſt who explained the Matter clearly; and his Words are ſo applicable to this Subject, that I cannot forbear citing them, as moſt worthy of the Reader's Attention; “When the *Eaſt India* Company, ſays he, had attained to a certain Extent of Power and Grandeur, their Intereſts came not only to claſh with, but grew abſolutely oppoſite to, thoſe of their Country: For whereas the Advantage of the *Dutch* Nation conſiſts in the Increaſe of their Manufactures, Commerce, and Freight of Ships; the Intereſt of the Country inclines them to promote the Sale of foreign Manufactures, and that with the leaſt Traffick and Navigation that is in their Power. Hence it is a ſettled Point, that, if the *Eaſt India* Company can gain more by importing *Japan* Cloths, *Indian* Quilts, Carpets, Chintzes, than raw Silk; or if the Company, by creating a Scarcity of Nutmegs, Mace, Cloves, Cinnamon, and other Spices, can raiſe the Price of them, ſo as to gain as much by 100 Tons, as they would otherwiſe get by 1000; we are not to expect, that they ſhould import thoſe raw Silks, or be at the Expence of tranſporting 1000 Tons of Spice, tho' the former would aſſiſt our Manufactures at home, and the latter increaſe our Navigation.”

This is ſo plain, and agrees ſo evidently with the Intereſt of all Nations, as well as of *Holland*, that it is impoſſible for any unprejudiced Perſon not to diſcern, that all excluſive Companies deſtroy, inſtead of promoting, the Commerce of the Countries where they are eſtabliſhed. The ſame great Writer obſerves, that the more any Company extends its foreign Conqueſts, the more of their Stock muſt, of Neceſſity, be ſpent for the Preſervation and Defence of ſuch Conqueſts; and conſequently the greater their Dominions, the leſs the Company is able to mind the true Intereſt of that Trade, for the promoting which they were erected. The Reader, from the large and accurate Account, which we have lately given him of the State of the *Dutch* Company's Affairs in the *Eaſt Indies*, will the more readily enter into, and ſee, the Juſtice and Force of this judicious Obſervation.

This leads me to remark, that, in all Countries where ſuch Companies are already eſtabliſhed, the only Method that can be taken to prevent the Conſequences that muſt attend them, is to play one Company againſt another; that is to ſay, the State ought always to encourage and protect that Company, which is moſt inclined to promote national

Commerce, and the Exportation of the Goods and Manufactures of the Country in which it is ſettled. We have ſeen what Advantage the *Dutch* draw from having a Company-King amongſt the *Indian* Princes of every Iſland; and therefore we cannot be at a Loſs for the Benefits, that muſt reſult from the having the Nation's Company amongſt thoſe excluſive Companies, erected in every Nation. Upon this Principle it was that the States General, in the preſent Caſe, ſo much favoured the *Weſt India* Company; for a little Attention will ſhew, that, in this Inſtance, they were the Nation's Company; that is to ſay, by endeavouring to diſcover new Countries, which muſt have been attended with an Increaſe of Commerce, and of Shipping, they purſued their Country's Intereſt, as well as their own. And, as this is a Point that deſerves to be illuſtrated, give me Leave to ſuppoſe, that, in conſequence of this Voyage, a Settlement had been made in *Eaſter Iſland:* In order to ſupport this, another Squadron muſt have been ſent, together with a freſh Supply of People for the Colony; and, in Proceſs of Time, as their Trade and Diſcoveries increaſed, annual Squadrons would have gone, and returned; which muſt have been highly advantageous to *Holland*. Beſides, it is a great Matter to revive a Spirit of Trade and Diſcovery; for let any one conſider how ſoon all the Continent and Iſlands of *America* were as well known as they are at preſent, after they were firſt found by *Columbus*, and he will be at no Loſs to diſcern the Probability of eſtabliſhing a large Trade in thoſe Southern Countries, which are ſo imperfectly known at preſent.

Add to this, that there cannot be a more true or certain Maxim than this; that tho' particular Perſons, and eſpecially Companies, gain moſt by old and ſettled Trades, yet a new Commerce contributes moſt to the enriching of a People, becauſe it increaſes the Number of Workmen in all Manufactures at home, occaſions the building new Ships, heightens the Number of Seamen, and, in one Word, inlarges and ſtrengthens that Spirit of Induſtry, which is ſo neceſſary to the Well-being of a trading Nation. Another Reaſon that might poſſibly engage the States to favour the *Weſt India* Company in this Deſign, was the Tendency it had to promote that kind of Navigation, which, for this laſt Century, has fallen almoſt into Diſuſe; I mean, the Navigation round Cape *Horn* into the South Seas, upon the Diſcovery of which our Anceſtors piqued themſelves with ſo much Juſtice. The more one reflects on this, the more one is amazed at the Indolence of the preſent Age, eſpecially conſidering the ill Conſequences that plainly reſult from it already. The Storms about the Cape of *Good Hope* were not more terrible to our Anceſtors, in the very Dawn of Navigation, than the Doubling Cape *Horn* is to ſome People at this Hour, after ſo many Voyages have been made round it, and that too by their own Countrymen, as well as others. Captain *Cowley* paſſed it twice, *Dampier* thrice, *Clipperton* as often; and yet now, after twenty Years Diſuſe, it is become a greater Bugbear than ever. It was therefore high time for the *Dutch*, who ſaw the *French* yearly bringing large Sums out of the South Seas, to try, whether their Subjects could not be as fortunate, without engaging in a contraband Trade with the *Spaniards*.

It is a great Pity, that we can't have Commodore *Roggewein*'s Propoſals to the *Weſt India* Company, in which, no doubt, there are abundance of curious Particulars; but, as this is not to be hoped for, we muſt content ourſelves with endeavouring to ſupply this Deficiency, by attending cloſely to his Voyage.

We ſee, that, before he thought of Refreſhment, he ſtretched as far as the Coaſt of *Braſil*, and did not loiter away his Time at the Cape *de Verde*, or any other Iſlands: And this was certainly the right Way; for a Voyage to the Coaſt of *Braſil* is undoubtedly no very hard or difficult Navigation, as the former Voyages, eſpecially thoſe of *Dampier* and *Funnel*, plainly ſhew. But the *Dutch* Commodore took no ſmall Pains to diſcover ſome Iſland upon that Coaſt, where a Settlement might be made, that his Countrymen might, for the future, have a Place of their own, without troubling the *Portugueſe* at all. When this was found impracticable, his next Care was, to reconnoitre the Iſland of *St. Lewis*, which had never been throughly diſcovered before; and therefore he thought he had a Right to impoſe on it a new Name; which he did: And, if he had ſettled on it alſo, as he propoſed, it had certainly anſwered the End of his Voyage effectually; for the Climate and Soil appear to have been ſuch, as leave no Room to doubt, that, if the *Dutch* had fixed there, and been well ſupported, they might make it as commodious a Place as the Cape of *Good Hope*, which had been ſlighted, as not worth inhabiting, by other Nations, tho' it is now acknowledged for one of the fineſt Countries in the World. He formed the ſame Project with reſpect to *Juan Fernandez*, which is certainly one of the wholſomeſt and pleaſanteſt Iſlands in *America*, and from whence, if it was once ſettled, the diſcovering of the Southern Continent and Iſlands muſt with Eaſe follow. To ſay the Truth, I think the firſt Error that he committed was the poſtponing theſe Settlements, but more eſpecially the laſt, becauſe the Benefits that muſt have reſulted from it are apparent.

We have ſo many Accounts of the Beauty and Fertility of that Iſland, that, I think, it may be laid down as an undeniable Truth, that a Propoſal for ſettling it would not meet with many Difficulties, either here, or in *Holland*. In both Places People are to be met with, who, either for the ſake of getting Bread, or from the Hopes of acquiring a Fortune, would readily conſent to viſit the moſt unwholſome Countries, and to remain in the worſt Climates. There would not therefore certainly be wanting enough to offer themſelves, upon proper Encouragement, to go and reſide there; and the Expence of fortifying the Iſland, and providing them in every reſpect with what they wanted, would require no great Sum: Yet, whatever Nation ſhall take this Step, and be at the Expence, will have it abſolutely in their Power to proſecute this Scheme of Diſcovery; after which, perhaps, it may be time enough to think of ſettling the Iſland of *St. Lewis* on the other Side of the Cape. The raiſing a Fort, and putting in Order the Plantation of the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, might employ the firſt Year, whenever this important Deſign is properly purſued; and, if two or three ſmall Veſſels were left with the Inhabitants of that Iſland, they might, by the Arrival of a new Squadron the next Year, be able to report ſomewhat as to the Probability of a Diſcovery from thence; becauſe there are undoubtedly ſeveral Iſlands, which lie at no great Diſtance from thence; and all of them in ſo good a Climate, that no Hardſhip need be feared in endeavouring to diſcover them. In conſequence of their Report, and of the Aſſiſtance received from the new Colony, where the Sick might be put on ſhore, and their Places ſupplied by freſh Men, a great Part of the South Continent might be diſcovered in one Summer: For, when the Seamen were once ſecure of a good Retreat, as the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, well ſettled, would be, they would not be uneaſy, or afraid of wanting Proviſions, if they cruiſed a few Weeks, more or leſs, in the South Seas. Beſides, there would be no Occaſion for reducing them to ſhort Allowance; and, while they lived in preſent Plenty, and without Apprehenſion of future Wants, they would certainly be in ſufficient Spirits to undertake any thing their Officers could reaſonably expect from them.

The Voyages of *Schouten* and *Dampier*, as well as that which occaſioned theſe Remarks, plainly ſhew, that it is the Dread of ſo long a Run as to the *Eaſt Indies*, which intimidates the Sailors in theſe Seas, and occaſions ſuch frequent Mutinies, ſuch perpetual Diſſenſions, as muſt neceſſarily impede, and even defeat, the beſt-laid Project for Diſcoveries. Add to all this, that, in two or three Years time, there is the higheſt Probability, that the Produce of the Trade that might be eſtabliſhed in theſe Southern Iſlands, would not only defray the Expence of the Undertaking, but make conſiderable Returns; and then all Difficulties would be over. There would be enough ſtruggling to ſhare in the Advantages of a Commerce ſo long neglected; but the Settlement at *Juan Fernandez* would prevent this, and ſecure, for at leaſt thirty or forty Years, the greateſt Part of the Profit to the original Proprietors.

This, or ſomething like it, was undoubtedly Mr. *Roggewein*'s Plan; and it muſt certainly add ſome Degree of Credit to his Scheme, that it was twice approved by the *Weſt India* Company in *Holland*, the Directors of which are always Men of Buſineſs, and of diſtinguiſhed Abilities, and who undoubtedly would not have been at ſo great an Expence as this Voyage coſt them, if they had not been perfectly well ſatisfied, that the Deſign was rational in all reſpects, and practicable in its nature; nor could they be at all diſpleaſed with the Report of this Voyage, which, tho' not very ſucceſsful upon the Whole, yet was ſo in Part, and has given ſuch new Lights, as render it ſufficiently evident, that there wants nothing but Perſeverance to perfect all that was propoſed. How it fell out, that this Deſign was abandoned, notwithſtanding theſe Probabilities in its Favour, I cannot pretend to ſay; but whoever reflects on the Advantages that are now derived from our Plantations, on the Difficulties that attended planting them, on the many Miſcarriages in planting them, and the plauſible Diſcourſes made againſt planting them at all; I ſay, whoever reflects naturally upon this, will readily confeſs, that no concluſive Argument can be drawn from the *Dutch Weſt India* Company's neglecting this Deſign. It may, perhaps, be the Reſult of a Timidity in the Directors, who are afraid to launch out Money on a Project that has once miſcarried; for it is not in all Countries that Directors deſpiſe the Opinion of their Conſtituents, or of the World, and follow their own, and their own Intereſt too ſometimes, at other Peoples Expence. But I rather think the *Eaſt India* Company have found Ways and Means to engage them to deſiſt from what to them appeared ſo dangerous to their Commerce. I mention this purely as a Conjecture, of which I neither have, or pretend to have, the ſmalleſt Proofs. But when we conſider, that, in fact, this is a Project for bringing the Commodities of the *Indies* into *Europe* by a new Route, we need not wonder, that every *Eaſt India* Company is alarmed at it; becauſe, for the very ſame Reaſons that the *Venetians* were beat out of the *Eaſt India* Trade, by the Diſcovery of a Paſſage round the Cape of *Good Hope*, the preſent Companies muſt loſe their Trade, if a better and more commodious Paſſage can be found. It was the Senſe of this, that ſtirred up all the Endeavours that have been made to diſcover a Paſſage by the North-eaſt, and by the North-weſt; and therefore, if it ſhould once appear, that the Paſſage already found by the South-weſt will do as well, and that as great Returns may be made in fifteen, or at leaſt in eighteen Months, as in three Years by the other, it muſt certainly fall into Diſuſe.

I know it may be objected, that the Hardſhips that have been lately ſuſtained in paſſing Cape *Horn*, are ſufficient to anſwer all I have ſaid; but I think, on the contrary, that I have much more Reaſon to aſſert, that what I have ſaid ought to deſtroy the Notion of theſe Hardſhips. I am very far from denying the Matter of Fact; but if People go at a wrong Seaſon of the Year, embaraſſed with Things that are not neceſſary, and deſtitute of thoſe that are, they may well enough fall into ſuch Diſtreſſes, and yet other People take the ſame Route without feeling them. Let any Man read *Frezier*'s Voyage, and I think he will be ſatisfied, that it is very poſſible to get into the South Seas without being deſtroyed by the Scurvy; for I don't remember, that he makes any great Complaints about the Matter. But, to put the Thing out of Diſpute, let us but recollect, that *Jaques le Maire* paſſed through the South Seas into the *Eaſt Indies*, without ſo much as loſing a Man; and we muſt be convinced, that the ſame is practicable now. I believe there are few Voyages, in which the Sailors met with more Hardſhips, than in that of which we are ſpeaking: But from whence did they proceed? Why, our Author has very fairly and honeſtly told us, from the private Views of the principal Officers, who were in an Hurry to get to the *Eaſt Indies*; for otherwiſe they might have met with Refreſhment enough: So that it was not the Proſecution of the Diſcovery that brought upon them ſuch Hardſhips, but it was their own ill Conduct that defeated the Diſcovery, and brought Diſcredit on the Voyage. But if Mr. *Roggewein*'s Plan was to be executed in its full Extent, that is to ſay, if the Ship employed for making this Diſcovery ſailed at the proper Seaſon of the Year, which appears to be about the Beginning of *November*, refreſhed at the Cape *de Verde* Iſlands, proceeded from them to the Iſland of *St. Catharine's*, and ſo double Cape *Horn* early in the Year, they might reach *Juan Fernandez* in very tolerable Condition; much more, if proper Settlements were made with a View to this Diſcovery; in which Caſe, I make no doubt but, in twenty Years, all the Difficulties of this Navigation would be as much forgot, as thoſe of the Cape of *Good Hope* are already.

I muſt confeſs, that I have taken a great deal of Pains upon this Subject, from an earneſt Deſire, that this Scheme of diſcovering theſe Southern *Indies*, might appear in its true Light to the *Britiſh* Nation, and in order to ſhew how poſſible it is for us to reap the Benefit, not of the Diſcoveries only, but of the Errors and Overſights of other People. We are daily complaining, though I hope without Reaſon, of the Decay of Trade: We are daily repining at the Reſtrictions on our Trade, for which, without doubt, there is more Reaſon; ſince it is viſible, that the Commerce between our own Iſland, and that of *Barbadoes*, employs five times the Number of Ships that are in the Service of all our excluſive Companies put together: But Complaints are effeminate Things; we ought to behave like Men, and endeavour to find Remedies, if we really think ourſelves aggrieved. If, as many People ſay, moſt Trades are overſtocked; or if, as moſt People ſay, the moſt beneficial Branches of Trade are cramped by the before-mentioned Reſtrictions; it is undoubtedly our Buſineſs to find out new Trades, if it be poſſible; or, at leaſt, it is worth our while to make ſome Attempt, where, as in the preſent Caſe, there is a probable Proſpect of Succeſs. For this Purpoſe, there never was a Seaſon more convenient than the preſent; the War has deſtroyed ſome Branches of our Trade, and ſuſpends many others: Yet the War affords us fairer Opportunities for undertaking any Expeditions like this, than we could have in a Time of profound Peace.

We have now no Reaſon to be complaiſant to the *Spaniards*, or to be afraid of the Reſentment of our Neighbours, in caſe we ſhould take Poſſeſſion of *Juan Fernandez*, and ſettle it: In ſhort, we have nothing to fear, but all Things to hope, all Things to expect, if we are not wanting to ourſelves, and more inclined to complain of what we have not, than induſtrious to acquire what we might have with very little Trouble. There may, indeed, be objected to all this, that the Diſcoveries hitherto made conſiſt but of ſmall Iſlands, or of Continents not thoroughly examined: Yet this Objection proves nothing, if it be certain, that ſuch of theſe Iſlands as have been examined are well inhabited; and that the Continents not examined are ſo ſituated, as to juſtify the Obſervations made by our Author in this Voyage; becauſe, in this Caſe, the Objection amounts to no more than this, that it is in vain to attempt to diſcover Countries, where there is no Certainty of gaining great Advantages: And what is this but ſaying, in other Words, that we ought not to attempt Diſcoveries at all?

If the World had been always of that Mind, both the *Eaſt* and the *Weſt Indies* had ſtill remained undiſcovered. What Prejudice would have reſulted from thence to *Europe*, may appear from the Conſideration of the different Circumſtances of Things ſince the Diſcovery of thoſe Countries, which have undoubtedly occaſioned not only a mighty Increaſe of Shipping amongſt the Nations poſſeſſed of Plantations in thoſe Parts, but alſo of domeſtic Induſtry; and whatever increaſes the Manufactures of a Country, increaſes the Wealth of its Inhabitants; or, take it in another Light, and it plainly increaſes their Happineſs, by enabling them to purchaſe, by their Labour, the Neceſſaries and the Conveniencies of Life, which otherwiſe (that is, without Trade) their Labour would not procure. To be more effectually convinced of this, we may compare the preſent State of thoſe Countries, that actually carry on a large Commerce in thoſe Parts of the World, and the Countries which have no ſuch Commerce. For Inſtance, What is the Reaſon, that *Great Britain* and *Holland* make ſo much a greater Figure in *Europe*, and that their Subjects are ſo much richer, than thoſe of *Sweden* or *Denmark*? Does it not plainly reſult from the great Commerce of the former, compared with that of the latter? Is not this the Opinion of the ableſt Judges? And is it not confeſſed by the *Swedes* and *Danes* themſelves, who are now making great Efforts, in order to obtain a Share in the Commerce of the *Eaſt Indies*, and have actually made ſome Progreſs in their Deſign? Let us conſider, therefore, that, if other Nations proceed, and we ſtand ſtill, they will certainly overtake us; and, before they do this, our Trade muſt neceſſarily decay, and fall off.

To prevent this, the ſafeſt, plaineſt, and moſt ſpeedy Method is, to endeavour to make new Diſcoveries, that is, in effect, to endeavour finding out new Markets. If there be ſo large a Tract of Country, as our Author ſuppoſes, and ſo many Iſlands undiſcovered, in the South, they muſt be worth the diſcovering, for theſe Reaſons: If any of theſe Countries are abſolutely uninhabited, we are at leaſt ſure that they lie in ſuch a Climate as gives us Hopes of their producing the richeſt Commodities, or a Certainty of our being able to produce them, by raiſing new Colonies and Plantations. We ſhall very ſoon be ſatisfied of this, if we reflect on the Advantages derived from the ſettling the ſmall Iſland of *Barbados*: And, if the Profits ariſing from Sugar are ſo large, what might be expected, or, rather, what might we not expect, from a Country of the ſame Extent, which would produce Cloves, Nutmegs, or Cinnamon? It is true, that formerly the Power of the *Dutch* might have been apprehended, who have ſhewn a very ſtubborn Reſolution of keeping theſe rich Commodities intirely to themſelves: But at preſent there can be no ſuch Fear, becauſe our maritime Power is ſufficient to protect any juſt Pretenſion; and, on the other hand, we ought not to ſuſpect, that our Governors would have ſuch a Complaiſance for any foreign Intereſt, as to ſacrifice to it our own. On the other hand, if theſe Southern Countries are inhabited by Savages, there is a great Probability of our obtaining the moſt valuable Commodities, either in Exchange for the Neceſſaries of Life, or for thoſe Trifles, which we know, by Experience, ſuch Savages naturally admire.

But it may be, and indeed is, far more probable, that there are civilized Nations in many, or at leaſt in ſome, of theſe Countries; and with them, no doubt, we may carry on a very advantageous Trade: For the Commodities of one Part of the World are always conſidered as Rarities in another Part; and, as Rarities, they will naturally fetch an high Price: So that if we can but once eſtabliſh a Trade, and a Trade at ſo great a Diſtance, it muſt turn much to our Benefit.

Upon the Whole, therefore, the only Point that remains to be ſettled, is, the producing ſuch further Evidence as may beget a clear and full Perſuaſion, that there really is a vaſt Tract of Country, though hitherto but imperfectly diſcovered, in the South. In order to do this, and to confirm what the Author of this Voyage has aſſerted upon that Head, I cannot think of a better Method, than adding two Voyages, by way of Appendix to this; the rather, becauſe they will contribute, both to explain what he has laid down only in ſhort and general Terms, and alſo complete what we have to deliver with regard to the immediate Subject of this Book; *viz. the Progreſs that has been made in the Circum-navigation of the Globe*: Beſides, both theſe Voyages are not only curious in themſelves, but have this farther to recommend them; that the former never was publiſhed in our Language before, and the latter ſo imperfectly, that this new and full Tranſlation which we give our Readers, becomes ſo much the more valuable. It is a Thing that has been often, and indeed juſtly, complained of, that in the largeſt Collections of Voyages, in our Language, there has been little more than perpetual Repetitions, while abundance of important Pieces, publiſhed in other Countries, have been neglected, either through want of Care, or want of Information. But we may ſafely aſſert, that nothing of this ſort can hitherto be imputed to us, ſince we have faithfully executed the Plan we laid down, and have given our Readers not ſhort imperfect Abridgments, or looſe and unconnected Relations, but a regular Series of all the Voyages that have hitherto been made round the World, with the Addition of ſuch ſcarce and curious Accounts, as was requiſite to render the Diſcoveries mentioned in them as perfect as it was poſſible: And the ſame Spirit, the ſame Diligence, ſhall, with the Bleſſing of God, appear as fully in the remaining Part of the Work. It is indeed a kind of Reſpect which is due to the World, a thing every way incumbent upon us, conſidering the kind Treatment we have received, and the Encouragement afforded us, by the Public.

SECTION XXI.

The Voyage and Shipwreck of Captain FRANCIS PELSART, *in the* Batavia, *on the Coaſt of* New Holland, *and his ſucceeding Adventures.*

[From the Collections of M. *Thevenot*.]

1. *A ſhort Account of the Deſign of this Voyage.* 2. *Captain* Pelſart, *in the* Batavia, *ſhipwreck'd on the Coaſt of* New Holland. 3. *Obliged to leave his People on three deſert Iſlands, in order to go in Search of Water.* 4. *Account of the Coaſt, and its Inhabitants.* 5. *He is obliged to proceed to* Batavia, *in order to obtain Succours.* 6. *The Difficulties and Dangers he met with in his Paſſage.* 7. *The Supercargo, in his Abſence, forms a Conſpiracy, and murders a great Part of the Crew.* 8. *The Supercargo is defeated, and made Priſoner.* 9. *Captain* Pelſart *returns from* Batavia, *and defeats the Mutineers.* 10. *Is obliged, for his own Safety, to execute them all; and returns afterwards, with his Ship's Company, to* Batavia. 11. *Remarks upon the Voyage.*

1. IT has appeared very ſtrange to ſome very able Judges of Voyages, that the *Dutch* ſhould make ſo great Account of the Southern Countries, as to cauſe the Map of them to be laid down in the Pavement of the Stadt-houſe at *Amſterdam*, and yet publiſh no Deſcriptions of them. This Myſtery was a good deal heightened by one of the Ships, that firſt touched on *Carpenter's* Land, bringing home a conſiderable Quantity of Gold, Spices, and other rich Goods: In order to clear up which, it was ſaid, that theſe were not the Product of the Country, but were fiſhed out of the Wreck of a large Ship that had been loſt upon the Coaſt: But this Story did not ſatisfy the Inquiſitive, becauſe not attended with the Circumſtances neceſſary to eſtabliſh its Credit; and, therefore, they ſuggeſted, that, inſtead of taking away the Obſcurity, by relating the Truth, this Tale was invented, in order to hide it more effectually. This Suſpicion gained Ground the more, when it was known that the *Dutch East India* Company from *Batavia* had made ſome Attempts to conquer a Part of the Southern Continent, and had been repulſed with Loſs; of which, however, we have no diſtinct or perfect Relation, and all that hitherto has been collected in reference to this Subject, may be reduced to two Voyages; the firſt of which is to be the Subject of this, and the other of the ſucceeding Section. All that we know concerning the following Piece, is, that it was collected from the *Dutch* Journal of the Voyage. And, having ſaid thus much by way of Introduction, we now proceed to the Tranſlation of this ſhort Hiſtory.

2. The Directors of the *Eaſt India* Company, animated by the Return of five Ships, under General *Carpenter*, richly laden, cauſed, the very ſame Year, 1628. eleven Veſſels to be equipped for the ſame Voyage: Amongſt which, there was one Ship called the *Batavia*, commanded by Capt. *Francis Pelſart*. They ſailed out of the *Texel* on the 28th of *October* 1628; and, as it would be tedious and trouble-

ſome to the Reader to ſet down a long Account of Things perfectly well known, I ſhall ſay nothing of the Occurrences that happened in their Paſſage to the Cape of *Good Hope*; but content myſelf with obſerving, that, on the 4th of *June* in the following Year 1629, this Veſſel, the *Batavia*, being ſeparated from the Fleet in a Storm, was driven on the *Abrolloes* or Sholes, which lie in the Latitude of 28° South, and which have been ſince called by the *Dutch* the *Abrolloes of Frederic Houtman*. Captain *Pelſart*, who was ſick in Bed when this Accident happened, perceiving that his Ship had ſtruck, ran immediately upon Deck. It was Night indeed; but the Weather was fair, and the Moon ſhone very bright; the Sails were up; the Courſe they ſteered was North-eaſt by North; and the Sea appeared, as far as they could behold it, covered with a white Froth. The Captain called up the Maſter, and charged him with the Loſs of the Ship; who excuſed himſelf by ſaying, he had taken all the Care he could; and that, having diſcerned this Froth at a Diſtance, he aſked the Steerſman, What he thought of it; who told him, That the Sea appeared white, by its reflecting the Rays of the Moon. The Captain then aſked him, What was to be done; and in what Part of the World he thought they were. The Maſter replied, That God only knew that; and that the Ship was faſt on a Bank hitherto undiſcovered. Upon this, they began to throw the Lead, and found, that they had about forty-eight Feet Water before, and much leſs behind, the Veſſel. The Crew immediately agreed to throw their Cannon overboard, in hopes, that, when the Ship was lightened, ſhe might be brought to float again. They let fall an Anchor, however; and, while they were thus employed, a moſt dreadful Storm aroſe of Wind and Rain; which ſoon convinced them of the Danger they were in; for, being ſurrounded with Rocks and Sholes, the Ship was perpetually ſtriking.

They then reſolved to cut away the Main-maſt; which they did: And this augmented the Shock; neither could they get clear of it, tho' they cut it cloſe by the Board, becauſe it was much intangled with the Rigging. They could ſee no Land, except an Iſland, which was about the Diſtance of three Leagues, and two ſmaller Iſlands, or rather Rocks, which lay nearer. They immediately ſent the Maſter to examine them, who returned about nine in the Morning, and reported, that the Sea, at High-water, did not cover them; but that the Coaſt was ſo rocky, and full of Sholes, that it would be very difficult to land upon them. They reſolved, however, to run the Riſque, and to ſend moſt of their Company on ſhore, to pacify the Women, Children, ſick People, and ſuch as were out of their Wits with Fear, whoſe Cries and Noiſe ſerved only to diſturb them. About ten o'Clock, they embarqued theſe in their Shallop and Skiff; and, perceiving their Veſſel began to break, they doubled their Diligence. They likewiſe endeavoured to get their Bread up; but they did not take the ſame Care of the Water, not reflecting in their Fright, that they might be much diſtreſſed for want of it on ſhore; and what hindered them moſt of all was, the brutal Behaviour of ſome of the Crew, that made themſelves drunk with the Wine, of which no Care was taken. In ſhort, ſuch was their Confuſion, that they made but three Trips that Day, carrying over to the Iſland 180 Perſons, twenty Barrels of Bread, and ſome ſmall Caſks of Water. The Maſter returned on board towards Evening, and told the Captain, that it was to no purpoſe to ſend more Proviſions on ſhore, ſince the People only waſted thoſe they had already. Upon this, the Captain went in the Shallop to put things in better Order; and was then informed, that there was no Water to be found upon the Iſland. He endeavoured to return to the Ship, in order to bring off a Supply, together with the moſt valuable Part of their Cargo; but a Storm ſuddenly ariſing, he was forced to return.

3. The next Day was ſpent in removing their Water, and moſt valuable Goods, on ſhore; and afterwards, the Captain in the Skiff, and the Maſter in the Shallop, endeavoured to return to the Veſſel; but found the Sea run ſo high, that it was impoſſible to get on board. In this Extremity, the Carpenter threw himſelf out of the Ship, and ſwam to them, in order to inform them to what Hardſhips thoſe left in the Veſſel were reduced; and they ſent him back, with Orders for them to make Rafts, by tying the Planks together, and endeavour, on theſe, to reach the Shallop and Skiff; but, before this could be done, the Weather became ſo rough, that the Captain was obliged to return, leaving, with the utmoſt Grief, his Lieutenant, and ſeventy Men, on the very Point of periſhing on board the Veſſel. Thoſe who were got on the little Iſland were not in much better Condition; for, upon taking an Account of their Water, they found they had not above forty Gallons for forty People; and on the larger Iſland, where there were 120, their Stock was ſtill leſs. Thoſe who were on the little Iſland began to murmur, and to complain of their Officers, becauſe they did not go in Search of Water in the Iſlands that were within Sight of them; and they repreſented the Neceſſity of this to Captain *Pelſart*; who agreed to their Requeſt; but inſiſted, before he went, to communicate his Deſign to the reſt of his People. They conſented to this; but not till the Captain had declared, that, without the Conſent of the Company on the large Iſland, he would, rather than leave them, go and periſh on board the Ship. When they were got pretty near the ſhore, he, who commanded the Boat, told the Captain, that, if he had any thing to ſay, he muſt cry out to the People; for that they would not ſuffer him to go out of the Boat. The Captain immediately attempted to throw himſelf overboard, in order to ſwim to the Iſland. Thoſe who were in the Boat prevented him; and all that he could obtain of them was, to throw on ſhore his Table-book, in which he wrote a Line or two to inform them, *that he was gone in the Skiff to look for Water in the adjacent Iſlands*.

He accordingly coaſted them all with the greateſt Care, and found, in moſt of them, conſiderable Quantities of Water in the Holes of the Rocks; but ſo mixed with the Sea-water, that it was unfit for Uſe; and therefore they were obliged to go farther. The firſt thing they did was, to make a Deck to their Boat, becauſe they found it was impracticable to navigate thoſe Seas in an open Veſſel. Some of the Crew joined them by that time the Work was finiſhed; and the Captain having obtained a Paper, ſigned by all his Men, importing, that it was their Deſire, that he ſhould go in Search of Water, he immediately put to Sea, having firſt taken an Obſervation, by which he found they were in the Latitude of 28° 13′ South. They had not been long at Sea, before they had Sight of the Continent, which appeared to them to lie about ſixteen Miles North by Weſt from the Place where they had ſuffered Shipwreck. They found about twenty-five or thirty Fathom Water; and, as Night drew on, they kept out to Sea; and, after Midnight, ſtood in for the Land, that they might be near the Coaſt in the Morning. On the 9th (of *June*) they found themſelves, as they reckoned, about three Miles from the Shore; on which they plied all that Day, ſailing ſometimes North, ſometimes Weſt, the Country appearing low, naked, and the Coaſt exceſſively rocky; ſo that they thought it reſembled the Country near *Dover*. At laſt they ſaw a little Creek, into which they were willing to put, becauſe it appeared to have a ſandy Bottom; but, when they attempted to enter it, the Sea ran ſo high, that they were forced to deſiſt.

On the 10th, they remained on the ſame Coaſt, plying to-and-again, as they had done the Day before; but the Weather growing worſe and worſe, they were obliged to abandon their Shallop, and even to throw a Part of their Bread overboard, becauſe it hindered them from clearing themſelves of the Water, which their Veſſel began to make very faſt. That Night it rained moſt terribly, which, tho' it gave them much Trouble, afforded them Hopes, that it would prove a great Relief to the People they had left behind them on the Iſlands. The Wind began to ſink on the 11th; and, as it blew from the Weſt South-weſt, they continued their Courſe to the North, the Sea running ſtill ſo high, that it was impoſſible to approach the Shore. On the 12th, they had an Obſervation, by which they found themſelves in the Latitude of 27°. They ſailed with a South-eaſt Wind all that Day along the Coaſt, which they found ſo ſteep, that there was no getting on ſhore; inaſmuch as there was no Creek, or low Land, without the Rocks, as is commonly obſerved on Sea-coaſts; which gave them the more Pain, becauſe within-land the Country appeared extremely fruitful and pleaſant. They found themſelves, on the 13th, in the Latitude of 25° 40′; by which they diſcovered, that the Current ſat to the North. They were, at this time, over-againſt an Opening; the Coaſt lying to the North-eaſt, they continued a North Courſe, but found the Coaſt one continued Rock of a red Colour, all of an Height, againſt which the Waves broke with ſuch Force, that it was impoſſible for them to land.

4. The Wind blew very freſh in the Morning on the 14th; but, towards Noon, it fell calm; they were then in the Height of 24°, with a ſmall Gale at Eaſt; but the Tide ſtill carried them farther North than they deſired, becauſe their Deſign was to make a Deſcent as ſoon as poſſible; and with this View they ſailed ſlowly along the Coaſt, till, perceiving a great deal of Smoke at a Diſtance, they rowed towards it as faſt as they were able, in hopes of finding Men, and Water of courſe: However, when they came near the Shore, they found it ſo ſteep, ſo full of Rocks, and the Sea beating over them with ſuch Fury, that it was impoſſible to land: Six of the Men, however, truſting to their Skill in Swimming, threw themſelves into the Sea, and reſolved to get on ſhore at any Rate; which, with great Difficulty and Danger, they at laſt effected, the Boat remaining at Anchor in 25 Fathom Water. The Men on ſhore ſpent the whole Day in looking for Water; and, while they were thus employed, they ſaw four Men, who came up very near; but one of the *Dutch* Sailors advancing towards them, they immediately ran away as faſt as they were able, ſo that they were diſtinctly ſeen by thoſe in the Boat. Theſe People were black Savages, quite naked, not having ſo much as any Covering about their Middle. The Sailors, finding no Hopes of Water on all the Coaſt, ſwam on board again, much hurt and wounded by their being beat by the Waves upon the Rocks; and, as ſoon as they were on board, they weighed Anchor, and continued their Courſe along the Shore, in hopes of finding ſome better Landing-place.

On the 15th, in the Morning, they diſcovered a Cape, from the Point of which there ran a Ridge of Rocks a Mile into the Sea, and behind it another Ridge of Rocks: They ventured between them, as the Sea was pretty calm; but, finding there was no Paſſage, they ſoon returned. About Noon, they ſaw another Opening; and the Sea being ſtill ſmooth, they entered it, though the Paſſage was very dangerous, inaſmuch as they had but two Feet Water, and the Bottom full of Stones; the Coaſt appearing a flat Sand for about a Mile. As ſoon as they got on ſhore, they fell to digging in the Sand; but the Water that came into their Wells was ſo brackiſh, that they could not drink it, though they were on the very Point of choaking for Thirſt: At laſt, in the Hollows of the Rocks, they met with conſiderable Quantities of Rain-water, which was a great Relief to them, ſince they had been for ſome Days at no better Allowance than a Pint apiece; they ſoon furniſhed themſelves in the Night with about eighty Gallons, perceiving, in the Place where they landed, that the Savages had been there lately, by a large Heap of Aſhes, and the Remains of ſome Cray-fiſh.

5. On the 6th, in the Morning, they returned on ſhore, in hopes of getting more Water, but were diſappointed; and, having now Time to obſerve the Country, it gave them no great Hopes of better Succeſs, even if they had travelled farther within Land, which appeared a thirſty barren Plain, covered with Ant-hills, ſo high, that they looked, afar off, like the Huts of Negroes; and, at the ſame time, they were ſo plagued with Flies, and thoſe in ſuch Multitudes, that they were ſcarce able to defend themſelves. They ſaw at a Diſtance eight Savages, with each a Staff in his Hand, who advanced towards them within Muſket-ſhot; but as ſoon as they perceived the *Dutch* Sailors moving towards them, they fled as faſt as they were able. It was, by this time, about Noon; and, perceiving no Appearance either of getting Water, or entering into any Correſpondence with the Natives, they reſolved to go on board, and continue their Courſe towards the North, in hopes, as they were already in the Latitude of 22° 17′, they might be able to find the River of *Jacob Remmeſcens*: But the Wind veering about to the North-eaſt, they were not able to continue longer upon that Coaſt; and therefore, reflecting that they were now above one hundred Miles from the Place where they were ſhipwrecked, and had ſcarce as much Water as would ſerve them in their Paſſage back, they came to a ſettled Reſolution of making the beſt of their Way to *Batavia*, in order to acquaint the Governor-General with their Misfortunes, and to obtain ſuch Aſſiſtance, as was neceſſary to get their People off the Coaſt.

6. On the 17th, they continued their Courſe to the North-eaſt, with a good Wind, and fair Weather; the 18th and 19th it blew hard, and they had much Rain; on the 20th, they found themſelves in 19° 22′; on the 22d, they had another Obſervation, and found themſelves in the Height of 16° 10′; which ſurpriſed them very much, and was a plain Proof, that the Current carried them Northwards at a great Rate; on the 27th, it rained very hard, ſo that they were not able to take an Obſervation; but towards Noon they ſaw, to their great Satisfaction, the Coaſts of *Java*, in the Latitude of 8°, at the Diſtance of about 4 or 5 Miles. They altered their Courſe to Weſt North-weſt; and, towards Evening, entered the Gulph of an Iſland, very full of Trees, where they anchored in eight Fathom Water, and there paſſed the Night; on the 28th, in the Morning, they weighed, and rowed with all their Force, in order to make the Land, that they might ſearch for Water, being now again at the Point of periſhing for Thirſt. Very happily for them, they were no ſooner on ſhore, than they diſcovered a fine Rivulet, at a ſmall Diſtance; where, having comfortably quenched their Thirſt, and filled all their Caſks with Water, they, about Noon, continued their Courſe for *Batavia*.

On the 29th, about Midnight, in the ſecond Watch, they diſcovered an Iſland, which they left on their Starboard; about Noon, they found themſelves in the Height of 6° 48′; about three in the Afternoon, they paſſed between two Iſlands; the Weſtermoſt of which appeared full of Cocoa-trees. In the Evening, they were about a Mile from the South Point of *Java*; and, in the ſecond Watch, exactly between *Java* and the Iſle of *Princes*. The 30th, in the Morning, they found themſelves on the Coaſt of the laſt-mentioned Iſland, not being able to make above two Miles that Day. On *July* 1. the Weather was calm; and, about Noon, they were three Leagues from *Dwaers-indenwegh*, i. e. *Thwart-the-way Iſland*; but, towards the Evening, they had a pretty briſk Wind at North-weſt, which enabled them to gain that Coaſt. On the 2d, in the Morning, they were right-againſt the Iſland of *Topers-hoetien*; and were obliged to lay at Anchor till eleven o' Clock, waiting for the Sea-breeze, which, however, blew ſo faintly, that they were not able to make above two Miles that Day; about Sun-ſet, they perceived a Veſſel between them and *Thwart-the-way Iſland*; upon which they reſolved to anchor as near the Shore as they could that Night, and there wait the Arrival of the Ship. In the Morning, they went on board her, in hopes of procuring Arms for their Defence, in caſe the Inhabitants of *Java* were at War with the *Dutch*. They found two other Ships in Company, on board one of which was Mr. *Ramburg*, Counſellor of the *Indies*; Captain *Pelſart* went immediately on board his Ship, where he acquainted him with the Nature of his Misfortune, and went with him afterwards to *Batavia*.

7. We will now leave the Captain ſoliciting Succours from the Governor-General, in order to return to the Crew, who were left upon the Iſlands, among whom there happened ſuch Tranſactions, as, in their Condition, the Reader would little expect, and perhaps will hardly credit. In order to their being thoroughly underſtood, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that they had for Supercargo one *Jerom Cornelis*, who had been formerly an Apothecary at *Harlem*: This Man, when they were on the Coaſt of *Africa*, had plotted with the Pilot, and ſome others, to run away with the Veſſel, and either to carry her into *Dunkirk*, or to turn Pirates in her on their own Account. This Supercargo had remained ten Days on board the Wreck, not being able, in all that time, to get on ſhore. Two whole Days he ſpent on the Main-maſt, floating to and fro, till at laſt, by the Help of one of the Yards, he got to Land. When he was once on ſhore, the Command, in the Abſence of Captain *Pelſart*, devolved of courſe upon him; which immediately revived in his Mind his old Deſign, inſomuch that he reſolved to lay hold of this Opportunity, to make him-

ſelf Maſter of all that could be ſaved out of the Wreck; conceiving, that it would be eaſy to ſurpriſe the Captain on his Return; and determining to go on the Account, that is to ſay, to turn Pirate in the Captain's Veſſel. In order to carry this Deſign into Execution, he thought it neceſſary for them to rid themſelves of ſuch of the Crew, as were not like to come into their Scheme; but before he proceeded to dip his Hands in Blood, he obliged all the Conſpirators to ſign an Inſtrument, by which they engaged to ſtand by each other.

The whole Ship's Company were on ſhore in three Iſlands, the greateſt Part of them in that where *Cornelis* was; which Iſland they thought fit to call the Burying-place of *Batavia*. One Mr. *Weybbays* was ſent with another Body into an adjacent Iſland, to look for Water; which, after twenty Days Search, he found, and made the appointed Signal, by lighting three Fires; which, however, were not ſeen, nor taken notice of, by thoſe under the Command of *Cornelis*, becauſe they were buſy in butchering their Companions, of whom they had murdered between thirty and forty; but ſome few, however, got off upon a Raft of Planks tied together; and went to the Iſland where Mr. *Weybbays* was, in order to acquaint him with the dreadful Accident that had happened. Mr. *Weybbays* having with him forty-five Men, they all reſolved to ſtand upon their Guard, and to defend themſelves to the laſt Man, in caſe theſe Villains ſhould attack them. This, indeed, was their Deſign; for they were apprehenſive both of this Body, and of thoſe who were on the third Iſland, giving Notice to the Captain, on his Return, and thereby preventing their Intention of running away with his Veſſel. But, as this third Company was by much the weakeſt, they began with them firſt, and cut them all off, except five Women, and ſeven Children, not in the leaſt doubting, that they ſhould be able to do as much by *Weybbays*, and his Company; in the mean time, having broke open the Merchants Cheſts, which had been ſaved out of the Wreck, they converted them to their own Uſe, without Ceremony.

8. The Traitor, *Jerom Cornelis*, was ſo much elevated with the Succeſs that had hitherto attended his Villainy, that he immediately began to fanſy all Difficulties were over; and gave a Looſe to his vicious Inclinations, in every reſpect. He ordered Clothes to be made of rich Stuffs, that had been ſaved, for himſelf and his Troop; and, having choſen out of them a Company of Guards, he ordered them to have ſcarlet Coats, with a double Lace of Gold or Silver. There were two Miniſters Daughters among the Women, one of which he took for his own Miſtreſs, gave the ſecond to a Favourite of his, and ordered that the other three Women ſhould be common to the whole Troop. He afterwards drew up a Set of Regulations, which were to be the Laws of his new Principality, taking to himſelf the Stile and Title of Captain-General, and obliging his Party to ſign an Act, or Inſtrument, by which they acknowledged him as ſuch. Theſe Points once ſettled, he reſolved to carried on the War. He firſt of all embarked on board two Shallops twenty-two Men, well armed, with Orders to deſtroy Mr. *Weybbays*, and his Company; and, on their miſcarrying, he undertook a like Expedition, with thirty-ſeven Men; in which, however, he had no better Succeſs; for Mr. *Weybbays*, with his People, though armed only with Staves, with Nails drove into their Heads, advanced even into the Water to meet them, and, after a briſk Engagement, compelled theſe Murderers to retire.

Cornelis then thought fit to enter into a Negotiation, which was managed by the Chaplain, who remained with Mr. *Weybbays*; and, after ſeveral Comings and Goings, from one Party to the othe other, a Treaty was concluded upon the following Terms; *viz.* That Mr. *Weybbays*, and his Company. ſhould for the future remain undiſturbed, provided they delivered up a little Boat, in which one of the Sailors had made his Eſcape from the Iſland in which *Cornelis* was with his Gang, in order to take Shelter on that where *Weybbays* was with his Company. It was alſo agreed, that the latter ſhould have a Part of the Stuffs and Silks given them for Clothes, of which they ſtood in great Want. But, while this Affair was in Agitation, *Cornelis* took the Opportunity of the Correſpondence between them being reſtored, to write Letters to ſome *French* Soldiers that were in *Weybbays*'s Company, promiſing them ſix thouſand Livres apiece, if they would comply with his Demands; not doubting but, by this Artifice, he ſhould be able to accompliſh his End.

His Letters, however, had no Effect; on the contrary, the Soldiers, to whom they were directed, carried them immediately to Mr. *Weybbays*. *Cornelis*, not knowing that this Piece of Treachery was diſcovered, went over the next Morning, with three or four of his People, to carry to Mr. *Weybbays* the Clothes that had been promiſed him: As ſoon as they landed, *Weybbays* attacked them, killed two or three, and made *Cornelis* himſelf Priſoner. One *Wouterloſs*, who was the only Man that made his Eſcape, went immediately back to the Conſpirators, put himſelf at their Head, and came the next Day to attack *Weybbays*, but met with the ſame Fate as before; that is to ſay, he, and the Villains that were with him, were ſoundly beat.

9. Things were in this Situation, when Captain *Pelſart* arrived in the *Sardam* Frigate: He ſailed up to the Wreck; and ſaw, with great Joy, a Cloud of Smoke aſcending from one of the Iſlands; by which he knew, that all his People were not dead. He came immediately to an Anchor; and having ordered ſome Wine and Proviſions to be put into the Skiff, reſolved to go in Perſon with theſe Refreſhments to one of theſe Iſlands. He had hardly quitted the Ship, before he was boarded by a Boat from the Iſland to which he was going; there were four Men in the Boat, of whom *Weybbays* was one, who immediately ran to the Captain, told him what had happened, and begged him to return to his Ship immediately, for that the Conſpirators intended to ſurpriſe her; that they had already murdered 125 Perſons, and that they had attacked him, and his Company, that very Morning, with two Shallops.

While they were talking, the two Shallops appeared; upon which the Captain rowed to his Ship as faſt as he could, and was hardly got on board before they arrived at the Ship-ſide. The Captain was ſurpriſed to ſee Men in red Coats, laced with Gold and Silver, with Arms in their Hands. He demanded what they meant by coming on board armed. They told him he ſhould know, when they were on board the Ship. The Captain replied, that they ſhould come on board, but that they muſt firſt throw their Arms into the Sea; which if they did not do immediately, he would ſink them as they lay. As they ſaw, that Diſputes were to no Purpoſe, and that they were intirely in the Captain's Power, they were obliged to obey. They accordingly threw their Arms overboard, and were then taken into the Veſſel, where they were inſtantly put in Irons: One of them, whoſe Name was *John Bremen*, and who was firſt examined, owned, that he had murdered, with his own Hands, or had aſſiſted in murdering, no leſs than twenty-ſeven Perſons. The ſame Evening *Weybbays* brought his Priſoner *Cornelis* on board, where he was put in Irons, and ſtrictly guarded.

10. On the 18th of *September*, Captain *Pelſart*, with the Maſter, went to take the reſt of the Conſpirators in *Cornelis*'s Iſland. They went in two Boats. The Villains, as ſoon as they ſaw them land, loſt all their Courage, and fled from them. They ſurrendered without a Blow, and were put in Irons with the reſt. The Captain's firſt Care was to recover the Jewels which *Cornelis* had diſperſed among his Accomplices: They were, however, all of them ſoon found, except a Gold Chain, and a Diamond Ring; the latter was alſo found at laſt, but the former could not be recovered. They went next to examine the Wreck, which they found ſtaved into an hundred Pieces; the Keel lay upon a Bank of Sand on one Side; the fore Part of the Veſſel ſtuck faſt on a Rock; and the reſt of her lay here [illegible] the Pieces had been driven by the Waves, [illegible] Captain *Pelſart* had very little Hopes of ſaving any [illegible] Merchandiſe. One of the People belonging to *Weybbays*'s Company told him, that one fair Day, which was the only one they had in a Month, as he was fiſhing near the Wreck, he had ſtruck the Pole in his Hand againſt one of the Cheſts of Silver; which revived the Captain a little, as it gave him Reaſon to expect, that ſomething might ſtill be ſaved. They ſpent all the 19th in

examining the reſt of the Priſoners, and in confronting them with thoſe who eſcaped from the Maſſacre.

On the 20th, they ſent ſeveral Kinds of Refreſhments to *Weybbays*'s Company, and carried a good Quantity of Water from the Iſle: There was ſomething very ſingular in finding this Water; the People who were on ſhore there, had ſubſiſted near three Weeks on Rain-water, and what lodged in the Cliffs of the Rocks, without thinking, that the Water of two Wells, which were on the Iſland, could be of any Uſe, becauſe they ſaw them conſtantly riſe and fall with the Tide; from whence they fanſied, they had a Communication with the Sea, and conſequently, that the Water muſt be brackiſh: But, upon Trial, they found it to be very good; and ſo did the Ship's Company, who filled their Caſks with it.

On the 21ſt, the Tide was ſo low, and an Eaſt South-eaſt Wind blew ſo hard, that, during the whole Day, the Boat could not get out. On the 22d, they attempted to fiſh upon the Wreck; but the Weather was ſo bad, that even thoſe, who could ſwim very well, durſt not approach it. On the 25th, the Maſter, and the Pilot, the Weather being fair, went off again to the Wreck; and thoſe who were left on ſhore, obſerving that they wanted Hands to get any thing out of her, ſent off ſome to aſſiſt them. The Captain went alſo himſelf, to encourage the Men; who ſoon weighed one Cheſt of Silver, and ſome time after another. As ſoon as theſe were ſafe aſhore, they returned to their Work; but the Weather grew ſo bad, that they were quickly obliged to deſiſt, tho' ſome of their Divers from *Guzarat* aſſured them, that they had found ſix more, which might eaſily be weighed. On the 26th in the Afternoon, the Weather being fair, and the Tide low, the Maſter returned to the Place where the Cheſts lay, and weighed three of them, leaving an Anchor, with a Gun tied to it, and a Buoy, to mark the Place where the fourth lay; which, notwithſtanding their utmoſt Efforts, they were not able to recover.

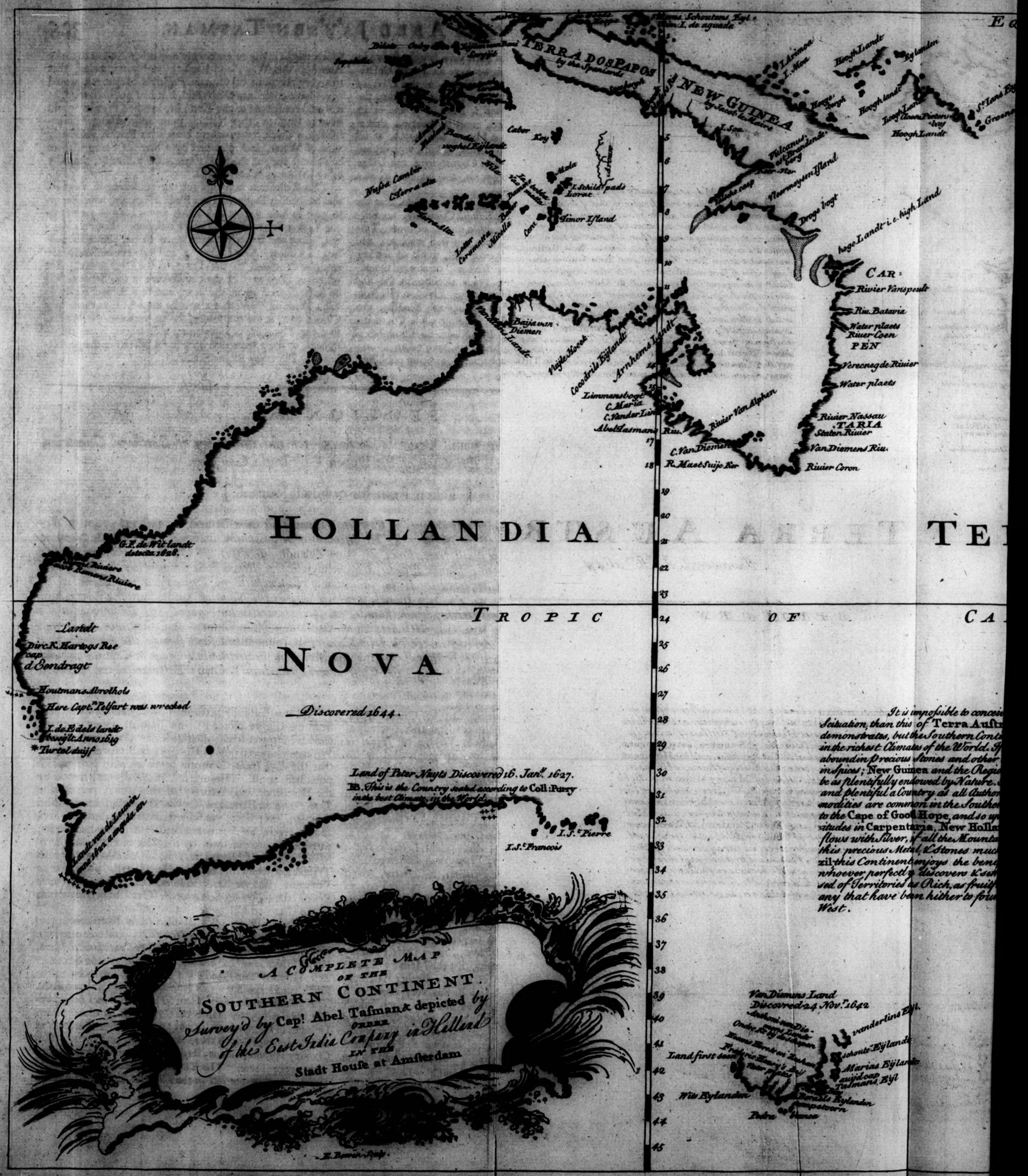
On the 27th, the South Wind blew very cold. On the 28th, the ſame Wind blew ſtronger than the Day before; and, as there was no Poſſibility of fiſhing on the Wreck for the preſent, Captain *Pelſart* called a Council, to conſider what they ſhould do with their Priſoners; that is to ſay, whether it would be beſt to try them there upon the Spot, or to carry them to *Batavia*, in order to their being tried by the Company's Officers. After mature Deliberation, reflecting on the Number of the Priſoners, and the Temptation that might ariſe from the vaſt Quantity of Silver on board the Frigate, they came at laſt to a Reſolution to try and execute them there; which was accordingly done: And they embarqued immediately afterwards for *Batavia*.

11. As this Voyage is, of itſelf, very ſhort, I ſhall not detain the Reader with many Remarks; but ſhall confine myſelf to a very few Obſervations, in order to ſhew the Conſequences of the Diſcovery made by Captain *Pelſart*. The Country, upon which he ſuffered Shipwreck, was *New Holland*, the Coaſt of which had not, till then, been at all examined; and it was doubtful how far it extended. There had, indeed, been ſome Reports ſpread with relation to the Inhabitants of this Country, which Captain *Pelſart*'s Relation ſhews to have been falſe; for it had been reported, that, when the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company ſent ſome Ships to make Diſcoveries, their Landing was oppoſed by a Race of gigantic People, with whom the *Dutch* could by no means contend. But our Author ſays nothing of the extraordinary Size of the Savages, that were ſeen by Captain *Pelſart*'s People; from whence it is reaſonable to conclude, that this Story was circulated with no other View, than to prevent other Nations from venturing into theſe Seas. It is alſo remarkable, that this is the very Coaſt ſurveyed by Captain *Dampier*, whoſe Account agrees exactly with that contained in this Voyage. Now, though it be true, that, from all theſe Accounts, there is nothing ſaid, which is much to the Advantage, either of the Country, or the Inhabitants, yet we are to conſider, that it is impoſſible to repreſent either in a worſe Light, than that in which the Cape of *Good Hope* was placed, before the *Dutch* took Poſſeſſion of it, and plainly demonſtrated, that Induſtry could make a Paradiſe of what was a perfect Purgatory, while in the Hands of *Hottentots*. If therefore the Climate of this Country be good, and the Soil fruitful, both of which are affirmed in this Relation, there could not be a properer Place for a Colony, than ſome Part of *New Holland*, or of the adjacent Country of *Carpentaria*. I ſhall give my Reaſons for aſſerting this, when I come to make my Remarks on the ſucceeding Voyage. At preſent, I ſhall confine myſelf to the Reaſons, that have induced the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company to leave all theſe Countries unſettled, after having firſt ſhewn ſo ſtrong an Inclination to diſcover them; which will oblige me to lay before the Reader ſome Secrets in Commerce, that have hitherto eſcaped common Obſervation, and which, whenever they are as throughly conſidered as they deſerve, will undoubtedly lead us to as great Diſcoveries as thoſe of *Columbus* or *Magellan*.

In order to make myſelf perfectly underſtood, I muſt obſerve, that it was the finding out of the *Moluccas*, or Spice Iſlands, by the *Portugueſe*, that raiſed that Spirit of Diſcovery, which produced *Columbus*'s Voyage, which ended in finding in *America*, tho', in fact, *Columbus* intended rather to have reached this Country of *New Holland*. The Aſſertion is bold, and, at firſt Sight, may appear improbable; but a little Attention will make it ſo plain, that the Reader muſt be convinced of the Truth of what I ſay. The Propoſition made by *Columbus* to the State of *Genoa*, the Kings of *Portugal*, *Spain*, *England*, and *France*, was this, that he could diſcover a new Route to the *Eaſt Indies*; that is to ſay, without going round the Cape of *Good Hope*. He grounded this Propoſition on the ſpherical Figure of the Earth, from whence he thought it ſelf-evident, that any given Point might be ſailed to through the great Ocean, either by ſteering Eaſt or Weſt. In his Attempt to go to the *Eaſt Indies* by a Weſt Courſe, he met with the Iſlands and Continent of *America*; and, finding Gold and other Commodities, which, till then, had never been brought from the *Indies*, he really thought, that this was the Weſt Coaſt of that Country, to which the *Portugueſe* ſailed by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and hence came the Name of the *Weſt Indies*. *Magellan*, who followed his Steps, and was the only Diſcoverer who reaſoned ſyſtematically, and knew what he was doing, propoſed to the Emperor *Charles* V. to complete what *Columbus* had begun, and to find a Paſſage to the *Moluccas* by the Weſt; which, to his immortal Honour, he accompliſhed.

When the *Dutch* made their firſt Voyages to the *Eaſt Indies*, which was not many Years before Captain *Pelſart*'s Shipwreck on the Coaſt of *New Holland*; for their firſt Fleet arrived in the *Eaſt Indies* in 1596, and *Pelſart* loſt his Ship in 1629; I ſay, when the *Dutch* firſt undertook the *Eaſt India* Trade, they had the Spice Iſlands in View; and, as they are a Nation juſtly famous for the ſteady Purſuit of whatever they take in hand, it is notorious, that they never loſt Sight of their Deſign, till they had accompliſhed it, and made themſelves intirely Maſters of theſe Iſlands, of which they ſtill continue in Poſſeſſion. When this was done, and they had effectually driven out the *Engliſh*, who were likewiſe ſettled in them, they fixed the Seat of their Government in the Iſland of *Amboyna*, which lay very convenient for the Diſcovery of the Southern Countries; which therefore they proſecuted with great Diligence, from the Year 1619, to the Time of Captain *Pelſart*'s Shipwreck; that is, for the Space of twenty Years.

But, after they removed the Seat of their Government from *Amboyna* to *Batavia*, they turned their Views another Way, and never made any Voyage expreſly for Diſcoveries on that Side, except the ſingle one of Captain *Taſman*; of which we are to ſpeak in the next Section. It was from this Period of Time that they began to take new Meaſures; and, having made their excellent Settlement at the Cape of *Good Hope*, reſolved to govern their Trade to the *Eaſt Indies* by theſe two capital Maxims: I. To extend their Trade over all the *Indies*; and to fix themſelves ſo effectually in the richeſt Countries, as to keep all, or, at leaſt, the beſt and moſt profitable Part of their Commerce to themſelves. II. To make the *Moluccas*, and the Iſlands dependent on them, their Frontier; and to omit nothing that ſhould appear neceſſary to prevent Strangers, or even *Dutch* Ships, not belonging to the Company, from ever navigating thoſe Seas, and conſequently from ever being acquainted with the Countries, that lie in them. How well they have



A COMPLETE MAP
OF THE
SOUTHERN CONTINENT.
Survey'd by Capt. Abel Tasman & depicted by
ORDER
of the East India Company in Holland
IN THE
Stadt House at Amsterdam

E. Bowen Sculp.

It is impoſsible to concei
Scituation, than this of Terra Auſtr
demonstrates, but the Southern Conti
in the richest Climates of the World. If
abound in Precious Stones and other
in Spices; New Guinea and the Regio
be as plentifully endowed by Nature.
and plentiful a Country as all Author
modities are common in the Southern
to the Cape of Good Hope, and so up
situdes in Carpentaria, New Holla
flows with Silver, if all the Mounta
this precious Metal, & Stones much
zil this Continent enjoys the bene
whoever perfectly discovers & set
sed of Territories as Rich, as fruitf
any that have been hither to foun
West.

TERRA DOS PAPOS
by the Spaniards
NEW GUINEA
by Jacob le Maire
Willems Schoutens Eyl.
Wm. I. de aguada
E Q
I. Arimoa
I. Moa
Hoogh Landt
Eylanden
Hooge bergh
Hoogh landt
Hoogh Landt
Claas Pieters bay
Hoogh Landt
St. Jans Ey
Groene
I. Son
Vulcanus, ost Brandende berg
Vleermuysen Ijland
Valsche caap
Droge bogt
hoge Landt i.e. high Land
Dilolo
Ouby
Eyjlan van Boni
Sergyjt
Sogeboilo
Cabor
Koy
Banda
voghel Eijlandt
Serol
Nila
Nuſsa Cambir
C. Terra alta
Terra Alta
Lettor
Ceramatta
Micalla
Baber
Dammer
Vao
Ia bobba matta
Mola
I. Schild pads
Lorat
Timor Ijland
Ceru
Aroum
CAR:
Rivier Vanspeult
Riu. Batavia
Water plaets
Riuier Coen
PEN
Verecneg de Riuier
Water plaets
Riuier Nassau
TARIA
Staten Riuier
Van Diemens Riu.
Riuier Coron
Vanderlins Landt
Baija van Diemen
Vuijle Hoeck
Cocodrils Eijlandt
Arnhems Landt
Limmensbogt
C. Maria
C. Vander Lin
Abel Tasmans Riu.
Riuier Van Alphen
C. Van Diemen
R. Maet Suijcker
HOLLANDIA
NOVA
TERRA AU
TE
TROPIC
OF
CA
G. F. de Wit landt detecta 1628.
Riuiere
Jacob Remens Riuiere
Landt
Dirck Hartogs Ree
cap
d Eendragt
Houtmans Abrolhols
Here Captn. Pelsart was wrecked
I. de Edels landt beseijlt Anno 1619
* Turtel duijf
Discovered 1644.
Land of Peter Nuyts Discovered 16. Jany. 1627.
NB. This is the Country seated according to Coll: Purry in the best Climate, in the World.
I. St. Pierre
I. St. Francois
Landt van de Leeuwin anno 1622 a angeda an
Van Diemens Land Discovered 24 Novr. 1642
Anthoni van Diemens Landt
Ondec Rk by de Schappen
Hoeens Hocck en Zuiden
Frederic Henry's Bay
Vuiter Hoeck
Land first seen
Wits Eylanden
Pedra
branca
Storm Bay
Boreels Eylanden
Kampetoorn
Tasmans Eyl
zuijdcap
Marias Eijlandt
Schoutens Eijlandt
vanderlins Eijl.
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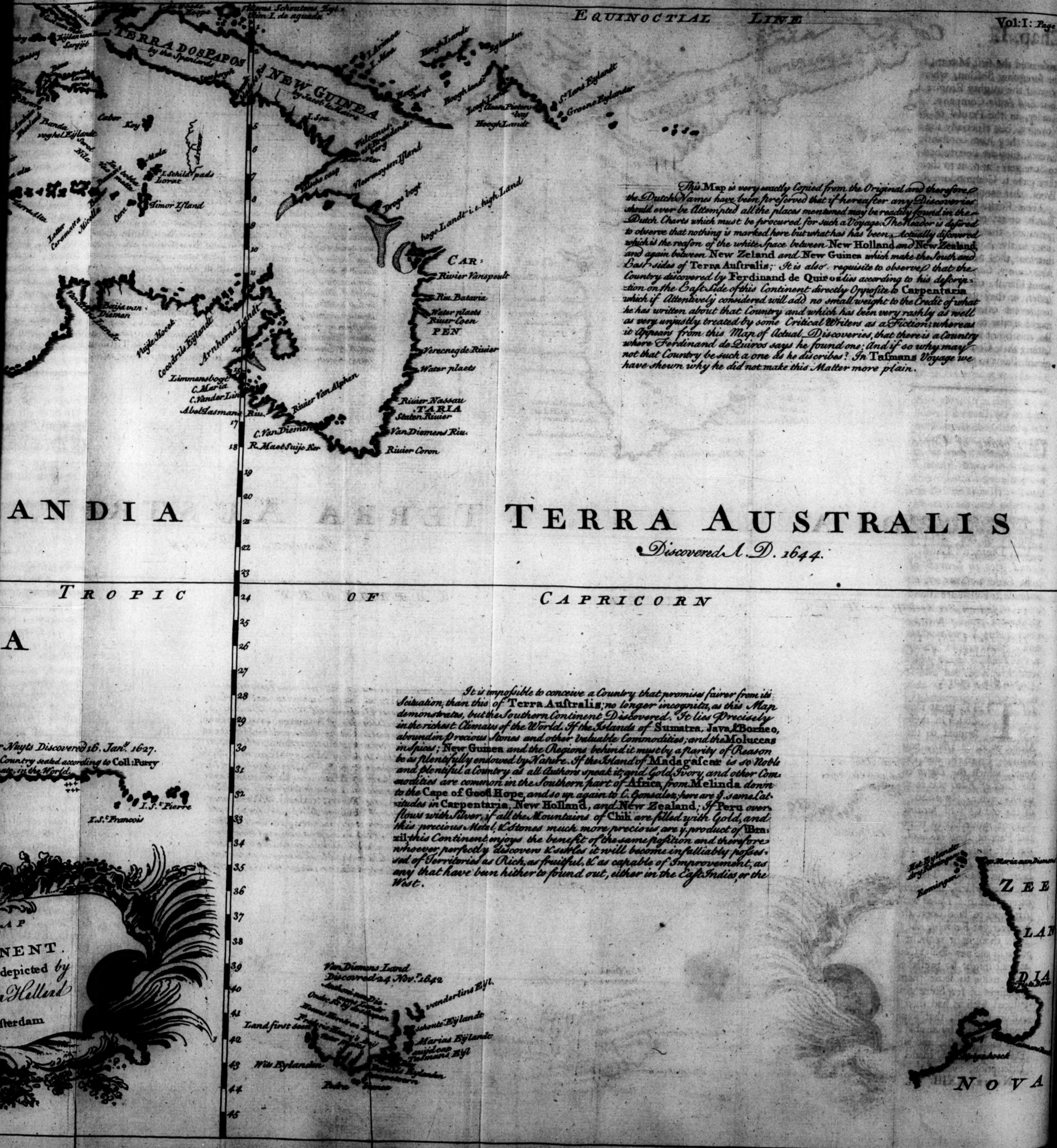
EQUINOCTIAL LINE
TERRA DOS PAPOS by the Spaniards
NEW GUINEA by Jacob le Maire
Willems Schoutens Eyl.
Vlim I. de aguada
L. Arimoa
I. Moa
Hoogh Landt
Eylanden
Hooge bergh
Hoogh landt
Hoogh Landt
Cl. Jaen Pieters bay
St. Jans Eylandt
Groene Eylanden
I. Sou
Vulcanus, oft Brandende berg
Vleermuysen Island
Valsche caep
Droge bogt
hoge Landt i. e. high Land
Cabor
Key
Banda
voghel Eijlandt
Nila
Mola
I. Schild pads
Lorat
Timor Island
Terra Alta
Lettor
Ceramatta
Micella
Cera
CAR: PEN TARIA
Riuier Vanspeult
Riu. Batavia
Water plaets
Riuier Coen
Verecneg de Riuier
Water plaets
Riuier Nassau
Staten Riuier
Van Diemens Riu.
Riuier Coron
Riuier Van Alphen
C. Van Diemen
R. Maet Suijcker
Abel Tasmans Riu.
C. Vander Lin
C. Maria
Limmens bogt
Arnhems Landt
Cocodrils Eijlandt
Vuijle Hoeck
Baija van Dieman
Van Diemens Landt
ANDIA
TERRA AUSTRALIS
Discovered A. D. 1644.
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
A
Nuyts Discovered 16. Jan.y 1627.
Country seated according to Coll: Purry
mate, in the World.
I. S.t Pierre
I. S.t Francois
MAP
INENT.
depicted by
in Holland
msterdam
Van Diemens Land Discovered 24 Nov.r 1642
vanderlins Eyl.
Schoute Eylandt
Marias Eylandt
Tasmans Eyl.
Land first seen
Wits Eylanden
Pedra
Het Eylandt dry Koningen
Koningen
Cap. Maria van Diemen
ZEE LANDIA NOVA
1 2 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 14 15 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45

This Map is very exactly Copied from the Original and therefore the Dutch Names have been preſerved that if hereafter any Discoveries should ever be Attempted all the places mentioned may be readily found in the Dutch Charts which must be procured for such a Voyage. The Reader is deſired to observe that nothing is marked here but what has has been Actually diſcovered which is the reaſon of the white Space between **New Holland** and **New Zealand**, and again between **New Zeland** and **New Guinea** which make the South and East sides of **Terra Auſtralis**; It is also requisite to observe that the Country discovered by **Ferdinand de Quiros** lies according to his deſcription on the Eaſt Side of this Continent directly Oppoſite to **Carpentaria** which if Attentively considered will add no small weight to the Credit of what he has written about that Country and which has been very rashly as well as very unjustly treated by some Critical Writers as a Fiction; whereas it Appears from this Map of Actual Discoveries, that there is a Country where Ferdinand de Quiros says he found one: And if so why may not that Country be such a one as he discribes? In **Taſmans** Voyage we have shewn why he did not make this Matter more plain.

It is impoſsible to conceive a Country that promises fairer from its Scituation, than this of **Terra Auſtralis**; no longer incognita, as this Map demonstrates, but the Southern Continent Discovered. It lies Precisely in the richest Climates of the World. If the Islands of **Sumatra, Java & Borneo**, abound in Precious Stones and other Valuable Commodities; and the **Moluccas** in Spices; **New Guinea** and the Regions behind it must by a parity of Reason be as plentifully endowed by Nature. If the Island of **Madagaſcar** is so Noble and plentiful a Country as all Authors speak it, and Gold, Ivory, and other Commodities are comon in the Southern part of **Africa**, from **Melinda** down to the **Cape of Good Hope**, and so up again to C. Gonsalez; here are y.e same Latitudes in **Carpentaria**, **New Holland**, and **New Zealand**; If **Peru** overflows with Silver, if all the Mountains of **Chili** are filled with Gold, and this precious Metal, & Stones much more precious, are y.e product of **Brazil**; this Continent enjoys the benefit of the same poſition and therefore whoever perfectly discovers & settles it will become infalliably poſsessed of Territories as Rich, as fruitful, & as capable of Improvement, as any that have been hither to found out, either in the Eaſt Indies, or the West.

proſecuted the firſt Maxim, has been very largely ſhewn in the foregoing Section, wherein we have an ample Deſcription of the mighty Empire in the Hands, at this Day, of their *Eaſt India* Company. As for the ſecond Maxim, the Reader, in the Peruſal of *Funnel's*, *Dampier's*, and other Voyages, but eſpecially the firſt, muſt be ſatisfied, that it is what they have conſtantly at Heart, and which, at all Events, they are determined to purſue, at leaſt, with regard to Strangers; and, as to their own Countrymen, the Uſage they gave to Commodore *Roggewein*, and his People, is a Proof, that cannot be conteſted.

These Things being conſidered, it is very plain, that the *Dutch*, or rather the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company, are fully perſuaded, that they have already as much, or more, Territory in the *Eaſt Indies*, than they can well manage; and therefore, they neither do, nor ever will, think of ſettling *New Guiney*, *Carpentaria*, *New Holland*, or any of the adjacent Iſlands, till either their Trade declines in the *Eaſt Indies*, or they are obliged to exert themſelves on this Side, to prevent other Nations from reaping the Benefits, that might accrue to them by their planting thoſe Countries. But this is not all; for, as the *Dutch* have no Thoughts of ſettling theſe Countries themſelves, they have taken all imaginable Pains to prevent any Relations from being publiſhed, which might invite or encourage any other Nation to make Attempts this Way; and I am throughly perſuaded, that this very Account of Captain *Pelſart's* Snipwreck would never have come into the World, if it had not been thought it would contribute to this End; or, in other Words, would ſerve to frighten other Nations from approaching ſo inhoſpitable a Coaſt, every-where beſet with Rocks, abſolutely void of Water, and inhabited by a Race of Savages more barbarous, and, at the ſame time, more miſerable, than any other Creatures in the World.

This Reflection accounts for our publiſhing a Voyage, that has neither Beginning, nor End; a Voyage, which ſeems to give ſo little Light, and which ſerves only to preſent to our View a Scene of Blood and Confuſion. But this Voyage, ſhort and imperfect as it ſeems to be, ſhews us how large a Country *New Holland* is, and how conveniently ſituated, with reſpect to the Trade of the *Eaſt Indies*. But whatever there may be dark or obſcure in this Section, will be fully cleared up in the next, and this Subject ſet in ſo full a Point of View, that it will be impoſſible to throw any Clouds over it for the future, or to perſuade the World, that the Thoughts of diſcovering a Southern *Indies* are viſionary, or the Means neceſſary to be taken for the perfecting that Diſcovery impracticable.

SECTION XXII.

The Voyage of Captain ABEL JANSEN TASMAN, *for the Diſcovery of Southern Countries, by Direction of the* Dutch East India *Company.*

[Taken from his original Journal.]

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1. THE great Diſcoveries that were made by the *Dutch* in theſe Southern Countries, were ſubſequent to the famous Voyage of *Jaques le Maire*, who, in 1616, paſſed the Streights called by his Name. In 1618, that Part of *Terra Auſtralis* was diſcovered, which the *Dutch* call *Concordia*. The next Year, the *Land of Edels* was found, and received its Name from its Diſcoverer. In 1620, *Batavic* was built on the Ruins of the old City of *Jacatra*; but the Seat of Government was not immediately removed from *Amboyna*. In 1622, that Part of *New Holland*, which is called *Lewin's Land*, was firſt found; and in 1627, *Peter Nuyts* diſcovered, between *New Holland* and *New Guiney*, a Country, which bears his Name. There were alſo ſome other Voyages made, of which, however, we have no ſort of Account, except that the *Dutch* were continually beaten in all their Attempts to land upon this Coaſt. On their Settlement, however, at *Batavia*, the then General and Council of the *Indies* thought it requiſite to have a more perfect Survey made of the new-found Countries, that the Memory of them at leaſt might be preſerved, in caſe no further Attempts were made to ſettle them; and it was very probably a Foreſight of few Ships going that Route any more, which induced ſuch as had then the Direction of the Company's Affairs to wiſh, that ſome ſuch Survey and Deſcription might be made by an able Seaman, who was well acquainted with thoſe Coaſts, and who might be able to add to the Diſcoveries already made, as well as furniſh a more accurate Deſcription, even of them, than had been hitherto given.

This was faithfully performed by Captain *Taſman*; and, from the Lights afforded by his Journal, a very exact and curious Map was made of all theſe new Countries. But his Voyage was never publiſhed intire; and it is very probable, that the *Eaſt India* Company never intended it ſhould be publiſhed at all. However, *Dirk Rembrantz*, moved by the Excellency and Accuracy of the Work, publiſhed in *Low Dutch* an Extract of Captain *Taſman's* Journal, which has been, ever ſince, conſidered as a very great Curioſity; and, as ſuch, has been tranſlated into many Languages, particularly into our own, by the Care of the learned Profeſſor of *Greſham* College Dr. *Hook*, an Abridgment of which Tranſlation found a Place in Dr. *Harris's* Collection of Voyages. But we have made no Uſe of either of theſe Pieces, the following being a new Tranſlation, made with all the Care and Diligence that is poſſible.

2. On *Auguſt* 14. 1642, I ſailed from *Batavia* with two Veſſels; the one called the *Heemſkirk*, and the other the *Zee-Haan*. On *September* 5. I anchored at *Maurice Iſland*, in the Latitude of 20° South, and in the Longitude of 83° 48′. I found this Iſland fifty *German* Miles more to the Eaſt than I expected; that is to ſay, 3° 33′ of Longitude. This Iſland was ſo called from Prince *Maurice*, being before known by the Name of *Cerne*. It is about fifteen Leagues in Circumference, and has a very fine Harbour, at the Entrance of which there is 100 Fathom Water. The Country is mountainous; but the Mountains are covered with green Trees. The Tops of theſe Mountains are ſo high, that they are loſt in the Clouds, and are frequently

covered by thick Exhalations or Smoke, that aſcends from them. The Air of this Iſland is extremely wholſome. It is well furniſhed with Fleſh and Fowl; and the Sea on its Coaſts abounds with all ſorts of Fiſh. The fineſt Ebony in the World grows here. It is a tall, ſtrait Tree, of a moderate Thickneſs, covered with a green Bark, very thick, under which the Wood is as black as Pitch, and as cloſe as Ivory. There are other Trees on the Iſland, which are of a bright Red, and a third Sort as yellow as Wax. The Ships belonging to the *Eaſt India* Company commonly touch at this Iſland for Refreſhments, in their Paſſage to *Batavia*.

I left this Iſland on the Eighth of *October*, and continued my Courſe to the South, to the Latitude of 40° or 41′, having a ſtrong North-weſt Wind; and, finding the Needle vary 23, 24, and 25° to the 22d of *October*, I ſailed from that Time to the 29th to the Eaſt, inclining a little to the South, till I arrived in the Latitude of 45 47′ South, and in the Longitude of 89° 44′; and then obſerved the Variation of the Needle to be 26 Degrees 45 Minutes towards the Weſt.

As our Author was extremely careful in this Particular, and obſerved the Variation of the Needle with the utmoſt Diligence, it may not be amiſs to take this Opportunity of explaining this Point, ſo that the Importance of his Remarks may ſufficiently appear. The Needle points exactly North only in a few Places, and perhaps not conſtantly in them; but in moſt it declines a little to the Eaſt, or to the Weſt, whence ariſes Eaſtern and Weſtern Declination: When this was firſt obſerved, it was attributed to certain Excavations or Hollows in the Earth, to Veins of Lead, Stone, and other ſuch-like Cauſes. But when it was found, by repeated Experiments, that this Variation varied, it appeared plainly, that none of thoſe Cauſes could take place; ſince, if they had, the Variation in the ſame Place muſt always have been the ſame, whereas the Fact is otherwiſe.

Here at *London*, for Inſtance, in the Year 1580, the Variation was obſerved to be 11° 17′ to the Eaſt; in the Year 1666, the Variation was here 34′ to the Weſt; and in the Year 1734, the Variation was ſomewhat more than 1° Weſt. In order to find the Variation of the Needle with the leaſt Error poſſible, the Seamen take this Method: They obſerve the Point the Sun is in, by the Compaſs, any time after its Riſing, and then take the Altitude of the Sun; and, in the Afternoon, they obſerve when the Sun comes to the ſame Altitude, and obſerve the Point the Sun is then in by the Compaſs; for the Middle, between theſe two, is the true North or South Point of the Compaſs; and the Difference between that and the North or South upon the Card, which is pointed out by the Needle, is the Variation of the Compaſs, and ſhews how much the North and South, given by the Compaſs, deviates from the true North and South Points of the Horizon. It appears clearly from what has been ſaid, that, in order to arrive at the certain Knowledge of the Variation, and of the Variation of that Variation of the Compaſs, it is abſolutely requiſite to have, from time to time, diſtinct Accounts of the Variation, as it is obſerved in different Places: Whence the Importance of Captain *Taſman*'s Remarks, in this reſpect, ſufficiently appears. It is true, that the learned and ingenious Dr. *Halley* has given a very probable Account of this Matter; but as the Probability of that Account ariſes only from its Agreement with Obſervations, it follows, thoſe are as neceſſary, and as important, as ever, in order to ſtrengthen and confirm it.

3. On the 6th of *November*, I was in 49° 4′ South Latitude, and in the Longitude of 114° 56′; the Variation was at this Time 26° Weſtward; and, as the Weather was foggy, with hard Gales, and a rolling Sea, from the South-weſt, and from the South, I concluded from thence, that it was not at all probable there ſhould be any Land between thoſe two Points. On *November* 15. I was in the Latitude of 44° 33′ South, and in the Longitude 140° 32′. The Variation was then 18° 30′ Weſt, which Variation decreaſed every Day, in ſuch a manner, that, on the 21ſt of the ſame Month, being in the Longitude of 158°, I obſerved the Variation to be no more than 4°. On the 22d of that Month, the Needle was in continual Agitation, without reſting in any of the eight Points; which led me to conjecture, that we were near ſome Mine of Loadſtone.

This may, at firſt Sight, ſeem to contradict what has been before laid down, as to the Variation, and the Cauſes of it: But, when ſtrictly conſidered, they will be found to agree very well; for when it is aſſerted, that Veins of Loadſtone have nothing to do with the Variation of the Compaſs, it is to be underſtood of the conſtant Variation of a few Degrees to the Eaſt, or to the Weſt: But in Caſes of this Nature, where the Variation is abſolutely irregular, and the Needle plays quite round the Compaſs, our Author's Conjecture may very well find Place: Yet it muſt be owned, that it is a Point far enough from being clear, that Mines of Loadſtone affect the Compaſs at a Diſtance; which, however, might be very eaſily determined, ſince there are large Mines of Loadſtone in the Iſland of *Elba*, on the Coaſt of *Tuſcany*.

4. On the 24th of the ſame Month, being in the Latitude of 42° 25′ South, and in the Longitude of 163° 50′, I diſcovered Land, which lay Eaſt South-eaſt, at the Diſtance of ten Miles, which I called *Van Diemen's Land*. The Compaſs pointed right towards this Land. The Weather being bad, I ſteered South and by Eaſt along the Coaſt, to the Height of 44° South, where the Land runs away Eaſt, and afterwards North-eaſt and by North. In the Latitude of 43° 10′ South, and in the Longitude of 167° 55′, I anchored on the firſt of *December*, in a Bay, which I called the Bay of *Frederic Henry*. I heard, or at leaſt fanſied I heard, the Sound of People upon the Shore; but I ſaw nobody. All I met with, worth obſerving, was two Trees, which were two Fathoms, or two Fathoms and an half, in Girth, and 60 or 65 Feet high from the Root to the Branches: They had cut with a Flint a kind of Steps in the Bark, in order to climb up to the Birds-neſts: Theſe Steps were the Diſtance of five Feet from each other; ſo that we muſt conclude, that either theſe People are of a prodigious Size, or that they have ſome way of climbing Trees that we are not uſed to: In one of the Trees the Steps were ſo freſh, that we judged they could not have been cut above four Days.

The Noiſe we heard reſembled the Noiſe of ſome ſort of Trumpet; it ſeemed to be at no great Diſtance, but we ſaw no living Creature notwithſtanding. I perceived alſo, in the Sand, the Marks of wild Beaſts Feet, reſembling thoſe of a Tyger, or ſome ſuch Creature; I gathered alſo ſome Gum from the Trees, and likewiſe ſome Lack. The Tide ebbs and flows there about three Feet. The Trees in this Country do not grow very cloſe, nor are they incumbered with Buſhes or Underwood. I obſerved Smoke in ſeveral Places; however, we did nothing more than ſet up a Poſt, on which every one cut his Name, or his Mark, and upon which I hoiſted a Flag. I obſerved that, in this Place, the Variation was changed to three Degrees Eaſtward. On *December* 5. being then, by Obſervation, in the Latitude of 41° 34′, and in the Longitude 169°, I quitted *Van Diemen's Land*, and reſolved to ſteer Eaſt to the Longitude of 195, in hopes of diſcovering the Iſlands of *Soloman*.

5. On *September* 9. I was in the Latitude of 42° 37′ South, and in the Longitude of 176 29′; the Variation being there 5° to the Eaſt. On the 12th of the ſame Month, finding a great rolling Sea coming in on the South-weſt, I judged there was no Land to be hoped for on that Point. On the 13th, being in the Latitude of 42° 10′ South, and in the Longitude of 188° 28, I found the Variation 7° 30′ Eaſtward. In this Situation I diſcovered an high mountainous Country, which is at preſent marked in the Charts, under the Name of *New Zeland*. I coaſted along the Shore of this Country to the North North-eaſt, till the 18th; and being then in the Latitude of 40 50′ South, and in the Longitude of 191° 41′, I anchored in a fine Bay, where I obſerved the Variation to be 9 towards the Eaſt.

We found here abundance of the Inhabitants: They had very hoarſe Voices, and were very large-made People. They durſt not approach the Ship nearer than a Stone's Throw; and we often obſerved them playing on a kind of Trumpet, to which we anſwered with the Inſtruments that were on board our Veſſel. Theſe People were of a Colour between brown and yellow, their Hair long, and almoſt as thick as that of the *Japoneſe*, combed up, and fixed on the Top of their Heads, with a Quill, or ſome ſuch thing, that was thickeſt in the Middle, in the very ſame manner the *Japoneſe* faſtened their Hair, behind their Heads. Theſe People cover the Middle of their Bodies, ſome with a kind of Mat, others with a ſort of Woollen Cloth; but, as for their upper and lower Parts, they leave them altogether naked.

On the 19th of *December*, theſe Savages began to grow a little bolder, and more familiar, inſomuch that at laſt they ventured on board the *Heemskirk*, in order to trade with thoſe in the Veſſel: As ſoon as I perceived it, being apprehenſive that they might attempt to ſurpriſe that Ship, I ſent my Shallop, with ſeven Men, to put the People in the *Heemskirk* upon their Guard, and to direct them not to place any Confidence in thoſe People. My ſeven Men, being without Arms, were attacked by theſe Savages, who killed three of the ſeven, and forced the other four to ſwim for their Lives; which occaſioned my giving that Place the Name of the Bay of *Murderers*. Our Ship's Company would, undoubtedly, have taken a ſevere Revenge, if the rough Weather had not hindered them. From this Bay we bore away Eaſt, having the Land in a manner all round us. This Country appeared to us rich, fertile, and very well ſituated; but as the Weather was very foul, and we had at this time a very ſtrong Weſt Wind, we found it very difficult to get clear of the Land.

6. On the 24th of *December*, as the Wind would not permit us to continue our Way to the North, as we knew not whether we ſhould be able to find a Paſſage on that Side, and as the Flood came in from the South-eaſt, we concluded that it would be the beſt to return into the Bay, and ſeek ſome other Way out; but, on the 26th, the Wind becoming more favourable, we continued our Route to the North, turning a little to the Weſt. On the 4th of *January* 1643, being then in the Latitude of 34° 35′ South, and in the Longitude of 191° 9′, we ſailed quite to the Cape, which lies North-weſt, where we found the Sea rolling in from the North-eaſt; whence we concluded, that we had at laſt found a Paſſage, which gave us no ſmall Joy. There was in this Streight an Iſland, which we called the Iſland of the *Three Kings*; the Cape of which we doubled, with a Deſign to have refreſhed ourſelves; but, as we appoached it, we perceived on the Mountain thirty or five-and-thirty Perſons, who, as far as we could diſcern at ſuch a Diſtance, were Men of very large Size, and had each of them a large Club in his Hand; they called out to us in a rough ſtrong Voice, but we could not underſtand any thing of what they ſaid. We obſerved, that theſe People walked at a very great Rate, and that they took prodigious large Strides. We made the Tour of the Iſland; in doing which, we ſaw but very few Inhabitants; nor did any of the Country ſeem to be cultivated: We found indeed a freſh-water River; and then we reſolved to ſail Eaſt, as far as 220° of Longitude; and from thence North, as far as the Latitude of 17° South; and thence to the Weſt, till we arrived at the Iſles of *Cocos* and *Horne*, which were diſcovered by *William Schovten*, where we intended to refreſh ourſelves, in caſe we found no Opportunity of doing it before; for, though we had actually landed on *Van Diemen's Land*, we met with nothing there; and, as for *New Zeland*, we never ſet Foot on it.

In order to render this Paſſage perfectly intelligible, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the Iſland of *Cocos* lies in the Latitude of 15° 10′ South; and, according to *Schovten*'s Account, is well inhabited, and well cultivated, abounding with all Sorts of Refreſhments; but, at the ſame time, he deſcribes the People as treacherous and baſe to the laſt Degree. As for the Iſlands of *Horne*, they lie nearly in the Latitude of 15°; are extremely fruitful, and inhabited by People of a kind and gentle Diſpoſition, who readily beſtowed on the *Hollanders* whatever Refreſhments they could aſk. It was no wonder therefore, that, finding themſelves thus diſtreſſed, Captain *Taſman* thought of repairing to theſe Iſlands, where he was ſure of obtaining Refreſhments, either by fair Means, or otherwiſe; which Deſign, however, he did not think fit to put in Execution.

7. On the 8th of *January*, being in the Latitude of 30° 25′ South, and in the Longitude of 192° 20°, we obſerved the Variation of the Needle to be nine Degrees towards the Eaſt; and, as we had an high rolling Sea from the South-weſt, I conjectured there could not be any Land hoped for on that Side. On the 12th, we found ourſelves in 30° 5′ South Latitude, and in 195° 27′ of Longitude, where we found the Variation 9° 30′ to the Eaſt, a rolling Sea from the South-eaſt, and from the South-weſt. It is very plain, from theſe Obſervations, that the Poſition laid down by Dr. *Halley*, that the Motion of the Needle is not governed by the Poles of the World, but by other Poles, which move round them, is highly probable; for otherwiſe it is not eaſy to underſtand, how the Needle came to have, as our Author affirms it had, a Variation of near 27° to the Weſt, in the Latitude of 45° 47′, and then gradually decreaſing till it had no Variation at all; after which it turned Eaſt, in the Latitude of 42° 37′, and ſo continued increaſing its Variation Eaſtwardly to this time.

8. On the 16th we were in the Latitude of 26° 29′ South, and in the Longitude of 199° 32′, the Variation of the Needle being 8°. Here we are to obſerve, that the Eaſtern Variation decreaſes; which is likewiſe very agreeable to Dr. *Halley*'s *Hypotheſis*; which, in few Words, is this: That a certain large ſolid Body contained within, and every way ſeparated from, the Earth, (as having its own proper Motion) and being included like a Kernel in its Shell, revolves circularly from Eaſt to Weſt, as the exterior Earth revolves the contrary Way in the diurnal Motion: Whence it is eaſy to explain the Poſition of the four magnetical Poles which he attributes to the Earth, by allowing two to the Nucleus, and two to the exterior Earth. And, as the two former perpetually alter the Situation by their circular Motion, their Virtue, compared with the exterior Poles, muſt be different at different times; and, conſequently, the Variation of the Needle will perpetually change. The Doctor attributes to the Nucleus an *European* North Pole, and an *American* South one, on account of the Variation of Variations obſerved near theſe Places, as being much greater than thoſe found near the two other Poles. And he conjectures, that theſe Poles will finiſh their Revolution in about ſeven hundred Years; and, after that time, the ſame Situation of the Poles obtain again, as at preſent; and, conſequently, the Variations will be the ſame again over all the Globe; ſo that it requires ſeveral Ages before this Theory can be thoroughly adjuſted. He aſſigns this probable Cauſe of the circular Revolution of the Nucleus; That the diurnal Motion, being impreſſed from without, was not ſo exactly communicated to the internal Parts, as to give them the ſame preciſe Velocity of Rotation as the external: Whence the Nucleus, being left behind by the exterior Earth, ſeems to move ſlowly in a contrary Direction, as from Eaſt to Weſt, with regard to the external Earth, conſidered as at Reſt in reſpect of the other. But to return to our Voyage.

9. On the 19th of *January*, being in the Latitude of 22° 35′ South, and in the Longitude of 204° 15′, we had 7° 30′ Eaſt Variation. In this Situation we diſcovered an Iſland, about two or three Miles in Circumference, which was, as far as we could diſcern, very high, ſteep, and barren. We were very deſirous of coming nearer it, but were hindered by South-eaſt and South South-eaſt Winds; we called it the Iſle of *Pylſtaart*, becauſe of the great Number of that Sort of Birds we ſaw flying about it; and the next Day we ſaw two other Iſlands.

10. On the 21ſt, being in the Latitude of 21° 20′ South, and in the Longitude of 205° 29′, we found our Variation 7° to the North-eaſt. We drew near to the Coaſt of the moſt Northern Iſland, which, though not very high, yet was the larger of the two; we called one of theſe Iſlands *Amſterdam*, and the other *Rotterdam*. Upon that of *Rotterdam*, we found great Plenty of Hogs, Fowls, and all Sorts of Fruits, and other Refreſhments. Theſe Iſlanders did not ſeem to have the Uſe of Arms, inaſmuch as we ſaw nothing like them in any of their Hands: While we were upon the Iſland, the Uſage they gave us was fair and

friendly, except that they would ſteal a little. The Current is not very conſiderable in this Place, where it ebbs North-eaſt, and flows South-weſt. A South-weſt Moon cauſes a Spring-tide, which riſes ſeven or eight Feet at leaſt. The Wind blows there continually South-eaſt, or South South-eaſt, which occaſioned the *Heemskirk*'s being carried out of the Road, but, however, without any Damage. We did not fill any Water here, becauſe it was extremely hard to get it to the Ship.

On the 25th, we were in the Latitude of 20° 15' South, and in the Longitude of 206° 19'. The Variation here was 6° 20' to the Eaſt; and, after having had Sight of ſeveral other Iſlands, we made that of *Rotterdam*: The Iſlanders here reſemble thoſe on the Iſland of *Amſterdam*. The People were very good-natured, parted readily with what they had, did not ſeem to be acquainted with the Uſe of Arms, but were given to Thieving, like the Natives of *Amſterdam* Iſland. Here we took in Water, and other Refreſhments, with all the Conveniency imaginable. We made the whole Circuit of the Iſland, which we found well ſtocked with Cocoa-trees, very regularly planted; we likewiſe ſaw abundance of Gardens, extremely well laid out, plentifully ſtocked with all kind of Fruit-trees, all planted in ſtrait Lines, and the Whole kept in ſuch excellent Order, that nothing could have a better Effect upon the Eye. After quitting the Iſland of *Rotterdam*, we had Sight of ſeveral other Iſlands; which, however, did not engage us to alter the Reſolution we had taken of ſailing North, to the Height of 17° South Latitude, and from thence to ſhape a Weſt Courſe, without going near either *Traitors* Iſland, or thoſe of *Horne*, we having then a very briſk Wind from the South-eaſt, or Eaſt South-eaſt.

I cannot help remarking upon this Part of Captain *Taſman*'s Journal; That it is not eaſy to conceive, unleſs he was bound up by his Inſtructions, why he did not remain ſome time either at *Rotterdam* or at *Amſterdam* Iſland, but eſpecially at the former; ſince, perhaps, there is not a Place in the World ſo happily ſeated, for making new Diſcoveries with Eaſe and Safety. He owns, that he traverſed the whole Iſland; that he found it a perfect Paradiſe; and that the People gave him not the leaſt Cauſe of being diffident in point of Security; ſo that, if his Men had thrown up ever ſo ſlight a Fortification, a Part of them might have remained there in Safety, while the reſt had attempted the Diſcovery of the Iſlands of *Solomon* on the one hand, or the Continent of *De Quiros* on the other; from neither of which they were at any great Diſtance: And, from his neglecting this Opportunity, I take it for granted, that he was circumſcribed, both as to his Courſe, and to the Time he was to employ in theſe Diſcoveries, by his Inſtructions; for otherwiſe, ſo able a Seaman, and ſo curious a Man, as his Journal ſhews him to have been, would not certainly have neglected ſo fair an Opportunity.

11. On *February* 6. being in 17° 19' of South Latitude, and in the Longitude of 201° 35', we found ourſelves embaraſſed by nineteen or twenty ſmall Iſlands, every one of which was ſurrounded with Sands, Sholes, and Rocks. Theſe are marked in the Charts by the Name of *Prince William's Iſlands*, or *Heemskirk's Shallows*. On the 8th, we were in the Latitude of 15° 29', and in the Longitude of 199° 31'. We had abundance of Rain, a ſtrong Wind from the North-eaſt, or the North North-eaſt, with dark, cold Weather. Fearing therefore that we were run farther to the Weſt, than we thought ourſelves by our Reckoning, and dreading that we ſhould fall to the South of *New Guiney*, or be thrown upon ſome unknown Coaſt in ſuch blowing, miſty Weather, we reſolved to ſtand away to the North, or to the North North-weſt, till we ſhould arrive in the Latitude of 4, 5, or 6° South; and then to bear away Weſt for the Coaſt of *New Guiney*, as the leaſt dangerous Way that we could take.

It is very plain from hence, that Captain *Taſman* had now laid aſide all Thoughts of diſcovering farther; and, I think, it is not difficult to gueſs at the Reaſon: When he was in this Latitude, he was morally certain, that he could, without further Difficulty, ſail round by the Coaſt of *New Guiney*, and ſo back again to the *Eaſt Indies*. It is therefore extremely probable, that he was directed, by his Inſtructions, to coaſt round that great Southern Continent already diſcovered, in order to arrive at a Certainty, whether it was joined to any other Part of the World, or whether, notwithſtanding its vaſt Extent, *viz.* from the Equator to 43° of South Latitude, and from the Longitude of 123° to near 190°, it was, notwithſtanding, an Iſland: This, I ſay, was, in all Appearance, the true Deſign of his Voyage; and the Reaſon of it ſeems to be this, that, an exact Chart being drawn from his Diſcoveries, the *Eaſt India* Company might have perfect Intelligence of the Extent and Situation of this new-found Country, before they executed the Plan they were then contriving, for preventing its being viſited, or farther diſcovered, by their own, or any other Nation: And this too accounts for the Care taken in laying down the Map of this Country on the Pavement of the new Stadthouſe at *Amſterdam*; for, as this Country was henceforward to remain as a kind of Depoſit, or Land of Reſerve, in the Hands of the *Eaſt India* Company, they took this Method of intimating as much to their Countrymen; ſo that, while Strangers are gaping at this Map as a Curioſity, every intelligent *Dutchman* may ſay to himſelf, *Behold the Wiſdom of the* Eaſt India *Company! By their preſent Empire, they ſupport the Authority of this Republic abroad; and, by their extenſive Commerce, enrich its Subjects at home; and, at the ſame time, ſhew us here, what a Reſerve they have made for the Benefit of Poſterity, whenever, thro' the Viciſſitudes to which all ſublunary Things are liable, their preſent Sources of Power and Grandeur ſhall fail.*

I cannot help ſupporting my Opinion, in this reſpect, by putting the Reader in mind of a very curious Piece of antient Hiſtory, which furniſhes us with the like Inſtance in the Conduct of another Republic. *Diodorus Siculus*, in the fifth Book of his *Hiſtorical Library*, informs us, that, in the *African* Ocean, ſome Days Sail Weſt from *Libya*, there had been diſcovered an Iſland, the Soil of which was exceedingly fertile, and the Country no leſs pleaſant, all the Land being finely diverſified by Mountains and Plains, the former thick cloathed with Trees, the latter abounding with Fruits and Flowers, the Whole watered by innumerable Rivulets, and affording ſo pleaſant an Habitation, that a finer, or more delightful Country Fancy itſelf could not feign: Yet he aſſures us, the *Carthaginians*, thoſe great Maſters of maritime Power and Commerce, tho' they had diſcovered this admirable Iſland, would never ſuffer it to be planted; but reſerved it as a Sanctuary, to which they might fly, whenever the Ruin of their own Republic left them no other Reſource. This tallies exactly with the Policy of the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company, who, if they ſhould, at any time, be driven from their Poſſeſſions in *Java*, *Ceylon*, and other Places in that Neighbourhood, would, without doubt, retire back into the *Moluccas*, and avail themſelves effectually of this noble Diſcovery, which lies open to them, and has been hitherto cloſe ſhut up to all the World beſide. But to proceed:

12. On *February* 14. we were in the Latitude of 16° 30' South, and in the Longitude of 193° 35'. We had hitherto had much Rain, and bad Weather; but this Day, the Wind ſinking, we hailed our Conſort the *Zee-Haan*; and found, to our great Satisfaction, that our Reckonings agreed. On the 20th, in the Latitude of 13° 45', and in the Longitude of 193° 35', we had dark, cloudy Weather, much Rain, thick Fogs, and a rolling Sea; on all Sides the Wind variable. On the 26th, in the Latitude of 9° 48', South, and in the Longitude of 193° 43', we had a North-weſt Wind, having every Day, for the Space of twenty-one Days, rained more or leſs. On *March* 2. in the Latitude of 9° 11' South, and in the Longitude of 192° 46', the Variation was 10° to the Eaſt, the Wind and Weather ſtill varying. On *March* 8. in the Latitude of 7° 46' South, and in the Longitude of 190° 47', the Wind was ſtill variable.

13. On the 14th, in the Latitude of 10° 12' South, and in the Longitude of 186° 14', we found the Variation 8° 45' to the Eaſt. We paſſed ſome Days, without being able to take any Obſervation, becauſe the Weather was, all that time, dark and rainy. On *March* 20. in the Latitude of 5° 15' South, and in the Longitude of 181° 16', the Weather being then fair, we found the Variation 9° Eaſtward. On the 22d, in the Latitude of 5° 2' South, and in the Longitude of 178° 32', we had fine fair Weather, and the Benefit of the Eaſt Trade-wind. This Day, we had Sight

of Land, which lay four Miles Weſt. This Land proved to be a Cluſter of twenty Iſlands, which, in the Maps, are called *Anthong Java*. They lie ninety Miles, or thereabouts, from the Coaſt of *New Guiney*. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that what Captain *Taſman* calls the Coaſt of *New Guiney*, is, in reality, the Coaſt of *New Britain*, which Captain *Dampier* firſt diſcovered to be a large Iſland, ſeparated from the Coaſt of *New Guiney*.

14. On the 25th, in the Latitude of 4° 35 South, and in the Longitude of 175° 10′, we found the Variation 9° 30′ Eaſt. We were then in the Height of the Iſlands of *Mark*, which were diſcovered by *William Schovten* and *James le Maire*. They are fourteen or fifteen in Number, inhabited by Savages, with black Hair, dreſſed and trimmed in the ſame manner as thoſe we ſaw before at the *Bay of Murderers* in *New Zeland*. On the 29th, we paſſed the *Green Iſlands*; and, on the 30th, that of *St. John*; which were likewiſe diſcovered by *Schovten* and *le Maire*. This Iſland they found to be of a conſiderable Extent; and judged it to lie at the Diſtance of 1840 Leagues from the Coaſt of *Peru*. It appeared to them well inhabited, and well cultivated, abounding with Fleſh, Fowl, Fiſh, Fruit, and other Refreſhments. The Inhabitants made uſe of Canoes of all Sizes, were armed with Slings, Darts, and wooden Swords, wore Necklaces and Bracelets of Pearl, and Rings in their Noſes. They were, however, very intractable, notwithſtanding all the Pains that could be taken to engage them in a fair Correſpondence; ſo that Captain *Schovten* was at laſt obliged to fire upon them, to prevent them from makeing themſelves Maſters of his Veſſel, which they attacked with a great deal of Vigour: And very probably this was the Reaſon, that Captain *Taſman* did not attempt to land, or make any farther Diſcovery. On *April* 1. we were in the Latitude of 4° 30 South, and in the Longitude of 171° 2′, the Variation being 8° 45′ to the Eaſt, having now Sight of the Coaſt of *New Guiney*; and, endeavouring to double the Cape, which the *Spaniards* call *Cobo Santa Maria*, we continued to ſail along the Coaſt, which lies North-weſt. We afterwards paſſed the Iſlands of *Antony Caens*, *Gardeners Iſland*, and *Fiſhers Iſland*, advancing towards the Promontory called *Struis Hoek*, where the Coaſt runs South, and South-eaſt. We reſolved to purſue the ſame Route, and to continue ſteering South, till we ſhould either diſcover Land, or a Paſſage on that Side.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that, all this time, they continued on the Coaſt, not of *New Guiney*, but of *New Britain*; for that Cape, which the *Spaniards* called *Santa Maria*, is the very ſame that Captain *Dampier* called Cape *St. George*; and *Caen*'s, *Gardeners*, and *Fiſhers* Iſlands all lie upon the ſame Coaſt. They had been diſcovered by *Schovten* and *le Maire*, who found them to be well inhabited, but by a very baſe and treacherous People; who, after makeing Signs of Peace, attempted to ſurpriſe their Ships: And theſe Iſlanders managed their Slings with ſuch Force and Dexterity, as to drive the *Dutch* Sailors from their Decks: Which Account of *le Maire*'s agrees perfectly well with what Captain *Dampier* tells us of the ſame People. As for the Continent of *New Guiney*, it lies quite behind the Iſland of *New Britain*; and was therefore laid down, in all the Charts before *Dampier*'s Diſcovery, at leaſt 4° more to the Eaſt than it ſhould have been.

15. On *April* 12. in the Latitude of 3° 45′ South, and in the Longitude of 167°, we found the Variation 10° towards the Eaſt. That Night, Part of the Crew were wakened out of their Sleep by an Earthquake. They immediately ran upon Deck, ſuppoſing that the Ship had ſtruck. On heaving the Lead, however, there was no Bottom to be found. We had afterwards ſeveral Shocks; but none of them ſo violent as the firſt. We had then doubled the *Struis Hoek*, and were, at that time, in the Bay of *Good Hope*. On the 14th, in the Latitude of 5° 27′ South, and in the Longitude of 166° 57′, we obſerved the Variation to be 9° 15′ to the Eaſt. The Land lay then North-eaſt, Eaſt North-eaſt, and again South South-weſt; ſo that we imagined there had been a Paſſage between thoſe two Points: But we were ſoon convinced of our Miſtake, and that it was all one Coaſt; ſo that we were obliged to double the Weſt Cape, and to continue creeping along-ſhore, and were much hindered in our Paſſage by Calms. This Deſcription agrees very well with that of *Schovten* and *le Maire*; ſo that probably they had now Sight again of the Coaſt of *New Guiney*.

It is very probable, from the Accident that happened to Captain *Taſman*, and which alſo happened to others upon that Coaſt, and from the burning Mountains that will be hereafter mentioned, that this Country is very ſubject to Earthquakes: And, if ſo, without doubt, it abounds with Metals and Minerals; of which we have alſo another Proof, from a Point in which all theſe Writers agree; *viz.* that the People they ſaw had Rings in their Noſes and Ears, tho' none of them tell us of what Metal thoſe Rings were made, which *le Maire* might eaſily have done, ſince he carried off a Man from one of the Iſlands, whoſe Name was *Moſes*, from whom he learned, that almoſt every Nation on this Coaſt ſpeaks a different Language.

16. On the 20th, in the Latitude of 5° 4′ South, and in the Longitude of 164° 27′, we found the Variation 8° 30′ Eaſt. We that Night drew near the *Brandande Yland*, i. e. burning Iſland, which *William Schovten* mentions; and we perceived a great Flame iſſuing, as he ſays, from the Top of an high Mountain. When we were between that Iſland and the Continent, we ſaw a vaſt Number of Fires along the Shore, and half-way up the Mountain; from whence we concluded, that the Country muſt be very populous. We were often detained on this Coaſt by Calms, and frequently obſerved ſmall Trees, Bamboes, and Shrubs, which the Rivers on that Coaſt carried into the Sea; from which we inferred, that this Part of the Country was extremely well watered, and that the Land muſt be very good. The next Morning, we paſſed the burning Mountain, and continued a Weſt North-weſt Courſe along that Coaſt.

It is remarkable, that *Schovten* had made the ſame Obſervation with reſpect to the Drift-wood forced by the Rivers into the Sea. He likewiſe obſerved, that there was ſo copious a Diſcharge of freſh Water, that it altered the Colour and the Taſte of the Sea. He likewiſe ſays, that the burning Iſland is extremely well peopled, and alſo well cultivated. He afterwards anchored on the Coaſt of the Continent, and endeavoured to trade with the Natives; who made him pay very dear for Hogs and Cocoa-nuts, and likewiſe ſhewed him ſome Ginger. It appears from Captain *Taſman*'s Account, that he was now in Haſte to return to *Batavia*, and did not give himſelf ſo much Trouble as at the Beginning about Diſcoveries; and, to ſay the Truth, there was no great Occaſion, if, as I obſerved, his Commiſſion was no more, than to ſail round the new-diſcovered Coaſts, in order to lay them down with greater Certainty in the *Dutch* Charts.

17. On the 27th, being in the Latitude of 2° 10′ South, and in the Longitude of 146° 57′, we fanſied that we had a Sight of the Iſland of *Moa*; but it proved to be that of *Jama*, which lies a little to the Eaſt of *Moa*. We found here great plenty of Cocoa-nuts, and other Refreſhments. The Inhabitants were abſolutely black, and could eaſily repeat the Words that they heard others ſpeak; which ſhews their own to be a very copious Language. It is, however, exceedingly difficult to pronounce, becauſe they make frequent Uſe of the Letter (R); and ſometimes to ſuch a degree, that it occurs twice or thrice in the ſame Word. The next Day, we anchored on the Coaſt of the Iſland of *Moa*, where we likewiſe found abundance of Refreſhments, and where we were obliged, by bad Weather, to ſtay till *May* 6. We purchaſed there, by way of Exchange, 6000 Cocoa-nuts, and 100 Bags of Pyſanghs, or *Indian* Figs. When we firſt began to trade with theſe People, one of our Seamen was wounded by an Arrow, that one of the Natives let fly, either thro' Malice or Inadvertency. We were, at that very Juncture, endeavouring to bring our Ships cloſe to the Shore; which ſo terrified theſe Iſlanders, that they brought, of their own Accord, on board us the Man, who had ſhot the Arrow, and left him at our Mercy. We found them, after this Accident, much more tractable than before in every reſpect. Our Sailors, therefore, pulled off the iron Hoops from ſome of the old Water-caſks, ſtuck them into wooden Handles, and, filing them to an Edge, ſold theſe aukward Knives to the Inhabitants for their Fruits.

In all Probability, they had not forgot what happened to our People on *July* 16. 1616. in the Days of *William*

Schovten: Theſe People, it ſeems, treated him very ill; upon which *James le Maire* brought his Ship cloſe to the Shore, and fired a Broadſide through the Woods. The Bullets, flying through the Trees, ſtruck the Negroes with ſuch a Panic, that they fled in an inſtant up into the Country; and durſt not ſhew their Heads again, till they had made full Satiſfaction for what was paſt, and thereby ſecured their Safety for the Time to come; and he traded with them afterwards very peaceably, and with mutual Satiſfaction.

This Account of our Author's ſeems to have been taken upon Memory, and is not very exact. *Schovten*'s Seamen, or rather the Petty Officer who commanded his Long-boat, inſulted the Natives groſly, before they offered any Injury to his People; and then, notwithſtanding they fired upon them with Small-arms, the Iſlanders obliged them to retreat; ſo that they were forced to bring the great Guns to bear upon the Iſland before they could reduce them. Theſe People do not deſerve to be treated as Savages, becauſe *Schovten* acknowledges, that they had been engaged in Commerce with the *Spaniards*; as appeared by their having iron Pots, glaſs Beads, and Pendants, with other *European* Commodities, before he came thither. He alſo tells us, that they were a very civilized People, their Country well cultivated, and very fruitful; that they had a great many Boats, and other Small-craft, which they navigated with great Dexterity. He adds alſo, that they gave him a very diſtinct Account of the neighbouring Iſlands, and that they ſolicited him to fire upon the *Arimoans*, with whom it ſeems they are always at War; which, however, he refuſed to do, unleſs provoked to it by ſome Injury offered by thoſe People. It is therefore very apparent, that the Inhabitants of *Moa* are a People with whom any *Europeans*, ſettled in their Neighbourhood, might without any Difficulty ſettle a Commerce, and receive conſiderable Aſſiſtance from them in making Diſcoveries. But, perhaps, ſome Nations are fitter for theſe kind of Expeditions than others, as being leſs apt to make uſe of their Artillery and Small-arms upon every little Diſpute; for as the Inhabitants of *Moa* are well enough acquainted with the Superiority which the *Europeans* have over them, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that they will ever hazard their total Deſtruction by committing any groſs Act of Cruelty upon Strangers, who viſit their Coaſt; and it is certainly very unfair, to treat People as Savages and Barbarians, merely for defending themſelves when inſulted or attacked without Cauſe. The Inſtance Captain *Taſman* gives us of their delivering up the Man who wounded his Sailor, is a plain Proof of this; and, as to the Diffidence and Suſpicion which ſome later Voyagers have complained of, with reſpect to the Inhabitants of this Iſland, they muſt certainly be the Effects of the bad Behaviour of ſuch *Europeans* as this Nation have hitherto dealt with; and would be effectually removed, if ever they had a ſettled Experience of a contrary Conduct. The ſureſt Method of teaching People to behave honeſtly towards us, is to behave friendly and honeſtly towards them; and then there is no great Reaſon to fear, that ſuch as give evident Proofs of Capacity and Civility in the common Affairs of Life, ſhould be guilty of Treachery that muſt turn to their own Diſadvantage.

18. On the 12th of *May*, being then in the Latitude of 54' South, and in the Longitude of 153° 17', we found the Variation 6° 30' to the Eaſt. We continued coaſting the North-ſide of the Iſland of *William Schovten*, which is about eighteen or nineteen Miles long, very populous, and the People very briſk and active. It was with great Caution that *Schovten* gave his Name to this Iſland; for, having obſerved that there were abundance of ſmall Iſlands laid down in the Charts on the Coaſt of *New Guiney*, he was ſuſpicious, that this might be of the Number. But, ſince that Time, it ſeems a Point generally agreed, that this Iſland had not before any particular Name; and therefore, in all ſubſequent Voyages, we find it conſtantly mentioned by the Name of *Schovten's Iſland*.

He deſcribes it as a very fertile and well-peopled Iſland: The Inhabitants of which were ſo far from diſcovering any thing of a ſavage Nature, that they gave apparent Teſtimonies of their having had an extenſive Commerce before he touched there, ſince they not only ſhewed him various Commodities from the *Spaniards*, but alſo ſeveral Samples of *China* Ware: He obſerves, that they were very unlike the Nations he had ſeen before, being rather of an Olive-colour, than black; ſome having ſhort, others long Hair, dreſſed after different Faſhions: They were alſo a taller, ſtronger, and ſtouter People, than their Neighbours. Theſe little Circumſtances, which may ſeem tedious or trifling to ſuch as read only for Amuſement, are, however, of very great Importance to ſuch as have Diſcoveries in View; becauſe they argue, that theſe People have a general Correſpondence: The Difference of their Complexion muſt ariſe from a mixed Deſcent; and the different Manner of wearing their Hair is undoubtedly owing to their following the Faſhion of different Nations, as their Fancies lead them. He farther obſerves, that their Veſſels were larger, and better contrived, than their Neighbours; that they readily parted with their Bows and Arrows in Exchange for Goods, and that they were particularly fond of Glaſs and Iron-ware, which, perhaps, they not only uſed themſelves, but employed likewiſe in their Commerce. The moſt Weſtern Point of the Iſland he called the Cape of *Good Hope*, becauſe, by doubling that Cape, he expected to reach the Iſland of *Banda*: And, that we may not wonder, that he was in Doubts and Difficulties as to the Situation of theſe Places, we ought to reflect, that *Schovten* was the firſt who ſailed round the World by this Courſe, and the laſt too, except Commodore *Roggewein*; other Navigators chuſing rather to run as high as *California*, and from thence to the *Ladrone* Iſlands, merely becauſe it is the ordinary Route.

In the Neighbourhood of this Iſland *Schovten* alſo met with an Earthquake, which alarmed the Ship's Company exceſſively, from an Apprehenſion, that they had ſtruck upon a Rock. There are ſome other Iſlands in the Neighbourhood of this, well peopled, and well planted, abounding with excellent Fruits, eſpecially of the Melon Kind. Theſe Iſlands lie, as it were, on the Confines of the Southern Continent, and the *Eaſt Indies*; ſo that their Inhabitants enjoy all the Advantages reſulting from their own happy Climate, and from their Traffick with their Neighbours, eſpecially with thoſe of *Ternate* and *Amboyna*; who come thither yearly to purchaſe their Commodities, and who are likewiſe viſited, at certain Seaſons, by the People of theſe Iſlands in their Turn.

19. On the 18th of *May*, in the Latitude of 26' South, and in the Longitude of 147° 55', we obſerved the Variation to be 5° 30' Eaſt. We were now arrived at the Weſtern Extremity of *New Guiney*, which is a detached Point, or Promontory (though it is not marked ſo even in the lateſt Maps). Here we met with Calms, variable and contrary Winds, with much Rain: From thence we ſteered for *Ceram*, leaving the Cape on the North, and arrived ſafely on that Iſland: By this time Captain *Taſman* had fairly ſurrounded the Continent he was inſtructed to diſcover; and had therefore nothing now farther in View than to return to *Batavia*, in order to report the Diſcoveries he had made.

On the 27th of *May*, we paſſed through the Streights of *Boura*, or *Bouton*, and continued our Paſſage to *Batavia*; where we arrived on the 15th of *June*, in the Latitude of 6° 12' South, and in the Longitude of 127° 18'. This Voyage was made in the Space of ten Months. Such was the End of this Expedition, which has been always conſidered as the cleareſt, and moſt exact, that was ever made, for the Diſcovery of the *Terra Auſtralis Incognita*; from whence that Chart or Map was laid down in the Pavement of the Stadt-houſe at *Amſterdam*, as is before-mentioned. We have now nothing to do, but to ſhut up this Voyage, and our Hiſtory of Circum-navigarors, with a few Remarks; previous to which, it will be requiſite to ſtate clearly and ſuccinctly the Diſcoveries, either made or confirmed by Captain *Taſman*'s Voyage, that the Importance of it may fully appear, as well as the Probability of our Conjectures, with regard to the Motives that induced the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company to be at ſo much Pains about theſe Diſcoveries.

20. In the firſt place, then, it is moſt evident, from Captain *Taſman*'s Voyage, that *New Guiney*, *Carpentaria*, *New Holland*, *Antony van Diemen's Land*, and the Countries diſcovered by *de Quiros*, make all one Continent,

from which *New Zeland* ſeems to be ſeparated by a Streight; and, perhaps, is Part of another Continent, anſwering to *Africa*, as this, of which we are now ſpeaking, plainly does to *America*. This Continent reaches from the Equinoctial to 44° of South Latitude, and extends from 122° to 188° of Longitude, making indeed a very large Country, but nothing like what *de Quiros* imagined; which ſhews how dangerous a thing it is to truſt too much to Conjecture in ſuch Points as theſe. It is, ſecondly, obſervable, that as *New Guiney*, *Carpentaria*, and *New Holland*, had been already pretty well examined, Captain *Taſman* fell directly to the South of theſe; ſo that his firſt Diſcovery was *Van Diemen's Land*, the moſt Southern Part of the Continent on this Side the Globe; and then, paſſing round by *New Zeland*, he plainly diſcovered the oppoſite Side of that Country towards *America*, though he viſited the Iſlands only; and never fell in again with the Continent, till he arrived on the Coaſt of *New Britain*, which he miſtook for that of *New Guiney*; as he very well might, that Country having never been ſuſpected to be an Iſland, till *Dampier* diſcovered it to be ſuch in the Beginning of the preſent Century. Thirdly, by this Survey, theſe Countries are for ever marked out, ſo long as the Map, or Memory of this Voyage, ſhall remain. The *Dutch Eaſt India* Company have it always in their Power to direct Settlements, or new Diſcoveries, either in *New Guiney*, from the *Moluccas*, or in *New Holland*, from *Batavia* directly. The Prudence ſhewn in the Conduct of this Affair, deſerves the higheſt Praiſe. To have attempted heretofore, or even now, the eſtabliſhing Colonies in thoſe Countries, would be impolitic, becauſe it would be graſping more than the *Eaſt India* Company, or than even the Republic of *Holland*, could manage: For, in the firſt place, to reduce a Continent, between three and four thouſand Miles broad, is a prodigious Undertaking; and to ſettle it by degrees, would be to open, to all the World, the Importance of that Country, which, for any thing we can tell, may be much ſuperior to any Country yet known. The only Choice therefore that the *Dutch* had left, was to reſerve this mighty Diſcovery till the Seaſon arrived, in which they ſhould be either obliged by Neceſſity, or invited by Occaſion, to make uſe of it. But though this Country be reſerved, it is no longer either unknown or neglected by the *Dutch*, which is a Point of very great Conſequence. To the other Nations of *Europe*, the Southern Continent is a Chimera, a Thing in the Clouds, or at leaſt a Country about which there are a thouſand Doubts and Suſpicions; ſo that to talk of diſcovering or ſettling it, muſt be regarded as an idle and empty Project: But, with reſpect to them, it is a thing perfectly well known; its Extent, its Boundaries, its Situation, the Genius of its ſeveral Nations, and the Commodities of which they are poſſeſſed, are abſolutely within their Cognizance; ſo that they are at Liberty to take ſuch Meaſures as appear to them beſt, for ſecuring the eventual Poſſeſſion of this Country, whenever they think fit. This Account explains at once all the Myſteries which the beſt Writers upon this Subject have found in the *Dutch* Proceedings. It ſhews why they have been at ſo much Pains to obtain a clear and diſtinct Survey of theſe diſtant Countries; why they have hitherto forborn ſettling, and why they take ſo much Pains to prevent other Nations from coming at a diſtinct Knowledge of them: And I may add to this another Particular; which is, that it accounts for their permitting the Natives of *Amboyna*, who are their Subjects, to carry on a Trade to *New Guiney*, and the adjacent Countries; ſince, by this very Method, it is apparent, that they gain daily freſh Intelligence, as to the Product and Commodities of thoſe Countries. Having thus explained the Conſequence of Captain *Taſman*'s Voyage, and thereby fully juſtified my giving it a Place in this Part of my Work, I am now at Liberty to purſue the Reflections with which I promiſed to cloſe this Section, and the Hiſtory of Circum-navigators; and, in doing which, I ſhall endeavour to make the Reader ſenſible of the Advantages that ariſe from publiſhing theſe Voyages in their proper Order, ſo as to ſhew what is, and what is yet, to be diſcovered of the Globe on which we live.

21. In ſpeaking of the Conſequences of Captain *Taſman*'s Voyage, it has been very amply ſhewn, that this Part of *Terra Auſtralis*, or Southern Country, has been fully and certainly diſcovered. To prevent, however, the Reader's making any Miſtake, I will take this Opportunity of laying before him ſome Remarks on the whole Southern Hemiſphere; which will enable him immediately to comprehend all that I have afterwards to ſay on this Subject.

If we ſuppoſe the South Pole to be the Centre of a Chart of which the Equinoctial is the Circumference, we ſhall then diſcern four Quarters; of the Contents of which, if we could give a full Account, this Part of the World would be perfectly diſcovered. To begin then with the firſt of theſe, that is, from the firſt Meridian, placed in the Iſland of *Fero*: Within this Diviſion, that is to ſay, from the firſt to the ninetieth Degree of Longitude, there lies the great Continent of *Africa*; the moſt Southern Point of which is the Cape of *Good Hope*, lying in the Latitude of 34° 15′ South: Between that and the Pole, ſeveral ſmall, but very inconſiderable Iſlands, have been diſcovered, affording us only this Degree of Certainty, that, to the Latitude of 50°, there is no Land to be found of any Conſequence. There was indeed a Voyage made by Mr. *Bovet*, in the Year 1738, on purpoſe to diſcover, whether there were any Lands to the South in that Quarter or not. This Gentleman ſailed from *Port l'Orient July* the 18th, 1738; and, on the 1ſt of *January* 1739, diſcovered a Country, the Coaſts of which were covered with Ice, in the Latitude of 54° South, and in the Longitude of 28° 30; the Variation of the Compaſs being there 6 Degrees 45 Minutes to the Weſt.

In the next Quarter, that is to ſay, from 90° Longitude to 180°, lie the Countries of which we have been ſpeaking; or that large Southern Iſland, extending from the Equinoctial to the Latitude of 43° 10′, and the Longitude of 167° 55, which is the Extremity of *Van Diemen*'s Land.

In the third Quarter, that is, from the Longitude of 150 to 170°, there is very little diſcovered with any Certainty. Captain *Taſman*, indeed, viſited the Coaſt of *New Zeland*, in the Latitude of 42° 10′ South, and in the Longitude of 188° 28′: But beſides this, and the Iſlands of *Amſterdam* and *Rotterdam*, we know very little; and therefore, if there be any Doubts about the Reality of the *Terra Auſtralis*, it muſt be with reſpect to that Part of it which lies within this Quarter, through which *Schouten* and *le Maire* ſailed, but without diſcovering any thing more than a few ſmall Iſlands.

The fourth and laſt Quarter is from 270° of Longitude to the firſt Meridian; within which lies the Continent of *South America*, and the Iſland of *Terra del Fuego*; the moſt Southern Promontory of which is ſuppoſed to be Cape *Horne*; which, according to the beſt Obſervations, is in the Latitude of 56°, beyond which there has been nothing with any Degree of Certainty diſcovered on this Side.

On the Whole, therefore, it appears, there are three Continents already tolerably diſcovered, which point towards the South Pole; and therefore 'tis very probable there is a fourth, which if there be, it muſt lie between the Country of *New Zeland*, diſcovered by Captain *Taſman*, and that Country which was ſeen by Captain *Sharpe* and Mr. *Wafer* in the South Seas; to which Land therefore, and no other, the Title of *Terra Auſtralis Incognita* properly belongs. Leaving this, therefore, to the Induſtry of future Ages to diſcover, we will now return to that great Southern Iſland, which Captain *Taſman* actually ſurrounded, and the Bounds of which are tolerably well known.

In order to give the Reader a proper Idea of the Importance of this Country, it will be requiſite to ſay ſomething of the Climates in which it is ſituated: As it lies from the Equinoctial to near the Latitude of 44°, the longeſt Day in the moſt Northern Parts muſt be twelve Hours, and in the Southern about fifteen Hours, or ſomewhat more; ſo that it extends from the firſt to the ſeventh Climate, which ſhews its Situation to be the happieſt in the World; the Country called *Van Diemen's Land* reſembling in all reſpects the South of *France*. As there are in all Countries ſome Parts more pleaſant than others, ſo there ſeems good Reaſon to believe, that within two or three Degrees of the

Tropic of *Capricorn*, which paſſes through the Midſt of *New Holland*, is the moſt unwholſome and diſagreeable Part of this Country; the Reaſon of which is very plain: For in thoſe Parts it muſt be exceſſively hot, much more ſo than under the Line itſelf, ſince the Days and Nights are there always equal; whereas, within three or four Degrees of the Tropic of *Capricorn*, that is to ſay, in the Latitude of 27° South, the Days are thirteen Hours and a half long; and the Sun is twice in their Zenith, firſt in the Beginning of *December*, or rather in the latter End of *November*; and again when it returns back, which occaſions a burning Heat for about two Months, or ſomething more; whereas, either farther to the South, or nearer to the Line, the Climate muſt be equally wholſome and pleaſant.

As to the Product and Commodities of this Country in general, there is the greateſt Reaſon in the World to believe, that they are extremely rich and valuable, becauſe the richeſt and fineſt Countries in the known World lie all of them within the ſame Latitude. But to return from Conjectures to Facts: The Country diſcovered by *de Quiros*, makes a Part of this great Iſland, and is the oppoſite Coaſt to that of *Carpentaria*. This Country, of which we have given a large Account in the tenth Section, the Diſcoverer called *la Auſtralia del Eſpiritu Santo*, in the Latitude of 15° 40′ South; and, as he reports, it abounds with Gold, Silver, Pearl, Nutmegs, Mace, Ginger, and Sugar-canes, of an extraordinary Size. I do not wonder, that formerly the Fact might be doubted, but at preſent I think there is ſufficient Reaſon to induce us to believe it: For Captain *Dampier* deſcribes the Country about Cape *St. George* and Port *Mountague*, which are within 9° of the Country deſcribed by *de Quiros*; I ſay, Captain *Dampier* deſcribes what he ſaw in the following Words: ‘The Country hereabouts is mountainous and woody, full of rich Valleys, and pleaſant freſh-water Brooks; the Mould in the Vallies is deep and yellowiſh, that on the Sides of the Hills of a very brown Colour, and not very deep, but rocky underneath; yet excellent planting Land; the Trees in general are neither very ſtrait, thick, nor tall; yet appear green and pleaſant enough: Some of them bear Flowers, ſome Berries, and others big Fruits, but all unknown to any of us; Cocoa-nut-trees thrive very well here, as well on the Bays by the Sea-ſide, as more remote among the Plantations. The Nuts are of an indifferent Size, the Milk and Kernel very thick and pleaſant. Here are Ginger, Yams, and other very good Roots for the Pot, that our Men ſaw and taſted; what other Fruits or Roots the Country affords, I know not. Here are Hogs and Dogs; other Land Animals we ſaw none; the Fowls we ſaw and knew were Pigeons, Parrots, Cocadores, and Crows, like thoſe in *England*; a ſort of Birds about the Bigneſs of a Black-bird, and ſmaller Birds many. The Sea and Rivers have Plenty of Fiſh; we ſaw abundance, though we catched but few; and theſe were Cavallies, Yellow-tails, and Whip-wreys.’

This Account is grounded only on a very ſlight View, whereas *de Quiros* reſided for ſome time in the Place he has mentioned. In another Place Captain *Dampier* obſerves, that he ſaw Nutmegs amongſt them, which ſeemed to be freſh-gathered; all which agrees perfectly with the Account given by *de Quiros*. Add to this, that *Schovten* had likewiſe obſerved, that they had Ginger upon this Coaſt, and ſome other Spices; ſo that, on the Whole, there ſeems not the leaſt Reaſon to doubt, that if any Part of this Country was ſettled, it muſt be attended with a very rich Commerce: For it cannot be ſuppoſed, that all theſe Writers ſhould be either miſtaken, or that they ſhould concur in a Deſign to impoſe upon their Readers; which is the leſs to be ſuſpected, if we conſider how well their Reports agree with the Situation of the Country; and that the Trees on the Land, and the Fiſh on the Coaſt, correſponding exactly with the Trees of thoſe Countries, and the Fiſh on the Coaſts, where theſe Commodities are known to abound within-land, ſeem to intimate a perfect Conformity throughout.

The next Thing to be conſidered is, the Poſſibility of planting in this Part of the World; which, at firſt Sight, I muſt confeſs, ſeems to be attended with conſiderable Difficulties with reſpect to every other Nation except the *Dutch*, who, either from *Batavia*, the *Moluccas*, or even from the Cape of *Good Hope*, might with Eaſe ſettle themſelves where-ever they thought fit. As, however, they have neglected this for above a Century, there ſeems to be no Reaſon, why their Conduct in this reſpect ſhould become the Rule of other Nations; or why any other Nation ſhould be apprehenſive of drawing on herſelf the Diſpleaſure of the *Dutch*, by endeavouring to turn to their Benefit, Countries the *Dutch* have ſo long ſuffered to lie, with reſpect to *Europe*, waſte and deſert.

The firſt Point, with reſpect to a Diſcovery, would be, to ſend a ſmall Squadron on the Coaſt of *Van Diemen's Land*, and from thence round, in the ſame Courſe taken by Captain *Taſman*, by the Coaſt of *New Guiney*; which might enable the Nations that attempted it, to come to an abſolute Certainty with regard to its Commodities and Commerce. Such a Voyage as this might be performed with very great Eaſe, and at a ſmall Expence, by our *Eaſt India* Company, and this in the Space of eight or nine Months time; and, conſidering what mighty Advantages might accrue to the Nation, there ſeems to be nothing harſh or improbable, in ſuppoſing that, ſome time or other, when the Legiſlature is more than uſually intent on Affairs of Commerce, they may be directed to make ſuch an Expedition at the Expence of the Public. By this means all the back Coaſt of *New Holland*, and *New Guiney*, might be thoroughly examined; and we might know as well, and as certainly, as the *Dutch*, how far a Colony ſettled there might anſwer our Expectations. One Thing is certain, that to Perſons uſed to the Navigation of the *Indies*, ſuch an Expedition could not be thought either dangerous or difficult; becauſe it is already ſufficiently known, that there are every-where Iſlands upon the Coaſt, where Ships, upon ſuch a Diſcovery, might be ſure to meet with Refreſhments; as is plain from Commodore *Roggewein*'s Voyage, made little more than twenty Years ago.

The only Difficulty that I can ſee, would be the getting a fair and honeſt Account of this Expedition, when made; for private Intereſt is ſo apt to interfere, and get the better of the public Service, that it is very hard to be ſure of any thing of this ſort. That I may not be ſuſpected of any Intent to calumniate, I ſhall put the Reader in mind of two Inſtances: The firſt is, as to the new Trade from *Ruſſia*, for eſtabliſhing of which an Act of Parliament was with great Difficulty obtained, though viſibly for the Advantage of the Nation: The other Inſtance is, the Voyage of Captain *Middleton*, for the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage into the South Seas; which is ended by a very warm Diſpute, whether that Paſſage be found or not, the Perſon ſuppoſed to have found it maintaining the Negative.

Whenever, therefore, ſuch an Expedition is undertaken, it ought to be under the Direction, not only of a Perſon of Parts and Experience, but of unſpotted Character, who, on his Return, ſhould be obliged to deliver his Journal upon Oath; and the principal Officers under him ſhould likewiſe be directed to keep their Journals diſtinctly, and without their being inſpected by the principal Officer; all which Journals ought to be publiſhed by Authority as ſoon as received, that every Man might be at Liberty to examine them, and deliver his Thoughts as to the Diſcoveries made, or the Impediments ſuggeſted to have hindered or prevented ſuch Diſcoveries; by which means the Public would be ſure to obtain a full and diſtinct Account of the Matter. And it would thence immediately appear, whether it would be expedient to proſecute the Deſign or not.

But if it ſhould be thought too burdenſome for a Company in ſo flouriſhing a Condition, and conſequently engaged in ſo extenſive a Commerce as the *Eaſt India* Company is, to undertake ſuch an Expedition, merely to ſerve the Public, promote the Exportation of our Manufactures, and increaſe the Number of induſtrious Perſons, who are maintained by foreign Trade. If this, I ſay, ſhould be thought too grievous for a Company, that has purchaſed her Privileges from the Public, by a large Loan at low Intereſt, there can certainly be no Objection to the putting this Project into the Hands of the Royal *African* Company, who are not quite in ſo flouriſhing a Condition. They have equal Opportunities for undertaking it, ſince the Voyage might be with much Eaſe performed from their

Settlements in ten Months; and if the Trade was found to anſwer, it might encourage the ſettling a Colony at *Madagaſcar*, to and from which Ships might, with the greateſt Conveniency, carry on the Trade to *New Guiney*. I cannot ſay how far ſuch a Trade might be conſiſtent with their preſent Charter; but if it ſhould be found advantageous to the Public, and beneficial to the Company, I think there can be no Reaſon aſſigned, why it ſhould not be ſecured to them, and that too in the moſt effectual manner.

A very ſmall Progreſs in it would reſtore the Reputation of the Company, and in time, perhaps, free the Nation from the annual Expence ſhe is now at, for the Support of the Forts and Gariſons belonging to that Company on the Coaſts of *Africa*; which would alone prove of great and immediate Service, both to the Public, and to the Company: To ſay the Truth, ſomething of this Sort is abſolutely neceſſary to vindicate the Expence the Nation is at; for if the Trade, for the Carrying on of which a Company is eſtabliſhed, proves, by a Change of Circumſtances, incapable of ſupporting that Company, and thereby brings a Load upon the Public, this ought to be a Motive, it ought, indeed, to be the ſtrongeſt Motive, for that Company to endeavour the Extenſion of its Commerce, or the ſtriking out, if poſſible, ſome new Branch of Trade, which may reſtore it to its former Splendor; and in this as it hath an apparent Right, ſo there is not the leaſt Reaſon to doubt, that it would meet with all the Countenance and Aſſiſtance from the Government, that it could reaſonably expect or deſire.

If ſuch a Deſign ſhould ever be attempted, perhaps the Iſland of *New Britain* might be the propereſt Place for them to ſettle. As to the Situation, Extent, and preſent Condition of that Iſland, all that can be ſaid of it muſt be taken from the Account given by its Diſcoverer Captain *Dampier*; which, in few Words, amounts to this: ‘The Iſland which I call *Nova Britannia*, has about 4° of Latitude, the Body of it lying in 4°, the Northermoſt Part in 2° 30′, and the Southermoſt in 6° 30′. It has about 5° 18′ Longitude from Eaſt to Weſt; it is generally high mountainous Land, mixed with large Valleys, which, as well as the Mountains, appeared very fertile; and in moſt Places that we ſaw, the Trees are very large, tall, and thick. It is alſo very well inhabited, with ſtrong well-limbed Negroes, whom we found very daring and bold at ſeveral Places: As to the Product of it, it is very probable, this Iſland may afford as many rich Commodities as any in the World; and the Natives may be eaſily brought to Commerce, though I could not pretend to it in my Circumſtances.’ If any Objections ſhould be raiſed from *Dampier*'s Misfortune in that Voyage, it is eaſy to ſhew, that it ought to have no manner of Weight whatever, ſince, though he was an excellent Pilot, he is allowed to have been but a bad Commander: Beſides, the *Roebuck*, in which he ſailed, was a worn-out Frigate, that would hardly ſwim; and it is no great Wonder, that in ſo crazy a Veſſel the People were a little impatient at being Abroad on Diſcoveries: Yet, after all, he performed what he was ſent for; and, by the Diſcovery of this Iſland of *New Britain*, ſecured us an indiſputable Right to a Country, that is, or might be made, very valuable.

It is ſo ſituated, that a great Trade might be carried on from thence through the whole *Terra Auſtralis* on one Side, and the moſt valuable Iſlands of the *Eaſt Indies* on the other. In ſhort, all, or at leaſt moſt, of the Advantages propoſed by the *Dutch Weſt India* Company's joining with their *Eaſt India* Company, of which a large Account has already been given, might be procured for this Nation, by the eſtabliſhing a Colony in this Iſland of *New Britain*, and ſecuring the Trade of that Colony to the *African* Company by Law; the very paſſing of which Law would give the Company more than ſufficient Credit, to fit out a Squadron at once, capable of ſecuring the Poſſeſſion of that Iſland, and of giving the Public ſuch Satisfaction as to its Importance, as might be requiſite to obtain further Power and Aſſiſtance from the State, if that ſhould be found neceſſary. It would be very eaſy to point out ſome Advantages peculiarly convenient for that Company; but it will be time enough to think of theſe, whenever the *African* Company ſhall diſcover an Inclination to proſecute this Deſign. At preſent I have done what I propoſed, and have ſhewn, that ſuch a Collection of Voyages as this, ought not to be conſidered as a Work of mere Amuſement, but as a Work calculated for the Benefit of Mankind in general, and of this Nation in particular, which it is the Duty of every Man to promote in his Station; and whatever Fate theſe Reflections may meet with, I ſhall have always the Satisfaction of remembring, that I have not neglected it in mine, but have taken the utmoſt Pains to turn a Courſe of laborious Reading to the Advantage of my Country.

But, ſuppoſing that neither of theſe Companies ſhould think it expedient, or, in other Words, ſhould not think it conſiſtent with their Intereſt, to attempt this Diſcovery, there is yet a third Company, within the Spirit of whoſe Charter, I humbly conceive, the Proſecution of ſuch a Scheme immediately lies. The Reader will eaſily diſcern, that I mean the Company for carrying on a Trade to the South Seas, who, notwithſtanding the Extenſiveneſs of their Charter, confirmed and ſupported by Authority of Parliament, have not, ſo far as my Information reaches, ever attempted to ſend ſo much as a ſingle Ship for the ſake of Diſcoveries into the South Seas, which, however, was the great Point propoſed when this Company was firſt eſtabliſhed. In order to prove this, I need only lay before the Reader the Limits aſſigned that Company by their Charter, the Subſtance of which is contained in the following Words.

‘The Corporation, and their Succeſſors, ſhall, for ever, be veſted in the ſole Trade into and from all the Kingdoms and Lands on the Eaſt Side of *America*, from the River *Oroonoco*, to the Southermoſt Part of *Terra del Fuego*, and on the Weſt Side thereof from the ſaid Southermoſt Part of *Terra del Fuego*, thro' the South Sea, to the Northermoſt Part of *America*, and into and thro' all the Countries, Iſlands, and Places within the ſaid Limits, which are reputed to belong to *Spain*, or which ſhall hereafter be found out and diſcovered within the Limits aforeſaid, not exceeding 300 Leagues from the Continent of *America*, between the Southermoſt Part of the *Terra del Fuego* and the Northermoſt Part of *America*, on the ſaid Weſt Side thereof, except the Kingdom of *Braſil*, and ſuch other Places on the Eaſt Side of *America*, as are now in the Poſſeſſion of the King of *Portugal*, and the Country of *Surinam*, in the Poſſeſſion of the States General. The ſaid Company, and none elſe, are to trade within the ſaid Limits; and, if any other Perſons ſhall trade to the South Seas, they ſhall forfeit the Ship and Goods, and double Value, one-fourth Part to the Crown, and another fourth Part to the Proſecutor, and the other two-fourths to the Uſe of the Company. And the Company ſhall be the ſole Owners of the Iſlands, Forts, *&c.* which they ſhall diſcover within the ſaid Limits, to be held of the Crown, under an annual Rent of an Ounce of Gold, and of all Ships taken as Prizes by the Ships of the ſaid Company: And the Company may ſeize, by Force of Arms, all other *Britiſh* Ships trading in thoſe Seas.’

It is, I think, impoſſible for any Man to imagine, that either theſe Limits ſhould be ſecured to the Company for no Purpoſe in the World; or that theſe Prohibitions and Penalties ſhould take place, notwithſtanding the Company's never attempting to make any Uſe of theſe Powers: From whence I infer, that it was the Intent of the Legiſlature, that new Diſcoveries ſhould be made, new Plantations ſettled, and a new Trade carried on, by this new Corporation, agreeable to the Rules preſcribed, and for the general Benefit of this Nation; which, I apprehend, was chiefly conſidered in the providing, that this new Commerce ſhould be put under the Management of a particular Company. But I am very well aware of an Objection that may be made to what I have advanced; *viz.* that, from my own ſhewing, this Southern Continent lies abſolutely without their Limits; and that there is alſo a Proviſo in the Charter of that Company, that ſeems particularly calculated to exclude it, ſince it recites, That

‘The Agents of the Company ſhall not ſail beyond the Southermoſt Parts of *Terra del Fuego*, except through the Streights of *Magellan*, or round *Terra del Fuego*; nor go from thence to any Part of the *Eaſt Indies*, nor return

‘ to *Great Britain*, or any Port or Place, unleſs through the ſaid Streights, or by *Terra del Fuego*: Nor ſhall they trade in *Eaſt India* Goods, or in any Places within the Limits granted to the united Company of Merchants of *England* trading to *Eaſt India* (ſuch *India* Goods excepted, as ſhall be actually exported from *Great Britain*, and alſo ſuch Gold, Silver, wrought Plate, and other Goods and Commodities, which are the Produce, Growth or Manufactures of the *Weſt Indies*, or Continent of *America*): Neither ſhall they ſend Ships, or uſe them, or any Veſſel, within the South Seas, from *Terra del Fuego* to the Northermoſt Parts of *America*, above 300 Leagues to the Weſtward of, and diſtant from, the Land of *Chili*, *Peru*, *Mexico*, *California*, or any other the Lands or Shores of Southern or Northern *America*, between *Terra del Fuego* and the Northermoſt Part of *America*, on Pain of the Forfeiture of the Ships and Goods; one-third to the Crown, and the other two-thirds to the *Eaſt India* Company.’

But the Reader will obſerve, that I mentioned the *Eaſt India* and *African* Companies before; and that I now mention the *South Sea* Company, on a Suppoſition, that the two former may refuſe it. In that Caſe, I preſume, the Legiſlature will make the ſame Diſtinction that the States of *Holland* did, and not ſuffer the private Advantage of any particular Company to ſtand in Competition with the Good of a whole People. It was upon this Principle that I laid it down as a thing certain, that the *African* Company would be allowed to ſettle the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, tho’ it lies within the Limits of the *Eaſt India* Company’s Charter, in caſe it ſhould be found neceſſary for the better carrying on of this Trade. It is upon the ſame Principle I ſay this Southern Continent lies within the Intention of the *South Sea* Company’s Charter, becauſe, I preſume, the Intent of that Charter was to grant them all the Commerce in thoſe Seas, not occupied before by *Britiſh* Subjects; for, if it were otherwiſe, what a Condition ſhould we be in as a Maritime Power? If a Grant does not oblige a Company to carry on a Trade within the Limits granted to that Company, and is, at the ſame time, of Force to preclude all the Subjects of this Nation from the Right they before had to carry on a Trade within thoſe Limits, ſuch a Law is plainly deſtructive to the Nation’s Intereſt, and to Commerce in general. I therefore ſuppoſe, that, if the *South Sea* Company ſhould think proper to revive their Trade in the Manner I propoſe, this Proviſo would be explained by Parliament to mean no more, than excluding the *South Sea* Company from ſettling or trading in or to any Place at preſent ſettled in, or traded to, by the *Eaſt India* Company: For, as this Interpretation would ſecure the juſt Rights of both Companies, and, at the ſame time, reconcile the Laws for eſtabliſhing them to the general Intereſt of Trade and the Nation, there is the greateſt Reaſon to believe this to be the Intention of the Legiſlature. I have been obliged to inſiſt fully upon this Matter, becauſe it is a Point hitherto untouched, and a Point of ſuch high Importance, that, unleſs it be underſtood according to my Senſe of the Matter, there is an End of all Hopes of extending our Trade on this Side, which is perhaps the only Side, on which there is the leaſt Probability that it ever can be extended: For, as to the North-weſt Paſſage into the South Seas, that ſeems to be blocked up by the Rights of another Company; ſo that, according to the Letter of our Laws, each Company is to have its Rights, and the Nation in general no Right at all.

If therefore the ſettling of this Part of *Terra Auſtralis* ſhould devolve on the *South Sea* Company, by way of Equivalent for the Loſs of their *Aſſiento* Contract, there is no ſort of Queſtion but it might be as well performed by them, as by any other, and the Trade carried on, without interfering with that, which is at preſent carried on, either by the *Eaſt India* or *African* Companies. It would indeed, in this Caſe, be abſolutely neceſſary to ſettle *Juan Fernandez*, the Settlement of which Place, under the Direction of that Company, if they could, as very probably they might, fall into ſome Share of the Slave-trade from *New Guiney*, muſt prove wonderfully advantageous, conſidering the Opportunity they would have of vending thoſe Slaves to the *Spaniards* in *Chili* and *Peru*. The ſettling of this Iſland ought to be performed at once, and with a competent Force, ſince, without doubt, the *Spaniards* would leave no Means unattempted to diſpoſſeſs them: Yet, if a good Fortification was once raiſed, the Paſſes properly retrenched, and a Gariſon left there of between 3 and 500 Men, it would be ſimply impoſſible for the *Spaniards* to force them out of it before the Arrival of another Squadron from hence. Neither do I ſee any Reaſon, why, in the Space of a very few Years, the Plantation of this Iſland ſhould not prove of as great Conſequence to the *South Sea* Company, as that of *Curacao* to the *Dutch Weſt India* Company, who raiſe no leſs than 60,000 Florins *per Annum* for licenſing Ships to trade there.

From *Juan Fernandez* to *Van Diemen’s Land* is not above two Months Sail; and a Voyage for Diſcovery might be very conveniently made between the Time that a Squadron returned from *Juan Fernandez*, and another Squadron’s Arrival there from hence. It is true, that, if once a conſiderable Settlement was made in the moſt Southern Part of *Terra Auſtralis*, the Company might then fall into a large Commerce in the moſt valuable *Eaſt India* Goods, very probably Gold, and Spices of all ſorts: Yet I cannot think, that even theſe would fall within the excluſive Proviſo of their Charter; for that was certainly intended to hinder their trading in ſuch Goods as are brought hither by our *Eaſt India* Company; and I muſt confeſs I ſee no Difference, with reſpect to the Intereſt of that Company, between our having Cloves, Cinnamon, and Mace, by the *South Sea* Company’s Ships from *Juan Fernandez*, and our receiving them from *Holland*, after the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company’s Ships have brought them thither by the Way of the Cape of *Good Hope*. Sure I am they would come to us ſooner by ſome Months by the Way of Cape *Horne*. If this Reaſoning does not ſatisfy People, but they ſtill remain perſuaded, that the *South Sea* Company ought not to intermeddle with the *Eaſt India* Trade at all, I deſire to know, why the *Weſt India* Merchants are allowed to import Coffee from *Jamaica*, when it is well known, that the *Eaſt India* Company can ſupply the whole Demand of this Kingdom from *Mocha*? If it be anſwered, that the *Jamaica* Coffee comes cheaper, and is the Growth of our own Plantations, I reply, that theſe Spices will not only be cheaper, but better, and be purchaſed by our own Manufactures; and theſe, I think, are the ſtrongeſt Reaſons that can be given.

If it be demanded, what Certainty I have, that Spices can be had from thence, I anſwer, all the Certainty that, in a thing of this Nature, can be reaſonably expected; *Ferdinand de Quiros* met with all ſorts of Spices in the Country he diſcovered; *William Schovten*, and *Jaques le Maire*, ſaw Ginger and Nutmegs; ſo did *Dampier*; and the Author of Commodore *Roggewein*’s Voyage aſſerts, that the free Burgeſſes of *Amboyna* purchaſe Nutmegs from the Natives of *New Guiney* for Bits of Iron. All therefore I contend for is, that theſe Bits of Iron may be ſent them from *Old England*.

The Reaſon I recommend ſettling on the South Coaſt of *Terra Auſtralis*, if this Deſign ſhould be proſecuted, from *Juan Fernandez*, rather than the Iſland of *New Britain*, which I mentioned before, is, becauſe that Coaſt is nearer, and is ſituated in a better and pleaſanter Climate. Beſides all which Advantages, as it was never hitherto viſited by the *Dutch*, they cannot, with any Colour of Juſtice, take Umbrage at our attempting ſuch a Settlement. To cloſe then this Subject, the Importance of which alone inclined me to ſpend ſo much of mine and the Reader’s Time about it;

It is moſt evident, that, if ſuch a Settlement was made at *Juan Fernandez*, proper Magazines erected, and a conſtant Correſpondence eſtabliſhed between that Iſland and the *Terra Auſtralis*, theſe three Conſequences muſt abſolutely follow from thence: I. That a new Trade would be opened, which muſt carry off a great Quantity of our Goods and Manufactures, that cannot, at preſent, be brought to any Market, or, at leaſt, not to ſo good a Market, as if there was a greater Demand for them. II. It would render this Navigation, which is, at preſent, ſo ſtrange, and conſequently ſo terrible to us, eaſy and familiar; which might be attended with Advantages that cannot be foreſeen, eſpecially ſince there is, as I before obſerved, in all Probability, another Southern Continent, which is ſtill to be diſcovered. III. It would greatly increaſe our Shipping and our Seamen, which are the true and natural Strength of this Country, extend our naval Power, and raiſe the Reputation of this Nation; the moſt diſtant Proſpect of which is ſufficient to warm the Soul of any Man, who has the leaſt Regard for his Country, with Courage ſufficient to deſpiſe the Imputations that may be thrown upon him as a viſionary Projector, for taking ſo much Pains about an Affair, that can tend ſo little to his private Advantage. We will now add a few Words, with reſpect to the Advantages ariſing from having thus digeſted the Hiſtory of Circum-navigators, from the earlieſt Account of Time to the preſent; and then ſhut up the Whole with another Section, containing the laſt Circum-navigation by Rear-Admiral *Anſon*, whoſe Voyage has at leaſt ſhewn, that, under a proper Officer, *Engliſh* Seamen are able to atchieve as much as they ever did; and that is as much as was ever done by any Nation in the World.

It is a Point that has always admitted ſome Debate, whether Science ſtands more indebted to Speculation or Practice; or, in other Words, whether the greater Diſcoveries have been made by Men of deep Study, or Perſons of great Experience in the moſt uſeful Parts of Knowledge. But this, I think, is a Propoſition that admits of no Diſpute at all, that the nobleſt Diſcoveries have been the Reſult of a juſt Mixture of Theory with Practice. It was from hence, that the very Notion of ſailing round the Earth took Riſe; and the ingenious *Genoeſe* firſt laid down his Syſtem of the World, according to his Conception; and then added the Proofs derived from Experience. It is much to be deplored, that we have not that Plan of Diſcovery, which the great *Chriſtopher Columbus* ſent over thither by his Brother *Bartholomew* to King *Henry* VII. for, if we had, we ſhould certainly find abundance of very curious Obſervations, which might ſtill be uſeful to Mariners: For it appears clearly, from many little Circumſtances, that he was a Perſon of univerſal Genius, and, until bad Uſage obliged him to take many Precautions, very communicative.

It was from this Plan, as it had been communicated to the *Portugueſe* Court, that the famous *Magellan* came to have ſo juſt Notions of the Poſſibility of ſailing by the Weſt to the *Eaſt Indies*; and there was a great deal of Theory in the Propoſal made by that great Man to the Emperor *Charles* V. Sir *Francis Drake* was a Perſon of the ſame Genius, and of a like general Knowledge: And it is very remarkable, that theſe three great Seamen met alſo with the ſame Fate; by which I mean, that they were conſtantly purſued by Envy while they lived, which hindered ſo much Notice being taken of their Diſcourſes and Diſcoveries as they deſerved. But, when the Experience of ſucceeding Times had verified many of their Sayings, which had been conſidered as vain and empty Boaſtings in their Life-times, then Poſterity began to pay a ſuperſtitious Regard to whatever could be collected concerning them, and to admire all they delivered as oraculous. Our other Diſcoverer, *Candiſh*, was likewiſe a Man of great Parts, and great Penetration, as well as great Spirit; he had, undoubtedly, a mighty Genius for Diſcoveries; but the prevailing Notion of thoſe Times, that the only Way to ſerve the Nation, was plundering the *Spaniards*, ſeems to have got the better of his Deſire to find out unknown Countries; and made him chuſe to be known to Poſterity, rather as a gallant Privateer, than as an able Seaman, though, in Truth, he was both.

After theſe follow *Schouten* and *Le Maire*, who were fitted out to make Diſcoveries; and executed their Commiſſion with equal Capacity and Succeſs. If *Le Maire* had lived to return to *Holland*, and to have digeſted into proper Order his own Accounts, we ſhould, without Queſtion, have received a much fuller and clearer, as well as a much more correct and ſatisfactory Detail of them, than we have at preſent: Though the Voyage, as it is now publiſhed, is, in all reſpects, the beſt, and the moſt curious, of all the Circum-navigators. This was, very probably, owing to the ill Uſage he met with from the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company; which put Captain *Schouten*, and the Relations of *Le Maire*, upon giving the World the beſt Information they could of what had been in that Voyage performed. Yet the Fate of *Le Maire* had a much greater Effect in diſcouraging, than the Fame of his Diſcoveries had in exciting, a Spirit of Emulation; ſo that we may ſafely ſay, the Severity of the *Eaſt India* Company in *Holland* extinguiſhed that generous Deſire of exploring unknown Lands, which might otherwiſe have raiſed the Reputation, and extended the Commerce, of the Republic, much beyond what they have hitherto reached. This is ſo true, that, for upwards of one hundred Years, we hear of no *Dutch* Voyage in Purſuit of *Le Maire*'s Diſcoveries; and we ſee, when Commodore *Roggewein*, in our own Time, revived that noble Deſign, it was again cramped by the ſame Power that ſtifled it before; and, though the States did Juſtice to the *Weſt India* Company, and to the Parties injured, yet the Hardſhips they ſuffered, and the plain Proof they gave of the Difficulties that muſt be met with in the Proſecution of ſuch a Deſign, ſeem to have done the Buſineſs of the *Eaſt India* Company, and damped the Spirit of Diſcovery, for, perhaps, another Century, in *Holland*.

It is very obſervable, that all the mighty Diſcoveries that have been made aroſe from theſe great Men, who joined Reaſoning with Practice, and were Men of Genius and Learning, as well as Seamen. To *Columbus* we owe the finding *America*; to *Magellan* the paſſing by the *Streights*, which bear his Name, by a new Route to the *Eaſt Indies*; to *Le Maire* a more commodious Paſſage round Cape *Horne*, and without running up to *California*; Sir *Francis Drake* too hinted the Advantages that might ariſe by examining the North-weſt Side of *America*; and *Candiſh* had ſome Notions of diſcovering a Paſſage between *China* and *Japan*. As to the Hiſtory we have of *Roggewein*'s Voyage, it affords ſuch Lights, as nothing but our own Negligence can render uſeleſs. But in the other Voyages, whatever Diſcoveries we meet with are purely accidental, except it be *Dampier*'s Voyage to the Coaſts of *New Holland* and *New Guiney*, which was expreſly made for Diſcoveries; and in which, if an abler Man had been employed in Conjunction with *Dampier*, we cannot doubt, that the Interior and Exterior of thoſe Countries would have been much better known than they are at preſent; becauſe ſuch a Perſon would rather have choſen to have refreſhed in the Iſland of *New Britain*, or ſome other Country, not viſited before, than at that of *Timor*, already ſettled both by the *Portugueſe* and the *Dutch*.

In all Attempts, therefore, of this ſort, thoſe Men are fitteſt to be employed, who, with competent Abilities as Seamen, have likewiſe general Capacities, are at leaſt tolerably acquainted with other Sciences, and have ſettled Judgments, and ſolid Underſtandings. Theſe are the Men, from whom we are to expect the finiſhing that great Work, which former Circum-navigators have begun; I mean the diſcovering every Part and Parcel of the Globe, and the carrying to its utmoſt Perfection the admirable and uſeful Science of Navigation.

It is, however, a Piece of Juſtice due to the Memory of theſe great Men, to acknowledge, that we are equally encouraged by their Examples, and guided by their Diſcoveries. We owe to them the being freed, not only from the Errors, but from the Doubts and Difficulties, with which former Ages were oppreſſed: To them we ſtand indebted for the Diſcovery of the beſt Part of the World, which was intirely unknown to the Antients, particularly ſome Part of the Eaſtern, moſt of the Southern, and all the Weſtern Hemiſphere: From them we have learned, that the Earth is ſurrounded by the Ocean, and that all the Countries under the Torrid Zone are inhabited; and that, quite contrary to the Notions that were formerly entertained, they are very far from being the moſt ſultry Climate in the World, thoſe within a few Degrees of the Tropics, though habitable, being much more hot, for Reaſons which have been elſewhere explained. By their Voyages, and eſpecially by the Obſervations of *Columbus*, we have been taught the general Motion of the Sea, the Reaſon of it, and the Cauſe and Difference of Currents in particular Places; to which we may add the Doctrine of Tides, which were very imperfectly known, even by the greateſt Men in former Times, whoſe Accounts have been found equally repugnant to Reaſon and Experience.

By their Obſervations, we have acquired a great Knowledge as to the Nature and Variation of Winds, particularly the Monſoons, or Trade-winds, and other periodical Winds, of which the Antients had not the leaſt Conception: And, by theſe Helps, we not only have it in our Power to proceed much farther in our Diſcoveries, but we are likewiſe delivered from a Multitude of groundleſs Apprehenſions, that frighted them from proſecuting Diſcoveries. We give no Credit now to the Fables, that not only amuſed Antiquity, but even obtained Credit within a few Generations. The Authority of *Pliny* will not perſuade us, that there are any Nations without Heads, whoſe Eyes and Mouths are in their Breaſts, or that the *Arimaſpi* have only one Eye fixed in their Forehead, and that they are perpetually at War with the Griffins, who guard hidden Treaſures; or that there are Nations that have long hairy Tails, and grin like Monkeys. No Traveller can make us believe, that, under the Torrid Zone, there are a Nation, every Man of which has one large flat Foot, with which, lying upon his Back, he covers himſelf from the Sun. In this reſpect we have the ſame Advantage over the Antients that Men have over Children; and we cannot reflect without Amazement, on Mens having ſo much Knowledge and Learning in other reſpects, with ſuch childiſh Underſtandings in theſe.

By the Labours of theſe great Men, in the two laſt Centuries, we are taught to know what we ſeek, and how it is to be ſought. We know, for Example, what Parts of the North are yet undiſcovered, and alſo what Parts of the South. We can form a very certain Judgment of the Climate of Countries undiſcovered, and can foreſee the Advantages that will reſult from Diſcoveries before they are made; all which are prodigious Advantages, and ought certainly to animate us in our Searches. I might add to this, the great Benefits we receive from our more perfect Acquaintance with the Properties of the Loadſtone, and from the ſurpriſing Accuracy of aſtronomical Obſervations; to which I may add the phyſical Diſcoveries made of late Years, in relation to the Figure of the Earth; all of which are the Reſult of the Lights which theſe great Men have given us.

It is true, that ſome of the zealous Defenders of the Antients, and ſome of the great Admirers of the Eaſtern Nations, diſpute theſe Facts; and would have us believe, that almoſt every thing was known to the old Philoſophers and not only known, but practiſed, by the *Chineſe*, long before the Time of the great Men to whom we aſcribe them. But the Difference between their Aſſertions and ours is, that we fully prove the Facts we allege, whereas they produce no Evidence at all: For Inſtance, *Albertus Magnus* ſays, that *Ariſtotle* wrote an expreſs Treatiſe on the Direction of the Loadſtone; but nobody ever ſaw that Treatiſe, nor was it ever heard of by any of the reſt of his Commentators. We have, in our Hands, ſome of the beſt Performances of Antiquity in regard to Geography; and any Man who has Eyes, and is at all acquainted with that Science, can very eaſily diſcern, how far they fall ſhort of Maps that were made even an hundred Years ago. The celebrated *Voſſius*, and the reſt of the Admirers of the *Chineſe*, who, by the way, derived all their Knowledge from Hearſay, may teſtify, in as ſtrong Terms as they think fit, their Contempt for the Weſtern Sages, and their high Opinion of thoſe in the Eaſt; but till they prove to us, that their favourite *Chineſe* made any Voyages comparable to the *Europeans*, before the Diſcovery of a Paſſage to *China* by the Cape of *Good Hope*, they will excuſe us from believing them. Beſides, if the Antients had all this Knowledge, how came it not to diſplay itſelf in their Performances? How came they to make ſuch Difficulties of what are now eſteemed Trifles? And how came they never to make any Voyages, by Choice at leaſt, that were out of Sight of Land? Again, with reſpect to the *Chineſe*, if they excel us ſo much in Knowledge, How come the Miſſionaries to be ſo much admired for their ſuperior Skill in the Sciences? But to cut the Matter ſhort, we are not diſputing now about ſpeculative Points of Science, but as to the practical Application of it; in which, I think, there is no doubt, that the modern Inhabitants of the Weſtern Parts of the World excel, and excel chiefly from the Labours and Diſcoveries of theſe great and ingenious Men, who applied their Abilities to the Improvement of uſeful Arts, for the particular Benefit of their Countrymen, and to the common Good of Mankind; which Character is not derived from any Prejudice of ours, either againſt the Antients, or the oriental Nations; but is founded in Facts of public Notoriety, and on general Experience, which are a kind of Evidence not to be controverted or contradicted.

We are ſtill, however, in ſeveral reſpects, ſhort of Perfection; and there are many Things left to exerciſe the Sagacity, Penetration, and Application of this, and of ſucceeding Ages: For Inſtance, the Paſſages to the North-eaſt and North-weſt are yet unknown; there is a great Part of the Southern Continent undiſcovered; we are, in a manner, ignorant of what lies between *America* and *Japan*, and all beyond that Country lies buried in Obſcurity, perhaps in greater Obſcurity than it was an Age ago; ſo that there is ſtill Room for performing great Things, which, in their Conſequences, perhaps, might prove greater than can well be imagined. I ſay nothing of the Diſcoveries that yet remain, with regard to inland Countries, becauſe theſe fall properly under another Head, I mean that of Travels. But it will be time enough to think of penetrating into the Heart of Countries, when we have diſcovered the Sea-coaſts of the whole Globe, towards which the Voyages, recorded in this Chapter, have ſo far advanced already. But the only Means to arrive at theſe great Ends, and to tranſmit to Poſterity a Fame approaching, at leaſt in ſome meaſure, to that of our Anceſtors, is to revive and reſtore that glorious Spirit, which led them to ſuch great Exploits; and the moſt natural Method of doing this, is to collect and preſerve the Memory of their Exploits, that they may ſerve at once to excite our Imitation, encourage our Endeavours, and point out to us how they may be beſt employed, and with the greateſt Probability of Succeſs; which, as it has been the principal and particular Deſign of this Chapter, ſo it ſhall be, God willing, proſecuted with like Diligence and Attention, to the very laſt Chapter of this Work.

SECTION XXIII.

An Account of the Expedition of GEORGE ANSON, *Eſq; in the* Centurion, *as Commodore of a Squadron of* Britiſh *Ships, round the World.*

1. *The Occaſion of this Voyage, and the general Expectation raiſed thereby in the Nation.* 2. *The Strength of the Squadron, and the Preparations made for the Voyage.* 3. *Departure from* St. Helen's, Sept. 14. 1740. 4. *Arrival at* Madeira, *Tranſactions there, and Occurrences in the Voyage, till their Arrival at the Iſland of* St. Catharine's. 5. *Account of that Iſland, and of what happened worthy of Notice in their Paſſage to* St. Julian's. 6. *Occurrences in their Voyage to the Streights of* le Maire. 7. *The Hardſhips they ſuſtained in doubling Cape* Horne, *and their loſing Sight of the beſt Part of the Squadron.* 8. *A great Storm, in which they loſe Sight of the* Wager. 9. *Proceed with great Difficulty to the Iſland of* Juan Fernandez. 10. *Arrive at, and refreſh themſelves in, that Iſland.* 11. *Are joined there, after a long Scene of Hardſhips, by the* Glouceſter. 12. *Account of the principal Tranſactions during their Stay at, and cruiſing off that Iſland.* 13. *A Digreſſion, containing the Hiſtory of the Shipwreck of his Majeſty's Ship the* Wager, *and the Conſequences that attended it.* 14. *An Account of ſuch Prizes as were taken in the South Seas, after their Departure from* Juan Fernandez. 15. *The Town of* Payta *ſurpriſed and plundered.* 16. *Joined by the* Glouceſter *from* Juan Fernandez. 17. *Occurrences in their Voyage from* Payta *to* Acapulco. 18. *Account of what paſſed during the Time they cruiſed off that Port.* 19. *Their Departure from* Acapulco, *in order to proceed to the* Eaſt Indies. 20. *Are forced to deſtroy the* Glouceſter, *and take her Crew on board the* Centurion. 21. *Proſecute their Voyage to the* Ladrone *Iſlands.* 22. *The Ship forced from her Anchors, and the Commodore left on Shore.* 23. *Arrive ſafely in the Road, to the great Joy of thoſe left on the Iſland.* 24. *Refreſh themſelves there, and prepare to continue their Voyage.* 25. *Leave the* Ladrone *Iſlands, and ſteer for the Coaſt of* China. 26. *Arrival at* Macao, *and Reception there.* 27. *Tranſactions that happened during their Stay in that Port.* 28. *Proceed on a Cruize in Search of a* Manilla *Ship.* 29. *Engage and take her.* 30. *Return with the Prize to* Macao. 31. *Sail from thence for the River of* Canton. 32. *The Commodore viſits the* Chineſe *Viceroy, in order to obtain Leave to repair and revictual the Ship.* 33. *An Account of what paſſed during their Stay in* China. 34. *Proſecute their Voyage from* Canton *to the Coaſt of* Java. 35. *Proceed from thence to the Cape of* Good Hope. 36. *Take in Refreſhments there, in order to their Return home.* 37. *Occurrences in their Paſſage from thence.* 38. *Arrive ſafely at* St. Helen's, June 15. 1744. 39. *Remarks upon the Voyage.* 40. *The Concluſion of the firſt Chapter.* 41. *A complete Table of Circum-navigators.*

1. IT is a Thing that has been generally taken for granted, ever ſince *Spain* has been poſſeſſed of her *American* Dominions, and made uſe of the Riches ſhe derived from thence, to diſturb the Peace, and invade the Liberties, of her Neighbours, that the beſt way to reduce her Strength, and to prevent the bad Effects of her evil Intentions, would be to attack her in the South Seas. This was purſued with great Diligence, and in ſome meaſure with Succeſs, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*: And in that of her Succeſſor, when a new Quarrel broke out with that Crown in the Year 1624, the firſt Thing thought of by our Patriots, who were equally willing to humble the King's Enemy, and ſave the Nation's Money, was an Expedition to the South Seas, at the Expence of, and for the Benefit of the People; which Scheme was intituled, *The Weſt India Aſſociation.*

It may be thought I look a great Way back, when I offer to the View of the Reader, the Reaſons which were ſuggeſted in Parliament for the Support of that Scheme; but whoever conſiders, that it is not only the moſt effectual, but the ſafeſt Method to inſtruct the preſent Age from the Sentiments of the laſt, will readily enter into the Reaſons, why I produce upon this Occaſion the Speech of an eminent Patriot, in which the Nature and Scope of that Aſſociation, as well as the Motives upon which it was grounded, are very fully and pathetically ſet forth; and this in ſuch Terms, as, if the Reader was not told, that this was a Speech to Sir *Dudly Diggs*, then in the Chair of a Committee of the whole Houſe, by Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, he might miſtake it for a Speech made a few Years ſince; ſo agreeable it is, in its Language and Sentiments, even to our preſent Occaſions.

'SIR,

I Do profeſs, that as my Affection, my Reaſon, and my Judgment, go ſtrongly with the Scope and Drift of this Propoſition, ſo ſhall good Part of my poor Fortune, when it comes to Execution. For, to my Underſtanding, there was never propounded in Parliament, a Deſign more proper for this Kingdom, nor more pregnant with Advantages to it, whether we conſider the Nature of our Situation, or the Quality of our Enemies Forces. As we are an Iſland, it concerns our very Being to have Store of Ships to defend us, and alſo our Well-being by their Trade to enrich us. This Aſſociation for the *Weſt Indies*, when it ſhall be regulated and eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, and thereby ſecured from the Violence and Injury of any intruding Hand, will certainly give many Men Encouragement and Confidence, voluntarily to bring in large and liberal Contributions towards ſo noble, ſo profitable an Enterprize: So that, in ſhort, we ſhall ſee many new Ships built, many brave Men employed, and enabled for the Service of their Country; none of this Money ſhall be carried out of the Kingdom, but laid out for Shipping, which is the Defence of it, and beſtowed upon our own Men, who muſt be fed and maintained, though they ſtay at home. For this we ſhall reap the Fruit of whatſoever Benefit Plantation, Traffick, or Purchace, can procure us, beſides Honour and Security.

'Now let us a little conſider the Enemy we are to encounter, the King of *Spain.* They are not his great Territories which make him ſo powerful, and ſo troubleſome to all *Chriſtendom*; for it is very well known, that *Spain* itſelf is but weak in Men, and barren of natural Commodities; as for his other Territories, they lie divided and aſunder, which is a Weakneſs in itſelf. Beſides, they are held by Force, and maintained at an extraordinary Charge; inſomuch as, although he be a great King, yet he is like that Giant who was ſaid to have an hundred Hands, but he had fifty Bellies to feed; ſo that, rateably, he had no more Hands than another Man: No, Sir, they are his *Mines* in the *Weſt Indies*, which miniſter Fuel to feed his vaſt ambitious Deſire of *univerſal Monarchy*. It is the Money he hath from thence which makes him able to levy and pay Soldiers in all Places, and to keep an Army continually on Foot ready to invade and endanger his Neighbours; ſo that we have no other Way, but to endeavour to cut him off at the Root, and ſeek to impeach or to ſupplant him in the *Weſt Indies*;

'by Part of which Courſe, that famous Queen, of glorious Memory, had heretofore almoſt brought him to his Knees: And this our Undertaking, (if it pleaſes God to bleſs it) muſt needs affect it ſooner and quicker, the whole Body of the Kingdom being united, and concurring in a perpetual Supply to this Action, ſo that he will have no free Time given him to reſt.

'Moreover, this will be a Means, not only to ſave, but to fill his Majeſty's Coffers, enabling the People to give him liberally and often. The King's Ships will have little to do but to guard the Coaſts; for the Sea War will chiefly be made at the Charge of the Subject. Thus I doubt not, but that, in a ſhort time, both King and People ſhall be ſafe at home, and feared abroad. To conclude, I ſhall be very glad to hear any Man make Objections againſt this Deſign, ſo that he do it with an Intention to refine and perfect the Work; but, if any ſhall ſpeak againſt it, with a Mind to hinder and deſtroy it, I muſt intreat him to pardon me, if I do ſcarce think him to be a good *Engliſhman*.'

That Project had the ſame Fate with moſt other bold and honeſt Projects in that Reign, which was, that, after being talked of a little, it ſunk into Oblivion. Our next Difference with *Spain* was under *Cromwell*'s Protectorate, who encouraged Father *Gage* to publiſh his Account of the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*; which was the Foundation of his Attempt upon *Hiſpaniola*, and the Conqueſt of *Jamaica*; but I do not know of any Deſign formed by him to attack the *Spaniards* in the South Seas: After the Reſtoration, we were upon very good Terms with *Spain*; as it was certainly our Intereſt to be: Yet King *Charles* the Second did not neglect this Navigation abſolutely, but ſent Sir *John Narbrough*, one of the beſt Seamen this Nation ever bred, in the *Sweepſtakes*, in the latter End of the Year 1669, by the Way of the Streights of *Magellan*, into the South Seas: To ſay the Truth, our Privateers, under the Command of the Captains *Sharpe*, *Davis*, *Swan*, &c. were continually in theſe Seas, during all that Reign, and the next; ſo that our Seamen were no Strangers, in thoſe Days, to any of the Paſſages into the South Seas; and, as the Reader may have already obſerved from the Voyage of Captain *Cowley*, it was no unuſual Thing for the Traders of *London* to fit out Ships for thoſe Parts; whether with a View to Traffick or Privateering, is, at this Diſtance of Time, a Point not eaſy to determine. But, whatever Purpoſe they were ſent upon, thither they went, and no Complaints were ever heard of, with reſpect to extraordinary Hardſhips in the Voyage; which is ſufficient to ſhew, how much depends upon keeping all Branches of Navigation open, in order to be conſtantly in a Condition to ſecure and extend our Trade, and to preſerve our Reputation as a maritime Power.

After the Revolution, ſeveral Propoſals were made in relation to the eſtabliſhing a Commerce in the South Sea, which were received with Approbation; and it is certain, that King *William* gave Inſtructions to Admiral *Benbow*, when he went laſt to the *Weſt Indies*, to inquire how far any of theſe Projects were feaſible. After the breaking out of the laſt general War, all the World expected, that the firſt thing the maritime Powers would have done, would have been ſending a Squadron to theſe Seas, either for the Service of the Prince, whom they owned for King of *Spain*, or for their own Advantage. The People of this Nation, in particular, were ſo deſirous of ſeeing the War carried on this Way, and on this Side, that, to give them Hopes, and, at the ſame time, to ſhew that the Legiſlature approved their Sentiments in this reſpect, a Bill was brought into, and paſſed by, the Houſe of Lords, for the better carrying on the War, by Sea and Land, in the *Weſt Indies*; which, however, was loſt by a kind of miniſterial Craft, in the Houſe of Commons; and ſoon after all Deſigns of that Nature were laid aſide, for Reaſons, with which, as yet, the Public has never been made acquainted: The only Expedition, during the whole War, was that of the *Duke* and *Ducheſs*, under the Command of Captain *Rogers*, at the Expence of ſome private Merchants of *Briſtol*. On the Change of the Miniſtry, a prodigious Clamour was raiſed upon this Head, and, all of a ſudden, a Reſolution was taken to ſecure all the Advantages that could be wiſhed for to this Nation from the Trade of the South Seas; which ended, however, only in erecting a Company with that Title. The Nation very ſoon became ſenſible, that this would by no means do; and therefore, as ſoon as our Diſputes with the King of *Spain* came to an Height, in the late King's Reign, a Deſign was immediately ſet on Foot for ſending Privateers once more into that Part of the World; which ended in the Expedition of Captain *Shelvocke*, and Captain *Clipperton*, of which we have given a large Account.

By this ſhort Deduction of Facts, I think it is demonſtrably proved, that, in the Judgment of this Nation, the moſt probable Way of humbling *Spain*, in caſe of a War, was to ſend a Squadron into the South Seas: And I will venture to ſay, that there is one Reaſon why this is now become more expedient than ever; which is, that we are now no longer at Liberty to ſend Ships thither in a Time of Peace, as we were before the South Sea Company was erected. It is not, therefore, at all ſtrange, that as ſoon as the preſent War broke out with *Spain*, the general Voice of the People dictated ſuch an Expedition; or that, when they ſaw it reſolved on, and a Squadron actually equipped for that Service, they teſtified very loudly their Approbation of the Scheme: And, I believe, my Readers will eaſily give Credit to the Aſſertion, when I affirm, that, during the Time this Squadron lay at *Portſmouth*, there was a moſt general Expectation of its performing Things of the higheſt Conſequence for the Service of *Great Britain*, and reducing the Enemy to Reaſon.

2. It was in the midſt of Summer, in the Year 1740, that this Squadron was formed at *Portſmouth*, at the ſame time that a great Embarkation was carrying on for the *Weſt Indies*; by which the Siege of *Carthagena* was afterwards undertaken, which turned the Eyes of the whole World upon that Sea-port: At *London*, every body ſpoke of the intended Expedition to the South Seas, as a Deſign that muſt neceſſarily be attended with Conſequences highly advantageous, if properly conducted; of which there was not the leaſt Doubt made, when Captain *Anſon* was named to the Command; becauſe he had ſhewn himſelf, upon all Occaſions, an Officer equally vigilant in his Duty, and moderate in the Exerciſe of Power; more ready to correct by his own Example, than by any other ſort of Reproof; and who, in the Courſe of his Service, had acquired the Reſpect of the Officers, and the Love of the Sailors; Qualities that rarely meet in one Perſon, and Qualities, which, without the leaſt Contradiction, were aſcribed to him.

It was intended, that a conſiderable Body of Land-forces ſhould ſerve on board this Squadron; and accordingly 500 Invalids and Marines were embarked, under their proper Officers, to be commanded in Chief by Lieutenant Colonel *Cracherode*, now Governor of *Landguard* Fort. There were ſeveral Accidents which concurred to hinder the Departure of this Squadron for ſome time; but at laſt, every thing being in perfect Order, and their Equipage in every reſpect complete, the Commodore gave his Orders for the Officers and Seamen to repair on board, and that every thing ſhould be ready for ſailing by the Middle of *September*; and accordingly upon the 16th of that Month he fired a Gun as a Signal to unmoor. The Squadron then conſiſted of the following Ships of War, and other Veſſels; *viz.*

Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
Centurion	Commodore *G. Anſon*, Eſq;	60	513
Glouceſter	*Norris*	50	350
Severn	*Legge*	50	350
Pearl	*Mitchell*	40	250
Wager	*Kidd*	28	140
Trial Sloop.	*Murray*	16	80

Tenders.

Ann Pink;

Induſtry, which was to go only to a certain Latitude.

3. On *September* 18. 1740, the Commodore fired a Gun as a Signal to weigh; and, by ten in the Evening, the whole Squadron was under Sail. It was obſerved at that time, that they ſailed at a different Seaſon of the Year

from ſome, who had gone that Voyage before. Captain *Rogers*, in the *Duke*, ſailed from *Briſtol* in the Month of *June* 1708; Captain *Clipperton* in the Month of *February* 1719: Yet, perhaps, there was not ſo much in this Circumſtance as ſome People imagine; ſince Sir *John Narbrough*, who was an experienced Seaman, ſailed for the Streights of *Magellan* on the 26th of *September* 1669; and other Inſtances might be given of great Officers, who choſe this Seaſon of the Year.

They continued their Courſe, without meeting with any Accident of Importance, till, on *October* 28. they came to an Anchor in the Road of *Funchal*, off the Iſland of *Madeira*, where they found two Privateer Sloops, who ſaluted the Commodore with nine Guns; and were anſwered by ſeven. As this was a proper Place for taking in Water, Wine, and other Refreſhments, the Squadron made ſome Stay, tho' it was late in the Year. On the 30th, they celebrated the Anniverſary of his Majeſty's Coronation; and, in the Beginning of the ſucceeding Month, got every thing on board as faſt as poſſible, that they might be able to ſail without Delay.

4. While they continued in *Funchal* Road, Captain *Norris*, of the *Glouceſter*, who was in a very ill State of Health, obtained Leave to return home; which occaſioned ſome Alteration in the Command: For Captain *Kidd*, of the *Wager*, was made Captain of the *Pearl*, Captain *Mitchell* was removed from the *Pearl* into the *Glouceſter*, Captain *Murray* ſucceeded Captain *Kidd* in the *Wager*, and Lieutenant *Cheap* was made Captain of the *Trial* Sloop. They had notice here of ten Sail, ſuppoſed to be *Spaniſh* Ships, which were cruiſing on-and-off to the Weſtward; but one of the Privateers, which was diſpatched by the Commodore to look for them, returned without ſeeing them.

On *November* 5. they left the Iſland of *Madeira*, and proceeded on their Voyage, the *Glouceſter* having the *Induſtry* Pink in Tow. On the 17th, they lay-to, to unlade the *Induſtry* Tender; which took up two or three Days, and then ſhe was diſcharged. They had, all this time, very pleaſant Weather; and, on the 28th, paſſed the Line with a fair Wind. On the 30th, being in the Latitude of 4° 25' South, they obſerved with great Aſtoniſhment, that the Sea glittered, and appeared like Fire, in the Night; which, however, is a Phenomenon not very unuſual in thoſe Seas. In the Beginning of the Month of *December*, the Crew began to be ſickly; which they attributed chiefly to the heavy Rains they met with after they paſſed the Equinoctial. On the 13th of that Month about Noon, they croſſed the Tropic of *Capricorn*; and, on the 19th, had Sight of the Iſland of *St. Catharine's*.

On the 20th about Noon, they came to an Anchor; and the next Day, ſailing nearer to the Fort, came to an Anchor again, and ſaluted the Governor with eleven Guns. This Iſland, which lies upon the Coaſt of *Braſil*, in the Latitude of 27° 30' South, is very convenient for the Refreſhment of ſuch Ships as are bound to the South Seas; for it abounds with Oranges, Lemons, and other Fruits of that kind, Cabbage and Banana-trees, with excellent Potatoes, freſh Water every-where in plenty, and vaſt Quantities of Herbs, which ſeldom fail to relieve the Sick. The Governor owns the Authority of the King of *Portugal*; but, in other reſpects, the Iſland produces no great Advantage to that Crown. As ſoon as the Squadron had anchored, the Commodore ordered a Tent to be ſet up for the Uſe of the Sick, who were furniſhed with freſh Proviſions, and whatever elſe was requiſite for People in their Condition; and in the mean time the Rigging was overhaled, the *Trial* Sloop had her Maſts taken out, repaired, and fitted up again; and all the Ships took in Wood, Water, and Proviſions, with all the Expedition poſſible.

5. On *January* 18. 1741, about nine in the Morning, they ſailed from *St. Catharine's*, the Governor of the Fort ſaluting them with eleven Guns; and the Commodore returned the like Number. Notwithſtanding the Care taken of the *Trial* Sloop at the Iſland of *St. Catharine's*, ſhe was ſtill in a very crazy Condition; and on the 24th, the Head of her Main-maſt being carried away, and her Fore-maſt ſprung, the *Glouceſter* was forced to take her in Tow. On *February* 8. the Men were put to ſhort Allowance, having two Quarts of Water a Day. On the 11th, they had Sight of Land, which appeared low, flat, and ſandy. On the 13th, they found themſelves off Cape *Blanco*, which appears, at a Diſtance, like a long Table, the adjacent Country flat and low. For ſeveral Days afterwards, they ſaw abundance of Penguins, a Bird we have before deſcribed, and other Water-fowl. On the 17th in the Afternoon, a Sail appearing, the Commodore made a Signal for the *Glouceſter* to chaſe; which ſhe accordingly did, and, coming up with her about eleven, found her to be the *Pearl*, which had been ſeparated from the Squadron by an hard Gale on the 22d of the laſt Month. She had been chaſed on the 7th by five large *Spaniſh* Men of War, and eſcaped from them in the Night. Having thus rejoined the Squadron, they ſailed along-ſhore in Search of the River of *St. Julian*. The next Day, they anchored on the Coaſt in thirty-three Fathom Water, and ſent in a Boat nearer the Shore to look for the Harbour. They had obſerved, for ſeveral Days, that the Sea was diſcoloured in many Places, and looked like Blood; a thing often obſerved before, and uſually attributed to a kind of Shrimps or Cray-fiſh. The Land appeared rocky and barren, with ſeveral white Cliffs. They ſaw likewiſe a Mountain about eight Miles diſtant, lying South-weſt by Weſt, ſhaped like a Sugar-loaf, and is called *Woods-hill*; which is looked upon as the Mark of the Harbour of *St. Julian*. The next Day, they entered the Harbour ſo famous for having received the Squadron commanded by *Magellan*, when he firſt diſcovered a Paſſage this Way into the South Sea, and for the Stay made here by Sir *Francis Drake*, in his Voyage round the World, as well as for the Mutinies of both their Crews in this Harbour.

6. Port *St. Julian*, on the Coaſt of *Patagonia*, lies in the Latitude of 49° 11' South, and in the Longitude of 80° Weſt from *London*. There is a Bar before the Harbour, where, at Low-water, there are not above ten Feet Water. The Harbour's Mouth is in the Middle of the Bay, which cannot be diſcovered without, becauſe of one Point ſhutting in the other. Juſt without the Bar, lies a ſmall flat Iſland, about a League from Land, which *Drake* called the *Iſland of true Juſtice*, becauſe he there tried and executed Mr. *Doughty*. Over-againſt this Iſland, the Land is high; two Leagues farther to the South, it is low, and runs into a great Plain and Beach lying South South-weſt and North North-eaſt. At the South End of this Beach are high round Hills; but the Sea-ſide is a ſteep white Cliff, moderately high, with a black Streak in it. The Hill over this Cliff riſes, as is before obſerved, in the Form of a Sugar-loaf, having ſome black Buſhes on the Sides, tho' there is neither Tree nor Buſh to be ſeen in the Neighbourhood. In the Middle of the Harbour, there is from ſeventeen to nineteen Feet Water, the Bottom a fine black Sand. The Flood runs here South South-weſt, and the Ebb North North-eaſt, at the Rate of two Miles and an half in the Hour. The Commodore hoiſted his Long-boat, and ſent on ſhore two Lieutenants, with a Detachment, to examine the Country, and to go to the Salt-ponds, which lie about a League to the North-weſt; in which Expedition they employed two Days, and then returned with a conſiderable Quantity of Salt; but without ſeeing any Inhabitants.

As this was the firſt Land they had touched at ſince their Departure from *St. Catharine's*, and Captain *Kidd* of the *Pearl* dying in his Paſſage, he was ſucceeded by Captain *Murray* out of the *Wager*; who had for his Succeſſor Captain *Cheap*, who commanded the *Trial* Sloop; and his Lieutenant, Mr. *Sanders*, was appointed Commander of the *Trial*. There was a Report at this time in the Squadron, that Captain *Kidd* ſhould ſay upon his Death-bed, That this Voyage, in which they had engaged with ſo much Chearfulneſs, and ſuch high Expectations of acquiring immenſe Fortunes, would, in the End, produce Poverty, Vermin, Famine, Death, and Deſtruction. I am perſuaded, from the Language, as well as the Spirit, of this pretended Prophecy, that it could never fall from the Lips of a Gentleman bred in the Service. An *Engliſh* Officer knows his Duty too well to make the Increaſe of his Fortune the Cauſe of his ſerving his Country chearfully; and would never breathe Diſcontent amongſt his Sailors by any ſuch Declaration. I am therefore convinced, that this was afterwards invented by ſuch, as wanted an Excuſe to colour their own bad Behaviour; but, no doubt, the circulating ſuch Stories had a very ill Effect on the Minds of the Seamen, and, by depreſſing their Spirits, contributed to produce the Miſchiefs, that they ſeemed to predict. The Squadron remained here about a Week, in which time they overhaled and repaired their Rigging, ſupplied themſelves with Salt, and received their Proportion of Stores out of the *Trial* and *Ann* Pink; but, as they were not able to meet with Water on that Coaſt, their Allowance was reduced to a Quart a Man, and three Pints for the Sick.

On the 27th, the Squadron ſailed; and the *Glouceſter*, not being able to purchaſe her Anchors, cut, and put to Sea, leaving her beſt Bower, and a third of a Cable, behind. On *March* 4. they had Sight of Cape *Virgin Mary*, at the Entrance of the Streights of *Magellan*, bearing South-weſt by South. On the 6th, they firſt ſaw *Terra del Fuego*, an high rocky Shore, full of Precipices, the Tops of which were covered with Snow.

7. On the 7th, at five in the Afternoon, the Signal was made to lie-to; and, at four in the Morning, the Commodore fired ten Guns, as a Signal to make Sail. About ſeven, they had Sight of the *Three Brothers* on *Terra del Fuego*, at the very Entrance of the Streights of *le Maire*. At ten, they entered the Streights, with a briſk Gale, and a ſtrong Current ſetting in. Cape *Diego* on *Terra del Fuego* bore North-weſt by Weſt, diſtant three Leagues; and the oppoſite Cape of *St. Antonio* on *States-land* Eaſt North-eaſt. Having the Wind and Tide with them, they were, by two in the Afternoon, quite through the Streights; ſo that a finer Paſſage was never made. Theſe Streights of *le Maire* lie in the Latitude of 55° 45′ South, in a manner, due North and South. They are between ſeven and eight Leagues wide; and the Paſſage through is very little more. The Land on both Sides conſiſts of high craggy Rocks, covered with Snow. The oppoſite Capes, on the South Side of theſe Streights, are Cape *Gonzales* on *Terra del Fuego*, and Cape *St. Bartholemew* on *States-land*. The Weather now began to grow extremely cold; and, as they had hard Gales, and a rolling Sea from the South-weſt, both Ships and Men ſuffered exceedingly, more eſpecially the *Glouceſter* and the *Wager*.

On the 27th, the *Glouceſter* made a Signal of Diſtreſs, having broken her Main-yard; on which the Commodore ordered two Carpenters and a Smith, from the *Pearl*, to aſſiſt in repairing it. On the 31ſt, her Main-yard broke again; and, on *April* 1. the Commodore ordered the Carpenter of the *Wager* on board her. On the 3d, ſhe ſhipped a Sea, that waſhed the Barge off the Boom, ſtove the Pinnace, and filled her Long-boat full of Water, by which ſhe ſuffered very much. On the 7th, a like Accident happened to her. On the 8th, the *Wager* loſt her Mizen-maſt; and, upon a Roll of a Sea, all her Chain-plates broke to Windward. On the 9th, the *Ann* Pink made a Signal of Diſtreſs, having broke her Fore-ſtay, and damaged her Bowſprit.

8. On *March* 10. being in the Latitude of 54° South, they had Sight of two Iſlands, which bore from them North North-weſt, about the Diſtance of eight Leagues. They loſt Sight this Day of the *Severn* and the *Pearl*; which Ships repaſſed the Streights of *le Maire*, and took Shelter on the Coaſt of *Braſil*. On the 12th, they had very hard Gales at Weſt; and, between ſix and ſeven in the Morning, a prodigious Sea broke into the *Wager*; which carried Mr. *Bulkeley*, the Gunner of the Ship, who was ſtanding upon Deck, over the Wheel, bulged the Cutter, and filled the Long-boat full of Water. The Boatſwain was for heaving the Cutter overboard; but the Gunner inſiſted upon having the Captain's Directions, who was ſick in his Cabin. He ordered her by all means to be ſaved; which was accordingly done. The Carpenter of the *Wager* was all this time on board the *Glouceſter*. On the 13th, the Commodore being then on the Weather-quarter of the *Wager*, bore down under her Lee, in order to ſpeak with Captain *Cheap*; and accordingly the Captain being brought upon Deck, the Commodore aſked him, If the Carpenter was returned from the *Glouceſter*. The Captain anſwered, No; and I am ſurpriſed Captain *Mitchell* ſhould detain him, when he knows I muſt want him about my Mizen-maſt. The Commodore told him, He would ſpeak with the *Glouceſter*, and order him on board. He then aſked the Captain, Why he did not ſet the Main-top-ſail, and make more Sail. Captain *Cheap* anſwered, My Rigging is all gone, and broke fore-and-aft; and my People almoſt all taken ill, and down; but I will ſet him as ſoon as poſſible. The Commodore deſired he would, and make what Sail he could after him. On the 14th, the Carpenter returned from the *Glouceſter*, it being the only Day in a Fortnight a Boat could live in the Sea. As ſoon as the Carpenter came on board, he waited on the Captain; who ordered him to look on the Chain-plates and Chains, and to give his Opinion of the Maſt's going away. The Carpenter looked as ordered, and told Captain *Cheap*, That the Chain-plates were all broken. The Captain ſhook his Head, and ſaid, Carpenter, That is not the Reaſon of the Maſt's going away. The Carpenter, as the Maſt was gone, not caring to charge it on any one's Miſmanagement, or to occaſion any Uneaſineſs about what was now paſt Prevention, fitted a Cap on the Stump of the Mizen-maſt, got up a lower Studding-ſail-boom of forty Feet, and hoiſted a Sail to keep the Ship to. This Day, they ſaw Land in the Latitude of 54° 5′, which, without doubt, was the *Black Cape* on the Coaſt of *Terra del Fuego*. For ſome Days after this, the Weather was moderately good; and, having long enough doubled Cape *Horne*, there ſeemed to be no great Danger of parting Company.

9. On *April* 19. there were ſome hard Gales; and they loſt Sight of the *Glouceſter* and *Wager*, the latter of which they never ſaw again; a very ſtrange Accident, conſidering they had now better Weather than at any time ſince their paſſing the Streights, and were but at a moderate Diſtance from the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*. But we ſhall hereafter reſume this Subject, tho' a very diſagreeable one.

They were now extremely afflicted with the Scurvy aboard the *Centurion*. On board the *Glouceſter*, the People were in a miſerable Condition, there being ſo many confined to their Beds, that they had ſcarce enough to do the Buſineſs of the Ship, and at the ſame time ſo extremely peſtered with Rats, that they could hardly ſleep, their ſick Men having their Toes eaten off; and, as there were ten or twelve died a Day, their Corpſes were dreadfully disfigured by theſe rapacious Enemies. On *May* 16. they had Sight of Land, which bore Eaſt North-eaſt, which they took to be the Iſland of *Soçora*. The next Morning, it blowing ſo hard, and the Wind frequently veering, a Conſultation was held, in which it was very prudently reſolved to bear away for the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, in order to refreſh and refit. About two in the Afternoon their Fore-ſtay blew from the Stay; and ſoon after, the Fore-ſail ſplit to Pieces. About Noon, they ſaw ſeveral high Mountains, covered with Snow; and the next Day at ten, having then moderate Weather, they ſaw them very plain; and then they ſeemed to them to be Iſlands.

On the 21ſt, the Ship's Company of the *Glouceſter* were reduced to a Pint of Water *per* Day, except the Sick, who were ſtill allowed a Quart. On the 23d, the high Land bore Eaſt South-eaſt, diſtant about two Leagues, in the Latitude of about 48° South, a ſtrong Current ſetting here to the Weſtward. On the 23d, they had little Wind in the Morning; but, towards Night, hard Gales, a very great Sea, and a violent Swell; which did much Damage to their Rigging and Sails. They likewiſe ſhipped a great Sea, which diſtreſſed them exceedingly, being now in a moſt deplorable Condition, not a Top-ſail-yard in the Ship, nor a Carpenter, whoſe Health would permit him to work, in order to repair them; ſo that they were forced to bend a Sprit-ſail for a Top-ſail, the Ship at the ſame time very leaky, and not Men enough in Health to work her. On the 30th, they ſaved a Butt of Rain-water. On *June* 1. they ſaved a Puncheon, which was of great Service for the Relief of their Sick. The Weather was ſo moderate during the ſucceeding Week, that the few Men who were well had not ſo much Fatigue as before; and on the 8th, about four in the Afternoon, they ſaw, to their great Joy, the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, their firſt Place of general Rendeſvous, lying Weſt by South, at the Diſtance of about thirteen Leagues. On the 9th, freſh Gales, and cloudy, with ſome Showers of Rain, and a great Sea, the Body of the Iſland being then diſtant about four Leagues.

10. On the 10th, about two in the Afternoon, they anchored in twenty Fathom Water, under the Land. The

firſt thing they did was to ſend their Boats on ſhore, with Spars and Sails to make Tents, or at leaſt a kind of covered Huts, for the Conveniency of the Sick; in the fixing of which the Commodore not only gave his Directions, but aſſiſted in Perſon, and furniſhed whatever was thought requiſite for People in their Condition by the Surgeon, out of his own Stores; for, as his Temperance had preſerved his Health, it now furniſhed him with the additional Pleaſure of ſupplying the Sick with what another Man would have ſpent at his own Table. The Ship's Company was, indeed, in a moſt dreadful Condition: Out of upwards of 500, which were on board the *Centurion* when they left *England*, there were not now 200 left; and the far greateſt Part of theſe in a moſt miſerable Condition, into which they were reduced by the Scurvy; a Diſeaſe ſo much the more terrible, as it produces various, and yet alike frightful, Symptoms in different Conſtitutions. Some who were ſeized with it loſt the Uſe of their Limbs, and of their Senſes; ſo that it was difficult to diſtinguiſh, except by their low moaning Noiſe, whether they were alive or dead. It affected others, by diſordering their Brains, and this even to a degree of Madneſs; which made them terrible to others, as well as uſeleſs to themſelves. A third ſort had their Spirits greatly depreſſed, a general Laſſitude, accompanied with a Shortneſs of Breath; and it was obſerved, that theſe were ſoon carried off. It ſeems unworthy of an Hiſtorian to lay down Facts of this Nature, without inquiring a little into their Cauſe; for to talk of the Scurvy, as a Diſeaſe acting ſuch different Cruelties on the Bodies of Men, may excite the Compaſſion, and raiſe the Admiration, of Readers; but will hardly, I think, ſatiſfy their Judgments. The very learned *Ramazini*, as well as other Phyſicians, have accurately treated this Diſeaſe; and therefore, from them, I ſhall borrow the Helps neceſſary to explain it.

The Scurvy, then, may be defined to be an ill Habit of Body, occaſioned by the manner of living at Sea, and ſhewing itſelf according to the natural Habits of thoſe upon whom it ſeizes. To enter more particularly into the Matter: The Air, to which Seamen are continually expoſed, is always ſalt and moiſt, and, in the Climate of which we are now ſpeaking, exceedingly quick and cold. Their Diet, for the moſt part, is ſalt Meat, which they are not able to dilute with ſufficient Quantities of Liquor, and withal they have broken and uncertain Reſt; from all which, as alſo from other intervening Accidents, ſuch as being often wet, and expoſed to the cold Night Air, they contract the ill Habit of Body, of which we are now ſpeaking. For this ſalt and moiſt Air, entering the Blood, will render it viſcid; and the Bittern in the Salt which they eat, will heat and rarefy this viſcid Blood, and thereby increaſe its Celerity. By this means very large Globules will be forced into the Capillary Veſſels, where they muſt remain, till either the Quickneſs of the Circulation removes the Obſtruction, or the Efforts made by Nature for that Purpoſe break the Veſſels. Hence it is, that the Diſeaſed are troubled with Spots, and Itchings in the Skin; for extravaſated Blood turns firſt of an high Red, then livid, then black. It putrefies likewiſe, which occaſions the Rottenneſs of their Gums, ſtinking Breath, and looſe Teeth. Wandering Pains, irregular Pulſe, and inexpreſſible Faintneſs, are Symptoms that ariſe from the ſame Cauſe; which, as I obſerved before, operates ſeverally according to the Difference of Conſtitutions. In the End they are uſually carried off by a Dropſy, attended with Ulcers in their Legs, and very frequently with a voracious Appetite; which agrees exactly with what is reported by thoſe who made this Voyage, *viz.* that, upon opening the Bodies of thoſe who died on board the *Centurion*, they found their Blood dried up, the Veſſels full of Water, and their Bones, when the Fleſh was ſcraped off, quite black.

As to the Remedies which are fitteſt for this Diſeaſe, they are eaſily diſcovered, but then they are not ſo eaſily applied. Good Air, freſh Proviſions, great Plenty of Greens, and Abundance of thin Liquors, together with due Exerciſe, and natural Reſt, quickly complete the Cure. But to what Purpoſe ſhould a Man talk of theſe at Sea, where none of them are to be had, and where the very Mention of them muſt be exceedingly diſagreeable, for that very Reaſon? The only thing to be thought of there, is how to prevent the Scurvy; and, in regard to this, much may be done. In the firſt Place, Cleanlineſs is a matter of great Conſequence. Sir *John Narbrough* tells us, that he defended his Crew, in a great meaſure, from this dreadful Diſeaſe, and that for many Months, in theſe Seas, by a very eaſy Precaution; for he obliged every Man to waſh his Mouth, Face, and Hands, before he received his daily Allowance of Bread, and appointed a Man to ſee it performed. Exerciſe is another excellent Thing; for, while People are briſk and active, this Diſtemper cannot lay hold on them. The ſame judicious Commander tells us, that twelve of his Crew fell lame with Cold, their Legs and Thighs turning as black as an Hat. Theſe made uſe of Bathing and Stuping, which, inſtead of relieving, increaſed the Symptoms; while, at the ſame time, thoſe who were able to ſtir, and to do their Buſineſs, felt no ſort of Inconvenience from the Climate, but enjoyed as good Health, and had better Stomachs than in *England*. Thirdly, Vinegar, and all other Acids, either as Food or Phyſic, are great Preſervatives; to which if we join abſtaining as much as poſſible from ſalt Meats, and ſpirituous Liquors, I believe it will not be eaſy to add any thing very conſiderable upon this Subject. But to return to the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*.

After they had been ſome time on ſhore, and had fed on freſh Proviſions, Greens, Roots, and whatever elſe the Iſland afforded, enjoyed the Benefit of wholſome Air, and daily Exerciſe, with the ſovereign Relief of good Water in great Plenty, they began to recover their former Health and Strength, and to take a great deal of Pleaſure in their preſent Habitation; which I ſhall not deſcribe, becauſe we have ſpoken already very fully of it. I ſhall only obſerve, that the Account given us by theſe People, and the Advantages of this Iſland, ſufficiently juſtify what I have advanced, as to its making a commodious Plantation; and this is one Reaſon why I do not chuſe to ſay any more of it, leſt it might be thought I put my own Sentiments into other Mens Mouths. While they remained here, every thing was conducted with the utmoſt Regularity and Decorum; and the utmoſt Pains taken to repair and refit the Ship, as well as to refreſh and recover the Men.

On the eleventh, came in the *Trial* Sloop, in a moſt miſerable Condition, the Veſſel ſcarce able to ſwim, and hardly Hands enough to work her; having buried more than half her Crew ſince ſhe left *England*. They ſent her on board, as ſoon as ſhe dropp'd Anchor, a convenient Supply of Water and freſh Proviſions, which were very acceptable. The Commodore was in great Pain for the reſt of his Squadron, whom he daily expected at this Rendeſvous, according to their Inſtructions, but ſaw nothing of them for the Space of a Fortnight. On the twenty-ſeventh they had Sight of the *Glouceſter*; on which the Commodore ordered the Firſt Lieutenant on board, in the Cutter, with a Supply of Fiſh and Water; a very ſeaſonable Relief to People who had been for ſome time at ſo ſhort an Allowance, as a Pint of Water a Day to each Man; and reduced to ſo low a Condition, that the Captain found it abſolutely neceſſary to detain the Lieutenant, and his Boat's Crew, in order to aſſiſt him in working the Ship.

11. Never certainly was a Ship's Company more diſtreſſed than the *Glouceſter*'s at this Time; for upon ſending, on the twenty-eighth, the *Trial*'s Boat, with another Lieutenant, and a ſmall Crew, Captain *Mitchell* thought proper to detain them, in order to work his Ship, which was about four Leagues from the North End of the Iſland, and continued driving in this manner for a whole Week. They then attempted to tow her into the Harbour, but to no manner of Purpoſe; for on the tenth of *July* ſhe drove, in ſpite of all that could be done, quite out of Sight: On the ſixteenth ſhe was again within Sight of the Iſland, fired two Guns, and made a Signal of Diſtreſs, having then but one Puncheon of Water left; the Commodore ſent a Boat on board, with two Hogſheads of Wine, nine Puncheons of Water, and other Refreſhments. On the nineteenth ſhe was blown off again, and driven to the leſſer Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, in the Latitude of 35° 55′ South, about 20 Leagues South South-weſt of the great Iſland. The *Spaniards*, when they ſpeak of them both, call them the Iſlands of *Juan Fernandez*; but, to diſtinguiſh them, they call the larger *de Tierra*, and the leſſer *de Fuera*. The *Glouceſter* attempted to ſend her

her Boat aſhore, in order to get Water, having Sight of ſeveral Rivulets, but to no Purpoſe; for the Wind blowing ſtrong from the Shore, occaſioned ſuch a Surff, as rendered it impoſſible for them to land: However, their Expedition was not altogether ineffectual, ſince the Boat returned with a large Supply of Fiſh.

On the 23d they made the larger Iſland of *Juan Fernandez* again, and about 11 in the Morning came to an Anchor. The Commodore then ſent off his Boat, with a Lieutenant and a Crew ſufficient to aſſiſt the *Glouceſter* in Mooring. They had been now above a Month plying in Sight of the Iſland, and from the Time they left Port *St. Julian's* had buried 254 Men, and had now but 98 left, of whom not above ſeven or eight were able to aſſiſt in working the Ship; they were, beſides, ſo diſtreſſed for Water, that for a Month before they made the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, they were reduced to a Pint a Day, and had not enough, even at that ſcanty Allowance, to ſerve them a Week longer. However, when her Crew once got on ſhore, and had the Conveniency of Tents, and ſuch Refreſhments as the Iſland afforded, they recovered apace; which was eſpecially owing to the Commodore, who ſupplied the Sick, as he had done his own People, with Wine, and other Neceſſaries, from his private Stores. The Beginning of the Month of *Auguſt* they ſpent in repairing and rigging their Ships, and in clearing the Hold of the *Glouceſter*; where they found a great many of her lower Tier of Water-caſks half filled with Sea-water and Ballaſt; which was occaſioned by the Rats eating Holes in them. On the 5th the Commodore detached the *Trial's* Sloop to the Iſland *de Fuera*, to ſee if any of the reſt of the Squadron had put in there, and ſhe returned on the 21ſt, but without any Intelligence. The reſt of this Month, and the Beginning of the next, was ſpent in getting on board Water, and other Neceſſaries, that the Ships might, as ſoon as poſſible, be in a Condition to put to Sea.

12. On *September* 7. about eight in the Morning, a Sail appeared in the Offing; upon which the Commodore ſlipt his Cables, and gave her Chace. The next Day, they loſt Sight of her; but ſoon ſaw another Sail, which they chaſed and took, and returned with her on the 14th to the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*. The Prize was called the *Camilla*, and had on board, amongſt other things, 140,000 Pieces of Eight. The *Ann* Pink being condemned as uſeleſs, her Ammunition, and eight of her Guns, were put on board the *Spaniſh* Prize, which was fitted up with all the Care and Diligence imaginable, to ſupply her Place. On the 18th, the *Trial* Sloop, being intirely refitted, was ordered to Sea, with Directions to cruiſe in a certain Latitude, till joined by the Commodore. The *Spaniſh* Priſoners, to the Number of twenty-eight, were put on board the *Glouceſter*; and Captain *Mitchell* had Orders given him to refit as ſoon as poſſible, and follow the Commodore, who was reſolved to loſe no Time in purſuing his Inſtructions. Captain *Mitchell* was likewiſe directed to take out the Maſts of the *Ann* Pink, and ſet her on Fire; which Precautions being taken, the Commodore ſailed, with his Prize, from the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, in order to cruiſe on the *Spaniſh* Coaſt.

On *October* 3. a little after Noon, they had Sight of two Ships, and, on giving Chace, came up with them, when they proved to be the *Trial* Sloop, and a Prize ſhe had taken. The Prize was a fine, new, ſtrong Ship, fit, in every reſpect, for a Privateer; and, as the *Trial* had ſprung her Fore-maſt and Main-maſt in chaſing her, the Commodore condemned the Sloop, and commiſſioned the Prize. In this Ship were taken, beſides other Merchandize, 144 Ounces of Gold, 7272 Ounces of Silver, and two Cheſts of Church-plate, very finely wrought, beſides other Things of Value. On the 4th, the Men being already turned over to the Prize, and all things of Value taken out of the *Trial* Sloop, ſhe was deſtroyed; but not ſet on Fire, to avoid alarming the Coaſt. On the 5th, the Articles of War were read to the Ship's Company; and from thence to the 20th, the Commodore continued cruiſing, with his two Prizes, on the Coaſt of *Peru*, where we will leave them for the preſent, in order to give an Account of the Shipwreck of the *Wager*; which is a Point, however diſagreeable, of ſo great Importance, that, I think, it cannot be omitted.

13. The Account given by the Gunner and Carpenter, which is already in every body's Hands, deſerves to be read with the utmoſt Attention, the rather becauſe I do not find, that any Part of their Narrative is contradicted, notwithſtanding it is certain, that ſome Advices have been received from the Captain, who is ſince arrived ſafe in ſome of the *Spaniſh* Settlements. I have made all the Uſe of it I could, as well as of other Informations I have received, in order to give a ſhort, plain, and, as far as I have any Lights, a true Account of the Matter. The *Wager* ſeparated from the Commodore on *April* 19. in the Evening; when the Weather was much better, than it had been for a Month before. Immediately after this Separation, the Miſchief that afterwards broke out ſo violently, began to work, the Steward taking upon him to ſhorten Proviſions, and to behave in ſuch a manner, that the Captain ordered a Caſe of Piſtols to be delivered to every Officer on board the Ship. I muſt confeſs, it ſeems very clear to me, that there were two ſiniſter Deſigns formed on board the *Wager*; the one, if we may credit the Accounts we have had, of the Captain, to go upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſt without the Commodore; and the other, of the Crew to do what they pleaſed. The firſt appears from hence, that the Captain denied the Rendeſvous was at the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*; and pretended, that it had been altered at *St. Julian's* to an Iſland in the Latitude of 44° South; which was the only Excuſe he made for continuing his Courſe, at the apparent Hazard of the Ship, and of all their Lives.

That the Reader may perceive this the more clearly, I am obliged to give him a Converſation, which happened between Captain *David Cheap* and Mr. *Bulkeley* the Gunner, a few Evenings before the Ship was loſt, which explains the whole Affair, and is thus related by the Gunner: ‘The Captain ſent for me into his Cabin, and the firſt Word he ſaid was, Gunner, What Longitude have you made? I told him, 28° 30′. What Diſtance do you reckon yourſelf off the Land? I anſwered, About ſixty Leagues; bur, if the two Iſlands we ſaw were thoſe laid down in your Chart to lie off *Brewer*'s Streights, and the ſame Current continues, with a Weſtern Swell, we cannot be above a third Part of the Diſtance off the Land. The Captain made Anſwer, As for the Currents, there is no Account to be given for them: Sometimes they ſet one Way, and ſometimes another. I ſaid, Sir, very true; but, as the Ship has been always under reeft Courſes, with the Mizen-maſt gone, ſhe muſt wholly drive to Leeward, and nigher the Land than expected. The Captain then told me, I ſuppoſe you are not unacquainted with my Rendeſvous for the Iſland of *Noſtra Signora di Socora*, in the Latitude of 44°. I replied, Sir, the Ship is in a very bad Condition to come in with the Lee-ſhore; and, if it is poſſible to bring the Ship to an Anchor, we ſhall never purchaſe it again. The Captain anſwered, I do not deſign to come to an Anchor; for there are no Soundings, until you come within ſeven Leagues of the Land. I purpoſe to ſtand off-and-on twenty-four Hours; and, if I do not ſee the Commodore, or any of the Squadron, in that time, we will go for *Juan Fernandez*. To this I ſaid, Sir, the Ship is a perfect Wreck, our Mizen-maſt gone, with our ſtanding Rigging fore-and-abaft, and all our People down; therefore I cannot ſee what we can do in with the Land. The Captain's Anſwer was, It does not ſignify; I am obliged and determined to go for the firſt Rendeſvous.’ I find it is a thing taken for granted by thoſe, who have given an Account of this Voyage, that the Captain really had Inſtructions to ſail to this Iſland; which, however, I very much doubt: For it does not appear, that the Commodore ever went thither, or thought of ſending thither, to ſee if any of the Squadron were there; which he certainly would have done, if it had been the firſt Place of Rendeſvous.

On *May* 14. at half an Hour paſt four in the Afternoon, the Ship ſtruck on a ſunk Rock; and the Crew ſaw, to their great Sorrow, nothing but Rocks round them. She ſtruck a ſecond time, which broke the Head of the Tiller; and in a ſhort time after ſhe ſtruck, bulged, and grounded between two ſmall Iſlands, about five Leagues diſtant from the Main, and not above a Muſquet-ſhot from the Shore. They immediately launched the Barge, Cutter, and Yawl, over the Gunnel, cut the main and Fore-maſts by the Board, and the Sheet Anchor from the Gunnel. The Captain ſent the Barge aſhore, to ſee if the Place was inhabited; but, the People not returning on board as directed, the Lieutenant was ſent in the Yawl, with Orders to bring off the Barge: This he ſent off, but ſtayed aſhore himſelf. As ſoon as the Barge came on board, the Captain was perſuaded, being very ill, to go aſhore; which he did, accompanied by the Land Officers, Mate, and Midſhipmen. The Officers remaining on board were the Maſter, Boatſwain, Gunner, and Carpenter: Upon the principal Officers leaving the Ship, ſeveral of the Sailors fell to broaching the Wine, breaking open Cabins, and doing every thing that might be expected from Wretches mad and drunk. The Veſſel being bulged in the Midſhips, the reſt of them went on ſhore. The Iſland they found uninhabited, and nothing in it for Subſiſtence except Celery, which grew wild, Muſſels, Limpets, and other Shell-fiſh, and ſome wild Fowl. A Spirit of Mutiny ſoon ſhewed itſelf amongſt theſe unhappy Men; for, on the 16th, the Boatſwain being on board the Wreck, made a Signal for a Boat to come on board; but, finding no Appearance of any, he brought a Quarter-deck Gun to bear on the Captain's Hut, which grazed over it, without doing any other Damage. As ſoon he came aſhore, the Captain for this ſtruck him a Blow with his Cane, that knocked him down; and he lay motionleſs, and, to Appearance, dead, for ſome time. When he came to himſelf, and ſaw a Piſtol cocked in the Captain's Hand, he preſented his naked Breaſt to him; but the Captain only told him, He deſerved to be ſhot; and ſaid no more then. This is a Demonſtration of the Temper they were in on all Sides. If they had taken due Care, they might certainly have made themſelves very eaſy in the Place where Providence had placed them; for, beſides that they were viſited by the *Indians*, who behaved very well towards them, they got abundance of things out of the Ship, and of ſuch things as one cannot help wondering how they came there; *viz.* ſeveral Cheſts of Wax-candles of all Sizes, Bales of Cloth, of Stockings and Shoes, with ſome Clocks, and other mercantile Wares, with which, ſays my Author, the Ship was thronged.

But, inſtead of taking the beſt Meaſures poſſible for their own Security and Preſervation, they were continually contriving each other's Deſtruction. They had not been on ſhore above three Weeks, before eleven of them formed a Deſign of blowing up the Captain, the Surgeon, and a Lieutenant of Marines, in their Tent. On this Deſign being diſcovered, they deſerted; but the Train they had laid for executing their villainous Purpoſe was found, and appeared a clear Teſtimony of the Truth of the Fact. Soon after, a Diſturbance happened, in which Mr. *Henry Cozens*, Midſhipman, was ſhot by the Captain on *June* 10. and, on the 24th, he died. At this time, there were forty-five Seamen dead ſince the Ship ſtruck, and 100 ſtill remained upon the Iſland. It happened, that a Midſhipman on board the *Wager* had borrowed from Captain *Cheap* Sir *John Narbrough*'s Voyage to the South Seas; which falling into the Hands of ſome of the Officers, they immediately formed a Deſign of lengthening their Long-boat, and endeavouring to ſteer through the Streights for the Coaſt of *Braſil*, tho' at the Diſtance of 600 Leagues. It was certainly a very bold Deſign, and a very ſtrong Teſtimony, that *Engliſh* Seamen have Spirit enough to undertake and execute any thing, that is in the Power of Man.

As ſoon as this Reſolution was taken, they drew up the following Paper, which was ſigned by the Carpenter, and forty-two Officers and Seamen, as alſo by Captain *Pemberton*, and two Lieutenants of Marines: 'We, whoſe Names are under-mentioned, do, upon mature Conſideration, as we have met with ſo happy a Deliverance, think it the beſt, ſureſt, and moſt ſafe Way, for the Preſervation of the Body of People on the Spot, to proceed through the Streights of *Magellan* for *England*: Dated at a deſolate Iſland, on the Coaſt of *Patagonia*, in the Latitude of 47° South, and Weſt Longitude, from the Meridian of *London*, 81° 40', in the South Seas, this ſecond Day of *Auguſt*, 1741.' This Paper they carried to the Captain, and laboured all they could to engage him to comply with their Deſire; which, however, had little Effect; for he made abundance of Objections; ſuggeſting to them, that they were not above one hundred Leagues from the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*; that they were but at a ſmall Diſtance from the Iſland of *Chiloe*, allowing, however, that it was not likely, that they ſhould find the Commodore at the firſt-mentioned Place; becauſe, as he affirmed, he was poſitively inſtructed to attack *Baldivia*, a Port of *Chili*; nor that it was probable they ſhould do any Good at *Chiloe*. In all this, however, he only temporized; for, when they preſſed him for a direct Anſwer, he flatly declared, that he was not reſolved to go that Way. This produced new Diſorders and Seditions; till at laſt they reſolved to rid themſelves of the Captain's Authority altogether: And, to do this, they could not find a better Pretence than to make him Priſoner for the Murder of Mr. *Cozens*; which accordingly they did on the 9th of *October* in the Morning, ſeizing him in his Bed: Upon which Occaſion the Captain behaved with great Spirit and Firmneſs, declaring abſolutely, that it never was his Intention to comply with their Deſign of going through the Streights of *Magellan*, and that he was prepared for any Fate that might befal him; only he ſeemed to reſent the Conduct of his Officers, who had put themſelves at the Head of the Mutineers.

One cannot help being ſurpriſed at ſo odd a Tranſaction, or forbear wondering to ſee, that the greateſt Hardſhips, the moſt intolerable Diſtreſſes, cannot alter the Frame of the human Mind, or change, for any Length of Time, the Diſpoſition of the Man. Captain *Cheap* had governed deſpotically on board, without ever conſulting his Officers, or taking Pains to gain the Affection, as well as to ſecure the Obedience, of his People. He affected the ſame Manner of acting, when ſhipwrecked on a deſert Iſland; and, inſtead of encouraging the People to live peaceably and harmoniouſly together, and to concur in every thing neceſſary for the common Good, he ſhut himſelf up in his Tent; iſſued his Orders from thence, with great Loftineſs of Mind; and, while he was careleſs of the common Safety, ſhewed an exceſſive Jealouſy of his own Authority. It was this kind of Management that put the other Officers upon contriving how to return home, without waiting for their Captain's Directions: So natural it is for People, in all Caſes, to believe they are releaſed from the Duty of Obedience, when their Governors forget to protect them.

The Scheme of paſſing through the Streights of *Magellan* took Riſe from the Accident I have before-mentioned; and, I muſt confeſs, I think it a Misfortune, that they happened to meet with that Book; for, if their Minds had not been prepoſſeſſed with a Notion, that this was the only Way by which they could return, they might, undoubtedly, have found a nearer Paſſage; for, in the Latitude of 50° South, there is a Gulph, on the Coaſt of *Patagonia*, which runs very far within-land, from whence they might have rowed up the *Rio de la Campana*, which falls from a great Lake in the Heart of the Country; out of which there runs another River, that falls into the North Sea, not far from Port *St. Julian*; which Paſſage may be about fourſcore Leagues, or at moſt one hundred, and would have ſaved them all their tedious Voyage through the Streights of *Magellan*, and from thence along the Coaſt of *Patagonia*, to that very Port of *St. Julian*. But the former Paſſage being once propoſed, and the Captain endeavouring rather to ſhew them, that this was impracticable, than to point out any other ſhorter or better Paſſage, the Diſpute ſerved only to divide and diſtract them, and to create ſuch Difficulties in carrying on the important Affair of lengthening their Long-boat, upon which, at all Events, their Safety depended, that the Carpenter, who had the Direction of it, ran mad with repeated Diſappointments; and it was with very great Difficulty that the Deſign was at laſt accompliſhed, and their new Veſſel finiſhed in ſuch a manner, as to be able to put to Sea.

I am very ſorry, that I am obliged to make theſe Reflections, which ſeem to bear hard upon an unfortunate Gentleman, for whom I have the greateſt Tenderneſs and Compaſſion: But the Reader will find them fully juſtified hereafter, when he takes a View of the Commodore's Conduct in the ſame Circumſtances: When he ſees him, like Captain *Cheap*, and with a ſmaller Number of Men, on an uninhabited Iſland, in a much worſe Situation, he will there ſee, that the Commodore loſt nothing of his Authority, but was regarded as the Father of thoſe on Shore, whoſe Officer he had been at Sea. We may then behold him giving his Orders in that deſert Iſland with the ſame Firmneſs of Mind as on board his Ship, and thoſe Orders obeyed with equal Readineſs, becauſe encouraged by his own Example. There, indeed, Mr. *Anſon* was an abſolute Monarch, and governed by no other Rule than that of his Will, becauſe his People were ſenſible, from long Experience, that he had nothing in View but their Good; and therefore they knew no Intereſt, but that of obeying his Directions. He found himſelf under no Neceſſity of talking of his Commiſſion, and the Laws of the Navy, becauſe he derived his Authority from an higher Source, the Affection of his Ship's Company. In a Word, his Virtues ſecured him, not only from Sedition, but from the very Suſpicion of it; and thoſe who ſhared with him in that Danger, inſtead of reflecting on the Accident with Horror, ſtill remember with Delight that Picture of primitive Government, in which ſuperior Abilities gave a kind of divine Right to Empire. But to return to that Scene of Confuſion which we left ſo lately.

After ſeizing their Captain, and finiſhing the Veſſel, in which they were to embark, the Crew of the *Wager* thought of nothing but getting on board their Sea-ſtores, and leaving the diſmal Place of their Confinement; but, before they did this, they thought fit to draw up a kind of Inſtrument of Depoſition; which, becauſe I believe it is the firſt of its kind, and as ſingular in its Form as in its Matter, I ſhall give it the Reader in their own Words: ‘Whereas Captain *David Cheap*, our Commander, in his Majeſty's Ship the *Wager*, never conſulted any of his Officers for the Safety and Preſervation of the ſaid Ship, and his Majeſty's Subjects thereto belonging; but ſeveral times, ſince the unhappy Loſs of the ſaid Ship, he has been ſolicited, in the moſt dutiful Manner, promiſing him, at the ſame time, to ſupport his Command, deſiring no more than to go off Heart and Hand from this Place to the Southward; which he gave his Word and Honour to do; and, being almoſt ready for ſailing, did apply to him ſome few Days paſt to draw up ſome proper Articles, in order to prevent Mutiny, and other material Things, which we thought neceſſary to be agreed to before we went off; but he, in the moſt ſcornful Manner, hath rejected every thing propoſed for the public Good: And as he is now a Priſoner, and the Command given to the Lieutenant, upon his Approbation of the following Articles: Firſt, as we have no Conveniency for dreſſing Proviſions on board the Veſſel for a third Part of the Number to be carried off the Spot, therefore have this Day ſerved out, to every Man and Boy, twelve Days Proviſion for them to dreſs before we go off: And alſo it is agreed, that whoever is guilty of defrauding another of any Part of his Allowance, on ſufficient Proof thereof, the Perſon found guilty, without any Reſpect of Perſon, ſhall be put on ſhore at the firſt convenient Place, and left there: Secondly, in regard to the Boat's going off with us, we think proper to allow one Week's Proviſion for each Man appointed to go in them, in order to prevent Separation from each other, which would be of the worſt Conſequence of any thing that can happen to us: To prevent which, we do agree, that, when under Way, they ſhall not ſeparate, but always keep within Muſquet-ſhot, and, on no Pretence or Excuſe whatſoever, go beyond that Reach: The Officer, or any other Perſon, who ſhall attempt Separation, or exceed the above-mentioned Bounds, ſhall, on Proof, be put on ſhore, and left behind: Thirdly, it is agreed, in order to ſuppreſs Mutiny, and prevent Broils and Quarrels on board the Veſſel, that no Man ſhall threaten the Life of another, or offer Violence in any Shape; the Offender, without any reſpect of Station or Quality, being found guilty, ſhall be put on ſhore, and left behind: Fourthly, we do agree, whatever Fowl, Fiſh, or Neceſſaries of Life, we ſhall happen to meet with in our Paſſage, the ſame ſhall be divided among the Whole; and if Captain *David Cheap* ſhall be put on board a Priſoner. it ſhall not be in the Lieutenant's Power to releaſe him.’ Theſe Articles were ſigned by the Lieutenant, Maſter, Boatſwain, Gunner, Carpenter, Purſer, three Midſhipmen, and about forty other People.

When this Reſolution, or rather this Revolution, was intimated to Captain *Cheap*, by Mr. *Bulkeley* the Gunner, he delivered himſelf to this Purpoſe, in the Hearing of moſt of the Ship's Company: I am to be carried Priſoner to *England*; Gentlemen, I ſhall never live to ſee *England*, but die by Inches in the Voyage; and it is ſurpriſing to me, to think what you can expect by going to the Southward, where there are ten thouſand Difficulties to be encountered with: I am ſorry ſo many brave Fellows ſhould be led to go where they are not acquainted, when, by going to the Northward, there is the Iſland of *Chiloe*, not above ninety Leagues, where we need not fear taking Prizes, and may have a Chance to ſee the Commodore. To this the Gunner made Anſwer; Sir, you have ſaid, that we ſhall be called to an Account for this in *England*: I muſt tell you, for my Part, had I been guilty of any Crime, and was ſure of being hanged for it in *England*, I would make it my Choice to go thither, ſooner than to the Northward: Have not you given your Word and Honour to go to the Southward? It is true, there is a Chance in going Northward, of delivering us from this unhappy Situation of Life to a worſe, *viz.* a *Spaniſh* Priſon. The Captain then ſaid no more, but, Gentlemen, I wiſh you well, and ſafe to *England*. In this unlucky Situation, Captain *Cheap* determined to try, whether it was not poſſible to obtain an Alteration in the Reſolution of the People, at leaſt with regard to himſelf, eſpecially as it went no farther than deſiring he might not be obliged to make a Voyage againſt his own Judgment; but be left on that Iſland, to take what Courſe for his own Safety he ſhould think fit.

This Demand of his does not ſeem to have been reliſhed by the Commander of the Land Forces, who thought, that, as they had confined Captain *Cheap* for Murder, they were bound to juſtify that Act by bringing him home to be tried for it; but the reſt of the Crew thought otherwiſe, for Reaſons that will ſoon appear: They conſented therefore to the Captain's Requeſt; and, at the ſame time, declared, that if there were any who had a Mind to ſtay with the Captain, they were at full Liberty to purſue their own Sentiments in that reſpect; and went farther, by offering the Barge and the Yaul for the Service of ſuch as accepted of this Propoſal, that they might not be deſtitute of the Means of getting off the Iſland, if the Captain ſhould make any Propoſal for that Purpoſe. I do not pretend to decide ſo intricate a Queſtion, as who was in the Right, or who in the Wrong, in the Management of this Affair, I have already intimated, that, poſſibly, there might be Faults on both Sides: But this, I think, I may have Leave to ſay, without Fear of Contradiction, that, as Things then ſtood, there was a great deal of Humanity and Good-nature in this Part of the Seamens Conduct, who left their Commander the ſame Liberty they took themſelves, and did not pretend, after depriving him of his Command over them, to take from him alſo the Command over himſelf. It rarely happens, that a Man, long veſted with Power, and who has any Virtues, gains no perſonal Friends; and Captain *Cheap*, how unlucky ſoever he might be in his Conduct as a Commander, had, as a Gentleman, too many good Qualities to be totally deſerted, tho' there were but two who at firſt embraced this Propoſition of ſtaying with the Captain, *viz.* Lieutenant *Hamilton* of the Marines, and Mr. *Elliot* the Surgeon of the Ship, who choſe rather to ſhare any Hardſhip with their Officer, than be guilty of ſo mean an Action as deſerting him in his Diſtreſs. As I cannot pretend to cenſure the Conduct of the Ship's Company, for doing, what, perhaps, Neceſſity obliged them to do, ſo I cannot forbear commending the Honour and Fidelity of theſe Gentlemen in remaining with their Friend. There is a wide Difference between abetting the Abuſes of Power, and preſerving Reſpect for the Officer who is thought to abuſe it; and though no Ties of perſonal Friendſhip ought to induce any Gentleman to be an Inſtrument in the former, yet they may very well juſtify the latter.

On the 12th of *October* the Ship's Company launched their new Veſſel, which they called the *Speedwell*, and began to get on board their Proviſions. The Captain on his ſide now turned his Thoughts to providing for his own Security; and therefore deſired, that the Queſtion might be aſked of the Deſerters, whether they would follow his Fortunes, and endeavour to proceed to the Northward? which was accordingly done, and eight of them readily embraced the Propoſal; upon which the Ship's Company agreed to make a proportionable Diviſion of military Stores and Proviſions, for the Uſe of the Captain, and thoſe who ſtaid with him: And, at the ſame time, to keep up that Appearance of Regularity that had hitherto been preſerved in their Proceedings, they drew up another Paper, containing the Motives to their Conduct, in the following Words: 'Theſe are to certify the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *Great Britain*, That we whoſe Names are under-mentioned, do beg Leave to acquaint your Lordſhips, That Captain *David Cheap*, our late Commander in his Majeſty's Ship *Wager*, having publicly declared, that he will never go off this Spot, at his own Requeſt deſires to be left behind; but Captain *Pemberton*, of his Majeſty's Land-Forces, having confined him a Priſoner for the Death of Mr. *Henry Cozens*, Midſhipman, with Lieutenant *Hamilton* for breaking his Confinement, did inſiſt on delivering them, upon the Beach, to the Charge of Lieutenant *Beans*: But he, with his Officers and People, conſulting the ill Conſequences that might attend carrying two Priſoners off in ſo ſmall a Veſſel, and for ſo long and tedious a Paſſage as we are likely to have; and as they might have Opportunities of acting ſuch Things in ſecret, as may prove deſtructive to the whole Body; and alſo, in regard to the chief Article of Life, as the greateſt Part of the People muſt be obliged at every Place we ſtop, to go on ſhore in Search of Proviſions; and there being now no leſs than eighty-one Souls in this ſmall Veſſel, which we hope to be delivered in: We therefore, to prevent any Difficulties to be added to the unforeſeen we have to encounter with, think proper to agree, in order to prevent Murder, to comply with Captain *Cheap*'s Requeſt. The Surgeon alſo begs Leave to be left with him. Dated on board the *Speedwell* Schooner, in *Cheap Bay*, this 14th Day of *October*, 1741.'

This Paper was ſigned by the Lieutenant, Maſter, Boatſwain, Gunner, Carpenter, Surgeon's Mate, and two Maſter's Mates, as well as by Captain *Pemberton*, and the Surgeon of the Land-Forces. It was ſigned the very Day that the People embarked; and as we are now come to that Point, it will be neceſſary to give a diſtinct Account of their Embarkation. The Number of Perſons engaged in this bold Deſign of paſſing through the Streights of *Magellan* in Boats was eighty-one, of whom fifty-nine took their Paſſage in the *Speedwell*, twelve in the Cutter, and ten in the Barge; but however it was not long before ſome of them changed: For thoſe who were in the Barge altered their Sentiments in a Day or two, and returned to Captain *Cheap*; ſo that now the Expedition was reduced to two ſmall Veſſels, with ſeventy-one Men on board. In the very Entrance of the Streights of *Magellan* they found themſelves obliged to abandon the Cutter: This was on the third of *November*, and gave thoſe who were in the *Speedwell* inexpreſſible Concern; however, on the ſixth they met with her again, and took her in Tow, but that very Night ſhe broke looſe, with one *James Steward* in her, and was never ſeen more.

This Accident, and ſome Diſputes that aroſe among themſelves, occaſioned ſuch Feuds and Animoſities among our Adventurers, that a Party took it into their Heads to be ſet aſhore; to which the reſt, finding themſelves exceedingly crouded, readily agreed; but at the ſame time inſiſted upon having a Certificate from them, that this was not an Act of Compulſion, but the Reſult of their own Deſire. And this Certificate, as I have hitherto given all their Papers, I think it alſo neceſſary to tranſcribe. 'Theſe are to certify the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *Great Britain*, *&c.* That we whoſe Names are under-mentioned, ſince the Misfortune of loſing the Cutter, have conſidered the Inconveniencies and Difficulties to be attended, where ſo great a Number of People are to be carried off: Therefore we have requeſted, and deſired of the Officers and Company remaining of the ſame Veſſel, to put us on ſhore, with ſuch Neceſſaries of Life, as can be conveniently ſpared out of the Veſſel. We of our own Free-will and Choice do indemnify all Perſons from ever being called to an Account, for putting us aſhore, or leaving us behind, contrary to our Inclinations. Witneſs our Hands, on board the *Speedwell* Schooner, in the Lat. 50° 40′ South, this 8th Day of *November*, 1741." This was ſigned by *Matthew Langley* Gunner's Mate, and ten more, who were landed on the Coaſt of *Patagonia*. The Scheme they went upon was the finding the Cutter; or, if they did not ſucceed in that, making a Canoe themſelves, in order to return to Captain *Cheap*.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the Miſeries they endured in their Paſſage thro' the *Streights*, where, from time to time, they went aſhore, to ſhoot and fiſh, but with very little Succeſs: They likewiſe ſaw the *Indians*, who inhabit the Country, frequently, but could obtain very little Aſſiſtance from them; and yet, in the midſt of all this Miſery and Diſtreſs, they made a Market of each others Neceſſities; ſo that, by the 15th, Flour was ſold amongſt them at twelve Shillings a Pound in the Morning, and before Night at a Guinea; and in the mean time many periſhed, for want of having Money or Effects, to purchaſe what was neceſſary to ſuſtain them. By the End of the Month there were ſix or eight dead of mere Hunger; and one Thing Mr. *Bulkeley* informs us of, that is very ſingular, *viz.* that all theſe People grew light-headed a little before their Death; and, loſing all Senſe of their Miſery, laughed and jeſted till the very Moment they expired. On the 6th of *September* they went aſhore on the South Side of the *Streight*, and purchaſed from the *Indians* two Dogs, three Geeſe, and a Piece of a Seale. Theſe *Indians*, as they deſcribe them, are People of a middle Stature, and well ſhaped. Their Complexion of a tawny Olive-colour; their Hair exceeding black, but not very long: They have round Faces, and ſmall Noſes, their Eyes little and black; their Teeth are ſmooth and even, cloſe ſet, and of an incomparable Whiteneſs; they are very active in Body, and run with a ſurpriſing Agility; they wear on their Heads white feathered Caps, their Bodies are covered with the Skins of Seales, and Guianacoes or *Indian* Sheep: As for the Women, they fled at the Sight of them, ſo that they were able to give no Deſcription of them.

On the 7th they entered *Freſh water Bay*, where they filled one Caſk with Water. On the 8th they arrived at *Elizabeth's Iſland*, where they met neither with Wood nor Water, as they expected. On the 11th they ran the Boat on Shore; and after they got her off, were ſo fortunate as to meet with freſh Water, with which they filled all their Caſks at once. The ſame Day they ſaw Cape *Virgin Mary*, which is at the oppoſite Extremity of the *Streights*, through which they had now paſſed in about a Month; the Length of them, according to their Computation, being 116 Leagues. On the 12th, having doubled the Cape, and ſteering along-ſhore, they ſaw three Men on Horſeback, riding towards them; when they were over-againſt them, the People ſtopp'd, and made Signals, waving their Hats, as if they deſired to ſpeak with them; upon which they edged cloſe to the Shore: Here they ſaw ſeventeen more; five of them only were on Horſeback, and rode in a Line before, and the reſt were on Foot, and had a conſiderable Drove of Cattle: They anchored within a Mile of the Shore, and the People ſtill continued riding along the Beach, waving white Handkerchiefs to them, and making other Signs, by which they invited them on ſhore, to which they were well enough inclined, and did all they could both that Night and the next Morning to compaſs it; but to no manner of Purpoſe, the Wind blowing ſo ſtrong, that they were obliged to quit the Bay.

On the 16th they arrived at *Penguin* Iſland, and proceeded from thence to Port *Deſire*, where they met with Sele and Fowl in abundance. The Carpenter being on ſhore here, found a Parcel of Bricks, ſome of which had Letters cut in them: Upon one, theſe Words were very legible, "Captain *Straiton*, 16 Cannon, 1687:" Which they conceived to be the Token of a Wreck; and I conjecture, that ſo many Pieces of Cannon were buried thereabouts, and that theſe Bricks were placed as a Mark to find them by. They diſcovered *Pecket*'s Well, as deſcribed by Sir *John Narbrough*, and furniſhed themſelves with Water. Here there aroſe new Diſputes among the People; for thoſe who were able to aſſiſt in working the Veſſel, would needs put the Marines to half their ſhort Allowance, that is to ſay, when they received a Pound of Flour, they inſiſted, that twenty of their Number ſhould receive but half a Pound. On the 26th of *December* they ſailed out of Port *Deſire* Harbour, ſteering Eaſt North-eaſt. On the 28th they divided all their Flour, which amounted to three Pounds and an half a Man. On the 10th of *January* they made a kind of Review of their Company, which was now reduced to forty-three, and of theſe only fifteen were able to ſtand; and that very Evening, juſt as they ſaw the Shore, they loſt one of their Number, Serjeant *Ringal.* All their Proviſions conſiſted in a ſmall Quantity of ſtinking Sele, and eighty Gallons of Water.

The next Day they put into a Bay in the Latitude of 38° 40′ South, which they thought fit to call *Shoal-water Bay*, the Weather being tolerably fair. As they had now nothing on board the Veſſel to eat, and but one Cask of Water, ſo that there was a Neceſſity of getting on ſhore, though the Surf ran ſo high that it was impoſſible to get the Veſſel near it, it was at laſt agreed, that ſuch of the People as could ſwim, ſhould attempt it, for their own Sakes, as well as the common Benefit; and accordingly fourteen of them leaped into the Water, and all, except a Marine, got ſafe on ſhore. They threw over to them four Quarter-casks, with two Fire-locks tied on each Side, with a ſmall Quantity of Ammunition. When the People landed, they diſcovered a large flat Beach, without ſo much as a Buſh growing on it. There were, however, thouſands of Horſes and Dogs running in Droves, and abundance of Sele and Parrots on the Rocks. They ſoon ſhot a good Number of the former; and, finding one of their Quarter-casks leaky, they broke it to Pieces, in order to make a Fire, by which they dreſſed their Supper. As for the poor People in the Boat, they were near enough to ſee the Quarters of Sele which their Companions had provided for them; but the Sea ran ſo very high, that it was impoſſible for them to reach it. At laſt, they propoſed getting one of their People to ſwim on ſhore, having no more than two in the Boat who were able to ſwim; but the one would not run the Hazard, and the other was ſo weak, that, rather than ſuffer him to attempt it, they tore an old Sele-skin off the Hatches, where it had been nailed for ſome time, and, having burned away the Hair, chewed the half-broiled Leather, in order to aſſwage, in ſome meaſure, the Violence of their Hunger. The next Morning, the People on ſhore ſhot a Horſe, and a wild Dog; the former was branded on his Left Buttock, which ſhewed plainly, that they were turned looſe here by the Inhabitants to feed, and were taken up again, as occaſion required. At nine in the Morning they veered in the Boat near Shore, and made a Stage to hale up the Seal. The People on ſhore ſent them, with much Difficulty, three Casks of Water; upon which they ſent on ſhore an empty Quarter-cask, and two Breakers: Soon after ſeven of the People came on board with the Sele and Horſe; and the Wind blew ſo hard ſoon after, that they were obliged to put to Sea, and leave eight of their People on ſhore.

On the 14th, the Sea was ſo high, that it broke the Rudder-head; by which they were ſo endangered, that it was found abſolutely requiſite to get out to Sea, without ſtaying any longer for the People on ſhore, though they were ſtill in Sight. To juſtify their Conduct in this reſpect, as well as to aſcertain the Motives which induced them to act in this manner, they drew up the following Paper: ‘These are to certify the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *Great Britain*, &c. That we, whoſe Names are under-mentioned, having nothing left on board the Veſſel but one Quarter-caſk of Water, were obliged to put in to the firſt Place we could for Subſiſtence, which was in *Freſh-water Bay*, where we came came to an Anchor as near as we could, without endangering the Veſſel, having no Boat on board, and a large Surf on the Shore: Therefore Mr. *King* the Boatſwain, Mr. *Cummins* the Carpenter, and Lieutenant *Ewers*, with eleven of the People, jumped overboard, in order to ſwim aſhore, with three Caſks for Water; in which Attempt *James Greenham* was drowned in the Surf off the Shore. The Sea-breeze, coming on, prevented the People getting on board the ſame Night; therefore, on *Wedneſday* Morning, it being then calm, they brought to the Beach the Caſks, filled with Water, with Sele, and other Proviſions, in great Quantities; which we haled on board. The Boatſwain, Carpenter, Lieutenant *Ewers*, and three of the People ſwam off; but the Sea-breeze coming in, and the Surf riſing, the reſt were diſcouraged from coming off. We haled a good Birth off the Shore, where we lay the Remainder of the Day, and all the Night. The Greatneſs of the Sea broke off our Rudder-head, and we expected every Minute the Veſſel would founder at her Anchor. *Thurſday* Morning, we ſaw no Probability of the People coming aboard; and the Wind coming out of the Sea, and not one Stick of Fire-wood in the Veſſel to dreſs our Victuals, and it being every Man's Opinion, that we muſt put to Sea, or periſh, we got up a ſkuttled Caſk, and put into it all manner of Neceſſaries, with four Small-arms leaſhed to the Caſk, and a Letter, to acquaint them of our Danger; which Caſk we ſaw them receive, as alſo the Letter that was in it. They then fell on their Knees, and made Signals, wiſhing us well; at which we got under Sail, and left our Brethren, whoſe Names are under-mentioned. Dated in *Freſh-water Bay*, on board the *Speedwell* Schooner, on the Coaſt of *South America*, in the Latitude of 37° 25′ South, Longitude from the Meridian of *London* 65° Weſt, this 14th Day of *January* 1741-2.’ This was ſigned by the Lieutenant, and the reſt of the Officers on board; and the Perſons left on ſhore were eight private Sailors.

They were left in that Part of the Southern Continent, which, in the *Spaniſh* Maps, is ſtiled the Country of the *Pampas*. It is of very large Extent, reaching from the Bay of *St. Matthias* to the Frontiers of the Province *Tucuman*, 120 Leagues directly North and South, and is about one hundred, or ſomething more, from Eaſt to Weſt. The *Spaniards* are not indeed poſſeſſed of it; but the Natives do not hinder them, either from driving their Cattle thither, or from paſſing through it with their Caravans. It cannot therefore be ſuppoſed, that theſe eight Seamen ran any greater Hazards, or met with any more Difficulties, than the People did at Sea, but had rather an eaſier Time of it; one thing only excepted, which was, their being left in an Enemy's Country; ſince the Place, on which they were ſet on ſhore, was not above ſeventy Leagues from the Town of *Buenos Ayres*.

The *Speedwell* continued ſteering along-ſhore till they had paſſed the Mouth of the River of *Plate*, and fell in with the Coaſt on the other Side, where, in the Evening of the 19th, they anchored in a fine ſandy Bay, probably near the Mouth of that River, and ſoon after ſaw two Men coming towards them on Horſeback. This was a joyful Sight to them, ſince it gave them ſome Aſſurance of meeting with Refreſhment, and they had not, at this time, a ſingle Drop of Water on board. On the 20th the Gunner and Carpenter went on ſhore, and, as the former ſpoke *Portugueſe*, he entered into Diſcourſe with the People, who came down on Horſeback on purpoſe to talk with them. Theſe Folks told them fairly that they were *Spaniards* and Fiſhermen; adding, that the Town they belonged to lay two Days Journey from thence, and that the Name of it was *Monte Vidio*; which, according to the beſt *Spaniſh* Maps I have ſeen, lies about forty Leagues up the River *Plate*, in the Latitude of 34° 30′ South. Theſe People invited our unhappy *Engliſhmen* to their Caravan, which was about a Mile off, where they entertained them with Jerk-beef, that is, Beef dried in the Air, roaſted and boiled, with very good white Bread. The firſt thing they thought of was to purchaſe ſome Proviſions; but the People had none to ſupply them with, except ſix-and-twenty Loaves of white Bread, of the Size of Two-peny Loaves in *England*, for which they demanded four Guineas; and Hunger obliged the *Engliſh* to comply;

but he who ſeemed to be the Chief of the *Spaniards* declared to them, at the ſame time, that they riſqued their Lives for this Money; and that they ſhould be inevitably hanged, if it was known, that they had ſupplied them. Mr. *Cummins* afterwards parted with his Firelock, and ſome Ammunition, in hopes of a Supply of wild Fowl; but, finding Reaſon to ſuſpect, that the *Spaniards* intended ſome foul Dealing, they got haſtily on board, and continued their Voyage to *Rio Grande*.

On the 23d, died Mr. *Thomas Clerk*, who had been Maſter of the *Wager*; as did his Son on the Day following: And, on the 26th, died *Thomas Maclean*, Cook on board the ſame Ship, at the Age of eighty-two, probably of Want; for they had now nothing but a little Water to ſuſtain them. On the 28th, they entered *Rio Grande*; and a *Portugueſe* Boat coming off, they ſurrendered to them. The Governor of this Place treated them in a manner, which deſerves to be perpetually remembered: He went on board the *Speedwell*, and examined every Part of her, inquired into every little Circumſtance of their Voyage, embraced them with the utmoſt Affection, aſſured them of all the Relief in his Power, ſent the Sick to the Hoſpital, took the Lieutenant of the *Wager*, and the Land-officers, to his own Houſe, and ordered the Commandant to ſee, that the reſt wanted nothing. This was acting like a Gentleman, an Officer, and a Chriſtian; and is ſuch a Teſtimony of the Faith and Honour of the *Portugueſe*, as the *Engliſh* Nation ought never to forget. Having conducted them hither, we ſhall only obſerve, that. of ſeventy-one who made this perilous Voyage, there were living, on the 28th of *January* 1742, only thirty Perſons; and ſome of them died afterwards. As for Mr. *Bulkeley* the Gunner, and Mr. *Cummins* the Carpenter, of the *Wager*, from whom we have this Account, which ſeems to be written with great Candour and Plainneſs, they procured a Paſſage to *Portugal*, and from thence to *England*, arriving at *Spithead*, *January* 1. 1743. It is now Time to return to the Commodore, whom we left cruiſing in the South Seas, in order to inſert this Hiſtory of the Shipwreck of the *Wager* in its proper Place.

14. On *October* 20. 1741. the Commodore, with his two Prizes, were off the Iſlands of *Lobos*, in plain *Engliſh*, *Sele Iſlands*; for the *Spaniards* call the Seles *Lobos*, from their Notion, that this Creature reſembles a Wolf. There are two of thoſe Iſlands, called, in order to diſtinguiſh them, *Lobos de Sotavento*, or the *Leeward Iſland of Seles*, and *Lobos de Barlovento*, or the *Windward Iſland of Seles*. The former of theſe is, in the *Spaniſh* Maps, laid down in the Latitude of 6° 25′ South; and the latter in 6° 33′. On the 23d, the *Agua de Sotavento*, or *Leeward Needle-point*, which is an high white Land, bore from them, North-eaſt by Eaſt, ſeven Leagues. The next Day, about two in the Afternoon, they ſaw a Sail; to which they immediately gave Chace, and came up with her about ſix in the Evening, and took her. She was bound to ſome Port to the Southward, with Plank and Iron; and ſo little Notion had the *Spaniards* of any *Engliſh* Ships being in thoſe Seas, that the Captain had his Wife, and two Daughters, on board.

The Commodore ordered them into his own Ship, and, during the Time they continued his Priſoners, entertained them conſtantly at his Table, taking care to have the Women treated with ſuch Reſpect, as well as Decency, as made a great Impreſſion, not only on them, but on the Captain, who gave the Commodore a very diſtinct Account of the Situation of things in that Part of the World, and particularly of the little Town of *Payta*, on which the Commodore had a Deſign; a Place often taken by our Privateers, and laſt of all by Captain *Shelvocke*, in the Month of *May* 1720; but, according to the Captain's Account, was now pretty well recovered, and the People in tolerable Circumſtances: Therefore it was reſolved to proſecute this Deſign. At the time this Reſolution was taken, they were about ſixty Leagues Weſt South-weſt of the Place; and, notwithſtanding they made all the Diſpatch in their Power, it was *November* 9. when they arrived within ten Leagues of that Port, when the Saddle of *Payta* bore North North-eaſt, in the Latitude of 5° South.

15. On the 10th, a little after Noon, Preparation was made for attacking the Place, from which they were not diſtant above five Leagues and an half. Mr. *Brett*, ſecond Lieutenant of the *Centurion*, was intruſted with the Command of ſixty-ſeven Men, embarqued in three Boats; one of eighteen Oars, the other two of eight Oars each, having the *Spaniſh* Captain with him as a Guide. They kept under-ſhore during the firſt Part of the Evening, and, about ten at Night, entered the Port, and landed ſafely, without being perceived either by the Ships or Fort. They marched directly towards that little Fortreſs, which they might have taken by Surprize, and without Loſs, if they had proceeded with any Regularity: But that was what their Officer could not prevail upon them to do; for they no ſooner ſaw a few People moving about, than they began to fire upon them; which if they had not done, they might have marched up to the Walls without Diſturbance. Their Fire having alarmed the Place, and the Gariſon in the Fort, the latter made ſeveral Diſcharges of their Small-arms; by which they had one Man killed, and ſix or ſeven wounded. This did not at all diſcourage the Sailors, who immediately puſhed forward, and very ſoon forced the Gates of the Fort; upon which the *Spaniards* fled, and abandoned the Place, which, in itſelf, was not very defenſible, the Works being in a very indifferent Condition, and the Cannon they had there, which were not above three or four Pieces, honey-combed to ſuch a degree, that they were not fit for Uſe.

The People of the Town, who were moſt of them in their Beds, no ſooner heard this Noiſe of firing, than they got up, and made all the Haſte they could to the Mountains, half-dreſſed and half-naked. The Governor was amongſt the firſt who provided for Safety by Flight; and his Houſe, which was the beſt, and the beſt furniſhed, in the Place, was one of the firſt that was plundered, the Sailors being allowed to act as they thought fit, for ſome Hours. There were ſome rich Clothes and Houſhold-ſtuff found in the Place; but no plenty of Proviſions: Hogs, in no great Quantity, and abundance of Poultry, were all they met with, and not more Water than was neceſſary to waſh them down, which was preſerved in Jars by the People in the Town for their own Uſe, as having no freſh Water in the Place. The Report of this Place being grown exceſſively rich again did not appear to be extremely well founded, ſince the Silver found here did not amount to above 130,000 Pieces of Eight, excluſive of two Cheſts of Plate and Jewels. Several Meſſages were ſent to the Governor, requiring him to ranſom the Town, which otherwiſe would be burnt: But he would liſten to no ſuch Propoſal; and therefore, having kept Poſſeſſion of it for three Days, and rifled it effectually, it was judged proper to ſet every thing on fire, except the Churches, and burn it down to the Ground; which was eaſily done, ſince the Houſes were equally dry and ſlight; ſo that, when once lighted, the Town preſently blazed from one End of it to the other. The Place is far from being conſiderable either by its Trade, its Strength, or its Situation. All that can be ſaid of it is, that it affords a convenient, and, for this Part of the World, a ſafe Port, where Ships may anchor before the Town in about ten Fathom Water. This is very commodious for ſuch Veſſels as are bound either to or from *Panama*, eſpecially as they keep here conſtantly Magazines pretty well filled with Proviſions, which, however, are brought thither from other Places; for the Country about *Payta* affords but little. There were, at the time the Town was taken, five Sail of Ships in the Harbour, and one at Anchor in the Road. The former they deſtroyed; and the Lieutenant of the *Trial*'s Prize was put into the latter, which, however, they did not keep above a Fortnight.

On the 13th, all things of Value being on board, and the Town in Flames, they quitted *Payta*, having firſt given the *Spaniſh* Captain a Certificate, that whatever Aſſiſtance they received from him was by Compulſion, and having made him a conſiderable Preſent for the Pains he had taken.

16. On the 18th, at three in the Afternoon, they ſaw the *Glouceſter*; which joined them about nine, the Ships ſaluting each other with mutual Huzzas. The *Glouceſter* ſailed from the Iſlands of *Juan Fernandez* on *October* 1. and, on the 21ſt, being off the Iſlands of *Lobos*, they diſcovered a ſmall Veſſel; to which their two Lieutenants, and ſeven Men, in the Barge, gave Chace, and ſoon came up with, and made Prize of her. She had in her eight Men and a Boy, and appeared to be laden with Cotton; but, upon a

ſtrict Search, they found, under the Bags which were filled with that Commodity, ſeveral Jars ſtuffed with Rags, amongſt which was a Parcel of Gold, which fell very little ſhort of 120,000 Pieces of Eight, a very conſiderable Purchace, conſidering the Veſſel was no better than a Bark of the Burden of about four Tons. On the 26th they took another Prize, which was larger, laden chiefly with *Piſcaya* Wine; but ſhe likewiſe had ſome Plate on board: On the 10th of *November* they chaſed a third Ship, but loſt Sight of it the next Day. They likewiſe affirmed, that, in paſſing by *Payta*, they ſaw a great Smoke; but there being ſome Doubt, whether this might not be a Fiction contrived to give them a Title to Part of the Plunder, the Commodore thought fit to order the Officers Journals to be brought on board, and ſealed up, directing them to keep their Journals for the future in other Books.

On the 19th in the Evening they paſſed Cape *Blanco*, in the Latitude of 4° 22′ South. On the 20th they burned one of their Prizes, and on the 21ſt another. On the 22d in the Morning they ſaw the Iſland *La Plata*, which lies in the Latitude of 1° 5′ South. This Iſland is at the Diſtance of four Leagues from Cape *St. Laurence*, on the Main; and, when ſeen at a Diſtance, looks like two Iſlands. It is about two Leagues in Compaſs, very rocky, ſprinkled here-and-there with Trees, and affording no other Refreſhments, ſave Water and Wild-fowl. On the 22d, it was reſolved to diſcharge the *Spaniſh* Priſoners, being then about ſeven Leagues from Land. They were, therefore, to the Number of twenty, put on board a *Spaniſh* Launch, with an Hogſhead of Water, and twelve Species of Beef and Pork. The ſame Day they paſſed the Line the ſecond time. On the 27th, the ſecond Lieutenant of the *Glouceſter*, and the reſt of the Crew which were on board the Prize, returned, after having taken every thing out of her that was of any Value, and afterwards, ſetting her on fire, left her burning.

17. On the 3d of *December* they paſſed by the Iſland of *Quibo*, ſo often viſited by the Privateers, when in theſe Seas. On the twelfth in the Afternoon they ſaw a Sail, and gave Chace; but, upon coming up with her, found her the *Glouceſter*; at this time they lived pretty much upon Turtle and Bonitos. On the 6th of *January* they ſaw the Iſland of *Cocos*, ſo called by the *Spaniards* from its abounding with Cocoa-trees, bearing North by Weſt about ſeven or eight Leagues. On the 29th they found themſelves off the *Vulcano* of *Colima*; it appears with two ſharp Peaks, that are conſtantly ſmoking: The Country about it is wonderfully pleaſant; and, on the Mountain itſelf, there are large Herds of Cattle grazing, and fine Plantations of Cocoa. On the 30th they had Sight of the high Land of *Acapulco*, which is very ſingular, having an high round Hill next the Sea, and four Mountains, riſing gradually behind it, higher and higher; and on the higheſt, there is ſometimes Smoke ſeen.

On the 12th of *February* they ſaw a prodigious Number of Water-ſnakes, with black Backs, and yellow Bellies; and the ſame Day obſerved a great Fire on ſhore, bearing North-eaſt by Eaſt, in the Latitude of 17° 37′ North. The Commodore ordered his Boat out ſeveral times to make Diſcoveries, but without meeting with any thing remarkable till the 20th, when ſhe returned with three *Spaniſh* Priſoners, that ſhe had ſurpriſed in the Night, as they were fiſhing off the Harbour of *Acapulco*. After examining theſe Priſoners, it was reſolved to cruiſe for ſome time in that Neighbourhood, in hopes of meeting with ſomething of Conſequence. They were now on the Spot where *Drake*, *Candiſh*, and, of late Years, *Rogers*, had ſignalized themſelves by taking the famous annual Ship which paſſes between this Port and the *Manilas*; full-fraught with Expectation, and exceedingly deſirous of ſhewing, that, in point of Induſtry or Courage, they fell nothing ſhort of thoſe fortunate Commanders. While they cruiſed here, their Boats ſupplied them plentifully with Turtle, of which, and of the beſt Kinds too, there is always abundance in theſe Seas. It appears to have been a very wholſome, as well as pleaſant Food; for we do not now meet with any Complaints of Sickneſs, or Scurvy: And hence I am led to believe, that Captain *Rogers* was under ſome particular Prejudice againſt this kind of Diet, ſince he tells us, that, while his Sailors fed on it here, they were faint and weak, though their Spirits were good.

18. There is no Port in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies* more famous than this of *Acapulco*; and, to ſay the Truth, conſidered as a Port, there are very few better; for it is incloſed, in a manner, all round by high Mountains, which defend them from Winds; and the Water being everywhere alike deep, the Veſſels, when they are once in, are faſtened to the Trees on ſhore. At the very Mouth of the Harbour there lies an Iſland, about a Mile and an half in Length; and beyond it another ſmaller Iſland, called by the Inhabitants *El Griſo*, which is ſeldom taken notice of by our Writers of Voyages: The Poſition of the great Iſland leaves two Chanels, by which Ships enter the Port; one, which is the ſmalleſt, at North-weſt; and another, which is much larger, at South-eaſt; but both Chanels are deep, and free from Sholes, ſo that with a proper Wind Ships enter the Harbour with the utmoſt Safety. They enter with a Sea-wind, and go out with a Land-wind; but as theſe regularly ſucceed each other every Day and Night, this creates no Inconvenience.

The Town of *Acapulco* ſtands in a deep Bay on the North-weſt Side, oppoſite to the Mouth of the Port; and at the End of the Town is a Platform, well ſupplied with Cannon; and, on the Eaſt Side, between two Hills, ſtands the Caſtle or Fort, which is a Square, regularly fortified with forty-two Pieces of Braſs Cannon, carrying Balls of 35 Pounds Weight. The Governor of this Fortreſs is at the ſame time *Juſticia Major*, or firſt civil Magiſtrate in the Place, ſo that his Employment is thought to produce him 20,000 Pieces of Eight a Year; and the *Contador*, who is in the Nature of a Director of the Cuſtoms, has as good a Place. After all this, the Town of *Acapulco* is a very poor one, conſiſting of between two and three hundred low thatched Houſes, inhabited moſtly by Mulattoes and Negroes; for the *Spaniſh* Merchants ſeldom, or indeed never, reſide there but at the Fair; becauſe from the Beginning of *November*; to the End of *May*, this Place is very unwholſome. This is generally attributed to its Situation; for, being intirely ſurrounded by high Mountains on the Eaſt, the Air is pent in; and, lying as it does, in 17° South Latitude, it is extremely hot and cloſe, ſo that what contributes to the Safety of the Port, renders the Town unhealthy.

Wood and Water are plenty here; but, in other reſpects, the Country is barren, ſo that it is very dear living at *Acapulco*; or at leaſt it would be thought ſo, if it was not for the immenſe Sums that are dealt for during the ſhort time the Fair laſts, which ſeldom exceeds a Fortnight or three Weeks. This Place is likewiſe very ſubject to Earthquakes, which is the Reaſon that the Houſes are ſo low, and ſo ſlightly built, being compoſed of Mud, Wood, and Straw. There are, however, two Monaſteries, which make a tolerable Figure; and an Hoſpital, which is very rich. The Fair is held from the latter End of the Month of *January*, when the *Manila* Ship arrives, to the Middle of *February*. We have already given a large Account of the Nature of that Commerce and Navigation, and therefore we ſhall confine ourſelves at preſent to what immediately concerns the Place.

It is not eaſy to conceive how ſtrange an Alteration the Fair makes at *Acapulco*; for, as ſoon as it begins, the Place, from an inconſiderable Fiſhing-town, becomes as conſiderable a Mart as any in the World; which will be eaſily conceived, when we conſider, that all the rich Commodities of the *Eaſt Indies* are landed there from on board the *Manila* Ship; the Duties of which ſeldom amount to leſs than an hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight; and that, to purchaſe theſe, there are not only brought all the valuable Commodities of *New Spain*, but an immenſe Sum, in ready Money, by the *Lima* Ship, which rarely falls ſhort of two Millions. There are, at this time, all Sorts of Diverſions, and every thing wears the Face of Magnificence, or rather of Profuſion. The meaneſt Porter gets at leaſt a Piece of Eight *per* Day; many of them three or four: Every Hovel is filled with rich Goods, and thoſe who own them, pay extravagantly for Warehouſe-room: Even the moſt melancholy Subjects furniſh Occaſion here for Pomp, and for Expence; and as rich Merchants frequently dye during the Time of the Fair, or in their Paſſage from *Peru*, or from *Manilla*, their Funerals are ſolemnized with great Magnificence, and large Alms are then given to the Hoſpital, and to the Monaſteries, the Curate of the Place being ſeldom contented with leſs than 500 Pieces of Eight for his extraordinary Trouble; by which Inſtance we may gueſs at the reſt.

Beſides all this, there is a prodigious Trade carried on a little after the Fair is over, at *Porto del Marqueſs*, a very fine Harbour, lying about two Miles Eaſt from *Acapulco*, where there is very good Anchoring, and Wood and Water in Abundance. The *Peru* Ships generally reſort hither, to diſpoſe of their contraband Commodities to the Merchants of *New Spain*; and tho' this is prohibited under very ſevere Penalties, and both the Governor of *Acapulco* and the Contador are inſtructed to uſe their utmoſt Diligence to ſuppreſs it; yet ſuch Magic there is in a Purſe of Double Dubloons, properly applied, that the Officers ſent to inſpect this Port, are never able to ſee any Ships in it. When the Fair is intirely over, *Acapulco* ſinks into its primitive State of a Fiſhing-town; the Governor himſelf, the Contador, and the reſt of the King's Officers, retiring to Places of more Health, and greater Conveniency; which is the leſs regarded by the Government, becauſe there is little or nothing left in the Town, to tempt Foreigners to attack it at any other Seaſon.

All the *Indian* Commodities that are not ſold to the Merchants of *Peru* at the Fair, are carried over Land either by Horſes or Mules, but chiefly by the latter, to *Mexico*; and from thence, if they are intended for *Europe*, are tranſported in the ſame Manner, that is, by Land, from thence to *La Vera Cruz*, where they wait the Arrival of the Galleons. In this manner the *Spaniards* unite, and, as it were, engroſs the Trade of both *Indies*; and hence, whenever any *Engliſh* Ships are in theſe Seas, they are apt to ſpend ſo much Time in the Neighbourhood of a Place ſo famous for its Riches, from a Preſumption that if they have but Patience, they muſt ſooner or later meet with ſomething that will reward their Labour. This at preſent was the Caſe of the *Centurion* and the *Glouceſter*, who continued plying on the Coaſt, and endeavouring to obtain the beſt Intelligence they were able, but to very little Purpoſe; becauſe the Fair was now over, and little or nothing to be done in thoſe Parts.

On the 20th, they had Sight of an high Point of Land, called by the *Spaniards*, *Chequetan*: On the firſt of *March* the Ship's Company were put to the Allowance of two Quarts of Water a Man *per Diem*. During the reſt of that Month they cruiſed ſtill upon the ſame Coaſt, exerciſing the Men duly, ſending their Boats from time to time on the Coaſt, to make Diſcoveries, and at the ſame time makeing Preparations for their long Stretch to the *Eaſt-Indies*. On the 6th of *April* the Commodore ſent his Boat to ſearch the Coaſt, for ſome Harbour where they might anchor in Safety; and on the 7th the Boat returned, and on the 8th conducted the Commodore, the *Glouceſter*, and the *Trial*, into a convenient Bay, where they moored in eleven Fathom Water. On the 9th the *Glouceſter*'s Second Lieutenant, with fifteen Men, and the Second Lieutenant of the *Centurion*, with four Men, were ſent to make Diſcoveries.

On the 10th the Lieutenant of the *Centurion* returned, and reported, that they had marched ſeven Leagues thro' the Woods, without meeting with any thing worth Notice, except a Man aſleep on the Ground, with an Horſe and Gun by him; who, awaking at their Approach, leaped upon his Horſe, and fled as faſt as he was able, leaving his Gun behind him, which they brought on board with them. The Lieutenant, being apprehenſive, that the People under his Command might be ſurpriſed, if they attempted to penetrate farther into the Country, thought proper to return; but to render his Expedition as uſeful as poſſible, he wrote a kind of Advertiſement in *Spaniſh*, promiſing the Inhabitants ample Satisfaction for any Proviſions they ſhould bring or ſend to their Ships; and having nailed ſeveral of theſe Papers to the Trees, he returned back to the Coaſt. This was certainly a very well judged, and a very prudent Contrivance; but, however, it produced no Effect; and therefore the Commodore very wiſely judged, that no more Time was to be loſt in preparing for their Departure; and therefore gave Orders for burning the *Trial*'s Prize, and the other two Prizes, that he might be able to reinforce the two Ships with the Men that were on board them; which was the more neceſſary, ſince the Crew of both Ships, after this was done, fell ſhort of the full Complement of a Fourth Rate, ſo much were they reduced by Sickneſs and Fatigue; and on the 29th, having taken in Water, and other Refreſhments, they unmoored, and prepared to ſail.

19. On the 30th they ſailed for *Acapulco*, in order to cruiſe near that Port for their Boat, which was ſtill abſent, and had been ſo above a Month; and the *Glouceſter* was ordered to keep in cloſe to Land, and make falſe Fires; but theſe Precautions proved vain, though continued for three Days together. The Commodore therefore thought proper, on the third of *May*, to ſend a Flag of Truce to the Governor of *Acapulco*, with a Propoſal of releaſing three for one, in caſe the Boat and Crew were fallen into his Hands: But the Governor returned Anſwer, that he had not ſeen either Boat or Men. The next Day the Commodore ſent aſhore nine Priſoners to *Port Marquis*, that in caſe his Men fell into the *Spaniards* Hands, they might be the better treated, for the ſake of thoſe who were thus diſmiſſed. On the 5th, about two in the Afternoon, the *Glouceſter*, being neareſt the Land, ſaw a Boat coming off, which they judged at firſt to be a Boat from the Governor of *Acapulco*; but as it drew nearer, they diſcovered it to be the Boat belonging to the *Centurion*. When the poor People that were in it, came to the Side of their own Ship, they were ſcarce known by any of the Crew, being mere Skeletons, and ſo weak that they could not get up the Ship-ſide, ſo that they were forced to hoiſt them in. During the Time they were ſeparated from the Ship, they were driven to the laſt Extremity for want of Water, being glad to drink Turtle's Blood to quench their Thirſt; which they had done for twelve Days. They never expected to ſee the Ship again, and had given themſelves over for loſt, knowing they muſt either be ſtarved to Death in their Boat, or become Priſoners and Slaves under cruel Maſters, which to them was as dreadful as Death; but this Day proving fine and clear, they happily ſaw the Ship, and put off. At eight the next Morning they ſent aſhore a *Spaniſh* Launch with forty Priſoners, and at the ſame time the *Glouceſter* ſent another with eighteen; each having a ſufficient Quantity of Proviſions and Water to ſerve them till their Arrival at *Acapulco*, which was now diſtant about thirty Leagues. On the 7th they ſprung their Fore-maſt: The Remainder of the Month there happened nothing extraordinary, the Weather being moderate, and the Wind fair: On the 15th the *Glouceſter* fired a Gun, as a Signal of Diſtreſs, having ſprung her Main-maſt; upon which the *Centurion* ſent her Boat and a Carpenter on board; the next Day they ſent two Carpenters more, who on the 23d cut the Main-maſt within twenty-ſix Foot of the Deck. On the 26th the *Glouceſter* reared her Main-top-maſt for a Main-maſt, and on the 27th the *Trial*'s Fore-top-maſt for a Main-top-maſt.

On the 29th they fixed the *Trial*'s Main-top-maſt for a Jury-maſt, and rigged it. *July* the 12th they were diſtant from *Acapulco* 1464 Leagues: On the 29th, about ten in the Morning, the *Glouceſter* fired a Gun, as a Signal of Diſtreſs, having her Fore-top-maſt rolled to the Board, and the Cap ſplit in two being rotten: The Fore-top-maſt ſprung in three Places by the Fall, and broke the Fore-yard in the Slings, which was likewiſe decayed. The Foretop-gallant-maſt ſprung, and the Fore-ſail, Fore-top-ſail, and the Top-gallant-ſail, ſplit all to Pieces; half the Top broke, and alſo the Croſs-trees: Whereupon they ſent to their Aſſiſtance a Lieutenant, with ſome Carpenters and Men, who flung both the Yard-arms of the Fore-yard, and the Remainder of the Fore-top-maſt, that was not fit for Uſe, overboard, and aſſiſted in fixing and rigging another Fore-yard. The next Day the *Centurion* was forced to take the *Glouceſter* in Tow, and continued Towing her, till on the tenth of *Auguſt* ſhe ſlipped the Cable by which they towed her, together with her Fore-top-maſt and Jib. The next Day in the Evening her Top-maſt and Jury-maſt were carried away.

On the 12th, her Maſt came again by the Board, and her Mizen was ſplit, and blown from the Yard: Part of it took the Compaſs Cheſt, in which were two Azimuth

Compaſſes, and carried it overboard; at the ſame time they were obliged to employ all Hands in pumping the Ship: The 13th the Weather proved very bad, and about eight in the Evening the *Glouceſter* bare down upon the Commodore, firing two Guns, and hoiſting a Signal of Diſtreſs: They deſired the Commodore would ſend his Boat on board, with a ſufficient Number of Hands to aſſiſt them in pumping, there being now ſeventeen Feet Water in the Hold; but the Commodore could not comply with their Requeſt, becauſe it was as much as his Crew could do, to keep their own Ship free. The next Day he ſent his Cutter, with a Carpenter, to aſſiſt the *Glouceſter*; and, in the Evening, ſent his Boat, to fetch away her Sick.

20. On *Sunday Auguſt* 15. about eight in the Morning, Captain *Mitchell* ſent his Lieutenant on board, with the following Paper, addreſſed to the Commodore, and ſigned by himſelf, and all the Officers on board of his Ship: ‘We the Captain and Officers of his Majeſty's Ship the *Glouceſter*, having held a Conſultation on *Auguſt* 15. 1742, concerning the Condition of the ſaid Ship, we think it impoſſible to ſave her from ſinking, and his Majeſty's Subjects belonging thereto from periſhing, for the following Reaſons: She having ſprung a Leak, and gaining on us, tho' we have been conſtantly pumping her; her Stern-poſt likewiſe being very looſe, and working at every Reel of the Ship; ſhe having alſo two Beams broken a-midſhip; all which the Carpenters report to be irrepairable here; and ſhe having no Maſts left, except the Fore-maſt, Mizen, and Mizen-top-maſt, or any ſpare Maſts left fit to put up; her Knees and Clamps are all worked quite looſe, ſo that her Quarter-deck is ready to drop down; and ſhe having but ſeventy Men, eighteen Boys, and two Priſoners, left, including Officers, out of which Number only ſixteen Men and eleven Boys are able to keep the Deck, and they are very infirm; all the reſt, being fifty-ſix, and ſeven Boys, (including Carpenters) are incapable of Duty, being greatly afflicted, and very lame, with the Scurvy; For theſe twenty-four Hours, Officers, Men, and Boys, without Diſtinction, have worked at the Pumps inceſſantly; and are ſo fatigued, that they can ſtand no longer; and they having ſtill ſeven Feet Water in the Hold, the ſalt Water being yet over the Caſks, ſo that they cannot get at the freſh Water to drink: We therefore beg you would conſider our melancholy Situation, and appoint us ſuch ſpeedy Relief, as our preſent unhappy Circumſtances require.’

The Commodore took all imaginable Care to be perfectly informed of the Facts mentioned in this Repreſentation by his own Carpenters; and, on the 16th, employed all the Boats in ſaving what Stores could be got out of the *Glouceſter*; which took up the beſt Part of the Day. About ſix in the Afternoon, Captain *Mitchell*, having received the Commodore's Order for that Purpoſe, ſent all his People on board the *Centurion*, remaining himſelf in the *Glouceſter*, with a Boat's Crew only, preparing every thing neceſſary for deſtroying her; and, at eight, purſuant to the Commodore's Direction, he ſet her on fire, and, about ſix the next Morning, ſhe blew up. They were then in the Latitude of 14° 15′ North, *Acapulco* being now diſtant 2168 Leagues.

21. On the 17th, they diſcovered in the *Centurion* a Leak in the Fore-hold, on each Side of the Stem. They were, at this time, in very great Diſtreſs, their Rigging much worn, their Ship leaky, their Water ſo exhauſted, as to be reduced to half a Pint a Day, and their Crew ſo ſickly, that they had thrown overboard ten Men in two Days; but, in this Diſtreſs, the Commodore ſupported their Spirits, by continually encouraging them by his Practice, as well as Diſcourſes, taking a full Share of their Hardſhips, and giving, at this time, a Pipe of *Madeira* Wine out of his own Stores, that their Water might go the further. The Weather continued tolerable fair for the next ten Days; but the Crew were as ſickly as ever.

On the 21ſt, died Mr. *Edmund Wellbank*, Surgeon of the *Glouceſter*; and ten Men more in four Days. On the 23d, they loſt five Men more; and, about eight in the Evening of the ſame Day, ſaw, to their great Joy, two Iſlands; one bearing Weſt half South, the other South-weſt by Weſt, diſtant about ten Leagues. On the 24th, nine of their People, and an *Indian*, died; and the neareſt of the Iſlands bore then Weſt by North, diſtant about a League. The Commodore diſpatched a Lieutenant in the Cutter, to diſcover the Shore. He returned in the Evening, and brought ſixty Cocoa-nuts; but could not find any Anchoring-place, or freſh Water. There died on the 25th ſix Men. The next Day in the Afternoon, they ſaw three Iſlands; one bearing North-eaſt by North, another due Eaſt, the laſt Eaſt by South, at the Diſtance of about five Leagues. On the 27th at Noon, they ſaw another Iſland South-eaſt, diſtant about nine Leagues. In theſe two Days, they loſt thirteen of their Crew.

22. On the 28th, they made the Iſland of *Tinian*, which is one of the *Ladrones*, or, as the *Spaniards* call them, *Marian* Iſlands, which lies in the Latitude of 14° 58′ North, and 223° 25′ Longitude Weſt from *London*. At three in the Afternoon, the Commodore ſent his third Lieutenant on ſhore in the Cutter. This Iſland is uninhabited, and for that Reaſon the Commodore made Choice of it to anchor at, and refreſh his People; but it happened, at the Time of their Arrival, the Governor of *Guam* had ſent a Bark thither with twenty-four Men, to kill Cattle, and to bring off Fruits, for the Uſe of his Gariſon. Theſe People, ſeeing a Ship, immediately ſent an *Indian* Proe, or, as the *Spaniards* write it, *Parao*, a kind of Veſſel we have often mentioned before, on a Suppoſition, that it muſt needs be the *Acapulco* Ship. This was about ſix the next Morning; and, as ſoon as they diſcovered their Miſtake, they uſed their utmoſt Endeavour to return to the Iſland: But, it being calm, the Commodore ſent the Pinnace to tow her on board; which ſhe did, and afterwards made herſelf Maſter of the Bark; which proved an acceptable Prize, being laden with Cattle, Hogs, Fowls, Cocoa-nuts, Oranges, and Limes.

The firſt thing that was done, after the Ship was anchored in twenty-two Fathom Water, was to ſend aſhore Tents, or rather Materials for making them, for the Uſe of the Sick, who were next carried on ſhore, wrapped up in their Hammocks, to the Number of 224, of whom eight died within a few Hours after they were landed. On the 31ſt, they moored the Ship with a Cable each Way, in *Tinian* Road; which afforded them Leiſure to look about them, and to provide all Things neceſſary for their Refreſhment. It will be neceſſary here to give ſome Account of theſe *Ladrone* Iſlands; the rather, becauſe, though we find them often mentioned in the foregoing Voyages, as indeed they muſt be in all Voyages round the World, which have been ſeldom performed without viſiting them, yet are they ſo ſituated, on the Edge, as it were, of *Aſia*, that hitherto neither general nor particular Geographers have given us any accurate or diſtinct Account of them; which, to ſay the Truth, is no eaſy Matter to do, ſince it requires a great Application to Maps and Charts, and to the Relations publiſhed by all who have ſailed through theſe Seas for two Centuries paſt.

Theſe Iſlands were firſt diſcovered by the famous *Ferdinand Magellan*, as we have already related in its proper Place; and he, from the thieviſh Behaviour of the Inhabitants, beſtowed on them the Name of *Iſlas de los Ladrones*, i. e. *The Iſlands of Thieves*. He likewiſe called them *Iſlas de las Velas*, or, *The Iſlands of Sails*, alluding to their Proes, which were a kind of Veſſels he had never ſeen among other *Indians*, and their manner of ſailing had ſurpriſed him. When the *Spaniards* came afterwards to ſettle the Iſland of *Guam*, for the Conveniency of their Navigation between *America* and the *Philippines*, they gave a new Name to thoſe Iſlands, *viz. Iſlas de Maria Anna*, in Honour of *Mary-Anne* of *Auſtria*, then Queen of *Spain*; from whence our modern Writers have derived the corrupt Name of the *Marian Iſlands*. Theſe Iſlands make a Part of thoſe that are ſtiled the *Archipelago of St. Lazarus*, becauſe they were diſcovered on the Feaſt of *St. Lazarus*. They are, ſtrictly ſpeaking, ſituated between the 10° 00′ of North Latitude, and the Tropic of *Cancer*; and, according to the beſt Maps, are laid down thus; 1. *Bam*, in the Latitude of 10° 00′ North: 2. *Batto*, 10° 40′: 3. *St. Iago*, 11° 15′; between this Iſland, and that of *Guam*, lie the Sholes of *St. Roſe*, which Captain *Dampier* paſſed, when he ſailed with Captain *Swan* in the Latitude of 12° 10′:

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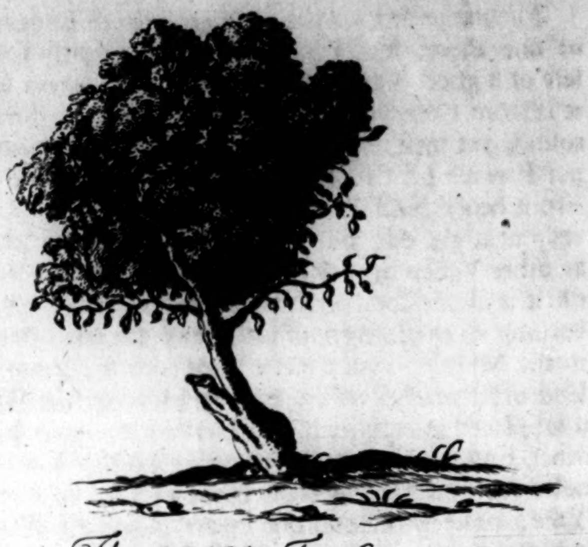
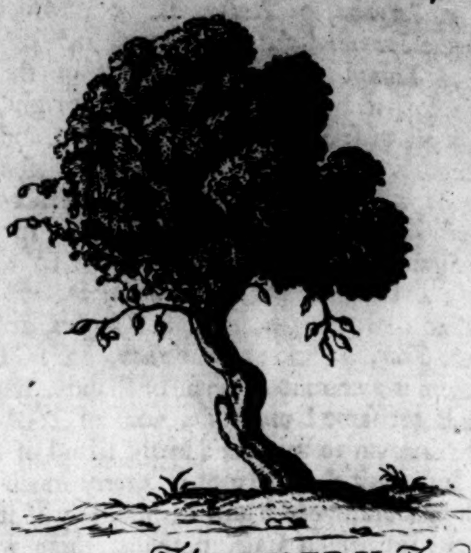
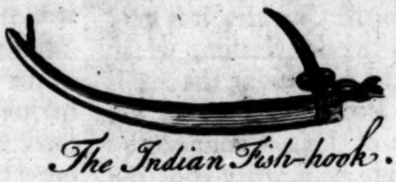
Things remarkable in the Mary-Anne Islands.



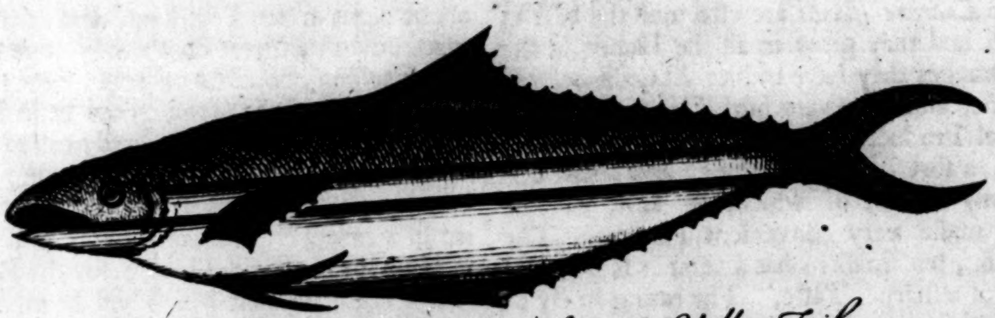
The RIMA *Tree.*



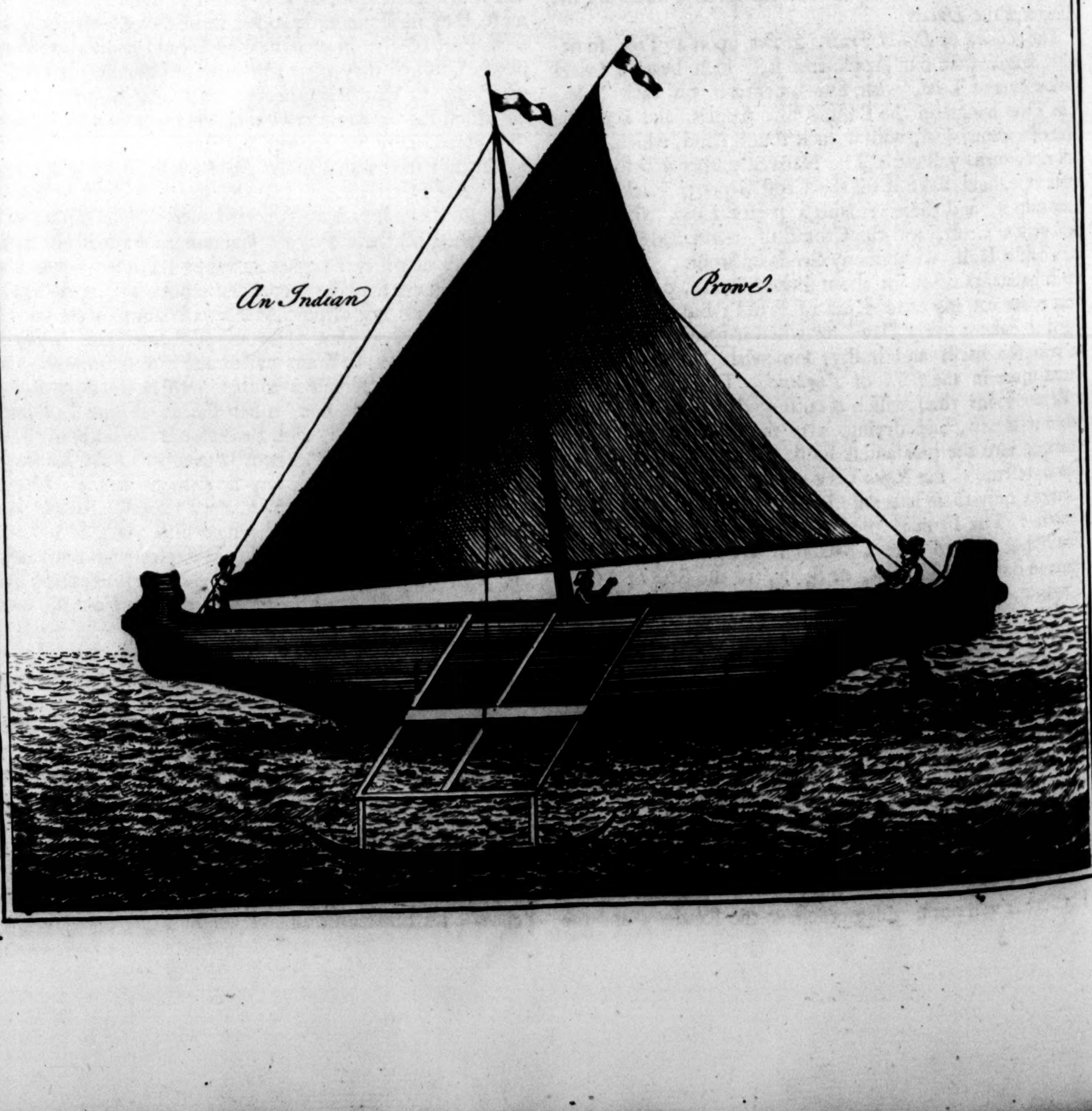
The DUCDU *Tree.*



The Indian Fish-hook.



A Fish called by English Seamen a Yellow Tail.



An Indian Prowe.

10': 4. *Guam*, *Guana*, or *Iguana*, 13° 30'; this is the largeſt of theſe Iſlands, and the Seat of the *Spaniſh* Governor: 5. *Serpana*, or *Rotta*, 14° 5'; which is alſo ſettled by the *Spaniards*: 6. *Aguiguan*, 14° 40': 7. *Tinian*, 14° 58'. This I take to be the laſt of the *Mary-Anne Iſlands*; for, if I apprehend the Thing right, the general Name of all theſe Iſlands is the *Ladrones*, and they are diſtinguiſhed into the Southern, or *Mary-Anne Iſlands*, of which we have ſpoken; and the Northern Iſlands, or *Iſlands of Ganey*, of which we are now to ſpeak: 1. *Zeipan*, or *Sipan*, 15° 20': 2. *Anathan*, 16° 10': 3. *Sarigant*, 16° 30': 4. *Guagan*, 17°: 5. *Amelagan*, 17° 30': 6. *Pagon*, 18° 40': 7. *Agnigan*, 19°: 8. *Sangſon*, 20°: 9. *Maug*, 21°: 10. *Urac*, 21°: 11. *Tarelbon*, 22°. From this to *Japan* there is a continued Chain of Iſlands, lying almoſt all of them in the ſame Longitude, *viz.* of 160°; ſuppoſing the firſt Meridian to be placed in the Iſland of *Fero*.

The Soil of all theſe Iſlands is pretty much alike; *viz.* a red dry Mould, very fruitful, eſpecially if it be carefully cultivated; in which Caſe, perhaps, there would not be finer Countries on the Globe: As to the Climate, it is very healthy, as well as very pleaſant, in the dry Seaſon, which laſts from *October* to *June*; but in the wet Seaſon the Air is thick and hazy, which inclines the People to Fevers; yet the Rains there are not heavy, or of long Continuance; and as the Eaſt Winds generally reign here, they cool the Air prodigiouſly, and render the Country very pleaſant. The Cocoas in the *Ladrone Iſlands* are eſteemed the beſt in the known World, and they grow in all the Iſlands in the utmoſt Plenty: Oranges they have in like Abundance, exceedingly wholſome, and of a very high Flavour; Limes are alſo the natural Product of theſe Iſlands. They are, properly ſpeaking, a ſort of Crab-Lemon, and grow upon a kind of thorny Shrub, of which, in ſome of our Plantations, they make very convenient Hedges. The Fruit is like a Lemon, but ſmaller; has a thinner Rind; and the Juice is rather of a ſharper Taſte. The eating freely of this Fruit is one of the quickeſt, and at the ſame time one of the pleaſanteſt, Remedies for the Scurvy. There are two Trees common in all theſe Iſlands, and ſaid to be peculiar to them, and to ſome of the *Philippines*; theſe are the *Rima* and the *Ducdu*.

The *Rima*, or *Bread Fruit*, grows upon a Tree ſomewhat larger than our Apple-tree is, which bears a broad dark-coloured Leaf, with five Indentures on each Side: The Fruit hangs on the Boughs like Apples, and is of the Size of a Penny-loaf, with a thick tough Rind, which, when full ripe, turns yellow. The Natives gather it before it is quite ripe, and bake it till the Cruſt is pretty black; then they raſp it, and there remains a pretty Loaf, with a tender yellow Cruſt, and the Crumb of it ſoft and ſweet as a new-bak'd Roll, without any Seeds or Stones. This Fruit the Inhabitants enjoy for about ſeven Months, during which they never eat any other Kind of Bread; but they are obliged to bake it every Day; for when it grows a little ſtale, it becomes harſh and huſky, ſomewhat like the Potatoe-bread made in the *Weſt* of *England*. There is, however, a Remedy for this, which is cutting the Loaf into Slices when it is new, and drying it in the Sun, by which it is changed into the pleaſanteſt Ruſk that can be eaten. The *Ducdu* reſembles the *Rima* very much, both in its Size and Leaves; only theſe latter are longer, and not ſo much indented: The Fruit is pretty near the Size of the *Bread Fruit*, but ſhaped like a Melon; it contains in its Pulp thirteen or fifteen Kernels, or Seeds, of the Size of a ſmall Cheſtnut, which, when roaſted, are full as pleaſant.

The Natives of theſe Iſlands are Copper-coloured like other *Indians*; have long black Hair, ſmall Eyes, high Noſes, Lips pretty thick, and Teeth indifferently white: They are a large, well-limb'd, active, and robuſt People. To all Appearance, they are civil, courteous, and ſubmiſſive; but are ſaid to be of a cunning, treacherous, and cruel Diſpoſition: They are extremely dextrous in the Management of their Veſſels, which they ſtile *Paraoes*, and the *Dutch*, and other *Europeans*, *Prows* or *Proes*, and are eſteemed the beſt ſailing Veſſels in the World. We have deſcribed them before; but as I am told the following is a very exact and accurate Account of theſe ſingular Veſſels, I believe it will not be diſagreeable to the Reader; and the rather, becauſe from theſe Veſſels the Iſlands were called by *Magellan*, *De las Velas*, *i. e.* of Sails, which are not uſed by the *Weſt-Indians* in their Canoes.

The Parao or Proe is built ſharp at both Ends, the Bottom of one Piece, like a little Canoe very neatly ſcooped, and left of a good Subſtance. This Bottom ſerves for a Keel; it is from twenty-five to thirty Feet long, the under Part round, yet inclining to a Wedge, and ſmooth, and the upper Part almoſt flat, having an Hollow about a Foot broad: From hence both Sides of the Boat are turned up round, very neatly; one Side of the Veſſel is quite flat, the other as other Veſſels are, with a pretty full Belly. In the Middle it is about four or five Feet broad, aloft, or more, according to the Length of the Boat; the Maſt ſtands exactly in the Middle, with a large Yard like a Mizen-yard; one End of it reaches to the End or Head of the Boat, where it is placed in a Notch, made there to keep it faſt; the other End hangs over the Stern. To this Yard the Sail is faſtened. At the Foot of the Sail there is another ſmall Yard, to keep the Sail out ſquare, and to roll it up when it blows hard; ſerving inſtead of a Reef, to take up the Sail to what degree they pleaſe, according to the Strength of the Wind. On the Belly-ſide of the Boat, parallel thereto, and at ſeven Feet Diſtance, lies a Log ſhaped like another ſmall Boat, of a light Wood, almoſt as long as the great Boat, but not above a Foot and an half wide at the upper Part, and very ſharp at each End. There are two Bamboes, of about eight or ten Feet long, and as big as a Man's Leg, placed over the great Boat's Side, one near each End of it, add reaching about ſix or ſeven Feet from the Side of the Boat, by the Help of which the little Boat is made firm to the other: Theſe are generally called by the *Dutch*, and by the *Engliſh* from them, *Out-layers*: The Uſe of them is to keep the great Boat upright; becauſe the Wind here is, in a manner, conſtantly Eaſt, and, if it were at Weſt, it would be the ſame Thing; for the Range of theſe Iſlands where their Buſineſs lies to and from, being moſtly North and South, they turn the flat Side of the Boat againſt the Wind upon which they ſail; and the Belly conſequently, with its little Boat, is upon the Lee; and the Veſſel having an Head at each End, ſo as to ſail with either of them foremoſt, they need not tack about, as all other Veſſels do, but each End of the Boat ſerves for Head or Stern, as they pleaſe. When they ply to Windward, and have a mind to go about, he that ſteers, bears away a little from the Wind, by which the Stern comes to the Wind, and now becomes the Head, only by ſhifting the End of the Yard. This Veſſel they ſteer with a broad Paddle inſtead of a Rudder, with great Dexterity.

Some Travellers have reported incredible Things, as to the Sailing of theſe Proes: Captain *Edward Cooke* ſpeaks of twenty or thirty Leagues an Hour; but if what another Writer reports may be depended upon, *viz.* that one of theſe Veſſels being diſpatched Expreſs from *Guam*, to *Manilla*, which is 400 good Leagues, performed the Voyage in four Days, it will be ſufficient to raiſe our Admiration, and juſtify the Character given to theſe Veſſels, for ſwift Sailing upon a Wind. In many other Places of the *Eaſt-Indies* they make uſe of Proes with Bellies or Boats on both Sides; but the Proe we have deſcribed, is peculiar to the *Ladrones*. Before the *Spaniards* made any Settlement on theſe Iſlands, the People lived, in their Way, very happily; every Man having his Proe, which tho' furniſhed with Maſt, Sail, Yard, Tackle, Halliards, and Helm; he ſteered with one Hand, and with the other hoiſted, lowered, or trimmed his Sail, having one of the Tackles faſtened to each Foot, ſo as to veer out, and hale to, as Occaſion required.

Fiſhing was, in a manner, their ſole Occupation; and in that too they are equally ſkilful and dextrous: Their Hooks are made of a large Bone, with a ſmall one fixed in it; and with theſe they take Dolphins, and other Fiſh, upon the Banks or Shoals. One Fiſh there is peculiar to this Coaſt, which the Sailors call a *Yellow-tail*, about twelve Inches long, and three in breadth, having a ſmall long Head, with a large Mouth and Eye, and a Fin on his Back, which extends quite to his Tail. His Body is of a dark Yellow, his Belly of a fine Silver, his Sides ſtreaked from Head to Tail with two Stripes of Blue, and three of Yellow; his Fins and Tail of a bright Yellow.

So much for theſe Iſlands. Let us now return to the Ship's Company of the *Centurion*, on ſhore at *Tinian*. The ſick People, having freſh Meat in plenty, Abundance of Greens, and as many Oranges as they pleaſed, recovered ſurpriſingly. In the mean time, the Carpenter was employed in ſtopping the Leak, which, notwithſtanding all his Care, was very indifferently done. That no Time might be loſt, Proviſions and Water were every Day carried on board, and the Ship waſhed and ſcrubbed; and every thing being in good Order by the 19th of *September*, they began to laſh the Guns, and to prepare for their Departure, which was retarded by an extraordinary Accident, that happened on the 22d.

They had all that Day had Gales, and a great deal of Rain: About ſeven in the Evening they parted with the ſmall Bower, and brought up and rid by their beſt Bower; when a great Sea, running at their Stem, ſtaved the Long-boat againſt the Rails of the Gallery, ſo that ſhe was overſet, with a Man in her, who with much Difficulty was ſaved, but the Boat was loſt. At eleven they parted with their beſt Bower, and were forced to let go their Sheet-anchor, veering almoſt two Cables Length. Upon this they heaved the Lead, and, finding they were out of Soundings, fired four Guns, and made a Signal of Diſtreſs, but to no Purpoſe; for thoſe on ſhore could afford them no Aſſiſtance; ſo that they were ſoon driven out to Sea. There were at this Time 60 Hands on board, and the Commodore and 110 Men left upon the Iſland. It is not eaſy to conceive how much this muſt have alarmed thoſe who were thus left, with little Hopes of getting off, in a ſmall uninhabited Iſland, ſeated, as it were, in the Extremity of the World, where they were, in a manner, ſurrounded by Enemies, and had nothing to truſt to, but their own Efforts to eſcape.

This is the Scene which we mentioned, as a Parallel to the Shipwreck of the *Wager*; and, in one reſpect, the Diſtreſs of the *Centurion*'s People was the greater of the two; for they had not the Benefit of a Wreck, from whence Sea Stores and Materials might be fetched at Will; all was gone with the Ship, and in her their ableſt Hands. Such was the Matter of Fact; let us now ſee what were the Conſequences, and how the Commodore and his People behaved in ſo uncomfortable a Condition.

23. As ſoon as the Ship was out of Sight, and every body ſeemed to be under Apprehenſions from the Foulneſs of the Weather, that the Crew would not be able to bring her back into the Road, an univerſal Aſtoniſhment appeared in every Countenance. The Commodore however encouraged them to purſue their Labours, notwithſtanding the Ship's being driven off the Iſland, aſſuring them, that if the Ship did not return, they would not be wholly uſeleſs; which gave the People great Spirits, foreſeeing that the Commodore had already formed ſome Project for getting off the Iſland. In a Day or two after, the Commodore explained himſelf more fully, telling the People, it would be very practicable to ſaw the Bark, which they had taken when they firſt came to the Iſland, and lengthen it, to ſuch a Degree, as might render it a fit Veſſel to carry them to ſome of the *Philippines*, and from thence to *China*. When, by this Diſcourſe, he had baniſhed Deſpair, he entered into a regular Deduction of whatever would be requiſite for ſuch a Voyage; and, having aſſigned a certain Number of Men to every kind of Work, he not only took upon himſelf the Trouble of ſurveying them, but wrought, with his own Hands, amongſt thoſe he overlooked; ſo that his Example was at leaſt equal to the Addition of a conſiderable Number of Hands; for, ſeeing the Commodore always buſy, there was no Man had a Deſire to be idle. This Induſtry of theirs had all the good Effects that could be wiſhed for, ſince, at the ſame time it kept them to their neceſſary Buſineſs, it diverted their Thoughts, and preſerved their Spirits, in a regular Motion; and this too was greatly forwarded by the perſonal Behaviour of the Commodore, who was always ſerene, always eaſy, gave his Orders chearfully, purſued his Plans ſteadily, ſo as to be equally in a Condition of ſupplying the Ship with what was wanting to complete her Stores, in caſe ſhe returned, or to finiſh, in a few Days, the Lengthening of the Barge, whenever they ſet about it, having a conſiderable Quantity of Wood cut down and ſawed for that Purpoſe.

But it is now time to follow the Ship, and to give ſome Account of the Hardſhips and Difficulties the People underwent who were on board her. On the 23d the Wind continued to blow very hard, ſo that one of their fore Shrouds broke, as did one of the Straps of their Bobſtay, which they ſpliced as well as they could, and the next Day got up a Pair of Preventer-ſhrouds for the Foremaſt. On the 25th they had freſh Gales, and a rolling Sea. In ſwaying up the Main-yard, one of the Men being upon it to ſecure the Slack-jeer, ſome of the Tackle broke; upon which, down it came, and, in the Fall, the poor Man's Arm was caught in a Block, and broke all to-pieces; by which Accident, and the Fever that followed it, he died in a few Days. The ſame Day they ſwayed up the Fore-yard. All this time the Sheet-anchor was out, the People on board not having Strength to get her up; and, at the ſame time, the Ship made a great deal of Water; but, on the 26th, the Weather being moderate, they heaved the Sheet-anchor, and ſecured it. On the 27th they got up the Rigging, and bent another Top-ſail. On the 28th the Ship was ſo full of Water, that they were obliged to pump every two Hours. It was the 9th of *October*, in the Afternoon, before they could diſcern the Iſland of *Tinian* from the Maſt-head, which then bore South South-eaſt, diſtant ſix Leagues. On the 10th in the Morning, they had a clear View of three of the *Ladrone* Iſlands, *viz.* *Zeipan*, which bore North-eaſt, diſtant ſix Leagues; *Aguiguan*, South-eaſt, diſtant four Leagues; and *Tinian*, South South-eaſt, diſtant three Leagues. On the 11th in the Afternoon, they let go their Sheet-anchor, which was the only one they had left, in twenty-ſeven Fathom Water; and the next Morning ſent their Boat aſhore, with their empty Caſks, for Water, exceedingly rejoiced at the Thoughts of ſeeing once again their Companions, and their Commander.

24. On the 12th in the Morning, Lieutenant *Gordon*, of the Marines, being by Accident on an Hill, ſaw the Ship in the Road, and carried the firſt News of it to the Commodore, who received it with the utmoſt Satisfaction, and immediately gave his Orders for ſending Water on board, and for diſpatching, with the utmoſt Diligence, whatever was neceſſary for their ſpeedy Departure from the Iſland. They enjoyed, while they ſtaid here, all the Conveniencies they could well wiſh for. Cattle they had in abundance, which coſt them no more than ſhooting them, and bringing them down to their Tents. They had Hogs alſo in as great Plenty, and moſt excellent in their kind, as feeding upon ſolid and nouriſhing Fruits. Fowl alſo they had as much as they could wiſh; beſides Fiſh, but not in ſo great Plenty. One Inconvenience they were expoſed to, almoſt as ſoon as they were ſettled on the Iſland; and that was the Plague of Flies, which was really greater than could well be imagined. The Reader will remember, that *Schovten* and *Le Maire* met with the ſame Inconvenience in an Iſland in the South Seas, which they from thence called *Fly Iſland*: And Captain *Dampier* repreſents the Coaſt of *New Guiney*, which is the neareſt Continent to this Iſland, as peſtered with Flies, to ſuch a Degree, that the Inhabitants are almoſt blinded by them. But, as I do not find any Complaint of this Nature in the Voyages of ſuch as have touched at the Iſland of *Guam*, I am inclined to believe, that only ſuch of the Iſlands as are uninhabited are expoſed to this Inconvenience. Perhaps the Opening the Country, by cutting down the Woods, and the Smoke of many Fires, might contribute to the Deſtruction of theſe Vermin. Their Habitations were none of the beſt; but yet, through the Care of the Commodore, their Huts were as well diſpoſed, and as effectually ſecured, from the Weather, as it was poſſible; ſo that, in the Space of leſs than two Months, the Crew that landed there in ſo weak and ſo diſtreſſed a Condition, recovered their Health and Spirits, and moved very briskly about their Buſineſs.

They obſerved, during their Stay, that the Tide ſets ſtrong, between this Iſland and *Aguiguan*, at South South-eaſt, and North North-weſt, and runs longer and ſtronger to the Southward, than to the Northward, making a great Sea when it ſets againſt the Wind, and riſes about eight

Feet perpendicular along-ſhore; at the Quarter of the Moon it riſes higher by two Feet than at the Full and Change; contrary to the common Phœnomenon of the Tides, it riſes more or leſs alſo, according to the Strength of the Winds blowing into the Bay, by two or three Feet. The Flowing at Full and Change is about eight Hours. Theſe Variations, with reſpect to Tides, do not at all affect, much leſs deſtroy, the modern Doctrine on that Head; becauſe the ſame Variations, or others analogous to them, are obſerved where-ever there is a Cluſter of Iſlands, and even upon our own Coaſt, particularly at the *Orkneys*, the Weſtern Iſlands, and thoſe of *Scilly*. On the eighteenth they had the Misfortune to loſe a Raft of Casks, conſiſting of twelve Buts, and three Puncheons; notwithſtanding which, they completed the Watering of their Ship the next Day, when a Man from every Meſs was ſent into the Woods to get Oranges, and whatever elſe they wanted of Fruits, and other Refreſhments. On the 21ſt they ſent two old *Indians* on ſhore: Two other *Indians* having ſwam away from them the Day before, ſet the Bark on Fire, and removed every thing from their little Settlement on board the Ship.

25. On the 22d of *October*, about five in the Afternoon, they weighed from the Iſland of *Tinian*, and made ſail for *Macao*. The Weather continued fair during the reſt of the Month, but *November* entered with Storms; ſo that on the 2d they had very foul Weather, being then off the South-eaſt Point of the Iſland *Formoſa*, which lies in the Latitude of 21° 20′ North. The next Day they ſaw Fires on that Iſland, bearing North-eaſt, diſtant about fifteen Leagues. On the 4th they had an hard Gale, which broke the Main-top-ſail Stay. The next Day they had Sight of the Coaſt of *China*. On the 6th in the Morning, they had Sight of *Pedra Blanca*, bearing Weſt, half South, ten Miles; it is ſo called from the white Rocks lying off it: Theſe appear, when off at Sea, juſt againſt the Cape; but, being, when nearer Shore, either Eaſtward or Weſtward of the Cape, they appear, at firſt View, like Ships under Sail; but, coming ſtill nearer, they are like two high Towers, being ſlender, high, and ſteep, on all Sides, and are about half a Mile from the Cape. The Cape is in Latitude 21° 56′, and is about the Height of *Beachy-head* in *England*. It is a full Point, with ſteep Rocks towards the Sea; then it gradually falls away on each Side, with a gentle Deſcent, appearing very pleaſant, and covered with fair lofty Trees. On the 8th they came to an Anchor in eighteen Fathom Water, and took two *Chineſe* Pilots on board, to carry them to *Macao*, for which they were to receive thirty Dollars. On the 11th, about nine in the Morning, they ran a-ground near that Iſland, and it was the 13th in the Afternoon before they got the Ship off, and anchored her ſafely in five Fathom Water. They moored the next Day, in the beſt manner they were able, letting go their Sheet-anchor to the South, and their beſt Bower to the Northward; this was compoſed of two *Spaniſh* Anchors laſhed and hooped together with two Guns, having loſt their own Anchor, when blown out of *Tinian* Road; and this being done, they ſaluted the Governor of *Macao* with eleven Guns, and he returned the like Number.

26. The Commodore, conſidering the Condition of his Ship, and the Difficulty he was under of procuring what he wanted in that Port, found it abſolutely neceſſary to go to *Canton* in Perſon, in order to obtain Leave for heaving down the Ship, and ſuch Aſſiſtance as could be afforded him by the *Engliſh* Factory. He went aſhore accordingly on the 16th, and was ſaluted at his Landing by the Fort with eleven Guns, which the *Centurion* returned; and from thence the Commodore continued his Route to *Canton*, where at firſt he met with a very indifferent Reception, becauſe the vulgar *Chineſe*, having never ſeen an *European* Man of War in their Seas, took it for granted, that he was a Pirate; and therefore treated him, and the People who were with him, as they paſſed the Streets, with approbious Language, calling them Thieves, Robbers, and Pirates, in bad *Portugueſe*, as well as in their own Language: This, however, the Commodore did not regard, but proſecuted the Buſineſs he came about with the utmoſt Vigour. The Day after the Commodore's Departure, a *Chiampan*, or *Chineſe* Guard-boat, anchored cloſe by the *Centurion*, to obſerve her Motions. On the 1ſt of *December* arrived a Boatſwain, with a Long-boat and Anchor from the Commodore, of which they were in great Want, their own having been ſtaved, as has been already mentioned, in the Road of *Tinian*. They ſent, by the Commodore's Orders, a Mate, and ſix Men, to attend him at *Canton*, and a Supply of 1000 Dollars, for purchaſing Sea-ſtores.

By this Time the Commodore had made an Agreement with the *Engliſh* Factory for freſh Proviſions, which were regularly ſupplied during the Time the *Centurion* lay in the Harbour of *Macao*; and the People on board were conſtantly employed in repairing and refitting the Ship, as faſt as their preſent Circumſtances would allow. On the 5th of *December* the following Account was taken of the Treaſure brought on board from the *Glouceſter*, when, at the Requeſt of her own Officers, ſhe was deſtroyed; *viz.* N° 1. A Box of Gold: 2. A Box with 4000 Dollars: 3. A Box with 3000 Dollars: 4. A Box of 3000 Dollars, a Box of Jewels, and a Bag of Bits: 5. A Box with 1255 Dollars, and 49 Pounds of looſe Plate: 6. Seventeen Pounds of looſe Plate, *Avoirdupois* Weight. On the 8th they received in a Boat belonging to the *Defence*, an *Engliſh* Ship then in thoſe Parts, a Cable, and other Neceſſaries, from *Canton*; and the ſame Day two Ships, one a *Dutch*, and the other a *Swediſh Eaſt-Indiaman*, paſs'd by them, Homeward-bound. They received, on the 9th, Orders from the Commodore to get ready for Sailing, and on the 11th they began to get their Water on board, and to fit their Ship: On the 12th they found their Main-maſt ſprung in two Places, two Feet above the Partition on the Lower Deck: On the 13th three *Dutchmen* came on board, and entered themſelves; and on the 15th the Commodore returned from *Canton*, bringing with him a conſiderable Quantity of Stores, neceſſary to put the Ship in a ſailing Poſture.

Immediately after his Return, the neceſſary Orders were given for diſpatching the Repairs; in Obedience to which, the Carpenters were employed in finiſhing their Maſts, the Sail-makers in repairing their Sails, the Butchers in ſalting Pork, and the reſt of the Ship's Company in watering and getting ready for Sea. A Spectacle that ſurpriſed the *Chineſe*, and increaſed the natural Jealouſy they have of all Foreigners.

27. In order to be thoroughly ſatisfied, and agreeable to the *Chineſe* Cuſtom, of knowing to the utmoſt Certainty the Burden and Force of all Foreign Ships, the principal Mandarin at *Macao* determined to pay the Commodore a Viſit, which he did on the 18th, and, having received all the Satisfaction he could deſire, was very elegantly entertained, and at his Departure ſaluted with eleven Guns. The next Day Captain *Mitchell*, who had commanded the *Glouceſter*, went on ſhore in the Barge, in order to take his Paſſage home, with the Conſent of the Commodore. The Order for heaving down was not yet expedited, and all that could be done was to get on board dry Proviſions and Stores, of which they received more or leſs every Day. On the 23d the *Princeſs Mary*, a Ship in the *Eaſt-India* Company's Service, ſailed for *England*, and ſaluted the Commodore with eleven Guns, who returned five. On the 25th two *Daniſh* Ships paſſed by, who likewiſe ſaluted the Commodore with eleven Guns, and had nine returned. On the laſt Day of the Year their Long-boat returned from *Canton*, with an Anchor, Hand-pump, and other Neceſſaries. The Commodore began the Year with diſtributing Part of the Plunder-money taken at *Payta*, that the Officers and Seamen might have ſomething of their own, to furniſh themſelves with Conveniencies.

On the 7th of *January* came the Order for heaving down their Ship, and they immediately began to unmoor, weighed the Sheet-Anchor, and warped over to the Northward for that Purpoſe. The Commodore contracted for 100 *Chineſe* Workmen to aſſiſt, and two Junks to hold the Stores, and other Goods, that were taken out of the *Centurion*; he cauſed likewiſe a Tent to be erected on an adjacent Iſland, and placed a Guard there, for the Security of the Effects that were put on ſhore; he likewiſe hired thirty *Chineſe* Carpenters; and, having loſt no Time, by the End of the Month of *March*, the Ship was perfectly repaired;

and, by the 6th of *April*, completely rigged; and the ſame Day they began to unmoor. On the 7th in the Afternoon the Commodore went aſhore, to take his Leave of the Governor of *Macao*; who, upon his coming off, ſaluted him with thirteen Guns. The next Day a Mandarin, and ſeven *Chineſe*, in a Junk, anchored cloſe by the *Centurion*, who pretended to give the Commodore Advice to make Haſte, becauſe the *Tuffoon* Seaſon was advancing; but the Commodore very well underſtood the Meaning of the Meſſage, and that they were only deſirous of being rid of him, for fear of his interrupting their *Manila* Trade. This appeared more clearly on the 13th, when the Mandarin ſent a Meſſage, inſiſting upon his immediate Departure; to which the Commodore anſwered, that he would ſail when he thought proper, and not before.

On the 17th a *Swediſh* Homeward-bound *Eaſt-Indiaman* anchored near them, which ſaluted the Commodore with 16 Guns, who returned 15; and ſoon after went on board the *Swede*, where he was entertained with all imaginable Reſpect, and ſaluted again at his Departure with 16 Guns. The Commodore, finding the South Weſt *Monſoon* ſetting in, and that it would be dangerous for him to ſail for *Europe* before the Month of *October*, determined to take this Opportunity of ſending home Captain *Saunders*, in the *Swediſh* Ship, with an Account of his Proceedings, for the Satiſfaction of the Government; and, in the mean time, reſolved to cruiſe for the *Acapulco* Ship, which he had certain Intelligence was very ſoon expected at *Manila*.

The City of *Macao*, which in the *Chineſe* Language ſignifies *a Port*, ſtands on the Point of an Iſland, called *Heicheu*, in the Province of *Canton*. The Form of this Point of Land is very ſingular; it reſembles a Man's Arm bent, the Shoulder-part being joined to the Iſland, and the reſt ſurrounded by the Sea: The Haven is very ſafe and commodious, and the City was formerly very rich and ſplendid. It belongs, as it always did, to the *Portugueſe*, who ſettled here by Permiſſion from the Emperor of *China*: They have a Governor of their own, and live under their own Laws; but are, notwithſtanding, ſubjected to the *Chineſe*, to a Degree of Slavery. The Cuſtoms of the Port belong to the Emperor, who has an *Hoppo*, or Commiſſioner of Revenue, here, as in other Ports of his Dominions, and a Mandarin, who directs Civil Affairs; neither is it poſſible for the *Portugueſe* to ſhake off the Yoke, becauſe they are every way ſurrounded by the *Chineſe*, and have not a Day's Proviſion but what they draw from the Country. While the *Portugueſe* were in Poſſeſſion of the Trade to *Japan*, this Place was in a very flouriſhing Condition, and one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in their Poſſeſſion; but ſince their Expulſion from that Iſland, their Trade has declined here, tho' it ſeems now to be in a better Condition than it was ſome Years ago; and there are a conſiderable Number of *Portugueſe* Ships that come hither annually from their Settlements in the *Weſt-Indies*.

But the *Chineſe* drive a much more conſiderable Trade from hence, eſpecially to *Manila*, where they vend a vaſt Quantity of rich Goods, at a very high Price, to the *Spaniards*, who pay for them all in ready Money; that is to ſay, in Pieces of Eight, or in Silver Bars, which they bring from the *Weſt-Indies*. This, however, ſeems to be a great Slip in their Politics; which may be the more eaſily apprehended, if we compare it with the prudent Management of the *Dutch*, who carry on likewiſe a great Trade with the *Chineſe* at *Batavia*; where, notwithſtanding, they never ſuffer them to deal for ready Money, but for Spices, and other *Indian* Commodities, and for the Manufactures of *Europe*; ſo that the ſame Commerce which exhauſts the *Spaniards*, enriches the *Dutch*, who make the *Chineſe* their Carriers at an eaſy Expence; whereas the *Spaniards* export immenſe Quantities of *Chineſe* Goods in their *Manila* Ships to *Acapulco*, and bring from thence the Silver of *Mexico* in Return, the beſt Part of which comes, ſooner or later, into the Hands of the *Chineſe*; ſo that here, as well as in *Europe*, the *Spaniards*, thro' their own ill Management, are only Factors for other People, and have no more than a tranſitory Poſſeſſion of that prodigious Wealth they draw from their *Indies*. It is no Wonder therefore, that the *Chineſe*, who are, without queſtion, as cunning and as ſelf-intereſted a People as any in the World, were very much diſturbed at Commodore *Anſon*'s lying ſo long in this Port, eſpecially after the Arrival of a Ship from *Manila*, which happened a little before his Departure, and informed the *Chineſe* thoroughly of the Apprehenſions they were under from the *Centurion*'s being in their Neighbourhood.

There is one Thing which has been before laid down in point of Fact, that ſeems to require ſome Explanation; and that is the Caution given by the *Chineſe* Mandarin to the Commodore, in relation to the ſtormy Seaſon. We have already ſpoken in other Places ſomewhat of this Subject; but here it will be neceſſary to diſcuſs the Matter more at large, in order to ſettle this Point: With reſpect to the Weather in *China*, *Monſoon* is an *Indian* Word, which, ſtrictly ſpeaking, ſignifies no more than a ſtrong Wind; and is applied to the ſtated Trade-winds no otherwiſe than as they are remarkably ſtrong, as well as ſteady; which Obſervation will hereafter appear to be of much greater Uſe, than at firſt Sight may be imagined. The *Monſoons* are diſtinguiſhed into the Eaſt *Monſoon*, and the Weſt *Monſoon*: The former ſets in, to the North of the Line in the Month of *September*, and blows till *April*, bringing uſually fine, fair, and conſtant Weather; whereas the Weſt *Monſoon*, which blows from *April* to *September*, is uſually accompanied with heavy Rains, and dreadful Storms; which ſhews the Reaſon that induced the Commodore to remain in this Part of the World, till the Eaſt *Monſoon* was well ſet in. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that the Change of theſe Winds is a Thing very regular or exact, or that the Succeſſion of them is immediate; but it is to be underſtood, that the Months of *April* and *September* are the ſhifting Months, and that there is ſome Variation of Winds, before the *Monſoon* becomes fix'd and ſteady. Thus much, however, is certain, that the Alteration of theſe Winds is as conſtant as the Change of the Year; and that all the Navigation of the *Indies* depends upon them.

All who are concerned in Trade wait for theſe Changes, and complete their Cargoes, and fit out their Ships, agreeable to theſe Seaſons, taking ſuch Meaſures to diſpatch their Buſineſs, in the Places to which the Ships are conſigned, as to take the Benefit of the next or contrary *Monſoon*, which brings them back again; neither is it eaſy to conceive, how the Trade of *India* could be carried on, but for theſe regular and conſtant Winds. A Coaſting Trade, indeed, might be practicable, from Places near each other, by the Help of Sea and Land-breezes; but Voyages of conſiderable Extent could by no means be carried on by the Help of ſuch Land and Sea Winds; or, if they were, they might take up three or four Years, inſtead of ſix Weeks. At the Change of theſe Trade Winds there are frequently great Storms, which are alſo called in the *Indies*, *Monſoons*; taking that Word in its natural and ſtrict Senſe, for an high or ſtrong Wind; and therefore this Diſtinction is very neceſſary to be obſerved, in order to prevent our confounding one *Monſoon* with another.

But the Winds mentioned by the Mandarin, were *Tuffoons*, or, as ſome write them, *Typhons*; becauſe the *Greek* Word *Typhon* ſignifies a violent high Wind. It would be at leaſt a tedious and perplex'd, and, perhaps, after all, a dry and uſeleſs Inquiry, ſhould we endeavour to ſhew, that the *Chineſe* Term of *Tuffoon* is derived from, or is no better than a Corruption of, the *Greek* Word *Typhon*; and as it is more agreeable to our Purpoſe, we will endeavour to explain the Thing, without troubling ourſelves about the Name. *Tuffoons*, then, are a particular Kind of violent Storms, which happen uſually in the ſhifting Months, but eſpecially *April*, on the Coaſt of *China*. They commonly happen near the Full or Change of the Moon, and are uſually preceded by very fair Weather, ſmall Winds, and a clear Sky: Theſe Winds veer from the true Trade-wind, and uſually ſhift almoſt round the Compaſs. Before the Storm comes on, there appears a dark thick Cloud on that Point from which the Storm will blow; as ſuppoſe it be from the N. E. which Cloud hangs always near the Horizon, the upper Edge of it being of a dark Flame-colour, which grows brighter and brighter, and then fades to a whitiſh glaring Cloud. This is a very awful and terrible Spectacle, inaſmuch as it laſts ſometimes for twelve Hours before the Storm comes on: When that Cloud begins to move, the Wind preſently follows it, and blows with incredible Violence at N. E. for about twelve Hours, accompanied with moſt horrid Claps of Thunder, large flying Sheets of Lightning, and a prodigious Rain. This furious Wind does not die by Degrees, but ſinks almoſt all at once; then follows a dead Calm for about an Hour, till the Wind riſes from the oppoſite Point at the S. W. and then it blows, thunders, lightens, and rains, with as much Violence, and for about the ſame Time, as it did before.

Varenius, who is juſtly eſteemed for his excellent Writeings on this Subject, has given us a large Deſcription of this Kind of Storm, which, becauſe it is more general, the Reader may perhaps be well pleaſed to ſee. ‘A *Typhon*, ſays he, is a ſtrong ſwift Wind, blows from all Points, wandering about all Quarters, and generally comes from above. This is frequent in the Oriental Seas, eſpecially in the Seas of *Siam*, *China*, and *Japan*, and between *Malacca* and *Japan*. It breaks out violently, almoſt from the Weſtern Point, and turning round the Horizon with a rapid Force, performs the Revolution in twenty Hours; till, growing ſtronger and ſtronger, raiſing thoſe Seas, with its ſtrong Whirling about, to a great Height, every tenth Wave riſing above the reſt, which daſhing againſt one another with great Force, the Seamen loſe all Hopes of their Lives; for which, and other Storms, ſailing from *India* to *Japan* is very dangerous; ſo that if one Ship in three gets ſafe there, it is look'd upon to be a proſperous Voyage. The *Typhon* rages moſt in Summer, and more than can be conceived by thoſe who have not ſeen it; ſo that it is no Wonder the Ribs of the ſtrongeſt and largeſt Ships ſhould be looſened; you would think the Heavens and the Earth were turned to their antient *Chaos*. It rages not only at Sea, but alſo on Land; and overturns Houſes, and pulls up Trees by the Roots, and carries great Ships a Quarter of a Mile from the Sea. The Cauſe of it, no doubt, is, that the Wind ruſhing to a certain Point is obſtructed, and returns on itſelf, and is thus turned round; as we ſee in Water, that turns round about in a *Vortex*, when it meets with an Obſtacle; or it may come from furious Winds meeting one another, which renders the Sea plain, and daſhes againſt the Ships between them.’

28. On the 19th of *April* 1743, they ſailed from *Macao*; and, on the 3d of *May*, ſaw the Southermoſt Part of the Iſland *Formoſa*, lying Eaſt by South, at the Diſtance of ten Leagues, which afforded them a very pleaſant Proſpect. This Iſland, in the beſt Maps we have of *China*, is laid down from the Latitude of 22° to 25° 10' North, and in Longitude, from 3° 20' to 5° 30' Eaſt from *Peking*. Its neareſt Diſtance from the Continent is about thirty Leagues; it is about ſeventy Leagues in Length, and twenty in Breadth. The *Spaniards*, who firſt diſcovered it, called it, from the fair Proſpect it affords at Sea, *Formoſa*; but the *Chineſe* call it *Tai-ouan*; which our Seamen, ſpelling according to the Pronunciation, write *Teywon*. It is, in all reſpects, a very fine Iſland, ſituated in a very wholſome Climate, finely diverſified by Hills and Valleys, Plains and Woods, well watered, and affording not only the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life, but alſo very rich and valuable Commodities; ſuch as Gold in great Plenty, Raw Silk, Sugar, Copper, finer than in *China*, but coarſer than that of *Japan*, with Abundance of Drugs.

The Natives differ much from their Neighbours the *Chineſe*, and the Inhabitants of the *Philippines*, in their Complexions, Stature; and Make, for they are, generally ſpeaking, a low ſquat People, with large Heads, low Foreheads, hollow Eyes, their Cheek-bones remarkably high, large Mouths, ſhort flat Chins, with little or no Beard; their Necks ſmall and long; their Arms and Legs long, ſmall, and ill-ſhaped; their Feet very long and broad, and, generally ſpeaking, they are Baker-kneed. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had Factories there till about the Year 1678, when the Province of *Fokien* having ſubmitted to the *Tartars*, who were then about ſubduing that Iſland, they directed the *Europeans* to remove their Settlements to the Continent; upon which the *Engliſh* withdrew their Factory to *Amoy*; but the *Dutch*, having a good Fortreſs, and a numerous Gariſon, ſuſtained a long Siege, and ſold their Settlement very dear, the *Tartars* loſing ſeveral Thouſands of Men, before they became Maſters of it; and, ſince that time, the Government of it is annexed to the Province of *Fokien*, and no Strangers are ſuffered to trade thither.

On the 6th in the Morning, they were in Sight of the *Baſhee* Iſlands, which are five in Number, lying in the Latitude of 20° 25'. Three of theſe Iſlands are pretty large; that which lies moſt to the Weſt is the biggeſt of the three, being about ſeven or eight Leagues long, and about two wide, lying almoſt North and South, the Land high, flat, and even on the Top, with ſteep Cliffs againſt the Sea. The other two Iſlands are about four or five Leagues to the Eaſtward of this, being between three and four Leagues long, and a League and an half wide, ſtretching North and South; and are very mountainous, with many ſteep Precipices. The two ſmall Iſlands are flat and even; only one of them hath a ſteep rocky Hill: The Inhabitants live in ſmall Villages, built on the Sides and Tops of theſe rocky Hills, and conſiſt of ſeveral Rows of Houſes, one over another, on theſe ſteep Precipices: They go to the firſt Row up a wooden Ladder, and ſo with a Ladder up to that above it, there being no other Way to aſcend. The Plain on the firſt Precipice is ſo wide, as to have Room for a Row of Houſes that ſtand all along on the Edge or Brink of it, and a very narrow Street running along before their Doors: Between the Row of Houſes, and the Brow of the next Precipice, the Plain is, in a manner, level to the Top of the Houſes below; and the reſt are pretty near the ſame Order and Proportion. The common Ladder to each Row or Street comes up at a narrow Paſſage, left purpoſely about the Middle of it; and the Street being bounded with a Precipice alſo at each End, it is but drawing up the Ladder, if they are attacked, and then there is no coming at them from below; and, that they may not be aſſaulted from above, they take care to build on a Hill, the Backſide of which hangs over the Sea, or on ſome high, ſteep, perpendicular Precipice, altogether inacceſſible.

The Men are generally employed in Fiſhing, and take their Sons with them, but their Daughters live at home with their Mothers; and, when they are grown up, they ſend them to their Plantations to dig Yams and Potatoes, of which they bring home on their Heads, every Day, enough to ſerve the whole Family; for they have no Rice or Maize. Their Plantations are in the Valleys, at a good Diſtance from their Houſes, where every Man has a certain Spot of Land, which is properly his own; this he manages for his own Uſe, and provides enough, that he may not be beholden to his Neighbours. Both Men and Women wear very large Ear-rings, made of yellow Metal, which they call *Bullawan*, i. e. Gold, and very probably it is ſo. They are very ingenious in building Boats, having ſome that will carry forty or fifty Men; theſe they row with twelve or fourteen Oars of a Side. In regard to their Manners, they are a neat, ſober, civil, induſtrious, quiet, honeſt People, juſt to each other, and equally courteous and generous to Strangers.

They are very moderate in their way of living, contenting themſelves uſually with Fiſh and Roots. As for their Drink, it is commonly Water; yet they have a better ſort of Liquor amongſt them, made of the Juice of Sugar-canes, which they boil, and put ſome Blackberries among it; when it is well boiled, they put it into a great Jar, and let it ſtand three or four Days to ferment; then it ſettles, and becomes clear, and is preſently fit to drink. It is an excellent Liquor, very much like *Engliſh* Beer, both in Colour and Taſte; it is very ſtrong and wholſome. They have no ſort of Coin, but barter ſmall Pieces of yellow Metal, wrapped up in Plantain-leaves, for what they want. They are great Admirers of Iron, and will ſell a good fat Goat for an iron Hoop; and a large Hog, of ſeventy or eighty Pounds Weight, for two, three, or four Pounds of Iron. They will alſo give ſeveral Jars of their favourite Liquor for old Nails, Spikes, or Bullets.

This Account is intirely taken from Mr. *Dampier*, who, for any thing we know, is the only Author that has given any Deſcription of them: He was there with Captain *Swan* in the Year 1687, or rather in Captain *Swan*'s Ship, for his Crew had then left him behind, and it was his Sailors that beſtowed upon them the Name of the *Baſhee* Iſlands, which they have ſince retained, even in the beſt Maps; and it is really wonderful, that, conſidering ſo much Notice has been taken of his Deſcription, no Attempt has been hitherto made, either to ſettle in them, or trade with their Inhabitants. They had, towards the Middle of the Month of *May*, very ſtormy Weather, with much Rain. On the 21ſt they ſaw Cape *Spiritu Santo*, on the Iſland of *Samar*, which is one of the *Philippines*, and lies to the South-eaſt of *Manilla*. They exerciſed their Small-arms on board conſtantly, when the Weather would permit; and kept cruiſing in the Way of the *Acapulco* Ship to the 18th of *June*, without meeting with any remarkable Accident.

29. On the 21ſt in the Morning they ſaw the Land, bearing South-weſt, at the Diſtance of about ſeven Leagues; and about ſeven o'Clock they firſt diſcerned a Ship, bearing South-eaſt, which proved to be the Galleon they had ſo long expected. As ſoon as the Commodore was informed of it, he came upon Deck, and the firſt Glimpſe through his Perſpective, ſhewing like two Ships, he ſaid, very coolly, to the Sailors who were near him, My Lads, we will fight them both. As ſhe drew nearer, they ſaw their Miſtake; and that, in reality, there was but one Ship. The Commodore then gave Orders for making all Things clear, that they might be in a better Condition to chaſe and fight. The *Spaniſh* Commander, however, did not give them much Trouble in this reſpect, but bore down upon them before the Wind; and, when ſhe was come within a Mile of the *Centurion*, brought-to, in order to engage. In a little time after ſhe fired a Gun, which was anſwered from the *Centurion*, by firing a Gun to the Leeward. At about half an Hour after ten the Enemy hoiſted *Spaniſh* Colours, and a red Flag, with the Arms of *Spain* at her Main-top-maſt-head; and then they began to fire random Shots, before they came to a cloſe Engagement. At half an Hour after twelve o'Clock the *Centurion* hoiſted her Colours, and fired a Shot at the Chace, which ſhe returned. They then came cloſe a longſide of each other, Yard-arm and Yard arm, when the Attack began with all the Fury imaginable.

The Commodore remained, during the whole Action, upon the Quarter-deck, with his Sword drawn, and gave his Directions with the greateſt Calmneſs imaginable. The Honourable Mr. *van Kepple*, Son to the Earl of *Albemarle*, gave his Orders between Decks; which were executed punctually, and without the leaſt Confuſion. As they had not a very large Stock of Ammunition, Inſtructions were given not to waſte it by firing any Guns without Probability of doing Execution; and therefore they fired but four Guns at a time, which generally went through and through the Enemy's Ship; and, as the *Spaniards* had near ſix hundred Men on board, there was hardly a Shot that miſſed them. They made uſe, during the Engagement, of an excellent Feint; which was, making the uſual Signal to board, by laſhing their Sprit-ſail-yard fore-and-aft, which made the *Spaniard* imagine the Commodore had his full Complement of Men; and, what confirmed them in this Opinion, was his ſhewing his whole Force, conſiſting of 227 Men, on one Side, which he had an Opportunity of doing by their engaging Yard-arm and Yard-arm; whereas, if they had fought Broadſide and Broadſide, he would have wanted Men to have managed his Guns. This ſurpriſed and intimidated the Enemy, who, being informed of the Condition they were in at *Tinian*, thought themſelves ſure of taking them; which was what induced them to bear down as they did before the Engagement. The Commander of the *Spaniſh* Ship, *Don Hieronimo Montero*, a *Portugueſe*, behaved very bravely; and, for the firſt Hour, fired very briſkly; but afterwards the Ship lay like a Log in the Sea, and fired only now-and-then. The Action laſted an Hour and twenty Minutes. A *Spaniſh* Officer, who was ordered to ſtrike the Colours, and who ſtood very near them, refuſed to do it for ſome time; but at laſt they were ſtruck.

Upon this the Commodore ordered his Cutter to be hoiſted, the reſt of the Boats being rendered unſerviceable in the Engagement, and ſent on board Lieutenant *Summare* to take Poſſeſſion of her; but, there being little Wind, ſhe fell on board the *Centurion*, but, in a little time, they got clear. When the Cutter returned, ſhe brought the Governor of *Guam*, the Pilot of the *Spaniſh* Ship, and ſome of the principal Officers and Paſſengers: As for the Commander, he had received two Wounds, and it was not thought ſafe to remove him; but Orders were given for taking all imaginable Care of him on board his own Ship.

In this Action the *Centurion* had only two Men killed; *viz. Thomas Richmond*, who had his Head ſhot off, and *George Walton*: Lieutenant *Brett*, and fifteen Men, wounded. They had fifteen Shot through the Hull of the Ship; their Fore-maſt, Main-maſt, and Bowſprit, wounded, and their Rigging very much ſhattered. In taking the Prize, they expended fifty hundred Weight of Round-ſhot, four Rounds of Grape, and four of Double-headed, and twenty-four Barrels of Powder. The *Spaniſh* Galleon was called *Nueſtra Signora del Cabo Dongo*: She could mount ſixty Guns, but had only forty-two actually mounted, ſeventeen of which were Braſs, and twenty-eight Patereroes; each of which, that is of the Patereroes, was loaded with ſeventy Muſquet-balls, or what was equivalent to them, ruſty Nails, Flint-ſtones, and Slugs; they likewiſe fired abundance of Chain-ſhot, ſome Double-headed, with barbed Points, which with us are eſteemed unlawful. She had fifty-eight Men killed, and eighty-three wounded. To prevent their being intimidated by ſo great a Loſs, the Commander ordered twenty Men to be employed, during the whole Action, in throwing the Dead over-board, and in waſhing the Deck, that the Blood might not be perceived. She had 150 Shot through her Hull, many of which were between Wind and Water, which made her very leaky; her Maſts were in a very bad Condition, and her Rigging tore all to-pieces, ſo that they were obliged to ſend Blocks and Cails of Ropes on board, to repair it as ſoon as ſhe was taken. The Cutter and the Long-boat of the Prize were for ſome time employed in bringing on board the Priſoners, to the Number of three hundred; and Lieutenant *Summare*, with fifty Men, were left in Poſſeſſion of the Prize, together with two Surgeons, to aſſiſt the Wounded. They found, on the firſt Search, on board the Ship, one hundred and twelve Bags and ſix Cheſts of Dollars, and one Bag of Plate.

On the 22d five of the Priſoners died, on board the *Centurion*, of their Wounds; the two next Days were employed in bringing on board great Part of their Riches. On the 25th one hundred of the Priſoners were put into the Hold of the *Spaniſh* Ship. The ſame Day Don *Hieronimo Montero* came on board the *Centurion*; and, when he ſaw how inconſiderable their Force was, he could not help expreſſing the greateſt Fury and Paſſion at being taken by ſuch an Handful of Men, and thoſe too in ſuch Condition; for many, though they had Spirit enough to fight, were almoſt eat up with the Scurvy, and a great Part of the Crew were, in a manner, perfect Boys. On the 26th more Money was brought on board; ſo that it was now computed they had had a Million two hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight from on board the Prize, and a great deal more was brought on board the next Day.

On the 29th Mr. *Philip Summare* was appointed Captain of the Prize, his Commiſſion bearing Date from the Day ſhe was taken; and, as ſoon as he received it, the new Captain ſaluted the Commodore with eleven Guns, which was anſwered by three; but the Prize was in ſo bad a Condition, that they were obliged to take her in Tow. The ſame Day they removed fifteen Bags of Dollars, ſome Plate, and three ſmall Caſks of Virgin-ſilver, on board the *Centurion*, ſo that they had now every thing of Value out of the Prize, amounting, in the Whole, to 1,313,843 Pieces of Eight, and 35,682 Ounces of Plate and Virgin-ſilver. On the firſt of *July* they had Sight of the *Baſhee* Iſlands, and the next Day found themſelves off the Iſland of *Manila*, for which their Prize was bound.

The proper Name of this Iſland is *Luconia*, but it is frequently called *Manila*, from its Metropolis of that Name. It is the largeſt of the *Philippines*, and one of the very beſt Countries ſubject to the Crown of *Spain*. It affords all Sorts of Corn, Fruits, and Roots, in prodigious Plenty, and Fleſh and Fiſh, in as great Abundance as can be wiſhed; beſides all theſe Advantages, which make it a delightful Country to live in, it may be juſtly conſidered

ſidered as the beſt ſituated Place for Trade in the *Eaſt Indies*, or perhaps in the Univerſe. The Commodities of this Iſland are Iron, Steel, Gold, but not very fine; Wax, Rice, Sago, Saffron, *&c.* to which we may add a vaſt Quantity of Deer-ſkin, and Buffelo-hides, which, by the Help of the *Chineſe*, they ſend yearly to *Japan*. The City of *Manila*, which is wonderfully well ſeated in the Latitude of 14° 15′ North, is the Seat of an Archbiſhop, and of the Viceroy; and they both live here in the utmoſt Splendor. The City itſelf is large and populous; the Streets wide and handſome; the public Buildings very magnificent; the Suburb of the *Chineſe* is very large, and full of People, who are very induſtrious, and carry on a prodigious Trade, notwithſtanding the *Spaniards* haraſs them with heavy Impoſitions. The Port is one of the beſt in the World, being at once extremely ſafe, and very capacious, at the ſame time that it is ſo well ſituated as to command equally the Trade both of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*.

There is another Advantage, which the *Spaniards* poſſeſs and improve here beyond any thing they do in other Parts of their Dominions; and that is, abundance of fine Timber, fit for Ship-building, and which is employed in the Conſtruction of thoſe vaſt Galleons which carry on the Trade between this Port and *Acapulco*. It is likewiſe certain, that the *Spaniards* build other Veſſels here for their *Eaſt India* Trade; and, though it muſt be granted, that they do not make the utmoſt Uſe that might be made of theſe Advantages, yet it cannot be denied, that they make more Uſe of them here, than in any other Parts of their Dominions. They admit *Mohammedans* and *Chineſe* to trade here, though they are no-where more preciſe in the Excluſion of *Europeans*. The *Mohammedans* are allowed the Exerciſe of their Religion; but the *Chineſe* are forced to counterfeit Chriſtianity, which they will do very dexterouſly, to promote their Commerce. This is the bright Side of the Proſpect; but, perhaps, it may not be amiſs to view it a little in the Shade. The Iſland of *Luconia* is very large; ſome ſay, not leſs than four hundred Leagues in Circumference, and, at the ſame time, is extremely populous. The *Spaniards* are poſſeſſed only of the Coaſt, and have not more determined Enemies in the World than the Inhabitants of the inland Parts, who, as they are equally active and warlike, give them a great deal of Trouble, fortifying all the Entrances into their Country with a ſort of Retrenchments made of Bamboos, or ſplit Canes, which defend them from the Attacks of the *Spaniards*, and yet leave them ſecret Paſſages, by which they ſally out, and make dreadful Excurſions.

There have been likewiſe many civil Commotions even in the *Spaniſh* Settlements, owing chiefly to the Oppreſſions of their Viceroy, or Captain-General, and to the Intrigues of the Clergy. In the Year 1719 the latter ſtirred up the People againſt the Viceroy, who had behaved very ill in his Government, and actually killed him in his Palace. It is therefore eaſy to judge, why the *Spaniards* are ſo apprehenſive of *Europeans* carrying on any Commerce here, ſince they are equally in Danger from the Natives on the one hand, and from the Diſcontents of their own People on the other. Yet, in ſpite of all their Care, the *Portugueſe* ſhare in the rich Commerce of this Iſland, and the *Spaniards* were frequently forced to employ them in military and maritime Affairs, for which they are much fitter than their own People. But thoſe they moſt dread are the *Dutch*: And, it is for this Reaſon; that, though Nutmegs and Cloves actually grow here, as well as Pepper and other Spices, yet neither the *Spaniards*, nor the Inhabitants, take any Care to cultivate them, merely from the Apprehenſion of its tempting their Neighbours to extend their Conqueſts on this Side. It is very true, that the *Dutch* can ſcarce draw together a Force ſufficient to execute ſuch a Deſign, but they know ſo well how to excite the *Indian* Nations againſt each other, and, by their Aſſiſtance, have brought about elſewhere ſuch ſurpriſing Revolutions, that it would be certainly a dangerous thing to provoke them, by interfering, in any Degree, with that darling Article of their *Indian* Commerce, the Monopoly of theſe Spices. But to proceed with our Voyage.

On the 9th of *July* in the Afternoon, being then within Sight of the Coaſt of *China*, they diſcovered a Sail; to which they gave Chace, ſending for all their People from on board the *Centurion*'s Prize, excepting the Captain and nine Men, who had likewiſe Orders to quit her in caſe of an Engagement. The next Morning they ſaw her again, when ſhe appeared to be a large Ship under *French* Colours. They continued the Chace all that Day, and the next Morning, but, finding they did not gain much upon her, and, conſidering they had not Water for above three Days, and ſo great a Number of Priſoners to guard, they reſolved to proſecute their Voyage to *Macao*. On the 11th in the Afternoon, a Boat came on board them with two *Chineſe* Pilots, one of which was taken on board the *Centurion*, and the other ſent on board the Prize. The next Day ſeveral Boats came off from *Macao*, in order to tow them into the Road, where they anchored in ſix Fathom Water, the City bearing South-weſt, at the Diſtance of about two Leagues: When the Boats that had towed them in returned, they ſent aſhore by them ſeventy of their *Spaniſh* Priſoners, whom they ſet at Liberty.

31. As the Commodore had before experienced many Inconveniencies from lying a conſiderable time in the Road of *Macao*, he was reſolved not to remain there, but to proceed through the Cluſter of Iſlands, that lie in that Gulph, to the River of *Canton*, or, as the *Chineſe* call it, *Quang-tong*; which accordingly he did, and anchored, on the 14th of *July*, off an Iſland, which is called the Iſland of *Tygers*, at the Mouth of the Harbour. On the 15th, the Commodore ſent a Lieutenant, with nineteen Men, in his Barge, up to the City, with a Letter addreſſed to the Viceroy, acquainting him with the Reaſons which obliged him to enter his Port, intimating his Deſign to pay him a Viſit, and deſiring a Supply of Proviſions and Stores. On the 16th, two *French* Ships entered the Road; upon which, the Commodore put his own Ship, and his Prize, in a proper Poſture to receive them, in caſe they had acted as Enemies; but, upon his ſending his Pinnace on board, they aſſured the Officer who commanded her, that there was no War declared between the two Crowns when they left *France*, which was about the Middle of *December*. On the 17th, they moored in the Mouth of *Quang-tong* River, at the ſame time that the *Harrington Eaſt Indiaman* came to an Anchor there, and ſaluted them with twenty-one Guns; which Compliment they returned with nineteen. The next Morning the Lieutenant returned in the Barge, and brought with him a Supyly of freſh Proviſions, but no Licence for proceeding up the River, as was expected; and from him the Commodore received Notice, that a Mandarin, of conſiderable Rank, would be very quickly ſent from the Vice-King, to acquaint him with the Reſolutions he had taken in reference to his Letter.

Upon this, every thing was put in order for the Reception of this *Chineſe* Officer, who arrived on the 20th, attended by twelve *Chiampans*. He deſired that the Commodore would ſpare the Ceremony of ſaluting him, becauſe his Guns being large, the Noiſe would diſturb him extremely. He aſſured him, that the Vice-King would take very kindly a Viſit from him and the Captain of the other Ship; preſented him with a Licence for a daily Supply of freſh Proviſions; but intimated, at the ſame time, that the uſual Duties, according to the Size and Meaſurement of his Ship, would be expected, as they made no Diſtinction in *China* between Merchantmen and Kings Ships. The Commodore replied, that the King of *Great Britain*'s Ships of War were never treated on a Level with trading Veſſels in any Port; and that he was abſolutely reſtrained, by his Inſtructions, from paying any Acknowledgment for Leave to anchor in any Harbour whatever. The Mandarin behaved very civilly and politely, ſeemed to be extremely well ſatisfied with the Reception he met with, and promiſed, at his Departure, to haſten the Licence for proceeding up the River; for want of which, they had not hitherto been able to paſs the Bar. On the 22d, they ſent more of their Priſoners on ſhore.

On the 24th, two *Dutch* Ships anchored near them from *Batavia*; and the next Day arrived a third, which ſaluted them with fifteen Guns; to which they returned thirteen.

On the 27th the Licence arrived, and the next Day they ſailed over the Bar, and anchored in five Fathom Water. The next Morning they ſent the General of the *Spaniſh* Ship, the reſt of the Officers, and all the Priſoners, except the Second Mate, ſome Carpenters, and ten or twelve more Men, who might be uſeful in refitting their own Ship, on board two *Chineſe* Junks, to *Macao*. On the 29th, they weighed, and ſtood up the River, and came to an Anchor over-againſt the Cuſtom-Houſe; and now, having no further Occaſion for the *Chineſe* Pilots, the Commodore diſcharged them. The whole Month of *Auguſt* was employed in purchaſing Stores and Proviſions from ſeveral Ships in the River, as was alſo that of *September* in making ſuch neceſſary Repairs as their Circumſtances would permit. The 11th of *October*, being the Anniverſary of his Majeſty's Coronation, they dreſſed their Ship, diſplayed their Colours, and fired twenty-one Guns.

On the 12th, the Commodore being informed, that a Ship belonging to the *Eaſt-India* Company, called the *Haeſlingfield*, was arrived on the Coaſt of *China*, in a very diſtreſſed Condition, occaſioned by her meeting with a Tuffoon about thirty Leagues to the Weſtward of *Macao*, in which ſhe loſt her Main-maſt, Fore-maſt, Bow-ſprit, and had her Quarter and Gunnel broke, he immediately ſent the Long boat belonging to the *Harrington*, another *Eaſt-India* Ship, with an Officer and thirty Men well armed, with twenty Swords, as many Bayonets, and Cartridge-boxes, together with an Anchor, and a ſeven Inch and half Halſer, for the Uſe of that Ship. He was the more anxious about this Affair, from an Apprehenſion, that the *Spaniſh* Priſoners he had lately diſcharged, and ſent to *Macao*, might, on ſeeing her in this Diſtreſs, attempt ſomething to her Prejudice: So careful was the Commodore, on every Occaſion, to ſhew his Concern for whatever related to his Country, and ſo willing was he to contribute, ſo far as lay in his Power, to protect the Commerce of his Majeſty's Subjects; which gained him the univerſal Eſteem and Affection, not only of all in the *Eaſt-India* Company's Service, but of ſuch *Europeans* alſo as were at this Time at *Canton*; of which they gave the moſt ſignal Teſtimonies, whenever any Opportunity offered, and particularly on the following Occaſion; in which the Commodore acted with all the Prudence, Dexterity, and Preſence of Mind, that ſo nice and delicate a Conjuncture required: And, no doubt, his Behaviour will be eſteemed a fit Precedent in ſucceeding Times, in caſe any of his Majeſty's Ships of War ſhould hereafter have Occaſion to viſit this, or any other Port in *China*.

32. The Ship being now almoſt in a Condition fit for Sailing, and nothing wanting but a ſufficient Stock of Proviſions and Naval Stores, for which, notwithſtanding the moſt preſſing Inſtances had been made, no Licence could be obtained, tho' all the Favour aſked, was to purchaſe them for ready Money; the Commodore reſolved to make a Viſit in Perſon to the Vice-King. But as it was impoſſible to foreſee what Accidents might attend his putting himſelf abſolutely in the Power of the *Chineſe*, who had hitherto ſhewn no great Regard to his Repreſentations, he very wiſely provided for the worſt, by granting a Commiſſion to Mr. *Brett*, whom he appointed Captain of the *Centurion*, with ſtrict Injunctions, that, in caſe he ſhould be detained on ſhore by the *Chineſe*, he ſhould immediately deſtroy the Prize, out of which all the Treaſure had been taken, and proceed with the *Centurion* without the Mouth of the River, and out of the Reach of the two Forts, that, at all Events, the Ship might be ſafe.

Theſe Precautions taken, the Commodore acquainted the Captains and Supercargoes of the *Engliſh*, *Swediſh*, and *Daniſh* Ships, that were in the Harbour, of his Deſign; and that he would be glad of their Company, to attend him to his Audience of the Vice-King. Accordingly, on the 13th, at Nine in the Morning, they came on board his Ship; and, about Four in the Afternoon, the Commodore, with Captain *Summare*, and Lieutenant *van Kepple*, with the Captains and Supercargoes, put off in the Barge, which was rowed by eighteen Seamen, all choſen Men, and in new Cloaths. They were immediately joined by the Boats of all the *India* Ships in the River, the Crew of the *Centurion* giving the Commodore three Chears as he went off, and ſaluting him with 19 Guns. When he landed, his Officers, and thoſe who accompanied him, marched in a ſolemn and regular Proceſſion towards the Viceroy's Palace, the Commodore himſelf being carried in a Chair: His Attendants alſo were properly marſhalled, and the whole Ceremony conducted with as much Decency, and even with all the Magnificence, that their Circumſtances would allow. As the *Chineſe* are extravagantly fond of Pomp and Shew, and as the Officers were all of them very richly dreſſed, and all their Attendants in new Cloaths, the Ceremony had a very proper Effect, and all the Spectators regarded it with Silence and Reſpect.

On their Arrival at the Vice-King's Palace, they found 10,000 Men under Arms before it, the Windows, Galleries, and Battlements, all thronged with People belonging to his Court. The Commodore, and thoſe who accompanied him, were immediately conducted into the great Hall of the Palace; and ſoon after were admitted to the Preſence of the Vice-King, who appeared on this Occaſion with all the Pomp imaginable, being attended by the Mandarins of his Council. He received the Commodore with the utmoſt Civility and Politeneſs, and gave him a grand Entertainment, conſiſting, after the *Chineſe* Manner, of a Multitude of ſmall Diſhes, filled with different Sorts of minc'd Meat; after which, and a proper Interval between, there followed a rich Deſſert of dried Fruits and Sweetmeats; and, after that, Tea. The Vice-King likewiſe readily granted all that the Commodore deſired, and made him ſome Preſents, as a Teſtimony of his Reſpect. The Commodore had alſo provided ſuitable Preſents for the Vice-King, who told him, with all the Civility imaginable, that it was contrary to the Cuſtom of his Country, and incompatible with the Office he held, for him to receive them; and therefore hoped he would excuſe his Refuſal.

Such was the Iſſue of this Audience, with which the Commodore had all the Reaſon in the World to be ſatiſfied, having ſucceeded therein to the utmoſt Extent of his Wiſhes, and much beyond the Expectation of all the *Europeans*; who gave it as their unanimous Opinion, before the Commodore's Departure, that the Port Duties would be inſiſted on, there having been hitherto no Inſtance of their being ever diſpenſed with. The Succeſs of this whole Affair was entirely owing to the perſonal Conduct of the Commodore, who had thoroughly ſtudied the Genius and Diſpoſition of the People he had to deal with; and by his Wiſdom, Moderation, and Diſcretion, overcame all the Difficulties, which the moſt experienced People in that Country thought inſurmountable; and by his Firmneſs, and Preſence of Mind, aſſerted the Honour of his Maſter, and of this Nation, among the moſt cunning and ſubtle People in the World. He returned with the ſame State and Ceremony from this Audience, with which he went to it; and the News of his happy Succeſs, when brought to his Ship, was received with all poſſible Marks of the moſt ſincere Joy.

The firſt Thing that was done after his Return, was to take an Account of, and to pack up in the propereſt Manner, the Treaſure taken out of the Prize; and the Carpenters were ordered to prepare proper Receptacles for its Security: A certain Number of *Chineſe* Carpenters were likewiſe taken into Pay, in order to forward the Repairs. In the Beginning of *November*, they began to take in Proviſions and Sea-ſtores, and ſent a great Quantity of Iron, and other Goods, on board the *Harrington*. On the 7th, the Men returned that had been ſent to aſſiſt the *Haeſlingfield*; and, having reported, that they had brought her into the Chanel, the Launch was ſent with a proper Crew of Men, in order to aſſiſt in bringing her up. The next Day, the *Haeſlingfield* paſſed by them, and ſaluted the *Centurion* with 21 Guns, and received 19 in Return. On the 10th, they completed their Watering, and the reſt of the Month was ſpent in receiving all ſorts of Proviſions and Sea-ſtores from *Canton*. On the 28th, a moſt dreadful Fire broke out in the Suburbs of that City, by which 350 Houſes were conſumed; as were likewiſe the Factories belonging to the *Swedes* and *Danes*. By the Cloſe of the Month, the beſt Part of their Stores were on board; and they began to think of diſpoſing all Things for their Departure.

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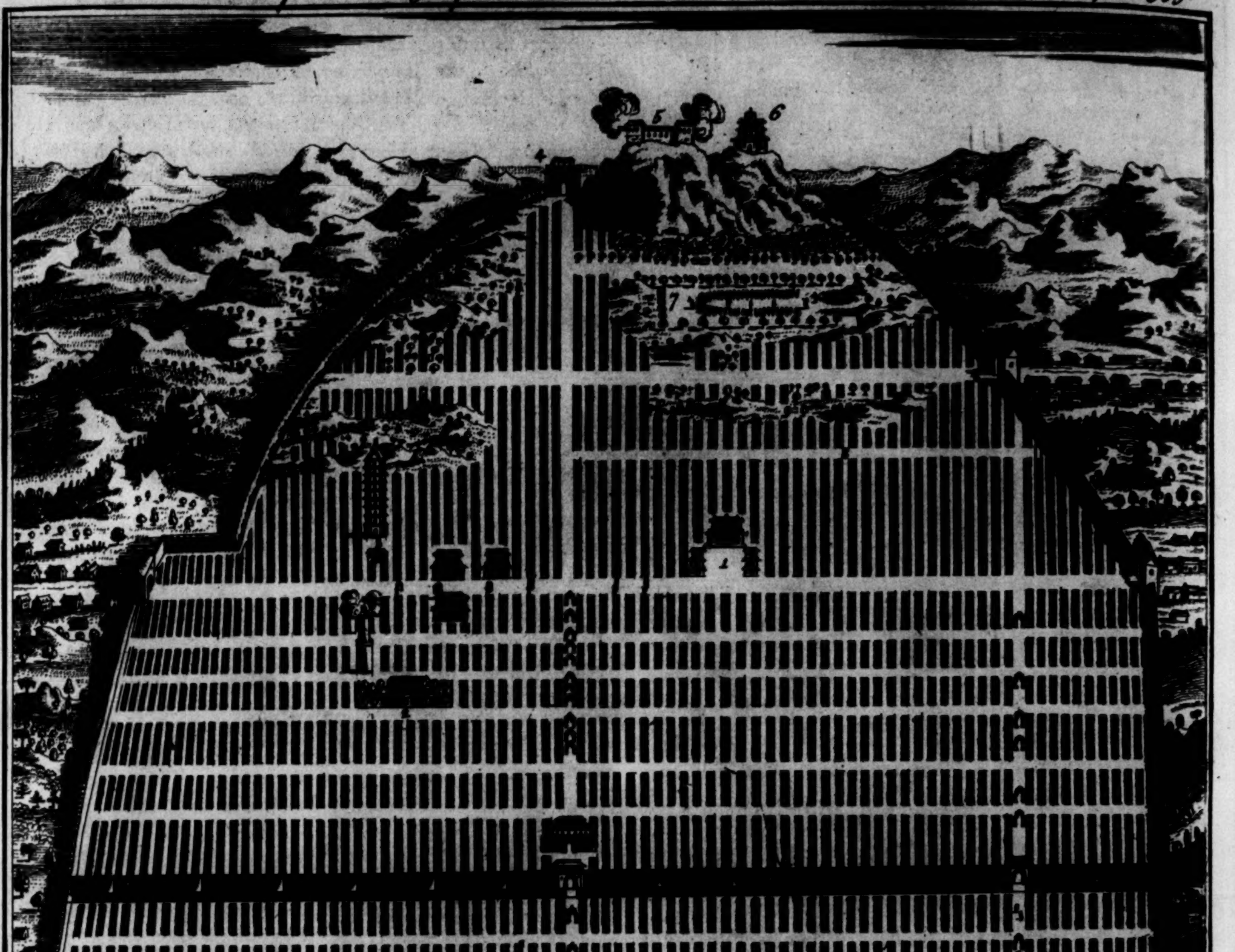
A Plan of the City of **Canton** *on the River* **Ta ho.** *Vol.1. pa. 359.*



1 *The Old Kings Palace.* 2 *The Young Kings Palace.* 3 *A Chineſe Tower.* 4 *The Land Gate.* 5 *The Fort.*
6 *The Banqueting House.* 7 *The Place of Exercise for the Tartars.* 8 *The Quarters for the Tartars.*
9 *The City Wall.* 10 *The Armoury.* 11 *The Vice Roy's Palace.* 12 *The Watergates.* 13 *Floating Castles.*

33. After relating ſo many Tranſactions in the Port of *Canton*, it may be expected, that we ſhould enter here into a particular Deſcription of it, that the Reader may the better apprehend what we have delivered with relation to this Voyage: But, that we may preſerve as great Propriety as poſſible, and that Regard which is due to the general Method of this Work, we ſhall confine ourſelves at preſent to the Province of *Quang-tong*, and the Capital thereof; and not run out into a Deſcription of *China* in general, or of the *Chineſe* Nation, becauſe we ſhall be obliged to treat theſe Subjects largely in another Place. The Province of *Quang-tong* lies in the South Part of the Empire of *China*, and is one of the moſt beautiful and fruitful Countries of that noble Empire. It is bounded on the North-Eaſt by the Province of *Fo-kien*; on the North by that of *Kiang-ſi*; on the Weſt by that of *Quang-ſi*, and the Kingdom of *Tong-king*; and on every other Side by the Sea. Before we ſpeak of the Diviſion of this Country, it is abſolutely neceſſary to obſerve, that the *Chineſe* divide each of their Provinces into certain Diſtricts, in each of which there is a City of the firſt Order, which, in their Language, is called *Fou*. This Diviſion ſeems to reſemble that of our Ridings in *Yorkſhire*: Theſe are again ſub-divided into Diſtricts, which have each of them a City of the ſecond Order, which they call *Tcheou*; and theſe again, which ſeem to reſemble our Hundreds, into leſſer Parts, the Head of which is a Town of the third Order, called by them *Hien*; which Diviſions anſwer to our Tythings. In every Province therefore there is a Metropolis, a certain Number of Towns of the firſt Order, equal to the Diſtricts; and ſo of the ſecond and third.

The Province of *Quang-tong* is divided into Ten *Fou*: The firſt of which is that which the *Europeans* call *Canton*, and which the *Chineſe* write *Quang-tcheou-fou*; which is at once the Metropolis of the Province, and the Head of a Diſtrict; in which there is one City of the ſecond Order, and ſixteen Towns of the third: The whole Province comprehending ten Cities of the firſt Order, and eighty-four Towns of the ſecond and third. The Country is finely diverſified into Mountains and Valleys; the latter ſo fruitful, that they produce two Crops of Corn every Year. There is no Province in *China* that abounds in richer Commodities than this, in which are found Precious Stones of all Sorts, fine Pearls, Gold, Quickſilver, Copper, Iron, Steel, Tin, Saltpetre, Sugar, Silk, Ebony, and other rich Woods. There is likewiſe a prodigious Quantity of all Sorts of fine Fruit, and the Sea on its Coaſt abounds with a Variety of fine Fiſh, and with Tortoiſes of a prodigious Size, of the Shells of which the *Chineſe* make all Sorts of Toys. The ſupreme Governor of this Province, or, as the *Chineſe* call him, *Tſong-tou*, has alſo the Province of *Quang-ſi* under his Juriſdiction, and therefore his ordinary Reſidence is at *Tcha-king*, which is the City of this Province neareſt to *Quang-ſi*; and he reſides there, that he may attend with the greater Facility to the Affairs of both Provinces.

The City of *Canton*, which is one of the richeſt and beſt peopled in the whole Empire, ſtands on the noble River *Ta ho*, which riſes in the Province of *Quang-ſi*, and falls into the Ocean a little below this City, where it is wide enough to admit Ships of large Burden, notwithſtanding the many Canals that are cut from it into the adjacent Provinces. The Mouth of it, which the *Chineſe* call *Hou-men*, or the *Gulph of Tygers*, is commanded by two Forts, that are, however, of no great Strength; but ſerve well enough to defend the City, and the Country adjoining, from the Ravages of the *Chineſe* Pirates, for which they are chiefly intended.

When the *Tartars* invaded and conquered *China*, this City made a noble Defence: The Siege laſted for nine Months, and the *Tartars* loſt 100,000 Men; and it might have held out much longer; for there was a numerous Gariſon, and no Want of Proviſions, the Port remaining open. But the *Chineſe* Governor was ſtrongly tinctured with the Vices of his Country, Cowardice and Cunning; and, apprehending that his Family, if the City ſhould be taken, would be expoſed to the Fury of thoſe barbarous Enemies, he made a private Treaty with the *Tartars*, and moſt perfidiouſly opened two Gates in the Night, by which the *Tartars* entered Horſe and Foot, and burnt and deſtroyed every thing without Mercy.

The Walls are pretty high towards the River; but on the Eaſt Side, as the Ground is hilly, the Walls are lower: The whole Extent of them is about ten or twelve Miles, but then there are large Spaces, on the Eaſt and South Sides eſpecially, in which there are only Gardens and Summer-houſes. There is a large Building of Timber on the higheſt of the little Hills to the Eaſt, that ſtands cloſe to the Wall, and bears the Name of the *King's Banqueting-houſe*: It is four Story high, ſupported with great Fir-Maſts, very finely painted with Vermilion and Japan, and gilded, as are all the Walls and Cielings within it: From it may be had a very fair Proſpect of the City and Suburbs. The Suburbs are ſo large, that ſome of them look like Cities; half the Number of Houſes built in the Garden-plats would fill them up, and all other vacant Places in the Town. There are many ſtately Buildings in the City of *Canton*, and above a dozen triumphal Arches in ſeveral Places of the City, and a great Number of Temples well ſtock'd with Images. The *Italian* Church makes an handſome Figure, but the *French* Chapel is but mean on the Outſide. At preſent this great City is ſo divided, that it forms, as it were, three different Towns, each of which is ſurrounded with Walls, with Gates, at proper Diſtances, and all together they make a Sort of a long Square. The Houſes of private People are but very indifferent; but the Palaces of their Mandarins are large and beautiful, with ſpacious Courts. Their Streets are very long, ſtrait, and neatly kept. All the Houſes that front towards them, have Shops, before which there ſtands a Pedeſtal, on the Top of which there is a Board painted or gilt, with the Tradeſman's Name, or Sign, with the Names of two or three of the principal Commodities in which he deals; and at the Bottom are generally theſe two Words, *Pou-hou*; which is as much as to ſay, that this Tradeſman never cheats; or, to tranſlate it literally, the Inſcription may be thus read, *Pou-hou*, i. e. *No Fraud*. This double Row of Sign-poſts, if we may be allowed ſo familiar an Expreſſion, has a very good Effect on the Eye, and may be juſtly reckoned not only the chief Beauty of this Place, but of all the great Cities in *China*.

The Streets of *Canton* are, in the Day-time, continually crouded. Perſons in eaſy Circumſtances are carried about in Chairs; but the ordinary Sort of People, and eſpecially the Porters, for, by the way, there is no other Carriage in Uſe here but Mens Shoulders, are very poorly dreſſed, their Legs and Feet quite naked, and their Heads uncovered, if it be fair Weather; but, if it be very hot, they have monſtrous large Straw Hats, to defend them from the Heat of the Sun. In the Night, however, this, like all the other great Cities of *China*, is as ſtill and quiet as any of our Country Villages; which is owing to the Strictneſs of their Government, every Street having a Barrier at the End of it, which is locked every Evening, ſoon after the City-gates are ſhut, ſo that every body muſt take care to be at home in good Time. The River is covered on both Sides with an infinite Number of Veſſels of all Sizes, moſt of which belong to Fiſhermen, and are their ſole Habitations. Every Bark lodges a Family, ſo that this may be conſidered as a Kind of floating Town. The poor People who live in theſe Veſſels, go out early every Morning to fiſh, or to work in the Rice-fields, which, as we before obſerved, produce two Crops every Year. As to the Number of People in *Canton*, all Writers agree, that it is very great. The *French* Miſſionaries ſay, that it is as large and as populous as *Paris*, and then tell us that it contains a Million of Souls; which Accounts, to ſuch as are Judges of theſe Matters, do not ſeem to agree. A *Britiſh* Subject has made another, and more reaſonable Computation, founded on the Conſumption of Rice in that City; in reſpect to which he argues thus: There are 10,000 Peculs of Rice daily uſed in *Canton*, and it is known by Experience, that a Pecul of Rice will laſt a Perſon, one with another, three Months; ſo that if this Computation be juſt, the Number of People in the City may be about 900,000; and this is certainly a prodigious Number, conſidering how many great Cities there are in *China*.

The ſame Perſon who made this Computation, informs us, that the Province of *Canton* pays yearly to the Emperor 1,200,000 Peculs of Rice, and 20,000 Peculs of Salt; out of which is ſerved to the Military, who are reckoned 80,000, continually kept in the Emperor's Pay, 32,000 Peculs of Rice, and 8000 Peculs of Salt; the reſt is ſold in Markets, at the common Price of five Maices a Pecul; which may amount to 446,000 Tayals; which is appropriated towards the Payment of the Military Expence, which may amount to 1,000,000 of Tayals yearly. The Cuſtoms on Merchandize, and Poll-money, amount to prodigious great Sums, all which are gathered according to the Book of Rates, and ſent to the Treaſury of the Province, for the Uſe of the Emperor; which makes the Emperor's Treaſury always full.

Canton is the Port of *China*, in which not only the beſt Part of the *European* Trade is carried on, but that alſo from which the *Chineſe* themſelves carry on moſt of their Foreign Trade, which is very conſiderable. In the Month of *March* they ſend annually a Fleet to *Cochin China*, laden with very rich Goods, moſtly of their own Manufactures; from whence they bring in Return different Aſſortments of Goods, moſt of which they export again to *Japan* or *Batavia*; their Veſſels return towards the latter End of *July*. Their Commerce to *Camboya* is carried on by an annual Fleet, which ſails in the Month of *January*. The Returns they bring from thence are Sapan-wood, Elephants Teeth, Lack, dreſſed Hides of all Kinds, together with the Skins of Birds, and their Feathers on them; as alſo Abundance of Drugs. From *Canton* to *Tonquin* is a Voyage of ten Days, or a Fortnight; they ſail in *January*, and return in *July*: They bring from thence Raw Silk, which is very good; Mudies, which is a Sort of Stuff made of the Bark of Trees; Wrought Silks, Calicoes, and Cinnamon, but it is not very ſtrong.

The Ships deſtined for *Siam* ſail about the Middle of *November*; they uſually ſpend a Month in their Paſſage, but they do not return to *Canton* till towards the End of *July*. The Commodities they bring from thence are moſt of them exported again, either in groſs, or manufactured. Their Commerce with *Batavia* is very extenſive; the Ships engaged in it uſually ſail in the Beginning of the Month of *December*, and arrive there in *January*; they leave *Batavia* again in the Beginning of *June*, and reach *Canton* in the Month of *July*: The Diſtance between theſe Ports is uſually reckoned 700 Leagues. As they pay the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company Four *per Cent.* for all they bring in, and make their Returns almoſt intirely in Goods, they pay no Duties outwards. The Goods they export are uſually, fine Gold, Tutenague, Gold Wire, China, Earthen-ware of all Sorts, Quickſilver, Tea of all Sorts, Wrought Silks of different Kinds, Copper, Aniſeed, Vermilion, Muſk, Rhubarb, Borax, Glaſs of different Sorts, vaſt Quantities of Raw Silks. They bring from thence, in Return, Lead, Tin, Pepper, Camphire, Perfumes, Coral, Mats of different Sorts, Myrrh, Nutmegs, Cloves, Amber, Sugar-candy, and a vaſt Quantity of Drugs.

We have already given an Account of the great Commerce they carry on in *Japan*, and have more than once mentioned their Trade to *Manila*. This City lies at the Diſtance of two hundred Leagues from *Canton*, and the *Chineſe* Junks go thither in *March*, and return in *July*. They export almoſt all the Commodities and Manufactures of *China* thither; and bring back Pearls, Sapan-wood, Hides, and Silver. The *Chineſe* ſend annually a great many Ships to *Achin*, or, as they pronounce it in the *Indies*, *Atcheen*: Each of theſe Ships is manned by five or ſix *Europeans*; the reſt of the Ship's Crew are *Moors*, or, as they call them in the *Indies*, *Laſcars*. The Supercargoes, or Merchants only, are *Chineſe*. The Seaſon of their Sailing is towards the End of *October*, that they may arrive in the Beginning of *December* at *Achin*, and have time enough to proceed from thence to the *Maldives*. This is a very rich Commerce, and care is taken to aſſort their Goods in ſuch a manner, as that they may ſuit the Markets of *Surat*, *Achin*, and the *Maldives*. It is to be obſerved, that, throughout all the Trade they carry on in the *Indies*, the *Chineſe* mingle *European* Commodities with their own; and, where-ever they traffick, they are ſure to be conſiderable Gainers.

As to their Trade with the *Europeans*, we ſhall hereafter be obliged to ſpeak of it very copiouſly, and explain the different Circumſtances that have attended it in this Empire. At preſent, we ſhall conclude our Account of the Trade of *Canton*, by obſerving, that, beſides all this foreign Trade, they carry on a prodigious Commerce with the Inhabitants of the different Parts of their own Empire, and this in ſeveral Ways; for the Inhabitants of this City are exceedingly induſtrious, very ingenious, and, withal, have the Advantage of working after *European* Models; ſo that there is a prodigious Quantity of all Sorts of Goods manufactured in the City and Suburbs, and expoſed to Sale in their Shops, where they are bought by thoſe who come from other Provinces, to vend their own Commodities to the *Europeans*.

The Merchants of *Canton* alſo, as they have the Convenience of excellent Water-carriage, not only to *Peking*, which is the Capital of the Empire, but likewiſe into moſt of the Provinces, freight abundance of ſmall Veſſels, and ſome of a conſiderable Size, with their Goods, and diſpoſe of them every-where to great Advantage. Add to all this, that they carry on a large Commerce by Sea with the Iſland of *Hainam*, which is ſituated about ninety Leagues to the South-weſt of the River *Canton*; which, becauſe it is leſs known, deſerves a more particular Explanation. The Word *Hai-nan* ſignifies in *Chineſe* the South of the Sea, which ſhews the Situation of the Country. This Iſland is about ſeventy Leagues from Eaſt to Weſt, and about forty-five from North to South; the North Part of the Iſland is a Plain, for about fifteen Leagues from the Shore; then the Mountains begin, which extend themſelves into the Southern and Eaſtern Parts. The *Chineſe* are poſſeſſed only of the Coaſt of this Iſland; the interior Part of the Country being ſtill in the Hands of the Natives, who, from the Height of their Mountains, and the Thickneſs of their Foreſts, have hitherto eſcaped the Yoke both of the *Chineſe* and *Tartars*. That Part of the Country which is poſſeſſed by the *Chineſe*, is pleaſant and fruitful, but, at certain Seaſons of the Year, is not very wholſome; and, therefore, though it is almoſt the only Place to which Ships can ſail at any time of the Year, yet they uſually ſend their Veſſels thither in the Month of *November*, laden with the Goods and Manufactures of *Canton*; for which they receive in Exchange fine Gold, of which there is Plenty in the Iſland, *Aguila* Wood, and other rich Commodities, which they vend throughout all Parts of the Empire, and even export to *Japan*, with large Profit.

On the Whole, therefore, their various Branches of Commerce being conſidered, there is nothing incredible in what our Travellers relate, of there being ſeldom leſs than 5000 Sail of trading Junks, beſides ſmaller Veſſels, lying continually in this Port. The antient *Chineſe* Emperors were extremely jealous of Foreigners, and put them under almoſt as many Reſtrictions as the Monarch of *Japan*; and, before the *Tartars* had completed their Conqueſt of *China*, they were likewiſe in much the ſame Diſpoſition. But the late, and the preſent Emperor, have acted in quite another manner, and have opened their Ports of *Canton* and *Amoy* to all Nations; but ſtill continue to impoſe high Duties, and to put the Merchants under various Reſtrictions, conformable to the Genius of the *Chineſe* Nation, and the Maxims of their Policy. We cannot form a better Idea of the Nature of their Government, than from the Deſcription given of it, by an Author perfectly acquainted therewith, in a ſingle Line: *The Empire of* CHINA ſays he, *is a City of 1200 Leagues in Extent.* By which he meant, that the Whole of this vaſt Country is as exactly regulated, and the Inhabitants as effectually reſtrained within the Bounds of their Duty, as if the Whole was but one City, and under the Eye of the ſame Magiſtrates.

But, notwithſtanding the vaſt Extent of the City of *Canton*, and the prodigious Number of its Inhabitants, we are not to imagine, that it is the only conſiderable Place in the Province; or that the other Cities, and great Towns, are inconſiderable in reſpect to it; for the contrary is ſtrictly true. As a Proof of this, I muſt obſerve, that, within four Leagues of this City, there lies the Town of *Fo-chan*, to which, during the Troubles at *Canton*, occaſioned by the Revolution in *China*, abundance of Tradeſmen and Manufacturers retired; ſince which, it is become ſo conſiderable a Place, that it is no leſs than three Leagues in Circumference; and, in point of Riches, Trade, and even in the Number of its Inhabitants, it is very little, if at all, inferior to *Canton* itſelf. The other Cities of the Province are alſo large, well peopled, and have a great Trade; and all the adjacent Country is thick-ſet with fine Villages; and not the Fields only, but the Mountains, and every Spot of Ground, are laid out and cultivated to the beſt Advantage. In a Word, the View that is afforded to a judicious Spectator, in paſſing up the River of *Canton*, is ſufficient to afford him a competent Idea of the Wealth of *China*, and the Wiſdom of its Government; for, wherever he caſts his Eyes, new Scenes of Induſtry preſent themſelves to his View; every thing is improved to the beſt Advantage, and he finds himſelf abſolutely at a Loſs to decide, whether the Fertility beſtowed by Nature, or the Acceſſions made thereto by the Labour of the Inhabitants, ought moſt to be admired. But it is now time to return to the Hiſtory of this Voyage, from which we have made a long, but, we hope, not an unpleaſant Digreſſion. When we come in the ſecond Book, to treat expreſly, and at large, of this noble Empire, we ſhall endeavour to gratify, in their utmoſt Extent, the Expectations raiſed in our Readers by this ſhort Account of *Canton*; in which, perhaps, we may have the Aſſiſtance of the Obſervations made by the moſt intelligent Perſons concerned in this Expedition, who had, to be ſure, great Opportunities of making themſelves perfectly acquainted with the State of the Country, and the Manners of the People. In the mean time let us proceed.

On the 4th of *December*, the Commodore returned from *Canton*; and, on his Arrival on board his Ship, was ſaluted by all the *European* Veſſels in the Harbour, except the *French*. The next Day he gave a grand Entertainment to the Gentlemen who had attended him when he had his Audience of the Vice-King; and, having taken a Survey of the Ship, the Sea-ſtores, and Proviſions, and given his Orders for completing whatever was wanting, he declared his Reſolution to return home immediately; and accordingly all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions were made for ſailing: And, on the 7th, they weighed, with their Prize, and began to fall down the River of *Canton*, in which they had lain from the Middle of the Month of *July*.

34. On the 10th, they warped over the Bar, and ſent their Boats a-head to tow: The ſame Afternoon, a *Swediſh* homeward-bound Ship, lying there at Anchor, ſaluted the Commodore with ſixteen Guns, who returned fifteen. The next Day they paſſed *Lin-tin* Bar; and, on the 12th, ſent the Pinnace, and the third Lieutenant in her, to *Macao*. The next Day they anchored in the Road of that Place in five Fathom Water, where they cleared the Prize of the Powder, dry Proviſions, and Water, that was on board her, and then ſold her to the *Portugueſe*. On the 16th in the Afternoon they ſailed from *Macao*; the next Day they had briſk Gales, with Rain. They now found the Ship leaky, and that to ſuch a Degree, that the Water gained ſeven Inches in two Hours, which it was judged was owing to their Gun-ports not being calked. The next Morning they ſplit their Fore-ſail, and were forced to bend another. On the 18th in the Afternoon, the Water gained conſiderably, and the Weather continued very indifferent for ſeveral Days together. On the 22d, they fell to ſounding, as being then entered the Sea between *Malaca* and the Iſland of *Borneo*, and found from ſixty-four to fifty-three Fathom Water. The two next Days they continued ſounding, and had from thirty-five to twenty-five Fathom Water.

On the 26th, they had Sight of ſome of the Iſlands on the *Malaca* Coaſt, and continued ſteering through them with great Danger, as having a narrow Chanel, with Sholes on both Sides; for the Iſland of *Langen*, which lies to the South of the Streights of *Sincapour*, immediately under the Equinoctial. On the 29th in the Morning, the Southermoſt of the *Seven Brothers*, which are ſo many ſmall Iſlands lying off the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, bore Eaſt South-eaſt, at the Diſtance of ſix Leagues: At two that Afternoon, they paſſed the Streights between *Sumatra* and *Banca*. The latter is a ſmall Iſland, about fifty Leagues in Length, and twenty in Breadth; the moſt Southern Point of which lies in the Latitude of 3° South, and is undoubtedly the moſt conveniently ſituated of any Iſland in thoſe Seas; which has made the *Dutch* often regret their not fixing the Centre of their *Indian* Trade in ſome Place on that Iſland rather than at *Batavia*; becauſe they might eaſily have planted the whole Iſland, and have kept it intirely in their own Hands; whereas it is impoſſible for them to think of doing this in the Iſland of *Java*.

On the 29th they entered, and the next Day they paſſed through the Streights, between the Iſlands of *Sumatra* and *Borneo*; and had the Iſland of *Lucapara*, which lies without the Streights, bearing directly South. On the laſt of *December*, that Iſland bore North-eaſt, at about four Leagues diſtant; and, on the 2d of *January*, they anchored on the Coaſt of *Java*, off the High-land of *Bantam*, at the Diſtance of about forty Miles from *Batavia*. There were two *Dutch* Ships in the Road, on board of which the Commodore ſent his Pinnace; and thoſe who were on board her reported, on their Return, that eight *Dutch* Ships, homeward-bound, were expected from *Batavia*, in order to paſs the Streights of *Sunda*. On the 3d, about ſix in the Morning, they weighed, in order to paſs through the Streights; and, at four in the Afternoon, ſaw *Prince's Iſland*, which was to be the Rendezvous of the *Dutch* Fleet, lying South-weſt by South: The next Day at Noon the Iſland bore Weſt, and they ſent their Boat on ſhore, in order to find the Watering-place.

35. On the 4th, they anchored in forty-five Fathom Water on the Coaſt of *Prince's Iſland*; and, the ſame Evening, five *Dutch* Ships came to an Anchor there, which were homeward-bound. While they were getting their Wood and Water on board, they felt the Shock of an Earthquake, which laſted about a Minute. The ſame Day there arrived two more *Dutch* Ships from *Batavia*, which were Part of thoſe that were expected; and, on the 7th, there arrived three more. On the 8th, they completed their Watering, and received ſome Cordage from a *Dutch* Ship. On the 9th in the Morning, they unmoored, and made Sail, with five *Dutch*, for *Europe*. On the 15th, they had Sight of the South-end of *Chriſtmas Iſland*.

On the 18th, they had very bad Weather; by which, about eight in the Morning, their Main-ſail was ſplit, and blown from the Yard; and from thence, to the 22d, they had hard Gales, dark Weather, and much Rain; but very moderate Weather for the next Week. On the 2d of *February*, their Fore-truſſel-trees broke. On the 25th, they had very hard Gales, and much Rain: About ſix in the Evening their Main-ſail and Mizen were ſplit. On the 28th, the Main and Fore-top-ſail ſplit, which they handed; and, having mended, ſet them up again. On the 8th, they tacked, and ſtood to the North. On the 5th of *March*, they ſaw the Continent of *Africa*, bearing from North-eaſt to North North-weſt. On the 11th, having little Wind, and fair Weather, about ſix in the Evening, they ſaw the Head-land of the Cape of *Good Hope*, bearing North North-eaſt, diſtant about ten Leagues; and, about Noon the next Day, the Cape was diſtant about five Leagues.

36. On the 12th in the Afternoon, they anchored in *Table Bay*, at the Diſtance of ſomewhat more than a Mile from the Shore. They found riding here the *Saliſbury*, Captain *Burroughs*, and the *Warwick*, Captain *Miſner*, belonging to the *Eaſt-India* Company, who ſaluted them with eleven Guns each; they anſwered them both with nine: Here were likewiſe five Sail of *Dutch* Ships, whoſe Commodore ſaluted them with eleven Guns, and they returned nine. At Three in the Afternoon they warped farther into the Bay, and moored with their beſt Bower. At Six, one of the *Dutch* Ships ſailed out: At Ten, they ſtruck the Main and the Fore-yards, it appearing very likely to be a wet Night. About Midnight, their beſt Bower Cable broke, with the Halſer that was bent to the Stream Anchor; ſo that they rode all Night by the Sheet

Cable. In the Morning they ſtruck the Top-maſts, in order to get the Fore and Main-top-gallant Yards down, and began to unſtrip the Fore-maſts, in order to fit new Truſſel-trees: Sent their empty Caſks for Water in the *Warwick*'s Long-boat; and, at Eleven, received on board, by the *Saliſbury*'s Boat, freſh Proviſions, ſuch as Beef and Mutton, for the Ship's Company. The *Dutch* Commodore fired the Morning and Evening Gun; and on the 18th, in the Evening, they received on board an Anchor, 3860 *lb.* Weight, and a Cable of nineteen Inches and a half about, and 120 Fathom long; bent the Cable to the Anchor, to make it ready for Uſe. At Four in the Morning they weighed, and warped in towards the Fort, and then new moored, having the following Bearings; the Caſtle and Town S. W. and the Body of *Penguin* Iſland N. W. the Water Fort S. W. diſtant three Quarters of a Mile.

On the 14th, the Commodore went aſhore in the Barge; at his paſſing by the *Saliſbury* and *Warwick*, they ſaluted him with eleven Guns. The next Day they began to unrig the Fore-maſt, and over-hale their Rigging, and began to clear the Hold, that they might get at their Groundtier. On the 16th in the Morning, they ſet up a Tent for the Uſe of the Coopers on ſhore, and ſent their Caſk by the Launch to be trimmed by them. In the Afternoon, two *Dutch* Ships anchored there, which had been five Months coming from *Spithead*; and, at Nine, came in and and anchored the *Margaret*, Captain *T. Hays*, which had been twelve Weeks coming from *Holland*. They ſent the Launch to ſeek the beſt Bower Anchor, which the Cable parted from on *Sunday* Night laſt, the Buoy being ſunk or loſt, that hook'd the Cable. Their Carpenter found four Shot-holes within the Lining, under the Fore-chains, above the Water, and took abundance of ſmall Shot out; which they believed was the Occaſion of the Ship's being ſo leaky at Sea. This Day they ſent all their ſick People on ſhore.

On the 18th, at three in the Morning, they received from the Shore, by two *Dutch* Boats, eighteen Coils of Ropes, and a Remnant of white Rope for a Tiller-rope, with other Stores. At Noon, they ſent a large *Dutch* Boat to weigh their beſt Bower. They brought the Anchor on board, and the Cable, being near a whole one. On the 19th in the Afternoon, they heeled Ship to the Starboard, and then ſcrubbed it, and paid it with Tallow and Lime; then heeled the other Way, and ſcrubbed: But the Sea-breeze came in, and cauſed ſo great a Swell, that they could not make an End. The next Day, two *Dutch* Ships anchored there, one of which had accompanied them from *Java*; the other was outward-bound, and had ſpent three Months in coming from *Spithead*. On the 22d, there anchored another *Dutch* Ship outward-bound, which had been five Months in ſailing from the *Texel* thither. That Day and the next, they ſent their Launch ſeveral times for Water; but could get none, the Pipes being ſtopped: But that Evil was ſoon remedied, and the Launch came off in the Night, with ten Caſks filled; and, in two or three Days, they made a great Progreſs in their Watering. On the 25th, a *Dutch* Ship anchored there from *Amſterdam*.

On the 26th, another arrived. The next Morning, about ſix o'Clock, the *Dutch* Commodore ſtruck his Flag, and the other *Dutch* Ship hoiſted it at the Mizen-top-maſt, and, about ſeven, ſailed for *Batavia*. On the 27th, the *Wincheſter* anchored in the Bay, and ſaluted them with eleven Guns. She had been thirteen Months from *England*, and ſix Weeks in her Paſſage from *Fernambuca* on the Coaſt of *Braſil*, into which Port ſhe had been obliged to put, in order to repair ſome Damage ſhe had received at Sea. This Day, they received the Commodore's live Stock, and a ſmall Quantity of Wine for his Sea-ſtore. The next Day, they ſent on ſhore 5000 Dollars; and, on the 29th, received on board thirteen Caſks of dry Proviſion. On the 30th, the Commodore and Captain *Bret* came on board, and they began to prepare for their Departure, having ſpent about three Weeks at the Cape; which gave them an Opportunity of obſerving the mighty Advantages that the *Dutch* make of that Settlement, which had been ſlighted by us.

They were very kindly and hoſpitably treated, and had Leave to purchaſe whatever Stores or Proviſions they had Occaſion for. Such as live in this Country have things very cheap, as well as very good; but Strangers pay a pretty high Price for Liquors and Proviſions, which is occaſioned by the high Duties impoſed by the *Eaſt India* Company. This is a thing, of which *Engliſhmen* are often apt to complain; but, perhaps, without any great Reaſon, ſince the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company have no other Way to indemnify themſelves for the great Expence they are at in the Support of this Settlement, which carries on little or no Trade, except this; and therefore there is no Wonder, that they make uſe of every Method poſſible, in order to make it turn to their Advantage. The Town at the Cape is pretty large, conſiſting now of 400 Houſes and upwards; and yet there are but few Publick-houſes or Places licenſed to ſell Liquors by Retale. In theſe Houſes Strangers drink the Cape Wine at about ſix Stivers a Quart, at leaſt one half of which is paid for Exciſe, and ſo in proportion for other things. The Inhabitants purchaſe both *Indian* and *European* Commodities at a cheap Rate from the Sailors, which they vend again, with great Profit, to the Farmers and Planters, who have no Opportunity of making any ſuch Bargains, the neareſt of their Plantations being twenty Miles from the Sea-coaſt.

Our People can by no means be reconciled to the *Hottentots*, but look upon them as the baſeſt and moſt brutal People in the World; which is chiefly owing to their ill Smell, occaſioned by their greaſing themſelves continually: Yet this is not a Cuſtom peculiar to the *Hottentots*, but is uſed by moſt of the Negroes on the Coaſt of *Guiney*. It is true, that the latter, generally ſpeaking, make uſe of Oil, which is leſs offenſive; but, when they cannot get that, they, like the *Hottentots*, content themſelves with ſuch Greaſe and Kitchen-ſtuff, as they can purchaſe from the *Europeans* who trade with them. This Cuſtom likewiſe prevails in the *Eaſt Indies*, particularly on the *Malaca* Coaſt; but more eſpecially in the Iſlands, as for Inſtance, at *Sumatra*, where the Natives greaſe themſelves as much, and ſmell to the full as ſtrong, as the *Hottentots*. The *Javaneſe* likewiſe practiſe the ſame thing; and ſo do the People of the *Philippines*, and of the Spice Iſlands; but then they commonly make uſe of Cocoa-nut Oil, which is far from being diſagreeable. In one reſpect, however, the *Hottentots* excel them all; for they are particularly careful to greaſe and ſmut their Faces; which is what the *Indians* never do. This Cuſtom of anointing is not altogether unknown to the *Americans*, tho', generally ſpeaking, they rather affect painting their Bodies, perhaps from the ſame Cauſe that the *Hottentots* and *Indians* anoint themſelves, in order to defend their naked Bodies from the Inclemency of the Weather.

It is plain therefore, that, even in this reſpect, the Manners of the *Hottentots* are not much groſſer, or more barbarous, than thoſe of other Nations; and a nearer Inſpection would have ſhewn us, that, notwithſtanding their Guts and their Greaſe, theſe poor People are endowed with Qualities, that would not at all diſcredit even the politeſt Nations: For inſtance, the *Hottentots* are exceedingly ſincere; they profeſs the utmoſt Readineſs to aſſiſt ſuch Strangers as come amongſt them, and they are never known to falſify their Profeſſions. The *Hottentot* is not Maſter of much Eloquence, even in his own Language; but has a ſtrict Regard to the Truth of what he delivers in any Language, even in that of Nature, I mean, by Signs; which is a Matter of great Conſequence among an untaught, and, as we affect to call them, a barbarous People. There was another Quality extremely conſpicuous in the *Hottentots*, which ought to have ſecured them from our Contempt, and that is, their generous Love of Liberty: The *Hottentot* will rather die, than be a Slave; and what could a *Roman*, what could an *Athenian*, do more? I know it may be ſaid, that this proceeds from Lazineſs: But I cannot allow that; for the *Hottentots* will work for the *Dutch* for Subſiſtence, tho' not as Slaves. They claim a Right of judging what and how much is neceſſary for their Maintenance, and, having acquired this, they are content. I do not pretend to ſay, that they reaſon right about the Neceſſaries of Life: Indeed, who does? But I ſay, that they have true Notions of Liberty, which conſiſts in doing what we think fit ourſelves, and not what is impoſed upon us by others.

There is yet a third Quality moſt eminent in the *Hottentots*, for which they have been unjuſtly, ſhall I ſay, or barbarouſly, reproached by other Nations; the Quality I mean is, the Love of their Country. *Hottentots* have been carried off very young, both by the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, educated in *Europe*, and accuſtomed to our Manners; and, upon their being carried back, have immediately renounced all the Advantages they had over their Brethren, and became mere *Hottentots* again. This appears to us in the Light of Brutality; but, let it appear in what Light it will, it ſhews their Love of their Country, and of their Countrymen: And the ſame Affection is moſt evident in every Part of their Conduct; for, when an *Hottentot* has acquired Proviſions by his Labour, he will ſhare them with any *Hottentot* who is in Want; and no Alteration of Circumſtances, no Change in Situation, can make an *Hottentot* forget that he is an *Hottentot*, and that every *Hottentot* is his Brother: Noble and generous Sentiments, in ſpite of their Greaſe and Sheep-ſkins!

I muſt obſerve, that their Virtues are as little controverted as their Habit, and therefore I can never be brought to think, that People who poſſeſs them, and are ſo tenacious of them, that even the Converſation and Example of the *Europeans* cannot deſpoil them of theſe Qualities, ought to be repreſented as almoſt on the Level with Beaſts. Drunkenneſs, and other Vices, with which they are reproached, they have been taught by the *Europeans*; but who taught them their Virtues? or who has the Courage, who has the good Senſe and Juſtice, to admire them? Some of the *Dutch* Writers have, and have, I am ſorry to ſay, been laughed at for their Pains. I would not be thought a Lover of Paradoxes, or a Perſon who would pique myſelf on contradicting the common Notions of Mankind: I ſhould not have taken theſe Pains, at leaſt in this Place, to vindicate the *Hottentots* purely to amuſe or entertain the Reader; but I am led to it from an *Hottentot* Principle, that of Love to my Country.

This abſurd, this unreaſonable Averſion to the Sheepſkins and Greaſe, to the untoward Appearance, and uncouth Manners, of the *Hottentots*, loſt us the valuable Settlement at the Cape. There were many Attempts made by the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company to form a Plantation here; but in vain. Thoſe who were ſent reported, that the Country was only fit for *Hottentots*; and that there was no living in it, or with them: Yet we ſee at this Day, that there is not a finer, more fruitful, or more pleaſant Country in the World; and that the *Dutch* are ſo far from thinking a Correſpondence with the *Hottentots* inconvenient, that they have all along treated them with Juſtice and good Manners. They purchaſed from them the Country which they have cultivated; and the King of the Company's *Hottentots* is a free and independent Prince. It is therefore of great Importance for us to rid ourſelves of theſe narrow and ridiculous Notions, and to eradicate that fooliſh Principle of making thoſe Humours, which we are wiſe enough to condemn at home, the Standard of Right and Wrong abroad.

We often aſſert, and I believe juſtly, that the Knowledge, Learning, and Lights, of the preſent Age are ſuperior to thoſe of the paſt. Let us uſe them then; let us tranſmit the Fruits of them to Poſterity; let us exceed, at leaſt let us equal, our Anceſtors, by ſhewing them one Plantation, beſides GEORGIA, the Work of ONE Man's Virtue, ſettled in our Time: Let us ſhew, that our Diſcoveries are not confined to Speculation; but that we are able to execute, as well as to talk or write; let us join the Induſtry, the Activity, the public Spirit, of the laſt Age, to the Learning and Lights of this; let us amend our Errors, as well as decry them; and let it be the Study of thoſe, who enjoy Power, or who aſpire to it, to convince their Countrymen, that they have nothing in View, but their Good. Without this, all our Application to the Sciences, all our Diſcoveries, all our Improvements, will do us no Good. We ſhall be, like the *Athenians* in the Decline of their Republic, celebrated for our Knowledge, and deſpiſed for our Vices: We ſhall live upon what was tranſmitted to us by the Care and Courage of our Forefathers, and leave to Poſterity the Admiration of our Abilities in Theory, and Weakneſs in Practice. But, in the Midſt of their Reflections, our Poſterity muſt admit, that ſome Men are free from the Infection; and, while they read in our Annals too many Inſtances of naval Miſcarriages, they will be obliged to confeſs, from the Hiſtory of this Voyage, that there was one Man, who, in ſpite of the greateſt Difficulties and Diſcouragements, did not miſcarry.

On *April* 1, 2. they received the reſt of the dry Proviſions and naval Stores, which the Commodore had purchaſed; and, having reviewed their Store of Water, found it conſiſted of 108 Tons of Water; and that they were, in every reſpect, furniſhed with what was neceſſary for their Return to *England*, the Ship being in a much better Condition than when ſhe ſailed from the River of *Canton*, the Men in good Health, and the Ship's Company recruited by ſuch able Seamen, as the Officers could meet with at the Cape, and, in a Word, every Precaution made uſe of, that could poſſibly contribute towards making the Remainder of the Voyage ſafe and eaſy; and, every thing being thus in Order, on *April* 3. the Commodore gave Directions for ſailing the next Morning as early as poſſible.

37. They began therefore to unmoor about four o'Clock, and at eight they weighed, and turned out of the Bay. The *Saliſbury*, *Warwick*, and *Wincheſter*, ſaluted them each with eleven Guns; and they returned nine. The *Dutch* Commodore ſaluted with nine, and had ſeven returned. As we have often mentioned theſe Salutes, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that they are regulated by the Commodore's Inſtructions, which direct, 'That if Merchant-ſhips, whether Foreigners, or belonging to his Majeſty's Subjects, ſalute the Admiral of a Fleet, they ſhall be anſwered by ſix Guns leſs. When they ſalute any other Flag-ſhip, they ſhall be anſwered by four Guns leſs; and, if they ſalute Men of War, they ſhall be anſwered by two Guns leſs. If ſeveral Merchants Ships ſalute in Company, no Return is to be made, till they have all finiſhed, and then by ſuch a Number of Guns as ſhall be thought proper; but, tho' the Merchants Ships ſhould anſwer, there ſhall be no ſecond Return. All Salutes are to be made with the Guns of the Upper-deck.'

By Noon, the Iſland of *Penguin* bore North-eaſt by Eaſt, and the *Sugar-loaf* South-eaſt, diſtant ten Leagues. On the 5th, they began to ſerve two Quarts of Water a Day to each of the Ship's Company. On the 10th, they exerciſed their Guns and Small-arms; and, on the 11th, they did the ſame. On the 19th, they had Sight of the Iſland of *St. Helena*, bearing North-eaſt, at the Diſtance of eight Leagues. On the 30th, about two in the Morning, they ſaw a Light, which they took to be a Ship ſteering Weſt by North, and therefore made a clear Ship. On *May* 3. in the Afternoon, they hoiſted out the Cutter, and ſcrubbed the Ship between Wind and Water.

On the 4th, they exerciſed their great Guns and Small-arms. On the 5th, they ſprung their Main-top-maſt and Truſſel-trees. On the 6th, they repaired this Damage. On the 18th, the Wind being fair, they hoiſted the Cutter, to ſcrub the Ship. On the 21ſt, they had a large Swell from the North North-weſt; ſaw abundance of Weeds floating on the Sea, of which we have given a ſatisfactory Account in a former Section. On the 29th, about four in the Afternoon, their Fore-top-ſail was carried away; which obliged them to get in their Sprit-ſail-yard, and make it ſerve for a Top-ſail-yard; and at the ſame time ſet their Fore-top for a Sprit-ſail-yard. On the 30th in the Morning, they had a very hard and ſudden Squall of Rain and Wind, which carried away their Top-ſail-yard, and ſplit the Sail; upon which they clued up all their Sails.

On the 31ſt, they had a great Swell from the North-weſt, which ſprung the Fore-top-ſail-yard; which obliged them to unbend their Sails, get them down, and double-reef the Top ſail. On *June* 5. they hoiſted out the Cutter, to ſcrub the Ship between Wind and Water; and, on the 6th, about five in the Morning, they diſcovered a Sail ſteering North by Weſt; upon which they made a clear Ship, and gave Chace. About ten, they came up with her, fired a Gun, and ſhe brought-to. She proved a homeward-bound Merchantman from Cape *Fare* in *North Carolina*, laden with Tar and Roſin. The Commodore had ſent his Cutter on board, to inquire whether War was broken out with *France*, or not; but they were unable to reſolve the Queſtion. The three next Days, they had moderate Gales, and thick, foggy Weather.

38. On *June* 10. the Weather was dark and cloudy; and, on the 11th in the Morning, they diſcovered a Sail to Windward, fired a Gun, and brought her to. The Commodore then ordered his Cutter to be hoiſted out, and ſent his Third Lieutenant in her, to learn News: She proved to be a Ship bound from *Rotterdam* to *Philadelphia*, with 200 *Palatines* on board, who were going to ſettle in *Penſylvania*. They informed the Lieutenant, that there was a *French* War; and that the *Britiſh Chanel* ſwarmed with Men of War and Privateers, both *Engliſh* and *French*. At Nine they bent their Cables, hoiſted the Launch over the Side, and laſhed her there.

On the 12th, they had moderate and cloudy Weather: About one in the Afternoon, they ſaw three Sail to the E. N. E. diſtant about five Leagues; upon which they made a clear Ship, and ordered every Man and Boy to his Station; and then gave Chace. They came up with two of them about Three in the Afternoon; theſe Veſſels came from *Dublin*: They continued to chaſe the Third, but they tacked, and ſtood to the North; and the Commodore, finding that he could not come up with her, gave over the Chaſe.

At four the next Morning they ſounded, and had fifty-three Fathom Water; at Noon they had Sight of the *Lizard*, bearing North half Weſt, at the Diſtance of eight Leagues. About one of the Clock, they ſaw two Sail, diſtant about three Leagues, and gave Chace, and came up with them about Three, when they proved to be the *Salamander* Privateer, and a *Martinico* Ship, ſhe had taken in Tow. They confirmed the Intelligence they had received of a *French* War. In the Evening, the *Lizard* bore N. W. and the *Start* N. E. by E.

On the 14th, in the Morning, they ſaw the Iſland of *Portland* bearing N. E. by E. and in the Evening they had Sight of the *Iſle of Wight*: On the 15th, about half an Hour after eleven o'Clock, they came to, and anchored with their beſt Bower, in ten Fathom Water, in *London-Bay*: About Four the next Morning they weighed, and made Sail, and at Ten arrived at *St. Helen's*; the Crew being not a little rejoiced at the Sight of their native Country, after they had been abſent from it near four Years; in which they had experienced every Kind of Hardſhip, to which the Life of a Seaman is expoſed, and having run thro' a ſurpriſing Variety of Dangers to the laſt: For it is to be remembered, that they arrived at a Juncture when Things were in the greateſt Confuſion, and when the *French* had the beſt Part of their Naval Force at Sea, and even cruiſing upon our Coaſts. The Commodore immediately wrote to his Grace the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State, to acquaint him with his Arrival, and with the moſt material Occurrences, from the Time of his former Diſpatch by Captain *Saunders*; which Letter, or at leaſt an Extract from it, was publiſhed in the *London Gazette*, and occaſioned as great and general Joy throughout the Nation, as can well be imagined: And, in order farther to indulge the Pleaſure of the People, the Treaſure taken in the *Acapulco* Ship was carried in the moſt public Manner through the Streets, in thirty-two Waggons, to the *Tower*, in the ſame Manner as the Silver formerly taken by Admiral *Blake*, when he burnt the *Spaniſh* Galleons, had been; I muſt confeſs, in my Judgment, with much better Reaſon.

39. As I opened this Section with a Piece of ancient Hiſtory, I ſhall open theſe Remarks with obſerving, that, notwithſtanding this Expedition was not attended with ſo great Succeſs in the *South Seas* as was expected, yet the Nation in general is very far from believing, that it ought to deter us from the Thoughts of ſuch Expeditions for the future; ſince it appears plainly, that, if the Commodore's whole Squadron had got round with him into the *South Seas*, he would have been able to have performed much greater Things than any of our Commanders have hitherto done in thoſe Parts. Neither is it at all clear, that the *Spaniards* are in a better Condition, their Coaſts better fortified, their Gariſons more numerous, or the Country in any reſpect better provided, than when our Privateers had formerly ſo great Succeſs there. The Sacking of *Payta* proves the contrary, ſince it was actually in a worſe Condition, when taken laſt, than when Captain *Shelvocke* took it, and leſs capable of making any Reſiſtance.

If this Expedition had never taken place, we might have been told, that it was impracticable; that the *Spaniards* were grown wiſer; that all their Ports were well fortified; and that to attempt any thing would be only ſacrificing the Lives of ſuch as were employed in the Expedition. But we now know the contrary; that the *Spaniards* are actually as unguarded, and as little apprehenſive as ever; and, perhaps, the Fate of this Undertaking may have made them leſs ſo; ſo that if a new Project of the ſame Kind was to be put in Execution, either at public or private Expence, there ſeems to be a moral Certainty, that it would ſucceed.

The Scheme which Commodore *Anſon* was ſent to execute, was certainly well laid; and if the two Ships that repaſſed the Streights of *Le Maire*, and thereby expoſed themſelves to greater Dangers, than they could have met with by continuing their Voyage, had either proceeded with the Commodore, or had followed him to the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, he would have had Men enough to have undertaken ſomewhat of Conſequence either in *Chili* or *Peru*, ſince he would have had 900 or 1000 Men under his Command: Or, if even the *Wager* had joined him, he muſt have had Men ſufficient for the *Centurion* and *Glouceſter*; and, conſequently, would have been in a better Condition than the *Duke* and *Ducheſs* were, who gained ſuch immenſe Wealth in theſe Seas. But that he was joined by none of his Squadron at the Place of Rendeſvous, except the *Glouceſter* and the *Trial* Sloop, is a Thing that never happened before; and will, very probably, never happen again.

As to their Hardſhips in this Paſſage, we ought not to conſider them as Reaſons ſufficient to deter us from making any Attempt on that Side again; becauſe, in the firſt Place, they may be eaſily guarded againſt, by going at a better Seaſon of the Year, with fewer Incumbrances, and touching at proper Places by the Way: And, in the next Place, we ought to conſider, that the *French* have ſent Ships thither, by Leave from the Court of *Spain*, ſince; and, beyond Queſtion, we are as able Navigators as the *French*: Beſides, if we ſuffer ourſelves to be diſcouraged by the Accidents that befel this Squadron, we ſhall abſolutely loſe the Knowledge and Practice of this Navigation, and Diſpair of ever ſending a Ship into the South Seas again; for, if we ſend no Ships in the time of War, there are many Reaſons, and, which is more perſuaſive than any Reaſon, there is Experience, to induce our Belief, that we ſhall never ſend any Ships at all; and, conſequently, there is an End of all Hopes, either of Conqueſts, or of Diſcoveries, on this Side; that is, on the Side, where either, or where both, might be made, with greateſt Advantage to this Nation.

Yet the Reaſons that formerly made ſuch Undertakings expedient, ſtill ſubſiſt in their full Force: The *Spaniards* derive that Wealth, which makes them, and their Allies, ſo formidable in *Europe*, from hence. It is as much in our Power, as it ever was, to diſtreſs them here; and the Spirit of availing ourſelves, by diſtreſſing our Enemies in this way, was never ſtronger than it is now. There is another Argument that ought to prevail with us to proſecute Expeditions of this Kind, derived from the Succeſs the Commodore met with in his laſt Cruize. If we undertake any Deſign in another Part of the World, and fail in it, there is an End, and we muſt abſolutely ſit down with the Loſs; but here, if we fail in one Place, we may ſucceed in another, and one rich Prize will indemnify the Public, at leaſt for their Expences; for a Million brought home in Silver, will at any time compenſate the Nation for the Loſs of two or three Ships; becauſe the Expence of rebuilding them, or at leaſt the greateſt Part of it, goes entirely amongſt ourſelves. At all Events, it is better to hazard our Ships, nay, and our Men too, where ſomething is to be got, than where nothing is to be had. Our Men have been deſtroyed, and our Ships worn out, in Services where not a Shilling ever reſulted to the Public. But the ſame cannot be ſaid of this. It has actually brought a very large

Sum of Money into the Kingdom, and has ſhewn us the Way by which we may bring more.

Another Squadron may meet with the *Acapulco* Ship in the South Seas, or with the *Lima* Ship, in her Paſſage to *Acapulco*: There wants only Care, Diligence, and an experienced Commander, to make a Part of the Expences of the War come this Way out of our Enemies Pockets; for, as to the Spirit and Courage of the *Engliſh* Seamen, they are as great as ever they were, and there wants nothing but Actions, that may be attended with proper Encouragement, to make this evident to the whole World. The preſent War was undertaken for the ſake of our Trade; and our Fate, in the preſent War, I mean our Fate at Sea, will determine the Fate of our Trade. We have been extremely fortunate in making Prizes, both from the *French* and *Spaniards*, in the North Seas: There wants nothing to complete our good Fortune, but to be as ſucceſsful in the South.

Another Expedition might be, probably would be, attended with fewer Difficulties; at leaſt, it is certain, that it might be undertaken at a much leſs Expence; and then, beſide all the Advantages reſulting to ſuch private Perſons as become Proprietors, there would this ineſtimable Advantage accrue to the Public, that we ſhould once more have a Number of able Mariners, well acquainted with the Navigation of the South Seas, which we never can have by any other Means.

Heretofore the whole Trade of *Europe* was in the Hands of the Maritime Powers; but, at preſent, not only the *French*, but many other Nations, are putting in for a Share, as appears by the great Number of *European* Ships that Rear-Admiral *Anſon* met with in the Ports of *Macao* and *Canton*; which is a Circumſtance that deſerves to be attentively conſidered. This therefore is a Time, if ever there was a Time, that we ought to exert ourſelves, and endeavour to ſtrike out ſome new Branch of Commerce, into which our Neighbours cannot ſo readily fall. Hiſtory affords us no Inſtance of a Maritime Power that remained long at a Stay. If we do not go forward, we muſt neceſſarily go backward; and, as we are rivaled in almoſt every known Branch of Commerce, except that to our own Plantations, it is not our Intereſt only, but abſolutely neceſſary to our Safety, to ſupport and extend theſe; and, if it be poſſible, open ſome new Chanel, both for the Benefit of this Country, and of our Plantations; which never can be done, if we do not encourage long Voyages, and the perfecting ourſelves in every kind of Navigation.

But I would not be underſtood to leſſen at all the Miſeries and Misfortunes of ſuch as were employed in this Voyage: The contrary, I think, indeed, will appear from the Hiſtory I have given of it. All I endeavour, all I aim at, is, to convince the Reader, that the Difficulties and Diſcouragements met with in this Voyage, are not ſufficient to ground a deciſive Opinion by the Few, in Oppoſition to the Sentiments of the Many, that all Attempts on this Side ſhould be abandoned; and I really think, that the putting the Difficulties and Diſcouragements of the *Centurion's* Company in the ſtrongeſt Light, will ſerve my Purpoſe much better then leſſening or extenuating them.

For if, after being ruined by Storms, Diſeaſes, and Hardſhips, they landed, rather Skeletons than Men, on the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*; if, after their long Cruize in the South Seas, their Diſtreſſes came to be as great when they took Shelter in the Iſland of *Tinian*; if the lying at *Macao* was attended with many Inconveniencies; if the Taking the *Spaniſh* Galleon be a Thing almoſt incredible, conſidering the ſmall Number of Men, and the Condition they were in, that attacked her in the *Centurion*; if the Difficulties they afterwards met with in the River of *Canton*, and the Hazard run by the Commodore in viſiting the Viceroy, and thereby putting himſelf into the Hands of ſuch a People as the *Chineſe*, who could not but be diſpleaſed with his Proceedings, are Circumſtances that ſtill aggravate the Matter; if ſo perilous a Navigation as that from *Canton* through the Streights of *Sunda*, and thence to the Cape of *Good Hope*, with little or no Refreſhment, with a Crew that wanted it ſo much, is ſtill more amazing; and if the bringing home the Ship from thence, with a Company compoſed of ſo many different Nations, in the Midſt of a *French* War, and without the leaſt Aſſiſtance from home, ſwell the Whole into a kind of Miracle; What does all this prove? Why, ſince all this was, under God, intirely owing to the Prudence, Moderation, and wiſe Conduct, of the commanding Officer, it certainly proves, that, if a right Choice be made of Commanders, there are no Difficulties that may not be overcome; and, therefore, this Voyage ought not to diſcourage us at all.

For, I preſume, that, with the Help of Rear-Admiral *Anſon's* Example, there are many Officers who would undertake and execute ſuch an Expedition, to the Honour of their Country, and to the Advantage of thoſe who employed them, ſuppoſing them to be employed by private Perſons. This is the Uſe, the right Uſe, that might be made of this Expedition; an Expedition difficult, dangerous, and, in a manner, impracticable, conſidered in one Light; but an Expedition equally glorious and ſucceſsful, when conſidered in another: An Expedition, that has demonſtrated, to the whole World, that a Train of unforeſeen and diſaſtrous Accidents may be remedied, and even turned to Advantage, by an honeſt, ſkilful, brave, experienced, and well-meaning Officer: An Expedition, which ſhews, that there are no Hazards, no Difficulties, no Diſtreſſes, capable of depreſſing the Courage of *Engliſh* Seamen, under a proper Command: An Expedition, that makes it evident, that Diſcontent, Sedition, and Mutiny, do not ariſe from the reſtleſs Tempers, intractable Diſpoſitions, and unruly Behaviour, of *Engliſh* Sailors, but purely from the want of Prudence, right Management, and, in ſhort, from want of Experience and Capacity in ſuch as are intruſted with the Command of them: An Expedition, in a Word, that puts it beyond all Doubt, that the *Britiſh* Nation is, at this Day, capable of undertaking as great Things, and of performing them as ſucceſsfull,y as ever their Anceſtors did; and, conſequently, an Expedition that muſt convince us, and not us only, but all *Europe*, that if our maritime Force be not employed in Undertakings of the moſt important Nature, it is not owing to the Degeneracy of our Seamen, not to be imputed to our want of able or daring Commanders, but to ſome other Cauſe, which it is not my Buſineſs, which, indeed, ſurpaſſes my Abilities, to find out.

But the Nature of my Subject, the Thread of this Hiſtory of Circum-navigators, the Principles upon which I have all along proceeded, rendered it neceſſary for me to give an Account of this Expedition, and ſuch an Account as the Reader has received: In which, with the greateſt Sincerity, and with the ſtricteſt Regard to Truth, I can aver, that I have cenſured without Prejudice, and commended from no other Motive than the Deſire of doing Juſtice; have delivered all Things, as they appeared to me, and as I think they ought to appear to Poſterity, without Favour or Affection, and without the leaſt Influence, either of Hope, or of Fear. This I think neceſſary to ſay, both for my own Satisfaction, and for the Information of the impartial Reader; the only Perſon that I ſhall ever ſtudy to pleaſe.

40. We are now at the Cloſe of this Chapter, in which we have completed that Hiſtory which we propoſed as the Subject thereof, and to which we gave the Preference, as it is general, and relates to the whole World; and, for the ſame Reaſon, the remaining Chapters of this Book refer to the Heads next in Importance; *viz.* the Diſcovery, Settlement, and Commerce, of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*. It is true, that all the Circum-navigators did not propoſe, and that ſeveral of them made no Diſcoveries; but, notwithſtanding this, all their Voyages are of great, though not of equal Importance, down to the very laſt; for, by comparing *Magellan's*, which was the firſt, with Mr. *Anſon's*, we ſhall find them differ in many reſpects, eſpecially in the Concluſion, that of Mr. *Anſon's* being by far the longeſt of the two. Some of them again took quite a different Route: As for Inſtance, *Le Maire* and *Roggewein*, who never ran at all into the higher Latitudes, but ſailed directly through the South Seas to the Coaſt of *New Guiney*, and thence to the Iſland of *Java*, which is a much ſhorter Courſe than that from *California* to the *Phi-*

lippines: And from hence it very clearly appears, that the Paſſage to the *Eaſt Indies* by the South Seas is ſhorter than that by the Cape of *Good Hope*; of which the Reader will be convinced, by conſidering the following Particulars: Captain *Woods Rogers*, in the *Duke*, ſailed from the Coaſt of *Ireland*, and doubled Cape *Horne* in four Months, that is, from *September* to *January*; and *le Maire* paſſed from the Iſlands of *Juan Fernandez* to *New Guiney* and the *Molucas* in three Months; ſo that this Voyage takes up but ſeven in the Whole: Whereas the *Dutch*, while the chief of their Colonies was fixed at *Amboyna*, thought it a good Paſſage thither from *Holland*, if performed in ten or eleven Months.

It is by comparing theſe Routes, as laid down in the general Map of the two Hemiſpheres, that we learn how far the World is already diſcovered, and how much of it remains yet to be diſcovered; what we owe to the Spirit and Induſtry of thoſe great Men, whoſe Hiſtory we have recorded, and what remains yet to exerciſe the Spirit and Induſtry of our own and of ſucceeding Times. We ſee, by comparing the old World with the new, how many and how great Countries this Scheme of Circum-navigation has actually brought to Light, and that too in a very ſhort Space; that is, in the Compaſs of *two hundred and twenty-two Years*, which is the Diſtance between the Return of *Magellan*'s Ship, and our laſt Circum-navigator *Anſon*. All that has been diſcovered within that Space of Time lay hid, not from the Vulgar only, but from the wiſeſt and moſt knowing Part of Mankind, for five thouſand five hundred Years. This is the faireſt and fulleſt Proof that can be given of the Importance of theſe Voyages, not to this or that Country, but to the whole human Species.

We may likewiſe obſerve, that the Attempts that have been made to diſcover a North-eaſt and a North-weſt Paſſage are, in effect, no other than Attempts to diſcover a new Route of ſurrounding the Globe, either of thoſe Paſſages anſwering the ſame End as that by the Way of Cape *Horne*, the very Probability of any ſuch Paſſages depending on there being ſuch a Paſſage already diſcovered towards the South; and, without doubt, if ever any ſuch Paſſages ſhould be found out, they would open a new Field of Diſcovery, and new Chanels of Trade, exceedingly convenient for the trading Nations in the North of *Europe*.

It is for this Reaſon, that, as Sir *William Monſon* long ago obſerved, the *Spaniards* have always been extremely jealous of their finding out ſuch Paſſages, becauſe the Navigation that would be eſtabliſhed by them, muſt be fatal to their Empire in *America*, or to their Poſſeſſions in the the *Eaſt Indies*: For, if there ſhould be a Paſſage found into the South Seas by the North-weſt, it would afford a very ſhort and eaſy Cut to our Squadrons into the very Heart of the moſt valuable of their Poſſeſſions in *North America*, I mean the Kingdom of *New Mexico*, which might be then attacked both by Land and Sea. On the other hand, if a Paſſage ſhould ever be found to the North-eaſt, it is impoſſible they ſhould long continue Maſters of the *Philippines*. It is true, that very great, and, as they are now thought, inſurmountable Difficulties have been meaſured in attempting Circum-navigations by either of thoſe Paſſages; but, when it is conſidered, that the Paſſage to the South was for ſo many Ages concealed, diſcovered at laſt with ſo much Difficulty, and ſo few Voyages made thereby, as this Chapter ſhews there have been, there ſeem to be no juſt Grounds for concluding, that no ſuch Paſſage ever will be found, eſpecially if it be conſidered, that it is not now the Intereſt of the *Spaniards* only, but of ſome other Nations, to prevent the Diſcovery of ſuch Paſſages, as far as it lies in their Power.

But at the ſame time we ought to reflect, that the *Ruſſians*, *Swedes*, and *Danes*, who formerly carried on little or no Trade, are, at preſent, exceedingly bent on extending their Commerce, and have each of them an Intereſt in diſcovering ſuch Paſſages, if any ſuch there be: If, I ſay, we reflect upon this, it is impoſſible for us to imagine, that there is leſs Hope at preſent, than there was formerly, of ſucceeding in ſome ſuch Attempt. This, if ever it ſhould be brought about, would afford Room for a new Hiſtory of Circum-navigators, as uſeful and as curious, as that delivered in this Chapter. But even this Diſcovery, inſtead of diminiſhing, would add to, the Glory and Reputation of thoſe great Men, of whom we have been ſpeaking; becauſe they muſt be ſtill regarded as thoſe who firſt led the Way, who firſt ſhewed ſuch a Paſſage round the Globe to be poſſible and practicable, tho' by another Courſe. This is what, in Juſtice, Poſterity muſt acknowledge, even if it ſhould ſo fall out, that, by the Facility or Conveniency of thoſe new-found Paſſages, the Navigation by Cape *Horne* ſhould hereafter fall into Diſuſe.

It is from theſe ſtupendous Voyages, that not only the greateſt Diſcoveries have been made in general Geography, but from which all future Diſcoveries muſt be expected; and therefore this ought to be conſidered as one of the ſtrongeſt Arguments for enforcing and encouraging Voyages. It was from their being confined to ſhort Trips by Sea, I mean in point of Space, though, from their Want of Skill, the Antients made them long enough in point of Time, that they fell into thoſe groſs Errors, which were ſo unworthy of their Science and Penetration in other reſpects; ſo that it may be well affirmed, that if we compare what is now known, with what the greateſt Men had before deſcribed, we ſhall find more than a new World has been, in two Centuries, diſcovered: By which Diſcovery ſuch capital Truths have been ſet in ſo clear a Light, as to make even the common People wiſer than the moſt Learned in former Ages.

For Inſtance, almoſt every one has right Notions now of the true Figure and Magnitude of the Earth, whereas there was a time when both were unknown to ſuch a Degree, that the Belief of the *Antipodes* was accounted and puniſhed as an Hereſy. Every one then conceived his own Country to be the Middle of the Plain of the Earth, and that the utmoſt Limits of it, which touched the Vault of Heaven, were the Sea, into which the Sun, Moon, and Stars, deſcended, when they ſet; and out of which they aſcended again, when they roſe; and hence it was, that the utmoſt Extent of Land ſeemed to be no more than what an active and vigorous Conqueror might, in a little time, be able to over-run and vanquiſh. How wild and ridiculous ſoever this may ſeem, it was, however, the Principle upon which all great Heroes acted: As for Inſtance, *Alexander* imagined he had penetrated to the utmoſt Bounds of the Earth, when he had but touched the Borders of the *Indies*: He fanſied, from ſome Circumſtances relating to the River *Indus*, which reſembled thoſe of the *Nile*, that he had found the Source of that River in the *Indies*; and actually fitted out a Fleet on the *Indus*, which he fanſied might have proceeded to *Egypt*; and when he diſcovered his Error in this reſpect, by his Fleet's falling into the *Perſian* Gulph, he fell into another and ſtill greater Error; which was, that all muſt be Sea beyond; and that, conſequently, he had reached the very Limits of the World. As wiſe and knowing a People as the *Romans* were, they fell into the ſame Error, with reſpect to the *Northern Ocean*; and fanſied that beyond the Extremity of *Scotland* lay that boundleſs Sea, which terminated the World.

Theſe were the Conſequences of being confined to ſhort and limited Navigations; and, though it is ſimply impoſſible, that Mankind ſhould ever fall into the ſame Errors again, yet it is highly probable, that if this known Route of Circum-navigation be not frequently purſued, and all Attempts for finding new Routes ſhould ceaſe, we ſhall again relapſe into Errors of as dark and dangerous a Nature. As it is, we have, from theſe Diſcoveries that have been already made, a much nobler, as well as a much wider Field opened for the Exerciſe of enterpriſing Spirits; and though there are now no Hopes left for any Conqueror, how daring, how ambitious, how potent ſoever, to make himſelf Maſter of the whole Globe, which, perhaps, is no ſmall Benefit to Mankind; yet we have better, and more elevated Hopes, of diſcovering and ſettling a Correſpondence with every Part of the Univerſe; a Scheme more extenſive, as well as more rational, at the ſame time that it is as conducive to the general Good of the human Species, as the other was to their Miſery. This is a Point that I once or twice touched before, reſerving, however, the more full Explanation of it for the Concluſion of this Hiſtory. Add to all this, that, from Circum-navigations only, we can expect the abſolute Solution of thoſe great Difficulties that yet remain in the Science of Navigation; ſuch, for

Inſtance, as the Variation of the Needle, the perfect Knowledge of the Longitude, and the exact Deſcription of the true Form of the Earth; for, though we know with Certainty, that it is ſpherical or globular, yet it is no leſs certain, that we have not as yet a clear, diſtinct, and demonſtrative Notion of its true Form; though there are ſtrong Reaſons to believe, that, what Sir *Iſaac Newton* advanced upon this Subject, is the Truth, or, at leaſt, very near the Truth. What has been hitherto advanced with reſpect to the Variation of the Needle, and the Cauſes thereof, appears, from Experience, very uncertain and unſatisfactory. If, from Obſervations already made, any probable Syſtem ſhould be hereafter formed, the Truth of them can be eſtabliſhed, or their Falſhood fully detected, by ſuch Voyages only. If we do not keep up, and even extend, the Knowledge we have of the Countries about the South Pole, as well as of thoſe about the North, we can never hope or expect to come at Truth, either in regard to this, or to the Longitude; which, notwithſtanding what ſome great Mathematicians have peremptorily determined, may have a nearer Relation to each other, than we can imagine.

I know it may be ſaid, that all thoſe Things, and particularly the Figure of the Globe, upon which, perhaps, they are all founded, are to ſuch a Degree certain, as to ſerve the Uſes of Navigation, ſo far as the Accurateneſs of that Art is hitherto practiſed; but yet, if that Art may be carried to a much higher Degree of Perfection, as in the Opinion of the fitteſt Judges it certainly may, by the Proſecution of ſuch Inquiries as have been mentioned, why ſhould they not be proſecuted, or why ſhould we either decline or circumſcribe that Method by which alone they can be proſecuted to Advantage? It is certain, that, beſides the Points already touched, there are many others, which we are content to believe certain, though ſome Doubts have been moved about them, not without great Appearance of Reaſon: And, as I am now taking my Leave of Things of this Nature, I will take the Liberty of mentioning one. It is ſuppoſed, that, the Longitude and Latitude of Places being once certainly and accurately determined, they can never alter, whatever Variation or Deviation may happen to the celeſtial Bodies. Yet this has not only been doubted, but the very contrary of it has been aſſerted, firſt by the famous *Joſeph Scaliger*, in the Year 1610; and afterwards by a learned *Frenchman*, Mr. *Peter Pettit*, who wrote an expreſs Treatiſe upon it, affirming, that, after a certain time, the Latitude and Longitude of Places on the Surface of the Earth have a ſenſible Change: And, to confirm this, he has compared many Obſervations, recorded by the Antients, of the Latitude of ſeveral Places, particularly *Paris* and *Rome*, with modern Obſervations of the Latitude of the ſame Places; from whence it appears, that there are very conſiderable Differences between them; which Differences he aſcribes to the Variation of the Poles of the Earth. It is very certain, that ſuch Differences there are, and ſmaller Differences between the Obſervations of modern Travellers; but I pretend not to determine, whether they are thus occaſioned. *Scaliger* indeed ſays, that, after a certain time, the Poſitions of Dials will alter, and become falſe, as if they had been removed, and placed in a wrong Latitude. But, if all this ſhould be true, I am very ſenſible, that the reſpective Poſition and Diſtance of Places towards each other would ſtill remain the ſame, and the Deſcription of Places on the artificial Globe remain true and unaltered, though new Meridians, and new Parallels, might be drawn over them. I only mention this, to ſhew, that there are ſtill many Things to be inquired into; and that, though we far exceed the Antients, yet we have not carried Navigation, either to its utmoſt Degree of Perfection, or even to that Degree of Perfection, of which, from former Diſcoveries, it appears capable of being carried: And from hence I infer the Neceſſity of purſuing long Voyages, and of perſiſting, in order to farther Diſcoveries, in that Courſe by which ſo much already has been diſcovered.

But it may be demanded, Who is it that you oppoſe? Who has written againſt long Voyages? Who has endeavoured to hinder, or circumſcribe them? Or why do you take ſo much Pains to eſtabliſh a Thing, that nobody has controverted? Such Queſtions as theſe are common, in the modern Way of Reaſoning; and this is called holding a Man to a Point, to which if he cannot give an Anſwer, he is immediately condemned as unreaſonable and chimerical. Now I very readily own, that I know of none who have oppoſed what I labour to eſtabliſh. But if the Reader will weigh what is laid down in the Remarks on the laſt Section, and will reflect on what I have there ſaid, as to the Impediments that ſtand in the Way of diſcovering the Southern Continent, he cannot be at a Loſs for the Reaſons that induced me to labour this Point with ſo great Diligence; becauſe he cannot but perceive, that we are circumſcribed on every Side by the higheſt Authority; inſomuch that, except in Time of War, and by Ships of War, there is no makeing any Diſcoveries, unleſs under the Direction of certain Perſons, who have an Intereſt in avoiding, and even in preventing, Diſcoveries. I might carry my Obſervations on this Head a great deal farther; but, as I have already carried them far enough to juſtify my Conduct in this reſpect, I am content to ſay no more of it.

But there is one Thing, that, before I conclude this Chapter, it is requiſite that I ſhould ſuggeſt to the Reader; and it is this; That we can only circumſcribe ourſelves. Other Nations will, and, indeed, have a Right to take what Liberties they pleaſe; ſo that there is juſt Reaſon to fear, that if we go on in this Method, or if we do not very ſoon alter it, we ſhall ſee that Spirit of Diſcovery, that Genius for Commerce, and that Skill in Navigation, for which we have been, and are yet famous, transferred elſewhere; for though we may limit the Inclinations, and damp the Deſires of our own People, yet we have no Power over Foreigners, much leſs over the Deſigns of Providence. An Inſtance will make this evident beyond Contradiction: We have taken all imaginable Pains, to ſecure to ourſelves the Trade of the *Eaſt-Indies*, by Laws made in favour of the *Eaſt-India Company*: The *Swedes* and *Danes*, however, trade freely within the Limits of that Company, by which they not only ſupply themſelves and their Neighbours with *Indian* Commodities, but likewiſe ſome of our neareſt Neighbours, and even the Inhabitants of the Northern Part of our Iſland. But, perhaps, if other Meaſures had been taken, this Miſchief might have been prevented.

In order to monopolize Trade, we muſt leave it free: This may ſeem a Paradox, if not a Contradiction; but Reaſon and Experience ſhew us, that it is a Truth. Where-ever Trade and Navigation are encouraged, they will proſper; whereever they meet with Reſtrictions, they will remove, or die. If we would embrace the Trade of the World, we muſt encourage Trade more than any other Nation in the World; if we would maintain and increaſe our Maritime Power, we muſt extend our Diſcoveries, in order to make way for that Increaſe. It is a Maxim inſiſted upon by ſome Political Writers, and, I believe, they are not in the Wrong, *viz.* That a Nation may gain by Trade, though the Perſons concerned in that Trade are Loſers: But how long can this laſt? If we ſo manage Matters, that a great Number of Merchants over-trade themſelves, or, to expreſs it with greater Propriety, are diſappointed in their Expectations from Trade, the natural Conſequence is, that they will, or rather muſt, decline Trade, which will ruin our Navigation.

But, if new Diſcoveries could be made, new Chanels would be opened, new Expectations raiſed; and this political Maxim would be verified in its utmoſt Extent; for tho' ſuch private Perſons as might firſt engage in theſe new Trades, might poſſibly be no Gainers by them, yet the Nation would; for, in time, thoſe Trades muſt be eſtabliſhed, and the Number of Shipping requiſite to carry them on would be plainly a new Acquiſition to our maritime Force. I know of no Method more likely to revive and reſtore ſuch a Diſpoſition amongſt us, than this of recording the Exploits of eminent Seamen, that the preſent Age, and Poſterity, may have before their Eyes Examples of thoſe ſhining Virtues, which demand not only their Applauſe, but their Imitation; Virtues which have not only raiſed the Maritime Powers to that Height of Grandeur, which they enjoy at preſent, but have been likewiſe of ſuch eminent Service to the whole Race of Mankind, by extending and promoting the moſt uſeful Kinds of Knowledge, and by contributing to poliſh and civilize the moſt diſtant and barbarous Nations, uniting thereby in friendly Correſpondence ſuch as are ſevered by Situation, and thereby ſpreading the Beams of Knowledge, where-ever the Sun ſpreads his. Theſe are things ſo certain, and ſo apparent, that it is impoſſible they ſhould admit of any Diſpute; or that any Man ſhould have his Country's Intereſt ſo little at Heart, as not to wiſh, that they were daily and hourly inculcated, in order to wear off that Ruſt, which, for half an Age paſt, has been growing upon us.

But tho' many of theſe Remarks are obvious enough, and notwithſtanding our firſt Collectors of Voyages, ſuch as *Hackluit* and *Purchas*, took care to inſert the Hiſtory of Circum-navigators down to their own Times in their Works, yet our modern Collectors have totally omitted this; or elſe inſerted ſuch Voyages promiſcuouſly, and thereby deſtroyed that Connection, which is abſolutely neceſſary for their being throughly underſtood. Some foreign Writers, indeed, have given us Liſts of Circum-navigators, and intimated the Uſefulneſs of a general Hiſtory of them; and the Reaſon, as I conceive, that this Project was by them never carried into Execution, is this, that moſt of thoſe Voyagers were *Engliſhmen*, and conſequently it was not ſo eaſy for them to give the Hiſtory of their Proceedings, very few of their Journals having been tranſlated. It was from a juſt Senſe of this, that I thought it neceſſary to open our Collection, by ſupplying ſo great a Defect, and giving a regular Hiſtory of all the Voyages that have been undertaken, of this kind, in all Countries, and in all Ages, interſperſed with ſuch other Voyages, as ſeemed to be naturally Supplements to theſe, and neceſſary to be read with them, to complete the Diſcoveries that are mentioned in them.

41. In order to render the Whole as perfect as it is poſſible, and to give the Reader an Opportunity of reviewing at once this Series of Voyages, in the Order of Time in which they were made, I thought it would be proper to conclude this Chapter with the following Table, which exhibits at once, and in the narroweſt Compaſs poſſible, the principal Contents of this whole Chapter; from whence it appears, that there have been but fifteen Circum-navigations performed. Of theſe the firſt was by a *Spaniſh* Crew, under the Direction of a *Portugueſe*; five have been undertaken by the *Dutch*; and the other nine have been performed by *Engliſhmen*: And of theſe Captain *William Dampier* and Captain *John Clipperton* went each of them twice round the World; which is, I think, what no other Country has to boaſt.

A Complete Table of all the Circum-navigators, the Ports from which they ſailed, the Dates of their reſpective Voyages, and their Returns.

I.	*Ferdinand Magellan*,	from *Seville* in *Spain*, *Aug*. 10. 1519.	returned *Sept*. 8. 1522.
II.	Sir *Francis Drake*,	from *Plymouth Sound*, *Dec*. 30. 1577.	returned *Sept*. 16. 1586.
III.	Sir *Thomas Candiſhe*,	from *Plymouth*, *July* 25. 1586.	returned *Sept*. 9. 1588.
IV.	*Oliver van Noort*,	from *Goeree*, *Sept*. 13. 1598.	returned *Aug*. 26. 1601.
V.	*George Spilbergen*,	from the *Texel*, *Aug*. 8. 1614.	returned *July* 1. 1617.
VI.	*William Schoven* and *James le Maire*,	from the *Texel*, *June* 24. 1615.	returned *July* 1. 1617.
VII.	The *Naſſau Fleet*,	from the *Goeree*, *April* 29. 1623.	returned *January* 21. 1626.
VIII.	Captain *Cowley*,	from *Achamack* in *Virginia*, *Aug*. 23. 1683.	returned *October* 12. 1686.
IX.	Captain *William Dampier*,	from *Achamack*, *Aug*. 28. 1683.	returned *September* 16. 1691.
X.	Captain *Dampier* and Mr. *Funnel*,	from the *Downs*, *Aug*. 9. 1703.	returned *Auguſt* 1706.
XI.	Captains *Rogers* and *Courtney*,	from *Briſtol*, *June* 15. 1708.	returned *October* 1. 1711.
XII.	Captain *John Clipperton*,	from *Plymouth*, *Feb*. 15. 1719.	returned *June* 1722.
XIII.	Captain *George Shelvocke*,	from *Plymouth*, *Feb*. 15. 1719.	returned *Auguſt* 1. 1722.
XIV.	Commodore *Roggewein*,	from the *Texel*, *July* 17. 1721.	returned *July* 11. 1723.
XV.	*George Anſon*, Eſq;	from *St. Helens*, *Sept*. 18. 1740.	returned *June* 15. 1744.

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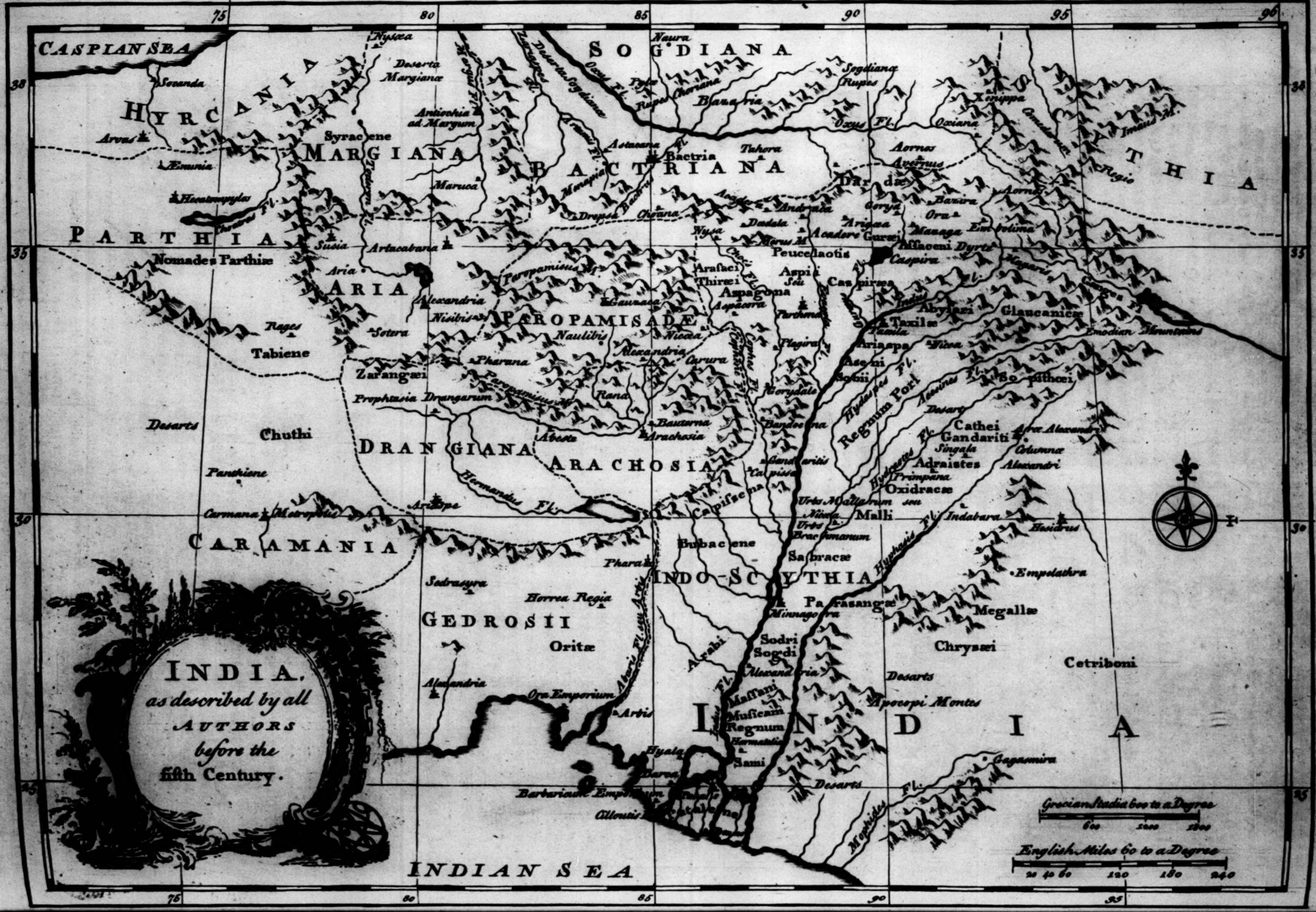
INDIA, as described by all AUTHORS before the fifth Century.
CASPIAN SEA
HYRCANIA
MARGIANA
PARTHIA
Nomades Parthiæ
ARIA
SOGDIANA
BACTRIANA
PAROPAMISADÆ
DRANGIANA
ARACHOSIA
CARAMANIA
GEDROSII
Oritæ
INDO-SCYTHIA
INDIA
SCYTHIA
Chuthi
Tabiene
Desarts
Emodian Mountains
Oxus Fl.
Indus Fl.
Hydaspes Fl.
Hyphasis Fl.
Regnum Pori
Taxilæ
Malli
Oxidracæ
Cathei
Gandariti
Musicani Regnum
Patala
INDIAN SEA
Grecian Stadia 600 to a Degree
600 1200 1800
English Miles 60 to a Degree
20 40 60 120 180 240
75
80
85
90
95
96
38
35
30
25

CHAPTER II.

Comprehending the Diſcovery, Settlement, and Commerce of the *EAST-INDIES*.

SECTION I.

An Account of the Nature and Importance of this Deſign, with a Regular Plan of this Part of the Work.

1. *The Copiouſneſs as well as Curioſity of the Subject, has occaſioned a Multitude of Books upon it.* 2. *Yet there is no complete Syſtem hitherto publiſhed.* 3. *The Difficulties that occur, with reſpect to the Credit due to the Antients.* 4. *The like, or greater, Difficulties met with in the Writings of the Moderns.* 5. *The Materials from which this Work is to be collected.* 6. *Preliminary Conſiderations.* 7. *The Manner in which the antient Hiſtory of the* Indies *will be treated, to the Time of the* Romans. 8. *It is propoſed to give a Summary of what the beſt* Greek *and* Latin *Authors have left us on this Head.* 9. *A diſtinct Account will next follow, of the Alterations to which this Commerce has been ſubject.* 10. *The Riſe, Progreſs, and Declenſion, of the* Portugueſe *Empire in the* Indies *will be conſidered.* 11. *The Expeditions, Settlement, and preſent State, of the* Engliſh *Factories to be ſet in a clear Light.* 12. *As alſo the Power and Oeconomy of the* Dutch Eaſt-India *Company, and the Diſputes we have formerly had with the* Dutch *in theſe Parts.* 13. *The Origin, Alterations, and preſent State, of the* French Eaſt-India *Company explained.* 14. *And an Account given of the* Oſtend, Swediſh, *and* Daniſh *Companies.* 15. *The Whole to be concluded with Obſervations on the Conſequence of the* Eaſt-India *Trade to* Europe *in general.*

1. THERE are few Subjects more inſtructive, or more entertaining, than that of the Hiſtory of the *Indies*, or which have exerciſed the Pens of more able Men. To ſay the Truth, there is ſomething in it capable of entertaining every Genius. Such as are fond of Antiquities, had an Opportunity afforded of exerciſing their Abilities in the moſt curious Reſearches; for though it is evident, from the Situation of this Part of the World, that *India* muſt have been peopled very early; yet it ſo falls out, that there is ſcarce a Country on the Globe, the antient Hiſtory of which lies buried in ſo great Obſcurity. The Lovers of Natural Hiſtory found, in all Ages, the largeſt Field open to their Inquiries in theſe Regions, where every Animal, every Tree, every Flower, every Root, was a Curioſity. Such, again, as delighted in ſpeculative Studies, in the quiet Pleaſures of Philoſophy, and in the Examination of the Efforts of the human Underſtanding, found ſufficient Employment in tracing out the Opinions, Manners, and Courſe of Life, of the *Brachmans*, or *Indian* Philoſophers, the oldeſt Sect in the World, and, in every reſpect, the moſt ſingular, and the moſt extraordinary; while thoſe, who were charmed with a Variety of ſtriking Events, Invaſions, Battles, Revolutions, and the like, met with all they could deſire, in exploring the *Indian* Hiſtory; which abounds with a greater Diverſity of ſuch Events than any other. Laſtly, the Lovers of Navigation and Commerce were attached to this Subject, from the Conſideration of its peculiar Advantages; for never any Traffick made ſo conſiderable a Figure as that of the *Indies*; never was any Country ſo highly renowned for the Riches of its native Commodities, for ſo many and ſo valuable Manufactures, or for ſuch a Spirit of Induſtry and Trade amongſt its People; and this in all Ages, from the earlieſt to the preſent Times.

We need not wonder, therefore, that ſuch a Multitude of Books have been written on thoſe Topics that we have mentioned, or that ſo many able Pens ſhould have been employed upon each of them. The Difficulty does not lie in finding Guides for our Journey, but in diſtinguiſhing amongſt ſo many, which has the propereſt Talents for conducting us, and how far we ought to follow him. This is an Evil, indeed, common to all curious and uſeful Subjects; on which there are naturally many more Books produced, than on ſuch as are leſs pleaſing, leſs inſtructive, and leſs agreeable, either to the Writer or the Reader.

2. But there is one Thing very ſingular with regard to this Subject: We have not ſo much as a ſingle Treatiſe, that embraces it in its full Extent, that takes in the intire Hiſtory of the Antiquities, Revolutions, Cuſtoms, Manners, and Trade of the antient *Indians*; their Correſpondence with *European* Nations; the Loſſes and Revivance of that Correſpondence in ſeveral Periods; the Civil, Natural, and Commercial Hiſtory of the *Indies*, before and ſince the Diſcovery of the Paſſage thither by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and the Riſe, Progreſs, and preſent Situation, of the Settlements of *European* Nations in the *Indies*. This, I ſay, in its full Extent, and with due Regard had to the Importance of the Work in general, and the Connexion of its ſeveral Parts, is what, in the Midſt of ſo many Books, ſo many Collections, ſuch a Multitude of general Hiſtories and Abridgments, is no-where to be found.

Yet I ſhould think myſelf very happy, if I could as eaſily ſupply the Defect, as I can point out the Cauſes of it, which ſeem to me to be principally theſe: In the firſt place, almoſt every Writer, who has meddled with theſe kind of Subjects, has a particular Genius, which determines him to this or that Part of them. One has a Reliſh only for antient Hiſtory, and amuſes himſelf with examining and comparing the Fables and Fragments he collects out of old Authors. Another is ſtruck with Curioſities, and he, perhaps, ſpends many Years in compiling whatever is to be met with in relation to Natural Hiſtory. A Third has a Taſte only for Travels and Voyages, which leads him to collect theſe; without ever conſidering, that, in all ſuch Works, there muſt be many dark and unintelligible Paſſages, if the Reader is not furniſhed with other Lights than ſuch Sort of Books will afford, to enable him to underſtand them.

Another Cauſe is, the not fully comprehending the Subject, but believing that a General Hiſtory of the *Indies* may be written from the Memoirs of this or that particular

Nation, ſuch as the *Portugueſe*, the *Engliſh*, or the *Dutch*; of which many Inſtances might be given: And yet, when theſe Books are compiled, though they afford excellent Materials for ſuch an Hiſtory, they are nothing leſs than General Hiſtories themſelves.

A third Cauſe is, that Love of Amuſement which prevails at preſent in the World, and inclines them to encourage that Sort of writing which is pleaſant and entertaining; but at the ſame time leaves the Reader very little wiſer than he was before; which is the Reaſon that many modern Voyages and Travels are written with ſuch a Spirit of Indolence and Gaiety, and are ſo inaccurate in point of Dates and Facts, that we are ſometimes apt to miſtake them for fictitious Adventures and Romances. I could likewiſe ſupport this Remark by Abundance of Inſtances, but that I am ſenſible my own and the Reader's Time may be much better employed; and that the Fact is ſo well known, that I am in no Danger of being called to an Account for the Aſſertion.

There are ſeveral other Cauſes that might be added; but, as moſt of them will occur to an intelligent Reader, I chuſe to leave them to his Obſervation, rather than dwell too long on an Introduction to a Subject ſo copious in itſelf, and which will require ſo much Time, and ſo much Room, to handle as it ought to be handled; even though all imaginable Pains be uſed to bring it within Compaſs, by giving nothing but what is curious and ſolid, and that in the feweſt Words poſſible.

3. There is nothing more common in ſome Books relating to the *Indies*, than to meet with violent Invectives againſt the Ignorance, Credulity, and Folly, of the Antients, as if they had had no Opportunity of knowing any thing with relation to this Country and People, and had therefore delivered to Poſterity an Heap of indigeſted Fables of their own Invention. In ſome other Books, again, we find this abſolutely contradicted; the Accounts of the Antients commended and ſupported; and thoſe who have treated them with Contempt, repreſented as weak Men, and incompetent Judges. When Books of both Sorts fall into the Hands of an *Engliſh* Reader, he knows not what to think, or whom to believe: He doubts of every thing; and as he meets with ſtrange Stories, and ſeemingly extravagant Relations, in all the Voyages and Travels to this Part of the World, he is apt to ſuſpect the Whole, and to believe that very little Credit is due to any of them. In order to clear up this, and to afford him a reaſonable Satiſfaction, he is uſually turned over to the voluminous Collections of *Eden*, *Hackluit*, and *Purchas*. If he has the Patience to run through theſe, and Abundance of Patience it requires, his Difficulties are rather increaſed than reſolved; and, for want of knowing the true Characters of the Writers preſerved in thoſe Collections, and the not meeting with many antient Writers, whoſe Names are mentioned in other Accounts, he is more at a Loſs than ever.

4. In the Hiſtories of the Diſcoveries made by the *Portugueſe*, they are uſually treated in ſuch a manner, that, at firſt Sight, one would be tempted to imagine, none of the Countries mentioned in them were at all known to the *Europeans*, before the Paſſage was found by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and yet, upon a cloſer Inſpection, the contrary is very viſible. This, again, gives the inquiſitive Reader a great deal of Uneaſineſs: He is ſenſible, that, before that Paſſage was found, abundance of *Indian* Commodities were tranſported into *Europe*, ſome of them in greater Perfection than they are now. He is anxious to know when that Correſpondence began; how, and by whom, it was carried on; what were the Advantages and Diſadvantages that attended it; and the Reaſons why it was diſcontinued; none of which are to be found in thoſe Hiſtorians, who, full of a Deſire to magnify their own Country, carry the Conqueſts and Diſcoveries of the *Portugueſe* to the utmoſt Height, and leave the Report of other Nations Succeſs, in Maritime Affairs and Commerce, to their own Writers.

The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* purſue pretty much the ſame Track; and tho' they ſometimes run out violently againſt the Pride, Luxury, and Tyranny, of the *Portugueſe* in the *Indies*, yet they omit many curious Particulars, in relation to the Decline of the *Portugueſe* Empire, which may be with Care collected from ſome of the Writers of that Nation. Thus we have only partial Repreſentations, and ſuch as, inſtead of inſtructing us, as to the true State of Things, ſhew us only ſuch Pictures as, for the Honour of their reſpective Countries, theſe Writers have finiſhed, to the higheſt Degree their Abilities would allow them.

5. The Senſe that many able Authors of Voyages and Travels have had of theſe Imperfections and Difficulties, and the Deſire they had to remove them, has engaged them in frequent Cenſures, long Diſputes, and tedious Digreſſions; which render their own Works heavy and tireſome, and, at the ſame time, very indifferently anſwer the End for which they were intended. I would not have the Reader imagine, that I am giving him a bad Opinion of other Peoples Books, that I may recommend my own; for, in Truth, there is nothing farther from my Intention than ſuch a Conduct. I am very ſenſible, that there are Abundance of excellent Writers on each of the different Parts of the Subject which I am to handle; and I freely profeſs, that I have no Hopes of ſucceeding, but from the Uſe I make of their Labours. But what I would ſhew him is this, that how excellent ſoever theſe may be, take them ſeparate, and with regard to the Deſigns by them reſpectively propoſed, they cannot, however, even by the moſt laborious Courſe of Reading, be brought to anſwer the End of ſuch a general and connected Hiſtory, as has been mentioned.

They are, indeed, Materials for ſuch a Building, and Materials without which it would be Madneſs to attempt raiſing ſuch a Structure; but ſtill they are Materials only, and muſt be drawn together, and properly framed, before they can become Parts of ſuch a Building. It is very happy for the Reader, as well as for me, that there are ſuch Plenty of excellent Materials; and it will be very eaſy for him to decide how well they are ranged, and how far they occupy their proper Places. Theſe Materials are to be collected from Writers of different Ages, in different Languages, and who wrote with very different Purpoſes: The great Difficulty therefore lies, in making theſe ſerve an End which none of them ever propoſed, and to unite them in ſuch a manner, as that the Piece may be whole and intire, without any Mark of Patchwork.

In order to this, the Deficiences of ſome muſt be ſupplied from the Abundance of the others: The true Senſe of the Antients muſt be collected from the beſt Commentaries of the Moderns; where any thing is dark, it muſt be explained; and where great Writers have erred, from their Fondneſs for particular Opinions, their Erros muſt be ſet right with Candour and Decency. When, after all the Care that can be taken, no Materials can be found, this muſt be fairly confeſſed, and the Reader plainly told, what is known, and what is likely to be buried in perpetual Obſcurity. This may, indeed, ſeem to injure the Beauty, and deſtroy the Symmetry of our Work; but it is much better, that the Things ſhould be left ſo, than that, after the Manner of *French* Hiſtorians, we ſhould ſupply Facts with Inventions, and ſo build up a regular Hiſtory, deficient in nothing but Truth; which ought to be the Foundation of all Hiſtory, and without which it is mere Romance.

6. But to deſcend from Generals to Particulars, and to repreſent, in few Words, what the Reader is to expect in this Chapter, as we did in the laſt, and to ſecure him from any Apprehenſion of our forgetting, that this is a Library of Voyages; and, therefore, ought to conſiſt principally of theſe; we will enter into an expreſs Detail of the capital Points that are to be treated in the enſuing Sections. It is the more neceſſary for us to do this, becauſe, without conſidering them as the Parts of the ſame Work, they might appear, at leaſt many of them, to be placed in a wrong Order of Time; whereas, when the Deſign of this Chapter is fully diſcloſed, I hope it will appear, that they are digeſted in the moſt natural Order, and ſo, as that they explained and enlightened each other. This is certainly the great Uſe of Method; without which, it is ſimply impoſſible, that there ſhould be any Perſpicuity; and yet it is not impoſſible, that a Writer, by adhering too cloſely to Method, may fall into that very Error which he endeavours to avoid: And, therefore, as the End is always to be preferred to the Means, I ſhall in this, as in the former

Chapter, prefer the Reader's Satiſfaction to the ſtrict Purſuit of my own Notion; and, where-ever it is neceſſary, ſhall, without Scruple, join Things together, that, perhaps, a ſtrict regard to Method might have diſpoſed in different Places. I ſhall likewiſe take the Liberty, where I find it requiſite, of referring the Reader to what has been delivered in the foregoing Chapter, rather than run the Hazard of tiring him with needleſs Repetitions; and, as, in the Voyages I have already given him, I have been very copious in my Remarks, ſo, in theſe that are to follow, I ſhall be more conciſe, in order to bring my Matter within due Bounds. Theſe Preliminaries being ſettled, I proceed, as I promiſed, to the Plan of what I propoſe in this Chapter.

7. In the firſt place, I ſhall treat of the State of the *Indies*, from the earlieſt Ages, to the Foundation of the *Perſian* Monarchy; and, though, in doing this, I am ſenſible that I cannot give the Reader any more than a few capital Facts, in a long Series of Ages, yet, as theſe Facts are abſolutely neceſſary to the underſtanding what follows, I perſuade myſelf, that he will regard them as I do, in the Light of a neceſſary Introduction, I ſhall then proceed to the Hiſtory of the *Indies*, ſo far as it can be diſcovered from the Hiſtories that has been left us of the *Perſian* Empire, through which the Riches of the *Indies* were firſt made known to the *Europeans*.

Having proceeded through theſe dark Periods, we ſhall arrive at a clearer Account of Things, deduced from the Expedition of *Alexander* the Great, after the Deſtruction of the *Perſian* Empire, into the Countries of which we are ſpeaking. This will lead us into an Explanation of the Politics of that mighty Conqueror, who, to the Poſſeſſion of many large and fruitful Provinces, intended to have ſecured to the Empire that he erected, all the Advantages accruing from the rich Commerce of the *Indies*.

We ſhall likewiſe examine how far this glorious Deſign was proſecuted by his Succeſſors; how, through their Quarrels and Diſputes, it ſunk into Oblivion, until it was revived by the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*, who throughly underſtood the Plan of *Alexndaer*, and improved it to great Advantage. After the Deſtruction of their Monarchy, we ſhall give a ſuccinct Account of the Uſes made by the *Romans* of their Conqueſt of *Egypt*, and of the Light they obtained from the *Greeks*, and other Nations, with regard to the Trade of the *Indies*, and in what manner they improved them.

8. In conſequence of this Chain of Hiſtory, which will afford us an Opportunity of explaining to the Reader the Characters of thoſe Writers on whoſe Authorities the Antients chiefly depended, we ſhall be at Liberty to lay down the Subſtance of what they knew and believed, with reſpect to the Country, Inhabitants, and Commodities, of the *Indies*. We ſhall ſhew, from the beſt Writers of Antiquity, how far their Acquaintance with the *Indies* reached; in what Particulars they had right Notions, where they erred; and whence their Errors aroſe. We ſhall ſhew what they have delivered with reſpect to the Religion of the *Indians*; their Policy; the Diviſion of their States; their Cuſtoms and Manners; together with the Animals, as deſcribed by them; and all the other Productions of that Country. In doing this, the utmoſt Care ſhall be taken to cite exactly the Authorities on which the ſeveral Facts we report are grounded; and, as Occaſion requires, we ſhall ſhew how far they are confirmed or contradicted by the Moderns; and, by this Means, we ſhall bring a Multitude of curious and inſtructive Paſſages into a very narrow Compaſs.

The Reader will then ſee, in one View, the true State of the Caſe, with reſpect to the Antients; and be able, with Certainty, to judge for himſelf, with reſpect to the Juſtice of thoſe Cenſures, and the Value of thoſe Panegyrics, which are before-mentioned. He will then ſee how far the Credulity of the Antients really extended, with what Caution their Works ought to be read, and what Credit is due to the ſurpriſing Relations that are met with in them. He will likewiſe ſee the Nature and Extent of their Commerce; the Manner in which they managed it; the Advantages they drew from it; and how it ſunk and roſe, according as the Countries, in which it was ſettled, were bleſſed with a wiſe and prudent Government, or curſed with a bad one. This will afford him an Opportunity of comparing, in his own Mind, the State of Commerce in thoſe Days, with the Condition in which he ſees it; and will enable him to pronounce boldly, that Juſtice, Equity, and a due Regard to the natural Rights and Liberties of Mankind, are the ſole Means by which Nations are diſtinguiſhed from each other; and that Power, Wealth, and Happineſs, are not attached to Extent of Dominion, or Multitude of People, but, where-ever there is a wiſe Adminiſtration, may be enjoyed.

9. We ſhall then reſume the hiſtorical Part of our Diſcourſe, and treat of the Correſpondence between the Subjects of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Empire, and the Inhabitants of the *Indies*; which will appear to be of more Importance than has been hitherto imagined. We ſhall next deſcend to a regular Account of the Alterations which happened by the Declenſion of that Empire, in the Management of that Trade, which threw it into different Chanels, and into the Hands of ſeveral Nations. This will bring us to thoſe Voyages and Travels that have been hitherto accounted the earlieſt that were made into the *Indies*. The moſt valuable of theſe we ſhall give the Reader at large, with a fair and clear Account of the Characters of their Authors: And, in order to make their Relations perfectly intelligible, we ſhall, in a previous Section or two, give a ſuccinct Account of the Revolutions that happened in the *Indies*; without knowing of which, the Accounts given by theſe Travellers would be exceedingly obſcure. But, by purſuing this Method, every thing will fall into its proper Place; and, before the Reader meets with theſe Relations, he will have acquired the Lights neceſſary to the perfect Underſtanding of them; and will likewiſe diſcern, how theſe Voyages and Travels, dark and imperfect as they were, kindled that Spirit of Inquiry, and exhibited that generous Thirſt of opening a ſhorter Paſſage to theſe rich Countries, which made Way for the Diſcoveries of the *Portugueſe*. He will likewiſe ſee, how far the Accounts given us by theſe Travellers agree with thoſe of the Antients, and how far they are ſupported or confuted by later Experience. He will likewiſe form a Judgment of the Value of ſuch Pieces, and ſee how far they are ſtill uſeful, notwithſtanding the ſubſequent Lights we have received; and from thence he will have a juſt Idea of the Value of ſuch Collections, as contain theſe, and little elſe.

10. After paſſing through theſe dark and troubleſome Stages, we ſhall reach that famous Period, in which the Paſſage by the Cape of *Good Hope* was diſcovered, which transferred the Commerce of the *Indies* from the *Italian* Republics to the *Portugueſe*. We ſhall then relate, as briefly as it is poſſible, the Progreſs of the *Portugueſe* Conqueſts; exhibit the Nature and Extent of their Empire in the *Indies*; give the Characters of the principal Perſons concerned in eſtabliſhing it; ſhew of how great Conſequence it was to *Portugal*, and what Effects the annexing, for a time, that Kingdom to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, had upon the Affairs of *Europe*. We ſhall next endeavour to point out the Means by which the Empire of the *Portugueſe* began to decay; trace out the Circumſtances that concurred to its Deſtruction; and conclude with a Repreſentation of the preſent State of their Affairs, and of the Remains of the great Power in the *Indies*, which are ſtill in their Hands.

11. The Voyages made by our Countrymen into this Part of the World will next demand our Care; and here the Reader will obſerve, that, for the ſake of being clear and perſpicuous, we were obliged to diſpenſe with Method; for otherwiſe ſome of our *Engliſh* Travellers ought to have been mentioned, not only with, but even before thoſe, who viſited theſe Parts in the 12th and 13th Centuries. After a very ſhort Account, as indeed no other can be given of theſe old Voyages, we ſhall explain the Cauſes that lead our Countrymen to engage in Expeditions to the *Eaſt Indies* during the Reigns of *Henry* VII. *Henry* VIII. *Edward* VI. and the Queens *Mary* and *Elizabeth*; by this means our Hiſtory will be conducted as low as the Eſtabliſhment of that Kind of Trade, which we carry on to the *Indies* at preſent; of the fixing of which we ſhall give a diſtinct Account, and inſert, in their proper Places, ſuch *Engliſh* Voyages, as

are likely to give Satiſfaction to the Reader. We ſhall alſo enter, as far as is neceſſary, into the Diſputes that have happened, in theſe Parts, between us and the *Dutch*; and particularly the famous Affair of *Amboyna*, by which we loſt the Spice Trade; an Affair, which, though it has been long ago forgiven, ought never to be forgot, any more than the Arts and Contrivances by which we were expelled from *Bantam* in the Iſland of *Javan*, and other Parts of the *Eaſt Indies*. Theſe things being diſpatched, we ſhall examine the preſent State of the *Britiſh* Empire in that Part of the Globe, and give a particular Deſcription of the Situation and Conſequence of each of our Factories, concluding with ſome Remarks on the Nature and Value of the *Eaſt India* Trade with regard to this Nation, more eſpecially with reſpect to the great Exportation of Bullion, which it occaſions. By this means we hope to render our Work equally agreeable and uſeful to the Subjects of theſe Kingdoms, by ſetting in a true Light this important Branch of our Commerce, and demonſtrating the Neceſſity we are under, of maintaining and ſupporting it, in order to bring the general Balance of Trade in our Favour.

12. The firſt Voyages of the *Dutch* to the *Eaſt Indies*, and, in conſequence to thoſe Voyages, the Eſtabliſhment of their *Eaſt India* Company, a Specimen of the moſt important Expeditions made under their Direction, and the Account which they have been pleaſed to give us of their Proceedings at *Amboyna*, will fall here into their proper Place. To theſe we ſhall add an Account of the Œconomy of this Company at home, and the Manner in which their vaſt Stock is managed for the Benefit of the Proprietors; for, as to their Settlements in the *Indies*, there has been already ſo copious and ſo accurate a Deſcription given of them in Commodore *Roggewein*'s Voyage, that we ſhall be under no Neceſſity of ſaying any thing more on that Head.

13. The *French Eaſt-India* Company comes next to be conſidered; a Company not formed, like the reſt, in conſequence of Voyages made at private Expence, and in Compliance with the Genius and Deſires of the People; but ſpringing from a political Principle, projected by Miniſters, and ſettled, according to their good Pleaſure, by the Power of the Crown; and this, too, after numerous Efforts, and repeated Diſappointments. We ſhall inſiſt the more particularly on the Riſe and Progreſs of this Company, or rather enter into a Detail of the ſeveral *Eaſt India* Companies formed in *France*, in order to ſhew how hard it is to force the Spirit, and model the Inclinations, of a People after the Will of the Government, even when the Will of the Government is, in ſome meaſure, right, and agreeable to the Intereſts of the People. We ſhall particularly deſcribe the Methods, by which the two great Miniſters, *Richelieu* and *Colbert*, obliged the *French* Nation to think of ſettling themſelves effectually in the *Indies*; and we ſhall render it evident, that nothing but the ſteady Care and conſtant Attention of their Succeſſors, to the Principles by them laid down, overcame thoſe Obſtacles that at firſt ſeemed inſurmountable, and at laſt brought this Project to bear, and put the Affairs of the *French Eaſt India* Company into a flouriſhing Condition.

We ſhall laſtly give a full and diſtinct Account of that Company, in reſpect of its Œconomy at home, as well as its Settlements abroad; and the Effects, which, in time, and by the Continuance of its Trade, it may have in regard to the general Commerce of the *Indies*, and the Trade of *Europe*. Theſe, we have Reaſon to believe, will be ſo much the more acceptable to our Readers, becauſe they are abſolutely new, and have not hitherto been treated, at leaſt, clearly, methodically, and from authentic Memoirs, in our Language.

14. It was the Succeſs of this laſt, as well as of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Companies, that raiſed, about twenty Years ago, ſo ſtrong a Spirit of Trading to the *Indies*, throughout all *Europe*, and which firſt diſplayed itſelf in the Attempt made to ſettle a Company for that Purpoſe at *Oſtend*, under the Protection of the late Emperor *Charles* VI. We ſhall give a ſuccinct Account of the Origin, Progreſs, and Declenſion, of that Company; and ſhall ſhew the Conſequences that might probably have attended its Eſtabliſhment, if it had not been oppoſed ſo vigorouſly by the maritime Powers. This will naturally bring us to the Companies that have been ſince erected, or rather revived, in *Sweden* and *Denmark*, with greater Succeſs, than could well have been expected, and which, proſecuted with the ſame Diligence and Attention that have hitherto been beſtowed upon them, muſt neceſſarily be brought to that Perfection, which has been thought incompatible with the Genius of thoſe Nations, the Nature of their Governments, and the Strength their maritime Force. We ſhall likewiſe take notice of of the Trade carried on to *China* by the *Ruſſians*, and the Conveniencies they have for eſtabliſhing and extending it, together with ſome Thoughts on the Conſequences of our new Trade through *Muſcovy* to *Perſia*, and the vaſt Regions of *Great Tartary*, which may poſſibly be improved into a Commerce of as great Conſequence, or, at leaſt, of as great Profit, as that which we now carry on to the *Indies*.

15. In the Concluſion of the Chapter we ſhall compare the old and new Trade to the *Indies*; examine the Advantages and Diſadvantages of both, and the Conſequence of this Commerce to the Eaſtern Nations, and to the People of *Europe* in general. From which it will appear, that the Prejudices entertained againſt this Trade, on account of the great Exportation of Silver which it occaſions, are but indifferently founded; and that the neceſſary Attendants upon this Commerce, provided it be properly managed, will much more than balance this Inconveniency, and prove the means of enriching *Europe* in a much higher Degree, than it is ſuppoſed to be impoveriſhed by the ſending out ſuch Quantities of Bullion.

Such is the Plan of this Part of our Work, which, tho' very extenſive, is, however, ſo regular, that, by the Peruſal of this Section, the Reader cannot but be convinced, the Subject could not have been treated in leſs room to any Purpoſe. The Importance of it is ſo great, that it may well juſtify the Labour and Pains that it will coſt in the Execution; and every Part of it will be ſo curious and entertaining, as well as uſeful and inſtructive, will comprehend the Subſtance of ſo great a Number of valuable Books, and convey ſo large a Proportion of practical Knowledge, in compariſon of the Bulk of the Chapter, that there is the greateſt Reaſon to believe our Readers will not think their Time at all miſ-ſpent in its Peruſal.

It is but a very few Years ago, that the Diſputes about this Commerce to the *Eaſt Indies* divided and diſtracted all *Europe*: And it is very eaſy to foreſee, that, in the Courſe of a few Years, the ſame Diſputes muſt neceſſarily be revived with as great Warmth as ever; eſpecially if there be any Truth in what ſome People have ſurmiſed in *Holland*, as to the Intention of the King of *Pruſſia* to eſtabliſh a new *Eaſt India* Company at *Embden* in *Eaſt Frieſland*. If this ſhould ever take Effect, it would create greater Apprehenſions, eſpecially in the *Dutch*, and with more Reaſon, than the Attempt made to fix ſuch a Company at *Oſtend*, becauſe, from the Situation of that Port, they would have much greater Reaſon to fear the Ruin of a great Part of their Trade in *Germany*.

Upon theſe Motives we have been led to handle this important and intereſting Subject in all its Branches, every Section of which will be a complete Treatiſe in its Kind; and its Relation to, and Connexion with, the reſt of the Work will immediately appear, by referring to the Scheme of the Whole, as it is in this Section delivered. We have now nothing more to add, but an Aſſurance, that the ſame Diligence ſhall be uſed in rendering every Part of the Chapter as perfect as poſſible, that we hope is diſcoverable in this large and particular Account of the whole Deſign, intended as well to manifeſt the Attention ſhewn in compoſing it, as to give ſuch a Key to the whole Chapter, as may ſerve the Purpoſes before-mentioned.

SECTION

SECTION II.

The Hiſtory *of* INDIA *in the Earlieſt Ages.*

1. *The Tradition of the* Indians *concerning* Bacchus. 2. *The* Egyptians *transferred their Reports to* Oſiris. 3. Semiramis *attacked the* Indians, *and was repulſed.* 4. *The Invaſion of* India *by* Seſoſtris. 5. *The* Indians *had their* Hercules *as well as the* Greeks. 6. M. Huet, *Biſhop of* Avranches, *had no juſt Grounds to ſuppoſe the antient* Indians *deſcended from the* Egyptians. 7. *The Argument drawn from the Confeſſion of the* Indians *to* Alexander *the Great, examined and confuted.* 8. *A Summary of Matters of Fact, which may be collected from this fabulous Hiſtory.* 9. *The Uſefulneſs of theſe Inquiries to the thorough underſtanding of this Subject.*

1. AS we have very confuſed and indiſtinct Accounts of the firſt Settlements of almoſt all Nations, it is no Wonder, that we ſhould have many abſurd and unintelligible Fables as to the Settlement of the *Indies*; eſpecially if we conſider how remote theſe Countries lie from thoſe which produced the Hiſtorians, from whom all our Accounts are derived. The firſt *Indian* Monarch, or Conqueror, of whom any mention is made in Hiſtory, is the God *Bacchus*, or *Dionyſius*, who is reported to have led an Army out of *Greece* as far as the *Indies*, which he conquered, and taught the Inhabitants the Uſe of Wine, and built the City of *Nyſa* [a]. There is, however, good Reaſon to believe, that *Bacchus*, or *Dionyſius*, is only a *Greek* Name for that *Indian* Prince who firſt civilized the People of that Country; for one of the moſt valuable Writers of Antiquity, *Diodorus* the *Sicilian*, explains the Hiſtory thus, and tells us, that the *Indians* themſelves related the Matter in the following Manner.

That *Bacchus* was a Native of their Country, and the firſt who found out and taught the way of preſſing Grapes, and making Wine; that he likewiſe employed himſelf in pruning Fig-trees, and other Fruit-trees, of a larger Size; in which he likewiſe inſtructed his People, eſtabliſhed a little Principality in the Country of *Nyſea*, and called his Capital *Nyſa*, from the Name of his Nurſe. The *Indians* had likewiſe a Tradition, that he was a great Conqueror, and a Lawgiver, built many ſtately Cities, inſtituted divine Worſhip, and erected every-where Courts of Juſtice: They ſay further, that, after ruling over all *India* for the Space of fifty-two Years, he died in an extreme old Age, and left his Dominions to his Children, by whom they were enjoyed for many Generations; till at length, ſeveral Revolutions happening, many of the Cities became free, and ſet up ſuch Forms of Government as ſeemed moſt agreeable to the Inhabitants. All this is reaſonable enough; as is alſo the latter Part of the Story, which is, that, after his Death, he was revered as a *God* [b].

2. In the antient Hiſtory of the *Egyptians* we are told, that *Oſiris*, the great Conqueror of that Country, having firſt added *Ethiopia* to his Dominions, paſſed over from that Country into *Arabia*, and marched from thence into *India*, where he taught the Inhabitants the Uſe of Wine, and founded the City of *Nyſa*; from whence it is plain, that this *Oſiris* is the ſame with *Dionyſius*, or *Bacchus* [c]. There ſeems to be no great Difficulty in accounting alſo for this Story, ſince it is a Point univerſally agreed among the Learned, that the *Egyptians*, in order to fortify their favourite Opinion, that they were the moſt antient Nation in the World, and that all Arts and Sciences were derived to other People from them, were accuſtomed to transfer whatever they learned relating to the Actions of antient Princes in other Countries, to ſome of their own Monarchs; and thus, it is highly probable, they delivered what the *Indians* reported of their firſt Lawgiver, as if performed by *Oſiris*. The *Greeks*, who moſt certainly borrowed their Learning from the *Egyptians*, and, in Imitation of them, endeavoured to eſtabliſh a Notion of their own Antiquity, adjuſted theſe Accounts to the *Grecian Bacchus*; whence ariſes all that confuſed and fabulous Hiſtory, reported by ſeveral *Greek* Authors, upon this Subject, and with which we ſhould not have meddled at all, but that it will be found neceſſary to explain ſome Paſſages in *Alexander*'s Expedition, which is a thing of the utmoſt Conſequence with reſpect to the *Indian* Hiſtory.

3. The *Aſſyrian*, which was the firſt of the great Empires erected after the Flood, was governed, after the Death of *Ninus*, by his Widow *Semiramis*, who founded the antient *Babylon*. This great Princeſs, after the Conqueſt of *Bactria*, reſolved to undertake that of *India*. The Reaſons that moved her to this Reſolution, were the Reports ſhe had heard of the Fruitfulneſs of the Country, and the Riches of its Inhabitants; but, as ſhe foreſaw, that this Enterprize would be attended with many and great Difficulties, ſhe ſpent no leſs than three whole Years in preparing for it. In order to this, ſhe ordered a prodigious Army, drawn out of all the Provinces of her extenſive Empire, to aſſemble in *Bactria*: She likewiſe directed the Inhabitants of *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, and *Cyprus*, to ſend her a ſufficient Number of Shipwrights to build two thouſand Ships, or rather large Barks, which were ſo contrived, as that they might be taken to-pieces, and carried, according to her Project, from *Bactria* to the River *Indus*, where ſhe underſtood the *Indians* had a conſiderable Naval Force.

But, as ſhe was apprehenſive, that her Troops might be ſtruck with a Panic at the Sight of the Elephants, which the *Indians* uſed in War, or, rather, apprehending that the *Indians* themſelves would place all Confidence of Victory in their armed Elephants, ſhe contrived certain Machines, made of the Skins of Oxen ſewed together, and carried by Camels, which reſembled Elephants, in order to take from the *Indians* their Notion of Superiority in this reſpect. All Things neceſſary being provided, ſhe marched out of *Bactria*, with an Army, that the *Greek* Hiſtorians have, by their Relations, rendered leſs formidable than incredible; for they report, that it conſiſted of 3,000,000 of Foot, 200,000 Horſe, 100,000 Chariots, and 100,000 mounted on Camels.

Stabrobates, who was at that time King of the Countries that border on the River *Indus*, as ſoon as he had Intelligence of this formidable Invaſion, prepared to defend his Country, and his Subjects; and, with this View, aſſembled a prodigious Army, augmented the Number of his Elephants, and cauſed four thouſand Boats to be built of Cane, which is not ſubject either to rot, or to be eaten by the Worms, to encounter the *Aſſyrians* on the River, having his Army and Elephants drawn up on the Shore ready to ſupport them. The Fleet of *Semiramis*, either becauſe her Veſſels were ſtronger, or better manned, proved victorious, a thouſand of the *Indian* Boats being ſunk, with all who were on board them, and a vaſt Number of *Indians* taken Priſoners. Upon this, the *Indian* King abandoned the oppoſite Shore, and left the Enemy a free Paſſage, in hopes of attacking them with better Succeſs by Land. *Semiramis*, as ſoon as the *Indians* withdrew, converted her Fleet into a Bridge of Boats, over which ſhe marched her whole Army, with the counterfeit Elephants in the Front.

When the *Indians* were informed by their Spies, that the *Aſſyrians* had a great Number of Elephants, they were amazed at it, and in great Confuſion; but they ſoon recovered their Spirits, when, by the Deſertion of ſome of the Troops of *Semiramis*, they came to underſtand the Truth. A Battle ſoon after followed, in which the *Aſſyrians* had at firſt the Advantage, but at laſt the *Indians* prevailed, and *Semiramis* was totally overthrown, and ſoon obliged to fly, with a very ſmall Retinue, eſcaping with great Difficulty back into her own Dominions. Authors have varied in their Accounts of this Tranſaction, which is largely related by *Diodorus*, who had it probably from *Cteſias*, who drew his Accounts from the Oriental Writers themſelves. There is not certainly any great Weight to be laid upon a Fact, the Credit of which can hardly be aſcertained, and ſome Circumſtances of which have viſibly the Air of Fable [d].

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[a] *Strabo Geograph. lib.* xv. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iii. *Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib.* iii.

[b] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iii. *cap.* 4.

[c] *Cicero ubi ſupra.*

The citing, however, this Paſſage, to prove that the *Indians* were a civilized and powerful Nation, is, perhaps, going no further than the Laws of Reaſon and Probability will allow: There is, indeed, great Difficulty in attempting to ſettle the Time when this Tranſaction happened; but, according to the Chronology of *Capellus*, who ſeems to have ſtudied the Point very carefully, it muſt have fallen out about the Year of the World 1970 [e].

4. The next Invaſion of *India* is reported to have been by *Seſooſis*, or *Seſoſtris* King of *Egypt*, who was one of the greateſt Princes that ever ruled in that Kingdom: He is reported to have made uſe of a Fleet of 400 Sail, which he drew together in the *Red-Sea*; and is likewiſe ſaid to have invented long Ships, or Ships of War, probably, when he firſt laid the Scheme of this Invaſion, which he executed with equal Succeſs and Deliberation, leaving behind him, as the *Egyptians* ſay, Monuments of his Conqueſts, where-ever he came. He is ſaid to have penetrated through *India* to the Sea which ſeparates *China* from *Japan*: Not that the Antients were acquainted with that Sea, but they report that he went much further than *Alexander* did; paſt the *Ganges*, ſubdued all *Aſia*, even to the Ocean: And, if ſo, his Conqueſts muſt have extended to the Sea beforementioned [f]. He ſpent nine Years in this Expedition, behaving very kindly towards the Nations he conquered, and exacting from them no other Tokens of Obedience, than ſending annually certain Preſents into *Egypt*. The ſame Chronologer we have before mentioned, places the Reign of this King, or rather his Expedition into *India*, in the Year of the World 3023 [g]. The *Ethiopians* alſo are ſaid to have invaded *India*; but the Circumſtances of that Invaſion are ſo obſcure, that we ſhall not trouble the Reader with an Account of it.

5. As to what ſome of the Antients report concerning *Hercules*, and his being in the *Indies*, it is more than probable that it is derived from a Tradition of the *Indians* themſelves, who had an *Hercules*, as well as *Bacchus*, of their own, concerning whom they affirmed, that he excelled all other Men in Strength and Courage; that he cleared both the Sea and Land of Monſters, and wild Beaſts; and that, having many Wives, he left behind him a numerous Offſpring, all of them Sons, among whom, when they were grown up, he divided *India* into equal Parts, making each of them King or Sovereign of the Country which he aſſigned him. They likewiſe aſſert, that he founded many Cities, the moſt famous of which was called *Palibothra*, in which he built a ſtately Palace, ſtrongly fortified, and ſurrounded with deep Trenches, into which he let an adjacent River, and thereby rendered the Place, in a manner, impregnable. After his Death, this *Hercules* of *India* was honoured as a God: His Poſterity reigned for many Ages after him, and performed many glorious Actions; but it is remarkable, that the *Indian* Traditions agree, that this *Hercules*, and his Poſterity, never engaged in any foreign Expeditions, or ſent forth Colonies into diſtant Countries, but contented themſelves with the Poſſeſſion of their own Dominions, and that plentiful Region of which they were Natives [h].

As dark and obſcure as the Times which fall under this Period were, it is moſt evident that all the old Accounts repreſent the Country very truly, as abounding with all the Neceſſaries of Life; watered by many Rivers, ſeveral of which had the ſame Property with the *Nile*, *viz.* Overflowing the adjacent Countries at a certain Seaſon of the Year, and thereby rendering them wonderfully fruitful. Theſe antient Accounts alſo, among many Fables, report ſome Facts truly, with reſpect to the Commodities of *India*, which they repreſent as conſiſting chiefly in Gold, precious Stones, and Spices; neither are they much in the wrong with regard to Fruits, which they affirm to be larger, and more nouriſhing, than in other Parts of the World.

What they report of the People alſo, is, in many reſpects not credible only, but highly probable; for they obſerve, that tho' *India* was divided into a Multitude of little Principalities, and thoſe inhabited by different Nations, yet they were all Natives of *India*, and not at all intermixed with Strangers, it being a conſtant Maxim of their Policy neither to ſend out nor receive Colonies, but to live quietly under their own Laws, and according to their own Cuſtoms, ſhewing thereby a great Dread and Diſlike of Strangers, which, as the Reader will obſerve, has been, in all Ages, the great Characteriſtic of the *Indian* Genius. They further allege, as a Reaſon why *India* was never expoſed to Famine, as *Egypt* and other rich Countries were, that there was a Law inviolably obſerved by all the *Indian* Nations, that, even in time of War, the Perſons and Properties of Huſbandmen were ſacred; ſo that, in all the warlike Expeditions they made, they never did any Hurt to their Enemies Country, either by burning the Corn, or cutting down the Trees.

6. It muſt be owned, that it is very difficult to diſtinguiſh the antient Accounts of *India* from thoſe of later Times, becauſe all the original Authors are long ago periſhed; yet, I think, there is good Ground to believe, that the Antient *Egyptians* might have received from the *Indians* ſome Account of what had formerly paſs'd in their Country, ſince it is a Point out of Diſpute, that the *Egyptians* were the firſt People that had any Commerce with *India*, as the learned Biſhop *Huet* has very juſtly obſerved: But whereas he, and other learned Men, have inclined to an Opinion that the *Indians* were, in a great meaſure, deſcended from the *Egyptians*; and that *Oſiris* not only conquered that Country, but left ſeveral Colonies [i] there; I cannot help differing from them intirely, becauſe this is very inconſiſtent with that Principle of the *Indian* Policy, of neither admitting Strangers to ſettle amongſt them, nor ſending out Colonies themſelves: And, as we may eaſily avoid this Contradiction, by ſuppoſing that the *Egyptians*, according to their common Cuſtom, tranſlated what they had heard of the *Indian Bacchus*, to their *Oſiris*, I look upon this as the more rational Sentiment, leaving the Reader, however, to decide as he pleaſes.

As to the Conformity of Manners between theſe two Nations, on which that learned Prelate inſiſts ſo much, it appears, to me, to prove nothing: For, either the Conqueſt of *Oſiris* was general, or particular: The former the *Egyptians* themſelves never pretended; and from the Situation of *Nyſa*, granting the Story to have any Truth, it is plain, that his Conqueſt did not extend far. If, then, he penetrated only into the Frontiers of *India*, and there eſtabliſhed his Colonies, how can we imagine, that the Manners of the *Egyptians* ſhould extend themſelves over all the *Indian* Nations, ſince it is a thing out of Diſpute, that the *Indians*, in general, lived in Obedience to the ſame Laws, as appears from their Cuſtom of ſparing Huſbandmen? Indeed, I think it would be no difficult Matter to prove, that tho', in ſome reſpects, the Manners of the antient *Egyptians* and *Indians* might agree, yet, in others, they differed widely; and, even as to the Agreement of their Manners, I can ſee no Reaſon why this ſhould not rather be attributed to the Likeneſs of their Countries, than to theſe Colonies of *Egyptians*, of the Exiſtence of which it is impoſſible to afford any ſatisfactory Proof.

7. I am very ſenſible, that it may be objected againſt my Notion, that the *Indians* were a pure and unmixed People: That they themſelves confeſſed the contrary, when *Alexander* the Great invaded their Country: For *Arrian* tells us, that when this Conqueror advanced towards *Nyſa*, *Acuphis*, at the Head of thirty Deputies, came from that City, on an Embaſſy to *Alexander*, into whoſe Preſence being admitted, he made the following Speech: ‘The Inhabitants of *Nyſa* intreat, O King, that in Reverence to *Bacchus*, you would leave the City free, and the In-

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[d] *Diodorus Sicul. lib.* ii. *Strabo.*

[e] *Hiſtoria Sacra & Exotica*, *p.* 48.

[f] *Diodor. Sicul. Strabo. Plin.*

[g] *J. Capel. ubi ſupra*, *p.* 146.

[h] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* ii.

[i] *Hiſtoire du Commerce des Anciens.*

‘ habitants to govern by their own Laws; for, *Dionyſius*,
‘ after he had conquered the *Indians*, and was about to
‘ return to the *Grecian* Sea, built this City for thoſe Sol-
‘ diers who were unſerviceable for War, as a perpetual
‘ Monument to Poſterity, of his Expedition and Victory,
‘ as your Majeſty has built *Alexandria* at Mount *Caucaſus*,
‘ and another in *Egypt*; and many others, ſome finiſhed,
‘ and others in Building, having now performed much
‘ more than our *Dionyſius* did: And he called the City *Nyſa*,
‘ from his Nurſe, ſo named, and the Country *Nyſea*; and
‘ the Mountain, which hangs over the City, he was pleaſed
‘ to call *Meros*, becauſe, according to the Fable, he was
‘ cheriſhed in *Jupiter*'s Thigh. Since that Time we have
‘ dwelt in *Nyſa*, as a free City, and have lived at Eaſe
‘ under our own Laws. And that this Place was built
‘ by *Bacchus*, this one thing may be a Demonſtration;
‘ That Ivy grows no-where in *India*, but in this City [k].’
This may, indeed, as at firſt Sight it does, look like a concluſive Proof; but, I preſume, when cloſely examined, it will have a quite different Appearance: For, in Anſwer to this, I obſerve, that, inſtead of proving the Conqueſt of *Oſiris*, this really proves the direct contrary; *viz.* the Conqueſt of the *Grecian Bacchus* exploded, as abſurd and unſuſtainable, even by the wiſeſt of the *Greeks* themſelves. But whoever conſiders the Character of the *Indians*, the Turn of this Speech, and the Prayer of *Acuphis*, at the Cloſe of this Addreſs, muſt eaſily diſcover, that the whole is no more than an artful and well-turned Compliment, calculated to lay hold of the Conqueror's Vanity, and thereby procure a Confirmation of the City's Liberties, as accordingly it did. All, therefore, that this Fact abſolutely proves, is no more than this, that in the Time of *Alexander*, the *Indians* were exceſſively tenacious of their Liberties, paſſionately fond of their own Country and Cuſtoms, and very adroit in contriving the Means to avoid the Change of them. On the Whole, the Story of *Oſiris* is unſuſtainable, and the pure Effects of *Egyptian* Vanity; that of the *Grecian Bacchus* ridiculouſly abſurd: But, if we admit the Reports of the *Indians*, as to their own *Bacchus*, or *Hercules*, mixed, no doubt, with Fables alſo, to have given Occaſion to the *Egyptian* Story, as that did to the Fiction of the *Greeks*, we ſhall free ourſelves from all Difficulties, and open a Paſſage to the true Hiſtory of this Period, ſhort and obſcure indeed, but, however, worthy of Notice. Thus it runs.

8. The Country of *India* was very early peopled after the Diſperſion of Mankind; and, being in itſelf exceedingly fruitful and pleaſant, it ſoon began to grow populous, after a certain great Prince had introduced Religion, and Civil Policy, by which the People, who before lived like Savages, were formed into Societies, and taught to improve, and be content with, the happy Country they poſſeſſed. The Situation of moſt of their great Cities upon Rivers, and the Property of moſt of thoſe Rivers to overflow at certain Seaſons of the Year, obliged them to contrive, improve, and addict themſelves, in an extraordinary degree, to Boat-building, and the Art of Navigation; which, as it enabled them to carry on a great Commerce amongſt themſelves, in a Country very extenſive, and every-where very plentiful, ſo it furniſhed them alſo with a very conſiderable maritime Force, eſpecially for thoſe Times, capable of reſiſting the whole Force of the *Aſſyrian* Empire. This ſteady Reſiſtance proceeded chiefly from their generous Notions of Liberty, concerning which, the beſt Writers of Antiquity tell us, that as the *Indians* had Laws peculiar to themſelves, widely different from thoſe of all other Nations: So this was the Foundation of all their Laws, being the fundamental Maxim of their Policy, laid down by their firſt Legiſlators, and from which they never departed; *viz.* That none among them ſhould be a Servant, but that every one, being free, and equally intitled to the Benefit of the Laws, ſhould, from that Conſideration, be the more ready to venture their Lives in Defence of theſe Laws, and for the Preſervation of their common Liberty [l].

It was the Knowledge the World had of this, that produced ſo violent a Paſſion in all the great Conquerors of Antiquity, to pretend to ſome Conqueſt over the *Indians*; as will be fully ſhewn, when we come to treat of the Motives which induced *Alexander* the Great to undertake his Expedition into that Country. In theſe early Times, the *Egyptians* were almoſt the only Nation that had any Commerce with the *Indians*, which they carried on by Sea; and this it was that gave them an Opportunity of impoſing, for many Ages, upon the reſt of their World, by their Fictions, in relation to the Conqueſt of *Oſiris*: But when the *Greeks* came to be better acquainted with the *Indians*, they diſcovered the Falſhood of theſe *Egyptian* Fables, and brought to Light, in ſome meaſure, the true Hiſtory of theſe People, as derived from their own Traditions. And it is for this Reaſon, that I eſteem the Accounts given us by the *Greek* Hiſtorians, as more antient in themſelves, tho' later known to the World, than the Stories delivered by ſuch Writers as copied the *Egyptian* Records.

9. The looking back ſo far into theſe fabulous Hiſtories, is, indeed, very laborious, and at firſt Sight appears a little unneceſſary; but when we conſider how many great Men have employed their Thoughts upon this Subject, we ought, in Juſtice to their Abilities, to ſuppoſe they ſaw ſome Reaſon for taking ſo much Pains. It is, indeed, no difficult Thing to diſcern that Reaſon, which was the Deſire of coming at Truth, or, at leaſt, as near it as poſſible, by putting Things into a proper Method. Such as have neglected theſe antient Accounts, and have begun their Hiſtories of the *Indies* much lower, have been obliged to inſert many Things, neceſſary to explain the Tranſactions they record, quite out of the Order of Time; and in ſuch a manner, that they have rather perplexed than enlightened their Relations: For that the antient *Indians* were a very wiſe and powerful People, whoſe Hiſtory therefore deſerved to be recovered as much as any other, appears from very different Quarters.

For Inſtance, when the *Chineſe* Antiquities came to be looked into narrowly, it appeared that their Learning, which has made ſo much Noiſe in the World, was really derived to them from the *Indians*; their great Philoſopher *Confucius* owning, in his Writings, that he had been aſſiſted by the Lights he drew from the Philoſophy of the *Brachmans* [m]. The Truth of this is alſo manifeſt, by comparing what the *Greek* Writers have left us, in relation to the Doctrines of thoſe *Indian* Philoſophers, with what the Jeſuits have been pleaſed to publiſh from the Works of that great Author of *Chineſe* Learning. It was from the *Indians* alſo, that the *Chineſe* derived what they knew of the Art of Navigation; and if they improved that Art to a greater Degree than the *Indians*, and made longer Voyages, this ought to be attributed to the different Genii of the People. Amongſt the *Indians*, Liberty was the ruling Paſſion. They ſought the Conveniencies of Life, it is true, by the Aſſiſtance of their Maritime Force; but they ſought them among themſelves, and never affected Conqueſts or Commerce without the Limits of *India*; which, in this Period of Time, ought to be confined within the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*. The Name of *India* is certainly derived from the firſt of theſe Rivers, which, being near *Perſia*, was thereby firſt known to the Weſtern Nations. But the ruling Paſſion among the *Chineſe*, I mean amongſt the People in general, ſeems to have been always the Love of Gain; which naturally led them to foreign Commerce, and foreign Conqueſts. It is true, that the wiſeſt Men, and greateſt Politicians, of that Empire, have been always of a different Sentiment; and have frequently remonſtrated to their Emperors, the Folly and Danger of affecting to inlarge their Dominions by offenſive Wars. This is plainly the Conſequence of their having derived the fundamental Maxims of their Learning from the *Indians*, who went upon that equitable Principle of being free themſelves, and leaving others free alſo.

Hence aroſe that great Number of Republics mentioned by the *Greek* Writers, as ſubſiſting in *India*, when *Alexander* invaded it; and hence the many Reſtrictions of Regal Power, in ſuch Places as were ſtill governed by Kings; of which we ſhall find a Multitude of Inſtances in the ſucceeding Section. If the Appearance of *India* at preſent differs ſo widely from what it was repreſented formerly, we ſhall

[k] *De E. pedit. Alexand. lib.* iv.

[l] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xi. *p.* 88. *Strabo. Cteſias.*

[m] *Hiſtoire du Commerce des Anciens, p.* 373.

diſcern the Occaſion of this Difference; and, conſequently, the Credit due both to antient and modern Accounts: For it will appear in the Courſe of this Work, that moſt of the deſpotic Governments that now ſubſiſt in the *Indies*, are the Effects of Foreign Conqueſts; and that the antient Principles of Liberty, and aſſigning proper Bounds to Sovereign Power, are ſtill ſufficiently viſible among the unmixed Nations of *India*. Theſe are Motives ſufficient to juſtify Inquiries of this Nature; eſpecially when they are regularly made, confined within due Bounds, and applied chiefly to the Explanation of thoſe Points, which make it worth our while to inquire into the Tranſactions of paſt Times, in Countries at ſuch a Diſtance.

SECTION III.

The Hiſtory of this Commerce in the Hands of the Idumeans, Iſraelites, Tyrians, *&c. with ſome Account of its Profits.*

1. *The Manner in which the* Phœnicians *became acquainted with this Commerce through the* Idumeans. 2. *Are intruſted with the Management of it by the* Iſraelites. 3. *Different Opinions as to the Situation of* Ophir. 4. *Advantageous Conſequences of this Commerce to the* Jews. 5. *They are totally deprived of it, under the Reign of* Ahaz, *by the* Aſſyrians. 6. *The* Tyrians *aim at the monopolizing the Commerce of the* Indies. 7. *The extraordinary Means they made uſe of to open a new Route from thoſe Countries.* 8. *Become thereby exceedingly rich and powerful, as well as very formidable to their Neighbours.* 9. *The City of* Old Tyre *taken by* Nebuchadnezzar, *and* New Tyre *erected on an Iſland at a ſmall Diſtance.* 10. *An Account of the* Troglodytes, *and of the Nature of their Commerce.* 11. *Obſervations on the Profit of this Trade in thoſe Times, and on the Nature of the Proofs brought to ſupport thoſe Obſervations.*

1. THE whole Trade of the antient World ſeems to have been divided between the *Egyptians* and the *Phœnicians*. The former had engroſſed to themſelves the Eaſtern Commerce, and the latter extended their Navigations more to the Weſt. It is certain, that never any Country was better ſituated for Trade than *Phœnicia*, and the two great Cities *Sidon* and *Tyre*, the famous Ports thereof, which make ſo great a Figure in antient Hiſtory. *Sidon* ſtood on the Sea-ſhore, having behind it a fine Plain, which reached as far as Mount *Libanus*, or rather *Anti-Libanus*. The antient *Tyre* ſtood alſo upon the Continent, was founded by the *Sidonians*, and came afterwards to make a greater Figure than *Sidon* itſelf [o].

The Inhabitants of theſe two Cities proſecuted Trade, and every thing that had any relation to Trade, with the utmoſt Diligence. The Mountains behind them furniſhed excellent Timber, and this enabled them to perfect the Art of Ship-building. They alſo made great Diſcoveries in Aſtronomy, and were particularly ſkilful in applying it to Navigation. They muſt have had early ſome Intelligence of the *Indies*, if there be any Truth in what is reported of *Hercules* of *Tyre*, that he penetrated into thoſe Countries; for it is certain, that this Hero, who was called *Malcarthus* in the *Punic* or *Phœnician* Tongue, lived three hundred Years before the famous Expedition of the Golden Fleece: And therefore there is good Reaſon to doubt, that his *Indian* Expedition is a Fable; but a Fable that might be thus far founded in Truth, that the *Greeks* might endeavour to expreſs thereby the *Phœnicians* being taught that Commerce by *Hercules*, their tutelar Divinity [p].

We ſhall however endeavour to give a clearer and more probable Account of the Manner by which they came to this Knowledge. All the rich Commodities they brought from the Weſt by their Shipping, they diſtributed thro' the Eaſt by Caravans; which was and is the Method by which all Inland Commerce is carried on in the Eaſt; and this occaſioned a Correſpondence between them and the *Idumeans*, or *Edomites*, who were then a very powerful Nation, and poſſeſſed of very extenſive Dominions.

2. Theſe *Idumeans*, who in the Scriptures are called the *Children of Edom*, were poſſeſſed of that Side of the *Arabian* Gulph which is oppoſite to *Egypt*; and from them that Gulph received the Name of the *Red Sea*, by a miſtaken Etymology: For the *Greeks*, finding this Gulph called the *Sea of Edom*, and inquiring what *Edom* ſignified, were told that it meant *Red*, from whence they called this the *Red Sea*; though, properly ſpeaking, the *Red Sea* is that Part of the Ocean which divides *Aſia* from *Africa*. Upon that Gulph the *Idumeans* had two Sea-ports, *Elath* and *Eſiongeber*; from whence they carried on a Trade by Sea, to *Arabia*, *Perſia*, and *India*; and through them the *Phœnicians* came firſt to be acquainted with this Commerce, into which, however, they were more freely admitted by the *Iſraelites*.

For when King *David* had made himſelf Maſter of *Idumea*, and thereby obtained the Ports before-mentioned on the *Arabian* Gulph, he immediately reſolved to eſtabliſh a Maritime Power, and to carry on from thence that beneficial Trade which had been before driven by the *Idumeans*; which he did with great Succeſs, as appears by the vaſt Quantities of Gold he brought in one Voyage from *Ophir*. His Son *Solomon*, who was a greater Politician, and who had both Leiſure and Inclination to cultivate the Arts of Peace, reſolved to make the beſt Uſe poſſible of thoſe Havens; and therefore went in Perſon to *Elath* and *Eſiongeber*, where, under his own Eye, thoſe Ports were fortified, and Abundance of Veſſels put upon the Stocks. Thoſe who were chiefly employed by him, both in building and navigating his Fleet, were the Subjects of his and his Father's faithful Ally, *Hiram* King of *Tyre* [q]: And by this means the *Tyrians* became acquainted with the Navigation to the *Indies*, in which they were ever afterwards employed.

3. I ſhall not enter very deeply here, into the famous Queſtion, Where *Ophir* is ſituated? becauſe, perhaps, that will be always a Queſtion; and I would not take Things for granted, and then reaſon upon them, when I know that poſſibly they may be diſputed. Yet it may not, perhaps, be amiſs to mention ſome of the Opinions, which have been ſupported by the learned Men of the laſt and preſent Age. In the firſt place, let it be obſerved, that though it be ſaid, that the Fleets of *Solomon* were three Years in making a Voyage to *Tarſhiſh*, yet there is no Time fixed for the Voyage to *Ophir*; from whence the Commodities that were brought, are ſaid to be Gold, Almug-trees, and Precious Stones. *Eupolemus*, an old Author, quoted by *Euſebius*, aſſerts, that *Ophir* was an Iſland in the *Red Sea* [r]. *Joſephus* ſays, that the Country of *Ophir* yielded ſuch vaſt Quantities of that precious Metal, as to be called from thence the *Land of Gold* [s]. By the Help of theſe Marks, different Authors have found it in different Places.

Some will have it to be the little Iſland of *Zocatora*, on the Eaſtern Coaſt of *Africa*, at a ſmall Diſtance from the Streights of *Babelmandel*; others imagine that it was the Iſland of *Ceylan*; others again contend for *Sofala* in *Africa*. The famous *Franciſcus Vatablus* would have us reſt ſatisfied, that *Ophir* was no other than the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, the

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[o] *Strabo. Diodor. Plin.*

[p] *Strabo, lib.* xv.

[q] 1 *Kings* ix. 27. 2 *Chron.* viii. 18. *and* ix. 10, 21.

[r] *Apud Euſeb Præp. Evangel. Lib.* ix.

[s] *Antiquit. Jud. Lib.* viii.

Diſcovery of which was revived by *Columbus*. The *Spaniards* gave the Name of the Iſlands of *Solomon* to certain Countries in the *South Seas*, very rich in Gold, and which could never ſince be found; becauſe they imagined the Fleets of *Solomon* came thither.

But there are two Opinions infinitely more probable than any of theſe: The one is, that *Ophir* was the Southern Part of *Arabia*, concerning which we are told by an antient Geographer, that two Nations called *Alileans* and *Caſſandrins*, who inhabited thereabouts, had Gold in ſo great Plenty, that they would give twice its Weight for Iron, thrice its Weight for Braſs, and ten times its Weight for Silver. This Gold they found in Pieces amongſt the Sand, ſome very large, and the ſmalleſt of the Size of Olives, which needed no refining. The other Opinion places this rich Country in *Malacca*: This, I muſt confeſs, appears the moſt reaſonable to me of them all; for *Malacca* is a Peninſula in the true *Red Sea*; which anſwers well enough the Deſcription given by *Eupolemus*, and at the ſame time agrees exactly with what we are told by *Joſephus*, having been known to Antiquity by the Name of the *Golden Cherſoneſe*. But there is another Circumſtance, that is ſtill more remarkable: At the Diſtance of twelve Leagues from *Malacca*, there is a very high Mountain, which by the Natives is called *Ophir*, and which is reported to be, or rather to have been, very rich in Gold, though at preſent they only work ſome Tin-Mines that are there.

As to this Circumſtance of Gold Mines wearing out, it is highly probable, and very agreeable to the Lights we receive from Experience, as to the Nature of that Metal; for the richer the Mines, the ſooner they are exhauſted, and the longer they are in recruiting; which, very poſſibly, is the Cauſe not only of our not finding Gold in ſuch Countries as were famous for it among the Antients, but alſo of our not finding it any-where in the ſame Proportion that they did. This Subject I ſhall endeavour to ſet in the cleareſt Light poſſible, when I come to treat of the Riches found in *Peru*, when it was firſt diſcovered, and which were far ſuperior to what it has produced ſince. But where-ever *Ophir* was, the *Phœnicians* employed by *Solomon* navigated his Ships thither, and acquired thereby a diſtinct Knowledge of this Courſe; which brought them, as ſhall be afterwards ſhewn, to a perfect Acquaintance with the *Indians*, and, in time, to the Monopoly of the Trade of them. In the mean time, let us proceed in our Hiſtory of this Commerce, while in the Hands of the *Iſraelites*; who proſecuted it from this Time forward very conſtantly, ſometimes with more, ſometimes with leſs Advantage, according to the different Adminiſtrations they were under.

4. Upon the Diviſion of the Kingdom, the Province of *Idumea* remained annexed to the Kingdom of *Judah*, or *Judea*, the Princes of which carried on this Trade with great Succeſs from the Port of *Eſiongeber*. What the Reaſons were that determined the *Jewiſh* Monarch to prefer that Port to *Elath*, Hiſtory hath not informed us; but we have a very good Account of the Cauſes which induced them to ſlight it. *Jehoſaphat*, King of *Judah*, thought fit, from political Conſiderations, to ſtrike up a cloſe Alliance with *Ahaziah* King of *Iſrael*, very probably, becauſe allied to the King of *Sidon*; and his Country, lying nearer to *Phœnicia*, he had many Seamen of that Nation in his Service, and ſo came to admit him into a Share of this Trade, for the carrying on of which they fitted out a joint Fleet at *Eſiongeber* [a].

This Fleet conſiſted of ten Sail, which were ſhipwrecked on a Ledge of Rocks, which lay before that Port, and from which Ridge of Rocks it received its Name; for, *Eſion-geber* ſignifies the *Back-bone*; and the Rocks were in that Form covered by the Sea at High-water, and ſticking up with various Points in a Line, when it was low. This Accident brought ſuch a Diſcredit on that Haven, as it never recovered: And therefore, when *Jehoſaphat* had fitted out, in the ſucceeding Year, another Squadron of Ships, it was from *Elath*; and he would not ſuffer his Neighbour, the King of *Iſrael*, to have any Concern therein at all [b].

His Succeſſor *Jehoram* loſt both Ports by the Rebellion of the *Edomites*; and by this means the *Jewiſh* Commerce, in the Red Sea, ſuffered an Interruption of ſome Years: But *Uzziah*, in the Beginning of his Reign, recovered *Elath*, and fortified it again, well knowing its Importance; and from thence carried on that advantageous Trade, which had been the great Source of the Riches which the *Iſraelites*, and afterwards the *Jews*, poſſeſſed: For tho', as I obſerved, they did not carry it on always with the ſame Succeſs as in the Days of *Solomon*, yet, when they carried it on at all, it brought in ſuch conſtant Supplies of Gold, and other rich Commodities, that, notwithſtanding the Misfortunes they met with, and the prodigious Sums extorted from them by ſeveral Eaſtern Conquerors, yet they quickly recruited again; and, as appears from the Sacred Writings, grew very rich in every ſmall Interval of Peace, till they loſt this Trade altogether; and then they ſunk into the loweſt degree of Poverty and Diſtreſs, having no way to ſupply extraordinary Demands, but out of the dead Stock of the Treaſures they had ſaved in better Times.

5. This Misfortune befel them in the Reign of *Ahaz*, againſt whom two powerful Princes confederated themſelves; *viz.* *Rezin* King of *Damaſcus*, and *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, who, in a ſhort time, conquered almoſt all the Kingdom of *Judah*; by which means, *Elath* fell into the Hands of *Rezin*, who immediately eſtabliſhed there a Colony of *Syrians*, in hopes of transferring that profitable Commerce to his own Subjects, which ſeems to have been the great Point he had in View, when he began this War: But *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, aiming at the total Deſtruction of the *Jewiſh* Monarchy, ſhut up *Ahaz* in his Capital, and beſieged him there. On the Retreat of *Rezin*, the King of *Judah* ventured a Battle, in which he was totally defeated; loſt the City of *Jeruſalem*; and had an infinite Number of his Subjects, with all the Riches of his Kingdom, carried away by the victorious *Iſraelites* [c].

In this Diſtreſs, he took all the Gold and Silver, which, out of reſpect to Religion, the Enemy had left in the Temple, and ſent them to *Tilgath-Pileſer* King of *Aſſyria*, the moſt powerful Monarch in thoſe Parts, to procure his Aſſiſtance. This Prince, who was exceſſively ambitious, ſeeing ſo fair an Opportunity offer of inlarging his Dominions, immediately cloſed with his Propoſal; attacked firſt *Rezin* King of *Damaſcus*, whom he deprived of his Dominions; and then fell upon *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, from whom he took the beſt Part of his Territories alſo; which, however, inſtead of proving an Advantage to *Ahaz*, was in Truth, a greater Misfortune than any he had yet ſuffered.

For the *Aſſyrian* Monarch forced him to pay ſuch heavy Impoſitions, under colour of reimburſing him for the Expences of a War entered into on his Account, that they equaled, if not exceeded, the Ravages committed by his former Enemies, and reduced the People of *Judea* into the moſt deplorable Circumſtances. Theſe Miſchiefs affected not only the People of that Age, but their lateſt Poſterity; for now they had ſo powerful a Neighbour, who, at the ſame time, was ſo tyrannical a Maſter, that they neither knew how to bear his Yoke, nor had Strength enough to ſhake it off; and, which was the greateſt Miſchief of all, this powerful Prince, under colour of his Right of Conqueſt, kept *Elath*, and thereby deprived the *Jews* of their *Indian* Commerce, by which they had recovered from all former Oppreſſions, and which they never afterwards had the leaſt Share in: So that here end all our Concerns with them.

6. The *Tyrians* were, by this time, become the moſt potent Maritime Power; and, having all along been imployed in theſe Voyages to *India*, wanted only an Opportunity of poſſeſſing themſelves of ſome Port, capable of being made the Emporium of this Commerce, in order to

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[a] 1 *Kings* xxii. 48. 2 *Chron.* xx. 36, 37.

[b] 1 *Kings* xxii. 49.

[c] 2 *Kings* xvi. 6.

gain it wholly to themſelves. This, conſidering their Situation, and the Means by which that Trade had hitherto been carried on, was exceeding difficult; for the *Egyptians*, and their Neighbours the *Ethiopians* and *Troglodytes*, were abſolutely poſſeſſed of one Side of the *Arabian* Gulph; and the other was now intirely in the Hands of the *Aſſyrians*, and *Arabians*; ſo that there ſeemed to be no Poſſibility of their attempting any thing to Purpoſe, without a Land Force, which they had not, tho' their Power was ſo great by Sea.

This the Reader will more eaſily and fully comprehend, if he conſiders, that they had the whole Country of *Paleſtine*, and that of *Idumea*, betweeen them, and the *Arabian* Gulph; and that, on the other hand, they had the whole Continent of *Africa* to ſail round, in caſe they attempted to enter the Red Sea by another Navigation, ſuppoſing them to have, at that time, a Notion of the Poſſibility of ſuch a Paſſage, which, I muſt confeſs, I do not believe they had. But whichever way we take the Caſe, their Deſign ſeems to have been obſtructed by inſurmountable Difficulties, which, however, did not deter them from attempting, or hinder them from atchieving what appeared to them a Point of ſo great Conſequence; which is a clear Proof, that a Spirit of Commerce is capable of undertaking and executing as great Things as a Spirit of Ambition, or the Thirſt of Conqueſt.

7. They conſidered, that the Iſthmus between the *Arabian* Gulph, and the *Mediterranean*, was very narrow; and that if they were in Poſſeſſion of any Port, on the Side of the Iſthmus next them, it would be no difficult Matter to tranſport by Land the Merchandize of the *Indies* thither. Such a Port they found, as if it had been prepared by Nature to facilitate the Execution of their Project, the Name of which was *Rhinocorura*, or *Rhinocolura*, ſituated not far from Mount *Caſius*, in the Confines of *Egypt* and *Paleſtine*.

The Occaſion of founding this City, and Port, was very extraordinary. Some Ages before *Actiſanes*, King of *Ethiopia*, having defeated *Amoſis* King of *Egypt*, and reduced his Country under his Dominion, cauſed all the Thieves and Malefactors in *Egypt*, who, by their own Law, ſhould have been put to Death, to be aſſembled together; and, having cut off their Noſes, that they might never eſcape from the Place to which they were baniſhed, directed a Town to be built for them here, which, from the Loſs of their Noſe, was called *Rhinocorura*, and there he fixed them. A dreadful Situation it was, in the midſt of Deſerts; the Country about it exceſſively barren; the Soil full of Salt; and all the Waters in their Wells brackiſh and bitter: Yet theſe People, being once eſtabliſhed, and knowing it was a Thing impoſſible for them to eſcape, applied themſelves, with ſuch Diligence, to cultivate this inhoſpitable Territory, that, at laſt, by dint of Labour, they got the better of Nature, and procured for themſelves a tolerable Dwelling, which, in Proceſs of Time, was much improved by their Poſterity [a].

Such was the Situation of *Rhinocorura*, when the *Tyrians* caſt their Eyes upon it, for the Staple or Mart of *Indian* Commodities. It quickly appeared how wiſely they had taken their Meaſures, and how practicable this Method was, which at firſt ſeemed full of Difficulties. To underſtand this perfectly, it is neceſſary to conſider the Form of the *Arabian* Gulph, which, running up between *Arabia* and *Egypt*, ſhoots out into two Points, almoſt at the Top; and thereby forms two leſſer Bays, or Gulphs, with a Tract of Country between them. This leſſer Gulph, on the *Arabian* Side, or more properly in the Country of *Idumea*, is, by antient Writers ſtiled *Sinus Elanticus*, or the *Elantic* Gulph, from the Port of *Elath*, or *Elan*, as the *Greeks* called it, that ſtands upon it. Whereas the Port of *Eſiongeber* ſtood on the Point of Land, that, by running out into the *Arabian* Gulph, produced theſe ſmaller Gulphs. This running-in of the Sea ſtreightens the Iſthmus ſo much, that the Land-carriage from *Elan* to *Rhinocorura* could not much exceed forty Miles. At this laſt-mentioned Port, the *Tyrians* had their Magazines, in which all theſe rich Goods were laid up: And, as Occaſion required, and they could be brought with Advantage to Market, they tranſported them from thence to *Tyre*; and they were there either ſold to ſuch foreign Merchants as reſorted to that great Emporium, or elſe were again exported into the Weſt, by the *Phœnician* Fleets; that is, the Shipping not of *Tyre* only, but alſo of *Sidon*, and all their Colonies.

8. It was this extenſive Commerce, that raiſed *Tyre* to ſuch a Height of Glory, and enabled her to maintain herſelf, for upwards of eight hundred Years, in ſo great Power and Splendor: Yet we are not to conceive, that *Sidon* was abſolutely eclipſed by this Colony of hers; for the contrary appears, both from ſacred and profane Writers: Theſe Cities ſtood but ſixteen Miles diſtant from each other, under different Governments, but united by a ſtrict Alliance. Each of them had its Prince; but theſe Princes were far from being abſolute Sovereigns; they were only Heads of two potent Republics, who were contented to allow them all the Pomp of Princes, provided they governed by Law, and adminiſtered the public Affairs in ſuch a manner, as that every Man's Property might be ſafe. It was from this Mildneſs of their Government, that their Trade was ſo extenſive; and it was in conſequence of this extenſive Commerce, that many private Men amongſt them, lived in all the Affluence of Princes; and that the State arrived at ſo great Power, as, beſides eſtabliſhing ſo many conſiderable Colonies, to keep on Foot a conſtant Standing Army, compoſed of different Nations, for their own Defence.

At laſt, when the famous King of *Aſſyria*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, had over-run all the Kingdoms in his Neighbourhood, he found himſelf unable to reduce this City of *Tyre*, till after thirteen Years Siege; which is the ſtrongeſt Teſtimony, that a Spirit of Liberty, joined to the Advantages of Commerce, is capable of ſupporting a very ſmall State, againſt the Force, even of the greateſt Empires, which ſeldom laſt ſo long as ſuch Republics. It is from the Deſcription we have of this Siege, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, in one of the Prophets, that we derive the Knowledge we have of the Wealth and Grandeur of this City, which are there painted in the moſt lively Colours; and with ſuch a Multitude of Circumſtances, in relation to the different Places with which the Inhabitants of *Tyre* carried on their Commerce; the vaſt Variety of their Exports and Imports; their wonderful Skill in Ship-building; their mighty Magnificence in their private Houſes, and publick Edifices; their great Wiſdom, in leaving to the other Cities of *Phœnicia* their proper Manufactures, and a convenient Share of Commerce; that it is impoſſible to conceive a better regulated Policy, or a Government in which Things were more prudently, or more happily conducted [b]: For it was the Envy of their Proſperity, which no Policy could prevent, that drew on them their Deſtruction.

9. This Siege of *Tyre*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was ended, in the Year of the World 3427, when he became Maſter of that Place. But ſuch was the Spirit, ſuch the Induſtry, ſuch the Conſtancy of the *Tyrians*, that they preſerved themſelves, and their Republic, in ſpite of this Misfortune; for, as ſoon as they perceived, that it was impoſſible their City ſhould eſcape being taken, when ſo great a Force was ſo long employed againſt it, they provided, in time, for the worſt that could happen; and, by tranſporting their Effects to an Iſland, which lay at the Diſtance of half a Mile from the Mouth of their Harbour, preſerved the greateſt Part of them in a new City, which they erected there; and which, as *Nebuchadnezzar* had no Maritime Power, lay out of that Conqueror's Reach.

This was that *Tyre*, which makes ſo great a Figure in the antient Hiſtorians; the Inhabitants of which preſerved all the Trade they had carried on, whilſt ſeated on the Continent, as well as the Port of *Rhinocorura*; and conſequently, the Trade which they had eſtabliſhed to the *Indies*, as we ſhall hereafter have Occaſion to ſhew more at large. But it was neceſſary, firſt of all, to run thro' the Hiſtory of *Phœnicia*, before the City of *Tyre* was removed to an Iſland, to avoid that Confuſion in Chronology, into which the Reader might eaſily have fallen, if the different

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[a] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* i. *Strabo, lib.* xvi.

[b] *Ezekiel* xxvi. xxvii. *Strabo. Plin.*

Routes and Stages of this Commerce had not been properly diſtinguiſhed.

10. The *Phœnicians* did not only carry on a direct Trade to the *Indies* by the Way of the *Arabian* Gulph, but alſo with the *Ethiopians*, and other Nations, ſeated on the other Side of the Gulph, eſpecially the *Troglodytes*, of whom we meet with many fabulous Accounts in antient Writers; but what is known of them with any Certainty, may be reduced to what follows: The *Troglodytes* were ſeated on the *African* Side of the Bay, and towards the Bottom of it: They were divided into two different Sorts of People.

One Sort of them lived like the *Tartars*, in Tents, and ſubſiſted chiefly on their Cattle; the others lived in Caves and Rocks by the Sea-ſide, where they chiefly ſupported themſelves by fiſhing. The former Sort were a bold and hardy Race of People, exceedingly jealous of their Freedom; and had a ſingular Cuſtom amongſt them of voluntarily putting an End to their Days, when either Age or Infirmities made Life uneaſy to them, or rather made them uſeleſs to Society; and, if any of them, through Fear, delayed this too long, his Neighbour might put him in mind of the Law, and of what, amongſt them, was eſteemed his Duty; and if, after being thus admoniſhed, he did not comply with the Cuſtom of his Country, he was put to Death by the reſt: And it was, by purſuing this ſtrange Maxim, that theſe *Troglodytes* were always a robuſt active People, and had none aged, ſick, or infirm, amongſt them [a].

Such, again, as ſubſiſted by fiſhing, purchaſed the Hides of their Countrymens Beaſts by way of Barter; and, with theſe, they traded on the oppoſite Coaſt, for ſuch Goods as they afterwards ſold to the *Phœnician* Merchants in the *Red Sea*, for ſuch iron Inſtruments, and other Things, as they had Occaſion for.

There is one Thing to be obſerved in regard to this Period of Hiſtory; which is, that ſuch Nations as engaged in Commerce in theſe diſtant Parts of the World, took abundance of Pains to repreſent the Inhabitants in a terrible Light; for which, no doubt, they had many Reaſons; but principally theſe: Firſt, that it enhanced the Value of their Commodities; for, where People run ſuch Riſques, not only from the Seas and Winds, but alſo from their Commerce with ſuch Barbarians, it was natural for them to expect large Returns to balance theſe Inconveniencies. Secondly, by ſpreading theſe Reports, they deterred other Nations from endeavouring to interfere with them in ſo hazardous and dangerous a Traffick.

It was the more eaſy for the *Phœnicians* to impoſe theſe Stories on the reſt of the World, becauſe the *Greeks* were naturally credulous, and delighted both in inventing and improving Fables; ſo that whatever they were told by the *Phœnicians*, they not only believed themſelves, but took the utmoſt Pains to make theſe Stories circulate, by dreſſing them out to the beſt Advantage. This very clearly appears from the Works of the *Greek* Writers that are yet extant, in which we find a Multitude of theſe marvellous Circumſtances, told with the utmoſt Gravity, often accompanied with many Arguments, to enforce the Belief of ſuch extraordinary Relations: Which had, for many Ages ſo great an Effect, that the moſt abſurd and improbable Fictions were received implicitly; which, no doubt, contributed greatly to hinder the Deſire of making Diſcoveries, and was the eſſential Reaſon, why, till the Time of *Alexander* the Great, even the moſt learned People in the World were ſo little acquainted with the true State and Condition of Countries at a Diſtance.

11. It is very evident, from the Facts laid down in this, as well as in the former Section, that, even in the earlieſt Ages of the World, Wealth was chiefly acquired by Commerce; and that ſuch Nations as encouraged Trade, were much more conſiderable, acquired more ſolid Strength, and maintained their Freedom much longer than thoſe that depended intirely on ſtrong Fortreſſes, and numerous Armies. It is certain, that we are in no Condition, from theſe ſcattered Circumſtances, that ſeem accidentally to have eſcaped Oblivion, of computing, with any Exactneſs, the Profits that accrued from the *Indian* Trade in theſe early Ages. It is, however, ſufficiently clear, that it muſt have been prodigiouſly large; for, in one Voyage, *Solomon* is ſaid to have acquired *four hundred and fifty* Talents of Gold; which, according to the common Computations, made conſiderably above three Millions of our Money: And that the like Profit accrued from other Voyages, appears very plainly, both from the mighty Gifts beſtowed by *David*, *Solomon*, and the *Jewiſh* Princes, for the Building of the Temple, and from the Obſervation made by the Hiſtorians on the Reign of *Solomon*, that he exceeded all the Princes of his Time in Wealth, as well as in Wiſdom, ſo that he made Silver to be at *Jeruſalem* as the Stones of the Street, which is a metaphorical Expreſſion to denote its great Plenty. There is another Circumſtance which ſeems ſtrongly to confirm the Truth of this Obſervation, which is, the Proportion, which, in thoſe Days, there was between Gold and Silver, in point of Value; *viz. ſixteen* to *one*: So that Silver muſt have been much more plentiful then, than it is now, when the Proportion is as thirteen to one. And there ſeems to be great Reaſon to believe, that the bringing in ſuch vaſt Quantities of Gold as theſe Voyages produced, was a new thing; and, from the Thread of the Hiſtory, it likewiſe appears, that this vaſt Flow of Wealth did not continue long, but ſunk conſiderably after the Death of *Solomon*.

The immenſe Profits of this Trade are not only mentioned by the *Jewiſh* Writers, but by the *Greeks* alſo, and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*, who relates at large the Manner of working Gold-mines on the Borders of *Ethiopia*; and takes notice alſo, that Gold was found in great Plenty in different Parts of *Arabia*; which Country, during this Period, and long after, was regarded as a Part of *India* [b]. It would be an eaſy Matter to collect a Multitude of Circumſtances from antient Writers, to prove the vaſt Riches that theſe Nations were poſſeſſed of in thoſe Times. But, as that would detain the Reader too long, and lead us, beſides, into an unneceſſary Digreſſion, I ſhall content myſelf with a ſingle Inſtance, that ariſes immediately from the Subject of this Section; *viz.* the Coloſſus of Gold, which *Nebuchadnezzar* ſet up after the Conqueſt of *Syria* and *Paleſtine* [c]; which demonſtrates his having acquired prodigious Treaſures by plundering theſe Countries, in which, as the Reader has ſeen, the Riches, derived from this Commerce, had ſo many Ages centred.

It is impoſſible to ſuſpect the Truth of theſe Relations, without overturning the Credit of Hiſtory in general; for it is not the Writers of this or that Nation, who have recorded theſe Facts, but the Writers of all Nations are agreed as to the Truth of them. For, after the Deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy, the *Perſians* became poſſeſſed of them; when the *Perſian* Empire was overturned, they fell into the Hands of the *Macedonians*; and when the Kingdom of *Macedon* was conquered by the *Romans*, they became Maſters of theſe Treaſures; as in the Courſe of this Work we ſhall particularly ſhew. Now to believe, that all the Hiſtorians of theſe different Countries ſhould concur, at different Times, and with very imperfect Accounts of what each other had related, in endeavouring to impoſe upon Poſterity, is a much more incredible Thing than the Fact it would diſprove [d].

The Source of theſe Riches we have already ſhewn; neither is it difficult to account for the Scarcity of Gold and Silver in ſucceeding Times. For, firſt, the Supplies from the rich Mines diſcovered by *Solomon* began, in a great meaſure, to fail; in the next Place, theſe Treaſures, which, for many Ages, were confined to a few Countries, were, after the Ruin of the *Roman* Empire, diſperſed all over *Europe*, and amongſt many Nations, that had very little Gold or Silver amongſt them before: Beſides, the burning of Cities, and great Devaſtations of Countries, which followed from the Eruptions of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Huns*, and other barbarous Nations in the Weſt, and of the *Saracens*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, in the Eaſt, having waſted and deſtroyed a great Part of the Gold and Silver with which the World before abounded; this induced that great Scarcity of both, which afterwards enſued, and which the Mines of *Mexico*, *Peru*, and *Braſil*, have not as yet been able fully to repair.

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[a] *Diodorus Sicul. lib.* iii. *c.* 2. *Strabo, lib.* xvii. *p.* 798. *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* v.

[b] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iii. *p.* 125.

[c] *Daniel* iii. 1. Where this Image, with its Pedeſtal, is ſaid to be ninety Feet high: But we read, in *Diodorus Siculus*'s ſecond Book, that this Image alone was forty Feet high, and contained a thouſand *Babyloniſh* Talents of Gold, which amounts, at the loweſt Computation, to three Millions and an half of our Money.

[d] *Strabo. Plin. Tit. Liv. Polyb. Valer. Maxim.*

I might add to all this a new Series of Facts, in relation to the immenſe Wealth, and prodigious Revenues, of the Eaſtern Monarchs, even at this Day, and particularly the amazing Plunder of the *Mogul*'s Treaſury by *Thamas Kouli Kan* [a], but a very few Years ago; which, as they would demonſtrate, that there are ſtill as great Funds of real Wealth in thoſe Countries, would certainly be a rational Argument, that there might be formerly thoſe exceſſive Profits drawn from the Commerce of *Arabia* and *India*, which the Authors cited in this Section report. But it is now time to reſume the Thread of our Narration, and to ſhew, how a great Part of this Trade came to be diverted into a new Chanel by the Riſe of the *Perſian* Empire, which is to be the Buſineſs of the next Section: And, by the Proſecution of this Method, we ſhall acquire new Lights, and greater Certainty, with regard to the Matters of Fact laid down in this; for, as the *Perſians* were nearer Neighbours to the *Indians*, and, in the Progreſs of their Conqueſts, became Maſters of a Part of their Country, ſo they drew from thence, in Proportion, much greater Advantages than their Predeceſſors had done.

[a] See *Frazer*'s accurate Account of that Expedition.

SECTION IV.

Of the Indian *Commerce under the* Perſian *Empire.*

1. *The Riſe of the* Perſians, *from a ſmall Province, to the Empire of the Eaſt.* 2. *On the Deſtruction of* Babylon, *all the Money and Gold Plate recoined by* Darius. 3. *The Conqueſt of* Egypt *by* Cambyſes, *which ruins their* Indian *Traffick.* 4. Darius Hyſtaſpes *ſends* Scylax, *a Greek, down the River* Indus, *into the Ocean.* 5. *Undertakes and completes the Conqueſt of the* Indian *Provinces adjoining to* Perſia. 6. Xerxes, *the laſt of the* Perſian *Monarchs that minded Maritime Affairs.* 7. *This Conduct conſidered and accounted for.* 8. *The* Indian *Hiſtory of* Cteſias, *what it was, and what Degree of Credit it deſerved.* 9. *Other Accounts of the* Indies *within this Period.* 10. *The ſingular Voyage of* Iambulus *from* Ethiopia *to the* Indies. 11. *A great Mixture of Truth with theſe extravagant Reports.*

1. THE great Conqueſts of *Nebuchadnezzar*, inſtead of eſtabliſhing his Empire, proved the Ruin of it; for his Son behaved ſo ill, and treated his Neighbours ſo haughtily, that he firſt raiſed that Spirit which produced the Ruin of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy. This proceeded from the cloſe Conjunction of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, Nations that lay immediately behind his Dominions, and were at that time very little known in the World, and for whoſe antient Hiſtory we are ſtill much at a Loſs. We know, however, that *Perſia*, in theſe early Ages of the World, was but a very ſmall Part of that Country which now paſſes under that Name. It was, properly ſpeaking, no more than what is now contained in the Province of *Fars*, bounded on the North by the Kingdom of *Media*, of which *Parthia* was then a Province; on the Eaſt, by *Carmania*; on the South, by the *Perſian* Gulph; and, on the Weſt, by *Suſiana*; and, even within theſe narrow Bounds, there were many different Nations, ſo that the exact Seat of the original *Perſians* can hardly be aſſigned.

But their Monarch *Cyrus*, who deſtroyed the *Aſſyrian* Empire, extended not only his own Authority, and the Power of the *Perſians*, over all his Neighbours; but likewiſe the very Name of *Perſia*, which has comprehended, ever ſince, a very large Tract of Country, of which *Proper Perſia*, as before deſcribed, makes only a ſmall Province: For the *Perſia* of the Antients, after the Reign of *Cyrus*, was bounded on the North by the *Caſpian* Sea, and Part of *Scythia*: On the Eaſt, by the *Indian* Nations: On the South, by the *Indian* Ocean, and *Perſian* Gulph: On the Weſt, by the Rivers *Euphrates* and *Tygris*, an high Ridge of Mountains, and the River *Araxis*, which falls into the *Caſpian* Sea. The antient *Perſians* were certainly a very brave and warlike People, for which they were extremely well fitted, by their hardy and laborious Courſe of Life. There is ſcarce any Inſtance in Hiſtory, of an Empire ſo quickly raiſed, as this of the *Perſians*, which was originally deſigned, and abſolutely perfected, by one Man.

Cyrus was the Son of *Cambyſes*, according to *Xenophon*, King of *Perſia*, but, according to other Writers, a Nobleman only of that Country, by *Mandana*, Daughter of *Aſtyages*, King of the *Medes*, to whom the *Perſians* were then Tributaries. He was of a martial Spirit, and had withal ſo great Wiſdom, that, being employed by the King of *Media*, his Uncle, as General of his Army, he, in the Space of twenty Years, intirely conquered *Leſſer-Aſia*, *Upper-Aſia*, and all the Dominions of *Nebuchadnezzar*, whoſe Grandſon *Nabonadius*, was killed at the taking of *Babylon*, in the Year of the World 3460, or thereabouts; and thereby eſtabliſhed the *Perſian* Empire: For he ſoon after ſucceeded his Father, and his Uncle, in both their Kingdoms; and thereby attained to the largeſt Sovereignty that hitherto had been erected in the Eaſt [a].

2. It was abſolutely neceſſary to ſtate the Beginning of this Empire clearly; for, having ſo much to ſay of the Succeſſors of *Cyrus*, who firſt brought the *Indians* to the Sight and Acquaintance of the *Europeans*, it was requiſite, that the Nature and Extent of their original Dominions ſhould be known. *Cyrus* delivered up the *Babyloniſh* Empire to his Uncle *Darius*, King of the *Medes*, who did not long ſurvive it; but, during the time he did live, *Cyrus* made an Expedition into *Syria* and *Egypt*, both which Countries became tributary to him; by which he gained, at once, a great naval Force: For the *Phœnicians* finding that he had required nothing from them detrimental to their Intereſt, or Commerce, but, on the contrary, was willing to regard them as his Allies, willingly accepted this Condition, and aſſiſted him and his Succeſſors with their Fleets, as long as the *Perſian* Empire laſted.

Amoſis, King of *Egypt*, ſubmitted, on the ſame Principle of yielding a titular Homage to the *Perſian* Monarch, and reſerving to himſelf the Obedience of his Subjects, and the full Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom; which was, at that Time, accepted by *Cyrus*, who ſought to ſettle the Empire as ſoon as poſſible; and therefore required no hard Conditions from any. While *Cyrus* was thus employed abroad, *Darius* the *Mede*, who reſided at *Babylon*, cauſed all the immenſe Treaſures of the *Aſſyrian* Kings to be coined into Money, which, from him, received their Name; and the Pieces of Gold were called Darics, and Half-darics, which were not much unlike our Guineas; for the Daric weighed but two Grains more, but in Value it came nearer the Jacobus, becauſe the Gold had ſcarce any Alloy: And this continued to be the current Money of the Eaſt for many Ages [b].

Some of the greateſt Writers of Antiquity aſſert, that the laſt Expedition of *Cyrus* was againſt the *Maſſagetes*, a *Scythian* Nation, governed by a Woman; and that in this Expedition he was killed [c]: But *Xenophon* aſſerts, that he died peaceably in his Bed, ſurrounded by his Friends. And what ſeems to confirm this laſt Opinion is a Fact, in which all Writers agree, that his Body was interred at *Paſagarda* in *Perſia*[a].

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[a] *Xenophon Cyropædia, lib.* 1.

[b] *Suidas in voc.* Δαρεικὸς.

[c] *Herodotus. Diodorus Siculus. Juſtin.*

3. On his Demiſe, his Son *Cambyſes* ſucceeded, from whom *Amaſis*, King of *Perſia*, withdrew his Obedience; which produced a War, in which *Cambyſes* became victorious, chiefly by following his Father's Maxims: For, upon this Occaſion, he made uſe of the Fleets of the *Phœnicians*, who furniſhed him with as great a Force as he could wiſh; probably, becauſe they were deſirous of getting rid of theſe Rivals in Trade, which effectually anſwered their End, ſince the *Egyptians* never after recovered their Freedom, nor were permitted to meddle with the *Indian* Commerce. This *Egyptian* War gave Occaſion alſo to a Treaty between this *Perſian* Emperor, and the King of that Part of *Arabia* which lies between *Paleſtine* and *Egypt*, who, in Conſideration of a Subſidy paid him by *Cambyſes*, furniſhed his Army with Water, which enabled him to march thro' the Deſerts without any Difficulty[b].

His Succeſs in this Expedition, engaged him in another againſt the *Ethiopians*, in which, however, he was very unfortunate, loſing the beſt Part of his Army, and being obliged to retire, without doing any thing conſiderable. He had an only Brother, whoſe Name was *Smerdis*; and him, from an ill-grounded Jealouſy, he cauſed to be murdered: The Fact was done privately, which gave an Opportunity to one of the Magi, of the ſame Name, to perſonate that Brother, and excite a Rebellion. *Cambyſes* returned into *Perſia*, and, going to attack the Rebels, had the Misfortune, as he was mounting his Horſe, to have his Sword fall out of the Scabbard; by which he received a Wound in the Thigh, and died of it in a few Days. *Smerdis* enjoyed the Empire for ſome time; but the Cheat being diſcovered, he was cut off by the Princes of *Perſia*, and *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, who was Governor of *Perſia*, was raiſed to the Throne, in the Year before *Chriſt* 521: And, to give an Air of hereditary Right to his Family, he married *Atoſſa* the Daughter of *Cyrus*[c].

4. This *Darius* was a Prince of great Capacity, and great Ambition. He had always abundance of Strangers about his Court, eſpecially *Greeks* and *Phœnicians*, whom he employed preferably to his own Subjects, in many of his Deſigns. He was particularly ſtudious in the Inlargement of his Dominions; and, having already extended them as far as the Borders of *Scythia*, he formed a Deſign of invading and ſubduing the neighbouring Nations of *India*: But, before he proceeded on ſo hardy an Undertaking, he was determined to be better acquainted with that Country than other Princes had been; and therefore, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, he ordered a Fleet to be built at *Caſpatyrus*, a City on the River *Indus*, but on the Frontiers of *Scythia*; and employed one *Scylax*, a *Carian* by Birth, of the City of *Caryandia*, to ſail down the River into the Southern Ocean; and then to return, by ſteering Weſtward; giving him Orders to make the beſt Diſcoveries he could, as to the Strength and Riches of the Countries on both Sides of the River, as alſo of the Sea-coaſt, that he might be well appriſed of the Force neceſſary to execute this Deſign, and of the Value of the Conqueſt, when made[d].

This, I take to have been the firſt regular Expedition that was ever made againſt the *Indians*; and, without doubt, it was very wiſely contrived. This great Prince had been before diſappointed, in an Expedition he had made againſt the *Scythians*, from which he narrowly eſcaped; but, having conquered *Thrace*, in which were the richeſt Silver Mines then known in the World, he was very deſirous of being Maſter alſo of thoſe Countries, in which Gold was found. And this appears to have been the principal Motive to his undertaking the Conqueſt of the neareſt Part of *India*.

5. *Scylax* executed the Commiſſion, with which he was intruſted, with equal Skill and Fidelity: And, having paſſed down the River *Indus* into the Ocean, he returned by the Streights of *Babelmandel*, and the *Red Sea*, landing on the Coaſt of *Egypt*, near the Place where the Town of *Sues* now ſtands, and from whence *Necho* King of *Egypt* had formerly ſent a Fleet, manned by *Phœnicians*, to ſail round the Coaſts of *Africa*. This Voyage *Scylax* performed in thirty Months; and, going from thence to *Suſa*, where *Darius* then kept his Court, he made a full Report to him of his Diſcoveries; and laid before him a Plan for the effecting his deſigned Conqueſt. In order to this, it was requiſite to have a conſiderable Naval Force, and that, too, manned by Perſons of Experience: And therefore *Darius* made uſe of the *Tyrians*, who were beſt acquainted with that Navigation, and, with their Aſſiſtance, brought a numerous Fleet upon the Coaſt, at the ſame time that he entered the Country with a great Army by Land.

An Expedition, undertaken with ſo much Care and Precaution, could hardly miſcarry[e]. In ſhort, the *Indians* were ſubdued, became Tributaries to the *Perſian* Emperor, and promiſed to furniſh him with a conſiderable Body of Troops, whenever they were required ſo to do: And, beſides this, they paid him yearly 360 Talents of Gold; that is, a Talent for every Day, the *Perſian* Year conſiſting then of 360 Days only. The *Euboic* Talent, according to which this Tribute was to be paid, was, by the loweſt Computation, worth upwards of 3000 *l.* of our Money; and, conſequently, this Tribute amounted to 1,095,000 *l. Sterl.* which is one of the Proofs, we promiſed to give, of the Wealth of this Country; and how great an Acceſſion of Power the bringing in ſuch an annual Supply of Riches muſt create, at a Time too, when Money had as great an Influence as at this Day, we may eaſily conceive. There is no doubt, that this Conqueſt made way alſo for a much freer Commerce among the Subjects of the *Perſian* Provinces bordering upon *India*, and their Neighbours the *Indians*, than in former Times; which greatly contributed to the Advantage of all the Subjects of that Empire, even thoſe who lay at the greateſt Diſtance from the *Indies*. We need not only conſult the *Greek* Hiſtorians, to be thoroughly perſuaded of this, who every-where complain of the Force of the *Perſian* Gold, the Influence of which had more dreadful Effects, than all the military Power of that mighty Empire[f].

6. *Xerxes*, the Son and Succeſſor of *Darius*, ſpent the greateſt Part of his Reign, in Conteſts with the *Greeks*; and, raiſing, on this Occaſion, many puiſſant Armies, he demanded, and obtained from the *Indians*, a Body of Troops, which ſerved in ſeveral Expeditions. He was a Prince of great perſonal Abilities, and ſeems to have had better Notions of the Conſequence of a Naval Force, than any of his Succeſſors: For he intended to have ſent *Sataſpes*, his Siſter's Son, with a Fleet, to have ſurrounded *Africa*; but, being occupied by other Affairs, he let fall that Expedition, and with it ſeems to have ſunk all Thoughts of making a Figure on this Side: For, notwithſtanding that *Perſia* is exceedingly well ſituated for Trade, and that theſe Emperors might eaſily have made it the Centre of all the Commerce of the Eaſt, yet, turning their Thoughts intirely towards *Europe*, they neglected what might have been ſo very advantageous[g].

Nay, they carried their Indiſcretion, in this reſpect, to a Degree much beyond Negligence; for they made it a Maxim of their Policy, to hinder, as far as they were able, all Navigation on the *Perſian* and *Indian* Coaſts, by choaking ſome of the principal Rivers. But, on the other hand, they encouraged the Commerce of their Subjects with the *Indians* by Land, perſuading themſelves, that, by this Management, they ſhould ſecure to their Subjects the Poſſeſſion of the immenſe Wealth they drew from the *Indies*; and, at the ſame time, prevent any Invaſions by Sea. I is highly probable, they were led to take ſuch Meaſures, by the frequent Rebellions of the *Egyptians*, who, they apprehended, might be too powerful for them by Sea, in caſe the free Navigation of thoſe Coaſts had been allowed them: And this accounts for the little Knowledge the *Greeks*, and all the reſt of the World, had of the *Indies*, notwithſtanding that a Part of them was actually become a Province of an Empire, with which they were ſo well acquainted[h].

7. It is very difficult, notwithſtanding theſe Reaſons, to comprehend how the Spirit and Genius of this Empire

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[a] *Cyropædia*, *lib.* viii.
[b] *Strabo*, *lib.* xv.
[c] *Herodot. lib.* iii.
[d] *Ibid. lib.* iv.
[e] *Id. ibid.*
[f] *Xenophon*, *Thucyd. Plutarch.*
[g] *Herodot. lib.* ii. iii. *Juſtin*, *lib.* i. *Athenæus*, *lib.* xiii.
[h] *Herodot. Cteſias apud Athenæum.*

ſhould thus ſink at once, and within ſo ſmall a Space of Time: It is, however, to be conſidered, that, under the Reigns of *Cyrus*, *Cambyſes*, and *Darius*, the genuine *Perſian* Spirit prevailed; whereas, in the ſucceeding Reigns, Eunuchs and Women had a large Share of the Adminiſtration of Empire, from whom weak Councils, dark Intrigues, and a Policy founded wholly on Expedients, was to be expected. It was in Conſequence of ſuch Tranſactions, that the Court and Empire were uſually involved either in ſecret Conſpiracies, or open Rebellions; which are Seaſons when Self-preſervation occupies the Place of extenſive Projects, and reſtrains even Princes, of great Abilities, from diſtinguiſhing themſelves, as they otherwiſe would. Add to this, their ill Succeſs in the Conduct of Maritime Affairs in *Europe*, where, after a long and tedious Struggle with the *Greeks*, who owed almoſt all their Power to this very Struggle for their Liberties, the *Perſians* were forced to ſubmit to an infamous Treaty, by which they gave up not only their Dominion, but their Right of navigating in thoſe Seas [a].

This might, and very probably did, give them ſuch a Diſguſt to Naval Concerns, that they choſe rather to purſue the Maxims of the *Babylonian* Government, which began the Practice of choaking up navigable Rivers, to prevent the Danger of Invaſions, than to think of eſtabliſhing ſuch a Maritime Force in the *Indian* Ocean, as might protect the Commerce of their Subjects. But the moſt fatal Error in their Politics, and that which, in the End, proved the Ruin of their Empire, was their Confidence in their Riches; for, believing that Money would do every thing, and truſting more to their Skill in Bribing, and their Ability in hiring foreign Mercenaries, than to the Bravery and Diſcipline of their own Troops, which, notwithſtanding they were exceedingly numerous, were never formidable, they excited, by thus diſplaying their Weakneſs, a Spirit in their Enemies, to undertake and execute what otherwiſe they never durſt have attempted.

It was from this indolent Diſpoſition, and ill Uſe of their Wealth, that all the foreign Commerce of their Dominions, was carried on by the *Phœnicians* and the *Greeks*, upon whom they had a conſtant Dependence, for whatever related to Maritime Affairs, their own Subjects being wholly employed, either in the Working of Mines, or in that Inland Traffick with the *Indians*, of which we have before ſpoken, and by which they grew ſo immenſely rich, that when *Xerxes* made his great Expedition into *Greece*, *Pythius*, the *Lydian*, is recorded to have been poſſeſſed of two thouſand Talents in Silver, and four Millions of Darics in Gold, which, taken together, amounted to near ſix Millions of our Money. We need not wonder, therefore, that the *Greeks*, who were an induſtrious, warlike, and penetrating Nation, after having gained repeated Victories over the *Perſian* Armies, came, at laſt, to form Deſigns of attacking and conquering their whole Dominions.

8. They were chiefly inſtigated to this by the Advantages they had of knowing the interior Condition of that Empire with the greateſt Certainty, by the means of many of their Countrymen, who were employed and truſted by the *Perſian* Monarchs. Amongſt theſe there was one *Cteſias*, a Phyſician, who was in great Credit at the Court of *Artaxerxes*, that undertook to write a complete Hiſtory of the Affairs of the Eaſt. This Man had firſt attended in the way of his Profeſſion upon *Cyrus* the younger, who was Brother to *Artaxerxes*, and who endeavoured to dethrone him, but was ſlain in Battle; in which Battle *Artaxerxes* himſelf was wounded; and *Cteſias*, being taken Priſoner, was ſent for to attend him; and, being ſo lucky as to cure him, he was retained as his domeſtic Phyſician, and lived with him in that Quality ſeventeen Years [b].

In this Station he had the Opportunity of conſulting the *Perſian* Records, and inquiring into every thing that was requiſite towards furniſhing him with Materials for his intended Hiſtory, which he compoſed in twenty-three Books. Of theſe, the firſt ſix contained an Account of the Empire of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, from the Time of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, to the abſolute Deſtruction of that Empire by *Cyrus*; the other ſeventeen, the Affairs of the *Perſian* Monarchy, from the Beginning of the Reign of that great Conqueror, to the third Year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, which was coincident with the Year before Chriſt 398 [c].

He wrote alſo an *Indian* Hiſtory, containing an Account of all that he had been able to learn concerning that Country, and its Inhabitants, from the *Perſians*. The beſt *Greek* Writers do not give a very good Character of this Author, or of his Performances, eſpecially the laſt-mentioned Work, which they tax with being fabulous and incredible; which is very probable, ſince he received all his Informations from Hearſay. We have ſtill ſome Extract of this Work extant in the Books of *Photius* and *Athenæus*, which ſeem fully to juſtify the Cenſures that have been paſſed upon it by *Ariſtotle* and *Plutarch* [d]; but eſpecially by *Strabo*, who calls him a notorious Lyar, and treats him as a Perſon unworthy of Credit [e]: Yet he, and other Writers, frequently borrow from him ſuch Paſſages as ſeem moſt probable.

The Extracts that we ſtill have in our Hands, cannot ſerve in any degree to our Purpoſe; and therefore we ſhall not trouble the Reader with any Quotations upon them. But, perhaps, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that if, one was inclined to apologize for this Writer, one might ſuggeſt ſome Things in his Favour: For Inſtance; it is very clear, that theſe Extracts were made with a View to juſtify this Cenſure of his being a fabulous Writer; and therefore we have good Reaſon to doubt, whether there might not be abundance of valuable Paſſages in his Writings, which are left out, as not agreeable to that Deſign. In the next Place, it may be obſerved, that though he was miſtaken in many Things, and repreſented moſt Things in too ſtrong a Light, yet it is very eaſy to diſcern, through many of his Miſtakes, a Ground of Truth; and, perhaps, if we had had his Writings intire, they would not have appeared in any thing near ſo bad a Light as they do at preſent. We might alſo add, that, in ſome Things, he has been condemned without any juſt Reaſon, eſpecially for his differing with *Herodotus*, who was ſometimes in the Wrong as well as he. On the Whole, how bad a Writer ſoever he might be, he was certainly of great Uſe to his Countrymen, both living and dead; for he rendered them very eſſential Services in the Court of the *Perſian* Emperor his Maſter; was the conſtant Advocate of all their Suits; and ſeldom ſolicited for them without Effect.

Xenophon, who was as good, or perhaps a better Judge of this Author's Merit, than any other Man, ſince he was perſonally acquainted with him, and had a very comprehenſive Knowledge of *Perſian* Affairs, yet ſpeaks of *Cteſias* with great Reſpect, and gives him a very fair Character [f], though he had read his *Perſian* Hiſtory, and ſaw Reaſon to differ from it in many Places. There are ſome other Works of our Author, mentioned by the *Greek* Hiſtorians, which are loſt, and which we have great Reaſon to regret. One of theſe was a ſort of general Deſcription of *Aſia*; another Treatiſe of his was upon Rivers, and this we find commended by *Plutarch* [g]. But that which might have afforded us greater Advantages in treating of this Period of Time, was his Treatiſe of the Revenues of *Aſia*; for which, from his Reſidence in the *Perſian* Court, and the known Punctuality of that Nation in making up their Records, we may, with great Probability, ſuppoſe, that he might have very good Materials; and that it was indeed a very valuable Book, appears from the Author who cites it [h].

9. It is very evident, even from the Cenſures paſſed upon *Cteſias*, that the *Greeks* had conſiderable Informations as to the Affairs of *India* from many other Quarters: And, it is not a difficult Matter to conceive, how they might come by them; for, beſides their Correſpondence with the *Perſian* Court, they had continually conſiderable Bodies of Troops in *Egypt*, as well in the Pay of the *Perſians*, as of the *Egyptian* Princes, who rebelled againſt them; which afforded them, doubtleſs, many Opportunities

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[a] *Diodor. Sicul. Thucyd. Xenophon Juſtin. Corn. Nep.*

[b] *Tzetzes, Chil.* i. *Hiſt.* 1. *Suidas. Strabo.*

[c] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xiv. *p.* 421.

[d] *Hiſt. Animal. lib.* viii. *cap.* 28. *Plutarch. in vit. Alexand.*

[e] *Geograph. lib.* xiv.

[f] *Hiſt. Græc. lib.* i. *p.* 157.

[g] *Oper. p.* 1161.

[h] *Athenæus Deipnoſophiſt. lib.* ii. *p.* 67. X. *p.* 424.

of inquiring into the Accounts, which, in earlier Times, the *Egyptians* had received of the *Indians*. They had likewiſe a very ſtrict Intercourſe with the *Tyrians*, who ſtill preſerved, in virtue of their ſtrict Alliance with the *Perſians*, that Commerce which they had ſettled with the *Indies*, in the manner we have deſcribed in the laſt Section: And, as in this Period of Time, the *Greek* Learning was at the greateſt Height, and as many of their Philoſophers and learned Men travelled into the moſt diſtant Countries, purely for the ſake of Information, we cannot doubt, that ſo curious and ſo uſeful a Subject eſcaped them.

It is, however, true, that ſome of them took ſuch a Method in relating their Diſcoveries, that it is not eaſy to diſcern, whether they intended to write Hiſtories or Fables; of which we have Inſtances in the Fragments that ſtill remain of *Solon*, the great Law-giver of *Athens*, who was alſo a great Traveller, and ſpent a long time in *Egypt*; who brought home from thence an Account of a Diſcovery, made by the *Egyptians*, of an Iſland, in a far diſtant Climate, equally rich, fertile, and pleaſant, and remarkable for the ſingular Manners of its Inhabitants. *Plato*, the moſt celebrated Philoſopher of *Greece*, took Occaſion from hence, to compoſe a fine Dialogue upon this Subject [a]; in which he introduces *Solon*, and an *Egyptian* Prieſt, diſcourſing upon this Diſcovery; and therein gives us a long and entertaining Account of this new Iſland of *Atlantis*; but, in ſuch a manner, that it has been, to this Day, a Queſtion, whether the Whole be not an elegant Fiction. *Xenophon*, who was one of the graveſt Hiſtorians, and, without Controverſy, one of the beſt Writers among the *Greeks*, has alſo given ſuch a Turn to one of his beſt Performances, I mean his *Cyropædia*, that Poſterity has been at a Loſs to know, whether it was to be underſtood as a Hiſtory, or a Romance; and the latter Opinion ſeems to have prevailed.

Yet, it is highly probable, that there is a great deal of Truth, mixed with Fables, in both theſe Works; and that their Authors, though they had chiefly in View inſtructing their Readers in moral Philoſophy, might, notwithſtanding, inſert many Matters of Fact, as they really happened: But how to diſtinguiſh theſe, is a Queſtion not eaſily anſwered. There is, however, extant, in a *Greek* Hiſtorian, the Hiſtory of a Voyage, undertaken in a ſingular Manner, and as ſurpriſingly executed; which is related in a plain and ſimple Stile; and, as it ſeems to have been the firſt ever made to the *Indies*, of which we have any diſtinct Account, I ſhall give it the Reader as near as poſſible in the Words of the Author; the rather, becauſe, though it is very curious and entertaining, yet I do not remember to have ſeen it in any of our Collections of Voyages, at leaſt in its full Extent; and, without taking in all its Circumſtances, it is impoſſible for the Reader to apprehend it clearly, or to paſs a right Judgment upon it [b].

10. There was one *Iambulus*, who, from his Youth, was addicted to Learning: His Father was a Merchant; and, after his Deceaſe, he applied himſelf, with great Diligence, to the ſame Profeſſion. This Man, travelling into *Arabia*, in order to purchaſe Spices, was there taken Priſoner, with all his Company, by a Party of Robbers. At firſt, he, and one of his Companions, were employed in keeping Sheep; but they were ſoon after carried off by the *Ethiopians*, inhabiting the Coaſt, who conveyed them into their own Country, in order to ſerve a very extraordinary Purpoſe. For theſe *Ethiopians* had a Cuſtom, which had then ſubſiſted ſix hundred Years, and was originally derived from the Direction of an Oracle, to expiate the Sins of their Nation once in an Age, or Generation, which with them comprehended the Space of thirty Years, by expoſing two Strangers, in the following manner.

They prepared a little Veſſel, well built, and extremely well equipped, with Proviſions for ſix Months, on board of which the Men were put, at a certain Seaſon of the Year, with Inſtructions to ſteer directly South, in order to arrive at a certain fortunate Iſland, inhabited by a kind and hoſpitable People, with whom they might live happily all the reſt of their Days. The Oracle declared, that, if theſe Men ſucceeded in their Voyage, the Country would enjoy Reſt and Quiet for many Years; but, if, frighted by the Dangers of the Sea, they ſhould return, it was ominous to *Ethiopia*; and, therefore, they threatened *Iambulus*, and his Companion, with the ſevereſt Puniſhments, in caſe they did not proſecute their Voyage. When the Seaſon of the Year came, the *Ethiopians* celebrated the Feſtival of Purgation with moſt ſplendid Sacrifices; and then, having crowned each of them with Garlands, they put *Iambulus*, and his Companion, on board the Veſſel that had been prepared for them, and obliged them to put to Sea.

They were four Months toſs'd by the Winds and Waves, before they arrived on the Coaſt of the Iſland to which they were bound; at length they reached it ſafely. In its Form it is almoſt round, being about five thouſand Stadia in Compaſs, containing about five hundred of our Miles, if we allow ſix hundred Stadia to a Degree. As ſoon as they came within Sight of Land, the People on the Iſland crouded on the Shore, to behold them: And, when they landed, Multitudes came from all Quarters, to gaze on, and admire them, wondering how they came thither; but treating them with the utmoſt Kindneſs and Civility, and offering them, with the greateſt Readineſs, whatever their Country afforded.

Theſe People differed not a little from other Nations in their Appearance, as well as in their Manners; for they were all of a pretty equal Size, each of them about four Cubits, or ſix Foot high. They bent and turned their Bodies with ſuch Agility, that their Bones ſeemed, to our Travellers, as flexible as the Sinews of other People: Their Bodies were very tender; notwithſtanding which, they were ſo ſtrong, that whatever they graſped, could not be forced out of their Hands. On their Heads, Eyebrows, Eye-lids, and on their Chins, they had Hair; but the reſt of their Bodies perfectly ſmooth. They were handſome, and well-ſhaped; only the Holes in their Ears were much wider than thoſe of other Men, and had fleſhy Protuberances in them. Their Tongues were very ſingular, being by Nature ſomewhat divided, and cut in their Infancy to the very Root; ſo that they ſeemed double; which enabled them to imitate the Notes, and even the Chatterings, of Birds: And, if our Travellers ſay true, they could diſcourſe with two People at once.

This Iſland is ſituated in a moſt excellent and moderate Climate, lying very near the Equator; ſo that the People are neither ſcorched with Heat, nor pinched with Cold, enjoying, at once, all the Seaſons, without any Diviſion, like ours, of Spring and Harveſt; ſo that, as *Homer* ſings,

Here ripe and green, at once, their Fruits appear,
And Figs and Grapes are gather'd through the Year.

The Days and Nights are there always of equal Length; neither is there any Shadow at Noon-day, becauſe the Sun is directly in the Zenith. They are divided into Tribes, according to their Kindred, and into diſtinct Societies; yet ſo, as there are not above four hundred admitted into any one Tribe. They live in Meadows, where they are plentifully ſupplied with all things neceſſary for Food, by what the Earth produces; for the Fertility of the Soil, and the Temperature of the Air, are ſuch, that Corn grows there of itſelf.

Plenty of Calamus, probably Maiz, grows there, whoſe Fruit is like to white Vetches: When they have gathered it, they ſteep it in hot Water, till it puffs up to the Bigneſs of a little Egg; then bruiſing it, and rubbing it in their Hands, they knead it into Dough; and ſo bake and eat it, being exceeding ſweet and delicious Bread to the Taſte. There are there both hot and cold Baths, which are for the curing and preventing of Diſtempers, being exceeding ſweet and pleaſant. They are learned in all Sorts of Sciences, eſpecially in Aſtrology. They uſe eight-and-twenty particular Letters, for the expreſſing what they mean, compoſed of ſeven Characters; each of which is varied four Ways. They live long, without ever being ſick, and commonly to one hundred and fifty Years of Age.

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[a] *De Inſul. Atlantide.*

[b] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* ii. *cap.* 4. *p.* 96.

Such as are lame, or have any other Weakneſs or Infirmity of Body, according to the ſevere Law of their Country, are put to Death. They write not croſs the Sheet, as we do, but begin at the Top of the Leaf, and ſo, in a direct Line, down to the Bottom. They have a Law, that they may live to ſuch a certain Number of Years, when, tho' ſcarce expired, they diſpatch themſelves by a ſtrange kind of Death; for there is an Herb of ſuch a Nature, that grows among them, upon which, if any one lies down, he ſilently paſſes away, and dies without any Senſe of Pain, as if he were in a ſweet Sleep. They never marry, but make uſe of Women promiſcuouſly; and breed up the Children, ſo begotten, with equal Care and Affection to one, as well as to another: The Children, while they are Infants, are often changed by the Nurſes; ſo that they cannot be known by their Mothers: And therefore, by that means, there being no Ambition among them, they live in great Concord and Amity, without any Seditions or Tumults.

There are Beaſts among them very ſmall, but of an admirable Property as to their Fleſh, and the excellent Virtue of their Blood. Their Bodies are round, and ſomething like to a Tortoiſe, divided by two Streaks, which run down the Back: At each End of every Streak, they have an Eye, and a Mouth; ſo that they have four Eyes to ſee with, and four Mouths to feed with: But the Meat they eat, is conveyed through one Throat, and thence into the Belly, the common Receptacle of all; and ſo, in like manner, they have but one Gut, and the reſt of the inner Parts: They have many Feet, placed round their Bodies, and make uſe of them to go on what Side they will. There is this wonderous Virtue in the Blood of this Creature, that it preſently, in an Inſtant, cloſes all Wounds in every Body that has ſtill Life in it; and if a Hand, or any other Member, that is not vital, be cut off, by the Application of this Blood, while the Wound is yet green, it heals up again.

There are certain great Birds kept by each Tribe, on purpoſe to try the Tempers of their Children; for they ſet them, when young, upon thoſe Birds; and if, in flying in the Air, they ſit faſt, and without Fear, they bring them up; but, on the contrary, if their Hearts fail them through Cowardice, they caſt them away, as unworthy of living any longer, and unfit for any Exerciſe of the Mind. The antienteſt Man of each of theſe Tribes commands, as a King, over the reſt; but when he has accompliſhed the Age of one hundred and fifty Years, he is obliged to kill himſelf, and the antienteſt, next to him, ſucceeds in the Principality. The Sea that waſhes the Coaſt of this Iſland is very ſtormy and tempeſtuous, but the Water of it is not ſalt; yet, by reaſon of this Agitation, the Tides riſe high, and are very irregular; the Conſtellations about the North Pole are not viſible here.

It is neceſſary to inform the Reader, that there ſeems to be here a Chaſm in the Relation; at leaſt, ſo many Commentators think. But, perhaps, the Reader may be of a different Opinion, and believe, that the Author is only a little abrupt in his manner of Expreſſion. He goes on thus:

Theſe Iſlands are ſeven in Number, equal in Bigneſs, and of the ſame Diſtance from one another, and the ſame Laws and Cuſtoms are uſed in all of them; and, though theſe Iſlands afford Plenty of Proviſion, out of the natural Growth of the Country, to all the Inhabitants, yet they uſe them not luxuriouſly, but are frugal, and take only ſo much as will ſerve their Turns: They do indeed dreſs for themſelves Fleſh-meat, and all Sorts of Victuals, both roaſted and boiled; but for Sauces, and other delicate Inventions of that Kind by Cooks, and the various Taſtes and Savours contrived for curious Palates, they are altogether ignorant of them.

They worſhip, in the firſt place, the whole Frame of Heaven, becauſe it comprehends all Things; and, next to that, the Sun, and then all the celeſtial Bodies. By various Ways of Fiſhing and Fowling, they catch Fiſh and Fowl of all Sorts. There are among them abundance of Fruits, Vines, and Olive-trees, whence they draw great Quantities of Oil and Wine. There are here very great Serpents, which yet do no Harm to any body, nay, their Fleſh is good Meat, and ſweet. They make their Garments of a ſoft fine Cotton, contained in certain Reeds and Canes. This Cotton they dye with the Shell-fiſhes called Oſtreſſes, made up in Balls, and mixt and wrought amongſt the Wool; and ſo, with great Pains, make themſelves Garments of a purple Colour. The living Creatures here are of ſuch different Natures from all others, that, ſhould we mention them, it would ſeem incredible, becauſe they are unuſual.

Their way of feeding is according to a preſcribed Rule; for they do not eat all Sorts of Meats together at one and the ſame time, nor always the ſame; but, upon ſome certain Days, Fiſh; upon others, Fowl; ſometimes the Fleſh of Land-cattle; at other times Olives; and, on other Days, very low Diet: They help each other in their Callings by Turns; ſome employ themſelves in Fiſhing, others in Manufactures, and ſome in other Things, uſeful and profitable to the Commonwealth. Some exerciſe public Offices, except thoſe who are grown old. Upon their Feſtival-days, and invoking their Gods, they celebrate their Praiſes in Songs; eſpecially the Sun, to whom they devote themſelves, and their Iſland. Their Dead they carry to the Sea-ſhore, at the Fall of the Tide, covering them with a little Sand, that, at the time of full Sea, Heaps of Sand may be raiſed higher upon them. Thoſe Canes, whence they gather Fruit to eat, are about an Inch in Thickneſs. They affirm, that, towards the Full of the Moon, they increaſe; and, towards the New-moon, they proportionably decreaſe. The Water of their hot Springs is ſweet and wholſome, and ever continues warm, never growing cold, unleſs it be mixed with Wine, or cold Water.

After *Iambulus*, and his Companion, had continued in this Iſland ſeven Years, they were compelled to depart, as Perſons of a vicious Life, and not to be broken of foreign Cuſtoms. Their Ship therefore being again fitted out for them, and well furniſhed with Proviſions, they were conſtrained to put to Sea; and, after continuing their Voyage for above four Months, they fell, at length, upon the ſandy Shallows of *India*, where his Companion was drowned, and himſelf was afterwards caſt aſhore near a certain Village, and carried away by the Inhabitants of the Place, to the King, then at a City called *Polybothia*, or *Polimbothra*, many Days Journey diſtant from the Sea; where he was kindly received by that Prince, who had a great Love for the *Grecians*, and was ſtudious in the Liberal Sciences. At length, having obtained Proviſion from the King, he firſt ſailed into *Perſia*, and from thence ſafely arrived in *Greece*. It was *Iambulus* himſelf, who committed the Subſtance of this Account to Writing; and thereby communicated to the World many Particulars in relation to *India*, which were abſolutely unknown before.

In the celebrated Collection of Voyages by *Battiſta Ramuſio*[*], this Voyage of *Iambulus* is inſerted at large; and I have been very careful in comparing the Tranſlations. As it is the Cuſtom of that Writer to illuſtrate the Relations he inſerts, by Diſcourſes of his own; in which, without Doubt, he has given the higheſt Proofs of his Capacity, as well as Diligence, ſo in that, upon this Voyage, he has been peculiarly careful, not truſting to his own Judgment alone, but having recourſe to a *Portugueſe* Gentleman of his Acquaintance, who had been long in the *Indies*, was perfectly acquainted with the Navigation in thoſe Seas, the Seaſons of the Year, and the Cuſtoms and Manners of the People, to whom he read over his Tranſlation of this Voyage, in order to have his Opinion as to the Places, and, as to the Adventures that are mentioned in it. On this Examination it appeared clearly to them, that the Deſire of pleaſingly ſurpriſing the Reader had produced ſome extraordinary Paſſages in this Narration; but that, upon the Whole, it was highly probable the greateſt Part of it was true; and ſo much the more probable, becauſe, conſidering the Lights they had in thoſe Days, it was ſcarce poſſible for any Man to feign it.

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[*] *Primo Volume delle Navigationi & Viaggi, p.* 174.

As the Deſign of *Iambulus*'s Voyage was to purchaſe Spices in *Arabia*, it is very likely he ſailed down the *Red Sea* to the famous Mart of *Zeila*; and in going to, or returning therefrom, might fall into the Hands of ſome of the wandring Inhabitants of that Country, who have always ſubſiſted by Plunder: The Circumſtance of his being employed with his Companion to keep Sheep, is highly probable; for, according to the beſt Accounts we have of thoſe Nations, that was the only Service, in which they were like to employ them: While they were thus occupied, the ſecond Miſfortune befel them of being ſtollen off the Coaſt by *Ethiopian* Privateers; which was alſo no unuſual Thing in thoſe Days, eſpecially among the *Troglodytes*, who enriched themſelves by this Practice: After he was taken by theſe People, he was carried into the maritime Parts of *Ethiopia*; which is a very general Expreſſion, the Senſe of which is not eaſily fixed.

Our *Portugueſe* Traveller thought, that *Iambulus* might very probably be carried as far as the Kingdom of *Magadoxa*, which lies within two Degrees of the Line, and on the other Side of *Cape Guardafuy*; which, I muſt confeſs, is poſſible, without ſuppoſing theſe Pirates, in their little Bark, to have paſſed the Streights of *Babelmandel*, or to have doubled the Cape; becauſe they might have landed in the Gulph, and have carried him and his Companion by Land. Here then we are to place the Scene of the next Tranſaction, and the turning theſe poor Men a-drift into the Ocean, at the Seaſon of the Year when the Trade-wind was like to carry them directly to the *Eaſt-Indies*. Our *Portugueſe* ſeems to be of Opinion, that this Iſland, to which they were driven after a Voyage of four Months, muſt be the great Iſland of *Sumatra*, which lies immediately under the Equinoctial, and extends itſelf five Degrees on each Side the Line; ſo that, if *Iambulus*, and his Companion, came on ſhore in the South Part of that Iſland, the Deſcription he has given of the Climate, the Length of Days, and the not ſeeing any of the Northern Conſtellations, would be very exact[a]. Our *Portugueſe* is the rather inclined to embrace this Opinion, becauſe of the Circumſtances that attended his Return, in which he ſpent four Months, before he reached the Continent of *India*. He ſuppoſes therefor, with great Probability, that he landed near the Mouth of the *Ganges*, and ſo came to the City of *Palimbothra*, which was there ſituated, a Place very famous among the Antients, and which, as we have before informed the Reader, was ſuppoſed to be built by the *Indian Hercules*. It muſt be allowed, that theſe Reflections are very curious, and very judicious, as well as the Obſervation of the ſame Gentleman, that it is not probable *Iambulus*, and his Companion, ſhould be able to navigate their ſmall Bark to any of the Iſlands of the *Moluccas*.

Yet, after all, ſome Objections may be raiſed againſt this Account, that are not eaſily anſwered; for, in the firſt place, as to their Paſſage, they muſt have neceſſarily paſſed through that great Chain of Iſlands, called the *Maldives*; and it is not at all probable, that in their Circumſtances they ſhould continue their Voyage any farther than the firſt Land they met with: But if we paſs by this Difficulty, and ſuppoſe that they fell through the Southern Paſſage, in the Latitude of three Degrees, and ſo had no Sight of any of thoſe Iſlands, but fell directly on the South Point of *Sumatra*, yet this brings us under a new Difficulty; for the firſt thing we meet with, in the Voyage of *Iambulus*, is the Figure of the Iſland, upon which he and his Companion landed: And, as to this, he tells us expreſly, that it was round, or at leaſt, very near it, than which nothing can be more irreconcileable to the Figure of the Iſland of *Sumatra*, which is very long, and very narrow: And, though we ſhould endeavour to help this, by ſuppoſeing *Iambulus* took this upon Truſt from the Natives, yet it is very difficult to conceive this for two Reaſons; Firſt, becauſe it is no way probable that a Nation ſo juſt and prudent, as he deſcribes the People among whom he lived to be, ſhould impoſe upon them in this reſpect, to no Purpoſe; and next, we can hardly think he ſhould live there ſeven Years without diſcovering the Falſhood of this Report, the Iſland being no-where above ſeventy Miles broad.

There is another Circumſtance no leſs deſtructive of this Suppoſition; which is, the Vicinity of this Iſland to the Coaſt of *Malacca*, which does by no means agree with what is related by *Iambulus*. I muſt own, that if we ſhould ſuppoſe *Borneo* to be the Iſland he has deſcribed, it would be attended with as great, or rather, with greater Difficulties; for they muſt then have paſſed in their little Bark the Streights of *Sunda*; and there is no aſſigning any Reaſon why they ſhould continue their Voyage to *Borneo*, and leave the Iſlands of *Sumatra* and *Java* behind them: Beſides, the Navigation from *Borneo* back again, would have been much more difficult and perplexed than that from *Sumatra*.

Perhaps, after all, the Iſland of *Java*[b] is liable to fewer Objections than either *Sumatra* or *Borneo*, if we can ſuppoſe, that they could make ſo long a Paſſage in ſuch a Veſſel: And indeed this ſeems to me the greateſt Difficulty of all; and therefore I ſhould rather incline to think, that this Iſland was one of the *Maldives*, though I do not deny, that there might be many Objections raiſed alſo againſt this Opinion. The intelligent Reader will from theſe Remarks, however, be the more able to ſettle his own Opinion of this Matter; and I dare ſay, will not think it reaſonable to conclude the whole Voyage a Fiction, becauſe it is not eaſy, at this Diſtance of Time, and for the Want, perhaps, of ſome neceſſary Circumſtances, to decide with Certainty, what Iſland it was where *Iambulus*, and his Companion, made their Reſidence for ſo many Years.

11. We have given the Whole of this Relation, that it might be the better underſtood. It is generally taken for granted, that the Iſland here deſcribed is that which in antient Authors is called *Taprobana*; of which Iſland, ſuppoſing them the ſame, we have a very copious Deſcription in the Natural Hiſtory of *Pliny*[c]: In which Deſcription of his there are Abundance of curious things; but, I muſt confeſs, it is by no means clear to me, that this Iſland has any thing to do with that Relation. In the firſt place, they differ in Size; for, whereas this is ſaid to be five thouſand Stadia in Circuit, the Iſland, deſcribed by *Pliny*, is affirmed to be ten thouſand Stadia long, on that Side which fronts the Continent of *India*: But, what has greater Weight with me, this Deſcription agrees as little with what we are told by *Strabo*[d], the moſt accurate of the antient Geographers: And there is one Circumſtance which plainly ſhews, that this Iſland cannot poſſibly be eſteemed the ſame with *Taprobana*; and that is, its being ſo far diſtant from any other Land, whereas *Taprobana* was within Sight of the Continent of *India*.

The only Reaſon I can conceive, why this Iſland ſhould be eſteemed the ſame with that, is, becauſe of the Election of their Kings, which is thus related by *Pliny*[e]: Their Monarch is elected by the Voice of the whole Nation, wherein they generally govern themſelves by theſe Qualities, which they eſteem abſolutely neceſſary in their Prince; *viz.* That he be old, of a mild Diſpoſition, and without Children; for, if he afterwards begets any, he is immediately obliged to abdicate; which Precaution is taken to prevent the Crown from becoming hereditary. There is likewiſe a Council of thirty Perſons aſſigned him by the People; neither can any Man be condemned but by the Majority of this Council: Yet, even after this, he may appeal to the People, who appoint ſeventy Perſons to ſit in Judgment upon the Party accuſed; and if, upon hearing the Cauſe, he is acquitted, then all the Members of the Council of Thirty are inſtantly degraded, and are ever after eſteemed infamous. If their King is guilty of any Offence, he is puniſhed with Death; they do not, however, ſtain their Hands with his Blood; but, refuſing to ſpeak or look upon him, they deliver him up to be torn to-pieces by Tygers and Elephants: What occurs in *Pliny*'s Deſcription of that Iſland, in reſpect to its Produce and Inhabitants, is ſtill more extravagant than what is reported in the foregoing Relation, which, however fabulous in ſome Circumſtances, ſeems in others conformable enough to Truth.

For, as to the Soil, Climate, and Produce, there is nothing that ſurpaſſes Belief; and, as to the reſt, they were, probably, thrown in to comply with the Humour of the Age, and to make this Story agree with other Accounts of the *Indies*: Take it all together, it is an excellent Specimen of the Relations publiſhed by Travellers in thoſe Days; and is, perhaps, the only one that is to be met with.

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[a] A Circumſtance that ſhews it, muſt have been to the South of the Line.

[b] Lying near *Sumatra*, and agreeing better in Figure.

[c] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. *cap.* 22.

[d] *Geograph. lib.* xv. *p.* 698.

[e] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. *cap.* 22.

It is much to be regretted, that we have none of the *Phœnician* Accounts, or even ſo much as Extracts from them, preſerved by any Authors; for as they were perfectly well acquainted with theſe Seas, and carried on a conſtant and extenſive Trade with the *Indians*, it is highly probable, that whatever they wrote upon the Subject, muſt have been curious and exact, at leaſt in Compariſon of what we have received from the *Greeks*, who frequently contradict each other. Some indeed have conjectured, that there never were any Writings of that Sort publiſhed by that Nation, becauſe they looked upon themſelves to be concerned, in point of Intereſt, to conceal what they knew, from an Apprehenſion, that divulging their Obſervations might be fatal to their Commerce. This indeed has an Air of Probability: And yet, if we conſider how difficult a thing it is to preſerve this kind of Knowledge, without committing it to Writing, I think it is much more likely, that they had ſome Memoirs of this Kind amongſt them.

However that may be, certain it is, that the *Perſians* never acquired any great Skill in maritime Affairs, but left the Management of them intirely to the *Phœnicians*, who adhered ſteadily to the *Perſian* Emperors till the Death of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*; for then, finding themſelves oppreſſed by the *Perſian* Governors, and dreading the Cruelty of *Ochus*, who ſucceeded his Father in the Empire, a great Part of them revolted, the *Sidonians* being the chief in that Enterprize: But the *Tyrians* ſtill adhered to the *Perſians*, who had been always very kind to them: Yet, in all Probability, the chief thing that determined them upon this Occaſion to divide themſelves from their Countrymen, was their Concern for their *Indian* Trade, which they could not poſſibly have carried on but under their Protection, becauſe the Paſſage of the *Iſthmus* was always in their Power.

Ochus marched with a great Army, in order to lay Siege to *Sidon* [a]. The Inhabitants prepared to receive him, and took all the neceſſary Precautions for making a moſt vigorous Defence. The Place was well fortified; they had a numerous Gariſon, and a Fleet of no leſs than one hundred Gallies, well manned, in their Port: But, foreſeeing that, if they ſhould be very hard preſſed, many might endeavour to make their Eſcapes, by the Aſſiſtance of the Ships, which would expoſe them to certain Ruin, they cauſed them all to be ſet on Fire, that every Man's private Intereſt might engage him to do his Duty to the Public. They had alſo a Body of *Greek* Mercenaries, under the Command of one *Mentor*, upon whom they chiefly depended. In all human Probability, they might have defended themſelves well enough, if their King, whoſe Name was *Tennes*, had not agreed with *Mentor*, to betray them to the *Perſians*; which was executed in ſuch a manner, that the Enemy was within their Walls, before they knew any thing of the Matter. When the *Sidonians* found themſelves thus betrayed, every Man retired to his Houſe, and ſet Fire to it; by which means the whole City was conſumed, and in it forty thouſand People. *Ochus* put their King to Death, as he deſerved, and ſold the Aſhes of the Town for a vaſt Sum of Money, on account of the prodigious Quantities of Gold and Silver that the Inhabitants had amaſs'd [b].

After the Deſtruction of *Sidon*, the *Perſian* Emperor undertook the Reduction of *Egypt*, where *Nectanebus* had made himſelf King, and had about him a very formidable Army. The great Difficulty was to march the *Perſian* Troops into that Kingdom, on account of the ſandy Deſerts on its Frontiers. The *Tyrians*, however, conducted him, and his Forces, by the Way of their Colony of *Rhinocorura*, tho' not without ſome Loſs, into the Kingdom of *Egypt*, which he ſpeedily reduced, *Nectanebus* retiring in time into *Ethiopia*, carrying with him a vaſt Quantity of Treaſure: *Ochus* cauſed all the reſt, that could be collected, to be tranſported to *Babylon*. As he was naturally cruel, he puniſhed the Rebellion of the *Egyptians* with great Severity; and, having been informed, that the *Egyptians* were wont to call him the *Royal Aſs*, by way of Contempt, he cauſed the Ox, which they worſhipped as a God, and which they called *Apis*, to be ſacrificed to an *Aſs*, and afterwards gave his Fleſh to be eaten by his Attendants. This ſo provoked *Bagoas*, an Eunuch, and his firſt Miniſter, that he ſoon after poiſoned him, cauſed another Body to be laid in the Royal Tomb, and, having cut his Maſter's Body to-pieces, fed his Cats with it. This wicked Miniſter ſet his Maſter's youngeſt Son upon the Throne, whoſe Name was *Arſes*, putting all the reſt of his Brethren to Death; and, finding that the young Prince began to ſuſpect him, he ſoon after deſtroyed him, and his whole Family [c].

Such was the miſerable State of this Empire under the Government of Strangers and Eunuchs, when the laſt Emperor mounted the Throne. He was of the Royal Blood, though not the immediate Son of any of the former Emperors; and his Name *Codomannus*, while in a private Station; but, upon his being raiſed to the Empire, he aſſumed that of *Darius*. He was the handſomeſt and braveſt Man in his Dominions, and endowed with all the Virtues worthy of a Prince, which ſoon gained him the Love of his People to ſuch a Degree, that the Traitor *Bagoas*, fearing he might be puniſhed for what was paſs'd, attempted to poiſon him; but *Darius*, ſuſpecting his Deſign, obliged him to drink the Poiſon he had prepared, which ſoon diſpatched him.

If the great and good Qualities of a Prince could have preſerved an Empire ſo over-run with Corruption, *Darius* might have died in Peace; but his Virtues came too late to ſave his Country [d]. That War was already concerted, which proved his Ruin, before the Diadem was fixed upon his Head; and he was ſcarce ſeated on the Throne, before his Empire was invaded by the *Macedonians*, who, not ſatisfied with its extenſive Dominions, penetrated beyond them into the *Indies*, and thereby opened the Way to a more perfect Knowledge of thoſe Countries than hitherto had been attained, as ſhall be ſhewn more largely in the ſucceeding Section.

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[a] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvi. *p.* 531.—533.

[b] *Solinus, cap.* 25. *Syncellus ex Africano, p.* 256. *Oroſius, lib.* xxxi. *cap.* 7.

[c] *Ælian varia Hiſtoria, lib.* iv. *cap.* 8. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii.

[d] *Diodor. Sicul. Arrian. Strabo, Plutarch. &c.*

SECTION V.

An exact Account of Alexander's *Conqueſt of the* Perſian *Empire, and, more particularly, of his* Indian *Expedition, and the Conſequences he intended to have drawn from thence.*

1. *The State of the* Perſian *Empire, and that of the Kingdom of* Macedon, *compared.* 2. *An Account of the Battles of* Granicus, Iſſus, *and* Arbela, *by which the* Perſian *Empire was overthrown.* 3. Alexander, *having attained the Power, affects the Manners of the* Perſian *Monarchs.* 4. *His Motives to the undertaking an Expedition into* India. 5. *His beſieging the Rock* Aornus, *and contriving to excel* Hercules, *who formerly attempted it.* 6. *His Victory over* Porus, *and Deſign of paſſing the* Ganges. 7. *His Artifices, in order to deceive and amuſe Poſterity.* 8. *His Retreat out of* India, *and the Circumſtances that attended it.* 9. *His Army ſuffers exceedingly, in marching through* Gedroſia, *until his Arrival on the Confines of*

Caramania, *where he celebrates new Games for his Deliverance.* 10. *A Review of his* Indian *Expedition and Diſcoveries.* 11. *His Conferences with the Brachmans, and high Eſteem of their Wiſdom.* 12. *The Character of* Calanus *the* Indian, *and the remarkable Manner of his Death.* 13. *The exalted Reputation of* Dindamis, *and the Condeſcenſion of* Alexander *towards him.* 14. *A Copy of that Philoſopher's Letter to* Alexander, *containing an Abridgment of the Moral Philoſophy of the Brachmans.* 15. *The Return of* Alexander *into* Perſia, *and the Meaſures taken by him for eſtabliſhing his Empire.* 16. *His Entrance into* Babylon, *in Contempt of the Preſages of his Soothſayers.* 17. *His Death in that City, and the memorable Circumſtances attending it.* 18. *The Minutes of his great Deſigns, as ſet down in his Pocket-Book, examined and explained.* 19. *The true Character of* Alexander, *drawn from his public and private Life.* 20. *His Memory ſtill glorious in the Eaſt.* 21. *An Application of his Diſcoveries to the Deſign of this Work.*

1. AS the Wealth and Luxury of *Perſia* ſeemed to fit that Empire for Deſtruction, at this Juncture, by ſpreading a total Corruption of Manners throughout all Degrees of its Inhabitants, inſomuch that the whole Continent of *Aſia* was infected with the Vices that naturally flow from Proſperity miſapplied; ſo there was a Power growing in *Europe*, by almoſt imperceptible Degrees, which, at the very time *Darius Codomannus* aſcended the Throne, had projected the Deſtruction of him and his Empire. This was lodged in the Monarch of the little Kingdom of *Macedon*, remarkable only for the Poverty and Hardineſs of its People. It had been tributary to, and dependent upon, the *Perſian* Empire, from the Time that *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*. All its Princes had been remarkable for a kind of tricking Policy, which enabled them to keep fair with their Maſters the *Perſians*, on the one Side, and their Brethren the *Greeks*, on the other.

The ſudden, and extraordinary Riſe of this little, and hitherto contemptible State, was intirely the Work of one able Prince; indeed, take him in all Lights, the ableſt Prince mentioned by Antiquity. This was *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander*, who not only found his hereditary Dominions ſmall and poor, but alſo in a weaker and more diſtreſſed Condition, than they had been in the Days of his Predeceſſors: Yet, in the Space of little more than twenty Years, he made himſelf intirely Maſter of *Greece*; ſo that, much againſt their Will, the *Greeks* were obliged to elect him Captain-General againſt the *Perſians*; and he was actually preparing to undertake the War, when he was aſſaſſinated in his own Palace, at *Pella* in *Macedonia*, much about the ſame Time that *Arſes* was poiſoned by *Bagoas*: So that theſe Competitors for Empire, *Alexander* and *Darius*, arrived at the Sovereignty both at a time [a].

They were each of them Princes of great Courage and Abilities, but as oppoſite in their Diſpoſitions, as in their Fortunes. *Darius* was mild, and too ready to liſten to whatever Advice was given him. *Alexander*, on the other hand, was fierce and poſitive; was willing to hear what others ſaid, but could ſeldom be prevailed upon to follow any but his own Notions. *Darius* was inclined to Moderation, and capable of yielding, with a good Grace, to what the Neceſſity of the Times required. *Alexander* acted as if Fortune had been his Slave, and diſcovered moſt Confidence in Times of greateſt Danger: In a word, *Darius* had all the Qualities of a good, and *Alexander* all the Talents requiſite to form a great Prince. Such were their Characters, and their Fortunes proved ſuitable [b].

2. Immediately after his Acceſſion to the Throne, the *Macedonian* found himſelf engaged, firſt, in a War with his Northern Neighbours, and, ſoon after, with his Countrymen the *Greeks*. He finiſhed both with that Rapidity agreeable to his Character; and, in the ſecond Year of *Darius* determined to paſs the *Helleſpont*, and attack the Emperor of *Perſia* in his own Dominions. The Strength with which he attempted this, was very inconſiderable: His whole Force conſiſted but of thirty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe; and all the Treaſure he poſſeſſed, amounted to no more than ſeventy Talents, which comes to between fourteen and fifteen thouſand Pounds of our Money [c].

The Generals of *Darius*'s Army, in the Beginning of the War, diſputed with him the Paſſage of the River *Granicus*, with one hundred and fifty thouſand Men; but they were beaten: And by this ſingle Victory he gained all *Leſſer Aſia*, and the Treaſury of the *Perſian* Monarchs at *Sardis*. The next Year he proſecuted his Conqueſts with the utmoſt Vigour, and marched directly towards *Darius*, who had been aſſembling, with the utmoſt Diligence, the whole Force of his Empire, in order to meet him. A ſecond Battle enſued at *Iſſus*, in the Streights of *Cilicia*, where *Darius* was defeated, though he had an Army of ſix hundred thouſand Men; and ſoon after the City of *Damaſcus* ſurrendered, in which were *Darius*'s Treaſures of War. The next thing *Alexander* undertook was the Siege of *Tyre*, in which he vanquiſhed Nature, as well as Art; for he cauſed a Cauſeway to be run out into the Sea, by which he joined the Iſland the City was built upon, to the Continent. After the taking of *Tyre*, he marched into *Egypt*, which he eaſily ſubdued, from the natural Fickleneſs of the People, and their great Averſion to the *Perſians*. While he was in that Country, he gave Directions for building the new City of *Alexandria*, of which we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter, becauſe it was one of the greateſt Deſigns he ever formed, and the beſt executed [d].

The next Spring he returned again into *Aſia*, and marched directly towards *Babylon*; in the Neighbourhood of which, *Darius* had drawn together a new Army of above a Million ſtrong. *Alexander* paſſed the *Tigris*, and came up with the *Perſians* near the little Village of *Guagamala*, where a deciſive Engagement enſued, in which, with 50,000 Men, he beat *Darius* in an open Plain, where the Enemy had all Advantages, and he none. This Battle, which moſt Hiſtorians call the Battle of *Arbela*, determined the Fate of the *Perſian* Empire; for *Darius* then fled into *Media*, and left *Babylon*, with all his Treaſures in it, to the Conqueror. *Alexander* marched directly into *Perſia*, made himſelf Maſter of *Suſa* and *Perſepolis*, the Capitals of the *Perſian* Empire; the latter of which he burnt [e].

Early in the Spring he purſued *Darius*, who was ſoon after ſeized and murdered by his own People; and thus, in four Years time, the *Perſian* Monarchy was intirely overthrown, and *Alexander* had nothing now left to employ his Arms, but the Reduction of the Northern Provinces, and the puniſhing thoſe Traitors who had ſo barbarouſly deſtroyed their Maſter in his Diſtreſs; which he performed very honourably, and therein ſhewed himſelf worthy of that Fortune which had hitherto attended his Arms. But, after this, turning his Force againſt the *Sogdians*, *Dabans*, and *Maſſagets*, he found amongſt them a more vigorous Reſiſtance than from all the *Perſian* Empire beſides; ſo that this War employed him a whole Year, and, very probably, he had not made an End of it ſo ſoon, if the Fame of his Generoſity had not done him as much Service as the Reputation of his Victories: And, indeed, it will be always found, that brave Men yield ſooner to virtue, than they can be ſubdued by Force [f].

3. In this Account of the Deſtruction of the *Perſian* Empire, and the great Atchievements of *Alexander*, I have been as conciſe as it was poſſible, intending it only as an Introduction to what is the proper Buſineſs of this Section, the Expedition of this great Conqueror into the *Indies*, at which we are now arrived. But, firſt of all, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the Province of *Sog-*

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[a] *Diodor. Sicul. Strabo. Arrian. Plutarch. Quint. Curtius.*

[b] *Arrian, lib.* 1. *Plutarch. in Alex. Juſtin. ex Trogo.*

[c] *Arrian. lib.* i. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[d] *Arrian. Quint. Curt. Plutarch. Juſtin.*

[e] *Arrian, lib.* iii. *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *Plutarch in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib.* iv. *c.* 8.

[f] *Arrian. Plutarch. Curtius.*

diana, where *Alexander* paſſed the Winter, in which he projected his Conqueſt of *India*. This Frontier Province of the *Perſian* Empire lay upon the Eaſtern Side of the *Caſpian* Sea, between the River *Oxus* on the South, and the River *Orxartes* on the North. The laſt of theſe *Quintus Curtius*, and *Arrian*, called *Tanais*, very erroneouſly [a]; for the River *Tanais* is much more to the Weſt, and diſchargeth itſelf not into the *Caſpian*, but into the *Euxine* Sea, and is the ſame which we now call the *Don*. This Error is taken notice of by *Pliny*, who has let us into the Cauſe of it; which was, the Vanity of the *Macedonians*, who, by giving falſe Names to Rivers and Mountains, thought to make Poſterity believe they had extended their Conqueſts into Places where they never ſet their Feet [b].

The chief City of this Province was *Maracanda*, a Place ten Miles in Circuit, the ſame that is now called *Samarcand*, and is the Capital of the *Usbeck Tartars*. In this City *Alexander* ſpent Part of his Winter; and there, in one of his drunken Entertainments, he murdered *Clitus*, a brave old Soldier, fitter to conquer Countries, than to flatter Conquerors; for the want of which courtly Vice, he paid with his Life. From hence *Alexander* removed into *Bactria*, and took up his head Quarters at *Nautaca*, where he married a *Perſian* Wife, and ſpent the beſt Part of his Time in bringing moſt of his Officers to follow his Example, and in the Feaſts and Entertainments which followed upon theſe Marriages. This was the firſt Step to his *Indian* Expedition, which he had already contrived in his own Mind, without communicating it to any.

His Courage was to be ſure as great as ever appeared in Man, and yet his Conduct was equal to his Courage; for this always furniſhed him with Expedients ſo much the more effectual, as they were altogether unſuſpected. By theſe Marriages he propoſed to himſelf two great Ends: The firſt was, to blend the *Perſian* and *Macedonian* Intereſts, in ſuch a manner, that he might be ſure to leave all ſafe behind him: The other to engage his *Macedonians*, in ſome meaſure, to forget their Country, and be the more willing to follow him, where-ever he thought fit to lead: But, at the ſame time, that he formed this Project, he foreſaw the Poſſibility of its failing him, and therefore he ſet on foot other Schemes, to which, whenever they did fail him, he might have recourſe.

Theſe were, the appointing the principal Nobility of *Perſia* Governors of Provinces and Cities, and the ordering thirty thouſand young Men, of the beſt *Perſian* Families, to be diſciplined after the *Greek* Manner, that, on certain Occaſions, they might ſerve as Hoſtages for the Fidelity of their Countrymen; and that, on other certain Occaſions, they might be a Check on his *Macedonians*. For, by a Failing, incident to great Princes, he began now to diſlike the Manners of that Nation to which he owed all his Victories; and, conſidering himſelf as a mighty Emperor, diſdained thoſe Freedoms which were agreeable to the little King of *Macedon*.

4. But, after all, theſe wiſe Precautions were taken, in favour of a very idle Expedition, which took Birth from an Accident I ſhould be aſhamed to mention, but that it is ſo neceſſary for conducting the Thread of my Hiſtory, that I cannot omit it. *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander*, was a Woman of Gallantry; of which his Father *Philip*, for ſome political Reaſons, did not think fit to take the ſevere Notice that it deſerved: And therefore, to cover ſome unlucky Circumſtances that attended the Birth of *Alexander*, it was given out, that *Jupiter* had been familiar with his Mother. In the earlier Part of his Life, *Alexander* treated this ridiculous Story, as it became him, with Contempt; but now, his Vanity having got the better of his Underſtanding, he was deſirous it ſhould be believed. He had read, in the old *Greek* Fables, that two of the Sons of *Jupiter*, *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, had each of them made an Expedition into *India*; and he had a mind, not only to be on a Level, in this reſpect, with his Brethren, but to out-do them: And this was the true Source of this hazardous Undertaking [c].

To pave the Way to it, he began to affect the Honours that were paid to the *Perſian* Kings, which was a kind of Adoration ſuitable enough to the ſlaviſh Manners of their Subjects, but utterly irreconcileable to the manly Freedom of the *Greeks*. This Innovation produced an Action much more cruel than the Murder of *Clitus*: For *Calliſthenes*, the Kinſman of his Maſter *Ariſtotle*, a grave and wiſe Man, who had accompanied him in all his Expeditions, having taken upon him to expoſe the Abſurdity of this Behaviour, he cauſed him, under colour of a Conſpiracy, which he pretended was formed againſt him, to be put to Death [d]. By removing him out of his Way, he got rid of all Oppoſition; and, if the reſt of his *Macedonians* did not concur with his Flatterers, they were at leaſt wiſe enough to hold their Tongues; to which they were the more inclined, when, by levying new Troops, he had ſwelled his Army to 120,000 Men.

The *Indians*, having, by this Time, got hold of the Story of this third Son of *Jupiter*, had many of them Addreſs enough to ſecure their Safety, by falling in with his Folly: And it was upon this Occaſion, that they pretended to believe the Fable of the *Grecian Bacchus*, which we before related, and confuted. Such of them as did not, or could not, proſtitute their Underſtandings in ſo groſs a manner, he ſubdued by Force of Arms. Amongſt theſe was the Nation of the *Aſſacans*, who had loſt their Freedom, if it had not been for the Complaiſance of their Queen *Cleophis*, the handſomeſt Woman in that Part of *India*, who, by admitting *Alexander* to her Embraces, redeemed her Kingdom; but ſuch was the ſtubborn Virtue of her Subjects, that, notwithſtanding they reaped the Benefit of this Treſpaſs on her Honour, yet they ever afterwards remembered it, to her Diſgrace; and never called her by any other Appellation, than that of the *Royal Whore*. By this Princeſs our Conqueror had a Son, who bore his Father's Name [e]; and of the Poſterity of this *Indian Alexander*, *Marco Polo*, whoſe Travels we ſhall ſhortly give our Readers, affirms there were ſome Princes remaining, at the Time he viſited theſe Countries. Such were the Tranſactions with which this great Deſign, of penetrating to the utmoſt Limits of the World, began.

5. As it was the fabulous Hiſtory of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* produced this Reſolution in *Alexander*, to invade and conquer *India*, ſo he choſe to carry on the War after a new manner, and as if his Army had been dreſſed rather for the Stage than the Field; for the Shields of his Soldiers were adorned with Silver Plates, the Bridles of their Horſes were ſtudded with Gold, and, in ſhort, all their Armour was beautified and enriched with theſe precious Metals; an Humour the more ſingular, ſince it was known, that the *Indians* ſet a leſs Value on ſuch Finery than any other Nation.

The only Place that gave him any Difficulty in this Year's War, was the famous Rock of *Aornus*, exceſſively high, and the River *Indus* running by it. A Report was current in *Alexander*'s Army, that *Hercules* had twice attempted this Poſt, but in vain: The Honour therefore of the third Son of *Jupiter* was very nearly concerned; but he proceeded very prudently for its Preſervation. He found, after filling up all the Ditches, and taking every Method that the Practice of the Art of War had taught him, the Place was truly impregnable; and that, if he depended on Force, he was likely to be foiled as well as *Hercules*; and, therefore, he turned this Siege, after it had coſt him Abundance of Men, into a Blockade, leaving, however, one Paſſage by which the Beſieged might eſcape, preſuming that, when they were half-ſtarved, they would take this Road, and leave him their Rock, which he had ſuch a Mind to: In which Scheme he ſucceeded, and triumphed at once over the *Indians* and *Hercules* [f].

In the mean time, *Hephæſtion* and *Perdiccas*, who had the Direction of the *Phœnicians*, who were employed in building him a portable Fleet for paſſing the ſeveral Rivers of the *Indies*, had finiſhed their Taſk, and provided him with a ſufficient Number of Boats, ſo framed, as that they might be taken to pieces, and ſo tranſported over-land from one River to another: And, now having all Things in Readineſs, he entered in earneſt upon his great Work, which was to be begun by the Paſſage of the River *Indus*.

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[a] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *Arrian, lib.* iv. *Q. Curtius, lib.* viii.

[b] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. *cap.* 16.

[c] *Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.*

[d] *Laertius in vita Ariſtotelis.*

[e] *Arrian. Quint. Curt. Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[f] *Diodorus Siculus, lib.* xvii. *Oroſius, lib.* iii. *Plutarch.*

6. This Expedition was undertaken in the eleventh Year of his Reign over *Macedon*, in the fifth of his Empire, and three hundred and twenty-ſeven before *Chriſt*. He paſſed the River without the leaſt Reſiſtance, and as ſoon as he was on the other Side, had Notice that an *Indian* Prince was advancing towards him, with a numerous and well-diſciplined Army. This was *Mophis*, the Son of the King of *Taxila*, who had before ſubmitted to him in the Name of his Father, who was then living; but, being now dead, *Mophis* reigned in his own Right. The Appearance of this *Indian* Prince was ſo formidable, that *Alexander* was afraid of being ſurpriſed; and, therefore, haſtily put his Troops into Order of Battle. But *Mophis* preſently undeceived him, by advancing with a ſmall Retinue; and, making his Submiſſion to *Alexander*, delivered up his Dominions, which he received again, with Leave to aſſume the Title of *Taxiles*, which was common to all the Monarchs of that Country, with ſuch mighty Gifts beſides, that *Meleager*, one of his *Macedonian* Captains, could not help telling him, that he was glad to ſee he had met with a Man in the *Indies* worthy of receiving a Preſent of a thouſand Talents at once [a].

Ambiſarus followed his Example; but *Porus*, whoſe Dominions lay beyond the River *Hydaſpes*, prepared to defend himſelf to the laſt Extremity; and drew together a mighty Army to hinder his Paſſage of the River: *Alexander* advanced towards him; and with great Difficulty, and no ſmall Loſs, forced the Paſſage of this River, and afterwards defeated *Porus*, who was grievouſly wounded in the Side; but, being charmed with the Spirit and Courage of the Man, he reſtored to him his Dominions, and even augmented them. In Memory of this Victory, he built a City called *Nicæa*, and another as a kind of Monument for his Horſe *Bucephalus*. As this Country abounded with Timber, he ordered a great Number of new Ships to be built for the Eſtabliſhment of a Maritime Force, as well for the perfecting, as protecting his Conqueſts: He paſſed, next, the River *Aceſines*; and, having ſubdued all that lay between it and the River *Hydraates*, beſtowed it upon *Porus* [b].

He invaded and deſtroyed the *Cuthæans*, who had a Cuſtom of cauſing Wives to be interred with their Huſbands; and, having taken the City of *Sangala* by Storm, he beſtow'd it on ſome *Indians*, who had ſubmitted to him, and lived under a free Government. He next attacked *Sophites*, the Prince of a People called by the ſame Name, who were reputed the handſomeſt Nation in the World: But that Prince ſoon made his Peace, and entertained *Alexander*, and all his Army, for many Days together. *Hephæſtion* returned to him here, after having ſubdued ſeveral Princes, and their Dominions: From thence *Alexander* marched into the Dominions of King *Phygeus*, who ſubmitted to him, and received, as other Monarchs had done, his Kingdom, with large Preſents beſides.

He then paſſed the River *Hyphaſis*, which was ſeven Furlongs broad and ſix Deep, the Stream prodigiouſly rapid; and from hence he intended to have marched to the *Ganges*; but, firſt of all, thought it requiſite, to inquire of his *Indian* Confederates, the Situation and Condition of the Country through which he was to paſs: They informed him, that, for twelve Days March from thence, there lay a Deſart, which was bounded by the *Ganges*; and that, on the other Side that River, there were many potent Nations; but, particularly, the *Gangaridæ*, whoſe King *Xandrames*, had an Army of twenty thouſand Horſe, two hundred thouſand Foot, two thouſand Chariots of War, and four thouſand Elephants. The Report of this, the Remembrance of their late Engagement with *Porus*, and a Storm of Rain, Thunder, and Lightning, which had laſted for above ſeventy Days, ſo diſpirited his *Macedonians*, that they declared, without Ceremony, they were weary of marching eight Years together, and of being put continually upon new Labours, without any Proſpect of Reſt or Peace. *Alexander* thought to have quieted theſe Complaints, by giving them Leave to plunder ſome *Indian* Nations [c] that refuſed to ſubmit: But this had not the deſired Effect; they were ſtill as angry, and as much diſpoſed to Mutiny, as ever; to which, perhaps, they were artfully excited by the *Indians*, who were deſirous of being rid of them.

7. In order to make the laſt Effort, he prepared an Oration; and when they returned to the Camp, laden with Plunder, he firſt diſtributed Corn to their Wives, and Money to their Children; and then addreſſed himſelf to them in a long Speech, in which he ſaid all that could be poſſibly contrived to inſpire them with a Reſolution of ſtill following his Fortunes, and attacking the *Gangaridæ*. His Eloquence, however, availed him no more than his former Bounties: The *Macedonians* were abſolutely tired out; and beſides, the Methods practiſed to draw them thus far, deterred them from the Thoughts of going farther. For, firſt of all, the Fables he had ſpread concerning the Expeditions of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, filled them with Apprehenſions, that they were to be led beyond the Limits of the World, and be expoſed to Dangers, beyond the Reach even of their Imaginations; and, on the other hand, they did by no means approve of this new Way of conquering Countries, to give them back again with Intereſt: And, therefore, *Cænus*, in the Name of the Army, plainly told *Alexander* their Mind; which agreeing ſo little with his Inclinations, he retired to his Tent, where he remained three Days cloſe ſhut up, and would not ſee even his moſt familiar Friends. At the End of that Time he came out, and, making a Virtue of Neceſſity, told his Soldiers, with a good Grace, that ſince they were unwilling to follow him, he had taken a Reſolution to return: But there was another Reaſon that contributed not a little to his taking this Reſolution; and it was this: He had ſacrificed for the Paſſage of the River, and his Prieſts, on the Inſpection of the Entrails, declared them unlucky [d].

Now having conducted his Affairs ſo long by Oracles, and ſuch-like Inventions, he durſt not proceed to an Expedition, which ſeemed to be againſt the Will of the Gods; and thus he was intangled in his own Superſtitions, and obliged to deſiſt by the very Arts which he employed with a View to force his Army to move on. Yet, in ſpite of this Diſappointment, he was ſtill ſo addicted to Fables, that he choſe to give the Air of Romance to his own Actions, rather than truſt his Glory to a fair and impartial Recital of them. To this Purpoſe he cauſed twelve large Altars, of fifty Cubits Height, like Towers, to be erected near the River; whereon he ſacrificed according to the *Greek* Cuſtom, and celebrated Games in the adjacent Country: After this, he cauſed a Ditch to be made, fifteen Feet broad, and ten Feet deep, whereon, of the Earth that was dug up, he raiſed a conſiderable Wall, making the Compaſs of his Camp three times larger than it was. He commanded the Foot, that each in his Tent ſhould get two Bedſteads of five Cubits each in Length, and the Horſemen to make theirs with the Mangers of their Horſes, as big again as they were; he cauſed Arms, Bridles, and other Things to be framed after the ſame Proportion, to amuſe Poſterity with a falſe Appearance of the gigantic Proportion of his own Perſon, and of the Perſons of his Followers [e].

Thus this *Indian* Expedition ended in the ſame kind of Follies with which it began; and had no other Effect whatever, than making theſe Countries, and the Nations who inhabited them, and who hitherto had been known to the reſt of the World, only by idle and fabulous Reports, more truly repreſented; and yet even this was, in a great meaſure, prevented by the extravagant lying Reports of his Followers, occaſioned, no doubt, by their earneſt Deſire of gratifying the Ambition of their Maſter, who loved to have his Exploits painted beyond, that is, in plain Terms, at the Expence of Truth.

8. When he came to execute his deſigned Retreat, he diſpoſed of the Government of the Provinces he had conquered, and ſo paſſed on to the River *Hydaſpes*, where he expected to find his new Fleet, which, however, was not perfectly complete, which obliged him to ſtay ſome Time in the Neighbourhood; ſo that there he was joined by ſix

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[a] *Arrian. lib.* iv. *Q. Curtius.*

[b] *Curt. lib.* ix.

[c] *Arrian. lib.* vi. *Q. Curt. lib.* ix.

[d] *Arrian. lib.* vi. *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[e] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii.

thouſand Horſe, and thirty thouſand Foot, that had marched thither out of *Greece*; and met alſo with other Supplies. His Ships, when finiſhed, conſiſted of a thouſand Sail; of which two hundred were Ships of War, and eight hundred were Tranſports [a].

He then divided his Army, going on board the Fleet with one Part of it, and ordering the reſt, under the Command of *Craterus* and *Hephæſtion*, to march along the Bank of the River down which he ſailed, to the Junction of the *Hydaſpes*, and the *Aceſines*, reducing all the Country in his Paſſage, particularly the *Oxydracians*, and the *Mallians*; and ſo proceeded to the River *Indus*. Among the reſt, the Brachmans ſuffered by his Fury; for their King, whoſe Name was *Sambus*, having firſt ſubmitted to him, and opened the Gates of his City, afterwards revolted, which coſt his Subjects dear; for many Thouſands were ſlain, and a much greater Number ſold for Slaves. Yet we are informed by *Plutarch*, that many who were deſtined to Deſtruction, were preſerved, on their anſwering, to the Satisfaction of *Alexander*, certain Queſtions in Philoſophy, which he cauſed to be propoſed to them [b].

While he was engaged in this War with the *Brachmans*, *Mœris* King of *Pattalena*, an Iſland at the Mouth of the *Indus*, came and ſubmitted himſelf, whom he received very graciouſly, directing him to provide all Neceſſaries for his Army, becauſe he meant ſpeedily to viſit his Country. When the Fleet, however, had fallen as low as this Iſland, they found it abandoned, the People having retired into the Mountains, whither *Alexander* ſent Meſſengers, to perſuade them to return. He had now ſpent ten Months in his Voyage, and found himſelf and his Fleet in a very indifferent Condition; that Side of the Iſland near which he lay, being, in a great meaſure, deſtitute of Water, which obliged them to ſend People on Shore, to ſink Wells, who were cut off by the *Indians* that fled to the Deſerts. At this Iſland the River *Indus* divides into two Branches, both of which retain that Name, till their Fall into the Ocean: And thro' the Branch on the Right-hand, *Alexander* reſolved to paſs into the Sea. But the Day after he left the Iſland, there aroſe ſuch a Tempeſt, as diſtreſſed them exceedingly; which obliged him to ſhelter himſelf again upon the Coaſt, and to ſend for Pilots from among the Natives; for this proved a Navigation which none of his People underſtood. When they reſumed their Voyage, they met with new, and ſtill greater Difficulties: For the Tide riſing exceedingly high, as it always does there, all the Country near the River was quite overflowed, except ſome Hills, the Tops of which appeared like ſo many Iſlands in the Water; to which the *Macedonians*, leaving their Boats, ſwam for their Preſervation, not being at all acquainted with the Nature of Tides, but ſuppoſing this ſome extraordinary Accident; for their Heads were ſo full of Fables and Wonders, that every thing appeared to them miraculous. When the Water ebbed, ſome of their Veſſels were left on dry Ground; ſome were overwhelmed, and ſunk; others turned Bottom upwards. On the Return of the Tide, thoſe that ſtuck in the Mud were got off, without Hurt; but the reſt were either daſhed to Pieces, one againſt another, or periſhed in different Ways, to the Terror of *Alexander*, and all who were about him [c].

After this unlucky Accident, collecting his Navy as he could, and repairing as many of the Veſſels as were yet in a Condition for Service, he detached two of the beſt to examine another Iſland that lay lower, which the *Indians* called *Cilluta*, and he thought fit to name *Scillaſtis*, by which he muſt of Neceſſity paſs, in his Voyage to the Ocean. On their Return, and reporting, that there was in this laſt Iſland, a very commodious Harbour, he ordered the Fleet thither; but proceeded himſelf, without further Delay, down the Chanel, that he might be ſatisfied whether his Fleet could paſs ſafely, that Way, into the *Indian* Sea, or not. At the Diſtance of about 200 Stadia, he diſcovered another Iſland; and then returned to the Fleet, where he ſacrificed to the Gods after a certain Manner; and then, going back to the Iſland, he ſacrificed after another Manner to other Deities; affirming that he was ſo directed by the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*. When he came to the Mouth of the *Indus*, he offered up Bulls to *Neptune*, by crowning them with Wreaths, and then throwing them, bound, into the Sea; made great Feaſts for his Friends; and threw a golden Phial, and certain gold Cups, into the Sea; beſeeching the Gods to be propitious to the Fleet, that he intended ſhould ſpeedily ſail under the Command of *Nearchus*. He likewiſe erected Altars to *Thetis* and *Oceanus*, offering magnificent Sacrifices, and beſeeching thoſe Divinities, that after him no Mortal might paſs the Bounds of his Expedition [d].

Then returning up the River to *Pattala*, he there found Part of his Forces, which had marched by Land. Judging this City to be extremely well ſituated for a Port, he directed *Hephæſtion* to make an Haven there, and to conſtruct Wharfs, and whatever elſe was neceſſary for Shipping; and, having given theſe Inſtructions, he ſailed down the other Chanel of the *Indus*, which brought him firſt to a large Lake, where he left moſt of his Forces; and, having with him no more than thirty Veſſels, paſſed this Way into the Ocean. The Deſign of this Voyage was, that he might be able to judge, whether this or the other Chanel would afford the ſafeſt Paſſage for his whole Fleet; and, being convinced, that the Left-hand Chanel was the beſt, he returned the ſame Way, cauſing Wells to be dug all along upon the Coaſt, that thoſe on board the Fleet might not be diſtreſſed in their Paſſage for want of Water.

When he returned to *Pattala*, he ſent Part of his Army to dig more Wells; and, proceeded a ſecond time as low as the Lake before-mentioned, where he ordered ſeveral Havens to be made, and Magazines to be erected, for the Uſe of his Shipping, and leaving alſo a Gariſon for the Defence of theſe Works, together with Proviſions ſufficient for eight Months, he prepared for his Return to *Perſia*, leaving the Care of the Fleet to his Admiral *Nearchus*, to whom he gave Inſtructions, when the Seaſon of the Year would permit, to fall down the Left Chanel of the River *Indus* into the Ocean, and, ſailing along the Coaſt, to proceed up the *Perſian* Gulph, and ſo to the Mouth of the *Euphrates* [e].

It is very plain, from this Relation, that, notwithſtanding all the Pains he had taken, and the pompous Accounts given of his Fleets, he was very indifferently furniſhed with Seamen; and therefore we need not at all wonder at the miſtaken Notions, which ſome Writers tell us he conceived, concerning this River. But there is one thing very commendable in this Expedition; which is, the perſonal Pains he took to be informed of all Things, that he might be the better able to frame a Judgment of what might be expected from the Building of Cities, ſettling Colonies, and eſtabliſhing a conſtant Commerce between them, and other Parts of his Dominions. This was a Labour truly worthy of a Prince, or, to carry it much higher, worthy of *Alexander*.

9. After he had thus ſettled all Things behind him, he paſſed through the Country of the *Arbitæ*, who fled on his Approach into the Mountains, ſo that he paſſed the River *Arbis* without any Oppoſition, and ſo came into the Territories of the *Oritæ*, where he began to deſtroy the Country, on account of their joining with the *Gedroſians*; but, upon their Submiſſion, he treated them kindly, and left there a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Foot, to wait the Arrival of his Fleet, and with Orders to build a new City. In his Paſſage through the Country of the *Gedroſians*, greater Loſs happened to him, than in all his Expedition through *Aſia* beſides; becauſe, what for want of Water, by Exceſs of Heat, ill Diet, and Hunger, he carried not out the fourth Part of thoſe Forces he brought into *India*: Yet was not this Loſs ſuſtained through Ignorance: For, ſome tell us, he knew of the Danger very well; but, hearing this Country had been formerly invaded, both by *Semiramis*, and *Cyrus*; and that the former was forced to fly but with thirty Attendants, and the latter with only ſeven; he had an earneſt Deſire to paſs through it, and, in the Glory of his Adventure, to excel them [f].

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[a] *Arrian. Diodor. Sicul. Plutarch.*

[b] *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[c] *Arrian, lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[d] *Strabo, lib. xv. Arrian. Q. Curt.*

[e] *Arrian. Juſtin. Plutarch. in Alexandro*

[f] *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv. Q. Curt. Plutarch.*

After incredible Fatigue undergone for ſixty Days, he came to *Pura*, the chief City, where he refreſhed his Army, and thence marched towards the Borders of *Caramania*. Here he received News, that *Philip*, Governor of the *Oxydracians*, and of other *Indians*, was killed by the mercenary Soldiers; but that his Death was revenged upon them by the *Macedonians*: Whereupon he wrote to *Taxiles* and *Eudemus*, to take care of the Country, till ſuch Time as he could ſend one to ſucceed *Philip*. When, after all theſe Dangers, he arrived ſafely in the Province of *Caramania*, he received Complaints of many of his Governors, that, ſuppoſing he would never return, had behaved tyrannically; whom he puniſhed for their Offences very ſeverely. He likewiſe celebrated, as the Cuſtom of thoſe Days was, Games, and exhibited Plays, by way of Thankſgiving, to the Gods, for having preſerved him, and his Army, in the Midſt of ſo many Dangers. And while he was thus employed, *Nearchus*, the Admiral of his Fleet, arriving on the Coaſt, and hearing that his Maſter was only five Days Journey from him, thought proper to go thither, with a few Attendants, in order to report to him what had happened in his Voyage. On his entering the Theatre, the *Macedonians*, ſurpriſed and overjoyed at the Sight of him, ſet up a great Shout, expreſſing thereby their dreadful Apprehenſions of being obliged to ſerve by Sea, which they looked upon as little better than being deſtined to certain Death. But, as for *Alexander*, he was extremely pleaſed at the News he told him; and ſo far from being affrighted at the ſtrange Things he related, that from thence he conceived a Deſign of ſending a Fleet from the Mouth of the *Euphrates*, which, paſſing round the whole Continent of *Africa*, ſhould have entered the *Mediterranean* by the Streights of *Gibraltar*, then called the Pillars of *Hercules*: For which Expedition he cauſed great Preparations to be made, as we ſhall ſee in another Place; when, for the ſake of enriching this Collection, with ſo curious, and ſo authentick a Piece, we ſhall give the Reader the whole Voyage of *Nearchus*, as near as may be, in his own Words; and ſhall, at the ſame time, enter into the Diſcuſſion of the true Deſigns of *Alexander*, with regard to Navigation and Commerce; Points in which he ſhewed a greater Superiority of Genius, than in all his Conqueſts, which, excluſive of thoſe Views, were ſo many Outrages on the Rights of Mankind. At preſent we will take a View of his *Indian* Expedition; and ſee how far it contributed to his own Benefit, or to that of others.

10. It is, in the firſt Place, obſervable, that however weak, and contrary to good Senſe, that Humour of *Alexander*'s might be, which led him to aſſume the Honours of a God; to boaſt of being the Son of *Jupiter*; and to attempt not rivalling only, but excelling, his Brethren *Bacchus* and *Hercules*; I ſay, how wild or extravagant ſoever this might be, in one Senſe; yet it was attended with many good Conſequences, eſpecially to the *Indians*, who knew how to turn this Foible of his to their own Advantage; that is, to the Preſervation of their Liberty, which ſeems to have been the only Point they had in View. We have already had an Inſtance of this, in the artful Speech of *Acuphis*, at the Head of the Deputies from the City of *Nyſa*. But it may not be amiſs to add ſome farther Particulars relating to the ſame Adventure.

When theſe Embaſſadors were introduced to *Alexander*, they found him ſtanding in his Tent, completely armed, with a few Officers about him, and without any of that Pomp or Splendour, which uſed to diſtinguiſh the Monarchs of thoſe Times. They were a little alarmed at this Appearance, and afraid of meeting with a rough Reception; but their Countenances ſoon altered, when *Alexander* commanded one who was near him, to fetch a Cuſhion; on which, as ſoon as it was brought, he very civilly deſired *Acuphis* to ſit down. The old Man, overcome with Tenderneſs, on this extraordinary Mark of Diſtinction, cried out, *What is it, O King, that my Countrymen can do, to merit your Friendſhip? Let them*, ſaid Alexander, *make Choice of thee for their Governor, and ſend one hundred of their beſt Citizens to remain with me, as Hoſtages for their Fidelity.* This Anſwer ſhews the Wiſdom and Penetration of *Alexander*, who thought to ſecure his own Purpoſe, by paying this Compliment to *Acuphis*. But the quick Reply of that ſenſible old Man does Honour to the Wit and Spirit of the *Indian* Nation: *I ſhall govern them with more Eaſe, O King*, ſaid he, *if I ſend you, inſtead of the beſt, ſo many of the worſt of my Subjects*[a].

The Behaviour of *Mophis*, afterwards called *Taxiles*, has been already related; but the Motives which induced him to deliver up his Kingdom to *Alexander*, deſerve our Notice: They are contained in the following Speech he made to him at the Time of his Submiſſion: 'To what 'Purpoſe, *Alexander*, ſhould we make War upon each 'other, if thy Deſign of coming into theſe Parts be not to 'rob us of our Water, or our neceſſary Food, which are 'the only Things that wiſe Men are indiſpenſably obliged 'to fight for? As for other Riches and Poſſeſſions, as 'they are accounted in the Eye of the World; if I am 'better provided of them than thou, I am ready to let 'thee ſhare with me; but, if Fortune hath been more 'liberal to thee than me, I will not decline thy Favours, 'but accept them with all the thankful Acknowledgments 'that are due to a Benefactor.' This Compliment was extremely grateful to *Alexander*, who, after embracing, made him this Anſwer: *Do not imagine*, Taxiles, *that theſe ſoft Expreſſions, and ſo polite a Behaviour, ſhall hinder our coming to an Engagement: No, you are not like to eſcape by changing the Nature of the War; for I will not be conquered even in Complaiſance.* It was upon this Occaſion that he made him a Preſent of a thouſand Talents, which diſpleaſed the *Macedonians* ſo much, but which, however, gained him the Friendſhip of the *Indians*[b].

Theſe are certainly Inſtances of the good Senſe, great Prudence, and generous Spirit, of theſe People. As to their Bravery, and excellent military Diſcipline, the following Inſtances will be ſufficient to ſatisfy the Reader as to both. Such of the free Cities in *India*, that is, ſuch as lived under a Republican Government, did not practiſe theſe Arts to ſecure, but hired Soldiers to defend their Liberties; which they did ſo effectually, that, when *Alexander* had granted them an honourable Capitulation, he was tempted to break it, and open a Paſſage to farther Conqueſts, by thus diſpenſing with his Word; which, however, leſſened his Reputation exceedingly, and induced others to defend themſelves with incredible Obſtinacy. The Courage of *Porus*, the military Skill he ſhewed in the Diſpoſition of his Forces, and the dear-bought Victory which *Alexander* obtained over him, were very fully ſet forth by the Pen of *Alexander* himſelf, in the Epiſtles he wrote upon that Subject; and the Requeſt, which he made to *Alexander*, *that he might be treated like a King*, will, probably, be remembered and admired ſo long as the Light of Hiſtory remains unextinguiſhed[c]. But it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in this hard-fought Battle *Porus* had no Advantage of Numbers; the Force he brought into the Field did not exceed twenty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe; and it was the Uſe he made of theſe, that ſtruck the *Macedonians* with ſuch a Diſlike to the *Indian* War, that all the fine Speeches of *Alexander* could not inſpire them with Courage enough to attempt the Paſſages of the *Ganges*[d].

It was in his Battles and Sieges in *India*, that *Alexander* received moſt of his Wounds. In other Countries he fought for Fame and Victory, but it was in *India* only that he fought for his Life. In a word, all his Conqueſts here were either obtained by the Admiration of his Virtue, or by dint of ſuperior Force. It muſt be likewiſe obſerved, that the *Indians* were never charged with Infidelity to him, but maintained their Promiſes with the ſtricteſt Honour; and, therefore, when the *Greek* Mercenaries had murdered *Philip*, he recommended the *Macedonians* he had left in *India* to the Care of *Taxiles*, and never had any Reaſon to diſtruſt his Friendſhip. Theſe are ſolid and inconteſtable Proofs of the Civility, Wiſdom, and Virtue, of the *Indians*, who, though they abounded with Riches, uſed them with Diſcretion and Moderation; and who appear, in all the Accounts we have of *Alexander*'s Expedition, to have been a People well governed, obedient to their Laws, and jealous of thoſe Advantages that were the Reſult of their reſpective Conſtitutions; which, duly conſidered, will appear the higheſt Character that any People can deſerve.

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[a] *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[b] *Id. ibid.*

[c] *Strabo. Arrian. Diodor. Sic. Juſtin.*

[d] *Arrian, lib.* vi. *Quint. Curt. lib.* ix.

Plutarch. in Alexandro.

11. I have purpoſely omitted ſpeaking hitherto of the *Indian* Philoſophers, and of the Treatment they met with from *Alexander*, becauſe I thought, both with reſpect to him and them, it was a Subject that required particular Conſideration. Theſe Men had the Misfortune to incur his Diſpleaſure; and, in conſequence thereof, to be very ſeverely treated for doing their Duty, and acting as it became Men to act, who profeſſed themſelves Lovers of Wiſdom. In ſhort, theſe *Indian* Sages, inſtead of courting this victorious Prince, or endeavouring to gain his Favour by perſuading the People to ſubmit to him, exerted all their Eloquence, and all their Influence, to incite their Countrymen to behave with Courage and Firmneſs in the Defence of their Liberties; and this it was that expoſed them ſo much to his Reſentment [a].

We have already given an Account with what Severity he treated *Sambus*, who was their Prince, and his Subjects; and we have likewiſe taken Notice, that *Plutarch* informs us, that many of them preſerved their Lives, by the ſatisfactory Anſwers they gave to the Queſtions that Conqueror propoſed to them. As this Paſſage has a nearer Relation to the Subject of this Chapter, than moſt of the Adventures of *Alexander*, it cannot be diſagreeable to the Reader, if we treat it at large. In the midſt of the Violences that were committed, on account of the Revolt of the Brachmans, *Alexander* thought fit to make a Trial of their boaſted Wiſdom, by ſending for ten of them into his Preſence, whom he commanded to anſwer ſuch Queſtions as he propoſed to them, threatening ſuch as anſwered amiſs, with Death; and, appointing the eldeſt of them to be the Judge, he aſked the firſt, ‘Which, in his Opinion, were more numerous, the Living, or the Dead?’ The Brachman anſwered, ‘The Living; for the Dead are not.’ He aſked another, ‘Which of all Animals was the moſt ſubtle?’ ‘That, ſaid the Brachman, whatever it be, with which Mankind are not yet acquainted.’ Of another, he demanded, ‘What the Arguments were, by which he perſuaded *Sambus* to revolt?’ ‘But one, returned the *Indian*; I told him he ought either to live free, ot to die in the Endeavour to live ſo.’ Another was required to tell him, ‘Whether Night, or Day, was oldeſt?’ ‘Day, anſwered the Philoſopher, by one Day, at leaſt.’ But perceiving that *Alexander* was not ſatisfied with this Anſwer, he added, ‘You ought not to wonder, Sir, if ſtrange Queſtions meet with odd Replies.’ One of them he aſked, ‘How a Man might become exceedingly beloved?’ His Anſwer was, ‘If he be very powerful, and, at the ſame time, be not very much feared.’ To another this Queſtion was propoſed, ‘How ſhall a Man act, to be thought a God?’ ‘Let him do, replied the Brachman, what by no other Man can be done.’ The laſt of them, being aſk'd, ‘How long a Man ought to deſire Life?’ anſwered, ‘Till Death ſhall become more eligible.’

When all had anſwered, *Alexander* commanded the Judge to give Sentence. ‘All I can ſay, replied the old Man, is, that every one has anſwered worſe than his Fellow.’ ‘That is falſe, ſaid *Alexander*; and thou ſhalt die firſt, for having paſſed ſo foul a Sentence.’ ‘Not ſo, Sir, replied the Brachman very cooly, if you mean to keep your Word; for you ſaid he ſhould die firſt who anſwered worſt; which I have not done, becauſe you have not hitherto aſked me any Queſtion.’ The King, ſurpriſed at their Firmneſs, as well as pleaſed with the Quickneſs of their Parts, and the ſhrewd Anſwers they had given him, not only diſmiſſed them without Injury, but made them very conſiderable Preſents [b].

It is to be remembered, that, in thoſe Days, the common Method of putting Wiſdom to the Teſt was by aſking difficult Queſtions; as the common Method of Teaching was by ſhort Sentences, which the *Greeks* called Aphoriſms, and we Proverbs, taking that Word in its ſtricteſt and graveſt Senſe, which, even vulgarly uſed, implies a Saying grown into Credit, by the Experience of its Truth. In this, undoubtedly the *Brachmans* were much happier than moſt other Philoſophers, that hitherto they have eſcaped Cenſure, the wiſeſt Men, in all Ages, having afforded them a juſt Tribute of Applauſe; which ſeems to have been chiefly derived from this Maxim, which regulated their whole Conduct, *viz.* to reſerve ſpeculative Doctrines for their private Converſations, and to teach the People ſuch Things only as regarded the right Uſe of Life. It was owing to this Regulation, that the Brachmans themſelves maintained their Characters unſpotted; and that the *Indians* in general, of every Rank, were Men of Principle, and acted, on all Occaſions, as became them. We ſhall have another Opportunity of deſcribing more largely the Learning of theſe Sages, and their Manner of Living: At preſent, all I aim at, is to repreſent truly their Conduct, with reſpect to *Alexander*, and his Behaviour towards them, as a Point very curious and entertaining in itſelf; and which is of no ſmall Conſequence to this Hiſtory [c].

12. It was a Cuſtom, inviolably obſerved amongſt the *Brachmans*, never to viſit any Man, let his Rank be what it would; and that upon this Principle, that others had need of them, and they of none. In their Schools or Aſſemblies they ſpoke freely; but one thing they required of their Diſciples, as well as practiſed themſelves, which was, to appear quite naked; and in this reſpect they were ſo ſtrict, that when *Alexander* ſent *Oneſicritus*, who was a Philoſopher himſelf of the Sect of the Stoics, to hear one of them, who had the higheſt Reputation, the *Brachman* ordered him to ſtrip, and hear what he had to ſay, naked; otherwiſe he would not open his Mouth, if he came from *Jupiter* himſelf. Thus the Story is told by *Plutarch*; but *Oneſicritus* himſelf told it in another Manner [d].

He ſaid, that he found fifteen of theſe *Brachmans* ſitting together, at ſome Diſtance from the Town; to whom having told his Meſſage, one of them, having conſidered his Garb, could not forbear ſmiling, and then proceeded thus: There was a Time when Corn and Flour was as plenty as the Duſt that covers the Earth; when the Fountains ran, ſome with Milk, ſome with Water, ſome with Honey, ſome with Wine, and ſome with Oil: But when, through Plenty and Luxury, Men grew vain and proud, the great God took away thoſe Benefits; and decreed, that the Neceſſaries of Life ſhould be obtained by Labour: Then Temperance, and other Virtues, produced once again Plenty of all Things; but now, that this Plenty ſeems to have begotten Vanity and Pride again, we are in Danger of being reduced once more to Penury and Want. He therefore who would hear me, muſt throw off his Clothes, and lie naked on the Stones, as we do [e].

The Name of this *Indian* Philoſopher was *Sphines*; but, when he became better known to the *Macedonians*, and they obſerved that he ſaluted them always with the Word *Cale*, which, in the *Indian* Tongue, ſignifies *God ſave you*, they called him from thence *Calanus*. It was *Taxiles* who prevailed upon him to viſit *Alexander*, and to converſe with him; and, by degrees, he became more tractable. He was an old Man, and naturally of a ſevere Diſpoſition, but withal very communicative; and, when he ſaw that *Alexander* delighted in philoſophical Diſcourſes, he no longer ſhunned his Company, or thought it a Diſgrace to attend him [f].

On the contrary, when he left *India*, he followed him into *Perſia*, where he made him, and the *Macedonians*, as they had been long Admirers of his Virtue and Wiſdom, Witneſſes alſo of his Death: For, being upwards of ſeventy-three, and being attacked by a Looſeneſs, he took a Reſolution of putting an End to his Life; from which *Alexander* laboured to diſſuade him, by repreſenting, that Medicines, and a proper Diet, might produce a Cure. The Philoſopher anſwered, that poſſibly it might be ſo; but that, according to the Cuſtom of his Brethren, he looked upon this as a Summons from Nature; and that it became a wiſe Man not to wait, till the Force of his Reaſon was deſtroyed, or, at leaſt, weakened by long Sickneſs; but rather to die while he had the full Uſe of his Faculties, and was capable of making his Death as uſeful to his Diſciples, as the Doctrines and Example of his Life [a].

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[a] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *Plutarch. ubi ſupra.*

[b] *Plutarch. in Alexandro. Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib.* vi. *p.* 457.

[c] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Apuleius Florid. lib.* i. *Porphyr. de Abſtinentia, lib.* iv. *ſect.* 17. *Bardiſanes Syrus apud Euſeb. Preparat. Evangel. lib.* vi. *cap.* 8.

[d] *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[e] *Oneſicritus ap. Strab. lib.* xv. *Palladius de moribus Brachman.*

[f] *Arrian. Qu. Curt. Plutarch.*

When *Alexander* ſaw, that his Reſolution was not to be altered, he gave Inſtructions for performing his Requeſt; and committed the Care of erecting the funeral Pile, to *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, who was afterwards King of *Egypt*. When all things were ready, the King gave Orders, that he ſhould be preceded by his Guards of Horſe and Foot; and cauſed not only Spices and Perfumes to be ſcattered over the Pile, but likewiſe directed it to be adorned with ſeveral Gold and Silver Veſſels. *Calanus*, being very ſick and weak, was brought thither on Horſeback, with all imaginable Splendor: But, before he mounted the Pile, he beſtowed the Horſe the King had given him, upon *Lyſimachus*, one of *Alexander*'s Captains, who had been his conſtant Diſciple; and, in like manner, diſtributed all the Gold and Silver Plate among his Friends; then, ſinging Hyms of Praiſe to God, for the Bleſſings beſtowed upon him, he aſcended the Pile; and, having decently compoſed himſelf on the Bed, which lay on the Top of it, he continued unmoved, and without varying his Poſture when the Fire reached him; and ſo was conſumed in the Sight of the whole Army. *Plutarch* reports, that when he embraced and took Leave of the *Macedonians*, he deſired them to paſs that Day in Mirth and good Fellowſhip, with the King, whom he doubted not to ſee again, in a little Time, at *Babylon* [b].

Strabo obſerves, that Writers differ very much, as to the Circumſtances attending this extraordinary Fact; but, as to the Fact itſelf, there never could be any Doubt about it, becauſe it was done publicly, and in the Sight of the whole Army; all their Trumpets ſounding, and the Soldiers, with the loudeſt Acclamations, commending the high Courage, and ſteady Bravery, of the old Man. *Alexander* himſelf pronounced his Elogium, in theſe few Words: ‘*Calanus* hath vanquiſhed greater Enemies than I; for, whereas I warred with *Darius* and *Porus*, *Calanus* hath overcome both Pain and Death [c].’

Returning from the funeral Pile, *Alexander* invited many of his Friends, and principal Officers, to Supper; and propoſed a Drinking-match, in which the Victor ſhould be crowned. *Promachus* drank eighteen Quarts of Wine, and won the Prize, which weighed a Talent, from them all: But he ſurvived his Victory but three Days; and was followed, as *Chares* ſays, by one-and-forty more, who died of the ſame Debauch, by reaſon of the ſevere Froſt, which happened at that Time [d].

This was certainly a very odd Concluſion of a Scene ſo ſolemn, as that of the Death of *Calanus* had been: And one cannot help admiring the Inconſtancy and Inconſiſtency of human Nature, when one reads ſuch ſtrange Relations as theſe, which would be certainly incredible, if daily Experience did not ſhew us, that Mankind are ſtill the ſame; and that the greateſt Vices, and the greateſt Virtues, the nobleſt Sentiments, and the weakeſt Conduct, are very often obſerved in the ſame Man.

13. The Hiſtory of *Calanus* is extremely famous, becauſe all the Writers of the Life and Actions of *Alexander*, have mentioned it. But with reſpect to others of the Brachmans, to whom he applied himſelf, they are more ſilent; and, even in what they do report, there is ſuch Diverſity and Confuſion, that it is extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to come at the Truth. As to one Fact, however, they all agree; *viz.* that *Dindamis*, or *Dandamis*, was eſteemed the chief of all the Brachmans, as much excelling the reſt in Years, and in Wiſdom. He it was, that when *Oneſicritus* came to them, with a Meſſage from *Alexander*, reproved *Calanus* for giving him ſo rough an Anſwer; and, having confered with the *Greek* Philoſopher for ſome Time, on the Doctrines delivered by *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, and *Diogenes*, the *Indian* readily confeſſed, that they appeared to him to be very wiſe Men: In one thing only, ſaid he, I blame them; which is, that they prefer Law and Cuſtom to Nature, which if they did not do, they would never be aſhamed of going naked, as we do [e]. Yet this *Dandamis* was more ſteady in his Reſolution than *Calanus*; for he abſolutely refuſed to viſit *Alexander*, upon any Terms: And when his Meſſenger told him, that their King was the Son of *Jupiter*; that he was Maſter of the World; and would reward him with great Gifts, if he liſtened to his Propoſal; but would otherwiſe cauſe him to be faſtened to a Croſs; he anſwered roundly, that he did not believe he was the Son of *Jupiter*; neither did he conceive, that he really poſſeſſed any thing; for if he did, he would be ſatisfied, and not give himſelf, or the reſt of the World, ſo much Trouble: That, as to his Gifts, he neither needed nor deſired them: And that even his Threats made no Impreſſion; for, ſaid he, if he ſhould put me to Death, he will only releaſe my Soul from this old decrepit Body, which will then paſs into a freer and purer State: So that I ſhall ſuffer nothing by the Change [f].

This very plainly ſhews, that they over-rate this Matter, who ſuppoſe, that *Alexander*'s profeſſing himſelf the Son of *Jupiter*, was a Stroke of refined Policy, made uſe of for no other Reaſon, than to facilitate the Conqueſt of the *Indies*: Since there are two Things certain; one, that he aſſumed this Title long before he thought of conquering the *Indies*; the other, that the *Indians* never believed it. They, ſome of them, indeed, ſeemed to believe it; and, by returning him Fable for Fable, ſaved themſelves, and their Cities, from Deſtruction. But we ſhall ſoon ſee, that what the *Greek* Writers have reported, in relation to their Notions of Divinity, is, in moſt reſpects, very ſuperficial; and, in many, abſolutely falſe. *Alexander* himſelf was ſo thoroughly perſuaded of this, and had ſo high an Opinion of the Wiſdom of the Brachmans, that inſtead of reſenting the Anſwer which *Dandamis* had ſent him, he admired the Courage and ſteady Reſolution of the Man: Nay, he carried his Admiration ſo far, as to write to this Brachman, acquainting him, that he had heard ſo many extraordinary Things, in relation to the Wiſdom of their Doctrine, and their ſingular manner of Living, that he was deſirous of learning, from him, what their Notions were, and what their manner of Life; ſince, if he found that Excellency in them, which was reported, he was content to become his Diſciple.

14. This Condeſcenſion of *Alexander*, as it was very ſingular, ſo it had as remarkable an Effect; for *Dandamis* no ſooner received the King's Letter, than he wrote him a long Epiſtle, ſo curious in itſelf, ſo full of extraordinary Facts, and withal ſo agreeable to his Character, that, I conceive, the tranſcribing it will afford no ſmall Satisfaction to the Reader, inaſmuch as it contains a clearer and better Account of thoſe Philoſophers, than, for any thing I know, is yet extant; and, therefore, though the Epiſtle be long, I ſhall give it the Reader intire, without the leaſt Variation [g]: Thus then it runs.

‘*Alexander*, the Deſire you diſcover of being acquainted with Wiſdom, inclines me to think, that you ought to be already ranked among wiſe Men. There is nothing that hinders me from regarding you as ſuch, but your immoderate Paſſion for ſubduing Mankind, and commanding the Univerſe. The true Philoſopher learns to conquer himſelf, and ſubmit to the Law of Reaſon without Reluctance. But your Character, and, above all, your immoderate Ambition, is an invincible Obſtacle to this. You deſire to be inſtructed as to our Manners and Cuſtoms; I dare not undertake this, becauſe I am conſcious to myſelf, that I have not a Talent for ſpeaking; and that your Courſe of Life, and the continual Exerciſe of Arms, will not allow you Time to hear me. Yet I will not wholly refrain, ſince you ſo earneſtly deſire it. But do not expect, that I ſhould flatter you; we are a plain Sort of People, and know not how to colour or diſguiſe Things.

‘The Life of the *Brachmans* is equally pure and ſimple. That Pleaſure which ſeduces the reſt of Mankind, has no Charms for us. Reaſon is the ſole Guide of our Deſires: Always ſatiſfied with the State we are in, we never ſo much as murmur at any Accidents that befal us. Indifferent to Nouriſhment, we know not ſo much as what Delicacy means: Our Tables are only furniſhed with ſuch Roots and Herbs as the Earth produces in herſelf, without Trouble, without Toil; and hence it is, that we know nothing more of Diſeaſes, than what we are taught by the Pains and Complaints of others. That pure Joy which reigns in our Breaſts is never diſturbed, but by the Senſe we have of other Peoples Miſeries.

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[a] *Arrian, lib.* vi. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii.
[b] *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*
[c] *Æliani varia Hiſtoria, lib.* v. *cap.* 6.
[d] *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*
[e] *Strabo, lib.* xv. It is alſo reported by *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Alexander*, but not ſo diſtinctly.
[f] *Strabo, lib.* xv.
[g] *Anonymus in Collectione Londinenſe*, 1668.

‘ An abſolute Equality renders every one of us independent, and baniſhes from amongſt us Envy, Jealouſy, Ambition, and Malice. We have no Courts of Judicature, becauſe we do nothing that is amiſs; and our ſtrict regard to Juſtice hath exempted us hitherto from thoſe ſevere Laws, by which Crimes are puniſhed among other People. We are even afraid, that the introducing of them ſhould awaken the Notions of thoſe Evils which they are intended to prohibit. The ſole Law amongſt us is, not to violate the Laws of Nature. By avoiding all Reproach, we are not expoſed to the Neceſſity of pardoning others, in hopes of being treated by them with the like Indulgence: Much leſs do we purchaſe Pardon or Impunity by the Force of Money; a ſort of Tenderneſs produced by Avarice, and which renders the Judge more guilty than the Criminal.

‘ Amongſt us, Idleneſs is moſt rigorouſly chaſtiſed. We dread Pleaſure as the Source of Weakneſs. We love that Sort of Labour which exerciſes the Body, but we deteſt that which ſprings from the Deſire of Gain. Our Occupations tend only to procure the Neceſſaries of Life. We abhor all other Views, and regard them as the Fountain of Evils. In our Fields we have neither Bound nor Limits, nor any thing that can conſtitute Property. We are convinced, that this is an Uſurpation directly contrary to the Laws of Nature; every one therefore takes where he pleaſes, what the Earth bountifully produces for the Service of All. We let the Birds fly quietly in the Air; the Beaſts feed peaceably in the Fields; and the Fiſh are unmoleſted by us in the Waters. We poſſeſs all that we can wiſh; becauſe we deſire no more than we want. There is nothing we dread ſo much as that inſatiable Deſire of acquiring Property, which creates a thouſand Wants in the Heart of Man; and renders him daily poorer and poorer, in proportion as his Wealth increaſes.

‘ We warm ourſelves in the Sun-beams. The Dews refreſh us. We waſh in the Rivers. We eat the Herbs and the Roots, which the Field produces. The Earth ſerves for our Bed. Cares never diſturb our Sleep. Peace of Mind preſerves our Thoughts always free. Our Independency delivers us from Fear, and from Subjection, of every kind. We look upon each other as Brethren, whom Nature has made equal, and as the Children of one ſupreme God our Father, who ought therefore to ſhare alike the Inheritance he has given us. We are ignorant amongſt us as to the Art of deſtroying Foreſts, and breaking Rocks to-pieces, to build Houſes, while Nature has formed Caves for that Uſe. There we neither fear Winds, Rain, Cold, Heat, or Tempeſts. Theſe natural Habitations are our Dwellings while we live, and ſerve us for Sepulchres after Death.

‘ We avoid in our Dreſs, whatever has the leaſt Appearance of Softneſs or Luxury. Leaves, or the Bark of Trees, cover what in Decency ſhould not be expoſed. Our Women are not allowed to adorn themſelves like the reſt of their Sex; and, even if they were permitted, their Sentiments would hinder them from making uſe of that Permiſſion; perſuaded, as they are, that vain and gaudy Attire is rather troubleſome than ornamental; and that all the Art in the World cannot add to Beauty, or ſupply the want of it. All ſuch Pains, therefore, are either thrown away, becauſe they do not correct Defects; or criminal, becauſe they would improve the Work of an All-wiſe Creator. Such as our Women are by Nature, they merit all our Affection; and we never hear named among us the Crimes of Inceſt, Adultery, or other Infidelities which diſhonour Nature, and violate the conjugal Tie.

‘ Peace and Quiet rule always our Society. The bare Thought of killing a Man fills us with Horror. We never provoke Strangers. We know not how to handle Arms. It is Mildneſs, and not Force, by which we maintain a good Underſtanding with our Neighbours. Fortune alone is our only Enemy; with her only we contend; and, generally ſpeaking, the Blows ſhe aims at us fall beſide us. Attentive as we are to do nothing that may expoſe us to Miſchief, we have few Evils which we can juſtly complain of. Death troubles us only when we are taken off immaturely; otherwiſe the Father attends not the Funeral of the Son, and we conſider it as the Lot of Nature. Whenever it befals us, we never attempt to raiſe pompous Monuments, which ſeem to inſult the Relicts which they cover. For what more vile, more wretched, than the miſerable Remains of a disfigured Corpſe, deſtroyed by the Flames, that it might not pollute the Earth!

‘ Be not diſpleaſed, if theſe firſt Strokes of our Pictures difigure thine. With what Ravages haſt thou not deſolated the Univerſe? Madly fond of Riches, and furious with Ambition, how much Blood has been ſhed by thy Hands, or, which is the ſame thing, by thy Orders? Thou teareſt Children from their Parents, depriveſt Men of funeral Rites, thou violateſt Tombs; thou art eager in endeavouring to reach the riſing Sun, as if thou meaneſt to ſtop his Courſe. Thou overturneſt Thrones; thou draweſt after thee captive Kings to adorn thy Triumphs. Of Citizens thou delighteſt to make Slaves; and, from a like Inconſtancy, thou ſetteſt Slaves at Liberty. Thou perſuadeſt thyſelf thou haſt taken Towns, when thou haſt bribed their Governors with Money. Without doubt, hereafter, thou flattereſt thyſelf thou ſhalt be able to corrupt the Prince of Hell.

‘ I forbear to ſet thy Image before thy Eyes, that I may proceed in the Account I am giving you of our Manners We know nothing of thoſe tumultuous Aſſemblies, thoſe Games, thoſe Spectacles, which are your ſupreme Delights. Of what Uſe would your Comedians be in the midſt of a People who moſt heartily deſpiſe the Profeſſion, and who do nothing that can furniſh a Subject for Ridicule? Amongſt us, there are none of thoſe cruel Scenes proper to form your Tragedies. The *Brachmans* would tremble at the Sight of young Men expoſed to wild Beaſts, or at the Sight of ſtrong luſty Men, who, in cool Blood, beat and wound each other for the Diverſion of ſuch as look on. Heaven is to us the nobleſt Spectacle; we admire, we rejoice at the Order, the Œconomy, the Regularities of its Motions; we are raviſhed in contemplating the Sun, mounted on his purple Car, and travelling through the Realms of Night, till he returns, at the End of the Year, to the Point from which he ſet out. From the Heaven, we turn our Eyes to the Earth, and behold there the Spectacle of Nature; all whoſe Works appear to us equally lovely, admirable, and incomprehenſible. The Notes of the Birds, the murmuring Streams, the Flowers, nay, a ſingle Leaf of a Flower, ſufficiently employ our Thoughts, and abſorb our Attention.

‘ Content with what grows in our own Country, we never think of looking elſewhere, for the Rarities of other Soils, and other Climates. Nothing ſtrikes us ſo much as what is our own. We deſpiſe all the Flowers of your Eloquence; we condemn it as a pernicious Art, which too often teaches Men to employ their Talents in giving Falſhood the Air of Truth, protecting Crimes, accuſing Innocence, and ſometimes juſtifying Parricide. All our Eloquence conſiſt in being ſincere, and in never telling an Untruth.

‘ This is a ſhort Account of our Manners; this is a ſuccinct Detail of our Doctrines. It is a Maxim among the *Brachmans*, never to ſully their Sacrifices with Blood by the Slaughter of innocent Victims; they adorn not their Temples with Gold or Silver Plate, or with the Luſtre of Precious Stones. They look upon this as inſulting the Divinity, as if we meant to give him what he has not, or as if we intended to ſhew ourſelves as powerful as he, by affecting to diſplay our

‘Riches in his Sight. God requires of us, that we ſhould worſhip him with Purity, and not with Blood; and will accept only the Prayers and Humiliation of Men. He is that Word by which he has created the viſible World, by which he preſerves, governs, and cauſes it to ſubſiſt. He is a pure Spirit, and requires therefore no other Offerings from us than our good Works, our Virtues, and our Praiſes.

‘As I have thus given you a Sketch of our Religion, compare it, I beſeech you, with your own; or, at leaſt, permit me to make a Compariſon. I can, by no means, ſuffer that aſtoniſhing Blindneſs, which allows you to pretend to draw your Original from Heaven, and to make ſo free, as you do, with the Supreme Being. You have no Idea of Grandeur, but as it conſiſts in an illuſtrious Blood; you defile thereby the Nobility of your firſt Birth, by referring all Things to the Fleſh, in which you place all your Delight: You make it the ſole Object of your Attention; you nouriſh it with Delicacies; you love nothing elſe; and, which is a much greater Crime, you think it worthy of being preſented in Sacrifice to the Supreme Being. You know not the one God, who is; and you adore a Multitude of Gods, that are not; you place many of theſe in Heaven, and yet aſſign them the Direction of ſeveral Parts of your Body: *Minerva* reſides in the Brain, as in the Seat of Wiſdom; *Juno* governs the impetuous Motions of the Heart; *Mercury*, your God of Eloquence, dwells on the Lips; *Hercules* gives Force to your Limbs; *Cupid* inſpires you with Sentiments of Tenderneſs; *Bacchus* gives you Taſte: Your Aliments are under the Care of *Ceres*; *Venus* procures Fruitfulneſs; *Jupiter* opens the Organs of Reſpiration; and *Apollo*, ſo famous for his Addreſs, conducts your Fingers in playing on muſical Inſtruments.

‘What Divinities are here! how narrow are the Bounds of their Power, inſomuch that they either will not, or cannot, change their reciprocal Functions! Their Oppoſition is manifeſt, even from the very Worſhip you pay them. You muſt offer a Bull to *Jupiter*; a Peacock to *Juno*; a wild Boar to *Mars*; a Goat to *Bacchus*; a Swan to *Apollo*; a Dove to *Venus*; an Owl to *Minerva*; Cakes to *Ceres*; and Honey to *Mercury*: *Hercules* will have Branches of Poplar to adorn his Statues and Altars; *Cupid* will have none but Roſes. You dare not change ſo much as the Order of theſe Ornaments, without running the Hazard of being diſgraced with them. Now, do but conſider the Contradiction of theſe Characters; and how they all ſeem to have entered into a League, to torment you. One calls you to War; another to Pleaſure: This to the Toils of Commerce; and that to the Delights of good Chear. All of them command you to do what they like: They invite, they preſs, they ſolicit you; and they never allow you any Peace, till you have obeyed them. Are ſuch Gods as theſe capable of promoting human Felicity? Speak but the Truth, and you will own, that they are your own Paſſions canonized.

‘You may diſcover yourſelves alſo, in the Divinities with which you have filled your Hell: It is eaſy there to find your own Crimes under honourable Symbols. The *Eumenides* are your fallacious Thoughts; *Tiſiphone* is the Reproaah of a Conſcience loaded with Crimes; *Tantalus* your inſatiable Covetouſneſs. *Cerberus* expreſſes the Puniſhment due to Ill-ſpeaking; *Hydra* is your Vices reviving, as often as they are cut off. *Pluto* himſelf, thrown down from Heaven, teaches that you are degenerated, like him, in forgetting that ſole Being to whom you owe your Original. O unfortunate Nations! whoſe Religion is your Crime, while living; and your Puniſhment after Death.’

Alexander gave no Anſwer to this Letter; neither did he apply himſelf any more to the Brachman, but accuſed him of Pride and Impiety; and deſpiſed that Wiſdom, which he would not take the Pains to underſtand. But it is now Time to return to that Conqueror's Expedition, and to attend him back to *Perſia*, as we followed him to the *Indies*.

15. His Admiral *Nearchus* having informed him, that the Seaſon was very favourable, and that there was no Danger in ſailing to the *Euphrates*, he ordered *Hephæſtion*, with a great Part of the Army, to embark; and with the Remainder marched on to *Paſargada*, where he heard the Complaints that were made to him of the ill Conduct of his Governors in his Abſence, and puniſhed them very ſeverely; and, having made *Peuceſtes* Governor of *Perſia*, he advanced to the *Paſitigris*, where a new Bridge had been thrown over the River, for the Paſſage of the Land-forces, and where, at the ſame time, *Nearchus* arrived with the Fleet, and that Part of the Army which had been embarked on board it, after they had been ſix Months at Sea: And on this Account *Alexander* inſtituted new Games, and ſacrificed according to the Cuſtom of the *Greeks*[a].

When he arrived at *Suſa*, he married *Statira* the Daughter of *Darius*; beſtowed moſt of the *Perſian* Ladies on his *Macedonian* Captains; and made a magnificent Entertainment on account of their Marriages, at which there were 9000 Gueſts, to every one of which he gave a golden Cup: And that they might have nothing to embitter their Mirth, he paid all their Debts; and, ſuſpecting that out of Shame they might not give a fair Account, he directed the Sum total to be brought him, without inquiring into each Man's Account. *Plutarch* ſays, that this amounted to 9870 Talents; and other Authors agree with him in that Account: But *Arrian*, the moſt exact Writer of his Memoirs, affirms that their Debts came to 20,000 Talents[b].

Here he likewiſe puniſhed, with great Severity, ſuch as had been guilty of Oppreſſion and Corruption during his Abſence; and rewarded others, who had behaved well. To *Peuceſtes*, *Leonnatus*, *Nearchus*, *Oneſicritus*, *Hephæſtion*, and others, he gave golden Crowns. At the ſame time he muſtered the 30,000 young *Perſians*, who had been trained in the *Macedonian* Exerciſe, and expreſſed great Satisfaction as to their Behaviour. He likewiſe ordered all the Invalids in his Army to prepare for their Return into *Greece*, promiſing to provide for them generouſly at their Departure; in which he certainly meant them well: But the *Macedonians*, who were now grown peeviſh and diſaffected, put a bad Conſtruction upon it; and, running into a Mutiny, cried out, that now he had worn them out in his Service, he was weary of the Sight of them, and did not care to look upon the Halt and Maimed, who had loſt their Health and their Limbs in his Battles. They therefore deſired he would diſcharge them all, and make uſe of his dancing Boys to conquer the reſt of the World; or, if he found them inſufficient, he might have recourſe to his Father *Ammon*[c].

Alexander was greatly provoked, ordered thirteen of the Ringleaders to be immediately drowned in the River, and, for three Days admitted none of them to his Preſence; which threw them into Deſpair, and brought them to make the deepeſt Submiſſions: Upon which, after a gentle Reproof, he was reconciled to them, and gave the Charge of the Invalids to *Craterus*, ordering every Man to have his Arrears paid him, with Money ſufficient to bear the Expence of his Journey, and a Talent beſides. He likewiſe beſtowed on *Craterus* the Government of *Macedon*, and ordered that *Antipater* ſhould come over, with freſh Recruits, from *Greece*; ſending him Inſtructions likewiſe, to pay the utmoſt Honour to his Invalids; and to take care, that at all public Shews, and in the Theatres, they ſhould have the firſt Seats, and be allowed Chaplets of Flowers. He likewiſe directed, that the Children of ſuch as had loſt their Lives in his Service, ſhould have their Fathers Pay continued to them[d].

When he came to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, he celebrated new Games, having juſt received a Supply of 3000 Performers from *Greece*. But, in the midſt of theſe Rejoicings, his Favourite *Hepheſtion* died: Upon which he put the whole Empire into Mourning; ordered the ſacred Fire of the *Perſians* to be extinguiſhed; and, being informed that the *Coſſæi*, who lived in the Mountains, and had never been ſubdued by the *Perſians*, refuſed Submiſſion to him, he reſolved to divert his Grief, by an Expedition into that

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[a] *Diodor. lib.* xvii. *Arrian. Quint. Curt.*

[b] That is, at the loweſt, 1,974,000 *l.* of our Money, or 4,000,000 *l.* at the higheſt.

[c] *Diodor. Sicul. Quint. Curt. Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[d] *Arrian, lib.* vii. *Plutarch. in Alexandro. Quint. Curt.*

Country; which he reduced, notwithſtanding it was the Winter-ſeaſon, and very cold, in forty Days, ordering the whole Nation, without Diſtinction of Sex or Age, to be put to Death, ſtiling this Cruelty a Sacrifice to *Hephæſtion*'s Ghoſt [a].

He was now in the Neighbourhood of the *Hyrcanian*, or, as it is at preſent called, the *Caſpian Sea*; and therefore he gave Directions, that a great Quantity of Timber ſhould be cut down in the adjacent Mountains, and a Fleet built, on board which he intended to have gone himſelf the next Summer. In the mean time he reſolved to proceed to *Babylon*, where he had ordered the Embaſſadors from foreign States to meet him, and where he intended to erect a moſt magnificent Monument to the Memory of *Hephæſtion*; for the Expence of which, he had deſtined 10,000 Talents; and declared beſides, that he expected he ſhould be worſhipped as an Hero, or Demi-god [b].

16. When he drew near the City, *Nearchus*, in whom he had great Confidence, informed him, that he had met with ſome *Chaldean* Soothſayers, who were in great Reputation, and who had declared, that the King's Entrance into that City would be fatal to him: He had the ſame Intimations from other Hands; to which, probably, he would have liſtened, but that the *Greek* Philoſophers, who were about him, took Pains to perſuade him, that it was unworthy of a great Prince, and unbecoming a wiſe and brave Man, to liſten to ſuch Stories. His Prieſts than ſuggeſted, that it would be beſt for him to enter the City on the Weſt-ſide, with his Face towards the Eaſt; but, upon Trial, this was found impracticable. *Alexander* did not however, ſhew, upon this Occaſion, that Firmneſs and Steadineſs which ſome have reported; but, on the contrary, had a thouſand Doubts and Fears, as was evident from the Time he ſpent without the City, removing his Tent from Place to Place, and betraying ſtrong Apprehenſions of his being deſerted by the Gods, and betrayed by his Friends: So that he fell, at once, into ſuch black Fits of Deſpair and Suſpicion, as terrified all who were about him [c].

At laſt, he recollected himſelf, and determined, without further Delays, to enter the City: To which he was chiefly moved by two Reaſons; one, that he might ſhew his Contempt of theſe Predictions, to the foreign Embaſſadors before mentioned; the other, a Conjecture, that the *Chaldeans* might have ſome private Reaſons to endeavour to prevent his entering *Babylon*. After he had taken this Step, he gave Audience to all the Embaſſadors who came from the different Parts of the known World: Some from the Sea-coaſts of *Africa*, as far as the *Atlantic* Ocean; others from the *Thracians*, *Illyrians*, and *Scythians*. Some of the Nations of *Italy* ſent to compliment him; ſuch as the *Brutii*, *Lucani*, and *Tuſci*: There came likewiſe from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; and even from the *Gauls* and *Celts*. There are ſome Writers, who pretend that the *Romans* alſo ſent Embaſſadors upon this Occaſion; but they are Writers of no great Credit: For *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, and *Ariſtobulus*, who conſtantly followed him, and who left Memoirs of every thing that happened in thoſe Days, ſay no ſuch thing: And, as *Arrian* very well obſerves, the Story is not probable in itſelf; for, as the *Romans* were at that time perfectly free, and the Republic exceſſively jealous of their Liberty, it is a Thing incredible, that ſhe ſhould pay ſuch an extraordinary Mark of Reſpect, as this, to a foreign Prince; and more eſpecially to one who ſet up for univerſal Monarchy, and pretended to lord it over the whole World [d]. It is certain, however, that he conſidered this Concourſe of foreign Miniſters, as the nobleſt Incident of his whole Reign, as he judged it the ſtrongeſt Proof of his being become formidable to People even at the greateſt Diſtance [e].

To keep up, therefore, this Reputation, and to have his great Officers in Action, which was a Maxim he conſtantly purſued, he ſet on Foot three vaſt Deſigns at once. The firſt of theſe was the perfect Diſcovery of the *Hyrcanian*, or *Caſpian* Sea, the beſt Part of its Shore being hitherto unknown, notwithſtanding the many great Rivers that fall into it; and this it was that tempted *Alexander* to make a perfect Diſcovery of its Bounds, and to reduce all the Nations that inhabited on its Borders, under his Dominion. His ſecond Deſign was, the eſtabliſhing a great Fleet in the *Indian* Ocean; for which Purpoſe he cauſed forty-ſeven large Ships, according to the Notion of thoſe Times, to be built by the *Phœnicians*; then taken to pieces, and brought to *Thapſacus*, and from thence to *Babylon*. The Uſe he intended to make of theſe Ships, was to examine the *Indian* Coaſt thoroughly, and to take a perfect Account of the Places where convenient Ports might be made; as alſo to acquire perfect Intelligence as to the Nature and Value of *Indian* Commodities. But, as he knew, that Ships were of little Uſe, unleſs they were conducted by able Seamen, he intruſted *Mycalus* of *Clazomenæ* with five hundred Talents, and ſent him into *Phœnicia*, to contract there with a ſufficient Number of ſkilful Pilots, and able Seamen, to navigate that Fleet. And, to ſhew how little Regard he had to the Maxims of the *Perſian* Policy, he ordered all the Impediments to the free Navigation of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* to be removed, that Fleets might paſs theſe Rivers as eaſily as ever [f].

His third Project was the Conqueſt of *Arabia*, to which he was excited by various Motives; the firſt of theſe, as we find it in *Arrian*'s Hiſtory, is very remarkable. He was informed, that the *Arabians* worſhip but two Gods, Heaven, and *Bacchus*; the former, becauſe it contains the Sun and Stars; the latter, on account of his Victories in *India*: *Alexander* therefore had a mind to make their third Deity, and to force them to the ſame Submiſſion that had been paid him by the *Indians*. Another Reaſon was, the Deſire he had of being Maſter of their Riches; for, at that Time, the *Arabians* had Abundance of Gold, and poſſeſſed all the Spices and rich Perfumes that were known to the World. A third Reaſon was, the Situation of the Country, which lay in the Midſt of his new Conqueſts; ſo that, without this Acceſſion, he judged them to be incomplete. But, that he might be perfectly ſatisfied, both as to the Extent and Worth of the Country againſt which he was next to lead his Armies, and that he might know how to diſpoſe of his Maritime Force to the beſt Advantage, he thought proper to ſend three of his ableſt Officers, each in a large Ship, to examine the Coaſts. The firſt of theſe was *Archias*, who, in a Veſſel of thirty Oars, proceeded out of the Mouth of the *Euphrates*, and diſcovered, at the Diſtance of one hundred and twenty Stadia, an Iſland, in which was a Temple ſacred to *Diana*. This Iſland, by the Command of *Alexander*, was called *Icarus*. He alſo diſcovered another, and a larger Iſland, at the Diſtance of a Day and a Night's Sail from the River's Mouth, the Name of which was *Tylus*. It was not overgrown with Wood, as the former, but a well-inhabited and well-cultivated Country: But farther he durſt not proceed. But *Androſthenes*, who had a Ship of the ſame Burden, ſailed farther, and examined Part of the maritime Coaſt of *Arabia*. *Hieron* excelled them both; for he ſailed quite round the *Cherſoneſe*, into the *Arabian* Gulph, and ſo to the oppoſite Coaſts of *Egypt*; and, on his Return, gave a full Account to *Alexander*, of the Extent of the Country, which he affirm'd to be very near as big as that Part of *India* which they had diſcovered [g].

The King was very well ſatisfied with theſe Accounts; and therefore gave Directions for making all the neceſſary Preparations for the Invaſion of *Arabia*. He likewiſe directed an Haven to be made at *Babylon*, and ſailed himſelf down the *Euphrates*, and into the *Pallocopa*, which was a Chanel cut from the former River; the Paſſages of which he opened, and cauſed a new one to be cut toward the Lakes; and, having thus paſſed as far as the Frontiers of *Arabia*, he ordered a new City to be built, as a Monument of his coming into theſe Parts. On his Return to *Babylon*, he derided the *Chaldean* Soothſayers on the Falſhood of their Prophecies; becauſe he had not only entered *Babylon*, but had left it, made a Voyage, and returned thither again, without meeting with any unlucky Accident.

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[a] *Plutarch in Alexandro.*

[b] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *Arrian.*

[c] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *Arrian, lib.* vii. *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[d] *Arrian, lib.* vii.

[e] *Diodor. Sicul. Quint. Curt. Plutarch.*

[f] *Strabo. Arrian. Diodor. Sicul.*

[g] *Arrian, lib.* vii.

As he had now conquered his Apprehenſions in reſpect to the Fatality of the Place, he began to be extremely pleaſed with the convenient Situation of this City; and to think of making it, at leaſt for the preſent, the Seat of his Empire; for which Reaſon, he gave Directions for repairing ſome, and erecting other, public Buildings. While his Thoughts were thus occupied, he ſpent the Evenings in feaſting; and, having ſat up one Night till it was late, he was invited, as he was going to Bed, to paſs another Hour with one *Medius*, a *Theſſalian*; which he unluckily complied with; and there drank ſo hard the remaining Part of the Night, that it threw him into a Fever. The next Day he bathed, and remained in the Bath-chamber all Night. The Day following, which was the 19th of the *Macedonian* Month *Deſius*, he thought himſelf better, and eat heartily at Supper; but had a reſtleſs Night. On the 20th he ſacrificed, and, in the Bath, heard *Nearchus* read the Journal of his Voyage; and heard him finiſh it the next Day: But then, his Fever prevailing, he grew extremely ill, and continued ſo till the 28th in the Evening, when he expired. Theſe, and ſome other Paſſages relating to his laſt Illneſs, are taken from his Diary, written with his own Hand; for in this he was extremely exact, ſetting down every thing of Moment that happened till within a Day or two before his Death. Theſe Paſſages we find tranſcribed in *Arrian* and *Plutarch* [a].

One thing, however, was ſo remarkable in his Conduct, even in his laſt Moments, that it ought not to be omitted. When he was very near his End, he aſked ſome who were about him, *Whether they thought they ſhould have ſuch another King?* As they remained all ſilent, and made him no manner of Anſwer, he proceeded. *You are ignorant of this*, ſaid he, *and ſo am I; but this I can foretel, nay, I almoſt ſee it with my Eyes, that* Macedon *will overflow with Blood before this Controverſy can be decided, and that my Funeral will be celebrated by ſanguinary Diſputes.* When he was aſked to whom he bequeathed the Kingdom, he anſwered, *To the moſt worthy*; and, when *Perdiccas* demanded, *At what time he would have divine Honours paid him*, he replied, *Whenever you are all happy* [b].

At the Time of his Deceaſe, he was in the thirty-third Year of his Age, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign over *Macedon*, and in the eighth of his Empire; and this great Event, according to the beſt Chronologers, fell out in the 323d Year before the coming of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

18. It has been already obſerved, that this great Prince was exceedingly exact in committing to Writing whatever occurred to him of Importance, and this to the very laſt. When he was dead they examined his Table-book, or, as the Antients called them, his Commentaries [c]; and therein they found theſe five Schemes mentioned, as neceſſary to be put into Execution, for eſtabliſhing and ſecuring the Empire. I. That a thouſand long Ships, of a larger Size than any that were then in Uſe, ſhould be built in *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cyprus*, in order to ſubdue the *Carthaginians*, and others inhabiting the Sea Coaſts of *Africa* and *Spain*, together with the adjacent Iſlands, as far as *Sicily*. On this Head, it is natural to obſerve, that *Alexander* had chiefly in View, in the bringing this Project to bear, the eſtabliſhing a maritime Power not to be diſputed with; which was, in Truth, the Thing, of all others, he moſt affected, as well knowing, that, without maritime Power, the wideſt Empire is a Priſon, the Keys of which are in the Hands of whatever State is Miſtreſs of the Sea.

II. That a plain and direct high Road ſhould be made all through the Coaſt of *Africa* to the Pillars of *Hercules*. This was properly added to the former, as conducive to the ſame Deſign; for, without ſuch a Road, neither the Dominion of thoſe Coaſts could be ſecured, or the Communication neceſſary for a free and univerſal Commerce be kept open. Such a Road would, he foreſaw, prove ſo uſeful, and, in a ſhort Space of Time, be found ſo convenient, eſpecially in the Hands of ſo wiſe a People as the *Greeks*, that it would prevent the Country, through which it paſſed, from falling under the Yoke of barbarous Maſters, and thereby preſerve the Empire, into whoſe Hands ſoever it fell, in a great meaſure, intire, as affording the Means of keeping regular Gariſons in convenient Stations, and facilitating the March of ſuch Bodies of Troops as might be neceſſary for ſuppreſſing Rebellions, ſo as to reach any Part of that great Space of Country in a very ſhort time.

III. That ſix magnificent Temples ſhould be built, and the Sum of fifteen hundred Talents be laid out on each of them; another Stroke of the ſame Policy, in order that the Concourſe of People to theſe Temples ſhould maintain Society and Acquaintance, prevent the Revival of Barbariſm, and inure all Nations to the Love of a free and general Correſpondence, by the mingling frequently in the Celebration of the ſame ſacred Rites. This was very conſonant to his own conſtant Practice of keeping up a great Spirit of Religion in his Army; in which he found his Account, and had the Prieſts, in every Part of his Dominions, intirely devoted to his Service, which was the ſureſt Means of keeping the People quiet: Yet it does not appear, that he was a Bigot, or aimed at obliging all Nations to follow his Sentiments in Religion, but rather the contrary; for he left the *Jews*, *Perſians*, *Indians*, and *Egyptians*, the free Exerciſe of their reſpective Forms of Worſhip, though they were all directly repugnant to his own.

IV. That, in convenient Places, Arſenals and Havens ſhould be conſtructed for the Reception and Security of the Royal Navy. It is clear from hence, that he intended his Empire ſhould be protected and defended by a Naval Force. It was exactly conformable to his Behaviour in the *Indies*, and at *Babylon*, where he neglected nothing, ſpared no Pains, either of his own, or of his Army, to diſcover every Corner where he came, to examine the Riſe and Courſe of Rivers, their Mouths, and the Means of rendering them ſerviceable by the Conſtruction of proper Harbours and Fortreſſes to protect them. This appeared fatiguing and uſeleſs to his *Macedonians*, who had always an Eye to their own Country, and conſidered all their Conqueſts as Acquiſitions to that little contemptible State. But *Alexander* had other Thoughts, and other Views, as his Intent was not only to conquer the beſt Part of the Univerſe, and to keep it when conquered, but to reduce it under a regular Form of Government, ſo beneficial to all his Subjects, that they might find their private Intereſts deeply concerned in maintaining the public Regulations he meant to have eſtabliſhed.

V. That all the new Cities he had founded, ſhould be planted with Colonies; and that People ſhould be for that Purpoſe tranſported out of *Europe* into *Aſia*, and out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, to the end that, by reciprocal Marriages and Intermixtures, Peace and Concord might be eſtabliſhed between the two great Continents of the World. This was the Point to which the other Projects tended; this was the Centre of his Deſigns, and the grand Object of all his Contrivances. The Conſideration of this Propoſition explains his whole Conduct, and ſerves as a Key to every one of his particular Schemes. It was in order to this, that he was ſo careful in ſubduing all the barbarous Nations in his Return from *India*; that he took ſo much Pains to have the Coaſts of *Perſia*, and the *Perſian* Gulph, ſo accurately examined; that he determined to reduce *Arabia*, that all the Sea Coaſts on that Side might be in his Poſſeſſion; that he thought of diſcovering and ſurrounding *Africa*; and, in fine, that he framed, on the other hand, a Reſolution of examining the Coaſts, and ſubduing the Nations that bordered on the *Hyrcanian* Sea.

He was not of the narrow Spirit of his Countrymen, who would have ſubjected all the World to *Macedonia*, but had a Soul as capacious as the World he ſought to conquer. He did not, as many have imagined, ruſh on from Victory to Victory, from Conqueſt to Conqueſt, without knowing what he would be at, or when he would be contented; but proceeded uniformly, and on a regular Plan, which he laid down early, as we ſhall ſhew when we come to ſpeak of the Foundation of *Alexandria*; and purſued ſteadily to the very Day of his Death, as appears by his attending, when he was ſo near it, to the Journal of *Nearchus*, whoſe Voyage had ſo cloſe a Relation to his grand Deſign. As, in laying open this Syſtem of Policy, I have followed evidently the Minutes of this great Monarch, the Reader can entertain no doubt of the Truth of what I ſay. Indeed I might have collected much of what is here delivered from other Steps of his Conduct; but then my Conjectures might have been diſputed; whereas now, I have given unqueſtionable Authority for every Tittle I have advanced.

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[a] *Plutarch. in Alexandro.* He died, according to the beſt Calculation that can be made, about the latter End of *May*.

[b] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *Arrian. lib.* vii. *Quint. Curt. lib.* x. *cap.* 7. *Juſtin ex Trogo Pompeio, lib.* xii. *Corn. Nepos in Eumene.*

[c] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii.

19. *Plutarch*, in his two learned Orations on the Fortune and Virtue of *Alexander* the Great, has given us abundance of fine Thoughts on theſe Subjects; and many of our modern Writers have, with infinite Induſtry, collected, from his Life, all the different Indications of his Virtues, and of his Vices. I muſt confeſs, that I do not think the true Character of *Alexander* can be this way reached; for his Virtues and Vices were moſt of them conſtitutional, and appeared accidentally, as they were by different Occaſions ſtruck out. His ſole Principle of Action, his ruling and ſovereign Paſſion, was the Conqueſt of the known World; from a Notion, that, under his Direction, Mankind might be new-modelled, and his Empire ſo conſtituted, as to maintain and ſupport itſelf. In all human Probability, he originally either derived this Notion from the Lectures of *Ariſtotle*, or gathered it from the Works of *Homer*. But, however he came by it, there is no Queſtion to be made, that he had formed an Idea of this Empire before he quitted *Macedon*; and this is the true Senſe of the Anſwer he made one of his Captains when he divided all Things amongſt them, What he kept for himſelf? Hope, returned he; that is, the Hope of this Empire, the very Thought of which made him regard his hereditary Kingdom, and all his former Conqueſts, as nothing [a].

It was this that induced him to reject all the Propoſitions made him of Peace; for, according to his Scheme, there could be no Peace, till he was Maſter of all. This led him to deſtroy the City of *Tyre*, that he might put an End to their Monopoly of Trade, which was directly oppoſite to the Syſtem he had formed, and was endeavouring to carry into Execution. It was this that induced him to ſtay ſo long in *Egypt*, which has been cenſured by ſo many Writers; becauſe they did not enter into his Plan, or conceive the ultimate View of all his Conqueſts. It was this that led him to the hazardous Expedition to the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and the ſole Reaſon why he affected to be thought the Son of that God, from a Notion, that the Sovereign of the Univerſe ſhould not be conſidered as the Offspring of a Man [b].

By degrees, however, this grew upon him; and what at firſt was a Principle of Policy, at laſt became a Foible. He found his *Macedonians*, whenever they were out of Humour, ready to rally him on that Subject; and this was a Raillery he could not bear, becauſe he really believed it neceſſary to the Support of his Deſigns; and therefore he took ſeveral Methods of inculcating this into them; not that he ever propoſed they ſhould believe it, but that they might be ſilent on this Head, and leave it to ſuch as had a Capacity for Fables. But he erred egregiouſly, when he imagined it would paſs upon the *Indians*, who were really too ſubtile for him in that Point, and turned the Fable upon himſelf [c].

It was this that induced him to comply with the Manners of the *Perſians*, a thing deteſted by his *Macedonians*, becauſe they did not underſtand it; for he did not fall into this from a Spirit of Luxury, or from a Deſire of leading the ſame effeminate Life, which the *Perſian* Monarchs had done; but with a View to conciliate the Affections of his new Subjects, and becauſe he thought the *Perſian* Manners more agreeable to his Syſtem, than thoſe of the *Macedonians*. The Truth of this may be fully ſhewn from two Actions of his Life, which moſt Writers have related without Reflection, as if they had been Acts of Paſſion, or of Madneſs. He ſelected thirty young Men, of the greateſt Families in *Perſia*, to whom he gave the Title of *Epigoni*, i. e. *his Children*, and allowed them the Honour of ſaluting him; which threw the *Macedonians* into that violent Mutiny, when he actually diſbanded them, upon which they ſpent two Days and a Night in Tears before his Tent, till at laſt he was reconciled to them; and, upon this Reconciliation, he wept himſelf, and, with great Tenderneſs, told them, they were all his Kinſmen, and allowed as many of the private Men, as pleaſed, to kiſs him; which plainly ſhewed, that his former Inſtitution was not the Effect of Pride, but of Policy; and did all that was in his Power to make them conceive and enter into his Sentiments, that there might be an End of theſe peeviſh Diſputes for the future. But after this, when *Caſſander*, the Son of *Antipater*, who was juſt come from *Greece*, had Audience of him at *Babylon*, and could not help laughing when he ſaw the *Perſians* adore him, this threw *Alexander* into ſuch a Tranſport of Paſſion, that, taking him faſt by the Hair, he beat his Head againſt the Wall; not that he really delighted in theſe Honours, ſo much from Vanity, as from a Perſuaſion, that keeping up this Decorum was abſolutely neceſſary to his new Character [d].

To ſay the Truth, if there was a Difference between the King of *Macedon*, and his Subjects, there was as wide a Difference between the Monarch of that little Country, and the Sovereign of the World.

But to conclude, though there were other Conquerors, as well as *Alexander*, who had Notions of becoming Lords of the Univerſe, yet in this he was ſingular; *viz.* that he entered into the Spirit of the Character, and ſincerely and earneſtly endeavoured to behave as it would become ſuch a Monarch to do. He threw off all Partiality for this Country, or that Family; and as he affected to rule Mankind, ſo he made the Intereſt of Mankind his Care. When he built *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, he intended to make it the Centre of Commerce; he caſt his Eyes upon *Babylon*, for the Seat of Government; and ſeems to have reſerved *Greece* for the Theatre of Arts and Sciences, which he thought were beſt underſtood by the *Athenians*: And thus he intended to have made one Part of the World uſeful to the other; and, by inſpiring the *Greeks* with the Love of Commerce, and the Barbarians, as they were then ſtiled, with an Inclination for the *Greek* Literature, and behaving with equal Kindneſs to all Nations, when their Affairs led them to his Court, he thought to have blended the human Species in ſuch a manner, as to have worn off their narrow Principles, and to have inſpired them, by degrees, with Sentiments like his own [e].

It was this that made him ſo deſirous of ſearching out new Countries; not that he would ſpoil and plunder the Inhabitants; for his Army, when it had conquered the *Indies*, were in Debt; but that, by acquiring new Subjects, he might make a greater Number of Men happy. To ſum up all in a Word, other great Conquerors have had the Poſſeſſion of the World in View, as well as he; but *Alexander* was the only Prince that ever thought of acquiring a Title to that Poſſeſſion, by making it the Intereſt of all Men, that he ſhould govern and command them.

20. It is not to be doubted, that the Conqueſts made by *Alexander* were long remembered, tho' they were not long maintained, in the *Indies*; for, upon the firſt Diviſion of *Alexander*'s Dominions, his Captains, who could ſcarce agree in any thing elſe, were unanimous in their Reſolution of giving up theſe Provinces to *Taxiles* and *Porus*, becauſe they knew not how to keep them [f]. *Plutarch* reports, on the Credit of ſome Writers, who compoſed Memoirs of *Alexander*'s Life, that long after his Deceaſe, the *Indian* Princes came to ſacrifice on the prodigious Altars he left behind him. This however, does not ſeem probable, but looks like a *Greek* Fiction, ſince no Author of unqueſtionable Credit ever reported, that the antient *Indians* ſacrificed at all, at leaſt in the Senſe of the *Greeks*: For, to ſay the Truth, that was repugnant to their religious Principles [g].

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[a] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii *Arrian. Curt.*

[b] *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[c] See the Letter of *Diadamis*, *p.* 393.

[d] *Diodor. Sicul. Quint. Curt. Juſtin ex Trogo.*

[e] *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[f] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xviii.

[g] *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

But there is better Authority for a Fact of a greater Weight, *viz.* that if the *Macedonians* had complied with the Requeſt of their King, and had paſſed the River *Ganges*, they had very probably ſucceeded in their Expedition, notwithſtanding the Force of the *Gandaridæ*, who prepared to oppoſe him; for their King *Xandrames* was hated and deſpiſed by his Subjects, for this Reaſon: His Mother, who was the lawful Queen of that Country, had fallen in Love with a Barber, whom ſhe firſt raiſed to great Employments, and then gave him an Opportunity of murdering the King her Husband, which made way for him to marry her, and to become the Guardian of the King's only Son, who was a Child; and ſoon after put out of the Way, by the ſame vile Hands that had been imbrued in his Father's Blood. This ſucceſsful Traitor had a Son by the Queen, who was the King before-mentioned, whom ſome Writers call *Xandrames*, and others *Agrammes*, who was hated and contemned for his mean Original, and for his low and vicious manner of Living: So that, notwithſtanding his potent Army, he would have been ſcarce able to have withſtood *Alexander*, whoſe Manners would probably have been more agreeable to the *Indians* [a].

At leaſt, this was the Sentiment of a great Prince, who afterwards ruled in this Country, and held a fair Correſpondence with the *Greeks*. His Name was *Andracottus*; and we may gueſs at his Power, by the Preſent he made to *Saleucus*, of 500 Elephants. This Prince, at the Head of an Army of 600,000 Men, conquered the beſt Part of *India*; and had a great Eſteem for the Memory of *Alexander*, whom he had ſeen when a Boy [b].

The Eaſtern Hiſtories are full of the Exploits of our great Conqueror; but very few of them, at leaſt, that have reached us, in this Part of the World, are to be depended upon: For they are written in a poetical Strain, and are ſo viſibly mixed with Fictions, that they can be of no Uſe to ſuch as deſire to be acquainted with Facts, and not to be entertained with romantic Adventures. There may be, and doubtleſs there are, ſome valuable Hiſtories of thoſe Times, in the *Arabic* and *Indian* Tongues; but we have hitherto had no Accounts of them, becauſe few Men of great Learning travel into the *Indies*; and thoſe of another Stamp are better ſatisfied with theſe kind of Books, as fuller of marvellous Stories; and conſequently more entertaining. It is, however, clear, even from theſe fabulous Writings, that the Glory of this Monarch ſtill ſurvives in thoſe Parts: And, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, in the Works of our antient Travellers, the Tradition of his Victories was very ſtrong, when the *Europeans* firſt viſited the *Indies*. And therefore, to avoid Repetitions, and to prevent this Section from ſwelling to any greater Length, to them we ſhall refer our Readers.

21. In order to apply what has been already ſaid, and to juſtify our introducing the Hiſtory of *Alexander* the Great here, it is neceſſary to conſider him as a Traveller, who, by his Expedition into this Country, made it much better known than it had been before his Time. *Xenophon* confounded the *Indies* with a Province of that Name, between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* Seas; from whence, very probably, thoſe Embaſſadors came, to whom *Cyrus* referred certain Diſputes between him and his Neighbours. But nothing was more common, than to confound *Ethiopia* with the *Indies*, and even with *Egypt*: So that, as *Arrian* tells us, *Alexander* himſelf, when he firſt came to the River *Indus*, wrote a Letter to his Mother, in which he told her, that he had actually diſcovered the Sources of the *Nile*; which ſufficiently diſcovers how little Acquaintance the Antients then had with thoſe Countries [c].

It is to be obſerved, that *Alexander* entered them from the Northern Provinces of *Perſia*, paſſing through the Country of *Paropamiſis*, ſo called from the neighbouring Mountains, which the *Macedonians* thought fit to call *Caucaſus*; and here he cauſed a City to be built, which he named *Alexandria*. In this Country lay the Region of *Capiſſene*, the Capital of which was *Capiſſa*, a City that had been ruined by *Cyrus*. *Bubacene*, which was reduced by *Polyperchon*, lay not far from hence. The City of *Nyſſa*, from whence *Acuphis* came Embaſſador, was ſeated on the *Cophes*, the firſt River in the *Indies* paſſed by the *Macedonians*; tho' ſome do not reckon that, but the *Choaſpes*, the firſt *Indian* River. Between theſe, lay the *Aracoſians* and *Tyræans*. Advancing ſtill towards the Eaſt, he met with the *Aſpians* and *Aſpagonians*, the little River *Evaſpla* terminating that Country. From whence he marched among the *Dardians*, a very numerous Nation: He likewiſe approached the City of *Pucela*; and then, falling into the Country of the *Aſſaceni*, took their Capital *Maſſaca*, where he was wounded. Turning then towards the South, he reduced *Ora*, the Rock of *Aornus*, and *Ecbolima*, which lay near the River *Indus*. From that River to the *Hydaſpes*, lay the Dominions of *Taxiles*, the Countries inhabited by the *Ariaſpians*, the *Sobeans*, the *Aſenians*, the *Sibes*, and the *Mallians*; in whoſe Territory *Alexander* cauſed the City of *Nicea* to be built, as a Monument of his many and rapid Victories [d].

On the other Side of that River, he erected *Bucephalis*, in Memory of his Horſe, which had ſerved him many Years, and died of old Age, near this Place; all the Country hereabouts being within the Dominions of the brave *Porus*, which extended as far as the River *Aceſines*. Between this laſt-mentioned River, and the *Hydraotes*, the Country was barren and uncultivated, as being inhabited by *Brachmans*, who had, however, a large and flouriſhing City on the other Side the *Hydraotes*. Between that and the *Hyphaſis*, lay the Territories of the *Sophites*, *Catheans*, *Pharaſeans*, *Phegeleans*, *Oxydracians*, and other Nations. This River *Hyphaſis*, which ſome Authors call *Hypaſes*, and alſo *Hypanis*, was the Eaſtern Boundary of the *Macedonian* Empire; for they never paſſed that River, but in order to erect the Altars, and other Monuments of their having encamped there, which have been ſo often mentioned, and which were erected in Imitation of *Hercules*.

It is intirely owing to *Alexander*'s Expedition, that we know any thing of the antient State of theſe Countries; and, as to what lay between the *Hyphaſis*, and the *Ganges*, we know little of them, except that *Arrian* has mentioned two Cities, *Minnagoria* and *Barygaxa*, which, he ſays, were very opulent, and Places of great Trade [e]. All that vaſt Country, which is at this Day ſo famous, and ſo well known, from the Junction of thoſe Rivers, quite to the *Indus*, as well as the lower Part of the Peninſula, were abſolutely unknown to them, except a few Nations, whoſe Names the Reader will find in the Map: They called the reſt of the Inhabitants by the general Name of *Indo-Scythians*. All this Country is what we now call *India*, on this Side the *Ganges*: It contained in the whole 118 Nations, or Provinces; ſome of which were pretty large: As, for Inſtance, the Kingdom of *Porus*, which contained 300 Towns; but others, again, were very ſmall, ſome of the *Indian* Princes not having above two Towns belonging to them, and thoſe, probably, not very large. Within this Space, there were not fewer than forty Rivers, moſt of them navigable, and all running into the *Indus*; which muſt have been very large, ſince the *Hydaſpes*, which was only one of the Rivers that fell into it, is ſaid to have been twenty Stadia, which is a full League, in Breadth [f].

Let us now endeavour to fix the Bounds of the *Indies*, as they appear from this Deſcription: On the North, they were ſeparated from the Country of the *Scythians* by a Ridge of Mountains, which the *Macedonians* called *Caucaſus*, that *Alexander* might have the Honour of reaching them, as well as *Hercules*. On the Eaſt lay the *Ganges*. As to the Weſtern Bounds, one knows not well what to ſay to them, ſince the oldeſt Writers certainly take in *Arabia*, with a View, no doubt, to give an Air of Probability to what they relate of the Conqueſts of *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, *Oſiris*, and *Seſoſtris*; but, with regard to the Expedition of *Alexander*, the Weſtern Limits of the *Indies* ought certainly to be placed at the River *Arbis*, or *Arabis*. On the South, they were bounded by that Part of the Ocean, into which the *Ganges*, and the *Indus*, diſcharged themſelves.

As to the Cities that were built by *Alexander*, and on moſt of which he beſtowed his Name, there are ſo many of them, that it is very difficult to deſcribe them. That

[a] *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[b] *Diodor. Sicul. Juſtin.*

[c] *Arrian, lib.* vi.

[d] *Strabo. Arrian. Plutarch.*

[e] *Geog. lib.* xv.

[f] *Arrian, lib.* vi. *Strabo. Plutarch.*

which lay fartheſt North, was built upon the River called *Tanais*, by the *Macedonians*, but falſely, as has been before obſerved; and was, without Doubt, intended to facilitate the Expeditions he intended to have made for the Diſcovery of the *Caſpian* Sea, and the adjacent Countries: To the South of this ſtood another City of *Alexandria*, upon the River *Oxus*; another on the River *Ochus*; and a third on the River *Margus*. All theſe were to the North of Mount *Paropamiſus*; to the South of which lay two other Cities of the ſame Name; one near the Mountains, and another in the Country of *Aria*. On the River *Indus* ſtood another *Alexandria*; and, in his Return from the *Indies*, *Alexander* directed a City of this Name to be built in the Country of *Gedroſia* [a].

In all theſe Cities he left *Grecian* Colonies, in order to eſtabliſh an intimate Correſpondence between them and his *Indian* Subjects, that he might have a more perfect Account of all theſe Countries; and might know the better how to regulate his future Undertakings: Yet, how wiſe ſoever his Proceedings in this reſpect might be, they were intirely overturned by his Death, which gave the *Greeks*, who were weary with living in thoſe Cities, an Opportunity of forſaking them; and the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries, who were as weary of their Neighbourhood, an Occaſion to recover their Freedom: So that all the fine Plan he had formed for the perfect Settlement of this Part of his Dominions, was quickly overturned and deſtroyed: And, which is not a little ſingular, the very Method he employed for making this Part of the World better known to the *Greeks*, proved the Means of leading them into new Miſtakes about it, ſince ſuch of his Soldiers as lived to return home, inſtead of giving a juſt and fair Relation of their Adventures, in the Country through which they had travelled, amuſed themſelves with contriving idle and extravagant Fictions, as irreconcileable to each other, as all of them were to Truth. We may eaſily gueſs to what a Height the Invention of his Soldiers roſe, from a Paſſage that happened in his Life-time; for *Craterus*, one of his principal Officers, in a Letter to his Mother *Ariſtopatra*, which was extant in the Days of *Strabo*, gave an Account of his arriving, with *Alexander*, on the Banks of the River *Ganges*; of the Breadth and Depth of which River he reported boldly whatever he had heard, or came in his Head, ſince it is moſt certain, that he was never there, nor, indeed, near the *Ganges*.

Strabo therefore, who was a very learned, and a very judicious Writer, treats the Stories of theſe Men, that had deſcended to him, as equally incredible and abſurd; and particularly mentions three of thoſe Authors [b], who, with ſome People, were even then in great Credit, *viz. Daimachus*, who is firſt named, not in Order of Time, but as the greateſt Lyar. *Megaſthenes*, who was employed in an Embaſſy to *Andracottus* before mentioned, and to other *Indian* Princes; whereas *Daimachus* was ſent to his Son *Allitrochades*: Theſe both reported ſuch Things of *India*, as were not to be endured, much leſs believed; ſuch as that there were Nations that wanted Mouths; others Noſes: Some with one Eye; and others with prodigious large Feet: Nay, they talked of Pygmies that were not above three Spans high; with Abundance of ſuch-like ſtrange Stories, of which the Reader may find a large Account in *Pliny* [c]. The third Author in this Catalogue is *Oneſicritus*, who was employed by *Alexander* in Maritime Affairs, who, tho' addicted to Fables, did not go quite ſo great a Length as the other two. But the Credit of *Nearchus* remains unimpeached, in a great meaſure: And therefore, as we have his Journal ſtill preſerved by *Arrian*, it is requiſite, that it ſhould follow, as a Supplement to this Section, and a Specimen of the Journals that were written in this Period of Time; from which the Reader will be able to form a Judgment of their Author's Knowledge and Abilities.

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[a] *Arrian. Q. Curt. Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. Tom.* ii.

[b] *Lib.* ii. *p.* 70.

[c] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. *c.* 23.

SECTION VI.

An Account of the Voyage made by the Fleet of Alexander *the Great, under the Command of* Nearchus, *from the Mouth of the River* Indus, *up the* Perſian *Gulph, for the Diſcovery of the Coaſts, and their Inhabitants.*

[From the Journal of *Nearchus*, preſerved by *Arrian.*]

1. *The Reaſons that render the inſerting this Voyage neceſſary; with ſome Obſervations on the Tranſlation of it in* Ramuſio's *Collection, and the Extract publiſhed by* Purchas. 2. *The Deſign of* Alexander *in this Expedition explained, and the Manner in which* Nearchus *came to be intruſted with the Command of it.* 3. *The Fleet ſails from the Mouth of the River* Indus, *to the Iſland of* Crocala. 4. *Continue their Voyage, and are exceedingly diſtreſſed by hard Weather.* 5. *Arrive at the Mouth of the River* Tomerus, *and diſperſe the Barbarians that endeavoured to hinder their landing.* 6. *Remarks made in this Voyage by* Nearchus, *and a Juſtification of thoſe Remarks.* 7. *Obliged to make a Deſcent, in order to obtain a Supply of Proviſions by Force.* 8. *That Part of the* Perſian *Coaſt, inhabited by the* Ichthyophagi, *i. e.* Fiſh-eaters, *accurately deſcribed; together with the Cuſtoms and Manners of the Inhabitants.* 9. *The Amazement of the* Macedonians *at the Sight of Whales in thoſe Seas, and the Prudence of* Nearchus *on that Occaſion.* 10. *Arrive at a Port, within five Days Journey of the King's Camp, to which* Nearchus *repairs, and is moſt honourably received by* Alexander. 11. *Reſumes the Command of the Fleet, and proſecutes his Voyage through the* Perſian *Gulph.* 12. *Brings the Fleet ſafely to the appointed Rendezvous, and is magnificently rewarded by* Alexander *for his Diligence.* 13. *The Sentiments of antient Writers in reſpect to this Voyage, and the Character of* Nearchus. 14. *Remarks, which prove the Neceſſity and Utility of preſerving ſuch antient Voyages.* 15. *Some Obſervations on the State of the Commerce of the* Indies *within this Period, and on the Manner in which, by the Conſequences of this Voyage, it might have been affected.*

1. IT has been before obſerved, that *Alexander* the Great is conſidered, in this Work, as a Traveller, as well as a Conqueror. Had he only overturned the *Perſian* Empire, and eſtabliſhed that of the *Greeks*, he might have merited ſome Notice in a Collection of this Nature; but we ſhould never have taken the Pains to have followed him ſo cloſely in his Travels, or to have examined the Principles of his Policy: But as theſe were different, indeed widely different, from thoſe of moſt great Conquerors, and tended ſolely to unite the human Species, and to promote and extend the Intercourſe of diſtant and different Parts of the World with each other, it became abſolutely neceſſary to ſet theſe Deſigns, and the Progreſs he made in them, in the fulleſt Light poſſible; the rather, becauſe the beſt Geographers, the moſt accurate Hiſtorians, and the ableſt Philoſophers of Antiquity, acknowledge themſelves

ſelves indebted for almoſt all the Knowledge they acquired of this Part of the World, to the Expedition of *Alexander*, and the Conſequences of that Expedition: Among theſe, the moſt remarkable was the Voyage of *Nearchus*, from the Mouth of the River *Indus*, along the Coaſt of *Perſia*, through the Gulph of the ſame Name, to the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*.

This Voyage *Nearchus* not only conducted in Perſon, but wrote alſo a very accurate and diſtinct Account of it, which, in his own Words, is in a great meaſure preſerved in the *Indian* Hiſtory of *Arrian*; is frequently quoted by *Strabo* and *Pliny*; and was indeed conſidered, by all the great Writers of Antiquity, as the moſt curious and authentic Piece of its kind that was then extant. It was for the ſame Reaſon, that the judicious and induſtrious *Ramuſio* inſerted it in his Collection; and our voluminous Collector *Samuel Purchas* has an Extract of it in his Work, but abridged, mangled, and interſperſed with many of thoſe Impertinencies, with which moſt of his Relations are filled.

One thing I muſt obſerve, even with regard to *Ramuſio*, the ableſt Man, beyond Compariſon, that ever undertook a Labour of this Kind; and that is, that he has not obſerved any Order of Time in his Collections, which, as I apprehend, is of the utmoſt Importance to the Underſtanding the Hiſtory of Diſcoveries: And it was for this Reaſon, which, I doubt not, the Reader will approve, that I rather choſe the hard and laborious Method laid down in the firſt Section of this Chapter, than the eaſier Way of adding Voyage to Voyage without any Connection; which might have indeed entertained, but never would have anſwered the End of Inſtruction ſo well as the Track we are now in.

2. We are told by *Nearchus* himſelf, that when *Alexander* had, with ſo much Pains and Labour, ſailed down the River *Indus* to the Southern Ocean, he was extremely deſirous to purſue his Navigation along the Coaſts of *Perſia*, and ſo into the Gulph, through what was then called, as the ſame Writer expreſly tells us, *The Red Sea*; but was checked in this Deſign from an Apprehenſion, that, in ſo long a Voyage on an unknown Coaſt, where many unforeſeen Difficulties might be met with, and his Fleet be expoſed to many Hazards, ſome unlucky Accident might happen, that might tarniſh the Glory of his former Succeſs, and expoſe him to a Reverſe of Fortune, which, of all things, he moſt feared. He therefore determined to intruſt the Command of his Fleet to ſome experienced Officer, rather than make the Expedition in Perſon: But, as he informed *Nearchus*, he not only found the Choice of ſuch an Officer extremely difficult; but, what gave him moſt Pain, thoſe on whom he had caſt his Eyes for this Service, endeavoured all of them to decline it; ſome through Fear, others through Lazineſs, and others again from an earneſt Deſire of returning to their own Country; which gave him Reaſon to doubt, that an Expedition, the Conſequences of which he foreſaw were of the laſt Importance to his Syſtem, might be abſolutely overturned.

Nearchus, touched with the Concern which *Alexander* ſhewed upon this Occaſion, frankly offered him his Service. 'I, O King, ſaid he, will undertake the Direction 'of the Fleet; and, if Providence ſecond my Deſires, will 'conduct it, and the Soldiers embarked thereon, if this unknown Sea be navigable throughout, and the Induſtry of 'Man can overcome the Hardſhips that may be met with 'therein, ſafe to the Coaſt of *Perſia*.' *Alexander*, at firſt, refuſed to accept this Offer; told him, he was unwilling to expoſe one, for whom he had ſo great a Regard, in ſo dangerous an Enterprize: But, when he ſaw *Nearchus* fixed in his Reſolution, he, at laſt, complied, applauded his Magnanimity, and immediately declared him Admiral and Commander in Chief of his Fleet.

The News of this Choice quieted the Minds of the Soldiers and Sailors, who were to be employed in the Expedition; for, well knowing the King's Tenderneſs for his Friends, and how high *Nearchus* ſtood in his Eſteem, they conceived, that this Voyage would not be attended with the Difficulties they had figured to themſelves; and therefore reſumed their Spirits, and began to prepare for it with great Alacrity. They were likewiſe mightily encouraged by the Pains the King himſelf took in ſailing down both Chanels of the *Ganges*, and by his magnificent Sacrifices to the Gods of the Ocean for their Safety. This ſufficiently ſhews, that what *Alexander* did on this Occaſion, proceeded not from a ſuperſtitious Nature, but from a refined Policy; for he well knew, that, to excite and ſtrengthen the Courage of ſuch as are to encounter them, is the ſame thing as leſſening the Dangers to which Men are expoſed.

3. *Nearchus* followed in this the Example of his Maſter; for, as ſoon as the Seaſon of the Year would permit, that is, in our Author's own Words, when the *Eteſian* Winds ceaſe to blow, or, in our Language, when the Monſoon ſets in, he weighed Anchor on the twentieth of *Auguſt*, when *Cephiſodorus* was *Archon* at *Athens*, and in the eleventh Year of *Alexander*'s Reign, having firſt ſacrificed to *Jupiter* the Saviour, and celebrated Gymnaſtic Games. The firſt Day he ſailed lower towards the Mouth of the *Indus*, to a Place called *Stura*, at the Diſtance of about 100 Stadia, where he remained two Days; the third Day he weighed from thence, and proceeded thirty Stadia down the River, to a Place called *Caumana*, where he obſerves the Water remained ſalt, even after the Ebb; which ſhews in how low a State Navigation was in thoſe Days.

They ſailed thence to *Coreatis*, at the Diſtance of about twenty Stadia; but here, or at leaſt when they weighed from hence, they met with great Difficulties; for, ſeeing that the Mouth of the River was, in a manner, blocked up with Rocks, the Coaſt ſteep, and the Sea running high, they were afraid to make much Way; but, at laſt, finding the Rocks ſoft, they cut a Chanel five Stadia in Length, through which, with the Aſſiſtance of the Tide, the Fleet paſſed ſafely into the Sea. They then ſailed one hundred and fifty Stadia, and diſcovered a ſandy Iſland, called *Crocala*; on the Coaſt of which they remained another Day: The Coaſt oppoſite to this Iſland was inhabited by the *Arbians*, an *Indian* Nation, ſo called from the River *Arbis*; which, running through their Country, falls into the Sea, dividing their Territories from thoſe of the *Oritans*.

Sailing from *Crocala*, they had on their Right Hand a Mountain called *Irus*, and, on their Left, a low marſhy Iſland; which ſtretching towards the Shore, made a narrow Gulph or Bay. In this Arm of the Sea, they found a very ſafe and convenient Port; which, becauſe it was large and fair, *Nearchus* thought fit to call *Alexander*'s Haven. Againſt the Mouth of this Haven, at the Diſtance of about two Stadia, lay an Iſland, which was called *Bibacta*; but all the adjacent Country was comprehended under the Name of *Sangada*: The Iſland before-mentioned rendered the Port perfectly ſecure, which was a great Comfort to the *Macedonians*; becauſe the Winds were now exceedingly high and tempeſtuous. *Nearchus*, that he might ſecure the Forces under his Command from any Attempts of the *Barbarians*, cauſed the Camp, in which they lay on ſhore, to be ſecured by a good Retrenchment, well lined with Stone; and here he lay twenty-four Days.

It is very eaſy to account for this Accident, which happened at the Time of the Year when the Monſoon is not thoroughly ſet in, when there are commonly Storms in theſe Seas; and it is likewiſe no difficult Thing to apprehend, how *Nearchus*, and his Seamen, came to be ſo extremely timorous and cautious; for, in the firſt place, they were ſailing through Seas abſolutely unknown to them; in the next place, the Shape and Size of their Veſſels rendered them unfit to live in a rough Sea; and, which was, perhaps, the greateſt Inconvenience of all, they had no Stock of Proviſions, but depended intirely on what they could, from time to time, get on ſhore: While they lay in this Camp, the Seamen took abundance of Water-mice, and Oyſters of a very large Size, called *Solenes*; and found the Water, when they attempted to drink it, very ſalt.

4. The Wind being allayed, *Nearchus* again weighed Anchor; and, having made about ſixty Stadia, found himſelf on a ſandy Coaſt: An Iſland that lay near it, and was deſert, formed a tolerable Port; the Name of which Iſland was *Doma*; but no Water being found on the neighbouring Coaſt, they were forced to go to a Meadow at the Diſtance of about twenty Stadia, where there were good Springs. The next Day, having ſailed till it was Evening, and having

made about three hundred Stadia, they anchored, and found Water about eight Stadia diſtant from the Shore. Thence they ſailed to a deſert Place, called *Sacala*; and, in their Way, paſſed over two Rocks, or rather between them, ſo that the Oars ſtruck againſt them; and, having ſailed three hundred Stadia, they arrived at *Morontobaris*: This they found a large, round, deep, and ſafe Port, the Entrance into which was narrow, and called in the Language of the Country, *Womens Haven*; becauſe the Nation inhabiting the Coaſt had, in former Times, been governed by a Woman.

Having paſſed the Rocks, they found themſelves now in a wide rolling Sea; having all that Day an Iſland on the Left, between which and the Continent the Sea made a narrow Streight or Gulph, ſo that it looked like a Canal cut by Art; they proceeded that Day ſeventy Stadia. The Shore of this Iſland appeared covered with tall and thick Trees, which afforded a pleaſant Shade. They paſſed, the next Day, through a narrow Chanel, occaſioned by the Ebb; and, after ſailing one hundred and twenty Stadia, arrived at the Mouth of the River *Arbis*; where they found a very large and convenient Port, but the Water was ſo brackiſh, that they could not drink it: They continued, therefore, their Paſſage up the River about forty Stadia; and there they came into a Lake; and, having taken in Water, fell down the River again.

The Iſland that lies before the Port is very large; and on the Coaſt there are very fine Oyſters, and almoſt every other kind of Fiſh, in great Plenty, and excellent in their kind. Here ended the Country of the *Arbians*, who are the laſt of the *Indian* Nations: They inhabit one Side of the Mouth of this River, and the *Oritans* the other: Sailing from the Mouth of the River *Arbis*, and coaſting along the Country of the laſt-mentioned People, they came, at laſt, to *Pagala*, at the Diſtance of two hundred Stadia, and moored cloſe by a Rock. In the mean time, ſome of the People went on ſhore for Water, which being brought on board, they weighed early in the Morning, and made that Day three hundred Stadia, arriving in the Evening at a Place called *Cabana*; they anchored at a good Diſtance from the Shore, becauſe it was extremely rocky.

In their next Day's Courſe, having very bad Weather, two of their large Ships foundered, and a leſſer Bark was alſo loſt; but, being pretty near the Shore, the People eſcaped by Swimming. In the middle of the Night they put into *Cocala*, having ſailed about two hundred Stadia; and, for fear of farther Accidents, they anchored at a conſiderable Diſtance from the Coaſt.

5. As the Soldiers and Sailors both were extremely fatigued with the Dangers through which they had lately paſſed, he thought proper to ſuffer them to go on ſhore, in order to recover their Strength and Spirits, fortifying his Camp, for fear of the *Barbarians*, with a good Retrenchment. *Leonnatus* was then here, to whom *Alexander* had committed the Care of reducing the *Oritans*, whom he had juſt defeated in a great Battle, wherein they loſt ſix thouſand Men and all their Chiefs; and for which Service *Leonnatus* afterwards received from his Maſter a Crown of Gold.

There was likewiſe in this Neighbourhood a Magazine of Corn, which had been erected by the King's Command; and from whence the Fleet was furniſhed with ten Days Proviſions, the Veſſels that had ſuffered by the late Storms being repaired, and ſuch as were weary of the Voyage left on ſhore: Their Places were ſupplied by ſuch of *Leonnatus*'s Army as were willing to go in their room; ſo that the Men being in good Heart, and the Ships in tolerable Condition, they put to Sea with a fair Wind, and proceeded for the Space of five hundred Stadia, when they arrived at the Mouth of a River, called *Tomerus*.

There was a kind of Lake near the Mouth of the River, and on the Coaſt the People lived in little Huts or Cottages; who, at the Appearance of ſo unuſual a Sight, aſſembled in great Numbers on the Shore: They were armed with Lances of about nine Feet long, the Heads of which were not of Iron, but hardened in the Fire, and ſharpened ſo as to ſerve inſtead of Iron: Theſe they ſhook at the *Macedonians*; and ſeemed to threaten and invite them to fight. Of theſe *Barbarians* ſix hundred formed themſelves into a kind of regular Body, and ſeemed to diſpoſe themſelves in ſuch a manner, as if they intended to hinder them from coming on ſhore. *Nearchus*, having conſidered their Diſpoſition attentively, ordered the Fleet to draw ſo cloſe to the Land, as that their Javelins might reach the Enemy. He rightly foreſaw, that, though the Lances of the *Barbarians* might ſerve them well enough in a cloſe Fight, yet it was ſimply impoſſible they ſhould be able to uſe them at a Diſtance, becauſe their Weight rendered them unwieldy, and not at all fit to be thrown. When the Fleet had brought-to at a proper Diſtance, *Nearchus* directed the lighteſt-armed Soldiers, and thoſe who could ſwim beſt, to hold themſelves in Readineſs, and, on a Signal given, to throw themſelves into the Water; giving them, at the ſame time, a ſtrict Charge to wait for each other, and not to attempt ſetting Foot on the Shore, till they were drawn up in order of Battle, three-deep, and then to ruſh on the Enemy at once with a loud Cry.

The Soldiers in each Ship executed his Orders exactly, threw themſelves into the Sea, ſwam towards the Shore, and, being drawn into a Phalanx, ruſhed upon the Enemy at once with loud Shouts: At the ſame Inſtant, thoſe on board rent the Air with their Acclamations, and threw a large Flight of Darts and Javelins from their Engines. The *Barbarians*, amazed at the Splendor of their Arms, the Suddenneſs of the Attack, the vaſt Number of Arrows and other Weapons that fell amongſt them, who were half naked, and not in a Condition to reſiſt, fled as faſt as they were able. In their Flight many were killed, many taken, and ſome few eſcaped to the Mountains. Such of them as were made Captives had not only their Heads, but their Bodies, covered with long Hair, and their Nails prodigiouſly long and ſharp, ſo that they made uſe of them to cut Fiſh, and even ſoft Wood; ſuch as was harder, they cut with ſharp Stones; for they had not the Uſe of Iron: All the Cloathing they had was a kind of Mantle; made either of the Skins of wild Beaſts, or of large Fiſh. *Nearchus* ordered ſuch of the Ships as had ſuffered by hard Weather, to be drawn on ſhore, and refitted. On the ſixth Day, he proſecuted his Voyage; and, having ſailed three hundred Stadia, came to a Place called *Malana*, which was the laſt Port in the Country of the *Oritans*: This Nation, in their Habit and Arms, reſemble the *Indians*; but differ from them in their Laws, and in their Language. The Length of their Voyage, from the River *Arbis*, was a thouſand Stadia; but, in the Whole, about ſixteen hundred.

6. In ſailing on the Coaſt of *India*, *Nearchus* obſerved that the Shadows of the People did not fall one Way; but where the Country ran out into the Southern Ocean, the Shadows fell alſo Southward; but at Noon there was no Shadow at all. The Stars alſo, that before appeared very high, were now either ſcarce ſeen, or were depreſſed towards the Earth; and ſuch as had been always conſpicuous, were now obſerved to riſe and ſet. I do not, ſays *Arrian*, diſſent from this, becauſe at *Siene* in *Egypt*, in the Summer Solſtice, there is a Place ſhewn, where the Sun, at Noon, caſts no Shadow; and in the Iſland of *Meroe*, at the ſame time of the Year, there are no Shadows. It is therefore, very probable, that the *Indians*, who live under the ſame Latitude, ſhould have their Shadows caſt the ſame Way, eſpecially towards the *Indian* Ocean, and where the Conntry runs out moſt towards the South.

This Obſervation of *Arrian*'s is very judicious; and the Fact, as it is ſtated by *Nearchus*, may be very probably true, ſince that Part of *India* he ſpeaks of, lies immediately under the Tropic of *Cancer*, where, when the Sun is in their Zenith, Bodies caſt no Shadow; otherwiſe their Shadows muſt fall to the North: But ſuch as live to the South of the Tropic, at that Seaſon of the Year, when the Sun is to the North of them, have their Shadows on the South. It muſt, however, be allowed, that if *Nearchus* was an Eye-witneſs, the Mouth of the *Indus* is laid down, even in the beſt Maps, a little too far to the North; which, I think, is agreeable to ſome modern Obſervations: But we ſhall have Occaſion to treat of this Matter more at large, in another Place.

In the mean time, we will proceed with the Voyage before us. Beyond the *Oritans*, within-land, inhabit the

Gedroſians ; in paſſing thro' whoſe Country *Alexander* loſt more People, than in all his *Indian* Expedition beſides. The *Gedroſians* inhabit likewiſe that Country, within-land, on the Maritime Coaſts of which, dwell the *Ichthyophagi*, that is, the *Fiſh-eaters*, on whoſe Coaſts they ſailed ; and weighing Anchor on the firſt Day, at the ſecond Watch, they ſailed 600 Stadia, before they arrived at *Bagiſara*, where they found a very convenient Harbour for the Fleet. The City of *Paſira* lies 60 Stadia within-land ; and the adjacent Country is inhabited by a Nation of the ſame Name.

The next Day they ſailed very early ; but, meeting with a rocky Promontory, which ran a great Way out into the Sea, they were obliged to ſail round it ; and, on their ſinking Wells on the Shore, they had a great deal of Water, but brackiſh : That Day they remained at Anchor, the Shore being unſafe. They came the Day following to *Colta*, at the Diſtance of 200 Stadia ; and, ſailing the next Morning early, they made that Day 600 Stadia, and anchored off *Calama*, where they found a few Palm-trees, with green Fruit upon them. There lay an Iſland 100 Stadia from the Shore, called *Carnine*, where *Nearchus* was very hoſpitably entertained by the Inhabitants of the Village, who preſented him with Sheep and Fiſh. The Fleſh of their Sheep had a fiſhy Taſte, like that of Sea-fowl, and for the ſame Reaſon, becauſe they feed on Fiſh ; for in that Country they have no Graſs.

7. The next Day they proceeded 200 Stadia, and found a Village, at the Diſtance of thirty Stadia from the Shore, which was called *Cyſa*, but the Coaſt is called *Carbis*. Here they met with ſome ſmall Fiſhing-boats, but at the Sight of the Fleet they fled. There is no Corn to be met with on this Coaſt ; but ſome of the People, going on Shore, caught a few Goats, which they brought on board : They then doubled a Promontory, which ran 150 Stadia into the Sea, on the other Side of which they met with a ſafe Port, where there was great Plenty of Water, and a Village inhabited by Fiſhermen. The Name of this Port was *Moſarno*. Here *Nearchus* met with one *Hydraces*, a *Gedroſian* Pilot, who, at his Requeſt, ſailed with them, and promiſed to carry them ſafely to *Carmania*. All the Coaſt from hence to the *Perſian* Gulph is much better known, and the Sailing much leſs difficult.

The Fleet weighed from *Moſarno* in the Night ; and, having ſailed 750 Stadia, arrived at *Balomum* ; from whence they proceeded to *Barna*, which lies at the Diſtance of 400 Stadia from thence ; and here they found Plenty of Palm-trees and Gardens. In theſe Gardens there was Abundance of Myrtle, of which, and of other Flowers, the People made Garlands : And this was the firſt Place in which they found Trees cultivated, and People who were civilized. From thence ſailing 200 Stadia, they came to *Dendroboſa*, where they did not go on ſhore. Weighing from hence in the Night, they continued their Voyage to the Port of *Cophanta*, at the Diſtance of 400 Stadia. This Town likewiſe was inhabited by Fiſhermen, who had ſome ſmall pitiful Boats, which they did not row, after the *Grecian* manner, with Oars, but with Paddles : In this Place they met with Plenty of Water, very good.

In the firſt Watch of the Night, they weighed from thence ; and arrived, after paſſing 800 Stadia, at *Cyiza* ; but the Shore being extremely ſteep and rocky, they remained on board their Ships. Sailing from thence 500 Stadia farther, they arrived off a ſmall Town, ſtanding upon an Hill, not far from the Shore. *Nearchus* thought it probable, this Country was cultivated ; and *Archias*, the Son of *Anaxidotus*, a *Pellean*, a Perſon of Diſtinction amongſt the *Macedonians*, gave it as his Opinion, that they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the City ; for the Inhabitants refuſed to part with Corn : Yet the taking of it appeared impracticable, becauſe they had not Leiſure to beſiege it. On the one hand, however, they were in great Want of Bread ; and, on the other, they had good Reaſon to believe the Place was not deſtitute of Proviſions, becauſe they had met with ſome full Ears of Corn, ſwimming in the Sea, not far from the Coaſt. After conſidering the Matter maturely, it was reſolved, that the Fleet ſhould proceed, or, at leaſt, ſeem to do ſo ; and *Nearchus* having given *Archias* neceſſary Inſtructions, in his own Ship, caſt Anchor before the Town, in order to manage the Buſineſs.

He accordingly approaching, as near as he could, to the Town, and ſpeaking to the Citizens on the Walls, in a friendly manner, in order to obtain Refreſhments, they brought him ſome Cakes, made of Fiſh dried and baked [for theſe, being the laſt of the *Ichthyophagi*, did not eat their Fiſh raw, as the reſt did] ; ſome Dates, and other Things, which, with them, were eſteemed Rarities ; which when they had kindly accepted, *Nearchus* deſired to ſee the Town ; and, as they did not refuſe him, he, and thoſe who were with him, went into it, leaving two Archers at the Gate : Then himſelf, and two others, with the Interpreters, mounted the Walls on that Side ; and having given the Signal to *Archias* that was agreed between them, the State of Things was eaſily underſtood, as ſoon as that Signal appeared ; and the *Macedonians* immediately ran their Ships cloſe in to the Shore, and began to make a Deſcent : Upon which the Inhabitants took Arms. *Nearchus* then commanded the Interpreters to make Proclamation, that, if they would ſave their City, they muſt furniſh the Army with Corn. At firſt, they denied they had any Corn, and endeavoured to force them from the Walls ; but *Nearchus*, and his Archers, letting fly among them, they were ſoon forced to retire ; and now, finding that the City was taken, they were forced, as Suppliants, to apply to *Nearchus*, and beſeech him, that, accepting all the Corn they had, he would be pleaſed to ſpare the Place.

Hereupon *Nearchus* gave Orders to *Archias* to ſecure the Walls and the Gates, himſelf ſending others thro' the City, to ſee that they fairly brought forth what they had. The People ſhewed them a great Quantity of Meal, made of dried Fiſh ground, but very little Bread-corn. After they had taken as much as they thought might ſerve them, they ſailed to a Rock, which the Inhabitants called *Bagia*, and held it ſacred to the Sun. Weighing from thence, in the middle of the Night, they ſailed 1000 Stadia to *Talmena*, a very ſafe Port, well ſecured from all Winds. Thence they ſailed 400 Stadia to *Canaſida*, a deſerted City, in the Neighbourhood of which they found a Well, near which grew ſome wild Palm-trees, the tender Tops of which they cut down, and eat ; for they were, by this time, again in great Want of Proviſions. All the next Day and Night they continued their Voyage, under the great Inconvenience of perpetual Hunger, being ſtill on a barren Coaſt, where *Nearchus* would not ſuffer them to Land, for fear, in this deſperate Condition, they might be tempted to deſert their Ships.

8. They continued their Voyage, therefore, 750 Stadia to *Canate* ; but, finding the Landing difficult, they proceeded ſtill 800 Stadia farther, to a Place called *Troeſos*. On this Shore there were ſome ſmall, pitiful Villages, the Inhabitants of which had quitted their Houſes : However, they found in them a little Corn, and ſome Dates. The People had alſo left behind them ſeven Camels, which they immediately killed, and eat. They put to Sea again, by Break of Day ; and, having rowed 300 Stadia, they arrived at *Dagaſira*, which was inhabited by Shepherds ; and, continuing their Voyage the whole Day and Night, without Intermiſſion, after a Run of 1100 Stadia, found themſelves clear of the Country of the *Ichthyophagi*, but in extreme Want ; for, even there, they could not go aſhore, becauſe the Coaſt was rocky and ſteep.

The Length of this whole Coaſt, which they had now ſailed, was about 10,000 Stadia ; and tho' the People are called *Ichthyophagi* from their eating Fiſh, yet they can ſcarce be ſtiled Fiſhermen, few of them having any Boats, or knowing how to go out, and catch Fiſh, but taking them on the Strand, as they are left by the Tide : Some of them have Nets, that will extend two Stadia, which are made of the Leaves and Boughs of Palm-trees, wrought in an aukward manner : With theſe they ſpread the Shore about the time of Ebb, and ſo catch a vaſt Quantity of Fiſh, of all Sizes. The ſmall ones they eat raw, as ſoon as they are taken out of the Net ; the larger and firmer Fiſh they dry in the Sun, till they grow perfectly hard, and then grind them into Meal, of which they make Bread : Some of them, likewiſe, fry this Meal into a ſort of Pan-cakes: They feed alſo what Cattle they have with this ſort of Fiſh-meal; for they have no kind of Graſs in all this Country.

There are, likewiſe, found, upon this Coaſt, vaſt Quantities of Crabs, Oyſters, and other Shell-fiſh. The Soil of itſelf produces Salt, and the People themſelves have an Art of making Oil. They build their Houſes in this manner: Thoſe who are in the beſt Condition, make uſe of the Bones of Whales, that are thrown on ſhore, inſtead of Beams; and of the largeſt Bones they make Doors. The poorer Sort make uſe of the ſmall Fiſh-bones, to build their Huts; for the Whales, and other large Fiſh, which are bred in theſe outer Seas, are of a much larger Size than in our inner Seas.

9. *Nearchus* likewiſe tells us, that, ſailing from *Cyiza*, about Break of Day, he ſaw a great deal of Water thrown up out of the Sea to a conſiderable Height: Being very much ſtruck at this ſtrange Appearance, he inquired of the Pilots, and other knowing Seamen, what it meant; who told him, that the Water was ſpouted up by Whales; at the Hearing of which his Men were frightened, ſo that they let the Oars fall out of their Hands. *Nearchus*, however, encouraged them as much as he could, adviſed them to row towards theſe Creatures briſkly, and as if they were going to an Engagement, making all the Noiſe they could, both by ſhouting, and with their Oars.

The Men, reſuming their Spirits upon this, began, on a Signal given, to row with all their Force; and, as they drew near the Whales, ſhouted as loud as they were able, ſounded their Trumpets, and beat the Water with their Oars with all the Force they had. The Whales, who were juſt under their Prows, frighted at the Noiſe, ſunk at once, and roſe a good Way behind the Ships, blowing up the Water again with prodigious Force. The Seamen, ſeeing themſelves thus unexpectedly delivered from ſo great a Danger, loudly applauded the Boldneſs and Dexterity of *Nearchus*.

Sometimes the Whales, running in too near the Shore, are left upon it by the Ebbing of the Tide; and ſometimes, being thrown thereon by Storms, their Fleſh corrupting by the Heat of the Sun, the Bones are left dry upon the Shore, which theſe People gather carefully, in order to make uſe of them in building their Houſes. The largeſt Bones they make uſe of for Rafters; thoſe of the Jaws they convert into Doors, and of the ſmaller Bones they make their Utenſils.

While *Nearchus* and his Fleet were on the Coaſt of the *Ichthyophagi*, he diſcovered an Iſland, which lay at the Diſtance of about one hundred Stadia from the Continent, which was abſolutely uninhabited. This Iſland, thoſe who dwelt on the oppoſite Coaſt called *Noſala*, which they believed ſacred to the Sun; adding, that it was inacceſſible to Mortals; and farther, affirmed, that, in caſe any Man was ſo imprudent as to ſet his Foot upon it, he was never ſeen more: An Inſtance of this the Pilots mentioned to *Nearchus*, of a Ship, manned by *Egyptians*, which, for this impious Attempt, had vaniſhed from the Sight of Men. This, however, did not deter *Nearchus* from going in Perſon, with one of his Ships, to view this Iſland, or from putting the Reporters of this Fable intirely out of Countenance by landing upon it; which he did. There was alſo another Fable related of this Iſland; which was, that a certain Sea-nymph, or Goddeſs, dwelt there, who inticed Men on ſhore, and, after criminally converſing with them, changed them into Fiſh; but the Sun obliged her to quit the Place, and to reſtore the Men, whom ſhe had thus changed into Fiſh, to their former Shape.

Some of theſe *Ichthyophagi* were brought to *Alexander*. Theſe People inhabit the Coaſt only; but, within-land, inhabit the *Gedroſians*, in a Country barren and ſandy, where *Alexander* and his Army ſuffered great Hardſhips. When the Fleet had quitted this Coaſt, and were arrived on that of *Carmania*, they were obliged to come to an Anchor without landing, the Coaſt being ſo rocky and ſteep, that they durſt not approach it. They ſailed from thence, not directly Weſt, but rather Weſt and by North, and ſo reached that Part of *Carmania* which was a more fruitful and agreeable Country than thoſe they had left, and abounds in Graſs, and where they found freſh Water in Plenty.

10. When they came to *Badis*, on the Coaſt of *Carmania*, they found all Sorts of Refreſhments, except Oil; and, ſailing eight hundred Stadia farther, they came upon a deſert Coaſt, where a Promontory appeared, that ran far out into the Sea, and was about a Day's Sail. Such as were acquainted with the Coaſt, ſaid, it was a Promontory of *Arabia*, called *Maceta*, from whence Cinnamon, and other Spices, were ſent into *Aſſyria*. While the Fleet lay at Anchor, and had this Promontory in Sight, there aroſe great Diſputes; for *Oneſicritus* would have had the Fleet ſail thither, to avoid the Hardſhips and Difficulties they might meet with in the Gulph: But *Nearchus* was of a contrary Opinion, and affirmed, that *Oneſicritus* had quite miſunderſtood the King's Deſign; for it was not, ſaid he, becauſe *Alexander* could not have ſafely led the Army intirely by Land, that he put a Part of them on board the Fleet, but becauſe he would have all theſe Coaſts, Ports, and Iſlands, throughly examined, and the Gulph likewiſe ſailed through, that it might be known what Cities there were near the Sea, what Countries were fertile, and what deſert. He was not therefore for changing their Courſe now, when they were in a manner at the End of their Labours; and therefore he was not for ſteering on the Side of the Promontory, for fear it might bring them on a bad Coaſt, eſpecially as they were not now in want of any thing neceſſary for continuing their Voyage.

The Opinion of *Nearchus* prevailed; and, in my Judgment, ſays *Arrian*, it was by following his Advice that the whole Fleet was ſaved; for the Coaſt beyond that Promontory was abſolutely deſert, and afforded no Water. The Fleet therefore, weighing, proceeded ſeven hundred Stadia along the oppoſite Coaſt, which was called *Neoptana*; and, continuing their Voyage early the next Day, after ſailing one hundred Stadia more, arrived at the River of *Anamis*. The Name of the Place in which they now were, was called *Harmozia*, ſince called *Ormuz*, where they found abundance of wild Fruit, and were pretty much at their Eaſe. There moſt of the Men went aſhore to refreſh themſelves after all the Hardſhips they had gone through; and ſome of them, rambling up and down, met with a Perſon dreſſed after the *Grecian* Manner, and who ſpoke *Greek*; which at once ſurpriſed and overjoyed them exceedingly: And, upon inquiring who and what he was, the Man anſwered, that he belonged to *Alexander*'s Army, and that the King was encamped not far from thence. They preſently conducted this Man to *Nearchus*, to whom he told the ſame Things, and that the King was encamped no farther from him than five Days Journey. *Nearchus* alſo conferred with the Preſident of the Province about the Security of the Fleet, after the taking the proper Meaſures, for which he agreed to go with him to the King.

The Day following, by that Time it was Sunriſe, *Nearchus* cauſed ſuch of the Ships as were in bad Condition, to be drawn on ſhore, in order to their being repaired; and, reſolving to leave a great Part of the Troops on ſhore, he took care to fortify the Place with a ſtrong Retrenchment, and a deep Ditch, ſo that both the Ships and Men might remain as ſafe as poſſible. In the mean time, the Preſident of the Province, knowing that the King was under the utmoſt Concern for this Fleet, took a ſhort Cut to the Camp, in order to inform him of their ſafe Arrival. This News was received by *Alexander* with the greateſt Joy imaginable, though he could not help doubting the Truth of it: And his Doubt ſtill grew upon him, becauſe ſome who were ſent with Carriages, to meet *Nearchus*, and bring him to Court, returned after they had went a little Way, without finding him; and others who had a greater Reſpect for him, continuing their Journey, did not return at all: At laſt, the King loſing all Patience, and his Concern being doubled by this ſhort Glimmering of Hope, ordered the Preſident to be committed to ſafe Cuſtody, for having reported falſe News.

In the mean time, ſome of thoſe who had been diſpatched to meet and conduct *Nearchus* to Court, actually met with him upon the Road, accompanied by *Archias*, and five or ſix more; but they were all ſo altered, both in their Perſons and Garbs, that they had not the leaſt Knowledge of them; but, upon their Inquiry about the King's Camp, told them, where it was; and were then for purſuing their Journey: *Archias*, however, turning to *Nearchus*, told him, that he apprehended theſe People were come in Search of them; and that, conſidering the Condition they were in, they might not know them; which *Nearchus* alſo thinking not unlikely, they inquired of them, whither they were going; and he received for Anſwer, that they were going in Search of *Nearchus*, and thoſe under his Command: Upon which he replied, I am *Nearchus*, and the Perſon here with me is *Archias*; do you conduct us to the Camp, that we may give the King an Account of the Fleet. Upon which they immediately took them up in their Carriages, and returned towards the royal Camp.

Some of the Number, however, being deſirous to become early Meſſengers of ſuch important Tidings, haſtened to the Camp, and informed the King, that *Nearchus* himſelf, and *Archias*, with five more, were at hand; but that, as to the Army and Fleet, they were able to learn nothing. *Alexander*, from this Account, collected within himſelf, that *Nearchus* and *Archias*, with the five Men that attended them, had in ſome wonderful Manner eſcaped the general Ruin, but that, as for the reſt of his Fleet and Army, they were, beyond Queſtion, loſt and deſtroyed; the Thoughts of which gave him greater Sorrow than the Joy of beholding *Nearchus* and *Archias* could overcome. They ſoon after arrived; and *Alexander* himſelf could ſcarce know them, they were ſo overgrown with Hair, looked ſo ill, and were in ſo bad a Dreſs, which confirmed the Notion he had conceived of the Loſs of the Fleet: He embraced *Nearchus* however, and, with many Tears, congratulated him on his Arrival.

At laſt, moderating his Tranſport, he ſaid, It is true, the Sight of you *Nearchus*, and *Archias*, who return ſafe and ſound, moderates, in ſome meaſure, my Concern for the Loſs of the Fleet; but tell me, How did they periſh? *Nearchus*, catching the Words out of his Mouth, replied, the Fleet and Army are ſafe, O King; and we come only as Meſſengers of the good News. Then *Alexander* burſt out again into Tears at this unexpected Account of their Safety; and, with much Struggling, demanded in what Port they were. *Nearchus* informed him, that they were at the Mouth of the River *Anamis*; and that he had cauſed the Ships to be drawn on ſhore, in order to their being refitted. Now, by the *Grecian Jupiter*, cried the King, and by the *Libyan Ammon*, I ſwear, this News gives me more Joy than the Conqueſt of all *Aſia*. He likewiſe cauſed the Preſident of the Province to be diſcharged from his Confinement. The King, in Gratitude for the Preſervation of his Forces, ordered Sacrifices to be offered to *Jupiter* the Saviour; to *Hercules*, and to *Apollo* the Deliverer from Misfortunes; as alſo to *Neptune*, and all the Sea-gods: He likewiſe celebrated new Games, ordered pompous Shews, accompanied with Muſic; in which *Nearchus* was Chief, all the Army preſenting him with Garlands, and with Flowers. When theſe Rejoicings were over, the King ſaid to the Admiral, Henceforward, *Nearchus*, you ſhall never go on any laborious or dangerous Service: I will immediately appoint another Admiral, who ſhall bring the Fleet ſafe to *Suſa*. Not ſo, O King, cried out *Nearchus*; To follow and to ſerve you in every Degree, is my Deſire, and my Duty: But if, for what is paſt, you incline to gratify me, let not that be done you ſpoke of; but let me rather continue in my Command, till I have brought your Ships ſafe to *Suſa*; not, after running through ſo many and great Hardſhips in the Execution of the Charge with which you intruſted me, now, when the Matter is eaſy, and in a manner accompliſhed, let another take the Glory of performing it out of my Hands.

To this *Alexander* readily aſſented, and diſmiſſed him again to his Command, with a ſmall Guard, becauſe he was now to travel through a Country inhabited by Friends. Yet it was not without great Difficulty that *Nearchus* once more reached the Sea Coaſt; for the Barbarians had taken up Arms, and poſſeſſed themſelves of all the ſtrong Places and Paſſes in *Carmania*: For the King had cauſed the former Governor to be put to Death, and *Tlepolemus*, whom he had appointed his Succeſſor, was not as yet firmly fixed in his Government. Thrice, therefore, in one Day, *Nearchus*, and his Guard, engaged ſo many different Bodies of Barbarians who attacked them.

At laſt, however, *Nearchus* ſafely, though after ſtruggling with many and great Difficulties, reached the Fleet and Army. The firſt Thing he did on his Arrival, was to ſacrifice to *Jupiter* the Saviour, and to celebrate Games. Theſe divine Rites thus taken care of, the Fleet weighed Anchor, and ſailed to a deſert barren Iſland, and thence to another large and well-inhabited Iſland, three hundred Stadia diſtant from the Port they had left. The Name of the deſert Iſland was *Organa*; that of the laſt-mentioned Iſland *Oaracta*: This laſt was a fine Country, abounding in Corn and Palm-trees: It was in Length eight hundred Stadia, and the Governor of it, whoſe Name was *Mazenes*, offered, of his own Accord, to accompany *Nearchus*, and to pilot him to *Suſa*. In this Iſland, it is ſaid, they ſhew the Tomb of *Erythras*, who firſt governed this Country, and from whom that Part of the Ocean was called the *Erythrean*, or *Red Sea*.

11. They ſailed from hence two hundred Stadia, when *Nearchus* thought proper to put in with his Fleet at another Port in the ſame Iſland, from whence they had the Sight of another Iſland, about forty Stadia diſtant from the great one, which was ſacred to *Neptune*, and reported to be inacceſſible. They ſailed again about Day-break; but the Sea ebbing lower than uſual, three of their Ships were left upon the Strand; and it was with great Difficulty that the reſt, getting clear of that rocky Coaſt, once more gained the open Sea. At the Return of the Tide, however, the three Ships before-mentioned floated again, and the next Day rejoined the Fleet. Having continued their Voyage 400 Stadia, they put into a Port in an Iſland diſtant 300 Stadia from the Continent. They weighed from thence early in the Morning, and, leaving an uninhabited Iſland, called *Pylora*, on their Left, they anchored before *Sidodones*, a very ſmall City, in want of every thing, except Water and Fiſh; for Neceſſity, and the Barrenneſs of their Country, make them likewiſe *Ichthyophagi* againſt their Wills.

Thence, having taken in Water only, they proceeded to *Tarſia*, a Promontory running out into the Sea, diſtant from the laſt-mentioned Place 300 Stadia. Thence they ſailed 300 Stadia farther, to the Iſland of *Catea*, which is deſert and marſhy, reported to be ſacred to *Mercury* and *Venus*. Into this Iſland, every Year, the Inhabitants of the adjacent Coaſt have a Cuſtom of ſending Sheep and Goats, which are dedicated to *Mercury* and *Venus*, and run there wild. This Place belongs to *Carmania*; and from hence the Province of *Perſia Proper* begins. The whole Length of the Coaſt of *Carmania* is 3800 Stadia; the *Carmanians* reſembling in their Manners and Cuſtoms, the *Perſians* their near Neighbours; are armed in the ſame way, and make uſe of the ſame Methods in carrying on their Wars.

The Fleet, ſailing from hence, came to *Ilan*, on the Coaſt of *Perſia*, before which Port there lies a ſmall barren Iſland, called *Caicandrus*: To reach this Port, they ſailed 400 Stadia from their former Station. Early the next Morning they weighed Anchor, and proceeded to another Iſland, well inhabited, and on the Coaſt of which, as well as in the *Indian* Sea, *Nearchus* affirms, that they fiſh for Pearl. Having doubled a Promontory upon this Iſland, by ſailing about forty Stadia, they anchored on the other Side. They proceeded next to a certain high Mountain, called *Ochus*, where they found a very ſafe and commodious Port, in which they anchored, the adjacent Coaſt being well inhabited by Fiſhermen. Weighing from hence, after a Paſſage of 450 Stadia, they came to *Apoſtanos*, where they found abundance of Ships in the Harbour, the Town lying about ſixty Stadia from the Sea. Thence they ſailed, in the Night, to a Bay, adorned with abundance of beautiful Villages on its Shore; and, after coaſting 400 Stadia, they came to an Anchor at the Foot of an high Mountain, covered with Palm, and other Fruit-trees, common in *Greece*. Sailing from thence, they paſſed along a well inhabited Coaſt, called *Gogana*, for the Space of 600 Stadia, the Fleet anchoring at the Mouth of a certain River, or rather Torrent, called *Areon*, in a very inconvenient Place, the Bottom being ſoft, and unfit for Anchorage, and the Mouth of the River very narrow.

They ſailed from thence to another River, called *Sitacus*, diſtant 800 Stadia; but here likewiſe they found very indifferent Anchorage; and, indeed, *Nearchus* complains, that the whole Coaſt of *Perſia* is very indifferent, being in ſome Places intolerably ſtony, and in others a looſe Slime, to a great Depth. Here they took in a great Quantity of Corn, the King having directed conſiderable Magazines to be raiſed there for the Uſe of the Army and the Fleet. They remained here twenty-one Days in the Whole, refitting ſuch Ships as were in a bad Condition, and rebuilding others. Sailing from thence, after a Paſſage of 750 Stadia, they came to a well-built and well-inhabited City, called *Hieratis*; and anchored in a Port, made by Art, called *Heratemis*.

The next Day they weighed, as ſoon as it was Light, and continued their Voyage to the Mouth of a Torrent called *Padargus*. The Whole of this Country is a Peninſula, laid out in regular Plantations of Fruit-trees, of all Kinds; and the Name of this Peninſula is *Moſambria*. Sailing from *Moſambria*, after a Voyage of two hundred Stadia, or thereabouts, they arrived at *Taoce*, on the River *Granidis*. About two hundred Stadia within-land, from the Mouth of this River, ſtands the Capital of *Perſia*. In this Navigation, *Nearchus* informs us, they met with a dead Whale thrown upon the Shore, which ſome of his Sailors had the Curioſity to meaſure, and found it fifty-five Cubits long: On the Skin of which they found Oyſters, and other Shell-fiſh ſticking, as alſo Sea-weed. They likewiſe ſaw many Dolphins upon this Coaſt, which were of a much larger Size than thoſe in our Seas.

12. They proceeded thence two hundred Stadia, to the Mouth of the River *Rogonis*, where they found a very convenient and ſafe Harbour, at the Diſtance of two hundred Stadia from their former Station. Sailing from hence four hundred Stadia, they came to the Mouth of another River, called *Brizania*. Here they found the Coaſt very unfit for Anchorage; and, for want of a proper Acquaintance with the Tides, ſome of their Veſſels were left aſhore at the Ebb, but were eaſily got off again at the time of Flood, and continued their Voyage to the Mouth of the River *Aroſis*, where they came to an Anchor. This, *Nearchus* aſſures us, was the largeſt of all the Rivers that ran into this Sea. It was alſo the Boundary of the Province of *Perſia Proper*; the *Suſians* inhabiting on the other Side. Amongſt theſe laſt-mentioned People, there were a free Nation, called the *Uxians*, which inhabited the Mountains, and committed frequent Robberies on ſuch as dwelt in the flat Country.

The whole Extent of the *Perſian* Coaſt reaches four thouſand four hundred Stadia. This Province is divided, as the Inhabitants report, into three Parts, which differ from each other in Soil and Climate. That Part of it which lies along the *Red Sea*, is ſandy and barren, ariſing from the exceſſive Heat; but the Country that lies more to the North, enjoys a temperate and pleaſant Climate; the Soil exceedingly fruitful, affording freſh and beautiful Meadows, that are very well watered, abounding with Vines, and all kind of Fruit-trees, except Olives. In this Country there are very fine Gardens, watered by Streams exquiſitely clear and pleaſant; on the Banks of which are all kinds of Fowl; and Horſes, and other Cattle, are found here in Abundance; and ſome Part of the Country alſo is woody, and very fit for Hunting. The moſt Northern Part of *Perſia* is very cold, and the Snows lie long upon the Mountains. *Nearchus* tells us, that ſome Ambaſſadors from the Borders of the *Euxine* Sea coming, in a ſhort Space of Time, to *Alexander* in *Perſia*, he was, at firſt, much ſurpriſed, till they explained to him how the Country lay, and that the Diſtance was not ſo great as he had hitherto imagined.

As the *Uxians* before-mentioned infeſt the Country of the *Suſians*, ſo the *Mardians*, another thieviſh Nation, are ſettled in the Mountains of *Perſia*; and the *Coſſæans*, who likewiſe practiſe the ſame villainous Trade, inhabit among the *Medes*. This laſt-mentioned Nation *Alexander*, this Winter, contrary to all Expectation, ſubdued; built Cities in their Country; and obliged ſuch as inhabited them, to apply themſelves to Agriculture, and other honeſt Profeſſions, that they might live comfortably themſelves, and not be any longer terrible, or troubleſome to their Neighbours.

From hence, *Nearchus* tells us, he is not able to write any thing with Certainty, except as to the Ports they met with, and the Length of their Navigation, becauſe all that Coaſt is extremely foul, and rocky: So that there is no entering its Ports, but with the utmoſt Danger. When, therefore, they ſailed from the Mouth of this River, which is the laſt in *Perſia Proper*, they took care to furniſh themſelves with Water for five Days, their Pilots having informed them, that the Coaſt along which they were next to ſail, was abſolutely dry and barren. When they had ſailed five hundred Stadia, they came to an Anchor at the Mouth, or rather Fall, of a certain Lake, abounding with Fiſh, which was called *Cataderbis*. There lay immeniately before this Port, a ſmall Iſland, called *Margaſtana*. Weighing from thence early in the Morning, they continued their Courſe through a Chanel ſo narrow, that they were forced to ſail in a Line. This Chanel was marked with Stakes ſet upright in it, as in the Iſthmus between the *Leucadian* Iſlands, and the Coaſt of *Acarnania*; there are the like Signals, or Beacons, to prevent the Ships from running upon the Sholes. There is, however, this Difference between theſe Coaſts, that the Sholes, in the Neighbourhood of thoſe Iſlands, are all of them ſandy; ſo that whatever Veſſels run aſhore, they are ſure to float again on the Return of the Tide; whereas here the Mud is ſo thick and deep, that Veſſels left upon it are as ſure to be loſt, ſinking by their own Weight, beyond the Poſſibility of weighing them; beſides, that it is impoſſible to reach any Veſſel in ſuch a Situation, in order to uſe the proper Means for getting it out. Through this difficult Chanel, and by ſo hazardous a Navigation, they rowed for 600 Stadia, without being able to find any Port into which they could put, with Safety; and therefore they were obliged to take what Refreſhment they could, on board their Ships.

All that Night they continued their Courſe, and all the next Day, till it was Evening, having made, in that time, nine hundred Stadia; arriving then at the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*, and at a Port in the Province of *Babylon*, called *Deridotis*, where there is a great Trade carried on in Frankincenſe, and other Aromaticks brought thither from *Arabia*. *Babylon*, according to the Computation of *Nearchus*, ſtands at the Diſtance of three thouſand three hundred Stadia from the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*.

While they were here, they received an Expreſs from *Alexander*, who was arrived at *Suſa*; upon which, *Nearchus* ſteered back to and then up the River *Paſitigris*, that he might the more eaſily reach the King's Army. When they weighed, they had the Country of the *Suſians* on their Left; and, proceeding in their Voyage, arrived at a Lake, into which runs the River *Tigris*, which riſing in *Armenia*, paſſes by the City of *Ninus*, heretofore a great and flouriſhing Place, and rolls on through the Country, which, becauſe it lies between it, and the *Euphrates*, is called *Meſopotamia*, *i. e.* Between Rivers. From this Lake to the River itſelf, the Diſtance is about ſix hundred Stadia; and near it ſtands a Town of the *Suſians*, called *Aginis*, from whence the City of *Suſa* is diſtant five hundred Stadia. The whole maritime Coaſt of this Country, to the Mouth of the *Paſitigris*, extends about two thouſand Stadia.

Then ſailing along a pleaſant and fruitful Coaſt, for the Space of one hundred and fifty Stadia, they came to an Anchor, in order to wait the Return of the Meſſengers ſent by *Nearchus*, to learn where the King then was. This Day they ſacrificed to all the ſaving Powers; celebrated Games, and the whole Fleet indulged themſelves in every Method they could deviſe, that might expreſs their Joy. But afterwards, being informed, that *Alexander* was approaching with his Army, they again reſumed their Voyage, and arrived at the Bridge, which, by the King's Command, had been lately built over the River, for the Conveniency of marching his Army to *Suſa*. There both Armies joined, and *Alexander*, as well in regard to the Victories gained by his Land-forces, as in Gratitude for the Succeſs and Safety of his Fleet, and thoſe on board it, offered magnificent Sacrifices, and celebrated Games. During theſe Rejoicings, where-ever *Nearchus* went through the Camp, the Soldiers covered him with Garlands and Flowers. *Alexander* himſelf alſo, as a Mark of his Favour, and by way of Diſtinction, honoured *Nearchus*, and *Leonnatus*, by preſenting to each of them a gold Crown; to the former, on account of his good Service on board the Fleet; to the latter, by reaſon of the Victory obtained by him over the *Oritans*, and other barbarous Nations, in their Neighbourhood. Thus the Reader has received a full Account of the Manner, in which his Fleet and Army returned ſafe to *Alexander*, from the Mouth of the River *Indus*.

Here, properly ſpeaking, ends the Voyage of *Nearchus*, as it is preſerved by *Arrian*, in his *Indian* Hiſtory; which ſerves as an Appendix to his noble Memoirs of the Life of *Alexander* the Great. A Work highly, and very juſtly, commended both by antient and modern Writers, for its Elegance, and excellent Method; but more eſpecially for the ſtrict Regard the Author every-where pays to Truth. His *Indian* Hiſtory is written with the like Care; in which he profeſſes to have read, with the utmoſt Diligence and Circumſpection, the Works of *Oneſicritus*, and *Megaſthenes*, as well as thoſe of *Nearchus*.

As to the firſt of theſe, I mean *Oneſicritus*, he was the Captain of *Alexander*'s own Ship, and wrote a large Account of the *Indies*; from which, in the Beginning of his Hiſtory, *Arrian* has taken many Things, but with great Caution, on account of the bad Character he had, as a fabulous Writer: And here, by the way, it may not be amiſs to take notice of one of *Arrian*'s Obſervations: He ſays, that *Cteſias* the *Cnidian* aſſerted *India* to be as big as all the reſt of *Aſia*: In which he err'd; for *Oneſicritus* accounted it to be no more than the third Part of *Aſia*. In this, however, there is good Reaſon to believe, that *Arrian* himſelf is miſtaken; for both of his Authors might have been in the right. *Cteſias*, who wrote from the Memoirs he collected in the *Perſian* Court, meant very probably the whole Continent of *India*, from the River *Indus* to the Sea of *Japan*; and, on the other hand, *Oneſicritus* could only ſpeak of that Part of *India*, which was known from *Alexander*'s Expedition: And, taken in this Senſe, the Account given by each of theſe Authors, may be pretty well reconciled to Truth; and their Opinions, inſtead of contradicting, appear, thus conſidered, very agreeable to each other. This ſhews how unſafe a Thing it is to run down Authors at random; and, by burying their Reputation under a heavy Load of Cenſure, to pave the Way for the Deſtruction alſo of their Works, as has happened in the Caſe of *Oneſicritus*, and many other Authors. But *Megaſthenes* was ſtill lower in the Eſteem of *Arrian*, who therefore borrows from him but ſparingly; whereas he has given us the *Indian* Expedition, by *Nearchus*, at full Length, and, as near as might be, in his own Words: But of his Credit, we ſhall have an Opportunity to ſay more hereafter. At preſent, therefore, let us confine ourſelves to the Author who has preſerved this noble Fragment of Antiquity; I mean *Arrian*, whom we have ſo often quoted, and on whoſe Credit this Part of our Work muſt depend.

He was a Man of diſtinguiſhed Quality, as well as excellent Learning, a Native of the City of *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, flouriſhed under the Emperor *Adrian*, and was by him made Governor of *Cappadocia*: He was an excellent Philoſopher, as appears by the four Books, that are ſtill left, of his Commentaries upon the Works of *Epictetus*: He wrote alſo, beſides his Memoirs of the Life of *Alexander* the Great, a large Hiſtory of the *Parthians*; of which there are now only a few Fragments left: He publiſhed likewiſe hiſtorical Collections in relation to the *Bithynians* and *Alans*, as we are informed by *Photius*, who cites the former; but theſe are now loſt, as the *Indian* Hiſtory was ſuppoſed to be, till, by the Induſtry of ſome learned Critics, it was diſcovered, that what had been long regarded as the eighth Book of the Life of *Alexander*, was, in reality, this *Indian* Hiſtory: And ſo, undoubtedly, it is; for whoever is acquainted with antient Authors, and has read the Works of *Xenophon* and *Arrian*, will eaſily diſcern, that the former ſerved for a Model to the latter; and that the *Expedition of Alexander* (for ſo *Arrian* modeſtly intitles his Hiſtory) was, in reality, a Copy of the *Expedition of Cyrus*, written by *Xenophon*; and, for that very Reaſon, divided into no more than ſeven Books.

But as his *Indian* Hiſtory had ſo near a Relation to that Work, it was joined to it as a Supplement; and, at laſt, through the Ignorance of Tranſcribers, came to be reckoned a Part of it, and was called the eighth Book, directly contrary to the Intention of its Author, as appears, both from the Beginning, and the End of it. He wrote alſo, in ten Books, the Hiſtory of what followed after the Death of *Alexander*, which, to the irreparable Damage of the learned World, have wholly periſhed. We have, however, ſtill remaining a *Periplus*, or Deſcription of the *Euxine* Sea, addreſſed to the Emperor *Adrian*, which the learned Mr. *Dodwell*, with great Probability, conjectures to have been written about the Year of *Chriſt* 137. There is alſo a *Periplus* of the *Red Sea*, which goes under his Name, and, as a Work of his, has been tranſlated by the learned *Battiſta Ramuſio*, and inſerted in his excellent Collection.

Yet many great Critics have been of Opinion, that it was none of his, but belonged to an Author of great Antiquity. Mr. *Dodwell* has very fully proved the former, and denies the latter with good Reaſon, having ſhewn as clearly, as a thing of that Nature can be ſhewn, that the Author of that Work lived much later than *Arrian*. It may not be amiſs to add one Obſervation more, before we quit this Subject; which is, that we have given a Place here to the Voyage of *Nearchus*, as it is taken from his own Work; for, otherwiſe, it muſt have come in later; and this naturally leads us to ſay ſomething more as to the Character of this original Author.

13. *Nearchus*, the Son of *Androtimus* a *Cretan*, attended *Alexander* in his *Indian* Expedition, and behaved with ſo much Fidelity, giving, at the ſame time, ſuch Inſtances of his Capacity, that when *Alexander* ſettled the Embarkation of his Forces, and appointed *Oneſicritus* Commander of his own Veſſel, he made *Nearchus* his Admiral, and *Euagoras*, the Son of *Euclion* a *Corinthian*, Secretary to the Fleet. There is very great Reaſon to believe *Nearchus* had been the King's old Servant, ſince it appears, that, before the *Aſian* Expedition, he was ſettled at *Amphipolis*, on the River *Strymon*, one of the moſt conſiderable Places in the *Macedonian* Dominions; where, very probably, he had been employed in the Sea-ſervice; otherwiſe one can hardly ſuppoſe, that *Alexander* ſhould give him the Command of his Fleet.

How well he performed that Service, the Reader is able to judge from his own Relation; and, that he might be able to judge of it, was one great Reaſon of our giving it a Place here. That his Maſter was extremely well ſatiſfied with his Conduct, appears not only from the Praiſes and Rewards he beſtowed upon him, but alſo from his liſtening to this very Journal, in the very laſt Moments of his Life. After the Deceaſe of *Alexander*, when the Provinces of his great Empire were divided, he had *Lycia* and *Pamphylia* aſſigned him.

It is not very clear what other Books he wrote; but as to this Journal, it is very evident, that it was compoſed immediately after his Return from the Voyage, and while things were freſh in his Memory: Neither does it to me appear probable, in the leaſt, that he ſhould either attempt or deſire to impoſe upon *Alexander*, who does not ſeem to have ſought Entertainment from ſuch Expeditions ſo much as Inſtruction. It is true, that *Strabo* ſometimes queſtions the Credit of our Author, and has even treated this Journal with ſome Severity, particularly with regard to what is related of the Whales, which to him appears incredible; but I doubt very much, whether it will appear in that Light to ſuch as Experience has rendered better Judges, ſince it is very certain, that there are Whales in theſe Seas, and that the Size he ſpeaks of is far from being extraordinary. Another Obſervation of *Strabo*'s is, that *Nearchus* was rather terrified with his own Fears, than with real Dangers; to which it may be anſwered, that, as thoſe Seas were then unknown, the Coaſt extremely bad, and the Veſſels, of which the Fleet was compoſed, very indifferent, there is nothing aſtoniſhing in what our Author ſays of his Apprehenſions. In reſpect to what other Authors have cited from him that is manifeſtly fabulous, they ought not to prejudice his Authority in our Opinion, becauſe the Books are not now extant, from which they cite them; and therefore, it is impoſſible for us to judge with what View he wrote, or in what Manner he told them. On the Whole, the Advantage of reading ſo curious an Hiſtory, in the Words of its original Author, is certainly very conſiderable, and may very well juſtify both my Pains, and the Reader's Patience; and I make no manner of Doubt, that the Navigation of *Alexander*'s Admiral will afford as great Pleaſure to the intelligent Peruſer, as the Adventures of any modern Traveller whatever.

Beſides, he gives the *Engliſh* Reader an Opportunity of judging of the Credit and Value of this Performance, the only one of its kind that is preſerved intire; which he could not have done from any Extract whatever, much leſs from the very lame one of *Purchas*, which is as dry and inſipid as the Voyage of *Nearchus* is curious and entertaining. After theſe Reflections, I hope it will not be amiſs to add two ſhort Obſervations on the Behalf of our Author: The firſt is, that ſome Writers, who cite him, ſuch as *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*, are remarkably fond of Fables; and, therefore, it is very poſſible they may relate from him Stories that he did not believe, any more than the Tale of the Iſland of the Sun, for the very inſerting of which, in his Hiſtory, he is cenſured by *Arrian*. On the other hand, there are ſome Authors ſo fond of criticizing, that they frequently condemn what they do not underſtand; and, without doubt, the Geography of the Antients was ſo imperfect, that even the beſt Writers amongſt them were very indifferent Judges of what might be true or falſe in ſuch Relations.

14. It is not only our Curioſity that is gratified by the Reading of ſuch antient Voyages as theſe, but they add likewiſe very much to our Knowledge, and particularly to that ſort of Knowledge which is, or ought to be, moſt ſought for, in Collections of this kind. We learn, for Inſtance, from this Voyage of *Nearchus*, the true State and Condition of maritime Affairs at that time. We plainly diſcern, that their Veſſels drew very little Water, that they were managed chiefly by Oars, that they neither carried, nor were capable of carrying, any conſiderable Quantity of Proviſions, but that they truſted chiefly for theſe, either to Magazines erected on ſhore, or, where theſe were wanting, to what they could obtain by making Deſcents. We learn from hence, what Services theſe Veſſels were fit for, and for what they were unfit, and, in ſhort, what they could, and what they could not, perform; and from hence we are enabled to form a true Judgment of the Conduct of their Commanders. It is certain, that this ſeven Months Voyage was in itſelf no great Affair, and might have been performed with Eaſe in the very worſt ſort of Ships that are now in Uſe: But when, from this particular Account, we become perfectly acquainted with the manner in which it was performed, we cannot be ſurpriſed, either at the Concern that *Alexander* was under about the Succeſs of this Expedition, or the Apprehenſions of *Nearchus*, ſince both of them were very rational.

In regard to *Alexander*, it is apparent, that he had but a very dark and confuſed Idea of the Nature of this Voyage, when he thought of ſending his Fleet this Way into the *Perſian* Gulph. He judged, agreeable to Truth and good Senſe, that ſuch a Paſſage there was, and that it might be practicable; but it was impoſſible for him, or any Man, to foreſee the Dangers with which it might be attended; ſince it is plain, that if any great Part of theſe Coaſts had been either abſolutely uninhabited, or if the Inhabitants had been numerous and hardy enough to have prevented his People from landing, they muſt have periſhed; and the ſame thing might have happened, if they had met with very high Winds; or, for a long Space of time, a rocky and impracticable Shore, as appears from the Difficulties of this kind with which they actually encountered: And of this *Alexander* himſelf was ſo ſenſible, that, upon the News of *Nearchus* and *Archias*'s coming to meet him in *Carmania*, he took it for granted, that the Fleet had periſhed, and that theſe People had luckily made their Eſcape. But then, in the midſt of theſe Inconveniencies, we muſt allow, that, with regard to ſurveying a Coaſt, and performing what *Alexander* expected to be performed, his Fleet was every way ſufficient, under the Care of ſo prudent and experienced an Officer as *Nearchus*, who, in the firſt place, took care to be perfectly acquainted with his Maſter's Deſign, and then ſpared no Pains to accompliſh it intirely. It was for this Reaſon that he ſo often landed his Troops, that he might be the better acquainted with the Country on the Coaſt of which he ſailed, and be the more able to anſwer any Queſtions that *Alexander* might aſk about it.

At the ſame time that he did this, he took all the Precautions poſſible, by fortifying his Camps on ſhore, to ſecure his People from the Effects of their own Indiſcretions, or the bold Attempts of the Barbarians. We learn from hence another Advantage that theſe People had; which aroſe from every Man's being both a Soldier, and a Seaman, and from the Capacity of their Officers to act with equal Abilities on board, and on ſhore; all which were of the utmoſt Conſequence in an Expedition of this Nature. There could no Compariſon be made, no true Judgment formed, of the Merit of the famous Men who are mentioned in thoſe Days, if we were ignorant of theſe Circumſtances. We muſt, in that Caſe, certainly, either ſet them too high, or too low, in our Eſteem; whereas we have it now in our Power to frame as true Notions of their Behaviour, as if they lived in or very near our own Times.

We can likewiſe judge exactly of their Deficiencies, and our own Advantages; we can account in our own Minds for the ſmall Progreſs that was made for ſo many Ages in Diſcoveries and Navigation, at the ſame time that we read of ſo many and ſo great Fleets; becauſe we are perfectly convinced, that, though their Ships might ſerve indifferently for fighting, and be capable enough of waſting Troops backwards and forwards, from one Coaſt to another, yet they were abſolutely unfit for long Voyages, and even, in point of Trade, could do very little in Compariſon of ours; becauſe even their largeſt Ships were of little Burthen. It helps us likewiſe to account for another thing, that might otherwiſe ſeem very ſurpriſing; I mean the Number of Ships, that antient Hiſtorians tell us, were either built or drawn together, in very ſhort Spaces of Time, for the Execution of ſudden Expeditions: For when we are ſatisfied, that in thoſe Days they called ſuch Veſſels Ships as were not much better than our Long-Boats, the Wonder ceaſes. Nay, when it is further ſaid, that ſuch Fleets actually performed great Services, we are able to underſtand that too; for where the Force on each Side is the ſame, the Event will be determined in Diſputes between them, in the ſame manner as it would be, if the Force on each Side was to be increaſed in equal Proportions. Such are the Advantages that reſult from the peruſing of this Voyage: It remains to connect this Section with the next, to ſhew what Benefits they were that *Alexander* propoſed therefrom.

15. The Concern ſhewn by *Alexander* for this Voyage, and the Succeſs of it, is, generally ſpeaking, referred to his Vanity, or his Ambition: Yet, if one conſiders it attentively, it is eaſy to perceive, that there muſt have been ſome other Motive. He told *Nearchus*, when he firſt talked to him of the Expedition, that he would have undertaken it himſelf, but for certain Reaſons; one of which was, that he thought it extremely hazardous; and was apprehenſive, if it miſcarried, that it might be fatal to his Glory. This was reaſonable enough; but it does not by any means prove, that his Vanity only led him to this Expedition. The contrary is very evident: He conceived, that this Navigation along the Coaſt might be uſeful to himſelf; but he beſtowed all the Honour of it where it was due; that is, on his Admiral: But it was an uſual Thing with him, to conceal his true Deſigns, under the ſpecious Cover of aiming at a ſuperior Degree of Reputation; and aſſigning no other Reaſon, even for the moſt hazardous Attempts, than that they were for his Glory. But if we look [illegible] into his Conduct, we ſhall find, that his ruling Maxim [illegible] keeping what he got; and this, he knew, [illegible] by a Maritime Force. It is true, that he eſtabliſhed Colonies and Garriſons, from the Rivers that run into the [illegible] Sea, to the very Mouth of the *Indus*: But he eaſily foreſaw, that to ſecure thoſe Garriſons,

riſons, and to awe ſo vaſt a Country, it was neceſſary to have a Fleet: And he likewiſe very well knew, that he could make no Uſe of this Fleet, without being perfectly acquainted with the Coaſt upon which it was to act. And this was the ſole ſubſtantial Reaſon, why he made ſuch a Point of this Expedition. Moſt of the Hiſtorians, and even *Arrian* himſelf, ſuggeſts that he made that ruinous March through *Gedroſia*, that he might ſurpaſs *Semiramis* and *Cyrus*: But I think they were miſtaken; and that the true Cauſe of his marching through that Country was, that he might not be at too great a Diſtance from his Fleet. It muſt, at leaſt, be allowed, that this was a better Reaſon; and the Care he took in ſending Proviſions to the Coaſt, as ſoon as he had any, is, I think, a clear Proof, that this was his Reaſon. I do not depend, however, on that alone, but on a Multitude of Circumſtances, that, when collected together, and coolly conſidered, put it beyond Diſpute. He was no ſooner informed by *Nearchus*, of the Diſcoveries he had made, than he immediately took the neceſſary Meaſures for having a potent Fleet in the *Indian* Ocean. It was for this Reaſon, that he ordered a great Number of Ships to be built by the *Phœnicians*, and brought by Land to *Thapſacus*. This was a City that ſtood on the River *Euphrates*; from whence they were to fall down to *Babylon*, where he likewiſe cauſed a Haven to be made for their Reception, and went in Perſon from that City, down the *Pallocopa*, that he might ſee every thing diſpoſed, for rendering their Paſſage ſafe and eaſy, into the *Perſian* Gulph. At the ſame time, he projected the Circum-navigation of *Arabia*; and, very probably, the firſt Service he intended to have put this Fleet upon, was the ſailing round into the *Arabian* Gulph, while he marched with an Army by Land, from *Chaldea* into that Country. When he had ſubdued *Arabia*, he might, and certainly would, have transferred all the Trade of that Country, and of the *Eaſt Indies*, to his new City of *Alexandria*: And it appears alſo, that he had taken the moſt effectual Meaſures for making it the Centre, alſo, of the *African* Trade. This Scheme of his was afterwards purſued, and, in ſome meaſure, perfected, by the *Ptolemies*, Kings of *Egypt*. So much at preſent for this Part of his Project: Let us turn our Eyes now to ſome other of his Deſigns. There was actually preparing, at the time of his Death, a large Fleet, which was to have been employed in the *Hyrcanian*, or *Caſpian* Sea; and there needs but a little Attention to diſcern, that when he had perfected theſe two Deſigns, all that vaſt Country which he had ſubdued would have been effectually in his Power, becauſe thoſe Provinces are bounded on the South by one Sea, and on the North by the other. But this was not at all: He had formed another Deſign, which would have united them to his other Dominions; for he was extremely inquiſitive as to the *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Euxine* Sea; and in Time would have had a Fleet there too: So that we need but caſt our Eyes upon any Map of theſe Countries, to be ſatisfied, that he had framed and digeſted, in his own Mind, the eaſieſt and moſt probable Method for maintaining all his Conqueſts. We can hence, alſo, perfectly well account for his being ſo ſuddenly charmed with the Situation of *Babylon*, the City in the World the beſt ſeated for becoming the Head of ſuch an Empire. It is true, that they are vaſt and prodigious Deſigns; but then we are to conſider, that they were the Deſigns of a Man, who had made himſelf Lord of the beſt Part of the known World, before he was Thirty; which puts me in mind of what *Lorenzo Gracian*, a *Spaniſh* Writer, tells us of this Conqueror, 'The Heart of *Alexander*, ſays he, was an 'Arch-Heart, in a Corner of which the World lay, and 'left Room for many more.' It is a bold and extravagant Thought; but it is not eaſy to avoid Sentiments of this Sort, when one has long and attentively conſidered the Actions of this Man. After all, tho' his Empire periſhed with himſelf, or, at leaſt, was ſplit into a Multitude of Pieces, ſoon after he expired; tho' he did not live to perfect his Schemes; and tho' hardly any of his Succeſſors underſtood them; yet it has ſo fallen out, that from the Wiſdom he ſhewed in contriving, and the right Methods he took for perfecting them, all the Projects of Trade, and all the Diſcoveries that have been made ſince, are, in Truth, owing: For the *Ptolemies* firſt fixed the *Indian* Trade to *Alexandria*; the *Romans*, when they became Maſters of *Egypt*, purſued it the ſame Way; when the Subjects of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Empire found a Way to come at a Part of this Trade, by the *Euxine*, or, as we now call it, the *Black Sea*, it was no more than a Branch of one of his Projects; and the ſame thing may be ſaid of the new Trade by *Aſtracan*. It is true, indeed, that he knew of no ſuch Place; but it is as true, that he meditated a Deſign for eſtabliſhing a Commerce, by the means of the *Caſpian* Sea, with the Northern Part of the *Indies*, thro' the Country of the *Uſbeck Tartars*, whoſe Capital *Samarcand*, how little ſoever known to us, was once his Winter Quarters. All this will be more plainly made out in the Sequel of this Work: In the mean time, what has been already ſaid, will ſufficiently ſhew, that as the Study of Hiſtory anſwers many other Purpoſes, ſo it may be made to anſwer the noble Purpoſe of promoting extenſive Commerce, which is the greateſt Benefit that can accrue to Mankind. This, I think, is a ſufficient Apology for the Pains I have taken to explain and vindicate the Character of this great Prince: For, ſure it cannot be better vindicated, than by ſhewing, that, in the midſt of his Conqueſts and Victories, he did not, as ſome Writers would perſuade us he did, forget that he was a Man; but, on the contrary, kept conſtantly in View a Character much ſuperior to that of the Conqueror of the World; I mean that of being a Friend and Father to Mankind; a Title which, whoever will weigh the Nature and End of all his Deſigns, can never ſee any Reaſon to refuſe him.

SECTION VII.

The Hiſtory of the Seleucidæ, *Kings of* Syria, *who were the immediate Poſſeſſors of* Alexander's Indian *Conqueſts.*

1. *The Diſturbances which happened on* Alexander's *Death, and the Diviſion of his Empire.* 2. *The Eſtabliſhment of* Seleucus Nicator, *in* Syria, *and the Riſe of a new Monarchy in* India, *under* Sandracottus. 3. *The abſolute Loſs of the* Indian *Provinces, and the new Policy of the* Syrian *Princes.* 4. *Of the Succeſſors of* Seleucus, *and the Declenſion of their Affairs in the Eaſt.* 5. *The Attempt made by* Antiochus *the Great to recover* India, *and his Treaty with* Saphagaſenus. 6. *A View of the probable Cauſes of this ill Management, in the Monarchs of* Syria. 7. *The Wiſdom and Magnanimity of the* Indian *Princes, and the Manner in which they preſerved the Correſpondence, after throwing off the Dominion, of the* Greeks.

1. THE Death of *Alexander* was ſucceeded, as he foreſaw it would, by Seditions among his principal Commanders; and, in conſequence of that, the Diviſion of his Dominions; in ſharing of which they were ſo much taken up, that for ſeveral Days his Body lay neglected. At laſt it was agreed they ſhould be parted, in the following manner: *Caſſander*, the Son of *Antipater*, had *Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lyſimachus* had *Thrace*, and the adjacent Countries; *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*, *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Arabia*, and *Cale-Syria*; and *Seleucus* all the reſt *.

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* *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. xviii. *Arrian, lib.* vii. *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Juſtin.* lib. xiii. *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

By this Diviſion, all the Schemes of *Alexander* were totally defeated; for every one minding his own Intereſt, there ſoon aroſe four Kingdoms out of *Alexander*'s Empire: So that, tho' the Dominions of the *Greeks* ſubſiſted, yet the Form of his Monarchy, was loſt within ſeventeen Years after his Deceaſe, and there was only an empty Form of it preſerved during that Space: For tho' theſe great Officers contented themſelves, during that Time, with the modeſt Name of Governors, yet they had, in effect, as much the Power of Kings, as after they aſſumed the Title.

It is not my Buſineſs to purſue their Hiſtory farther than it concerns my Subject: And therefore, I am firſt to ſpeak of *Seleucus*, within whoſe Diviſion the *Indian* Provinces lay; and then I am to ſhew by what means *Ptolemy*, and his Succeſſors in *Egypt*, transferred the Trade of the *Indies* intirely to their own Dominions, by purſuing a Part of that vaſt Plan which *Alexander* had laid down, when he propoſed the Limits of the World to become thoſe of his Empire: And this will at once anſwer the End of this, and the next Section, and preſerve a proper Connection between the ſeveral Periods of general Hiſtory, which I am conſtrained to touch in the Progreſs of this Work; and without a due Conception of which, the *Indian* Story can never be thoroughly underſtood.

2. It is obſerved, that the Follies of great Princes are much oftener copied than their Virtues. The Humour that poſſeſſed *Alexander*, of being thought of divine Original, was ſtill ſtronger in *Seleucus*, and the Story he publiſhed more improbable and abſurd. It was, in few Words, this. His Mother *Laudice*, being the Wife of *Antiochus*, one of *Philip*'s Captains, pretended ſhe dreamed that ſhe had converſed with *Apollo*, and conceived by him; and that he gave her a Ring, on the Stone of which an Anchor was engraved, and directed her to beſtow it on her Son, when he came to be a Man. This Son was *Seleucus*, ſaid to have been born with an Anchor on his Thigh, by which alſo the whole Race of the *Seleucidæ* were diſtinguiſhed, and which was ſuppoſed to give them a Title to the Dominion of the Sea, for the ſake of which, perhaps, the Story was invented. However that might be, it was affirmed that this Ring was actually found in the Bed of *Laudice*; and that ſhe delivered it to *Seleucus*, when he went to the *Perſian* War, aſſuring him that he was not the Son of *Antiochus*, but of *Apollo*. This Notion he took care to inculcate amongſt his Soldiers, as much as poſſible, and to keep up the Credit of it as far as lay in his Power, affected always a great Attention to Naval Affairs [a].

But this was after he had eſtabliſhed himſelf in the Kingdom; for, immediately after *Alexander*'s Death, he found himſelf fully employed in ſecuring his Share of his Maſter's Territories from being torn from him by the Ambition of his Collegues.

It was during theſe early Diſputes, that the *Indian* Provinces were irrecoverably loſt. This Blow was given to *Alexander*'s Empire by *Andracottus*, whom we have formerly mentioned, and whom *Juſtin*, and other Authors, frequently called *Sandracottus*. He was not of Royal Extraction, but he muſt have been the Son of ſome Perſon of Diſtinction, ſince, being a Youth in *Alexander*'s Camp, he, ſome way or other, offended that Monarch to ſuch a Degree, that he ordered him to be ſlain; which ſevere Sentence he eſcaped, by ſpeedy Flight. It was on this Occaſion, that an odd Accident inſpired him with the Hopes of acquiring the Regal Dignity: Being exceſſively tired with the Heat of the Weather, and hard Travelling, he lay down in a Wood, to ſleep; and a Lion having gently licked the Sweat off his Body, till he awaked, then left him without doing, or endeavouring to do him, the leaſt Hurt. He gathered about him, ſoon after, a Crew of Outlaws, and began to make Inroads on the *Macedonian* Colonies. He ſaw the Diſpoſition of the People was abſolutely repugnant to the Yoke of *Greek* Slavery; and therefore, under Pretence of reſtoring Liberty, he very artfully brought them into Subjection to himſelf [b].

As this was an Age when Prodigies had great Effects, *Andracottus* produced an Elephant, of a very unuſual Size, which, he aſſured the People, came, of its own Accord, out of the Woods, and behaved towards him as tamely as if it had been long diſciplined. This Story ſerved his Purpoſe very extenſively; for it encouraged the People every-where to riſe; and induced them to accept of him for their Chief: So that, in a very ſhort Space, he cut off all *Alexander*'s Gariſons, and thoſe who commanded them, breathing, where-ever he marched, the ſtrongeſt Paſſion for Liberty; and inlarging, by Degrees, both his Forces and Dominions, till he was become much too potent for any of his Neighbours, and durſt avow publicly his Deſign, not only of throwing off the *Greek* Authority, but of erecting a new and powerful Empire in the *Indies*.

As ſoon as *Seleucus* found himſelf well fixed in the Poſſeſſion of his Dominions, he determined with himſelf, to recover the *Indian* Provinces, and to repreſs the Pride of this new Conqueror, who was the firſt Stranger that had attempted to reject the Government of the *Greeks*. But his Endeavour came too late; *Andracottus* was become, by this time, much too powerful to apprehend any thing from one of *Alexander*'s Succeſſors. Inſtead therefore, of abandoning his new Conqueſts, he was no ſooner appriſed of *Seleucus*'s March into the Northern Provinces, than he began to aſſemble a numerous Army, in order to march towards, and give him Battle. *Seleucus* had been hitherto extremely fortunate, and was now at the Head of a great Body of excellent Troops, fluſhed with Conqueſt; yet when he heard, that *Sandracottus* was moving towards him, with a well-diſciplined Army of 600,000 Men, and a great Number of Elephants; and that, inſtead of inclining to part with what he had already obtained, he demanded that all the Country, to the River *Arbis*, ſhould be reſtored to the *Indians*, to whom it formerly belonged, he pauſed a little, and ſhewed an Inclination to treat.

On the other hand, the *Indian* Prince, being, by the ſtanding Maxims of their Policy, reſtrained from attacking a Foreigner, that did not act offenſively againſt him, readily liſtened to the Propoſal; and gave *Seleucus* to underſtand, that he had no Quarrel or Averſion to the *Greeks*, but fought only for the Preſervation of that Freedom, which the *Indians* held dearer than their Lives. An Incident happened, at this time, which contributed not a little to the bringing this Negotiation to an amicable Concluſion, *viz.* the Apprehenſions *Seleucus* was under, from the Power of *Antigonus*, which had united the other Kings againſt him, with whom *Seleucus* was inclined to confederate himſelf; and was, therefore, very deſirous of getting this *Indian* War well off his Hands. After ſome time ſpent, therefore, in Conferences, they came, at laſt, to this Agreement, *viz.* that *Seleucus* ſhould give up all the Frontier Provinces, between the Rivers *Arbis* and *Indus*, to *Sandracottus*; and that he, on the other hand, ſhould deliver five hundred of his diſciplined Elephants, to *Seleucus*: And this being complied with by both Parties, *Sandracottus* was left in quiet Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, and *Seleucus* marched Weſtward again with his Army, ſtrongly reinforced by thoſe five hundred Elephants [c].

It is impoſſible, from the few Circumſtances that are left us by antient Writers, to pretend to fix the Boundaries of this *Indian* Monarch's Territories, or to ſay, with any Degree of Certainty, of what Nation he was King: It is, indeed, certain, that he made Choice of the chief City of the *Praſians*, for his Capital; but I do not think it probable, that he was firſt King of that People: On the contrary, it ſeems moſt likely, that having firſt got together an Army, compoſed of ſuch as *Alexander* had driven out of their Countries, he became ſtrong enough, by Degrees, to reduce all the Countries between the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*, and many alſo, on the other Side of the laſt-mentioned River; and then fixed the Seat of his Empire at *Palimbothra*. It is true, that *Megaſthenes* reported, that *Sandracottus* was the hundred and fifty-third Monarch, from *Bacchus*; and that thoſe Princes had reigned for the Space of ſix thouſand and forty-two Years; which is very improbable in itſelf, and not at all agreeable to the other Lights we have from Hiſtory [d].

As for this City of *Palimbothra*, which, in many Authors, is called *Palibothra*, it ſtood at the Confluence of the Rivers *Erannoboas*, and *Ganges*, and was the moſt famous City in the *Indies*. *Megaſthenes*, who had been often there, affirms that it was eighty Stadia in Length, and fifteen in Breath; ſurrounded with a Ditch, of a prodigious Breadth, and forty-five Foot deep: There were five hundred and ſeventy Towers on its Walls; and it had ſixty-four Gates [a]. *Ptolemy* calls it, *The Royal Palibothra* [b]; and places it in the Latitude of 27°: And *Strabo* tells us, that, from this Royal City, the King was frequently called *Palimbothrus*; which is probable enough, ſince it is plain, that ſuch a Cuſtom prevailed in the *Indies*, from the Inſtance of *Mophis*, who, on his Acceſſion to the Kingdom of *Taxila*, aſſumed the Title of *Taxiles*.

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[a] *Juſtin, lib.* xv. *c.* 4.

[b] *Strabo, lib.* v. *p.* 724. *Juſtin, lib.* xv. *c.* 4. *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[c] *Strabo, ubi ſupra.*

[d] *Megaſthenes ap. Strabo.*

The City of *Palibothra* is frequently mentioned, with Marks of the utmoſt Admiration, by many antient Authors; and continued, to the Time of *Pliny*, to be conſidered as the Metropolis of *India*. There is good Reaſon to believe, it is the ſame with the modern City of *Halabas*, in the *Mogul's* Dominions, ſituated on the Confluence of the Rivers *Gemene*, and *Euphrates*, and agreeing, in other reſpects, to the foregoing Deſcription. *Megaſthenes*, who was employed in ſeveral Negotiations, at the Court of *Sandracottus*, repreſented him as a Prince no leſs conſpicuous for his Virtues, than formidable for his Power; as one who ruled with the utmoſt Regard to Equity and Juſtice, and kept even his Soldiers to ſuch ſtrict Diſcipline, as that an Army of four hundred thouſand Men, could march thro' a Country, without harraſſing, or deſtroying it. He muſt, indeed, have been a Prince of ſingular Abilities, who, from ſuch ſmall Beginnings, would raiſe up ſo potent an Empire, and leave it, at his Deceaſe, to his Son. The Name of this Succeſſor of his, was *Alitrochades*; and we read in *Pliny*, that the Standing Forces of this Monarch were ſix hundred thouſand Foot, thirty thouſand Horſe, and nine thouſand Elephants [c].

3. By this Treaty, made with the *Indian* Prince before mentioned, *Seleucus* abſolutely abandoned all the Conqueſts that *Alexander* had made on that Side, within leſs than twenty Years after his Death; and they were never afterwards recovered. It was this Prince, who in his Tranſactions with the Kings of *India*, made uſe of *Megaſthenes*, whom we have ſo often mentioned; and it was, by being thus employed by *Seleucus*, that he acquired the Knowledge requiſite for the writing of his Book, which is long ago periſhed, tho' there are ſtill ſome Fragments preſerved. He is cenſured as a fabulous Writer, by moſt of thoſe who cite him; and, in the Beginning of the 15th Century, it came into the Head of an *Italian* Monk, whoſe Name was *Annius*, of *Viterbo*, to counterfeit the Book of which we have been ſpeaking, notwithſtanding that he knew ſo little of it, as to miſtake the Author's Name, whom he calls *Metaſthenes*; into which Miſtake he was led, by the *Latin* Tranſlation of *Joſephus*. His Maſter *Seleucus* was a very wiſe, as well as fortunate Prince; but his Reign was ſo much troubled with Wars, that he had ſcarce Leiſure to think of any thing elſe.

There is, however, one Circumſtance in his Reign, that muſt not be forgot, which was his building *Seleucia*, on the River *Tigris*, at the Diſtance of forty Miles from *Babylon*, in order to make it the Seat of Government, for the Eaſtern Provinces of his Empire: And in this he, and other Succeſſors of *Alexander* the Great, affected to copy their Maſter; and none of them with better Succeſs than *Seleucus*: For his new City, which ſtood on the Weſt Side of the River, ſoon drew moſt of its Inhabitants from *Babylon*, which ſunk ſo low, as to be turned, by the *Parthian* Kings, into a Park for wild Beaſts [d]. By Degrees, however, its Name was transferred to *Seleucia*: And this is the *Babylon* that we find afterwards mentioned by Hiſtorians. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the new *Babylon* is now ſunk as low as the old: For the Caliph *Almanſur*, obſerving, on the other Side of the River *Tigris*, a very beautiful Spot of Ground, on which there was nothing but the Cell of a Chriſtian Monk, and a little Garden, he thought the Situation ſo pleaſant and commodious, that in the Year after Chriſt 762, he built there a new City, which he made the Capital of his Dominions; and called it, from the old Monk, *Bagdad*; *i. e.* the *Garden of Dad*; which is the modern *Babylon* [e], and the very Place which is now beſieged by *Thamas Khouli Kan*: And this Remark will be found of great Uſe, in the Peruſal of the remaining Part of this Work; and therefore I introduced it here. The ſame *Seleucus Nicator* was alſo the Founder of *Antioch*, on the River *Orontes*, about twenty Miles above its Fall into the *Mediterranean* Sea; which continued, for many Centuries, the chief City of the Eaſt: And ſo, indeed, it well deſerved to be, for its convenient Situation, lying at an equal Diſtance from the two great Cities, of *Conſtantinople* in *Europe*, and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, about 700 Miles from each of them [f].

He, and his Succeſſors, had Fleets, both in the *Caſpian* and *Black* Seas; but the Accounts we have, of the Voyages made in both, by their Direction, in *Pliny*, are ſo obſcure, and, in Truth, ſo abſurd, that it would be to no Purpoſe, to trouble the Reader with any Account of them. We have, indeed, a better Character given us of one *Patrocles*, whom they employed to inquire into the Government and Trade of the *Indies*, and who wrote a Book upon this Subject, often cited, and much commended by *Strabo*; but it is long ſince loſt, tho', from his Account of it, moſt certainly it deſerved a better Fate.

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4. This *Seleucus Nicator*, or the Conqueror, who was the firſt Monarch of *Syria*, and of whom we have hitherto been ſpeaking, reigned thirty-three Years; and, on his Death, was ſucceeded by his Son *Antiochus Soter*, i. e. the Saviour, which Surname he obtained by defeating the *Gauls*, who broke into leſſer *Aſia*, and threw all that Part of the World into Confuſion: He reigned nineteen Years; moſt of which were ſpent in War; and was ſucceeded by his Son *Antiochus Theus*: In the eleventh Year of whoſe Reign the *Parthians* and *Bactrians* revolted, which cut off from him moſt of the Eaſtern Provinces, and, with the Rebellion of his Son, perplexed his Reign ſo much, that he had not Time to look into the domeſtic Oeconomy of his Empire, which he enjoyed fifteen Years; and was then ſucceeded by his Son *Seleucus Callinicus*, who, in the Beginning of his Reign, was involved in a War with his Brother; which gave an Opportunity to *Arſaces*, the new King of *Parthia*, to add *Hyrcania* likewiſe to his Dominions; which, however, *Seleucus* endeavoured to recover, and marched with a great Army into *Parthia* for that Purpoſe, but with no great Succeſs. In the ſixteenth Year of his Reign, he invaded *Parthia* a ſecond Time with worſe Fortune than before; for he was defeated and taken Priſoner by *Arſaces*, and, having lived in Confinement three Years, died of a Fall from his Horſe.

He was ſucceeded by his Son *Seleucus Ceraunus*, i. e. the Thunderer, an odd Surname for a weak and puſillanimous Prince, who, after ſitting three Years on the Throne, and doing nothing remarkable, was poiſoned by ſome of his Miniſters, leaving behind him no Iſſue; after his Death, ſucceeded *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus*, when the Kingdom of *Syria* was in the moſt diſtreſſed Condition imaginable, diſtracted at home, and embroiled abroad [g].

5. This *Antiochus* merited the Title of Great; for, though at his Acceſſion to the Kingdom, which happened in the Year 222 before *Chriſt*, he was but fifteen Years old, yet he diſcovered a Spirit worthy of his Crown, and capable of reſtoring the Glory of his Country. In the Beginning of his Reign, he ſent *Molon* and *Alexander*, two Brothers, one into *Media*, and the other into *Parthia*; but they, deſpiſing the King's Youth, ſet up for themſelves, and ſeized the Countries they were ſent to govern: Theſe Rebels defeated two Armies that were ſent againſt them; but King *Antiochus* himſelf, marching firſt into *Media*, there defeated *Molon*, who killed himſelf in Deſpair: His Brother *Alexander*, finding it impoſſible to reſiſt, deſtroyed his Mother and all his Family, and then killed himſelf; by which means theſe two Provinces were again reſtored to the *Syrian* Empire. Encouraged by this Succeſs, he, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, attacked *Arſaces*, King of *Parthia*; and, after a long War, concluded a Peace with

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[a] *Arrian. in Indic.*

[b] *Ap. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. p.* 745.

[c] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. *c.* 19.

[d] *Strabo, lib.* xxi. *Plin, lib.* vi. *c.* 26.

[e] *Elmacini Hiſtoria Saracenica, A. H.* 145. *Eutychii Annales, Tom.* 2. *p.* 399. *Abul. Pharagii Hiſt. Dynaſt. p.* 141.

[f] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xx. *Strabo, lib.* xvi. *Juſtin. lib.* xv.

[g] *Appian. in Syriacis. Juſtin.*

him, by which he yielded up *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*. He did this, that he might be more at Leiſure to recover the Eaſtern Provinces; and with this View he invaded *Bactria*, which had been long torn from the Dominions of the Succeſſors of *Alexander*. *Euthydemus* was then King of that Country, a very wiſe and potent Prince, againſt whom *Antiochus* carried on the War with great Vigour, but with little Succeſs; ſo that, after his utmoſt Efforts for the diſpoſſeſſing him of that Country, finding that he made but little Progreſs therein, by reaſon of the Valour and Vigilancy of thoſe he had to deal with, he grew weary of the War; and, therefore, admitted Ambaſſadors from *Euthydemus* to treat of an Accommodation [a].

By them *Euthydemus* complained of the Injuſtice of the War which *Antiochus* had made againſt him, telling him, that he was not of thoſe that had revolted from him; and that, therefore, he had not, on this Account, any Right of War againſt him: That the Revolt of the *Bactrians* from the *Syrian* Empire had been made under the leading of others before his Time: That he was poſſeſſed of that Country, by having vanquiſhed and driven out the Deſcendants of thoſe Revolters, and held it as the juſt Price of his Victory over them. He farther ordered it to be ſuggeſted to *Antiochus*, that the *Scythians*, taking the Advantage of the War, in which they were now waſting each other, were preparing a great Army to invade *Bactria*; and that, therefore, if they continued any longer their Contention about it, a fair Opportunity would be given thoſe *Barbarians* to take it from both. This Conſideration, added to the Deſire which *Antiochus* before had to get rid of this tedious and troubleſome War, brought him to agree to ſuch Terms as produced a Peace; for the confirming and ratifying of which, *Euthydemus* ſent his Son to *Antiochus*, who took ſuch a Liking to the young Man, that he gave him one of his Daughters in Marriage; and, for his ſake, allowed the Father to take the Stile and Title of King of *Bactria*; and then, having received from him all his Elephants (which was one of the Terms of the Peace) he marched over Mount *Caucaſus* into *India*; where, having renewed his League with *Saphagaſenus*, the King of that Country, and received ſo many Elephants from him, as, when added to thoſe he had from *Euthydemus*, made up their Number an hundred and fifty, he marched from thence into *Arachoſia*; and from that Country into *Drangiana*; and from thence into *Carmania*, ſettling, as he went, all thoſe Countries in due Order under his Obedience [b].

This was the laſt Expedition, of any Conſequence, that was ever undertaken by any of the *Grecian* Princes in *Syria*; and, therefore, this is the laſt of theſe Princes that I ſhall mention. But, that we may not conclude his Reign abruptly, let us continue it as conciſely as may be to its Cloſe. After having wintered in *Carmania*, he returned through *Perſia*, *Babylonia*, and *Meſopotamia*, unto *Antioch*, after having been ſeven Years abſent from thence in this Expedition. By the Boldneſs of his Attempt, and the Wiſdom of his Conduct through this whole War, he gained the Reputation of a very wiſe and valiant Prince, which made his Name terrible through all *Europe* as well as *Aſia*; and thereby he kept all the Provinces of his Empire in thorough Subjection to him. And thus far his Actions might well have deſerved the Name of the Great, which was given unto him, and he might have carried it with full Glory and Honour to his Grave, but that he unfortunately engaged in a War with the *Romans*.

This was intirely the Effects of his Vanity, for which he paid very dearly; for it proved the Ruin of his Affairs, and brought upon him a Train of Misfortunes, that followed him to his Grave. The true Deſign of this War was to have torn away a Part of the Kingdom of *Egypt* from *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a Child under the Guardianſhip of the *Roman* Republic. It was upon this Occaſion that he abandoned all Thoughts of the Eaſt, and laboured inceſſantly to raiſe a large maritime Force in *Europe*; yet, notwithſtanding he ſucceeded in this, and had alſo *Hannibal*, the greateſt General of his Age, to aſſiſt him, his Affairs grew daily worſe and worſe; and, being, at laſt, routed in ſeveral naval Engagements, and in a deciſive Battle at *Magneſia*, he found himſelf in ſo great Diſtreſs, that he was conſtrained to accept ſuch a Peace as the *Romans* thought fit to grant him; and thereby gave up all *Aſia*, on the other Side Mount *Taurus*, and paid the Expences of the War, which were ſettled at fifteen thouſand Talents, or three Million ſix hundred thouſand Pounds of our Money; which extremely ſunk his Reputation, and waſted his Treaſure, involving him, beſides, in ſuch a Train of diſagreeable and ſucceſsleſs Enterprizes, that, at laſt, robbing the Temple of *Jupiter Belus* in the Province of *Elymais*, in order to obtain Money to pay the *Romans*, this occaſioned an Inſurrection which coſt him his Life [c].

His Succeſſors purſued his Maxims of Policy; neglected their Eaſtern Provinces, on which Side they might have acted with Advantage; and, oppoſing the *Romans* from the Dread of their Power, drew it upon them to ſuch a Degree, as to loſe all their great Dominions to that Republic, and her Confederates.

6. It is not eaſy to conceive an Empire better ſituated for Commerce, than that of the *Seleucidæ*, at the Death of its Founder *Seleucus Nicator*; for they had the Eaſtern Provinces of *Alexander*'s Empire to the Frontiers of the *Indies*, the *Red Sea* on one Side, that is to the South, the *Caſpian* Sea on the North, and the *Mediterranean* open to another Part of their Dominions. It is very evident, even from the dark Accounts of *Pliny*, that the firſt Monarchs of this Family were very deſirous of keeping up a maritime Force, and making Diſcoveries in the *Caſpian* Sea; but the Wars and Confuſions that followed the Loſs, firſt of *Bactria*, then of *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, and, at laſt, of *Perſia*, diſcouraged theſe Princes, and indeed took from them the Means of purſuing that Plan [d].

It is likewiſe evident, that *Seleucus* was extremely fond of another of his Maſter's Maxims, which was that of building new Cities; and of theſe he left a great Number of his own, his Wives, and his Mother's Names, beſides thoſe we have already mentioned: And this Practice of his grew into a Humour with his Succeſſors, who were everywhere erecting new Cities at the Expence of old ones. Their Conduct differed widely in this from that of *Alexander*, who never affected to ruin old Cities, but built new ones in proper Places and for proper Purpoſes, leaving Colonies of *Macedonians*, where he intended they ſhould ſerve for Gariſons; and uſing all Means poſſible to invite Strangers of every Country, and of all Religions, to ſettle in them, where he intended them for Ports [e].

And as theſe Princes erected new Cities on very different Motives, ſo the Conſequences that attended them were very different likewiſe; for many of the Cities, built by *Alexander*, increaſed and became famous on account of the Prudence he had ſhewn in the Choice of their Situations; whereas the others, that were moſt of them the Effects of Vanity, unpeopled and deſtroyed each other; and ſo, inſtead of remaining Monuments of the Power, became Inſtances of the Folly and Weakneſs of theſe Princes [f].

7. It was natural for me to begin the Hiſtory of *Alexander*'s Succeſſors with that Family, which, at firſt, were in Poſſeſſion, and always claimed a Right to his *Indian* Conqueſts; which, as we have ſhewn, they quickly loſt by their own ill Management. It may not be amiſs, however, to obſerve, that, from the Facts mentioned in this Period, the Steadineſs of the *Indians*, in reſpect to their Maxims of Policy, very plainly appears. *Sandracottus* raiſed himſelf ſuddenly to an amazing Height of Power, and from a private Perſon, hiding himſelf in the Woods for the Preſervation of his Life, roſe to a Degree of Power, capable of reſiſting the whole Force of the Kings of *Syria*, when in the Zenith of their Glory: Yet he contented himſelf with reſtoring the antient Bounds of *India*, and even parted with five hundred Elephants for that Purpoſe; but he never thought of foreign Conqueſts, or was drawn by Motives of Ambition or Vanity, to weaken his Force, by extending his Dominions. On the contrary, we find *Megaſthenes*, who was an Eye-witneſs of what he wrote, in-

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[a] *Juſtin. lib.* xxx. *c.* 1.

[b] *Polyb. Hiſt. lib.* xi. *p.* 651.

[c] *Appianus in Syriacis. Liv. lib.* xxxvii. xxxviii. *Polyb. Legat. p.* 818. 845. *Strabo, lib.* xvi. *Juſtin. lib.* xxxii. *c.* 2.

[d] *Plin. lib.* ii. *c.* 27.

[e] *Appian. Tit. Livius. Polyb. Diodor. Sicul. in Excerptis Valeſiana.*

[f] *Polyb. lib.* xi.

ſiſting on the ſtrict Diſcipline of his great Armies, on the Frugality of that Prince's Court, and on his ſtrict Adherence to the Manners and Cuſtoms of his Country. We find the ſame Principles as ſteadily purſued by *Sophagaſenus*, who was King of that Part of *India*, which was threatened, rather than attacked, by *Antiochus* the Great: He likewiſe parted with his Elephants to preſerve Peace, tho' he appears to have been ſo well prepared for War, that even that potent and fortunate Monarch of *Syria* choſe rather to compromiſe the Differences between them amicably, than to hazard the Ruin of his Army by an Engagement[a].

Theſe *Indian* Princes had nothing in view, but ſecuring their Dominions, and maintaining their Subjects in Peace and Quiet. On the other hand, the *Syrian* Kings were fond of making a Shew of their Power in theſe Countries, by keeping up a Corps of Elephants in their Armies, preferring thus the Shadow to the Subſtance, and ſeeking rather to ſpread a falſe Opinion of their Grandeur in the Weſt by this Diſplay of their Elephants[b], than to maintain it in the Eaſt, by a conſtant Attention to the Preſervation of thoſe Provinces, which, by the Conqueſts of *Alexander*, were derived to them. But, though the Dominion of the *Greeks* was loſt on this Side, yet their Commerce with the *Indians* was, in a great meaſure, preſerved by the wiſe Conduct of the Succeſſors of *Alexander* in another Part of his Dominions[c]; of which we are next to ſpeak, and which will bring us to a Concluſion of this Part of our Subject, by leading us to the ſame Point which cloſes this Section; *viz.* the Falling of that Part of *Alexander*'s Empire into the Poſſeſſion of the *Romans*.

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[a] *Polyb. lib.* xi.

[b] *Tit. Liv. lib.* xxxvii. *Appian. Juſtin.*

[c] The *Ptolemies*, who moſt of them cultivated maritime Power and Commerce.

SECTION VIII.

The Hiſtory of the Greek *Empire in* Egypt, *under the* Ptolemies; *the Eſtabliſhment of the* Indian *Commerce, at* Alexandria; *and the Conſequences of that Eſtabliſhment, to the Reduction of the Kingdom of* Egypt *into a Province, by the* Romans.

1. *The Settlement of* Egypt, *on the Death of* Alexander *the Great, under* Ptolemy *the Son of* Lagus, *afterwards King, and ſurnamed* Ptolemy Soter. 2. *The Character of that Prince; his perfect Acquaintance with, and earneſt Inclinations to execute, the Deſigns of* Alexander. 3. *An Account of the Foundation, Peopling, and Adorning* Alexandria, *the Capital of the* Greek *Empire in* Egypt. 4. *The erecting the Pharus or Light-houſe there, and other Methods uſed to render the Port of that City ſafe and commodious.* 5. *An Account of the Muſeum, and Library of* Alexandria. 6. *And of the Serapeum, and additional Library, which was deſtroyed by the* Arabians. 7. *The ſtupendous Vaults, Ciſterns, and other ſubterraneous Conveniencies of that City.* 8. *The Acceſſion of* Ptolemy Philadelphus, *and the Maxims of his Government.* 9. *His Care in ſettling the Commerce between* Egypt *and the* Indies, *the Source of the immenſe Wealth of that Country for many Ages.* 10. *The Methods uſed by him, to ſecure the Intercourſe between the* Red Sea, *and the* Nile, *deſcribed at large.* 11. *An Account of the extenſive Dominions, vaſt Power, and prodigious Revenue, of* Ptolemy Philadelphus. 12. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Reign of* Ptolemy Euergetes. 13. *The Improvements made in the Commerce to the* Indies, *under* Ptolemy Philopater, *and ſucceeding Princes.* 14. *Declenſion and Ruin of the* Greek *Empire in* Egypt. 15. *Inſtances of the vaſt Profits accruing to the* Egyptians, *by their* Indian *Trade.* 16. *Situation of that Commerce, at the Diſſolution of that Empire.* 17. *The Reduction of* Egypt, *by* Auguſtus, *under the* Roman *Empire.*

1. IT is a Thing agreed, by all the Writers of the Life of *Alexander*, that none of his Commanders ſtood in higher Favour with him, or in greater Credit with his Army, than *Ptolemy*, called from the Name of his Father, *Ptolemy Lagus*[a]. The King had raiſed him, merely from the Eſteem he had of his Merit; and, at the time of his Maſter's Deceaſe, he was one of the moſt conſiderable Officers in his Troops, tho' in the very Flower of his Age: For at the Juncture, when the Diviſion of the Provinces was made, and he had *Egypt* aſſigned him, *Ptolemy* did not exceed forty-five. He went thither immediately; had the Province delivered up to him quietly; and held it thenceforward, to the Day of his Death, with all the Advantages it naturally poſſeſſed, and all that could be added to it, by his Valour and Conduct. It was not long before ſome of thoſe, who conferred upon him this Dominion, moved by Envy and Ambition, would have deprived him of it: But he was ſo prudent a Stateſman, ſo great a Captain, and ſo gracious a Maſter, that his Army, and his Subjects, adhered to him ſteadily, and enabled him to reſiſt effectually all the Attempts that were made to his Prejudice.

A Rumour prevailed thro' the *Macedonian* Army, that where *Alexander*'s Body was intombed, that Country ſhould enjoy Peace and Felicity beyond any other. *Ptolemy*, knowing how great an Effect ſuch ſuperſtitious Opinions have upon the Minds of the Vulgar, contrived, under colour of conveying it to the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, to get the Corpſe of his Maſter into *Egypt*, where it was firſt depoſited at *Memphis*, and was afterwards tranſported to *Alexandria*, where it remained, and gave Credit to *Ptolemy*, in all his Undertakings[b].

After the firſt Diſputes, which followed after that Conqueror's Deceaſe, and the ſecond Partition of the Provinces, *Ptolemy* had a larger Share; and, behaving much more kindly to the Soldiers, than the other Princes did, had always a numerous, and well-diſciplined Army; by the Help of which he added *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, together with *Cyrene*, and *Lybia*, to his Dominions; which rendered him, if not the moſt powerful, at leaſt, the beſt eſtabliſhed of all *Alexander*'s Captains; which appeared by the People, or rather Army's giving him the Title of King, at a Time when his Arms were not very ſucceſsful, as if they intended to ſuggeſt they would either reſtore his Fortune, or ſhare it. He did not, however, aſſume himſelf the Character of an independent Prince, till nineteen Years after the Death of *Alexander*, and the Extinction of his Family; that is to ſay, in the Year before Chriſt 304[c].

2. There is great Probability, that *Alexander*, who had ſo much Affection for *Ptolemy*, confided to him ſome of his principal Deſigns. To which Opinion I incline, for two Reaſons: The firſt is, that *Ptolemy* himſelf wrote a kind of Military Hiſtory of that Prince, on the Credit of which *Arrian*, from whom we have the beſt Account of *Alexander*'s Projects, chiefly relies: And the ſecond, that *Ptolemy* not only executed ſeveral Schemes that his Maſter had left unfiniſhed, but appeared to act, in all Things, upon the like Principles, eſpecially in protecting to the utmoſt, and uſing all his Endeavours for the Good of his Subjects, which gained him ſo high a Character, that when

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[a] *Arrian. Strabo Juſtin. Plutarch. Q. Curt.*

[b] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xviii. *Strabo, lib.* xvii. *p.* 795.

[c] *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xx. *Juſtin. lib.* xv.

his Affairs took once a wrong Turn in *Syria*, Thouſands followed him into *Egypt*, chuſing rather to live under him in any Condition, than to ſubmit a ſecond time to *Antigonus*.

He likewiſe imitated his Maſter, in his Care of having a Maritime Force, which he chiefly maintained by the Kindneſs he ſhewed to the *Rhodians*, and others, who, in thoſe Days were eſteemed moſt ſkilful in whatever regarded Navigation or Commerce. He was alſo very acceſſible by, and made large Preſents to ſuch Strangers, as, being evil-treated in their own Country, came to take Shelter in *Egypt*; by which he gained Multitudes of induſtrious, and of mercantile People eſpecially, who were better ſaſisfied under his mild Adminiſtration, than with the Haughtineſs of his Rivals, and the many Revolutions, which, thro' the Abuſe of their Authorities, happened frequently in Places under their Dominion.

But what principally manifeſted his Attention to the Deſigns of *Alexander*, was his extraordinary Application to finiſhing and adorning his new City of *Alexandria*, which *Ptolemy* not only performed ſucceſsfully, and peopled it abundantly, but made it the Capital of *Egypt*, and the Seat of his Empire, as it continued (with continual Improvements and Augmentations) under his Succeſſors. This City, as the Reſidence of that Monarch, who reſtored the antient Commerce of the *Indies*, by the Route of the *Arabian* Gulph, and as being itſelf the great Staple of that Commerce for many Centuries, it will be requiſite for us to deſcribe; and that more largely, and with greater Regard to antient Writers, than is uſual with modern Collectors of Hiſtory, becauſe it has a very near Relation to our Subject, and will enable the Reader to underſtand the more clearly what follows.

3. While *Egypt* continued a Province of the *Perſian* Empire, ſhe was always oppreſſed and exhauſted. The Monarchs of *Perſia* were ſo jealous of the *Egyptians*, that they reckoned their Poverty a profitable Thing to the Empire, as tending to keep them quiet, and within the Bounds of their Duty: And it was for this Reaſon, that they diſcouraged, as much as poſſible, any Settlements on the Coaſt of the *Red Sea*; and were far enough from promoting their Traffick in the *Mediterranean*. But *Alexander* was of quite another Diſpoſition, and no ſooner poſſeſſed himſelf of this noble Country, than he began to conſider how it might be beſt improved, and in what manner his Power might be employed, in reſtoring its antient Wealth and Splendor.

In his March to the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, in *Libya*, he took notice of a Space of Ground, lying along the Coaſt, and directly oppoſite to the little Iſland of *Pharos*; which he judged a very convenient Situation for a City, as having the *Mediterranean* in Front, the Lake *Mareotis* behind, and the River *Nile*, and the *Red Sea*, on one Side of it. After conſidering the Thing a little, he entered ſo thoroughly into all Advantages that might be derived from theſe Circumſtances, and foreſaw ſo exactly all that afterwards this City arrived at, that, poſtponing his Journey for the preſent, he reſolved, without Delay, to cauſe the Outlines of the City to be drawn, under his own immediate Inſpection, and to call it *Alexandria* [a].

His firſt Care was for Health: And, hearing the groſs Air, from the neighbouring Marſhes, was looked upon as unwholſome, he ſo contrived the Streets, that they received the *Eteſian* Winds quite through them; which ſo purified the Air, and purged the Vapours, that the Inhabitants found the Situation healthy, and the Breezes pleaſant. He provided next for Strength; and laid down the Plan in ſuch a manner, that there were only two Roads to it, each of them very commodious; but ſo ſituated, one towards the Sea, and the other by the Lake, that a ſmall Body of Forces might be able to defend it, in any time of Danger. It was laid out in the Form of a Soldier's Coat, being about thirty Stadia in Length, and ten in Breadth: There ran through the midſt of it a fine open Street, one hundred Feet in Breadth, wherein the principal Buildings for public Uſes were to ſtand: And he likewiſe cauſed the Foundations of a Royal Palace to be marked out; and then, committing the Care of building this City to *Dinochares*, a famous Architect, he continued his Expedition into *Libya*.

Some Writers, indeed, ſay, that it was not till after his Return from the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, that he built this City; which is very eaſily accounted for, ſince it is certain, that, upon his Return into *Egypt*, he viſited the riſing City; and was extremely pleaſed at the Progreſs that had been made, and at the Beauty of the Port; which, when fenced with a Wall, and cleaned, appeared to be one of the moſt capacious in that Part of the World. It may ſeem ſomewhat extraordinary, that the antient *Egyptian* Kings, who were ſo much famed for their Wiſdom, ſhould not diſcover a Port that lay ſo conveniently for embracing the whole Trade of the *Mediterranean*: But the Truth is, that they were well enough acquainted with it, and actually built a Town called *Rhacotis*, in its Neighbourhood; not with any View to the making uſe of the Port, but quite the contrary, with Intention to have filled it up, and ſpoiled it, from the Fear they were under of the *Greeks*, whom they conſidered as a needy, and, at the ſame time, an enterpriſing Nation, who were ready to improve any Opportunity that offered, of bettering their own Condition, at the Expence of their Neighbours.

When the Form and Extent of the new City was fully ſettled, *Alexander* took care to people it, by granting extraordinary Privileges to ſuch as ſhould inhabit it. Theſe Inhabitants were of three Sorts: 1ſt, *Macedonians*, who had the higheſt Privileges; and in this Rank alſo, the *Jews* were inrolled, which, as their Affairs were in a diſtracted Condition at home, drew Multitudes of them thither. 2d, The Mercenaries, who were old and unfit for Service, and were deſirous of obtaining a Settlement. 3d, The native *Egyptians*, who, tho' the leaſt favoured with reſpect to Immunities, yet being offered much more advantageous Conditions in this new City, than they had in any of their own, reſorted thither in Crouds: So that, in a ſhort time, the Place was not only built, but thoroughly inhabited; which was greatly promoted by the Care that *Alexander* took, even when at the greateſt Diſtance, for the Improvement of this favourite Colony [b].

4. At the Time that *Ptolemy* came to take Poſſeſſion of his Province of *Egypt*, he found *Alexandria* in a very flouriſhing Condition; for which Reaſon he choſe it for the Capital of his Dominions; and, all his Life long, ſtudied to adorn it, and increaſe the Number of its Inhabitants. His long Reign of 39 Years gave him various Opportunities of fulfilling his Intentions, and of executing, in that City, what *Alexander* had propoſed to have done throughout his Dominions, as we ſhall ſhew as ſuccinctly as may be: His firſt Care was, to eſtabliſh a great Maritime Force; in which, notwithſtanding the many Checks he met with in his Reign, he ſucceeded beyond any of the Succeſſors of his Maſter; and, at the time of his Deceaſe, might be ſaid to be Maſter of the Sea. It was this that occaſioned his inlarging and improving the Port of *Alexandria*, which, even in its Beginning, alarmed the *Carthaginians* ſo much, that they ſent one *Hamilcar*, who was ſurnamed *Rhodanus*, to the Court of *Alexander* the Great, to get certain Information as to the Deſigns of that wiſe Prince, with reſpect to this new Port, and the Communication they ſuſpected he meant to open between it and his Dominions on the Eaſt.

Hamilcar was inſtructed to pretend, that he was an Exile from *Carthage*, and came to ſeek Refuge in the King's Court, where he was to endeavour to inſinuate himſelf into his Confidence, in order to execute his Commiſſion the better; and, under the Protection of *Parmenio*, he ſucceeded perfectly: But, after the King's Death, returning home, and making a Report of the Poſſibility of uniting the Eaſtern and Weſtern Commerce of the World at *Alexandria*, his Countrymen, diſpleaſed with his Diſcoveries, or thinking it dangerous to let a Man live, who knew ſo much, by an extraordinary Stroke of Republican Gratitude, they put him to Death, as the ſhorteſt Way of ſecuring themſelves from the Miſchiefs he might do them [c].

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[a] *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *Strabo, lib.* xvii. *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[b] *Arrian. Q. Curt. Juſtin.*

[c] *Juſtin, lib.* xxi. *c.* 6.

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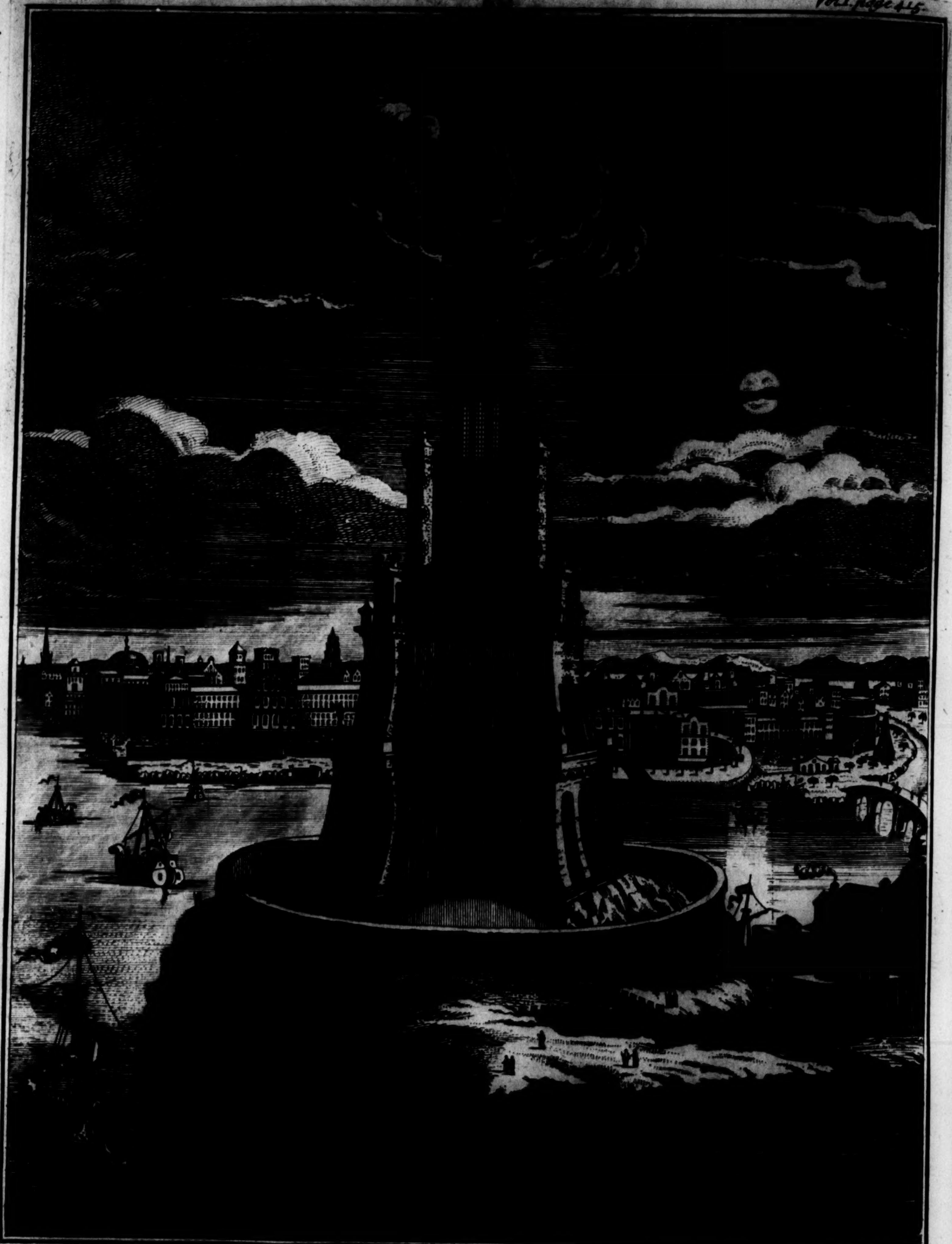

The Marble Watch-Tower *or* Light-Houſe *Erected by* PTOLEMY [illegible] *on the Iſland of* Pharus *near the Port of* Alexandria *with the Cauſeway carried through the Sea to the Continent.*

Yet, upon mature Deliberation on what was ſuggeſted to him by the ableſt Seamen of thoſe Times, *Ptolemy* was concerned, that two Things were wanting, to render this capacious Port of his perfectly ſafe, and eaſy of Acceſs; *viz.* a ſort of Mole, which might defend it from Winds; and a Watch-tower, that might ſhew the true Entrance of the Port at Sea; and for both theſe Inconveniencies he found effectual Remedies. The Iſland *Pharus* lying three Quarters of a Mile diſtant from the City, he determined to build a Watch-tower thereon, and to run a Cauſeway from the City to the Iſland, which would ſecure the Ships in the Port from the Fury of the Winds: But his Endeavours, in this reſpect, were ſo often croſſed by Wars, and other Accidents, that it was at the very Cloſe of his Reign theſe noble Deſigns were completed; but then they had this Advantage, that they were abſolutely perfect in their Kinds; ſo that they were eſteemed for many Ages after, among the Wonders of the World.

The Watch-tower, or Light-houſe, was a large ſquare Building, compoſed of fine, white Marble, and the Height of one hundred and thirty-five Feet, on the Top of which Fires were conſtantly maintained, for the Direction of Ships upon the Coaſt. The Expence of this Tower amounted to eight hundred *Alexandrian* Talents, or upwards of three hundred and thirty thouſand Pounds of our Money. The Architect who built it, was *Soſtratus* of *Cnidus*, who baſely endeavoured to uſurp the Honour of it with Poſterity, to himſelf, by this fraudulent Device: The Inſcription ordered to be ſet on it, being, *King* Ptolemy, *to the Gods the Saviours, for the Benefit of thoſe who paſs by Sea*; inſtead of *Ptolemy*'s Name, he carefully ingraved his own, in the ſolid Marble; and then filling up the Hollow of the engraved Letters with Mortar, wrote upon it what was directed: So the Inſcription which was firſt read, was according as it was ordered, and truly abſcribed the Work to King *Ptolemy*, its proper Founder; but, in Proceſs of Time, the Mortar being worn off, the Inſcription then appeared to be thus, Soſtratus, *the* Cnidian, *Son of* Dexiphanes, *to the Gods the Saviours, for the Benefit of thoſe who paſs by Sea*; which, being in laſting Letters, deeply ingraved into the Marble Stones, laſted as long as the Tower itſelf. This Tower has been demoliſhed for Ages paſt[a].

As for the Mole, or Cauſeway carried through the Sea, and by which the Iſland of *Pharus* was joined to the Continent, it was called in *Greek*, the *Heptaſtadium*, or Road of ſeven Stadia, becauſe that was the Length of it. This ſtupendous Work, no way inferior to the celebrated Light-houſe, was performed by *Dexiphanes*, the Father of *Soſtratus*, about the ſame time that *Soſtratus* finiſhed the Tower; and ſeems to have been the more difficult Undertaking of the two. They, being both very famous Architects, were both employed by *Ptolemy Soter*, in the Works which he had projected, for the beautifying, adorning, and ſtrengthening the City of *Alexandria*: The Father having undertaken *Heptaſtadium*, at the ſame time that his Son did the Tower, they finiſhed both theſe Works at the ſame Time; that is, about the Time that *Ptolemy Soter* aſſociated his Son *Philadelphus*. Thoſe who attribute the making of the *Heptaſtadium* to *Cleopatra*, follow *Ammianus Marcellinus*, whoſe Relation concerning it cannot be true; for it contradicts *Cæſar*'s Commentaries, and many other Authors, that are better to be credited in this Matter.

Thus, with infinite Induſtry and Care, as well as at a vaſt Expence, this wiſe and powerful Monarch ſecured to his Capital two excellent Ports, that were equally valuable for their Extent, their Safety, and the Commodiouſneſs of them. Neither is this Account to be at all doubted, from what modern Travellers have ſaid, as to the Difficulty and Danger of the little Port at *Alexandria*, becauſe, without queſtion, it is very much altered from what it was, by the Ruin of the Watch-tower, and many other Buildings, which have been demoliſhed, and the Materials thrown into it; and by the Sholes occaſioned by the Lodging of Sand and Mud in theſe Ruins: So that the Embaraſſments and Difficulties, with which it is now attended, are not ſo properly chargeable on the Port itſelf, as on the Ignorance, Malice, and Lazineſs, of its preſent Poſſeſſors; by which I mean the *Mohammedans* in general, who, ſince it has been in their Hands, have taken as much Pains to ruin and demoliſh it, as if the Deſtruction of ſuch a noble Work was likely to raiſe their Fame as high, as that of thoſe who erected it.

5. But *Ptolemy*, knowing well that neither Government nor Commerce could flouriſh where Learning was not encouraged; and being deſirous to execute, as far as he was able, the ſeveral Projects formed by his Maſter, in favour of this ſingle City; he erected, for the Service of the Sciences, as great, as beautiful, and as expenſive a Building as that of the *Pharus*, which rendered the Port of *Alexandria* at leaſt equal, if not ſuperior, to any in the World. This large and elegant Structure, was called the *Muſeum*, furniſhed with every thing that could make it commodious, or pleaſant, to thoſe who were to dwell in it. Here he placed the learned Men, whom the Fame of his many Virtues, his Love of Learning, and his fine Taſte in almoſt every Branch of it, drew to *Alexandria*, from all Parts. The *Muſeum* ſtood in that Part of *Alexandria* which was called *Bruchium*, and very near the Royal Palace; where the Philoſophers walked, converſed together, read their Lectures, and were ſplendidly entertained, in all reſpects, at the public Expence[b].

Here alſo, for their particular Conveniency, he founded that famous Library, the Reputation of which will laſt, as long as there are Books: For the ſupplying of this great Repoſitory of Learning, he exerted all his Power, and diſpenſed no ſmall Part of his Treaſure, ſeizing every Foreigner's Books, as ſoon as he came to *Alexandria*; and, cauſing them to be tranſmitted to the *Muſeum*, they were fairly copied by the Scribes, whom he maintained for this Purpoſe, the Original ſafely laid up in the Library, and the Copies returned, with a proper Gratuity, to the Owners of the Books. Beſides this Library, there was another, which was called its Daughter, and of which we ſhall preſently have Occaſion to ſpeak.

At preſent, we will confine ourſelves to this; and, having given the Hiſtory of its Riſe, we will alſo ſay ſomewhat of the Manner, in which it was deſtroyed. This unlucky Accident happened when *Julius Cæſar* was at *Alexandria*, and carried on a War there againſt the *Egyptians*, when a Fire that happened in the Royal Quarter of that City, burnt down the beſt Part of the Palace, and with it the Library, and in it four hundred thouſand Volumes; which was ſuch a Loſs to the learned World, as could hardly be repaired[c]. The learned Men, who lived in the *Muſeum*, were treated with the utmoſt Generoſity and Reſpect; and had for their Preſident, a Perſon equally diſtinguiſhed in point of Quality and Literature; ſo that he might ſeem alike worthy of being at the Head of the King's Council, and the Superior of ſuch an Aſſembly of Men of Letters. The Dignity and Reputation of this Society preſerved it in all Changes and Revolutions of Government, as long as a Taſte for Learning remained unextinguiſhed, the *Roman* Emperors being no leſs careful, in the Choice of thoſe whom they appointed Preſidents of this Muſeum, than the *Egyptian* Princes themſelves.

6. The laſt Branch of *Alexander*'s Policy extended to Religion; and this alſo *Ptolemy* took care to comply with in a moſt extraordinary Manner: He gave out, that he had a Viſion, while he was employed in the inlarging and adorning *Alexandria*, of a very beautiful young Man in a flowing Robe, and of divine Aſpect, who admoniſhed him, if he deſired the Safety and Well-being of this City, about which he took ſo much Pains, to cauſe his Image to be tranſported from *Pontus*. At firſt, the King pretended not to mind this Dream; but, ſoon after, the ſame young Man appeared again, but in a much worſe Humour; ſo that *Ptolemy* found himſelf obliged to inquire out this new Deity, who proved to be *Serapis* that was worſhipped at *Sinope*, whither Embaſſadors were immediately diſpatched to procure this Image from the King of that Country. But three Years being ſpent in fruitleſs Sollicitations, a Fa-

[a] *Strabo, lib.* xvii. *Plin. lib.* xxxvi. *c.* 12.

[b] *Strabo, lib.* xvii. *Athenæus, lib.* 1. *p.* 22. *Ammian. Marcell. lib.* xxii. *c.* 16.

[c] *Plutarch. in Julio Cæſare. Ammian. Marcell. lib.* xxii. *c.*16. *Dion. Caſſius, lib.* xlii.

mine, which afflicted the Country, came very ſeaſonably to procure a happy Period to their Negotiation: For the People of *Sinope*, finding themſelves hard preſſed by Want, joined with the Embaſſadors of *Ptolemy* in their Intreaties, that *Serapis* might be exchanged for a large Supply of Corn; which was at laſt yielded to, and the ſo much deſired Image tranſported with great Pomp to *Alexandria*[a].

There King *Ptolemy* to welcome the new Gueſt, raiſed for him, in the Suburb *Rhacotis*, a moſt glorious Temple, ſtiled *Serapeum*, allowed to have ſurpaſſed all the Structures of its kind, except the Capitol at *Rome*. It is very eaſy to diſcern from the Circumſtances of this Story, and the Anſwer given by the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, when conſulted on this Expedition (*viz.* That there were two Statues at *Sinope*, one of *Serapis*, the other of *Proſerpina*; and that they ſhould be careful to bring only the former); that the Whole was no more than a political Contrivance to anſwer various Purpoſes. In the firſt place, it filled the Minds of the People of *Alexandria* with enthuſiaſtic Confidence, as if a new God, from the moſt diſtant Part of the World, was come to take Charge of them. Next, by the Novelty of the Thing, it drew Numbers of ſuperſtitious People to worſhip him. And, laſtly, it highly raiſed the Reputation of *Ptolemy* himſelf, who appeared an extraordinary Favourite with the Gods, from this ſurpriſing Inſtance of the Condeſcenſion of *Serapis*. Thus we diſcover, by a due Attention to theſe little Circumſtances, the greateſt political Art in this ſeeming ſuperſtitious Weakneſs of this Prince, an Art which ſerved him ſo much the more effectually, for its being ſo ſtudiouſly covered, and which he ſeems to have derived from his Maſter, who was very ſeldom ſuperſtitious, but to ſerve a Turn. It was in this *Serapeum* that the leſſer Library was erected; in which, after that, near the *Muſeum*, was full, ſuch other Books as came to hand, were, from time to time, repoſited: This then is the Library of which later Authors ſpeak; and, for the Number of its Books, became, at laſt, more conſiderable than the firſt Library: The End of this moſt noble Collection was as unhappy, and much more to be lamented, than the former; becauſe it was not burnt by Accident, but by Deſign.

For at the Time the *Saracens* became Maſters of *Alexandria*, which was in the Year 642, *Johannes Grammaticus*, the famous *Ariſtotelian* Philoſopher, addreſſed himſelf to *Amrus Ebnol As*, who commanded the *Saracen* Army; and deſired, that he would ſpare the Library for his ſake, and beſtow it upon him, for the Improvement of the Sciences: The General anſwered, That he would readily do it, if it depended upon him; but that it was too important an Affair to be decided by any but the *Caliph*, who was, at that time, *Omar*, to whom it was accordingly made known: And the Anſwer he gave was this; That, if theſe Books were in their Contents agreeable to the *Khoran*, there was no need of them; and, if on the contrary, they contained Things repugnant to that Book, they ought not to be preſerved: By which judicious Sentence the nobleſt Collection that ever the World ſaw, in all Sciences and Languages, was deſtined to the Uſes of the Bagnios, which were heated with them for ſix Months[b].

Such was the End of the ſecond Library of *Alexandria*; and the ſame barbarous Power, I mean, that of the *Mohammedans*, has almoſt buried in Ruins the very City itſelf: Moſt of the Palaces are intirely deſtroyed; the Walls themſelves have not eſcaped; but ſome of the Towers, which were built like Baſtions, have, even to this Day, baffled the Fury of theſe Enemies to all Taſte and Politeneſs: And theſe Towers, all built with Marble, and in each of which there are many Apartments finely laid out, ſerve as Witneſſes to the Truth of thoſe Facts, which, with reſpect to the Magnificence of this City, are recorded by the beſt Authors of Antiquity[c].

7. Yet one Particular there is, relating to this once glorious Place, the Truth of which, perhaps, no hiſtorical Evidence could have eſtabliſhed; and which, for their own Conveniency, the *Turks* have left intire to teſtify for itſelf. The antient City of *Alexandria*, like moſt of the Cities of *Egypt*, was deſtitute of freſh Water; and, lying at a Diſtance from the *Nile*, a Canal was dug from thence, about eighteen Leagues in Length, to ſupply it; but as the Waters of that River roſe but once a Year, high enough to fill that Canal to any conſiderable Depth, the whole City of *Alexandria* was vaulted, and thoſe Vaults ſuſtained by Rows of Pillars of the fineſt Marble; ſo that, in fact, the City under-ground was more curious, and perhaps as expenſive, as that above[d].

Some of this Vaulting was walled up ſo cloſely as to ſerve for a Ciſtern, Part of which came under every Houſe; and, at the Time of Year when the *Calis*, for ſo the Canal from the *Nile* was called, was full to the Top of its Banks, the Head was broken down, and a ſufficient Quantity of Water let into the Ciſtern to ſupply the City, till the River overflowed again: And by this ſingular Contrivance, either of *Alexander* or his Architect *Dinochares*, the City in general, and every Houſe in particular, was ſupplied with freſh Water, without the Trouble of going to fetch it out of Doors. This Ciſtern the *Turks*, for their own Uſe, have preſerved; and the Place is now furniſhed with Water by the ſame means. It is farther ſaid, that there are abundance of fine Streets, and many curious Buildings, ſtill preſerved in this ſubterraneous City; but the Jealouſy of the *Turks* is ſo great, that they very ſeldom permit Chriſtians to viſit them[e]: Such were the Wonders of this Capital of the *Greek* Empire in *Egypt*, and ſuch the Care of *Ptolemy*, to complete therein the great Deſigns of its Founder.

Let us now return to the proper Buſineſs of this Section; and, after ſo copious a Deſcription of the Staple of the *Indian* Trade, ſhew how it was brought thither. The Reader is ſufficiently acquainted with the Method by which the antient *Egyptians* carried on their Trade to the Eaſt: It is, therefore, ſufficient to ſay, that *Ptolemy Soter*, i. e. the Saviour, reſtored that Trade; from which, during the whole Continuance of the *Perſian* Empire, the *Egyptians* had been debarred; and by this means, but more eſpecially by their Trade to *Arabia*, his Subjects, even in his Time, and before the vaſt Improvements made by his Succeſſors, of which we ſhall give a diſtinct Account, became immenſely rich. Of this we have a moſt extraordinary Inſtance in the Proceſſion made at the Coronation of his Son *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, whom he aſſociated in the Government two Years before his Death, as we find it preſerved in *Athenæus*[f], but the Story is much too long to inſert here.

Yet *Ptolemy Soter*, in the midſt of his Power, and in the midſt of this Affluence of his Subjects, preſerved an honourable Poverty; and was profuſe in nothing but public Ornaments, and in ſuch Expences as turned to the Benefit of his People, with whom he often eat, and from whom, when he gave public Entertainments, he was wont to borrow Gold Plate for the Service of the Day. This great, this excellent Monarch, the moſt fortunate of all *Alexander*'s Captains, and whoſe Virtues were ſtill more reſplendent than his Fortune, died in Peace, and covered with Glory, at the Age of Eighty-four, and after a Reign of forty Years; leaving an Example of Prudence, Juſtice, and Clemency, behind him, which none of his Succeſſors inclined to follow.

8. *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, the Son of *Ptolemy Soter*, came to the intire Poſſeſſion of the *Egyptian* Monarchy, to which his Father had annexed *Phœnicia*, *Cœlo-Cyria*, *Arabia*, *Libya*, *Ethiopia*, the Iſland of *Cyprus*, *Pamphylia*, *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, and the *Cyclades*, in the Year before *Chriſt* 283. He received the Surname of *Philadelphus*, or Lover of his Brethren, by way of Irony, and becauſe he was, in reality, very unkind to them, and is even ſaid to have put two to Death. This giving Nick-names to their Princes, was a Liberty always taken by the *Egyptians*, and is thus far uſeful to Hiſtory, inaſmuch, as it generally let us into the true Character of the Man in a Word. The Reaſon of his Unkindneſs to his Brethren was, becauſe he ſupplanted them; for he was the Son of *Ptolemy Soter*, by *Berenice*, who came into *Egypt* as the favourite Attend-

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[a] *Tacit. Hiſtor. lib.* iv. *c.* 83. *Plutarchus de Iſide & Oſiride. Clemens Alexandrinus in Protreptico.*

[b] *Abulpharagius Hiſtor. Dynaſt. p.* 114.

[c] *Voyages de Thevenot, Tom.* ii. *p.* 390.

[d] *Voyage du Paul Lucas, Vol.* i. *p.* 193. *Voyages de Thevenot, Tom.* ii. *p.* 391.

[e] *Id. ibid.*

[f] *Deipnoſophiſt. lib.* v. *p.* 197 – 203.

ant on *Eurydice*, the Daughter of *Antipater*, and the Wife of *Ptolemy Soter*, who had a Son by her, called *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, i. e. the Thunderer, who retired into voluntary Baniſhment on his Father's aſſociating his younger Brother in the Government[a].

Ptolemy Philadelphus, ſoon after his Father's Deceaſe, eſpouſed his Siſter *Arſinoe*, according to the Cuſtom of the *Egyptian* Monarchs; and, having a high Spirit, prodigious Parts, and infinite Application, though of an infirm Body and tender Conſtitution, he governed his Dominions with great Reputation, proceeding intirely on his Father's Plans, as his Father had done on thoſe of *Alexander*. He endeared himſelf exceedingly to his People, by the Moderation of his Government, by his Love of Peace, and by his Readineſs to undertake whatever might be for their Advantage; which induced him to keep up all his Father's Inſtitutions, and to be particularly careful about the Maintenance of a maritime Force, and ſecuring and extending the Trade of *Egypt*. His Reign was not wholly without Troubles; for *Magas*, whom he had appointed Governor of *Cyrene* and *Libya*, revolted from him, and ſeized thoſe Countries. This *Magas* was, in fact, his elder Brother; for he was his Mother's Son, by *Philip* a *Macedonian* Captain, to whom ſhe was married before King *Ptolemy* took her. *Magas* was not ſatisfied with barely ſeizing the Provinces that were committed to his Truſt, but actually invaded *Egypt*, and ſhewed a ſtrong Inclination to have dethroned his Maſter[b].

But *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was not a Prince ſo eaſily driven from his Dominions, as he imagined, but, on the contrary, ſhewed, on this Occaſion, as much Prudence and military Skill as was poſſible; and, in all probability, had cruſhed the Rebellion in the Beginning, if, in his March again *Magas*, he had not diſcovered a private Conſpiracy in his Army, which obliged him to retire back into *Egypt*, when he had the Rebel almoſt at his Mercy. This Conſpiracy was hatched among the *Gauls*, of whom about four thouſand ſerved as Mercenaries in his Army, who deſigned to have made themſelves Maſters of *Egypt*. *Ptolemy* drove thoſe Traytors into an Iſland in the *Nile*, where he kept them ſo cloſe blocked up, that moſt of them were ſtarved, and the reſt cut each other's Throats, that they might be the ſooner out of their Miſery. But, after this, the Times grew more peaceable; and, that they might be ſo at home, *Ptolemy* thought fit to prevent the *Syrians*, who were meditating an Invaſion on his Dominions, by cauſing frequent Deſcents to be made upon theirs; which, at leaſt, kept the War at a Diſtance, and ſerved alſo to employ ſuch reſtleſs Spirits as might have bred Commotions in a Time of profound Peace[c].

9. But this War did not take up the Attention of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* to ſuch a Degree, as that he was not able to purſue the Deſigns, to which his Inclinations led him. On the contrary, he buſied himſelf, during his whole Reign, in improving the Library which his Father had left; in collecting Statues, and other Curioſities, throughout all *Greece*; and in adorning the City of *Alexandria* with many ſtately Buildings. But that which he ſet his Heart moſt upon was, what is the proper Subject of our Inquiry, *viz.* the Eſtabliſhment of the Trade to the *Eaſt Indies* in ſuch a manner, as that it might never in ſucceeding Times be ſeparated from his City of *Alexandria*. In this Deſign he behaved with ſo great Prudence and Diſcretion, that it not only drew thither, during his own Life-time, a much greater Maſs of Treaſure than any other King had enjoyed for many Ages; but, likewiſe, laid his Scheme ſo deep, and executed it with ſuch Judgment and Precaution, that the *Indian* Trade remained, as he deſigned, fixed to *Alexandria*, notwithſtanding all the Revolutions in the Government of *Egypt* for upwards of one thouſand ſeven hundred Years; and thereby made it, during that Space, the richeſt Country in the World, notwithſtanding the Oppreſſions to which it was ſubject during that Space of Time[d].

I cannot help remarking here what, for any thing I know, has not been remarked before, that this is a convincing Proof of the Truth of the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory; for, as *Solomon*, who firſt gained that Trade to his Country, was beyond compariſon the richeſt Monarch that ever reigned in it; ſo was *Ptolemy Philadelphus* the moſt wealthy of all the *Egyptian* Princes, as we obſerved before, and as we ſhall hereafter prove at large; and, as the *Indian* Trade, while the *Jews* preſerved it, enabled them in a very ſhort Space of Time, to overcome all their Loſſes; ſo the ſame Trade kept the Kingdom of *Egypt* full of Gold and Silver, in ſpite of all the Methods taken to drain it; and this to ſuch a Degree, as to countenance the Opinion of the Philoſophers Stone being no Secret to its Inhabitants, becauſe, without the Art of tranſmuting other Metals to Gold, it was thought impoſſible to account for the immenſe Quantities of that Metal, which, from time to time, were drawn out of that Country, though it had ſcarce any Mines diſcovered in it.

[e] But their Philoſophers Stone was, in reality, nothing more, than the Monopoly of this Trade, which, as I have ſaid, they, for ſo many Centuries, enjoyed, and which was abundantly ſufficient to account for that extraordinary Opulence, which ſo aſtoniſhed former Ages, and is in Danger of appearing fabulous in ours: This makes it extremely neceſſary to give a full, as well as diſtinct Account of the Methods taken by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, for bringing about ſo great a Deſign, which had ſuch extraordinary Conſequences, and which laſted ſo much longer, than any other Eſtabliſhment of the ſame Sort, that ever was made, before, or ſince. It was to render this more clear and intelligible, that I entered into ſo large a Deſcription of the antient *Alexandria*, as for the ſame Reaſon I dwelt ſo long upon the Projects of *Alexander* the Great, from which this was derived, and which, there is great Reaſon to believe, had been meditated by *Ptoleny Soter*, though he did not live to execute it; and, from the Account we have given of the Reign of that Prince, the intelligent Reader may percieve, how poſſible it might have been for *Alexander* to have brought all, or, at leaſt, the greateſt Part, of his vaſt Deſigns to bear, if he had lived to the Age of *Ptolemy Soter*; ſince he contrived them ſo much earlier in his Life, and was poſſeſſed of ſo much greater Power, to have enabled him to carry them into Execution.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, having conſidered the Difficulties that attended the Commerce of his Subjects in *Arabia* and *India*, for want of proper Ports in the *Arabian* Gulph, reſolved firſt to remove that Difficulty; which was the eaſier for him to do, becauſe he was abſolutely Maſter of all the Weſt Coaſts, almoſt to the very Mouth of the Gulph. But inaſmuch as Experience had taught the Sea-faring People, that the upper Part of the Gulph was extremely dangerous, as well by reaſon of the uncertain Winds, as becauſe the Coaſts were ſhallow and rocky, he therefore choſe to place the new City, which he erected, and to which he gave his Mother's Name of *Berenice*, much nearer the Mouth of the Gulph, and on the Side of an Iſthmus, or Promontory, which ſhoots there into the *Red Sea*. This was a very fine City; but they are miſled, who have taken it for a commodious Sea-port. It was deſigned for an *Emporium*, or Staple for *Indian* Commodities; and the Reaſon of building it there was, becauſe the Country round about it afforded Water; but the Port was diſtant one thouſand eight hundred *Stadia*, and was called *Myos Hormus*, that is, the *Port*, or *Station of the Mouſe*; but it was afterwards called, the *Port of Venus*: And it was from hence that the Trade was carried on to *Arabia* and the *Indies*. *Ptolemy* alſo directed various Towns to be built between *Berenice* and *Coptos* upon the *Nile*, which was diſtant from it about two hundred and ſixty Miles. The Merchants therefore conveyed their Goods, firſt of all, from *Myos Hormus* to *Berenice*, (though that was back again) probably by the Help of flat-bottomed Veſſels; whence the Opinion grew, that *Berenice* was the Sea-port; to the contrary of which I am led, from the not finding the Stages between *Myos Hormus* and *Berenice*, whereas we have two Routes ſtill preſerved from *Berenice* to *Coptos*; which ſhew, that the former was the Place to which theſe Goods were tranſported immediately from *Myos Hormus*, and that from thence they were conveyed to the *Nile*, as it was found for the Conveniency of their Owners.

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[a] *Juſtin. lib.* xvi. *c.* 2. *Appian. in Syriacis. Pauſanias in Atticis. Diogenes Laertius in Demetrio Phalereo.* [b] *Pauſanias in Atticis.* [c] *Id. ibid.* [d] *Juſtin. Athenaeus. Strabo. Plin. Appian.* [e] *Suidas, in verbo* Chemeia. *Oroſius, lib.* vii. *c.* 16. *Syneſius, Epiſt.* 36.

[a] This was all done by Land Carriage, that is, on the Backs of Camels, the Journey being divided into eleven Stages, none of which exceed twenty-ſeven Miles. At *Coptos* the Merchants had other Magazines, in which their Goods were laid up, till they thought fit to ſend them down the *Nile*, directly to *Alexandria*. But the Country between *Coptos* and *Berenice* being an abſolute Deſert, not only without Villages, or Houſes, but even without Water, *Ptolemy* cauſed a Canal to be cut directly between the two Cities, on each Side of which there were Villages, and in all of them Inns, for the Entertainment of Paſſengers; ſo that from a wild, uncultivated Country, as it had been for many Ages before, he rendered it practicable, at leaſt, if not pleaſant; and thus a new, ſafe, and commodious Route was opened to the *Indies*, by the Care and Induſtry of this wiſe Prince. But as the *Arabian* Seas were always ſubject to Pirates, and as this rich Trade was very likely to tempt them to diſturb it, he took care to have a maritime Force in the *Red Sea*, always capable of protecting it.

The more we conſider the Method he took to accompliſh his Deſign, the greater Opinion we muſt neceſſarily have of this Monarch's Capacity: A Prince of leſs Prudence, or leſs Circumſpection, would, undoubtedly, have placed the Port higher up in the Gulph, and nearer to the *Nile*; but *Ptolemy* knowing, that it was in his Power to remedy any Inconvenience that might occur in the Land Carriage, at the ſame time, that it was out of the Reach of human Skill, to deviſe any Means for ſecuring Ships from the Hazards to which they muſt be expoſed, by ſailing along a Coaſt full of Rocks and Shelves, he, with much Sagacity, choſe a Port at ſo great a Diſtance, becauſe it was capacious, ſafe, and convenient; and appointed the City of *Berenice* for the Magazine of the Merchants, that there might never be any great Quantity of Goods as *Myos Hormus*, to tempt the Inhabitants of the adjacent Countries to endeavour ſurpriſing them, either by Land or Sea. It is certain, that a ſhorter Road might have been found to the *Nile*, if the Length of that had not had its Advantage.

[b] All the Country between *Coptos* and *Berenice* was, by this means peopled, that had lain waſte before: And it is very eaſy to diſcern, that the cultivating a Deſert is as much an Acquiſition of Country, as the Conqueſt of a Tract of Teritory of the ſame Extent. By this means he alſo augmented the Number of his Subjects, who were to find their Account in this Trade; and, by peopling the Frontiers of his Dominions, he effectually ſecured them from the Inſults of the barbarous Nations in that Neighbourhood; and fixed this Trade intirely to his own Subjects, without whoſe Help and Aſſiſtance it could not be carried on. The ſame Reaſons determined him to fix the Mart of *Indian* Commodities at *Alexandria*, rather than at the Ports he had on either Mouth of the *Nile*, though the Paſſage thither would have been ſhorter, and, in all Appearance more convenient. But he very prudently foreſaw, that whatever Expences fell upon this Merchandize, from the Length of its Carriage, muſt be paid by ſuch Foreigners, as purchaſed *Indian* Goods at *Alexandria*, and therefore muſt be ſo much clear Gains to all ſuch of his Subjects, who were concerned, in any manner whatever, in this Commerce.

Beſides, there was no Port in his Kingdom that ſtood ſo convenient for the Trade of the *Mediterranean*, as this of *Alexandria*; and as for the Trade of the Eaſt, while he was ſure, that it could not be taken from him, or broken in upon by others, there was no Danger of its being at all hurt by the Length of the Paſſage. Add to this, the great Advantage that reſulted from having all the rich Commodities of the Eaſt expoſed to the View of the Merchants, who came to *Alexandria* on other Accounts, from the Weſt; ſince, by this means, thoſe Commodities were not only exported, but the Fame and Reputation of them ſpread, even to the moſt diſtant Parts of *Europe*, and thereby freſh Cuſtomers brought from all Quarters.

And, as he thus projected to draw all the Trade of the Eaſt and Weſt into his Kingdom, ſo he provided a very great Fleet for the protecting of it, Part of which he kept in the *Red Sea*, and Part in the *Mediterranean*. That in the *Mediterranean* alone was very great; and ſome of the Ships of it of a very unuſual Bigneſs; for he had in it two Ships of thirty Oars of a Side, one of twenty Oars, four of fourteen, two of twelve, fourteen of eleven, thirty of nine, thirty-ſeven of ſeven, five of ſix, ſeventeen of five; and of four Oars, and three Oars of a Side, he had double the Number of all theſe already mentioned; and he had, over and above, of the ſmaller Sort of Veſſels, a vaſt Number [c]: And by the Strength of this Fleet, he not only maintained and advanced the Trade of his Country, but alſo kept moſt of the Maritime Provinces of *Leſſer Aſia*, that is, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Caria*, and alſo the *Cyclades*, in thorough Subjection to him, as long as he lived.

11. All the latter Part of the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was a Scene of Joy and Triumph. *Magas*, who had torn from him the Provinces of *Cyrene* and *Libya*, growing old and infirm, liſtened to the Dictates of Nature, after having ſo long followed the Sentiments of Ambition; and when he drew near his End, bequeathed his only Daughter *Berenice* to the Son and Succeſſor of *Ptolemy*, and with her his Kingdom. His War with *Antiochus* ended much to his Honour; that is to ſay, in a Peace upon his own Terms, which he made ſo much the more moderate, as he had the Power of making them otherwiſe. On the concluding this War, he gave his Daughter *Berenice* in Marriage to *Antiochus*; and out of Affection for her, commanded the Fleet in Perſon, that carried her to *Seleucia*, on the *Orontes*; and, which was a Mark, perhaps, of Luxury, as well as Tenderneſs, he ordered Veſſels to be ſo ſtationed, as that ſhe might regularly receive, in *Syria*, the Water of the *Nile*, and not be obliged to drink any other [d].

Philadelphus had not, perhaps, the military Virtues; and, having been born in *Egypt*, wanted ſomewhat of his Father's Severity of Morals; but, in other reſpects, he was, at once, the wiſeſt, the moſt powerful, and the moſt amiable of Princes. He was, with all this, a Politician of the firſt Order; he deſpiſed Cunning, and hated Artifice: He was his own Prime Miniſter, and laid that virtuous Plan of Empire, which eſtabliſhed ſuch a Force, as reſiſted, for many Ages, the Follies and Vices of his Succeſſors. His Dominions were very extenſive; and it does not appear, that he had any Thirſt of inlarging them, at the Expence of his Neighbours. On the contrary, the firſt Maxim of his Politics was the acquiring Subjects rather than Territory; and he acquired them by the plain and ſimple Method, of ſtudying their Good. He encouraged Induſtry, and created it: He employed his vaſt Power in making his own People happy, and not in ſubduing other Nations: He marched an Army, indeed, to the Frontiers of *Ethiopia*, not ſo much with a View of conquering the barbarous Nations that infeſted his Frontiers, as to civilize them; and it was this Army he employed, in opening that famous Canal we have before mentioned, from *Coptos* to *Berenice* [e]. Other Expeditions he truſted to his Generals, but this he conducted in Perſon, and directed the building all the Towns in the Neighbourhood of the *Red Sea*.

He cultivated, with the utmoſt Aſſiduity, all the Arts of Peace; he inlarged the famous Library of his Father; continued, and increaſed the Penſions given by him, to learned Men, with whom he converſed familiarly, and heard the Advice they gave him, tho' delivered with the utmoſt Freedom. It was by this means, that he drew Men of diſtinguiſhed Parts from all Countries; and acquired ſuch extraordinary Accounts of the Commerce, Learning, Arts, and Manufactures of foreign Nations, as enabled him to improve every thing in *Egypt* [f] beyond all his Predeceſſors. He was indefatigable, in his Application to the Affairs of Government, and to his Studies [g].

He kept up alſo his Father's Cuſtom, in converſing kindly with all Ranks of People; and thereby ſecured the univerſal Affection of his Subjects. His Siſter *Arſinoe*, whom he married, tho' older than himſelf, was extremely dear to him, inſomuch that her Death grieved him to ſuch a Degree, as to occaſion his own. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that, among the learned Men he had about him, there was one *Dinocrates*, a famous Architect, who, to make his Court to the King, propoſed the building a Temple to *Arſinoe*, the Dome of which was to be compoſed of poliſhed Loadſtones; by which it was projected, that the Image of *Arſione*, made of burniſh'd Steel, ſhould be ſuſtained; and from hence all the Notions of this Sort, that have been publiſhed to the World, are derived. But tho' this Temple was begun under the Direction of *Dinocrates*, yet it was never completed; for both the King and the Architect died, before it was raiſed to any conſiderable Height [a].

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[a] *Strabo*, *lib.* xvii. *p.* 815. *Ptolemy* places *Berenice*, in his Tables, in the Latitude of 23 Deg. 50 Min.

[b] *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. *c.* 23.

[c] *Theocritus in Idyllio* xvii. *Appianus in Præfatione.* *Athen. lib.* v. *p.* 203.

[d] *Polyænus Stratagem. lib.* viii. *c.* 50. *Athen. lib.* 2. *p.* 45.

[e] *Strabo*, *lib.* xvii.

[f] *Plutarch. de Adulatione*, *p.* 60.

[g] *Plin. lib.* xxiv. *c.* 15.

This Monarch left behind him many ſhining Marks of his Wiſdom and Policy, and amongſt theſe ſeveral new Cities, but exactly on *Alexander*'s Plan; that is to ſay, not from the Vanity of being a Founder, but becauſe he diſcerned the Uſefulneſs of ſuch Cities, in the Places where he built them: As, for Inſtance, having conſidered the Situation of *Paleſtine*, and how much the Trade of that Country might be improved, by the Conſtruction of a proper Port upon its Coaſt, he directed a commodious Situation to be ſought out; and in the Country of *Ace*, at no great Diſtance from *Tyre*, he built a new City, adorned with a fine Haven, which, after his own Name, he called *Ptolemais*; which remained, for many Ages after, the moſt famous Port on that Coaſt. He likewiſe built, or rather rebuilt, a City on the Eaſt Side of the Country of *Paleſtine*; which City is often mentioned in the Sacred Writings, by the Name of *Rabah of the Children of Ammon*; but he called it, from his Surname, *Philadelphia*. I have mentioned theſe Inſtances, becauſe they have ſome relation to my Subject; and there is very great Reaſon to believe, that they were founded with a View to the *Indian* Commerce [b].

This may, at firſt Sight, ſeem very extraordinary; but I flatter myſelf, that when I have explained the Reaſons that have led me to this Notion, the Reader will not judge them improbable: In the firſt Place, let it be remembered, that the Whole of this Commerce had been carried on, till the Deſtruction of *Tyre* by *Alexander* the Great, from the Port of *Rhinocorura*, which lay on the ſame Coaſt, to the South-weſt of *Ptolemais*. After the Ruin of *Tyre*, this Trade was revived by Land; and Caravans paſs'd directly from the *Perſian* Gulph, to the City of *Tadmor*, or *Palymna* in the Deſert, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Now the Journey would have been ſhorter and eaſier, by much, from the *Arabian* Gulph to *Philadelphia*; to which *Ptolemais* would have ſerved for a convenient Port, the whole Length of the Land-carriage, from the *Arabian* Gulph to *Philadelphia*, not exceeding ſix hundred Stadia; and the Diſtance between *Philadelphia* and *Ptolemais*, not being half ſo much; whereas, from the neareſt Part of the *Perſian* Gulph, it was thirteen hundred Stadia to *Palmyra*, and ſix hundred more from *Palmyra*, to the Sea-coaſt. We might be, in a manner, clear as to this Point, if we could be certain, that *Ptolemy* really rebuilt the antient Port of *Eſion-geber*, on the *Red Sea*, and called it *Berenice*, from the Name of his Mother, as ſome Writers ſay he did [c]: But, I muſt confeſs, they ſeem to be miſtaken, and to mean the *Berenice* before deſcribed, on the other Side of the Gulph; and therefore I lay no Streſs upon this Argument.

It remains that we ſay ſomething, as was before promiſed, of the Grandeur and Wealth of this Monarch, whoſe Civil and Military Eſtabliſhments have been preſerved to us, for the very ſame Reaſon that I inſert them here, becauſe they appeared worthy of being tranſmitted to Poſterity. and of being remembered for ever. He maintained conſtantly an Army of three hundred thouſand Foot, twenty thouſand Horſe, two thouſand armed Chariots, and three hundred Elephants, beſides Arms in his Magazines, for three hundred thouſand more. His Fleets, taken together, conſiſted of fifteen hundred Ships of War, and a thouſand Tranſports belonging to them. His annual Revenues were fourteen thouſand eight hundred Talents; which makes, according to the loweſt Computation of *Egyptian* Talents, two million eight hundred and three thouſand ſix hundred Pounds: And he is ſaid to have left in his Treaſury ſeven hundred and forty thouſand Talents, which amounts to a prodigious Sum, not leſs than one hundred and ninety Millions of our Money, which muſt have accrued to him from the Trade of the *Indies*; a great Part of which might probably be carried on, at leaſt during his Reign, for the Advantage of the Crown; ſince, beſides the before-mentioned Revenue in Money, he received a great Quantity of Corn, and other Commodities, from his Subjects, in order to make their Taxes the more eaſy. He died in the ſixty-third Year of his Age, and in the thirty-eighth of his Reign, in the Year before Chriſt 247.

12. He was ſucceeded in his Throne, by his Son *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who found himſelf immediately engaged in a War with *Syria*, where his Siſter, and her Son, had been baſely murdered: In this War he was ſo ſucceſsful, that he led his Army to the Banks of the River *Tygris*; plundered all the Treaſures of the *Syrian* Kings; and recovered, amongſt other valuable Effects, that had been carried out of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes*, when he made the Conqueſt of that Country, Abundance of *Egyptian* Idols, which he brought back, and reſtored to their Temples; and this being an Act extremely agreeable to his Subjects, they gave him, upon this Occaſion, the Surname of *Euergetes*, which ſignifies *the Benefactor* [d].

We have already obſerved, that he eſpouſed *Berenice*, the Daughter of *Magas*, King of *Cyrene*, a very beautiful Woman, who made a Vow, that ſhe would conſecrate her Hair, in caſe he returned victorious from that Expedition: And therefore, on his coming back again with Safety, and full Succeſs, for the fulfilling of her Vow, ſhe cut off her Hair, and offered it up in the Temple which *Ptolemy Philadelphus* had built to his beloved Wife *Arſinoe*, on the Promontory of *Zephyrium*, in *Cyprus*, by the Name of the *Zephyrian Venus*. But there, a little after, the conſecrated Hair being loſt, or, perchance, contemptuouſly flung away by the Prieſts, and *Ptolemy* being much offended at it, *Conon* of *Samus*, a flattering Mathematician, then at *Alexandria*, to ſalve up the Matter, and alſo to ingratiate himſelf with the King, gave out, that this Hair was catched up into Heaven; and he there ſhewed ſeven Stars, near the Tail of the Lion, not, till then, taken within any Conſtellation, which, he ſaid, was the Queen's conſecrated Hair; which Conceit of his other flattering Aſtronomers following, with the ſame View, or, perhaps, not daring to ſay otherwiſe, hence *Coma Berenices*, i. e. *The Hair of Berenice*, became one of the Conſtellations; and is ſo to this Day [e].

This ſeems to have been the only War, at leaſt, of any great Conſequence, undertaken by this Monarch, except the Expeditions made by his Order, into *Arabia*; the greateſt Part of which, I mean on the Coaſt oppoſite to that of *Egypt*, along the *Red Sea*, he reduced under his Dominion; as he likewiſe did the remaining Part of the *Ethiopian* Coaſt: So that he was Maſter of both Sides of the Shore, to the very Extremity of the *Arabian* Gulph, over-againſt the Southern, or *Indian* Ocean. It is lucky for us, that we have no diſtinct Account of this Conqueſt, or of the War which occaſioned it; ſo that we can only conjecture concerning it, that as the Inhabitants of that Coaſt were always infamous for Piracies; and as the *Indian* Trade, now ſettled through the *Arabian* Gulph, made it of vaſt Importance to the *Egyptian* Princes, to have theſe Plunderers effectually removed, it was thought this could only be done by erecting Cities, and reducing the Inhabitants to a civilized Life. This is the more probable, becauſe *Eratoſthenes*, who was his Library-keeper, and in high Favour with him, wrote an excellent Book, in relation to the *Indies*, which is often mentioned by *Strabo*, but is long ſince periſhed [f].

Ptolemy Euergetes cauſed likewiſe ſeveral Cities to be built, on the *Egyptian* Side of the Gulph, in order to make that Part of his Dominions more ſecure; and for the ſame Reaſon that his Father alſo had erected Fortreſſes on the Frontiers of *Ethiopia*, *viz.* that he might hunt Elephants, of which he had always many in his Service. An antient Writer obſerves, that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was reputed the firſt Prince that had diſciplined Elephants [a]; which, he thinks, is to be underſtood either of his being the firſt *Greek* Prince that had thoſe Animals in his Army; or elſe, that he was the firſt of *Alexander*'s Succeſſors that uſed them: For, as he obſerves, before the Conqueſt of the *Indies* by *Alexander*, *Porus* had many Elephants trained to War, in his Army: But, without doubt, the true Senſe of this Aſſertion is no more than this, that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was the firſt of the Weſtern Princes, who brought Elephants into the Field, of his own; for thoſe that *Seleucus*, and the reſt of the *Syrian* Monarchs had, were obtained from other Princes; whereas *Ptolemy* had them of his own, taken and tamed by his Officers. This *Ptolemy* the third, or *Ptolemy Euergetes*, reigned twenty-five Years; and died in the Year before Chriſt 221. He was the laſt of his Race that governed with any Temper, or Virtue, all that ſucceeded him giving themſelves up to unbounded Luxury and Vice.

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[a] *Strabo, lib.* xvi. *p.* 521. *Joſeph. de Bello Jud. lib.* iii. *c.* 4.

[b] *Joſeph. lib.* viii. *c.* 2.

[c] *Theocrit. in Idyllio* xvii. *Hieron. in Danieli* xi. *Athenæus, lib.* v. *p.* 203.

[d] *Hieronymus in Daniel.* xi. ix. xv.

[e] *Hyginus Poetica Aſtronomic.*

[f] *Geograph. lib.* ii.

13. On the Death of his Father *Ptolemy Euergetes*, *Ptolemy Philopater* mounted the Throne; to which he is ſuppoſed to have made his Way, by poiſoning that Prince: But it is certain, that he murdered his Brother *Magas*, and ſoon after *Cleomenes*, King of *Sparta*, who had taken Refuge in his Dominions, and had been in great Favour with his Father. This *Ptolemy* was likewiſe charged with the Murder of his Mother; and through his whole Reign gave ſignal Proofs of a baſe and barbarous Diſpoſition, which, probably, induced the Governor he had placed in *Syria*, whoſe Name was *Theodotus*, to give up the beſt Part of that Country to *Antiochus*, who, likewiſe, prepared to invade *Egypt*; but, being hindered from the Proſecution of that Deſign, by domeſtic Troubles, he was forced to content himſelf with reducing *Philadelphia*, which, as we have before ſhewn, was a new City built by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, in *Arabia* [b].

This gave the *Egyptian* Monarch time to breath; and, finding that it was impoſſible for him to continue his idle and luxurious Courſe of Life, without running the Hazard of loſing his whole Dominions, he aſſembled an Army of ſeventy thouſand Foot, five thouſand Horſe, and ſeventy-three Elephants; and marching with it through the Deſerts which ſeparate *Egypt* from *Paleſtine*, encamped at *Raphia*, where he was met by *Antiochus*, with an Army little inferior to him in Foot, and ſuperior in Horſe and Elephants. Here *Ptolemy* ran a great Riſk of being killed by *Theodotus*, who deſerted from him, and who, being well acquainted with the *Egyptian* Manner of encamping, went, with two of his Friends, in the Duſk of the Evening, directly to *Ptolemy*'s Tent, with a ſettled Deſign to have killed him; but, not finding him there, he murdered his chief Phyſician, and two other Perſons, who were in the Tent; and, in the Confuſion this occaſioned, made his Eſcape. Soon after, this Quarrel was decided by a Battle, in which *Ptolemy* was victorious: And it is very remarkable, that his Wife *Arſinoe*, who was alſo his Siſter, remained by his Side, during the whole Engagement. By this Victory he recovered all his Dominions; and might, if he had purſued his Advantage, have deprived his Enemy of moſt of his; which he neglected, that he might return home the ſooner, to a Life of Eaſe and Pleaſure: And during the reſt of his Reign, which laſted ſixteen Years, he continued in a conſtant Courſe of Debaucheries, which carried him to his Grave [c].

He was ſucceeded by his Son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a Child of five Years old, of whom the *Romans* undertook the Guardianſhip, and thereby preſerved his Kingdom. This young Prince followed his Father's Steps very exactly; and thereby provoked the *Egyptians* to endeavour to depoſe him; which, however, he eſcaped: And, thinking to mend his Affairs, by entering into foreign Wars, one of his Favourites poiſoned him, when he had ſat on the Throne twenty-four Years. He was ſucceeded by his Son, *Ptolemy Philometor*, a Child, who, when he grew up, ſhewed ſo little Spirit, that the *Egyptians* ſet up his Brother *Ptolemy Phyſcon*: Upon which Civil Wars enſued, and the Kingdom had been conquered by *Antiochus*, but that the *Romans* again interpoſed; and new Diſturbances breaking out, *Philometer*, who was baniſhed his Kingdom, to move the Compaſſion of the Senate, travelled from *Brunduſium* to *Rome*, on Foot; and the next Year *Phyſcon* came thither on the ſame Errand. The former of theſe Princes was of a generous and beneficent Diſpoſition; but the latter of a baſe and barbarous Temper; and yet the *Romans*, from a Principle of Intereſt, protected him. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, who was a very bad Man, and continually embroiled with his Subjects, who, for ſome time, expelled him, and ſet up his Brother *Alexander*; but afterwards reſtored him, and he held the Crown, in all, from his Father's Death, thirty-ſix Years [d].

He was ſucceeded by his Daughter *Berenice*, who thereupon took the Name of *Cleopatra*; for, as the Kings of *Egypt* were called *Ptolemies*, ſo the Queens were commonly called *Cleopatras*. After this great Confuſion followed, till, in the Year before Chriſt, the *Egyptians* ſet *Ptolemy Auletes*, who was the Baſtard Son of *Lathyrus*, upon the Throne: He had his Surname of *Auletes*, which ſignifies *the Piper*, from his Fondneſs for Muſic; and is remarkable only, for giving *Julius Cæſar* ſix thouſand Talents, that he might remain in quiet Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom; in which the *Romans* maintained him by Force, when he had loſt the Affections of his Subjects. After a Reign of fourteen Years, he died, and left the Kingdom to his eldeſt Son and Daughter; for he had two Sons, and two Daughters; but the eldeſt of his Children was his Daughter *Cleopatra*, ſo famous, or rather infamous, in Hiſtory, for her Amours, firſt with *Cæſar*, and then with *Anthony*; which Exceſſes were not only fatal to herſelf, but to her Country [e].

It is eaſy to conceive, that, under ſuch a Race of Princes, nothing is to be expected from the obſcure Hiſtories that are left us of their Times, in relation to the Commerce of the *Indies*, in any Degree comparable, to what has been related of the Reigns of *Philadelphus* and *Euergetes*; but, from the Fragments of *Agatharchides*, who was Tutor to one of the *Ptolemies* that yet remain, we gather, that this Commerce was, by them, not only maintained, but extended; and the Reaſon of this was plain, becauſe it brought in vaſt Quantities of Gold, precious Stones, Spices, and other rich Commodities, eſpecially agreeable to Princes of a luxurious and diſſipating Temper. Thus, for Inſtance, when it was once known, that in a rocky Iſland, in the *Arabian* Gulph, which was called *Ophiodes*, or *The Serpents Iſland*, from its being over-run with thoſe venomous Creatures, there were many bright Topazes. Orders were immediately given for cleanſing it; and a certain Number of People ſettled there to find and dig out thoſe precious Stones for the King alone [f].

In the Days of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Care would have been taken to cultivate and improve this Iſland; ſo that, at leaſt, the People, who were thus employed, might have been plentifully ſubſiſted: But a contrary Policy now prevailed; the Iſland was left naked and deſtitute of all Things, and the People on it ſupplied, at ſtated Times, with Proviſions by the King's Ships; and, all this, to ſecure the Monopoly of theſe precious Stones, which, in thoſe Days, were highly valued. Again, on the Diſcovery of Gold Mines on the Frontiers of *Ethiopia*, theſe were not left to the Induſtry of private Perſons, or leaſed out by the Crown; but Multitudes of People, condemned on frivolous Pretences, were hurried away thither; and, being guarded by Bodies of Soldiers, of different Nations, that they might have no Opportunity of converſing with them, they were compelled to work in the moſt ſlaviſh Manner; and, this too, without any Reſpite or Relief, till they periſhed under ſuch intolerable Hardſhips [g].

The Trade, all this Time, was carried on in the ſame Manner as before; annual Voyages were made to the Ports of *Arabia*, where the *Indian* Merchants reſorted, and the

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[a] *Agatharchides de Rubro Mari, p.* 1.

[b] *Polybius, lib.* v. *Polyænus, lib.* v. *c.* 14.

[c] *Ptolem. in Canone. Polyb. lib.* xv. *Juſtin. lib.* xxx.

[d] *Ptolem. in Canone. Pauſanais in Atticis. Porphyrius in Græcis Euſebianis Scaligeri.*

[e] *Ptolem in Canone. Cicero ad Familiares, lib.* viii. *Epiſt.* 4. *Cæſar Comment. lib.* iii.

[f] *Agatharchid. de Rubro Mari, p.* 23.

[g] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iii.

Commodities of *Europe* exchanged, at a very high Rate, againſt the richeſt Goods brought from the Countries on both Sides the *Ganges*. For the *Indians* had now ſettled at *Pattala*; improved the Haven which *Alexander* had made there; and, having got a Reliſh for Trade, exported, in their own Bottoms, the valuable Commodities of their fruitful Regions. Yet, there might be, alſo, ſomwehat of Policy in this; for the *Indians*, dreading all Intercourſe with Strangers, in their own Country, might take up this Commerce, that by carrying all the Riches of the Eaſt, thus, to the Doors of the *Egyptians*, they might prevent their making long Voyages, and keep them at a Diſtance from their own Coaſts; in which, in a great meaſure, they ſucceeded.

But, on the other hand, while the *Ptolemies* built new Cities, and extended their Dominions on the Weſt Side of the *Red Sea*, the *Arabians*, on the Eaſt Coaſt, recovered their former Freedom; and, with it, their accuſtomed Itch to Piracy, which they practiſed very ſucceſsfully; and, very probably, might, in time, have rendered the Commerce of the *Red Sea* altogether impracticable, if it had not fallen into the Hands of ſuch, as knew better how to ſupport it, than a Race of Female, or, which was worſe, effeminate Princes, incapable of taking right Meaſures themſelves; and, who were often put, by the Paraſites they had about them, on Meaſures much worſe than they would otherwiſe have taken. This Miſchief, however, muſt have laſted ſome Ages before it could have increaſed to ſuch a Height; ſince it is evident, that, at the Deſtruction of the Kingdom, their Affairs were in a tolerable Poſture on this Side; many new Cities erected on the Coaſt of the *Red Sea*; the Canal to *Berenice* kept in good Repair; and, ſuch other Steps taken, as might conduce to preſerve ſo valuable a Branch of the Revenue.

14. The true Source of the Declenſion of the Power of *Egypt* was, the ill Management of that immenſe Wealth, which, otherwiſe, muſt have turned to ſo great Advantage. The Maxims of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* were buried in Oblivion; their Dominions, on the other Side the *Mediterranean*, neglected, and loſt by Degrees; their military and naval Eſtabliſhments much leſſened; thoſe that were kept up, rather maintained for Shew and Ornament, than for any real Service; all Ranks and Degrees of People corrupted in their Morals; ſo that the Courtiers ſtudied only how to oppreſs, with Safety; and the People, having wholly extinguiſhed all Principles of Loyalty, obeyed no longer than an Opportunity offered of Rebelling. The Kingdom had, undoubtedly, been conquered more than once by the *Syrian* Monarchs; particularly, by *Antiochus* the Great, if it had not been protected by the *Romans*; who, certainly, afforded them theſe Succours, rather from Maxims of Policy, than Magnanimity; and, by ſending ſometimes Tutors, at others, Embaſſadors, and, very frequently, Bodies of Troops, into *Egypt*, acquired a perfect Knowledge of the Country, the Temper and Manners of the People, the Nature of their Commerce, and the Means of getting all into their own Hands. Upon the Acceſſion of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, they had a fair Opportunity of ſeizing the Kingdom; which they omitted, becauſe the *Syrians* were then powerful; and the *Romans* very wiſely judged it requiſite to be rid of that Enemy firſt, well knowing, that the Diſtractions in *Egypt* would continue; and that future Opportunities would not be wanting, after their Reduction of the beſt Part of *Aſia*, to ſeize *Egypt*, when they ſhould be in a better Condition to keep it. Some of the Miniſters under the *Ptolemies* were ſenſible enough of this Deſign, and would have taken Meaſures to prevent it, by reſtoring the old Œconomy; and, as they never wanted the Heans of raiſing Armies, that is, Money, they would have ſoon put their Maſters into a Condition of being independent of the *Romans*, if thoſe Princes, who were intirely given up to Luxury and Pleaſure, had not oppoſed ſuch an Application of their Wealth, as contrary to their own Inclinations, which were to ſquander it away in the moſt fooliſh and profuſe Manner; and often removed theſe Miniſters by Poiſon, that they might not be troubled with Advices, with which they were determined not to comply [a].

Cleopatra, the laſt Queen of *Egypt*, and whoſe Name makes ſuch a Figure in the *Roman* Hiſtories, though a very lewd, was far from being a weak Woman. She was, at the Deceaſe of her Father, about ſeventeen and her Brother *Ptolemy*, to whom ſhe was married, much younger; ſo that ſhe had the whole Power in her Hands; and, being in Poſſeſſion, not only of *Egypt*, but of the Remains of the Empire of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* in other Countries, ſhe took care to acquire their Languages; and, beſides *Greek*, which was her Mother-Tongue, and *Latin*, in which ſhe was early inſtructed, ſhe was able to converſe with the *Ethiopians*, *Troglodytes*, *Jews*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, and *Perſians*, without the Help of an Interpreter; ſo, that if her Virtues had correſponded, in any Degree, with her Parts, ſhe might have preſerved, and been a Bleſſing to her Country [b].

At her Acceſſion to the Throne, ſhe was under the Guardianſhip of the *Romans*, and had actually a Body of their Forces about her Perſon; but the Confuſions that aroſe in that Republic, from the Diſputes between *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, might have afforded her an Opportunity of rendring *Egypt* independent, if ſhe had known how to uſe it: But ſhe was wholly intent on what ſhe conſidered, as her private Intereſt, which was, the ruling without a Companion, and keeping *Ptolemy* as much in Subjection, when he grew up, as while he was a Child. This produced a Civil War; and *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* were, each of them, at the Head of an Army, when *Pompey*, after the fatal Battel of *Pharſalia*, endeavoured to take Refuge in *Egypt*, where *Ptolemy*, who had nobody to adviſe him but the Eunuch who had bred him up, and the Pedant who was his Præceptor, took the vile Reſolution of making his Court to *Cæſar*, by murdering that great Man in his Diſtreſs, which was accordingly performed [c]. Soon after this *Cæſar* arrived at *Alexandria*, with no greater Force than 800 Horſe, and 3200 Foot; his Errand thither was Money; for, as we obſerved before, *Ptolemy Auletes* was his Client, had given him 6000 Talents in Hand, to procure the *Romans* Conſent, that he ſhould remain King, and a Bond for 4000 more, with Money he now came to receive; and, accordingly, it was collected for him: And *Pothinus*, the Eunuch, *Ptolemy*'s firſt Miniſter, had a mind to have been rid of him too; and, in order to exaſperate the *Egyptians* to ſuch an Height, as might ſerve his Purpoſe, he not only ſtripped the Temples, but obliged the King, and all the great Officers of the Court, to drink out of earthen Veſſels, pretending that all the Plate was melted to pay *Cæſar*'s Debt. But *Cæſar* himſelf took a Step, which provoked the *Egyptians* more than all this; for, as ſoon as he came to *Alexandria*, he ſent his Reſcripts to *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*, commanding them to disband their Armies, and ſubmit their Diſputes to his Deciſion, which was a Strain of Authority that equally ſurprized and inraged the *Egyptians*. Yet *Cæſar*, as ſoon as he knew it, found Means to quiet them, by declaring, that he did not do this from any Power in himſelf, but from the Title he derived under the Will of *Ptolemy Auletes*, who leaving his Children to the Guardianſhip of the *Romans*, and he being then their Conſul that Truſt devolved upon him. *Cleopatra*, being informed of *Cæſar*'s Character, quitted her Army, came privately in a little Boat to *Alexandria*, there cauſed herſelf to be packed up in her Bedding; and, being carried on the Back of one of her Servants, was introduced into *Cæſar*'s Apartment, and laid down at his Feet. He was much moved by her Tears and Intreaties, but much more by her Beauty; and ſhe was ſo complaiſant to him, that this Interview produced a Son, which ſecured her his Intereſt ſo effectually, that, inſtead of acting as a Judge, he became apparently an Advocate for *Cleopatra*; which induced *Ptolemy*, though in the Hands of *Cæſar*, to ſend Orders to *Achillas*, who commanded his Army near *Peluſium*, to advance towards *Alexandria*, and attack the *Romans*; which was accordingly done. But though they were five to one, they failed in their Deſign of cruſhing *Cæſar*, who drove them out of the City without Loſs. They next attacked his Fleet with ſome ill Succeſs, which, however, ſo provoked *Cæſar*, that he directed all the Ships of War in the Haven of *Alexandria*, to be inſtantly burned; and, this being executed precipitately, ſome of them drove on Shore, and ſet the adjacent Houſes likewiſe on Fire; and the Flames communicating the Conflagration, to the Quarter called *Bruchium*, it was, in a manner, wholly deſtroyed; and therewith, the famous Library, firſt erected by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, before mentioned.

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[a] *Diodor. Sicul. in excerptis Valeſii, p.* 294.

[b] *Ptolem. in Canone. Plutarch. in Antonio.*

[c] *Plutarch. in Pompeio. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus lib.* ii.

Now it was that the Force of *Egypt* appeared; and, in all the Campaigns made by *Cæſar*, Hiſtory acquaints us with none in which he was in ſo much Danger, or obtained Victory upon harder Terms; and, if the Fear of their King's being deſtroyed, who was all this time in *Cæſar*'s Camp, had not reſtrained thoſe in Arms, and their Attachment to *Cleopatra*, hindered a great Part of the *Egyptian* Nation's taking Arms, this War had preſerved *Rome*'s Freedom, and their own, by the total Overthrow of *Cæſar*, in ſpite of all his Valour, and military Skill, of both which, however, he gave abundant Inſtances. The War at laſt terminated in a deciſive Battle, fought by the *Egyptians*, to prevent *Cæſar* from receiving Succours; and by *Cæſar*, that he might obtain them; in which he prevailed; and King *Ptolemy*, endeavouring to make his Eſcape in a little Boat, was overſet, and drowned, after a diſtracted Reign of between four and five Years; and, upon that, *Cæſar* declared *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, and joined with her her younger Brother *Ptolemy*, who was then but eleven Years old: As for her Siſter *Arſinoe*, who was now fallen into his Hands, he carried her to *Rome*, and led her in Triumph, leaving, however, at his Departure from *Alexandria*, a Body of *Roman* Troops for the Security of the Queen's Perſon, and maintaining her Authority. Here then, properly ſpeaking, ended the *Greek* Empire in *Egypt*; though it was not as yet reduced into a Province.

15. The Reader muſt be undoubtedly ſatisfied, even from this ſhort View of the Hiſtory of *Egypt*, that the Treaſures of that Country muſt be in a manner inexhauſtible, that could ſuſtain the Negligence and Diſſipation of ten ſuch Princes as followed *Philopater*, for there were fourteen *Ptolemies* in all; and, at the Death of *Philadelphus*, there were, in the *Egyptian* Empire, no leſs than 33,339 Cities. It is true, that, by degrees, the Power of *Egypt* ſunk; prodigious Sums of Money were from time to time exported, from the Folly and Weakneſs of their Princes, who ſought that Aſſiſtance from their Wealth, which they ought to have found from their Subjects; and who fooliſhly fancied they could purchaſe Quiet, when they would not be at the Pains to ſecure it by a juſt Adminiſtration; but even at laſt, and when their Affairs were in the worſt Situation, one of their Princes could give, in a ſingle Bribe, 6000 Talents, which amounted to 1,542,000 Pounds of our Money, and his Bond for 4000 Talents more. At the very laſt, in the ſeveral Battles fought by Sea with *Cæſar*, they loſt 110 Ships of War, and had ſtill a Fleet left much ſuperior to that of the *Romans*, in the Number and Force of Ships, if they had been as well manned [b].

Theſe are as ſtrong Proofs as can poſſibly be alleged of the Wealth and Power of the Government of *Egypt*, even when the Government was at the worſt; and yet then it was the Public only that was diſtreſſed: The People of *Egypt* were immenſely rich, as very plainly appeared, by the vaſt Revenues which the *Romans* drew out of that Kingdom when they had reduced it into the Form of a Province. It may be indeed objected, that *Egypt* was in itſelf a Country exceedingly rich; that it was regarded, for many Ages, as the Granary of the World, or, to ſpeak with greater Propriety, of the *Roman* Empire; and, that it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, eſpecially conſidering the Induſtry of the People, that a great Part of their Wealth was derived from thence: But when, on the other hand, it is conſidered, that the *Egyptians* had very few native Commodities of great Value except Corn, and that they ſtood in need of almoſt all kinds of Timber and Metals, of Wine, Fruits, and a great Variety of other Things, which, according to the Humour of thoſe Times, were not only eſteemed Conveniencies, but Neceſſaries; when, I ſay, this is conſidered, it will appear extremely probable, that the beſt Part of that Profit, which ſhould have reſulted to the *Egyptians*, from their own peculiar Trade, was ſwallowed up by their Demand for foreign Goods and Manufactures, and eſpecially during the latter Part of this Period, when, in proportion as their Luxury increaſed, thoſe Demands muſt become greater [c].

It muſt alſo be conſidered, that when I ſpeak of the Wealth of *Egypt*, I do not mean by it, that Affluence, which private Men might have enjoyed in their own Houſes from their particular Fortunes, reſulting from their own Induſtry and Oeconomy; but I mean their intrinſic Riches of Gold and Silver; in which I have ſhewn, that they abounded, more than any other Nation within this Period: And, I hope, I have likewiſe ſhewn, that the beſt Part of this intrinſic Wealth muſt have been derived from their *Indian* Trade; becauſe there was really no other Way, by which they could acquire it. I do not however deny, that a great Part of this Gold and Silver might be returned into *Egypt*, by their Balance of Trade from other Nations, even from ſuch as had much leſs than themſelves; yet if this Balance of Trade was created, as *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, and many other antient Writers agree it was, by their Sale of *Arabian* and *Indian* Commodities, then the Fact is with me, and I have fully made out all that I intended, or that could be expected from me, upon this Subject. I might, indeed, have ſpared myſelf a great deal of this Trouble, by inſiſting on the ſingle Fact of the Treaſure amaſſed by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and have left the reſt to the Reader's Obſervation; but I choſe to make the Thing as plain as I could; and indeed I had no other Reaſon for inſiſting ſo long upon the *Egyptian* Hiſtory, every Circumſtance of which, however, will ſerve to elucidate the following Hiſtory of the Trade to the *Eaſt Indies*.

16. There is the greateſt Reaſon to believe, that one principal Motive which induced the *Romans* to be ſo ſolicitous about the Acquiſition of *Egypt*, was the getting this valuable Trade into their Hands, as well as ſecuring the mighty Empire they had before obtained on this Side, and making ſure of a Country ſo fruitful in Corn, and upon which they, in a manner, conſtantly depended for Proviſions. Indeed, thoſe, taken together, were the chief, at leaſt, if not the only Motives, that determined them to convert it into a Province: For if any thing leſs, than the abſolute Poſſeſſion of it could have contented them, they might have had it without extinguiſhing the Race of the *Ptolemies*, who, for ſo many Generations, had been abſolutely dependent upon them, and held their Kingdom only by Permiſſion.

It may be added to this, that the annexing *Egypt* to the *Roman* Dominions, was the Firſt Fruits of their Change of Government; for ſo long as the Republic continued, there remained a Kind of Modeſty, which hindred them from ſeizing the Territories of their Allies, eſpecially of ſuch as confided their Families and Eſtates to their Protection, which was expreſly the Caſe of *Ptolemy Auletes*, and his Children. But when the whole Power of *Rome* was engroſſed into a ſingle Hand, all theſe Conſiderations ceaſed, and the Deſire of augmenting the Authority, and increaſing the Wealth, depending on that Dominion, came to take Place. That this was really the Fact, will be rendered clear in the next Section, in which we ſhall ſhew, that the firſt Schemes, formed by the *Romans*, after taking Poſſeſſion of *Egypt*, were relative to the ſecuring this Commerce, and even improving it; and therefore it is neceſſary to ſhew the State in which it ſtood at this Juncture, and in what manner this great Revolution happened, which ſhrunk the extenſive Empire of *Philadelphus* into a Province; a Province, indeed, always reſpected as the firſt and moſt conſiderable of the Empire, to which it was joined, and always treated with particular Diſtinction; but ſtill a Province, governed by the Laws, and ſubject to the Impoſitions preſcribed by foreign Maſters, to whoſe Uſe the beſt Part of the Wealth, acquired by its Inhabitants,

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[a] *Dion. Caſſius, lib.* xlii. *Cæſar Comment. lib.* iii. *Plutarch. in Cæſare. Plutarch. in Caeſare. Suetonius. Oroſius.*

[b] *Dion. Caſ. ubi ſupra. Hirtius, de bello Alexandrino.*

[c] *Plutarch. in Antonio.*

was converted; and who, conſequently, reaped, for the future, all the Benefit accruing from the whole Commerce of the *Red Sea*.

In order to comprehend this perfectly, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that tho' the Route, opened by *Philadelphus*, for carrying on the Trade of the *Indies*, was abſolutely new; yet there had been, of old, a Canal cut from the River *Nile* to the *Red Sea*, for the Conveniency of Commerce; and this had been afterwards preſerved, cleanſed, and perfected by the *Greek* Princes, that is, by the *Ptolemies*. This cut ran acroſs the narroweſt Part of the Iſthmus, which was about ſixty-two Miles, though ſome Authors make it more, and ſome leſs. This Canal had been firſt attempted by *Seſoſtris*, but not perfected; the Deſign was afterwards reſumed by *Darius*, and brought to Perfection by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. This Canal was one hundred Feet broad, and thirty deep; but it was managed by a ſort of Sluices, by which the Waters of the *Nile* were raiſed, ſo as to afford a Paſſage for Veſſels into the *Red Sea*, without letting any ſalt Water into the Canal, for fear of ſpoiling the River, which the *Egyptians* valued above all things. [a] When the new Canal was made from *Coptos* to *Berenice*, this fell into Diſuſe, and was conſidered only as a Repoſitory of freſh Water, a thing extremely requiſite for ſuch as travelled through the ſandy Country that was adjoining, in order to paſs round the Head of the *Egyptian* Gulph. There was another Road, which paſſed within two Miles, of Mount *Caſius*, and, after a Paſſage of about ſixty Miles fell into the former Road. And there was, beſides, a third, which was a ſhorter Road, through the Mountain, but without Water all the Way. Theſe three Roads terminated at the City of *Arſinoe*, which ſtood near the Head of the Gulph, on the *Egyptian* Side; and were extremely convenient for the Intercourſe which the *Egyptians* had with the Inhabitants of *Arabia the Stony*, and the Countries to the North of that Region, particularly *Paleſtine* [b].

In the Time of the old *Egyptian* Kings, and before the Conqueſt by the *Perſians*, the little Ports, or rather Creeks, at the Head of the Gulph, were made uſe of for Ships, that were deſigned to paſs down the *Red Sea*, and to trade on the Coaſt: But after *Ptolemy Philadelphus* had opened the commodious Port of *Myos Hormus*, afterwards called the *Port of Venus*, theſe Creeks were very little uſed; though, as we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew hereafter, they have ſince been brought into Uſe again. The *Egyptians* had alſo Towns on their own Side of the *Red Sea*, from *Arſinoe* to *Ptolemais*, which were one thouſand one hundred and eighty-two Miles diſtant from each other; but this laſt-mentioned Place was built purely for the ſake of hunting Elephants, by the Command of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*: And between *Ptolemais* and *Berenice*, there were ſeveral Ports; of which, however, the *Egyptians* could make no Uſe, in regard to their *Indian* Trade, becauſe they were ſeparated from the *Nile* by an high Ridge of Mountains, over which the Carriage, by Camels, muſt have been very difficult, if not impracticable; and the chief Uſe that was made of thoſe Ports, was, to ſhelter the Ships, that paſſed up or down the *Arabian* Gulph, in caſe of any unforeſeen Accidents.

[c] *Timoſthenes*, who was Admiral of the Fleet, which *Ptolemy Philadelphus* kept in the *Arabian* Gulph, ſets down the Length of it to be four Days Sail, and the Breadth about two; but the Navigation was always dangerous and perplexed, on account of the Badneſs of both Shores; however, the *Egyptians* were ſo well acquainted with it, that, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, *Cleopatra*, in the Time of her utmoſt Diſtreſs, had Thoughts of drawing her Fleet thro' the old Canal, into the *Red Sea*, in order to have made her Eſcape that Way, from the *Romans*, and to have taken Shelter either in *Arabia Felix*, or perhaps on the Coaſt of *Perſia*, where her Subjects likewiſe traded. Such was the State of Things, and ſuch the Condition of the *Egyptian* Settlements, at the Time that a Period was put to the *Greek* Monarchy in that Country, with an Account of which we are to cloſe this Section; and we ſhall then enter on the Improvements made by the *Romans*, in the next, which concludes the antient Hiſtory of the Trade carried on by the *Europeans*, through this Country, to the *Eaſt Indies*.

17. *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Egypt*, reigned over that Country quietly, for the Space of near five Years, after ſhe was ſettled in the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom by *Julius Cæſar*; but at the End of that Time, her younger Brother, being grown up to the Age of fifteen, began to expect, that ſome Regard ſhould be ſhewn to him, beyond the bare Outſide, and uſeleſs Compliments of Majeſty; which ſtruck *Cleopatra* in ſuch a manner, with Suſpicion, that ſhe cauſed him to be poiſoned, to prevent any future Diſputes; and thereby eaſed herſelf of all her Family, except her Siſter *Arſinoe*, who had retired, after being led in *Cæſar*'s Triumph, into the *Upper Aſia*, where, tho' ſhe lived privately, ſhe could not eſcape the malicious Notice of her Siſter, who ſoon after plotted and accompliſhed her the Deſtruction [d]. In the Commotions which followed, upon the Murder of *Cæſar*, ſhe carried herſelf with ſo much Doubleneſs and Diſſimulation, that *Caſſius* intended to have depoſed her, for not granting him Aſſiſtance; and after the Defeat of the Forces commanded by him and *Brutus*, *Antony* entertained ſome Notions of the ſame Kind, on Account of the Reſpect ſhe had ſhewn to the other Party; But upon *Cleopatra*'s coming to *Tarſus*, in order to give an Account of her Conduct, he was ſo captivated by her Wit and Beauty, that he became an abſolute Slave to his Paſſion for her; which not only ruined both him and her, but proved alſo the Deſtruction of the *Egyptian* Monarchy, and of the *Roman* Liberties, which, if ſhe had not been ſubdued by *Auguſtus* [e], might, very probably, have been preſerved.

Blinded by this Paſſion, he followed her to *Alexandria*, where he loſt a great deal of Time; and when he returned into *Italy*, found his Affairs in ſuch a Situation, that he was content to marry *Octavia*, the Siſter of *Auguſtus*, that he might be reconciled to him. But this Agreement did not laſt long; for, being ſtill enamoured of *Cleopatra*, he managed Affairs in the Eaſt with ſuch Indiſcretion, and treated his Wife *Octavia* ſo ungratefully, that it produced a new Quarrel with her Brother; which he ſo little regarded, that he declared *Cæſarion*, the Son which *Cleopatra* had by *Julius Cæſar*, King of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*, in Conjunction with his Mother: And whereas he had himſelf three Children by her, *viz.* *Alexander* and *Cleopatra* at one Birth, and *Ptolemy*, whom he ſurnamed *Philadelphus*, at another, he, at the ſame time, gave unto *Alexander Armenia*, *Media*, *Parthia*, and the reſt of the Eaſtern Countries, from the *Euphrates* to *India*, when they ſhould be ſubdued; and to *Cleopatra*, the Twin-ſiſter of *Alexander*, *Lybia* and *Cyrene*; and unto *Philadelphus*, *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all the Countries of *Leſſer Aſia*, from the *Euphrates* to the *Helleſpont*; and conferred on each of them the Title of *King of Kings*: And, about the ſame time, he alſo gave unto *Cleopatra* the Name of *Iſis*, and aſſumed to himſelf that of *Oſiris*; appearing in Public with her in the ſame Dreſs with which the Images of theſe Deities were clothed, in their reſpective Temples [f].

In theſe Kind of Follies, he waſted his Time in ſuch a manner, that his Competitor had Leiſure to aſſemble a very great Force, both by Land and Sea; which, if he had been attentive to his own Concerns, *Antony* might have prevented. When Things were in this Situation, *Auguſtus* procured a Decree of the Senate of *Rome*, for declaring War againſt *Cleopatra*; and thus all the Weſtern Part of the World armed on his Side; as all the Eaſt engaged in Favour of *Antony*. When they began the War, the Forces of the latter were much ſuperior to thoſe of the former; for he had with him an hundred thouſand Foot, twelve thouſand Horſe, and a Fleet of five hundred Ships of War; whereas the Army of *Auguſtus* conſiſted only of eighty thouſand Foot, twelve thouſand Horſe; and his Fleet of no more than two hundred and fifty Ships. But here, again, the Inactivity of *Antony* proved fatal to him; for he delayed attacking his Enemy till the next Spring, before which many of his Friends deſerted him [g].

The beſt Part of the ſucceeding Year was ſpent in a lingering Kind of War, till towards the latter End of the Month of *Auguſt* both Armies and Fleets were in Sight of each other. *Antony*, with his Forces, encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Actium*, a ſmall City of *Epirus*, lying on the South Side of the Mouth of the *Ambracian* Gulph; and *Auguſtus* was on the other Side, with his Army and Fleet, at the Diſtance of about a Mile from each other. *Cleopatra* was with *Antony*, and prevailed upon him to try his Fortune by Sea; and accordingly, on the ſecond of *September*, in the Year before Chriſt thirty-one, a deciſive Engagement enſued, in which *Antony* was far from having the worſt, till *Cleopatra*, with the *Egyptian* Squadron of ſixty Sail, deſerted him; and he forgot his own Intereſt ſo far, as to follow her: Notwithſtanding which, his Fleet continued the Engagement till Night, when they were intirely beaten; and, in a few Days after, his Army deſerted to his Rival [a].

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[a] *Strabo, lib.* xvii. *Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Caſſius, lib.* ii.

[b] *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* v. *c.* 29.

[c] *Strabo, lib.* xvii. *Diodor. Sic. lib.* v.

[d] *Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib.* v. She was murdered by *Antony*'s Order, at the Inſtigation of *Cleopatra*.

[e] Who was then called *Octavius*; but to prevent the Confuſion that might happen, from mentioning the ſame Perſon by different Names, I make uſe of *Auguſtus*, as being better known throughout.

[f] *Dion. Caſſius, lib.* l. *p.* 421.

[g] *Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Caſſius. Suetonius. Oroſius.*

As for *Cleopatra*, ſhe ſailed directly to *Alexandria*; but, fearing that her Subjects would not receive her, if acquainted with the true State of her Affairs, ſhe entered the Harbour, with all her Ships adorned, as if they had carried the Victory: And having, by this Artifice, got into full Poſſeſſion of the City and Kingdom, ſhe cauſed ſuch of the Nobility of *Egypt*, as ſhe moſt ſuſpected, to be put to Death; and then it was, that ſhe formed the Project of putting all her Treaſures on board her Ships, and drawing thoſe Ships thro' the Canal before-mentioned, into the *Red Sea*; which Deſign was prevented by the Vigilance of the *Romans*, who prevailed with the *Arabians* on the oppoſite Side of the Gulph to burn thoſe Ships; which wholly diſappointed her Deſign [b].

Antony was at that Time abſent, and ſeemed to be endeavouring to collect new Forces; but he ſoon abandoned that Project, and followed *Cleopatra* to *Alexandria*, where he fell into the ſame lazy and luxurious Life he had led before. All his Hopes lay, now, in endeavouring to ſoften *Auguſtus* by Submiſſions; and, with this View, both he and *Cleopatra* ſent to the Conqueror, offering to reſign all they yet poſſeſſed, and to lead a private Life, in whatever Place he thought proper to aſſign them. To *Antony*'s Propoſals no Anſwer was made, but *Cleopatra* was flattered with Hopes, that ſhe might not deſtroy, or make away with, her Treaſures: And theſe fallacious Hopes led her to the greateſt Baſeneſs, that of betraying *Antony*, by giving up *Peluſium*, which was gariſoned by her Forces, to *Auguſtus*, on the firſt Approach of his Army. *Antony* would then have put himſelf on board his Fleet, which was ſtill numerous, in order to have fought another Battle; but, as ſoon as they were drawn into a Line, moſt of his Ships went over to the Enemy. His Land Forces acted by him in the ſame manner, thro' the Inſinuation of *Cleopatra*; which drove him into ſuch a Fit of Deſpair, that he threw himſelf upon his Sword, chuſing rather to die by his own Hands, than to fall alive into thoſe of his Enemy [c].

A little before this Accident happened, *Cleopatra* had retired to a magnificent Monument, which ſhe had cauſed to be built for herſelf, near the Temple of *Iſis*; and thither ſhe removed the beſt Part of her Treaſure, ſhutting up herſelf therein, with only two of her Maids, and one of her Eunuchs, expecting, in that Solitude, whatever might befal her [d].

Upon the coming of *Auguſtus* to *Alexandria*, all *Egypt* ſubmitted to him; and he took all the Precautions poſſible, for ſettling and preſerving it; and, amongſt theſe, we are to reckon his putting to Death *Cæſarion*, which he did for two Reaſons; firſt, becauſe he had been declared the lawful Heir of *Julius Cæſar*, which might have awakened new Troubles in *Italy*; and next, becauſe of his Deſcent from the *Ptolemies*, which might have given him a Claim to the Kingdom of *Egypt*. He likewiſe put to Death *Antyllus*, the eldeſt Son of *Antony* by his firſt Wife, tho' he had married his own Daughter: As to the Reaſon of which, Hiſtory is ſilent [e].

Cleopatra remained, all this time, ſhut up in her Tomb; for *Auguſtus*, having now made ſure, both of her Perſon and her Treaſures, neglected her; which ſhe perceiving, and being likewiſe informed, that he intended to carry her, in three Days time, to *Rome*, in order to grace his Triumph, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be bit by an Aſp, a Kind of Serpent found only in *Egypt* and *Libya*; the Bite of which induces a Lethargy, which brings on Death without Pain, in about three Hours time. Such was the End of this Princeſs, in the thirty-ninth Year of her Age, and in the twenty-ſecond of her Reign, accounting it from the Death of her Father *Ptolemy Auletes*; and in her ended the Royal Race of the *Ptolemies*, after they had governed in *Egypt*, from the Death of *Alexander* the Great, two hundred ninety-four Years [f].

The Senate and People of *Rome* were ſo well pleaſed with the Conduct of *Auguſtus* in this Affair; for he ſpent but a ſingle Month, in the Subjection of this whole Kingdom; that they decreed the Name of this Month to be altered, and that, inſtead of *Sextilis*, it ſhould be called *Auguſt*, as it has been ever ſince. They likewiſe decreed, that the Day, on which *Auguſtus* had entered *Alexandria* ſhould, in all ſucceeding times, be accounted fortunate; and that a new Æra ſhould take Place in *Egypt* from that Time, as it did; and derived its Name from the Victory at *Actium*, tho' it did not commence till near a Year after, being fixed to the twenty-ninth of *Auguſt*, in the thirtieth Year before Chriſt, becauſe on that Day *Cleopatra* died, and, the *Macedonian* Empire ending in this Country, that of the *Romans* commenced [g].

By this Æra, all publick Tranſactions were computed in *Egypt*, ſo long as it remained a Province of the *Roman* Empire, which was ſix hundred and ſeventy Years. While *Auguſtus* ſtaid at *Alexandria*, he viſited the Tomb of *Alexander* the Great, and ſaw his Body, which lay embalmed there, in a Caſe of Glaſs: It had formerly been kept in a Caſe of Gold; but that being ſtolen by *Seleucus Cybioſactes*, who had married an *Egyptian* Queen, this of Glaſs was provided in its ſtead. But *Auguſtus* would not be perſuaded to ſee the Sepulchres of the *Ptolemies*, nor to viſit the *Egyptian Apis*, telling thoſe who would have had him done it, that he worſhiped the immortal God, and not Beaſts [h]. At the Cloſe of the Month of *Auguſt*, when he left this Country, he appointed **Cornelius Gallus** the firſt Governor of the Province.

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[a] *Dion. Caſſius, lib.* li. *Plutarchus in Antonio. L. Florus, lib.* iv. *Velleius Patercul. lib.* ii. *Oroſius, lib.* vi.

[b] *Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion. Caſſius, ubi ſupra.*

[c] *Strabo, lib.* xxiv. *Plutarch. in Antonio. L. Florus. Velleius Patercul. Eutropius. Oroſius.*

[d] *Plutarch. in Antonio.*

[e] *Dion. Caſſius, lib.* li. *Velleius Paterculus. lib.* ii. *c.* 89. *Oroſius, lib.* vi. *c.* 19.

[f] *Plutarch. in Antonio. Galen. de Theriaca ad Piſonem, c.* 8. *Velleius Paterculus.*

[g] *Dion Caſſius, lib.* i. *Macrobius Saturnal. lib.* 1. *c.* 12.

[h] *Dion Caſſius ubi ſupra. Suetonius. Eutropius.*

SECTION

SECTION IX.

The Hiſtory of the Indian *Trade, as carried on through* Egypt *by the* Red Sea, *under the* Romans; *the Manner of its Eſtabliſhment; the Profits drawn therefrom; and the Diſcoveries made in Conſequence of this Commerce.*

1. *The* Romans *little addicted to Maritime Affairs before the ſecond* Punic *War, and incited thereto chiefly by the Deſire of deſtroying* Carthage. 2. *The Progreſs of their Naval Power, till they became Maſters of the Sea.* 3. *The extraordinary Eſtabliſhments of* Auguſtus, *for the Support of the Maritime Force of the* Roman *Empire.* 4. *His Maxims for the Government of* Egypt, *conſidered as inviolable Laws by the ſucceeding Emperors; and contributed greatly to the Preſervation of the Province.* 5. *An Account of the Expedition of* Ælius Gallus *into* Arabia, *the many Difficulties he met with therein; and the Conſequences which it produced.* 6. *The* Ethiopians *invade* Egypt; *are repulſed by* Publius Petronius, *the* Roman *Prefect, who penetrated as far as* Nepata, *the Capital of* Ethiopia. 7. *The Fame of* Auguſtus *reaching the* Indies, Porus *ſends Ambaſſadors to deſire his Friendſhip.* 8. *The Hiſtory of this Commerce continued to the End of the Reign of* Veſpaſian, *including the Embaſſies of* Indian *Princes.* 9. *An exact Deſcription of the annual Fleets ſent within this Period, to the* Indies; *the Nature of their Voyages; the Sums employed in them, and the Profit.* 10. *Obſervations upon the State of that Commerce, within this Period; and on the Objections raiſed againſt it by* Pliny. 11. *Of the new Chanels of Trade opened from* Egypt *by the* Romans, *within the Compaſs of this Period; and the Advantages derived from them.*

1. THAT we may fully enter into the Wiſdom of that Policy ſhewn by the *Romans*, in the Management of the Affairs of *Egypt*, and more eſpecially of the Trade to the *Indies*, which they improved to the higheſt Degree poſſible, conſidering the State of Maritime Affairs in thoſe Days, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the Riſe and Progreſs of their Naval Power, which did not make any great Figure in the World, till the Beginning of the ſecond *Punic* War. Before that Time, they had ſhewed a very trivial, or ſcarce any, Attention thereto, either becauſe they were then wholly occupied in extending their Dominions by Land; or, that the firſt Misfortunes they had experienced on their own Coaſts, diſguſted them in reſpect to a Trade, where all Things are expoſed to Chance, and where there is perpetual Danger: But as their Genius led them to perſevere, in Support of whatever they once diſcerned to be certainly and inconteſtably uſeful, they no longer abandoned Maritime Affairs, when they found, that it was poſſible to reconcile them with their Views and Intereſts: And one may ſafely ſay, that it was to *Carthage*, the Haughtineſs and Obſtinacy of which gave them ſo much Trouble, that they were chiefly indebted for this Obligation [a].

When therefore the Senate of *Rome* took, at laſt, the fatal Reſolution of razing that City to its very Foundations, the Conſul *C. M. Figulus* made the following Harangue, by their Order, to the *Carthaginians*: 'It is the Sea, the mighty Power you have acquired thereon, the Treaſures you have drawn from thence, that have haſtened your Fall. It is the Sea, and the Powers that you poſſeſs thereon, that tempted you to ſeize *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, *Spain*; that ſeduced you to break your Treaties of Peace; to pillage our Merchant Ships; and to endeavour to hide your Crimes, by drowning thoſe you found on board them. In one Word, it has been your perfect Knowledge of Maritime Affairs, made you regard nothing elſe; and led you to place your Glory in committing ſuch miſchievous Acts, as hitherto we have not been in a Condition, nor had the Power, to puniſh [b].'

2. I ſhall not pretend, here, to run into a Detail of all the Expeditions entered into by the *Romans*, after the *Punic* Wars; and in which they ſhewed ſo extenſive a Capacity, in the Conduct of their Arms; ſo perfect a Preſence of Mind, in all Danger; and an Induſtry ſo happy in gaining the Hearts of all People, and making themſelves willingly obeyed by thoſe, whom they had rendered their Subjects by Force. I ſhall only obſerve, that as all their Enterprizes had ſome great End in View, ſo they never failed to keep great Fleets at Sea, under the Command of able and experienced Captains. The Love of Glory, amongſt them, was the univerſal Paſſion; and this it was, that induced them to think, that there was ſomething low and indecent in all kind of Commerce. But Sentiments ſo rigid ſoftened by Degrees; and theſe very *Romans*, who would appear to conquer, merely to have an Opportunity of giving Examples of Probity, Diſintereſtedneſs, and Moderation, began, at length, to vanquiſh, in order to procure the Delights and Commodities that they wanted; and that they might adorn *Italy* with the Spoils, and render her opulent, at the Expence of other Nations.

The Ruin of *Carthage*, which, however, was purchaſed by Rivers of Blood, ſubjected to *Rome* all the reſt of *Afric*; which was of infinite Advantage, by ſecuring to that proud City a conſtant Supply of Corn; and the burning of *Corinth*, which followed afterwards, finiſhed the Demolition of *Greece*, and threw her into a Slavery ſo much the more galling, as for ſo long a Tract of Time ſhe had been uſed to command [c].

With reſpect to the Conqueſts made by the *Romans* in *Aſia*, they proved the Source of ſuch immenſe Riches, as were little known to former Times; and, with theſe Riches, were introduced at *Rome*, and all the principal Cities of *Italy*, refined Luxury, a ſtudied Elegance, which diffuſed itſelf through all; and was alike viſible in Buildings, Furniture, Dreſs, Gardens, and the Appurtenances to the Table. The Love of Pleaſure, that Pomp which ſtrikes the Eye, and that Magnificence which captivates the Mind, baniſhed the antient Severity of Manners; and the *Romans* became now more rich, more polite, more voluptuous; diſdained the humble Poverty of their Anceſtors, and began to form new Notions of Virtue.

In this, undoubtedly, they were happy beyond all other Nations, that every new War not only led to new Conqueſts, but taught them likewiſe freſh Improvements in the Arts of Military and Naval Armaments: And thus one Victory, by the Care and Skill they diſcovered in improving it, became the Means of obtaining many more. Thus, for Inſtance, when *Lucullus* triumphed over *Mithridates*, he cauſed to be expoſed, amongſt the reſt of the Spoils he had taken from him, one hundred and ten Prows of Gallies, ſheathed with Copper. It is well known, that this it was, that heretofore conſtituted the great Force of Ships of War, and rendered them terrible in the Day of Battle: And as theſe Prows were eaſily taken off, they were, in the Day of Triumph, carried before the Victor; who, beſides, had his Temples adorned with a Crown, or Circle of Gold; on which were emboſſed the Prows and Poops of Gallies, intermingled one with another, which Crown was ſtiled *Navale*, or *Roſtrale* [d].

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[a] *Polyb. Excerpt. lib.* xxxiii. *Liv. Epitom. lib.* xlix. *Flor. lib.* ii. *Oroſius, lib.* iv. *Eutrop. lib.* iv.

[b] It is evident from this Speech, that the *Carthaginians* were long Maſters of the Sea, and that *Rome* was but lately ſo.

[c] *Liv. Epitom.* li. *Florus, lib.* ii. *Pauſanias in Achaicis. Plin. lib.* xxxiv. *c.* 2. *Juſtin lib.* xxxiv. *c.* 2.

[d] This Naval Crown *Auguſtus* beſtowed on *Agrippa*, for his eminent Services performed at Sea.

3. It was, however, reſerved for the Fortune and Wiſdom of *Auguſtus*, to unite all thoſe Advantages, and to reduce the Maritime, as well as the Civil Affairs of the *Roman* State into a regular Syſtem. This he was enabled to do by the Fulneſs of his Power, as it was from the evident Advantages, derived from the prudent Uſe made of his Power, that the *Romans*, under his Government, ſo little regretted the Loſs of their Freedom; for theſe Benefits were then preſent, and the Evils afterwards felt, were only foreſeen. This Maritime Syſtem of *Auguſtus*, conſiſted in keeping always three numerous Squadrons, and thoſe too, in every reſpect, well equipped, in conſtant Readineſs to put to Sea for any Service, and in any Quarter of the *Roman* Dominions, where they might be wanting. The firſt of theſe Squadrons was ſtationed at *Frejus* in the *Narbonnenſian Gaul*, which was to reſtrain the Inhabitants of the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, and of thoſe Parts of *Provence* and *Languedoc*, which are waſhed by the *Mediterranean*. The ſecond was at Cape *Meſſina*, for the Security of the Navigation, in that which was called the *Lower*, or *Etrurian* Sea: The third at *Ravenna*, for ſcouring the *Upper* Sea, which is, by us, commonly called the *Adriatic* [a].

Beſides theſe two laſt Squadrons, he kept, as we are informed by *Vegetius*, always quartered near the Capes of *Meſſina* and *Ravenna*, a certain Number of Soldiers, ready to embark at a Minute's Warning, who are called *Claſſiarii*, or Marines. Their Duty was to ſerve at Sea, in which they were continually exerciſed; and this, for any thing we know, was the firſt regular Inſtitution of Seamen among the *Romans*: For ſo, in Fact, theſe People were; and ought, therefore, rather to be ſtiled Mariners than Marines, in the modern Acceptation of that Word. Before this Time, Soldiers and Seamen were the ſame thing amongſt the *Romans*; or, in other Words, Soldiers handled the Oar, when put on board their Ships; hung their Shields along the Sides of their Veſſels; and reſumed the Uſe of them, and of their Swords, whenever an Opportunity offered for the making a Deſcent. But now this Diſcipline was, in ſome meaſure, altered, and theſe *Claſſiarii* were particularly deſtined to ſerve on board theſe Squadrons, in both Capacities; that is, as Seamen, and as Soldiers: And therefore, in the ſtrict and natural Senſe of the Word, they may be, very properly, called Marines.

There is another Point of this Emperor's Diſcipline, which demands our Notice, becauſe it regards our Subject more nearly than any of the reſt. He was ſenſible, that a great Part of the *Roman* Provinces remained, in a manner, hid and undiſcovered; by which the Inhabitants were injured, and the public Revenues ſuffered. He, therefore, equipped Ships for making Diſcoveries in *Africa*, towards the Equator; others for examining the Coaſt of *Europe*, as far as the *Cimbrican Cherſoneſus*; and, laſtly, a third Sort, which were to ſail up ſuch Rivers, the Mouths of which were only known: The Veſſels employed in theſe Courſes, were ſtiled *Naves Luſoriæ*. In a Word, the *Romans* never undertook ſuch perilous or important Voyages, as under the Reign of *Auguſtus*: That Emperor, who effaced, by his Virtues, and by his beneficent Actions, all Memory of the Cruelties committed during the Triumvirate, took care to ſend into the moſt diſtant Provinces, Men of the moſt quick and penetrating Parts; from whom he received a moſt ſincere and accurate Detail of all that paſſed there: So that he was always poſſeſſed of the true State of every Part of his extenſive Dominions; and could judge what was requiſite to be done in them, either for remedying preſent Inconveniencies, or that future Advantages might be procured. Such, then, was the State of the *Roman* Affairs; ſuch the Genius, Character, and Conduct of the Prince, who was then at their Head, when *Egypt* was added to the Dominions of that State; and thereby, in a manner, completed their Conqueſts.

4. As the Reduction of *Egypt* into the Form of a Province was intirely the Work of *Auguſtus*, ſo he conceived himſelf at Liberty to diſpoſe of it to whom he pleaſed; and to ſettle it as he thought proper. The Knowledge he had of the Country, and its Inhabitants, made him regard this as one of the moſt difficult Points that ever fell under his Conſideratiou. But his Parts, tho' ſlow, ſerved him ſo effectually, when he conſidered any Subject maturely, that in this Caſe he ſettled ſo juſt, ſo excellent a Plan, that the Government of *Egypt* was regulated exactly according to his Maxims, by all his Succeſſors. It would take up too much Time, and lead us too far from our Subject, ſhould we attempt to explain the Manner in which the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire were diſtributed. It will ſufficiently anſwer our Purpoſe to obſerve, that ſome of them were aſſigned by the Senate, and others were abſolutely at the Will of the Prince; which Method of Diſtribution was ſettled by *Auguſtus*, and that, at the Time of his ſettling it, he reſerved *Egypt*, and almoſt all the Countries depending upon it, to himſelf [b].

The firſt Maxim he eſtabliſhed with regard to its Government, was, that the Prefect ſhould be always choſen out of the Order of *Roman* Knights, from an Apprehenſion, that if it was in the Hands of a Man of great Family and Intereſt, he might be tempted to revolt; in which Caſe he foreſaw, that it would be extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to recover that Province to the Empire. His ſecond Maxim was, that no Senator, or other Perſon of Diſtinction, ſhould be permitted, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to enter that Province without a ſpecial Licence, which was very rarely granted either by him, or his Succeſſors. In the third Place, he took care, that there ſhould be but a ſmall Body of Troops kept up there, for many Reaſons: Firſt, the Country itſelf was very defenceable from its Situation; for its Coaſts on the North had few Ports, and thoſe very difficult to be entered; and the Navigation on the Coaſt extremely hazardous and dangerous: On the Eaſt and Weſt it had the *Arabian* and *Libyan* Deſerts, that were, in a manner, impaſſable. On the South lay the *Troglodytes*, and other Nations, who were rather deſirous of preſerving their own Freedom, than inclined to invade or diſturb their Neighbours: And, as for the *Ethiopians*, the Frontiers of *Egypt* towards them were narrow, well fortified, and eaſily guarded [c].

Secondly, though the People of *Egypt* were naturally mutinous and ſeditious, yet they were far from being of a warlike Nature; ſo that a few regular Troops were, at all Times, ſufficient to repreſs their Inſolence, and to keep the Province quiet. Thirdly, while the Prefect had but a few Troops, and thoſe, for the moſt part, diſpoſed into Gariſons, the Commanders of which were not abſolutely under his Power, he had little Probability of maintaining himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of the Country, in caſe his Ambition, at any time, tempted him to forget his Duty. His fourth Maxim was, to change its Governor frequently, that he might not have Time to form any Schemes to the Prejudice of the Empire, or be able to raiſe any conſiderable Party among the Inhabitants. His fifth and laſt Maxim was, to make an abſolute Secret of the whole Syſtem of Government in this Province; ſo that under him, and moſt of his Succeſſors, the Management of Affairs in *Egypt* was conſidered as one of the great Myſteries of State, into which few were admitted, and none were ſuffered to pry [d].

It was agreeable to theſe Maxims, that he appointed *Cornelius Gallus* the firſt Governor of the Province, a *Roman* Knight, raiſed by his own Merit and the Emperor's Favour; but of no great Family or Intereſt, and whoſe Talents were not of a Nature to excite any Jealouſy of his undertaking great or dangerous Deſigns: Yet this Man held the Government but a little while, and, when he loſt it, fell into abſolute Diſgrace. The Manner in which he directed the Affairs of the Province, and the needleſs Severity he made uſe of in exacting the firſt Tributes that were levied, occaſioned Tumults in the Province, and Complaints againſt him to the Emperor, who immediately ſent *P. Petronius* to ſucceed him, when he had not held that Government four Years. On the Return of *Gallus* to *Rome*, he very fooliſhly cenſured the Conduct of *Auguſtus*; upon which the Emperor forbid him his Palace, and left him to the Judgment of the Senate with reſpect to the Accuſations that had been brought againſt him for his Male-adminiſtration in *Egypt*; and they entered ſo warmly into the Proſecution, that *Gallus*, to prevent being ſent into Baniſhment, threw himſelf upon his Sword, and died on the Spot. The Zeal ſhewn by the Senate upon this Occaſion was ſo grateful to the Emperor, that he returned them his Thanks for it; and it is obſerved, that this *Cornelius Gallus* and *Salvidienus Rufus* were the only Perſons given up by *Auguſtus* to the Severity of the Laws during his whole Reign; and it is very poſſible, that the former, in ſome meaſure, met with his Fate to gratify the *Egyptians* upon their firſt becoming Subjects to *Rome*, and to whom he had rendered himſelf hateful.

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[a] *Dion. Halicarn. lib.* i. *Veget. de Re Milit. lib.* v.

[b] *Dion. Caſſius, lib.* liii.

[c] *Strabo, lib.* xvii. *p.* 819

[d] *Tacit. Annal. lib.* ii. *cap* 59.

5. *Publius Petronius* was made Governor of *Egypt* in the Year before *Chriſt* 26 and, in the Year after, *Auguſtus* formed a Deſign, which very plainly ſhews how far the *Indian* Trade had already made an Impreſſion upon his Mind. He had been informed, that the Southern *Arabians*, that is, the *Arabians*, who inhabited the Side of the Gulph oppoſite to *Egypt*, were a Nation very rich in Gold, Silver, and precious Stones: He, therefore, determined either to make them Friends to his Government, or to bring them under Subjection, by which means two very deſirable Ends would have been anſwered; for, in the firſt place, a very rich Commerce, and very commodious, would be ſecured to his new Subjects; and next, he flattered himſelf there would be ſuch Diſcoveries made, as might enable him to extend either his Conqueſts or his Trade on that Side much farther. As this Scheme of his was really of great Importance, ſo the Means he took to have it executed were exceedingly well contrived, and plainly ſhew how much he had ſtudied it. He knew that the Thing was difficult in itſelf; and that, unleſs it was conducted by Perſons who were well acquainted in the Country, it would certainly miſcarry. He, therefore, directed *Herod*, King of *Judea*, who had been always his faſt Friend, to aſſiſt in the Execution of the Project; and gave the like Orders to an *Arabian* Prince, whoſe Dominions bordered on thoſe Nations that were to be affected by this Project, which rendered his Aſſiſtance therefore of the utmoſt Importance [a].

Ælius Gallus, a *Roman* of the Equeſtrian Order, was the General ſent on this Expedition, for which *Auguſtus* furniſhed him with ten thouſand of the Allies; to theſe were added five hundred Men from *Herod* abovementioned, and a thouſand more that were brought him by *Syllæus* from *Obodas*, King of the *Nabathean Arabs*. This *Obodas*, had ſucceeded *Malchus* in the Kingdom, and *Syllæus* was his chief Miniſter, and a Perſon of great Craft, Vigour and Application; He, knowing the Country, undertook to be *Gallus*'s Guide in this Expedition, and thereby made it miſcarry by betraying him in it. It was propoſed to march through the Country of the *Nabatheans*, and from thence to enter on this Expedition; but *Syllæus* falſly informing *Gallus*, that there was no ſafe Paſſage thither by Land, this put him on building a Fleet to paſs thither by Sea; and therefore, having provided an hundred and thirty Tranſports at *Cleopatris*, a Port at the Bottom of the *Arabian* Gulph, or *Red Sea*, he there put his Army on board them, and ſailed to *Lucocome*, a Port of the *Nabatheans*, lying on the Eaſtern Side of that Sea. This being a very dangerous Navigation, by reaſon of the many Rocks and Shoals that are in that Part of the *Arabian* Gulph and *Syllæus* piloting him the worſt Way through it, he was fifteen Days in the Paſſage, and loſt ſeveral of his Ships in it; and when he was landed, all his Army falling ſick of a Diſeaſe common in that Country, he was forced to lie by all the remaining Part of the Summer, and the Winter following to wait their Recovery [b].

We have all theſe Circumſtances from *Strabo*, who was the intimate Friend of *Gallus*, and muſt, therefore have been perfectly well acquainted with every thing relating to this Expedition; and it is his Obſervation, that tho' *Obodas* was very hearty in this Affair, yet leaving it, as it was too much the Cuſtom of the *Arabian* Princes, to his Miniſter, he ventured upon theſe extraordinary Meaſures, with a View, as our Author conjectures, to his own private Advantage; for his Deſign was, that the *Romans* ſhould conquer a great Part of the Country, but with ſuch Difficulty, and under ſuch Diſadvantages, that they might be weary of keeping it, and that ſo it might, with the reſt of his Maſter's Dominious, fall into his Hands; for he had already projected the Poiſoning of King *Obodas*, which he afterwards executed. It is, alſo, worthy of Obſervation, that this Diſeaſe, which carried off ſuch Numbers of the *Romans*, was a Swelling in their Gums, their Thighs, and their Legs, or, in plain *Engliſh*, the Scurvy. In the Beginning of the Spring, when his Army had recovered their Health and Spirits, *Gallus* continued his March, but through ſuch Roads, as made it abſolutely neceſſary to carry a Supply of Water on the Backs of Camels, which was another Contrivance of *Syllæus*, who, if he pleaſed, might have ſhewn them a much eaſier and ſhorter Paſſage [c].

After a tedious March of many Days, they arrived in the Country of *Areta*, in the Neighbourhood of *Obodas*, who came thither to meet the *Roman* General, treated him with great Kindneſs, and made him many Preſents. They made, from thence, another fatiguing March of fifty Days, through a ſandy and deſert Country, belonging to a King whoſe Name was *Sabus*; and then came into the Country of the *Agranians*, the chief City of which they took; and in this Country they found great Relief, being in itſelf very fruitful and pleaſant, and inhabited by a People who were naturally peaceable. Continuing their March for ſix Days, they came to a River, where, for the firſt time, they ſaw an Enemy; for, the neighbouring Nations, having heard of their Approach, aſſembled to ſtop their Paſſage; a Battle enſued, in which the *Arabians* were routed, or rather ſlaughtered; for here were ten thouſand of them killed, with the Loſs of no more than two *Romans*: The *Barbarians*, indeed, were armed with Lances, Swords, Bows and Slings; but they were naturally a timorous People, and made but poor Uſe of their Weapons. They took ſoon after the City of *Aſca*, the King having abandoned it [d].

Thence they marched to *Athrulla*, which they took without any Trouble; and, making it a Place of Arms, they provided themſelves there with Corn, and other Neceſſaries. Thence they moved on to *Marſibas*, a City of the *Ramanitanians*, not far from *Ilaſarus*,, which Place they beſieged for ſix Days, and were then obliged to decamp for want of Water. The Treachery of the Guides being by this Time fully detected, they took another Road in their Return, and, in the Space of ſixty Days, reached the Port of *Nagra* on the *Arabian* Gulph, though they had been ſix Months in penetrating into that Part of the Country, from which, without any great Difficulty, they returned in two. There they again embarked, and in eleven Days, and without any Accident, arrived ſafely at *Myos Hormos*: From thence they continued their March to *Coptos*, and ſo back to *Alexandria*.

Ælius Gallius brought home with him, after two Years Abſence, but a ſmall Part of his Army, having loſt the reſt, not in Battle, but by Hunger, Fatigue, Sickneſs, and the Hardſhips they endured; for, in the whole Expedition, there were no more than ſeven fell by the Sword. After all, there was but very little gained by all this Labour, either in point of Conqueſt or Diſcovery; which was abſolutely owing to the treacherous Arts of *Syllæus* before mentioned, who, being at *Rome* ſome Years afterwards, and there charged with theſe and other Offences, and fully convicted, ſuffered an infamous Death, the juſt Reward of his ſuperlative Wickedneſs [e]. Yet, as unſucceſsful as this Enterprize proved, it was undoubtedly a well laid Deſign; and, if it had taken Effect, muſt have contributed greatly to the opening a free Commerce throughout the whole Gulph, from the City *Arſinoe* to the City of *Ptolemais*; and, as *Strabo* likewiſe ſuggeſts, it would have afforded a ſhort and eaſy Paſſage acroſs the Streights of *Babel-Mandel*, to the Region of the *Troglodytes*; the Reduction of which muſt have been very advantageous, becauſe, as we ſhall ſhew very ſpeedily, the Commerce of that Country, when opened, proved very beneficial to the *Egyptians*. One good Effect, and, perhaps, the only one that followed from this Expedition, was, the ſpreading the Fame of the *Romans*, and of *Auguſtus*, through the *Indies*[a]; which produced two ſeveral Embaſſies; an Honour the *Romans* never received before, and which might, very probably, operate favourably for their Commerce; and, if ſo, the Expence of this Undertaking (which fell, however, moſtly on the Allies) was not wholly thrown away.

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[a] *Dion, Caſſius, lib.* liii. *p.* 522. *Sueton. in Auguſto, c.* 66. The learned *Caſaubon* has confounded in his Notes upon *Strabo* this *Cornelius*, the Patron of *Virgil*, and himſelf an excellent Poet, with *Ælius Gallus*, of whom we are to ſpeak immediately; and, indeed, the Miſtake was eaſy, conſidering they were of the ſame Name, flouriſhed at the ſame time, and were both Prefects of *Egypt*.

[b] *Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. lib.* xv. *c.* 12. *Strabo, lib.* xvi. *p.* 780.

[c] *Dion. Caſſius, lib.* liii. *Strabo, lib.* xvi. *p.* 780, 781, *lib.* xvii. *p.* 819.

[d] *Strabo. Dion, Caſſius, ibid.*

[e] *Strabo, lib.* xvi. *p.* 782.

6. But while *Ælius Gallus* was endeavouring to extend the *Roman* Conqueſts in *Arabia*, there happened a very unlooked for Invaſion in *Egypt*. *Candace*, Queen of *Ethiopia*, for this, it ſeems, was a Name common to thoſe Princeſſes, as *Cleopatra* to the Queen of *Egypt*, made an Irruption into the Frontiers of the Province, and carried off three Cohorts of *Roman* Soldiers from *Syena*, *Elephantina*, and *Philis*, where they likewiſe threw down the Emperor's Images. As ſoon as *Petronius*, the Prefect of *Egypt*, was informed of the Invaſion, he marched with near ten thouſand Foot, and about eight hundred Horſe, in order to come up with the Enemy, though they were upwards of thirty thouſand. They were not much inclined to fighting, but retired before him to the City of *Pſelca*, where they made a Halt: There *Petronius* ſent Embaſſadors to demand the Priſoners, and to know the Cauſes of the War. But finding that Negotiation would do nothing, and having waited three Days as they deſired, without receiving any ſatisfactory Anſwer, he reſolved to attack them, as he accordingly did, and defeated them intirely. They were, in truth, very poorly armed, moſt of their Shields being made of raw Hides; and, for offenſive Weapons, they had ſome Swords, ſome Pole-axes, and ſome nothing but long Sticks, ſo that they were ſpeedily routed[b].

Many were taken in this Engagement, and ſent by Water to *Alexandria*; but moſt got into *Pſelca*, which was ſoon taken; and in it an infinite Number of People of all Ranks. From hence he advanced to *Premnis*, a Place exceedingly ſtrong by Situation; in the Neighbourhood of which there are many Mountains, which being blown by the Winds, on the Army of *Cambyſes*, buried a great Part of them; which forced him to a precipitate Retreat. This Place reduced, he marched forwards to the Royal City *Nepata*, where *Candace*, and her Son, then were. She now offered to treat, and to reſtore the Priſoners, and the Statues of the Emperor. *Petronius*, however, attacked and plundered the City: From whence the Son of *Candace* privately fled. Having now pierced near eight hundred Miles into the Enemy's Country, and finding it grow very full of Woods and Deſerts, and the Weather proving extremely hot, he determined to return, after putting a ſtrong Gariſon into *Premnis*, and cauſing it to be victualled for two Years, that he might have a ſure Paſſage into *Ethiopia*; and then he marched ſafely back to *Alexandria*. There, having divided the Priſoners, he ſent a thouſand of the chief of them to *Auguſtus*, who was then juſt returned out of *Spain*; but of theſe many died by the Way. The reſt of the Priſoners were ſold by the Soldiers, into whoſe Hands they fell, to the Amount of many Thouſands.

By leaving four hundred Men in *Premnis*, he provided effectually againſt any future Irruptions of *Ethiopians*; for he foreſaw, that however terrified they might be, while he continued with an Army in their Country, they would, notwithſtanding, return to their former furious Diſpoſition, as ſoon as that Check was withdrawn. In this he was far from being miſtaken; for when it was known, that he was returned to *Alexandria*, then *Candace* immediately drew together the whole Force of her Empire, and marched it down to *Premnis*, which lay towards the Frontiers of *Egypt*, and beſieged it. We have already had an Inſtance, that the *Ethiopians* were no great Soldiers in the Field; and therefore we may eaſily conceive, that they were incapable of reducing a Fortreſs ſtrengthened by Works, after the *Roman* Manner, and well ſupplied with Men and Proviſions. A great deal of Time they ſpent before it, without making any great Progreſs; and the *Roman* Prefect, having Intelligence of what had happened, immediately collected his Forces, and moved towards it, in order to raiſe the Siege. On his Approach, the *Ethiopian* Army quitted the Place with the utmoſt Precipitation; and, as ſoon as they were at a ſafe Diſtance, *Candace* ſent to know from the *Roman* General, what his Demands were; and upon what Terms ſhe might hope for Peace. *Petronius* anſwered, that he formed no Pretenſions on the *Ethiopians*; and that what he had done was in Diſcharge of his Duty, and for the Preſervation of the *Roman* Province. As to the reſt, he could not pretend to propoſe any Terms of Peace, but they muſt be content to ſend their Embaſſadors to *Cæſar*, in order to excuſe what was paſt, and know his Pleaſure, as to their Conduct, in Time to come. This amazed *Candace* more than the War: She declared that ſhe knew not *Cæſar*, or where to ſeek him; and ſeemed to doubt whether this was not an evaſive Anſwer given, to furniſh themſelves with a Pretence for conquering her Dominions. But *Petronius* quickly eaſed her of theſe Apprehenſions, by offering to ſend her Embaſſadors to *Cæſar*; and to conclude a Peace till their Return. This Propoſal was readily accepted, and the Embaſſadors diſpatched to the *Roman* Camp; with which the *Ethiopian* War ended, and the Province was again reſtored to Quiet[c].

We have an Account of this Expedition, and of the Embaſſy ſent by *Candace* to *Auguſtus Cæſar*, in the Natural Hiſtory of *Pliny*[d]; but he ſays not a Word of the Invaſion; which, however, is fully related by *Strabo*, who was, of his own Knowledge, perfectly acquainted with theſe Matters; and has recorded them very faithfully. By this War, as he juſtly obſerves, the *Romans* came to be acquainted with the Nations bordering on *Egypt*, and who, by being ſubdued by the *Ethiopians*, now paſſed under their Name. In conſequence of this, they were undeceived as to the ſtrange Reports they had heard, of the Strength and Courage of theſe People; for they found them half-naked, badly armed, far from being of a martial Diſpoſition; living in Tents, on the Produce of their Herds and Flocks; and quitting their Habitations, as the Conveniency of feeding thoſe Herds and Flocks, directed them. They likewiſe ſaw, that their Black Cattle, Sheep, and every thing but their Dogs, were of a dwarfiſh and diminutive Kind, as well as the People themſelves, who, with the Help of a ſtrong Fancy, might have paſſed for Pygmies: So that, here, all their Terror wore off; and they concluded themſelves fully able to maintain the Frontiers of the *Roman* Province, againſt all its Enemies on this Side. But, however ſatisfied the *Roman* Soldiers might be of all this, who reſided in *Egypt*, and were Eye-witneſſes of theſe Things, yet the Learned at *Rome* ſtill followed the Fictions of the *Greeks*; and therefore *Pliny* ſpeaks of ſome Nations without Noſes, others without Mouths, and ſome without Tongues, that lived beyond the Mountains on the other Side of *Ethiopia*, towards the *Red Sea*: All which Fictions I attribute to the indiſtinct Accounts they received from the People on the Frontiers between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, as to various Kinds of Apes and Monkeys. One thing, however, this Expedition plainly effected, that it extended the Knowledge of the *Romans* 800 Miles, and drove theſe Monſters ſo much farther.

7. When *Auguſtus* had ſettled his Government at *Rome*, and obtained, in a legal way, the ſupreme Authority over the Empire, he began to think of viſiting the Eaſt, where he had many Things to ſettle; and accordingly, in the tenth Year of his Adminiſtration, and in the twenty-firſt before *Chriſt*, having devolved on *Agrippa* the Affairs of the Weſt, *Auguſtus* went as far as the Iſland *Samos*, in his Journey Eaſtward, and there he paſſed the Winter. While he was at *Samos*, came the Embaſſadors from *Candace*, Queen of *Ethiopia*, to excuſe what had happened in that Country, and to beg a Peace; which he granted them very readily, and the Embaſſadors returned into their own Country, full of Amazement at the Sight of the Power and Glory of the *Roman* Prince: And it was owing, in all Probability, to their Report, on their Return home, that a firm Peace enſued between the *Ethiopians* and the *Romans* in the Province of *Egypt*, which ſubſiſted for many Years. The next Year

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[a] I think it was probably owing to this Expedition, that *Porus* ſent the Embaſſy hereafter mentioned.

[b] *Dion Caſſius*, *lib.* liv. *p.* 524. *Strabo*, *lib.* xvii. *p.* 820.

[c] *Strabo ubi ſupra.*

[d] *Lib.* vi. *cap.* 29.

Auguſtus went into *Syria*, ſettled the Affairs of the Empire with the *Parthian* Monarch, and recovered the Enſigns, which he had taken from *Craſſus*[a].

This ſpread his Fame over all the Eaſt, inſomuch, that *Porus*, King of *India* on this ſide the *Ganges*, who had before ſent an Embaſſy to compliment him, thought proper now to ſend a ſecond time, from an Apprehenſion, probably, that *Auguſtus* might imitate *Alexander*, and attempt to penetrate as far as the *Indus*. Of theſe Embaſſadors only three lived to execute their Commiſſion; and, finding *Auguſtus* at *Antioch*, there delivered him the Letters of King *Porus*. It appears from hence, that, according to the oriental Cuſtom, *Porus* was the common Name of all the Princes of that Country: And it likewiſe ſhews, that there were no great Revolutions in thoſe Parts of the World, ſince the ſame Kingdoms continued for the Space of three hundred Years.

In this Letter from *Porus* to *Auguſtus*, there was firſt ſet forth the Grandeur and Power of the *Indian* Prince, which conſiſted in his having under him ſix hundred petty Princes; which ſome modern Writers have compared to the Rajahs, now ſubject to the Great Mogul; but I can ſcarce think, that theſe Princes could be ſo conſiderable; for then the Empire of *Porus* muſt have been very extenſive, and muſt conſequently have ſwallowed up that of *Sandracottus*, which makes ſo great a Figure in antient Hiſtory, and with which the *Romans* could not but be well acquainted. It ſeems therefore, to me, very probable, that theſe ſix hundred Princes were no more than the Heads or Chiefs of ſo many Towns; and, taken in this Senſe, the Empire of *Porus* was juſt twice as big as when it was ſubdued by *Alexander*. After this Diſplay of his own Greatneſs, the *Indian* Prince acquainted *Auguſtus*, that he was moved by the Fame of his great Actions, to ſend this ſolemn Embaſſy to requeſt his Friendſhip, and the Acceptance of the Preſents, which attended it; deſiring him to believe, that he had conceived the higheſt Reſpect for his Perſon and Power, and that there was nothing he could deſire of him, with which he would not readily comply[b].

The Preſents, which accompanied this Letter, were borne by eight Slaves, and conſiſted of Tygers, which were then firſt ſeen by the *Romans*, Birds of a prodigious Size, Serpents fifteen Feet long, and Shells of Tortoiſes four Feet and an half over; which Preſents ſeem to have been calculated rather to deter, than to invite the *Romans* into the Country from whence they came. Amongſt the Embaſſadors, that were ſent on this Occaſion, there was a Brachman, whom *Dion Caſſius*, in his Hiſtory[c], calls *Zarmanus*; but *Strabo*, as we ſhall ſee, calls him by another Name; who was ſo well pleaſed with the Reception he met with, that he followed *Auguſtus* to *Athens*; and there, having cauſed his funeral Pile to be prepared, he told the Emperor, that, having lived to a good old Age, and never having experienced the Frowns of Fortune, he judged it proper, as a wiſe Man, to put it out of her Power to give him any Inſtance of her Inconſtancy, by voluntarily embracing Death, while he was yet in the Poſſeſſion of Health and Strength, and, which he valued much more, the full Exerciſe of his Faculties. In all Probability, he emulated, in this Action, the ſteady Bravery of *Calanus*, who died in the like manner, in the Preſence of *Alexander* the Great. However that may be, certain it is, that he ſhewed no leſs Conſtancy and Courage; for, coming out naked, and his Body anointed, as if he had been going to Exerciſe, he mounted the Pile, whereon he laid himſelf down; and Fire being ſet thereto, he was conſumed to Aſhes. The *Athenians*, aſtoniſhed at this Action, erected a Tomb to his Memory, which was ſtanding in the Days of *Plutarch*, who ſays nothing, however, of any Inſcription; but *Strabo*, who lived at the very time, has preſerved it in his excellent Work, and ſays it ran thus: *Here lies* Zaimanochagas, an Indian *of* Bargoſa, *who, according to the Cuſtom of his Country, the* Indies, *voluntarily quited this Life*[d]. It is very clear, from the Whole of this Tranſaction, that the Fame of *Auguſtus* had extended itſelf into the moſt diſtant Parts of the Eaſt, that were at that Time known to the *Europeans*; and from hence it is evident, that the Trade carried on from *Egypt* to thoſe Countries, through the *Red Sea*, inſtead of being interrupted or reſtrained, was preſerved and protected by the *Romans*, after they had reduced *Egypt* into a Province.

Petronius did not hold the Government of *Egypt* long; for in the Year before *Chriſt* 18. he was ſucceeded by *Ælius Gallus*, of whoſe Expedition into *Arabia* we have already given a large Account. This celebrated Governor of *Egypt* was the Patron and Friend of *Strabo* the Geographer, whoſe Work we have already ſo often quoted, and which we ſhall be obliged to mention frequently, before we bring this Chapter to a Concluſion. This learned Man was a Native of the City of *Amaſia* in *Pontus*, a Stoic Philoſopher[e], and juſtly famous for his excellent Geography; to qualify himſelf for writing which, he not only ſtudied, as his Book plainly ſhews, the beſt Writers on that Science, that were then extant; but had likewiſe travelled through moſt of the Countries, which he deſcribes: That is to ſay, Weſtward, from *Armenia* to that Part of *Italy*, which is oppoſite to the Iſland of *Sardinia*; and Southward, from the *Euxine* Sea into *Ethiopia*. This laſt Journey he made in the Company of *Ælius Gallus*, who went to take a View of the Frontiers of *Egypt*, as far as *Syene*; all which Circumſtances of *Strabo*'s Life we learn from himſelf; and theſe ſerve to ſhew, that he muſt have lived to a very great Age, ſince he publiſhed his Work in the Reign of *Tiberius*, and pretty late in that Reign too[f]. He is alſo thought to have written ſome other Books, particularly an Hiſtory, ſome Paſſages of which are cited by *Joſephus*; but this is periſhed long ago, to the inexpreſſible Loſs of the learned World; for he was ſo accurate a Writer, and took care to be ſo perfectly informed as to every Fact he related, that whatever fell from his Pen, muſt, on that account, have been extremely valuable and uſeful. We may likewiſe ſee, from this ſecond Expedition of *Gallus*, how attentive the *Romaus* were to the Concerns of this Province, and how deſirous of being acquainted with every thing that belonged to it.

Indeed the ſecuring to *Rome* all poſſible Advantages from ſo great an Acceſſion of Territory, ſeems to have been one of the principal Objects of the Policy of *Auguſtus*; for he took care to eſtabliſh a regular Commerce between *Rome* and *Alexandria*, as well for the ſake of a continual Supply of Corn, as for the bringing thither the Merchandizes, that they acquired by their *Indian* Traffick; ſo that, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, many of the *Romans* themſelves, who hitherto had not been much addicted to Trade, were, with the Sight of theſe rich Commodities, induced to embark their Fortunes therein, becoming thereby Principals in this Sort of Traffick, and making uſe of the *Egyptian* Merchants as their Factors. Thus we have ſhewn, how this Trade came into the Hands of the *Romans*, and what Pains were taken by *Auguſtus* to ſettle and ſecure it, by reducing, if it had been poſſible, the Nations on the oppoſite Side of the *Arabian* Gulph, whoſe Piracies were the only Evils, to which it remained expoſed; and how, by this Care, a new Turn was given to the Temper of the *Romans*, who, in ſucceeding Times, became as active and vigorous in the Management of this Buſineſs, as they had been before unattentive to any thing of this Nature. But it is time for us to take our Leave of the Reign of *Auguſtus*, of which we have already ſaid ſo much, in order to give the Reader, in as few Words as poſſible, an Account of ſuch Facts as relate to this Subject, and are recorded in the Hiſtories of ſucceeding Emperors: After which we ſhall proceed to an exact Deſcription of the Manner in which this Trade was carried on by the *Roman* Factors; and give ſome Account of the immenſe Profits that annually reſulted from it.

Tiberius, who ſucceeded *Auguſtus* in the Poſſeſſion of the *Roman* Empire, was not of a Diſpoſition to forget or leave unimproved any Part of his Dominions, much leſs a Province capable of yielding ſuch Advantages as *Egypt*, in the Management of which he ſteadily purſued the Maxims of his Predeceſſor; for ſo careful was he to prevent any Danger, that might ariſe from the ſending a Perſon of conſiderable Rank to govern that Country, that he made

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[a] *Strabo, lib.* vi. *p.* 288. *Tacit. Annal. lib.* ii. *c.* 1. *Juſtin. lib.* xlii. *c.* 1.

[b] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *p.* 789. *Dion Caſſius, lib.* liii. *p.* 527.

[c] *Dion Caſſius, ubi ſupra.*

[d] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *p* 686. *Plutarch, in Alexandro.*

[e] *Strabo, lib.* xii. *Voſſ. de Hiſt. Græc. lib.* ii.

[f] *Strabo, lib.* ii. *p.* 116, 117. xvii. *p.* 816.

Choice of one of his Freedmen for that Employment: And when his Nephew *Germanicus* took the Liberty of viſiting that Province without asking his Leave, he reprimanded him for it very ſeverely; and it is with good Reaſon ſuppoſed, that it was chiefly from the Suſpicion he conceived on account of this Journey of his into *Egypt*, that he cauſed him to be poiſoned; ſo jealous he was of any Inquiries into the State of a Country that furniſhed him with ſo great a Revenue [a].

Caligula, the Son of *Germanicus*, who ſucceeded *Tiberius*, tho' in all other things as bad a Prince as he was a Man, yet encouraged and protected Commerce, keeping always a ſtrict Eye to the maritime Force of the Empire, which, under him, was at its greateſt Height. With reſpect to *Egypt*, he underſtood the Worth of the Country ſo well, and had ſo true a Notion of its Strength, that when he had rendered himſelf univerſally odious to his Subjects, he had Thoughts of retiring thither, in order to have paſſed there the Remainder of his Days; but he was cut off by a ſudden Conſpiracy before he could execute his Intention.

It is uncertain whether *Caligula*, or his Succeſſor *Claudius*, began the Cuſtom of letting the Revenues of *Egypt* to Farm; but, certain it is, that they were lett out in this manner under the Reign of the latter; which produced, accidentally, a very extraordinary Diſcovery. There was one *Annius Plocamus* who farmed the Cuſtoms of the *Red Sea*, and who, on that Account, viſited the Coaſt in a Veſſel of his own; and being once on the Shore of *Arabia*, on ſome Buſineſs relating to his Office, he was ſuddenly driven to Sea by a ſtrong North Wind, which blowing for fifteen Days together, he was thrown firſt on the Coaſt of *Carmania*, and then on a certain Iſland, in a Port of which he came to an Anchor; the Name of the Port, as he was informed by the Inhabitants, being *Hippurus*: He was there very kindly entertained by the King of the Country for ſix Months, who furniſhed him with whatever he wanted, and was extremely delighted with the Accounts he gave him of the *Romans*, and of their Power; but what ſtruck him moſt was, the Sight of the *Roman* Coin, it appearing to him a very ſingular thing, that though the ſeveral Pieces were of the ſame Weight and Value, yet, by their different Impreſſions, they ſhewed, at firſt Sight, by whom and on what Occaſion they were coined [b].

This, and the Explications given him by *Plocamus*, induced him at laſt not only to provide for the ſafe Return of the *Roman* into his own Country, but engaged him likewiſe to ſend four Embaſſadors to *Rome*, the chief of whom was one *Rachias*, who was a Man of great Figure in that Country. It ſeems, from the Account that *Pliny* has given us of this Adventure, that he had ſeen and converſed with thoſe, who had what he relates from the Mouth of this *Rachias*. The moſt remarkable Points mentioned by him were theſe: That the Iſland he came from contained five hundred great Towns; that it had a ſpacious Port on the South Side belonging to a City called *Paleſimundum*, which was the Capital of the Iſland; and ſo populous, that it was eſteemed to contain not fewer than two hundred thouſand Inhabitants. In the Neighbourhood of this City there was a Lake called *Megisba*, two hundred ſeventy-five Miles in Circumference, in which there were ſeveral Iſlands very fruitful in Paſture. Out of this Lake there ran two Rivers, one to the South, called *Paliſmundas*, which fell into the Sea by three Mouths, on one of which ſtood the City called by the ſame Name, the ſmalleſt of theſe being of the Breadth of five Stadia, and the largeſt fifteen. The other River ran Northwards towards the Continent of *India*, called *Cydara*. Oppoſite to the Iſland there ran a large Promontory of *India*, called *Colaicum*, diſtant four Days Sail; and in the midſt of the Paſſage there lay an Iſland ſacred to the Sun.

The Sea on the Coaſt was of a very deep Green, with Trees at the Bottom, the Branches of which were ſometimes beaten off by the Heads of their Ships. The Sight of the Northern Conſtellations ſurpriſed the Embaſſadors at *Rome* very much, and ſeemed to them like a new Heaven. In their own Country, they ſaid, they obſerved the Moon only from the eighth to the ſixteenth Day, and ſpoke much of the bright Star *Canopus*, which was viſible in their Hemiſphere. But what moſt amazed them was, the falling of their Shadows to the North; and that the Sun roſe to the Left, and ſet to the Right. They affirmed, that the Coaſt of their Iſland, oppoſite to the Continent of *India*, was ten thouſand Stadia in Extent, and that it reached towards the South-eaſt beyond the *Emodian* Mountains. They added, that the Country of the *Seres* lay within Sight of them; and *Rachias* affirmed, that his Father had traded with them. He ſaid, that the Country inhabited by that People was much infeſted by wild Beaſts; that the *Seres* were of a gigantic Stature, red-haired, their Eyes blue, and their Voices hoarſe and rough, ſo that they were unintelligible to Strangers; that in other reſpects they were like other Men, and traded fairly; for when Commodities were laid down on their Side the River, they came and took them away, if they liked them; and left in Exchange enough to ſatiſy thoſe who brought them. As to the Iſland from whence theſe Embaſſadors came, *Pliny* tells us, that it was *Taprobana*; and that Gold and Silver was eſteemed there, as well as at *Rome*, which he thinks ſtrange; as alſo precious Stones, and Pearl, eſpecially if they were bright and tranſparent. He tells us farther, that the Embaſſadors were wont to ſay, that there was greater Plenty of Riches in their Iſland, but that the *Romans* made more uſe of them. They likewiſe obſerved, that they had no Slaves amongſt them; that they never ſlept in the Day-time; that their Houſes were but low; that they knew not what Law-ſuits were: and that they worſhipped *Bacchus*. They likewiſe informed the *Romans* that their Country was extremely well cultivated, and that it produced other Fruit-trees in abundance, but that they had no Vines: That on their Coaſt they had Plenty of Fiſh; and that the People were much given to Fiſhing, and eſpecially to the catching of Tortoiſes, the Shells of which were ſo large, that they made uſe of them to cover their Houſes: That their Climate was ſo wholſome, that a Man of 100 Years of Age was no uncommon Sight. The Account they gave of their Government was this; that their King was elected by a Plurality of Voices, and was aſſiſted by a Senate compoſed of thirty Perſons; who were likewiſe choſen by the People, together with ſome other Circumſtances which have been already taken Notice of in the Account we gave of the Voyage of *Iambulus* [c].

We ſhall hereafter have Occaſion to inquire more particularly into the Situation of this Iſland, which makes ſo great a Figure in the Writings of the Antients; as alſo of ſome other Iſlands, Part real and Part imaginary, which are mentioned in their Works, and which it will be neceſſary to explain, that the Reader may not be miſled into wrong Notions on this Subject, or ſuppoſe, that becauſe the Antients ſpeak of prodigious Riches found in theſe Iſlands, that we are leſs knowing than they, ſince we are not at preſent acquainted with any Iſland that produces the Commodities they mention.

The Emperor *Nero*, who ſucceeded *Claudius*, was very attentive to the Affairs of *Egypt*, and not only took care to maintain his Fleets in perfect good Condition in both Seas, but likewiſe ſent Perſons on Purpoſe thro' *Egypt* into *Ethiopia*, in order to have a clear and diſtinct Account of its Products and Inhabitants; to which he was very probably incited from the Scheme he had formed of retiring into *Egypt*, in caſe he found it impoſſible for him to maintain himſelf againſt his Enemies at *Rome*: And it was from the Report of theſe People that the Diſtance was determined between *Syene* or the Frontiers of *Egypt*, and the Iſland of *Meroe*, to be eight hundred and ſeventy Miles [d]: And we may judge of the great Commerce carried on to *Arabia*, in the Reign of that Prince, from the vaſt Quantity of Incenſe that he is ſaid to have burnt at the Funeral of his Wife *Poppæa*. The Reigns of the three ſucceeding Emperors, *Galba*, *Otho* and *Vitellius*, were too ſhort to afford us any thing remarkable, and therefore we muſt paſs on to *Flavius Veſpaſian*, who received the Empire in *Egypt*, where *Tiberius Alexander*, who was then Governor of that Country, declared for him, and *Veſpaſian*, making haſte to *Alexandria*, no ſooner found himſelf in the full

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[a] *Tacit. Suet. Velleius Paterculus.*

[b] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. *c.* 32.

[c] See *Section* iv. *p.* 383.

[d] *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. *cap.* 29. *Sueton. in Nerone, cap.* 47.

Poſſeſſion of that City, than he ventured to aſſume the Imperial Ornaments, not doubting that he ſhould now be able to compaſs his Deſign, and make himſelf entirely Maſter of the whole *Roman* Empire, which in Effect he did [a].

His Son *Titus*, who ſucceeded him, having in the Life-time of his Father made a ſudden Journey into *Egypt*, and being received with great Honours at *Alexandria*, this alone created a Suſpicion that he intended to revolt, and ſet up for himſelf; which plainly ſhews the ſettled Opinion of the *Romans* at that Time, that the Poſſeſſion of *Egypt* was ſufficient to give any Prince a Power of making himſelf Maſter of the whole Empire [b].

As we have now conducted the Hiſtory of this Commerce to a proper Period, it is requiſite to give a particular Deſcription of the manner in which it was carried on, and of the extraordinary Changes it produced in the Cuſtoms of the *Romans*, who, till they became acquainted with this Traffick, had never ſhewn themſelves much inclined to Trade, but left it rather to the *Greeks* and other Foreigners eſtabliſhed amongſt them,

9. The Navigation to the *Indies* was proſecuted, when the *Romans* firſt became Maſters of *Egypt*, by ſailing down the *Arabian* Gulph, to a Port near the Promontory of *Syagrus*, which *Ptolemy* the Geographer places in the Latitude of fourteen Degrees; which, beyond Controverſy, is that Point of the *Arabian* Coaſt which is now called Cape *Fartak*, and which, in the beſt modern Maps, is laid down in the Latitude of fonrteen Degrees, forty Minutes; which agrees very well with the Situation aſſigned by *Ptolemy*: And from hence their Veſſels ſailed to the Mouth of the River *Indus*; that is, to the Iſland of *Pattala*, ſo often mentioned in the Hiſtory of *Alexander* the Great. But afterwards this Navigation was changed; for, under the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*, there was one *Hypalus*, who was, probably, a Citizen of *Alexandria*, of *Greek* Extraction, that found out a ſhorter and eaſier Paſſage: And this by the Obſervation of the Time when the Trade-wind blew, which enabled him to paſs, at once, through the Streights, and acroſs the *Indian* Ocean, directly to *Pattala*; which was looked upon as ſo extraordinary a Thing, that the South-weſt Wind was afterwards called by his Name, and ſo became a perpetual Monument of his good Fortune, in this reſpect [c].

Yet, in ſucceeding Times (but all within this Period) they made ſtill farther Diſcoveries, with reſpect to this *Indian* Voyage; in which, however, they met with perpetual Interruptions, from the Piracies of the *Arabians*, which conſtrained them to carry, beſides their ordinary Complement of Men, a certain Number of Soldiers, or Archers, in each Ship, to defend them from theſe Robbers. At length, however, the great Profits, ariſing from this Trade, increaſing the Number of ſuch as engaged in it, they conquered all Difficulties, and ſettled an annual Trade from *Alexandria*, to the Mouth of the River *Indus*, after this manner: The Goods that were intended for the *Indian* Markets, were embarked at *Alexandria*; from whence they were carried to *Juliopolis*, two Miles from thence; and ſo up the River *Nile*, to *Coptus*, at the Diſtance of three hundred and three Miles; which City *Ptolemy* places in the Latitude of twenty-five Degrees twenty Minutes; which agrees very well with the Accounts that modern Travellers give us of the Situation of its Ruins at this Day. If the Wind was fair, they commonly performed their Voyage in twelve Days. At *Coptus* the Veſſels were unloaded; and the Goods on Camels Backs, were tranſported, in eight Days, to *Berenice*, which lay at the Diſtance of two hundred and fifty-eight Miles; and there they remained in Warehouſes, till the proper Seaſon of the Year for the Continuance of their Voyage, which was about the Riſing of the Dog-ſtar. When they were embarked for the laſt Time, they ſteered directly for the *Arabian* Coaſt, and in thirty Days arrived at *Ocelis*, which *Ptolemy* lays down in the Latitude of twelve Degrees, tho', undoubtedly, that is too far South. Or elſe the Fleet ſailed to *Cana*, or to *Muza*, all Ports on the oppoſite Coaſt of *Arabia*; but the two laſt were only frequented by the Merchants of the Country; and therefore were not viſited but by ſuch as intended to take in Frankincenſe, and other *Arabian* Commodities; for which they exchanged Arms, Knives, and Glaſs Veſſels, and other Things [d].

But *Ocilis* was the principal Place, becauſe there they met with Merchants from the *Indies*, with all Sorts of Goods; and it likewiſe lay very commodiouſly for proſecuting their Voyage to the Continent of *India*, where they uſually made the Port of *Muziris* in forty Days, which *Ptolemy* lays down in the Latitude of fourteen Degrees, if his Tables have not ſuffered ſome Alteration. But this Port being found inconvenient, from the continual Depredations of Pirates in its Neighbourhood, it was thought neceſſary to ſeek a better Station; and this led them to the Port of *Becara*, where, by the Help of *Indian* Proes, they tranſported their Goods up a navigable River, to a great trading Town, called *Maduſa*; and, having completed their Affairs, ſo as to have the Advantage of the Trade-wind back, they uſually returned to *Alexandria* towards the latter End of *December*, or the Beginning of *January* at furtheſt. The *Indian* Commodities, which were thus brought to *Egypt*, were again unladen, and carried to *Berenice*; from whence they were tranſported by Land to *Coptus*, thence by the *Nile* to *Alexandria*, and ſo to *Rome* by the annual Fleet from *Alexandria*, which was ſettled by *Auguſtus* [e].

The Expence, or, properly ſpeaking, the Stock which was annually inveſted by the *Romans*, in the Commodities fit for this Commerce, amounted, in the Time of *Pliny*, to fifty Millions of Seſterces, which makes about four hundred and three thouſand Pounds of our Money: And, by the Profit of the Goods returned, they gained one hundred *per Cent.* [f].

It may not be amiſs, to add to this general Account ſome Particulars as to the Commodities in which theſe *Indian* Merchants dealt. In the firſt place, we ought to reckon Spices, and particularly Cinnamon; of which we have a large Account given us by *Pliny*, wherein there are ſome Circumſtances that deſerve to be conſidered: In the firſt Place, he obſerves, that very ſtrange Stories were told by the Antients, in regard to theſe Spices, on purpoſe to inhanſe their Value; ſuch as, that they were collected under Trees, in which the Phœnix built her Neſt, being preſſed down, and broken, by the Prey ſhe brought to feed her Young; or elſe ſhot down with Arrows headed with Lead. To this Story ſucceeded another, no leſs incredible, *viz.* that Cinnamon-trees grew in certain Marſhes, guarded by frightful Dragons. And when People grew too wiſe to believe this, it was next ſaid to come from very diſtant Countries, where it grew in ſuch Abundance, that the Scent of it might be perceived at a great Diſtance; by which, as they pretended, the Fleet of *Alexander* diſcerned the Coaſt of *Arabia*. All theſe Accounts he declares to be falſe; and then tells us what, in his Opinion, was the Truth; which is, that Cinnamon grew in *Ethiopia*, and the adjacent Country of the *Troglodytes*, from whom the *Ethiopians* purchaſed it, that they might keep this Trade intirely in their own Hands. This precious Commodity they exported in ſmall Boats, without either Oars or Sails; and, putting to Sea in the midſt of Winter, they, by the Help of the South-eaſt Wind, doubled the Cape of *Argoſte*, and ſo arrived at the famous Port of *Ocilis*, where they trafficked with the Merchants from *Egypt* for Glaſs, Copper, and Braſs Ware, fine Linen, and Toys. This Navigation was ſo tedious, that theſe People very ſeldom returned in leſs than five Years; and many of them periſhed in theſe dangerous Voyages. At *Ocilis* the King ſet the Price upon it, which was formerly ſo high, that a Pound of Cinnamon was ſold at *Rome* for one thouſand Seſterces, which was about eight Pounds of our Money: And it even aroſe to a much higher Price, when it was pretended, that the Woods of Cinnamon in *Ethiopia* were burnt down by the *Troglodytes*: But, at the time *Pliny* wrote, it was much ſunk in its Value, and yet remained dear enough, in his Opinion [g].

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[a] *Sueton. in Veſpaſiano. Joſeph. de Bello Jud. lib.* vii.

[b] *Sueton. ubi ſupra.*

[c] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* vi. *cap.* 23. *Periplus Maris Erythræi, p.* 14.

[d] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* xii. *cap.* 19. *Marcian. Heracleot, p.* 16.

[e] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* vi. *cap.* 23.

[f] *Id. ibid.*

[g] *Id. lib.* xii. *c.* 19.

He likewiſe tells us, that the Emperor *Veſpaſian* was the firſt, who in the Capitol, and in the Temple of *Peace*, dedicated Chaplets of Cinnamon, incloſed in fine Gold; and in the Temple erected to the Memory of that Emperor, there was a green Cinnamon-tree preſerved in a golden Veſſel, which, every Year, thruſt out Drops of a whitiſh Liquor, which afterwards grew hard like a Gum: And this ſeems to have been Camphire. He tells us alſo, of Ginger, Pepper, and Cloves, which were brought by the ſame *Indian* Fleet: And theſe Spices, when the *Indian* Trade was firſt known to the *Romans*, were, of all its Commodities, held moſt valuable.

They likewiſe brought, in theſe Fleets, Abundance of precious Stones, particularly Diamonds; of which *Pliny* diſtinguiſhes ſix Kinds, the beſt of which was the *Indian*; and after that the *Arabian* Diamond; which was eſteemed the richeſt Jewel in thoſe Days, as it is in ours. Pearls were next in Price; and theſe, too, were brought from the Coaſt of *India*, and from *Arabia*. We may gueſs at the Value of them, by what is reported of *Cleopatra*'s diſſolving in Vinegar, and then ſwallowing, a Pearl that was eſteemed worth near fifty thouſand Pounds of our Money: But it is a remarkable Obſervation, which *Pliny* takes from *Feneſtella*, that Pearls bore a very high Price, before *Egypt* became a *Roman* Province; but afterwards they grew common; and, in his Time, the Ladies had their Shoes embroidered with them. Emeralds were next in Price: And of theſe there were twelve Sorts; the very beſt of which were thoſe brought from the Northern *Indies*; and the next, thoſe of *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*. The Opal, which was a Stone of great Value, and of different Colours, was likewiſe brought in theſe Fleets: Of which *Pliny* tells us a remarkable Story, of one *Nonnius*, a Senator, who was proſcribed by *Antony*, for the ſake of a fine Ring, in which one of theſe Stones was ſet, valued at twenty thouſand Seſterces. The *Indian* Rubies were likewiſe in high Eſteem, eſpecially ſuch as were of a very bright Colour; but they were then, it ſeems, as they are now, exceedingly ſcarce. Add to theſe the Topaz, and an infinite Number of other Stones, that were then accounted Jewels. We are next to reckon Metals, eſpecially Gold, of which they had great Quantities, by means of this Trade; as alſo Ebony, and other rich Woods, with Incenſe, Gums, Ivory, and other Oriental Commodities[a].

Againſt the Uſe of all theſe *Pliny* inveighs bitterly, affirming that they were principally procured to oblige Women; and that the Riches of the Empire were ſquandered away, merely to make the *Roman* Ladies vain. As an Inſtance of this, he tells us, that he had often looked with Amazement upon *Lollia Paulina*, the Dowager of *Caligula*, whoſe Head-dreſs, Necklace, and Bracelets, alone, were adorned with Emeralds, Pearls, and other precious Stones, to the Amount of forty Millions of Seſterces, which makes upwards of three hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds of our Money. He adds, that her Father *Marcus Lollius* had acquired the immenſe Wealth, with which all theſe fine Things were purchaſed, by taking great Bribes from the Princes of the Eaſt; for which being called to an Account, and finding that *Caius Cæſar*, the Grandſon of *Auguſtus*, would not ſcreen him, as he expected, he ſwallowed a Doſe of Poiſon; and thereby prevented the Judgment of the Laws which he ſo much feared[b]. Theſe Facts, taken together, are ſufficient Proofs of the Wealth, as well as Luxury, of the *Romans*; and of that prodigious Alteration made in their Affairs, by the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, and the Paſſage thereby opened to the Commerce of the *Red Sea*, and of the *Indies*; which never failed of enriching the Countries where it was ſettled, to a Degree almoſt beyond Credit.

10. That I may render the Hiſtory of the antient Trade of *India* as clear, as intelligible and ſatisfactory to the Reader as it is poſſible, and that I may leave him with few or no Difficulties about it, I will take this Opportunity, after ſetting down at large, what *Pliny*, and other antient Writers, have delivered as Matter of Fact, to add ſome Obſervations that may reconcile them to the State in which Things are now found, and which almoſt all the Writers, who have gone before me, have thought impracticable. I muſt, however, beſeech the candid and ingenious Peruſer, not to ſuſpect me of Vanity; for I freely profeſs, that it is not from any Sagacity or Penetration of mine, but merely from Induſtry, and the Compariſon of antient and modern Writers, that I am enabled to ſet him right in this Matter, and to lay open the Truth in ſuch a manner, as to convince him, that both the Antients and the Moderns have delivered nothing but what is founded in Fact; and that their ſeeming Contradictions ariſe only from their not having been ſufficiently conſidered.

In the firſt place, I muſt obſerve, that there is nothing reported by Antiquity, which has given ſo much Trouble to modern Critics, as the Appellation of *Happy*, conferred on the South Part of the Peninſula of *Arabia*, which in itſelf is a very deſert and barren Country, and produces nothing in Appearance capable of meriting that Title. The learned Mr. *Huet*, Biſhop of *Avranches*, was the firſt who hit upon the true Reaſon; and far be it from me, to conceal the Lights I have derived from the ſhort Hint given by that great Man, who, in his Treatiſe of the Commerce of the Antients, tells us, that *Arabia the Happy* was ſo called from the *Conveniency of its Ports*, and the prodigious Riches acquired by its Inhabitants, from their extenſive Commerce. This ſingle Thought, properly purſued, will enable us to reſolve all the Difficulties that have ariſen about the Commerce of the *Indies*.

Strabo, ſpeaking of the *Sabeans*, tells us, that, in their Country, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, and every other valuable Commodity, appeared with Profuſion, inſomuch that they were juſtly eſteemed the moſt opulent Nation in the World[c].

We may add to this, that almoſt all the other Nations of the World, which were diſtinguiſhed for their Trade and Wealth, derived it from thence. It was from hence, that the antient *Egyptians* drew their Supplies[d]; from hence the *Tyrians* had their richeſt Commodities[e]; from hence *Solomon* received ſuch valuable Preſents[f]; from hence the *Egyptians*, under the *Ptolemies*, obtained their moſt valuable Merchandize[g]; and from hence, as the foregoing Account ſhews, the *Romans* brought all the Riches of the Eaſt[h]. The great Difficulty, then, lies in finding out, how theſe People came by this prodigious Wealth. This Secret, when once revealed, will appear plain and eaſy: The Situation of this Country, and their early Knowledge of the Trade-winds, or Monſoons, threw the whole Trade of the *Indies* into their Hands; and as they were the moſt ſubtle People in the World, they took care to conceal their Navigation with the utmoſt Caution. It is clear from the Account we have already given out of *Pliny*, that Abundance of Fables were invented, to keep up the Price of Cinnamon, and other Spices; and the laſt Account, which he gives as the true one, was, in fact, as much a Fable as any of the reſt; and ſerves only to ſhew, that the *Arabians*, who were always famous for the Fertility of their Invention, knew how to proportion the Stories they told, to the Lights which other Nations had received.

The Cinnamon, and other Spices, ſold in the Port of *Ocilis*, were undoubtedly brought from the Iſland of *Ceylon*, to which the *Arabians* ſailed by the Help of one Monſoon, and returned by the other. When therefore we are told, that *Hypalus* firſt diſcovered the South-weſt Wind would carry a Ship directly to the Coaſt of *India*, we muſt refer this to the *Greeks*, and other *European* Nations; for the *Arabians* underſtood this kind of Navigation long before, as appears plainly by the vaſt Abundance of rich Commodities with which their Markets were ſtocked; for as none of theſe, except Incenſe, and other Perfumes, ever were the Growth of *Arabia*, it is manifeſt, that they brought them from the Iſlands of *India*.

I ſay, it is manifeſt, that they brought them, and that they were not brought to them; becauſe, if they had, the Secret muſt ſoon have broken out, and the Navigation to the Eaſtern Iſlands have been made thoroughly known to the *Egyptians*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans*, which it never was. They had, indeed, ſome confuſed Notions of certain rich Iſlands in the *Indian* Seas, ſuch as *Taprobana*, *Paliſimunda*, and *Panchaia*; but they were very confuſed indeed. As to the firſt, they have deſcribed it ſo imperfectly, that it is almoſt impoſſible to gueſs where it lies; the ſecond was no other than the Iſland of *Pattala*, long before diſcovered by *Alexander*; and the other was a mere Invention, or a Story palmed upon them by the *Arabians*, as *Plutarch* very judiciouſly obſerves [a].

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[a] *Periplus Maris Erythræi. Marciani Heracleotæ Periplus. Plin. Diod. Sicul.* lib. iii. *Agatharchides de Rubro Mari, p.* 63.

[b] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* ix. *c.* 35.

[c] *Geograph. lib.* xvi.

[d] *Diod. Sicul. Strabo. Periplus Maris Erythræi.*

[e] *Ezek.* xxvii. *ver* 22.

[f] 1 *Kings* x. 2 *Chron.* ix.

[g] *Diod. Sicul. Dion Caſſius. Strabo.*

[h] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* vi. *c.* 23.

It is true, that ſeveral antient Writers ſpeak of the *Indian* Merchants, that frequented the Ports of *Arabia*; but they came only from the Coaſt of *Malacca*, and the Countries bordering upon *Perſia*; and were as little acquainted with the Countries from whence the *Arabians* tranſported their moſt valuable Merchandize, as the *Greeks* and *Romans* themſelves, who alſo frequented their Coaſts, and carried on a conſiderable Commerce with them; but not in theſe rich Commodities; for *Pliny* obſerved, that they came only from *Ocilis*, and that the Price was ſet by the King of that Country, which other Writers have confirmed [b].

This Account is ſo much the more probable, as it correſponds exactly, both with antient and modern Relations; for, with reſpect to the former, it ſhews how the Country might of old be as rich and opulent as the *Greek* Writers repreſent it; and, on the other hand, how it comes to be in ſo different a Condition at this Day; for that the Air is exceſſive hot, the Climate near the Coaſt very unwholſome, the beſt Part of the Soil ſandy and barren, and the Country in general producing nothing but Incenſe, and rich Gums, of all the valuable Commodities, that were formerly brought from thence, are Facts that cannot be now diſputed [c]: And, upon a View of what antient Writers have delivered, we ſhall eaſily diſcover, that many of the wiſeſt of them ſuſpected the very thing that I maintain, that is, that the Wealth of this Country was the Reſult of Commerce, and not of its natural Fertility; for *Strabo* [d] long ago obſerved, that they obtained vaſt Quantities of Gold, and precious Stones, in Exchange for their Aromatics; and that theſe rich Goods were again exchanged for ſuch Commodities and Manufactures of the Weſt, as they ſtood moſt in need of, or with which they were moſt affected: And hence it was, that, in ſpite of the Difficulties attending its Navigation, the *Arabian* Gulph was one of the moſt frequented Seas in the then known World. In the ſecond Place, I obſerved, that this accounts perfectly well for the Miſtakes that we meet with in antient Writers, as to the Places where Spices, and other valuable Commodities, are found. Their Reports as to *Arabia*, and its Fruitfulneſs in Spices, were ſo far founded in Truth, as that they knew no Country where they were to be found, but that; and the Deſire of poſſeſſing ſo rich and valuable a Place, was what principally moved *Auguſtus*, and ſome of the ſucceeding Emperors, to think of conquering *Arabia*, which had been before in Danger, from the Power of *Alexander*, on the ſame Account [e].

It was probably the Fear of the *Romans*, that induced the *Arabians* to frame the new Tale, of Cinnamon's growin the Country of the *Ethiopians* and *Troglodytes*, and that it was brought to them with infinite Difficulty; I ſay, they might very poſſibly be induced to circulate this Story, in order to engage the *Romans* in a War with thoſe People; which would have been an effectual Means of keeping their Forces on the other Side of the Gulph. It is very plain, from what *Pliny* ſays, that this Notion of Spices growing in *Ethiopia*, was a very new thing, and that he thought he had made a great Diſcovery, in publiſhing it to the World: And what ſtill confirms this the more, is, the Fact he gives us from his own Knowledge; *viz.* that the firſt Cinnamon-plant that ever was ſeen at *Rome*, was brought thither in the Reign of *Titus*, and was conſecrated in the Temple erected to the Memory of *Flavius Veſpaſianus* [f].

But I know it may be objected, that abundance of Doubts have been moved about the Cinnamon of the Antients, as if it was quite another thing from the Spice known to us by that Name. In Anſwer to this, I muſt remark, that the Objection riſes from the Deſcriptions left us by the Antients, of a thing they had never ſeen, but took their Accounts upon Truſt from the *Sabeans*, who, with reſpect to them, had the Monopoly of that Commodity; ſo that, in the firſt Place, there is no great Credit due to their Deſcriptions; and the leſs, becauſe they agree as little with each other, as with our Accounts of that Spice, from thoſe who are beſt acquainted with it. In the next Place, we are to conſider, that in the Iſland of *Ceylon*, from whence we have all our Cinnamon, they diſtinguiſh no leſs than nine different Sorts, by the Adjunction of ſo many different Epithets to the Word *Coronda*, which, in their Language, ſignifies Cinnamon: The third Sort, for Inſtance, is called *Capperou Coronda*, which is as much as to ſay, the Camphire Cinnamon; and there is a Kind of wild Cinnamon, that grows on the Continent of *India*, near *Goa*, called by the Naturaliſts in *India*, *Canella Malabarica ſylveſtris*, or the wild *Malabar* Cinnamon; which ſo exactly reſembles the *Capperou Coronda*, that it is not to be diſtinguiſhed but by the Taſte: And, in all Probability, it was a Root of this Plant that *Pliny* ſaw conſecrated in a golden Urn, in the Temple of *Auguſtus*; or, at leaſt, his Deſcription agrees very well with this. In the third Place, if we conſider, the imperfect and diſcordant Deſcriptions, which the Antients give of this Spice, and the many Kinds of it that are known to the Moderns, we cannot wonder at the Doubts that have ariſen about it; nor can we reaſonably believe, that any Argument, drawn from thence, ought to weigh againſt the poſitive Matters of Fact, that have been laid down, and are not liable to any Diſpute [g].

The third Obſervation I ſhall make with regard to the Commerce of the *Romans* in the Eaſt, is in relation to the precious Stones they brought from thence; about which as many Doubts and Difficulties have been raiſed, as about the Spices; and for the very ſame Reaſon, becauſe they were not well acquainted with the Subject, but ſpoke of Things at ſecond-hand, and generally from the Reports of the *Arabian* Merchants, from whom they received them. Thus, for Inſtance, their Deſcription of the *Opal* does by no means agree with the Stones of that kind that are known amongſt us; and, as for the *Topaz*, it is impoſſible to know what to think of it, ſince they ſometimes deſcribe it of a green, as well as at other times, of a gold Colour, which is the only one known to us. As to their Emeralds, they diſtinguiſh the *Indian* from the *Egyptian*, but we know not now of any *Indian* Emeralds; by which I mean, Emeralds that are actually found in *India*; for the oriental Emerald is a Phraſe in Trade, and means no more than a very perfect Stone in point of Colour and Hardneſs, which the beſt Judges have eſteemed to be the *Egyptian* Emerald; though ſome ſay, that the Inhabitants of the *Philippines* actually received them from *Peru*, before that Country was diſcovered by the *Spaniards*; and that theſe, coming into *Europe*, from *India*, were, on that account, diſtinguiſhed by the Name of oriental Emeralds [h].

Before I part with this Subject, I cannot but obſerve, that the Heat, expreſſed by *Pliny*, againſt theſe Ornaments, and his ſarcaſtic Remark, that if the antient Conquerors of *Rome* could return from the Dead, they would regret their Triumphs, when they ſaw, that the ſole Effect of them, was to deck the fine Ladies, their Deſcendants, with an infinite Number of Jewels of high Price, is ill-founded. There is, no doubt, a Luxury in Stones, as well as in other Things: But, on the other hand, they are much miſtaken, who affirm, there is no intrinſic Worth in them, and that they ought not to be regarded, or valued. The intrinſic Worth of Iron, and other Metals, conſiſts in their Uſefulneſs; the intrinſic Worth of Silver and Gold, in their being proper Meaſures of the Value of other Things; and the former, with reſpect to Mankind, is not a Grain more important than the latter: Without uſeful Metals, we ſhould be much at a Loſs at home; and, without theſe common Standards, as to the Worth of which, all Nations are agreed, we could not conveniently carry on any Commerce abroad. It is in this laſt Light, therefore, that precious Stones are to be conſidered; they are extremely beautiful to the Eye, which gains them a general Eſteem; they are wonderfully firm and durable; and this augments their

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[a] *De Iſid. & Oſir.*

[b] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* xii. *cap.* 19. *Agatharchides de Rubro Mari, p.* 63, 64, 65. *Periplus Mari Erythræi, p.* 14.

[c] *Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. tom.* xi. *p.* 591.

[d] *Geograph. lib.* xvi.

[e] *Arrian. lib.* vii. *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[f] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* xii. *c.* 9.

[g] *Id. lib.* xii.

[h] See the Account of the Jewels brought from the *Eaſt Indies*, in Sect. xv.

Credit: To ſay, that theſe Circumſtances do not conſtitute a kind of intrinſic Worth, is to confound, inſtead of rectifying, our Notions. And, therefore, how ſparkling ſoever the Thought of *Pliny* may be, it is not, at the Bottom, founded in Truth; and I muſt, for my own Part, confeſs, that I do not think the Vanity of a *Roman* Lady, dreſſed out with Jewels to the Value of forty Millions of their Money, was at all greater, or more worthy the Contempt of a Philoſopher, than the Vanity of her Anceſtor, in his triumphal Car; ſince, in the Eye of Reaſon, one Species of Pride is as much, and as truly, a Folly, as another; of which the elder *Veſpaſian* was very ſenſible, when, being extremely fatigued with the Length of his Triumph, he could not help ſaying, I ſuffer, very juſtly, for being Fool enough to delight in ſuch a Spectacle as this at theſe Years. But it is now time to return from theſe Remarks to the Proſecution of our Subject; which leads us to ſhew more particularly, what Improvements were made in this kind of Commerce, after the *Romans* took the Management of it into their Hands.

11. The antient *Egyptians* had very early and conſtant Quarrels with their Neighbours the *Ethiopians*, which kept them at a great Diſtance from, and hindered them from engaging in any Commerce with them, at leaſt of great Importance: But, after the Kingdom of *Egypt* fell under the Dominion of the *Greeks*, theſe Diſputes ſubſided, and the Nations began to entertain a friendly Intercourſe; for the Encouragement of which, the City of *Coptus* was originally deſigned. This Commerce between the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians* was particularly promoted by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, for the ſake of obtaining Elephants; for the Taming of which he was very famous: When the *Romans* came to the Poſſeſſion of this Country, they were likewiſe very deſirous of penetrating into *Ethiopia*, for many Reaſons; but more eſpecially for the obtaining of Elephants, and their Teeth: And ſo eager was *Nero* in this Matter, that he ſent an Officer, with a Detachment of his own Lifeguards, into *Egypt*, on purpoſe to invade *Ethiopia*, if they might not have Leave to march through it peaceably. Theſe People performed their Errand, and returned with a fair Account of what they had ſeen; which did not, by any means, anſwer the Expectations that were raiſed by the Deſcriptions that had been formerly given of that Country. They found it, for the moſt part, poor and barren, the People, on the Frontiers of *Egypt*, living moſtly upon Millet; and thoſe beyond them, upon Milk and Veniſon: By degrees, however, there grew a conſiderable Commerce with this Country, from whence they brought Elephants, Rhinoceroſes, and other wild Beaſts, Ivory, and particularly that Sort of it which was eaſieſt wrought into Images, Chairs, Thrones, and other Utenſils; as alſo rich Gums, and precious Stones, eſpecially Emeralds and Topazes [a].

At laſt, they proceeded to the very Extremity of the *Arabian* Gulph, on the Coaſt of the *Troglodytes*, who had been painted in ſuch diſagreeable Lights by old Writers; and there carried on a very lucrative Commerce with theſe People, at a Port of their own, called *Adula*, which *Ptolemy* the Geographer places in the Latitude of 14° 20′, and muſt conſequently have been in that Part of the Country which is now in the Hands of the *Turks*, and there they met with very juſt and honeſt Uſage from theſe Barbarians, as they were then pleaſed to call them. Over-againſt this Port of *Adula* lay the Iſland of *Orine*; and there were ſome conſiderable Cities within-land, from whence the moſt valuable Commodities were brought down to this Port, which was looked upon as the Staple of the Ivory Trade, and for the Myrrh that was moſt eſteemed, with various Sorts of Gums, and ſome precious Stones [b].

It was in conſequence of their Poſſeſſion of *Egypt*, that the *Romans* carried on a conſiderable Traffick into the *Perſian* Gulph, at the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*; as alſo along the Coaſt of *Perſia*, to the Frontiers of the *Indies*; but the Produce of all this Commerce, as it came to *Rome* in the Fleet from *Alexandria*, was generally conſidered as *Egyptian*, at leaſt by the common People; as, on the other hand, all the Commerce of *Egypt* was, at *Rome*, called by the general Name of the Trade of *Alexandria*. This City, which had made ſo great a Figure from the Time of its firſt Foundation, and, indeed, in Right of its Founder, which was afterwards made the Capital of their Dominions by the *Ptolemies* [c], received great Additions, in point of Wealth, under the *Romans*; inſomuch that *Joſephus* reports, that the *Romans* drew as much from thence in a Month, as from the reſt of *Egypt* in a Year; and that, in point of Riches, it did not only equal, but exceed even *Rome* itſelf [d]; which is the more probable, ſince, under the *Ptolemies*, who were remarkably tender of impoſing high Duties, and thereby injuring the Commerce of their Subjects, the Cuſtoms of the Port of *Alexandria* amounted annually to a Million and an half of our Money. And *Diodorus Siculus* reports, from his own Knowledge, that, at the Time he was there, the Freemen of the City were above three hundred thouſand [e]: So that it muſt have been then as populous as *London* is at preſent, even upon the loweſt Computation, and ſuppoſing that the far greater Part of its Inhabitants were wholly ſupported by Trade.

To ſay the Truth, *Alexandria* within this, and the Period which will be contained in the next Chapter, ſeems to have attained to that Grandeur for which its Founder deſigned it, ſince it embraced, in a great meaſure, the whole Trade of the *Roman* Empire. This was principally owing to theſe two Cauſes: Firſt, the Conveniency of its Situation, by which it lay open to the *Mediterranean*; and the Care taken by the *Romans* to preſerve, and even to inlarge its Ports: And next, to the *Indian*, or Oriental Commerce, which has always had an attractive Quality, and drawn, where ever it was ſeated, almoſt all the Trade of the World beſide. Thus, for Inſtance, when the *Venetians* and *Genoeſe* ſhared that Trade between them, they ingroſſed all the reſt: Then it was, for a ſmall Time, attached to *Lisbon*; and came afterwards, in conſequence chiefly of their *Indian* Commerce, to the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*. This, I think, is the cleareſt and moſt ſatisfactory Anſwer that can be given to that Objection, which we ſo often hear made to this Commerce, that it carries out a vaſt Quantity of Silver; and which, as I conceive, was firſt ſtarted by *Pliny*, who actually complains, that the *Arabians* received ready Money for their *Indian* Commodities, and laid out nothing in Return. This, I ſay, is the moſt ſatisfactory Anſwer, becauſe it ſhews, that whatever Loſs may attend this Trade in the firſt Inſtance, yet thoſe who are poſſeſſed of it, are ſure to have a large Balance in their Favour, in conſequence of the general Reſort it occaſions, and the Returns that are made from thoſe Countries which take their *Indian* Commodities off their Hands. How far this Objection may lie to the Trade of *Europe*, in general, with the *Indies*, is another Queſtion, and ſhall be largely conſidered at the Cloſe of this Chapter; when I hope to demonſtrate, that all that has been hitherto ſaid on this Topic, flows from a Miſapprehenſion of the Nature of Commerce; and that, upon the Whole, whatever Country maintains the greateſt, and moſt extenſive Trade, under proper Regulations, muſt be the greateſt Gainers by Trade, tho', in ſome particular Branches of it, they may be ſaid to loſe. At preſent, our Buſineſs is to purſue this Subject one Step farther, and to ſhew what additional Improvements the Commerce of the Eaſt, by the Way of *Egypt*, received, while in the Hands of the *Romans*, till the Seat of the Empire was removed from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*, which created a great Alteration in the Face of Affairs in this, as well as in all other reſpects.

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[a] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* xxxvii. *c.* 6, 7, 8.

[b] *Periplus Maris Erythræi, p.* 2.

[c] *Strabo, lib.* xvii.

[d] *Joſeph. Bell. Jud. lib.* ii. *c.* 6. *lib.* v. *c.* 16.

[e] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii.

SECTION X.

An Account of the Affairs of Egypt, *and of the Commerce carried on by the* Romans, *through that Country, to the Eaſt, till the Seat of the Empire was transferred from* Rome *to* Conſtantinople.

1. *A ſuccinct Account of the Attention paid to Commerce in general. and to this Branch in particular, from the Reign of* Trajan, *to that of* Marcus Aurelius. 2. *The State of this Commerce, during that Period; and the Miſtakes that have been made about it rectified.* 3. *A ſuccinct Account of the* Roman *Emperors, from the Acceſſion of* Marcus Aurelius, *to the Death of* Alexander Severus. 4. *This View of their Reigns continued, from* Maximin *to* Aurelian. 5. *The Hiſtory of* Tadmor, *or* Palmyra; *and of the* Indian *Commerce carried on there, from the Riſe to the Deſtruction of that City and Principality.* 6. *An Account of the ſucceeding Emperors, from* Aurelian *to* Conſtantine *the Great.* 7. *The Situation of the Commerce of the* Romans, *at the Cloſe of this Period.*

1. THE Reſt which the *Roman* Empire had enjoyed under two ſuch excellent Princes, as *Flavius* and *Titus Veſpaſian*, was intirely forgotten under the tyrannical Yoke of *Domitian*, the laſt Prince of that Family, and one of the worſt that ever profaned the Imperial Purple. As he lived in Blood, ſo he died by the Hand of an Aſſaſſin, who thought he did the World good Service, by removing one who had ſhewn himſelf an open Enemy to Mankind. He was ſucceeded in the Empire by *Cocceius Nerva*, who reigned only a Year and four Months; and in that Time, ſhewed a laudable Intention to have remedied all the Evils introduced by his Predeceſſor: And that he might ſecure the Happineſs of his Country, in caſe he ſhould be taken off by an unexpected Death, he, without any Regard to his own Family, choſe for his Succeſſor *Ulpianus Trajan*, a *Spaniard* by Birth, and one who was recommended to him only for his Virtues. The raiſing this Man to the Empire, was not more fortunate to him, than happy for his Subjects; for he was a Prince endowed with all the Qualities that were neceſſary to the Support of that high Dignity, and with the Talents that were peculiarly requiſite to reſtore the Reputation of the *Roman* Name, and the Forces of a Government now ſinking under its own Weight [a].

He was raiſed to the Empire in A. D. ninety-eight; and having firſt ſecured all the Provinces on the Side of *Germany*, he began to turn his Eyes to the oppoſite Frontier; and having ordered the Governor of *Syria*, to enter *Arabia the Stony* with an Army, he ſtruck ſuch Terror into the Eaſt, that ſome *Indian* Princes ſent their Embaſſadors to *Rome*, where he received them with great Civility and Kindneſs [b]. He made afterwards an Expedition into the Eaſt, where he extended, by his Conqueſt, the Bounds of the Empire, as far as the River *Tygris*: And, having made himſelf Maſter of the City *Cteſiphon*, he was again proclaimed Emperor, and had the Name of *Parthicus* given him by the Senate. He was a great Admirer of the Fortune of *Alexander*; and in ſome Things affected to imitate him: For which Reaſon, as he was now near the *Indian* Ocean, he determined to viſit it; which Deſign he alſo put in Execution. While he was at the Mouth of the *Euphrates*, he ſaw a Ship there that was bound to the *Indies*; with which he was exceedingly pleaſed, and declared that he would have taken that Opportunity of making the Voyage, if he had been a younger Man than he was [c].

He rendered divine Honours to *Alexander* the Great on the Spot where he died; and often expreſſed a very high Eſteem for his Virtues, and an earneſt Deſire to imitate his great Deſigns for the Benefit of Mankind; with which View he directed a large Fleet to be built in the *Red Sea* for the Defence of the Navigation on that Side; and undertook himſelf the Reduction of Part of *Arabia*, in hopes of ſecuring by that means the Trade of the Eaſt to his Subjects, who were extremely haraſſed by the continual Piracies of the *Arabians*: With this View he entered the Country of the *Atranians*, which lay on the South Side of the *Perſian* Gulph; but found that Region ſo barren and deſtitute of Proviſions, that he was conſtrained to retire from before the Capital of their Country, to which he had laid Siege [d]. In this Enterprize, however, he fatigued himſelf ſo much, that he fell into a Looſeneſs, of which he died in *Cilicia*, after he had reigned only nineteen Years. He was a Prince careful, in all reſpects, of the Intereſts of the Empire, but particularly of what concerned the Eaſt; and, therefore, he took care to cauſe the Canal between the *Nile* and the *Red Sea* to be cleanſed and repaired, ſo that it was thence forward called the Canal of *Trajan* [e].

He was ſucceeded, *A. D.* 117, by *Adrian*, who had been his Ward; and to whom, for his conſtant Fidelity in all the various Scenes of his Life, *Trajan* bequeathed the Empire [f]. There were few of the *Roman* Princes who had either greater Talents for governing, or the Qualities of whoſe Minds were better ſuited to the Times in which they lived, than thoſe of *Adrian*, whoſe Knowledge was extenſive, his Temper firm, his Capacity equally great as a Soldier, and a Stateſman. At his Return to *Rome* from the Eaſt, he remitted at once all the Taxes due to his Predeceſſor. Then he made a Journey into the Weſtern Provinces, where having reſtored all things, he returned to *Rome* with great Glory, and, with the like Diligence, applied himſelf to ſettling the Affairs of the Eaſt. In the fifteenth Year of his Reign he made a Tour into *Egypt*, and reſided for ſome time at *Alexandria*, where he took a great deal of Pains to examine into the Character of its Inhabitants, and has left us in his Letters ſeveral curious Remarks; among which we may reckon theſe two; firſt that though the *Alexandrians* ſeemed to have amongſt them many Religions, yet, in fact, they all of them worſhipped but one God, which was *Gain* [g]: The ſecond, that it was the buſieſt Place in the World, where there was no Room for Beggars, ſince they made even blind Men get their own Bread. He found the City labouring under many Difficulties, many of their Privileges being loſt by their frequent Seditions; all of which, however, he reſtored, repaired ſuch Parts of the City as had ſuffered in theſe Commotions, reſtored all the public Foundations of the *Ptolemies*, and made ſome excellent Regulations for the Security of Commerce. In his Return through *Syria* he received the Submiſſion of the City of *Palmyra*, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew more largely: And it was about this time, that *Arrian* undertook, by his Direction, the Examination and Deſcription of the *Euxine* Sea [h]: And, indeed, his Care of the Public was in nothing more remarkable, than in reſtoring the Sea-laws, and in the Edicts he made in favour of Mariners [i].

Titus Antoninus ſucceeded in the Empire, by Virtue of his Nomination, *A. D.* 138; and proved as worthy a Prince as ever ſat upon the Throne: He is generally called, in order to diſtinguiſh him from the Princes of his Family, *Pius*, for his Regard to his Predeceſſor, and the Purity of his Life, by which he was as illuſtrious as from his imperial Dignity: He was naturally a Lover of Peace, and ſtrict in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice: His Care of Trade was equal to that of any of his Predeceſſors; for the promoting it, he cauſed all the High-roads throughout the Empire to be repaired; and for the Conveniency of ſuch as were engaged in Buſineſs, he directed, that the Diverſions of the Play-houſe ſhould begin later on thoſe Days, on which the Merchants met on the Exchange. As the Works of the beſt Hiſtorian [a] of theſe Times, which regarded his Reign, are long ſince loſt, we have a much worſe Account of it, than it deſerved; and therefore we cannot enter into any Particulars, relating immediately to our Subject; but this we know in general, from an Oration, that has eſcaped Oblivion, that the Commerce of the *Romans* was never better protected, and, conſequently, was never more extenſive or flouriſhing, than while the Reins of Government were held by this excellent Prince, whoſe conſtant Maxim it was, that the Glory of the Monarch conſiſted ſolely in the Happineſs of his Subjects; and by the Proſecution of this Maxim he ſecured to himſelf the peaceable Poſſeſſion of his Dominions while living, and the greateſt Reſpect to his Memory after his Deceaſe.

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[a] *Dion Caſſius, lib* lxviii. *p.* 771. *Plin. Paneg. Aurel. Victor. Eutropius. Xiphilin.*
[b] *Dion Caſſius, ubi ſupra. Aurel. Victor.*
[c] *Dion Caſſius, p.* 784. *Plin. ubi ſupra. Eutrop.*
[d] *Dion Caſſius, p.* 785. *Stephan. p.* 135. *Aurel. Vict.*
[e] *Ptolem lib.* iv. *c.* 5.
[f] *Dion Caſſius, lib.* lxix. *Spartian. de vit. Adrian. Aurel. Vict.*
[g] *Vopiſc. de vita Aurelian. Spartan. de vita Adrian.*
[h] The Title of this celebrated Work of *Arrian* is as follows. *Arriani Epiſtola in Adrianum in qua Periplus Ponti Euxini.*
[i] *Digeſt. de lege Rhodia, Leg.* 9. *Tit.* 2. *lib.* xiv. *Digeſt. ad. S C. Trebellianum, lib.* xxxvi. *l.* 49.

2. It is by no means my Intention to enter here even into a ſuccinct Hiſtory of the *Roman* Emperors; all I aim at is, to give the Reader ſuch an Account of them, as may render what I have to ſay with regard to this Trade, while in the Hands of the *Romans*, perfect intelligible; that ſo I may avoid putting him under a Neceſſity of conſulting many other Books, that he may be able to underſtand this; a Fault which having often obſerved in other Works of this Nature, rendered me the more careful in avoiding it. We have an antient Writer who has given us a very complete Deſcription of the *Mare Erythræum* [b], or *Red Sea*, which has long paſt, under the Name of *Arrian*, as I have hinted, more than once, before; but is, I think, unanſwerably ſhewn by the learned Mr. *Dodwell* to have been written by ſome other Author. This Writer, whoever he is, has ſhewn us, that, within the Compaſs of Time mentioned in this Section, there were very great Improvements made in the Navigation of the *Romans* to this Part of the World: And, therefore, I am not a little ſupriſed, that ſo learned a Man as Biſhop *Huet* ſhould ſuggeſt, that the Trade to the *Indies* was ſunk in ſome meaſure till revived by *Trajan*, and ſupported by the Fleet which he cauſed to be ſent into the *Red Sea*. The avowed Deſign of that Fleet was to cruſh the Pirates in thoſe Seas: But theſe ſort of People never trouble any Seas where there is not a great Trade carried on; and, therefore, the building ſuch a Fleet was by no means a Proof, that the Trade of the *Indies* was at that time any way leſſened, but rather the contrary. The Secret, and true Deſign, of *Trajan*'s equipping this Fleet was, that it might facilitate a Project he then had of rivalling *Alexander* by the Conqueſt of the *Indies* [c]: And the Reaſon he laid it aſide was, that he began to ſuſpect, that it would be impoſſible to keep ſuch Conqueſts, even ſuppoſing it poſſible to make them.

He, therefore, began to turn his Eyes towards *Arabia*, with a Deſign to eſtabliſh, and even to inlarge the Conqueſt that had been made by his Lieutenant *Cornelius Palma*. Of theſe Conqueſts we have very indiſtinct Accounts in Hiſtory; for they muſt have been much more conſiderable than thoſe Accounts make them, ſince there are yet extant ſeveral Medals ſtruck on taking of Towns in that Country. It is likewiſe very certain, that either *Trajan*, or ſome of the Emperors who ſucceeded him, reduced the greateſt Part of *Arabia the Happy* under their Dominion; for the Writer I have before mentioned, who deſcribes the *Red Sea*, ſpeaks of a Port without the Streights of *Babelmandel*, called *Eudemon*, or the *Happy* [d], which, he ſays, was formerly a Place of very great Commerce: *But a little before our Time*, continues he, *it was deſtroyed by* Cæſar [e]. Some Writers, indeed, aſcribe the Ruin of this Place to *Caius Cæſar*, the Grandſon of *Auguſtus*; for whoſe Uſe King *Iuba* wrote a large Work in relation to theſe Countries: But if we conſider what *Pliny* ſays, that *Caius Cæſar* only looked into *Arabia*, and that *Ælius Gallus*, of whoſe Expedition I have already ſpoken, penetrated farther than any other *Roman* into *Arabia* [f], we ſhall eaſily ſee, that this is a Miſtake; and that this *Cæſar* lived much later, that is to ſay, within the Compaſs of the Period of which we are now writing.

It appears, moreover, from the Deſcription of the *Red Sea*, ſo often cited, that, by this Time, I mean under the Emperors who ſucceeded *Trajan*, the *Romans* had extended both their Power, and their Trade, very far on this Side, and were, in a manner, Maſters of all *Arabia*; though when, or how, it was ſubdued, is a Point not ſo eaſily reſolved; nor do I intend to trouble my Readers with a tedious Inquiry into ſo perplexed a Subject. It is ſufficient for my Purpoſe, that I have cleared the Matter thus far, and have ſhewn the true Period within which theſe Conqueſts were made; by the Miſtake of which, we muſt be led into many others, capable of miſleading us intirely in regard to the Hiſtory of the *Indian* Commerce, by inclining us to believe, that it was in a declining State in that Period, when, in Truth, it flouriſhed moſt.

This Port of *Eudemon*, which I before-mentioned to have been deſtroyed, was afterwards reſtored and repaired; and became ſo famous a Mart for all the Commodities of the Eaſt, and, withal, was ſo much frequented by the Subjects of this Empire, that it was called, by way of Eminence, the *Roman* Port; and is the very ſame which is now called *Aden*, a Name that ſignifies nearly the ſame thing in *Arabic*, that *Eudemon* did in *Greek*, according to the well-known Cuſtom of the *Arabians*, who every-where reſtore the old Names of Places that they become Maſters of. It is alſo very clear, that, at this Time, the *Romans* carried on a great Trade in Countries much beyond the Limits of their Knowledge in former Times, that is to ſay, along the Coaſts of *Media*, *Perſia*, *Cambaya*, and the *Peninſula* of *Malacca*; but they were ſtill as far from being acquainted with the Spice Countries as ever. The Author of the Deſciption of the *Red Sea* does indeed ſpeak of the River *Ganges*, and of the Countries lying on the Gulph of *Bengal*, but not with the ſame Accuracy that he does of other Places; from whence, I think, it may be fairly concluded, that he drew the Accounts he had of them from Hearſay, that is, from the Reports which the *Roman* Merchants received at *Barygaza* and *Muziris*, which were Ports of *Malacca*; and the latter is, with great Probability, thought to be that which is now called *Diu*.

It was by the prodigious Profits ariſing from this Commerce, that, on the one hand, the People of *Alexandria* grew ſo rich, and ſo mutinous, as all the Hiſtorians of theſe Times repreſent them; and that, on the other hand, the *Roman* Emperors, of whom we have been ſpeaking, and who were by far the beſt, if we except one or two that enjoyed that Dignity, were engaged to make ſo many Viſits to that City in particular, and to take ſo much Care as they did of all Things relating to Trade in general; which had an extraordinary Effect on the Manners of the *Romans*, and altered their Notions to ſuch a Degree, that even the moſt conſiderable Perſons of the Empire, for Birth and Quality, were not at all aſhamed of becoming Merchants; and this, in all Probability, was the Cauſe, that their Capitals became larger, and their Trade through *Egypt* much more conſiderable than in former times. How far this might contribute to the corrupting the Minds of the People, by the increaſing Luxury, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but, moſt certain it is, that the Times do not appear to have been worſe within this Period, but rather better; and, therefore, it ſeems more agreeable to Truth, to attribute that Corruption of Manners, which was afterwards viſible amongſt the *Romans*, and had very near ruined their Empire, to the bad Example of ſucceeding

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[a] This Part of the Work of *Dion Caſſius*, whoſe Hiſtory is here meant, periſhed, before *Xiphilin* made his Abridgment.

[b] This curious Piece is printed in the firſt Volume of Dr. *Hudſon*'s Collection of antient Geographers, under the Title of *Arriani Periplus Maris Erythræi*, which is the Edition I uſe.

[c] We have this Circumſtance from *Eutropius*; and the Reader, by conſulting *Dion Caſſius*, will find, that the *Romans* ſometimes regarded him as the Conqueror of the *Indies*; which was either groſs Flattery, or they muſt have reckoned *Arabia Felix* Part of the *Indies*.

[d] *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, p. 14.

[e] *Idem ibid.*

[f] *Nat. Hiſt. lib.* 12. c. 14.

Princes, than to the great Wealth that was poured in upon them by their extenſive Trade. Of theſe Princes, and of their Conduct, it is neceſſary, that we ſhould ſay ſomething, in order to preſerve the Thread of our Hiſtory, and that the Connection may be preſerved throughout; but, at the ſame time, we ſhall uſe all poſſible Brevity, in order to reſtrain this Section within due Bounds.

3. *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, ſurnamed *the Philoſopher*, ſucceeded *Antoninus Pius*, *A. D.* 161. and aſſociated *Lucius Verus* in the Government, which was the firſt Time the *Romans* had ſeen two Emperors at once; neither had it, in this Inſtance, any ill Conſequence: For, as *M. Aurelius* was juſtly eſteemed the very beſt of all the *Roman* Emperors, ſo his Collegue *Lucius*, during the nine Years of his Reign, behaved towards him with all that Modeſty and Reſpect, which was due from him to the Author of his Greatneſs. After his Deceaſe, *M. Aurelius* governed alone, with the utmoſt Wiſdom and Moderation, neglecting nothing that could contribute to maintaining the great Character he had gained, and ſecuring, at once, the Love and Eſteem of his Subjects. He made a Viſit to *Egypt*, in the fifteenth Year of his Reign; and though the Inhabitants had, a little before, ſhewn an Inclination to revolt, yet he behaved towards them very kindly, and renewed all their Privileges [a]: So that there is not the leaſt Reaſon to doubt, that the Trade of the *Romans* through that Country, was preſerved in its full Extent.

His Son *Commodus*, who ſucceeded him in the Empire, *A. D.* 180 was as wicked and cruel a Prince, as his Father had been juſt and virtuous: His Reign was a continued Scene of Blood and Debauchery; and as the Empire, in general, ſuffered exceedingly under his ſcandalous Adminiſtration, ſo the Trade of the Eaſt was particularly endangered by an Irruption of the *Saracens*, who were now firſt heard of in *Arabia*, where they defeated the *Roman* Armies, in the laſt Year of the Reign of this Prince [b], who was murdered by ſome of his Favourites, that he had intended ro remove in the ſame Way.

Helvius Pertinax was raiſed to the Empire in *A. D.* 193. and as his Reign was very ſhort, I ſhould not dwell upon it at all, but for the ſingular Circumſtance of his Name, which ſignifies Obſtinate, and was given him for a Reaſon that the Reader may, perhaps, think worth his Notice. His Father was a Woodmonger; but, having acquired a conſiderable Fortune, he was willing, that his Son ſhould have entered the World in another Character, than that of a Trader; to which, however, he was ſo ſtrongly inclined, that all his Father's Perſuaſion, for ſome time, had no Effect: And from thence he was called *Pertinax* [c]. He altered his Conduct afterwards, and roſe regularly, through a long Series of Civil and Military Employments, to the Empire: With his Preferment to which, all Degrees of People were pleaſed, except the Soldiers, who, after a Reign of three Months, murdered him [d].

After his Death followed many Diſturbances; but at laſt *A. D.* 193. *Severus* was raiſed to the Empire, in which, however, he had *Niger*, who was declared Emperor in the Eaſt, for his Competitor. In the fifth Year of his Reign, he entered *Arabia* with an Army, and laid Siege to *Atra*, the ſame Place that had been formerly attacked by *Trajan*, out of a covetous Diſpoſition, and that he might make himſelf Maſter of the vaſt Wealth, that he underſtood was in the Place; but he was repulſed with great Loſs, and forced to retire. His Paſſion for Money, however, was ſo ſtrong, that he returned thither a ſecond Time; and had certainly taken the Place, if his Covetouſneſs had not hindered him: For the Breach being made, he was apprehenſive, that his Soldiers, if they took it by Storm, would ſhare the Plunder amongſt themſelves; and therefore he would needs give the Beſieged time to capitulate, which they employed in repairing the Breach; and did it ſo effectually, that the *Roman* Army refuſed to return to the Aſſault: So that he was obliged to raiſe the Siege a ſecond time [e]. This Inſtance ſufficiently ſhews us, to how great a Height of Power the Profits of their Trade had, in thoſe Days, raiſed the *Arabians*, ſince a ſmall Principality amongſt them, was capable of defending its Liberties againſt two ſuch Princes as *Trajan* and *Severus*: And we may add to this another great Prince no leſs powerful, *viz. Artaxerxes*, who re-eſtabliſhed the Empire of the *Perſians*. In the ſucceeding Year *Severus* viſited *Egypt*, and made ſome Stay in *Alexandria*, where he repaired the Tomb of *Pompey*, and granted to the City a Senate and publick Council, which hitherto the *Romans* had conſtantly refuſed them [f]. This Emperor travelled over all *Egypt*; inquired carefully into every thing that related either to his Government, or Commerce; and, having ſeen the Body of *Alexander*, he ordered the Tomb to be walled up, that others might not ſatisfy their Curioſity in like manner [g]. His Son *Caracalla* ſucceeded him, *A. D.* 211. and proved as great a Tyrant as any that had hitherto ſat upon the Throne. He was, however, extremely fond of *Egypt*; and admitted one *Ceranus*, an *Alexandrian*, into the Senate of *Rome*, contrary to the eſtabliſhed Maxim of *Auguſtus*, that no *Egyptian* ſhould ever enter that Auguſt Aſſembly [h]. Towards the End of his Reign, he went to *Alexandria* upon a very odd Errand: He had heard, that the People treated his Vices and Follies with Hatred and Contempt: He, under Pretence of viſiting it, as his Father had done, entered it with his Troops; and, having directed them to kill, without Diſtinction, all they met, deſtroyed an infinite Number of all Ranks and Ages. He afterwards aboliſhed their Privileges; deſtroyed a great Part of the City; demoliſhed the Muſeum; baniſhed the learned Men who lived there, and all Strangers, Merchants only excepted, to whom he vouchſafed his ſpecial Protection [i]. This Tyrant was ſoon after killed, in an Expedition he made into the Eaſt; to the great Joy of the Senate and People of *Rome*.

Macrinus, one of his Officers, and his Murderer alſo, ſucceeded him: But we find nothing in his Reign, nor that of his Succeſſor, the execrable *Heliogabalus*, worthy of Notice.

Alexander Severus was raiſed to the Empire while a Boy, *A. D.* 222. He proved an excellent Prince, and a great Bleſſing to the Empire; and, being governed, during his whole Reign, by very wiſe and prudent Counſels, did every Thing that could be expected from him, for promoting the Welfare and Happineſs of his Subjects. He was particularly attentive to Trade, and the Eaſe and Comfort of ſuch as were engaged in it. He took off many of the high Duties impoſed by his Predeceſſors: And it is remarkable, that he was the firſt of the *Roman* Emperors who made any Diſtinction between Merchants, and Tradeſmen or Mechanics; which he did by dividing them into ſeparate Companies, and appointing Judges to hear and decide the Diſputes that might ariſe amongſt the Members of either Company. Towards the End of his Reign, he made an Expedition into the Eaſt; from whence he returned victorious, and was honoured with a Triumph. But the Soldiers, who were, in a great meaſure, corrupted by the Licence allowed them under former Emperors, being no longer able to bear the Strictneſs of his Diſcipline, or endure the Purity of his Manners, took an Opportunity to murder him a little after Dinner, when he was left almoſt alone, in his Tent, in the twenty-ſeventh Year of his Age, and fourteenth of his Reign [k].

4. The execrable Murder of ſo good an Emperor was followed by the Soldiers ſetting up a perfect Monſter, both in Body and Mind, called *Maximin*; which obliged the Senate to ſet up other Emperors, in order to preſerve ſome Degree of Decency in the Government, which they found very difficult for them to do, the Army being as much bent to maintain their Power, as the Senate were to ſupport their Authority: But at laſt *Maximin*, on whoſe Account theſe Diſturbances began, being ſlain, and *Gordian* and his Nephew, who were exalted to the Empire in the Year 236. being ſlain alſo, the People would needs have a Share in making Emperors; and therefore obliged the Senate to declare the younger *Gordian*, who was a Boy of thirteen, and the third of his Name, *Auguſtus*. It is natu-

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[a] *Marc. Aurel. Vit. p.* 33.

[b] *Herodian, lib.* iii. *Spartian. de Vita Nigri. p.* 77.

[c] *Capitolin. de Vita Pertinacis.*

[d] *Dion Caſſius, lib.* lxxiii. *Herodian, lib.* ii. *Capitolin. de Vita Pertinacis.*

[e] *Dion Caſſius, lib.* lxxv. *Herodian, lib.* iii.

[f] *Dion Caſſius, lib.* li.

[g] *Spartian de Vita Sever.*

[h] *Dion Caſſius, lib.* li. *p.* 455. *lib.* lxxvi. *p.* 862.

[i] *Dion Caſſius, lib.* lxxvii. *Herodian, lib.* iv.

[k] *Zoſim. lib.* i. *Chron. Alex. p.* 626. *Herodian, lib.* vi.

ral to ſuppoſe, that, in the Midſt of theſe Confuſions, the whole Oeconomy of the Empire ſuffered; and, indeed, ſuffered in every Part, by the Ambition of their Governors, who all imagined, that, by courting the People under their Subjection, they might be able to raiſe themſelves to Sovereignty. The Army, diſdaining the Youth of *Gordian*, could ſcarce be perſuaded to follow him to the *Perſian* War; and tho' he was there ſucceſsful againſt the Enemy, yet he found it impoſſible to triumph over the Malice of his own Troops, who, taking the Opportunity, when he had few of his Friends about him, and being headed by *Philip*, who was the Captain of his Guard, murdered him, when he had held the Empire about ſix Years[a].

M. Julius Philippus, who had thus betrayed his Truſt, and murdered his Prince, was, by the Army, raiſed to the Empire. He was an *Arabian* by Birth, and attended, ſo far as the Diſturbances of his Reign would give him Leave, to the Concerns of the Government with great Diligence; but a Sedition riſing in his Army, and he ſending *Decius* to quiet it, the Soldiers threw an imperial Mantle over his Shoulders, and, declaring for him againſt *Philip*, a Battle was ſoon after fought between them, in which the latter was ſlain, after a ſhort Reign of four Years. This *Decius*, who was an *Hungarian* by Birth, governed the Empire with Reputation for two Years and an half, and was then ſlain in a Battle againſt the *Goths*, by the Treachery of *Vibius Gallus*, who ſucceeded him in the Empire, and aſſociated his Son *Veluſian*; but they ſcarce held it long enough to be accounted Emperors: for the *Scythians*, and other barbarous Nations, invading the *Roman* Territories on all Sides, whoever had Courage and Fortune enough to reſiſt theſe Barbarians, was preſently ſaluted Emperor by his Soldiers: And thus the Miſery of the Empire was increaſed by what ought to have been her Defence, the having many brave Men, and good Officers, in her Service[b].

It was in this manner that *Æmilianus*, an *African*, was raiſed to the Purple, which he held but a few Months; for another Army having proclaimed *Valerian*, who was a Man of Quality and great Abilities, the Army that had choſen *Æmilian*, thought proper to diſpatch him out of the way, rather than involve themſelves in any Danger about a diſputed Title. The Emperor *Valerian* aſſumed the Purple *A. D.* 253. and, having a great Reputation, brought the Affairs of the *Roman* Government into ſome Order; for, having repulſed the *Germans* on one Side, and the *Goths* on the other, he reſolved to march himſelf againſt the *Perſians*, who had created new Diſturbances in the Eaſt. In the Year 258. he was at *Byzantium*, in his Way towards the Eaſt; and, having ſpent the next Year in a ſlow War againſt the *Perſians*, it came, in the Year following, to a deciſive Engagement, in which he was beaten, and afterwards taken Priſoner[c].

He had aſſociated his Son *Gallienus* in the Empire, ſoon after he was raiſed to it; and this Son now ſucceeded him in the imperial Dignity, and governed alone near nine Years, but without either Peace or Reputation; for he gave himſelf up to a luxurious and indolent Life, without taking the leaſt Care to free his Father out of the Hands of the *Perſians*, or to prevent his Dominions from being over-run by the numerous Armies of Barbarians, that attacked them on either Side. While Affairs were in this Poſture, almoſt every great Province gave the Title of Emperor to whoever commanded in it; and *Egypt*, among the reſt, where the Country was ruined, and the City of *Alexandria* deſolated by War, Peſtilence and Famine, all at one time. Theſe Miſeries, however, were not ſufficient to hinder them from creating new Diſturbances; for in the Year 262. they gave the Title of Emperor to *Æmilian*, who was then Prefect of *Egypt*, againſt whom *Gallien* ſent *Theodotus*, who was an *Egyptian* by Birth, and who having ſhut up *Æmilian* in the *Bruchium*, or Palace of *Alexandria*, at laſt made him Priſoner, and in that Condition ſent him to *Rome*, where, by the Order of the Emperor, he was ſtrangled. In this unfortunate Diſpute the City of *Alexandria* ſuffered very ſeverely for; the *Bruchium*, or royal Quarter which was very large, and very magnificent, was intirely deſtroyed, and rendered deſert; ſo that in ſucceeding Times the Ruins of it were at ſome Diſtance from the City, which, we may hence conclude, began about this Time to decline; and no Wonder that it did, ſince the whole *Roman* Empire was now viſibly ſinking under its own Weight, and crumbling into as many Parts as there were Provinces[d].

The *Roman* People, perceiving that *Gallienus* took ſo little Care of Affairs, began not only to hate, but to deſpiſe him. This created ſome Inſurrections in *Italy*; and *Gallienus* putting himſelf at the Head of an Army, in order to repreſs them, he was there murdered; and ſoon after, his Son and his Brother were cut off at *Rome*. He had for his Succeſſor *Claudius Gothicus*, who received that Surname for a great Victory he obtained over the *Goths*, in which he deſtroyed three hundred thouſand of them, and ſunk two thouſand of their Ships or Barks, for which the Senate decreed him a golden Shield, and ordered his Statue to be ſet up in the Capitol. The *Romans* began now to conceive Hopes of ſeeing better Days; and indeed there is no Inſtance of any Prince, who, during ſo ſhort a Reign, made himſelf ſo much beloved, ſince he died, at the Cloſe of his ſecond Year, at *Syrmium*[e].

He recommended, on his Death-bed, *Valerius Aurelianus*, whom he had ſent into *Thrace* againſt the *Goths*; but the Army, inſtead of proclaiming him Emperor, ſet up *Quintillus*, the Brother of *Claudius*, in a Fit of Zeal for that Monarch's Memory; but, finding their new Emperor a Man of too ſevere Morals for thoſe licentious times, they murdered him in a Fortnight, and proclaimed the Perſon, whom *Claudius* recommended. This *Aurelian*, who was raiſed to the Empire in 270. was a Perſon of great military Capacity, a Lover of ſtrict Diſcipline, and, in every reſpect, proper to reſtore the diſtracted Affairs of the Empire, and to retrieve the antient Glory of the *Roman* State. He ſoon freed the Weſtern Provinces from the Apprehenſions they were under, from their barbarous Neighbours; and, having likewiſe ſettled the domeſtic Oeconomy of the Empire, to the Satisfaction of the Senate, he began to turn his Eyes towards the Eaſt, where a new Power was erected, and had aſſumed the imperial Title: But as the Riſe and Progreſs of this Power, has a very cloſe Connection with our Subject, it is neceſſary, that we ſhould examine it more at large; which will enable us to take notice of many Particulars, that muſt otherwiſe have been buried in Obſcurity[f].

5. While the *Roman* Empire was thus torn by inteſtine Confuſions, and while many wore the Title of Emperors, with Power enough to oppreſs, and too little to protect their Subjects, a new Principality ſtarted up, or rather diſcovered its Power to the World; of which, as I have already obſerved, I am neceſſarily obliged to ſpeak more at large, becauſe it owed that Grandeur, which it poſſeſſed in ſo high a Degree, intirely to the Commerce of the *Indies*; ſo that it may ſerve us for an Inſtance, that there is no Situation ſo wild, as not to be improved and rendered pleaſant; no Country ſo barren, as not to admit of Cultivation; no Spot of Ground ſo unhappily placed, as not to become the Seat of Pleaſure, if, by any Art or Contrivance, any Commerce of Importance can be fixed there.

The Place, of which I am to ſpeak, was originally built by King *Solomon*, after he had conquered the King of *Hamath Zoba*, a little *Syrian* Prince, within whoſe Dominions the Country lay, upon which this City was afterwards erected. It was called by *Solomon*[g], *Tadmor*; and from its Situation in the midſt of a ſandy Deſert, which ſurrounded it on all Sides, *Tadmar in the Wilderneſs*. But, as the Singularity of its Situation was ſufficient to charm whoever attentively conſidered it, ſo in the Decline of the *Greek* Empire in the Eaſt, it became a free City, or rather the Head of a ſmall Principality, under the Name of *Palmyra*, from whence the Country under its Juriſdiction was called *Palmyrene*[h]. This City and Country are very well deſcribed by *Pliny*.

Palmyra, ſays he, is excellently ſituated, as well in regard to the Pleaſantneſs of the adjacent Country, as from the great Abundance of Water. And this little Territory ſeems to be ſet apart by Nature for a peaceful and undiſturbed Retreat, being ſurrounded on every Side with dry and ſandy Deſarts, which reach as far as the very Confines of *Arabia*[a]. This little State lay between the two mighty Empires of *Rome* and *Parthia*, when the Diſputes between them were at the higheſt, having the *Parthians* on the Eaſt, and the *Roman* Territory on the Weſt; ſo that it ſeemed to be perpetually in Danger; and yet, though exceedingly rich, it was ſo wiſely governed, as to eſcape any great Loſs during all thoſe Confuſions; and never ran any great Hazard except from *Mark Antony*, who, being diſtreſſed for Money to pay his Army, ſent a Body of Horſe to plunder it; but the Inhabitants, having Notice of his Intention, removed their Effects, and ſo prevented that Deſolation with which they were threatened[b]. The Source of its great Wealth was the Share it had in the Commerce of the *Indies*. This Commerce was thus carried on: The Goods were brought by Sea to the Mouth of the *Euphrates*, and, perhaps, a little higher; and thence they were ſent by Land in Caravans for ſome hundred Miles through the Deſerts to *Palmyra*, which ſtood one Day's Journey from the *Euphrates*, one hundred and twenty-ſeven Miles from *Damaſcus*, and about two hundred and three Miles from the maritime Coaſt of *Syria*, by the Ports of which it diſperſed theſe Goods to all the different Parts of the *Roman* Empire, that did not immediately correſpond with the Port of *Alexandria*.

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[a] *Herodian, lib.* 8. *Zoſim. lib.* i. *Eutrop. lib.* 9.

[b] *Oroſius, lib.* vii. *Zoſim. lib.* i. *Eutrop. lib.* ix. *Aurel. Victor.*

[c] *Euſebius Hiſt. lib.* vii. *Oroſius, lib.* vii. *Zoſim. lib.* i. *Eutrop. lib.* ix. *Aurelius Victor.*

[d] *Euſebius, lib.* vii. *Chron. Alex. p.* 237.

[e] *Oroſius, lib.* vii. *Pollio de trigint. Tyran. Pomponius Lætus.*

[f] *Zoſim. lib.* i. *Euſebius, lib.* vii. *Oroſius, lib.* vii. *Eutrop. lib.* ix. *Aurelius Victor.*

[g] 2 *Chron.* viii. 3.

[h] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* v. *c.* 25.

When *Trajan* overturned the *Parthian* Empire, the Principality of *Palmyra* declared for the *Romans*; and *A. D.* 130. they ſubmitted themſelves to *Adrian*, who was then marching with his Army from *Syria* into *Egypt*; who was ſo well pleaſed with the Situation of the Place, and the Behaviour of the People, that he granted them the Privileges of a Colony, and adorned the City with ſo many beautiful Structures, that the Inhabitants, in Compliment to their Benefactor, called their City for ſome time *Adrianople*[c]. From the Time of *Adrian*, to that of *Aurelian*, which comprehended the Space of 140 Years, this City, and the Territory under its Juriſdiction, ſo flouriſhed and increaſed, that when the Emperor *Valerian* was taken Priſoner by *Sapores*, King of *Perſia*, *Odenathus*, who then governed *Palmyra*, was able to bring a powerful Army into the Field, to recover *Meſopotamia* from the *Perſians*, and even to penetrate as far as their capital City *Cteſiphon*; which was ſo acceptable a Service to the *Roman* Empire, then governed by *Gallienus*, a lazy and inactive Prince, that, with the Conſent of the Senate, he took *Odenathus* into Partnerſhip with him, and gave him the Title of *Auguſtus*[d]; which Incident, by a ſtrange Turn of Affairs, proved the Cauſe of the utter Ruin and Subverſion of the Place.

For *Odenathus*, and his Son *Herodes*, being ſoon after murdered by *Meonius* their Kinſman, his Wife *Zenobia*, in Right of her Son *Wabalathus*, then a Minor, aſſumed the Government of the Eaſt; which ſhe managed with ſo much Prudence and Diſcretion, that, after the Death of *Gallienus*, ſhe made herſelf Miſtreſs of *Egypt*, and held it during the ſhort Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*.

On the Acceſſion of *Aurelian* to the Imperial Dignity, he refuſed the Title of *Auguſtus* to this Family, though he willingly honoured them with that of Viceroy, as appears by his Coin[e]; neither did he ſhew any Inclination to deprive them of the Government of the Eaſt: But the high-ſpirited *Zenobia* would be contented with nothing leſs than the Partition of the Empire; and *Aurelian* could not bear the Thoughts of ſharing the Sovereignty with a Woman: Which produced the War between them; in which ſhe hazarded two Battles, and was defeated in both, and afterwards ſhut herſelf up in the City of *Palmyra*, where, for a long time, ſhe made an obſtinate Defence; but, finding it to no Purpoſe, and that ſooner or later the City would be taken, ſhe quitted it privately, and, with her Son, attempted to make her Eſcape: But, *Aurelian* being informed of it, cauſed her to be purſued; and ſhe was overtaken on the very Banks of the *Euphrates*[f]. *Aurelian* was far from treating her with Severity: He reſerved her indeed for his Triumph; but, in other reſpects, he treated her very kindly, and with much Eſteem. On his Return to *Rome*, ſhe was led through the City, as a Proof of his Victory; and the *Roman* Writers agree, that there never was ſeen a more magnificent Spectacle. She was, in her Perſon, of the largeſt Size, but exquiſitely beautiful. I mention the Circumſtance of her Stature, becauſe we are particularly told, that the Jewels ſhe wore upon this Occaſion, were ſo many, and ſo large, that they were a great Burden to her, and tired her to ſuch a Degree, that, though a ſtrong Woman, and much uſed to Exerciſe, ſhe was forced to halt ſeveral times in her Paſſage[g]. After this fatiguing Ceremony was over, ſhe had a Country-houſe given her near the *Tiber*, where ſhe lived many Years, with her Family, in great Honour, and in perfect Tranquillity. She was indeed, in all reſpects, the moſt accompliſhed Lady of her Time, and equally remarkable for her unblemiſhed Chaſtity, her extenſive Learning, her maſculine Courage, and her deep Policy.

If the Inhabitants of *Palmyra* could have forgot the Figure they made under her Reign, or could, from her Example, have learned to bear a Change of Fortune with Diſcretion, they might have eſcaped without ſuffering much by this unlucky Accident; but believing, after *Aurelian* was returned into *Europe*, that there was no Danger of his coming back, they cut the Throats of the Soldiers he had left in Gariſon; which incenſed him to ſuch a degree, that he took a ſudden, and yet inflexible Reſolution, of marching in Perſon to chaſtiſe them; which he accordingly did; and having, with little Oppoſition, made himſelf Maſter of the Place, he cauſed the Inhabitants to be deſtroyed without Mercy, and gave the City to be pillaged by his Soldiers; which produced ſo dreadful a Deſolation, that even the Emperor himſelf, who was far enough from being of a gentle Diſpoſition, was touched therewith, and gave Orders, that the few who had eſcaped, ſhould be ſpared; and he likewiſe gave Inſtructions for reſtoring the Plunder, taken by his Soldiers out of the Temple of the Sun[h].

This dreadful Deſtruction of *Palmyra*, which happened *A. D.* 272, put an End to this Principality; but it is not probable, that the City was then ruined to the Degree which Travellers ſee it now, becauſe we often find it mentioned in Hiſtory as a conſiderable City after this, though not as the Seat of Government, as it had been in Times paſt, when there were no leſs than ſixteen Cities in its Neighbourhood under its Juriſdiction, the Ruins of which are yet viſible, and very plainly ſhew how great the Power and Magnificence of thoſe Princes muſt have been, by whom they were erected: And, as for the Ruins of *Palmyra* itſelf, they are allowed by all who have viſited them, to be equal, if not ſuperior, to any thing of the ſame kind yet remaining in the World[i]. As for the Courſe of that Part of the *Indian* Traffick which paſſed this Way, it has, after ſome Variation, been in a great meaſure fixt to *Aleppo*, particularly that Part of it which is the Conſequence of an Intercourſe with the *Perſians*, ſome Provinces of that Empire being, within this Period, always regarded as Part of the *Indies*. But it is now Time to quit the Story of this City's Ruin, in order to purſue the Thread of our Narration, which leads us to another Inſurrection againſt the Emperor *Aurelian*, which was ſaid to take Riſe from the ſame Cauſe; I mean, too great Wealth amaſſed together by the Commerce of the *Indies*.

We have already obſerved, that *Zenobia* had added to her Dominions *Egypt*, as well as ſome other Countries. On the Ruin of her Affairs, there was a *Roman* Merchant in *Egypt*, whoſe Name was *M. Firmius*, who dealt in Paper, Glue, and other Commodities, with which he furniſhed the Inhabitants of *Arabia*, and other Parts of the Eaſt; and became thereby ſo rich, that he had Money enough to maintain an Army, which he undertook to raiſe under Colour of ſupporting the Cauſe of *Zenobia*; but, in fact, with a View to have ſecured to himſelf the Sovereignty of *Egypt*, where he found the People inclined enough to mutiny; and was ſoon in a Condition to render himſelf formidable; the rather, becauſe the firſt Step he took was to lay an Embargo upon the Fleet that was bound from *Alexandria* to *Rome*. But this, inſtead of contributing, as he vainly imagined it would, to his Safety, drew upon him immediate Ruin; for *Aurelian*, knowing well the Conſequences that this muſt produce at *Rome*, marched with all imaginable Diligence to *Egypt*; and, having eaſily made himſelf Maſter of *Alexandria*, he blocked up *Firmius* in a Caſtle, and ſoon after took him Priſoner, and cauſed him to be put to Death, with horrid Torments [a].

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[a] *Ubi ſup.* [b] *Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib.* v. *Dion Caſſius, lib.* 40. [c] *Flav. Vopiſc. in Vit. Aurelian. Zoſim. Zonar.* [d] *Pollio in Vit. Gallien.* [e] Some Pieces of which are extant, with the Head of *Aurelian* on one Side, and that of *Wabalathus* on the other; with theſe Letters, V. C. R. I M. OR. which Father *Harduin* has moſt judiciouſly interpreted, *Vice Cæſaris Rector Imperii Orientis.* [f] *Vopiſc. in. Vit. Aurelian.* [g] *Pollio in trigint. Tyran.* [h] *Zoſim. lib.* 1. *Vopiſc. in Vit. Aurelian.* [i] See a Deſcription of theſe Ruins, and an Account of the antient State of this City, in the *Miſcellanea Curioſa, Vol.* iii. *p.* 120, 160.

He likewiſe ſettled the Trade of that Country on a new Foot, by the Regulations which he made, and which ſeem to have been very advantageous to the *Romans*, whatever Hardſhips they might bring upon the *Egyptians*. Theſe Precautions, however, could not have affected the Inhabitants of this Country ſo deeply, or the Severities exerciſed by *Aurelian* have depreſſed them to ſuch a degree, as Hiſtory mentions, if they had remained at Peace among themſelves, and had been content to enjoy quietly, what was left them after their Misfortunes: But this they could not do; for their mutinous and reſtleſs Temper threw the Inhabitants of *Alexandria* into ſuch factious Diſputes, as occaſioned a kind of civil War amongſt them; which produced the Ruin of many of the public Buildings, and fineſt Edifices, that were yet left ſtanding; ſo that, with their own Hands, they laboured inceſſantly to demoliſh, what had been raiſed by the Induſtry and public Spirit of their Anceſtors; and thus the Deſolation of this great and rich City was increaſed, and in a manner finiſhed, by the Madneſs of her Citizens [b].

Soon after, this *Aurelian* was murdered by ſome of the principal Officers of his Army; and the Senate and Soldiers were, for ſome time, in Suſpenſe, before they proceeded to an Election, which, at laſt, fell upon *Tacitus*, who was at the Head of the Senate, and ſeventy-five Years of Age: For which Reaſon, he laboured, with the utmoſt Diligence, to have avoided, had it been poſſible, the Acceptation of this Dignity; but, finding that his Endeavours were vain, and knowing that it was ſometimes as dangerous to refuſe the Purple as to accept it, he yielded, at laſt, to the Intreaties of the Senate, and became, as it were, Emperor by Force.

6. The Reign of *Tacitus* began and ended in the Year 276. For, having ſent a Relation of his to govern *Syria*, while himſelf was in the Neighbourhood of that Province, and this Man having diſcharged his Duty but indifferently, the People firſt murdered him; and then, fearing they might be puniſhed for this Action, endeavoured to ſecure to themſelves Impunity, by cutting off the Emperor alſo [c]. He was ſucceeded by *Probus*, who was a moſt excellent Prince: For he firſt ſettled Peace at home, and then viſited the Provinces, where he, likewiſe, gained great Honour, and ſecured the Empire from all Apprehenſions of Diſturbance from any of the barbarous Nations that had hitherto interrupted its Quiet. His Reign, however, was diſturbed by an Inſurrection in *Egypt*, where the Soldiers and the People made *Saturninus*, a worthy Officer, Emperor againſt his Will. *Probus* had made him General of the Forces in the Eaſt, with a particular Caution, that on no Account whatever, he ſhould enter *Egypt*: But he, being extremely deſirous to ſee the Curioſities of that Country, and, perhaps, not the leſs ſo for this Prohibition, made a Journey to *Alexandria*; which City he had ſcarce entered, when the People, out of that Spirit of Fickleneſs, of Flattery, and of Folly, for which they were famous, ſaluted him *Auguſtus*. He acted right, at firſt, by quitting the Place inſtantly, and returning to *Paleſtine*; but, fearing afterwards, that he ſhould be puniſhed for what the People had done, he changed his Conduct, and aſſumed the Purple. *Probus*, at firſt, would not believe the News of his Revolt, ſo great was his Confidence in this Man's Virtue; but when it was confirmed, he marched againſt him with an Army; and, after ſeveral hard-fought Battles, beſieged him in a Caſtle; which was taken by Storm, and *Saturninus* killed, in ſpite of all the Care the Emperor took to ſave him [d].

This Revolt did not hinder *Probus* from labouring to reſtore the Affairs of *Egypt* to their former flouriſhing Condition; in order to which, he cauſed all the Mouths of the *Nile* to be cleanſed and repaired, and inlarged the Ports of that Province: He further declared his Reſolution to take the ſame Care, and employ the ſame Pains, in all the other Provinces of the Empire. This gracious Diſpoſition, this Deſire of eſtabliſhing univerſal Peace, this Hope of finding it poſſible to govern Mankind upon Principles of Humanity, inſpired him with an Openneſs of Heart, and Freedom of Speech, which drew upon him a ſudden and violent Death: For tho' it may be a new, a ſtrange, and ſeemingly abſurd Maxim, yet Reaſon and Experience will ſhew it a true one, that more Care and Art ought to be employed in covering and concealing good Deſigns, than bad ones; and that, for this plain Cauſe, the Majority of the World are bad, or, at leaſt, weak Men, who prefer their preſent Intereſt, or what they think ſo, to any future Good, how great ſoever: And therefore, whoever propoſes to act for the Benefit of all, will be ſure to provoke the Diſpleaſure of many, and awake the Affections of very few. This was the Caſe of *Probus*; for his great and good Projects being interrupted by a War with the *Perſians*, he was ſo indiſcreet as to hint, in the midſt of the Preparations for it, that he hoped there would come a Time when Soldiers would be no longer *neceſſary*; which, with the hard Labour he put them upon, in draining the Waters about *Syrmium*, irritated his Forces to ſuch a Degree, that they firſt mutinied, and then murdered him [e], when he had reigned ſix Years with univerſal Applauſe, and had reſtored the Affairs of the Empire miraculouſly.

After his Death, the Army, *A. D.* 282 declared *Carus* Emperor, who entered on a Scene of Trouble; and entered only to go off again: For the barbarous Nations began, on every Side, to be in Motion, as ſoon as the Death of *Probus* was known. And his Succeſſor, advancing with the Army as far as the River *Tigris*, was there found dead in his Tent, in the midſt of a Storm of Thunder and Lightning, in the ſecond Year of his Reign. He had aſſociated his eldeſt Son *Carinus* in the Empire, and his younger Son *Numerianus*, who was with him, and who was acknowledged by the Army, and continued the War ſome time after his Father's Death, till by the Treachery of *Aper*, who was Captain of his Guard, and who hoped to ſucceed him, he was murdered in his Tent: Upon which the Army choſe *Diocleſian* Emperor, who revenged the Death of his Predeceſſor, by killing *Aper* with his own Hands [f].

Diocleſian was raiſed to the Empire *A. D.* 284. and as ſoon as he found himſelf eſtabliſhed, entered into a War with *Carinus*, in which the latter was ſlain. In 286. *Diocleſian* aſſociated *Maximinian* in the Empire, that they might be the more able to act againſt all the Enemies of the *Romans*; and the Troubles ſtill increaſing, the two Emperors named *Conſtantius Chlorus*, and *Maximinian Galerius*, *Cæſars*. At this Time one *Achilleus* had drawn *Egypt* to revolt, and aſſumed there the Imperial Ornaments, and maintained himſelf better than five Years; but when other Parts of the Empire were quieted, *Diocleſian*, in the Year 296. entered *Egypt*, attacked, defeated, and killed *Achilleus*, and, as ſome Writers ſay, ſuffered his Soldiers to pillage the City of *Alexandria*. But the *Nubians*, who inhabited the Country between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, were now become ſo powerful, and the Affairs of the *Romans* in that Province were in ſuch Confuſion, that *Diocleſian* could find no better Expedient for ſecuring the Peace and Safety of the Province, than yielding up a large Tract of Country to that Nation, with whom he concluded a perpetual Alliance, and agreed to pay them an annual Tribute for protecting the Frontiers from other Barbarians, which was paid to the Time of *Juſtinian* [a]. This is ſufficient to ſhew, how far the Power and Credit of the *Romans* was ſunk; and it is natural to ſuppoſe, that with them, had Things continued in this State, the Commerce of *Egypt* would have ſunk likewiſe. But in ſucceeding Times, when the Troubles of the Empire were appeaſed, and the Emperor *Conſtantine*, ſurnamed the Great, mounted the Throne, Things began to change their Face, and new Meaſures were taken for reſtoring and ſettling the Affairs of *Egypt*, as will be ſhewn in its proper Place. At preſent, this Part of our Plan is executed, and the Hiſtory of this Commerce connected with that of the Princes by whom it was eſtabliſhed, and under whom it flouriſhed.

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[a] *Zoſim. lib.* i. *Vopiſc. in Vit. Aurelian.*

[b] *Ammian. Marcell. lib.* xxii.

[c] *Zoſim. lib.* i. *Aurel. Vict.*

[d] *Zoſim, lib.* i. *Zonar. p.* 240.

[e] *Zoſim.* lib. i. *Zonar. p.* 241. *Vopiſc. in Vit. Prob. Aurel. Vict. Epit.*

[f] *Chronic. Alex. p.* 638. *Eutrop. Aurel. Vict. Epit.*

7. All the Proof we have of the flouriſhing State of the *Indian* Commerce, in the latter Part of this Period, are drawn from the Circumſtances of Things related in Hiſtory; which, however, ſufficiently demonſtrate it in general, tho' they do not enable us to enter into Particulars. The great Attention ſhewn by many of the Emperors, in regard to the Provinces of the Eaſt, and the Victories obtained over the *Perſians*, and other Nations, kept up ſuch an high Idea of the *Roman* Power in all that Part of the World, that we hear of *Indian* Embaſſadors ſent to almoſt every Emperor, from *Alexander Severus* to *Diocleſian*: And therefore we have the greateſt Reaſon that can be to believe, that their Commerce was, at this time, carried on with all the Vigour and Succeſs imaginable.

Another Proof of this, is the Accounts we have of the profuſe Reigns of *Caracalla*, *Heliogabalus*, and *Carinus*: From which we learn, that there were prodigious Quantities of *Indian* Commodities at *Rome*; and it is particularly taken notice of, that *Heliogabalus* [b] firſt wore a Robe intirely made of Silk, at that Time one of the deareſt and ſcarceſt Commodities they received from the Eaſt.

But the ſtrongeſt and cleareſt Proof we derive from the Laws made in this Period, in favour of Trade in general, and for ſettling the particular Duties on the Goods imported from the *Indies*, by the Way of *Egypt*: For theſe plainly ſhew, that this Commerce was now more extenſive than ever. We may add to this the ſeveral Seditions and Rebellions which happened in *Egypt*, and which were the pure Effects of the vaſt Wealth of the Inhabitants of that Country, derived to them from the Progreſs they made in their own Manufactures, and the Means that within this Period they found out, of vending their Paper, Glaſs, Linen, and other Goods, throughout the Eaſt; by which private Men acquired ſuch immenſe Fortunes, as enabled them even to maintain Armies at their own Expence; which was the Caſe of *Marcus Firmius*, whoſe Riches induced him to attempt making himſelf Maſter of the Province, and of becoming, from an *Indian* Merchant, an *Egyptian* Monarch [c]. Indeed, if the Reſources of their Traffick had not been prodigiouſly great, it would be very difficult to account for the People of *Egypt*'s recovering themſelves, after ſo many Pillagings as they were expoſed to, in conſequence of the Diſorders and Confuſions of thoſe Times, which muſt have carried immenſe Wealth out of the Province.

It is impoſſible to turn one's Thoughts upon this Subject, without remembering that the City of *Rome* was adorned with many of its moſt coſtly Ornaments, at the Expence of *Egypt*, and particularly of *Alexandria*, from whence they were tranſported in Ships that were contrived on Purpoſe, and were of a moſt extraordinary Size. Thus, for Inſtance, *Flavius Veſpaſian* dedicated, in his Temple, which he erected to the Goddeſs of Peace, the largeſt Statue that had been ſeen, of *Egyptian* Porphyry; and of that Kind, that was called *Baſaltes*, of an Iron-colour, which repreſented the *Nile*, under the Figure of an old Man, with ſixteen Children playing about him, ſignifying the Number of Cubits which that River riſes, when at the higheſt. Innumerable Inſtances might be given of the ſame Kind, but that one is ſufficient; and it is impoſſible to conceive how ſuch prodigious Expences could be defrayed, as muſt have been neceſſarily occaſioned by the Luxury of thoſe Times, and particularly the Love they had to Building, in a manner which employed many more Hands than any that has been practiſed in later Ages. And, to be convinced, that antient Writers have not deceived us in what they have delivered upon this Subject, we need only conſult what modern Travellers have written, of the Ruins that are ſtill remaining in that Country; which not only come up to, but even very far exceed, all the Accounts we have in Books: So that the Wealth and Splendor of this Country muſt have been very aſtoniſhing, in its flouriſhing Condition, ſince the very Remains of *Roman* Magnificence in *Egypt*, are capable of ſurpriſing ſuch as behold them; and are obſerved to ſtrike thoſe moſt, who are beſt acquainted with the Nature and Value of ſuch Things [d].

Theſe are all certain and indubitable Signs of immenſe Riches: And tho' theſe might fall into the Hands of particular Perſons, even in Countries that were not, generally ſpeaking, more opulent than their Neighbours; yet we are ſure this could not be the Caſe in *Egypt*, ſince it was not *Alexandria* alone, but all the Cities of the Province that were enriched with ſuch Ornaments: So that their Wealth ſeems to have been very equally ſpread; or rather, there was ſuch an Abundance of it, that not a Corner of the Kingdom remain unimproved. The City of *Arſinoe*, the Ruins of which are yet to be ſeen, as it ſtood near the *Arabian* Gulph, and at the Mouth of the Canal that had been cut from the *Nile* to the Sea, was crouded with fine Works, coſtly Obeliſks, and Pillars of incredible Size; which muſt have been brought thither with inexpreſſible Difficulty: And yet ſo intent were the *Romans*, in whatever might contribute to the Improvement of their Trade to the Eaſt, that, finding an Obeliſk of exquiſite Beauty, that had been ſet up by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, in Memory of his Wife and Siſter, whoſe Name the City bore, and which was 120 Feet high, incommoded the Dock, becauſe they were then wont to build larger Ships than were uſed in *Ptolemy*'s Reign, *Maximus*, who was then Governor of the Province, cauſed it to be taken down, and removed to *Alexandria* [e].

But if it ſhould be objected, that there is no reaſoning, with any Certainty, about things of this Nature, if the Expence, at the Time they were made, cannot be known, it is a very eaſy Matter to anſwer this, ſince, at the ſame Time that this Obeliſk was hewn out of the Quarries in the *Higher Egypt*, there were ſix more cut, of the ſame Size, for which the Workmen received fifty *Egyptian* Talents, which amounts to upwards of thirteen thouſand Pounds of our Money; and the Expence of carrying them muſt have been far larger [f].

But to ſum up all in a Word: Even at the Cloſe of this Period, I mean, when the Emperor *Diocleſian* was in *Egypt*, he thought it neceſſary to burn all the Books of Chemiſtry that could be collected, from a Notion, that it was by this Art the *Egyptians* became poſſeſſed of ſuch prodigious Sums of Gold and Silver, as made them mutinous and ungovernable; which is a clear and certain Sign, that the *Romans* themſelves had not a juſt Notion of the mighty Profits that accrued from the Commerce that the *Egyptians* carried on.

But it is now high Time to inquire into the Diſcoveries that were made, in conſequence of this Trade, and the Accounts that were from time to time tranſmitted, of the State and Condition of the Countries, which their Merchants, and other Travellers, viſited; a Thing extremely requiſite, even for the underſtanding of modern Voyages and Travels, where we often meet with Paſſages, that either tend to explain the Accounts given by the Antients, or to refute them; the Worth of which we cannot comprehend, unleſs we are acquainted with the Accounts themſelves: And, indeed, in laying theſe together, conſiſts the great Difficulty of a Work of this Kind, ſince, except the Voyages of *Iambulus* and *Nearchus*, which we have already given the Reader, in their full Extent, there is nothing of this Kind preſerved; that is to ſay, there is nothing preſerved intire, and in the Manner in which Relations of this Sort are, and ought to be written; but the Obſervations of Travellers are ſcattered through a Multitude of Books, relating to Geography, Hiſtory, Philoſophy, Politicks, and other Kinds of Learning; from all which I have drawn them out, and ranged them in ſuch an eaſy and natural Order, as that I flatter myſelf the Reader will peruſe them with the ſame Eaſe and Satiſfaction, as if they were the Obſervations of a modern Traveller, and the Fruits of a ſingle Voyage.

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[a] *Procop. Bell. Perſic. lib.* i, *cap.* 19.

[b] *Tacitus* tells us, that, in the Reign of *Tiberius*, there was a Law made, that no Man ſhould diſhonour himſelf by wearing Silken Garments: But, in order to underſtand the true Senſe of that Law, it is to be obſerved. that the *Romans* had two Sorts of Silk Manufacture; the one, in which the Warp was Silk, and the Woof Thread, which was called *Subſericum*; and this was the Cloathing which the Law of *Tiberius* forbad Men to wear: The other Manufacture, which was all Silk, called *Holoſericum*, and was worn only by Women, till as *Lampridius* tells us, in the Life of *Heliogabalus*, that effeminate Emperor wore his Imperial Robe made of purple Silk.

[c] *Zoſim. lib.* i. *Vopiſc. vit. Firm.*

[d] *Voyages de Thevenot, Lucas, &c.*

[e] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* xxxvi.

[f] *Id. ibid.*

By running through theſe, he will be completely Maſter of all that can be known upon this Subject at this Day; and by comparing what theſe old Writers have delivered, concerning the Religion, Government, Laws, Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Indians*, the Animals, Trees, Fruits, Plants, Stones, and other Curioſities of the *Indies*, with the ſucceeding Voyages and Travels of ſuch as have viſited the ſame Countries, in later Times, he will be able to diſcover not only where the Antients have erred, and to how great a Degree, but will be alſo able to diſtinguiſh the Cauſes of thoſe Errors; and ſometimes, perhaps, will find, that they are not altogether ſo great as they have been repreſented, but that ſome of the Miſtakes with which they are charged, have been, in Reality, owing to the Miſtake of their Meaning, or to the over-ſtraining it, where, by taking it in a milder Senſe, it might have been brought very near the Truth. Add to this, that theſe Accounts are, to the full, as curious and entertaining, have as much Spirit and Variety, contribute at once to inform and to delight as much, as any modern Accounts whatever: For tho' it may be true, that for want of the Lights which we poſſeſs, they are leſs exact, yet, as far as their Lights went, they were moſt certainly capable of giving as clear, as circumſtantial, and as pleaſing Accounts, as any that have come after them.

SECTION XI.

An Account of the Religion, Government, Laws, Cuſtoms and Manners of the Indians, *as they are recorded in the Works of antient Authors.*

1. *Of the Religion of the* Indians, *their Sacrifices, and other Rites, with ſome Reaſons tending to prove, that in theſe early Times they were not Polytheiſts or Idolaters.* 2. *An Account of their antient Monarchies, the Power of their Princes, their Palaces, Magnificence of their Courts,* &c. 3. *The Diviſion of the People into ſeven Claſſes; a diſtinct Account of each Claſs; and a ſhort View of the good Conſequences flowing from this excellent Regulation.* 4. *Of their Dreſs, and of the Changes introduced by their Commerce with the* Greeks, *who had embraced the Manners and Cuſtoms of the* Perſians. 5. *Of the exalted Virtue, ſtrict Honour, and uncorrupted Probity of this Nation; and the Means they uſed to extinguiſh Ambition, Malice, Fraud, and other Vices.* 6. *Their Frugality in Eating and Drinking, the Plainneſs of their Houſes and Furniture; with other Inſtances of their extraordinary Temperance and Moderation.* 7. *Their natural Magnanimity, and noble Contempt of Death; the Cuſtom of Wives burning themſelves with the Bodies of their Husbands, and the Reaſons aſſigned for it. The Strictneſs and Severity of their Laws.*

1. IT is natural, in ſpeaking of the Inhabitants of any Country, to begin firſt with their Religion. In this reſpect the *Greek* Writers report of the antient *Indians* many Things, which ſeem more agreeable to their own Notions, than to the Conduct of the People of whom they ſpeak. They report that they worſhipped the Sun and the heavenly Bodies [a]; and we are farther told of a moſt glorious Temple of the Sun, the Walls of which were of red Marble, reſembling Fire, and interſperſed with Streaks of Gold: The Image of the Sun on the Pavement ſo intermixed with Pearls, and precious Stones, that the Reflexion of them appeared almoſt as radiant as the heavenly Body it repreſented. And after they were thoroughly acquainted with the *Greeks*, they are ſaid to have imitated their Cuſtoms by ſetting up an Image of an Elephant, which they called *Ajax*; two Statues of Gold to the Honour of *Alexander*, and two others of *Porus* in Braſs [b]. Their Worſhip of the Sun is ſaid to have conſiſted in a kind of circular Dance, by which they ſeemed to intimate, that by the Motion of that Luminary the Univerſe ſubſiſted [c]. It appeared from their Sacrifices, and other religious Rites, that they held the *Egyptian* or *Pythagorean* Principle of the *Metempſychoſis*, or the Paſſage of the Soul from one Body to another; and this Notion of theirs, that the ſame Soul, which animated a Man, might be now in a Plant or in a Beaſt, reſtrained many of them from any other Sacrifice than that of Libation [d]: Others are ſaid to have offered Animals, but without cutting their Throats, that they might avoid ſpilling the Blood, which they thought rendered the Victim imperfect; and, therefore, the Prieſt contented himſelf with ſtrangling them. It was farther remarked, that in this Ceremony the holy Man did not wear a Wreath, or Crown, as the Prieſts of all other Nations did [e].

In their grand Solemnities, they were wont to make very pompous Proceſſions in Honour of their Divinities; in which they, from a Principle of Conſcience, diſplayed all their Wealth, as a Teſtimony of their believing it derived to them from the Bounty of the Gods. On ſuch Occaſions, a great Number of Elephants marched at the Head of the Proceſſion, covered with Ornaments of Gold and Silver; then followed many Chariots, richly adorned with the ſame Metals; the labouring Oxen, yoked in Couples, ſucceeded next; after them the Soldiers, richly dreſſed, carrying Pots, Kettles, Baſons, Cups, Tables, and other Utenſils for the Feaſt, all of Plate richly adorned with Diamonds, Rubies, Beryls, Carbuncles and Pearls: They, ſometimes, alſo led tame Leopards, Lions, and Tygers, in theſe Proceſſions; and, at other times, they carried Cages full of Birds, the Melody of whoſe Songs, joined to the Tabor and Pipe, made up all the Muſic of the Feaſt.

When, by exceſſive Rains falling in the Northern Part of the *Indies*, their Rivers ſwelled beyond meaſure, and the flat Country was too much and too long under Water, then the King or Sovereign, in every little Diſtrict, made uſe of certain Ceremonies to appeaſe the Wrath of the Gods, and to procure fair Weather. In theſe Ceremonies they are ſaid to have ſacrificed Bulls and Horſes that were Coal-black, becauſe ſuch Cattle were rare, and of great Price; and they likewiſe threw a Golden Buſhel into the River; which Ceremonies the *Greeks* likewiſe uſed to obtain the Favour of *Jupiter*, the Giver of Rain [f]. As they were a very temperate and abſtemious People, they never drank Wine but at theſe Feaſts; and even their Princes themſelves, as *Apollonius* reports, drank that Liquor only when they offered to the Sun. There is, however, great Reaſon to doubt, whether much Credit is to be given to theſe Relations. The *Greeks* themſelves were ſo addicted to Idolatry, that they had no other Idea of Religion, than as it conſiſted in the Worſhip of a Multitude of Divinities; and, therefore, in their Reports of the *Indians*, they attributed the Ceremonies they ſaw practiſed to Principles like their own. But it is very plain, even from the Writings of their beſt Authors, that at the time *Alexander* the Great invaded this Country, the *Indians* had not the Uſe of Images; and even *Apollonius* confeſſes, that the Repreſentation of the Sun was the only one he ſaw. It is likewiſe very certain, that theſe People made a great Secret of their religious Opinions; which was another Cauſe why the *Greeks* had recourſe to their own Inventions, which were very fertile; and, by this means, repreſented the Sentiments of the *Indians*, as conformable to their own. The *Brachmans*, however, who were, for the moſt part, their Prieſts, and, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, were in that reſpect, in ſome ſort, ſuperior to their Kings, diſclaimed all theſe ſuperſtitious Notions; and either worſhipped in the open Air, turning their Faces to the Eaſt, without any regard to the Sun, or other heavenly Bodies, or in Temples that had neither Images, nor Ornaments of any kind. They likewiſe profeſſed their Belief in One God, the Author of all Things, the Creator and Sovereign of the Univerſe, and the Father of Spirits; conformable to which, when *Oneſicritus*, in the Name of *Alexander* the Great, threatened *Dindamis* with Death if he did not immediately riſe, and go and wait upon that Prince, he told him, ſmiling, that the King's putting him to Death would do him no hurt at all: For, ſaid he, when this Head is divided from this Body, they will return to the Earth from whence they came; and the Spirit, now included in them, to Him, by whoſe Power it was included; for the Body, ſaid he, is the Cloathing of the Soul, and has no more to do with the Man than his Garments [a].

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[a] *Photius ex Cteſia. Q. Curt. lib.* viii. *c.* 9. *Philoſt. lib* iii. *c.* 3.

[b] *Philoſt. in vit. Apollon. lib.* ii. *c.* 11.

[c] *Lucianus de Saltatione.*

[d] *Herodot. lib.* iii. *c.* 100. *Philoſt. ubi ſup.*

[e] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *p.* 710.

[f] *Arrian. in Indicis. Strabo, lib.* xv.

It is true, that, ſince theſe early Times, the *Indians* have deviated much into Idolatry; but it is no leſs true, that the *Brachmans*, who are the wiſer and better Sort, have always profeſſed a different Opinion; and, upon certain Occaſions, have ventured to declare, in Confidence, that they did not believe in Idols; but that they conſidered them as ſymbolical Repreſentations, which were neceſſary to fix the Attention, and to exerciſe the Piety, of the common People, who were not able to comprehend, or were not fit to be truſted with, the Secrets of their Religion. This is all we know, and indeed all that can be known, of the Religion of the antient *Indians*, except that the very Burning of themſelves proceeded from a Principle of Religion, and from the Hopes of avoiding, by that kind of Death, the being tranſmigrated into any Animal; upon which Principle, Women, to this Day, burn themſelves with their Husbands Bodies, in hopes that their Souls ſhall again enter the World with thoſe of their Husbands in an happy Condition, and in an human State, that is, without paſſing through Plants or Beaſts [b].

2. As to the Government of the Country, it was, generally ſpeaking, monarchical, though there were ſome Republics amongſt them: But the *Cutbeans* had a very ſingular Cuſtom; for, amongſt them, their Kings were choſen purely on the Score of Beauty; and, therefore, when their Children were but two Months old, they were examined by proper Judges, who, if they found them perfect in all their Limbs, well made, and likely to prove handſome, they ſuffered them to live, otherwiſe they put them to Death; and it is in virtue of this Precaution, that they were conſidered as the handſomeſt People in the World. It is worthy of Obſervation, that the Cuſtom of Women burning themſelves with their Husbands was firſt introduced here; which was occaſioned by their frequently deſerting them for the ſake of younger Men; and, where this could not eaſily be done, removing them out of their Way by Poiſon. In all the other Countries of the *Indies* the Crown was hereditary, and the eldeſt Son conſtantly ſucceeded his Father without any Difficulty or Diſpute: But, as to the regular Hiſtory of theſe Principalities, there are none that have been preſerved, if we except that of the *Indian Bacchus*, concerning which *Megaſthenes* received in the *Indies* the following Information: *Bacchus*, when he had ſettled a Principality in the Neighbourhood of *Nyſſa*, devolved the Government upon *Spartbembras*, his Friend, who reigned fifty-two Years, and left the Crown to his Son *Budyas*, who ruled twenty Years, and was ſucceeded by *Cradevas*, his Son; and ſo, in a continued Deſcent from Father to Son, except where a King died without Iſſue, and, in that Caſe, a new Prince was elected; the Succeſſion in this Order came to the famous *Sandracottus*, who was the hundred and fifty-third Succeſſor of *Bacchus* [c].

But beſides this great Monarch, who had a conſiderable Territory, and Abundance of tributary Princes, every Tribe of *Indians* had its particular Prince, who was at once King and Prieſt within his own Dominions, according to the antient Cuſtom of moſt Countries; from whence it came, that the *Hebrews* uſed the ſame Word to ſignify both Prince and Prieſt. The *Indian* Monarchs were far from having abſolute Power, or from living in a State of Luxury and Eaſe: Of the contrary, they were obliged to hear every Day the Cauſes that were brought before them, and to give Audience to ſuch of their Subjects as had any thing to ſay to them: Nor were they allowed, by their Laws, to go into the Bath, or even to dine, before all theſe Suitors were anſwered. In Matters of great Conſequence, they could not act without the Advice of their Council; and, in Points of Religion, they received the Inſtructions of the *Brachmans* with implicit Obedience; ſo that, in all reſpects, they were circumſcribed, and had it not in their Power to violate the Conſtitution [d]. This was very probably the Reaſon, that theſe ſmall Principalities, which had neither great Power, nor much Wealth, to ſupport them, ſubſiſted for ſo many Ages. It is, however, to be obſerved, that to prevent the People from being overborn by the Torrent of a ſudden Invaſion, there was always a ſupreme Monarch over a certain Country, who could draw together the Forces of all theſe ſubordinate Chiefs on any public Occaſion that required it: And thus it was that the numerous Armies were raiſed, which in the foregoing Hiſtory have been mentioned; and, in this reſpect, the antient Conſtitution of *India* was very like the *Gothic* Form of Government, and came very near the Conſtitution in this Iſland, before it was invaded by the *Romans*.

The Reception which *Apollonius* met with from the King of *Taxilis*, affords us a very agreeable Picture of the Court of an *Indian* Monarch. When the Philoſopher arrived there, he found the Palace a large and convenient Structure, but, in every reſpect, perfectly plain; ſo that, if he had not been informed, that it was the Royal Dwelling, he would have taken it for the Houſe of ſome conſiderable Citizen. He found there neither Guards nor Attendants: There were only a few Slaves at the Gate, and three or four Perſons of an ordinary Rank, who deſired to ſpeak with the King. *Apollonius* entered with them into the Royal Apartments, where he found every Thing plain and neat, diſpoſed, however, in ſo excellent an Order, that they ſtruck him with much greater Awe and Reverence, than the lofty and ſumptuous Palace of the King of *Babylon*, which he had viſited before. The Appearance of the Monarch, whoſe Name was *Phraoftes*, or *Phraotes*, was in every reſpect ſuitable to the Modeſty of his Palace; a noble and majeſtic Preſence was the ſole Mark of Dignity he bore, and he was attended by a very ſlender Retinue; ſo that *Apollonius*, recollecting what he had heard of the *Brachmans*, and of their Diſciples, concluded that the Princes of *India* were, alſo, a kind of Sages; and, therefore, he addreſſed him by his Interpreter in theſe Words: It appears to me, Sir, that Philoſophy is your ſupreme Delight, and the Rule of your Actions: Permit me, therefore, to have the Honour of congratulating you thereupon. What you ſay is true, replied the King; and I am extremely glad, that your Sentiments agree with mine. Is it the Laws of your Country, continued *Apollonius*, or is it your Majeſty's particular Taſte, that removes from your Court all that Magnificence and Pomp, that are uſually found in the Dwellings of Princes? It is both the Law, replied the Prince, and my own private Judgment, that have baniſhed that outſide Shew, which is certainly no more than a falſe Glory, and has no ſort of Correſpondence with true Merit. I uſe, with Moderation, the little Splendor that our Laws permit; and, though I may truly ſay, that there are few Monarchs more powerful than myſelf, yet, with like Veracity, I can affirm, that I can be content with a little, and leave the reſt to my Friends. Happy Œconomy, cried out *Apollonius*, which teaches you, by deſpiſing Wealth, to purchaſe a Treaſure of ſuperior Nature! But, replied the King, it is not only to my Friends that I part with my Riches; I even beſtow ſome upon my Enemies, that my Subjects may enjoy Reſt and Tranquillity. It is in that, and that alone, that I place all my Glory [a].

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[a] *S. Ambroſius de Moribus Brachmanorum, p.* 70.

[b] *Fryer*'s Travels into *India, p.* 191.

[c] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *p.* 699. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *Q. Curt. lib.* ix. *Arrian. de Expedit. Alexand. lib.* ix. *et de Indic. c.* 8, 9.

[d] *Philoſt. lib.* iii. *c.* 10.

Apollonius, afterwards, inquired into the King's manner of living; to which that Monarch anſwered very graciouſly, I never drink Wine, but when I ſacrifice to the Sun: What I take in hunting I diſtribute among my Friends, contenting myſelf with the Benefit I receive from the Exerciſe. As for my Food, it conſiſts of Herbs, the Fruit of the Palm-tree, and other Vegetables, which I cultivate with my own Hands. After this he bathed with the King, and was entertained at a ſumptuous Dinner, at which no more than five Perſons were preſent; at which were ſerved Fiſh, Fowl, whole Lions, Kids, the Paws of Tygers, Roots, Fruits, and Bread. Every one roſe from his Place, and took at the Table what he thought fit, returning to his Place, and eat it there at his Leiſure. Branches of Laurel, Myrtle, and other odoriferous Trees, were ſcattered in the Room, yielding an agreeable, but not an overcoming Scent. All Dinner-time the Table was ſurrounded by thirty Muſicians; and, at the ſame time, ſeveral young *Indians* diverted the King with Feats of Activity. When every body had done eating, ſeveral Cups were brought of a very large Size, out of which every Man drank what he thought fit; his Head, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, being entirely covered by the Cup [b].

It is not to be ſuppoſed, that in a Country of ſo large Extent as the *Indies*, all the Princes ſhould purſue the ſame regular Plan, or preſerve a like Severity of Morals: And, indeed, the contrary of this is evident from what Hiſtory informs us, with reſpect to the Kingdom of *Muſican*, which lay towards the Mouth of the River *Indus*, in that Part of the Country, which, from its Likeneſs to the *Delta* of *Egypt*, bore the ſame Name; the Princes of which lived in all the Splendor, and in all the Luxury, of the *Perſians*, or rather exceeded them in both. A Multitude of Women were perpetually about the King's Perſon; ſo that he was, by their Actions, their Songs, and their Diſcourſe, perpetually excited to laſcivious Pleaſures. Whenever this Monarch appeared in public, his Officers carried ſilver Incenſe-pots before him, to perfume the Air. He lay at full Length in a Litter of Cloth of Gold, garniſhed with Pearls, long Strings of which hung down on every Side. His Habit was a long Robe of Linen, embroidered with Gold and Purple. His Concubines accompanied him with a Pomp equal to his own; and his Guards carried Branches of ſweet-ſmelling Wood, filled with Birds of every Kind, the wild Notes of which were eſteemed by the *Indians* beyond any kind of Muſic. After his Train followed the Queen, with a Magnificence equal, in all reſpects, to that of her Conſort.

The only Kind of Exerciſe uſed by this King, was Hunting: And when he took this Diverſion in a Park, he was always in his Chariot, ſurrounded by his Concubines, who ſhot at the wild Beaſts, as well as he; but if he purſued his Sport in the open Field, he went alone, mounted upon his Elephant. The Entry of his Palace was adorned with a ſtately Portico, compoſed of many Pillars richly gilt, on each of which a Vine of Gold twiſted itſelf to the very Top, adorned with the Figures of ſeveral kind of Birds, painted of different Colours. This State-room was open to all the World, at the Hours of Audience eſpecially; but at theſe Seaſons, while the King gave Audience to Embaſſadors, heard Cauſes, or did any other kind of Buſineſs, he had ſeveral Women about him; ſome of whom combed his Hair, ſome perfumed his Hands, and others his Feet: His Face was very cloſely ſhaved, except the very Point of the Chin, from whence there hung a long Beard. At Table, and on all other Occaſions, he was ſerved by theſe Ladies; and was ſo jealous of ſiniſter Deſigns againſt his Perſon, that if any looked upon him too ſteadily, or came nearer than he thought convenient, he ordered them to be put to Death. So paſſionately fond this Monarch was of Horſes, that he commanded Holidays on their Account, as if they had been really Part of the Royal Family [c]. It may not, however, be amiſs to caution the Reader as to both theſe Accounts, which, it muſt be confeſſed, are liable to ſome Objections: And, in my Opinion, an Author has no more a Right to produce a ſuſpicious Witneſs, and avail himſelf of his Teſtimony, than he would have to deceive, in the ſame manner, a Court of Juſtice. In both Caſes, there is an Injury done to Truth; and tho' it be true, that the latter may have more fatal Conſequences than the former, yet the Falſifier of Truth does his utmoſt, in one Caſe as well as the other: And ſo far the Crime is alike in both. The Author of the latter Account is *Oneſicritus*, who was Captain of *Alexander*'s Ship, and had, doubtleſs, Opportunities of knowing the Truth of the Fact, if he could have had Candour enough to have related it; but he had naturally ſuch a Love for the Marvellous, that he could not help exaggerating whatever he reported, as *Strabo*, and other Writers, agree, and as the Facts themſelves plainly declare. *Quintus Curtius*, an elegant Writer, but one who was likewiſe fond of Wonders, copied this Story where-ever he found it; which may, poſſibly, be true, but has an Air of Improbability, at leaſt.

As to the former, *Apollonius Tyaneus*, I ought to have given the Reader a complete Section of his Travels, if it had not been for the former Objection; which, I muſt confeſs, weighed with me ſo far as to engage me to lay aſide that Deſign. He was a very famous Philoſopher of the *Pythagorean* Sect, born about the time of the Commencement of the Chriſtian Æra, and who lived to the Age of ninety-ſix, or thereabouts. He was a Man of very ſingular Character; for he affected great Purity of Manners, and, at the ſame time, aimed at two Things, which ſeem incompatible therewith: The firſt of theſe was Magic; in which he pretended to have extraordinary Skill, and took a great deal of Pains to perſuade the World, that he had a great Familiarity with the Demons, and was able, by their Helps, to perform mighty Feats. The other great Aim of his Life, was the reſtoring and ſupporting *Polytheiſm*, or Idolatry, which was then very much on the Decline.

To accompliſh theſe Views, he travelled more than any Man of his Time. His principal Diſciple was one *Damis*, who followed him in moſt of his Peregrinations, and particularly into the *Indies*: And this Man it was, that left behind him Memoirs of his Maſter's Life, which were drawn up in a very confuſed Way, and in a Stile that was very uncouth. *Philoſtratus* undertook to poliſh theſe, and to put them into proper Order; and this Work of his is that which I cite. But whether it be thro' his Fault, or from the Defect of the original Memoirs of *Damis*, it ſo falls out, that there many Things very punctually related in the Story of his Travels, which, even at this Diſtance of Time, we know could not be true. One Inſtance of this may ſuffice, for the Reader's Satisfaction, which I ſhall bring within as ſhort a Compaſs as poſſible.

In his Way to *India Apollonius* paſſed thro' *Babylon*, which, in his Life, is deſcribed as a City of twenty-four Leagues in Circuit; and, in ſhort, appears, in every reſpect, as it ſtood in the Days of *Nebuchadnezar* [d], tho' it is certain that City was long before deſtroyed; and *Pliny*, who was his Cotemporary, aſſures us, and that very truly, that nothing but the Temple of *Belus* remained intire, all the reſt being become a perfect Deſert. He likewiſe repreſents it as the Seat of the *Parthian* Kings, which it never was; for thoſe Princes ſpent the Winter at *Cteſiphon*, near *Seleucia*, and the Summer at *Ecbatana*. There are many other Slips of the ſame Kind, by whoſe Negligence committed, it is not eaſy to ſay; but inaſmuch as the Work of *Philoſtratus* abounds with ſuch Miſtakes, it was neither fit for me to inſert the Travels of *Apollonius* in this Collection, nor even to quote him as to any particular Facts relating to the *Indies*, without giving the Reader a fair Account of his Character, that ſo it may be in his Power to judge of the Credit due to the Matter which he relates.

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[a] *Philoſtr. lib.* ii. *c.* 25. *& ſequen.*

[b] *Philoſtrat. lib.* iii. *c.* 26.

[c] *Oneſicrit. ap. Strabonem, p.* 710. *Q. Curt. lib.* viii. *c.* 9.

[d] *Philoſtrat. de vita Apollonii Tyanei, lib.* i. *c.* 10.

It is likewiſe neceſſary to obſerve, that the principal thing he propoſed by this Journey to the *Indies*, was to be better informed by the Brachmans, as to the Theory and Practice of Magic; in which, it is pretended, he ſucceeded perfectly well: And yet, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, from a Cloud of Witneſſes, the Brachmans were, of all People in the World, the laſt that ought to have been applied to for the Ends at which he aimed, ſince they were ſtrict Deiſts in point of Opinion, and heartily abhorred Fraud, in which, without doubt, Magic is, and ever was founded, as conſiſting in nothing more than the Invention of cunning Tricks, to amuſe and impoſe upon the Ignorant. On the Whole, therefore, we may, perhaps, come near the Truth, if we believe, that the *Indian* Princes lived in much greater Splendor than he relates, ſince we have the Authority of an antient Author to prove, that the Palace of a Deſcendant of *Porus* was much more magnificent than thoſe of the *Parthian* Kings at *Suſa* and *Ecbatana*[a]; yet this might be without any Diminution of their Virtue; for it is not the Poſſeſſion of Wealth, but the ill Uſe of it, that conſtitutes Luxury and Effeminacy. In other reſpects, the Character he has given *Phraotes*, has nothing in it abſurd or improbable, becauſe, ſuppoſing him to have acted on the Principles aſcribed to him by *Apollonius*, he would have done no more than his Anceſtor *Taxiles* did, who, by ſmooth Words, and rich Gifts, got the better of *Alexander* the Great, and not only preſerved, but inlarged his Dominions, by the Wiſdom of his Behaviour.

3. The Virtues of Kings are not to be depended upon for the Preſervation of States; which is a Maxim taught by the Light of Reaſon, as well as ſupported by that of Experience: But perhaps no Hiſtory furniſhes us with any Inſtance of a Nation, that took ſuch early and effectual Care to ſecure themſelves from the bad Effects of arbitrary Power, as the *Indians*. In every Principality there was a Senate, without whoſe Advice the King could do nothing of Importance; and, in caſe any Man thought himſelf injured by the joint Power of the King and Senate, he was not without Remedy, but might, if he pleaſed, appeal to the People. It was for this Reaſon, and to facilitate the Preſervation of their reſpective Privileges, that in every *Indian* State the People were divided into ſeven Claſſes, Tribes, or whatever elſe you will pleaſe to call them, each of which had a ſufficient Number of Heads, veſted with a competent Degree of Power, for the Preſervation and Protection of their Brethren: And it was the capital Maxim in their Laws, that every Man belonged to ſome Claſs, or other; ſo that all were alike free; and there was no ſuch thing as Servitude known amongſt them[b].

The firſt of theſe were the Brachmans, or Philoſophers; of whom we ſhall ſpeak particularly in the next Section, and ſhall, therefore, content ourſelves with only naming them here, in their Order. The ſecond were the Huſbandmen and Farmers, who compoſed the Body of the State; and the ſignal Service they rendered to the Public, by cultivating the Land, and ſecuring Plenty, joined to their exemplary Probity, obtained them the higheſt Reſpect. It was for this Reaſon, that in all Wars, whether civil or foreign, they were exempted from taking up Arms: Neither could they be injured or diſturbed in their Labours, without a Breach of the Law of Nations; a Crime no *Indian* Prince was ever hardy enough to commit. It was, therefore, no uncommon Sight, to behold a bloody Battle on one Side of a Plain, and on the other, Men ſowing or reaping, without the leaſt Apprehenſion, either from the Fury of the Victor, or the Deſpair of the Vanquiſhed. They were, likewiſe, exempted from all publick Offices: For it was held, that their very Profeſſion was a public Office, ſince it contributed to the Good of all, by maintaining a conſtant and uninterrupted Plenty. The King, however, was acknowledged the ſole Proprietor of all the Lands in his Dominions, from which he received a certain Tribute; and beſides that, a fourth Part of the net Produce; out of which Revenue, all the Expences of the State were defrayed.

The third Claſs was compoſed of Graſiers, Shepherds, and Huntſmen: Theſe had the Care of their Herds and Flocks, and had the ſole Privilege of breeding, buying, and ſelling Horſes: And as the Country was much infeſted by Lions, Tygers, Elephants, Birds of Prey, and other pernicious Animals, the Huntſmen were not only regarded as a Race of People very uſeful to the State, and allowed to poſſeſs, in full Property, the Fruits of their Labour, but received alſo an annual Proportion of Corn, as an Acknowledgment for their preſerving the reſt, which could not have been either ſown or reaped in Safety, but under their Protection. As theſe People led a wandering kind of Life, they had no Villages or Settlements; but pitched their Tents, fed their Cattle, and purſued their Hunting in the Woods or Mountains: So that they did no Prejudice to any Part of the arable Ground.

Under the fourth Claſs were comprehended Artificers and Merchants. They paid the King a certain Tribute, except ſuch as were employed in making Arms, or in the Conſtruction or Service of the Fleet, who were paid for their Labour by the Public.

The fifth Claſs was compoſed of Officers and Soldiers; or, to uſe a modern Phraſe, the fifth Claſs was the Militia. They had no other Buſineſs to mind, than the Preſervation and Protection of the State, and were obliged to take Arms whenever the King thought fit, for the public Service. They were lodged and maintained at the King's Expence, who provided for their Families when they were abſent in War. At that time, the whole Society contributed to the Support of what was intended for the common Good; ſome furniſhed Elephants, ſome Horſes; one Province Forage and Proviſion, and another Arms. The *Megallians*, who were a People inhabiting on the other Side the *Hyphaſis*, ſupported conſtantly five hundred Elephants, and a conſiderable Body of Troops beſides. The *Chryſeans*, the *Arangians*, and the *Paranſangians*, who were all Subjects of the ſame Prince, kept conſtantly on Foot for his Service, an Army of thirty thouſand Men, eight hundred Horſe, and three hundred Elephants. The Soldiers, after their Return from the War, were kept conſtantly to martial Exerciſes, and a very ſtrict Diſcipline, tho', at the Cloſe of the Campaign, they delivered up the Arms and the Horſes, which were furniſhed them at the public Expence[c].

The ſixth Claſs was compoſed of the Inſpectors, who had the Care of examining and looking into the Affairs of Town and Country, and were intruſted with the Superintendence of Arts and Commerce, each Man in his particular Diſtrict; and theſe People made from time to time, exact Reports to the Prince, if the Government they lived under was Monarchical, or, if a Republic, to the chief Magiſtrates, of the Condition that all things were in, within the Limits of their reſpective Juriſdiction. And if we can give Credit to what the Hiſtorians report, we muſt allow the *Indians* to have been the wiſeſt and happieſt of Nations, ſince they poſitively aſſert, that before they were conquered by, or intermixed with Foreigners, there never was an Inſtance of an Inſpector's neglecting, or betraying his Truſt, to the Prejudice of the Crown, or to the Oppreſſion of the Subject. It is requiſite to add, that the Women were under the Care of female Inſpectors, who had a Power of correcting all Exceſſes in Dreſs, in the Luxury of the Table, and Digreſſions from the ſtrict Rules of Morality[d].

This Country was ſubject to Inundations, like that of *Egypt*, and perhaps to thoſe that were more conſiderable; for the Snow melting on the Hills of *Paropamiſus*, *Caucaſus*, *Imaus*, and the *Emodian* Mountains, together with the prodigious Quantity of Rain that falls in their Winter-months, of *April*, *May*, and *June*, floods the Country to ſuch a degree, that when the Waters are ſunk, it is ſimply impoſſible, that any Boundaries, Land-marks, or other Signs of Property, ſhould be diſcerned. To prevent any Diſputes that this might occaſion, there were, in every Diſtrict, a certain Number of Inſpectors, who were Men of ſuch Skill and Dexterity, that by retracing every Man's Limits, they prevented any Diſputes. The ſame Perſons had likewiſe the Care of the public Recevoirs of Water, and of the Sluices: So that, by their Diligence, the Country never ſuffered in the drieſt Summer. Another Branch of their Charge was, to look into the Conduct of the Graſiers and Huntſmen, ſuch as wrought in the Woods, and in the Mines. They were alſo Surveyors of the Highways; and in that Quality they appointed Guides, who, at every ten Stadia informed the Traveller which Way the Road lay; where he might have Lodging; and how far it was to the next Stage [a].

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[a] *Ælian. de Animalibus, lib.* xiii. *c.* 18.

[b] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iii. *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Arrian de Indicis.*

[c] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* vi. *c.* 20.

[d] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iii.

The Inſpectors that reſided in Towns, were divided into ſix Claſſes: Of theſe, ſome looked into the Management of Tradeſmen and Artificers; others had the Care of the Inns, where they examined ſuch Strangers as arrived, in relation to their Buſineſs in the Country, and gave Directions, that they ſhould not ſtay above three Days in one Town. They likewiſe prevented Strangers, as far as they were able, from committing any thing contrary to good Manners; viſited them, if they were ſick; examined them as to the Nature of their Diſtemper, that they might be ſure it was not contagious: Took care that they wanted for nothing; and, in caſe of their Deaths, that their Effects were diſpoſed of purſuant to their Wills. Others kept a Regiſter of Births and Burials, and ſet down very exactly the Time, the Place, and other Circumſtances: Theſe likewiſe looked into Weights and Meaſures, and ſaw that they were agreeable to the Standard: They alſo prevented the ſame Man from dealing in different Goods, ſaw that Manufactures were properly finiſhed, and ſet their Seal, to prevent Diſputes; inquired into Workmens Wages, and cauſed them to be regularly paid: They received likewiſe, the King's Revenues, which conſiſted in Duties on Goods ſold, and not on the Stock in Trade; but if any Man was convicted of ſelling, without bringing it to Account, he ſuffered Death.

The military Inſpectors had many things committed to their Care: As, for Inſtance, they were charged to keep a certain Number of Boats in conſtant Readineſs, for the Paſſage of Rivers, and for tranſporting Forage and Proviſions by Water; as alſo a certain Number of Cattle for Carriages, and for removing Baggage. The Magazines were likewiſe under their Care; and it was their Duty to look to the Arms that were laid up in them, that they might be conſtantly in good Order, and fit for Service. Some of them had the Charge of the Elephants, others of the War-chariots; and others again inſpected the Conduct of the Soldiers in their Quarters.

It is not a little ſurpriſing, that ſuch as compoſed the Council of the Prince, were thrown into the ſeventh and laſt Claſs: Yet theſe were neareſt the Throne, and had the largeſt Share both in the Pains and in the Honours of Government. All Affairs relating to the Public were ſubmitted to the Deliberation of the Senate; and their Authority was, in ſome reſpect, ſuperior to that of the Crown: For they had the ſole Power of Life and Death in their Hands, and poſſeſſed all the Dignities of the State. Theſe Senators ſeemed the more honourable, from the Continuance of their Offices in their Families, from Time immemorial; for by the fundamental Laws of their Conſtitution, it was forbidden for any Man to paſs out of one Claſs into another, even by Marriage. A Farmer could not become an Artificer, or an Artificer a Merchant or Soldier: By which prudent Precaution, all kinds of Profeſſions roſe to the higheſt Perfection, the Lights of the Father being communicated to the Son, and ſo downwards, every Calling being, in this reſpect, as it were, one Family. We might very reaſonably ſuſpect the Truth of all this, tho' confirmed to us by the concurrent Teſtimony of antient Hiſtorians, if this Diviſion of the *Indians* did not ſubſiſt even to our Times: For theſe Claſſes are preciſely the ſeveral *Indian* Caſts, of which modern Travellers ſpeak at this Day; ſo that, as to the Form of the antient *Indian* Government, it is a Fact out of all Diſpute: And one may ſafely affirm, that there ſcarce ever exiſted a better Conſtitution.

4. The *Indian Bacchus*, whoever he was, has the Honour of being the Author of this wiſe and wonderful Syſtem of Government, which was every where eſtabliſhed in the *Indies*, at the time of *Alexander*'s Expedition, when the Subjects of every little Principality, the Inhabitants of every free City, lived exactly in the manner as we have deſcribed; and were, in all reſpects, the moſt civilized, and the beſt regulated People in the World. All the Writers of thoſe Times, and even ſuch as are the leaſt given to Fables, repreſent the *Indians* as a very robuſt People, and of extraordinary Stature; ſome of them ſeven Foot high, particularly King *Porus*, who was vanquiſhed by *Alexander*. The Inhabitants of the lower Provinces, lying on the Banks of the River *Indus*, were of as dark Complexions as the *Ethiopians*: And the only Difference between them was, that the *Indians* had long lank black Hair, whereas the Hair of the *Ethiopians* was ſhort and curled. It was a Cuſtom among the *Indians*, to wear long Beards, which they dyed of ſeveral Colours; ſome white, ſome red, ſome green, and ſome of a purple Colour [b].

Their Habits alſo differed very much: Some of them wore the Skins of Lions and Tygers; others covered themſelves with a ſingle Piece of Cloth, which reached from their Heads to their Knees. As for the Soldiers, their Dreſs conſiſted in a Turbant, and a light Coat: All their Cloaths were commonly white, and were made either of Worſted or Cotton; for tho' many Authors ſpeak of the latter, as if they were Linen-garments; yet it is certain, that Flax is not of the Growth of the *Indies*. The only Shew they made of their Riches, was by wearing a ſort of Ivory-pendents in their Ears, now and then a purple Robe, white or ſtriped Shoes, and Umbrellas of ſeveral Colours, which the Heat of their Climate rendered neceſſary, as well as agreeable [c].

But the *Macedonians*, and other *Greeks*, who were the Remains of *Alexander*'s Army, introduced amongſt them, by degrees, the Luxury which they had themſelves learnt from the *Perſians*; and tho' the *Indians* ſoon ſhook off their Yoke, yet they found it impoſſible to quit the ill Cuſtoms theſe Strangers had brought amongſt them: And from this Time it was, that theſe People began to wear Cloth of Gold and Silver, to embroider with Pearl, and other Stones of Price; and to endeavour to diſplay, to the utmoſt, the Riches with which their Country furniſhed them. It is from this Account of the Matter, that we are enabled to judge of the Truth, or, at leaſt, of the Probability, of what Authors report concerning this Nation; for, as on the one hand it is certain, that they were a plain, open, and generous People, who deſpiſed Pomp and Shew, before they were corrupted by Strangers, ſo it is no leſs certain, that after they became acquainted with the *Greeks*, and with the *Perſians*, by their means, the Courts of their Princes, at leaſt, received conſiderable Alterations; and they began to affect Pomp and Splendor to almoſt as high a degree as any of their Neighbours, which was the more eaſy for them to do, ſince they were poſſeſſed of much greater Riches [d]; and ſaw too, that this Diſplay of their Wealth had a great Effect upon Strangers, and procured an unuſual degree of Reverence and Complaiſance: For it is with Nations as with private Families, the only Way to avoid ill Cuſtoms, is to remain unacquainted with them.

5. It does by no means appear, that, upon their giving into this Change in their Habits and Cloaths, they ſunk at all in their Morals; but, on the contrary, maintained the high Reputation they had acquired for their ſteady Virtue, and ſtrict Honour, for ſeveral Ages. Their Heralds wore a Gold Anchor, embroidered on their Coats, to ſignify that, in their Alliances, they were unalterable; and that a Treaty concluded with them, held them as faſt as an Anchor; a Character they juſtly deſerved. They admired

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[a] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iii. *Philoſtrat. lib.* ii. *c.* 40.

[b] *Arrian. lib.* v. *Plutarch. in Alexandro.* *Q. Curt. lib.* viii. *Herodot. lib.* iii. *Strabo.*

[c] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Q. Curt. lib.* viii. *Pompon. Mela, lib.* iii.

[d] *Arrian. Indicis, Cteſias, Herodot,*

the Courage, but more the Clemency of *Alexander*; and did no leſs Juſtice to the Bravery of their own Prince *Porus*, taking care that the Statue of the one ſhould be conſtantly accompanied by that of the other. Their *Brachmans* were continually inculcating Principles of Virtue in their Sermons to the People, which Sermons are ſtill continued, though the Subjects of them are much changed: For the *Brachmans*, finding their People began to reliſh the fabulous Theology of the *Greeks*, invented one of their own, which is now the current Religion of the *Indies*.

But what muſt appear an inconteſtable Proof of their great Regard for Virtue, is, the Law they eſtabliſhed; by Virtue of which, when any eminent Perſon died, Inſpectors were appointed to examine ſtrictly into his Life and Actions, of which they compoſed a Memoir, concluding with his Character; in which, if they were guilty either of Partiality or Prejudice, they loſt their Offices, and were delared infamous to all Poſterity; but there were very few Inſtances of their incurring this Puniſhment. It was in conſequence of this Law, that they never erected any Monuments to the Memory of the Dead; for they ſuppoſed that this Memorial of their Virtues ſecured their Fame more effectually [a].

They had, naturally, a great Love for Order, and were exceedingly attentive to whatever might promote, or preſerve it. They could not be ſaid to have borrowed any Part of their Policy from foreign Nations, becauſe, as we have often obſerved, they had not, for a long Series of Ages, any Correſpondence with Strangers: And though it be true, that the *Egyptians*, *Spartans*, and *Romans*, divided their Subjects into Tribes, yet it is certain, that none of theſe Nations carried this Regulation near ſo far as the *Indians*, who took in all ſorts of People; ſo that, by the Frame of their Conſtitution, the loweſt, as well as the higheſt Orders of Men, were under the immediate Inſpection of their Government; and could not be wanting, in any reſpect, to their Duty, without falling under the Cenſure of their Superiors; which was a Thing of infinite Conſequence to the Well-being and Tranquillity of the State [b].

It was in virtue of this Regulation, that the Government was perfectly acquainted with the Rank and Fortune of every one of its Subjects; ſo that none were permitted to travel ſo much as from one Town to another, in any other manner than was ſuitable to their Characters. Thus, for inſtance, their Princes, and great Lords, rode upon Elephants; ſuch as were next to them in Rank were allowed four Horſes in their Retinue; the next in Degree travelled on Camels; the ordinary ſort of People rode either on Horſes or on Aſſes [c].

It is eaſy to conceive, that by adhering ſtrictly to theſe Rules, Pride and Ambition were hardly known, or, at leaſt, could not gain much Ground amongſt them. If at any time, in ſpite of all the Care that could be taken, Diſputes aroſe about Place or Precedency, they were terminated in a public Audience before the King and Senate. There, alſo, all Controverſies relating to Property were heard and decided almoſt as ſoon as they roſe; and it was, by this means, that all the Miſchiefs ariſing from Law-ſuits were prevented, and the Peace and Quiet of the Nation effectually preſerved [d].

Their Monarchs, in regard to the Love of Peace, ſet their Subjects a conſtant and perſuaſive Example: For though they had all of them great Armies, and thoſe perfectly well diſciplined and provided, perpetually on Foot, yet they very rarely brought them into the Field; though it appears from the Example of *Porus*, and from the Reſiſtance that *Alexander* met with from the free Cities of *India*, they were capable of making a great Figure, as a warlike People, if they had affected it: And this appeared ſtill more clearly from the Conduct of the famous *Sandracottus*, and his Succeſſors, who were content to purchaſe Peace, though at the Head of Armies, capable of acquiring and maintaining Conqueſts [e].

6. In a Country ſo happily ſituated as theirs, and which has been, in all Ages, renowned for its Abundance, they might certainly have lived with as much Delicacy as their Neighbours the *Perſians*, who, from the moſt hardy and frugal, became the moſt luxurious and profuſe People in the Eaſt. But, amongſt the *Indians*, the Love of Temperance, inſtilled into them as a Principle of Religion by the *Brachmans*, prevented any Exceſs of this kind, and reſtrained them to a very moderate Uſe of that Plenty which they poſſeſſed [f].

They had not, properly ſpeaking, any Wine of their own Growth; and the Liquor ſo called by antient Writers, was drawn either from Rice, or from the Cocoa-tree: But, as both ſorts of Liquor were very apt to intoxicate, they were very ſeldom uſed but in Sacrifices, public Feaſts, and in very ſmall Quantities at the Tables of their Kings. If at any time a Prince ſo far forgot his Dignity and Character, as to ſuffer himſelf to be over-taken with Liquor, their Laws allowed any Woman, who was about him, to put him to Death while he was drunk; and his Succeſſor was obliged to eſpouſe this Woman, and make her the Partner of his Throne. The common Drink of the *Indians*, in general, was Milk and Water [g].

As for their Food, the Syſtem of the *Metempſychoſis*, which prevailed generally throughout the *Indies*, kept their Tables within due Bounds, allowing nothing more for their Supply than Corn, Roots, Fruit and Milk-meats; yet ſome kind of Animal Food they had, ſuch as Tygers, and other wild Beaſts; and Fiſh too; but they were very plainly dreſſed, without any Sauces, or other Allurements to the Taſte, that they might not be tempted to eat more than was neceſſary for the Support of Nature, and, thereby, render themſelves liable to Diſeaſes. As they lived ſparingly, they ſlept not much at their Eaſe, having nothing but a Mat, or the Skin of a Beaſt, between them and the Ground. Their Houſes were low, compoſed, for the moſt part, either of thin Planks, or of Reeds, ſmall, with little Furniture, and no Ornaments at all, unleſs we ſhould account for ſuch their Roofs being made of Tortoiſe-ſhells [h]. Thus, in all reſpects, they were perfectly uniform, and led their Lives in the quiet Poſſeſſion of what their Labour and Induſtry procured; content with what they poſſeſſed, and willing rather to part with ſomewhat of their own, to ſecure that Peace, which they held their greateſt Bleſſing [i], than deſirous of employing Force to enrich themſelves at others Expence. It was, indeed, the great Felicity of theſe People, that they acted in every reſpect upon Principle; and were ſo addicted, from their Infancy, to a regular Life, and an equal Contempt of Danger and of Pleaſure, that they were not liable to the common Failings of Men, but were capable of reſiſting Temptations, and of deſpiſing Threats.

7. If we had no other Proofs of the conſtant Courage, and magnanimous Spirit of the *Indians*, we might be convinced of it from that Readineſs with which almoſt every Rank of People not only met, but, if Occaſion required it, haſtened Death; and, if we may be allowed the Expreſſion, went out to receive him. It was not the *Brachmans* only, who, from the Maxims of Philoſophy, were able to ſteel themſelves againſt the common Weakneſs of human Nature; but even Women, who, by Conſtitution and Education, were in the *Indies*, as well as every where elſe, naturally of a more timid Diſpoſition than the Men. The Accounts we have of this differ ſomething from one another; but, by a little Attention, they may be eaſily reconciled [k]. It was certainly in the Beginning a voluntary Act, ariſing from an extravagant Affection, which induced them to quit that Life which appeared to them more hateful and terrible, than Death itſelf: But, afterwards, there were ſome Reaſons which made it requiſite to encourage this Practice by Laws; yet ſtill the Spirit and Courage of the Women, who thus devoted themſelves to Death, rather than ſurvive their Huſbands, deſerved Admiration [l]. An antient Writer, of great Integrity, as

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[a] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iii. *Arrian. Indicis, Philoſtrat. lib.* ii.
[b] *Arrian. Cteſias in Indicis.*
[c] *Arrian. Strabo.*
[d] *Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.*
[e] *Strabo, Arrian. Philoſtrat.*
[f] *Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.*
[g] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Athen. Deipn. lib.* xii. *Plin. lib.* vi. *c.* 28. *Philoſtrat. lib* ii. *c.* 7.
[h] *Arrian. lib.* v. *c.* 4. *Philoſtrat. lib.* iii. *Mela, lib.* iii.
[i] *Diodor. Sicul. Strabo. Philoſtrat.*
[k] That is to ſay, when ſome attribute this to the Laws, and others to the Will of the Women themſelves, they may be proved to agree, by ſhewing that the Laws made this honourable, and, in ſome meaſure, requiſite; and yet without impoſing an abſolute Neceſſity, for that would have rendered it no longer commendable.
[l] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Curt. lib.* viii. *Pomp. Mela, lib.* iii.

well as great Learning, hath given us a large Account of this Matter, occaſioned by an Inſtance that fell out after a Battle between the Succeſſors of *Alexander* the Great, in which *Eumenes* defeated *Antigonus*. The latter had, in his Army, a Body of Troops that had been drawn out of *India*, where they had been left in Gariſon by *Alexander*, and were commanded in this Action by *Ceteus*, who, fighting very gallantly, was killed upon the Spot; the reſt of the Story, with his Obſervations upon it, I ſhall give you in the Author's own Words.

‘ He left, ſays he, two Wives behind him, who followed him all the Campaign. One he had lately married, the other had been his Wife for ſome Years; and both loved their Huſband exceedingly. It had been an antient Cuſtom in *India*, for Men and Women to marry themſelves according to their own Liking, without conſulting their Parents; and, in regard that young People would raſhly marry, and often repent afterwards, as being deceived in their Choice, many Wives were corrupted, and fell in Love with other Men; and becauſe they could not, with Credit and Reputation, leave their firſt Choice, they would often poiſon their Huſbands; to the more ready effecting of which, the Country did not a little contribute, by bearing many poiſonous Herbs; ſome of which, if mingled in ever ſo ſmall a Quantity, in Meat or Drink, would infallibly kill the Perſon to whom it was given. This wicked Art growing every Day to a greater Perfection, and many being deſtroyed by this Means, notwithſtanding the Examples that were made to prevent it, another Law was enacted to this Purpoſe, that Wives ſhould be burnt with the Bodies of their deceaſed Huſbands, except they were with Child, or had borne Children; and that ſhe who would not obſerve the common Law of the Land, ſhould remain for ever after a Widow; and, as one convicted of the greateſt Impiety, ſhould be excluded from all ſacred Rites, and all other Benefit and Privilege of the Laws.

‘ This being thus eſtabliſhed, henceforward this Wickedneſs of the Wives was changed into a contrary Practice; for, as every Wife, to avoid that unſufferable Diſgrace, was to die, they became not only careful to preſerve the Health, and provide for the Well-being of their Huſbands, as that which was likewiſe their own Preſervation, but the Wives ſtrove, one with another, who, by burning with his Corpſe, ſhould gain the higheſt Reputation. An Example of which fell out at this Time; for altho', by the Law, one only was to be burnt with the Husband, yet, at the Funeral of *Ceteus*, both ſtrove which ſhould die, as for ſome honourable Reward of their Virtue: Whereupon the Matter was brought before the Generals, for their Deciſion. The younger declared, that the other was with Child, and therefore her Death could not ſatisfy the Law: The elder pleaded, that it was more agreeable to Juſtice, that ſhe, who was before the other in Years, ſhould be preferred before her in Honour; for, in all other Caſes, the conſtant Rule is, to yield Reſpect to the Elder.

‘ The Captains being informed by the Midwives that the Elder was with Child, preferred the Younger; upon which, ſhe who loſt her Cauſe, went out weeping, rending her Vail in Pieces, and tearing her Hair, as if ſome ſad and dreadful News had been told her; the other, rejoicing in the Victory, made forthwith to the funeral Pile, crowned by the Women of her Houſe, and, by her Kindred, brought forth, moſt richly adorned, as to ſome nuptial Feſtival, all of them ſetting forth her Praiſes, as they went, in Songs ſuited to that Occaſion.

‘ As ſoon as ſhe came to the Pile, ſhe threw off her Garments, and diſtributed them amongſt her Servants and Friends, leaving theſe behind her as Tokens to thoſe who loved her. Her Ornaments conſiſted in Multitudes of Rings upon her Fingers, ſet with all manner of precious Stones, of divers Colours; upon her Head, were a great Number of little golden Stars, between which were placed ſparkling Stones, of all Sorts; about her Neck, ſhe wore abundance of Jewels, ſome ſmall, others large, increaſing by degrees in Bigneſs, as they were put on, one after another; at length, ſhe took Leave of all her Family and Servants, and then her Brother placed her upon the Pile; and, to the great Admiration of the People, (who flocked thither to the Sight) with an heroic Courage, ſhe there ended her Life.

‘ The whole Army, ſolemnly, in their Arms, marched thrice round the Pile, before it was kindled; ſhe, in the mean time, diſpoſing of herſelf towards her Husband's Body, diſcovered not, by any Shrieks, or otherwiſe, that ſhe was at all daunted at the Noiſe of the crackling Flames; ſo that the Spectators were affected, ſome with Pity, and others with Admiration and Aſtoniſhment of her Reſolution; however, there are ſome who condemn this Law as cruel and inhuman [a].’

Such are the Sentiments of this able Hiſtorian; and we find them confirmed by ſome of the greateſt Writers of *Greece* and *Rome*. *Strabo*, ſpeaking of the ſame cruel Cuſtom, aſſigns the like Reaſons for it; and ſo had *Cicero*, long before [b]. There cannot, therefore, be any Doubt made as to the Matter of Fact; by which we plainly ſee, that what was originally a peculiar Act of Generoſity, became in time a common Practice, and was, in the End, eſtabliſhed by Law, and ſo became a Principle of their Religion; inſomuch that Women, who refuſe to comply with the Cuſtom of their Country, are reputed infamous; and accordingly the modern Practice is, to ſhave them, and let them turn Whores, for a Livelihood; for none of their own Relations will look upon them, or afford them the leaſt Support, becauſe they conſider their Cowardice as a Reflection on their Family; and, for this Reaſon it is, that the Relations of the Woman, and not of the Huſband, always attend them to the funeral Pile, oblige them to drink a kind of ſtupefying Liquor, called Dutry, and then thruſt them into the Flames [c].

In many Places in the *Indies*, the Cuſtom is now in ſome meaſure laid aſide, but in others it ſtill prevails; and they erect Monuments to the Memory of theſe heroic Ladies, in order thereby to encourage this Practice: And, not far from *Goa*, there are at this Day a *Caſt* of *Indians* called *Linguits*, who have ſtill a worſe Cuſtom; for, when the Men die, the Manner of interring them is, by ſetting them in a Pit, where the living Wife ſtands by the Body of her deceaſed Huſband, the Earth is ram'd down to their Shoulders, and then their Necks are twiſted round, and broke; after which, a little Hillock of Earth is raiſed over their Heads [d].

I mention this, to ſhew how tenacious the *Indians* are of their Cuſtoms, whether good or bad, as well as to juſtify the Truth of what the Antients have delivered in this reſpect. Before I quit this Subject, I think it will be proper to ſay ſomewhat of its Antiquity; for, undoubtedly, the *Tyrians* found it practiſed amongſt them while they had the Monopoly of the *Indian* Trade; ſince the true Story of *Dido* is this; that, to avoid a ſecond Marriage, ſhe voluntarily burnt herſelf, and, after the *Indian* Cuſtom, became a living Sacrifice to the *Manes* of her deceaſed Huſband [e].

The other Laws of the *Indians* were exactly of the ſame Nature, founded on the Principles of ſtrict Juſtice, and executed with the utmoſt Degree of Severity: For Inſtance, a Man who had given falſe Teſtimony in any Cauſe, civil or criminal, had his Hands and Feet cut off. He who maimed another, not only ſuffered the Law of Retaliation, that is to ſay, loſt the ſame Member, whatever it was, but loſt his Hand likewiſe with which he did the Fact; but, in caſe he put out the Eye, or took away the Uſe of an Hand from a Mechanic, or one who got his Bread by his Labour, he ſuffered Death without Mercy, as a juſt Puniſhment for depriving another Man of the Means of living. The ſame Sentence was paſſed upon him who diſcovered any kind of Poiſon, if he did not, at the ſame time, diſcover a Remedy capable of preventing its Effects. We may eaſily diſcern, that the Deſign of theſe Laws was, to ſupport that ſtrict Diſcipline, which was thought requiſite for maintaining the Quiet and the Proſperity of the State [f].

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[a] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xix. *p.* 688.

[b] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Cicer. Tuſculan. Quæſtion. lib.* v. *c.* 27.

[c] Dr. *Fryer's* Travels, 32. 153.

[d] *Id. p.* 153.

[e] *Tertullian.*

[f] *Strabo. lib.* xv. *p.* 710.

In a Word, the *Indian* Conſtitution was wholly of a Piece; and, if we take it throughout, was the beſt calculated for the Good of the Whole, of any Form of Government deviſed by the Wit of Man. By conſidering it, as we find it ſtated at large in this Section, we ſhall eaſily diſcern, why the antient *Indians* were ſo jealous of Foreigners ſettling amongſt them; ſince it is very evident, that a mixed People could never be brought to live peaceably under ſuch a Conſtitution, which required a ſuitable Education, from their very Infancy, to diſpoſe the Minds of Men to ſubmit to it. It is alſo no leſs clear, that they diſcouraged as long as they found it practicable, all foreign Trade, from the ſame Principle; on which they reaſoned after this manner: The great End of Commerce is to procure and to maintain Plenty; and as this was already well provided for by the Nature of their Conſtitution, and their Laws, in favour of Husbandmen, it ſeemed to them, that there was no foreign Trade requiſite for completing the Happineſs of their Subjects; but that, on the contrary, it muſt be attended by Conſequences detrimental to that Form of Government, upon which their Felicity depended; which they thought therefore juſtified this Prohibition.

Hence, likewiſe, we diſcover the true Grounds of that Policy which reſtrained the Ambition of *Indian* Princes, and deterred them from making Conqueſts. The Proſperity of an *Indian* Kingdom did not depend upon an Extent of Territory, or a Multitude of Subjects; but upon the ſtrict Obedience of thoſe Subjects to the Laws, which never would have been ſecured by over-running their Neighbours; for either the conquered Nation muſt have been incorporated with their own, which would have been a Work difficult, if not impracticable, or theſe new Subjects muſt have lived after their old manner, which would have produced numberleſs Inconveniencies. It was therefore the Intereſt, even of the moſt powerful of their Monarchs, rather to ſatisfy the Avarice of ſuch as invaded them, by coſtly Gifts, than to run the Hazard of ruining their Dominions, and their Subjects, by long and bloody Wars, which never could produce them any Good, and were, in their Nature, pregnant with Miſchiefs.

But what is moſt wonderful, and beſt deſerves our Notice, was the Care taken by the *Indian* Conſtitution, to conciliate the Love of Peace with undaunted Courage, and the ſurpriſing Expedients they made uſe of, to inſpire their Subjects with a Contempt of Death, at the ſame time that the great End of all their Laws was, to render their Lives eaſy and happy. Where People are frequently expoſed to Dangers, the Senſe of Danger wears off, and they acquire an habitual Courage; but where People lead an eaſy, regular Life, in the full Poſſeſſion of all that they deſire, they naturally become timorous and effeminate. This, however, was not the Caſe of the antient *Indians*, among whom, there were daily Inſtances of Men dying, becauſe they were not inclined to live longer; and of Women that choſe to accompany their Husbands in Death, rather than endure Life without them. By theſe Examples, a Spirit of Heroiſm was kept up, and the Brachmans, by ſealing their Doctrines with their Blood, ſecured an implicit Belief of all they taught; that is, of all the Principles on which their Religion and Government were founded.

There cannot, therefore, ſurely, be any thing more inſtructive, more entertaining, or more worthy of the Reader's Attention, than an ample and diſtinct Account of theſe extraordinary Men, their Tenets, Diſcipline, and manner of Living; by a thorough Examination of which, we ſhall be able to diſcover what mighty things the human Underſtanding is capable of atchieving, when it is not depreſſed by Tyranny, or weakened by a luxurious way of Living. We ſhall ſee too, with how much Juſtice the *Brachmans* held the firſt Place aſſigned them in their Caſts or Tribes, as Men who ſpent their Lives in the Study of Truth, and in teaching it to others; whereby they maintained and exerciſed a Power equal to Kings, in virtue only of the Wiſdom of their Words, and the Conformity of their Actions to their Profeſſions; and how the Being of this moſt excellent Conſtitution depended on the Maintenance of this Order of Men, in their primitive Integrity.

SECTION XII.

The Learning, Diſcipline, Offices, Manner of Living, and Privileges of the Brachmans; *including alſo an Account of their peculiar Doctrines in Theology and Divinity.*

1. *The Care taken of the Women, before the Children of the* Brachmans *were born; and the Pains beſtowed on the Education of their Sons, in order to fit them for this Profeſſion.* 2. *The Diſcipline in their Schools, and their Exerciſes, in order to form their Minds, and qualify them for their public Offices.* 3. *Their Conduct, in quality of Prieſts and Prophets; their Precautions for ſecuring their Authority; and Punctuality in Diſcharge of their Duties.* 4. *A rational and diſtinct Account of their Philoſophy; and an Explanation of the Doctrine of the* Metempſychoſis, *as it was taught by them.* 5. *The Time at which they were allowed to quit this auſtere Courſe of Life, to marry and to ſettle in Towns, with their Privileges.* 6. *Of the* Germanians, Sarmanians, *or* elected Brachmans; *the manner of their coming into the Society; their Studies and Employments.* 7. *Of the* Brachmans, *which* Alexander *the Great met with in the* Indies; *with ſome Conjectures as to their Form of Government.* 8. *Of the Miſtakes, Fables, and improbable Reports, concerning theſe Sages, and their Philoſophy.* 9. *Of the Proofs derived from the preſent State of the* Brachmans, *or* Bramins, *in the* Indies, *in Support of the foregoing Particulars.* 10. *Some Remarks upon what modern Authors have delivered upon this Subject.* 11. *The Converſation of* Alexander *the Great, with* Dindamis *the* Brachman.

1. THE *Brachmans* were a *Tribe*, or *Caſt* of *Indians*, who accuſtomed themſelves to the Study of ſublime Things, and were eſteemed the firſt *Caſt*, on Account of the Excellence and Importance of their Duty, upon the right Diſcharge of which depended, in a great meaſure, the Safety and Proſperity of the State, as will more clearly appear, when we come to ſpeak of their civil and ſacred Functions: They were divided into *Brachmans* and *Germanians*: The former were *Brachmans* by Deſcent, the latter by Election, as ſhall be explained hereafter. Their Attention to their Poſterity began very early, and even while their Children were in their Mother's Womb. As ſoon as it was known, that one of their Wives was become pregnant, ſuch of their Society as were charged with the bringing up of Children, went to viſit the Mother, under colour of giving her their Bleſſing, but, in Reality, that they might have an Opportunity of beſtowing on her good Counſels; ſuch as engaging her to abſtain, during her Pregnancy, from what might be hurtful to the Child, informing her what Exerciſes ſhe might uſe, and what it was fit for her to avoid. According to the Reception ſhe gave to theſe Admonitions, they regulated their Conjectures, as to the Genius and Diſpoſition of the Child[a].

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[a] *Strabo, lib. xv. Arrian. de Expedit. Alexand. lib.* vii. *Porphyr. de Abſtinent. lib.* iv. *Pallad. de Brachm. S. Ambroſ. de Moribus Brachm.*

As he grew up, he paſſed gradually from the Care of one Maſter to another, all watching attentively, not only over his Progreſs in Learning, but more eſpecially, in regard to the Probity of his Manners; and, in the mean time, the greateſt Care was taken, that neither the Abilities of his Mind, or the Strength of his Body, ſhould be weakened by too great Tenderneſs or Indulgence. If, as he grew up to Years of Diſcretion, it appeared that he wanted Talents for acquiring their Knowledge, or a Conſtitution capable of undergoing the Hardſhips of that Life which theſe Philoſophers led, he was not conſtrained to purſue their Courſe of Life, but allowed to follow any other. But, on the contrary, if he was aſſiduous in his Studies, and exact in the Performance of what was directed by his Superiors, he was initiated into their Myſteries, and brought up to all the Learning of the Sect. Their Schools were kept in a little Grove, at a Diſtance from the Town to which they belonged, where there was a Throne of Ebony placed for the Superior, from whence he delivered his Lectures; and this with ſuch an Air of Gravity, as made ſo deep an Impreſſion on the Minds of his Auditors, as that they never preſumed to ſpeak, or ſo much as to ſpit, during the time of his Diſcourſe. If, thro' any Accident, they did either, they were turned out of the School for that Day, as rude and intemperate Perſons [a].

To ſay the Truth, the Subjects of theſe Lectures were of ſo exalted a Nature, and were delivered with ſuch Seriouſneſs and Dignity, that they naturally commanded a moſt profound Reverence, eſpecially from ſuch as from their tender Years were filled with the higheſt Reſpect for their Inſtructors, and taught to conceive juſt Notions of the Conſequences of what was thus delivered to them. In theſe Lectures, they inſiſted chiefly on the Principles of natural Religion, the Immortality of the Soul, and the Duties of Men towards each other, and to their Creator. They explained the Advantages that aroſe from a ſtrict Morality, and took Pains to ſhew, that a Life of Hardſhips, in which a Man was continually expoſed to what the World thought the greateſt Evils, ſuch as Abſtinence from Meat and Drink, a perpetual Solitude, and the bearing the Intemperance of the Air, and the Inclemency of the Seaſons, was, notwithſtanding, preferable to any other Courſe, inaſmuch as it led to the Poſſeſſion of true Wiſdom, the obtaining a perfect Command over their Paſſions, and the Enjoyment of Health; together with an undiſturbed Peace of Mind: They likewiſe ſet forth the Perfections of the Supreme Being, the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of Providence, the admirable Harmony of the Univerſe, the Poſition of Man in the Scale of Beings, the End of his Creation, the Dignity of his Nature, and the Means of exalting it to the higheſt Degree of Perfection [b].

It is a thing well known to thoſe who have ſtudied Mankind, that it is not ſo much for want of Lights, as for want of Will to follow thoſe Lights, that People fall into dangerous Errors, and groſs Vices. Amongſt the Brachmans this was rendered almoſt impracticable; for, being obliged daily, to attend ſeveral Hours to the wiſe Diſcourſes of their Chief, their having conſtantly before their Eyes ſo many Examples of rigid Virtue, and the Reproaches to which they were expoſed, if they, at any time, failed in their Duty, kept them equally firm in their Principles and Practice. We may add to this; the Ambition of ſuſtaining the Rank of their Caſt, which was the firſt in the State, and to which the higheſt Honours were paid by the People, muſt have contributed not a little, to keep up their Spirits, and to encourage them in the Purſuit of thoſe Studies which were attended with ſo high a Reward.

2. As to their Exerciſes, they ſpent a great Part of the Day and Night in Prayer, in ſinging Hyms to the Deity, in making Vows for the Proſperity of their Prince and People, and for procuring the Bleſſing of Heaven upon all their Endeavours. When they were not thus occupied, they retired to their Cells, where they meditated on the great Truths of Philoſophy, amuſed themſelves with Experiments, or diſcourſed with ſuch of their Friends as came to ſee them: But if, at any time, they were ſenſible, that they exceeded in this, by talking too much, too freely, or upon improper Subjects, they impoſed a voluntary Penance upon themſelves, which, conſiſting in an abſolute Silence, for a certain Space of Time, made a ſufficient Atonement for their former Indiſcretion [c].

It is inconceivable to what Heights of Science this kind of Life conducted them; for their Spirits being continually active, their Heads perfectly clear, and their Hearts full of that Confidence which is the Reſult of Innocence, they conſidered themſelves, and were conſidered by others, as a Race of People ſuperior to common Men. In ſome Inſtances, this led them to a ſort of Behaviour, which looked like Pride; for they never viſited any: And when their Friends came to ſee them, they conſtantly entertained them with moral or philoſophical Diſcourſes, ſuited to the Capacities of their Hearers; and meddled very little, if at all, with the common Concerns of Life, deſpiſing alike the Pleaſures which other Men ſought, and the Difficulties of which they complained. They are, on this Account, charged with Haughtineſs, Self-conceit, and Vanity, by ſome of the Antients, and by moſt of the Moderns [d]. But whoever attentively conſiders the Neceſſity there is, of keeping exalted Ideas of a future State conſtantly in View, in order to lead ſuch a Life here, as theſe Men did, which, at the ſame time that it was ſo honourable for themſelves, was likewiſe of ſo great Conſequence to Society, they will plainly ſee, that nothing but ſuch a Frame of Spirit as the Brachmans are ſaid to have poſſeſſed, could have enabled them, to have gone through ſo fatiguing a Courſe of Life, with Satisfaction to themſelves, and to the Benefit of their Countrymen.

In a Word, the Abatement of their Pride, as it is called, muſt have been attended with an Abatement of their Virtue; of which we have an Example in *Calanus*, who, being once prevailed upon to viſit *Alexander* the Great, and to converſe with the *Grecians*, came ſoon after to have ſuch a Complaiſance for them, as to quit his Country, and follow that Monarch into *Perſia*; for which he was derided and deſpiſed by his Brethren [e], as a Renegade; and with Reaſon, unleſs we can imagine, that the Manners and Morals of the *Brachmans*, at that time equally free from all Superſtition and Impurity, were not ſuperior to thoſe of the *Macedonians*, who were viſibly the moſt ambitious, the moſt unjuſt, and the crueleſt People upon the Earth; who thought they were to lord it over all other Nations, and that the Victories of their Princes were to ſerve no other End, than filling their Pockets, and gratifying their Paſſions. I ſay, unleſs we can prefer ſuch a Conduct, to the peaceable, modeſt, and quiet Behaviour of the *Indians*, we muſt allow his Brethren to have been in the right, and *Calanus* in the wrong: And conſequently, we muſt confeſs, that this Appearance of Pride in the *Brachmans* was really no more, than the Reflexion of too bright a Virtue, which vulgar Eyes are not able to bear.

3. They were as venerable in their public Characters, as unblameable in their private Lives; and it was the Purity of the latter, that recommended them to the former; for the *Indians*, in the earlieſt Ages, were throughly perſuaded, that Sanctity of Manners was the Quality moſt requiſite in Prieſts. The *Brachmans* acted, every-where, throughout the *Indies*, in this Capacity; ſo that whenever Sacrifices were made to the Gods, either to deprecate their Wrath, or by way of Thankſgiving for their Favours, the *Brachmans* conſtantly officiated: It was on ſuch Occaſions that they made ſolemn Sermons to the People, in which they uſually inculcated three Things: The firſt was, Reverence to the Divine Being, from whom they received all Things, who was alone capable of granting them what they wiſhed, and of defending them from what they feared, and to whom they were accountable for the Uſe they made of the Benefits he beſtowed upon them. The ſecond was, Obedience to the Laws, and a hearty Concern for the Welfare of the Society. The third regarded the Love of Liberty, and the Obligations they were under to ſacrifice their own

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[a] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Arrian. in Indicis. Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[b] *Apuleius in Floridis, lib.* ii. *Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib.* iii. *Philoſtrat. lib.* iii.

[c] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Arrian. in Indicis. Apuleius.*

[d] *Lucian. de Morte Peregrini.* See the Article of them in *Bayle's* Dictionary.

[e] See the Diſcourſe between *Alexander* and *Dindamis*, at the Cloſe of this Section.

particular and immediate Happineſs, to the preſerving the Form of Government, under which they lived, in its full Vigour, in order to provide thereby for the Security and Welfare of their Poſterity [a].

The Sacifices they offered, were abſolutely pure, and conſiſted chiefly in burning Incenſe, and other Perfumes, upon their Altars; and, while theſe were burning, they delivered in the moſt pathetic Terms, a ſolemn Prayer to God, in the Name of the People. They likewiſe took upon them the Office of *Augurs*, in which they delivered Oracles to the People, as they preſented their Petitions to the Deity; but, if it ſo fell out, that a Man was thrice miſtaken in his Attempts to propheſy, he was thenceforward condemned to perpetual Silence; which ſeems to have been a very wiſe Contrivance for preventing the Failings of particular Men from bringing their Order into Diſrepute. Another Function of their Miniſtry conſiſted in Ablutions, when they waſhed the People in the River *Ganges*, as a Token of their being cleanſed from all Impurity, delivered from the Stain of Sin, and rendered acceptable in the Eyes of God: This was an exterior Rite, ſignifying a general Repentance of paſt Offences, and a ſincere Renovation of their Deſire to fulfil the Will of God in every reſpect, agreeable to other ſymbolical Inſtitutions, which were common in the Religion of the *Brachmans* [b].

It was, by this regular Diſcharge of their Duty, on all public Occaſions, and by the Auſterity of their Lives, that they maintained their Influence over the People, and ſupported that Dignity and Precedence which the Laws had given them, and which they would very ſoon have loſt, if their Characters had been ſtained by their Negligence, or their Vices. It was, without doubt, a very great Power that they enjoyed; and we ſhould ſcarce credit what the Antients have delivered upon this Subject, if the Remains of that profound Veneration and Reſpect did not, in a great meaſure, ſubſiſt even at this Day. The *Brachmans* are ſtill acknowledged the firſt Caſt among the *Indians*, are yet conſidered as their Prieſts and Prophets; and, in ſhort, the Prerogatives of which they are now poſſeſſed, are ſo many rational and convincing Teſtimonies of the Truth of what theſe old Writers have delivered.

4. As the *Brachmans* were poſſeſſed of all the Science in their Nation, and were, in a manner, the only Men of Learning in it, they, for the better and more effectual Cultivation of Knowledge, applied themſelves to different Branches; that is, after they had firſt ran through the general Diſcipline of their Schools; for it was a Maxim of theirs, and that not at all ill-founded, that the Sciences depended upon each other; and that, to be perfectly Maſter of one, it was neceſſary that a Man ſhould have a Tincture of the reſt.

They ſtuck to one Sort of Knowledge. Some of the *Brachmans* addicted themſelves to Philoſophy; and it was by them that Syſtem was formed, which has been ſince known in the World by the Name of the *Indian* or *Pythagorean*, and which is, in Truth, the Baſis of the new Philoſophy, and, therefore, deſerves to be particularly conſidered. They thought that there was One neceſſary ſelf-exiſtent Being, from whom all other Spirits were derived, and all the Matter of the Univerſe created by his Will. They repreſented this Being, as pervading the Whole, and yet occupying no Space; and, as they aſcribed the Exiſtence of the Univerſe to his Power, ſo they acknowledged the Preſervation and Direction thereof to be the Effects of his Wiſdom. They had a very diſtinct Idea of the ſolar Syſtem; though the Writers that have mentioned their Opinions, have repreſented them very confuſedly; ſo that all we can gather from them is, that they regarded the Univerſe as a Sphere; of which, it is ſaid, they made the Earth the Centre; but I rather think the Sun; and that their dancing round his Figure, repreſented the Effects of the Motion of the Sun round its own Axis. The Manner in which they ſpoke on theſe Subjects, and the Difference of their Opinions from thoſe of the *Greeks*, occaſioned the Miſtake.

They held, that Water was the Principle of all Things, and that the Heavens and the Stars were not compoſed of Elemental Matter, that is, not of the ſame Matter with our lower World. They made uſe of ſome odd Compariſons, or rather of Parables, that were a little ſtrained, to expreſs their Notions about Things that do not ſo properly fall under the Cognizance of the human Underſtanding, and will, therefore, appear dark and confuſed, tho' treated with the utmoſt Care, and by Men of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Abilities. In Points that more nearly concerned Mankind, they were explicit enough. They taught, for Example, that as the World had a Beginnng, ſo it ſhould likewiſe have an End, and that by Fire. They were of Opinion, that all Countries produced whatever was requiſite for making their Inabitants happy; and that reaſonable Men ought rather to contract their Appetites, that they might be content with what Nature, in all Places, beſtows, than augment the Inconveniencies, to which human Nature is ſubject, by deſiring what is the Product of other Lands. As to Spiritual Beings, they divided them into three Claſſes, Angels, Dæmons, and Men: The firſt they were thought perfectly good, the latter abſolutely bad, the third capable of both; and therefore, they deſpiſed Death, becauſe they ſtedfaſtly believed a Regeneration; the higheſt Degree of which they took to be the Deliverance of the Spirit from the Body, and its Aſſociation with the Angels [c].

The Doctrine of the *Metempſychoſis* they had in common with all the Eaſtern Philoſophers; and the Meaning of it ſeems to have been this: They conceived, that whatever grew, or had any Faculties, muſt be endowed with Spirit; from whence they inferred, that ſuch Bodies were the Caſes of Spirits, or rather Priſons, in which they were confined till they purged or purified themſelves, and ſo purchaſed their own Redemption. Upon this Principle they built their Doctrine of Abſtinence from Fleſh, becauſe they thought that in all Animals Spirits were included; and that in ſuch eſpecially, as were uſeful and ſerviceable to Men, reſided thoſe Spirits, that, though impure, had yet Principles of Good in them, the Souls of a worſe kind being thruſt into the Bodies of wild Beaſts; which, therefore, they permitted to be eaten by thoſe who were not of their Sect or Claſs: And they imagined, that in proportion as Men heightened or depreſſed their animal Faculties in this Life, they ſhould fare in the next; that is to ſay, ſuch as gratified their brutal Paſſions, paſſed into Beaſts; and ſuch as cultivated the Virtues of the Mind, roſe, by degrees, through the ſeveral Claſſes of Mankind, till, in the End, they merited an intire Freedom from Body, and were received into the Company of Angels [d].

Such, as far as I am able to gather from the Lights left us by the Antients, were the Opinions of the *Brachmans* who taught Philoſophy. Another Sort of them there were, who bent their Studies principally to the cultivating of Policy, or the Laws and Conſtitutions of their Country; it was to theſe that, in critical Conjunctures, their Princes addreſſed themſelves for their Advice, without which they were not at Liberty to act in difficult Caſes. At ſuch Times the Monarch had not the Power of ſending for ſuch as he deſired to conſult, but was obliged to go to the Grove where they reſided, and where he was conſtrained to comply with their Ceremonies and Manner of living, by laying aſide all Marks of Grandeur, eating, as they did, Herbs, Fruit and Puls, and liſtening attentively to their Diſcourſes. They did not permit ſuch Converſations to laſt above a Day and a Night, and the latter was generally the Time in which they gave ſuch Audiences. There were a third Sort, that applied themſelves chiefly to Morality; in which they inſtructed the People who came to viſit them, and to hear their Diſcourſes [e]. It is highly probable, that they paſſed thro' theſe Offices in the different Periods of their Lives; ſo that they were advanced in Years before they arrived at the Capacity of teaching in the School of Philoſophy, at the Head of which there was always the oldeſt and graveſt *Brachman* of the Country: But this is what I gather from comparing the Accounts we have of them, and is not poſitively ſaid by any Author; ſo that, if the Reader thinks it improbable, he is at Liberty to reject it.

5. The *Brachmans* paſs their Days in Groves, at a

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[a] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Arrian in Indicis. Philoſtrat. lib.* viii.

[b] *Strabo, Arrian, Philoſtrat.*

[c] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Arrian. in Indicis. Clem. Alexand. Stromata, lib.* iii.

[d] *Strabo, Arrian, Plutarch.*

[e] *Pallad. et S. Ambroſ. de Moribus Brachmanorum.*

ſmall Diſtance from Towns, where they eat and ſlept under the Trees upon the Ground, or elſe in Caves. As to their Dreſs, Authors differ very widely: It is generally ſaid, that they went naked, and were, from thence, called Gymnoſophiſts; but this muſt be underſtood only when they were at home, that is, in their Groves: For, when they were employed in their public Functions, they wore a Turbant on their Heads, a Linen Garment on their Bodies, which was called the ſacred Robe; had a Staff in their Right Hand, and a Ring upon one Finger. Some Authors, indeed, ſpeak of very different Clothing: *Hierocles* mentions a Robe of that kind of Stone, which may be ſpun into an incombuſtible Cloth [a]. *Megaſthenes* aſſerts, that their Garments were made of the Barks of Trees [b]; and, very probably, their Cuſtoms, in this reſpect, might vary in different Ages.

After they had ſpent thirty-ſeven Years in their Miniſtry, they were allowed to quit it, to live the Remainder of their Days at Eaſe in the Towns, dreſſed like other People; might eat the Fleſh of wild Beaſts, and take as many Wives as they thought fit, in order to preſerve the Race of the *Brachmans*. But it was an eſſential Rule, to ſuch as entered into the Matrimonial State, that they were not to reveal any of the Secrets of their Philoſophy to their Wives; and this for two Reaſons: Firſt, becauſe there was great Reaſon to doubt, whether they would be diſcreet enough to conceal what they were thus taught: And, ſecondly, it was no leſs doubted, if they ſhould, whether this Acceſſion of Knowledge might not incline them to Pride and Diſobedience. This is certainly a very plain and probable Account of the Marriages of the *Brachmans*; and we diſcern therein the ſame wiſe Precaution, the ſame Regard to the particular Intereſt of this Caſt, and the ſame Reſpect to the Good of the Whole, that is ſo manifeſt in the Proviſions made for all other Claſſes of People, in virtue of the *Indian* Conſtitution [c].

Notwithſtanding they had quitted the Order, as we may call it, yet they were treated with the utmoſt Reſpect, and enjoyed all the Privileges annexed to their Caſt, as much as if they had ſtill remained in their Groves, and continued to officiate as Prieſts. That is to ſay, they were exempted from all Duties, they were permitted to gather Herbs, Fruits, and Pulſ, where-ever they thought fit; and were allowed Oil, for anointing their Bodies, at the public Expence: They were likewiſe made welcome at the Tables of the Great, where they gave their Advice, and diſcourſed freely, on public Affairs: And it was commonly out of the Number of theſe married *Brachmans*, that the Senators [d] were choſen, in whom was veſted ſo large a Share of the Adminiſtration. Thus, in every Station, they were attended with Reverence, and found themſelves particularly conſidered both by their Princes and Fellow-Subjects; whoſe Intereſts as they perfectly underſtood, ſo they conſtantly purſued them; and, by interpoſing, when their Princes were inclined to arbitrary Meaſures, they hindered the Violation of the Laws, and ſecured the Happineſs of the People.

Thus they paſſed their Days, even to old Age, without any Danger of being neglected, or meeting with Contempt: The Law ſecured them from this, as an habitual Temperance did from moſt Diſeaſes; of which they were, generally ſpeaking, ſo much aſhamed, from an Apprehenſion, that they would be looked upon, eſpecially if of a long Continuance, as the Effects of Exceſs, that they, generally ſpeaking, choſe to die rather than bear them. When the Inconveniences of old Age began to weigh them down, they had certainly recourſe to this violent Remedy; and, having ordered a Pile of Wood to be erected in ſome public Place, they aſcended it, dreſſed in their beſt Apparel, and with whatever Ornaments they poſſeſſed. There they ſung certain Hymns, ſetting forth the Vanity of human Life, wherein Men amuſe themſelves with Dreams and Shadows, except the Few who are mindful of that heavenly Country, which their Souls are to inhabit; and then laid themſelves down upon their Faces, and remained there ſtill and quiet, without ſo much as a Groan, till they were conſumed to Aſhes [e], leaving the Example of their Death to inſpire their Countrymen with Courage to adhere ſteadily to the Principles which they had taught them, in ſpite of any Checks or Misfortunes that they might meet with. Thus living and dying, they were always uſeful to Society; and, as their Diſcipline began even before their Entrance into Life, ſo it ended only with their laſt Breath; for they were wont to compare the Weakneſs and Infirmities of old Age to the imperfect Senſes of a Child while in the Womb, and their burning themſelves to their being brought forth a ſecond time to a new Life, ſtiling that Action their Regeneration.

6. We are now to ſpeak of the ſecond Sort of *Brachmans*, or of ſuch as became ſo by Election, and who were taken from different Claſſes, being ſuch as deſired to be admitted into the Order: For, as the *Brachmans* profeſſed themſelves Lovers of Wiſdom, they thought it neither juſt nor reaſonable to exclude thoſe who were deſirous of attaining, by voluntary Application, what they, by a regular Education, had acquired. Theſe, as *Megaſthenes* reports, were called *Germanians* [f]; but they are ſtiled *Sarmanians* by *Clemens Alexandrinus* [g]. The Manner in which they were admitted was thus: They went to the Magiſtrates of the City to which they belonged, and, in the firſt place, made a clear and diſtinct Diſcovery of all their Effects, which they delivered up to them for the Maintenance of their Wives, in caſe they had any; and, if they had Children, they were taken care of by the King. After this Step they preſented themſelves to the Perſon who was at the Head of this Body of Sages, and deſired to be admitted amongſt them: Upon which they were ſtrictly examined, as to the Sincerity and Steadineſs of their Reſolution, and the Deſire they had to paſs the Remainder of their Days in the Study and Practice of Philoſophy. An Inquiry was next made into the Behaviour of their Anceſtors, in which they aſcended as high as their great Grandfathers; and if they found, that any, within theſe three Degrees, were juſtly chargeable with Pride, Intemperance, or Covetouſneſs, ſuch a Candidate was rejected; but if nothing of this ſort appeared, then as ſtrict an Inquiry was made into his own Life and Converſation; and if he had a good Memory, had been always remarkable for Modeſty, for a peaceable and humble Behaviour throughout his whole Life, and had never given any Marks of a proud, revengeful, or luxurious Diſpoſition, he was admitted [h].

Theſe differed from the *Brachmans* in this, That they inhabited moſt of them between the Rivers *Hyphaſis* and *Ganges*; where they had Houſes and Temples not only neat and convenient, but alſo handſomely adorned, at the King's Expence. At a certain Hour they were called to the Temple, by the Sound of a Bell, where they aſſiſted at public Prayers; and from whence they were not allowed to ſtir till the Bell rung again, to inform them, that the Service was over for that Day. The King's Officers then gave each of them a Porringer of boiled Rice, or ſome ſort of Food which was equivalent; and this they eat before they ſeparated. The Habits they wore were made of the Bark of Trees, or of coarſe Cotton; they paſſed all their Days in the ſtricteſt Chaſtity, and never drank any ſtrong Liquor whatever. As they ſtudied the Divinity, Philoſophy, and Policy, of the *Brachmans*, they attained, in time, to a great Degree of Wiſdom, and were conſulted by their Kings; and preſided with equal Honour at the Sacrifices that were made by the People. In a Word, it appears that they were received into a full Participation of all their Privileges, except that of quitting the Order, and of Marrying; which there was the leſs Reaſon they ſhould enjoy, ſince, of their own Accord, they had quitted that State already. It was of this kind of *Brachmans* that moſt of the Stories were told, that we find recorded in the Life of *Apollonius*; for, inſtead of cultivating the high and ſublime Sciences, they amuſed themſelves chiefly in acquiring natural Secrets; which Science, in thoſe Days, was ſtiled

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[a] *Hierocles apud Stephan. de Urbibus in* Βραχμᾶνες.

[b] *Apud Strab. lib. xv.*

[c] *Strabo ubi ſupra.*

[d] *Id. Philoſtrat. Arrian.*

[e] *Strabo, lib. xv. Diodor. Sicul. Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[f] *Apud Strab. ubi ſupra.*

[g] *Clem. Alexandr. Stromata, lib. i.*

[h] *Strabo, lib. xv. Porphyr. de Abſtinentia, lib. iv. Philoſtrat. lib. ii. c. 30. Apuleius in Floridis. Clem. Alexandr.*

Magic: They were likewiſe a kind of itinerant Phyſicians, and took a great deal of Pains to make themſelves ſucceſsful this Way; but we are informed that their Medicines conſiſted chiefly, if not wholly, in Draughts, or Fomentations; and we are told by *Strabo*[a], that they profeſſed the Knowledge of certain Secrets, that were equally extraordinary and ridiculous.

The Reader, after peruſing theſe Accounts, will be able to reſolve, without much Trouble, moſt of thoſe Difficulties, which ſome modern Critics[b] have repreſented as inexplicable. For Inſtance, when he is told that one Author ſays, that the *Brachmans* live always in Woods, and another that they were frequently ſeen at Courts, and admitted into the Cabinets of Princes; inſtead of taking this for a flat Contradiction, he will perceive, that the former ſpeaks of the *Brachmans* that were ſtill purſuing their Studies; and the latter, of ſuch as had completed their Courſe; and, according to the Rules of the Society, had Liberty to retire, to marry, to live in Cities, and to be choſen Senators. He will likewiſe be able to account for the ſeeming Difference between living together in a kind of collegiate State, and rambling through the Country like a kind of Doctors; becauſe the former muſt be underſtood of the *Brachmans* by Deſcent, and the latter of their Aſſociates, who, at their own Requeſt, were admitted to the Purſuit of ſuch Studies. In a Word, it is in this as in moſt other Things, a haſty Collection of the various Accounts, given by different Authors, thrown together without Order or Method, ſerves no other Purpoſe than giving us confuſed and indiſtinct Notions; whereas when we take the Pains to range Things methodically, and under their proper Heads, this Obſcurity is diſpelled, and we ſee the whole Matter in a clear and true Light.

7. The Account we have of *Alexander*'s attacking and deſtroying a Kingdom of the *Brachmans*, is very extraordinary: And, from the Lights afforded us from Hiſtory, not eaſily to be accounted for, ſince we are no-where told, that theſe Philoſophers affected Government, or deſired to make themſelves Princes. It is likewiſe related, that *Alexander* put to Death near fourſcore thouſand of theſe People; which cannot, certainly, be underſtood of the *Brachmans*, taken in a ſtrict Senſe[c]. And therefore I am apt to think, that in this Country, upon the Death of ſome hereditary Prince, without Iſſue, a *Brachman*, who, perhaps, was a Senator, ſucceeded him in his Throne by Election: And in that Caſe, it is natural to believe, there might be a more than ordinary Number of his Caſt reſident in his Dominions. It is true, that *Diodorus* the *Sicilian*, and many other of the Writers of Antiquity, called the Subjects of King *Sambus* expreſsly the *Brachman* Nation; but from the Account that we have given, the Reader will be able to deliver himſelf from this Difficulty, from his Knowledge, that the *Brachmans* are not a Nation by themſelves, but a Claſs or Caſt in every Nation; tho' it was very natural for a *Greek* Writer, when he heard of a *Brachman* Prince, and a Senate of *Brachmans*, to conclude that this was their Kingdom: But there is no Reaſon, that we ſhould be miſled by his Miſtake, eſpecially when it can be ſo eaſily accounted for, and plainly ſet to Rights, by the Diſtinction we have propoſed.

As it is my Buſineſs to give the Reader all the Information I can, I will take this Opportunity of inſerting and explaining another Paſſage in the Hiſtory of *Alexander* the Great, which happened at the time that he deſtroyed the Kingdom of this *Brachman* Prince *Sambus*. It happened, that at the Siege of *Harmatelia*, which was the principal City of that Kingdom, the Inhabitants wounded many of the *Macedonians* with poiſoned Arrows; amongſt the reſt *Ptolemy Lagus*, afterwards King of *Egypt*; for whoſe Misfortune *Alexander* was exceedingly concerned, becauſe all who had been hitherto wounded, died, in ſpite of all the Care that could be taken of them: But the Life of *Ptolemy* was ſaved by the King's having a Dream, in which he was informed, that a certain Herb, common in the Country, would cure this Poiſon; which it did effectually[d]. Now this Dream was, undoubtedly, no more than an Artifice, and *Alexander* received his Information from ſome *Brachman*; for, as we have ſeen before, no ſuch Poiſon could be uſed, unleſs the Remedy was likewiſe known; and this gives a fair Account of the Performance of this Cure, without a Miracle. This Pretence of the Dream, however, was a well-choſen Stroke of Policy, becauſe it intimated, that *Alexander* was particularly favoured by the Gods; which was an Opinion he always laboured to eſtabliſh, eſpecially among his own People: For, as to the *Indians*, it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that the Tale of the Dream would go down with them, becauſe they knew the Remedy before, and could therefore account for the Diſcovery of it to the King, without the Interpoſition of any Divinity.

8. As the *Brachmans* were, in reality, a very extraordinary People, and had amongſt them ſome very ſtrange Cuſtoms, it was natural enough for Authors, who delight in relating Wonders, to give us ſome very improbable Stories about them. It appears from a Paſſage in *Strabo*, that they inured themſelves to Fatigue; for he ſpeaks of two *Brachmans*, one of whom gave a Proof of Patience, by lying on the hard Ground, and there ſuffering whatever the Sun and the Rain pleaſed. The other, who was not ſo far advanced in Years, exhibited his Proofs, by ſtanding a whole Day, ſometimes on the Right Foot, ſometimes on the Left, while, with both his Hands, he bore up a large Piece of Wood in the Air[e].

All this is very credible; and the *Greek* Writers tells us ſomething of the ſame Kind, with regard to their great Philoſopher *Socrates*; but *Pliny* carries theſe Exerciſes of Patience beyond all Bounds, when he ſays, that the *Brachmans* gazed upon the Sun with fixed and ſtedfaſt Eyes, from his Riſing to his Setting; and that they ſometimes ſtood whole Days upon one Foot, in the midſt of burning Sands[f]. Yet *Solinus* advances this a Step farther; and for Fear it ſhould be thought, that they did all this to no Purpoſe, he is ſo kind as to aſſure us, that they diſcovered mighty Secrets by thus ſurveying the Sun[g].

We have already given an Account of the Marriages of the *Brachmans*, and have aſſigned the true Reaſon why their Caſt was leſs numerous than the reſt, notwithſtanding that the *Indian* Women are generally very prolific. But *Suidas* hath a very extraordinary Story upon this Subject[h]: He ſays, that the *Brachmans* dwelt in an Iſland in the Ocean, where the Air is ſo pure, that they lived one hundred and fifty Years; they are obliged to be contented there, not with Bread and Water, but with Water, and a few Apples: They do nothing but pray to God. In the Months of *July* and *Auguſt*, the Fruits being more plentiful, warm them with the Fire of Love; ſo that they go to find out their Wives beyond the *Ganges*, and ſtay with them forty Days, and then repaſs into their Iſland. So ſoon as a Woman hath brought forth two Children, her Husband goes to ſee her no more: She, on her ſide, comes not near any Man more; and if any Woman has been barren for five Years together, her Husband makes no farther Trial of her, and repaſſes the Sea no more with the others. This was not the Way to ſtock the Country greatly; nor was it very populous, as *Suidas* obſerves: But he ſhould not have forgotten to acquaint us, that theſe are Stories made at Pleaſure, and Romances, which idle Scrbiblers have forged.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe Fables that diſfigured their Hiſtory, we find, in all Ages, the moſt intelligent and polite Writers extremely favourable to theſe Sages; and *Apuleius*[i], who was both an elegant and candid Writer, has left us ſuch a Character of theſe Men, as extremely deſerves our Notice; and therefore I ſhall finiſh my Citations with his judicious Account of our Philoſophers: 'There is alſo, ſays he, among the *Indians*, a noble ſort of Men called *Gymnoſophiſts*. I have a very great Value for them, becauſe they are ſkilful Men, not, indeed, in laying the Vine, not in grafting a Tree, nor in tilling the Ground. They do not know how to cultivate a Piece of Land, or to melt Gold, or to break a Horſe, or to tame a Bull, or to ſhear a Sheep or a Goat, or to lead them to the Paſture.

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[a] *Geograph. lib.* xv. *p.* 491. where he ſays, that by their Medicines they could make a Perſon beget many Children; and thoſe either Boys or Girls, as they choſe themſelves.

[b] See the Article of *Gymnoſophiſts*, in *Bayle*'s Dictionary.

[c] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *Strabo lib.* xv. *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[d] *Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.*

[e] *Strabo, lib.* xv.

[f] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* vii. *c.* 2.

[g] *Solin. cap.* 52.

[h] *Sub voce* Βραχμᾶνες.

[i] *In Floridis.*

ſmall Diſtance from Towns, where they eat and ſlept under the Trees upon the Ground, or elſe in Caves. As to their Dreſs, Authors differ very widely: It is generally ſaid, that they went naked, and were, from thence, called Gymnoſophiſts; but this muſt be underſtood only when they were at home, that is, in their Groves: For, when they were employed in their public Functions, they wore a Turbant on their Heads, a Linen Garment on their Bodies, which was called the ſacred Robe; had a Staff in their Right Hand, and a Ring upon one Finger. Some Authors, indeed, ſpeak of very different Clothing: *Hierocles* mentions a Robe of that kind of Stone, which may be ſpun into an incombuſtible Cloth [a]. *Megaſthenes* aſſerts, that their Garments were made of the Barks of Trees [b]; and, very probably, their Cuſtoms, in this reſpect, might vary in different Ages.

After they had ſpent thirty-ſeven Years in their Miniſtry, they were allowed to quit it, to live the Remainder of their Days at Eaſe in the Towns, dreſſed like other People; might eat the Fleſh of wild Beaſts, and take as many Wives as they thought fit, in order to preſerve the Race of the *Brachmans*. But it was an eſſential Rule, to ſuch as entered into the Matrimonial State, that they were not to reveal any of the Secrets of their Philoſophy to their Wives; and this for two Reaſons: Firſt, becauſe there was great Reaſon to doubt, whether they would be diſcreet enough to conceal what they were thus taught: And, ſecondly, it was no leſs doubted, if they ſhould, whether this Acceſſion of Knowledge might not incline them to Pride and Diſobedience. This is certainly a very plain and probable Account of the Marriages of the *Brachmans*; and we diſcern therein the ſame wiſe Precaution, the ſame Regard to the particular Intereſt of this Caſt, and the ſame Reſpect to the Good of the Whole, that is ſo manifeſt in the Proviſions made for all other Claſſes of People, in virtue of the *Indian* Conſtitution [c].

Notwithſtanding they had quitted the Order, as we may call it, yet they were treated with the utmoſt Reſpect, and enjoyed all the Privileges annexed to their Caſt, as much as if they had ſtill remained in their Groves, and continued to officiate as Prieſts. That is to ſay, they were exempted from all Duties, they were permitted to gather Herbs, Fruits, and Puls, where-ever they thought fit; and were allowed Oil, for anointing their Bodies, at the public Expence: They were likewiſe made welcome at the Tables of the Great, where they gave their Advice, and diſcourſed freely, on public Affairs: And it was commonly out of the Number of theſe married *Brachmans*, that the Senators [d] were choſen, in whom was veſted ſo large a Share of the Adminiſtration. Thus, in every Station, they were attended with Reverence, and found themſelves particularly conſidered both by their Princes and Fellow-Subjects; whoſe Intereſts as they perfectly underſtood, ſo they conſtantly purſued them; and, by interpoſing, when their Princes were inclined to arbitrary Meaſures, they hindered the Violation of the Laws, and ſecured the Happineſs of the People.

Thus they paſſed their Days, even to old Age, without any Danger of being neglected, or meeting with Contempt: The Law ſecured them from this, as an habitual Temperance did from moſt Diſeaſes; of which they were, generally ſpeaking, ſo much aſhamed, from an Apprehenſion, that they would be looked upon, eſpecially if of a long Continuance, as the Effects of Exceſs, that they, generally ſpeaking, choſe to die rather than bear them. When the Inconveniences of old Age began to weigh them down, they had certainly recourſe to this violent Remedy; and, having ordered a Pile of Wood to be erected in ſome public Place, they aſcended it, dreſſed in their beſt Apparel, and with whatever Ornaments they poſſeſſed. There they ſung certain Hymns, ſetting forth the Vanity of human Life, wherein Men amuſe themſelves with Dreams and Shadows, except the Few who are mindful of that heavenly Country, which their Souls are to inhabit; and then laid themſelves down upon their Faces, and remained there ſtill and quiet, without ſo much as a Groan, till they were conſumed to Aſhes [e], leaving the Example of their Death to inſpire their Countrymen with Courage to adhere ſteadily to the Principles which they had taught them, in ſpite of any Checks or Misfortunes that they might meet with. Thus living and dying, they were always uſeful to Society; and, as their Diſcipline began even before their Entrance into Life, ſo it ended only with their laſt Breath; for they were wont to compare the Weakneſs and Infirmities of old Age to the imperfect Senſes of a Child while in the Womb, and their burning themſelves to their being brought forth a ſecond time to a new Life, ſtiling that Action their Regeneration.

6. We are now to ſpeak of the ſecond Sort of *Brachmans*, or of ſuch as became ſo by Election, and who were taken from different Claſſes, being ſuch as deſired to be admitted into the Order: For, as the *Brachmans* profeſſed themſelves Lovers of Wiſdom, they thought it neither juſt nor reaſonable to exclude thoſe who were deſirous of attaining, by voluntary Application, what they, by a regular Education, had acquired. Theſe, as *Megaſthenes* reports, were called *Germanians* [f]; but they are ſtiled *Sarmanians* by *Clemens Alexandrinus* [g]. The Manner in which they were admitted was thus: They went to the Magiſtrates of the City to which they belonged, and, in the firſt place, made a clear and diſtinct Diſcovery of all their Effects, which they delivered up to them for the Maintenance of their Wives, in caſe they had any; and, if they had Children, they were taken care of by the King. After this Step they preſented themſelves to the Perſon who was at the Head of this Body of Sages, and deſired to be admitted amongſt them: Upon which they were ſtrictly examined, as to the Sincerity and Steadineſs of their Reſolution, and the Deſire they had to paſs the Remainder of their Days in the Study and Practice of Philoſophy. An Inquiry was next made into the Behaviour of their Anceſtors, in which they aſcended as high as their great Grandfathers; and if they found, that any, within theſe three Degrees, were juſtly chargeable with Pride, Intemperance, or Covetouſneſs, ſuch a Candidate was rejected; but if nothing of this ſort appeared, then as ſtrict an Inquiry was made into his own Life and Converſation; and if he had a good Memory, had been always remarkable for Modeſty, for a peaceable and humble Behaviour throughout his whole Life, and had never given any Marks of a proud, revengeful, or luxurious Diſpoſition, he was admitted [h].

Theſe differed from the *Brachmans* in this, That they inhabited moſt of them between the Rivers *Hyphaſis* and *Ganges*; where they had Houſes and Temples not only neat and convenient, but alſo handſomely adorned, at the King's Expence. At a certain Hour they were called to the Temple, by the Sound of a Bell, where they aſſiſted at public Prayers; and from whence they were not allowed to ſtir till the Bell rung again, to inform them, that the Service was over for that Day. The King's Officers then gave each of them a Porringer of boiled Rice, or ſome ſort of Food which was equivalent; and this they eat before they ſeparated. The Habits they wore were made of the Bark of Trees, or of coarſe Cotton; they paſſed all their Days in the ſtricteſt Chaſtity, and never drank any ſtrong Liquor whatever. As they ſtudied the Divinity, Philoſophy, and Policy, of the *Brachmans*, they attained, in time, to a great Degree of Wiſdom, and were conſulted by their Kings; and preſided with equal Honour at the Sacrifices that were made by the People. In a Word, it appears that they were received into a full Participation of all their Privileges, except that of quitting the Order, and of Marrying; which there was the leſs Reaſon they ſhould enjoy, ſince, of their own Accord, they had quitted that State already. It was of this kind of *Brachmans* that moſt of the Stories were told, that we find recorded in the Life of *Apollonius*; for, inſtead of cultivating the high and ſublime Sciences, they amuſed themſelves chiefly in acquiring natural Secrets; which Science, in thoſe Days, was ſtiled

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[a] *Hierocles apud Stephan. de Urbibus in* Βραχμᾶνες.

[b] *Apud Strab. lib. xv.*

[c] *Strabo ubi ſupra.*

[d] *Id. Philoſtrat. Arrian.*

[e] *Strabo, lib. xv. Diodor. Sicul. Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[f] *Apud Strab. ubi ſupra.*

[g] *Clem. Alexandr. Stromata, lib.* i.

[h] *Strabo, lib. xv. Porphyr. de Abſtinentia, lib.* iv. *Philoſtrat. lib.* ii. c. 30. *Apuleius in Floridis. Clem. Alexandr.*

Magic: They were likewiſe a kind of itinerant Phyſicians, and took a great deal of Pains to make themſelves ſucceſsful this Way; but we are informed that their Medicines conſiſted chiefly, if not wholly, in Draughts, or Fomentations; and we are told by *Strabo*[a], that they profeſſed the Knowledge of certain Secrets, that were equally extraordinary and ridiculous.

The Reader, after peruſing theſe Accounts, will be able to reſolve, without much Trouble, moſt of thoſe Difficulties, which ſome modern Critics[b] have repreſented as inexplicable. For Inſtance, when he is told that one Author ſays, that the *Brachmans* live always in Woods, and another that they were frequently ſeen at Courts, and admitted into the Cabinets of Princes; inſtead of taking this for a flat Contradiction, he will perceive, that the former ſpeaks of the *Brachmans* that were ſtill purſuing their Studies; and the latter, of ſuch as had completed their Courſe; and, according to the Rules of the Society, had Liberty to retire, to marry, to live in Cities, and to be choſen Senators. He will likewiſe be able to account for the ſeeming Difference between living together in a kind of collegiate State, and rambling through the Country like a kind of Doctors; becauſe the former muſt be underſtood of the *Brachmans* by Deſcent, and the latter of their Aſſociates, who, at their own Requeſt, were admitted to the Purſuit of ſuch Studies. In a Word, it is in this as in moſt other Things, a haſty Collection of the various Accounts, given by different Authors, thrown together without Order or Method, ſerves no other Purpoſe than giving us confuſed and indiſtinct Notions; whereas when we take the Pains to range Things methodically, and under their proper Heads, this Obſcurity is diſpelled, and we ſee the whole Matter in a clear and true Light.

7. The Account we have of *Alexander*'s attacking and deſtroying a Kingdom of the *Brachmans*, is very extraordinary: And, from the Lights afforded us from Hiſtory, not eaſily to be accounted for, ſince we are no-where told, that theſe Philoſophers affected Government, or deſired to make themſelves Princes. It is likewiſe related, that *Alexander* put to Death near fourſcore thouſand of theſe People; which cannot, certainly, be underſtood of the *Brachmans*, taken in a ſtrict Senſe[c]. And therefore I am apt to think, that in this Country, upon the Death of ſome hereditary Prince, without Iſſue, a *Brachman*, who, perhaps, was a Senator, ſucceeded him in his Throne by Election: And in that Caſe, it is natural to believe, there might be a more than ordinary Number of his Caſt reſident in his Dominions. It is true, that *Diodorus* the *Sicilian*, and many other of the Writers of Antiquity, called the Subjects of King *Sambus* expreſly the *Brachman* Nation; but from the Account that we have given, the Reader will be able to deliver himſelf from this Difficulty, from his Knowledge, that the *Brachmans* are not a Nation by themſelves, but a Claſs or Caſt in every Nation; tho' it was very natural for a *Greek* Writer, when he heard of a *Brachman* Prince, and a Senate of *Brachmans*, to conclude that this was their Kingdom: But there is no Reaſon, that we ſhould be miſled by his Miſtake, eſpecially when it can be ſo eaſily accounted for, and plainly ſet to Rights, by the Diſtinction we have propoſed.

As it is my Buſineſs to give the Reader all the Information I can, I will take this Opportunity of inſerting and explaining another Paſſage in the Hiſtory of *Alexander* the Great, which happened at the time that he deſtroyed the Kingdom of this *Brachman* Prince *Sambus*. It happened, that at the Siege of *Harmatelia*, which was the principal City of that Kingdom, the Inhabitants wounded many of the *Macedonians* with poiſoned Arrows; amongſt the reſt *Ptolemy Lagus*, afterwards King of *Egypt*; for whoſe Misfortune *Alexander* was exceedingly concerned, becauſe all who had been hitherto wounded, died, in ſpite of all the Care that could be taken of them: But the Life of *Ptolemy* was ſaved by the King's having a Dream, in which he was informed, that a certain Herb, common in the Country, would cure this Poiſon; which it did effectually[d]. Now this Dream was, undoubtedly, no more than an Artifice, and *Alexander* received his Information from ſome *Brachman*; for, as we have ſeen before, no ſuch Poiſon could be uſed, unleſs the Remedy was likewiſe known; and this gives a fair Account of the Performance of this Cure, without a Miracle. This Pretence of the Dream, however, was a well-choſen Stroke of Policy, becauſe it intimated, that *Alexander* was particularly favoured by the Gods; which was an Opinion he always laboured to eſtabliſh, eſpecially among his own People: For, as to the *Indians*, it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that the Tale of the Dream would go down with them, becauſe they knew the Remedy before, and could therefore account for the Diſcovery of it to the King, without the Interpoſition of any Divinity.

8. As the *Brachmans* were, in reality, a very extraordinary People, and had amongſt them ſome very ſtrange Cuſtoms, it was natural enough for Authors, who delight in relating Wonders, to give us ſome very improbable Stories about them. It appears from a Paſſage in *Strabo*, that they inured themſelves to Fatigue; for he ſpeaks of two *Brachmans*, one of whom gave a Proof of Patience, by lying on the hard Ground, and there ſuffering whatever the Sun and the Rain pleaſed. The other, who was not ſo far advanced in Years, exhibited his Proofs, by ſtanding a whole Day, ſometimes on the Right Foot, ſometimes on the Left, while, with both his Hands, he bore up a large Piece of Wood in the Air[e].

All this is very credible; and the *Greek* Writers tells us ſomething of the ſame Kind, with regard to their great Philoſopher *Socrates*; but *Pliny* carries theſe Exerciſes of Patience beyond all Bounds, when he ſays, that the *Brachmans* gazed upon the Sun with fixed and ſtedfaſt Eyes, from his Riſing to his Setting; and that they ſometimes ſtood whole Days upon one Foot, in the midſt of burning Sands[f]. Yet *Solinus* advances this a Step farther; and for Fear it ſhould be thought, that they did all this to no Purpoſe, he is ſo kind as to aſſure us, that they diſcovered mighty Secrets by thus ſurveying the Sun[g].

We have already given an Account of the Marriages of the *Brachmans*, and have aſſigned the true Reaſon why their Caſt was leſs numerous than the reſt, notwithſtanding that the *Indian* Women are generally very prolific. But *Suidas* hath a very extraordinary Story upon this Subject[h]: He ſays, that the *Brachmans* dwelt in an Iſland in the Ocean, where the Air is ſo pure, that they lived one hundred and fifty Years; they are obliged to be contented there, not with Bread and Water, but with Water, and a few Apples: They do nothing but pray to God. In the Months of *July* and *Auguſt*, the Fruits being more plentiful, warm them with the Fire of Love; ſo that they go to find out their Wives beyond the *Ganges*, and ſtay with them forty Days, and then repaſs into their Iſland. So ſoon as a Woman hath brought forth two Children, her Huſband goes to ſee her no more: She, on her ſide, comes not near any Man more; and if any Woman has been barren for five Years together, her Huſband makes no farther Trial of her, and repaſſes the Sea no more with the others. This was not the Way to ſtock the Country greatly; nor was it very populous, as *Suidas* obſerves: But he ſhould not have forgotten to acquaint us, that theſe are Stories made at Pleaſure, and Romances, which idle Scribblers have forged.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe Fables that diſfigured their Hiſtory, we find, in all Ages, the moſt intelligent and polite Writers extremely favourable to theſe Sages; and *Apuleius*[i], who was both an elegant and candid Writer, has left us ſuch a Character of theſe Men, as extremely deſerves our Notice; and therefore I ſhall finiſh my Citations with his judicious Account of our Philoſophers: 'There is alſo, ſays he, among the *Indians*, a noble ſort of Men called *Gymnoſophiſts*. I have a very great Value for them, becauſe they are ſkilful Men, not, indeed, in laying the Vine, nor in grafting a Tree, nor in tilling the Ground. They do not know how to cultivate a Piece of Land, or to melt Gold, or to break a Horſe, or to tame a Bull, or to ſhear a Sheep or a Goat, or to lead them to the Paſture.

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[a] *Geograph. lib.* xv. *p.* 491. where he ſays, that by their Medicines they could make a Perſon beget many Children; and thoſe either Boys or Girls, as they choſe themſelves.

[b] See the Article of *Gymnoſophiſts*, in *Bayle*'s Dictionary.

[c] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *Strabo lib.* xv. *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

[d] *Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.*

[e] *Strabo, lib.* xv.

[f] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* vii. *c.* 2.

[g] *Solin. cap.* 52.

[h] *Sub voce* Βραχμᾶνες.

[i] *In Floridis.*

‘ What is it then? Inſtead of all this, they know one thing: Both the moſt antient Maſters, and the youngeſt Scholars, ſtudy Wiſdom; nor is there any thing for which I commend them more than for their Averſion to Indolence and Sloth. When the Cloth is laid, before the Meat is brought upon the Table, all the Youths are called together from ſeveral Places and Offices; but they are not ſuffered to ſit down, till they have anſwered the Maſters, who aſk them, What Good they have done, ſince Break of Day till Dinner-time? One will anſwer, that having been choſen Arbiter between two Perſons at Variance, he has removed all Subjects of Hatred and Suſpicions between them, and reconciled them together. Another will ſay, That he obeyed his Parents Commands. A third, That he found out ſome Truth by his own Meditation, or learnt it from another. Thus they all give an Account of the Good they have done. He who has nothing to ſay why he ſhould be admitted to Table, is ſent back to his Work without his Dinner.’

9. I think it neceſſary to take ſome Notice here of what has been ſaid by the Moderns upon this Subject; more eſpecially by ſuch as might either be ſuppoſed better Judges from their Learning, or better qualified to come at the Truth, by their having travelled in the *Indies*, and being acquainted with thoſe of this Sort of Sages that ſtill remain there. A learned *French* Writer obſerves [a], that Dr. *Hyde*, in his moſt learned Book on the Religion of the *Perſians*, has advanced a new Notion, in ſuppoſing, that the *Brachmans* were ſo called from *Abraham*: But he is miſtaken in this; for, though Dr. *Hyde* inclines to this Opinion, yet he did not advance it, ſince it had been long before maintained by *William Poſtell*, who aſſerts, that the *Brachmans* were deſcended from one of the Sons of that Patriarch by *Keturah* [b]. I agree, however, with this Critic, that the Notion is improbable; and that it is much more likely they were ſo called from the Word *Bram*, or *Brama*, which ſignifies an enlightened Man, and is alſo the Name of the reputed Founder of their Sect.

Their fundamental Notions remain ſo much the ſame, that it is really wonderful they have not, in the Courſe of ſo many Ages, received greater Alteration, eſpecially conſidering the Revolutions that have happened in their Country, and that they have been now, for many Centuries, under a foreign Yoke; for the *Mogul* is a *Tartar* by Deſcent, and a *Mohammedan* by Religion; and yet it is with the *Indians* who are his Subjects, that we are beſt acquainted. *Francis Xavier*, whom the Papiſts ſtile the Apoſtle of the *Indies*, ſays, in one of his Letters, that, having acquired the Friendſhip of a *Brachman*, very eminent for his Knowledge and Learning, he opened himſelf to him in the following Terms: ‘ The Secret of our Religion conſiſts in theſe two Points; firſt, in knowing that there is one God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and the Author of all Good, who alone is to be worſhipped: The ſecond is, that the Idols are the Images only of evil Genii: But Care muſt be taken not to divulge this to the People; it is a Doctrine quite out of their Reach; and the Principles of good Policy require, that they ſhould not be made acquainted with any Divinity. Theſe were the Principles of our old Philoſophy; Proſecute your Studies, and purſue Truth; but, if you ſhould be ſo happy as to reach it, communicate your Diſcoveries only to a Few. The Many are to be held with a tight Rein, and are to be kept in ſtrict Subjection; which cannot poſſibly be done, if they are not hindered from ſeeing to the Bottom of Things, and their Imaginations flattered with pleaſing Appearances.’

Our old, and our modern Travellers, agree very well, in their Accounts of the modern *Bramins*, with what I have before delivered: The celebrated Signor *Pietro della Valle*, a noble *Roman*, a learned and candid Writer, and whoſe Travels are juſtly eſteemed as accurate as any that were ever made into this Part of the World, tells us, that though the Sects of the *Indians* are multiplied to eighty-four, yet they may be reduced to four; *viz.* the *Brachmans*, the Soldiers, the Merchants, and the Mechanics. In the eſſential Points of Religion, ſays he, all agree; for all believe the Tranſmigration of Souls; which, according to their Merits and Demerits, they think, are ſent by God into other Bodies, either of Animals, more or leſs clean, and of more or leſs painful Life; or elſe of Men, more or leſs noble and handſome, and more or leſs pure of Race, wherein they place not a little of their vain Superſtition, accounting all other Nations and Religions, beſides themſelves, unclean; and ſome more than others, according as they more or leſs differ from their Cuſtoms: All equally believe, that there is a Paradiſe in Heaven with God, but that thereinto go only the Souls of their own Nation, more pure, and without any Sin, who have lived piouſly in this World; or, in caſe they have ſinned, that after diverſe Tranſmigrations into various Bodies of Animals and Men, having, by often returning into the World, undergone many Pains, they are, at length, purged, and at laſt die in the Body of ſome Man of *Indian* and noble Race, as the *Brachmans*, who amongſt them are held the nobleſt and pureſt, becauſe their Employment is nothing elſe but the divine Worſhip, the Service of Temples, and Learning; and they obſerve their own Religion with more Rigour than any others [c].

He likewiſe ſays, they acknowledge there is a Devil, whom they deſcribe much in the ſame manner that we do: And they likewiſe think, that many wretched Souls, unworthy ever to have Pardon from God, as the laſt of the great Puniſhments which they deſerve, become Devils alſo; than which they judge there cannot be a greater Miſery. The greateſt Sin in the World they account ſheding of Blood, eſpecially that of Men; and then, above all, the eating of human Fleſh, as ſome barbarous Nations do, who are therefore deteſted by them more than all others. Hence the ſtricteſt among them, as the *Brachmans*, and particularly the *Boti*, not only kill not, but eat not, any living thing; and even from Herbs tinctured with any reddiſh Colour, repreſenting Blood, they wholly abſtain. Others of a larger Conſcience eat only Fiſh; and the loweſt Sort, and ſuch as have ſcarce any Conſcience at all, tho' they will not kill, will nevertheleſs eat all ſorts of Animals fit for Food, except Cows; to kill and eat which, they have an abſolute Abhorrence; for they ſay, that the Cow is their Mother, on account of the Milk ſhe gives them, and the Oxen ſhe breeds, with which they plough, and make uſe of them, from the Scarcity of other Animals, upon almoſt all Occaſions; ſo that they think they have Reaſon to ſay the World is ſupported by a Cow, which, from being uſed as a Proverb, is now converted into a Fable. Moreover, as Cows are well kept in *India*, and much taken Care of, they believe that the beſt Souls, to whom God has given little Pain in this World, paſs into them; which is a new Motive of Veneration.

The ſame Author informs us, that the Race of the *Germanians* are ſtill in Being, tho' under another Name. I ſhall give the Reader the Author's own Words, and leave him to judge of them [d]. ‘ The *Giogbis*, ſays he, are not *Brachmans* by Deſcent, but by Choice, as our religious Orders are. They go naked; moſt of them with their Bodies painted and ſmeared with different Colours; yet ſome of them are only naked, with the reſt of their Bodies ſmooth, and only their Foreheads dyed with Sanders, and ſome red, yellow, or white Colour; which is alſo imitated by many ſecular Perſons, out of Superſtition and Gallantry. They live upon Alms, deſpiſing Cloaths, and all other worldly Things. They marry not, but make ſevere Profeſſion of Chaſtity, at leaſt in Appearance; for in ſecret it is known, that many of them commit as many Debaucheries as they can. They live in Society, under the Obedience of their Superiors, and wander about the World, without having any ſettled Abode. Their Habitations are the Fields, the Streets, the Porches, the Courts of Temples and Groves, eſpecially under thoſe where any Idol is worſhipped by them; and they undergo, with incredible Patience, Day and Night, no leſs the Rigour of the Air, than the exceſſive Heat of the Sun, which, in theſe ſultry Countries, is a thing ſufficiently to be admired [e].’

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[a] *Hiſtorie Critique de la Philoſophie, p.* 95.

[b] *In Commentario ad Jezirah.*

[c] *Cap.* xiv.

[d] *Cap.* xvii.

[e] Voyage *to Eaſt India, by Sir Tho. Roe, p.* 437, 439.

In the Accounts that has been publiſhed of Sir *Thomas Roe's* Voyage to the *Indies*, which was drawn up by his Chaplain, we have the original Rule delivered to the *Indians* by *Brama*, in relation to ſparing the Lives of Animals: It runs thus; ‘ *Thou ſhalt not kill any living Creature, whatſoever it be, having Life in the ſame; for thou art a Creature, and ſo is it; thou art indeed with Life, and ſo is it; thou ſhalt not therefore ſpill the Life of any of thy fellow Creatures that live.* Other Precepts, they ſay, were delivered unto them by their Law-giver, about their Devotions in their Waſhings and Worſhipings; wherein they are commanded to obſerve Times for Faſting, and Hours for Watching, that they may be the better fitted for them. Other Directions they have about their Feſtivals; wherein they are required to take their Food moderately, not pampering their Bodies. Concerning Charity, they are farther commanded to help the Poor, as far as they are poſſibly able. Other Precepts they ſay were likewiſe given them in Charge, as, *Not to tell falſe Tales, nor to utter any Thing that is untrue; not to ſteal any thing from others, be it never ſo little; not to defraud any by their Cunning in Bargains or Contracts; not to oppreſs any, when they have Power to do it.* This Writer farther informs us, that ſome of the *Bramins* had told him, ‘ They acknowledged one God, whom they deſcribed with a thouſand Eyes, with a thouſand Hands, and as many Feet; that thereby they may expreſs his Power, as being all Eye to ſee, and all Foot to follow, and all Hand to ſmite Offenders. The Conſideration whereof makes that People very exact in the Performance of all moral Duties, following cloſe the Light of Nature in their Dealings with Men; moſt carefully obſerving that royal Law, in doing nothing to others, but what they would be well contented to ſuffer from others.’

There is a very curious Piece, relating to this Subject, that has been preſerved by the Royal Society, written by Mr. *John Maſhall*, who lived long in the *Indies*, and had taken a great deal of Pains to make himſelf perfectly acquainted with the Notions of the modern *Bramins*; and what he ſays is ſo concluſive, that the Reader muſt be ſatisfied, that what the Antients have delivered to us concerning the Religion and Philoſophy of the *Brachmans*, “ was ſtrictly true[a]. Upon what Ground, ſays he, ſome Travellers have ſtiled theſe People Polytheiſts, or Atheiſts, I cannot tell. It is very obſervable here, that their Prieſts or *Bramins*, and holy Men, whom they call *Jagees*, or *Giogbis*, when they have Occaſion to write any thing, they always put a Figure of One in the firſt Place, to ſhew, a they ſay, they acknowledge but One God, who, they ſay, is *Burme*, that is, immaterial. When they preach to the People, and inſtruct them, which is commonly eveey Feaſt-day, Full Moon, or the time of an Eclipſe of either Luminary, they tell the common People much of God, Heaven and Hell, but very imperfectly, obſcurely and myſtically: They ſay, that when God thought of making the World, he made it in a Minute. They account this World the Body of God: For all that, they ſay he is immaterial; and ſay, that the higheſt Heavens are his Head, the Fire his Mouth, the Air his Breath and Breaſt, the Water his Seed, and the Earth, and the Mountains thereof, his Legs and Feet; but aſſert, in general, that God is the Life of every Thing; yet is the Thing neither greater or leſs for him.

“ They hold, that God dwelt in a Vacuity before that he created the World; and that, as he dwelt in the Vacuity, he created ſeveral Beings out of himſelf: The firſt were Angels, the ſecond Souls, the third Spirits, all differing in Degrees of Purity; the firſt being more pure than the ſecond, and the ſecond than the third. The Angels, they ſay, neither act Good or Evil; the Souls either Good or Evil; but the Spirits, or *Dewtas*, as they call them, act ſcarce any Thing but Evil. They have a good Opinion of the Angels, and think their State mighty happy, hoping, when they die, they ſhall be made Partakers of the ſame Bliſs and Pleaſure. They believe, that every thing that hath Life hath a Soul, but eſpecially Man; and they, accordingly, affirm, that as theſe Souls behave themſelves in their pre-exiſtent State, ſo are their Actions in this World either good or bad, by a ſort of fatal Neceſſity, which is very hard to conquer or overcome. Hence it is, ſay they, that there are ſo many different Humours and Diſpoſitions of Men; for their Souls, before their Entrance into their Bodies, being tainted with different Affections, cauſe the like Differences in the Parties, whoſe Bodies are their Vehicles; ſo that if a Man happens to have a ſudden or unrtunate Death, they immediately aſcribe the ſame to the Paryts own Wickedneſs, or the bad Life that his Soul led, before that it entered into his Body: For, ſay they, the aforeacted Evil that his Soul did in its other Life, brought theſe Accidents upon him, by getting the upper Hand of him, and by being too powerful and ſtrong: And theſe, that die thus, they believe their Souls turn into Devils.

“ They maintain *Pythagoras*'s Tranſmigration, or *Metempyſcoſis*, but in a groſſer Senſe than he did: For they believe that Mens Souls, that have not lived ſo well as they ought, go, as ſoon as the Body dies, not only into the Birds and Beaſts, but even into the baſeſt Reptiles, Inſects, and Plants; where they ſuffer a ſtrong ſort of Purgation to expiate their former Crimes. But as for the Souls of the *Jogees* or *Giogbis*, that is, of religious Men and Saints, they fancy that they go and inhabit, with the good *Dewtas* or Angels among the Stars. As for the Spirits, or inferior Angels, they believe that they are very evil, and have a hand in all Wickedneſſes, Murders, Wars, Storms and Tempeſts; ſo that when they ſolemnize the Funeral of thoſe that are dead, they always preſent Diſhes of Meat as Offerings to thoſe Spirits, and ſometimes ſacrifice unto them, that they may not hurt the Souls of the Dead.

“ As they acknowledge the Being of a mighty God, ſo they hold, that he created the World, and every Thing therein. They believe, that there are almoſt infinite Numbers of Worlds; and that God has oftentimes annihilated, and re-created the ſame; but how he came firſt to create the World, and Mankind, they relate to have been thus: Once, on a time, (ſay they) as he was ſet in Eternity, it came into his Mind to make ſomething; and immediately, no ſooner had he thought the ſame, but the ſame Minute was a perfect beautiful Woman immediately preſented before him, which he called *Adea Suktee*; that is, the firſt Woman: Then this Figure put into his Mind the Figure of a Man; which he had no ſooner conceived in his Mind, but that he alſo ſtarted up, and repreſented himſelf before him; this he called *Manapuiſſe*, that is, the firſt Man: Then, upon a Reflection of theſe Things, he reſolved further to create ſeveral Places for them to abide in; and, accordingly, aſſuming a ſubtil Body, he breathed in a Minute the whole Univerſe, and every thing therein, from the leaſt to the greateſt.”

A Divine of the Church of *Rome*, who had reſided long in the *Indies*, and filled there with great Dignity a very high Poſt[b], in a Relation which is not yet printed, and therefore the more curious, gives us the following Account: “ The *Brachmans* are, at this Day, the only People among the *Indians* that have a Right to cultivate the Sciences; and of this Right they are ſo jealous, that they ſuffer ſcarce any of thoſe Rays to ſhine upon the World, which might be expected from Perſons, boaſting themſelves in Poſſeſſion of ſo much Light. Their Caſt is the moſt noble and the moſt conſiderable of all, and is even looked upon to be as much ſuperior to Princes, as Wiſdom, and uſeful Knowledge, are, in their Nature preferable to Grandeur and Power, which Kings ſo eaſily abuſe,

“ The Sciences cultivated by theſe *Brachmans*, and in which they make a greater or leſs Progreſs, in proportion to their Parts and Application, may be reduced to eighteen. The firſt is a kind of Grammar, which contains the Rules neceſſary for the underſtanding of that Language, which they call *Grandham*; in which they converſe amongſt themſelves, and wherein all their Books are written: From hence their Sciences aſcend in a very regular Scale, from the more ſimple and eaſy, to

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[a] *Miſcellanea Curioſa, vol.* 3. *p.* 257.

[b] Extract from a Manuſcript written by Dom *Franciſco Rooi*, Archbiſhop of *Cranganor*.

“ thoſe which are more difficult and complex. The laſt, which is eſteemed the Perfection of all Sciences, is ſtiled *Veddata*, or *Vendata*; which is, as much as to ſay, the Cloſe, or the Sum of all Things. This is a kind of metaphyſical Theology, which the *Brachmans* receive not with a Spirit of Inquiry, but with profound and implicit Submiſſion, as a kind of Divine Doctrine, which is, in its Nature, ſuperior to all Examination or Diſpute. Thus, theſe Men ſuffer their Wiſdom to be bounded by that of their Anceſtors, which, as they deſire not to tranſcend, it is very probable they do not equal.”

10. I have treated this Subject more largely, becauſe I find many Things omitted by very great Men, who have undertaken to give us Accounts of the *Brachmans*, their Learning, Manners, and the particular Turn of their Philoſophy. The celebrated *Bayle* has vouchſafed them Two Articles in his Dictionary, but ſeems in both to have aimed more at expoſing the Contradictions of ſuch ancient Writers as have mentioned theſe Philoſophers, than to give his Readers any diſtinct and methodical Account of them from what he had himſelf read[a]. In one of his Articles indeed he tells us, that the Book, written by *Palladius* on this Subject, deſerves to be conſulted; and in his Notes informs us, that this Author was publiſhed from a Manuſcript in the Royal Library, by Sir *Edward Byſhe*, Clarencieux King at Arms; and furniſhes us with ſome Remarks on the Editions of the Book, or rather on the Change of the Title Pages; for there never was but one Edition, which I have read with a great deal of Care; and am from thence enabled to give the Reader ſome Lights, beyond what he can receive from Mr. *Bayle*.

The Editor of that Book collected every thing that had been written upon this Subject, of which he compoſed a very curious Miſcellany, addreſſed to the Earl of *Clarendon*, then Lord High Chancellor of *England*. The Treatiſe of *Palladius* of the *Indian* Nations, and of the *Brachmans*, was indeed never publiſhed before; yet it contains very little, if any thing, new upon the Subject, ſince the Diſcourſe of St. *Ambroſe*, of the Manners of the *Brachmans*, which is addreſſed to one *Palladius*, and had been long before publiſhed in *Latin*, contains the Subſtance of what is related by the other in *Greek*; but the Letters of *Dindimis* or *Dandamis*, which are added to theſe Two Pieces, are abſolutely new, and never were publiſhed but by Sir *Edward Biſhe*; for which Reaſon I thought the Subſtance of them would be acceptable to the Reader, and therefore I inſerted it in a former Section.

Strabo[b] mentions the Application of *Alexander* to this Philoſopher, and ſo does *Plutarch*[c]; but both *Ambroſe* and *Palladius* gives us a large Account of a Conference that Monarch had with this *Brachman*, which they received from the *Indians* themſelves; which is the more probable, ſince it is certain they had formerly Books upon this Subject, which, very probably, contained the very ſame Accounts that are preſerved to us in theſe: They are much more curious, and will afford the inquiſitive Reader far greater Satisfaction, than any thing that I know of, that has been written of this kind; and therefore I wonder, that ſo judicious and ſo learned a Man as Mr. *Bayle* did not rather chuſe to give us ſome Quotations from theſe ſcarce and valuable Pieces, than from Books that were in every body's Hands, and had been ſo often quoted before.

The Bounds preſcribed to this Work, and the many Things that are to be treated of in this ſingle Chapter, will not allow me to inſert the Whole of either of theſe Pieces: But, after having given ſuch a Character of them, the Reader, perhaps, would not excuſe me, if I ſhould cloſe this Section, without putting it in his Power to judge for himſelf, by adding a Specimen from a Book, which, ſo great a Man has told us, ought to be conſulted by whoever pretends to write upon this Subject. I will therefore ſubjoin the Diſcourſe between *Alexander* and the *Indian* Philoſopher[d]; which, I think, will be ſufficient to ſatisfy his Curioſity, and diſcharge me effectually of this Part of my Task.

11. “ When *Alexander* had heard, from the Report of *Oneſicritus*, whom he had ſent to him, that neither Promiſes nor Threats would induce *Dindamis* to come to him, he was the more deſirous of ſeeing one, who, tho' naked and old, was able to overcome the Conqueror of ſo many Nations. He went, therefore, with a few of his Friends, to the Wood where the Philoſopher was; and when he drew near it, alighting from his Horſe, laying aſide his Crown, and every thing that had an Appearance of Pomp or Shew, he went alone to the old Brachman, and ſat himſelf down at his Feet. God ſave you, *Dindamis*, ſaid he: I am come to you, becauſe you refuſed to come to me. And to what Purpoſe do you come? ſaid he: What is there in our Solitudes that you can deſire to carry away? What you want, we have not; and what we have, is not neceſſary to you. We honour God, love Man, neglect Gold, and contemn Death: You, on the other hand, fear Death, honour Gold, hate Man, and contemn God. Teach us, replied *Alexander*, ſome of your Wiſdom: They ſay, that you are full of Divinity; and that you often confer with God himſelf: Now, I would willingly know in what you excel the *Greeks*; in what you are better; in what wiſer than other Men. And I, returned *Dindamis*, would willingly beſtow on you, what I have received from God, but that I know, your Boſom affords not Room for ſuch a Gift: Thy Mind is filled with vaſt Deſires, and inſatiable Avarice, and a diabolical Thirſt of Empire; all which fight againſt me, who would endeavour to extract them from your Breaſt. You are deſirous of going to the Ocean, and after that would conquer ſome other Part of the World, to ſatisfy thoſe Deſires which would afflict you with Sadneſs when you had no more to conquer. How then is it poſſible I ſhould content you? who, if all the World were ſubjected to your Service, would not even then be at Reſt. You are made much leſs than the World; and yet you would conquer all, and obtain whatever Mankind poſſeſs, but, after all, you could have no more than you ſee me lying on, or I ſee you ſit upon. The Caſe would be exactly the ſame, if we ſhould remove from hence; for you and I would then be ſtill equal in our Poſſeſſions. I deſire only to uſe the Elements of Air, Water, and Earth, as other Men uſe them; and therefore whatever I have, I juſtly poſſeſs; for if you were poſſeſſed of all the Rivers in the World, you could only drink Water from them as I do. If you will but learn Wiſdom of me, you will want nothing; for he has all who deſires no more than he has. For it is Deſire that is the Mother of Poverty; which, without knowing the proper Remedy, you ſeek to cure; for whoever ſeeks to poſſeſs all Things, will never find what he ſeeks; and, meeting with no Reſt in what he poſſeſſes, but expecting it from what is yet to be poſſeſſed, he ſtill excruciates himſelf more and more. You will have the greateſt Wealth poſſible, and enjoy it with the utmoſt Pleaſure, if you would live thus with me; for, if you could taſte the Wiſdom I teach you, you would poſſeſs all the Riches I have. The Heavens ſerve me for a Canopy, the Earth is my Bed; I drink out of the River, and the Field here ſupplies me with Food; I do not eat other Animals like a Lion, neither do the Remains of other Animals conſume in me, and ſo make my Body their Sepulchre; but I feed naturally upon Fruits, as on the Milk my Mother gave me.

“ But you are deſirous of knowing what it is I poſſeſs, more than other Men, and how far I am wiſer. I live, as you ſee, agreeable to the Manner in which I was created: I live as I came from my Mother's Womb, naked, without Riches, and without Care. I know what God has done, and I know what will be done by him. You, on the other hand, are amazed at the Prediction of Things to come, becauſe you underſtand not the Works of God, which he ſheweth you every Hour; ſuch as Famine, Plagues, Wars, Droughts, Rains and fruitful Seaſons; all which I know how, whence, and to what End they come: Which Knowledge is com-

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[a] See the Articles *Brachmans* and *Gymnoſophiſts*.

[b] *Strabo, lib.* xv.

[c] *In Alexandro.*

[d] *Palladius de Gentibus Indiæ, & de Bragmanibus, p.* 25. *S. Ambroſius de Moribus Brachmanorum, p.* 70.

“municated to me by Providence; and it appears to me, that God is pleaſed to communicate his Works to my Underſtanding, ſo that I know, and am perſuaded of his Juſtice. If, at any time, Kings addreſs themſelves to me, as to a Meſſenger of God, under the Apprehenſions of War, or any other Evil, I pray to God in their Behalf; and, having reſtored their Courage by Words of Conſolation, I ſend them back with ſome comfortable Meſſage.

“Tell me which is beſt, to kill and deſtroy Men, and thereby obtain a Fame for Miſchief, or, by preſerving them, and doing them good, to acquire that of a Benefactor? And which agrees beſt with the Character of the Sons of God, to war againſt and overturn what God hath eſtabliſhed, or, rather, peaceably to ſupport, and earneſtly endeavour to reſtore, whatever is decayed, as the Servant of the Deity? It is not, O King, either thy great Power, thy immenſe Wealth, the Multitude of Elephants, the coſtly Robes that are about thee, the numerous Armies under thy Command, or what thou haſt taken from other Nations in War and Battle, that can aſſiſt thee, but a proper Attention to my Words, and a due Regard to the Counſels I give thee. Neither am I afraid of thee, O *Alexander*, though thou ſhouldſt kill me; for I ſhould go immediately to God, who knows my Cauſe, and from whom my Life has not been hid: For what can there be hid from him? The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, all ſerve him for Eyes; and he will judge whoever does an Injury to his Neighbour; neither is there any Place to which thou canſt fly, to avoid his Juſtice in that State of Retribution.

“Therefore, O *Alexander*, ſeek not to overturn what God has eſtabliſhed, or to ruin and deface what it hath pleaſed him to adorn: Neither ſhed the Blood of Citizens, or lay waſte whole Nations, that they may feel the Weight of thy Power: For, is it not better for thee to live, than to make others die? and, thereby, render your own Death a Bleſſing to others? Tell me why, having but one Soul thyſelf, thou wouldſt deſtroy whole Nations? Why ſhouldſt thou rejoice at filling the World with Miſchief? Why ſhouldſt thou regard the Diſtreſſes of others as thy Gain? Why ſmile, becauſe others weep? Share here with me my naked Solitude, and thereby enrich thyſelf at once, and others. Henceforward renounce all Wars, and embrace here that Peace which Submiſſion to Providence beſtows: Boaſt no longer of your Power of doing Miſchief, but enjoy here with us all the real Pleaſures of Life: Throw off that Garment made of a Sheep-fleece, and be no longer proud of wearing the Spoils of a dead Beaſt: You will then, by imitating us, do Honour to yourſelf, and become ſuch an one as you were created to be; for the Soul exerciſes itſelf in Virtue, when in this State of Solitude. Prefer therefore, King *Alexander*, our ſeemingly ſavage Life, in which you will be happier, than you have hitherto been. Even now your *Macedonians* expect you to raiſe new Wars, to ſlaughter other Nations, and to deſpoil freſh Countries; for they are ſad, if other People be ſafe; uneaſy, if they make not the reſt of the World ſo; and, having nothing in View but their own Gain, regard not what or how great Injuſtice they commit, ſo they augment it.

“How happy a Life mighteſt thou lead, by doing what God intended thou ſhouldſt do, purſuing thy own Good without Prejudice to others! Now, while it is yet Time, hear what I ſay, and liſten to the good Advice I give thee: For, if thou art deaf to theſe Admonitions, I ſhall hereafter, when we are delivered out of this World, ſee thee ſuffering in the Air, and bitterly lamenting the Evils brought upon thyſelf, by inflicting Evil upon others. You will then think of my Words; for none of your Horſe and Foot will follow you there, or, by their Clamours, diſturb your Meditations, which will be wholly employed in the Remembrance of Miſchiefs done as thou wilt then feel, to thyſelf: For well I know the juſt Puniſhments which God inflicts upon unjuſt Men. You will then ſay to me, *Dandamis* gave me good Counſels: For then will be preſent to thy View all the Murders thou haſt committed, or cauſed to be committed; and of theſe how canſt thou poſſibly excuſe thyſelf?”

All this *Alexander* heard patiently, and without the leaſt Diſpleaſure; but an evil Spirit hindered him from profiting by this good Advice. He anſwered, therefore, the Philoſopher thus: “I am thoroughly ſenſible of the Truth of all you have ſaid; for, deſcending of an holy Race, thou art here conveniently ſituated; where, without any Trouble, thou enjoyeſt with the greateſt Pleaſure the whole Circle of thy Days, and poſſeſſeſt all the Riches of Nature in a perfect and uninterrupted Peace. I, on the other hand, live in the midſt of Tumult, and of Toils: For much I fear even thoſe, who by their Office ought to defend me from Fear; and ſeldom riſe the Apprehenſions of my Enemies ſo high, as thoſe I have of my Friends; for I am daily in greater Dread of their Treachery, than of the Force of my Foes. Thus, between the Neceſſity of having Guards for my Safety, and the Dread that theſe very Guards may deprive me of Safety, I live in perpetual Anxiety.

“My Days are ſpent in troubling, diſtreſſing, and deſtroying other People; and, in the Nights, I am filled with Terrors and Suſpicions, leſt, by ſome ſudden and ſecret Enemy, I ſhould be cut off myſelf. If I put to Death thoſe I fear, I become hateful; if, again, I am mild and gentle, I am contemned: And how, out of ſuch a Variety of Dangers, I ſhall be able to ſnatch myſelf, I know not; for, if I ſought to quit the World, and to live with you in the Deſerts, it would not be in my Power. It is impoſſible for me to quit the Station I am in; and, therefore, I hope that this will excuſe me to God, who placed me in this Station, and made me what I am. But thou, O wiſe and good Man, who have heard my Complaints, and ſoothed my Griefs by the Wiſdom of thy Words, diſſuading me from War and Battles, be pleaſed to accept the Gifts I offer; and do not contemn me ſo far, as to reject the Tribute I bring to thy Wiſdom.”

As he ſpake theſe Words, the Slaves, who waited with the Preſents, brought them in, and ſpread abroad great Variety of Gold and Silver Veſſels, rich in themſelves, and exquiſitely wrought; together with large Quantities of Oil and Bread.

At the Sight of all this, *Dandamis* could not help ſmileing. At laſt he delivered himſelf thus: “Who do you think could perſuade the Birds, that haunt theſe Woods, to the Uſe of Gold and Silver, and to ſing the better for it? Or, if this you conceive impoſſible, why ſhould you judge me to be worſe than they? Why ſhould I accept from you what I cannot neither eat or drink? Why ſhould I take what I can make no Uſe of? Why retain under my Care what cannot contribute to my Benefit? and ſo bind and inſnare myſelf, who have hitherto been free; for I deſire not to purchaſe, in any Shape, what in theſe Solitudes I cannot ſell. God beſtows upon me here Fruits on every Side, which I pull and eat freely. God ſells Man nothing for Gold; nay, he even beſtows his Wiſdom freely upon ſuch as are able and qualified to receive it. I am covered with that Garment with which my Mother brought me forth. The Air I freely breathe, and eſteem my Limbs at Liberty, while unreſtrained by any Garment; and Honey cannot be ſweeter to the Taſte, than whatever from the Reliſh of Hunger I eat and drink. If theſe Cakes were good before, why were they expoſed to the Fire? For my part, I ſuffer not that Element to touch what I eat, any more, than in the Fleſh of other Animals, I chuſe to eat at ſecond-hand what they have eaten before: Take then away theſe Cakes that are baked; but, that I may not ſeem to deſpiſe every thing you offer me, I am content to accept this Oil.”

Dandamis, having ſaid this, immediately roſe; and going into the Wood, gathered up a conſiderable Quantity of dry Sticks, which having raiſed in an Heap, he ſet Fire to them; and then, turning to *Alexander*, ſaid, “The *Brachman* hath all Things, and enjoys Abundance, becauſe he enjoys all he deſires.” Then pouring Oil into the Fire, while it burnt up very fiercely, he ſung an

Hymn to God, the Immortal Giver of all good Things, thanking him for the manifold Gifts he had beſtowed. Which things when *Alexander* had ſeen and heard, he went away aſtoniſhed, cauſing all his Gifts, except the Oil, to be carried back. At the ſame time, *Dandamis* gave him many other Pieces of ſound Advice, deſiring him to remember, that the *Brachmans* were ſuch as himſelf, and not ſuch as *Calanus*, whom they eſteemed the worſt of Men, for having deſerted their Society, to embrace the Manners of the *Greeks*.

There is great Reaſon to believe, that theſe Facts are reported but confuſedly, and with many Variations, by the Authors I have cited; but as there appears to be a great Certainty of their coming originally from the *Brachmans* themſelves, they deſerve to be attentively conſidered, becauſe they very plainly prove, that the Correſpondence between *Alexander* and *Dandamis* was very famous amongſt thoſe People, and had made a great Impreſſion upon them. As to the modern *Bramins*, it is certain, that they fall very ſhort of their Predeceſſors in Learning, and have very much corrupted their religious Principles, by the Liberties they have taken; which we need not wonder at, ſince the ſame thing has happened to almoſt every kind of Philoſophy; and, we may likewiſe add, every kind of Religion.

It is not evident, from any of the Accounts given us by the Antients, that the *Brachmans* had any Book or Writings, which contained the Principles of their Science: And the contrary ſeems probable from the Nature of their Education. The modern *Bramins*, however, tell us, that the firſt Being created by God, was *Brahma*, the Author of their Sect; of whom they have many Images, which have commonly four Heads, becauſe he is ſaid to have been the Author of a Book, containing four Chapters, or Sections; wherein are contained the Principles of the Religion and Philoſophy which he taught. This Book is ſtill extant amongſt them, and is what we may call their Bible[*]; neither is it abſolutely unknown to other Eaſtern Nations, having been tranſlated out of the Eaſtern Tongue, by one *Anbaboumath* a *Gioghi*, who embraced the *Mohammedan* Religion, into *Arabic*, under the Title of *Morat al mââni*; that is, *the Mirror of Science:* But they ſay, that the true Senſe of it cannot ſtill be underſtood, without the Aſſiſtance of ſome learned *Bramin*.

All theſe, however, are Inventions far later than the Times of which we are now ſpeaking; and, as we have hinted before, the old *Brachmans*, tho' they took their Name from the Word *Brahma*, yet they did not conſider that as the Name of any particular Perſon, but as expreſſive of that Character which they affected; the natural Signification of that Word, in their old Language, being no more than *a Man enlightened*, or one filled with divine Science. As they had no Books, much leſs had they Images; neither is it clear, that they made Uſe of any fabulous Theology, in order to amuſe the People; but, on the contrary, told them in plain and pathetic Terms, what they conceived fit for them to know and practiſe.

All the reſt came in by degrees: And this is the true Reaſon, why it is ſo difficult for the modern *Bramins* to give any rational Account of that Doctrine which they preach to the People, becauſe it is all invented, and has not the leaſt Relation to that ſecret and ſolid Science, which the moſt Learned of them ſtill retain by Tradition from their Anceſtors. We may from hence eaſily apprehend, why the Lectures of ſome learned *Bramins* are neceſſary, to render the Book before-mentioned intelligible: The Purpoſe of thoſe Lectures, no doubt, muſt be to explain away the beſt Part of that celebrated Treatiſe, by ſhewing, that whatever is delivered therein, relating to Idols, Saints, and Demigods, are, in Fact, but Parables relating to the Attributes of the true God, and his Providence; concerning which, their Anceſtors diſcourſed clearly, plainly, and without making uſe of any of theſe Figures or Fables.

Having thus uſed my utmoſt Endeavours, to ſet this Subject in a clear Light, and to reduce the ſcattered Paſſages of antient Authors, relating thereto, into ſuch a Method, as that they might contribute to illuſtrate each other, and leave nothing obſcure, I ſhall proceed next to the Animals in the *Indies*, as they are deſcribed to us by antient Authors; and ſhall fairly ſhew wherein they deviated from Truth; wherein their Accounts have been miſtaken by the Moderns; and in what Caſes their Deſcriptions, tho' heretofore rejected with Contempt, have of late Years, and upon a ſtricter Examination, been again admitted as clearer, and more ſuitable to Truth, than thoſe which had been haſtily received in their ſtead, upon the Credit of thoſe who were not proper Judges of what they ſaw.

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[*] The Name of this Book, in the *Indian* Language, is *Anbertkend*; which is as much as to ſay, the Ciſtern of living Waters. It is compoſed of fifty diſtinct Treatiſes, each ſubdivided into ten Chapters; and in this Book their Theology, Philoſophy, and Policy, are contained, but chiefly in Parables and Enigmas; ſo that ordinary Readers can make little or no Uſe of it.

SECTION XIII.

Of the Land-Animals in the Eaſt-Indies, *as deſcribed by antient Authors, compared with modern Writers: And ſome Remarks upon both.*

1. *A Deſcription of the Elephant; with a particular Account of the different Methods of hunting that Animal, as deſcribed by the Antients.* 2. *The modern Method of hunting Elephants, deſcribed by the Embaſſadors from* Louis XIV. *to the King of* Siam. 3. *The great Sagacity, wonderful Docility, and remarkable Fidelity of this Creature.* 4. *Some other ſingular Properties of the Elephant, from antient Authors; with Remarks.* 5. *The Modeſty of Elephants, and their Averſion to Indecencies in the human Species.* 6. *The Notions of the* Indians, *and other Oriental Nations, with reſpect to theſe Creatures; and more eſpecially the white Elephant.* 7. *Some miſcellaneous Obſervations as to the Size, Value, and medicinal Uſes of Elephants, their Skin, Bones, Fat,* &c. 8. *An exact Deſcription of the Rhinoceros, from various Authors.* 9. *An Account of his Size, Food, Manner of living in the Woods; and of the Uſes of his Horn, Fleſh, Fat,* &c. 10. *Some extraordinary Paſſages in modern Travels, relating to this Animal.* 11. *Of the Lion and the Lioneſs.* 12. *Of the Tyger, as deſcribed both by the Antients and Moderns; with ſome remarkable Inſtances of the Strength and Agility of theſe Creatures.* 13. *A particular Account of the Leopard and Panther; both from old Authors and new.* 14. *Of the Camel; its Size, Strength, Shape, and other Properties; and the Uſes for which it ſerves in the* Indies. 15. *Of the Dromedary, and of its prodigious Swiftneſs.* 16. *An exact Deſcription of the Giraff, or Camelopard; and ſufficient Proofs, that there is ſuch an Animal.* 17. *Of the wild Aſs, reputed the moſt beautiful Creature in the World.* 18. *Of the Manticore, and other Beaſts mentioned by the Antients, and unknown to us from their Deſcriptions.* 19. *An Account of Apes, Monkeys,* &c. *with ſome Conjectures as to the Miſtakes of the Antients, about wild Men, Satyrs,* &c. 20. *Of the Musk-Cat, and the various Qualities of that Animal.* 21. *Of the Dragons in the* Indies; *the ſtrange Reports of the Antients concerning them, how far confirmed, how far exploded by the Diſcoveries of the Moderns.* 22. *Of the Gryphon of the Antients, and the Fables related*

concerning it. 23. *The Chameleon particularly deſcribed; its remarkable Properties, and the Cauſes of thoſe Errors that have been ſpread about it.* 24. *Of the Ants of* India, *the Wonders related of them, and how far they are ſupported by Facts.* 25. *Various Remarks, and curious Obſervations, on this Subject.*

1. IT has, in the foregoing Sections, been fully ſhewn, that the People of the *Indies* were very ſingular in all reſpects. This, tho' it might be, in ſome meaſure, due to Education, and other Accidents, yet ought to be chiefly aſcribed to their Nature and Conſtitutions, ſince we know by Experience, that the Characters given of moſt Nations by antient Authors, are excellent Pictures of them, even at this Day. To ſay the Truth, *India* was alike ſingular in all things, and particularly happy in one, that while the reſt of the World earneſtly preſſed through all Obſtacles, to come at a Share of her Riches, the Inhabitants of *India* themſelves felt no Inclination to wander, and were never compelled by any kind of Wants, to go and proclaim their Indigence in foreign Climates. The accurate Deſcription of the Singularities and Riches, with which this Country abounded, was naturally the Work of every Traveller, and of every Author too, that pretended to write any thing of a Region ſo remarkable.

Amongſt theſe, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that, next to the Men, the Animals ſtruck them firſt; and of theſe, that Animal moſt, which of all the reſt was, in every reſpect, the moſt extraordinary. This, without Queſtion, was the Elephant, a Creature found only in the *Indies*, and in the Southern Provinces of *Africa*. The *Indian* Elephant, however, was, in every reſpect, ſuperior, not only in the Eyes of Men, but even of thoſe Creatures themſelves, if we may credit what ſome Authors relate[a].

Theſe Creatures are, generally ſpeaking, either of a dark Colour, or of a white; but the latter are very rare.

Their Bodies are heavy and groſs, and far enough from being beautiful in their Appearance: Their Eyes are like thoſe of a Hog; their Legs and Feet reſemble Columns; yet they bend their Fore-legs, when they reſt themſelves, or ſleep: They cannot bend their Heads, or turn their Necks; their Ears lie pretty much behind, and are very cloſe: Their Trunk is as long as their Fore-legs, and reaches down to the Ground; it is ſtrong, tough, and hollow; they can open and ſhut it, and by the Help of little Caruncles, like ſmall Points, they are able to take up any thing; a Pin, for Inſtance, or a Grain of Muſtard-ſeed: They make uſe of their Trunks in Eating and Drinking, conveying with them what they take into their Mouths. The whole Force of the Animal chiefly conſiſts in this Member, in which if he be deeply wounded, the Creature dies. There lies behind the Ear a little Cavity, covered with a Membrane, no thicker than the Head of a Drum, and any Wound in that Part alſo is mortal. At the two Corners of the Mouth grow two large Teeth, and between theſe the Trunk is placed, in the Male: Theſe Tuſhes, or large Teeth, are ſix or ſeven Foot long; but in the female Elephants, they rarely exceed a Foot. They feed on Graſs, Nuts, Sugar-canes, and other things of a like Nature; and they are chiefly afraid of Smoke or Fire, of the Lion, and of ſome kind of Serpents[b].

They are naturally as wild as Tygers, or any other Beaſts; and are therefore, like them, caught by Hunting, by that Caſt of *Indians*, which, as we have before ſhewn, made this Exerciſe a Part of their Profeſſion. The Manner in which they hunted them, is very remarkable, and thus related by good Authors: In the firſt Place, they incloſed a Plain ſomewhat leſs than a Mile over, with a large and deep Ditch, over which, in ſeveral Places, there were wooden Bridges; and in the midſt, there were Cabins erected for the Reception of the Elephants. Into this Incloſure they conducted ſome female Elephants, to whom the Males were ſure to come in the Night: As ſoon as the Huntſmen heard them, they withdrew, and took up the Bridges, ſummoning the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages, to aſſiſt in bringing them away. Some Days after, when they judged them to be ſufficiently weakened by Hunger and Thirſt; they returned, mounted upon tame Elephants, with which they purſued and fatigued them, till they were quite ſpent: Then they bridled them, and gave them ſome Cuts over their Jaws, and over their Neck, that they might humble them more effectually; and then, mounting them, they forced them, by Blows, to proceed to their Stables[c].

They uſed, beſides this, another Method as ſingular as the former: They hunted them out of the Foreſt with a great Noiſe, and drove them before them all Day long: When it was Evening, they drove them back again; but, in the mean time, the Huntſmen had taken care to ſet the Bruſhwood on the Skirts of the Foreſt, on Fire. The Elephants, being extremely afraid of that Element, when they drew near the Flames, were ſo aſtoniſhed, that they ſtood ſtock-ſtill, and ſuffered themſelves to be eaſily taken; and then they beat them till they grew tame. This, however, ſeldom anſwered the End at once; and, therefore, to complete the Buſineſs, they faſtened them to Pillars, and there, by Hunger and Beating, made them perfectly tame. Sometimes, however, the Loſs of their Liberty threw them into ſo deep a Melancholy, that they began to pine and languiſh, refuſing all Suſtenance, and ſeeming diſpoſed to ſeek a Remedy for their ill Uſage in Death. Their Keepers, in this caſe, had Recourſe to Singing and Muſic; which ſoon diſſipated the Grief of the Animal, and brought it to its Stomach again[d].

Pliny aſſures us, that the *Troglodytes*, who live on the Frontiers of *Ethiopia*, and who hunted theſe Creatures merely for the ſake of feeding upon them, did it in quite another manner: They got up into high Trees, and there they waited the coming of the Elephants in Herds: They ſuffered all to paſs them but the hindmoſt; upon which he who had the moſt Courage, and was eſteemed moſt active, leapt down on the Back of this Elephant; and, ſtriking his Heels into the Creature's Sides, and laying hold of the Tail with his Left Hand, he ſat faſt: Then bending backwards, with a Hatchet, which he held in his Right, he hamſtringed the Elephant on one Side; and as he grew faint thro' Loſs of Blood, and began to ſlacken his Pace, the Man got down, and took his Leave with another Stroke with his Hatchet, at the Sinews on the other Side. He afterwards tracked the Elephant by his Blood; and, having found where the Creature lay, ſeized him when dying, and cut him to Pieces[e]. Of this Sort of Veniſon theſe *Troglodytes* were ſo fond, that they ſeldom eat any thing elſe: Nor would they liſten to any Propoſals that were made them by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, to forbear deſtroying Elephants; for the preſerving and taming of which, that Monarch had a particular Paſſion. The Elephants in the *Indies* were never hunted in this barbarous manner.

2. The modern Method of hunting Elephants is particularly deſcribed by the Embaſſadors ſent by the late *Louis* XIV. to the King of *Siam*. They ſay that it is a Diverſion in its Nature truly Royal; and from their Account of it, the Reader will be probably of the ſame Opinion. The Ground originally encompaſſed, ſay they, is in Extent near twenty Leagues; and this is bounded by a double Row of Fires, which burn all Night. At each Fire, that is to ſay, at the Diſtance of about ten Yards, there are two Men poſted with Pikes; and the intervening Space is filled up by Elephants trained to War, and ſmall Pieces of Cannon. When the Hunting begins, a Body of armed Men enter the incloſed Space, and by degrees proceed to ſtreighten the wild Beaſts. The Fire, the Elephants, and the ſmall Pieces of Cannon, gradually advance, till ſuch time as they are very near the wild Elephants; and then they begin to attack them with their Lances. When one of them is ſurrounded, and taken, the War Elephants, which are trained for this Purpoſe, place themſelves on each Side of him;

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[a] *Bochart. Hier. p.* 1. *lib.* ii. *T. Liv. lib.* xxxvii. *c.* 39. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii.

[b] This Deſcription is taken from a Manuſcript Account of *China*.

[c] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Arrian. in Indicis. Philoſtrat. lib.* ii. *Plin. lib.* viii.

[d] *Mandelſlo's Travels, p.* 319.

[e] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii.

and, if he is troubleſome, beat him ſoundly, but without wounding him; while others go behind, and puſh him along: Then the Men who are employed in this Hunting, fetch the Remainder; in like manner tie them with Ropes; and, mounting them, force them along to a Poſt, to which they are faſtened, till, by Hunger, they are made as tame as Sheep [a]. At this Hunting they took twenty. The King of *Siam*, then reigning, had revived this Method of hunting Elephants, was preſent himſelf, mounted on an Elephant of War, and gave his Orders. The Embaſſadors were informed by his Prime Miniſter, that this Prince had, at this time, two thouſand Elephants of War, and forty-five thouſand Men, in his Service.

Father *Tachard*, who was of this Embaſſy, tells us farther, that there was a kind of Amphitheatre, which was built in the Form of a long Square, walled on every Side, and a convenient Terrace on the Top, on which the Spectators were placed. On the Inſide, there was a kind of Paliſadoes, compoſed of large wooden Pillars, fixed in the Earth, at the Diſtance of about two Feet one from another; behind which the Huntſmen retired, when purſued by the enraged Beaſt. A large Extent of Ground was taken in towards the Country, and over-againſt it, near the City, a ſmaller Part; at the End of which there was a long Paſſage, ſo narrow, that an Elephant could not paſs thro' it without Difficulty; which led into a Court where the Elephants were tamed. On the Day appointed for the Chace, the Huntſmen entered the Woods, mounted on female Elephants, properly trained to the Sport, being themſelves ſo covered, as not to be ſeen by the wild Elephants. When they were ſo far advanced in the Foreſt, as that they judged themſelves near the Haunts of thoſe wild Beaſts, they made the female Elephants roar; to which the Males never failed to anſwer with a moſt dreadful Noiſe: By which the Huntſmen judging of the Diſtance they were from them, began to return, and, leading the Females gently towards the Amphitheatre, the wild Elephants followed them very peaceably, till they entered within the Incloſure, and the Barrier behind them was ſhut.

The Females continued their March croſs the Amphitheatre, and entered, one after another, the narrow Paſſage on the oppoſite Side. The wild Elephant, at the Entrance of that Paſſage, ſtopped; and then they put in Practice every Method to force him forward, by making the female Elephants that were on the other Side cry, while the Huntſmen in the Amphitheatre puſhed the Elephant forward with loud Cries; and when he turned upon them, they took Shelter behind the Pillars. At laſt having got him to the Entrance of the Paſſage, one ran before him; and the wild Elephant following with all imaginable Fury, his Paſſage was preſently ſtopped by two ſliding Barriers that were let fall, one before, the other behind him. The Animal, finding himſelf in this Situation, not able to get either forward or backward, made prodigious Efforts, and ſet up a hideous Cry. They then endeavoured to pacify him, by throwing Buckets of Water over him, rubbing him with Leaves, and wetting his Ears with Oil: They likewiſe brought tame Elephants, both Male and Female, who careſſed and made much of him with their Trunks.

In the mean time, they faſtened Ropes under his Belly, and to his Hinder-legs: Then an Officer, mounted on an Elephant trained for that Purpoſe, advanced, and retired ſeveral times thro' the Paſſage, to ſhew the wild one how he might come out; and the Barrier before him being removed, he readily followed the other Elephant to the End of the Paſſage. As ſoon as he came to the Entrance of the little Paddock, they faſtened him, by the Help of the Ropes, to two of the Elephants that waited for him, one on each Side. Another marched before him, and pulled him along by a Rope, while a fourth, that was behind, thruſt him on, by puſhing him with his Head, till they brought him to a great Poſt, fixed like the Capſtern of a Ship: There they left him till the next Day, to cool himſelf; and while he was turning round this Pillar, came a *Brachman*, dreſſed in white, mounted on a tame Elephant, who gently ſprinkled him with a kind of conſecrated Water, out of a gold Veſſel; by which Ceremony they fancy the Elephant is deprived of his Fierceneſs, and rendered fit for Service. The Day following he went with the reſt, and in a Fortnight's Time was quite tame [b].

3. The Elephant, tho' the largeſt of all Beaſts, ſome of them being twenty Feet in Compaſs, is extremely docile, very induſtrious, and has Senſe ſo much ſuperior to a Beaſt, that it ſeems, in ſome meaſure, to approach human Reaſon. It is very certain, that this Creature is capable of Fidelity, deep Affection, and Gratitude; and that to ſuch a degree, as to be extremely afflicted on the Loſs of its Governor: But this Paſſion riſes to a ſurpriſing Height, if by any Accident he injures his Keeper; which ſometimes falls out, when the Creature is ſeized with that kind of Fury to which its Species is ſubject. The Compaſſion and Tenderneſs of its Nature appears in various Circumſtances: The Loſs of its Companion diſpirits the Elephant more than any thing; for it is reported, that it never makes a ſecond Choice. In ſome Countries they had a Cuſtom of taking Elephants, by digging deep Pits, and covering them with Hurdles, ſtrewed with Leaves. If a female Elephant beheld her Young one thus caught, ſhe would throw herſelf into the ſame Pit, there to remain, at the Hazard of her Life and Liberty. In a Word, ſhe never abandoned it in any Danger, but would rather ſuffer herſelf to be killed [c]. In paſſing a River, ſhe carried it on her Trunk, if the River was fordable; but if they were obliged to ſwim, the young one paſſed firſt, before the Water was raiſed by the Entrance of ſo many Creatures of vaſt Size, the Elephants going uſually in an Herd. If at any time, they found one of their own Species wounded in the Woods, they took all imaginable Care to ſuccour and relieve it, by bringing Food to the Place where it lay, and ſuch Remedies as might contribute to its Cure: If, in ſpite of all their Endeavours, it died, they found means to interr and cover it with Leaves, that the Body might not be expoſed, and torn to Pieces by wild Beaſts [d].

When they were tamed, they were taught to kneel at the Approach of the King, as if they meant to adore him, after the Faſhion of the Eaſt. Some Princes had no leſs than twenty of them belonging to their private Uſe, which, in their Turns, did Duty before their Tents, and in time of Battle defended them with the utmoſt Zeal. All the Writers of the Life of *Alexander* agree, that the Elephant on which *Porus* was mounted, took incredible Care of that Prince, lifting him ſafely down when he was wounded, drawing the Darts out of his Body with its Trunk; and then, gently replacing him in his Seat, carried him ſafely back to his Quarters. The Reader will obſerve, that we do not deliver theſe Facts as either certain or credible: We mention them only as related by antient Authors, and leave the reſt to his own Judgment.

Ælian, in his Hiſtory of Animals, mentions ſeveral things very curious and remarkable as to theſe Creatures: He tells us, with reſpect to their Fidelity, that a young *Indian* Lord, having caught a ſmall white Elephant, brought it up with the utmoſt Tenderneſs, and was exceedingly beloved by that Animal. The King of the Country, having a very extraordinary Account of the Beauty and Docility of the Beaſt, demanded it from its Maſter for his own Uſe; but the young Lord not being able to part with it, choſe rather to fly to the Mountains. He was purſued thither by the King's Orders, where, from the Top of a Rock, he for a long time defended himſelf, by throwing Stones, in which he was perfectly well ſeconded by his Elephant; but at laſt the Soldiers getting up, and the young Man being much wounded, the Elephant was left alone to ſuſtain the Combat; when ſhe, ruſhing furiouſly on her Enemies, threw ſome of them over the Precipice; and, having put the reſt to Flight, returned, took up her wounded Maſter, and carried him off. What a Reproach, continues that Naturaliſt, is the Fidelity of this Beaſt on the Ingratitude of ſome Men, who, having received all manner of Favours and Support from others, leave them, at laſt, to periſh under Misfortunes, or, perhaps, to complete their Fortunes, aſſiſt in their Ruin [e]!

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[a] *Journal du Voyage de Siam*, p. 479.

[b] *Voyage de Siam*, liv. v. p. 298.

[c] *Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. lib.* ix. c. 8.

[d] *Ælian. lib.* vii. c. 15. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *Philoſtrat. lib.* ii.

[e] *Ælian. lib.* iii. c. 46.

Plutarch tells us ſomething of the like Kind, that happened at the Time the City of *Argos* was taken by Storm, by *Pyrrhus*: A Soldier of his, mounted on an Elephant, having received a dangerous Wound, fell from his Back upon the Ground. The Creature, ſenſible of the Accident, ſcattered with his Trunk all that were about him, till he found his Maſter; and then lifted him gently upon his Fore-teeth, and, returning to the Gate by which they had entered, overturned, without Mercy, all that ſtood in his Way[a].

But if theſe Creatures were valuable, on account of their Fidelity and Tractableneſs, they were no leſs ſerviceable by their Courage and Strength: They were diſciplined for War, and placed either in the Front, or in one of the Wings, in a general Engagement; and as ſoon as the Signal was given, either by the Sound of Trumpets, or by the Sight of Blood, for which Elephants have a natural Abhorrence, they ruſhed on the Enemy with incredible Violence, overturning whole Battalions, and ſpreading Terror, Confuſion, and Death, where-ever they came. The Smell and Cry of the Elephants was enough to diſable the Enemies Cavalry from acting, the beſt Horſes flying on their Approach, and running out of the Field, in ſpite of all that could be done to reſtrain them. *Cæſar* had but one in his Army, and yet it proved ſufficient to procure him Victory over the *Gauls*[b].

The Uſe of theſe Creatures in War was common amongſt the *Perſians* and the *Syrians*; and it was from them the *Romans* learned the Uſe of them, which they improved very much. Sometimes they did not truſt intirely to the Force of the Elephants, but erected Towers upon their Backs; from whence their Archers fought with great Advantage. *Antiochus Eupator*[c], when he invaded *Judea*, had thirty ſuch Elephants in his Army; on each of which thirty-two Men fought in a Tower; while an *Indian* who ſat before, conducted the Elephant.

The *Indians* themſelves, uſed them in ſomewhat a different manner, and, perhaps, with greater Advantages than other Nations; for they made them always the firſt Line of the Army, their Foot being drawn up behind them, as if they were intrenched. There was a Space of about one hundred Yards left, from one Elephant to another, thro' which their Infantry might ſafely advance, and retire: But it was impoſſible for the Enemy to penetrate thro' thoſe Intervals, in order to begin the Attack. The Elephants of *Porus*, to the Number of two hundred, were thus ranged in the front Line, when he was attacked by *Alexander* the Great: And it was owing to the long Spears of the *Macedonians*, and to the invincible Strength of their Phalanx, that the Elephants could not bear them down; which decided the Fate of the Day: For the *Indians*, being deſpirited at a Sight which they had never beheld before, began to think theſe People were invincible; and, therefore, could not be brought to return again to the Charge, any more than the Elephants; for it is the Nature of theſe Creatures, when once beaten, to turn upon thoſe behind them[d].

4. The *Romans* frequently produced them in Shews, and on their Amphitheatres. It was in the Year 655, after the building that City, that this Spectacle appeared for the firſt time. They were then oppoſed to Bulls; but they were afterwards brought to fight with Men. When *Pompey*, in his ſecond Conſulſhip, dedicated the Temple of *Venus*, he exhibited twenty Elephants, which were to fight againſt a Troop of *Getulians*, who were a People of *Africa*, equally remarkable for their natural Courage, and for their military Skill. This Combat was very ſingular, and made a great Impreſſion upon the People: For one of the Elephants, being ſo wounded in the Fore-feet, that he could hardly ſtand, fell upon his Knees; and, running in upon the *Getulians*, tore from them their Shields, which he threw into the Air with incredible Agility and Addreſs; ſo that they fell down, without hurting any of the Spectators. Another Elephant was in this Fight killed outright, by an Arrow which ſtruck through his Eye into his Brain: The Elephants, at this Sight, endeavoured to burſt through; but, being repulſed, they ſeemed, with heavy Moanings, to beſeech the Pity of the People; who were ſo much affected therewith, that, forgetting the Reſpect due to *Pompey*, they began to curſe him, and to wiſh all thoſe Miſchiefs might light upon his Head, which ſoon after fell upon him[e]. But this did not hinder *Cæſar* the Dictator from exhibiting another Shew of Elephants, when he brought forth twenty, which were oppoſed to five hundred Foot: And, finding that the People were extremely pleaſed with it, he again exhibited twenty Elephants, with Towers upon their Backs; in each of which were ſixty Defendants: And to theſe, he oppoſed not only five hundred Foot, but as many Horſe. The Emperors *Claudius* and *Nero* cauſed ſingle Elephants to fight with experienced Fencers; with which the *Roman* People were exceedingly delighted.

It is to be obſerved, that, with all their Force, the Elephants are far from being cruel; ſo that, unleſs they are provoked, they never commit any Violence. We are told a very remarkable Paſſage, in Support of this natural Clemency of theſe Creatures, which is this: A certain King, whoſe Name was *Bocchus*, having deſtined thirty Perſons, who had offended him, to be torn to Pieces by Elephants, they were tied to ſo many Poſts, and the Elephants turned looſe upon them, with Soldiers behind, who pricked and puſhed them forward, in order to put them in a Rage: Which, at laſt, they did, but to their own Deſtruction; for, inſtead of attacking the naked and defenceleſs Men, they fell upon thoſe who injured them; and could not, by any means, be rendered the Inſtruments of this Monarch's Cruelty. It is further aſſerted, that, in paſſing through a Flock of Sheep, they ſeparate them into two Lines, with their Trunks, that they may march through, without treading or trampling upon them.

It is from *Pliny* alſo, we learn, that a certain noble *Roman*, whoſe Name was *Mutianus*, who had been three times Conſul, taught an Elephant the Knowledge of the *Greek* Alphabet; in which, it is ſaid, he wrote theſe Words, by placing the Letters in their proper Order, *viz. This I wrote, and dedicated the* Celtic *Spoils*. Another gave a manifeſt Proof of Memory, by performing in the Morning, perfectly, certain Leſſons, which he had been beat for not performing over Night. Almoſt every Elephant underſtands ſo much of the *Indian* Language as concerns him, or he hears from his Keeper; and ſo gentle they are, that a Child of twelve or thirteen Years old may mount and guide them as he pleaſes.

As extraordinary as theſe Stories may ſeem, one might be almoſt tempted to believe them, conſidering that *Arrian*, the moſt ſincere, the leaſt credulous, and, by far, the moſt authentic Writer of the Life of *Alexander* the Great, gives us the following Story, of his own Knowledge[f]: I have ſeen, ſays he, an Elephant, that had two Cymbals faſtened to its Fore-legs, upon which it beat, or played, a regular Air, with its Trunk; while others danced about it, with their Steps making a regular Cadence. Yet this Animal, as gentle and as quiet as he ſeems to be, gives ſometimes Proofs of his Memory, by revenging the Injuries he receives, at ſome Diſtance of Time. One Inſtance of which we have, from an eminent Writer of the laſt Age[g]; and this too, of his own Knowledge: He was at *Macaſſar*, in the Year 1658; and there ſaw the King's Elephant paſſing quietly along, with his Driver upon his Back: But, ſoon after, he returned alone; which ſurpriſing the Company, they began to inquire how it happened, and were told, that, the Day before, his Keeper had a Cocoa-nut given him, which he threw twice at the Elephant's Head, with all his Force, in order to break it; and, going into the Town, when they ſaw him paſs by, it ſo happened, that ſome People were ſelling Cocoa-nuts in the Street; and as ſoon as the Elephant had Sight of them, he ſnatched one out of the Baſket with his Trunk, and beat it to-pieces about his Rider's Head; by which he killed him on the Spot. This, ſays my Reverend Author, came of jeſting with Elephants.

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[a] *Plutarch. in Pyrrho.*

[b] *Polyæn. Stratagem. lib.* viii.

[c] 2 *Maccab.* vi. 34.

[d] *Arrian. Diodor. Sicul. Plutarch.*

[e] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *cap.* 5.

[f] *Arrian. in Indicis, cap.* 14.

[g] *Navarette's* Hiſtory of *China*, *Book* vi. *chap.* 8.

At that Seaſon of the Year, which is their Rutting-time, in the Woods, the Elephants are apt to be furious; and then, from being the mildeſt, he becomes the maddeſt and moſt miſchievous of all Creatures, killing any that come in his Way, even ſuch as he had before the greateſt Affection for; and, when he returns to his uſual Temper, will ſometimes grieve himſelf to Death for the Loſs of them. This is, certainly, a very remarkable Inſtance of their Senſe, and of their Compaſſion. There are, however, much higher Virtues aſcribed to them by *Pliny*, who aſſures us, that they give viſible Marks of their religious Sentiments, by worſhipping the Moon, and by toſſing up Herbs and Leaves towards Heaven, when they lie ſick in the Woods, as if they meant to implore Mercy and Protection. This is ſtraining things beyond all Bounds, and hurts the Credit of all the other Facts he relates; but it muſt be conſidered, that *Pliny* generally exhauſts his Subjects; and, that he may not ſeem ignorant of any thing, relates whatever came to his Knowledge, whether probable or not. Yet it muſt be allowed, that *Pliny* is not the only Author who ſpeaks of the Religion of Elephants; the *Mohammedans* are fully perſuaded of it; and aſſure us, that it was owing to the Piety of an Elephant, that the Temple of *Mecca* was once left ſtanding; and that, from this Elephant, others of a like Nature are deſcended, as will be hereafter ſeen.

5. But there is another Virtue yet unmentioned, which, if we may afford any Credit to Antiquity, juſtly merits our Admiration; and this is the Modeſty of the Elephant: And, in regard to this, almoſt all Writers are agreed, from whom we have any Account of this Animal, or its Nature [a]. It is likewiſe aſſerted, that the Elephant has a natural Abhorrence for Adultery; of which many extraordinary Inſtances are given, partcularly theſe.

An *Indian*, who was grown weary of his old Wife, killed her; and, to conceal this barbarous Fact, buried her Body in the Stable of his Elephant. A few Days after, the Elephant, ſeeing a new Miſtreſs about the Houſe, took her gently by the Arm with his Trunk, and led her to the Place where her Predeceſſor was interred. Having opened the Grave with his Trunk, and expoſed the Body of his deceaſed Miſtreſs to her View, as if he intended to acquaint her thereby with the Danger ſhe was in, he then permitted her to depart [b].

Another Elephant, in the ſame Country, killed the Wiſe of his Maſter with her Paramour, as a Teſtimony of his Fidelity. And it is ſaid, that, in the Reign of *Titus Veſpaſian*, it was a known Thing to all *Rome*, that an Elephant covered his Miſtreſs and her Lover with a Garment, as if by that Action he meant to have taught them more Modeſty, at leaſt, in his Preſence [c].

As to theſe Facts, they muſt reſt upon the Authority of theſe Authors, who relate them: But, with reſpect to ſome Opinions that were entertained by the Antients, with regard to this Animal, they were not only improbable, but falſe: As for Inſtance, that this Creature had no Joints, and therefore ſlept ſtanding; which is not only aſſerted by *Ariſtotle*, but alſo by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, and other Authors, though abſolutely incompatible with their Motion in the Woods, which is allowed to be very quick; and their walking on Ropes in public Shews, which is affirmed by *Suetonius* in the Lives of *Nero* and *Galba*. It was alſo an old Opinion, probably before Elephants were brought into the Weſt, that the Ivory they produced was their Horns. *Pliny*, among other ſtrange Things he relates of them, aſſerts, that there is nothing terrifies them more than the Grunting of Hogs; whereas it is certain, that in the Woods of *Malabar* they feed with, and live conſtantly in the Company of Swine [d].

But, perhaps, there is nothing ſtranger among the Stories told of them, than that which Sir *Thomas Brown*, who has taken much Pains to refute other Miſtakes about them, is himſelf inclined to believe poſſible; which is, that they may be taught to ſpeak; for which he aſſigns two Reaſons: Firſt, the Affinity of Knowledge in this Animal; and, next, the Fitneſs of its Organs for that Purpoſe; as to which he reaſons thus: Since broad and thick Chaps are required in Birds that ſpeak; ſince Lips and Teeth are alſo Organs of Speech, there is a particular Advantage in Quadrupeds, and a Proximity of Reaſon in Elephants and Apes above them all [e]. Such are the Sentiments of this learned Man; which ſufficiently ſhew, that it is a very difficult Thing to aſſign the Bounds of Credibility and Incredibility, when one, who, in other Caſes, refuſes to be bound almoſt by any Authority, is yet inclined to admit thereof in ſuch an Inſtance as this.

6. It does not appear from any Writer of Antiquity, by what Name the Elephant was called in the Language of the *Indians*; but we know that in *Arabic* they make uſe of *Fil* to ſignify this Animal, which is probably derived from the *Perſic* Word *Pil*, which, in the Tongue of the old Inhabitants of *Perſia*, ſignifies an Elephant: And hence the antient Fabuliſt Pilpay, whoſe Works are ſo famous throughout the Eaſt, derived his Name, which implies an Elephant's Foot, and, perhaps, was given him on account of his having a ſwelled Leg or Foot; as there is a Diſeaſe in *Egypt*, called *Elephantiaſis*, becauſe the Patients Legs ſwell ſo, as to reſemble an Elephant's in Size and Stiffneſs. According to the oriental Hiſtorians, *Feridoun*, one of the Kings of *Perſia*, of the firſt Dynaſty, was the original Tamer of Elephants; but this muſt be underſtood of the Uſe of Elephants in that Kingdom: For, as to the taming them in *India*, we find it attributed, by all Authors, to the *Indian Bacchus*, that is, to the moſt antient Monarch in that Country, and who is looked upon as the Author of civil Society alſo: Whence it is evident, that the Uſe of Elephants is as old in that Country as Government itſelf [f].

It was for this Reaſon that they had always more, and better diſciplined Elephants in their Service, than any of the Princes of the Eaſt; ſo that when the *Mohammedan* Sultan became powerful in *Arabia* and *Perſia*, they impoſed upon the Kings of the *Indies* a Tribute of Elephants, in which they imitated the Policy of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and with the ſame Succeſs; for, by the Help of theſe Elephants, their Armies became extremely terrible to other Nations; though, from the peaceable Diſpoſition of the *Indian* Princes, they made no great Figure in that Country where they were bred. As the *Mohammedans* were, originally, a People of very groſs Conceptions, ſo, when they were informed, that in certain Provinces of the *Indies* the Elephants were accuſtomed to kneel, they, from thence, entertained the ſame Notion which the Antients had done, *viz.* that theſe Creatures had ſome Notions of Religion; and, therefore, in the Year of the *Hegyra* 405, *Sultan Mahmoud*, who was Author of the Dynaſty of the *Gaznevides*, made War upon an *Indian* Prince in favour of theſe *Muſulmans*, and conquered his Dominions [g].

It is related, by many great Authors, as a Fact not to be diſputed, that the *Indians* believe the Globe of the World is ſupported by a great Elephant; which very probably took Riſe from a Proverb of theirs to that Purpoſe, which certainly meant no more, than that the Power, and perhaps the Commerce, of their Country depended, in a great meaſure, upon Elephants; which, being expreſſed metaphorically, gave Riſe to the upbraiding them with the Belief of this Fable. In this reſpect, indeed, I have often ſuſpected, that, when we deride the Folly and Stupidity of the Eaſtern Nations, for giving into ſuch ridiculous Opinions, it is very doubtful at leaſt, on which Side this Ignorance lies; for very often we miſtake Fables for Facts, and aſcribe to them, as their real Sentiments, what are no more than the Signs or Shadows of them; which is juſt as reaſonable, as if, upon reading *Æſop*'s Fables in *Greek*, which, by the way, is only a Tranſlation of the old *Perſian* Writer *Lokman*, we ſhould reproach the *Greeks* with their Folly, in believing that Birds could argue, or Beaſts hold a Converſation. It was, in all Ages, and is to this Day, the Cuſtom of the oriental Nations, to wrap up all their Wiſdom, either in ſhort Sentences or Proverbs, or in Allegories and Parables; which if, for want of ſufficient Information, we cannot perfectly underſtand, it does not follow, either that theſe People believe theſe Stories literally, or that they may not couch under them Truths of very great Importance.

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[a] This Virtue in the Elephant is largely inſiſted on by *Ælian de Animalibus, lib.* viii. *cap* 17. but, for ſome particular Reaſons, I chuſe to give the Paſſage in *Latin*: *Quemadmodum moderati Elephanti ſuas libidines contineant, explicare convenit. Ii igitur ab omni immoderata libidine caſtiſſimi ſunt. Nunquam enim neque vi aut protervius, neque nimis laſcive, ſocietatem veneris cum fœmina faciunt: ſed tanquam generis ſucceſſione carentes, liberis procreandis dant operam; ſic hi, ſua ſtirps ut ne deficiat, complexu venereo junguntur: Neque id ſane pluſquam ſemel in vita, & eo duntaxat tempore quum ſe iniri fœminæ patiuntur. Ut autem quiſque eorum uxorem impleverit, non eam amplius attingit. Aperte porro ac palam in aliorum oculis non coeunt, ſed ſecedentes, aut ſeſe in arbores denſas & frequentes occultant, aut in concavum locum & profundum, ad occultandos eos idoneum, abdunt. Hæc de Elephantorum temperantia.*

[b] *Ælian, lib.* xi. *cap.* 15.

[c] *Idem ibid.*

[d] *Ariſtot. de Nat. Anim. lib.* vi. *Plin. Nat Hiſt. lib.* viii. All the *Portugueſe* Voyages in general aſſert their living with Swine.

[e] *Brown's* Vulgar Errors, *Book* iii. *cap.* 1.

[f] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Arrian. in Indicis.*

[g] *D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, p.* 349.

It muſt at the ſame time be confeſſed, that the Monarchs of the *Indies* ſometimes carry their Paſſion for ſupporting and giving Credit to theſe Sort of Fables, to a very great Height; of which we have an Inſtance, in regard to the Animal now under our Conſideration; an Elephant, perfectly white, is in itſelf a great Curioſity, and therefore worthy of being peſerved, with peculiar Care, in the Stables of Kings; but this Point is carried much farther; and, as the Reader will ſee, in ſome Voyages that follow, very long and bloody Wars have happened in this Quarter of the World on account of the *white Elephant*, the Poſſeſſion of which is eſteemed of ſo great Conſequence, that it finds Place amongſt, or, otherwiſe, comes at the End of a Prince's Titles [a]. In order to account for this, we are told, by ſuch as have inquired very diligently into the Matter, that the high Eſteem the *Indians* have for a white Elephant, is grounded on a Fable related of *Foe*, their principal Idol, who is the ſame with *Chaca*, *Saca*, or *Xaca*, as he is called by the *Japponeſe*, and about whom the *Bonzes* tell a thouſand impertinent Stories. They ſay, that he was born eight hundred times, in different Species, before he was born of a Woman; and that, when he was born of her, he iſſued through his Mother's Sides, through which he gnawed with his Teeth. The Truth is, *Xaca* was a Sophiſter, who perſuaded People of any thing he pleaſed; his Mother, being big of him, dreamt, that a white Elephant iſſued through her Mouth: Hence it is, that white Elephants are held in Veneration in *India*, *China*, *Tonquin*, *Siam*, and *Pegu*, where they are ſerved in Gold-plate; and Noblemen, of great Diſtinction, viſit them in great Crouds, and pay to them the ſame Honour as to Kings [b]. Yet a Man would be exceedingly miſtaken, who ſhould from hence conceive, that theſe Stories are really believed by Kings; the contrary of which is ſo true, that the *Bonzes* themſelves make no Difficulty of acknowledging, to any intelligent Perſon, that talks to them on the Subject, that all theſe are Fables, invented at Pleaſure [c], ſerve only to amuſe the common People, and keep them from prying into what their Betters do not think it fit for them to underſtand.

7. It is now time to leave the Elephant; with reſpect to which, however, it would be very eaſy to aſſemble twice as many curious Relations: But, before we quit it, it will not be amiſs to give the Reader a few Particulars about this wonderful Creature, which may be depended upon, and ſerve, in many reſpects, to ſettle his Opinion with regard to the Facts before related. The largeſt and fineſt Elephants in the World are thoſe of the Iſland of *Ceylon*; next to them, thoſe of the Continent of *India*; and, laſtly, the Elephant of *Africa*. The Moors, who deal in theſe Creatures, throughout all the *Indies*, have a fixed Price for them, if ſound and ſtrong. They meaſure from the Nail on one of his fore Feet, to the Top of his Shoulder; and, for every Cubit he is high, they give a thouſand Pardoes, which is, in our Money, about 100*l.* An Elephant of the largeſt Size, is nine Cubits, or thirteen Feet and an half high; ſo that the largeſt Elephant is worth about 900 *l.* unleſs he be of the *Ceylon* Breed, for then he will fetch four times that Sum [d].

The Female Elephant goes ſixteen or eighteen Months with her Young; which, when brought forth, is as big as a Calf: They are fifty or ſixty Years old before they come to their full Strength, or are fit to have Towers upon their Backs, or Coaches, ſuch as are uſed in *Cochin-China*, where Elephants carry in ſuch Machines twelve Perſons, beſides him who rules the Elephant, and ſits before upon the Shoulders, and a Boy, who belongs to him, and ſits upon the Elephant's hinder Parts, and who, if the Reader pleaſes, may be called the Coachman, and Poſtilion [e]. As to the Age of theſe Creatures, nothing can be ſaid with Certainty. If we could depend upon what we are told by *Philoſtratus*, in his Life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, we ſhould believe, that this great Traveller ſaw the very Elephant upon which *Porus* rode in the Battle he fought againſt *Alexander* the Great, with two Hoops of Gold on his Teeth, ſignifying, that *Alexander*, in Eſteem of his Fidelity, had conſecrated him to the Sun. At this rate, that Elephant muſt have been above four hundred Years of Age [f]. That they live till between two and three hundred Years, is not only affirmed by the beſt Authors of Antiquity, but alſo by ſuch as are beſt acquainted with them in the *Indies*; and that they are in full Vigour at much above a hundred, is very certainly known.

They feed, when wild, upon Graſs, or on the green Boughs of Trees; when they cannot get theſe, they will eat Roots; if they can get into Corn-fields, they commit terrible Ravages: When tame they will eat almoſt any thing, but are particularly fond of Sugar-canes, or whatever elſe is ſweet; they will likewiſe drink Wine or Ale; and it is obſerved, that, when they drink Water, they firſt ſtir, and make it thick, with their Feet: The Reaſon generally aſſigned for this is, that they hate to ſee their own Figure in the Water, which is a mere Fancy; and the true Cauſe, that the Gravel and ſmall Stones which they ſwallow by this Means, may help to digeſt their Food; which is likewiſe practiſed by Geeſe, Ducks, and other Water-fowl, but is the more neceſſary to the Elephant, becauſe this Creature is very much troubled with Indigeſtion, and the Colic.

The famous Sir *Thomas Brown* cenſures the Antients, for ſuppoſing that the Elephant ſlept ſtanding; and yet the Fact is really ſo; and, which is more extraordinary, they ſhake their Heads continually while they ſleep. Sir *Thomas* was, however, thus far right, that this does not proceed from their being unable to lie down, becauſe in Places where they are wild, the Print of them is frequently ſeen upon the Graſs. In all Parts of *India*, but in *China* eſpecially, they make uſe of almoſt every Part of this Animal in Medicine. The Broth, made of its Fleſh, is excellent for a Looſeneſs; and the Fleſh burned, becomes a Specific for the Flux of Urine. The Gall is very good for the Eyes; and the Humour of the Elephant's Eye, mixed with Breaſt-milk, is alſo held a moſt excellent Ophthalmic. They likewiſe uſe the Gall to take away an offenſive Breath. A Powder, made of the Aſhes of the Skin, burnt, and mixed with Oil, is an excellent Balſam for green Wounds; and the Bone, at the Pit of the Stomach, powdered, is a noble Stomachic. I ſhall ſpeak, in another Place, of the Uſe and Value of the Elephants Teeth; but it may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that, in the *Indies*, they reckon three Sorts of Ivory; the beſt, that which is taken out of the Mouth of the Beaſt, immediately after it is killed; the ſecond Sort, when the Teeth are taken out of the Head of an Elephant that has died a natural Death; and the third or worſt Sort, what is found in the Woods, where the Elephants have ſhed or loſt their Teeth. The Pace of an Elephant is equal in Speed to that of a Horſe on full Trot, and they will travel at this Rate ſome Hours. The moſt cautious of our modern Travellers juſtify to the full what *Pliny* [g] ſays of this Creature, and what *Cicero* had ſaid before him [h], that no Animal ſeems to approach, by its Actions, ſo near to the Reaſon of Man, as this.

8. The Rhinoceros, next to the Elephant, has been always eſteemed the moſt extraordinary Animal in the *Indies*, both with reſpect to Size, and to Shape. This Creature is com-

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[a] Journal *des Sçavans* for *July*, 1689. *p.* 495.

[b] *Ibid.*

[c] *Poſſevin. Biblioth. ſelect. Tom.* i. *lib.* x. *cap.* 2.

[d] *Nic. de Graaf. Voyage aux Indes, p.* 127.

[e] *Voyage de Berri, cap.* 4.

[f] *Philoſtrat. lib.* ii. *cap.* 21.

[g] *Animalium omnium maximum, docile, clemens, prudens, memoria valens.* Nat. Hiſt. lib. viii. cap. 5.

[h] *Elephanto belluarum nulla prudentior.* Deorum Natura, lib. i. cap. 35.

mon in the Iſle of *Java*, as alſo in the Kingdoms of *Bengala* and *Patala*. There is ſcarce any Creature more frequently mentioned by antient Writers, than this; and yet there are very few that have been ſo imperfectly deſcribed. I ſhall paſs by the Sentiments of ſome learned Men, who conceive this to be the Unicorn of the Scriptures [a]: I ſay, I ſhall paſs them by, becauſe I do not ſee how the Queſtion can ever be decided; only thus much ſeems to be certain, that the Unicorn is there mentioned for his Strength, and for his Strength's lying in his Horn, which is exactly true of the Rhinoceros. *Pliny* [b], who is ſo fond of Wonders, and ſo copious in his Recital of moſt of them, is very ſhort in his Deſcription of this Animal, not having vouchſafed us as many Lines upon the Subject, as he has written Chapters upon the Elephant. All he tells us of it, amounts to this, that *Pompey*, in his Shews, exhibited, among other ſtrange Beaſts, a Rhinoceros, with one Horn, and no more, and that in his Snout. This, continues he, is by Nature a dreadful Enemy to the Elephant; and, by rubbing his Horn againſt hard Stones, makes it ſo very ſharp, that he is able to pierce with it the Belly of that Creature; at which Part he aims, becauſe it is tenderer than the reſt. In point of Deſcription, he tells us, that he is full as long as the Elephant, but that his Legs are ſhorter, and his Skin of the Colour of Box. *Ælian*, who inſiſts ſo largely upon other Animals, that are very common, did not think it neceſſary to deſcribe the Rhinoceros, becauſe all the World had ſeen it at *Rome*, in the Shews given by the Emperors, for the Amuſement of the People. *Strabo* is as [c] ſhort in his Deſcription as *Pliny*; though he tells us, that he had ſeen this Creature at *Alexandria*, and cites *Artemidorus* on the ſame Subject. *Dion Caſſius* contents himſelf with obſerving, that this Animal had never been ſeen at *Rome* before the Triumph of *Auguſtus* [d], in which he contradicts *Pliny*.

It would be to no purpoſe to collect a greater Number of Citations, unleſs we could meet with ſome that were larger and fuller in the Deſcription of this Animal; and, therefore, it is neceſſary, in order to give the Reader a tolerable Idea of it, to have recourſe to the Moderns. *Bontius* [e] has deſcribed it in his excellent Work, and ſo has Father *Le Comte* [f]; and, as they agree perfectly well, I ſhall only relate what we are told by the latter. The Rhinoceros, ſays he, is one of the moſt extraordinary Animals in the World: He ſeems to me to reſemble, in many Reſpects, the wild Boar, except, that he is much bigger, has ſhorter Legs, and a heavier Body. His Skin is intirely covered with large and thick Scales of a dark Colour, and exceſſively hard. They are divided into little Squares or Buttons, which ariſe ſomewhat above the Skin, in a manner not much unlike thoſe of the Crocodile. It is by this means that its Legs ſeem to be incloſed in a kind of Boots, and its Head wrapped up behind, in a ſort of Hood, or Capuchin; for which Reaſon, the *Portugueſe* call this Creature the Monk of the *Indies*. Its Head is very large, but its Mouth is not very big; its Snout long, and armed with a large Horn, which renders it extremely terrible even to Tygers, Buffaloes, and Elephants. But what ſeems to be the moſt moſt wonderful in this Animal, is its Tongue, which Nature has covered with a Membrane ſo tough and ſtrong, that, in Effect, it differs nothing from a File, ſo that he tears his Prey to pieces barely by licking it. As we ſee ſome Animals that delight in feeding on Thiſtles, the little Points of which, by pricking the Extremities of the Nerves in their Tongues, afford them an agreeable Senſation, ſo the Rhinoceros feeds with greateſt Pleaſure on the Branches of ſuch Trees as are thick-ſet with the tougheſt and ſtrongeſt Thorns. I have myſelf often given this Creature Twigs of ſuch Trees as were thick-ſet with Briars that were exceedingly ſharp and ſtrong; and have been amazed to ſee how greedily, and with what Addreſs, he chewed and fed upon them, without being at all incommoded by their Points. It is true, that ſometimes his Mouth is a little bloody, but that ſerves only to render the Taſte of his Food more agreeable; and has apparently no other Effect on his Tongue, or Taſte, than Salt and Pepper on ours. Some other Authors add to this Deſcription, that he has under his fore Legs a kind of very ugly looſe Skin, that hangs down over his Belly, of a Texture not unlike that of the Wings of a Bat; which, all together, muſt render this Creature equally ſingular and diſagreeable.

The ingenious Mr. *Kolben* [g], in his excellent Account of the Cape of *Good Hope*, has given us a ſtill more accurate Deſcription of the Rhinoceros; and, indeed, by comparing it with all that I have met with on this Subject, I am throughly ſatisfied, that it is more clear, more diſtinct, and more agreeable to Truth, becauſe the Author ſeems to have had more Attention, and leſs Quickneſs of Fancy, than other Writers. Its Skin, ſays he, is without Hair, or other Covering; but is of itſelf ſo hick and hard, that even the moſt ſharp-pointed Knife will hardly pierce it. Painters generally repreſent this Creature with Scales, but it has really nothing of that kind. Its Skin indeed is ſo full of Scratches and Scabs, that, at a Diſtance, they may be very well taken for Scales, eſpecially as they frequently run over and acroſs each other. His Noſe, or Snout, is not unlike that of an Hog; on the End of which, he has an Horn of a dark-brown Colour, which, without doubt, by the continual Uſe he makes of it, is bent back towards his Head, ſo that it in ſome meaſure reſembles a Ploughſhare. This Horn is of very different Sizes, according to the Age of the Animal; but, in Length, never exceeds two Feet. It has another Horn a little above the large one, towards the Front of its Head, which is of a yellow Colour, but ſmall in a young Rhinoceros, and in an old one, does not exceed ſix Inches at the moſt. In its Figure, it reſembles a Bowl cut in half; the Cavity is turned towards the Head: This leſſer Horn hinders the larger one from doing all the Miſchief that it otherwiſe might: Its Ears are leſs, and its Limbs ſhorter than thoſe of the Elephant: Its Eyes are exceedingly ſmall, and it only ſees ſtrait forward; which is the Reaſon, that when it runs or purſues its Prey, it is always in a ſtrait Line, forcing, tearing, and throwing up, whatever it meets with in its Paſſage, ſo that neither Buſh, Tree, Thicket, or large Stones, ever oblige it to quit its Path. With the Horn upon his Noſe, he tears up Trees by the Roots, throws Stones that lie in his Way over his Head, to a great Diſtance, and with a prodigious Noiſe. When he meets with nothing to obſtruct him, and is in a Rage, he will make great Ruts in the Ground, and throw, from time to time, large Quantities of Earth over his Head. His Grunt is very much like that of an Hog, and not very loud, if he is not angry; but, if he is in Purſuit of his Prey, he makes ſuch a terrible Noiſe, as may be heard at a great Diſtance; and, as he is very dreadful to all Kinds of Beaſts, they fly at the Sound of it in the utmoſt Terror.

9. The principal Food of the Rhinoceros, are Buſhes, Shrubs, Boughs of Trees, and other things of the ſame Nature: For tho' this Creature be a Beaſt of Prey, and one of the moſt terrible in this Part of the World, yet it is both able to ſubſiſt, and does ſubſiſt, for a great while together, without feeding on Fleſh [h]. What the Antients report, of the Rhinoceros having a natural Antipathy to the Elephant, is ſtrictly true; and they never meet in the Woods, but it is fatal to the latter, if it does not ſee the Rhinoceros time enough to make its Eſcape; for the Elephant places all its Safety in Flight; and, if once attacked, is ſcarce able to make any Defence through Fear [i]. It is very ſeldom that the Rhinoceros attacks a Man, and hardly ever, unleſs he happens to be dreſſed in Red; a Colour to which he has a mortal Averſion. When he comes up with the Man whom he purſues, he lifts him by the Twiſt on his Horn, and throws him directly over his Head with ſuch Force, that he never fails of finding him dead when he comes to devour him, which he does by licking all the Fleſh from the Bones, with his Tongue, in the ſame manner that he deſtroys other Animals. But, however furious, and however ſwift, this terrible Creature may be, yet it is

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[a] *Numbers* xxiii. 22. God brought them out of *Egypt*: He hath, as it were, the Strength of an Unicorn.

[b] *Lib.* viii. *cap.* 20.

[c] *Lib.* xvi. *p.* 774.

[d] *Lib.* li. *p.* 460.

[e] *Meditam. Indor. lib.* xvi.

[f] *Memoires de la Chine.*

[g] *Deſcription du Cap de la bonne Eſperance, p.* iii. *c.* 2.

[h] *Jonſton. Theat. Animal. Tom.* ii. *p.* 66.

[i] *Mandelſlo, Voiage aux Indes, p.* 3, 6.

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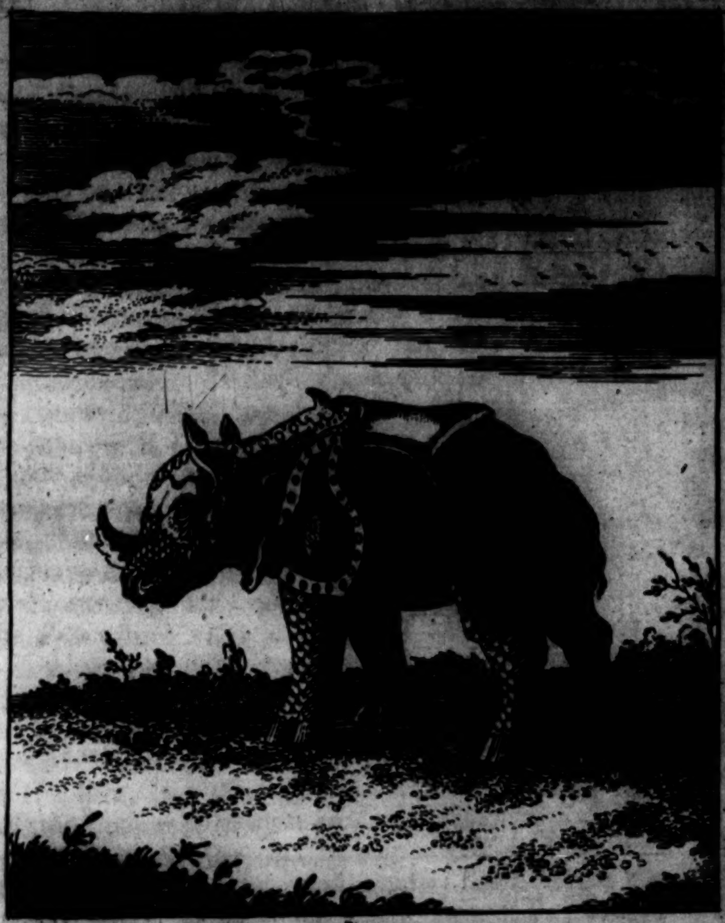
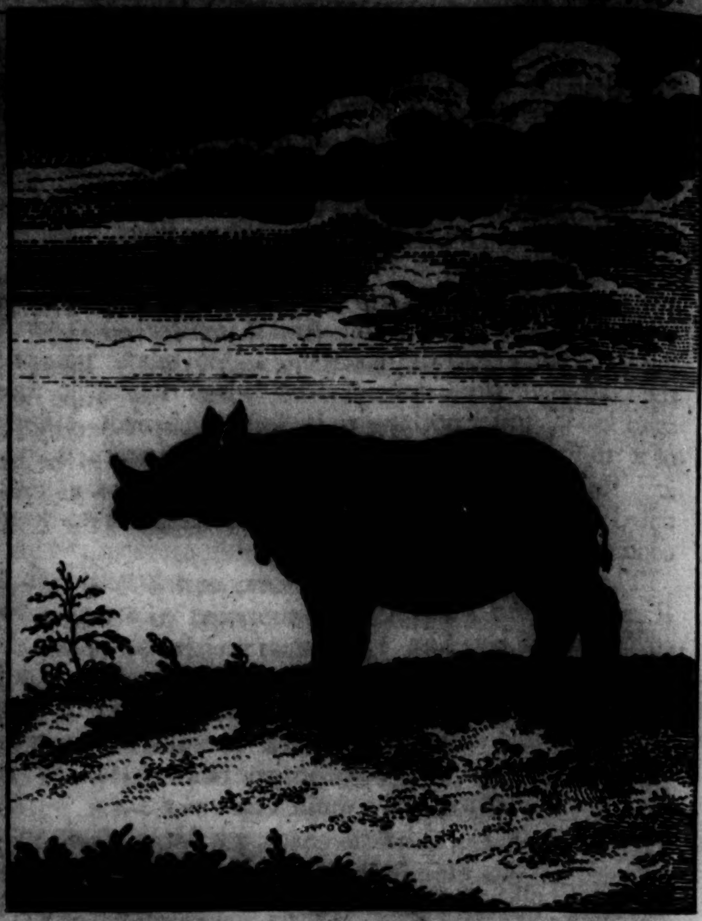
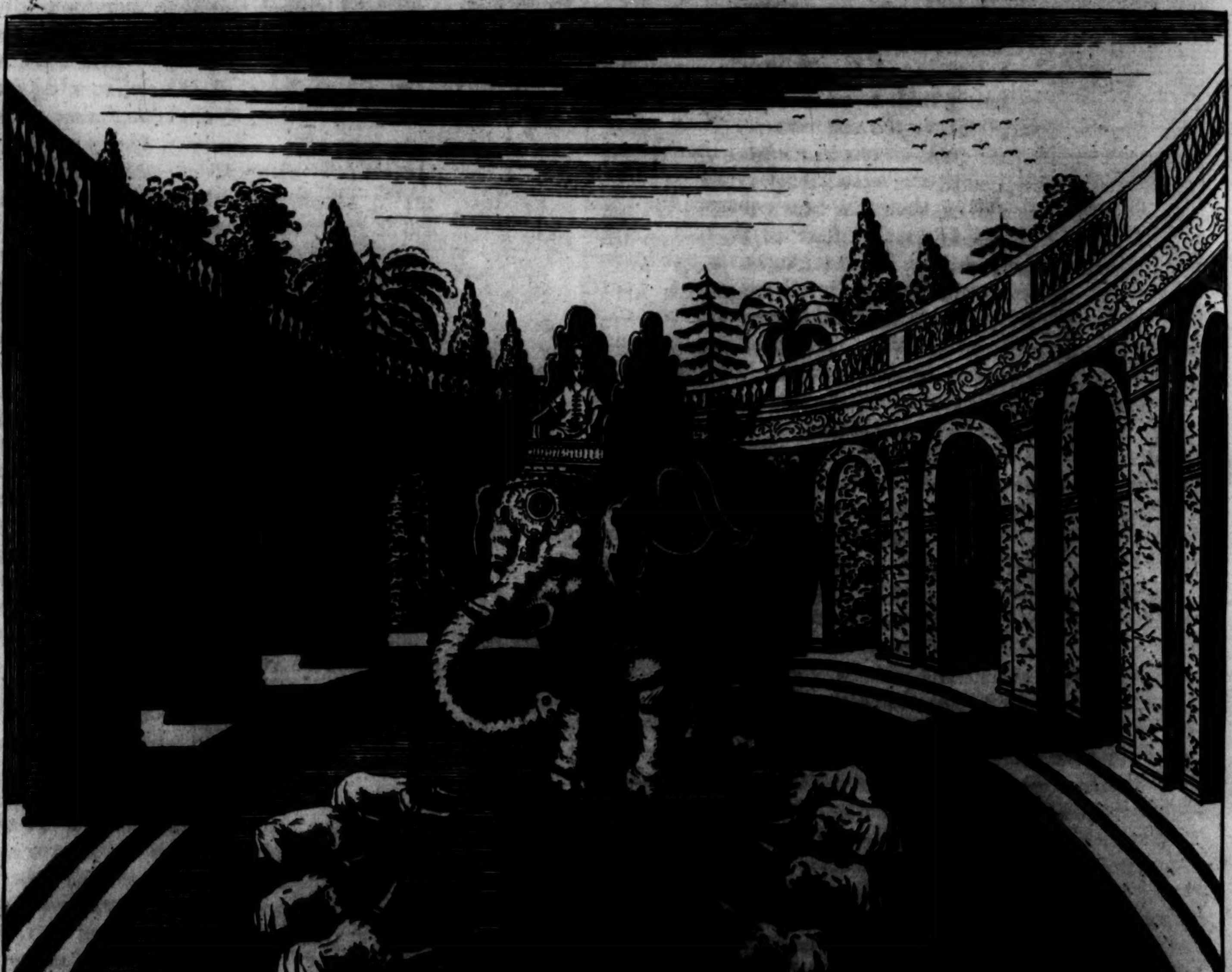


The Rhinoceros as described by yᵉ Ancients



The Rhinoceros drawn from the life



An Indian Monarch giving Audience from his Elephant far from being difficult to avoid it, provided a Man has a tolerable Preſence of Mind; for the Rhinoceros ſeeing only ſtraight forward, and turning being very troubleſome, ſtriking twice or thrice out of the Road, is ſufficient to eſcape all Danger: For this Creature very rarely turns back, or changes his Path, but deſtroys, without Mercy, whatever he finds in it [a].

The general Name of this Creature, in the *Indies*, is *Abada*; and in *Perſian*, it is called *Kerkeden*, much eſteemed for the Virtues of its Horn: And therefore, notwithſtanding the Danger of the Exerciſe, induſtriouſly hunted by the Natives of the Country, who, when they are ſo lucky as to kill it, ſuffer nothing to be loſt, but apply every Part of it to ſome Uſe or other. The Fleſh is ſaid to be hard and ſtringy, but, in other reſpects, wholſome and well-taſted; ſo that the *Europeans* eat it readily, and think it no contemptible Veniſon.

The Horn is extremely precious, and ſells at a great Rate, from the Property it is ſuppoſed to have, of diſcovering Poiſon: The Fact is univerſally believed in the *Indies*, and a Man would be as much laughed at there for doubting it, as he would be here for believing it: Yet ſome Writers of unqueſtionable Credit, have aſſerted the Truth of this from their own Knowledge, particularly Mr. *Kolben*, who aſſures us, that, at the Cape of *Good Hope*, they make Cups of this Horn, which are finely adorned with Gold or Silver; and that, upon pouring Wine into them, a great Ebullition follows; but, if there be any Poiſon mixed with the Wine, the Cup infallibly breaks, as it alſo does, if the Poiſon be put in unmixed. The Experiment, we are told, has been made ſo frequently, and with ſuch conſtant Succeſs, that Thouſands of Perſons ſettled at the Cape of *Good Hope*, might be produced, as Witneſſes to the Truth of it [b].

For my own Part, I muſt confeſs, that I think it almoſt as difficult to believe, that Mr. *Kolben* himſelf, or any other Writer of Reputation, ſhould endeavour to impoſe upon Mankind by ſuch a Report, if there was no Truth in it, as to believe the Fact. I therefore incline to think, that the Relation is only delivered in too general Terms; and that, inſtead of aſſerting, that this Horn breaks, on the pouring into a Cup made of it any kind of Poiſon, an Inquiry ought to be made, what ſort of Poiſon really breaks it? For I very much ſuſpect, that if we knew what kind of Poiſon it is, we ſhould be able to account for it from natural Cauſes: And I am the rather led to this Opinion, from what the ſame Author tells us, of the bubbling or boiling of Wine, when poured into the ſame Cup.

10. The *Indians* fancy, that, in ſplitting the Horn, they diſcern, on each Side, the Figure of a Man, marked out by little white Spots; as alſo Birds of ſeveral Kinds, as we ſee in *Egyptian* Pebbles [c]; But, without doubt, this is the Effect of a very ſtrong Fancy, with regard to both. It is, however, highly probable, that, as it ſerves to raiſe the Price of this Commodity, it alſo ſerves to ſupport its Credit; for the more Wonders are reported of any thing, the more readily the common People believe them. In the Iſland of *Java*, where there are many of theſe Creatures, they are moſt valued, and the Virtues of their Horns in the higheſt Eſteem; ſo that when they are ſent to be turned, they always order a Perſon to ſtand by, to collect the Shavings, that no Part may be loſt: For of this ſort of Ivory, they give a certain Quantity, boiled in Water, or in Broth, for Convulſions, Fainting-fits, and other Diſeaſes that proceed from Diſorders in the Nerves. The Blood likewiſe, of this Animal, is held to be extremely medicinal: And therefore, when it can be got freſh, they ſet it in a Cup made of the Rhinoceros's Horn, in the Sun, till it grows hard; and then they preſerve it in a Bottle cloſe-ſtopped, for the following Uſes: They conceive it to be a Specific for all Obſtructions, and, at the ſame, admirable for healing and conſolidating broken Veſſels; but, above all, it is held an infallible Cure for the Spitting of Blood. The manner of taking it is, by mixing a few Grains of the Blood, in a Diſh of Tea or Coffee.

It is moſt certain, that, on the firſt coming of the *Europeans* into theſe Countries, they found the People univerſally perſuaded of the Efficacy of theſe Drugs: And we are told by the famous *John Hugo Linſchoten*, one of the moſt candid Writers on this Subject, that in *Bengal* the Rhinoceros Horn was ſold at a very high Price. He tells us likewiſe ſome other Circumſtances, that deſerve to be mentioned: ‘Theſe Horns, ſays he, are much valued throughout all *India*, as effectual Remedies againſt Venom and Poiſon; for which, likewiſe, the Teeth, Claws, Fleſh, Skin, Blood, Urine, and Dung, of this Animal, are likewiſe much valued: And that this is not an idle Notion, but an Opinion founded in Truth, I can, from my own Experience, atteſt. There is, however, one thing, which is to be remembered, that all theſe Horns are not of equal Value and Price, becauſe all of them are not of equal Goodneſs; for ſome will ſell for 200 or 300 Pardoes, while others of the ſame Size and Colour will not fetch above three or four Pardoes. The Reaſon which the Natives aſſign for this Difference, is their feeding in different Places; for they believe, that the Virtue of the Horn is derived from the Herbs by which the Creature is nouriſhed; and therefore, they have almoſt an equal Eſteem for the Horns of the wild Goats that feed in the ſame Places [d].’

I ſhall conclude this Account with the Relation of Father *Borri*, in his Account of *Cochin-China*, as to the Hunting of the *Abada*, which, however, he deſcribes as covered over with Scales; tho' this might, perhaps, ariſe, from his ſeeing him only at a Diſtance. His Account is curious; and therefore I ſhall give it in the Author's own Words, the rather becauſe it not only confirms many things before related, but furniſhes us alſo with ſome Particulars that are new. ‘When I was at *Nuocmon*, a City in the Province of *Pulucambi*, ſays he, the Governor went out to hunt a Rhinoceros, that was in a Wood near our Dwelling-place: He had with him above an hundred Men, ſome on Foot, and ſome on Horſeback; and eight or ten Elephants. The Rhinoceros came out of the Wood; and, ſeeing ſo many Enemies, was ſo far from giving any Tokens of Fear, that it furiouſly encountered them all, who opened, and making a Line, let the Rhinoceros run through, till it came to the Rear, where the Governor was mounted on his Elephant, waiting to kill it. The Elephant endeavoured to lay hold with his Trunk, but could not, by reaſon of the Rhinoceros's Swiftneſs: And leaping, to wound the Elephant with its Horn, the Governor knowing it could receive no Hurt, by reaſon of the Scales, unleſs they ſtruck it on the Side, waited, till leaping it laid open the naked Place; and, caſting a Dart, dexterouſly ſtruck it thro', from Side to Side; with great Applauſe, and Satisfaction of all the Multitude of Spectators, who, without any more to do, laid it upon a great Pile of Wood, and, ſetting Fire to it, leapt and danced about, while the Scales were burning, and Fleſh roaſting; cutting Pieces as it roaſted, and eating them. Of the Entrails, that is, the Heart, Liver, and Brain, they made a more dainty Diſh, and gave it to the Governor, who was upon a Riſing-ground, diverting himſelf with their Merriment. As I was preſent at the taking of this Creature, I obtained from the Governor the Hoofs; which I eſteemed not inferior to his Horn: And this is thought as effectual in expelling Poiſon, as that of the Unicorn.’ This ſeems to countenance my Sentiment, that theſe Horns, as Alcalis, may ſerve as Remedies for a certain kind of Poiſons.

11. The Lion, of which ſo many extraordinary Stories are told us by the Antients, is alſo a Native of the *Indies*, and more common there than in any other Part of the World, except *Libya*. The Lion of the true Kind, of full Size, and with a flowing Mane of yellow Hair, is by all Authors acknowledged to be, at once, the moſt majeſtic, and the moſt dreadful Sight, that is furniſhed by the Animal Creation. The Lioneſs has no Mane; her Ears are ſhorter and wider; and ſhe has more Fierceneſs, and leſs Dignity in her Countenance, than the Lion [e].

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[a] *Deſcription du Cape de Bonne Eſperance, Vol.* iii. *p.* 16.
[b] *Idem. ibid. p.* 17.
[c] *Herbelot. Bibliot. Orient. p.* 959.
[d] *Voiage aux Indes, p.* 191.
[e] *Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib.* vi. *c.* 31. *Ælian. lib.* xvii. *c.* 26.

It is poſitively inſiſted on, both by *Ariſtotle* and *Pliny* [a], that the Bones of the Lion are much firmer, and more ſolid than thoſe of any other Beaſt; which ſome Moderns have denied: But ſuch as have had the beſt Opportunities of inquiring into, and being ſatisfied as to the Matter of Fact, aſſure us, that the Antients are in the right; and that the Cavity in the Leg-bones of a Lion is not larger than thoſe of a Tobacco-pipe; ſo that when they are ſuffered to lie and dry in the Sun, that Cavity is intirely filled up; and they become ſo ſmooth, ſo ſtrong, and perfectly united, that they will ſtrike Fire like Flints. When he falls upon his Prey, he firſt brings it to the Ground, and then beats its Breath out with his Paw, before he tears or eats it; and generally accompanies this Death-ſtroke with a loud Roar [b].

Their Strength is prodigious, and much beyond their Size; which is the Reaſon, that other Beaſts fly at the Sight of them. We are told by *Pliny*, that they never prey upon Men, till they become very old, and cannot provide themſelves with other Food; in which time of Diſtreſs, they watch about the Skirts of Villages, and even of great Towns, that they may catch and devour ſuch as come out careleſly in a Morning, or are returning in an Evening.

The *Romans* thought there was ſomething ominous in the manner in which Lions were introduced into their Amphitheatres. *Sylla* the Dictator exhibited one hundred Lions, which fought all at once. After him *Pompey* expoſed ſix hundred; and his Competitor, *Julius Cæſar*, expoſed four hundred. All which, the *Romans* obſerved, happened in Times when their Liberty was declining. But what contributed to ſpread this Notion the moſt of all, was the Contrivance of *Mark Antony*, who, after the Defeat of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, cauſed himſelf to be drawn through *Rome* in a Chariot, to which two Lions were yoked, at the ſame time that there ſat with him one *Cytheris* an Actreſs, his favourite Miſtreſs, before he became acquainted with *Cleopatra*. This, ſays *Pliny*, ſeemed to preſage, that Men of high Spirit, and noble Courage, ſhould be tamed, and brought into Subjection to ſuch as were only remarkable for their Pride and Luxury: And for my Part, continues he, I conſider the very Sight of ſo monſtrous a Spectacle, as none of the leaſt of the Calamities of theſe unhappy Times [c].

It was not at *Rome* only, that ſuch Notions prevailed; the *Carthaginians* ſeem alſo to have had the ſame Sentiments; for when *Hanno*, who was one of their moſt excellent Citizens, and greateſt Generals, had found a Way to tame a Lion, ſo that he ſtroked and handled him like a Dog, they took occaſion from thence to drive him into Baniſhment, believing that the Liberties of a People could not be ſafe, where that Man had any Power, who had Skill enough to alter the Nature of the fierceſt Beaſt, and make him tame and gentle as a Spaniel.

It is very doubtful, whether there be any Truth in what is reported of the Lioneſs bringing forth but five times in her Life, and having at firſt five Whelps, then four, and the laſt time but one: Neither is there much Credit due to what is ſaid, of their living to a great Age; ſince we know, by Experience, that they are not a very long-lived Animal. But with reſpect to its Magnanimity, and diſdaining to eat ſuch as approach in an humble and ſuppliant manner, it is affirmed as well by modern Travellers, as the Writers of Antiquity: And it is on all hands agreed, that if this Beaſt does not laſh himſelf with his Tail, or ſet up his Mane, a Man may ſafely go by him.

There are a kind of Lions that have no Manes, but are ſmooth like the Lioneſs: Theſe are ſaid to be a mongrel Breed between the Leopard and the Lioneſs. As to the Antipathy between the Lion and the Cock, and the former's flying, if he hear the latter crow, it is no better than a Fable; of which there are more related of this, than almoſt any other Animal. And, in Truth, one cannot but wonder, how ſo grave a Writer as *Pliny* could bring himſelf to ſet down ſo many improbable Stories as he did, upon this Subject; which, as they could only ſerve to tire, without inſtructing the Reader, I think it beſt to omit. The Fleſh of this Animal is often eaten, is not at all unpleaſant, and is not known to prove unwholſome; but, whether any Part of this Creature be of any Uſe in Phyſick, I am not able to ſay.

12. The Tyger is juſtly reported by the Antients one of the fierceſt, ſwifteſt, and ſtrongeſt of all wild Beaſts. Other Animals, of which we have hitherto ſpoken, are found in ſeveral Countries beſides the *Indies*; but the true Tyger is, in a manner, peculiar to that Part of the World: They differ from the Leopard in Size, and in Spots; for the Tyger is much bigger, having yellow Spots that are very round, with black Hair about them; whereas the Leopard is ſpotted with black, almoſt in the Shape of Horſe-ſhoes. The Female, which is called the Tygreſs, is even fiercer than the Male, as appears from what *Pliny* tells us of the Manner in which the Huntſmen caught her young ones in thoſe Times. They provided themſelves, ſays he, with a very ſwift Horſe, on which one of the boldeſt went in Search of the Tyger's Den, while the reſt remained with their Boat by the River-ſide. When he who was on Horſeback had an Opportunity, by the Abſence of their Dam, he carried away the Whelps, and rode as hard as he was able to join his Companions; but the Tygreſs, miſſing her Young, frequently came up with the Huntſman before he reached the River-ſide, who, as ſoon as he found himſelf in Danger, dropped one of the Whelps, which the Tygreſs taking up, and carrying back to her Den, gave him Time to eſcape with the reſt to his Companions, who immediately quitted the Place with the utmoſt Expedition. This Story ſhews the quick Scent, and prodigious Speed, of this Creature; of which, however, *Pliny* does not give us any particular Deſcription [d].

By comparing, however, the ſeveral Accounts we have of this Creature in modern Travels, it appears, that their Eyes are wonderful bright and ſhining, their Necks ſhort and ſtrong, their Teeth and Claws prodigiouſly ſharp, their tabby Skins of a beautiful Colour, and their Hair ſhort and gloſſy. The Kingdom of *Malabar* is, of all others, the moſt famous for theſe Animals, of which they diſtinguiſh theſe three Sorts: The firſt is ſomewhat bigger than a wild Cat, makes a frightful Noiſe, not unlike the Lowing of a Cow, and does a great deal of Miſchief. The ſecond Sort, which is moſt common, is of the Size of a ſmall Calf, wonderfully briſk and active, and, withal, exceſſively cruel. The third is called the Tyger Royal, and is very near as big as a Horſe, for the Skin of one of them will ſerve for a Coverlid for a Bed ſix Foot long; and for this they are much uſed in the *Indies*. The Furs of all the Species of this Creature are very valuable, both in the *Indies*, and in *Europe*. They are uſed there chiefly for Beds and Palankins; and here for Horſe-furniture, and for lining Cloaths in the Winter, eſpecially in the North [e].

As the Lion never eats any Creature till it is dead, ſo the Tyger tears his Prey to Pieces while it is living; and if he meets by chance with a dead Sheep, or Horſe, he will not touch them: But if, at any time, they fall in with an Herd or Flock, where they have Plenty of Cattle at their Mercy, they ſeldom eat them at all, but content themſelves with ſucking their Blood; by which it is incredible what Havock they make. A Tyger, Tygreſs, and two of their young ones, have been known to deſtroy upwards of an hundred Sheep in a Night's-time, in this manner: They generally hide themſelves behind Buſhes or Hedges, in an incloſed Country, from whence they leap at once, with almoſt incredible Force, upon whatever paſſes by: Neither are they at all afraid of Men; but, whenever they have an Opportunity, ſeize them generally in the Middle, carry them into the Woods, and there tear them to-pieces, and devour them. The Fleſh of this Creature is remarkably white and tender: Such as have eat it affirm, that it is as delicate as any kind of Veal, and much better taſted: And the Fleſh of young Tygers is ſaid to be as tender and ſweet as that of Fowls [f].

The Antients report, that Tygers often mingle with Dogs; which, having been obſerved by the *Indians*, they were wont to carry a certain Number of Bitches into the

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[a] *Pliny, lib.* viii. *cap.* 16. *Ariſtot. ubi ſup.*

[b] *Ælian. lib.* iii. *cap.* . *lib.* vii. *cap.* 96.

[c] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* viii. *cap.* 16

[d] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* vi. *c.* 20. *lib.* vi *c.* 18. *Oppian. lib.* 1. *Bochart. Hier. P.* 1. *lib.* iii. *c.* 7 & 8.

[e] *Dictionaire de Commerce, Artic.* Tigre.

[f] *Voyage au Indes par J. le Maire.*

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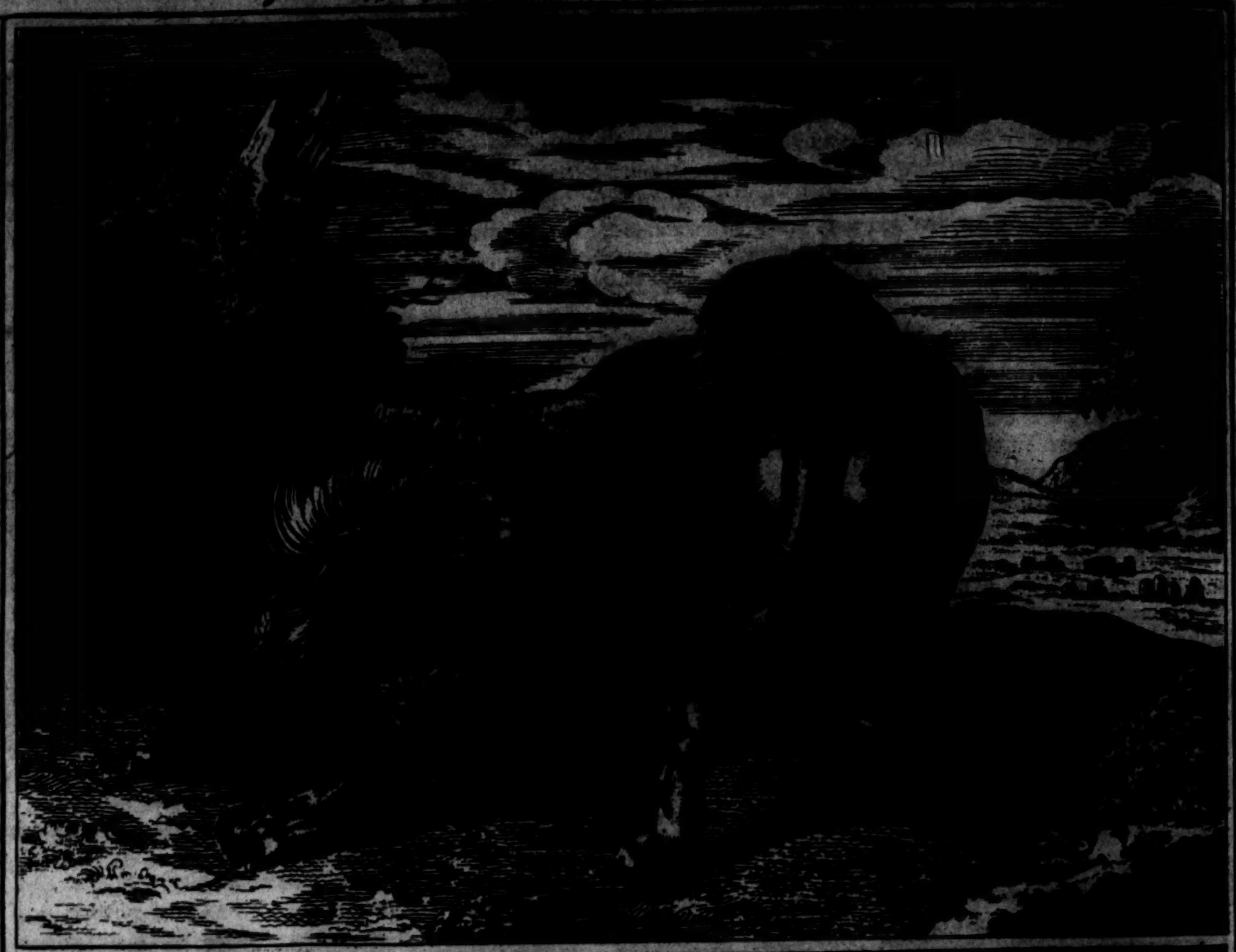
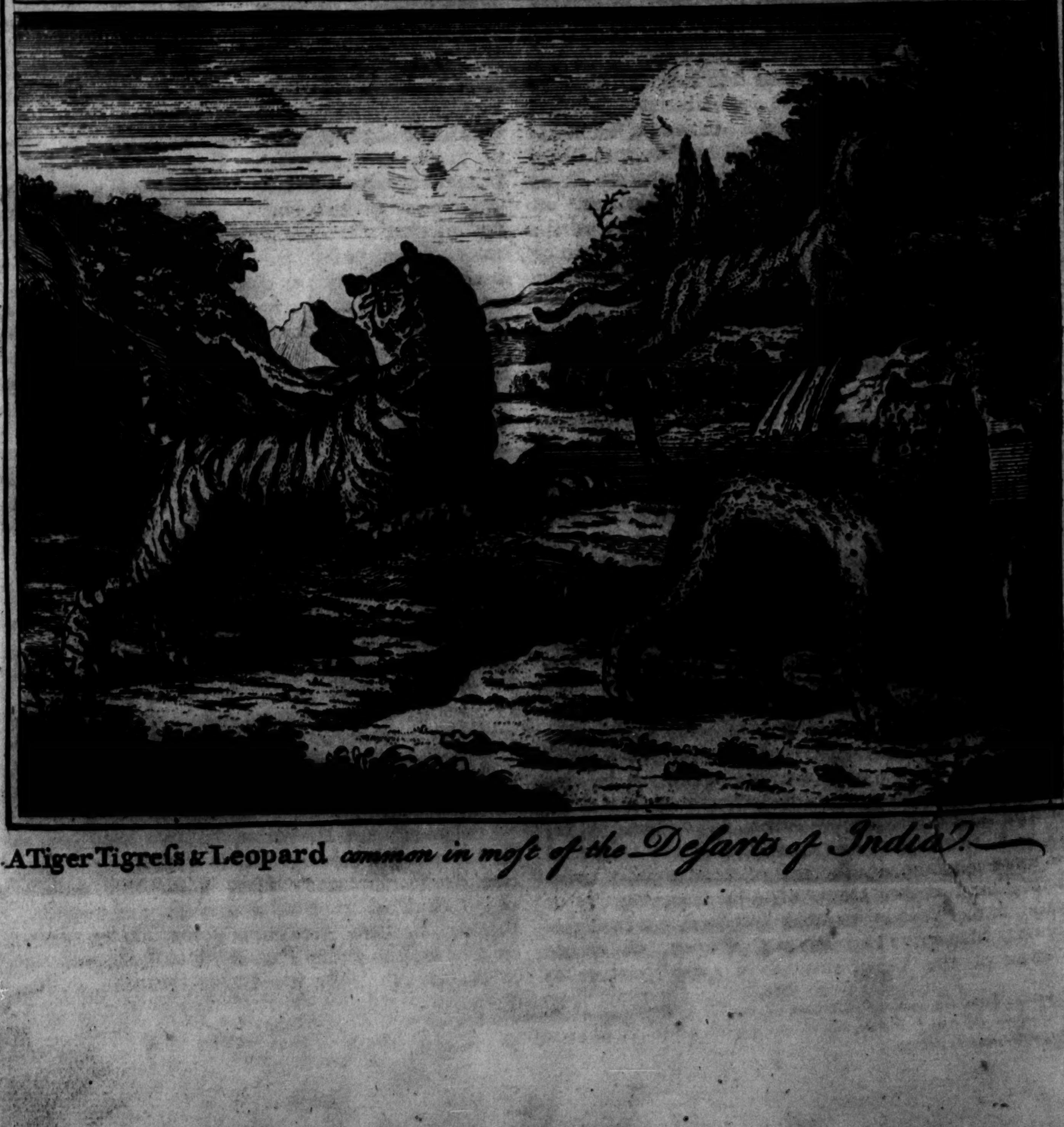
A Lion & Lioneſs as deſcrib'd by y^e moſt famous Writers on Natural Hiſtory Vol. [illegible]





A Tiger Tigreſs & Leopard common in moſt of the Deſarts of India.

Woods, where the Tygers frequented, and there left them tied to Trees. By this Contrivance they obtained a Species of Dogs ſo fierce and ſtrong, that they were not afraid of attacking even a Lion: And it was of this Breed that *Sopithes*, an *Indian* King, preſented ſome to *Alexander* the Great; of which we have a particular Account in the Hiſtory of *Diodorus Siculus*. *Alexander*, having a mind to make an Experiment of their Strength and Courage, let looſe a large Lion upon two of them, which not being able to manage him, he ordered two other Dogs to be let go: The Lion, being ſurrounded by theſe four, was very ſoon over-powered; upon which the *Indian* King ſent a Perſon with a Sword, who cut off the Right Thigh of one of the Dogs by little and little; and, in ſpight of all the Pain he endured, the Dog neither howled, nor let go; but held the Lion faſt, till he fell down dead. The Number of theſe Creatures, given to *Alexander* by this *Indian* Prince, was one hundred and fifty, which that Hero eſteemed a very valuable Preſent[a].

A *Dutch* Traveller informs us, that in the Kingdom of *Congo* the Tygers ſeldom or never attack white Men; and, as a Proof of it, he tells us, that when he was there, a Tyger ſurpriſed a white Man and a Black aſleep, and immediately tore the Negro to-pieces, but left the White untouched: And we have the ſame thing aſſerted by other Writers, but, I think, without any good Grounds, farther than as it may be ſuppoſed, that the Tygers are better acquainted with the Blacks in thoſe Countries; and, therefore, may be more apt to attack a Prey they have been uſed to[b].

In the Voyages of *Walter Schouten* we have a very curious Account of theſe Creatures; and, as that *Dutch* Writer is highly eſteemed for his ſtrict Regard to Truth, the Reader will not, probably, be diſpleaſed with the Tranſlation of what he has given us upon this Subject. ‘It is very true, ſays he, that the Tyger thirſts as much after human Blood, as after that of Beaſts. He catches a Man exactly as a Cat does a Mouſe, and carries him off with as much Eaſe. At the firſt Leap he ſticks his fore Paws into the Shoulders, or, rather, a little below them; and, having brought the Man down, he ſtrikes his Teeth, on both Sides, through his Ribs. One may very well ſay, that a Man is loſt, upon whom a Tyger ſets his Eyes: The Sight of them, and the being attacked, are, in a manner, inſtantaneous; ſo that the Fright, and the being paſt all Fright, is over in two or three Minutes. The Deſarts of *Bengal* are ſomewhat leſs dangerous in the Light than in the Dark; for then the Tygers quit their Thickets and Caverns, and come even into Houſes and Villages, where they ſeize any they find abroad, and tear them to-pieces. They have even the Boldneſs to attack Men on Horſeback; as alſo the largeſt and ſtrongeſt Buffaloes of that Country, which are of an extraordinary Size: They, generally, leap upon their Shoulders, and tear them to-pieces in an inſtant; ſome Inſtances of which happened while we were there. It is looked upon as a Thing certain among the *Indians*, that the Tyger and Rhinoceros live in great Harmony together. There are many of both Sorts of theſe Creatures in the Woods of *Bengal*, and it is never known, that they attack each other. The Reaſon which the *Indians* give for this is very ſingular: They ſay that Tygers, after gorging themſelves with the Fleſh of Men or Beaſts, grow extremely ſick, and find Relief by eating the Dung of the Rhinoceros, which, as it feeds chiefly upon green Herbs, that are of great Virtue, they are ſtill very wholſome, even when they have paſſed through his Body; of which they appear to be very thoroughly perſuaded, since they frequently make uſe of the ſame Medicine themſelves.’ The ſame Writer tells us, , that in this Part of the *Indies* they are forced to travel in Company, for fear of theſe mercileſs Creatures; and that their Dogs, when they hear the Cry of them in the Woods, tremble, and ſweat in a moſt ſurpriſing Manner. The People, however, at certain Seaſons of the Year, aſſemble in great Numbers to hunt the Tygers, and carry along with them ſeveral of their Conjurers, who pretend to inchant them, which is, at once, a ſtrong Proof both of their Folly and their ’, Fear[c]. There are a ſmaller Sort of Tygers in *Africa*; and, it is ſaid, in *America*; but it is very doubtful whether the latter are at all of the ſame Species: And, as to the former, though they are very fierce, and do infinite Miſchief, eſpecially in the *Dutch* Settlements, near the *Cape of Good Hope*, yet they are far below the Size of an *Indian* Tyger, and are only equal at moſt to the ſecond Sort. This Difference is occaſioned, in all Probability, by ſome Mixture in the Breed; for it appears plainly, by comparing the Accounts of antient Writers with thoſe of modern Travellers, that it was the large *Indian* Tyger was known to the former, and not the ſmaller Sorts, which, if then exiſting, were called by other Names.

13. The Leopard and Panther are the Male and Female of the ſame Species, which, though not equal in Size, is very little inferior in Strength, to the Lion, and not at all leſs miſchievous. It is not, however, very common for them to attack Men, at leaſt if they are not under the Neceſſity of doing it; for, in that Caſe, there is no Creature bolder. The Skins of theſe Animals were much valued by the Antients, on account of the Beauty and Regularity of their Spots, which, as I before obſerved, were ſmall, and of a ſemicircular Figure, not unlike an Half-moon[d]: But on the Shoulder they were ſuppoſed to have a larger Mark, which not only reſembled, but was in a manner governed by the Moon, increaſing as ſhe did, and decreaſing likewiſe in the ſame manner; having now blunt Points, now ſharp, and ſometimes a complete Orb, like the Ful Moon[e]. One would find it more difficult to believe, that ſuch Opinions as theſe would gain Credit with Men of Learning and Senſe, if there were not Inſtances, even in our Days, of as ridiculous Notions prevailing with Men who pretend to follow no other Lights than thoſe of Reaſon and Experience.

The Antients tell us, that theſe Creatures had a very ſingular way of hunting. They derive from Nature a kind of muſky Smell, which being agreeable to Deer, Goats, and other Animals, they were wont to frequent the Haunts of the Panthers, till at the Sight of her fierce Countenance they were frighted, and fled; which this Creature obſerving, ſhe contrived to hide herſelf behind the Buſhes, that, when theſe Animals were attracted by her Smell, ſhe might leap on them at once; by which Method ſhe eaſily ſurpriſed them. The *Indians* hunt them very aſſiduouſly, as well for their Fleſh, which they eſteem very wholſomeas well as ſavoury, as for the ſake of taking their Young, which they breed up tame, and then preſent them to their Kings, who breed them up for hunting; and find them not only ſuperior to any kind of Dogs in Swiftneſs and Strength, but in Fidelity alſo; for they conſtantly bring back what they take without tearing it: And, even to this Day, it is found, that they make uſe of the ſame Method of inticing their Prey that has been before deſcribed from the Antients. The *Arabians* call this Creature *Beber*; the *Turks*, *Joz*; and the *Tartars*, *Jem*: But the general Name of them through the Eaſt, is, *Pars*, which is a *Perſian* Word; and it ſignifies, alſo, the Country of *Perſia*, properly ſo called: And hence it is, that the Perſon, who has the Care of theſe Creatures that are kept for the hunting of the Grand Signor, is called *Parſigi*: And ſo jealous they are in the *Indies* of this kind of Sport, that no private Man is permitted to hunt with Leopards[f].

When the Panther has young ones, it is reported, that the Leopard, though much ſtronger, will not defend himſelf againſt her, but ſuffers himſelf to be very ill treated, till the young ones are grown up, and able to ſhift for themſelves. It is certain, that, however fierce in their Nature, the Panthers are extremely tender of their Whelps; of which *Pliny* gives us a very ſingular Inſtance. A Panther, by ſome Accident or other, had her whole Litter tumbled into a deep Pit, out of which ſhe was not able to deliver them. In this Diſtreſs ſhe went to the next

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[a] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *Q. Curtius, lib.* ix.

[b] *Voyage de P. van de Broek, p.* 397.

[c] *Voyage aux Indes, p.* 331.

[d] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt. Anim. lib.* viii. *Ælian, lib.* iv. *cap.* 49. *lib.* v. *cap.* 40. *lib.* xv. *cap.* 14.

[e] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *cap.* 17.

[f] *Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, p.* 700.

Highway, in hopes of finding ſome Paſſenger, that might be kind enough to aſſiſt her. The firſt who came by, was the Father of *Philinus* the Philoſopher; about whom the Panther played and friſked, without offering to hurt him. The Man would willingly have eſcaped from her Careſſes, but found it impoſſible. At laſt ſhe lay down at his Feet, and ſeemed to bemoan herſelf; and then taking hold of his Robe, led him gently to the Place where her Offspring lay: By which diſcovering the Cauſe of this Change in the Nature of the Beaſt, he deſcended into the Pit, and reached up her young ones. When the Whelps were once in Safety, they fell to leaping and playing with their Dam, who, in Company with her young ones, led their Benefactor ſafely out of the Wilderneſs [a].

There are many ſtrange things reported by the Antients, as to the Amours between the Leopard and the Lioneſs. The latter, they ſay, is exceedingly prone to the Company of the former; and fearing that the Lion ſhould detect her Infidelity by the ſtrong Smell of the Leopard, ſhe keeps, for ſome time, at a Diſtance from her Conſort; but, when ſhe finds herſelf pregnant, ſhe deſerts him intirely, and reſorts to the Haunts of the Leopard; becauſe, when the Lion finds her young ones ſpotted, he tears the ſpurious Breed to-pieces, and chaſtiſes the Lioneſs herſelf ſeverely [b]. In the Travels of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, we meet with many Inſtances of the Tenderneſs of Panthers to their Young, and of their Gentleneſs and Fidelity. *Philoſtratus* informs us, that from their natural Wantonneſs the Panthers were held ſacred to, and Symbols of *Bacchus*; but other Authors aſcribe this to their Love of Wine, in which they differ extremely from other Beaſts [c]. But, whatever the Cauſe might be, the Fact is certain, that they were held ſacred to that Divinity; and that the Chariot of *Bacchus* is frequently repreſented as drawn by Leopards: But as it is ſometimes either drawn nor attended by Tygers, I am inclined to think, that both were uſed for the ſame Reaſon, *viz.* to ſhew that he was the Conqueror of the *Indies*, where theſe Creatures naturally reſide; if there was not a moral Reaſon for this Repreſentation, which might be intended to ſhew, that even the fierceſt and moſt intractable Natures were ſoftened and civilized by the Charms of ſocial Mirth [d].

There was an old Law at *Rome*, which forbad the bringing any of theſe Species into *Italy*; but for what Reaſon it was made, or why they were more afraid of thoſe than of other wild Creatures, does not appear. However, when *Cneius Aufidius* was Tribune of the People, he procured a Licence, notwithſtanding this Law, to bring over Leopards for the *Circenſian* Games. *Scaurus* was the firſt Man, who in his Ædileſhip exhibited one hundred and fifty Leopards. *Pompey* the Great exceeded this very far; for he produced four hundred and ten. But, at the Dedication of the Temple of *Marcellus*, *Auguſtus* exhibited to the People four hundred and twenty Leopards, and a tame Leopard in a Cage, which was never ſeen before. But the Emperor *Claudius* produced four tame Leopards at once [e].

But this is now thought no extraordinary thing; for, in the *Indies*, they tame even thoſe of the largeſt and fierceſt Kind, and keep them at their Tables, where they feed as freely and as quietly as Dogs [f]. As to the Age to which theſe Creatures attain, we meet with nothing certain, either in old Authors, or in new; but it is probable, that as in other reſpects they reſemble, ſo in their Age they come near the Lion, which is not obſerved to enjoy a very long Life. Some report, that the Tygers and Leopards mingle; which may be true in *Africa*, but ſuch Conjunctions are not frequently obſerved in the *Indies*. It may not be amiſs to add, that in hunting with theſe Beaſts, when tame, they ſit on the Crupper of the Huntſman's Horſe, with their Eyes covered till the Game is rouſed; and then they are let go [g].

14. The Camel is, at once, as uſeful and as remarkable a Creature as any that has been yet mentioned; nor is there one that makes a greater Figure in the Works of the Antients, who ſeem to have conſidered it with greater Attention; and therefore ſpeak of it more accurately than of almoſt any other Animal, in this Part of the World [h]. The Camel is cloven-footed, hath a large, fleſhy Bunch on his Back, which is peculiar to the Species, another leſſer Bunch on the bending of each Knee, which appears to be of Uſe in ſupporting his Body: His Tail is like that of an Aſs in Shape, but has four Knots in it, like that of the Cow [i].

This is the Deſcription of *Ariſtotle*; but a *Chineſe* Writer that I have before cited, gives us, in my Judgment, a much better Picture of a Camel: And, therefore, I will ſubmit it to the Reader's Inſpection [k]: 'This Creature, ſays 'he, is a kind of Ship by Land; for he tranſports vaſt 'Quantities of Goods from one Country to another, in a 'ſhort Space of Time, at ſmall Coſt, ſince he eats ſeldom, and 'ſcarce ever drinks in his Paſſage. His Form is ſingular, 'and not ſo beautiful as his Qualities are valuable; for in the 'Neck and Fore-part of him he is made moſt like a Sheep; 'In his Body he reſembles a Horſe: His Back and Hind-'limbs are peculiar to his Species; for ſcarce any other 'Creature has any Reſemblance to him therein. Nature 'has furniſhed this Animal with a Palate, to which Thiſtles, 'and ſuch-like harſh Food, are moſt agreeable; two Sto-'machs admirably contrived for Digeſtion, and ſo lined, 'as to receive a Quantity of Water ſufficient to moiſten 'his dry Food for many Days. Beſides this, he derives, 'from the ſame bounteous Hand, two Qualities, that the 'Sagacity of Man could never reach; for by his Scent he 'diſtinguiſhes Springs, how deep ſoever they lie: And 'whoever digs where a Camel ſcrapes, will never miſs of 'finding Water, let the Soil ſeem ever ſo unpromiſing. 'Their ſecond Property is, foreſeeing venomous and 'burning Winds, which fly ſwiftly, and are mortal in a 'Moment: A little while before they come, the Camels 'run together, cry, and hide their Noſes in the Earth; 'but as ſoon as they are paſt, they lift up their Heads, 'and continue their Journey.'

Ariſtotle aſſerts, that they go twelve Months, and never bring forth more than one Foal. *Pliny* either copies him, or is of the ſame Opinion: But *Suidas* holds, that they go but ten Months compleat, and bring forth in the beginning of the eleventh. According to *Ariſtotle*, they are very private in their Copulation, retiring into unfrequented Shades, and remaining there whole Days; at which Seaſons they are very furious [l]. At other times they are a very gentle and tractable Creature, underſtand their Drivers perfectly, and, inſtead of a Whip, are quickened in their Pace either by a Pipe, or the Driver's Whiſtling.

Indeed all Authors agree, that, next to the Elephant, they are of all Animals the moſt ſagacious: They ſtoop, like them, to receive their Burdens, and ariſe as ſoon as they have their accuſtomed Load. But, with all this, they are very vindictive; and, if beaten, bear Malice a long time; and, whenever they have an Opportunity, fail not of taking Revenge. The *Arabians*, who are beſt acquainted with them, reckon two ſorts of Camels; the firſt they call *Hegen*, which are the larger and the ſtronger Sort, and will carry a thouſand or twelve hundred Weight, their Backs being almoſt flat. The ſecond are called *Bocheti*; they are leſs, and cannot carry above half the Weight: Theſe have two Lumps upon their Backs. The *Indians* and the *Perſians* make the ſame Diſtinction, tho' they make uſe of other Terms; for they call the ſtronger the Northern Camels, becauſe bred, for the moſt part, on the Frontiers of *Tartary*: The leſſer they call Southern Camels.

It is certain, that they will travel four or five Days without Water, and ſome ſay much longer; they go a pretty round Pace, and at the Rate of thirty or forty Miles a-day, which they will continue, if Occaſion require, for thirty or forty Days together. They are a very timorous Animal; ſo that if at any time they are ſurpriſed by a Lion, Tyger, Leopard, or other Beaſt of Prey, they are devoured without making the leaſt Reſiſtance. It is remarked of this Creature, as well as of the Elephant, that it troubles the Water before it drinks, and, very probably, for

[a] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *c.* 17. [b] *Philoſt lib.* ii. *p.* 73. [c] *Idem. Icon. lib.* i. *n.* 19. [d] *Pierius Hiero, lib.* xi. *fol.* 34. [e] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *c.* 17. [f] *Voiage de P. Vanden Broek, p.* 456. [g] *Thevenot. Voiage des Indes, lib.* i. *c.* 5. *p.* 32. *Edit. in* 4to. 1684. [h] *Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. lib.* v. *Pliny, lib.* viii. *c.* 18. *Polyæn. Stratagem, lib.* vii. [i] *Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. lib.* v. [k] MS. Account of *China* before cited. [l] *Ariſt. Hiſt. Anim. lib.* v. *c.* 14.

the ſame Reaſon. In one reſpect this Creature is very ſingular, which is in having no Teeth in its upper Jaw, and yet it feeds without any Inconvenience from hence; and, perhaps, the want of Teeth, is, in ſome Caſes, rather an Advantage to it.

The Smell of this Animal is ſo diſagreeable to Horſes, that they will not endure it; and, by the Knowledge of this, *Cyrus* gained a complete Victory over *Cræſus*, King of *Lydia*; for, knowing the other truſted much to his Superiority in Cavalry, *Cyrus* poſted a Body of Camels over-againſt them, and the Horſes no ſooner perceived their Scent, than they fell into Confuſion, and ran away[a]. As to the Age of this Creature Authors are much divided. *Ariſtotle* aſſerts, that they do not live much above fifty Years; but *Pliny* ſays, that if they eſcape Accidents, they often approach, and ſometimes reach, an hundred[b]. Modern Writers agree rather with the former than the latter.

There are few Creatures that are in all reſpects ſo valuable; for, beſides the Services they render by Carriage, their Hair, which they ſhed every Year, is extremely valuable; for, of this Hair, Camblets, and other Manufactures, are wrought; and the very Urine of the Beaſt yields a conſiderable Profit, ſince of that the true Sal Armoniac is made. The Lump on the Back is moſt of it Fat, which, when melted, becomes an Ointment of excellent Uſe in diſcuſſing hard Swellings, and in curing all Sorts of Pains in the Limbs, from whatever Cauſe. The Fleſh is well-taſted, and the Broth much uſed by the *Chineſe* in aſthmatic Caſes: The Milk of the Camel is thinner, and therefore eſteemed more wholſome, than any other, eſpecially in Conſumptions: Of the Dung, dried, a kind of Snuff is made, which is ſaid to cure Bleeding at the Noſe.

The received Opinion amongſt the Antients, that the Camel preſerved Water in its Stomach[c], has been ridiculed by ſome of the Moderns as equally fooliſh and falſe; but others aſſert, that, on Diſſection, there appear four Ventricles, capable of holding a conſiderable Quantity of Water, with Holes into the Stomach, by which, it is ſuppoſed, this Creature forces the Water, contained in them, to mix with the dry Food that is in its Stomach, by holding its Breath. It is, on the other Side, aſſerted, that, in *Arabia*, there are a Race of Camels that never drink at all, but are ſupplied with Moiſture from the Graſs, and Tops of green Trees, on which they feed; but, with reſpect to this, I do not pretend to decide, deſiring only to report fairly ſuch Facts as I have met with.

The Camel is as much the Theme of modern Travellers, as of the antient Naturaliſts, and they agree exceedingly well in their Deſcriptions with the former; ſo that we have all the Reaſon in the World to believe, that both may be depended on. The modern Travellers obſerve, that there cannot be any thing better ſuited, than the Nature of this Animal, to the Commerce of the *Indies*. They tell us, that from the very time the Camel is brought forth, it is accuſtomed to Burdens; that they take care to place its Legs in their proper Poſture under it, and then lay ſuch a Weight uponit, as, keeps it in that State for a certain time; and, by repeating this Method, they beget ſuch a Habit in the Beaſt, as renders it tractable and obedient for Life. This appears to be the more neceſſary, becauſe, naturally, the Camel has a great Degree of Obſtinacy; and, though it readily kneels to receive its uſual Load, yet, as ſoon as it feels that Weight upon its Back, it riſes at once, and will not ſuffer any Augmentation[d].

The Capacity of this Creature, to bear Hunger and Fatigue, is very extraordinary; and the Moderns aſſert more upon this Head than the Antients. We are particularly told, by a Writer eminent for his Candour, that a Camel, in a Fit of Luſt, will go forty-two Days without eating; during which time, they are ſo furious, and ſo miſchievous, that there is no going near them, and therefore they take care to put them into Places where they can do no hurt. Some aſſert, that this Creature is enabled to faſt longer than any other, by a ſort of gradual Conſumption in his own Body, which ſupplies, for a certain time, to the Stomach, what ſhould be derived from Food; but then it weakens him exceedingly, inſomuch, that a ſtrong Camel, after the Fit of Luſt is over, is ſcarce able to ſuſtain a tenth Part of his uſual Load[e].

Theſe Animals are at all times very ſober Feeders, ſo that they are able to ſubſiſt on a very little Matter, which enables them to perform ſuch prodigious Journies, as, for the Conveniency of Commerce they are put upon, all over the Eaſt; ſo that it is viſibly the Wiſdom of Providence, that deſtined this Creature to be the Native of Countries where ſuch a Beaſt was abſolutely neceſſary for the Service of the Inhabitants; and it may be regarded, as an additional Proof of this, that the *African* Camel, which fares harder, and has ſtill greater and more uncouth Journies to take, is larger, ſtronger, and capable of carrying heavier Burdens, than the Camels of *Aſia*. The Moderns have likewiſe diſcovered ſome medicinal Virtues in the Camel, which do not appear to have been known to the Antients: As for Inſtance; that the Brain of it, when dried, is in a manner a Specific for the Falling Sickneſs; that its Urine is an excellent Preſervative for the Teeth and Gums; and that its Dung is capable of reſolving white Swellings, and is an excellent Cure for green Wounds[f]. It is no wonder, therefore, that the *Arabs* account their Camels their greateſt Wealth; and, it is the cleareſt Proof of their Firmneſs in their Cuſtoms, that they are not, in this reſpect, at all changed from what they were in the Days of *Ariſtotle*, who affirms, that ſome of them were poſſeſſed of 3000 of theſe Animals[g].

15. The Dromedary is, in the Opinion of all the Naturaliſts, a Species of the Camel; and, though it be weaker, and leſs capable of carrying Burdens, yet, in other reſpects, it is of no leſs uſe. Inſtead of one large Bunch on its Back, as the Camel has, the Dromedary has two Lumps of Fat, ſo diſpoſed, that the Vacancy between them is a kind of natural Saddle; and, as they are lighter made than the Camel, and ſerve only to carry a Paſſenger, ſo they go much eaſier, and at a much greater Rate; for whereas the Camel has a ſhuffling uneaſy Pace, in which it goes at the Rate of ten Leagues a-day, or thereabouts; the Dromedary has a regular, briſk, and not very uneaſy Trot, in which it will, without Difficulty, perform a Journey of forty Leagues in a Day. The Feet of this Creature are obſerved to be as ſoft as a Sponge, ſo that they are not hurt either by Stones or Sand, but travel on much at the ſame Rate, let the Road be what it will; they kneel to receive their Riders, as the Camel does for his Load, and riſe as ſoon as a Man is fixed upon their Back[h].

They are likewiſe capable of faring hard, and will endure Thirſt for four or five Days, but are not able to bear altogether ſo much Fatigue as the Camel. The *Arabians* call them *Raguahill*, or *Elmahari*; and the ſtrongeſt and beſt are bred in the Northern Countries: They make uſe of them in the *Indies* for going Poſt, and Expreſſes frequently perform a Journey of eight hundred Miles upon them in the Space of a Week. There is one thing very ſingular in theſe Animals, which is, that they go much better, and have greater Spirits in hot Weather, than if there be any Wind ſtirring; and, it is obſerved, that the ſlighteſt Breeze makes them ſluggiſh and lazy[i].

We have in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, a very curious Paper in relation to this Creature; it conſiſts in the Account given by the *Perſian* Ambaſſador to Mr. *Conſtance*, who, from being a Servant in an *Engliſh* Factory, became firſt Miniſter to the King of *Siam*; and who, at the Requeſt of the Miſſionaries, took upon him to inquire of that Ambaſſador, what he knew in relation to the Dromedary, which is hardly known to the *Siameſe*. He told him, that they were brought originally from *Turkeſtan*, which is the only Part of *Aſia* where they are bred in Perfection; that they were very much eſteemed in *Perſia*, on account of their carrying ſo much eaſier than the Camel, by their having two Bunches on their Backs. That, however, theſe Bunches were not made by any Irregularity of the Spine, which was as flat and even under them, as in any other Part of the Back; but that they were a kind of glandulous Subſtances, about ſix Inches in Height. He added, that, as to the common Report of their having a Supply of freſh Water in their Stomachs, which, in extreme Neceſſity, Travellers ſometimes were forced to have recourſe to in the Deſarts for the ſaving of their Lives, it was abſolutely a Fable, without the leaſt Foundation [a].

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[a] *Polyn. Stratagem, lib.* vii.

[b] *Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. lib.* v. *c.* 26. *Pliny, lib.* viii. *c.* 18.

[c] *Ariſt. Hiſt. Anim. lib.* v. & *de Part. Anim. lib.* iii.

[d] *Voyages de Thevenot, tom.* ii. *p.* 516.

[e] *Id. tom.* iii. *p.* 401.

[f] *Labat Deſcription de l'Afrique Occidentalle, tom.* . *p.* 295.

[g] *Hiſt. Animal. lib.* v.

[h] *Thevenot, tom.* ii. *p.* 517.

[i] *Baumgarten*'s Travels through *Arabia*.

The famous *Shah Iehan*, who governed the *Indian* Empire with ſo much Reputation, contrived a Method, by which he made the Dromedaries extremely uſeful to him in time of War; which was a thing unthought of by any of his Predeceſſors, becauſe they are a timorous Animal, and cannot be brought to charge like a Horſe: But this Emperor made them uſeful in another way: A Rebellion broke out near the City of *Agra* in his Abſence, on a Suppoſition, that it was impoſſible for him to march back again before the Rebels had aſſembled Forces enough to make themſelves Maſters of his Capital. He was no ſooner informed of this, than he mounted 12,000 of his choiceſt Troops upon Dromedaries, and, in the Space of nine Days, made a March of ſeven hundred Miles; which ſo aſtoniſhed the Rebels, when they heard that the Emperor was within a few Miles of them, that they diſperſed without a Blow, and he had the Honour of ſuppreſſing, by the Quickneſs of his Invention, an Inſurrection, that, if the Chiefs of it had gained time to have executed their Purpoſe, might poſſibly have deprived him of the Government; for, it was afterwards known, that ſome of the Generals of his Army had ſecret Intrigues with the Malecontents; but this ſudden Victory, gained by the Swiftneſs of his Dromedaries, diſappointed them intirely, and obliged them to lay aſide their Deſign [b].

16. The Giraffe, or Camelopardus, as it is called by the Antients, was a Creature better known to them than it is to us. According to the Accounts they give us of it, it reſembled the Camel only in its Head and Neck, which it carried more upright; and had from thence a bolder and a fiercer Aſpect. The Hair was either red mixed with white, or white mixed with red. It was of the Height of a Horſe, and ſhaped like it in the Cheſt; but towards the Reins it was ſo ſlender, as to be more like the Ape than any other Creature. All that *Pliny* tells us of it is, that the *Ethiopians* called it *Nabis*; and that the firſt time it was ſeen at *Rome*, was when the *Circenſian* Games were exhibited by *Cæſar* the Dictator. Since that time, ſays he, this Creature comes now-and-then to *Rome*, more to be gazed on for the Singularity of its Appearance, than for any Savageneſs in its Nature; of which, ſays he, it has ſo little, that ſome ſtile it a wild Sheep.

[c] The celebrated *Panchymerus*, who was at *Conſtantinople* when one of theſe was brought thither, in the Reign of the Emperor *Michael Palæologus*, towards the Cloſe of the thirteenth Century, gives us a larger Deſcription of it [d] than is any-where to be met with; and therefore I ſhall tranſcribe it; the rather becauſe this is an Author not frequently cited: ‘The Giraffe, ſays he, is an Animal ſo rare, and ſo wonderful, that I have thought it not improper to inſert a Deſcription of it, to refreſh the Memories of ſuch as ſaw it, and to make it known to ſuch as, perhaps, have not heard of it before. It is of the Bigneſs of an Aſs; its Colour white, ſpotted like a Panther, but with red. Its Shape reſembles that of thoſe Camels which have a Riſing in their Back, from their Tails to their Shoulders: Its Fore-legs are longer than its Hinder ones; its Neck ſlender like that of a Crane, with a ſmall Head, ſhaped like that of a Camel: The Belly white; and a broad Streak of Black down its Back, from the Neck to the Tail; its Legs exceedingly thin, and its Hoofs cloven, like thoſe of the Deer. It was ſo gentle, that it ſuffered itſelf to be touched, and even to be guided, by a Child. The Food of this Animal was Herbs, Meal, and Barley. When attacked, it does not defend itſelf with its Heels, as Horſes do; nor with Horns, like Oxen; nor with Tuſks, like the wild Boars; nor with its Nails, as Cats; but with its Teeth; which, however, are not very ſharp, and ſerve rather to repel an Injury, than to revenge it: Nay, even theſe Teeth have nothing in them venomous, like thoſe of moſt other Animals. This Creature was brought from *Ethiopia*, and preſented to the Emperor, who ordered it to be led thro' the principal Streets of the City, for ſeveral Days, for the Diverſion of his Subjects.’ This is a clear and plain Deſcription from an Eye-witneſs; ſo that there is not the leaſt Reaſon to ſuſpect, as ſome have done, that this is an imaginary Animal, and a Creature that never had Exiſtence in Nature. I do not indeed pretend to deny, that ſome ſuch imaginary Animals are to be met with in the Writings of the Antients: On the contrary, I ſhall give ſome Inſtances of this kind hereafter. At preſent, I think it better to preſent the Reader with another Deſcription, from an Eye-witneſs likewiſe: But it will be neceſſary to premiſe, in the firſt Place, that the Author I am now going to quote, was certainly miſtaken as to his Fact; for the Creatures he mentions, could not be thoſe deſcribed by *Pliny*, and by the Author I have before cited; whoſe Deſcription agrees very well with what *Pliny* ſays of them.

Bellonius deſcribes them thus [d]: ‘I ſaw, ſays he, a Couple of them at *Grand Cairo*; each having two little Horns in the Forehead, about five Inches long; between which appeared a Bunch, like a third Horn, about two Inches high: From the Tail to the Crown of the Head, was about eighteen Feet: His Legs were much of a Length before and behind; but the Upper-joint, or Shoulder-bone, was much longer than the Thigh: His Back ſloped, like the Ridge of a Houſe; his whole Body reſembling, in Colour, that of a Deer; but ſprinkled all over with large ſquare Spots. His Feet were cloven, like thoſe of an Ox; his Upper-lip hanging over the under: His Tail ſlender, indifferently thin of Hair, and tufted at the End; his Mane like that of a Horſe: And he limped in moving, firſt on the Right Leg, and then on the Left: When he eat, drank, or took any thing from the Ground, he ſtretched out his Fore-feet; for otherwiſe they would have hindered him. His Tongue, as *Joſeph Barbarus* writes, is two Feet in Length; of a dark-blue Colour, long and round like an Eel; with which he gathers Herbs, Leaves, and Graſs, into his Mouth, with wonderful Dexterity.’

There is, without doubt, a very wide Difference between theſe Deſcriptions, inſomuch that I very much doubt whether they belong to the ſame Animal: But the Queſtion is, which moſt reſembles the Camelopardus of the Antients: And I muſt confeſs, that, in my Opinion, it is the firſt; at leaſt it is certain, that this is the Creature which is called a Giraffe in the *Indies*, and is frequently found in the Woods of *Bengal*. As for the Creature which *Bellonius* ſaw at *Cairo*, it is an Animal common enough in *Ethiopia*; and is deſcribed by Father *Alphonſo Mendez* under the Name of *Strutho-camelus*, that is, the Oſtrich Camel; becauſe, ſays he, it reſembles, in its Shape, the Oſtrich: But this Creature is allowed by all, who have ſeen it, to be the talleſt Animal in the World: For, though much ſlenderer, it is higher than an Elephant. Its fore Legs are commonly twelve Hands high, ſo that a Man on Horſeback can paſs under their Belly, as many, who have ſeen them in *Ethiopia*, poſitively aſſert. But it can ſcarce be believed, that if this Creature had been ever ſeen at *Rome* by ſuch a Writer as *Pliny*, he would have given us ſo ſhort and dry a Deſcription of it as that above-mentioned, when it muſt have been infinitely a greater Curioſity, than any that had ever been ſeen there [e].

On the other hand, it is very clear, that *Panchymerus* ſaw the very Creature that *Pliny* deſcribes; and, therefore, we have good Reaſon to believe, that the Creatures *Bellonius* ſaw were by him only ſtiled *Giraffes*, as Mr. *Ludolf*, in his Hiſtory of *Ethiopia*, blames Father *Mendez* very much for calling the Creature he ſaw *Strutho-camelus*, and not *Camelopardus*, or *Camelopardalus*, which is the Word uſed by *Pliny* [f]. The Amount of all this Reaſoning is no

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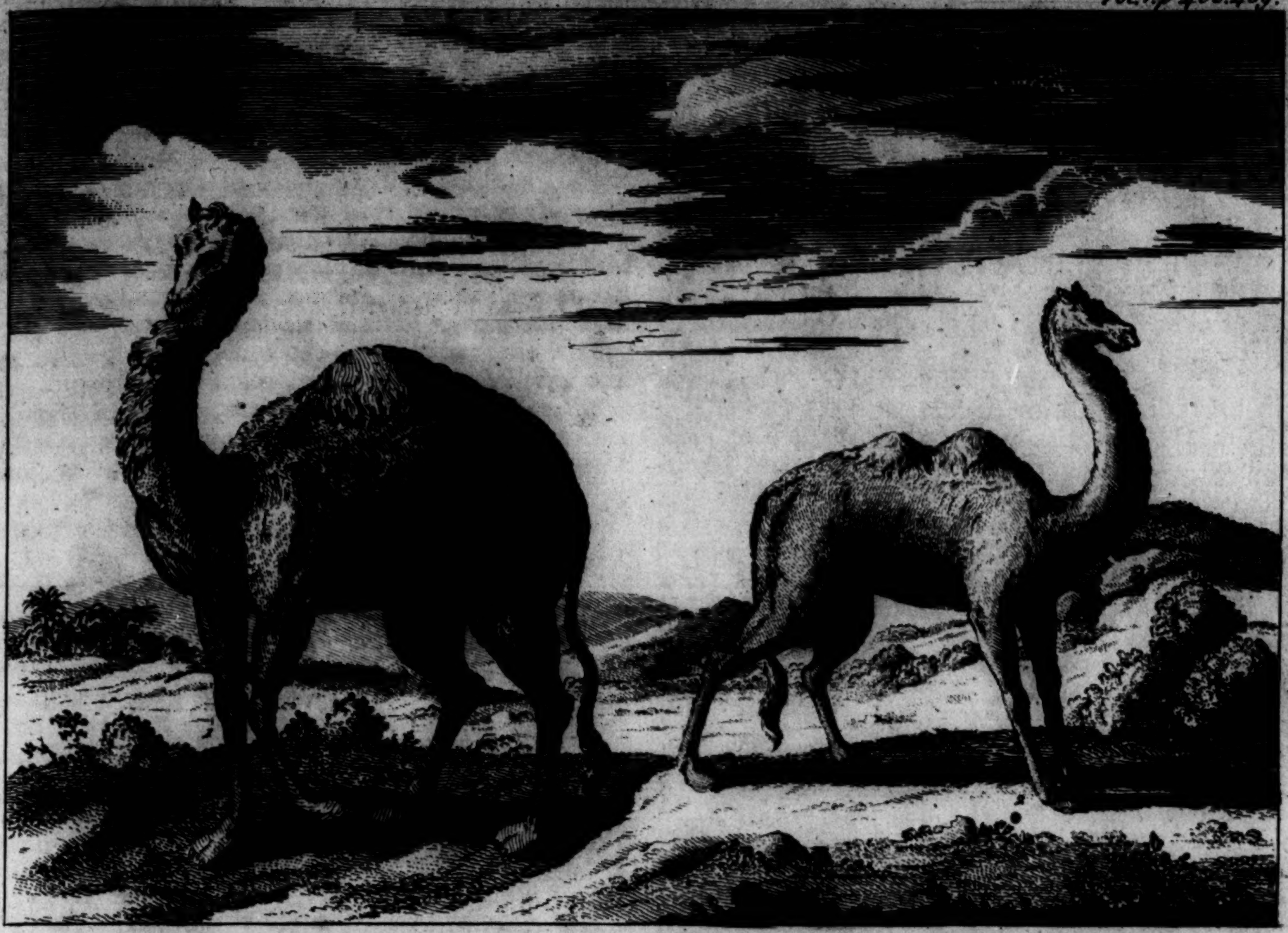
[a] *Hiſtoire de Moguls.* [b] *Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *c.* 18. [c] *Pachymer. Hiſt. lib.* iii. *c.* 4. [d] *Bellon. Obſervat. lib.* ii. [e] *Alphonſ. Tillez Ethiop. Relation.* [f] *Voyage du P. Lobo, tom.* 1. *p.* 292.

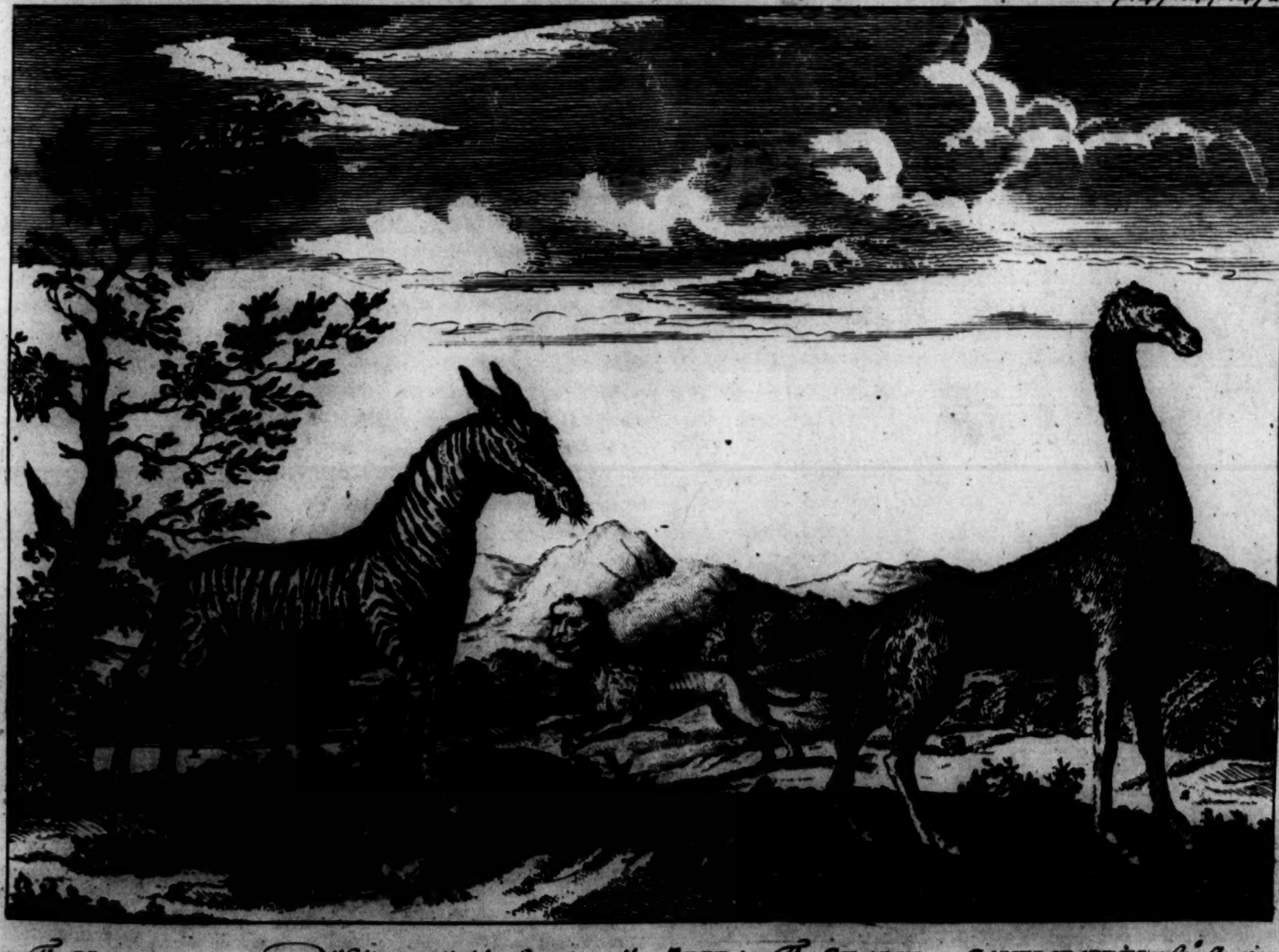
more,

Vol. I. p 468.469.



1. The **CAMEL** call'd by the Arabians **HEGEN** used for carrying great Burthens through the Desarts.
2. The **DROMEDARY** which the Arabs call **BOCHETI** used for sending Expreſses because of its swift pace.

p. 470. 471. 472.



1. The **WILD ASS** or as ſome Writers call this Creature the **ZEBRA**. 2 The **GIRAFFE** or **CAMELOPARDUS** of ye Ancients.
3 The **MANTICORA** of **CTESIAS**.

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more, than to ſhew, that we are in much greater Danger of being impoſed on by the Criticiſms of the Moderns, than by either the Credulity or the Negligence of the Antients; for, before we can accuſe *Pliny* of having paſſed ſlightly over ſo extraordinary a Creature as this *Ethiopian Giraffe* is ſuppoſed to be, we muſt firſt be ſure, that this was really the Creature he ſaw; whereas, I think, I have made it more than probable, that it was not: After all, if there be, as it is certain there is, a Creature called a *Giraffa*, or *Giraffe*, in the *Indies*, which agrees exactly with the Deſcription of the Animal ſeen at *Conſtantinople* between four and five hundred Years ago, and which was then allowed to be the *Giraffe* of the Antients, I cannot apprehend, why we ſhould not admit this to be the Creature mentioned by *Pliny*, which involves us neither in Abſurdity nor Contradiction, rather than agree with *Bellonius* and *Ludolf*, in ſuppoſing this prodigious Animal, which Father *Mendez*, and many other Travellers, have ſeen in *Ethiopia*, to be the *Camelopardus* of the Antients; though it does not, in any reſpect, agree with the Deſcriptions they have given of this Creature.

18. The wild Aſs, as we find it deſcribed by the Antients, is undoubtedly an imaginary Creature; and the very Deſcription of it, is, in a manner, a ſufficient Proof. *Cteſias* tells us, that it is of the Size of a Horſe; that it has a fine white Front, and on it a Horn, of the Length of a Cubit; the Upper-part of which is red, and the lower black: The Head of a purple Colour, the Eye of a bright blue, and the Body white, but ſtreaked with ſeveral Colours; and the Coat of a moſt exquiſite Beauty. When firſt purſued by the Hunters, it does not move at any great Rate; but, increaſing its Speed by degrees, it flies, at laſt, with ſuch prodigious Swiftneſs, that no Horſe can come near it. The only Method of taking it, is by watching when it goes into the Meadows to feed its Young; of which it is ſo tender, that it will never abandon them, however diſtreſſed; it expoſes itſelf, in their Defence, to all Dangers, with a moſt deſperate Courage, combating the Hunters both with its Horn and Heels, till, in the End, being ſtuck full of Darts, it dies through Loſs of Blood: The *Indians*, as ſoon as it falls, cut off its Horn, and its Hoofs, which are of the moſt bright and beautiful Red; and next, ſeizing the young ones, they carry them home, and breed them up tame, Experience having taught them, that if this Creature once attains its full Strength, which it does in about two Years, it is impoſſible, by any Art, to conquer the Savageneſs of its Nature [a]. As *Cteſias* reſided at the *Perſian* Court, and wrote all his Account of the *Indies* from Hearſay, we need not wonder, that he fell into ſuch Miſtakes: Neither is it at all improbable, that ſome of theſe Vermilion Horns and Hoofs, which were dyed of this Colour by Art, might be carried to the *Perſian* Court; and this Story of the wild Aſs invented, to make them ſell at a dearer Rate; ſince many Inſtances might be given of Frauds of the like Nature, practiſed with the ſame View, in regard to other Commodities.

This Story, however improbable, ſeems to have kept its Ground for a long time, ſince *Pliny* tells us, that the *Indian* Aſs had only one Horn; and that no other Creature, that did not divide the Hoof, had Paſtern Bones [b]: But he gives us no diſtinct Deſcription of this Animal. The oriental Hiſtories ſpeak much of the wild Aſs, and acknowledge it to be the ſwifteſt and moſt beautiful of all four-footed Animals. In the old *Perſian* Language, this Creature was called *Gur*, or *Gour*, and *Babaram*, one of the antient Kings of that Country was ſurnamed *Babaram Gur*, though Authors do not well agree as to the Reaſon Some report, that it was becauſe he once ſhot, when he was hunting, a Lion, and a wild Aſs, that were fighting, with the ſame Arrow: But others affirm, that it was becauſe he delighted much in the hunting of theſe Animals, and was, at laſt, killed by one of them [c]. The Circumſtance, however, of this Creature's fighting with a Lion, is very ſingular, and ſhews the Opinion entertained in the Eaſt of the Courage and Strength of the wild Aſs. We may add to this another Proof of the ſame Nature, *viz.* that one, indeed the laſt of the *Khaliffs*, of the *Ommiades*, was called *Mervan Hemar* [d], or *Mervan* the Aſs, (for the *Arabians* uſe the Word *Hemar* both for a wild and tame Aſs) on account of his great Courage and Strength. This ſingular Animal is not, however, particularly deſcribed by any who have travelled in the *Indies*. But it is alſo a Native of various Countries in *Africa*. And this affords us an Opportunity of obliging the Reader with an exact Deſcription and Print of it, from an Author of unqueſtionable Credit [e]. He deſcribes it thus:

The wild Aſs is one of the lovelieſt Animals I have ever ſeen; he is of the Size of an ordinary Saddle-Horſe; his Limbs finely turned, and well proportioned; his Coat very ſoft, and cloſe; from his Main to his Tail, there runs a large black Liſt, from whence proceeds abundance of Streaks, which, falling regularly down on both Sides, meet under his Belly; theſe Streaks are of different Colours, ſome white, ſome yellow, others of a Cheſnut, which are blended and mixed on their Sides, ſo as to ſtrike the Eye exceedingly by their beautiful Mixture: The Head and the Ears are in like manner ſtreaked with very beautiful Colours: The Hair of his Mane and Tail, for the moſt part, either white or of a Cheſnut-colour, with a ſmall Intermixture of Yellow. This Creature is ſo ſwift, that no Horſe can come near him; ſo that it is with infinite Difficulty he is overtaken; and whenever they are ſo lucky as to catch one, it is ſold at a very extravagant Rate.

Father *Tellez* [f] informs us, that the Great *Mogul* gave two thouſand Ducats for one of them. Abundance of Pains have been taken at the Cape of *Good Hope* to tame them, but to no purpoſe; though they have been taken very young: And it is reported, that, of all Creatures in the World, it has the ſtrongeſt and moſt ungovernable Paſſion for Liberty. The Reader, after reading this Deſcription, which agrees exactly with that given us by another Traveller, of great Reputation, will aſk why it is called an Aſs; and the only Anſwer that can be given is, that, with all its Beauty, it has the long and large Ears of that Animal, from whence it derives its Name. Mr. *Ludolf* complains of this moſt heavily, and wiſhes that, to free the Animal from this Diſgrace, it might have its Ears cut off [g]. We owe to this Writer another remarkable Proof of the Beauty and Value of this Creature; who informs us, that an *Abyſſinian* Embaſſador at *Batavia* having made a Preſent of one of them to the *Dutch* Governor-General of the *Indies*; he, by the next Ship, ſent it to the Emperor of *Japan*; who was ſo charmed with it, that he made the Company Returns in Money and in rich Silks, to the Value of one hundred and ſixty thouſand Crowns.

Mr. *Thevenot* tells us, that he ſaw one in its Paſſage through *Egypt*, which was a Preſent to the Grand Signor; and was ſo exquiſitely beautiful, that he could not help ſuſpecting there was ſome Art uſed in colouring its Coat; for which, however, there does not appear to be any juſt Foundation [h]. Some of our old Travellers to the *Indies* report, that, near the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, the Natives ſhewed them abundance of Horns, which they aſſerted to be the Horns of wild Aſſes: Whence it appears, that the Author firſt-mentioned did not invent the Story he tells us concerning them [i]. There is a very extraordinary Creature, not only deſcribed, but expreſſed in a wooden Cut, by *Purchas*: He tells us, that it is bred in the Kingdom of *Congo*, and is there called *Zebra* [k]. It is, ſays he, of all Creatures the moſt comely, reſembling an

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[a] *Cteſias in Indicis, c.* 25. *Ælian de Animal. lib.* iv. *c.* 52. *Jonſton Theat. Animal. tom.* ii. *p.* 14.

[b] *Pliny Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *c.* 21.

[c] *Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, p.* 174.

[d] *Idem ibid. p.* 447.

[e] *Kolben Deſcription du Cap de Bonne Eſperance, Vol.* iii. *p.* 22.

[f] *Hiſt. Æthiop. lib.* i. *c.* 14.

[g] *Ludolf. Commentar. ad Hiſt. Æthiop. p.* 150. N° 79. '*Infortunatum Animal, quod tam pulchris Coloribus* '*præditum, Aſini nomen in Europa ferre cogatur! Aures certe, quibus dehoneſtatur, abſcindi poſſunt, quod in Germania faciunt Equis.*'

[h] *Voyage de Thevenot, Vol.* ii. *p.* 755.

[i] I find this Paſſage in the 5th Volume of *Purchas*'s Pilgrims, p. 436. in the Travels of one Mr. *Finch*, an *Engliſh* Merchant, who paſſed through the Territories of the *Mogul*, in the Beginning of the laſt Century; who ſays, that the *Indians* affirm them to be the Unicorn's Horn: And told him farther, that ſome of them were of very great Price; and that it was only of the leſs valuable Horns that they made drinking Cups, and adorned their Bucklers with Pieces of them; of which he ſaw many.

[k] See his *Pilgrims*, Vol. ii. p. 984. where there is a Print of the *Zebra*, or *Zabra*: But in his *Pilgrimage*, p. 623. he gives us a larger Account from the Converſation of *Andrew Battel*, who, being Serjeant in a *Portugueſe* Company, thought fit, on ſome Occaſion or other, to run away from them, and lived nine Months in the Woods, which gave him frequent Opportunities of obſerving this, and other wild Beaſts.

Horſe of the fineſt Make, and overlaid with party-coloured Laces or Girts from Head to Tail. It is very clear, from this Deſcription and from the Cut, that this *Zebra* is no other than the wild Aſs. *Purchas* had his Account from *Andrew Battel*, who lived long in the Kingdom of *Congo*, and had ſhot many of theſe Creatures wild in the Woods; for they were ſo little acquainted with Fire-Arms, that, when he had ſhot one, the reſt of the Herd ſtood gazing at him, till he had brought down three or four more: Which Account of his is the more credible, inaſmuch as it agrees perfectly with other Relations concerning this Creature.

19. The Antients mention, beſides the wild Aſs, another *Indian* Animal, which they called in *Greek* the *Monoceros*; in *Latin*, the *Licorn*, or *Unicorn*. This Creature is thus deſcribed by *Pliny*: It is, ſays he, the fierceſt and moſt furious Beaſt in the World; in its Body, reſembling a Horſe; in his Head, not unlike a Stag; his Feet having ſome Likeneſs to thoſe of an Elephant; and his Tail, reſembling that of a Boar. The Noiſe made by this Creature is hideous and terrible; in his Forehead he has a black Horn, about three Feet in Length, with which he ſo defends himſelf, that, as it is ſaid, he cannot poſſibly be taken alive. Another Writer of Antiquity contradicts the latter Part of this Account, and affirms, that the *Indians* not only take, but tame them, and make uſe of them to draw in Chariots; but he owns, that this is impracticable, if they are above two Years old when they are taken; and that they are always governed by a ſharp Bit, or rather a Bit with little Spikes in it. He mentions alſo their black Horns, and ſays, that the Cups made of them, will not hold any Poiſon [a]. All theſe Stories ſeem to be founded in the admirable Properties of the Horn of the Rhinoceros, which is, perhaps, the only Unicorn that ever exiſted.

The Manticora is another Creature, which all the antient Writers have mentioned on the Credit of *Cteſias* [b]. But *Ariſtotle* [c], in ſpeaking of it, ſays, that if *Cteſias* be to be believed, there is ſuch an Animal, and then copies his Deſcription; which is this: The Manticora has a Face and Ears reſembling a Man, blue Eyes, and the reſt of its Body red, of the Size and Shape of that of a Lion. It is armed with a triple Row of Teeth, and devours both Men and Beaſts, having a Tail armed with a Sting, like a Scorpion; his Voice reſembles the Noiſe of a Flute and Trumpet ſounded together. This Beaſt is exceſſively ſwift, and one of the moſt dreadful in the World. If we conſider this Deſcription attentively, and make ſome reaſonable Abatements for the Credulity of its Author, and the Paſſion he had for Wonders, we ſhall ſee that it is no other than a Species of the Tyger; I mean that kind which has a Head like a Monky, and which has been ſhewn in *Europe* under the Name of the Man-tyger; and it is indeed a Creature of a very horrid Aſpect, ſo that, ſeen at a Diſtance, it might well enough ſtrike the Fancy ſo, as to give Riſe to this Deſcription.

As *Cteſias* only deſcribed the Manticora, ſo *Ælian* alone [d] mentions another ſtrange Creature in the *Indies*, called *Poephagos*, of which he gives us the following Account. This Animal, which is as big again as an ordinary Horſe, is much eſteemed by the *Indians*, for the exquiſite Beauty of its Hair. The Tail of this Animal is about three Feet in Length, and the Hair of it much finer and ſofter than that of a Horſe, which makes the Women of that Country eſteem it for Head-dreſſes: But few Ornaments are dearer or harder to be met with; for, notwithſtanding its large Size, there is ſcarce any Animal ſwifter than the *Poephagos*, or that is taken with greater Difficulty. It defends itſelf againſt the Hunters, and their Dogs, with wonderful Courage and Obſtinacy; and ſometimes, being too hard for the Dogs, the Huntſmen come in to their Aſſiſtance, and, by a Shower of ſmall poiſoned Arrows, quickly deſtroy the Beaſt. Its Skin is almoſt as valuable as its Tail; but, as for its Fleſh, it is abſolutely uſeleſs.

No modern Writer mentions any Creature in the *Indies*, that has the leaſt Reſemblance to this Deſcription; and, one might have imagined, that it was ſurely a Creature of Fancy, if Mr. *Kolben*, whom we have ſo often mentioned, had not aſſured us, that a Creature of this Kind had been actually ſeen in *Africa*, not far from the Cape of *Good Hope*. The Story, in his own Words, runs thus [e]: ‘I remember to have ſeen, in the Lodgings of Captain *Olofberg*, the Picture of an Animal which exactly reſembled the Deſcription given of the *Poephagos*. I took an Opportunity of inquiring after the Beaſt itſelf, and received from the Captain the following Account: That, travelling once in the Country of the *Hottentots*, at a conſiderable Diſtance from the Cape, he ſaw an Animal exactly like that repreſented in the Picture; and, having never ſeen, or indeed heard of, any thing like it before, he took ſome time to conſider it, with ſingular Attention; by which means, he ſo effectually fixed in his Mind the Shape, Size, and Look, of the Creature, that, at his Return, he drew this Picture of it. As to this Repreſentation, continues Mr. *Kolben*, it does not make it altogether ſo big as the *Poephagos* is repreſented; and there are beſides ſome other little Differences, which I ſhall remark: In the firſt place, this Picture give the Creature a Mane, like that of a Horſe; in the next, the Shape and Size of it reſembles that of a large Buffalo. I could not obtain any farther Accounts of this Animal from any other Perſon, there having been nobody that remembered the ſeeing any ſuch Creature in the Country of the *Hottentots*, except the Gentleman I have before-mentioned.’

It is requiſite to inform the Reader, that moſt of the Animals found in the *Indies* are likewiſe found in *Africa*, and more eſpecially in *Ethiopia*, and in the Neighbourhood of the Cape of *Good Hope*; and though it be true, that the proving ſuch Creatures, as the Antients mention are found in theſe Parts, is no direct Proof of their being found in the *Indies*; yet, it certainly demonſtrates, that many of the Animals, mentioned by the Antients, are not Creatures of Imagination, but have a real Exiſtence. We ought likewiſe to remember, that, as the *Romans* extended their Dominions to the Fronties of *Perſia*, ſo they had an Opportunity thereby of being well acquainted with the Curioſities of the moſt inland Parts of the Northern *Indies* towards the Frontiers of *Tartary*, in which moſt of theſe wild Beaſts are bred; for, as moſt of our modern Travellers have not gone any very great Diſtance from the Sea Coaſt, and, conſequently, have not had much Opportunity to make themſelves ſo throughly acquainted with thoſe Parts, as that, on their Reports, we ſhould be able to determine poſitively, whether there are ſuch Creatures in the *Indies* or not. Add to this, that many of them are but very indifferent Judges of what they relate, as appears from their contradicting each other in their Deſcriptions, as the Reader will eaſily perceive from thoſe of the Rhinoceros. On the Whole, where the Accounts of the Antients are equally irreconcileable to Reaſon, and unſupported by modern Teſtimonies, we may very reaſonably give them up; but otherwiſe, it is certainly as adviſeable to preſerve them in Collections of this Nature, that, in proportion as our Diſcoveries increaſe, we may be the better able to diſcern how far they are contradicted or confirmed by thoſe Diſcoveries, which is a Point of great Conſequence towards perfecting natural Hiſtory; the Conſideration of which was what chiefly determined me to take ſo much Pains about it. The Reader will likewiſe find, that the Peruſal of this Chapter will greatly contribute to the perfect Underſtanding of the ſucceeding Voyages.

20. There was nothing contributed more to miſlead and diſtract the Antients, in what they have delivered concerning the Animals in the *Indies*, than the vaſt Number of Apes and Monkeys that were Natives of that Country, and of ſuch different Shapes and Sizes, that it was a very difficult thing to diſtinguiſh their various Sorts; and, for want of doing which, it was very eaſy to miſtake them for different kinds of Beaſts. There are in the *Indies* of

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[a] *Pliny Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *c.* 21. *Ælian de Animal. lib.* xiii. *c.* 9. *lib.* xvi. *c.* 9.

[b] *Cteſias in Indicis, Ariſtot. de Anim. lib.* ii. *c.* 1. *Pliny Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *c.* 21. *Ælian Hiſt. Anim. lib.* iv. *c.* 21.

[c] *Ariſtot. de Anim. lib.* ii. *c.* 2.

[d] *Lib.* xvi. *c.* 21.

[e] *Deſcription du Cap de Bonne Eſperance, Vol.* iii. *p.* 21.

theſe Creatures of all Colours, and almoſt of all Shades of Colours, black as well as white, red as well as grey, and ſome that with red Bodies have their Heads and Faces of a fine Sky-blue; and theſe laſt ſort are much of the Size of our common Dogs. In ſome Places there are ſuch Numbers of them, that they cover the Tops of the Houſes, and by throwing Things down hinder People from going along the Street; others from a like Spirit of Miſchief poſt themſelves in hollow Ways, where they almoſt murder ſuch as paſs by, throwing down broken Rocks and Stones[f].

The ancient *Indians*, as they had an Averſion to ſpilling Blood, found a Way to make theſe Creatures, which are by Nature active, not only quiet, but uſeful. In ſuch Places as produced Pepper and Cacao-trees, they were wont, in the Sight of the Monkeys, to cut the higheſt Branches within their Reach, and lay them regularly on the Ground. This they did in a Morning, and then leaving the Place, theſe natural Mimicks pulled all the Fruit that was out of Man's Reach, and laid it in the ſame Order upon the Ground, where the *Indians* coming in the Night, found their Harveſt gathered to their Hands, and carried it away. When their Numbers made them exceſſively troubleſome, the *Indians*, as *Strabo* and *Diodorus Siculus* inform us, turned this imitating Faculty upon them to their own Deſtruction, for coming to their Haunts with Baſins full of Water, or of Honey, they waſhed their Faces in the Sight of theſe Animals, and then ſubſtituting Pots of thin Glew inſtead of the Water or Honey, retired out of Sight. The Monkeys, as ſoon as they were gone, came down and waſhed their Faces likewiſe, and ſticking their Eyes together, became blind, and were eaſily taken. In other Places they brought Boots into the Woods, and putting them on and off, left them well lined with Glue, or a ſort of Bird-lime, ſo that when the Monkeys put them on, they ſtuck faſt, and hindered them from making their Eſcape. A third Method they invented of taking them was by the Help of Springs at the Back of Looking-glaſſes, which when the Monkeys came to handle, as they had ſeen the Men do before, held them faſt, and diſabled them from making a Retreat; but the moſt dangerous of their Enemies was the Lion, for finding their Fleſh equally pleaſant and wholeſome, he purſued them with greater Eagerneſs than any other ſort of Beaſts[g].

It is a very ſingular Paſſage that *Strabo* relates of their giving an Alarm to the Army of *Alexander the Great*. Every body knows that the *Macedonians* were diſtinguiſhed by the Severity of their Diſcipline, and the exact Order in which they marched; it happened, that in paſſing through that Part of *India*, which lies between the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*, they travers'd a Wood, and paſſed on the Edge of a Mountain, which ſerved theſe Creatures for a Retreat, and encamped in their Neighbourhood all Night. The next Morning, when the Army began to move, they ſaw at a Diſtance many thouſands of theſe Creatures drawn up in Batalia, and not doubting but that it was the Army of their Enemies, the Trumpets ſounded, and *Alexander* himſelf began to prepare for an Engagement; but the *Indian* Prince *Taxiles*, who was then with *Alexander*, ſoon informed him of his Miſtake, and aſſured him that upon his advancing theſe Creatures would again betake themſelves to their Woods and Mountains, as in Effect they did[h]. The moſt remarkable Property of theſe Animals is their Attachment to each other, and living in a kind of Society, of which the Ancients took great Notice; and as to the Truth of the Fact, a ſingle Inſtance from a modern Traveller of great Reputation may ſuffice. The famous Monſieur *Tavernier* tells us, that returning from *Agra* with the *Engliſh* Preſident to *Surat*, they paſſed within four or five Leagues of *Amenabad*, through a little Foreſt of *Mangoes*. “We ſaw there, ſays he, a vaſt Number of very large Apes, both Male and Female, many of the latter having their Young in their Arms. We were each of us in our Coaches, and the *Engliſh* Preſident ſtopped his to tell me that he had a very fine new Gun, and knowing that I was a good Markſman, deſired me to try it by ſhooting one of the Apes. One of my Servants, who was a Native of the Country, made a Sign to me not to do it, and I did all that lay in my Power to diſſuade the Gentleman from his Deſign; but to no Purpoſe, for he immediately levelled his Piece and ſhot a She-Ape, which fell through the Branches of the Tree on which ſhe was ſitting, her young ones tumbling at the ſame time out of her Arms upon the Ground. We preſently ſaw that happen which my Servant apprehended, for all the Apes, to the Number of ſixty, came immediately down from the Trees and attacked the Preſident's Coach, with ſuch Fury, that they muſt have infallibly deſtroyed him, if all who were preſent had not flown to his Relief, and by drawing up the Windows, and poſting all the Servants about the Coach, protected him from their Reſentment. I muſt confeſs I was not a little afraid, though they did not offer to meddle with me, becauſe they were very large, and of incredible Strength, and their Fury was ſo great, that they purſued the Preſident's Coach for near three Leagues[i].”

It is very natural to ſuppoſe, that from the Sight of the larger ſort of theſe Creatures the Ancients were confirmed in their Notions of Fawns, Satyrs, and wild Men; and if I might preſume to ſpeak my own Opinion freely, as to the Attendants of *Bacchus*, as they appear on the Coins, Gems, and Baſs-Reliefs of the Ancients, I ſhould ſay that theſe were no more than ſo many different ſorts of Apes thus repreſented to ſignify his Conqueſt of theſe Countries. I would not be underſtood to aſſert, that the Ancients conſidered them in this Light, the contrary of which is very certain; but what I mean is, that their Fables altered and diſtorted the original Fact, and occaſioned frequent Changes in the Figures to make them ſuit the better with the Stories they invented, whereas originally the Chariot drawn by Leopards, and followed by theſe Inhabitants of the Woods, was a very natural Picture of the Conqueror of the *Indies*. I might enlarge conſiderably on this Topick, and ſhew from a Variety of Authors, that in truth all the Satyrs and wild Men mentioned by old Writers, were no other than Apes and Baboons of an overgrown Size; and this might be likewiſe confirmed by comparing the Accounts given by thoſe Writers, with the Relations of modern Travellers; but as this would take up a great deal of Room, and as I have Reaſon to believe that the Notion is in itſelf ſo plain and ſo agreeable to Truth, that it does not ſtand in Need of any Arguments to ſupport it, I ſhall not proſecute it farther at this Time, the rather, becauſe this Chapter begins already to grow very long, and I have ſtill ſome remarkable Creatures that before I finiſh it I find it neceſſary to mention.

20. Among the other Wonders of the *Indies*, it is a little ſtrange, that the Animal, which produces Muſk, was ſo long before it was known to the Ancients; for *Pliny*, the moſt curious and the moſt diligent Collector among their Writers, has left us nothing that ſeems to have the leaſt Relation to this Subject, the firſt Notice of which we received from *Arnobius* and *Apuleius*. Yet this Perfume was always in very great Eſteem in the *Indies*, and when properly tempered, muſt be acknowledged the richeſt of its kind. It is taken from an Animal called the Moſch or Muſk, which is very common throughout all *China* and the *Indies*[k], and is about the Size of a Fawn, or rather a little leſs; this Creature is ſaid to be ſo lazy, that the Hunters are hardly able to make it ſtir, but are obliged to diſcover its Haunts, which once done, they kill it without the leaſt Reſiſtance. When this is done, they cut off a little Excreſcence cover'd with Down, which grows near its Navel, from whence they take a kind of Blood, or rather Juice, clotted, of a moſt odoriferous Smell; and then they ſkin and cut it to Pieces.

But beſides this Liquor, which is a kind of Eſſence of Muſk, there are three other Methods of making this valuable Commodity, though not in the ſame Degree of Perfection. The firſt is, by taking the Hind Quarters of the Animal from its Kidneys, and ſteeping them in its Blood; they are then bruiſed and beat in a Mortar into a ſort of Pap, which is dried and put up in little Purſes made of that Animals Skin[l]. When it is propoſed to make a greater Quantity of Muſk, though not quite ſo rich, the Fleſh of the whole Animal is taken chopped to Pieces, and beat in a Mortar into a kind of Paſte, which is afterwards moiſtened with the Blood, and ſo put up into Purſes made of the Skin of the Beaſt, as the former. The third Sort, which is alſo tolerably good, though much ſhort in Value to either of the former, is made only of the Fore-part of the Animal, from the Reins to the Head; and thus no Part of this valuable Creature is ever loſt[m]. In *China*, where all Preparations of this Kind are beſt underſtood, it is managed in quite a different Manner. They take from the Animal a little Cod or Bag, which lies under its Belly, about thrice as big as a Man's Thumb; it contains a Subſtance not much unlike Tallow, which is dried till it is fit to powder, and then it appears of a light Yellow, and has a Smell that is exceedingly agreeable. It is ſold even in *China* itſelf for its Weight in Silver; but they are prohibited from ſelling it net to Strangers, and therefore, for common Sale, they make a counterfeit Muſk in the following Manner. They take rotten Wood, which they ſteep in the Blood and Juices of the Animal, and then ſew it up in Purſes made of its Skin, and having dried it, vend it for the true Muſk[n]. They aſcribe to it many Virtues in that Country, and amongſt the reſt one that is very ſingular, which is this; they ſay, that being worn under the Stocking when People are obliged to travel through Woods or Mountains where there are abundance of Serpents, they are preſerved thereby from being attacked by them; and the Reaſon aſſigned for this ſeems to be natural and probable enough: The Animal, ſay they, which produces Muſk, feeds chiefly upon Serpents, and therefore the Smell makes them quit the Place, from an Apprehenſion of their own Danger[o]. This rich Perfume has loſt much of its Credit in this Part of the World, and is conſequently much ſunk in its Price; the very beſt Muſk from *China* is ſold at *Amſterdam* for about nine Florins an Ounce by the *Eaſt-India* Company; and that of *Bengal*, which is eſteemed the ſecond Sort, is not worth above five Florins: The *Ruſſian* Muſk, which has the ſtrongeſt Smell, but loſes its Scent in a ſmall Space of Time, may be had for leſs than a Florin an Ounce[p]. There are ſome People who have ſtill a high Opinion of the Virtues of this Drug. They ſay that it is an excellent Remedy for almoſt all nervous Diſorders; and to confirm this, they aſſure us, that though in their own Country, the *Dutch* are frequently attacked by Apoplexies, yet at *Batavia*, and other Places in the *Eaſt-Indies*, where Muſk is very much uſed[q], they do not find themſelves ſubject to theſe Diſorders. It is upon this Principle that they attribute the Increaſe of nervous Complaints within fifty or ſixty Years paſt in theſe Parts of *Europe*, to the quitting the Uſe of this Perfume, which is ſaid to have been owing to the Averſion which the Queen of *France*, Conſort to *Lewis* XIV. had to the Smell of Muſk, which firſt drove it out of that Court, and by Degrees made it unfaſhionable every where elſe[r]. I do not pretend to anſwer for the Truth of this Obſervation; but as it is certainly very curious, and the Examination of it may poſſibly be of Uſe to Mankind, I thought it might not be amiſs to report it.

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[f] *Voyages de Thevenot*, Vol. V. p. 37. 199. 202. In the Duke *de Bourbon*'s Menegerie there was one of theſe blue-faced Apes ſhewn for many Years.
[g] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *Ælian. de Animal. lib.* xv. *c.* 14. *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* viii. *c.* 21. *Philoſtrat. lib.* iii. *c.* 4.
[h] *Strabo, ubi ſupra.*
[i] *Voyage des Indes, lib.* i. *c.* 3.
[k] *Mandeſlo, p.* 81. *Le Brun. p.* 121.
[l] *Dictionaire de Commerce, Tom.* iii. *p.* 1463.

After this Hiſtory of the Beaſts of *India*, it is natural to ſay ſomewhat of the Reptiles and Inſects there, of which we have a very large Account from the Ancients, and thoſe not at all leſs remarkable than what has been already taken Notice of with regard to other Animals, the rather becauſe in their Kind they appeared much more ſurprizing, and withal more terrible to Strangers: For as there is a Kind of innate Diſlike to the Reptiles of our own Countries, which are generally in our Eye; ſo when we ſee Creatures to which we have ſuch an Averſion, of a Size infinitely beyond what we have beheld before, it naturally inſpires us with Horror, our Antipathy riſing in the ſame Proportion that the Object becomes more dreadful; eſpecially if the Creature be fierce or venomous in its Nature, and capable as well of hurting as of frighting us. From hence, very probably, it comes to paſs, that ſuch extraordinary Relations of theſe frightful Creatures have been, in all Ages, well received; becauſe it is natural for us to hear with Pleaſure, of Miſchiefs to which we are not expoſed, the Proſpect of diſtant Dangers, adding to the Senſe of our own Safety, and gratifying our Curioſity at the ſame Time.

22. The Dragon was a Creature frequently mentioned by the old Naturaliſts, and deſcribed as one of the moſt dreadful in the World. *Ariſtotle* mentions the Dragon's living in continual Enmity with the Eagle; and alſo ſays, that when the Dragon is ſurfeited with eating Apples it has Recourſe to Lettice for Relief[s]. *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* were Countries the moſt famous, next to the *Indies*, for producing Dragons of unuſual Size. We have, in an ancient Author, a very large and circumſtantial Account of the taking a Dragon on the Frontiers of *Ethiopia*, which was One and twenty Feet in Length, and was carried to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who very bountifully rewarded ſuch as ran the Hazard of procuring him this Beaſt[t]. Yet, terrible as theſe were, they fall abundantly ſhort of Monſters of the ſame Species in *India*; with reſpect to which, St. *Ambroſe* tells us, that there were Dragons ſeen in the Neighbourhood of the *Ganges*, near ſeventy Cubits in Length[u]. It was one of this Size that *Alexander* and his Army ſaw in a Cave, where it was fed, either out of Reverence or from Curioſity, by the Inhabitants; and the firſt Lightening of its Eyes, together with its terrible Hiſſing, made a ſtrong Impreſſion on the *Macedonians*, who, with all their Courage, could not help being frighted at ſo horrid a Spectacle[w]. The Dragon is nothing more than a Serpent of enormous Size; and they formely diſtinguiſhed three Sorts of them in the *Indies*, *viz.* ſuch as were found in the Mountains, ſuch as were bred in Caves, or in the flat Country, and ſuch as were found in Fenns and Marſhes: The firſt is the largeſt of all, and are covered with Scales as reſplendent as poliſhed Gold. Theſe have a Kind of Beard hanging from their lower Jaw, their Eye-brows large, and very exactly arched; their Aſpect the moſt frightful that can be imagined, and their Cry loud and ſhrill; their Creſt of a bright Yellow, and a Protuberance on their Heads, of the Colour of a burning Coal. Thoſe of the flat Country differ from the former in nothing but in having their Scales of a ſilver Colour, and in their frequenting Rivers, to which the former never come. Thoſe that live in Marſhes and Fenns, are of a dark Colour, approaching to a Black, move ſlowly, have no Creſt, or any Riſing upon their Heads[x]. *Strabo* ſays, that the painting them with Wings, is the Effect of Fancy, and directly contrary to Truth: But other Naturaliſts and Travellers, both ancient and modern, affirm, that there are ſome of theſe Species winged[y]. Yet, after all theſe terrifying Accounts, *Pliny*, and many other Writers, aſſure us that both Sorts are rather dreadful than dangerous, their Bite having nothing in it venomous[z]; the Reverſe of which is aſſerted by later Authors, and ſeveral Facts alledged in Support of their Opinion[a]. But what makes the greateſt Figure in the Works of the Ancients with relation to this extraordinary Animal, is, the Stone ſuppoſed to grow in its Head, and reputed of ineſtimable Value[b]. It is ſaid to be naturally divided into Tables like a Diamond of the brillant Cut, and to have as high a Luſtre. But, to preſerve this Quality, it is neceſſary that it ſhould be taken out of the Head of the Animal the Moment it is killed; for otherwiſe it loſes all its Virtues and all its Beauty, and yet becomes ſo extremely hard, that no Tool will touch it. *Pliny*[c] gives us a long Catalogue of medicinal and magical Properties, which he aſcribes to the Skin, Fleſh, Bones, Eyes, and Teeth of the Dragon, which are too ridiculous to be repeated; and, beſides, ſuch Stories have now entirely loſt their Credit, ſince the

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[m] *Ibid.* [n] Account of *China* before cited. [o] *Du Halde's China.* [p] *Negoce de Amſterdam, p.* 119. [q] All Kinds of high Perfumes are much in Requeſt among the better Sort of People over all the *Indies*, as appears from their prohibiting the Exportation of any unadulterated. [r] *Memoirs de M. Garcin*, who obſerves, that our not uſing ourſelves to Perfumes, occaſions their giving us the Vapours. [s] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt. Animal. lib.* ix. [t] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iii. [u] *De moribus Brachmanorum, p.* 63. *Strabo, lib.* xvi. *p.* 75. *Bochart. Hieroz. p.* 11. *lib.* iii. *cap.* 13. [w] *Ælian. de Animal. lib.* xv. *cap.* 21. [x] *Strabo, lib.* xvi. [y] *Id. ibid.* [z] *Plin. lib.* xxix. *c.* 4. [a] *Jonſton. Theatr. Animal. Tom.* ii. *de Serpentibus, p.* 34. [b] *Philoſtr. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. *Iſidor. Orig. lib.* xvi. *c.* 13. *Solin. cap.* 30. *Marſil. Ficin. de Triplici vita.* [c] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* xxvii. *cap.* 10. xxix. *cap.* 4.

Indians, at preſent, confine the Value of theſe Animals to the Stone in their Heads; which, however, no *European* could ever find, and to the Quality that their Bones are ſuppoſed to have of reſiſting Poiſon. It is for this Reaſon that they are as aſſiduous as ever in hunting Dragons; concerning which, old Writers tell us, this was their conſtant Method. They hung before the Mouth of the Dragon's Den a Piece of Stuff flowered with Gold, which attracted the Eyes of the Beaſt, till, by the Sound of ſoft Muſick they lulled him to Sleep, and then cut off his Head[d].

As for the Dragons on the Mountains, they coſt them much more Pains; for they were forced to purſue them with Lances and Arrows, with great Danger to themſelves. The Dragon, in his Turn, hunted the Elephant, and, if we may credit ſome Authors of great Rank in the learned World, was from Inſtinct his mortal Enemy. In order to deſtroy him, he mounted a Tree in the Foreſt where the Elephants fed, from whence, as ſoon as one of them came by, he threw himſelf on his Back, and twiſting himſelf round him, thruſt his Head into his Noſtril, and thereby ſtrangled him. The Hate of this Animal towards the Elephant, was thought an apt Symbol of human Malice, for in his Fall, the Elephant cruſhed him to Death; ſo that the Combat was equally fatal to both[e].

The Ancients tell us further, that if it was not for the annual Inundations, this Country would be infeſted with a vaſt Variety of other Serpents and deſtructive Inſects of different Kinds, which, as in all hot Climates, breed here in prodigious Numbers. Amongſt others they mention a kind of Viper of a moſt dangerous Nature, and ſome other Reptiles, the Bite of which is infallibly mortal, when the Simples, which have a ſpecifick Quality of curing theſe Wounds, are not immediately taken, with which Simples the Country through the eſpecial Care of Providence plentifully abounds. There are ſome of theſe Vipers, they ſay, twelve or fifteen Foot long, others not above half a Foot; and theſe, together with the Scorpions, are the moſt dangerous, becauſe they are ſo ſmall, that it is very difficult to guard againſt them[f]. But the annual Inundations in a great Meaſure purge the Country of thoſe dangerous and deſtructive Creatures, without which it would ſcarce be habitable. The *Macedonians* ſuffered exceedingly from theſe venomous Animals before the *Indians* acquainted them with the proper Remedies, and the only way before that by which they could defend themſelves, was by hanging their Beds between Trees, and ſleeping, as it were, in the open Air[g].

Several modern Travellers report almoſt as ſtrange Things of theſe *Indian* Serpents as the Ancients; for inſtance, *Peter Van Caerden*, who was Admiral of a *Dutch* Fleet in the *Indies*, aſſures us, that at *Calicut* they are as big about as Hogs, their Bodies ſix Foot long, and their Heads larger and longer than that of a wild Boar, yet the Natives aſſured him that theſe Animals were not venomous. It is very remarkable that he tells us theſe monſtrous Creatures haunted chiefly their Marſhes, ſo that, according to the foregoing Diſtinction, they muſt have been the leaſt of that Species in that Country, and probably they were ſo; for the ſame Author tells us, that there were others, which if they but drew Blood of a Man, their Bite was mortal upon the Spot. He adds, that beſides theſe he ſaw many of the Size of Water-Snakes. While he was at Anchor on the Coaſt of *Mozambic*, a Boy that was waſhing himſelf by the Ship-ſide was ſeized by the Middle by a Serpent of enormous Size, that dragged him under Water at once in the Sight of the whole Fleet[h].

Mr. *Rechteren* tells us, that while he lived in the Iſland of *Banda*, his Fowls were continually ſtolen, and on his complaining to his Neighbours, they told him they were carried away by the Serpents, which he was not very forward to believe[i]. However, having ſet ſome People to watch, they in the Night alarmed him with the Cry of the Serpent, which had got in amongſt the Fowls. They purſued it, cut off its Head and Tail with Hatchets, which they had in their Hands, and then opened its Belly, in which they found a Pig, a Duck, and five Fowls, and what is not a little extraordinary, they ſkinned theſe Creatures, and together with the Body of the Serpent, boiled, and made Broth of them[k].

An Author, whom we have cited more than once, aſſures us[k], that he has ſeen of theſe Animals twenty-five Foot long, and five round, their Throats ſo large, that they were able to ſwallow a Stag whole. Theſe monſtrous Serpents live both on Land and in the Water, where, when they have gorged themſelves with their Prey, they ſleep, which Opportunity the Natives take to kill and eat them, eſteeming the Fleſh excellent, and not at all venomous. The ſame Writer ſays, that at *Golconda* there are Serpents of a prodigious Size, the Bite of which is inſtantly mortal; and obſerves farther, that whenever theſe Creatures are ſeen at Sea, it is a certain Sign of their being near the *Indian* Coaſt.

Admiral *Verboven* tells us a ſingular Story of a Sea-Serpent in the Streights of *Sincapoua*. A Seaman waſhing himſelf by the Ship-ſide was ſeized by one of theſe Creatures, upon which he roared ſo loud, that one of his Companions threw him a Rope and pulled him into the Ship; but the Serpent had tore ſuch a Piece out of his Side, that he died immediately. The Serpent continued about the Ship, till at laſt it was taken, and was the largeſt they had ever ſeen. Upon opening its Belly, they found therein the Piece of Fleſh which he had torn from the Sailor, and which they buried with him[l].

Mr. *Thevenot*, a moſt careful and candid Writer, informs us, that the Country about *Golconda* is terribly infeſted by Serpents, the Bite of which is mortal, unleſs Care be taken to apply proper Remedies immediately: Of theſe he mentions two, which are both very extraordinary, the one is holding a light Coal very near the Wound, which draws out the Venom by Degrees, and which is very ſingular, the Patient does not feel any great Inconveniency from the Heat during the Time of the Operation[m]. The other Remedy is the Snake-ſtone, or, as they call it, *Cobra*, the Manner of making and applying of which he deſcribes very particularly.

The beſt are made in the City of *Dieu*, and are compoſed of the Roots of certain Plants burnt to Aſhes, which Aſhes are mixed with a particular kind of Earth, and then burnt a ſecond Time. Of this Compoſition reduced into a Paſte, they form the Stone made of the Size of a Pigeon's Egg; this is applied in caſe a Perſon is bit by any kind of Serpent or Viper, or wounded by a poiſoned Arrow in the following manner: They firſt prick the Wound with a Needle till the Blood comes, and then clap the Stone to it, which ſticks faſt, and remains there till it falls off of itſelf. It is afterwards put into Breaſt, or, if that cannot be had, into Cows Milk, where it purges itſelf of the Poiſon; and if this be not done immediately the Stone burſts[n].

Dr. *Fryer*, who was ten Years in the *Indies*, and who, as a Phyſician, was certainly a proper Judge of ſuch Matters, ſpeaks alſo of theſe Snakes-ſtones, he ſays, they are made by the *Giogbis*, and that they are counter-poiſon to all deadly Bites. If the Stone ſticks, ſays he, it attracts the Poiſon, and put into Milk, it recovers itſelf again, leaving its Virulency therein, which is diſcovered by its Greenneſs[o]. I have mentioned this Circumſtance of the *Cobia*, the rather becauſe the common Notion in the *Indies* is, that it is a Stone taken out of a Serpent's Head, which, as we have ſeen, is altogether fabulous.

22. In reſpect to the Dragon, the Ancients have only exceeded as far as we can judge from modern Relations in certain Circumſtances the Truth; but as to the Gryphon, all they ſay appears the pure Effect of Imagination, and ſo ſtrange an Animal they make it, that I was in ſome doubt whether it belonged to this or to the ſubſequent Section; but perceiving that it would be liable to the ſame Objections there, I thought it might be as well to diſpatch it here. According therefore to the Accounts we have of it, it is hard to ſay whether it be Beaſt or Bird Inhabitant of the Earth, or of the Air. They ſay it has four Feet, and is of the Size of a Lion; thus far then it is plainly a Beaſt; but then they ſay farther, that it is entirely covered with Feathers, and has the Head and Beak of an Eagle.

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[d] *Ælian. de Animal. lib.* vi. *c.* 21.

[e] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *c.* 11, 12. *Pomp. Mela, lib.* iii. *de Indicis.*

[f] *Nearchus & Ariſtobulus apud Strabonem, lib.* xv. *Arrian. de Indicis.*

[g] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii.

[h] *Voyage aux Indes, p.* 403. 327.

[i] *Voyage aux Indes, p.* 152, 153.

[k] *Voyage de P. van den Broek.*

[l] *Voyage de l'Admiral Verboven aux Indes Orientales. p.* 92.

[m] *Voyages des Indes Orientales,* Vol. V. *p.* 318.

[n] *Ibid. p.* 97.

[o] *Fryer's* Travels, *p.* 53.

It has either Wings, or ſomething like them, that is to ſay, a Membrane reſembling that which the Bats fly with. The Colour of the Body is a dark brown, or black; but the Breaſt is of a bright red, or, as ſome ſay, purple [p].

This Creature was conſecrated to *Apollo*, and faſtened to the Chariot of the Sun, becauſe among its other ſingular Properties, it was held, that the Gryphon could ſteadily look upon the Sun in its full Splendor. It was ſuppoſed to inhabit the Woods and Mountains, where the Ancients imagined it diſcovered and guarded the Gold Mines; but they do not tell us to what Uſes it converted this Metal, or why departing from the Inſtinct of Beaſts it ſhared in the Follies of Men. It is alſo affirmed, that this Animal was one of the fierceſt and moſt cruel, fearing no other Enemies than the Lion, the Tyger, and the Elephant, over which alſo it ſometimes triumphed. The *Indians*, whenever they attacked it, went in conſiderable Bodies, and generally in a Moon-light Night, in hopes of finding it aſleep, which, however, they rarely did, and were forced to buy the Treaſures, guarded by the Gryphon, at the Expence of their Blood. The Watchfulneſs of this Animal was one of its moſt remarkable Qualities; and in all the Fables that are related concerning it, it is a Circumſtance always thrown in, that the Gryphon ſeldom or ever ſleeps [q].

If there had been any ſuch Creature, it fell undoubtedly under our Cognizance, becauſe the Ancients affirm that they are no where elſe to be met with but in the Northern Part of the *Indies*, which however does not agree extremely well with the Taſk they aſſign them of guarding the Gold Mines, becauſe in truth there are no ſuch Mines there. It muſt however be acknowledged, that ſome of the Ancients themſelves have given us plainly to underſtand, that they looked upon all that had been ſaid of the Gryphon as mere Fables; but whence thoſe Fables aroſe, or why they were invented, is a Queſtion, that the Reader from the Scope of this Work, which is to leave nothing unexplained, may expect ſhould be anſwered.

On this Head I muſt ſay, that I take the Origin of it to have been an *Egyptian* Hieroglyphick, and my Reaſon for it is, becauſe taken in this Light, it has a Meaning, and otherwiſe none. In this Senſe then the Gryphon was a Figure invented, which ſignifies the Power of the Sun in the Sign of the Lion; and hence proceeded the Notion that the Gryphons guarded the Mines of Gold, becauſe according to the old Doctrines of the *Egyptian* Chemiſtry, the Sun in this Sign had an extraordinary Operation in that Reſpect; and hence alſo ſome of the old Alchymiſts, or at leaſt ſome Writers as are impoſed on us under ancient Names make uſe of the Gryphon, and ſome other ſuch-like imaginary Creatures for the better veiling of their Secrets; but when the *Greeks* firſt ſaw theſe Figures without being let into their Meaning, they took them, as it was natural enough for them to do, for the Repreſentations of real Animals, and the *Indies* being the Place where the moſt extraordinary Creatures they were acquainted with reſided, they took the Liberty of ſuppoſing that the Gryphons came from thence, and from the Northern *Indies*, becauſe there were more wild Beaſts there than any where elſe.

This I take to be the true Account of the Riſe of this Notion, which afterwards came to be employed ſymbollically, of which Sir *Thomas Brown* [r] has given us a very rational Account. It doth well make out, ſays he, the Properties of a Guardian, the Ears, implying Attention; the Wings, Celerity; in Execution the Lion like Shape, Courage and Audacity; the hooked Bill, Reſervance and Tenacity. It is alſo an Emblem of Valour and Magnanimity, as being compounded of the Eagle and Lion, the nobleſt Animals in their reſpective kinds; and ſo it is applicable to Princes, Generals, Preſidents, and all in chief Authority, which is the Reaſon that the Heralds laid hold of it, and we ſee it borne in the Coats of Arms of the nobleſt Families in *Europe*.

In taking leave of this Subject, it will be proper for me to obſerve, that the Gryphons mentioned in Scripture [s] are no more than a kind of Eagle, and not the imaginary Gryphon; and therefore in our Tranſlation, it is very well rendered after *Tremellius*, as I conceive, the Oſſifrage, which is, properly ſpeaking, the Sea-Eagle.

23. There is no Creature of which the Ancients have talked more than of the Cameleon, and perhaps, of all the Animals they have mentioned, there is not one of which they have reported more Abſurdities, or ſhewn a leſs Regard to Truth. In all Probability, they were originally miſled by the Reports of the *Indians* themſelves, who have always been inclined to exaggerate, and have ſhewn leſs Care in examining the real Nature of Creatures than in framing ſuch Stories of them as might beſt ſuit their Parables and Ænigmas. It muſt, however, be allowed, that the Ancients are not all alike faulty in this reſpect, either in believing the Dreams of others, or reporting their own; for though *Pliny* and *Solinus* [t] poſitively affirm, that the Cameleon lives wholly on Air; yet *Ariſtotle* [u], who went before them, and has written largely upon the Subject, ſays not a ſingle Word of this ſupernatural Quality. Indeed, it is wonderful, that ever this Opinion prevailed at all, becauſe the very Formation of the Animal plainly refutes it, as is very well obſerved by the learned Sir *Thomas Brown* [w].

The Word Cameleon, in *Greek* ſignifies a *little Lion*; and this Name muſt have been given it from ſome Reſemblance it had to that Animal, not ſurely in its Figure, for therein it approaches the Crocodile, but rather from its Vigilance in catching its Prey, a Notion irreconcilable to its living upon Air. It is for this Purpoſe certainly, I mean of catching its Prey, that it has a long ſharp Tongue, which it can thruſt out to a Length equal to one Third of its Body; and though very ſlow in its Motion, yet it manages this Member with extraordinary Agility; and therefore, from the eſtabliſhed Law of Nature, we may preſume: that its Tongue is of extraordinary Uſe, and as we cannot conceive that it ſhould be of any Uſe with reſpect to drawing in the Air, which might be done without, it naturally leads us to believe that it ſerves to furniſh the Animal with other Food. In the next Place, it hath very remarkable Teeth, which is another Indication of its living on Prey; and what ſeems to put it beyond all Doubt, is, the Formation of its Stomach and Guts; to which we may add its voiding Excrement, a Fact admitted by *Pliny* [x], though manifeſtly deſtructive of his own Opinion.

It is no Wonder, therefore, that this Notion was ſoon exploded, or that we find *Auguſtine*, *Stobæus*, *Forunus Licetus*, and many other great Men, oppoſing themſelves to this popular Sentiment. But *Bellonius* poſitively affirms, that it feeds on Flies, Caterpillars, Beetles, and other Inſects, and that from the beſt Reaſon in the World; becauſe, upon Diſſection, he found theſe Animals in their Bellies [y]; to which we may add what other learned Writers have affirmed as to its drinking Water, and delighting to catch Meal-worms. We will therefore quit the Ancients, as inſufficient Guides in this reſpect, and have Recourſe to the Moderns, by whom this ſingular Animal has been very fully and faithfully deſcribed.

The Cameleon then, according to their Account, reſembles a large Lizard, except that it has two great wide Ears, which lie pretty far back upon its Neck. It lives commonly in the Clifts of Rocks, or in Holes of a Wall. It has four Feet and five Claws upon each Foot, which ſerve for its perching upon the Branches of Trees or Shrubs, where it likewiſe ſecures its Station, by twiſting its Tail round them. Its Motion on the Ground is as ſlow as that of a Tortoiſe, but upon Trees it moves from Branch to Branch with great Agility [z]. The largeſt of theſe Animals are about eleven or twelve Inches in Length from the Head to the Extremity of the Tail, and about three

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[p] *Cteſias in Indicis cap.* 13. *Herodot. lib.* iii. *Plin. lib.* vi. *Philoſt. lib.* iii. *Ælian. lib.* iv. *Photini Codice* 72. *Servius in Eclog.* viii.

[q] *Cteſias, Pliny, Philoſt. ubi ſupra.*

[r] Vulgar Errors, *lib.* iii. *cap.* ii.

[s] *Leviticus* xi. 13. Where among the prohibited Fowls are reckoned the Eagle, the Oſſifrage, and the Oſpray. It is however to be obſerved, that the Word Gryphon came firſt in from the *Greek* Tranſlation of the Septuagint, and therefore whether the Oſſifrage be, ſtrictly ſpeaking, that kind of Eagle which the *Greeks* called a Gryphon, is a Queſtion that has nothing to do with the Veracity of the ſacred Text; for *Moſes* undoubtedly forbad the *Hebrews* ſome Fowl that was well known and common in their Country, nor is it of any Importance to us whether we know exactly what Bird it was, or not.

[t] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* xi. *cap.* 37. *Solinus.*

[u] *Hiſt. Anim. lib.* ii.

[w] Vulgar Errors, Book 3d, Chap. 21.

[x] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* xi. *cap.* 37.

[y] *Comment. in Octl. Lucan.*

[z] *Mem. de l'Acad. Tom.* iii. *part* i. *p.* 53.

Inches round, that is to ſay, when they puff out and extend themſelves; for, otherwiſe they have not half that Bigneſs, and, in all Probability, it was from this ſtrange Property of ſwelling and leſſening their Bodies, that the Notion of their living upon Air was firſt derived.

When they do not puff up themſelves, their Skin hangs looſe, in ſuch a Manner, that the Spine of their Back is plainly ſeen through it, their Ribs may be counted, and the Tendons of their fore and hind Limbs are plainly viſible. It was from the Conſideration of the Creature in this Condition, that *Tertullian* was led to ſay, a Camelion was no more than a living Skin[a]. It muſt be confeſſed, that this Property is not only very ſingular, but, in ſome meaſure, alſo inconceivable, for that it diſtends itſelf by receiving Air, is a Point generally agreed; and yet, how this Air ſhould paſs from the Lungs into the Habitude of the Body, is a Thing not hitherto accounted for.

There is another Quality of this ſtrange Animal no leſs admirable, which is, that when it is thinneſt, and the Skin hangs as it were upon the Bones, the Motion of its Heart cannot be perceived, which one would imagine in ſuch a State, muſt be very ſenſible. Its Skin is very cold to the Touch, and very uneven in its Surface, full of little Points like Shagreen; but, at the ſame Time, not at all rough, but very finely poliſhed. The Colour, when the Creature is ſtill, and in the Shade, is, for the moſt part, of a Blue-grey, about the Feet it is of a White, inclining to Yellow, and, on the Body, there are ſome Streaks of a pale Red, which is likewiſe intermixed with Yellow.

Ariſtotle ſays their Skin is black; but it is certain, that the Camelion ſeen in *Europe* hath its Skin naturally of a Blue-grey, which it likewiſe retains after it is taken off. At firſt alſo it retains the Streaks before-mentioned, but by degrees, and as it grows dry, they wear out, and are no longer viſible. When theſe Animals are placed in the Sun, they change their Colour intirely, and aſſume that which is called an *Iſabella*, compoſed of a pale yellow on the Surface, and a deep red underneath. When removed out of the Sun, this beautiful Colour goes off, and the natural Blue-grey returns by degrees. The Camelion being touch'd and diſturbed when in the Sun, there appeared immediately on its Shoulders and Legs black Spots as big as ones Nail. Sometimes again its Skin appears checquered with brown Spots, inclining to a dark green.

Upon wrapping the Camelion in Linnen, it was taken out white. *Aldrovandus* ſays, that he ſaw one ſo changed in this manner, that it ſeemed to diſappear, being not diſtinguiſhable in its Colour from the very Linnen it lay upon[b]; but this Deſcription ſeems to be a little exaggerated; for commonly it is obſerved to change only to a light grey, and its natural dark Colour comes on again in the Space of two or three Minutes. But notwithſtanding this, the Experiment moſt evidently refutes what *Plutarch* and *Solinus* gravely tells us, that the Camelion aſſumes all Colours except white[c]. *Ariſtotle* likewiſe ſeems to be in the wrong in affirming, that it changes its Colour through its whole[d] Body, whereas in all the modern Experiments the Skin, inſtead of being uniform, has been ſpotted with different Colours. It muſt however be confeſſed, that moſt of theſe Circumſtances have varied in different Experiments, ſo that it is very difficult to ſpeak exactly of all theſe Particulars.

It is natural to conclude with ſome Account of the Diſcoveries made by the Moderns as to its Food, which ſeems to put that Point entirely out of Diſpute. They have found that it is ſo far from living upon the Air and Sunſhine, as ſome learned Men reported, and credulous People believed, that it is in Fact a Beaſt of Prey, and more ravenous than could be expected from its Size.

The Tongue of the Cameleon is the Weapon with which he does all this Miſchief. It is covered conſtantly with a kind of natural Glew, which draws to it Flies and other little Animals, which ſtick faſt therein, and are drawn back there with into the Creature's Mouth, with ſuch prodigious Agility, that it is hardly poſſible to perceive this Motion of throwing out and recalling the Tongue. Upon examining this Member cloſely with a Microſcope, we diſcern a Multitude of very ſmall Fibres, which run winding like a Screw from the Root to the Point of the Tongue, which, doubtleſs, contributes very much to that extraordinary Quickneſs of Motion with which this Creature uſeth it. Upon Diſſection, there are found in the Ventricle and in the Inteſtines the Flies and Worms which it has ſwallowed[e].

It voids from Time to Time a kind of Stones of a Size and Weight ſuperior to any thing it could ſwallow; and theſe Stones have afforded Matter for freſh Obſervations. After having examined them cloſely, and making ſome Experiments on them with diſtilled Vinegar, it has been found that they have the Head of a Fly, or ſome ſuch thing in the Centre, round which the ſtony Maſs forms itſelf, and riſes to a conſiderable Bulk before it is thrown out. I do not find that the Moderns have at all enquired into one Fact expreſly aſſerted by *Ælian*[f], which is, that this Creature is not afraid of, or affected by the Bite of the moſt venomous kinds of Serpents; which perhaps might lead us into new Diſcoveries.

24. The Deſcription and Hiſtory of the Ants of *India* recorded by ancient Authors, is at once the more ſingular and extraordinary of any thing they have related concerning this Part of the World, and the more ſo, becauſe it is on the one hand confidently reported, not by one or two Authors only, but by almoſt all the great Writers of Antiquity[g]; and on the other, the ſtricteſt Enquiry that can be made by the Moderns, furniſhes us with no ſort of Intelligence, to prove that either there are, or ever were, any ſuch Animals as theſe in Nature. It would take up too much of the Reader's Time to enter into a particular Account of all the Stories that the old Writers tell us with regard to the *Indian* Piſmires; and therefore to cut the Matter ſhort, I ſhall report what *Pliny* ſays upon this Head, as containing the Subſtance of what other Writers have delivered.

There are ſtill to be ſeen, ſays he, in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Erythræ*, the Horns of a certain *Indian* Ant, which were there ſet up to employ the Wonder as well as Curioſity of all Poſterity. Theſe Ants in the Northern *Indies*, and eſpecially in the Country of the *Dardians*, burrough in the Ground like Rabbits, and from thence throw up abundance of fine Gold from the Mines under the Earth, in which they make their Holes. Theſe Creatures are of the Colour of Cats, and of the Size of Wolves or Foxes in *Egypt*. This Gold, which they throw up in the Winter Seaſon, the Natives of that Country endeavour to ſteal from them in the extream Heat of Summer, taking that Opportunity, when the Piſmires, to ſhun the raging Heat of the Sun, lie cloſe ſhut up in their Caves. Yet this is even then performed with great Danger; for if theſe Creatures gain any Scent of them, they purſue with incredible Boldneſs and Speed, neither can the Swiftneſs of their Camels ſave them; but they are frequently torn in Pieces by theſe furious Animals, eager to recover that Gold in which they ſo much delight[h].

Ariſtotle hath treated largely of the Nature of Ants in general, and ſeems to have examined the Subject with great Diligence and Application[i]; yet he ſays nothing of theſe *Indian* Ants, though the Story had been told by Writers who flouriſhed long before him, and therefore in all Probability he looked upon it as a Fable. *Philoſtratus* ſays, that theſe Creatures are not only found about the Sources of the *Indies*, but alſo in *Ethiopia*[k]; and yet ſuch Travellers as have viſited that Country, ſay nothing of any ſuch Animals, which it is impoſſible they ſhould have omitted, if they had either ſeen or heard of it. It appears however clearly both from *Strabo* and *Arian*, that this Tale, and all the Circumſtances relating to it, came originally from *Magaſthenes*, who pretends that he had ſeen the Skins of theſe Animals, which were ſpotted like the Skins of Tygers; and he alſo reports another Circumſtance not mentioned by *Pliny*, which is, that the Inhabitants, by ſcattering the Limbs of Animals, cut to Pieces near the Dens or Holes of the Piſmires, drew them to feed upon theſe; and while they were thus employed, carried away their Golden Stores. *Nearchus* alſo has aſſerted, that he likewiſe ſaw the Skins of theſe Ants in the *Macedonian* Camp; but both *Strabo* and *Arrian* ſeem to give no Credit to theſe Relations[l].

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[a] *Oper. p.* 795.

[b] *Hiſt. Nat. p.* 33.

[c] *Plutarch. Oper. p.* 1153.

[d] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt. Anim. lib.* xi. *cap.* 11.

[e] *Memor. de l'Arcad. Tom.* iii. *p.* 53.

[f] *Ælian. de Animal. lib.* iv. *c.* 33.

[g] *Herodot. lib.* iii. *c.* 102. *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Clem. Alexandrin. Pædag. lib.* ii. *p.* 207. *Bochart. Hierozoici. p.* 11. *lib.* vi. *c.* 4.

[h] *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* xi. *c.* 31.

[i] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt. Animal. lib.* v.

[k] *Philoſtrat. de Vita Apollon. Tyan. lib.* vi. *c.* 1.

One might be tempted to imagine, that the original Reporters of theſe Stories miſtook the Creature of which they ſpoke, and which they ought rather to have ſtiled it a Mole than an Ant; I ſay we might ſuſpect this, if in any later Writer there was the leaſt Notice taken of this Method of coming at Gold; but as there is not, I muſt confeſs I look upon the whole as a Fable, invented by the *Indians*, to prevent Strangers from being too buſy in looking after their Gold Mines. *Pomponius Mela*[m] reports the Fact without the leaſt Mark of Diffidence. "*India*, ſays he, produces "Ants not inferior in Size to the largeſt Dogs, which, after "the manner of Gryphons, are ſaid to diſcover and watch "over Gold with incredible Sollicitude." A Thing in itſelf ſo incredible, that it is amazing any could ſpeak of it without Suſpicion.

That there are, however, vaſt Numbers of Ants in this Country, and of a large Size, is very certain; and theſe too very miſchievous; ſo that to avoid their Depredations, the Inhabitants in ſome Places are obliged to have their Cheſts fixed upon four Feet, and thoſe Feet ſet in a Veſſel full of Water to prevent the Ants from getting into them. But then the largeſt of theſe Creatures are not ſaid to be above a Finger's Length, which with reſpect to ſuch a Creature is a prodigious Bigneſs[n]. There are alſo infinite Numbers of theſe deſtructive Animals in *Africa*, which raiſe Hills of a ſurpriſing Height; but theſe are not ſaid to be above half an Inch in Length[o], ſo that after all the Enquiry poſſible, I have not been able to diſcover any Fact that could be depended upon capable of giving Light into what the Ancients have related upon this Head. It is not however amiſs to preſerve even the moſt extravagant of their Accounts, becauſe future Travellers, by peruſing them, may have an Opportunity of making ſuch Enquiries as may poſſibly diſcover what gave Riſe to theſe Fables; for it would be eaſy to ſhew from many Inſtances, that a ſtrict Examination of Falſhoods has frequently led to the Diſcovery of very important Truths.

25. After the Peruſal of this Chapter, the Reader will be able to judge for himſelf as to the Capacity of the Ancients, with reſpect to the Deſcription of the *Indies*, and be able to decide wherein they deſerved Praiſe, and how far they are liable to Cenſure. It will be clear to him, that in ſome Reſpects they had the Advantage of us, though not in many. As for inſtance, in the Knowledge of the Nature, Diſpoſition and Strength of Elephants, which were much in uſe both with the *Greeks* and *Romans*, after *Alexander* had opened a Paſſage to the *Indies*[p]. This muſt have given them many Opportunities of examining carefully into all the Qualities of that Creature, which are Opportunities that we have not. *Ariſtotle*[q] has written about them with great Judgment and Accuracy; but as to the Work of *Ælian*[r], I muſt confeſs he ſeems to have ſtudied to amuſe, rather than inform his Readers.

The Terror of the *Roman* Arms was ſo great, eſpecially after they had reduced *Egypt* into the Form of a Province, that the *Indians* were extreamly afraid of them, and therefore made uſe of all the different Methods they could invent to hinder them from making that Uſe they might have done of their Maritime Power. It was with this View that they ſent Embaſſadors to their Emperors, and with them Preſents of wild Beaſts, and Serpents, that on the one hand they might perſuade them of their Submiſſion, and on the other fright them from undertaking Expeditions into a Country, where they were to run ſo many Hazards from Beaſts as well as Men. It was from the ſame Principle that they filled their Ears with dreadful and falſe Reports. If they had Spices, they pretended that they were obtained with infinite Difficulty, and by ſuch a dangerous Navigation, as ſcarce any Man in his Senſes would attempt; if they had Gold, it was taken from the Dens of Gryphons, and other fierce and terrible Beaſts, ſo that it appeared infinitely better to obtain this precious Commodity by Traffick, than to expoſe themſelves to the Dangers which the poor *Indians* ran in procuring it; if their Markets were furniſhed with precious Stones, they likewiſe were collected with incredible Hazard; which kind of Fables joined to the Diſtance of the Country, and the natural Averſion which the *Roman* Legions had to ſerving in Climates different from their own, for many Age had as good Effect in ſecuring the *Indians* from their boundleſs Ambition.

The falſe Religion of the *Romans*, and their great Proneneſs to Superſtition, was another invincible Bar to their aring at any true Knowledge of the Countries they viſited. Their Heads were ſo full of Fables, Omens, and Prodigies, that it was very eaſy to make them believe that the *Indies* was inhabited by Giants, and that the *Ganges*, and all the other Rivers in it, ſwarmed with Monſters. We have a ſtrong Proof of this in what happened when the Learning of *Rome* was at its greateſt Height. It was found neceſſary to change the Courſe of the River *Orontes*, to facilitate the bringing up their Fleet to *Antioch*; a prodigious Work, that, however, they undertook and executed; which ſhews that there was nothing that ſo enterprizing a People might not have performed, if they had not been liable to the Terrors of Superſtition. When the Waters of the River were turned out of their old Channel, they diſcovered a Sepulchre of Earth, above ſixteen Foot long, filled with Bones of an enormous Size; and which, nevertheleſs, the People of that Country perſuaded them were thoſe of a Man; upon which the Oracle of *Apollo*, at *Claros* in *Ionia*, was conſulted, and they were informed, that theſe were the Remains of *Orontes*, a Native of the *Indies*; which was enough to confirm them in the Opinion they had conceived, that the Inhabitants of that Country, were much ſuperior in Size to the reſt of Mankind[s].

The great Reverence paid by them to Antiquity, was another Source of Errors. One would imagine, from reading ſome of their Writers, that they had ſworn never to be wiſer than thoſe who went before them: Almoſt all the voluminous Work of *Pliny*, is taken from *Greek* Authors, and thoſe not of the beſt Credit[t]. Whoever will take the Trouble of comparing the Geography of *Pomponus Mela*, with the Hiſtory of *Herodotus*, will plainly perceive, that he has borrowed from him the beſt Part of what he has written, particularly that Paſſage relating to the Ants that dig Gold. And hence it comes to paſs, that when we diligently trace any of the incredible Stories we meet with in old Writers upwards, we find the original Author to be *Cteſias*, *Herodotus*, or *Megaſthenes*, decry'd, and yet copied in all Ages.

But for thoſe Things which fell immediately under the Eyes and Obſervation of their beſt Writers, ſuch as *Ariſtotle*, *Strabo*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, and many others, they are very candidly and fairly reported; at leaſt, as far as the Lights they had would permit. We muſt not, therefore, either implicitly believe whatever they have delivered, for, if we do, we ſhall fall into the ſame Errors that they did from that very Cauſe, of truſting to the Ancients; and, on the other hand, we muſt not imagine that wherever they differ with the Moderns, or are not abſolutely ſupported by them, they are conſtantly in the wrong, and deſerve no Credit at all; becauſe, ſuch a Notion may, and ſuprobably will, betray us into new Miſtakes; becauſe, in ſome Things, the Ancients had better Opportunities of knowing than we; and Experience has ſhewn us, that, after ſeveral Things, they have told us, have been exploded for Fables, they have, upon further Diſcoveries, been acknowledged for Facts.

The only true Rule of judging, is, to conſider the Nature of the Thing related, the Character of the Author who relates it, and how far he is ſupported or contradicted by others; but, in ſuch Caſes as do not afford us an Opportunity of having Recourſe to theſe Rules, the beſt

[l] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Arrian. in Indicis, c.* 15.

[m] *Geograph. lib.* iii. *cap.* 7.

[n] *P. Vanden Broek Voyage aux Indes, p.* 391.

[o] *Deſcription du Cap. de Bonne Eſperance, Tom.* iii. *p.* 37.

[p] *Diodor. Sicul. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Appian.*

[q] *De Hiſt. Animal. lib.* ii.

[r] *Hiſt. Animal. lib.* viii.

[s] *Pauſanias, lib.* viii. *c.* 29.

[t] As appears from the Index of Authors quoted in his Natural Hiſtory.

way is to avoid all haſty Deciſions, and to wait till new Enquiries afford us new Lights. But it is now Time to proceed to the Accounts which theſe Writers have given us of the other Animals of the *Indies*, that live either in the Water or the Air; and in regard to them as well as to the Land-Animals, we ſhall confine ourſelves only to a few of the moſt remarkable; and, even with reſpect to them, ſet down nothing more than what ſeems moſt ſtriking and worthy of Notice; which Method, if we did not purſue, each of theſe Sections might be very eaſily ſwelled into a Volume; ſo that, if any think them rather too much extended, I flatter myſelf they will alter their Opinion, when they conſider how much is omitted, in order to bring only the capital Points within Bounds.

SECTION XIV.

An Account of the moſt remarkable FISH *and* FOWL *in the* Eaſt-Indies, *as deſcribed by ancient and modern Authors, with proper Obſervations and Remarks.*

1. *The Notions of the Ancients with regard to ſeveral Kind of Whales, Sea-elephants, and other Fiſh of enormous Size in the* Indian Ocean, *with a particular Account of the Hound-fiſh.* 2. *An exact Deſcription of the River-cow, with the Reaſon why the Teeth of this amphibious Animal are preferred to Ivory.* 3. *The fabulous Accounts of the Dolphin examined, with a ſingular Relation from* Ælian *on that Subject.* 4. *Of the Purpura, or Purple-fiſh; the Hiſtory of the famous Die made from this Fiſh by the* Tyrians; *and an Enquiry into the Cauſes of our loſing this Secret.* 5. *The Pearl-fiſhery in the* Indies, *deſcribed from ancient and modern Authors; with many Remarks upon that Subject.* 6. *Of the Flying-fiſh in the* Indies, *from ancient Writers, compared with* Martinius's *Account of a Flying-fiſh in* China, *and the Tobiwo in* Japan. 7. *The ſeveral kind of Tortoiſes in the* Indies, *their extraordinary Size, the Uſes and Value of their Shells.* 8. *The Crocodile deſcribed by ancient Authors; the vaſt Size of theſe Creatures in the* Indies, *and many curious Paſſages relating to them, drawn from Works of modern Travellers.* 9. *Of the Cyonoeides, or Blue-worm in the* Ganges. *a kind of Serpent that ſeems to be unknown to the Moderns.* 10. *The* Indian-*Eagle deſcribed; an Account of all the remarkable Properties of that Bird, and a diſtinct Relation of what is ſaid as to the Ætites, or Stone found in the Neſts of Eagles, and its Virtues.* 11. *A Deſcription and ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Oſtrich, in which many Errors relating to that Bird are corrected, and the Cauſes of them explained.* 12. *Of the Pelican, the ſingular Qualities of this Creature, and the many Fables that have been invented concerning it.* 13. *The Hiſtory of the Phœnix, from the Writers of Antiquity; the Fables on this Subject examined, and the true State of the Queſtion explained.* 14. *Of the* Semendal, *or* Scaligers Phœnix, *a Bird really found in the* Indies. 15. *An accurate Deſcription of the Caſoar, one of the largeſt and moſt extraordinary Fowls in the* Indies, *and which ſeems to have been unknown to the Ancients.* 16. *Of ſome other remarkable Birds mentioned by* Eaſtern *Writers, or in the Relations of modern Travellers.* 17. *Miſcellaneous Obſervations and Remarks on the foregoing Deſcriptions, tending to the farther Illuſtration of the Subject.*

1. IT ſeems to have been an eſtabliſhed Opinion among the Ancients, that, of all the Elements, Water breeds the moſt, the largeſt, and the greateſt Variety of living Creatures; or, at leaſt, was inhabited by ſuch, and of all Seas, or Collections of Salt-water, that which waſhed this Shore of the *Indies*, was held to be the moſt fruitful in large Fiſh, and thoſe too of the greateſt Size in their reſpective kinds. We have already mentioned, in the Circumnavigation of *Nearchus*, how the Fleet of *Alexander* the Great was alarmed by a Shoal of Porpuſſes, and what mighty Whales were ſeen by them in thoſe Seas. *Pliny* carries the Matter much farther; he talks of Whales in the *Indian* Sea, that covered four Acres of Land; and mentions a leſſer kind, called *Priſtes*, which in all Probability, were a Sort of Fin-fiſh, two hundred Cubits, or three hundred Feet in Length; and at this, ſays he, we need not wonder, ſince, in that Country, even the Locuſts are four Cubits in Length; and that there are Eels in the River *Ganges* that meaſure thirty Feet. He farther obſerves, that, in the Red-ſea, there is a Pininſula, called *Cadara*, which runs far out into the Sea, and makes thereby a Bay ſo commodious, and ſo well covered from all Winds, that the Fiſh lie there as quiet and as ſtill as in a Mill-pond; and there, ſays he, are bred thoſe Whales of an enormous Size, which, ſometimes venturing out to Sea are caught by Storms, eſpecially about the Dog-days, and thrown on the oppoſite Coaſt of *Perſia*, where the People eat the Fleſh, and build themſelves Cabins of the Bones, as we have, long ago, heard from *Nearchus*, whoſe Voyage on that Coaſt, ſeems to be the beſt Account that even in the Days of *Pliny* they had of thoſe Seas[a].

In the *Ganges* there were Fiſh reſembling Dolphins in Shape, called Plataniſtæ, which were more than twenty Feet long; and theſe I take to have been a kind of Sturgeon; but what moſt aſhoniſhed them was, the Reports they had, that in the *Indian* Ocean there were Fiſh reſembling all kinds of Land-animals; and of theſe they mention particularly the Sea-elephant, which they held to be five Times as large as the Creature from which it borrowed its Name, and of theſe they had not bare Reports only, but ſome of them had been ſeen and meaſured. As for Sea-lions, Sea-dogs, and Calves, they were common in thoſe Seas, and though extremely terrible in their Deſcriptions, yet appear plainly to have been nothing more than different Species of the Seal, as I take the Sea-lions in the *Weſt-Indies* to be. But of theſe, that which ſeems to have been the moſt dangerous was the Sea-hare; which Creature, *Pliny* affirms, was in the Mediterranean, a mere Lump, or very ill-ſhaped Fiſh; but, in the *Indian*-Seas, he aſſures us, that it was very like the Land-hare, and of a Nature ſo venomous, that the very Touch of it cauſed Sickneſs at the Stomach, ſtrong Vomitings, and other deadly Symptoms[b].

What is related of the Hound-fiſh, or Sea-dog, ſeems very fabulous; and, one would imagine, was invented by the Pearl-fiſhers, in order to ſet the higher Price upon their Commodities. It is affirmed of theſe Monſters, that they attack the Divers when under Water, who are forced to keep them off with long Poles, at the Head of which are Spears, or ſharp Points. The ſafeſt Way, as they found, by Experience, was, to attack theſe Animals firſt, for this ſtruck a Terror into them, and kept them at a Diſtance; but the Danger was not then over, ſince, when the Divers had done their Buſineſs, and began to aſcend, the Sea-dogs returned to their Charge, and followed them with greater Fury than ever, while the Man was leſs able to defend himſelf, as being obliged to employ one Hand in holding the Rope which drew him up, ſo that he had only the other, in which he held the Pole, which was to keep off his Enemy. But the greateſt Difficulty of all was, to pull him up into the Ship; for theſe furious Animals were ready, at the Inſtant he roſe from the Water, to leap after him, and devour him in Sight of his Companions. To avoid ſo cruel a Death, the Man was forced to draw up his Legs and Feet as cloſe as he could to his Body, while thoſe on Board drew him up with a quick Jerk, and ſome of them with Hand-ſpikes, Trout-ſpears, and what ever elſe came to hand, ſtood ready to defend him from the Sea-dogs, in caſe they leaped after him out of the Water. Theſe Creatures were no leſs ſubtile than cruel; and therefore geting under the Keel of the Veſſel, they kept themſelves very ſecure, and were ready again to renew their Attack upon the next Diver that was let down[c].

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[a] *Nat. Hiſt. lib.* ix.

[b] *Plin. lib.* ix. *Ælian. lib.* xvi.

Now, though many Circumſtances of this Account are very improbable, yet, it muſt be allowed, that the Pearl-divers run very great Hazards from thoſe voracious Animals, with which theſe Seas abound, as we have already ſhewn by various Inſtances of Men torn to Pieces even in the Harbours, and in the Sight of the Crews of a whole Squadron, not by the Hound-fiſh, or Sea-dog, but by Sharks, Crocodiles, or Sea-ſerpents[d]. It is highly probable that they were in all Ages liable to the like Misfortunes, and that the Reports of theſe, which, in themſelves, were true, gave Birth to this and other Stories of the ſame kind, which however fabulous in their Circumſtances, were not at the Bottom abſolutely void of Foundation.

2. It was in the ſame Manner that they magnified by miſapprehending what they were told concerning amphibious Creatures; and hence it is that they report theſe come out of the Sea and Rivers, and make ſtrange Havock in the Meadows and Corn-fields, which ſhews what an Impreſſion the Accounts they had received of the Sea-horſe, or Sea-cow, for it is called by both Names, had made upon them; for though they were in ſome meaſure acquainted with it in *Egypt*, and ſome of them had been brought to *Rome*, yet thoſe of the *Indies* were much larger; and, indeed, there were few Animals more capable of ſtriking with Aſtoniſhment by their Deſcription, ſuch as were unacquainted with them before.

The Sea-cow in the *Eaſt-Indies* reſembles in Size and in Shape the Rhinoceros; and as that Animal has Legs ſhorter than the Elephant, ſo the Legs of this amphibious Creature are ſtill ſhorter than his. When it riſes out of the Sea or River to come on Shore, it ſpouts a vaſt Quantity of Water through its Noſtrils. The Head, in its Make, reſembles that of a Horſe, except that it is much bigger, and therefore from thence, and from the Clumſineſs of its Limbs, it derives its Name of the Sea or River *Cow*. The Coat is hairy, but very cloſe, the Skin an Inch thick at leaſt. It has on each Side two ſtrong Teeth about a Foot and half in Length, weighing each of them about ten Pounds. Theſe are eſteemed the very beſt Ivory, or rather better than any Ivory, if we underſtand that Word ſtrictly of the Elephants Teeth, becauſe they have one Property which thoſe Teeth have not, and that is, that they never loſe their Colour, which is exceedingly white, whereas the fineſt Ivory grows yellow by Degrees.

The Sea Cow hath Udders, and ſuckles her young ones in the ſame manner that the Land Cows do their Calves, and they are often found with them in the Meadows; the Feet of theſe Creatures are divided into four, and they move pretty faſt, notwithſtanding their Bulk, when they are purſued. Their Fleſh is eſteemed more delicate than any other, and the Fat is as hard and as ſweet as Butter. It is ſaid, that feeding upon this Animal will change all the Juices in the Human Body, and therefore it is held the beſt Reſtorative, and the moſt effectual Cure for Scurveys, Gouts, and other ill Habits of Body[e]. It is allowed that theſe Creatures feed moſtly upon Graſs, and may poſſibly eat Corn too if it comes in their Way; but that they come up in Droves, and breaking into Corn-fields, trample down and deſtroy the whole Fruits of a Harveſt, is a thing not to be believed. We will now proceed to the Fiſh, properly ſo called, that are taken notice of by thoſe Writers, or at leaſt of ſuch as are moſt remarkable.

3. The Dolphin ſeems to have exerciſed in a very particular manner the Attention of the Ancients, who have deſcribed it with greater Care, and preſerved more Particulars relating to it than any other Fiſh, though at the ſame time it muſt be confeſſed, that the Accounts they have given us ſerve rather to raiſe our Admiration than to increaſe our Knowledge, becauſe it ſo falls out, that with the Help of all they have told us, we are not able to affirm, with any Certainty, what Fiſh it was they diſtinguiſhed by this Name. They report that it was exceſſively ſwift in ſwimming, that it carried its Head a little above Water, and that it had an extraordinary Kindneſs for Mankind. They likewiſe ſay, that the Dolphin was very common in the *Mediterranean*, the *Atlantick* Ocean, and the *Indian* Sea[f].

It is very certain, that at preſent we meet in none of thoſe Seas with any Fiſh that reſembles the Figure of the Dolphin, as repreſented by the Ancients, neither is it known that any Fiſh has thoſe Properties which they aſcribe to the Dolphin. *Pliny* tells us a remarkable Story of a Dolphin that took a Fancy to a Boy in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and carried him on his Back acroſs an Arm of the Sea to and from School every Day, the Boy calling him *Simo*; which Fact, he ſays, he would not have related, but that he found it mentioned before in ſeveral authentick Writers as a thing ſo well known, that it could not admit either of Doubt or Diſpute[g].

I have but juſt mentioned this Paſſage, becauſe it hath been already tranſcribed by many Writers; but there is another Story in *Ælian* to the full as remarkable, which is worthy the Reader's Notice. It happened under the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, that ſome young Men were bathing themſelves in the Sea at the Mouth of the Port of *Alexandria*, when a Dolphin ſwam in amongſt them, and taking a particular Liking to one of them, encouraged him to get upon his Back, which the young Man did, and it carried him a good way out to Sea. This being ſeveral times repeated, the Spectacle at laſt became common, and was beheld by Multitudes of Spectators. The End, however, was as tragical as the Beginning had been pleaſant; for the Dolphin having one Day forgot to ſhut cloſe the ſharp Finn upon his Back, one of the Spikes ran into the young Man's Thigh, and he fainted with the Loſs of Blood. The Fiſh perceiving his Diſtreſs by his not conducting him as uſual, brought him back to the Shore, and then beholding the Condition he was in, remained likewiſe on the Sand, and periſhed with him[h].

It would be an eaſy Matter to collect many more Relations of this ſort from the Writings of the ancient Naturaliſts, if what has been ſaid was not more than ſufficient to ſhew, that upon certain Occaſions they ſet no Bounds to their Credulity, and their Fondneſs for wonderful Stories. They likewiſe report of this Animal, that it was of ſuch a ſocial Nature, as to ſwim in Company with others of its own kind, for the ſake of reſiſting mutually with greater Strength any Attempts that might be made upon them. They likewiſe aſſure us, that the Dolphins were drawn towards the Shore, and kept there by the Sound of Muſick, which is as incredible as any of the reſt, and ſeems calculated purely for Amuſement. Some other Circumſtances they report which are more probable, ſuch as that the Dolphin was naturally an Enemy to the Crocodile, and defended itſelf from the Attacks of that furious Creature, by raiſing the ſharp Fin upon its Back[i].

Certain it is, that from a Notion of its Friendſhip to Men the Ancients forbore eating its Fleſh, and the *Cyrenians*

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[c] *Plin. lib.* ix. *cap.* xlvi.

[d] *Thevenot. Tom.* iii. *l.* ii. *c.* 11.

[e] Almoſt all the Writers of Voyages to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies* agree in this.

[f] *Ariſtot. lib.* ix. *cap.* 48. *Strabo, lib.* xv. *p.* 790. *Ælian. lib.* xii. *cap.* 12. *Plin. lib.* ix. *cap.* 8. *Athen. Deipn. lib.* xiii. *Philoſt. Icon. lib.* i.

[g] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* ix. *cap.* viii.

[h] *De Animal. lib.* vi. *cap.* 15.

[i] *Ælian. lib.* v. *cap.* 6. *Plin. lib.* xi. *cap.* 37. *Caſaub. in Athen. lib.* vii. *cap.* 7.

ians carried their Reverences ſo far as to erect a Temple to it. It was from the ſame Notion that *Alexander the Great* appointed a Boy to execute the Office of High-Prieſt to *Neptune*, becauſe the prevailing Opinion then was, that the Dolphins had a great Tenderneſs for Youths. As for the Fiſh that is known to us by this Name, they have been deſcribed in the former Chapter, and will be mentioned in ſubſequent Voyages; and therefore without dwelling longer on a Topic, upon which ſome learned Men have written large Treatiſes, we will proceed in our Diſcourſe to other Inhabitants of the *Indian* Seas that have exerciſed the Pens of the Writers of Antiquity[k].

4. Of the Purpura, or Purple Fiſh, many Authors ſpeak largely; and from them we gather, that there were ſeveral different ſorts, ſome fed amongſt rotten Mud, others on Sea-Weeds, a third ſort in the Gravel; but that which was the richeſt, and yielded the ſtrongeſt Dye, was called *Dialutæ*, or the *Wandering Fiſh*, that fed in all the different Soils beforementioned. This Fiſh had a long ſharp Tongue, of the Size of ones Finger, ſo hard, and ſharp at the Point, as to be able to pierce into other Shell-fiſh, and ſuck them; and thus living on their Blood, it became, when digeſted in the Body of that Fiſh, the noble Dye which was ſo much eſteemed, and carried ſo great a Price, that the *Tyrians* gained not only immenſe Wealth, but immortal Reputation, by their Skill in managing their Trade therein[l].

The manner in which they carried on this Fiſhery was thus: At the proper Seaſon, which was in the Beginning of the Autumn, or the Beginning of the Spring, they let down into the Sea certain ſmall Nets, in which were Cockles, or ſome other ſmall Shell-fiſh, which had been for ſome time out of the Water. Theſe opening their Shells for Suſtenance, the Purple Fiſh, which, as we obſerved before, was a Fiſh of Prey, came preſently about them, and greedily thruſting their Tongues into the Shells of the other Fiſh, they cloſed upon them, and ſo they were drawn up together. Then, as ſome Writers ſay, the Vein of the Purple Fiſh was opened, and the Colour drawn out. But *Pliny* gives us a much clearer and more copious Account of this Matter; for he tells us, that as ſoon as the Fiſh was caught, they did not take out the Colour, but the Vein which contained it; and having obtained a ſufficient Quantity, they mixed it with Salt, and in this Condition it remained three Days; then to eight Gallons of Water they put one hundred and fifty Pounds of Colour, and boiling it over a gentle Fire, ſkimming it from Time to Time, it came in about five Hours to look perfectly clear and bright. In order, however, to judge the better of this Dye, and to know when it was perfectly boiled, they dipped now and then a Lock of Wool into it, by conſidering of which they knew when it required a higher and when a lower Degree of Fire[m].

After the Colour was thus prepared, they put into it ſuch a Quantity of Wool as they intended to dye, which ſoaked in it for five Hours; then it was taken out, dried and carded, and afterward thrown into the Dye-Tub again[n]; and after it was dried a ſecond time was delivered to the Manufacturers to be ſpun, and wrought into Cloth. This was what was properly called the true Purple, which had been uſed in *Rome* Time out of Mind, when *Pliny* wrote, but not in common; for *Romulus* never appeared in this Colour, but when he put on his Robe called *Trabea*, and even in the Days of *Auguſtus* it was at a high Price; but afterwards it grew cheaper, or at leaſt it grew more common, as *Pliny* tells us at large[o].

There ſeems to be no doubt that this was the fineſt and richeſt Colour known to the Ancients, eſpecially the Dibapha, or double-dyed *Tyrian* Purple; for whatever Changes there might happen in Faſhions, that from the firſt to laſt was eſteemed the beſt. A great Queſtion has been raiſed how this Colour came to be loſt, ſince all the different kinds of Shell-Fiſh, from whence it was taken, were found in various Parts of *Europe*, as well as in the *Indies*; and the loſing this Colour has been always mentioned as an extraordinary Misfortune, and as one of the Things in which we fall moſt ſhort of the Ancients. But, perhaps, when this Matter comes to be more ſeriouſly examined, the Loſs will not be found ſo great, nay, I doubt, if upon the whole, we ought to account it any Loſs at all.

In the firſt place, let us conſider how it is poſſible the Art of managing this Dye ſhould have been forgot, which was in ſo many Hands eſteemed at ſo great a rate, and in general Credit throughout *Europe*; I ſay, let us conſider this, and we ſhall plainly ſee, that it could have been loſt no other Way than by the coming in of ſome other Colour, or rather of ſome other Dye, which afforded as fine a Colour, and at a cheaper Rate. We learn from *Pliny*[p], that a Pound of the true *Tyrian* Purple was worth a thouſand Denarii, or upwards of thirty-two Pounds of our Money, which was ſurely an exorbitant Price; and therefore, if in ſucceeding Times a Method has been found of dying Purple at a cheaper rate, there is no Ground for ſaying that we fall ſhort of the Ancients, that a valuable Colour has been loſt, or that either their Knowledge or their Induſtry, at leaſt in this Reſpect, was greater than ours.

But after all, there ſeems to be ſome Reaſon to doubt whether the Fact be true, I mean, that this Secret is loſt, ſince both our own Royal Society, and the Academy of Sciences at *Paris*, have made conſiderable Diſcoveries on this Head, that is to ſay, their Members have made ſeveral Experiments on the Purple extracted from Shell-fiſh; and if their Experiments have ſucceeded but indifferently, I do not think it can be underſtood as a Proof, that the Ancients excelled us in this Particular. Father *Gage*, in his Survey of the *Weſt-Indies*, tells us boldly, that the *Spaniards* have retrieved there the Secret of the ancient Purple, and that they dye Cloths, which are ſold for twenty Crowns a Yard. I muſt confeſs this is a Fact, that I do not find confirmed by later Writers, and therefore I think there is Reaſon to ſuſpect the Truth of it.

Father *Labat*, a much more careful and accurate Writer, has given us a very curious Account of the Attempts made in the *French* Iſlands in *America* to recover this kind of Dye, which is very worthy of the Reader's Notice; and therefore I ſhall give him as clear and as ſuccinct an Account of it as I can. They have in thoſe Parts a kind of Shell-fiſh, about the Bigneſs of the Top of one's Thumb, reſembling in its firſt Appearance the common ſort of Snails; but when examined more cloſely, and after the Fiſh is taken out, it appears one of the moſt curious and beautiful Shells that can be imagined[q]. It is, though very thin, of a very ſtrong Subſtance, and of a beautiful Azure Colour. The Fleſh of the Fiſh is extreamly white, but its Inteſtines of ſo bright a red, that the Colour is ſeen through its Body; and it is this Colour which tinges the Slime it throws out, when taken of a Violet, or rather of a deep Blue. In order to oblige theſe Animals to throw out a greater Quantity of this Slime, they are put alive into a Diſh, and ſtruck one againſt another, either with the Hand, or with a little Twig, upon which the Diſh is preſently covered with this kind of Slime, in which, if a Piece of Linnen be dipped, it is immediately dyed red, and by degrees becomes, as it grows dry, of a deep Purple. But Father *Labat* obſerves very cautiouſly, and like a Writer, very careful of ſpeaking Truth, that if this be the Purple of the Ancients, we have not hitherto the Art of fixing it; for how deep ſoever the Colour may appear when the Linnen is dried, it ſoon decays, and if waſhed, is ſpeedily taken out[r].

This Fiſh, while admired only for its Shell, was called ſimply *le Burgau*; but ſince this Diſcovery it is called *le Burgau de Teinture.* Our Author himſelf made ſeveral Experiments toward arriving at a finer Colour from a Plant in the ſame Country, and not without Succeſs, which I think plainly proves that he had no great Hopes of obtaining any fixed and perfect Colour from the Shells. On the whole therefore, I think it as plain as any thing can well be made, that the Purple of the Ancients gave way to ſome brighter and cheaper Colour; and if ever this Secret ſhould be recovered, it would prove a Curioſity only, and never could be brought again to a Manufacture, becauſe in all the Experiments that have been made in this Country, and in *France*, it has been found, that a great Difficulty would ariſe in procuring Shells enough to furniſh a ſufficient Quantity of this Colour for Uſe; whence it follows, that after all the Improvements that could be made for fixing and perfecting this Dye the Dearneſs of it would hinder it from coming again into Uſe, as heretofore it drove it out.

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[k] *Strabo, lib.* i. *p.* 56. *Plin. lib.* ix. *cap.* viii.

[l] *Plin. lib.* ix. *cap.* 36. *& ſequen. Ælian. lib.* vii. *cap.* 34. *Athen. Deipn. lib.* iii. *p.* 86.

[m] *Nat. Hiſt. lib.* ix. *cap.* 38.

[n] *Idem, ibid.*

[o] *Id. c.* 39.

[p] *Id. ibid.*

[q] *Hiſtoire des Antilles, p.* 224.

[r] *Voyage de l'Amerique.*

Before I part with this Subject, I think it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in ſome Lakes in the North, and in the Weſt of *Scotland*, there are a kind of Muſcles, which have in them a purple Vein at the Extremity of the Shell, in which there is contained a Drop or two of a Liquor that ſtains Linnen of a deep Crimſon, which is not at all apt to wear out, but continues as long as the Cloth can be worn; but I do not know whether this Fiſh be very common, or whether this Purple Vein be natural to it, or the Effect of ſome Diſeaſe, which has been ſuſpected of the true Purple [s].

5. We will now proceed from this Source of Riches which at preſent is loſt to another that ſtill ſubſiſts, I mean the Pearl-Fiſhery; for it is allowed that the fineſt and moſt perfect Pearls are, and in all Ages have been, brought from the *Indies*. It is true, they do not at this Day fetch ſo high a Price in *Europe* as they did formerly; but ſtill the Oriental Pearls are of conſiderable Value, and are like to continue ſo, inaſmuch as they have all the Properties that are requiſite to render them fit to be reckon'd amongſt the moſt beautiful Jewels that can be, neither is there any Counterfeits that at all approach them in their Luſtre: Though People have attained in that Art to a Degree of Perfection ſcarce to be expected.

The Fiſh that produces the Pearl is a kind of Oiſter, but much larger than the common Sort, or indeed than any that are found in our Seas; they are common on the Coaſt of *Perſia*, near *Ormus*, about Cape *Comorin*, and on the Coaſt of the Iſland of *Ceylon* [t]. The Shell-fiſh which produces them is called the Mother of Pearl. The Ancients had an Opinion that Thunder and Storms had ſome Effect in producing them; for which we ſhall be able to give a tolerable Account, without admitting any thing wonderful, in the Fact. The Fiſhing of Pearl was a Thing always attended with great Hazard and Danger; ſuch as were employed in it being obliged often to dive in Places thirty Fathom deep, where they were expoſed to many ravenous Monſters, peculiarly thirſting after human Blood. They were let down out of the Veſſel to which they belonged with a Weight of Stone, fixed either to their Side or to their Feet, that they might deſcend the quicker and remain the more ſteady under Water. In their Right-hand they had a ſharp Iron, which they uſed for removing the Oiſters from their Beds; and on their Left-arm hung a Baſket, in which they put the Fiſh when they were caught, and about this Arm alſo a Cord was tied, by which they gave Notice to thoſe in the Ship when to pull them up by another Cord that was about their Middle [u]. Some Writers, ſay they, carried their Baſket or Bag, into which they put their Fiſh, about their Necks.

The largeſt Sort of Fiſh were found far in the Sea; and if they were at any Time driven upon the Coaſt it was by tempeſtuous Weather. And hence the Opinion aroſe, that great Thunders and Storms contributed to ſwell and to encreaſe the Pearl. The Fact therefore was true, that after Tempeſts the largeſt Pearls were found: But the Opinion grounded upon this, that the Thunder was the Cauſe of the Pearls Increaſe, ſeems to have no Foundation in Reaſon. So eaſy a Thing it is to miſtake Effects for Cauſes, and to introduce Errors in Natural Philoſophy, by reaſoning wrong upon Facts. When the Divers touched the Oiſters, eſpecially thoſe of the largeſt Size, they clung ſo ſtrongly to the Rock, that, very often, there was no removing them, even with the Help of their iron Inſtrument. In the Oiſters they brought up, when opened, the Pearls appeared like little Drops of fair Water or Dew, which hardened with being expoſed to the Air, and were then carefully taken off the Shell. In one Oiſter there was comonly ten or twelve, in ſome more, in ſome leſs; but the more there were the ſmaller; and if there was but one, it was generally of a very conſiderable Size, and of greater Value than many ſmall ones; ſo that theſe Shells were eſteemed the richeſt of all [w]. The Shell itſelf is alſo of ſome Value, as having a prodigious Luſtre, and being extremely fit for In-laying and other Uſes.

Philoſtratus has a very curious Paſſage in relation to this Subject, if his Accounts could be abſolutely depended upon; but whether they be or be not, as what he relates is very remarkable, it deſerves at leaſt to be related; and then let the Reader think of it as he pleaſes. The Story, as he tells it is this; ſome of the *Indian* Pearl-fiſhers have a Method of obtaining that valuable Commodity, without bringing up the Oiſters at all. In order to this, the Divers carry down with them a certain kind of rich Perfume, which they hold before the Mother-of-pearl; and while the Fiſh ſucks it, which it will do very greedily, they gently open the Shell, from whence a Liquor diſtills Drop by Drop, that preſently harden into Pearls [x]. It might be alledged, in Support of this Story, that both *Athenæus* and *Pliny* ſeem inclined to believe that Pearls are at firſt Liquid; which is, indeed, agreeable enough to their Form and to their Luſtre [y].

At this Day, there are four conſiderable Pearl-fiſheries in the *Eaſt*. The firſt is on the Coaſt of the Iſland of *Babaren*, in the *Perſian* Gulph, of which the *Portugueſe* were formerly Maſters, but now this Fiſhery belongs to the *Perſians*. The ſecond is near *Catiſa*, on the Coaſt of *Arabia the Happy*, over-againſt *Babaren*. The Pearls taken at theſe Fiſheries are moſt eſteemed in the *Indies*, though of a yellowiſh Caſt; for they aſſert, that the Pearls of a brighter Water do not laſt, but turn of a muddy Yellow in the Space of about thirty Years; whereas thoſe which have originally a little Mixture of the Lemon-colour, are thoroughly ripened and never abate of their Luſtre. A great Part of the Pearls taken in this Fiſhery, are carried to *Baſſora*; from whence they are diſtributed all over the *Indies*; thoſe again which are tranſported into *Perſia* and *Muſcovy*, are ſold at *Bandarcongo* two Days Journey from *Ormus*. They fiſh twice a Year; firſt in the Months of *March* and *April*, and again in the Months of *Auguſt* and *September*. The Depth where they fiſh is from four to twelve Fathoms; and the deeper the Oiſter is found, the Pearls are the brighter, becauſe the Water is not ſo hot there, the Sun not being able to penetrate ſo deep.

The third Fiſhery is on the Coaſt of the Iſland of *Ceylon*, at a Place which is called *Manar*. The Pearls found there are of a good Water, but ſmall; and the greateſt do not ſurpaſs two Carats; nay, it is ſeldom that they are found of that Weight: But, in Recompence of this, there is great Quantity of Seed-pearl fit to powder. The fourth and laſt Fiſhing is at *Japan*; the Pearls there are of a Water white enough, and heavy, but ill ſhaped, moſt of which fall into the Hands of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company; becauſe the *Japoneſe* themſelves have no Eſteem for Jewels of any Kind [z]. The poor People employed in theſe Fiſheries live very meanly, and ſcarce get a Subſiſtance by them; even thoſe who deal in Pearls are far enough from being rich, through the Oppreſſion of their Princes on one Side, and the Art of the *Dutch* on the other; who finding that the bright Pearl taken on the Coaſt of *Ceylon*, are moſt eſteemed, and go off at the greateſt Rate in *Europe*, employ a *Brachman* to buy them up as they are caught, which he does at a very low Rate. The Perſons concerned in this Trade, launching out into greater Expences than they can afford, and thereby ſubjecting themſelves to the dreadful Neceſſity of parting with the Fruits of their Induſtry to ſuch as are poſſeſſed of Money [z].

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[s] This is the Sentiment of M. *Raumur*, who made many Experiments on the Purple-fiſh on the Coaſt of *Provence*.

[t] *Voyages des Indes, Vol.* v. *p.* 265.

[u] *Ælian. de Animal. lib.* x. *cap.* 13. *Lib.* xv. *cap.* 8. *Ammian. Marcel. lib.* xxviii. *cap.* 12.

[w] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* ix. *cap.* 35.

[x] *Philoſt. in Vit. Apollon. Tyan. lib.* iii. *cap.* 57.

[y] *Athen. Deipn. lib.* iii. *p.* 93. *Pliny, lib.* ix. *cap.* 35.

[z] *Tavernier Voyages aux Indes. Tom.* iv. *lib.* ii. *cap.* 20, 21.

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[a] This tempts ſome of them to a very baſe Practice, which is throwing a poiſonous Drug into the Sea, near the Banks where the beſt Fiſh lie; upon which they immediately remove to another Coaſt, where ſuch as are in the Secret fiſh for them, and become rich before their Roguery is found out[b]. There are now ſeveral Pearl-fiſheries eſtabliſhed in the *Weſt-Indies* and in other Parts of the World, as we ſhall ſhew in their proper Places. But, as the Value of thoſe Pearls ariſe from their approaching in their Colour and Water to the Oriental Pearl, this ſufficiently ſhews that the Excellence attributed to them by ancient Writers, is not at all prejudiced by the Diſcoveries made in later Times, to which the Policy of the *Indian* Princes contributes not a little; for by purchaſing the faireſt Pearls at high Rates, they keep up their Price to the *Europeans*, ſo that there never came ſuch Numbers into this Part of the World as to ſink them much in their Value; hence it is whatever becomes of the Pearls of other Countries, thoſe of the Eaſt ſtill keep up their Credit, and a Pearl of the Weight of four Carrats, is worth ten or twelve Pounds, and of a larger Size and well ſhaped much more[c].

6. As the Pearl-fiſh and the Pearl-oiſter were deſervedly admired for their Value and Price, ſo the *Indian*-Seas afforded other Fiſh that were held extremely remarkable for their extraordinary Properties. Amongſt theſe the Flying-fiſh were thought none of the leaſt extraordinary. The Flying-fiſh that are common in the *Weſt-Indies*, are of the Size of a Herring, with a round Head, and a Sort of large Fins, which ſerve them for Wings, and with which they fly about the Height of a Pike from the Sea, and are then forced to drop again into that Element, becauſe their Wings become dry[d]; but theſe no way reſemble the Flying-fiſh in the *Eaſt-Indies*, or at leaſt thoſe mentioned by the Ancients; for they came out of the Sea, or out of Rivers, at certain Seaſons, and leaped about in the Meadows like Graſs-hoppers[e]. The Story is ſtrange, and we have it told in very ſuccinct and general Terms by *Athenæus*, who is the only Author who reports it[f]. But *Marco Polo*, one of our moſt ancient Travellers, mentions ſomething of the like Nature, and ſays, that from its living in this Manner, the Creature is called the *Sea-locuſt*[g].

Martinius, who has written as copiouſly, and with as great Reputation of the Empire of *China*, as any Author whatever, confirms this; and informs us, that the *Chineſe* call it *Hoangcioqu*; but he is very ſhort in his Deſcription; for he tells us only that it is a yellow Fiſh, or, rather a Bird; for in the Summer, ſays he, it flies on the Mountains, but towards the End of Autumn, it throws itſelf into the Sea, and becomes a Fiſh of a moſt exquiſite Taſte[h]. He tells us, likewiſe, of another Creature that he ſaw, that had the Head of a Bird and the Tail of a Fiſh, which it was reported had ſome very ſingular Qualities[i].

It appears from theſe Citations, that we ought not, abſolutely, to reject the ſtrange Things told us by ancient Authors, without Examination; becauſe, though the Facts they relate cannot be verified, yet, as in this Inſtance, it may be plainly made appear, that they are not pure Inventions; and, therefore, it is better to preſerve even what ſeems incredible in their Writings, in order to encourage Enquiries that may, in Time, bring out the Truth. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that, in *Japan*, they have likewiſe a Flying-fiſh of about a Foot long, which, in their Language, is called *Tobiwo*; and is ſaid to be very ſcarce, but excellent Eating[k].

It were to be wiſhed, that ſuch as travel in theſe Countries, would be more careful in examining the Animals they meet with upon the Spot, and in committing their Deſcriptions to Writing immediately; becauſe, we ſhould not then be ſo much at a Loſs as we now are, what to make of their Deſcriptions.

7. The Tortoiſe, though it cannot be ſaid to be a Creature peculiar to the *Indies*, yet the *Indian* Tortoiſes are ſo much larger than any others, that, in this reſpect, they deſerve to be particularly conſidered. Of theſe Creatures there are three different Sorts. The firſt live entirely on Land; the ſecond in the Sea; and the third in freſh Waters. The Figure of this Creature is very extraordinary. It has a Head ſo very ſmall that it ſeems to bear no Proportion to its Body. They have not either Teeth or Tongue, and yet the Tortoiſe not only breaks to Pieces the hardeſt Shells, but even Stones with its Lips; which, by their exceſſive Hardneſs, very effectually ſupply the ſeeming Want of Teeth. The Feet of this Animal are very ſhort, and its Motion remarkably ſlow. It has, on its Back, a Lump of Fleſh, which communicates with its Shell, by which it is entirely covered, and it even extends beyond its Body, when the Animal withdraws itſelf into it, and thereby proves a ſure Defence againſt all Dangers from without; and are ſo ſtrong that a Waggon well laden, may paſs over them as over a Stone, without any Injury either to the Shell, or the Creature within it. They are five or ſix Foot long, which is a monſtrous Size, conſidering the Bulk of theſe Creatures in other Countries; and yet ſome ancient Writers ſpeak of Tortoiſes in the *Indies* of a much larger Size, the Shells of which are ſaid to be big enough to cover a ſmall Cabin; and it is ſaid, that in the Iſland of *Taprobana* they made uſe of no other Covering for their Houſes[l].

There were various Methods practiſed in taking theſe Creatures; for ſometimes they gorged themſelves to ſuch a Degree in the Meadows, that they were not able to retire; and then, whoever found them, turned them on their Backs. Sometimes the Sea-tortoiſes were, in like manner, left on Shore at the Time of Ebb; and ſometimes they placed round Sticks in their Road to the Meadows; and as ſoon as they ſet their fore Feet upon them, thoſe who watched for that Purpoſe, laid hold of one End of the Stick, lifting it ſuddenly up, turned the Creature over. Their Fleſh is both wholeſome and pleaſant, and their Eggs, which in Size reſemble thoſe of a Hen, are excellent[m].

Pliny reports, that their Fleſh, their Blood, and even their Excrements, are very medicinal. Among other Receipts from this Creature, he gives us that which follows. Take, ſays he, three Land-tortoiſes, he means thoſe of the ſmaller Kind, throw them on a Fire made of Vine-twigs; and as ſoon as their Shells begin to part from each other, pull them out immediately; and having taken their Shells off, boil them in a Gallon of Water, with a ſmall Quantity of Salt, till a third Part of the Liquor be conſumed; the Broth will be then, ſays he, a ſovereign Medicine for ſuch as are troubled with the Palſy, the Gout, or Rheumatiſm[n].

But that, for which this Creature is chiefly valued, is, his Shell, of which, over all the *Indies*, but particularly in *China*, they make a Multitude of uſeful Things, as well as many beautiful Toys. Theſe were Arts far from being unknown to the Ancients; for, as we learn from *Pliny*, *Carbilius Pollio*, a Man of a wonderful Invention, was the firſt who introduced the Uſe of Tortoiſe-ſhell-plates for In-laying all Sorts of Houſhold Furniture. It is reported, that the *Portugueſe* ſettled in the *Eaſt-Indies*, place Sea-tortoiſes near the Fire till their Shells begin to riſe; and then taking them off in an Inſtant with a flat Knife, they afterwards throw the Creature back into the Sea, where, they affirm, that, in a ſingle Year, they gather a new Shell, as firm and as beautiful as the former[o].

Beſides the Uſes that have been already mentioned, there is another to which thoſe Tortoiſes are applied, the Fleſh of which is not fit for eating, and that is boiling it into, Oil, which Oil not only ſerves for Lamps, but alſo for many phyſical Uſes; and more eſpecially for reſtoring waſted Limbs, or ſuch as have had their Sinews ſhrunk. The Tortoiſe is exceedingly annoyed by the Sea Eagle, which taking the ſmaller ſort in his Talons, carries them a great way up into the Air, and then letting them fall on a Rock, breaks the Shells, and ſo feeds upon their Fleſh, which, but for this Contrivance, would be ſecure from his Fury[p].

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[a] *Voyages de le Blan*, p. 330. [b] *Voyage de Thevenot, Tom.* iii. *lib.* ii. *cap.* 11. [c] *Tavernier, ubi ſup. Vide etiam Hiſt. Nat. des Indes de Joſeph. Acoſta lib.* vi. *Hiſt. Gen. des Indes de Lopez Gomara, lib.* vi. [d] *Hiſt. des Antilles*, p. 183. [e] *Theophraſt. apud Athenæum, lib.* viii. p. 332. *Voyages Arabes donnes par l' Abbe Renaudot*, p. 15. [f] *Deipn. Sophiſt.* p. 332. [g] *Lib.* iii. *cap.* 18. [h] *Atlas Sin.* p. 171. [i] *Idem, ibid.* p. 173. [k] *Hiſt. du Japon. Tom.* ii. p. 582. [l] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* vi. *cap.* 22. [m] *Strabo, lib.* xvi. p. 773. *Ælian, lib.* xvi. *cap.* 14 & 17. *Pliny, lib.* ix. *cap.* 10, 11. [n] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* xxxii. *cap.* 4. [o] *Voyages aux Indes par P. Colin.* p. 195.

8. The Crocodile is another amphibious Creature common to *Africa* and the *Indies*; but the *Indian* Crocodiles are by far the largeſt, and thoſe that frequent the Marſhes near the River *Ganges* are believed to be the biggeſt in the World. *Ariſtotle* has given us a very large Deſcription of this Animal, which is withal very accurate and juſt: He informs us, that the Female Crocodile lays ſixty Eggs or upwards at a time, each of the Size of a Gooſe's Egg, and the Animal, when hatched, is of the ſame Proportion; but as it grows as long as it lives, it reaches in ſome Countries a larger, and in others a leſs Size; *Ariſtotle* mentions fifteen Cubits, which is two-and-twenty Feet and a half, as the largeſt Size he had heard of; but in the *Indies* there are Crocodiles of twice that Bigneſs, for which we ſhall hereafter aſſign a probable Reaſon[q].

The Crocodile is of the Lizard kind, and therefore we need not enter into a particular Deſcription of it; it has no Tongue, and moves only the upper Jaw. Its Teeth, which are very ſtrong and ſharp, ſhut into each other like the Teeth of two Combs. It is alſo armed with terrible Claws; and his Back and Legs are covered with Scales ſo ſtrong, that they are not to be pierced. He paſſes the Day moſtly on Shore, and retires in the Night moſtly into the Water, where having gorged himſelf with Fiſh, he comes on Shore when the Sun is up, and ſleeps upon the Sand. *Pliny* ſays, that for four Months in the Winter the Crocodile retires to ſome Cave or Den, where it ſleeps for that Time, without receiving any Suſtenance[r].

As this Creature is only bred in hot Countries, ſo it ſeems incapable of living in colder Climates. There was one brought into *France* in 1681, and being landed at *Rochelle* was brought from thence by Land to *Verſailles*; but they were frequently obliged to lay it before the Fire, for otherwiſe it would not have ſurvived the Journey. It would eat nothing after it left the Ship, and died when it had been kept about a Month at *Verſailles*. When they diſſected it, they found in its Stomach a conſiderable Quantity of Sand, and ſome Snails with their Shells whole. It appears from hence, that the Accounts of this Creature that are given us by the Ancients are juſtified by Experience[s].

Thus far of Crocodiles in general, we will now ſpeak particularly of thoſe in the *Indies*, and compare the Accounts given us of them by the Writers of Antiquity, with the Relations of ſuch modern Travellers as are thought to deſerve moſt Credit. *Strabo* informs us, that when *Alexander* found the River *Hydaſpes* much infeſted with Crocodiles, and *Egyptian* Beans growing on its Banks, he made no ſort of Queſtion that he had found the Head of the *Nile* in the *Indies*; nay, to ſuch a Degree was he perſuaded of the Truth of this Diſcovery, that he actually directed a Fleet to be prepared in order to have ſailed that way into *Egypt*, from whence it ſeems highly probable, that before *Alexander*'s Expedition the Ancients did not know that there were Crocodiles in the *Indies*[t].

It is from *Strabo* likewiſe that we learn that theſe ravenous Creatures have an Averſion to Swine's Fleſh, which, however, is a Point that deſerves to be enquired into[u]. *Philoſtratus*, in the Life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, enters into an expreſs Compariſon between the Rivers *Indus* and *Nilus*, which, he obſerves, have a great Reſemblance, eſpecially in theſe two Particulars, their overflowing annually, and their being full of Crocodiles; but in this as in many other things, that Writer is plainly miſtaken, for the River *Nilus* is not the only River in *Africa*, in which Crocodiles are bred, nor are theſe Creatures peculiar to the *Indus*, but infeſt generally moſt of the large Rivers in the *Indies*, and particularly the *Ganges*, where are the largeſt Crocodiles perhaps in the World; and it is obſerved by *St. Ambroſe*[w], that it paſſed for a kind of Miracle among the *Indians*, that at the Seaſon of the Year when the *Brachmans* paſſed that River to go to their Wives, they were never infeſted by theſe terrible Animals.

If we could confide in what the Miſſionaries have told us of this Subject, we might add ſome curious Particulars to the natural Hiſtory of Crocodiles. Father *Francis Colin* aſſerts poſitively, that this Creature voids no Excrement, nor has any Paſſage for it, which I doubt is not agreeable to Truth. It is likewiſe affirmed both by him and Father *Navarette*, that the Female Crocodile deſtroys her Young, ſwallowing them as they run from the Sands, where they are hatched, into the Water, which is another wonderful Circumſtance that never occurred to the Ancients, or for any thing I know to any other of the Moderns. As to what both theſe reverend Writers relate of Muſk-bags[x] being found in this Animal, it is ſingular, but not at all improbable, becauſe almoſt all Writers agree, that the Fleſh of the Crocodile has a very muſky Scent; and in the *Weſt-Indies* the Mouths of the Rivers where theſe Creatures haunt have their Waters ſo ſtrongly tinctured with this Smell and Taſte, that they are not drinkable.

Gaſper Balbi, whoſe Travels through the *Indies* are extreamly curious in his Deſcription of the City of *Pegu*, which he viſited in 1576, has the following extraordinary Paſſage[y]: "The Inhabitants of this City lead, for the moſt "part, a lazy and ſcandalous Life, they are very ſluttiſh "in their Houſes, in which, generally ſpeaking, they keep "Hogs. They drink the Water in their Ditches rather from "Superſtition or Cuſtom, than from any other Reaſon, "which is the more wonderful, ſince the Crocodiles in "thoſe Ditches are not only numerous, but of an extraordinary Size, inſomuch that many of them exceed thirty "Feet in Length, and yet the People, who ſee ſome or "other devoured by them every Day are ſo ſtupid as to "reverence them as they do the Apes; and this from a "firm, as well as fooliſh Perſuaſion, that the Souls of ſuch "as are devoured by the Crocodiles find the direct Road to "Heaven. The Subtilty of theſe Creatures is very extraordinary. When the People come with their Pitchers to "take up Water, they conceal themſelves under the green "Weed, or under the Reeds, which grow on the Side of "the Ditch, and laying hold of the Perſon by the Hand, "or by the Foot, pull them to him. Men and Women "have been ſeen in this manner with their Heads and "Hands above Water, roaring out for Help, till ſuch "time as they were dragged to the Hole where the Crocodile lay, and who was diſtinctly heard to devour them. "Remonſtrances having been once made to the King on this "Subject, he ordered the largeſt Crocodile, and which "was known to have done moſt Miſchief, to be taken and "killed. This Creature was of an enormous Size, and of "a moſt terrible Appearance. After his Death there were "not ſo many People killed as before; and it ſeems not "a little wonderful, that they did not purſue the Extirpation of theſe Animals for the Preſervation of the Inhabitants. It is obſerved here, that though the Elephant, "which is a very hot Creature, not only drinks out of "thoſe Ditches, but frequently goes into them to cool and "refreſh himſelf; yet the Crocodiles never venture to "attack him, which is ſuppoſed to be owing to the Bigneſs of the Creature; for it is obſerved, that the Crocodile is as cowardly as it is cruel."

Peter Vanden Broek tells us, that on the Coaſt of *Coromandel* the Crocodiles are very common in all the Rivers, inſomuch that the People are afraid to paſs them, or to go by Water; and this with great Reaſon, ſince while he was there there were ſeveral, both Men and Women, devoured by them[z]. In the Iſland of *Java*, when the *Dutch* firſt viſited it, the Rivers were full of Crocodiles, and People were often devoured by them; yet the *Chineſe*, who lived

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[p] *Hiſt. Gen. des Indes, lib.* iv. *Voſſius de Idolat. lib.* iii. *cap.* 47.

[q] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt. Animal. lib.* v. *cap.* 33. *Herodot. lib.* ii. *Cteſias*, N° 27. *Ælian. var. in locis.*

[r] *Pliny. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *cap.* 25, 26. where he tells us, that *Marcus Scaurus* was the firſt who ſhewed at *Rome* in his Edileſhip a River Horſe, and four Crocodiles, ſwimming in a Pool or Lake made for that Purpoſe.

[s] *Memoire de l'Academ. Tom.* iii *Part* iii. *p.* 161.

[t] *Strabo, lib.* xv *p.* 696.

[u] *Idem. ibid.*

[w] *De Morib. Brachman. p.* 63. It is obſerved in this very Paſſage, that they paſs this River in *July* or *Auguſt*, and that this was the Winter Seaſon in thoſe Countries, which helps us to an eaſy Solution of the Miracle; for, according to *Pliny*'s Account, the Crocodiles were then faſt aſleep in their Dens.

[x] *Voyages aux Indes par P. Colin. p.* 83. *Navarette Hiſt. de Chine, Tom.* ii. *p.* 395.

[y] *Voyage aux Indes, p.* 135.

[z] *Voyage de P. Vanden Broek, p.* 495.

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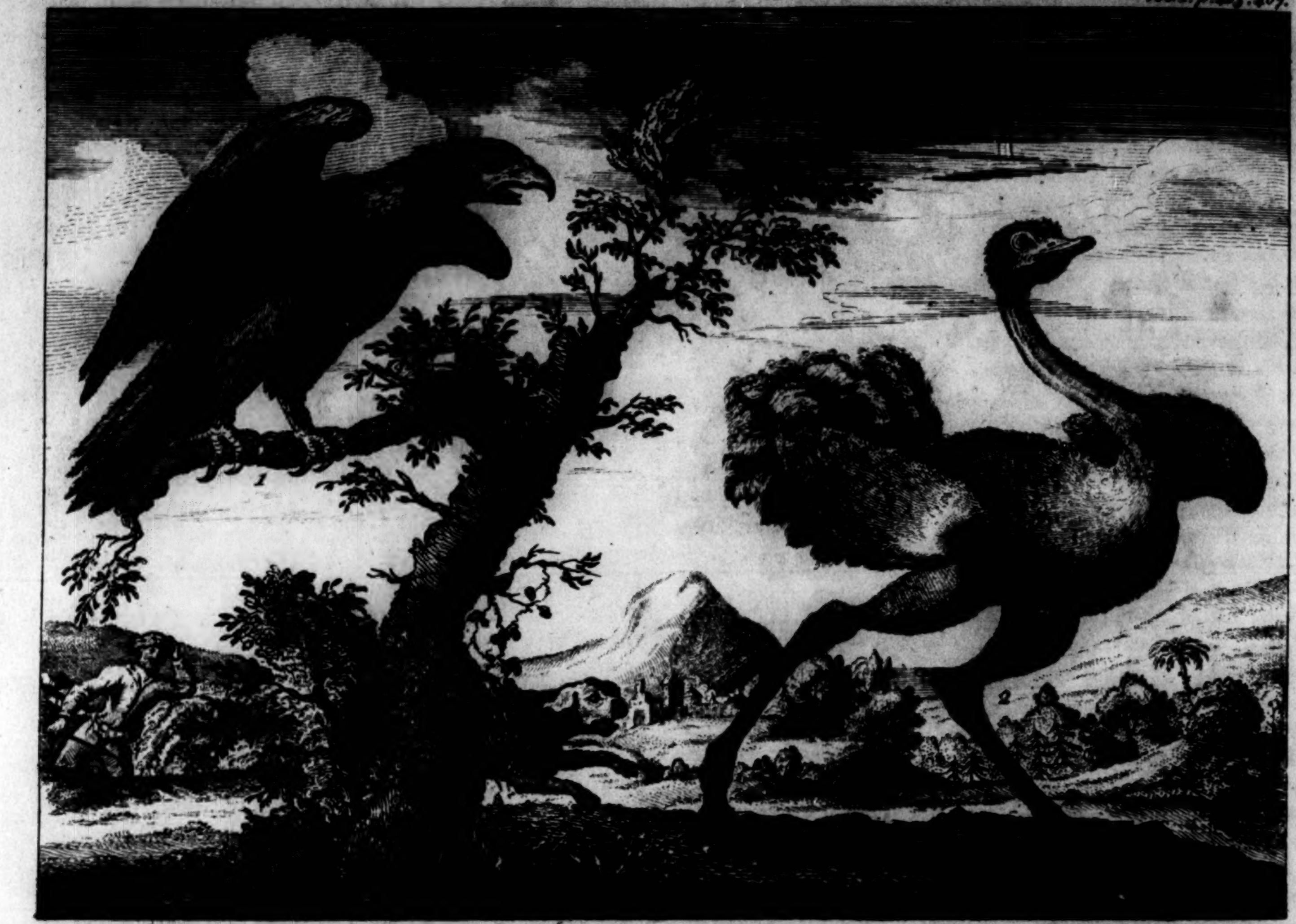
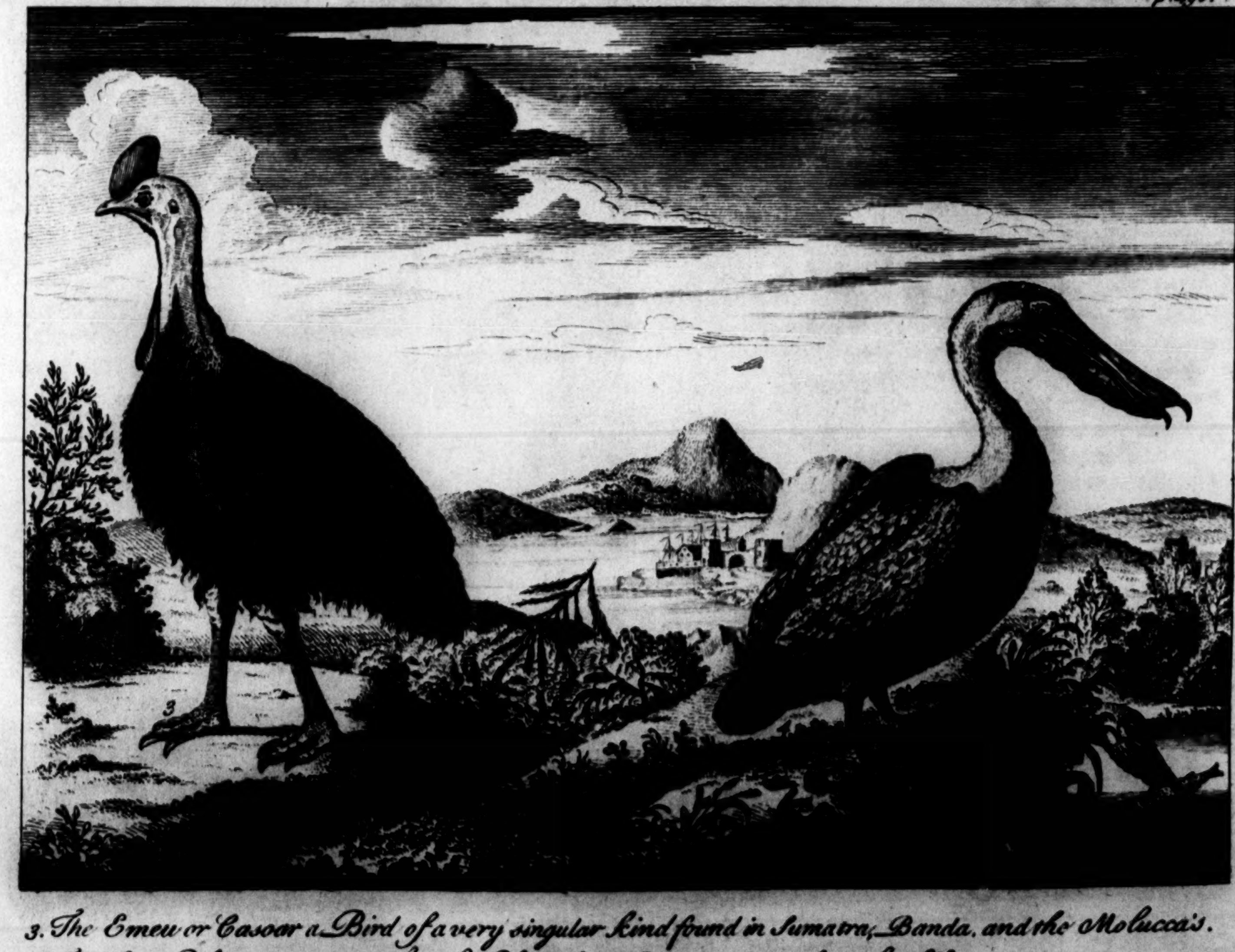


1. The large Indian Eagle described by Aristotle, and other Writers of Natural History, with the Lapis Ætites or stone found in its Neſt. 2. The Oſtrich in its common poſture in running.

p. 490.



3. The Emeu or Casoar a Bird of a very singular kind found in Sumatra, Banda, and the Molucca's.
4. The Water Pelican or Onocratalus of Pliny from a Painting taken from the Life.

in that Iſland, had the Secret of taming them, fatted, and afterwards killed and eat them; which will appear the leſs ſtrange, when we are told, that *Ariſtotle* relates the ſame Thing as done in his Time in *Egypt* [a]. In the Iſland of *Ceylon* [b] they are much infeſted with Crocodiles, which the *Portugueze* call *Lagartos*, they are generally about eighteen Feet long, and the Inhabitants of that Country report, that they have a Stone in their Head, which is a Specifick for all gravelly Complaints, and is even capable of diſſolving the Stone.

The *Arabians* call this Creature *Temſa*, the *Perſians Nibenk*, the *Turks Lowi*, and the *Chineſe Tcben*; they all agree, that they are as long-lived as a Man; and this ſeems to account for their monſtrous Size, ſince I do not find, that what the Ancients relate of their growing as long as they live is diſputed by the Moderns; and that in *India* they ſhould be larger than in any other Country, may be accounted for from two Cauſes, the firſt is, the Heat of the Climate, which is allowed to have a great Effect on ſuch kind of Animals; the ſecond is, the prepoſterous Reverence ſhewn to theſe deſtructive Creatures in many Places, by which they are preſerved to a greater Age, and conſequently arrive at a larger Size than in other Countries, where the People have Wiſdom and Reſolution enough to rid themſelves of theſe Monſters.

9. The *Ganges*, and as ſome antient Writers report, the River *Indus* alſo nouriſhes in it a Worm or rather Serpent, of a moſt ſingular kind, conſidering either its Form or its Properties; its Skin is of a dark blue, from whence it receives its Name *Cyonoeides*; it is in Length ſix Cubits: *Pliny* by ſome Error ſure in the tranſcribing, has ſixty Cubits, and is about two Foot round; it has but one Tooth in each Jaw, which is about four Inches long, with which laying hold of whatever Animal comes to drink at the River, whether Horſe, Cow, Camel or Elephant, it pulls them under Water, and there tears to pieces and devours them, the Entrails only excepted.

This dreadful Creature is caught with a Hook hid under the Belly of a Sheep or Goat, and the Uſe made of it when dead, is to the full as ſingular as what is related of it while living. The Fiſhermen after it is caught hang it up by the Tail in the open Air, where, by the Heat of the Sun, in the Space of three Weeks it conſumes into a kind of Oyl, which has this ſingular Quality, that it takes Fire of itſelf if expoſed to the Air, and is abſolutely unextinguiſhable. It was for this Reaſon, that the Emperors of Perſia who were Maſters of the Provinces bordering upon the River *Indus*, and the *Indian* Princes, Succeſſors to *Sandracottus*, who were in Poſſeſſion of the ſame Provinces after the Succeſſors of *Alexander* quitted their Claim to them, reſerv'd all this Oil for their own Uſe, and employ'd it in Time of War to ſet the Gates of any City on Fire, which they intended to take by Storm [d].

This Serpent appears to have been at leaſt as ſtrong, and at the ſame time much more fierce, than the Crocodile; which, as we have heard, never ventur'd to attack the Elephant. The original Writer of this ſtrange Story, was *Cteſias* [e], who was told it at the *Perſian* Court, where perhaps they had ſome ſuch Oil brought from the *Indies* with this Fable tack'd to it, to make it eſteem'd more valuable; which from numerous Inſtances we have ſhewn, was a common Artifice of theſe People to fright other Nations from making any Expeditions into their Country. The Reader may perhaps be ſurpriz'd at my ſuppoſing it poſſible, that there ſhould be any ſuch Oil; and therefore I think myſelf obliged to mention my Reaſon for it: Our Chymiſts have a Secret of making a black Powder which is called *Pulvis Infernalis*, that will take Fire by being expos'd to the open Air; and therefore, I ſee nothing abſurd in admitting, that there might be an Oily Compoſition which had the ſame Quality. It is alſo certain, that the *Greeks* had a kind of Wild-fire of the ſame Nature, which they employ'd in burning the Ships of the *Saracens* when they block'd up the Port of *Conſtantinople*.

It is certain, that none of our modern Travellers mention any Thing, that has the leaſt Relation to this extraordinary Creature; but in all Probability, the Accounts given us by theſe ancient Writers, took Riſe from ſome of thoſe Water-Serpents that are common in the Mouths of moſt Rivers in the *Indies*, of which we have ſpoken before under the Head of Dragons, and of theſe great Numbers are brought down into the Sea on the Coaſt of *China*, as they are alſo by the Rivers that run thro' the *Terra Auſtralis*, or the *Southern-Continent*, as we obſerv'd before in the Account given of Captain *Abel Taſman*'s Voyage for the Diſcovery of that Country; and if there be any Probability in the Arguments drawn by *Philoſtratus*, of the Likeneſs of *Æthiopia* to the *Indies*, from the Reſemblance between the *Nile* and the *Indus*, we might from hence infer, that there is a like Correſpondence between the Climates of the *Southern-Continent* and the *Indies*.

The ſame *Philoſtratus* [f], differs from other Writers as to this Serpent in ſeveral Circumſtances; firſt, he ſays, it is found in the River *Hyphaſes*, next, he affirms it to be white; and laſtly, he ſays nothing of its Teeth or of its Fierceneſs. *St. Ambroſe* [g] mentions another very ſingular Worm in the *Ganges*, which he ſays looks at firſt like a long Pipe, with the Horns of the Animal appearing at one End; then it changes to a Sort of Worm, rolls itſelf up ſoon after in a Ball or Caſe, like that of the Silk-Worm, and when it comes out from thence, puts on the Appearance of a Butterfly. He adds, that from the Ball they draw a kind of Silk, of which are made the fineſt Stuffs in the Country; but, this too, if any ſuch Creature there be, is not known to the Moderns, which is the more extraordinary, becauſe it is generally believed that we are much better acquainted with the Manufactures of the *Indies*, than the Ancients; ſo that upon the whole, I am apt to ſuſpect, that this is no more than a miſtaken or erroneous Account of the Silk-Worm.

It cannot, however, be amiſs, to preſerve all theſe Relations, becauſe however improbable or even incredible, they may appear, yet it is not impoſſible, that there may be ſomething of Truth at the bottom, even of the moſt extravagant Relations. This at leaſt is certain, that for many Ages the *Indians* concealed not only the Sources of their Riches, but the Secret of their Manufactures, and eſpecially that of Silk, as we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew at large; and it is no leſs certain, that in order to conceal them, they invented a Multitude of Fables, with which for a long Time they impoſed upon the World. One would ſuſpect that ſomething of this Spirit remains ſtill among the *Chineſe*, from the improbable Accounts that are given us by the Miſſionaries, of that Country, and every thing in it; but more of this in its proper Place; at preſent, we have done with the Animals that inhabit the Water, and are next to examine the Volatiles of the *Indies*.

10. The Eagle is generally conſidered by all Naturaliſts, as the *King* of *Birds*, which Title is ſuppoſed to have been beſtowed on this Creature for its ſuperior Strength; for the natural Terror that it ſtrikes into the whole feather'd Race, and for the Boldneſs of its Flight in which it ſoars higher than any Bird whatever [h]. It was very poſſibly, the Conſideration of theſe Properties, that induced *C. Marius* when a ſecond Time Conſul, in the Year after the Building of *Rome* 650, and the Year before *Chriſt* 103, to ſuppreſs the Figures of the Wolf, the Minotaur, the Horſe, and the wild Boar, which hitherto (as well as the Eagle) had been borne on the Roman Enſigns, in Order to ſubſtitute the Figure of the Eagle, with her Wings half diſplay'd in their Stead, as an Emblem more ſignificant than any, or than all the former, and more capable of exciting the Ardour, Courage, and Emulation of the Soldiers, than any that could be deviſed; and this Alteration of his was ſufficiently juſtified by the Event [i].

Pliny diſtinguiſhes ſix kind of Eagles, among which however, he allows only one to be the true Royal Eagle, of which we are now to ſpeak. It is a very difficult Thing to aſſign the true Size of this Bird, becauſe the Records of Hiſtory, and the Experience of later Ages do not very well agree. The Antients report, that the Eagle is very long-lived, ſo as to reach a full Century, and to grow as long as he lives, which if certain, might induce us to believe what *Athenæus* tells us, that at the Inauguration of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, there were Eagles carried in the Proceſſion, the Wings of which when extended, meaſured thirty Feet[k]. A modern Naturaliſt aſſures us[l], that not far from *Dreſden* in *Saxony*, an Eagle's Neſt was diſcovered, in which there were three young Birds full fledged, but not quite able to fly, tho' their Wings expanded reached ſeven Yards. But in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at *Paris*[m], there is a large Account of a She-Eagle diſſected there, which falls very far ſhort of what is mentioned in the former Relations; for this Bird meaſured but two Foot nine Inches from the Beak to the Tail; the Extent of her Wings was but ſeven Feet, and the whole Weight of the Bird no more than ten Pounds. In all Probability this was a very ſmall Eagle, and perhaps not of any of thoſe Sorts mentioned by the Antients, who agree very well in their Accounts, and particularly in this, that the *Indian* Eagles excelled the reſt in Courage and Strength, and conſequently in Size.

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[a] *De Hiſt. Animal Lib.* ix. *chap.* 1. [b] *Gaſpar Baldeus*'s Deſcription of the Iſland of *Ceylon*, *chap.* 3. [c] *Ælian Lib.* v. *chap.* 3. [d] *Idem ibid.* [e] *In Indicis* N°. 27. [f] *In Vit. Apollon. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 1. [g] *Hexamtron Lib.* v. *cap* 23. [h] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt. Animal. lib.* ix. *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* x. *cap.* 4. *Ælian. de Animal. lib.* ii. *Horat. lib.* iv. *Od.* 3. *Natal. Com. Mytholog. lib.* i. *p.* 85. [i] *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* x. *cap.* 4. Where he obſerves that ſeldom or never, any Corps of *Roman* Troops encamped with fewer than two Eagles. But *Ariſtomenes* had long before this borne an Eagle on his Buckler, as we are informed by *Pauſanias*, *lib.* iv. *p.* 319.

The ſame Writers obſerve, that this Bird has a very briſk Eye, which is fixed pretty deep in the Head, covered in ſome Meaſure by the Bone which projects over it, and ſtrengthened by a Membrane of a ſingular Texture, being made up of ſeveral ſmall Scales. The Ball of the Eye is of a bright Iſabella, and has all the Life and Beauty of a Topaz. The Tongue of the Eagle is not pointed like that of other Birds, but in a manner ſquare, of a ſort of cartilaginous Subſtance with two hard Points at the Bottom like the Barbs of the Head of an Arrow. The Wind-pipe of this Animal is prodigiouſly ſtrong, and in breathing is diſtended to ſuch a Degree, as to be near two Inches in Diameter. Its Bones are very thick and hard and have ſcarce any Marrow: Its Brain is ſaid to be of ſo hot a Nature, as when given in Powder to occaſion Madneſs: Its Blood is very thick, and in a Manner fibrous: Its Gall ſharp, penetrating, and capable of eating into whatever it touches, and its very Feathers are of ſuch a corroſive Quality, that they deſtroy if mixed with them, the Feathers of other Birds[n].

The Voracity of the Eagle is ſo great, that it requires a conſiderable Extent of Country to furniſh Prey ſufficient for his Subſiſtance; and hence it is obſerved, that two Eagles never live near each other. *Ariſtotle* and *Pliny* tell us, that when the young Eagles grow up and begin to fly, the old ones not only drive them from their Airies, but alſo force them to quit the adjacent Country[o]. Theſe voracious Birds not only prey on all Sorts of large Fowl, but hunt alſo Rabbits, Hares, Sheep, Goats and Fawns, which they kill and carry away. We have an Account from *Ælian*[p], of an Eagle of extraordinary Size, which ravaged Part of the Iſland of *Crete*, and was ſo furious, that he hunted Bulls and Oxen, as well as ſmaller Creatures: The Manner in which he deſtroy'd them was this, he fixed his Talons betwixt their Horns, and then began to tear their Heads with his Beak, and often covering their Eyes with his Wings; the Creatures mad and blind, ran as faſt as they were able, till they either fell over Precipices, or ſtuck faſt in ſome Moraſs, where the Eagle tore out their Bellies, and having thus killed them, devour'd them at his Leiſure.

As this Creature lives entirely on the Fleſh of Animals, he taſtes no Liquid but their Blood, and never drinks Water but when he is ſick. It is ſaid that the Stork is the only Creature able to reſiſt him; and in one of the old Poets we have a large Deſcription of a Battle between theſe Birds, in which, however, there is a greater Appearance of Imagination than Reality[q]. Other Animals are ſo fearful of the Eagle, that they tremble at his Cry; and even the Dragon is ſaid to retire for Shelter to his Den. The Sea Eagle hovers over that Element, or over the Lakes, and darting with prodigious Force into the Water, ſeize the Fiſh in their Talons, carry them on Shore and devour them; 'tis for this Reaſon that the *Indians* proſecute them with a cruel and never ceaſing War, and are ſaid to deſtroy them with burning Arrows.

One of the moſt ſingular Qualities of this Bird is, the Capacity he has of beholding without Inconvenience the Sun in his Meridian Luſtre; and of this Property he is ſo jealous, as to deſtroy (if the Ancients ſay Truth) ſuch of its Progeny as wink, when in their Neſts the old one turns their Heads towards the Sun[r]. But with reſpect to the young ones that are able to bear this Trial, the Eagles cheriſh them with as much Tenderneſs as any other Bird, and defend them with the moſt obſtinate Reſolution in caſe any Attempt be made to take them. They fly round their Neſt, and vary their Flights for the Inſtruction of their Young; and afterwards taking them on their Backs, they ſoar with them aloft in order to try their Strength, ſhaking them off into the Air; and if they perceive them too weak to ſuſtain themſelves, they with ſurprizing Dexterity fly under them again, and receive them on their Wings to prevent their Fall. The Eagle is ſuppoſed to be the only ſort of Bird indued with this kind of Inſtinct, and this ſerves to explain one of the boldeſt and moſt beautiful Similes in the Sacred Writings[s].

The young Eagle, perfected by ſuch Inſtructions, wings his Flight into the ſuperior Regions of the Air, and notwithſtanding his great Bulk, frequently ſoars out of Sight, flying always directly towards the Sun. Hence is derived the Fancy of the Poets, that Ganymede was carried by an Eagle up to Heaven, and there became the Cup-bearer of the Gods; and hence alſo another Notion took Riſe, that the Souls of Heroes were in like manner conveyed to the Celeſtial Regions[t]. It is pretended, that the true Reaſon why ſome of the young Eagles are not able to bear the piercing Light of the Sun is their having ſome Defect in their Eye-lids; for it is ſaid, that they are furniſhed by Nature with two Membranes for this Purpoſe, one of which we have before ſpoken, which covers the Eye, and ſhuts out the Light entirely, the other of a thinner and more delicate Texture, which being drawn over the Eye, preſerves it from being any way injured by the ſtrongeſt Rays of Light[u]. It is however very remarkable, that in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at *Paris*, relating to the Diſſection of this Bird, there is nothing ſaid of this ſecond and thinner Membrane, though the Eye and the other ſcaly Membrane are very accurately deſcribed[w].

In this, however, all Writers antient and modern agree, that the Eagle is not at all incommoded by the Sun-beams, and that it is very probable he renews his Strength, or preſerves his Youth by touring ſo near that Fountain of Light and Heat. We are particularly told by ſome Writers, that once every ten Years he makes an unuſual Progreſs in his Journey, and that for this Reaſon: He finds his Wings and other Feathers heavy and unfit for flying, which induces him to riſe with all his Force, in order to reach as near the Sun as poſſible; and having thus heated his Plumage exceſſively, he drops at once into the Sea, after which all his Feathers fall off by degrees, and others ſucceed them[x].

Ælian aſſures us, that the Eagle is exceedingly grateful[y], an Inſtance of which he gives us in a Bird of that kind, which attended the great Conqueror *Pyrrhus* all his Life, and which he was wont to feed with his own Hand; and which after the Death of that illuſtrious Perſon, refuſed to take any Nutriment from another Hand, but choſe rather to ſtarve. He mentions likewiſe another Fact ſtill more remarkable, which is, that an Eagle flew into the Funeral Pile of one by whom it was brought up, and was there conſumed with the dead Body of his Benefactor.

[k] *Deipnoſophiſt. lib.* v.
[l] *Jonſton Theatr. Animal. Tom.* i. *p.* i.
[m] *Memoirs de l'Acad. Royal des Sciences Tom.* iii *p.* ii. *p.* 89.
[n] *Ariſtot. Plin. Ælian. ubi ſupra Aldrovand. Ornithologia lib.* ii. *cap.* 2.
[o] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt. Animal. lib.* ix *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* x. *c.* 4.
[p] *Ælian. de Animal lib.* ii. *p.* 39.
[q] *Statius, Thebaid, lib.* iii.
[r] *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* x. *c.* 4. *Ælian lib.* ii. *c.* 40. *Lucan Civ. Bel. lib.* ix. v. 902. *Iſodor. Origin. lib.* xii. *c.* 7. *Ovid. Metam. lib.* viii.
[s] This occurs in the Song of *Moſes*, where he thus deſcribes the March of the Children of *Iſrael* through the Wilderneſs. "As the Eagle ſtirreth up her Neſt, fluttering over her Young, ſpreadeth forth her Wings, and beareth them "upon them: So the LORD alone did lead him, and there was no ſtrange God with him" *Deut.* xxxii. 11, 12.
[t] *Vide Kippingum, Antiq. Roman. p.* 509. *& ſeq.*
[u] *P. Ange, Traité d'Optique.*
[w] *Memoirs de l'Academie,* as before cited.
[x] *Bochart. Hieroz.* ii. *P. lib.* ii. *c.* 1. *& ſequen.* This is thought to be alluded to *Pſalm* ciii. 5. "who ſatisfieth thy Mouth with good Things: ſo that thy Youth is renewed like the Eagles."
[y] *De Animal. lib.* ii. *cap.* 40.

Ariſtotle aſſures us [z], that the Eagle lives to a great Age, and is at laſt ſtarved to Death; the upper Bill growing over the under in ſuch a manner as that the Bird can receive no ſort of Suſtenance. In the *Perſian* Language the Eagle is called *Homai*, that is to ſay, the Royal Eagle, which is held in a manner ſacred throughout the Eaſt, becauſe they are perſuaded, that though this be the boldeſt and fierceſt of all Birds, yet it injures no Creature living, but feeds upon Bones that it finds in the Deſerts [a]. But we muſt have a care to diſtinguiſh this Royal Eagle from the Oſſifrage or Bone-breaker, which is another kind of Eagle that lives chiefly on Shell-fiſh, as alſo on Carrion, and is reported to have frequented Church-yards, and to have torn open the Graves in order to feed upon the dead Bodies.

It is neceſſary before we leave this Subject to mention the Eagle-Stone, or *Lapis Aëtites*, as it was called by the Antients. This was held to be found in the Eagles Neſt; and *Pliny* ſays [b], that there were generally two without, which the Eagle could not hatch. That Writer ſays there are four ſorts of Eagle-Stones, the firſt bred in *Africa*, ſmall and ſoft, with a little Piece of white Clay included within it, which had a very pleaſant Smell; and this was ſaid to be the Female Eagle Stone. The ſecond was found in *Arabia*, of the Size of a Walnut, and of a reddiſh Colour; it had alſo a little Stone in the middle, and was accounted the Male. The third was found in *Cyprus*, which reſembled thoſe found in *Africa*, but was broader and flatter. The fourth was called *Taphiuſius* from the Region in which it was found, and was ſoft like Clay. Theſe Eagle-Stones, of which I have one before me, are in truth little bigger than a Hazle-Nut, of a greyiſh Colour, and have another Stone within them which rattles. They are light, and ſeem to be ſome kind of Vegetable petrefied, having a black Spot at one End, as if they had been broken off from a Stalk. *Pliny* ſays they were much eſteemed for their Medicinal Virtue, which conſiſted in making the Female of every kind of Animal go its full Time with Young. At the Time of Delivery, however, it was to be remov'd, for otherwiſe they held that the Creature could not be delivered; and this Notion prevailed in the laſt Century, when theſe Stones were ſold at a great rate; but at preſent ſuch Notions are out of Date, and conſidered as mere Fictions.

11. After the Eagle the Oſtrich was the Bird moſt conſidered in the *Indies* on account of its large Size, the Singularity of its Shape, and other extraordinary Qualities. The Antients thought its Neck and Head reſembled thoſe of a Camel, the Eyes ſparkling, the Beak blunt, and the Noſtrils very wide [c]. The Neck, the Head, and the Thighs of this Creature, is without Feathers; the Legs remarkably ſtrong, and the Feet cleft or divided into two Toes. There were ſome Years ago no leſs than eight of theſe Birds exhibited at *Paris*, of which *M. Perrault* has given us a Deſcription. They were ſeven Feet high from the Ground to the Top of the Head, that is to ſay, four from the Flat of the Back to their Feet, and three from the riſing of the Neck to the Top of their Heads, from the Rump to the Head, the Neck being extended in a right Line from the Back, they were ſix Feet in Length. The Tail about a Foot, the Wing without the Feathers a Foot and a half, and with the Feathers three Feet. It is of the Feathers of the Oſtrich that the Plumes heretofore worn on the Helmet, and the Feathers now uſed in Hats, are made. As they grow on the Bird they are alternatively white and black, or black and grey [d].

Almoſt all other Birds have two ſorts of Feathers, one downy and ſoft to keep them warm, and defend them from Water; the other ſtrong and ſtiff, to aſſiſt them in flying. In the Oſtrich, however, it is quite otherwiſe; for tho' the Feathers of this Bird be long, yet the Subſtance is downy and ſoft, which, notwithſtanding, does not ſeem to keep them very warm, neither do they enable them to fly. There is another thing remarkable in their Feathers, becauſe they likewiſe differ therein from thoſe of other Birds. The latter have more of the feathery Subſtance on one Side of the Quill than on the other, and on both Sides ſo ranged, as to end in a kind of Point. In the Feathers of the Oſtrich the Quill runs directly through the middle, and the End is in a manner round. To apprehend this the better, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the former kind of Mechaniſm is of great Uſe in flying, for theſe two Reaſons; firſt, that the Air reſiſts the Stroke of the Wing powerfully, and thereby enables the Bird to riſe; the ſecond, that the Air makes the leaſt poſſible Reſiſtance in the ſhutting of the Wing for the next Stroke, ſo that the Bird loſes little of that Advantage which ſhe gained by the former Stroke. It is for the ſame Reaſon that the Quill extends to the very Extremity of the Feathers, ſo that the Wing forms a kind of Arch when expanded, by which means the Bird preſſes upon, and is ſuſtained by the Air gathered under it. But there is nothing of this kind obſervable in the Structure of the Feathers of the Oſtrich, which are not connected to each other, but lie looſe on each Side of the Quill, and are not at all ſtiff or gummy like thoſe of other Birds.

Hence *Ariſtotle* long ago obſerved [e], that the Feathers of the Oſtrich reſembled more the Hair of Beaſts than the Plumage of other Fowls, that is to ſay, were rather contrived to cover the Body, than to aſſiſt the Bird in her Flight. To ſay the Truth, this Animal, as *Ariſtotle* rightly obſerves, is incapable of raiſing itſelf from the Ground; but then it runs at a great rate, ſo that they hunt it with Grey-hounds, the Huntſmen mounted on fleet Horſes bred on purpoſe to the Sport.

The Antients were of Opinion, that the Wings of the Oſtrich was one great Cauſe of its Swiftneſs; but the *French* Author before cited has taken a great deal of Pains to ſhew from the Structure of the Feathers, that they cannot poſſibly have any ſuch Effect, becauſe they are intirely deſtitute of the Qualities requiſite for that Purpoſe, which though contrary to the Sentiments of ancient Naturaliſts, was, however, a thing known long ago to ſome of the Curious [f]. It has been likewiſe aſſerted, that the Oſtrich had an Inſtinct in gaining the Wind, which by ſwelling its Wings, forced the Creature along at a great rate; but modern Experience contradicts this likewiſe, and it is generally affirmed, that this Bird very ſeldom runs with the Wind, but on the contrary is often in danger of falling, by running oppoſite thereto when the Gale is briſk. It is notwithſtanding generally allowed, that the Oſtrich throws Stones behind her in her Flight with equal Agility and Force.

The Inſide of this Animal is, to the full, as curious and remarkable as the Out. The Stomach of this Bird is about fifteen Inches long, and eight wide, ſeparated by a muſculous Piece of Fleſh, which, in the Middle, may be two Inches thick, or ſomewhat more. In theſe two Cavities were found conſiderable Quantities of Graſs, Hay, Barley, Beans, Bones, and Flints, ſome of which were of the Bigneſs of a Hen's Egg, together with ſeventy Pieces of little copper Money, of the Size of our Farthings. The greater Part of theſe were Three-fourths conſumed by their rubbing one againſt another, and againſt the Flints, and not by any acid Spirit which had corroded them; which manifeſtly appeared from hence, that whereas one Side was quite ſmooth and poliſhed, by continually rubbing; the other, being preſerved by its lying hollow, had the Impreſſion quite fair.

All that was contained in the Stomach of the Creature, whether Stones, Bones, or Beans, were all over of a greeniſh Colour. The antient Naturaliſts, therefore, had certainly no Idea of the true Manner in which Stones, Iron, and ſuch like Things were conſumed in the Stomach of the Oſtrich, ſince, they plainly aſſert, that this was done by ſome particular Quality in the Juices; ſo that, as the Stomachs of other Creatures were fitted for the Diſſolution of Fiſh, raw Fleſh, and Bones, that of the Oſtrich had the peculiar Power of conſuming Metals and Stones. For, if the Stomach of this Animal had any ſingular or particular Quality of digeſting Metals, they would, moſt certainly, be digeſted in the ſame Manner as other

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[z] *De Hiſt. Animal. lib.* ix. *cap.* 1.

[a] *Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. p.* 456.

[b] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* x. *cap.* 3. *lib.* xxxvi. *cap.* 21.

[c] *Ariſtot. de Part. Animal. lib.* iv. *cap.* 14. *Pliny. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* x. *cap.* 1.

[d] *Memoires de l'Academie, Tom.* iii. *p.* iii. *p.* 113.

[e] *De Part. Animal. ubi ſupra.*

[f] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt. Animal. lib.* iv. *cap.* 4. yet as to its prodigious Swiftneſs, the Author of the Book of *Job* obſerves, xxxix. 18. "When the Oſtrich lifteth herſelf on high, ſhe ſcorneth the Horſe, and his Rider."

Food is digeſted, that is by melting and diſſolving them into a Liquid; whereas Experience ſhews us, that this Operation is performed in the Stomach of the Oſtrich in the ſame Manner as it would be performed out of it, if Pieces of Copper were to be rubbed and bruiſed with a Mixture of acid Herbs, and by the Help of rough Bodies. It is, therefore, highly probable, that the Oſtrich, being a voracious Animal, has occaſion to ſwallow hard Things to aſſiſt in bruiſing and conſuming its Food, and that abuſing this Inſtinct of Nature, it ſwallows Iron and Copper, which, inſtead of anſwering that Intention, becomes poiſonous, and turns to the Deſtructoin of the Animal. This ſeems to be put quite out of Diſpute, by a Fact which has been atteſted by thoſe who have the Care of the *Menagerie* at *Verſailles*, who affirm, that when the Oſtriches kept there, have ſwallowed conſiderable Quantities of Copper and Iron, they have died ſoon after; and therefore they have had Orders given them to hinder People from throwing Nails or Pieces of Copper to theſe Birds[g].

The hot Conſtitution of this Creature, may be very well ſuppoſed to contribute not a little to its Fruitfulneſs. The Oſtrich lays, generally ſpeaking, Four-ſcore Eggs in a ſhort Space of Time, each of them weighing twelve or fifteen Pounds, ſo that one is ſufficient to ſerve ſix or ſeven People for a Meal[h]. The Shell of theſe Eggs is very near as hard as a Stone, ſo that it cannot be for fear of breaking them, that the Oſtrich abandons them, and leaves them to be hatched by the Heat of the Sun, as the common Opinion is; but either from Forgetfulneſs, as ſhe lays every Egg in a different Place, or from a certain kind of Inſtinct, which is therefore made a very proper Symbol of Cruelty[i]; not that it is really ſo in itſelf, becauſe the young Oſtriches do not ſtand in Need of their Parents Care: But that it appears ſo in the Eyes of Men; and by Compariſon with the Tenderneſs of other Animals, and of other Fowls eſpecially.

The Fact, upon which this Obſervation is grounded, is ſufficiently made out by the Multitude of Oſtriches that are ſeen in thoſe Countries where they inhabit. Such as ſeveral Iſlands in the *Eaſt-Indies*, a great Part of *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Africa*, and *South-America*, in all which Countries there are large Deſerts, in which they multiply exceedingly.

The *Arabians* are ſaid to be ſo credulous, that, as an eminent Traveller informs us, they are content to believe that the Oſtriches hatch their Young by looking at them. I will give the Reader the Story in his own Words. "We read, ſays he, in an old *Arabian* Manuſcript, that when this Fowl would hatch her Eggs, ſhe does not cover them as other Fowls do, but both the Male and Female contribute to hatch them by the Efficacy of their Looks only; and, therefore, when one has Occaſion to go to look for Food, it advertiſes its Companion by its Cry, and the other never ſtirs during its Abſence, but remains with its Eyes fixed upon the Eggs, till the Return of its Mate, and then goes, in its Turn to look for Food: And this Care of theirs is ſo neceſſary, that it cannot be ſuſpended for a Moment, for if it ſhould, their Eggs would immediately become addle[k]."

This Story, no doubt, is fabulous; but why do I ſay ſo, when, at the Bottom, the *Arabians* believe no more of it than we do? In reality, it is no more than a parabolical Fiction, to expreſs the perpetual Attention of Providence, in which the Egg repreſents the Univerſe, and the parental Inſpection of the Oſtrich, the continual Interpoſition of the Father of all Things for its Preſervation. Thus, in the Letter, this Story is idle and fooliſh, and ſo are moſt Fables; but the Interpretation or Moral is noble and juſt.

The *Ethiopians* eat the Eggs of this Bird, and eſteem them the moſt exquiſite Food that can be, and the common People eat the Fleſh of the Oſtrich in all Countries where they are found; though it is admitted, that it is dry, and very indifferent; but there muſt, probably, have been ſomething very exquiſite in the Reliſh of its Brains, ſince the Emperor *Heliogabalus* cauſed ſeveral Plates filled with this Sort of Food to be ſerved at one of the Entertainments that he gave to the Nobility of *Rome*[l], of which it was common for him to ranſack the whole Empire for Dainties. We learn alſo from *Ælian*[m], that to the Time in which he wrote, the *Indian* Princes eſteemed the Brains of the Oſtrich, one of the greateſt Delicacies their Country produced.

12. The *Phœnix* is the Theme on which the *Greek* Writers ſeem to have exhauſted their Eloquence; and that with ſo good Succeſs, as, in ſome meaſure, to have impoſed on the wiſeſt of the *Latin* Writers. The Author of this Fiction, at leaſt, as high as we are able to trace it, was *Herodotus*[n]; and yet he does not deſerve to be treated as a fabulous Writer, for what he has left us upon this Subject, ſince he acknowledges fairly, that he knew nothing more of this Bird than from Report and from Picture. On his Authority, however, the Story was ſo often repeated, that, by Degrees, it gained Credit with the learned as well as the Vulgar, inſomuch that *Pliny*[o] gives us a long and plauſible Account of it.

"The Birds of *India*, ſays he, are moſt of them of different Colours, and ſuch as a Man can hardly deſcribe. But the *Phœnix* is the moſt noble of all; neither know I whether it be a Fable or a Truth, that there is but one in the World, and that but rarely ſeen. It is ſaid to be of the Size of an Eagle, its Neck as refulgent as Gold, the Body of a deep Purple, the Tail compoſed of blue Feathers, mixed with red, the Head adorned with a beautiful Tuft of different Colours. *Manilius*, a noble *Roman* Senator, diſtinguiſhed by his Excellence in every kind of Learning, was the firſt who wrote at large of this ſingular Bird; and by him it is reported, that the *Phœnix* is never ſeen to eat: That, in *Arabia*, this Bird is held ſacred to the Sun; that he lives Six hundred and ſixty Years, and that finding himſelf old and beginning to decay, he builds himſelf a Neſt with the Twigs of *Caſſia*; and having filled that Neſt with Frankincenſe and other Aromatics, he therein expires. But from his Bones and Marrow is produced a little Worm, which, in Time, becomes a young *Phœnix*; and the firſt Thing it does, is to celebrate the Funeral of its Parent, by transferring the whole Neſt to the City of the Sun, which is near *Panchaia*, and leaving it there upon the Altar. The ſame *Manilius* reports, that the great Year agrees exactly with the Term of this Bird's Life, when the heavenly Bodies return to their firſt Points, and the Seaſons revolve again in their former Order, this Year commencing at *Noon*, when the Sun enters the Sign *Aries*. According to his Computation, therefore, this great Year began when *P. Licinius*, and *M. Cornelius* were Conſuls; but *Cornelius Valerianus* writes, that *Quintius Plautius*, and *Sextus Papinius*, being Conſuls, the *Phœnix* appeared in *Egypt*. It is alſo ſaid, that this Bird was brought to *Rome* when *Claudius* was Cenſor, that is, in the Year of the City Eight-hundred, and was openly ſhewn in a full Aſſembly, as the publick Records atteſt, but in this reſpect falſely, nobody at this Time doubts."

Such is the Account given us by *Pliny*; yet in ſuch general Eſtimation was this Story grown, that Pope *Clement*[p] in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, written in the Name of the Church of *Rome*, makes uſe of this Hiſtory of the Phœnix to prove to them the Poſſibility of the Reſurrection; the Paſſage is very curious, and therefore I ſhall tranſcribe it for the Entertainment of the Reader. "Let us, ſays he, conſider that Prodigy which happens in the Eaſt, where they behold a certain Bird called the Phœnix, which is the ſingle Bird of its Species. This Animal lives five hundred Years, and when it perceives its End approaching, it makes a Neſt of Myrrh, Incenſe, and other Aromatics, in which it ſeats itſelf, and after a

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[g] Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, as before cited.

[h] *Ælian. lib.* ii. *cap.* 27. and all the modern Travellers thro' Countries where this Bird is common.

[i] *Bochart. Hieroz. p.* 1. *lib.* i. *cap.* 3. Lamentations of *Jeremiah* iv. 3. "The Daughter of my People is become cruel, likethe Oſtrich in the Wilderneſs.

[k] *P. Vanſlebe, Relat. d'Egypte. p.* 103.

[l] *Lampridius in Heliogabalo.*

[m] *De Animal. lib.* xiv. *cap.* 13.

[n] *Lib.* ii. *Solin. Polybiſt. cap.* 33.

[o] *Nat. Hiſt. lib.* x. *cap.* 2.

[p] *S. Clem. Epiſt.* i. *N.* 25.

"certain time there, finiſhes its Days. Out of its Fleſh "when corrupted, there ſprings a kind of Worm, which "feeding for ſome time on the Remains of this Animal, "begins at length to be covered with Feathers; and when "it becomes ſtronger, it carries away the Neſt, which con-"tains the Reliſts of its deceaſed Parent, and paſſing from "*Arabia* into *Egypt*, bears them to the City of *Heliopolis*. "There in full Day, and in the Sight of a Multitude of "Spectators, it flies to the Altar of the Sun, and having "thereon depoſited its Burden, immediately retires. The "*Egyptian* Prieſts having conſulted their Annals, and "having from them made an exact Computation, find, that "this happens preciſely at the Cloſe of five hundred "Years."

This Fable was not only current in *Italy*, but in *Africa*, as appears from the Writings of *Tertullian*[q], who makes uſe of this Example with the ſame Intention as St. *Clement*. The Ancients, however, differed much about the manner in which the Phœnix died. According to the former Accounts, it expired in the ordinary way; but a Multitude of Writers affirm, that having raiſed its Funeral Pile, it ſet Fire thereto, and fanning that Fire with its Wings, was therein conſumed to Aſhes, out of which Aſhes aroſe the new Phœnix thus conſecrated to the Sun[r]. The Date of its Life was a Point no leſs controverted. An *Ethiopian* Prince, in a Letter of his to a Pope, cited by *Voſſius*, ſays, that it lives three hundred Years. *Herodotus*, *Ælian*, *Philoſtratus*, and *Aurelius Victor*, extend the Term of its Life to four hundred and forty, or five hundred Years[s]. *Pliny*, on the Authority of *Manilius*, as we have ſeen before, to ſix hundred and ſixty, *Martial* and *Lactantius* to a thouſand; but the *Arabian*, *Egyptian*, and *Rabinical* Writers, far beyond this, in conſequence, as they pretend, of its not having taſted the forbidden Fruit[t].

In the midſt, however, of theſe Contradictions, and though ſeveral of the ancient Authors freely profeſs their Suſpicions of the whole Story, yet *Tacitus*[u] does not ſeem to queſtion the Fact, but rather to admit, that ſuch a Bird had been ſometimes ſeen in *Egypt*; and another Hiſtorian ſays, that its coming to *Rome* was conſidered as an ill Omen by the Augurs, and thought to portend the Death of the Emperor *Tiberius*. Father *Martinius*, in his *Chineſe Atlas*[w], aſſures us, that it was ſeen in *China* in the Beginning of the Reign of *Kaboar* IV. and that it was thought to come from the *Indies*. All the Circumſtances of the Story are ſo apparently fabulous, that it would be loſing time to refute them. If the curious Reader has a mind to ſee this done effectually, he may conſult Sir *Thomas Browne*[x], who has handled this, as he does every other Subject, with great Learning and Capacity; but I have choſen rather to inſiſt on the Facts reported by ancient Writers, than to enter into a Detail of Arguments, which would extend this Article to an extravagant Length, and be at the ſame time quite beſide the Purpoſe.

It may not be amiſs, however, before we conclude, to ſay ſomewhat of the Origin of this Fable, which ſome have imagined aroſe, or was at leaſt ſtrengthened by the ſame Word, ſignifying in *Greek* both the Phœnix and the Palmtree[y]. Thus much is certain indeed, that a Miſtake of this kind has brought this Bird into the Scriptures, the Authority of which can never be brought to juſtify ſuch Fables, though ſome, to ſhew their Learning, are for finding in them whatever Facts or Reaſons they have a mind to eſtabliſh. The true Source, however, of this Notion, lay like that of the Gryphon in the *Egyptian* Hieroglyphicks. It was from the *Egyptians* that *Plato* and the reſt of the Ancients borrowed their Notion of the great Year which they never fully underſtood, and the Reigns of their ſeveral Gods, which have given ſo much Trouble to our moſt learned Chronologers, were in truth no more than the Periods of the Planets, that is to ſay, the Spaces of Time in which they finiſhed, according to the *Egyptian* Syſtem, their Revolutions; and this is the true Cauſe why, after all the Pains that has been taken about them, the Accounts we have are almoſt as perplexed as ever.

The true Story of the Phœnix, though applied by the Chriſtian Fathers to the Reſurrection, was by the ancient *Egyptians* underſtood of another ſort of Reſurrection; for they conceived, that when the great Year of all was accompliſhed, the Univerſe was to be deſtroyed by Fire, and a new Syſtem ariſe out of the Ruins of the old. This I conceive they borrowed from the *Indians*; at leaſt thus much is certain, that this was, and ſtill is, a Principle of their Philoſophy, which, as the learned Dr. *Burnet*[z] of the *Charterhouſe* well obſerves, they explained by another Symbol, *viz.* that of a Spider, which after ſpinning various Webs, reſumes them again all into himſelf, and re-produces the ſame Matter under other Forms; and thus Philoſophical Similitudes, which imperfectly expreſſed what Reaſon could ſcarce comprehend, came by the Miſtakes of vulgar Minds to corrupt natural Philoſophy, by introducing imaginary Creatures, which never had, or could have, Exiſtence according to the Laws of Nature.

13. After the Fable of the Phœnix had been rejected by almoſt all the Learned, it was again in ſome meaſure reſumed by the great *Julius Cæſar Scaliger*[a], a Man, whoſe Eminence in all kind of Learning gave him ſo high a Reputation in the World, that his Opinions were received as a kind of Oracles. He thought that the Accounts given of a certain Bird found in the Southern Countries of the *Indies*, called *Semenda*, or *Semendal*, had ſome Relation to the Phœnix, and that conſequently all that had been advanced in relation to this Bird was not abſolutely falſe and fictitious.

In order to judge the better of this, it will be requiſite to enter into the Deſcription of this laſt mentioned Bird, and ſee how far it accords with that of the Phœnix. The *Semendal* is ſaid to have a Triple Bill, or three Bills raiſed one over another, by the Help of which, when ſhe is near her Death, ſhe makes a moſt delightful Harmony. Then forming a Pile of odoriferous Wood, ſhe ſets Fire thereto, and fanning it with her Wings, ſuffers herſelf to be conſumed to Aſhes, out of which a Worm is produced that afterwards changes into the ſame kind of Fowl[b].

This is viſibly nothing more than the old Fable a little varied, and yet it is true enough, that there is in the Iſland of *Java*, and in the Spice Iſlands belonging to the *Dutch*, a kind of Bird that has two Bills, and therefore is called by the Inhabitants the *Double Bill*; but as to its ſinging, I find no Evidence to that Point. As it is a Native of the *Moluccas*, it is very probable that it may make its Neſt of Spices; but that it conſumes itſelf therein there is no good Teſtimony to prove, notwithſtanding what the ſingle Traveller, on whoſe Relation the original Fact is grounded, has advanced[c].

It may indeed be alledged, that ſome Eaſtern Writers have countenanced this Notion by their Relations[d]; but then we know that ſuch Accounts as theſe are liable to great Suſpicions, and eſpecially to that of giving an Air of Matter of Fact to Parables. On the whole therefore, there is juſt as little Reaſon to credit the modern Story of the Semandal, as to yield any Belief to what the Ancients have related concerning the Phœnix, or to expreſs the thing plainly, and in few Words, they are both Fables equally deſtitute of Foundation. It is very hard to diſcover the Motive why even the greateſt Men are unwilling to give up Authority, when it is directly contrary not only to Reaſon, but the Laws of Nature; and yet that this is frequently the Caſe, many Inſtances might be brought to prove, but this before us is more than ſufficient; and therefore I ſhall trouble the Reader no farther upon this Subject.

What has been already ſaid was neceſſary to ſhew, that no Pains have been ſpared to examine theſe Points, and to ſet the Truth in a fair Light, which was thought the more requiſite, becauſe moſt Writers of Voyages are ſo much inclined to report ſtrange and wonderful things, and to call into their Aſſiſtance the Relations of the Ancients, that without the Aid of ſuch clear and explicit Commentaries, as we have given, it is ſimply impoſſible to cure the Minds of many People of that ſort of ſuperſtitious Credulity which theſe kind of Relations naturally induce. And with the Refutation of which, we ſhould have been forced to interrupt the Thread of ſubſequent Voyages, if we had not once for all diſpatched the Subject in this and the foregoing Chapter.

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[q] *De Reſurrect. Carn. cap.* xii. *p.* 387.

[r] See this Matter largely diſcuſſed in Father *Hardouin*'s Annotations upon *Pliny*.

[s] *Voſſius de Idol. lib.* iii. *cap.* 99.

[t] *Bochart. Hieroz. p.* 11. *lib.* vi. *cap.* 5.

[u] *Annal. lib.* vi. *cap.* 28.

[w] *Atlas Sinen. p.* 384.

[x] Vulgar Errors, Book iii. Chap. xii.

[y] *Bochart. Hieroz. ubi ſupra.* The *Greek* Word is Φοῖνιξ, it occurs in *Job* xxix. 18. as alſo in the *Pſalms*.

[z] *Archelog. Philoſ. p.* 31.

[a] *Scalig. Exercit.* 223.

[b] *Cardan. de ſubtilit. lib.* x. *e navigat. Nicolai Contii a Poggio data.*

[c] Sir *Thomas Brown* aſſerts, that he had himſelf ſeen ſome of the Bills or Beaks of theſe wonderful Birds, yet he declares againſt the Notion of the Phœnix. Vulgar Errors, Book iii. *c.* 12.

[d] *Apud Bochart. Hieroz. p.* 823.

14. The Pelican is a very ſingular Bird, concerning which the Ancients have written largely, and yet there have been very great Diſputes among the Moderns as to the Bird which they have deſcribed, the Reaſon of which, as well as of the Fables current about this Creature, will quickly appear. *Ariſtotle*[e] and *Ælian*[f] call it by the ſame Name, *viz.* Pelican, or Pelecan; but *Pliny* deſcribes it under the Name of *Onocrotalus*[g], yet their Accounts agree ſo exactly, that there ſeems to be no Reaſon to doubt they meant one and the ſame Bird. The Author laſt mentioned tells us there is but one thing remarkable in this Creature, which is, that it has a falſe Stomach, into which it ſwallows its Prey when firſt taken, and throws it out again from thence in order to feed upon it.

There are ſome of theſe Birds that live moſtly on Land, and others that reſort conſtantly to the Waters; yet the Figure of both is the ſame. There were ſeveral of them kept for many Years in *France*, and in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, we have a very diſtinct Account of them. According to their Deſcription the Pelican is five Foot high from the Beak to its Feet, the Wings when extended eleven Feet from one Extremity to the other. Their Beak about fourteen Inches in Length, and an Inch and an half broad at the End, its Legs fifteen Inches, the longeſt of its Claws four Inches and a half, the Length of its Neck about ten Inches[h].

There is ſcarce any Bird except the Eagle of ſo great Strength as the Pelican, which is alſo a Bird of Prey, and flies to a great Height. *Culmanus*, in a Letter of his to *Geſner* the famous Naturaliſt[i], tells us of a tame Pelican that ſoared ſo high as to appear in the Air no bigger than a Swallow, and which having for a long time attended the Army of the Emperor *Maximilian*, that Prince ordered it to be maintained, and allowed for that Purpoſe four Crowns a Day, which Bird lived in *Germany* fourſcore Years. This Fact is the more credible, becauſe in the Menagery of *Lewis* XIV. there were many Pelicans, and it was obſerved, that they were the only kind of Birds of which there died not one in the Space of twelve Years. Two of them were by Order of that Prince diſſected at *Paris*. The firſt was intirely covered with white Feathers, except the Wings in which there were ſome black, and others brown; and in the Feathers on the Body there was a little Mixture of red. The other was altogether of a Fleſh Colour, without any Mixture of black or of white Feathers. Some of the reſt of the Pelicans in the Menagery were all over grey, except the Extremity of their Wings, which was white. Some had a large Tuft of Feathers behind the Head, and ſome wanted that Tuft, ſo that it may be affirmed there are few Birds more differently feathered than this.

But there is one Mark which ſufficiently diſtinguiſhes this Bird from all others: It has under its Beak a large Bag which is quite naked, and hangs down on its Neck. In this Pouch it keeps its Food till it is properly prepared for Digeſtion, and then if there be nothing hard or undiſſolved, it ſwallows the whole at once; but if there be, it diſcharges it, and picks out what is eaſieſt for Digeſtion. *Ariſtotle*[k] had obſerved this long ago; for he tells us, that the Water Pelican was wont to ſwallow Shell-fiſh, keeping them in her Stomach till they opened, and then threw them up and picked out the Fiſh. *Ælian*[l] ſays the ſame thing, which ſufficiently proves that we are not miſtaken as to this Bird, but that the Pelican known to us is the very ſame Creature which is deſcribed by the Ancients.

The old Fathers of the Chriſtian Church exceeded the *Greeks* themſelves in the Fables they reported upon this Subject; they had heard that the Pelican fed her young ones out of this Pouch, or falſe Stomach; and this being told them either imperfectly, or with Addition of ſome fabulous Circumſtances, they from thence framed a Parable or Similitude between this and the moſt ſolemn Myſtery in the Chriſtian Religion; and to render it the more apt, they deviſed new Circumſtances, and inlarged every Part of the Story to make it anſwer their Intention the better. The Tale then ran thus; that the Female Pelican killed her young ones by careſſing them too much with her Beak, and then mourned over them for three Days, till the Male Pelican becoming ſtill more ſenſible, tore his Breaſt open with his Beak, and by the Effuſion of his own Blood, reſtored the young Pelicans to Life[m]. This, without Queſtion, is very wild and extravagant, and has nothing to countenance it in the Works of any of the Naturaliſts; whence the learned *Voſſius*[n] very juſtly concludes, that theſe Stories were invented by ſuch as were in Love with the Alluſions and Hieroglyphicks.

We find in the Writings of a very learned *German* Author, whoſe Name is *John-George Volkamer*[o], that he ſaw at the Fair of *Leyden* a Pelican, which the Man who kept it affirmed to have been in his Cuſtody upwards of fifty Years. It was much larger and ſtronger than an Eagle, but otherwiſe very like it both in Size and in the Colour of its Feathers, except that from its Head to its Wings it was grown quite white through Age; he aſſures us, that of all Birds it lives the longeſt, that it renews its Feathers like the Eagle, and that it often ſurvives to upwards of an hundred. He adds, that its falſe Stomach, which hangs upon its Neck, is big enough to admit ones Hand, and that he actually thruſt his own into the Pouch of the Pelican, where he felt the Food it had taken half diſſolved, and ſo hot, that he was not able to endure it. He tells us likewiſe, that from thence it feeds its young ones. The Ancients having long ago obſerved the ſame thing, this, as I obſerved, gave the firſt Riſe to the Stories which have been told of this Bird's feeding its young ones with its Blood: Yet in Fact there is nothing extraordinary in this, ſince the ſame thing has been obſerved of very many, and perhaps might be obſerved of moſt Birds who fill their Gizzards full of whatever they meet with when their Females are hatching, and diſgorge it again for the Support of the Hen and her Brood.

It is therefore through want of Attention to the Animals in our own Country, that we are ſo much ſtruck with the Singularities reported by Travellers of the Animals in other Countries, for without doubt, if we examined carefully what paſſes every Day under our Eyes, we ſhould not only be leſs apt to be ſurprized at ſuch Relations, but be alſo better able to judge how far they ought or ought not to be believed. It is in this Reſpect that the Study of natural Hiſtory is exceedingly uſeful not only by guarding us againſt Credulity, but enabling us to correct the confuſed and diſcordant Accounts given us by ſuch as from a ſuperficial View of Foreign Creatures venture to deſcribe them, and often add ſuch Circumſtances from Hearſay as are not to be depended upon, but out of which an intelligent Naturaliſt will be able notwithſtanding to pick the Truth.

15. All who have viſited the moſt Southern Iſlands of the *Indies*, particularly *Sumatra Banda*, and the reſt of the *Molluccas*, agree in relating ſome extraordinary Particulars of a very large Bird, common in thoſe Iſlands, and of which it does not appear that the Ancients had any Knowledge. This Bird the Natives call *Emeu*, but the *Dutch* uſually diſtinguiſh it by the Name of the *Caſoar*. This Creature is thus deſcribed by Mr. *John Nieuhoff*, a *Dutch* Traveller[p], very juſtly eſteemed for the Fidelity and his Exactneſs of his Relations, and therefore I ſhall ſet down his Deſcription in his own Words.

“ This Bird, ſays he, carries his Head very upright,
“ and then it is about five Foot from the Ground; the
“ Length of his Body, from the Breaſt to the Tail, is
“ about three, or perhaps a little more. The Head ap-
“ pears ſmaller in Proportion than the Body, and is very

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[e] *De Hiſt. Animal. lib.* ix. *c.* 10.

[f] *De Animal. lib.* iii. *cap.* 20.

[g] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* x. *c.* 47.

[h] *Memoirs de l'Acad. Tom.* iii. *p.* iii.

[i] *Geſner. Ornitholog. lib.* iii.

[k] *Hiſt. Animal. lib.* ix. *c.* 10.

[l] *De Animal. lib.* iii. *c.* 20.

[m] *Phyſiolog. Epiphan. cap.* 8. *Aug. in Pſalm* ci. *Iſidor. Origin. lib.* xii. *c.* 7. & *Alii.*

[n] *De Idolat. lib.* iii. *c.* 84.

[o] *Ephem. Nat. Decad.* iii. *An.* iv. *p.* 247.

[p] Travels through *India.*

“ ſmooth, and in Colour of a dark Blue; on the Cheſt there hangs two Excreſſences like Bags: The Eyes are large and fierce, behind which are the Ear-holes, and almoſt at the Extremity of the Bill two Noſtrils; and from the Midſt of the Bill to the Crown of the Head grows a hard yellow Subſtance like a Cockle-ſhell, eſpecially in the Males. They have very long and groſs Legs, covered with a yellowiſh Rind; their Feet are thick, knobby, and without Spurs; inſtead of which they have on the Fore-part three long, horny Claws, in which they differ from the Oſtrich, whoſe Feet are cloven both before and behind. They are covered all over with Feathers, or rather Plumes of a dark Red, mixed with Black: Theſe upon the Breaſt and Thighs grow two and two together; but thoſe on the Tail are of much greater Length, and ſtronger; underneath the Feathers which grow on both Sides, are hidden certain Pens, which ſerve them in running; for theſe Birds are ſcarce able to raiſe themſelves from the Ground. They are exceeding greedy, devouring every Thing they meet with, even to Iron and burning Coals, all which they evacuate backwards without any Alteration; nay, they ſometimes do not throw out what they have eat till a Year after, without the leaſt Signs of any Digeſtion; for the reſt they live upon Herbage. Their Strength conſiſts in their Legs and Feet, and they run ſo faſt that no Man can overtake them; and when exaſperated, kick with their Feet backwards and ſideways like a Horſe. They lay greeniſh Eggs upon the Ground among the Shrubs, ſcarce ſo big as our Hen-eggs, ſpeckled with dark green Spots, the Yolks thereof are eaten by the Inhabitants. They have not either Tongue or Tail.”

This Bird was firſt ſeen in *Europe* in the Year 1597, when the *Dutch* brought home one on their Return from their firſt Voyage to the *Indies*[q]. It had been given them as a great Curioſity by one of the *Javaneſe* Princes, as a Mark of their Friendſhip; and the Deſcription of it having made a great Noiſe in the World, *Lewis* XIV. when he formed his Menagery at *Verſailles* had one ſent him in the Year 1671, by the Governor of the Iſland of St. *Lawrence*, or *Madagaſcar*, who bought it of ſome Merchants who touched at that Iſland in their Return from the *Indies*. This was the firſt of its Kind that had been ſeen in *France*, and it lived at *Verſailles* about four Years. The King had afterwards ſeveral of theſe Birds ſent him, which gave the Members of the Royal Academy an Opportunity of examining and diſſecting ſome of them: The largeſt was five Foot and a half high, its Legs two Foot and a half, its Head and Neck a Foot and a half, the largeſt of its Claws five Inches long, and the Nail of its ſmalleſt Claw three Inches and a half. The Wing, which was compoſed only of five bare Quills, was ſo ſmall that it was entirely covered by the Feathers on its Back. The Head, Neck, and Cheſt of this Creature were abſolutely bare, and the reſt of its Body might be more properly ſaid to be covered with Hair than with Feathers: In all other Reſpects the Deſcription given by them of this Bird, agrees exactly with that which we have before given, and therefore it would be tedious to repeat it, only it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Head and Neck are ſaid to have reſembled a Turkey-cock's, and to have been ſpotted with blue, violet, and red, a large Comb behind its Head, and its Gills, inſtead of hanging immediately under its Beak, appeared on the Bottom of its Neck, where it joined the Breaſt. In its Size it came neareſt to the Oſtrich, and was, in every Reſpect, as greedy and voracious[r].

16. There are, beſides theſe, a great many remarkable Birds in the *Indies*, of which modern Travellers have given us very exact Accounts; and of theſe we will mention a few. The *Dronte* is a very ſingular Creature, and common in all the Southern Parts of the *Indies*. In Bigneſs it is betwixt an Oſtrich and a large Turkey, and has ſome Reſemblance to the laſt, in his Feathers and Tail. His Head large, not unlike that of a Cuckoe, but covered all over with a Skin. The Eyes are large and black, the Neck crooked and very thick, the Bill very long, thick, and of a pale Blue, except towards the Extremities; the uppermoſt thereof is blackiſh, and the undermoſt yellowiſh, but both Shape and Bent of his Body is very thick and round, covered with ſoft grey Feathers, like thoſe of an Oſtrich. The Belly and upper Parts are ſo thick as almoſt to touch the Ground, which is the Reaſon he is very eaſily caught. On both Sides he has certain Pens inſtead of Wings, of a pale Yellow Colour, and, inſtead of a Tail, five curled Plumes of the ſame Colour. His Legs ſhort and thick, with four large Claws. The Meat, eſpecially that on the Breaſt, is fat and pleaſant enough, and three or four of theſe Creatures afford a Meal for one hundred Perſons. In his Stomach is ſometimes found a certain porous hard Stone[s].

The Cormorant, which is very common in the Iſland of *Java*, and indeed in moſt Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſeems to me to be the Water-pelican of the Ancients. They reſemble our Geeſe in Shape, but much exceed them in Size, and have underneath their Beaks a large Bag, which they can extend and draw together at Pleaſure, and in it keep ſuch Fiſh as they have ſwallowed. Their Feet are like thoſe of the Swan, and their Bills are crooked towards the Extremities. They are ſo greedy after Prey that they ruſh out from among the Flags with ſuch Violence, that they are eaſily taken. They ſwallow Oiſters with their Shells, and keep them in their Bags till they open, when they ſpew them out again, and pick out the Oiſter[t].

If we could depend upon the Accounts given us by the Miſſionaries of the Birds found in *China*, we might venture to yield implicit Credit to whatever the Ancients have delivered, their Stories of the Phœnix not excepted; for to ſay the Truth, the Miſſionaries affirm of their own Knowledge Things full as ſtrange; and we muſt either believe theſe or renounce their Teſtimony entirely. The Reader ſhall have an Inſtance of this from Father *Navarette*[u], and in his own Words, that we may not ſeem to juſtify the Truth of this Obſervation, by giving an extravagant Turn to what he relates.

“On the Sea-coaſts, ſays he, of the *Chineſe* Iſlands, there is a very ſingular Bird called *Tabon*; now what I, and many beſides me admire is, that being no bigger in Body than an ordinary Chicken, though its Legs are very long, it lays an Egg larger than that of a Gooſe; ſo that the Egg is really bigger than the Bird itſelf; and no Man living would judge that the Egg could be contained within it: In order to lay its Eggs, it digs in the Sand above a Yard in Depth; after laying it fills up the Hole, and makes it even with the reſt; there the Eggs hatch with the Heat of the Sun and Sand. When the Chickens are hatched, by natural Inſtinct, they break through the Sand upwards; and ſo get out of that Dungeon their Parent put them into; then they walk directly to the Sea in ſearch of Weeds to feed on. Another Thing in it is wonderful, which is, that they are not ſtifled when they come out of the Shell with the Heat and Weight of the Sand, how they breathe till they get out, and how they have the Strength to break through ſo great a Weight. They are Prodigies of the Almighty's making. The *Indians*, to find theſe Eggs, ſtick ſharp Canes into the Ground; when they find the Sand light, they ſtop and throw it up ſomething above the Length of a Man's Arm, and there they find them. They are of a pleaſant Reliſh; one of them is enough for a Man who has a good Stomach; the ſtaler the Egg the better. One Morning, having lain on Shore, and near the Place where theſe Birds reſorted, we repaired thither carefully, and making a Noiſe, a great Company of them came out of their Holes, in which we found many Eggs, ſome hot, ſome cold, ſome white, ſome of the Colour of the Sand, which were ſtale ones. I had before eaten of the latter, and now eat of thoſe that were freſh and warm; but, in truth, the ſtale ones were much better. There were

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[q] *Memoirs de J. le Blanc.*

[r] *Memoirs de l'Acad. Tom.* iii. *p.* 391.

[s] *Voiage aux Indes par J. le Blanc.*

[t] *Voiages de P. Vanden Broek.*

[u] Hiſtory of *China*.

“ among them ſome which had Chickens, and I obſerved, that the *Indians* eat them eagerly, and they courted me to eat, but I could not endure to look at them, and it went againſt my Stomach to ſee other People eat them. Once they preſſed me ſo much, that at laſt, not without great Averſion, I reſolved to taſte one; I did ſo, and made an End of it, regretting very much that I had not eaten of them before. I muſt own it, that, ſince I was born, I never eat any Thing more pleaſant and palatable, and I am convinced, there is nothing in the World to compare to it.”

There may be, and doubtleſs there is, a great deal of Truth in this Relation; that is to ſay, there is ſuch a Bird, its Eggs are very large, and they are eaten as the Author deſcribes; but then every thing is ſo much exaggerated, that the whole has the Air of a Fable, which ſhews plainly to how little Purpoſe large Collections are made of ſuch kind of Writers, ſince what they relate cannot either entertain or inſtruct, becauſe it is impoſſible to read ſuch Stories without ſuſpecting and diſbelieving them. But to return to the remarkable Birds mentioned by the Moderns.

All the Writers that have mentioned *Macaſſar* inform us, that no Country in the World produces ſo many ſpeaking Birds. Amongſt theſe there is none more extraordinary than the *Lory*, which is as big as a Parrot, but infinitely more beautiful in its Plumage; its Breaſt, which is very large and high, being covered with bright yellow Feathers; the Wings are green, the Head black, and ſhining with a yellow Bill. The *Indians* give ſometimes thirty Crowns for ſuch a Bird, becauſe they will learn and ſpeak ſeveral Languages, and are very tame. There is another with large and long Tails, ſometimes three Quarters of a Yard long; theſe are blue on the Back, and yellow under the Belly, and commonly called Kakkataws, or *Indian* Ravens. Another kind there is which is white all over, except a yellow Tuft on the Head, which they ſet upright when they are vexed: They have alſo ſome Reſemblance both in Shape and Bigneſs to our Magpies, or Black-birds; theſe imitate a Man's Voice much more diſtinctly than Parrots, they are of a blueiſh Colour, mixed with dark purple Spots and Streaks; they have a yellow Tuft on the Head, which is black, and as ſmooth as Velvet [y].

The Kokoy, which is common in the *Indies*, is a kind of Heron, but much exceeding ours in Beauty, being yellow before, and green over all the reſt of its Body. On the Head he has a delicate Plume ſpreading all over the Neck; the young ones eat tolerably well, but the old ones eat tough, and taſte much of Fiſh. The Kolibry is the leaſt of all Birds, being no bigger than a Horſe-Fly, it hath a very ſharp Bill, with which it ſucks its Suſtenance out of the Flowers, though ſome are of Opinion it feeds upon the Dew; it has all the Colours of the Rainbow, and its Wings are not unlike thoſe of Pigeons or Ducks. It builds a very neat Neſt to the South, under the Branches of Orange, Lemon, or Cotton Trees, to defend itſelf againſt the Injuries of the North Winds. Its Eggs are no bigger than Peaſe. There is another which ſings exceedingly fine, but not ſo beautifully coloured; it weighs no more than 24 Grains [z].

17. Theſe Obſervations plainly diſcover, that no Part of the World was better ſtocked with uſeful, valuable, and beautiful Creatures, than the *Indies*. For Domeſtick Service, beſides the Horſe, and the Aſs, which are common with us in *Europe*, they had the Elephant, the Camel, and the Dromedary, fitted in every reſpect for carrying on the inland Commerce of that Country, which was in all Ages very conſiderable. They had for the Service of Agriculture a very ſtrong Race of black Cattle, and for the Pleaſure of Hunting, they had the fineſt Dogs that we read of in Hiſtory for Courage, Speed, and Strength. If their Woods were full of wild Beaſts, they had it in their Power to leſſen the Number of theſe Enemies; and to turn this to their Profit, as well as to their Diverſion, the Skin, Horns, Teeth, or other Animal Productions, ſufficiently compenſating the Trouble they took, and the Dangers to which they were expoſed in the Chace.

The Sea that waſhed their Coaſt, and the Rivers that watered their Country, were abundantly provided with Fiſh, ſo that no People had either better or greater Plenty, which to the lower ſort was a great Relief; they likewiſe drew a very conſiderable Profit from their Fiſheries, eſpecially thoſe of Purple and Pearl, and from the Sale of Tortoiſe-Shell, which was highly valued in thoſe times for its admirable Clearneſs, and for the Beauty and Variety of its Colours. The Birds and Fowls in the *Indies* were likewiſe of all ſorts, and all of them the largeſt and fineſt in their reſpective kinds. The Birds of Prey, and particularly the Pelican and the Cormorant, were of great Service; for the former feeding naturally upon Snakes, Serpents, and other Vermin, cleared the Country of them in thoſe Months when they were moſt numerous and moſt dangerous; and as for the latter, they taught them in *China*, and other Parts of the *Indies*, to catch Fiſh, and to bring them to ſuch as kept thoſe Creatures, as we ſhall ſee hereafter in its proper Place. As for Geeſe, Ducks, Hens, and other Domeſtick Fowl, they were, and are ſtill, as common and as cheap as in any Country in the World; and of the beautiful Feathers of a Multitude of other Birds, they made Hats, Umbrellas, Screens, and other Utenſils of exquiſite Workmanſhip, and at the ſame time of great Price.

There is no great Wonder therefore, that all the antient Writers, ſuch as *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, *Ælian*, and many others, ſhould ſo highly extol this Country, and ſpeak of every thing found therein with Aſtoniſhment. But notwithſtanding all this, it muſt appear ſomewhat ſurprizing, that the Antients were acquainted with Animals, Trees, Fruits, and Precious Stones, of the moſt diſtant Parts of the *Indies*, to which without doubt they never penetrated at all, notwithſtanding what we find reported in their Writings of the Iſlands of *Taprobana*, *Panchaia*, the Country of the *Seres*, and other Places, which renders it neceſſary for us to give a clear Account of that Point, which ſhall be done in the two ſucceeding Sections, which will conclude our Labours with reſpect to the ancient Hiſtory of *India*.

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[y] *Hiſtoire de Macaſſar, lib.* i. *c.* 4.

[z] *Voyages de P. Vanden-Broek.*

SECTION XV.

An Account of the Deſcriptions left us by the Ancients of the Eaſtern and Northern Parts of the Indies, *the Notions they had of their Riches, together with an Enquiry into the Reaſons which hindered the extending their Diſcoveries on that Side.*

1. *A brief Deſcription of the Country of the* Sinæ *or* Thinæ *from ancient Authors.* 2. *Obſervations on the foregoing Deſcription, proving, that this Country was the Kingdom of* Siam. 3. *Of the* Indian *Iſlands, as deſcribed by old Authors; and more particularly of the famous Iſland of* Taprobana, *and their Miſtakes about it.* 4. *This Point more particularly inquired into, and the* Taprobana *of the Ancients ſhewn to be no other than the Iſland of* Ceylon. 5. *Of the Country called* Serica, *and the Nation of the* Seres, *from the beſt Writers of Antiquity.* 6. *An Objection ariſing from the Knowledge which the Ancients had of the* Chineſe *fully ſtated, and clearly reſolved.* 7. *A ſecond Objection taken from the Commerce of the ancient* Chineſe, *ſtated and examined.* 8. *A third Objection from the ſeeming Diſcordancy of theſe Accounts, explained and refuted.* 9. *An Account of the Iſland of* Panchaia, *and a full Proof of its being abſolutely imaginary.* 10. *The high Ideas which the Ancients had of the Riches of the undiſcovered* Indies. 11. *Their Errors as to the Poſſibility of eſtabliſhing a regular Commerce with thoſe Countries.* 12. *The Cauſes which impeded their Diſcoveries, and occaſioned the Decline of that Trade which they actually had to the* Indies. 13. *The Concluſion of this Part of our Subject, with Obſervations and Remarks on the principal Paſſages therein.*

1. IN what has been delivered in the former Sections, we have confined ourſelves to ſuch Points as regard the actual Diſcoveries of the Ancients. But it is no leſs neceſſary to give the Reader ſome Account of another ſort of Diſcoveries, I mean ſuch as were made by their Geographers, who by the Help of ſuch Relations, as were from Time to Time publiſhed of theſe diſtant Countries, and which are long ago loſt, compiled a ſyſtematical Account of the Regions bordering upon, and even of thoſe that lay very far beyond the *Ganges*. It is, however, certain, that they were but very indifferently informed as to the Courſe of this River; and *Cellarius*[a] corrects the Miſtake of *Artemidorus* in *Strabo*, who ſays, that from the Mountains called *Emodi*, it runs South as far as the Town of *Ganges*, and afterwards Eaſt, becauſe it is contrary to the Diſcoveries of our Times.

The firſt remarkable Town mentioned by *Ptolemy* beyond the furthermoſt Mouth of the *Ganges* was *Pentapolis*, or rather this was the Name of a Diſtrict; next to that lay the Emporium, or Mart of *Baracura*, beyond the Mouth of the River *Tocoſanna*, then the Country called *Argentea*, with ſeveral Towns; next to that lay the Country of the *Biſyngeti*, who were Man-eaters, their capital *Beſynga* an Emporium. From hence Southward lay the *Aurea Cherſoneſus*, now *Malacca*. On the Weſt Side of it *Tacola* an Emporium, and on the Eaſt Side the Cape *Malæi-Colon*, with ſeveral Towns[b]. Many are of Opinion, that this was *Solomon*'s *Ophir*, which ſeems to be favoured by *Joſephus*[c], who ſays, *Solomon*'s Veſſels ſailed into a Country of *India*, formerly called *Sophira*, but then the *Golden Land*; *St. Jerom* ſays, it was alſo in *India*, but calls it an Iſland.

Bochart[d] alledges it was the Iſland *Taprobana*, now *Ceylon*, and founds his Conjecture upon an Etymology. But *Cellarius* rejects as mere Dreams the modern Diſputes about *Ophir*, and ſees no juſt Cauſe why the latter Opinions ſhould be better than the former. He ſays, the Length of the Expedition mentioned in the ſacred Hiſtory ſhews, that *Ophir* muſt have been at a great Diſtance from *Paleſtina*, or the *Arabian* Gulph; yet he is not diſpleaſed that *Bochart* diſtinguiſhes betwixt the *Indian* and the *Arabian Ophir*, becauſe the Gold of *Ophir*, mentioned in the Book of *Job*[e], could not, becauſe of the Ignorance of thoſe Times, be eaſily underſtood of the *Indian* Gold. *Bochart* places the *Arabian Ophir* near the Country of the *Sabæans*, and thinks the *Arabs* called the *Indian Ophir* by its Name when they diſcovered it. Beyond this *Cherſoneſus* to the North lay the Country of the *Leſtæ*, who were Pirates and Robbers. The River *Sobannus* runs through it. Next to that lay *Ptolemy*'s *Sinus Magnus*, in which were *Balonga* and *Corgatha* Metropolitan Towns; and here *Ptolemy* finiſhes the Maritime Coaſt of *India* beyond *Ganges*. The Inland Parts were ſo obſcure, that it is needleſs to inſiſt upon them by the Situation of the Country; theſe Places laſt mentioned ſeem to have been in that Kingdom which is now called *Siam*.

2. The next Country deſcribed by *Ptolemy* is that of the *Sinæ*, which he places fartheſt towards the Eaſt of all the Regions mentioned by him, as lying beyond the Great Bay or Opening of the Sea, which he ſtiles *Sinus Magnus*, and ſays, their Country extended very far to the South. It is well obſerved by *Cellarius*, that this Country is not to be confounded with the modern *China*, although it reaches as far North as *Serica*[f]. *Ptolemy* calls the Country beyond this to the Eaſt and South, *Terra Incognita*, and bounds it on the Weſt by *India* beyond the *Ganges*. He places about the Equator the *Ethiopes Ichthyophagi*, or Fiſh-eating *Ethiopians*, and beyond the Equator the River *Contiares* and *Catigara*, which he calls a Harbour of the *Sinæ*. *Martianus Heracleota*[g] places the *Sinæ* likewiſe at the Extremity of the habitable World towards the Eaſt, and next to the *Terra Incognita*, or Country to that time undiſcovered.

It muſt be allowed, that all this is very dark and very perplexed, ſo that it is extremely difficult to paſs any certain Judgment as to the Places mentioned. On the other hand, however, it ought to be conſidered, that even theſe dark and obſcure Accounts are infinitely better than the Fables that preceded them, and the ridiculous Stories that prevailed of theſe Countries and their Inhabitants in ſucceeding Times. If we compare what *Ptolemy* has written with the confuſed Accounts that *Pliny* has collected from ancient Authors, we may eaſily diſcern that one contented himſelf with Fables, and tranſcribed whatever came to hand, to ſhew a Variety of Reading, whereas the other examined very carefully ſuch Deſcriptions as he received from the Merchants that traded in theſe Countries, and by comparing them with each other, he gathered from them ſuch Lights as enabled him to draw up a ſhort and imperfect Account indeed, but at the ſame time ſuch an Account as appears very conformable to Truth; and would appear much more ſo, if the Manuſcripts of *Ptolemy* were not incumbered with ſo many various Readings, which renders it extremely difficult to come at the true Senſe of that learned Writer.

In the following Ages again, when *Science* once more gave way to *Fable*, the World was amuſed with wild and ridiculous Accounts of theſe Countries, and he who wrote the ſtrangeſt things was read with the greateſt Approbation.

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[a] *Geograph. Antiq. Tom.* ii. *p.* 747. The Paſſage in *Artemidorus*, which he corrects, is found in *Strabo*, *lib.* xv. *p.* 494.

[b] *Geograph. lib.* vii. *cap.* 3. *Tab.* 2. *Aſiæ.*

[c] *Antiquit. Judaic. lib.* viii. *cap.* 2.

[d] *Geograph. Sacr.*

[e] Job xxii. 24. xxviii. 16.

[f] *Iſaac. Voſſ. de ætate mundi*, *cap.* 11. *p.* 276, 279, advances an Opinion very probable and worthy of Notice, *viz.* that the *Sinæ* of theſe ancient Writers are the *Siameſe*. The very learned Biſhop *Huet* is for extending this Denomination to the *Tonquineſe*, the *Cochinchineſe*, &c. but I am for adhering to *Voſſius*'s Conjecture ſtrictly, becauſe *Ptolemy* owns all beyond theſe unknown.

[g] *In Peripl. Maris Erythræi.*

For this is a certain and a juſt Obſervation, that in times of Ignorance, what is moſt wonderful is the beſt received, and that on the contrary in the learned Ages plain and unadorned Relations are the moſt eſteemed. The Deſign of *Ptolemy* was to improve, as far as he was able, that Branch of Knowledge, to the Study of which he had addicted himſelf, and not to report the Notions of other Men, who wrote for the ſake of ſeeming wiſer than the reſt of Mankind; and therefore confidently ſet down as things certain what Fables ſoever they met with relating to theſe diſtant Parts of the World. But in *Ptolemy*'s Account, as we before noted, the true Method of treating the Subject is purſued, the Sea-coaſt diſtinctly deſcribed; and if the Names only of a few Cities are mentioned, thoſe few ſeem to be all that from good Memoirs he was able to mention, ſo that the known and the unknown are not confounded; but the Reader is clearly informed, that beyond ſuch a Tract theſe Eaſtern Countries were abſolutely undiſcovered, and therefore they were properly the Objects of future Inquiries.

This was the way, and indeed the only way of coming at real, certain, and uſeful Knowledge; neither is it to be doubted, that the full Diſcovery of theſe Eaſtern Countries would have been purſued, if the Troubles and Diſturbances which overwhelmed the *Roman* Empire had not equally deſtroyed the Paſſion for exploring unknown Countries, and the Means of gratifying it. But beſides the Countries ſituated on the Continent, the Ancients had ſome Knowledge alſo of the Iſlands of *India*, partly from their own Commerce, and partly from the Reports of the *Indians*, with whom they traded on the Main; and therefore of theſe we are next to give ſome Account from the ſame Authorities.

3. *Ptolemy* places the Iſlands of the exterior *India* betwixt the Mouths of the *Indus* and *Ganges*. Thus, in the Bay of *Centhus* lies *Barace*, and from thence to the Bay of *Colchis*, *Milizigeris*, *Heptaneſia*, *Peperina*, *Triæadira*, *Trinecia*, *Leuce*, *Panigeris*; and in the Bay of *Argaris* the Iſland *Cory*. *Taprobana*, which is the nobleſt and largeſt of all the Iſlands in this Sea, is placed by *Ptolemy* between the Bay of *Colchis* and *Argaris*. The Ancients differed much about its Situation, ſome placing it near the Continent, others twenty Days Sail from it; and ſome queſtioned whether it was an Iſland, or the Beginning of another Continent, particularly *Mela*[h]; though before him it was generally reckoned an Iſland, as appears by *Dionyſius* in his *Periegeta*[i], which the Learned agree to have been writ in the Time of *Auguſtus*.

Strabo[k] compared it to *Britain* for Dimenſions: *Pliny*[l], in his Account of the Embaſſy which the Inhabitants ſent to *Claudius Cæſar* (ſuppoſing the Iſland he ſpeaks of *Taprobana*) ſays, it contained five hundred Towns, and that *Palæſimundum* their Capital, and the Seat of their King, had two hundred thouſand Inhabitants, that they had a Lake called *Megiſba* of 375 Miles in Circuit, which contained ſeveral fruitful Iſlands, and ſent out two Rivers, one of which fell with three Mouths into the Harbour of *Palæſimundum*, that in ſome Places was five Stadia in Breadth, and in others fifteen; this Harbour lay in the South Side of the Iſland, and they had another on the North called *Cidara*, four Days ſail from *India*, the Iſland of the *Sun* being in the Middle betwixt them. *Ptolemy* places it nearer the Continent, and though he makes it very long, and extends it beyond the Equator, reckons but thirty Towns in it; nor does he ſay any thing of the great Lake, nor of the Town and River *Palæſimundum*, all which occaſioned the Learned to doubt whether his and *Pliny*'s *Taprobana* was the ſame; and though moſt agree now, that *Taprobana* was *Ceylon*, yet others will have it to be *Sumatra*: But *Salmaſius*, *Bochart*, and *Voſſius*, think it is *Ceylon*, it being incredible that the *Romans* or *Alexandrians* ever ſailed ſo far as *Sumatra*.

Cellarius thinks alſo that *Ptolemy*'s Taprobant was *Ceylon*, though he placed it too far South, and extended it beyond the Equator. It was anciently, as many Authors affirm, called *Inſula Palæſimundi*, and *Salia*, and the Inhabitants *Salæ*. Yet ſome, as is ſaid before, will have *Palæſimundum* to be different from *Taprobana*. The Towns and Capes mentioned by *Ptolemy* in this Iſland, were, 1. In the North Cape *Boreum*, over-againſt *Cory*, or *Conigicum* in *India*. 2. In the Weſt lay *Margana* and *Jagana*, with Cape *Anariſmundum*; next to them the River *Soana*, the *Portus Priapeus*, Cape *Jovis*, and the Bay of *Praſodes*. On the South Shore lay the Mouths of *Hyſanus*, the Towns *Odoca*, *Dana*, or *Dagana*, ſacred to the Moon. The Promontory of the Birds of *Dionyſius*, with a Town of the ſame Name, and *Cetæum*. On the Eaſtſide lay the Harbours of *Mordus*, *of the Sun*, *Rhizola* and *Spatana*, with the Town *Procurus*, and a River called *Ganges*; and towards the North lay the great Marts of *Moduti* and *Talacori*. In the inland Parts northward were the royal Seat *Anurogrammum*, and the Metropolis *Magrammum*.

Pliny's *Iſland of the Sun* is different from that which others place near *Gedroſia* and *Carmania*, and ſome think it to be *Cory*. *Ptolemy* reckons in the Bay of *Ganges* the Iſland *Bazacata*; and far from hence ſouthward, under the Equator, the *Iſland of good Fortune*[m]; and near the great Bay, againſt the Country of the *Sinæ*, he places the three *Iſlands of the Satyrs*; and from hence ſouthward, the Iſland of *Jobadium*, which produced Gold, and whoſe Capital was named *Argentea*, *Cellarius* corrects *Stephanus* for making this the Metropolis of *Taprobana*. Ancient Authors mention ſeveral other Iſlands in theſe Parts; but *Cellarius* looks upon many of them to be fabulous, and takes their *Chryſe* to be the ſame with the *Aurea Cherſoneſus*, or *Peninſula* of *Malacca*.

4. In the Examination of theſe Points, I have hitherto followed other Writers, and reported their Sentiments on the Subject, for the Reader's Information; but as I am afraid that what has been hitherto ſaid, will appear a little dark and perplexed, I think it may not be amiſs to endeavour, by a due Compariſon of Facts, to find out the Truth; and, without an unneceſſary Diſplay of Learning, ſet this ſeemingly confuſed Matter in the cleareſt Light to the *Engliſh* Reader.

In the firſt Place, then, I lay it down as a Thing certain, that the Name of *Taprobana* was long known to the Ancients before they had any Opportunity of being acquainted with the Country itſelf; and as they were told in general, that this Iſland was very large, thoroughly inhabited, abounding not only with all the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life, but alſo with Spices, precious Stones, Gold, and other rich Commodities, they were very deſirous of knowing it more perfectly; and therefore, whenever they met with any Accounts of an Iſland in the *Indian* Sea that was fertile, pleaſant, and abounding with rich Commodities, they immediately pronounced it *Taprobana*, of which they had heard ſo much.

Thus that Iſland, which was viſited by *Iambulus*, of which we have before given a large Account, was, without Heſitation, taken for *Taprobana*; though the Author of that Voyage does not either call it ſo, or deſcribe it in ſuch a Manner as to juſtify their Suppoſition, when thoroughly conſidered. In like manner, *Pliny* makes no Scruple of aſſerting that the Iſland which *Annius Plocamus* diſcovered, and from whence Embaſſadors were ſent to the Emperor *Claudius*, was *Taprobana*; which, however, we have diſproved, as the Reader has already ſeen. Hence it was that ſuch different Accounts were given of this Place; one Author affirming it near the Continent, another at a great Diſtance from it, according as they affixed the Name of *Taprobana* to this or that Iſland which had been diſcovered in their Times.

I muſt confeſs, it ſeems very probable, that ſome of the more ancient Writers, ſuch as *Dionyſius*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, when they ſpeak as Geographers of the Iſland of *Taprobana*, mean the true Iſland ſo called, that is, the Iſland deſcribed by *Ptolemy*; but as for the Iſland diſcovered under the Reign of *Claudius*, which was firſt called *Palæſimundus*, and afterwards *Salica*, it was not *Taprobana*, but an Iſland at the Mouth of the River *Indus*, which had been long before known to, and examined by

[h] *De Situ Orbis*, *lib.* iii. *cap.* vii. where, however, he mentions this as the Sentiment of *Hipparchus*.

[i] *Perieget. Verſ.* 952. which is thus tranſlated by *Avienus Feſtus*. *Inſula Taprobanæ gignit tetros Elephantes.*

[k] *Geograph. lib.* xi.

[l] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. c. 22. As I have before given this Account at large, I only mention ſo much of it here as is neceſſary to connect the Diſcourſe.

[m] *Ptol. ubi ſupra.*

Alexander the Great; and I conceive that the calling of this Iſland by the Name of *Taprobana*, was the principal Occaſion of all the Miſtakes and Confuſion that has been diſcovered in ſubſequent Accounts.

But as for the *Taprobana*, which *Strabo* mentions very cautiouſly, and, as a Writer afraid of offending the Truth, and which *Ptolemy* more largely deſcribes from the Accounts that were current in his Time at *Alexandria*, it is moſt likely to be the Iſland of *Ceylon*. I ſhall not trouble the Reader with a long Account of the Reaſons which other Writers have aſſigned for this Opinion, but content myſelf with giving him as ſuccinctly as I can, the Motives which have induced me to believe that the Iſlands *Taprobana* and *Ceylon* are the ſame. In the firſt Place, the Situation of *Taprobana*, as laid down by *Ptolemy*, agrees very well with that of the Iſland of *Ceylon*. He mentions four Places in *Taprobana*, and ſets down their Latitudes thus. The Mart, or Emporium of *Talaconi* 11° 20′, *Nagadiba* 8° 30′, *Maugramman*, which was the Metropolis of the Iſland, 7° 20′, the Bay of *Praſodes* 1° 0′. The beſt modern Maps lay down the Iſland of *Ceylon*, from one to ten Degrees of North Latitude, the Capital of the Iſland lying very nearly in the ſame Poſition with that which *Ptolemy* has aſſigned it. In the next Place, the Ancients ſay that *Taprobana* was famous for producing the largeſt Breed of Elephants, which is true of *Ceylon*, where the Elephants are acknowledged to be the largeſt and ſtrongeſt in the *Indies*. Thirdly, *Taprobana* was celebrated for its Spices; and in *Ceylon* there are found not only Ginger, Pepper, and Cardamums, but Cinnamon alſo is the ſtaple Commodity, and is very juſtly eſteemed the fineſt in the World. Fourthly, there are ſaid to have been abundance of precious Stones in this Iſland of *Taprobana*; and, except Diamonds, all Sorts of Jewels are found in *Ceylon*, and particularly Rubies, Topazes, and Saphires, the beſt in all the *Indies*. Laſtly, *Taprobana* is celebrated for its great Fertility in various Sorts of Corn, and this too, may be affirmed of *Ceylon*, where they have not only five Kinds of Rice, which ripen one after another, but alſo eight other Kinds of Grain, of which they make either Bread or Oil. On the whole, therefore, when we conſider that all the Variations in the Accounts given us by the Ancients of the Iſland of *Taprobana*, may be ſo eaſily accounted for; and that this laſt and cleareſt Deſcription by *Ptolemy*, is ſo reconcileable to the Accounts we have of *Ceylon*, I ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould not acquieſce in the Sentiment of the learned *Voſſius*, that the *Taprobana* of the Ancients is the *Ceylon* of the Moderns [n].

It may, indeed, be objected that *Ptolemy* extends the Iſland of *Taprobana* ſouthward beyond the Line, which does not, by any Means, agree with *Ceylon*; but I anſwer to this, that *Ptolemy* ſometimes uſes the plural Number, and mentions the Iſlands of *Taprobana*; ſo that it is not impoſſible that he might include ſome of the *Maldives* under that Name. I do not ſay that this is certain, but that it is poſſible, and, I might add, probable too; becauſe ſince the Ancients were acquainted with the Sea in which the Iſland of *Ceylon* lies, and the Coaſt that is oppoſite to it on the Continent, it is not eaſy to conceive how they could be abſolutely ignorant of ſo conſiderable an Iſland, which lay directly in the Way of all the Commerce carried on in this Part of the *Indies*. On the other Hand, if the Ancients were really acquainted with *Ceylon*, as it is very improbable that they ſhould not, this furniſhes us with a new Argument, and, indeed, the ſtrongeſt Argument of all, that their *Taprobana* was our *Ceylon*; for, if it was not, it is moſt certain that the Ancients have left us no Account of any Iſland that reſembles it, which is a Piece of Negligence of a Nature directly oppoſite to their uſual Exactneſs [o].

5. It is to be obſerved farther, that except *Taprobana*, the Ancients do not mention any Iſlands on the Coaſt of *India* of any Conſequence; and from hence it is plain, that they were not acquainted either with the larger or leſſer Iſlands that lay farther to the Eaſt. It is neceſſary, therefore, that we ſhould return once more to the Continent, in order to mention another Eaſtern Nation, very famous in Antiquity. Theſe were the *Sares*; and their Country is by *Ptolemy* called *Serica*, which he repreſents as bordering upon *Scythia*; ſo that according to his Deſcription, this Country of *Serica* lay thus. On the Weſt it was bounded by *Scythia* beyond Mount *Imaus*. On the North, and on the Eaſt, by Countries unknown; on the South by *India*, beyond the *Ganges*. *Ptolemy* mentions many Regions into which this Country is divided, and abundance of Cities in them, in all which he has been copied by many ſucceeding Writers; but it is not eaſy to ſay what Part of the higher *Aſia* they have deſcribed under the Name of *Serica* [p].

Many of our Criticks are of Opinion that *Serica* is the northern Part of *China*, which may poſſibly be true; tho' in that Caſe, it is not very accurately deſcribed. But the Accounts they give us of the People, are much ſtronger and better Proofs, that by the *Seres* they meant the *Chineſe*, than any that can be drawn from the Deſcription of their Country. The *Seres*, ſay they, were a People that ſpoke a Language peculiar to themſelves, and very *guttural*, which is exactly true of the *Chineſe*. They were very juſt in their Dealings with Strangers, but had a very odd Way of carrying on Commerce; for they took all the Goods that were brought them, without giving any Thing immediately in Exchange: Yet, afterwards, they fully ſatisfied the Strangers for what they had thus taken, in their own Commodities. This, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, was likewiſe the conſtant Practice of the *Chineſe*, as it ſtill is of the *Japoneſe*. It is alſo affirmed of the *Seres*, that they were the firſt Manufacturers of Silk, that they were, generally ſpeaking, cloathed in that Manufacture, and that they made their Exchange either in Silk or in Goods made of Silk, which agrees perfectly well with the Practice of the *Chineſe*. So that, on the whole, we have no Reaſon to doubt that the *Seres* and the *Chineſe* were the ſame People; eſpecially as all the ancient Writers agree, that the *Seres* were extremely fond of their own Country, very diffident of Strangers, and not inclined to travel, which are all of them Circumſtances very applicable to the Inhabitants of *China*, before their Country was ſubdued by the *Tartars* [q].

It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that there are ſome Variations in theſe ancient Accounts, and that ſeveral Writers mention Circumſtances that do not ſo well agree with the *Chineſe* as thoſe that have been related; and yet there ſeems to be no juſt Cauſe from the Conſideration of theſe Miſtakes, to reject the Matter of Fact, which, from the foregoing Circumſtances, appears to be ſo well founded; for, if we conſider the Contradictions met with in modern Writers, and particularly ſuch as have treated of this Country, inſtead of being ſurpriſed at the Miſtakes of the old Geographers, we may juſtly wonder, that their Errors were ſo few, and of ſo little Conſequence; more eſpecially, if we reflect on the prodigious Difference between their Lights and ours [r].

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[n] I have been guided in my Remarks on this Subject, by comparing the Tables of *Ptolemy* with the beſt modern Maps, and the Particulars mentioned of this Iſland by ancient Writers, with the Remarks made by Mr. *Robert Knox*, who was many Years on the Iſland, as well as thoſe of *Ribero*, a *Portugueze*, who likewiſe reſided for a great while in *Ceylon*.

[o] In *Ptolemy*'s Catalogue of famous Cities, with their Longitudes and Latitudes, which is very accurately publiſhed in the third Volume of Dr. *Hudſon*'s Collection of the ancient *Greek* Geographers, *Ptolemy* uſes the plural Number, and ſeems to make *Taprobana* the chief of ſeveral Iſlands; and it is remarkable, that our firſt Voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*, aſſert, that the little Princes of the *Maldives* were ſubject to the King of *Ceylon*.

[p] As *Ptolemy* was forced to ſupply, from his own Judgment, the Situation of the Regions he mentions; and as all the Maps drawn from his Tables, depend likewiſe, in a great meaſure, on the reſpective Judgments of thoſe who drew them, the Reader cannot but diſcern the Reaſonableneſs of what I have aſſerted in the Text.

[q] All this will be fully juſtified in our ſucceeding Collection of Voyages, which, by their being placed in the proper Order of Time, will enable the Reader to underſtand this Matter perfectly, and to ſee clearly the Truth of theſe Obſervations, which are not intended to leſſen the Credit of the Ancients, but to repreſent Things as they really are.

[r] This Difference chiefly conſiſts in their Writings from the Memoirs picked up by their Merchants from the Reports of the *Indians*; whereas we take our Accounts not only from ſuch as have actually viſited theſe Countries themſelves, but from thoſe who have reſided there many Years, and have had all poſſible Opportunities of knowing the Facts which they relate.

6. There are, however, ſome Objections that will naturally occur to the intelligent Reader, and ought not to be paſſed over in Silence, becauſe if they cannot be fully anſwered, they have a direct Tendency to overturn the beſt Part of what we have delivered, and therefore it is requiſite that we ſhould conſider them more at large. The firſt is, that if we ſuppoſe the Ancients to have been acquainted with *China*, and the *Chineſe*, it abſolutely contradicts what has been before aſſerted of their knowing little or nothing of the Countries beyond the *Ganges*, and extends their Knowledge of the Eaſt to ſuch a Degree, as is abſolutely incompatible with the Sentiments of the moſt learned Writers upon this Subject, as well as with the foregoing Part of our own Work; ſo that inſtead of clearing this Matter, we ſhould only perplex it the more, and be ſo far from making it perſpicuous to the *Engliſh* Reader, that on the contrary we ſhould entangle him in new Doubts, and leave him upon the whole in at leaſt as great Obſcurity as we found him. That this, notwithſtanding, is very far from our Intention, appears plainly from the Pains already taken, and from our ſtating this Objection fully and fairly; and it ought likewiſe to paſs for a ſtrong Teſtimony of our aiming at Satisfaction in this Point, that we ſo freely mention the Difficulties that occur in the Execution of this Undertaking.

In order to the clear Solution of this Point, it is neceſſary to remember, that in this Section we do not handle the actual Diſcoveries of the Ancients, but the Accounts given by their Geographers, which are very different things. We ſuppoſe, agreeable to the beſt Lights that Antiquity affords, that the Ancients never actually ſailed farther than the Mouths of the *Ganges*, and that they might do by coaſting round Cape *Comorin*, and ſo along the Coaſt of *Coromandel*; neither is it very probable that they made many Voyages ſo far, but rather that the beſt Part of their Knowledge was derived from Travels made by Land through the Countries that lie between the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges* *.

Upon this Suppoſition, all that they have written may be very well accounted for, and the ſeeming Differences between what is related in the foregoing Sections and this very eaſily reconciled. To make this Matter clearer, we will examine in their natural Order the Seas mentioned by ancient Writers, which will in a great meaſure enable us to extricate ourſelves from theſe Doubts. In the firſt place then they navigated the *Mare Erythræum*, which lies between the *Arabian* Gulph, and the oppoſite Side of *India*; and having in their Commerce often heard of *Taprobana*, they were led into many Miſtakes about that Iſland, till by degrees their Veſſels ſailing on the Coaſt of *Malabar* in doubling Cape *Comorin*, diſcovered *Ceylon*, which is the true *Taprobana*. The Gulph of *Bengal* was their *Mare Eoum*, and the upper Part of it towards the Continent *Sinus Gangeticus*, or the Bay of the *Ganges*, becauſe the Mouths of that River fell into this Bay. The Gulph of *Siam* was their *Sinus Magnus*, or *Great Bay*; but this they knew by Hearſay only, their Navigation never extending thither.

But it may be demanded what Proof there is of this? To which I anſwer, all that the Nature of the Subject will admit affirmative and negative. As to the firſt, it is plain they never were thoroughly acquainted with the Iſland of *Taprobana*. *Strabo* makes it of the Size of *Britain*, and writes no doubt from Information only pretty near the Truth; but *Ptolemy* extends it much beyond its real Bounds, by ſuppoſing (at leaſt this is the only way of accounting for it) the *Maldives* belonging thereto, or dependent thereon. Yet the Situation of the principal Places he mentions therein are not repugnant to Truth, ſo that the Weſt and North Parts of it were tolerably known in his Time, but not the South. The *Maldives* very imperfectly, if at all; and therefore the *Romans* and *Alexandrians* had not puſhed their Commerce very far on this Side, much leſs into the *Sinus Magnus*, or Bay of *Siam*. This appears from the very Name, which undoubtedly was given it from a Notion that it was a very wide ſpreading Sea, whereas in Fact it is much narrower than the *Sinus Gangeticus*.

As to the negative Proofs, they are ſtronger and more in Number: For in order to have ſailed into the *Sinus Magnus*, they muſt have paſſed through the Streights of *Malacca*, which had opened to their View all the *Indies* that are now known, and of which there is not a Word in *Ptolemy*, or even in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and conſequently no Colour for believing they had any other Knowledge of that Bay than from the Relation of the *Indians*, with whom they traded. Their actual Diſcoveries therefore went no farther than we before mentioned; but by the Help of theſe Diſcoveries, the Report of Travellers, and his own Sagacity, *Ptolemy* formed his Tables, which ſeem to extend the Knowledge of the Ancients ſo much farther. We might, to verify this Matter, mention a Multitude of Errors in thoſe Tables, and in other Accounts of thoſe Times, which could ariſe from no other Cauſe than their Authors ſetting down the Names and Situation of Places from very indifferent Memoirs, and yet from the beſt they had; but that this is unneceſſary, ſince *Ptolemy* himſelf ingenuouſly owns that beyond the Country of the *Sinæ*, or *Thinæ*, which is certainly the Kingdom of *Siam*, they knew nothing to the Eaſt at all.

It is moſt evident from theſe Obſervations, that we have done the ſtricteſt Juſtice to the Ancients, both with reſpect to the Voyages made by them, and the Uſes they made of the Knowledge derived from thence; and have ſhewn, that inſtead of treating their Geographical Deſcriptions with Contempt, as ſome have done on Account of the many Miſtakes in them, we ought rather to applaud their Diligence in making the beſt Uſe of the Materials in their Power, and thereby furniſhing to ſuch as are their profeſſed Admirers very plauſible Arguments for maintaining, that the Ancients knew almoſt as much of theſe Countries as ourſelves. Indeed, while they ſpeak in general Terms only, they ſeem to juſtify this Opinion; for they aſſure us, that this Eaſtern Part of the World is inhabited by the *Indians*, the *Seres*, and the *Scythians*; that is, in the Language of the Moderns, by the *Indians*, the *Chineſe*, and the *Tartars*, which is very true; but when they endeavoured to aſſign the Bounds of the ſeveral Countries which thoſe Nations inhabit, they ſhew us plainly, that they did not underſtand what they themſelves ſaid, by their bringing the *Chineſe* almoſt as far as the *Ganges*, and placing beyond them a Race of Man-eaters in *China* properly ſo called. To ſum up all, and anſwer the Objection in few Words, the Accounts left us by the Ancients do not prove that they viſited any Part of the *Indies* beyond the *Ganges*, though the Informations they received in their Commerce enabled their Geographers to lay down Tables of a few other Countries, about which, however, they were much miſtaken in their Conjectures.

7. It may very poſſibly happen, as it very often does, in the diſcuſſing ſuch perplexed Subjects, that by removing one Objection the Means is afforded of raiſing another; and that perhaps no leſs ſpecious than the former. It may in ſhort be ſaid, that from the Account we give of the Knowledge the Ancients had of the *Seres*, which we allow to be the *Chineſe*, we admit that they had extended their Dominions very much beyond what they poſſeſs at this Day; and, as great Conqueſts are evident Proofs of extraordinary Power, it follows, that the *Seres* could not have been ſuch a diſperſed People as they are repreſented, but muſt have poſſeſſed a very large and flouriſhing Empire, which, if they had done, it muſt have been famous through the Eaſt, as the other Empires raiſed in that Part of the World were. The Force of this Objection, therefore, conſiſts in making the Deſcription given us by the Ancients inconſiſtent with itſelf, and by overturning that, our Anſwer to the former Objection will be overturned alſo.

Now to this I anſwer, that the Matter of Fact, which is, that the *Chineſe* were known to the Ancients by the Name of the *Seres*, has been clearly made out; and therefore there is no receding from that, let its Conſequences be what they will. But it ſo falls out, that we have not only the Authority of the ancient Writers before cited, to prove that the *Seres* or *Chineſe* extended themſelves very far on this Side, but alſo the Accounts of the *Chineſe* themſelves, which aſſert, that they were Maſters of *Cochin-China*, and

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* The Reader will naturally call to mind on this Occaſion what we have already ſaid of *Megaſthenes* and other Perſons, whoſe Negociations with the *Indian* Princes, gave the Ancients not only the firſt, but the beſt Lights they had into the Situation of theſe Countries, and the Manners of their Inhabitants.

Pegu; that is, in all Probability, thoſe Countries were ſubject and tributary to them. It is likewiſe very probable, that they were Maſters of *Tibet*, or *Thibet*, from whence it will follow, that whoever traded in the Countries near the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, might very well obtain ſome ſuch dark and imperfect Relations of the *Seres* as thoſe are which the Ancients have left us; and upon this Occaſion I ſhall not ſcruple to advance, that their Darkneſs and Imperfection, inſtead of being conſidered as Marks of Falſhood, ought in reality to paſs for Proofs of their being true; for it plainly appears from a Multitude of Inſtances, which we have already given in this Work, that not only the *Chineſe*, but the *Indians* alſo, were very little inclined to let Strangers into the Hiſtories of their Countries, or into the Secrets of their Governments; and therefore it was very natural for ſuch as endeavoured to make Enquiries into theſe Matters, to report things ſlightly and imperfectly. We may be the better ſatisfied of this, if we conſider, that it appears from all the Accounts of the *Indies* publiſhed by the Ancients, that theſe Countries were extremely populous, full of large Cities well fortified, and a great Number of Sea-ports, in which a great Trade was driven amongſt themſelves; theſe Particulars plainly prove, that, however barbarous their Cuſtoms might appear to Strangers, yet within themſelves theſe Eaſtern Nations were perfectly well governed, and in the ſtrict Senſe of the Word thoroughly civilized.

What ſerves chiefly to confound us is our conſidering the *Indians* of thoſe Times in the ſame View that they are repreſented to us by modern Travellers, which is what we ought not to do; for though it be reaſonable, and in that Light we have made uſe of it often as a probable Argument, that the Accounts given us by ancient Writers of Wives burning themſelves with the dead Bodies of their Huſbands, the *Brachmans* living in a kind of Collegiate State, and the whole People being divided into Tribes, are true, becauſe in a great meaſure we obſerve the ſame things among the *Indians* at preſent, yet it does not follow that in every reſpect the modern *Indians* reſemble their Anceſtors. On the contrary, we ought to reflect, that the Accounts we have from the Ancients, refer to the firſt and flouriſhing Ages of the *Indian* Principalities, when they were abſolutely free and independant, when their Philoſophy was pure and ſublime, their political Conſtitutions in their full Vigour, their Laws well ſupported, and thoroughly executed, their military Eſtabliſhments ſo well adjuſted to the Regulation of their civil Affairs, that in times of imminent Danger, they were able ſuddenly to ſet on Foot Armies ſo puiſſant, that their very Countenance was ſufficient to teach the moſt ambitious Princes Moderation; as was the Caſe of *Alexander*, and ſome of his Succeſſors. The *Indians*, therefore, in thoſe Days, were another ſort of People than the *Indians* known to us; and though the latter may ſtill retain in ſome meaſure the Manners of the former in private Life, yet in their publick Conduct, they can furniſh us with no Idea of their Progenitors. In few Words, though they have preſerved ſome of their Cuſtoms, they have loſt all their Spirit.

It is the ſame thing with reſpect to the *Chineſe*, they are no longer what they have been; and if we admire the Wiſdom of their preſent Government, and the wonderful Exactneſs with which their Affairs are adminiſtered, we ought to conceive much higher and more magnificent Notions of their Power and Splendor in former Times. That Accuracy and Regularity which ſtrikes us ſo much at preſent are no more than the Remains of thoſe Inſtitutions which took place when their Empire was much greater and more glorious than at this Day. It is true, that we have received from the Miſſionaries, great Lights with regard to the *Chineſe* Hiſtory; but we are very far from having any thing compleat in this kind, even at this Day. We have only general and ſhort Accounts of the Revolutions that have happened in that Country, and of the Conqueſts made of its frontier Provinces; no wonder therefore that we are not better acquainted with the Conqueſts made by them, and yet, as I hinted above, we do not want Authority to prove, that the *Chineſe* actually extended their Power into Countries that might make their Fame known to the *Alexandrian* Traders; and perhaps in its proper Place we ſhall be able to account for their relinquiſhing thoſe Conqueſts.

Here, however, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that it appears very clearly from what we know of the *Chineſe* Hiſtory, that there was a conſtant Fluctuation in their Politicks, and that ſometimes a Spirit of Dominion, and at others a pacifick Diſpoſition took Place; and there are extant, even in the modern Languages, Diſcourſes addreſſed to the *Chineſe* Emperors by their Miniſters, exhorting them to be content with their hereditary Countries, and rather contract their Power than extend it, that they might govern with greater Eaſe to themſelves, and with Effects more beneficial to their Subjects. After theſe Reflections, it will be eaſy to underſtand how the Ancients came to know ſo much, and, at the ſame Time, ſo little of theſe People. It was their penetrating ſouthward and weſtward, that gave the Ancients an Opportunity of knowing any thing of them at all, ſince it is very certain, that if they had been always reſtrained within the Bounds of *China*, ſtrictly ſo called, they would never have been heard of; and therefore theſe Accounts, inſtead of diſcrediting the Facts before-mentioned, when thoroughly looked into, and cooly conſidered, carry in them the higheſt Probability, and the moſt evident Marks of Truth. That, upon Enquiry, the Ancients being informed that the Country, which is now called *Thibet*, was under the Power of the *Seres*, ſhould, from thence conclude it the native Soil of thoſe People, and their Geographers be induced from thence to give it the Name of *Serica*, has nothing in it ſtrange at all, any more than that they ſhould imagine that the Metropolis of this Country was the Capital of the *Seres*, and the chief Seat of their Empire. Thus it is hoped this Difficulty is entirely taken away, the Credibility of the Teſtimonies before alledged, fully eſtabliſhed, and the Difference between the ancient and modern Geography of theſe Countries rationally accounted for, without offering any Injury either to the old Writers or the new, and conſequently what is laid down in this Section, perfectly reconciled to all that has been aſſerted in the former.

8. There is a third Point in reference to this Subject, which requires ſome Attention, and then I think we may ſafely proceed. As the laſt Objection reſpected the Country of the *Seres*, ſo it is very poſſible that ſome Doubts may ariſe as to the People who are deſcribed by *Pliny* and other old Writers, equally removed in their Manners from the reſt of Mankind, as ſeparated from them by the great Diſtance of their Country. It may, I ſay, be ſuggeſted, that the Cuſtoms of the *Seres*, as they ſtand recorded in ancient Writers, have no ſort of Reſemblance to thoſe of the *Chineſe*, if the Accounts I have juſt now given of them be well founded; for, whereas I make them a potent, wiſe, and polite People, they paint them as a kind of Savages, differing in their Dialect from the reſt of Mankind, and ſhunning, as much as might be, all Converſation with Strangers.

Now, to reconcile theſe Contradictions, we are to conſider, firſt, that the Ancients themſelves ſpeak very differently of the *Seres*, ſometimes commending them for their ſtrict Juſtice and Probity, for the Purity of their Manners, and for their having no Deſire to injure their Neighbours; and at others, as a Race of intractable People, abſolutely bent to conceal themſelves in their Woods and Fortreſſes, and trading no other Way than by Exchange, and that too by leaving and taking of Goods without any Intercourſe between the Merchants who ſold them, and thoſe who purchaſed. Secondly, it appears from the Diverſity of theſe Accounts, that the Ancients were entirely led in this Matter by Hear-ſay, and by the Hear-ſay of a People who were not much inclined to let them into all they knew. Thirdly, it is neceſſary to remember that the *Indians*, from whom the Ancients had every Tittle of what they report concerning the *Seres*, might give them ſuch Informations as were grounded on Truth, but were ſo unintelligible to the *Greeks*, that they were not able to report them without Miſrepreſentation.

As for Inſtance, the *Indians* might tell them, that the *Seres* made uſe of a Language very different from that of other Men, and in this they would have told them no more than has been juſtified by Experience; but in repeating this, the Ancients have repreſented the Tongue of the *Chineſe* as if it had nothing in common with human Speech, which is a manifeſt Exaggeration. That the ancient *Seres* had a great Averſion to Strangers, and an invincible Reſolution of continuing in their own Country, is another Fact true in itſelf, but ſtrangely miſrepreſented. All the *Chineſe* Hiſtories agree, that this Nation had, as indeed they ſtill have, a great Jealouſy of Foreigners, and by their Laws forbad their ſettling amongſt them; yet the ſame Hiſtories ſhew, that notwithſtanding this Jealouſy and theſe Laws, they have always had a great many Foreigners in their Country; and theſe not only *Scythians* or *Tartars*, *Indians*, *Perſians* and *Turks*, who were in ſome ſort their Neighbours, but *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Mohammedans*; and that for ſuch a Length of Time, that it is almoſt impoſſible to account for their coming into and ſettling in *China*, as is evident from the learned Diſſertations that have been wrote expreſsly upon theſe Subjects. The Amount of all this, therefore, can be ſtretched to nothing more than our not having very diſtinct Relations of what paſſed a long Time ago in a very diſtant Country, which is not very wonderful. But, however obſcure, however contradictory, theſe Accounts may be in other Reſpects, yet in this they agree perfectly well, that ſuch a Jealouſy always ſubſiſted in this Nation, though for particular Reaſons, and under particular Circumſtances, they were content to diſpenſe with thoſe Laws, which from this Spirit of Jealouſy they had enacted.

To make this Matter ſtill plainer, let us conſider the *Chineſe* in their preſent Situation, and in regard to the different manner in which they carry on Commerce at home and abroad. Their Junks ſail annually to almoſt all the different Ports in the *Indies*; but particularly to *Batavia*, where they trade as other People do, and comply with all the Regulations that are thought neceſſary in thoſe Places for the Security and right Management of Commerce, from whence they have acquired very juſtly the Character of being as active, as induſtrious, and as general Traders, as any in that Part of the World. This, one would think, might effectually purge them from the Imputation of having a Diſlike to Strangers, and an Unwillingneſs to correſpond with other Nations, and, in ſhort, of all Intractability on the Head of Commerce. Yet when we look into their Management at home, we ſhall find many things that may very well juſtify ſuch a Charge even at this Day. For there are but one, or at moſt but two, of their Ports open to Strangers, *viz.* *Canton* and *Amoy*; they do not ſuffer any *European* Nations to make Settlements in their Dominions, if we except the *Portugueze*, and even they are not only Subjects, but in a manner Slaves to the *Chineſe*; their Port Duties are not high only, but very extravagant; the Precautions they take againſt, and the Hardſhips they put upon Foreigners, are ſo many, and ſo inconvenient, that it is plain they only tolerate Trade inſtead of encouraging it. If this therefore be, as moſt certainly it is, the Caſe, why ſhould we accuſe the ancient Accounts of Abſurdity and Contradiction?

It would be needleſs and unneceſſary to enter into a Digreſſion about the Navigation of the ancient *Seres*, how far it extended, and what the Conſequences were that attended it. I ſay, it would be needleſs and unneceſſary; becauſe, after all the Pains that could be taken, we ſhould find it very difficult, if not impoſſible, to give a tolerable Account of it; but in general, however, we know that in very ancient times they traded to moſt of the *Indian* Iſlands, ſettled Colonies in many of them, and as there is good Grounds to believe, were the Anceſtors of the *Chingaleſe*, which are the moſt powerful Nation in the Iſland of *Ceylon*. Theſe Circumſtances ſeem abſolutely to contradict another Part of their general Character, which is, that they have no Inclination to leave their own Country on any Terms. In all probability, their Settlements abroad were created by domeſtick Confuſions, when Numbers choſe rather to ſeek new Habitations, than to be expoſed to certain Death or Deſtruction from the Rage of their Adverſaries, which, nevertheleſs, implies no Alteration in the Nature of theſe People; for it is one thing to be of a roving Diſpoſition, and another to prefer Baniſhment to Death.

Upon the whole, if there be any thing certain in the *Chineſe* Hiſtory, it is this; that both the People themſelves have the moſt ſincere Love for their Country, and deſire to remain in it; and that this is nouriſhed in them by their Laws, and the Propagation of this Spirit made a capital Point of their Politicks. On ſcanning therefore this Matter as ſtrictly as it is poſſible, we ſee, that taking all Things together, the oldeſt Accounts of the *Chineſe* are not liable to more Objections, or incumbered with greater Difficulties than the modern; and therefore, if the Ancients have repreſented the *Seres* as a People of an odd Humour, and their Practice and Principles conſidered ſomewhat inconſiſtent with themſelves, we have the more Reaſon to be poſitive, that the *Seres* and the *Chineſe* are the very ſame Nation, becauſe from the Knowledge we have of them at preſent, it is impoſſible to conceive that any Character given of them in paſt Ages, ſhould come nearer the Truth than that which from a ſuperficial View ſeems incompatible therewith. In caſes of this Nature, Nations are to be deſcribed as they really are, and of ſuch Temper and Diſpoſition as their Actions ſpeak them; other Accounts may be more plauſible, and to ſuch as take up with the firſt Appearance of things more credible; but unqueſtionably, the beſt way is to write the Truth, becauſe in the end, and after the ſtricteſt Examination, it will be found, that Truth will always juſtify itſelf.

9. There ſtill remains an Iſland mentioned in ancient Writers as lying in the *Indian* Ocean, though never diſcovered by any of the Moderns, of which we promiſed, and of which it is neceſſary that we ſhould give a clear Account, the rather, becauſe though ſurrounded with a Miſt of Fables, there is at the Bottom ſomething which deſerves our Notice, and which may enable us to detect ſuch kind of Relations when we meet with them elſewhere. The Name of this Iſland is *Panchaia*, and it is ſuppoſed to lie between the *Arabian* Gulph and the oppoſite Coaſt of *India*. There was but one ample and diſtinct Relation of this Country, which is ſtill preſerved almoſt entire in the Works of the learned *Diodorus Siculus*, which therefore we ſhall fairly tranſcribe for ſeveral Reaſons. Firſt, that the Nature of ſuch kind of Relations may plainly appear, and the Reader be able to judge for himſelf of the Difficulty in diſtinguiſhing between Facts faithfully related, and Fictions ſo elegantly dreſſed out. Secondly, that he may the better underſtand the Detection of this fabulous Hiſtory. And, thirdly, that he may be ſatisfied we do not impoſe upon him our own Notions and Senſe of Things, but admit him freely and fairly to the Sight of our Authorities.

There are, ſays our Author, many things obſervable in *Panchea*, or *Panchaia*, that deſerve to be taken notice of. The natural Inhabitants are thoſe they call *Panchæi*; the Strangers that dwell among them are People of the Weſtern Parts, together with *Indians*, *Cretans*, and *Scythians*. In this Iſland there is a famous City called *Panara*, not inferior to any for Wealth and Grandeur. The Citizens are called the Suppliants of *Jupiter Triphylius*, and are the only People of *Panchaia* that live under a Democracy without a Monarch. They chuſe every Year the Preſidents or Governors that have all Matters under their Cognizance; but what concerns Life and Death, and the moſt weighty Matters, they refer to the College of their Prieſts. The Temple of *Jupiter Triphylius* is about ſixty Furlongs diſtant from the City in a fair, open Plain. It is in great Veneration for its Antiquity, and the Statelineſs of the Structure, and Fertility of the Soil. The Fields round about the Temple are planted with all ſorts of Trees, not only for Fruit, but for Pleaſure and Delight; for they abound with tall Cypreſſes, Plane-Trees, Laurels and Mirtles. The Place well furniſhed with running Water; for near the Temple there's ſuch a mighty Spring of ſweet Water ruſhes out of the Earth, ſo that it very ſoon becomes a navigable River. Thence it divides itſelf into ſeveral Currents, and waters all the Fields thereabouts. It produces thick Groves of tall and ſhady Trees, amongſt which, in Summer, abundance of People ſpend their Time, and a Multitude of Birds of all ſorts build their Neſts, which creates great Delight, both by affecting the Eye with the Variety of their Colours, and charming the Ear with the Sweetneſs of their Notes. Here are many Gardens, ſweet and pleaſant Meadows, decked with all ſorts of Herbs and Flowers; and ſo glorious is the Proſpect, that it ſeems to be a Paradiſe worthy the Habitation of the Gods themſelves. Beſides all theſe, there are a Multitude of Vines of all ſorts ſpringing up on high, and ſo curiouſly interwoven one among another, that they are exceeding pleaſant to the View, and greatly augment the Delights of the Place.

The Temple was built of white Marble moſt artfully jointed and cemented, two hundred Yards in Length, and as many in Breadth, ſupported with great and thick Pillars, curiouſly adorned with carved Work. In this Temple were placed huge Statues of the Gods of admirable Workmanſhip, and amazing Bulk; round the Temple are built Apartments for the Prieſts that attend the Service of the Gods, by whom every thing in that ſacred Place is performed. All along from the Temple is an even Courſe of Ground four Furlongs in Length, and one hundred Yards in Breadth; on either Side of which are erected vaſt brazen Statues, with four-ſquare Pedeſtals; at the End of the Courſe breaks forth the River from the Fountain beforementioned; from whence flows moſt clear and ſweet Water, the drinking of which conduces much to the Health of the Body. This River is called the Water of the Sun. The whole Fountain is lined on both Sides, and flagged at the Bottom with Stone at vaſt Expence, and runs out on both Sides for the Space of four Furlongs: It is not lawful for any but the Prieſts to approach the Brink of the Fountain.

All the Land about for two hundred Furlongs round, is conſecrated to the Gods, and the Revenues beſtowed in maintaining the publick Sacrifices and Service of thoſe Gods beyond theſe conſecrated Lands, is an high Mountain dedicated likewiſe to the Gods, which they call the Throne of *Cælus* and *Triphylus Olympus*; for they report, that *Uranus*, when he governed the whole World, pleaſantly diverted himſelf in this Place; and from the Mount obſerved the Motion of the Heavens and Stars; and that he was called *Triphylus Olympus*, becauſe the Inhabitants were compoſed of three ſeveral Nations, *Panchæans*, *Oceanites*, and *Doians*, who were afterwards expelled by *Ammon*; for it is ſaid, that he not only rooted out this Nation, but utterly deſtroyed all the Cities, and laid *Doia* and *Aſteruſia* even with the Ground. The Prieſts every Year ſolemnize a ſacred Feſtival in this Mountain with great Devotion. Behind this Mount, in other Parts of *Panchaia*, they ſay there are abundance of wild Beaſts of all kinds, as Elephants, Lions, Leopards, Deer, and many other wonderful Creatures, both for Strength and Proportion. In this Iſland there are three chief Cities, *Hipacia*, *Dalis*, and *Oceanis*; the whole Country is very fertile, and eſpecially in the Production of all ſorts of Wine in great Plenty.

The Men are warlike, and uſe Chariots in Battle after the ancient manner. The whole Nation is divided into three Tribes; the firſt is compoſed of the Prieſts, with whom are joined the Artificers; the ſecond conſiſts of the Huſbandmen; and the third of Militia and Shepherds. The Prieſts govern all, for they give Judgment in all Controverſies, and have Authority in all publick Tranſactions of State. The Huſbandmen till the Land; but the Fruit is brought into the common Treaſury, and who is judged the moſt ſkilful in Huſbandry, receives the largeſt Share of the Fruits for a Reward in the firſt Place, and ſo the ſecond and the reſt according to that Rule, as every one merits in the Judgment of the Prieſts. In the ſame manner the Shepherds and Herdſmen carefully bring into the publick Stock the Victims and other things both by Number and Weight, as the Nature of the Things are; for it is not lawful for any to appropriate any thing to themſelves, except a Houſe and Garden for all the young Breed of Cattle, and other things; and all the Revenues are received by the Prieſts, and they juſtly diſtributed to every one as their Neceſſity requires, only the Prieſts have a double Proportion.

They wear ſoft Garments, for their Wool is much finer here that any where elſe; both Men and Women likewiſe deck themſelves with golden Ornaments, Necklaces of Gold, and Bracelets about their Arms, and, like the *Perſians*, have Rings hanging in their Ears; their Shoes are ſuch as others wear, and of different Colours. Their Soldiers, who are hired for Pay, defend the Country, and have their proper Poſts, and in proper Parts of the Iſland Fortreſſes, the Hills being infeſted with Thieves and Robbers, who often ſurpriſe the Huſbandmen. To conclude, theſe Prieſts, for Delicacy, State, and Purity of Life, far exceed all the reſt of the Inhabitants. Their Robes are of white Linen, and ſometimes of pure ſoft Wool. They wear likewiſe Mitres embroidered with Gold. Their Shoes are Sandals, curiouſly wrought with exquiſite Workmanſhip; and in their Ears hang golden Ear-rings, like Womens. They attend chiefly upon the Service of the Gods, ſinging harmonious Songs in their Praiſe, ſetting forth their glorious Acts and Benefits beſtowed upon Men. The Prieſts, ſay they, came originally from *Crete*, and were brought over into *Panchaia*, by *Jupiter*, when he was upon Earth, and governed all the World, and alledge their Language for a Confirmation of this Aſſertion, inaſmuch as they retain many Words of the *Cretan* Tongue among them; and moreover ſay, that they derived from their Anceſtors that Civility and Kindneſs wherewith they entertain the *Cretans*, the Fame and Report of their ancient Conſanguinity, deſcending continually in a perpetual Succeſſion to their Poſterity; they ſhew likewiſe a Record, written, as they ſay, by *Jupiter*'s own Hand, at the Time when he was on Earth, and laid the Foundation of the Temple.

There are in this Iſland likewiſe Mines of Gold, Silver, Braſs, and Iron, but not lawful for any to export them. Nay, it is not permitted to any of the Prieſts to go out of the Verge of the conſecrated Ground; and if any do, it is lawful for any Perſon who finds them, to kill them. They have, under their Charge, innumerable Veſſels, and other conſecrated Things, both of Gold and Silver, which have been laid up there in Honour of the Gods for many Ages. The Gates of the Temple are of admirable Workmanſhip, beautified with Gold, Silver, and Ivory, and Thyne-wood. The Bed of the God is ſix Cubits long, and four broad, of maſſy Gold, moſt curiouſly wrought in every Part; and near adjoining ſtands the Table, as large, and of the like Materials and Workmanſhip with the other in every Reſpect. In the Middle of the Bed is placed a great golden Pillar, whereon are Letters inſcribed in that called by the *Egyptians* ſacred Writing, expreſſing the famous Actions of *Uranus*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and *Apollo*, written, as they ſay, by *Mercury* himſelf: But this may ſuffice concerning the Iſlands lying in the Ocean over-againſt *Arabia*[t].

Such is the Account delivered to us of this Iſland by *Diodorus Siculus*, who had this Account from a more ancient Writer, one *Euemerus*, a *Meſſenian*; ſo that he is not to be charged with inventing the Fable, but with giving it a Stamp of Authority, by taking it into his Hiſtory. But if the Reader ſhould enquire what induced the original Author of the Story to frame ſo circumſtantial a Relation out of his own Head, and attempt therewith to cheat and impoſe upon Poſterity, it falls out very luckily, that we are able to reſolve this Queſtion, and to ſet the Truth in the cleareſt Light poſſible; from whence it will appear, that theſe Fictions of the Ancients were not deviſed with a malicious Intention of impoſing Fables for Matters of Fact upon credulous Readers, tho', undoubtedly, they very often had this Effect; but they were contrived chiefly for another and better Purpoſe, as appears plainly from the Caſe before us.

Plutarch[u] not only knew that the whole of this Relation was an abſolute Fiction, but he likewiſe knew, and fairly informs his Reader of the End for which it was framed. He ſays, that the Author of it was an irreligious Man, or an Atheiſt, who, in delivering this Story of the Iſland *Panchæa*, aimed chiefly at inculcating his own Opinions without running the Hazard of being puniſhed by Law. Now thoſe Opinions of *Euemerus* the *Meſſenian*, which *Plutarch* very prudently ſtiles atheiſtical, were no other than theſe, that moſt of the Deities worſhipped in his Time, ſuch as *Uranus*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the reſt, were, in Fact, no other than Men famous in their Life-times, and, by the Flattery of Poſterity, magnified as Gods after their Deceaſe. This Opinion was certainly well founded and agreeable to Truth; but if that Author had delivered it ſimply and plainly as his own, he had probably died a Martyr for ſpeaking Truth improperly and againſt the Laws; and therefore he invented this Hiſtory of *Panchæa*, to inſinuate that the Prieſts there had a Record of this Matter written in golden Characters. By this Means he, without Danger to himſelf, intimated to his intelligent Reader, that whatever the Vulgar might believe of theſe Deities, yet, in Fact, they were no other than Men; and the Stories related of them the bare Inventions of Prieſts.

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[t] *Diodor. Sicul. lib. v. p. 220.*

[u] *Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſir.*

I muſt confeſs, that it is my own Opinion, *Plutarch* did not unveil this Myſtery with a Deſign of expoſing its Author, as he ſeems to do, for an impious Man, and an Atheiſt, but with an Intention to deliver this Matter more clearly, and by giving the Key of *Euemerus*'s Story more effectually to divulge the Truth: For, whoever conſiders the Drift and Deſign of his Diſſertation concerning *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, will eaſily diſcern that he wrote it with much the ſame View that *Euemerus* invented his Fable of *Panchæa*; and as for the hard Words he beſtows on that Writer, they ſerved only to cower and ſcreen himſelf; ſince, undoubtedly, had he not ſtiled theſe Notions impious and atheiſtical, he had paſſed (with the Vulgar at leaſt) for as impious and atheiſtical a Writer as *Euemerus*, whoſe Fiction he unveils [v].

A great Happineſs it is, that the Chriſtian Diſpenſation has freed Mankind entirely from this tyrannical Yoke of Superſtition, and opened a free Paſſage to Men's Thoughts, without Danger or Diſtruſt. But it has, notwithſtanding, ſo fallen out, that, even under the Light of the Goſpel, Superſtition has ſometimes prevailed to ſuch a Degree, that learned Men have found themſelves under a kind of Neceſſity of making uſe of the ſame Artifice, as appears by Sir *Thomas More*'s *Utopia*, and other Works of the like Nature, which, however, are penned in ſuch a Manner as very ſeldom to miſlead the Reader, or impoſe upon him Fictions for Truth. Thus, we have at length finiſhed both the real and feigned Accounts of the *Indies*, as delivered to us by the Ancients, and are now at Liberty to take Notice of their Obſervations and Reflections upon theſe Accounts, which are of ſo much greater Importance, as they certainly kept up the Fame of theſe Countries, and in a great meaſure excited that Spirit which lead to the more perfect Diſcovery of them.

10. As ſlight as the Knowledge was which the Ancients had of the Inland Parts of *India*, yet they took great Pains to propagate a very high Opinion of its Fertility and Riches. *Diodorus Siculus* gives a very pompous Deſcription of the Advantages poſſeſſed by *India* beyond any other Country. He aſſerts, that the Air is remarkably ſettled and ſerene, the Seaſons equally regular and pleaſant, the Mountains covered with Fruit-trees of the moſt exquiſite Kinds; the flat Country ſo rich as to yield two Crops every Year, one of Wheat, and the other of Millet-Rice, or ſome ſuch Grain; the Waters ſo delicate and pure as greatly to contribute to Health and long Life, and moſt of the Rivers overflowing annually like the *Nile*, and thereby leſſening the Labour of the Inhabitants in the Cultivation of their Grounds.

After this Repreſentation of the golden Age, as ſtill remaining in *India*, we are further aſſured, that the Treaſures which the Earth contains in her Boſom, are much ſuperior to thoſe born upon her Surface, and that Gold, Silver, Braſs, Iron, and Tin, are more common there than in any other Country. Yet, after this magnificent Detail of the Plenty, and Riches of the *Indies*, he plainly puts the River *Ganges*, as the Boundary of all the *Indian* Regions, with which he was acquainted; for, into that, he ſays, the reſt of the Rivers of *India* fall; and in the Neighbourhood of this River he places the *Gandarides*, a Nation ſo powerful that *Alexander* was glad to leave them untouched, as having four thouſand Elephants trained to War, and a proportionable Number of Horſe and Foot; which ſufficiently ſhews, that, in his Opinion, the Conqueſt of this Country was not to be attempted.

He likewiſe ſets another Bound to the Deſire of diſcovering, by affirming, that a great Part of this Country lies under the Line, for ſo he muſt be underſtood, and not under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, as ſome of his Interpreters would have it; for, he adds immediately after, that in many remote Parts of *India*, the Sun caſts no Shadow, neither is the North Pole, or any of the Conſtellations near it ſeen there in the Night, which was ſufficient to deter the Travellers of thoſe Times from all Hopes, and even from all Wiſhes of penetrating into theſe Regions [x].

Strabo likewiſe gives us a large and magnificent Account of the Plenty and Riches of *India*, and aſſures us that it abounds with all kinds of Wealth, more eſpecially Pearls, Carbuncles, Diamonds, and other precious Stones; he mentions likewiſe Aromaticks and Spices, as Part of the Commodities brought from the *Indies*, but he does not tell us in what particular Parts of *India* [y] theſe valuable Commodities are found; and indeed all the Writers of Antiquity are alike faulty in this Point.

Pliny, who had read almoſt every Author extant on this Subject [z], is very clear in the general, as to the Plenty of all things neceſſary for the Service of Mankind in this Country, and gives us very copious Accounts of the rich Metals and various kinds of precious Stones that were brought from thence, ſome of which he tells us were found in Rivers, others in the Clefts of Rocks, and not a few in the Mines of Gold and Silver; but with reſpect to the Places where theſe Mines lay, or how they were to be reached, he is ſilent; and we may ſay the ſame thing of *Arrian*, and all the ancient Writers cited by *Athenæus*; for though they are profuſe in their Commendations of *India*, and in their Panegyricks on its Wealth and Riches, yet they never diſtinguiſh where we are to look for this precious Commodity, or where that, is to be found; but content themſelves with aſſuring us, that all are to be met with in the *Indies*.

This was owing, beyond all Queſtion, to the Conduct of the *Indians* in their Commerce with the Ancients; for they always pretended that things were brought to them from diſtant Countries with infinite Hazard and Danger; and theſe Pretences ſerved at once to heighten the Value of their Goods, and to deter Strangers from going in Search of them, as it likewiſe hindered them from making ſuch Enquiries as might have acquainted them with the Truth, which was, that many of the valuable Commodities of the *Indies* were actually the Produce of thoſe Countries they viſited.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that in the Deſcription of the *Erythræan* Sea aſcribed to *Arrian*, and in all the other Works of the ſame Nature that are ſtill extant, the *Indians* are every-where repreſented as much given to, and extreamly well verſed in, all the Arts of Commerce. It appears from thoſe Accounts, that there was a very conſiderable Trade carried on in all their Sea-ports, and that where-ever the Situation of their Rivers afforded them an Opportunity of conveying their Merchandize in ſmall Veſſels within Land, they had great Cities upon their Banks full of Artificers and Manufacturers, where every thing was carried on with the utmoſt Regularity, ſo that the Fame of their Induſtry was equal to that of their Riches. I make therefore no Scruple of aſſerting, that theſe were the flouriſhing Times of that Country, and that the *Indians* have been ſince on the Decline, which will appear the more credible, if we conſider, that the prodigious Trade of *China*, which is the great Source of the Wealth and Happineſs of its People, is, properly ſpeaking, a domeſtick Commerce; that is to ſay, the beſt Part of it is carried on amongſt themſelves, and from one Province of that Empire to another.

It is not therefore at all wonderful, that People thus practiſed in Trade ſhould be able, by ſtudied Relations, to impoſe upon Strangers, who finding them all in the ſame Story, took this for an inconteſtable Argument of Truth; and hence it is that we are told of rich Mines of Gold in the Northern *Indies* on the Frontiers of *Scythia*, and of Diamonds and Precious Stones found there, whereas in all probability, the Gold which the Ancients met with in *India* came from the Peninſula of *Malacca*; the Diamonds were found near Cape *Comorin*, and the Rubies and other colour'd Stones were brought from *Taprobana* or *Ceylon*. We will conclude theſe Remarks on the Riches of the *Indies* with a few Lines from the Poem of the famous Geographer *Dionyſius*, whom ſome Criticks place as high as the Reign of *Auguſtus*, and which *Priſcian* has thus rendered into *Latin*. They occur towards the End of the Poem, and contain a moſt lively and elegant Picture of the Riches of the *Indies*, with as much Accuracy and Correctneſs as any Proſe Writer whatever, and may ſerve as a Specimen both of the Matter and of this Manner of Writing.

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[v] The Court of *Areopagus* at *Athens* puniſhed ſeverely ſuch as broached new Opinions in Religion, or derided the old.

[x] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* ii.

[y] *Geograph. lib.* xv.

[z] See the Liſt of Authors cited by *Pliny* in his Natural Hiſtory in Father *Harduin*'s Edition.

Reſpice nunc reliquas Aſiæ ſub finibus oras.
Perſidis ad pontum Carmani, ſolis ab ortu;
Littora pars habitant, mediæ pars limina terræ.
Gedroſi poſt hos tendunt orientis ad ignes,
Oceanum juxta: radiis proprioribus inde
Eſt Scythiæ Tellus auſtralis, flumen ad Indum,
Qui ponto rapidus rubro contrarius exit:
Gurgite nam celeri rectus decurrit ad Auſtrum,
Caucaſiis oriens primum de montibus altis:
Dividua cujus Patalene cingitur unda.
Separat innumeras & vaſto gurgite gentes.
Ad partes rapidi qua vergunt lumina Solis,
Oritas, Aribaſque ſimul, linique Arachotas
Utentes lænis, & Satraïdas ſimul omnes.
Parpanei Montis ſub celſa rupe, Arienos
Nomine communi; qui terras ubere nullo
Florentes habitant, ſquallent nam ſentibus aſpris;
Curalii lapidem qui rubrum littore carpunt,
Sapphirique decus nigri flavique coloris
Saxorum cædunt venis, hac merce beati.
Indorum Terras hinc Tethyos æquora claudant,
Quas primo Titan adſcendens lumine cernit.
Unde Color populos niger eſt flagrantibus ortu,
Atque gerunt ſimiles hyacintho fronte Capillos.
Effodiunt alii terras aurique metallum:
Aſt Alii texunt tenuiſſima tegmina lini:
Vel dentes ſtringunt elephantis ab ore revulſos:
Scrutantur ripes alii torrentibus imbri
Berylli gemmas glauci, nitidumque adamanta,
Atque aura viridi legitur quæ ſplendet Iaſpis,
Curaliique decus liquidi, gratique Topazi
Purpureoque amethyſtos ineſt ſuffuſa colore.
Divitias magnas ſic tellus illa miniſtrat.
Aſſiduiſque rigant hanc totam fontibus amnes:
Arboribuſque viget variis, milioque frequenti,
Et pretio rubræ perfloret arundinis illa.
Hic alii ſuperant procero corpore tantum,
Inſiliant equitum faciles ut more Elephantos:
Aſt alii vivunt ſapienti pectore nudi
Luminibuſque vident rectis, mirabile, ſolem:
Et radios occulis, & ſacramente retractant,
Signaque concipiunt arcana luce futuri.
Pſittacus hic viridis decoratus torque rubenti
Naſcitur, humanæ ſimulat qui verbera linguæ.

II. The principal Hindrance that the Commerce of the Ancients met with was owing to the following Cauſes; firſt, the over-valuing their own Knowledge, and ſuppoſing all Nations at a Diſtance from them *Barbarians*, and more or leſs ſo in proportion to that Diſtance; the next was their adhering to their old Notions in Coſmography, notwithſtanding the Arguments their own Experience furniſhed to the contrary; and thirdly, their diſcontinuing their Voyages to diſtant Countries during domeſtick Confuſions, by which thoſe Routs were loſt which were known in former times, and their Diſcoveries ſo confounded, that it is ſcarce poſſible to affirm any thing about them with Certainty.

The two former were voluntary Errors, the laſt was rather their Miſfortune than their Fault. We have an Account in *Strabo* of a very ſingular Navigation to the *Indies* performed in the Reign of *Ptolemy Euergetes*, which, if carefully purſued, might have opened to them a much ſhorter and eaſier Paſſage to the *Indies* than they had been hitherto acquainted with. The Guards that were appointed to patrole on the Shore of the *Arabian* Gulph found an *Indian* half dead upon that Shore, and brought him to the King; all they could tell of him was, that he alone had eſcaped a Shipwreck; but as they underſtood not his Language, they were not able to ſay whence he came. The King cauſed him to be well taken care of, and to be inſtructed in the *Greek* Language, in which, when he had attained a ſufficient Knowledge to diſcourſe, he acquainted him, that in a Voyage from the *Indies*, being driven out of the uſual Courſe, he loſt all his Companions by Hunger; and the Ship being ſtranded, he eſcaped alone on Shore, where the Guards found him.

This Man offered to pilot a Ship to his own Country, which he did, and carried one *Eudoxus* with him. The Voyage was very happily performed, and they found in the Country to which this *Indian* carried them Aromaticks, and ſeveral ſorts of Precious Stones, ſome of which the *Indians* found in their Rivers, and others they dug out of the Earth in the ſame manner that Cryſtal is found. *Eudoxus* conceiving that he had acquired Experience enough by this Voyage, ſet up for a great Navigator, and undertook ſeveral Voyages to very little Purpoſe, becauſe he followed his own Notions inſtead of endeavouring to acquire proper Lights from the *Indians*, notwithſtanding it clearly appears from the Accident that befel this Man, that the *Indians* were much bolder and better Seamen than the *Greeks*.

But theſe laſt were ſo perſuaded of their own Skill, and had ſuch a Contempt for the Nations they held *Barbarians*, that nothing could induce them to change their Sentiments, or prevail on them to think of obtaining Lights from thoſe they ſo much deſpiſed. Biſhop *Huet*, ſpeaking of this Paſſage, ſeems to be of Opinion, that from the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* the *Egyptians* had neglected their *Indian* Commerce, and recovered it by this Accident. I muſt confeſs this does not appear at all probable to me, and I am rather inclinable to believe, that this *Indian* carried the Ship he navigated to a Part of the *Indies* with which till then they had never been acquainted; and this by the perfect Knowledge he had of the *Monſoons*, or conſtant Trade-Winds; for I cannot believe that the *Indians*, in theſe early Ages, had any other Secret which enabled them to make long Voyages in leſs time than other People. This is an Inſtance of the firſt Error.

As to the ſecond, one might collect many; but that I may not dwell too long upon this Subject, I will take notice only of one. They had a Notion that the Eaſtern and unknown Part of the *Indies* was bounded by the Ocean, and that this Ocean communicated with the *Hyrcanian*, or *Caſpian* Sea; and upon this they grounded their Hopes of diſcovering the moſt diſtant Part of the *Indies* by the Navigation of the latter. *Strabo* declares plainly, however, that he believes this Navigation never had been performed; but at the ſame time admits, that it was practicable. This he did on the Credit of *Patrocles*, who was ſent to make Diſcoveries on this Side by the *Seleucidæ*; and this he labours very earneſtly to prove by that kind of reaſoning, which will always affect the Vulgar among the Learned, and which no great Man ever wants to eſtabliſh what he thinks probable.

Pliny alſo mentions the Voyages of *Patrocles*, and ſeems to inſinuate that he actually diſcover'd ſome ſuch Paſſage; but what he ſays is very dark and perplexed, ſo that after all, one can affirm nothing poſitively from his Writings. The Opinion however grew common, and paſſed for currant, even upon ſuch obſcure Teſtimonies; and this drew after it, as a neceſſary Conſequence, a Notion that only an inconſiderable Part of the World remained undiſcovered; and this, together with the whimſical Apprehenſion that one Zone was intolerably hot, and two as intolerably cold, damped the Spirit of enquiring, and confined Men to the Spots where they happened to be born, or, at moſt, to thoſe which their Anceſtors had diſcovered by Accident or good Fortune, rather than Induſtry. Indeed, this circumſcribing Scheme is ſo ſtrong in the Ancients, and even in thoſe Works, which, at firſt Sight, appear calculated for a different Purpoſe; as for Inſtance, the Story of the Iſland *Atlantis*, related by *Plato*, and the famous

Expedition of *Hanno*, that they contain much more to affright and terrify, than to allure and invite Men to undertake long Voyages, and endeavour great Diſcoveries, which had this bad Effect, that it quite daſtardized common Minds, and rendered them incapable of being wrought into a Temper fit to go through the Hardſhips that muſt be met with in ſuch Undertakings.

The third Diſadvantage they laboured under was, the frequent Revolutions their own Countries were expoſed to; for this laid them under many and great Difficulties. They had this Method or that preſcribed to them by a ſuperior Power, and they were to purſue ſuch Plans only as were agreeable to the Government under which they lived, and thoſe too no longer than they were agreeable. Another Inconvenience was, the Interpoſition of the State on any Diſcovery, or ſurmiſed Diſcovery. It was to be cultivated or neglected at the Will of the Government, and not of the Adventurers, for the Spirit of Negotiation was not ſo free as it is now; but any Attempts out of the ordinary Mode of Commerce gave Jealouſies to ſuch as ought to have been beſt pleaſed with them.

Theſe Diſcouragements, at particular Times, and under particular Circumſtances, interrupted ſeveral kinds of Commerce, and kept the whole in ſuch a Condition as hindered private Men from turning their Thoughts this Way; for, otherwiſe, no doubt, they would have thought of ſettling Colonies, and ſecuring ſome Footing in the *Indies*, in order to have examined the whole of it, and putting the Navigation of it into a certain and irreverſible Order; ſo that nothing which happened at home might have affected thoſe Colonies: But after the Time of *Alexander*, or at leaſt, of his immediate Succeſſors, we find nothing of this ſort thought of, but every Thing abandoned to Chance and the Humour of the Times.

12. There were many Impediments beſides thoſe already mentioned, which hindered the Progreſs of Diſcoveries among the Ancients, and ſome of them of ſuch a Nature as to be almoſt invincible. Their Ships were built in ſuch a Manner, as did not, by any means, render them fit for long Voyages; for their Contrivance was ſuch, that they could not bear a high Sea, or go ſafely before the Wind at any great Rate. In the next place, their Ships wanted Room; and though this ſeems to be contradicted by the Accounts we have of Veſſels that carried ſeveral hundred Men, yet, when theſe come to be cloſely examined, they appear to be no other than a ſort of Barges, or rather Gallies, fit for tranſporting Men acroſs an Arm of the Sea, or for fighting, where this could be done in a few Hours after they were on Board; and this will be the more evident, if we reflect on the Scenes of naval Combats mentioned in the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtories. The Labour of working their Ships was likewiſe intolerable in a long Voyage; and theſe Inconveniencies taken together, appeared in the Eyes of their Seamen ſo dreadful, that they were more apt to mutiny, eſpecially when employed in Diſcoveries than can well be imagined, ſo that if it had not been for ſome Accidents, and their being encouraged by the Examples of the *Arabians* and *Indians*, it is ſcarce credible, that they would have made ſuch long Voyages as they really did.

If it ſhould be inquired how the *Arabians* and *Indians* made ſuch frequent Voyages in ſpite of theſe Inconveniencies, the Anſwer is eaſy, they made uſe of another ſort of Veſſels, which, though leſs ſtout in Appearance, were much better Sailers; nor would it be difficult to prove, even from the Accounts of *Strabo* and other ancient Writers, that the *Indians* actually made uſe in thoſe Days of the Paraos or Proes, which before a Wind are allowed to be the beſt ſailing Veſſels in the World. The Ancients wanted likewiſe the Aſſiſtance of Charts, which are ſo eſſentially neceſſary to Navigation; for it appears plainly from the Voyages already inſerted, and from the Accounts we have in *Pliny*, and in other Authors, that they were guided ſolely by a kind of Tables, containing the Names of Places on the Coaſt, and their Diſtances from each other; neither had they any Ideas of ſailing in a different manner, becauſe they knew not how to regulate their Courſe in an open Sea, which forced them upon the Choice of that ſort of Navigation which is now with Reaſon held to be the moſt dangerous, and in which they could make uſe of ſuch Veſſels only as had a ſmall Draught of Water; and this was particularly inconvenient in the Navigation of which we are ſpeaking, becauſe the *Indian* Coaſts are very foul, and by ſailing near them they loſt the Advantage of the Trade-Winds, which before the Invention of the Compaſs, afforded the only means of making long Voyages with Safety.

It muſt be owned that many of theſe Facts have been diſputed, and that too by very learned Men, who have endeavoured to perſuade us, that the Ancients wanted very few of the Conveniencies poſſeſſed by modern Navigators, as will be largely ſhewn in another Place; but at preſent it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that moſt of their Arguments are drawn from their own Explications of perplexed and obſcure Paſſages in Hiſtorians or Poets, whereas ours are grounded on the Scope of their general Hiſtories, and on Declarations in our Favour, as expreſs as can be deſired. For inſtance, *Vegetius* aſſures us, that the Seas were ſhut from *November* to *March*, and that it was not thought ſafe to undertake any Voyage of Conſequence before the Month of *May*. This very plainly proves the Defects of their Navigation, and that they loſt a great Part of the Year for want of thoſe Helps and Advantages, which purely from a Spirit of Contradiction theſe learned Men would perſuade us they enjoyed.

It may not be amiſs to remark, that ſuppoſing their Opinion to be true, it is ſo far from adding to the Credit of the Ancients, that it really does a greater Injury to their Reputation, than the contrary Aſſertion taken in the ſtrongeſt Senſe; for if the Ancients had the Uſe of the Compaſs, and of Sea-Charts, as theſe learned Writers maintain, their not making a better Uſe of them is altogether inexcuſable, and ſhews ſuch a want of Spirit, and ſuch a Defect of Genius, as is abſolutely irreconcileable to their Performances in other Arts; but what ſeems to put the Matter beyond all Queſtion is this, that the *Arabians* becoming Maſters of the *Greek* Learning as well as of their Empire, and tranſlating into their own Language the beſt Books that were written on theſe Subjects, met with nothing that at all coroborates this Notion of the great Knowledge of the Ancients, with reſpect to the Inſtruments of Navigation neceſſary in long Voyages.

Sir *John Chardin*, who was a Man of much reading, as well as of a good Underſtanding, and withal a great Traveller, has delivered his Sentiments upon this Subject in the following Terms, which I the rather cite in this Place, becauſe I ſhall not hereafter have any Opportunity of entering again on ſuch Reflections in the Courſe of this Chapter. “ I “ cannot tell, ſays he, whether the *Chineſe* found out the “ Art of Navigation and the Compaſs, as they did the Art “ of Printing and Artillery; we ſhould conſult the learned “ Men amongſt them to be aſſured of it. But for the “ other *Aſiatics*, I boldly aſſert, they are beholden to us “ for this wonderful Inſtrument which they had from “ *Europe* by the Hands of the *Arabs*, a long time before “ the *Portugueze* Conqueſts: For, firſt, their Compaſſes “ are exactly like ours, and they buy them up of the *Europeans* as much as they can, ſcarce daring to meddle “ with their Needles themſelves. Secondly, it is certain “ the old Navigators only coaſted it, which I impute to “ the Want of this Inſtrument to guide them, and inſtruct “ them in the wide Ocean. We cannot pretend to ſay “ they were afraid of venturing far from home; for the “ *Arabs*, the firſt Navigators in the World in my Opinion, “ at leaſt for the Eaſtern Seas, have, Time out of Mind, “ ſailed from the Bottom of the *Red-Sea* all along the Coaſt “ of *Africk*, down to the Tropick of *Capricorn*, which is “ a Space of fifty Degrees; and the *Chineſe* have always “ traded with the Inhabitants of the Iſlands of *Java* and “ *Sumatra*, which is alſo a very conſiderable Voyage. So “ many Iſlands uninhabited, and at the ſame time productive, ſo many Lands unknown to the People I ſpeak of “ are a Proof that the old Navigators had not the Art of “ ſailing on the wide Sea. I have nothing but Argument “ and Conjecture to offer touching this Matter, having “ never met with any body in *Perſia*, or the *Indies*, to “ inform me when the Compaſs was firſt known among “ them, though I made Enquiry of the moſt learned

“ Men in each Country. I have ſailed from the *Indies* to
“ *Perſia* in *Indian* Ships, when no *European* has been on
“ Board but myſelf: The Pilots were all *Indians*, and they
“ uſed the Foreſtaff and Quadrant for their Obſervations.
“ Theſe Inſtruments they have from us, and made by
“ ours, not in the leaſt varying therefrom, except that the
“ Characters are *Arabic*; and by the way I obſerved, that
“ the *Arabs* are the moſt ſkilful Navigators of all the
“ *Aſiatics* and *Africans*; but neither they nor the *Indians*
“ make uſe of Charts, and indeed they do not much want
“ them; ſome they have, but they are copied from ours,
“ for they are quite ignorant of Perſpective.”

13. After the copious Detail we have given of the Progreſs of the Commerce of the Ancients in the Eaſt, we ſhall conclude this Section with a very ſuccinct Compariſon between their Endeavours and Succeſſes in this Reſpect, and the Labours in the ſame way of the Moderns. In the firſt place then we have made it highly probable, that even in the moſt flouriſhing State of their Trade, their actual Diſcoveries did not reach farther to the Eaſt than the Peninſula of *Malacca*; for as to the *Sinus Magnus*, they could know nothing of it but by Hear-ſay, unleſs they had known all the reſt of the *Indies*. On the Continent again the *Sinæ*, which were the *Siameſe*, were the laſt People they knew on that Side. In regard to the Northern *Indies*, they knew very little with any ſort of Certainty beyond the *Emodian* Mountains; and moſt evident it is, even from their beſt Writers, that they had not ſo much as Reports of the Nations inhabiting beyond the Mountains of *Imaus*. But we have diſcovered Eaſtward the Country of *Cochin-China*, and all the Countries dependant upon it, the Kingdom of *Tonkin*, the vaſt Empire of *China*, all the Iſlands of the *Sound*, the *Moluccas*, the *Old* and *New Philippines*, and the Country of *New Guinea*, ſo that conſidered in this Light, our Diſcoveries exceed theirs by twenty Degrees of Longitude. Towards the North again, beſides what has been diſcovered by Land, the *Dutch* have moſt certainly proceeded as high as forty-five Degrees ſailing to the North-eaſt of *Japon*, ſo that without exaggerating the Part of *Aſia* made known to us by our *Eaſt-India* Voyages, is equal to all the reſt of *Aſia* that was known to the Ancients. It is not therefore at all ſtrange, that our *India* Trade ſhould ſo much exceed theirs, though carried on at ſo much greater Diſtance.

In the next place, it may be obſerved, that though the Trade to the *Indies* was never carried to Perfection by the *Egyptians*, *Tyrians*, or *Romans*, yet it was known to them, and made the Subject of their Books for a long Courſe of Ages, ſince from the firſt Kingdom of *Tyre* to the Reign of *Conſtantine the Great* includes above eight hundred Years, whereas all our Diſcoveries of the *Eaſt-Indies* were made within two Centuries after a Paſſage was found thither by the *Cape of Good Hope*, ſo that in this reſpect the Induſtry of the Ancients is very far ſurpaſſed by that of the Moderns.

The third Obſervation I ſhall make is with regard to the Difference between a Land Force and a Naval Power. We have ſeen how many fruitleſs Attempts were made by the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* Monarchs to extend their Conqueſts towards the Eaſt; and we have likewiſe ſeen of how ſhort a Continuance the Conqueſts were of *Alexander the Great*, and his Succeſſors, together with the Attempts made by the *Romans*, after they had reduced *Egypt* to a Province, and were Maſters of a great Part of *Aſia*, which, all of them, are nothing in Compariſon of the Empire eſtabliſhed by the *Portugueze*, or rather the Compariſon falls as far ſhort as the Power of the little Kingdom of *Portugal*, when thrown into the Balance with that of the Empire of *Rome*; and the Eſtabliſhments of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in thoſe Parts; but more eſpecially of the latter plainly demonſtrate, that with reſpect to the Advantages derived from Conqueſts, a Maritime Power is infinitely ſuperior to the Strength even of the moſt extended Empires.

The *Romans* had in this reſpect in all Appearance the higheſt Advantages; they were Maſters of the Country to the very Mouth of the *Arabian* Gulph on one Side, and had a very large Tract of Country on the other. The Terror of their Name was ſo great, that they had hardly any Oppoſition to fear by Land or Sea; and if one Expedition had failed, they might very ſoon have repaired the Loſs ſuſtained in it, and have been in a Condition to have undertaken another. Yet we ſee nothing of this happened; and it was not above twice or thrice thought of, and then to no great Purpoſe. *Auguſtus* had formed a Deſign of reducing the *Peninſula* of *Arabia*, to which he was excited by many Reaſons; ſuch as that the Inhabitants of the Coaſt between the *Arabian* and *Perſian* Gulphs were in Poſſeſſion of the whole Trade of the Eaſt; there were ſome of the Nations on the Coaſt oppoſite to *Egypt* that were extremely addicted to Piracy, and greatly diſturbed the Navigation of the *Romans*, which probably happened from their having lighter Veſſels, and ſuch as ſailed better, ſo that if at any time they met with Ships of greater Force, they were able to leave them, and make their Eſcapes; the Situation of the Country alſo might probably be a ſtrong Inducement to the attempting this Conqueſt, becauſe it ſeemed to promiſe the intire Poſſeſſion of the Oriental Commerce without Interruption. But we have ſeen how that Expedition, undertaken with ſo great Precaution, and with ſuch a Force as was never employed in the Eaſt by any modern Potentate, was intirely defeated. The Emperors *Flavius* and *Titus Veſpaſian*, had alſo ſome Thoughts of puſhing their Conqueſts on this Side; but Hiſtory does not inform us, that they ever took any effectual Steps towards putting thoſe Deſigns in Execution. *Trajan* made the laſt Attempt upon *Arabia* from the *Perſian* Side, with a potent and victorious Army; and this with no other View, than to have made himſelf Maſter of the Wealth which the *Arabians* had amaſſed by their extenſive Commerce; but he likewiſe failed, and from a too quick Senſe of his Diſappointment, broke his Heart.

Let us now conſider what Proſpect the *Portugueze* had of reaching and making Conqueſts in the *Indies*. Inſtead of croſſing from the Mouth of the *Arabian* Gulph to the Coaſt of *Malabar*, which is a Voyage only of a few Days they were to ſail round the whole Continent of *Africa*, then a Coaſt in a great meaſure unknown; and at the ſame time the adjacent Seas were remarkable for their being almoſt conſtantly ſubject to Storms and Tempeſts, inſomuch, that when the utmoſt Cape was firſt diſcovered, the Diſcoverer called it the *Tempeſtuous Cape*; but the King of *Portugal* foreſeeing the Advantages that would reſult from this Navigation, changed that Name for *The Cape of Good Hope*, and with a few Ships, and a very ſmall Force, attempted and ſettled not only a Commerce with the *Indies*, but raiſed a very conſiderable Empire there in ſpite of all the Oppoſition that could be given him. This manifeſtly ſhews not only the Superiority of the Moderns over the Ancients in Point of Navigation, but likewiſe that the moſt diſtant Voyages are beſt ſuited to the raiſing a Maritime Power, that is to ſay, a Power by Sea that is permanent, and not raiſed and overthrown ſuddenly, as the Maritime Powers among the Ancients frequently were. It alſo effectually demonſtrates, that it is not a mighty but a well-conducted Force that is proper for eſtabliſhing diſtant Conqueſts; and that where a Nation is once poſſeſſed of a conſiderable Fleet, there is no Country at ſuch a Diſtance as to be out of her Reach, neither are her Settlements in any Danger of being deſtroyed, while they are worth keeping, and while the Government at home is ſufficiently attentive to their Preſervation; ſo that the Circumſtances which ſeem at firſt Sight the moſt diſcouraging in regard to the attaining Foreign Power and Maritime Force, are, in reality, thoſe which moſt contribute to the Eſtabliſhment of it; and to the preſerving it when eſtabliſhed by ſecuring a conſtant Supply of all that is neceſſary for that Purpoſe.

It is by long Voyages, only made with Danger and Uncertainty, that People require the Means of making long Voyages with Eaſe and Safety; the Perils they eſcape once they know how to avoid again; they become acquainted by degrees, and by Experience, with the Nature of Things which never could have been reached by the Penetration even of the ſharpeſt Underſtanding; and by thus becoming acquainted with the Laws, or rather with the Courſe of Nature, they gain inſenſibly a kind of Superiority over Nature; ſo that in ſome Senſe the very Winds and Seas may be ſaid to obey them. When the *Portugueſe* firſt undertook their *Indian* Expedition, they neither had good Ships, nor knew how to build them. It was not therefore in Virtue of their great naval Force, that they became Maſters of theſe Countries, but it was their Deſire of becoming Maſters of them, that put them upon raiſing one capable of atchieving it.

It is very remarkable, that the firſt Place in the *Indies* at which they arrived, was *Malabar*, a Country which, as we have ſhewn, was known to the Ancients, and that too for a long Tract of Time, but ſo imperfectly that they were not ſo much as able to give us a tolerable Deſcription of it. Whereas in the Space of fifty Years, or leſs, the *Portugueſe* were Lords not only of that, but of all the adjacent Countries, raiſed and depoſed Princes as they thought fit, and diſpoſed of Kingdoms at their Pleaſure. The great Iſland of *Ceylon*, which, as we have proved, was the *Taprobana* of the Ancients, of which, after ſo many Voyages to the *Indies*, they have given us ſuch lame Accounts, was not only perfectly diſcovered within the Space of Time before mentioned, but in the Hands of the *Portugueſe*, who impoſed a Tribute upon the Inhabitants, though all the Force they had then in the *Indies*, was not equal to a thouſandth Part of their Number.

Theſe Reflections will lead the intelligent Reader into many more upon this Subject, and enable him to comprehend perfectly the Difference between the Attempts made by the Ancients, and the Exploits of the Moderns in this Part of the World, which, at preſent, is all our Buſineſs; and having thus travelled through the darkeſt and moſt perplexed Part of our Subject on which we were obliged to enlarge ourſelves, in order to be perfectly underſtood, and to ſatiſfy the Reader, that though every Thing within this Period of Time, was confuſed and embarraſſed enough; yet it was far from being ſo utterly unintelligible, as it has been hitherto repreſented; we may have Leave to be more conciſe for the future, in reſpect to thoſe Things that are better known, and with regard to which therefore long Digreſſions are unneceſſary.

In order to connect the ancient and modern Hiſtory of the Commerce between *Europe* and the *Eaſt-Indies*, it is requiſite that we ſhould give a ſhort Account of the Intercourſe between the Subjects of the *Greek* Empire and the People of the *Indies*; for the Reader muſt naturally apprehend that after the imperial Seat was transferred from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*, *Egypt* remaining ſtill a Province no leſs uſeful to the latter than the former, this Commerce which had hitherto been in a manner annexed to the Poſſeſſion of *Egypt*, muſt have been not only preſerved, but encouraged and extended.

He will likewiſe, no doubt, be glad to ſee the Changes that happened in it, the new Routs that were opened to and from the *Indies*, by which the Commodities of thoſe Countries came by ſo many different Chanels into *Europe*, and which by the Riches they derived to the ſeveral Nations that intermeddled with this Commerce, excited that Spirit of Diſcovery which has ſince laid open that Trade directly to all the modern maritime Powers, and made their Eſtabliſhments in the *Indies*, the moſt ſolid Proofs of their having a juſt Right to that Title. Theſe, God willing, we ſhall diſpatch within the Compaſs of two ſhort Sections, and then we ſhall enter on the Travels to the *Indies*, which firſt acquainted the northern and weſtern Parts of the World, with the Interior of thoſe Countries, the Nature of their Inhabitants, the Conſtitution of their Governments, and the Hiſtory of the moſt remarkable Events which had fallen out in them.

A Sort of Travels that, as they appeared ſtrange and ſurpriſing in the Times in which they were firſt publiſhed, ſo when exhibited ſimply and plainly as their Authors wrote them, and without the whimſical Additions by which they were disfigured in our old Tranſlations, they cannot fail of being thought equally curious and inſtructive even at this Day, the rather becauſe we love to trace Things to their Beginnings, and to ſee what ſtrange Impreſſions the Sight of Countries, People, and Manners ſo different from their own, made upon the Minds of thoſe who firſt viſited thoſe remote Regions, and that too in an Age not altogether ſo free from Superſtition and Prejudice as this in which we live.

SECTION XVI.

A conciſe Hiſtory of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Decline of the Conſtantinopolitan *Empire, together with the Commerce of its Subjects in the* Eaſt; *as alſo a brief Detail of the Riſe of the* Arabian *Empire, the Recovery of the* Indian *Commerce in* Egypt, *and the reviving the Trade of* Alexandria.

1. *A Deſcription of the City of* Conſtantinople, *and a ſhort View of the many Advantages derived to it from its commodious Situation.* 2. *The great Care taken by the Succeſſors of* Conſtantine *for the Support of maritime Power.* 3. *The great naval Strength of that Empire, and the Diſpoſition of its Fleets.* 4. *The Ruin of the Silk-Trade under the Emperor* Juſtinian. 5. *Silk-worms firſt brought to* Europe, *and a compendious Hiſtory of that Manufacture to the preſent Times.* 6. *A large Account of the ſeveral* Indian *Commodities that were brought to* Conſtantinople. 7. *A conciſe View of the State of that Empire, from the Reign of* Juſtinian *to that of* Heraclius. 8. *The Victories of* Heraclius *over the* Perſians, *and the Embaſſies ſent him from the* Indies. 9. *The Riſe and Progreſs of the* Arabian *Empire, to the Time of the Conqueſt of* Egypt. 10. *The Foundation of* Grand Cairo, *and the Revival of the* Indian *Trade in* Egypt. 11. *The Hiſtory of the* Arabian *Commerce continued, with the Revival of that of* Alexandria. 12. *The State of* Conſtantinople, *to the Time of its being taken by the* Turks. 13. *Obſervations and Remarks upon the foregoing Hiſtory.*

1. THE beſt Writers of Antiquity differ very much as to the Reaſons which induced *Conſtantine* the Great, to remove the Seat of Empire from *Rome* to the new City, which he called by his own Name. Some aſcribe it to his Care of the Eaſtern Provinces, and others to his being ſenſible that the *Romans* hated him. Whatever his Reaſons were, moſt certainly the Majeſty of old *Rome* could not have been tranſlated to a City better ſeated for Empire than this, which the Emperor *Conſtantine* ſtiled new *Rome*. It's old Name was *Byzantium*; and it had run through a great Variety of Accidents before *Conſtantine*, who firſt thought of rebuilding *Troy*, caſt his Eyes upon it, and immediately diſcerned that no Place was ſo fit to become the Metropolis of the *Roman* Empire, and Miſtreſs of the World. It ſtands on a Point of Land on the ancient Boſphorus of *Thrace*, where there is a narrow Straight which ſerves to divide *Europe* and *Aſia*, and, at the ſame time, forms a Communication between the *White* and the *Black-Sea*.

The City ſtretches itſelf out in the Manner of an Amphitheatre, having on its Right-hand the *Archipelago*, and all the Mediterranean; and on the Left, the *Black-Sea* up to the *Palus Meotides*; ſo that it has all *Aſia* in

Front, and all *Europe* behind. It is in Virtue of this Situation that this City is very juſtly ſtiled the Key both of the Mediterranean and black Sea. The Emperor, its Founder, took all imaginable Care to render it the moſt magnificent Place in all the World, to adorn it with Churches, Palaces, and other publick Buildings; and to provide for its Security, by all the Arts of Fortification practiſed in thoſe Days. But ſtill the Conveniency of its Situation ſeems to have had a greater Share in rendering it populous, and in preventing ſucceeding Emperors from thinking either of going back to *Rome*, or of chuſing any other Place of Reſidence, than all the Pains taken by *Conſtantine* to render it equally ſtately and commodious.

The ſpacious Fields of *Thrace* that lay immediately behind it, furniſhed Corn in Abundance, and that Part of *Aſia* which was over-againſt it, was, for many Ages, the beſt peopled, and the beſt cultivated Country in the World. The Markets were always full of Fleſh and Fowl, at the cheapeſt Rates; and for Fiſh it had, and has ſtill a greater Abundance than any other City in the Univerſe, inſomuch that twenty Boats have been laden with one Net. The Inhabitants were ſupplied with Wines of the richeſt Growths, in the greateſt Plenty, ſo that in ancient Times, they were reproached with being continually at the Bottle; and, even to this Day, the *Greeks* lie under the ſame Imputation; though the *Turks* being reſtrained by their Religion, are leſs addicted to this Vice, though not wholly exempt from it neither. As to Timber, *Conſtantinople* is ſo plentifully ſupplied from the Woods which extend from *Propontis* quite to *Colchis*, in a Tract of more than forty Days Journey, that in the Space of ſo many Ages as ſhe has already ſtood, ſhe has never felt the leaſt Inconvenience, notwithſtanding ſhe has ſupplied all the neighbouring Parts with what was requiſite for building Ships and Houſes, and even *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and *Africa*, have likewiſe received Materials from her Stores.

But the greateſt Beauty, the greateſt Advantage, the moſt diſtinguiſhing Felicity of this imperial City is, her Port, by Nature, the moſt lovely in the World, being ſix Miles in Compaſs, a full Mile over, and every where ſo deep that Ships may lie with their Heads aſhore, without Danger. This Harbour is not more ſafe and ſpacious than convenient; for when the Winds are N. N. E. or N. W. ſo that no Ships can come in from the Mediterranean, they bring in thoſe from the black Sea; and when they vere about to the oppoſite Points of S. S. W. or S. E. they bring up the Veſſels from the Mediterranean; ſo that conſidered in this Light, *Conſtantinople* ſeems deſigned by Nature to be the Centre of Commerce for *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*.

2. It was very probably the Senſe which they had of theſe prodigious Advantages that induced the Emperors, for a long Series of Time, to bend a great Part of their Endeavours to the Encouragement of Merchants and Mariners. The Emperor *Conſtantius*, for Example, exempted them from all Charges and Contributions to which the other Subjects of the Empire were liable; and this in ſo ample a Manner that no pretended Caſes of Neceſſity could affect them. Succeeding Emperors diſtinguiſhed between Merchants and Mariners, ſubjecting the former to Duties and Impoſitions, but exempting the latter, and extending their Privileges to a very great Degree. The Reaſon of this was, becauſe that Merchants reaped all the Profits of Commerce to all the Hazards and Dangers of which the Mariners alone were expoſed. As the Emperors had frequent Occaſion to fit out Fleets for the publick Service, and as the manning of theſe might have been very prejudicial to Commerce, a Law was provided which remedied this Inconvenience, and that in ſo ſingular a Manner, that it deſerves to be particularly taken Notice of.

There were certain Lands, in the Nature of Fiefs, granted for this Service; that is to ſay, the Owners poſſeſſed them together with the Privileges incident to Mariners, upon expreſs Condition, that in Conſideration of theſe Eſtates, they ſhould furniſh according to their reſpective Values, a certain Number of Seamen, whenever the publick Service required them. Thus the Burthen was laid upon Lands, and not upon Perſons; and as the Circumſtances of People might change, and this Duty of providing Seamen, become inconvenient, or even impracticable; for the original Poſſeſſors of ſuch Eſtates, the Law provided that they might be at Liberty to diſpoſe of them to ſuch as might be more capable of complying with the Terms upon which they were held.

By this Method the *Greek* Emperors were able to fit out very great Fleets in caſe of Neceſſity, as appears by that of the Emperor *Leo*, in the Middle of the fifth Century, which was intended againſt the *Vandals*, and conſiſted of eleven hundred Sail, which, however, were all deſtroyed on the Coaſt of *Africa* by the Treaſon of him who commanded them. This alone is a ſtrong Proof of the great maritime Power of the *Conſtantinoplitan* Empire, while it flouriſhed; but we have a much more ſignal Proof in the Eſtabliſhments made by theſe Emperors for the ſeveral Fleets appointed for the Defence and Support of their Empire, which Eſtabliſhments appear very clearly from the ſeveral Bodies of their Laws ſtill remaining, and which prove, beyond all Contradiction, that ſo long as this Empire continued in a flouriſhing Condition, the utmoſt Care was taken for the Encouragement and Protection of Commerce, by a right Application of that maritime Force we have before deſcribed.

3. The Province of *Egypt* was of no leſs Importance to the *Greek*, than to the *Roman* Empire; and the utmoſt Care was taken to regulate the annual Fleets from that Province, ſo that the City of *Conſtantinople* might be regularly ſupplied with whatever Proviſions ſhe had Occaſion for from thence, and have likewiſe the moſt valuable Returns that were made from the *Indian* Commerce by the way of the *Red-Sea*. It was by this means that immenſe Riches were regularly drawn from thence, and the beſt Part of the Profits of that advantageous Trade conſtantly conveyed to the Imperial Reſidence, as appears by a Multitude of Laws yet extant in relation to the Fleet of *Alexandria*, on Board of which thoſe Treaſures were carried to *Conſtantinople*. The next ſtationed Fleet was that of *Africa*, which was chiefly deſigned for the Benefit of *Old Rome*; for all the Commerce of *Alexandria* being diverted to *Conſtantinople*, that Supply of Proviſions, for which hitherto *Rome* had depended upon the Fleet of *Egypt*, was now to be received by this of *Africa*; and for a long Courſe of Years this Expedient anſwered the End very well.

The third Fleet was that of the Eaſt, the principal Station of which was at *Seleucia*, a City of *Syria*, ſeated on the River *Orontes*; and this Fleet ſeems to have been divided into ſeveral Squadrons, and from the many Laws made about it, appears to have been of very great Importance. It was chiefly by the Help of this Fleet that the Commerce of *Perſia* and the *Higher Aſia* was carried on, which was very rich, and included ſome Branches of that of the *Indies*. Great Care was taken in the regulating this Trade, to prevent the Empire from ſuffering by the ſending of *Perſian* Spies, in the Garb of Merchants, into the *Roman* Provinces. The Places therefore to which the *Perſian* Merchants might repair, were pointed out, and ſettled by Law; as alſo the Seaſons at which Fairs were to be held, and the Time they were to laſt, by which Contrivance a Door was opened for conveying all the Trade of *Aſia* into this Channel; for when the Goods purchaſed at different Places were brought by the reſpective Fleets attending the Provinces in which thoſe Fairs were held to *Seleucia*, they were there embarked on Board the Grand Fleet for *Conſtantinople*.

Beſides theſe there was another Fleet in the *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Black Sea*, which brought annually vaſt Quantities of Corn to *Conſtantinople*, together with abundance of rich Commodities, and amongſt them ſome from the *Indies*, which were brought thither by a Rout, that will be explained in the next Section. This Fleet ſerved likewiſe to awe the ſeveral barbarous Nations inhabiting the Coaſts of that Sea, and thereby contributed exceedingly to the Tranquillity of the Empire. It is very probable from the Laws that we find in the Code of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, that beſides theſe great Fleets, every maritime Province of the Empire had its peculiar Squadron ſtationed at a certain Port, which every Year carried the Revenues of the Province to *Conſtantinople*. There were likewiſe vaſt Numbers of flat-bottomed Veſſels maintained at the publick Expence on all the great Rivers that paſſed through the Empire for the tranſporting Troops, and other requiſite Services, as occaſion required.

Whoever conſiders this Diſtribution of things attentively, will eaſily diſcern that there never was a Government in the World, the Peace and Proſperity of which depended more immediately on the right Management of Maritime Affairs, than that of this Empire. But as it was very extenſive, and as an equal Care was neceſſary for the preſerving Order in every Part of it, we need not wonder, that in Proceſs of Time many Errors crept in, and a Multitude of Laws were made neceſſary for remedying the Inconveniencies they produced, till by degrees the new Regulations claſhing with the old ones, occaſioned greater Miſchiefs than all the reſt, and joined to a Depravity of Manners among their Governors; and the Invaſions from barbarous Nations, to which they were continually expoſed, brought on their Ruin of an Empire, which was grown too bulky to be well managed.

4. It is very certain, and we ſhall quickly have an Opportunity of making it evident, that ſo long as the *Greek* Empire was in a ſafe and flouriſhing Condition, the Subjects thereof had a general Correſpondence in the Eaſt, and carried on a conſiderable Commerce to the *Indies* by different Canals. It would take up too much Room to ſtate a Multitude of Facts from the *Byzantine* Hiſtorians, which might eſtabliſh this Aſſertion; but that we may not leave this Part of our Hiſtory leſs perfect than the reſt, it ſeems reaſonable to report ſome few Inſtances which may anſwer this Purpoſe, and that too in a narrow Compaſs. The learned Hiſtorian *Procopius*, who has preſerved a Multitude of curious Paſſages in reſpect to the Reign of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, in which he flouriſhed, has among the reſt two very ſingular Facts that fall in exactly with our Deſign.

He tells us, that this Emperor, who began his Reign *A.D.* 528, and who had found a way to grant Monopolies of almoſt every ſort of Commodity, except Silks, took the following Method of getting that likewiſe into his Hands. It ſeems, this Manufacture was carried on no where but in the Cities of *Berytus* and *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, and Silks were of a ſudden grown to a moſt extravagant Price, which was ſaid to ariſe from the Covetouſneſs of the *Perſian* Monarch, who had impoſed a heavy Duty upon Silks, which the *Roman* Merchants were obliged to pay for all they purchaſed in his Dominions; the Emperor finding this conſidered as a great Hardſhip, publiſhed an Edict, by which he pretended to ſettle the Price of Silk at eight Crowns of Gold for a Pound, and threatened with Confiſcation of their Goods ſuch as ſhould preſume to ſell it dearer.

This ruined the Merchants who dealt in that Commodity, who found themſelves obliged by this Law to ſell Silk for leſs than it coſt them; and therefore they quitted Trade, and diſpoſed privately of all the Silk they had to Perſons they could confide in. The Empreſs *Theodora*, having Intelligence of this, cauſed all their Goods to be confiſcated, and impoſed a large Fine on them beſides. By this Contrivance all the Silk in the Empire fell into her Hands; and by the Aſſiſtance of one *Peter Berſamez*, who was her Inſtrument, ſhe ſold it out publickly at the Rate of ſix Crowns an Ounce for that of an ordinary Dye; and the ſuperfine Colours were ſold at different Rates up to twenty-four Crowns an Ounce, all the Manufacturers working for them. By this iniquitous Practice the Emperor and Empreſs got immenſe Wealth, and *Berſamez* their Agent much more; but in the mean time the Merchants of *Conſtantinople* were ruined and undone, the Manufacturers at *Berytus* and *Tyre* reduced to abſolute Beggary, and Numbers of induſtrious Perſons forced to leave their Wives and Families in order to ſeek Employment in *Perſia*.

This is a very curious Paſſage, inaſmuch as it ſhews us the State of the Silk Trade at that Time, the Places in which Silk was wrought up, and the Value of that Commodity. But the ſecond Article we ſhall borrow from that Hiſtorian is ſtill more curious, becauſe it ſhews how the Price of Silk was reduced, not only throughout the *Greek* Empire, but throughout all *Europe*. Before we come to this, however, it is requiſite to obſerve, that even in the midſt of this Extortion there had been a Time when Silk was much dearer. For under the Reign of the Emperor *Aurelian* Silk had been ſold for its Weight in Gold; that is to ſay, a Pound of one was weighed againſt a Pound of the other; but as theſe Gold Crowns, or Aurei, as they are called in old Hiſtorians, were made by dividing a Pound of Gold into one hundred Parts, it is plain, that the Empreſs's Agent ſold Silk of common Colours for ſeventy-two Aurei, and Silk undyed perhaps cheaper. We may conceive from hence the Hardſhips that the Merchants were laid under by their being obliged to ſell it for twelve Aurei, which conſidering that they imported it from *Perſia*, and the *Perſians* at that time probably from *India*, it muſt have come to them at a much dearer Rate.

5. This exceſſive Price of Silk, whatever temporary Miſchiefs it might produce, had a very good Effect in the main; for the Emperor perceiving that his Subjects were chiefly tied to a continual Trade with *Perſia*, for the ſake of this Commodity, diſcovered a great Deſire to ſee them freed from this Inconvenience; upon which two *Indian* Monks, or rather two Monks that had travelled to the *Indies*, went to the Emperor, and told him, that they could very eaſily ſettle that Manufacture amongſt his Subjects, ſo as that they might never be under the Neceſſity of dealing with any Strangers, much leſs with the *Perſians*, for that Commodity. This Silk, ſaid they, which is ſo precious here, is in *Serinda*, the moſt populous and moſt civilized Country in the *Indies*, where we have ſpent many Years, ſpun by certain little Worms, which Inſtinct they receive from Nature. As for theſe Worms, it is impoſſible to tranſport them; but their Eggs may be brought from thence without any Difficulty, and hatched here by giving them a certain Degree of Heat.

Such were the Propoſals made by the Monks to *Juſtinian*, who readily cloſed with them, making them great Promiſes, in caſe they were able to bring this Matter to bear, which without much Difficulty they did; for returning to the *Indies*, they brought from thence a conſiderable Quantity of the Eggs, nouriſhing the Worms when they came out with the Leaves of Mulberries; and thus, ſays my Author *Procopius*, was the Art of making Silk introduced into the *Greek* Empire.

This Tranſaction fell out *A.D.* 550, but it was a long time before it ſpread itſelf much beyond the Bounds of the *Greek* Empire; for we find, that *A.D.* 1130, *Roger* King of *Sicily*, having conquered a Part of *Greece*, brought over into his own Country the Art of managing Silk-Worms, which was quickly transferred from thence to *Calabria*, and other Parts of *Italy*, where it flouriſhed for ſome Ages, before it was transferred to the Southern Parts of *France*, which the great Hiſtorian *Mezeray* tells us, happened under the Reign of *Francis* the Firſt, in which, however, he is miſtaken; for *Lewis* XI. *A.D.* 1470, introduced it into his Dominions, and ſent for Perſons ſkilful in the Art of managing Silk, not only from *Genoa*, *Venice*, and *Florence*, but alſo from *Greece*; and by his Letters Patent, dated in the Year 1480, granted them great Privileges. But the Price of this Commodity was ſtill kept up at a great Height.

Our King *Henry* VIII. who was a very magnificent Prince, wore commonly Woollen Hoſe, unleſs by Chance he had a Pair of Silk from *Spain*. His Son *Edward* VI. had a Pair of Silk Stockings preſented him by Sir *Thomas Greſham*, which Preſent of his was much taken Notice of. Queen *Elizabeth*, in the third Year of her Reign, had a Pair of black knit Silk Stockings given her by Mrs. *Montague*, and ſhe never wore Worſted afterwards. In the Year 1600, Mr. *William Lee*, a Native of *Nottingham*, and educated in St. *John's* College at *Cambridge*, invented the Art of Frame-work Knitting, which has been ſince much improved. Having thus traced the Silk Manufacture from the *Indies* hither, we will now return to the proper Subject of this Section, and endeavour to make good what we have before aſſerted, that the *Indian* Commerce did not ſuffer by this Change of the Seat of Empire.

6. It appears clearly from hence, that under the *Greek* Emperors, Voyages to the *Indies* were become more common than in former times; but we could ſcarce have believed that ſo many different kinds of *Indian* Commodities, and almoſt from every Part of *India*, were common at *Conſtantinople*, if it were not verified to us by the publick Laws of the

Empire, collected into a Body by the Emperor *Justinian*; from whence it appears, that there were several Duties imposed upon a Multitude of Goods brought from the *Indies*, such as Spices of different kinds; for instance, Cinnamon, which came from the Iſland of *Ceylon*, but not in any great Quantity; for it was always very dear, the *Xilo Cinnamomum* was no other than the Wood of the Cinnamon Tree, on which there was alſo a Duty; but it does not appear of what Uſe it was, or whence it grew into Eſteem; perhaps it was uſed in the ſame manner that we do other Woods, in Decoctions. *Caſſia*, deſcribed at large by ſeveral ancient Authors, from whom it appears to have been a ſort of milder Cinnamon; this likewiſe comes from *Malabar* and *Ceylon*. We learn from ſome very judicious Writers, and who are well acquainted with the Manner of collecting Spices in the *Indies*, that the *Caſſia Lignea* is, in truth, nothing more than the thick Bark of the true Cinnamon Tree, which has very little Flavour, by which they mean that this is the Spice known to the Ancients by that Name; but the Modern Caſſia is another thing, and ſomewhat of a higher Flavour.

Pepper of ſeveral kinds, ſuch as long Pepper, white Pepper, and black Pepper, all of them from the *Indies*. *Pliny* is very angry that this Spice ſhould be ſo much admired; for, as he obſerves, other things are either pleaſant to the Sight, the Smell, or the Taſte, whereas there is nothing in Pepper agreeable to any of theſe Senſes; and yet, ſays he, what grows wild, and is of no Value in the *Indies*, is with us ſold by Weight, like Gold or Silver, for no other Reaſon, adds he, but becauſe it comes from *India*. In his Time the long Pepper was worth about nine or ten Shillings a Pound of our Money, white Pepper was of half that Value, and black about half a Crown a Pound; and it ſeems to have been as dear at *Conſtantinople*. Ginger, of which *Pliny* tells us, that many in his Time thought it the Root of the Pepper Tree; but he aſſures us, that was a vulgar Miſtake, for that in Reality, it was the Root of a little Herb, which grew commonly in the Meadows of *Arabia*, and in the Country of the *Troglodites*. This Spice is likewiſe deſcribed by *Dioſcorides*, who agrees very well with *Pliny*. But after all, Ginger does not grow, either in the Manner, or in the Countries they mention. It is, indeed, a kind of Lilly, the Flower of which is red mixed with green. It grows in the moſt remote Parts of the *Indies*, and over a great Part of *China*; but ſince it has been tranſplanted into the *Weſt-Indies*, we have the beſt Part of our Ginger from thence. The *Chineſe* eſteem it very much, eſpecially as a wet Sweet-meat, and tranſport a great deal of it to *Batavia*, where it is generally eat after Meals to aſſiſt Digeſtion. It did not bear a very high Price among the Ancients; for in the Time of *Pliny* it was not above three Shillings a Pound; and at *Conſtantinople* it was not worth ſo much. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in thoſe Days they adulterated their Spices very dexterouſly; from whence it is evident, that they were much in uſe, and conſequently they muſt have been brought from the *Indits* in conſiderable Quantities.

Precious Stones of all Sorts, ſuch as Diamonds from different Parts of the *Indies*; Pearls from the Coaſt of *Perſia* and *Ceylon*; Emeralds, which were always held by the Ancients for Oriental Stones, though there is great Reaſon to doubt the Truth of that Fact; but, however, they had good Cauſe to believe it, becauſe they were brought to them from the Eaſt, however they came thither. Another precious Stone, called Ceraunium, becauſe it was ſuppoſed to be found in Places where Thunder had fallen. *Pliny* mentions it, and indeed gives us a long Account of it, but ſuch a one as does not help us at all in finding out what Stone he means. He ſays, it is white, like Chryſtal, that it derives Light from the Sun and Moon, and has a ſort of Fire in it which ſeems to change its Place as the Stone is turned this Way or that, and that this Jewel comes from that Part of the *Indits* which borders upon *Perſia*. *Tertullian* mentions it among the Ornaments worn by Women, and aſſures us, that it had a glittering Appearance as if there had been Fire in it. We may venture to aſſert, that either this Stone is not known to us, or is a kind of Opal; for, except that, I know of no Stone that in any reſpect agrees with this Deſcription.

The Hyacinth, or Jacinth, which was brought from *Callicut*, or *Cambaye*; it received its Name from its Reſemblance to the Flower ſo called, and muſt therefore have been of a purple Colour, inclining to a blue. The Jacinth known to us, are of different Colours; but none of them reſemble the Stone known to the Ancients; for ours are either of a Flame-Colour, of an amber Caſt, almoſt white, or of a pale Red. It is therefore probable, that the Jacinths of the Ancients were a kind of Saphire. They were very much valued for graving, and were held to have many Virtues, which in reality were never yet to be found in any Stone.

Beryls, which *Pliny* ſays approach nearly to the Colour of an Emerald, and which owe moſt of their Beauty to their being cut hexangularly, and he diſtinguiſhes many kinds of them; ſome that had a yellow Caſt, others of a blueiſh Colour, and ſome mixed with white. He aſſures us, that the *Indians* valued theſe more than any other Stones, eſpecially when they were long, for then they bored and wore them without ſetting; and had alſo a Method of putting a gold Wire through them, which made them appear extremely beautiful at a Diſtance. One might write a large Diſſertation upon this ſingle Stone, ſince there are many very learned Naturaliſts that believe what we call the Beryl was the Diamond of the Ancients. Certain it is, that the Beryls we have from the *Indies*, do not at all reſemble the foregoing Deſcription, except that they are ſometimes found very long and large, but rather of a greeniſh Colour than a blue. They are moſtly to be met with in *Cambaye*, *Malabar*, or *Pegu*; but the fineſt and largeſt, of which ſometimes Cups and other ſmall Veſſels are made, come from the Iſland of *Ceylon*. There is, indeed, a Stone which ſome take to be a kind of Beryl, but which is better known by the Name of *Aqua Marina*, or *Aigue Marine*, from its Reſemblance in Colour to the Water of the Sea. Of theſe ſome are very hard, and of ſuch Beauty, that many Jewelers have been impoſed upon by them, and have taken them for Diamonds.

Saphires, about which we are more at a Loſs than about any other Stone whatever; but this ſeems to be certain, that whatever the Saphire of the Ancients was, it had no Sort of Reſemblance to that Stone known to us by the ſame Name; for it appears that the Saphires of the Ancients were not tranſparent, ſo that poſſibly they might be a kind of *Lapis Lazuli*. It is not, however, impoſſibe that the Ancients might be acquainted with the true Saphire; tho', if they were, they mention it by ſome other Name, and my Reaſon for ſuppoſing they might know it, is, that our Saphire comes from *Calicut*, *Cananor*, and the Iſland of *Ceylon*, from whence they had moſt of their precious Stones, and eſpecially ſuch as were coloured. We might add to theſe, many other kinds of precious Stones, of which, at this Day, we know no more than the Names: But that we are afraid of fatiguing the Reader, and therefore we ſhall only mention one Remark on this Subject, and that is, with regard to the Doubts and Difficulties that attend it. It ſeems to be a very ſtrange Thing, that we ſhould be more at a Loſs about the Jewels mentioned in old Authors than almoſt about any other Thing; but when we conſider what *Pliny* tells us, that the *Indians* were very dextrous in making falſe Jewels of all Colours; and when we obſerve that he mentions ſome true Stones, which, loſing their Luſtre, recovered it again by being put into Vinegar, in which Salt of Nitre had been diſſolved. I ſay, when we conſider, and lay theſe Circumſtances together, with the Addition of their Deſcriptions, it may very well beget a Doubt in us, whether many of the precious Stones mentioned by the Ancients, might not be Compoſitions; but whatever they were, they came from the *Indies*, and this is another Proof, that even in the moſt early Times, the *Indians* were much better ſkilled in theſe Matters than any other Nation.

We likewiſe find amongſt the reſt of the *Indian* Commodities charged with Duties, all Sorts of Silk and Cotton Manufactures, which they brought as we do from thoſe Countries, and probably for the ſame Reaſon, becauſe they found that Method cheaper than bringing the Commodity and working it up at home. Ivory was alſo brought from thence as well as from *Africa*, and great Quantity of Skins and Firs which are diſtinguiſhed under the two Heads of *Babylonian* and *Parthian*; and they likewiſe brought many wild Beaſts, ſuch as Lions, Bears, Leopards, Panthers, and ſome Birds. As to Metals, we find none mentioned except Iron or Steel, under the Title of *Ferrum Indicum*; and this, we are told by *Pliny*, came from the Country of the *Seres*, and was eſteemed the very beſt in the World; and next to it was the *Parthian* Iron, but whether it came wrought or unwrought does not very clearly appear, but the former is the moſt probable. That they might, under the Reigns of the *Greek* Emperors, have this fine Iron or Steel from *China*, where that Commodity is ſtill met with in the greateſt Perfection; I will not deny but that it came from thence in the Time of *Pliny*, is not eaſy to comprehend, and therefore I am apt to believe that they received it from the *Siameſe*, who might inform them that they had it from the *Seres*.

We find Cotton alſo, and a Sort of Mohair amongſt the Commodities that were brought from the *Indies*; and though the true Purple was to be had in *Europe*, yet it ſeems that of the *Indies* was moſt admired, and in the greateſt Eſteem, otherwiſe it cannot be imagined that they would have taken the Pains to have brought it from Countries at ſo great a Diſtance. It would take up too much Time, ſhould we endeavour to trace out the different Ways by which all theſe *Indian* Commodities were brought to *Conſtantinople*. It is ſufficient for our Purpoſe that they were brought thither, ſince this clearly ſhews that the Subjects of the *Greek* Empire had a conſiderable Trade to the *Indies*.

We might alledge, to prove this ſtill more largely the Teſtimony of *Ammianus*, *Mercellinus*, and ſeveral of the *Byzantine* Hiſtorians, which however would lead us into abundance of critical Diſputes, and therefore we ſhall wave their Authorities, eſpecially ſince the Account already given of the *Indian* Monks, or Monks who had travelled to the *Indies*, for with reſpect to our Subject, it is much the ſame Thing which they were, is as clear a Teſtimony on this Head as we could wiſh. It is alſo very certain, and the Reader will meet with the cleareſt Proof of it in a ſucceeding Section, that by this Time, or very ſoon after, the *Syrians* had not only reached *China*, but were even eſtabliſhed there, and formed a Chriſtian Church, the Members of which were very numerous in all the Provinces of that extenſive Empire; neither can it be imagined that, upon this Eſtabliſhment, they ſhould immediately relinquiſh all Correſpondence with their Countrymen; though this might, and indeed really did happen in Proceſs of Time, and for Reaſons that will appear hereafter.

7. We have very different Characters given us of the Emperor *Juſtinian* by different Writers, according as their Humours led them; but upon the whole, it is very certain that he was one of the beſt Princes this Empire ever had, took the greateſt Pains to ſettle and ſupport the Government, to regulate the Laws, and to leave every thing in ſuch a Condition that ſucceeding Princes might be able to govern without Trouble, by adhereing to the Rules which he had laid down.

He deceaſed in the eighty-third Year of his Age, *A. D.* 565, and was ſucceeded by his Nephew *Juſtin* II. in whoſe Time the Empire was ſo ſhaken by domeſtick Confuſions, and towards the latter End of his Reign invaded by the *Perſians* on the one Side, and by the *Avares* on the other, that the Weight of Government became abſolutely inſupportable, inſomuch that he fell diſtracted. *Tiberius* had thereupon the Adminiſtration of the Empire committed to his Care, with the Title of *Cæſar*; and after the Death of *Juſtin*, he ſucceeded him in the Empire, which he governed with great Magnanimity, and had ſuch Succeſs againſt the *Perſians*, as reduced their Power very low.

He was ſucceeded, *A. D.* 582, by *Mauricius*, who married his Daughter *Auguſta*, and in the Beginning of his Reign, was very proſperous, repelled the Invaſion of the *Perſians*, and when that Kingdom fell into Confuſion, and their King *Choſroes* expelled, he received that Monarch into his Dominions, and treated him with great Generoſity and Kindneſs; he likewiſe raiſed a great Army to reſtore him, which he alſo performed very happily; and by this Means the Commerce between the *Greeks* and the *Perſians* was renewed, to the great Advantage of both Empires. The Cloſe of this Emperor's Reign was not at all anſwerable to its Beginning; for the *Avares*, under the Command of their King *Chajanus*, invaded the Empire; and notwithſtanding all the Precautions the Emperor could take to prevent the Progreſs of their Arms, ravaged all *Thrace*, and were on the Point of beſieging *Conſtantinople*; but in this however they were prevented by a Plague, which ſwept off moſt of their Army, upon which their King, who had twelve thouſand of *Mauricius*'s Subjects Priſoners, offered to ranſom them for Half a Crown a piece, which not being granted, he put them all to Death. This ſo much incenſed the People of *Conſtantinople*, that they rebelled, and called the Emperor a cruel, and greedy Tyrant. He, on the other hand, was ſo afflicted with this unhappy Accident, that he begged the Prayers of all religious People, that this Offence might be pardoned, or that he might receive his Puniſhment for it in this World. In this he ſoon had his Wiſh; for *Phocas*, who from a common Soldier, came to be General of his Army, rebelled againſt him, was proclaimed Emperor by the Army, and purſued *Mauricius* to *Chalcedon*, where he put him with his Wife and Children to Death; which *Mauricius* ſuffered with great Patience, uttering theſe Words, *Thou art juſt*, O Lord, *and thy Judgment is righteous*. Theſe Events fell out in the Year 602.

This *Phocas*, as he attained the Empire by Treaſon and Murder, ſo he governed with all the Circumſtances of Cruelty and Barbarity that could render a Tyrant odious; for being ſenſible at firſt that his Title was bad, he endeavoured to ſecure himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of the Empire, by deſtroying, without Mercy, all who were any way related to the Imperial Family, or who were ſo diſtinguiſhed by their Virtues, or their Employments, as to give him any Umbrage; and this leading him to ſhed the Blood of a Multitude of the Nobility, raiſed a general Abhorrence of his Government over all the Empire. But, beſides theſe domeſtick Troubles, *Phocas*, almoſt from the Beginning of his Reign, was preſſed by a formidable Foreign Enemy. This was *Choſroes* King of *Perſia*, who, in Gratitude for the Kindneſs ſhewn him by the Emperor *Mauricius*, was no ſooner informed of his Murder, than he invaded the Provinces of the *Greek* Empire bordering upon his Dominions; and this War, as it grievouſly diſtreſſed a great Part of the Empire, ſerved to increaſe the Hatred of the People againſt the Monſter who had occaſioned it. As Misfortunes of this kind ſeldom come alone, and as it is natural for ambitious Neighbours to take all Advantages over a declining Government, ſo while the Affairs of *Phocas* were in this Condition, the *Avares*, *Sclavonians*, and other barbarous Nations, broke into and ravaged his Dominions. He, in the mean time, inſtead of reforming, continued his Cruelty and Lewdneſs, till he was ſurpriſed in his Palace by *Photinus*, whoſe Wife he had raviſhed, and delivered to the Son of *Heraclius*, one of his Generals, who had taken Arms againſt him. *Heraclius*, after upbraiding *Phocas* with his Crimes, cut off his Feet, Hands, and Privities; and at laſt beheaded him. Such was the End of this barbarous and blood-thirſty Tyrant, who, notwithſtanding, was flattered by the Churchmen of his Time; crowned by the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* while the Emperor *Mauricius* was ſtill living, and owned by the *Roman* Pontiff, on whom he beſtowed the Title of Univerſal Biſhop.

8. The general Corruption of the People, and a Succeſſion either of Tyrants or weak Princes, had ſo infeebled the *Greek* Empire, that when *Heraclius* aſcended the Throne, which was *A. D.* 610, he found it ſcarce poſſible to make the neceſſary Proviſions for the Security of the State; and therefore, when he was attacked by *Choſroes* King of *Perſia*, he did not behave with that Conſtancy that might have been expected from a Man of his great Courage, for, inſtead of arming to oppoſe them, he endeavoured to purchaſe Peace; but when this was found impracticable, he compromiſed Matters with the *Avares*, who were Enemies no leſs formidable than the *Perſians*,

and addreſſed himſelf to the War, though his Treaſury was ſo exhauſted, that he was forced to coin the Church Plate. While he was engaged in this War, the *Avares* broke the Peace, and advanced even to the Gates of *Conſtantinople*, which they beſieged, but without Succeſs. *Heraclius* ſoon after concluded the *Perſian* War with much Honour to himſelf, after it had laſted ſix Years.

It was one of the moſt fatal of which we find any mention in Hiſtory; for it exhauſted the Strength, and in its Conſequences proved the Ruin of both Empires; for while the *Perſians* were victorious at firſt, they over-ran all *Egypt*, plundered the People without Mercy, interrupted their Commerce, and deſtroyed their Magazines. When the *Greeks* in their Turn had the better of the *Perſians*, they revenged theſe Wrongs ſo effectually, that they intirely broke the Force and Spirits of the *Perſians*, which ſcarce proved a greater Misfortune to that Nation than to the *Romans* themſelves; for if the *Perſians* had not been in ſo weak a Condition, the *Saracens* would never have been able to have over-run their Country in the manner they did, and which afterwards afforded them an Opportunity of reducing the moſt valuable Provinces of the *Greek* Empire.

It is very remarkable, that upon the firſt News of the Victories which *Heraclius* gained over the *Perſians*, one of the principal Monarchs of the *Indies* ſent to compliment him upon that Occaſion, and made him a Preſent of a conſiderable Quantity of fine Pearl, and precious Stones, and ſome Years afterwards repeated this Civility much to the Emperor's Satisfaction. This is a very ſingular Circumſtance, and ſhews that there muſt have been ſome previous Correſpondence between theſe Princes; but it was one of the laſt Inſtances of Friendſhip which paſſed between theſe States; for before the Deceaſe of this Emperor, all the Provinces from which any Correſpondence could be carried on with the *Indies*, were torn from the *Greeks*; and as this is a Circumſtance which very nearly concerns our Subject, it is requiſite, for the better underſtanding it, that we ſhould enter into a more particular Account of this remarkable Event.

9. *Mohammed*, the Author of a new Religion, and of a new Empire, ſet up for a Prophet about two Years before *Heraclius* began to reign; but the *Hegira*, or Flight from *Mecca*, which is the Æra of the *Mohammedans*, and which happened when *Mohammed* was fifty-four Years old, is fixed, according to the beſt Hiſtorians, to *July* 6, *A. D.* 622. *Mohammed* ſurvived this ten Years, and though at his firſt aſſuming the Sovereignty, he had no more than thirty Subjects; yet before his Death he had laid the Foundation of a very powerful Monarchy. He was ſucceeded by his Father-in-law *Abdallah*, ſurnamed *Abubekre*, by which Name only he is mentioned in moſt Hiſtories. The Meaning of it in *Arabic* is, *The Father of the Virgin*; and he was ſo called, becauſe his Daughter *Aiſcha* was the only one of *Mohammed*'s Wives whom he married while a Virgin.

This *Abubekre* was the firſt *Khaliff*, which is another *Arabic* Word that ſignifies a *Vicar*, or *Subſtitute*, and a *Succeſſor*, and the *Kaliffs* were eſteemed both with reſpect to *Mohammed*. In the ſecond Year of his Reign he invaded *Perſia*; and in the third and laſt he ſent *Khaled*, one of his ableſt Commanders, with an Army of 36,000 Men to invade the *Greek* Empire, which he performed with Succeſs, and defeated a great Army which *Heraclius* ſent againſt him.

Omar ſucceeded *Abubekre* in the thirteenth of the *Hegira*; in the firſt Year of his Reign he became Maſter of *Damaſcus*, and in the ſecond he reduced all *Syria*, having forced *Heraclius*, who came in Perſon to its Relief, to retire precipitately. The next Year he made himſelf Maſter of *Jeruſalem*, and all the Country of *Paleſtine*, while one of his Lieutenants intirely ſubdued *Perſia*, and put an End to that ancient Kingdom in the Perſon of *Jezdegerd*, who was the laſt of their Princes.

After this Conqueſt the *Saracens*, as they were then called, demanded Tribute of *Egypt*; and *Cyrus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, knowing the diſtreſſed Condition of the Empire, and fearing the Conſequences of a War, conſented to pay an annual Tribute of 200,000 Aurei, with which for two Years the *Saracens* were contented, and very probably would have been ſo for a long Space of Time, if the Emperor *Heraclius* had not taken this in ill Part, and treated it as a forcing of his Subjects to inrich the Infidels. He beſtowed therefore the Government of *Egypt* on an *Egyptian*, whoſe Name was *Manuel*, with the Title of *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, who, when the Tribute was demanded next, anſwered, that they had formerly a Prieſt, but now a Soldier, to deal with. *Omar* thereupon ſent *Amrou* his General with a potent Army into that Country, where, when it was too late, *Heraclius* would have renewed the Treaty made by *Cyrus*, and would willingly have paid the former Tribute. But *Amrou*, in the Space of two Years, conquered the beſt Part of the Country, and laid Siege to *Alexandria*. While he lay before the Place, which held out fourteen Months, the Emperor *Heraclius* died, and being ſucceeded by his Son, who was a Minor, the *Saracens* at their Leiſure proſecuted the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, and ſoon after annexed thereto all the adjacent Countries.

Omar the ſecond *Khaliff* reigned but ten Years and a half, and in that Space of Time ſubdued *Syria*, *Chaldea*, *Meſopotamia*, *Perſia*, *Egypt*, and Part of *Africa*; that is to ſay, as far as *Tripoli* in *Barbary*. By this Blow the *Romans*, as they ſtiled themſelves, or *Greeks*, as they were ſtiled by others, loſt all their Eaſtern Provinces, and the Trade to the *Indies* intirely, which for the preſent ſuffered an abſolute Interruption, the *Arabs* being at that time intirely addicted to War; and though they were avaritious enough, had no great Notion of Commerce. It is ſcarce to be conceived how great an Alteration the Riſe of this new Empire made in the Face of Affairs, and what prodigious Deſolation enſued before theſe Conquerors came to be ſoftened to ſuch a Degree, as to cultivate the Arts of Peace, and to endeavour, by the Rules of Policy, to eſtabliſh and maintain the mighty Empire they had acquired, the greateſt indeed and moſt extenſive that the World had ever ſeen, reaching Weſtward as far as *Spain*, and Eaſtward to the very Frontiers of the *Indies*. Our Subject obliges us to examine the Progreſs of their Power in *Egypt*, becauſe it not only opened once again the Trade through the *Red-Sea*, but alſo that of *Europe*, by the ſame Canal to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

10. That Impetuoſity and Violence which enabled the *Saracens* to make themſelves Maſters in ſo ſhort a time of ſuch vaſt Dominions, was not like to ſuffer them to continue long under one Head, which, however, was undoubtedly the Deſign of *Mohammed* their Founder. We have not room to enter here into all the Reaſons of that Diviſion which happened among the *Arab* Princes, and therefore ſhall content ourſelves with one, which was the great Diſtance of their Provinces, that naturally gave an Opportunity to ſuch as were intruſted with the Government of them to ſet up for themſelves.

We have already ſhewn how all that Part of *Africa*, which had been under the Dominion of the *Romans*, fell into their Hands; and we ſhall next obſerve, that *Abulcaſſem Mohammed Ben Abdallah*, being in Poſſeſſion of Part of *Africk*, ſet up for himſelf in the Year of the *Hegira* 296, and took the Title not of *Khaliff*, but of *Mahadi*, which ſignifies Director, or Chief Prieſt. He fixed the Seat of his Government at *Cairoan*, which is a Name the *Arabs* beſtowed on the ancient City of *Cyrene*, or rather a new City built on the Ruins of the old one. He left the Government to his Son *Cajem*, who removed the Seat of Empire to *Mahadie*, a new City which his Father had erected; and his Grandſon *Abou Temim Maad*, better known by his Sirname *Moez Ledinillah*, who ſucceeded in the Year of the *Hegira* 341, proſecuted the Deſign which his Anceſtors had entertained of making himſelf Maſter of *Egypt*.

With this View he ſent his General *Giaubar*, who was a *Greek* by Birth, to invade that Country, of which he made himſelf intirely Maſter; and in the Year of the *Hegira* 358, laid the Foundation of a new City, which *Moez Ledinillah* reſolved ſhould be the Capital of his Dominions. As the *Arabs* were exceedingly addicted to Aſtrology, particular Care was taken that the firſt Stone of this City ſhould be laid, when the Planet *Mars* was in the Aſcendant; and as this Planet is by them called *Caher*, the new City was called *Caherah*, or *Al Caherah*, that is, the Victorious; and is the ſame which the *Europeans* call *Cairo*, or *Grand Cairo*. I have been the more careful in marking the Date of this City's Foundation, which agrees with the Year of our Lord 968, becauſe many, otherwiſe accurate Writers, have been led into Miſtakes about it; particularly the learned Biſhop *Huet*, who in the forty-eighth Chapter of his Hiſtory of the Commerce of the Ancients, ſays, it was built *A. D.* 795; and in the fifty-eighth Chapter of the ſame Work, tells us, it was built *A. D.* 984.

As ſoon as *Moez Ledinillah* was informed that this City was finiſhed, he removed, with all his Treaſure, from his old Capital, and made his Entry into *Cairo* in the Year of the *Hegira* 362, and there took the Title of *Khaliff.* His Succeſſors were ſtiled *Khaliffs* of *Egypt*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Khaliffs* of *Bagdat*, who were eſteemed the true Succeſſors of *Mohammed.* This City was very conveniently ſituated on the *Nile*, and became in Time no leſs conſiderable for its Commerce, than for its being the Seat of Empire: And it was by this Means that the old Trade, by the Way of the *Rea-Sea*, was once more reſtored to *Egypt*, which flouriſhed exceedingly under this new Race of Princes, as appears by the Revenue which it produced to its Khaliff, and which, as *Elmacinus* tells us, amounted to no leſs than three hundred Millions of Crowns of Gold.

The Khaliffs of *Egypt* were nine in Number, and the laſt of them was *Adhad*, who was depoſed by *Saladin*, General of *Noureddin*, Sultan of *Damaſcus*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 567, *A. D.* 1171. *Saladin* entering the Palace of the Khaliff, who died immediately after he was depoſed, found there prodigious Riches, and amongſt the reſt a noble Proof of the Commerce of the *Indies*, which was the fineſt Ruby in the World, perfectly fine and bright, and weighing very near an Ounce and a half. This prodigious Wealth, and the having a great Army abſolutely at his Devotion, tempted him to ſet up for himſelf; and having made himſelf Maſter of *Egypt*, he ſoon after extended his Dominions over all the Countries of *Damaſcus*, *Paleſtine*, and *Syria.* He left, at his Deceaſe, his Kingdom of *Egypt* to his ſecond Son *Othman*, who died in the Year of the *Hegira* 595, and was ſucceeded by his Brother, who was ſoon deprived by his Uncle *Malek Al Adel*, whoſe Grandſon *Malek Al Salek*, ſucceeded in the Year of the *Hegira* 647. He enlarged the City of *Cairo*, and fortified it with a ſtrong Wall, and was victorious over St. *Lewis* of *France*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 648. But this Prince was however the laſt of his Houſe; for not long after, the *Mamlouks*, or *Mamelucs*, as they are generally called, who were a kind of mercenary Soldiers, revolted from him, and forced him to take Shelter in a wooden Tower, which hung over the *Nile.* To this Tower the Mutineers ſet Fire, and thereby compelled the unfortunate Monarch to jump into the *Nile*, where he was drowned.

By this Accident *Egypt* once again changed its Maſters; for theſe *Mamelucs* became Sovereigns of the Country, and choſe their General, whoſe Name was *Ibek*, Sultan, who thereupon took the Name of *Almalek Al Azis.* He was the firſt Prince of the *Dynaſty* of theſe *Mamelucs*, which were diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Baharites*, or *Marines*; for theſe People were, generally ſpeaking, either young *Turks* or *Tartars*, ſold into *Egypt* by the Merchants, from whom again they were bought by the Sultan, educated at his Expence, and employed to defend the maritime Places in the Kingdom. The plain Reaſon of this Inſtitution was, becauſe the native *Egyptians* were found ſo weak and effeminate, from a long Courſe of Slavery that, they were unfit for Arms; and perhaps this is the Caſe of all Nations, when in the State of the *Egyptians*, that is to ſay, when they have no Property to fight for, are neither to be the better for Victory, nor can be worſe by any Defeat. Theſe Foundlings made excellent Soldiers; for, having no Relations or Friends, but amongſt their own Corps, they turned all their Thoughts to the excelling in their Profeſſion, as they placed all their Hopes in acquiring the principal Poſts in their Militia. This extraordinary Event fell out in the Year of the *Hegira* 648, *A. D.* 1250. They elected, on the Death of a Prince, another out of their own Body, and held the Kingdom without Interruption till the Year of the *Hegira* 784, when they were deprived of it exactly in the ſame Manner in which had they acquired it.

For, as they found it neceſſary to keep up a numerous ſtanding Army, becauſe, though they made but a Part of the Sultan's Troops, yet it was impoſſible for them to truſt either the *Arabs* or the *Egyptians*; they therefore had Recourſe to the purchaſing all the Children they could meet with, but particularly the *Circaſſians*, which inhabit a Part of the Coaſt of the *Black-Sea*; and have, in all Ages, had a barbarous Cuſtom of making Merchandiſe of their Children; and for the better procuring of theſe Children, the *Mamelucs* entered into a Treaty with the *Greek* Emperors, for ſending an annual Fleet into the *Black-Sea.* Theſe Children they trained up in their own Diſcipline; but by an unaccountable Blunder in Politicks, never incorporated them into their own Corps, but diſpoſed of them in Garriſons in the Heart of their Country, in in a ſort of Fortreſſes, which they called *Borge*; and from thence this new Corps of *Mamelucs* took the Name of *Borgites*; and growing more numerous than the old Corps, deprived *Kelaun*, who was the laſt Sultan of the firſt Dynaſty of the Empire, and transferred it to themſelves.

It is of this ſecond Dynaſty of the *Mamelucs*, of which moſt Authors are to be underſtood when they ſpeak of the *Mamelucs* as the Children of Chriſtians, for ſuch the *Circaſſians* were. Theſe *Borgites* remained Maſters of *Egypt* to the Year of the *Hegira* 923. *A. D.* 1517, when their laſt Prince *Thomam Bey*, was defeated by *Selim* the firſt Emperor of the *Turks*, who cauſed him to be hanged over one of the Gates of *Grand Cairo*; and to the *Turkiſh* Empire, *Egypt* has been a Province ever ſince. It was under theſe *Mamelucs* that the *Eaſt-India* Trade was, in a great meaſure, reſtored to its old Channel; that is to ſay, all Sorts of *Indian* Commodities were conveyed by the *Red-Sea* to the Coaſts of *Egypt*; from thence to *Grand Cairo*, and ſo by the *Nile* to *Alexandria*, where a great Part of them was purchaſed by the *Europeans*; and it was by this Commerce that *Egypt* was ſo rich in their Time, that the Predeceſſor of *Thomam Bey* gave, at his Acceſſion to the Throne, by Way of Largeſs to his Soldiers, ten Millions of Ducats at once. Having thus, as briefly as poſſible, run through the Hiſtory of *Egypt*, it will be requiſite to enter more particularly into the Commerce of the *Arabians* in the Eaſt, without which, the ſubſequent Part of the Work could not be perfectly underſtood; and this likewiſe, we ſhall do with all imaginable Brevity, in order to preſerve a due Proportion between this Section and the reſt, as well as that neceſſary Connection between the ſeveral Parts of this Hiſtory; ſo that the different Turns which this Trade to the *Indies* hath taken, may the more evidently appear. A Taſk difficult to accompliſh in ſo narrow a Compaſs, and the more ſo, becauſe we travel through an unbeaten Road, and are obliged to change our Guides almoſt at every Stage.

11. One would naturally imagine, from the foregoing Accounts of the *Arabians* and *Mohammedans* in general, that they were not the People in the World beſt diſpoſed for cultivating Trade, and ſettling themſelves in different Parts of the World with a View to Commerce; yet it will appear plainly in the Courſe of this Work, that they were actually diſperſed into the moſt diſtant Countries in the *Indies*, nay, and through *China* itſelf, without the Aſſiſtance of Force, and where they could not have been led by the Spirit of Ambition, for which we have ſeen them hitherto diſtinguiſhed. It is therefore neceſſary that we ſhould give the Reader a fair Account of this Matter, and make him acquainted with the Means by which they ſpread themſelves in ſo extraordinary a Manner, became ſole Maſters of the *Indian* Commerce, even in the *Indies* themſelves, and thereby drew it into ſuch Countries as were under their Dominions; from whence it was carried out into other Parts of the World, but ſtill in ſuch a Manner, that the beſt Part of the prodigious Profits ariſing from that Trade, centered in them. In order to this, and that the whole may be brought into as little Room as poſſible, we ſhall, upon this Head obſerve, that, from their own Hiſtories it is clear, the *Arabs* formed their Settlements four ſeveral Ways; by Conqueſt, by Diſcovery, by Trade, and by Miſſion: By the firſt they poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Provinces, which made their

vaſt Empire; by the ſecond, they got Footing in *Africa*, down to *Cape Corientes*, among the poor unarmed *Caffres*, who had it not in their Power to prevent them from ſeizing on what Parts they ſaw good. Their Colonies of *Magadoxo*, *Brava*, and *Quiloa*, were ſomewhat in the Nature of ours in theſe latter Times, but not ſo difficult to maintain, becauſe of the Proximity of the *Red-Sea*, whence the *Arabs* had all Sorts of Aſſiſtance. By the two other, they ſeated themſelves in all other Parts, but more eſpecially by Commerce.

Theſe Voyages were not in thoſe Days ſo ſafe and ſo frequent, and therefore the Merchants were under a Neceſſity of making a long Stay at the principal Marts, where they took Wives; their Religion allowing Plurality. Theſe new Families brought on others, and the Princes being ſenſible it was greatly for their Advantage to draw the Trade of *Perſia*, *Arabia*, and at the ſame Time of *Egypt* and *Europe* by the *Red-Sea*, into their own Ports, theſe Merchants met every where with the kindeſt Uſage they could wiſh. The idolatrous Princes, confirmed in their old Superſtitions, were not at all ſcrupulous about Differences in Religion, but admitted all indifferently; ſo they readily allowed their Subjects to embrace *Mohammediſm*, which they preferred to the reſt, becauſe of the Hopes theſe *Arabs* gave them of Protection from the Sultans, whoſe Power was known in the remoteſt Parts of the Eaſt. Even Princes themſelves made Profeſſion of *Mohammediſm* in troubleſome Times, that the *Moors* might join them; for, in latter Days, they were ſo multiplied, that they peopled whole Cities, or, at leaſt a Part of the moſt conſiderable. Thus this Religion which has nothing very inconvenient in it, did, by little and little, obtain in many Parts; and at length received an Acceſſion of Power, when ſome of its Profeſſors being raiſed to the firſt Poſts in the Courts of *Cambaya* and *Guzzarat*, invited a greater Number of thoſe *Aſiatic Turks* called *Rumis*, and even ſeized on ſome Poſts, as *Malic Aziz*, who raiſed a conſiderable Settlement at *Diu*, from whence he a long Time infeſted the *Portugueſe*.

By Trade and Religion, the *Arabs* got Footing in ſome Parts of *Malabar*; and by the ſame Means they came to be very conſiderable upon *Malacca*. They firſt went thither as Merchants, and ſome of them there fixing their Abode, gained many of the Idolaters over to *Mohammediſm*. From *Malacca* they ſailed round to the *Moluccas*; and having prevailed on the Kings of *Tidore* and *Ternate*, together with ſeveral others to join with them in Religion, they reaped great Benefits from theſe Princes, whom the Concerns of Trade, and the Protection theſe *Moors* gave them room to hope, confirmed in *Mohammediſm*. According to the *Portugueſe* Writers, they had not been long ſettled in the *Moluccas*, before this Diſcovery of the *Indies*. Thus, in a very ſhort Space of Time, and without the Aſſiſtance of any conſiderable maritime Force, the *Arabs* did more than the *Greeks* and *Romans* in the Courſe of ſo many Ages; and it is highly probable, they would have puſhed Matters ſtill farther on this Side, if they had not been hindered by the falling of the *Portugueze* into this Part of the World, which put an immediate Stop to their Progreſs.

They found, however, Means to make the moſt of their good Fortune, and to become the Carriers of *Europe* with reſpect to the Commerce of the Eaſt; and this too in ſuch a manner, that they ſhut out all others from navigating thoſe Seas, and thereby drew an immenſe Profit to themſelves. For the *Indians* brought by Land to *Cabul* and ſome other Places, and by Sea to *Baſora* and *Siraf*, all the Commodities of the *Indies* and *China*. Furs were brought into *Syria* by the Provinces of *Aderbejan*, by *Curdiſtan*, and other Parts more northerly; great Quantities of the ſame they alſo had from the *Barbary* Coaſt, and by the Way of the *Red-Sea*, from whence a Trade was carried on with them all over *Egypt*. From the ſame Places they had Gold-duſt; Gold alſo they had from the Mines of *Sofala*, brought to them by the *Negroes*, who traded with *Egypt* by the Way of the *Deſart*, or from Port to Port quite to the *Red-Sea*; from *Ceylon* and the *Indies*, they by their Trade with the *Chineſe* and *Indian* Merchants, had Silk, rich Stuffs, and many other Manufactures, Drugs and Spices.

With this Stock of Goods they drove a very conſiderable Commerce by the way of *Caberah*, or *Cairo*, with the *Venetians*, the *Genoeſe*, the *Catalans*, and the *Greeks*, which was eaſily done by reviving the old Mart of *Alexandria*; which Port, though it was far from recovering its former Magnificence, became once more famous in the World, by becoming what it formerly was, the Centre of Commerce between the Eaſtern Parts of the World and the Weſt. This ſhews the great Conſequence of a right Situation, and is a new Proof of the Wiſdom and Penetration of *Alexander the Great*, who foreſaw, that whatever became of his Empire, the new City which he erected, and which he honoured with his Name, would continue to make a conſiderable Figure, as long as Trade was capable of giving Credit to any Place. It is true, that the Revolutions which happened in the Government of *Egypt*, after it fell under the Dominion of the *Mohammedans*, and of which we have already given a ſuccinct Account, frequently affected this City to a very great Degree; but ſtill the Excellence of her Port, and the many Conveniencies that reſulted from the Commerce carried on thereby to the Maſters of *Egypt*, whoever they were, preſerved her from total Deſtruction, though in the Hands of the moſt barbarous Nations; for the Deſire of Wealth is ſo natural to Mankind, that it ſoftens the moſt rugged Natures, and diſpoſes them for the ſake of Intereſt to a kind of counterfeit Humanity.

But it was the *Portugueze*, who by the Diſcovery of the Paſſage to the *Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, that gave the laſt Blow to this Commerce, and finally extinguiſhed the Glory of *Alexandria*; which, as we have ſhewn, depended upon their Sovereigns preſerving the Monopoly of the *Indian* Trade.

It was for this Reaſon that the *Venetians* aſſiſted privately the *Mohammedans* in their Endeavours to prevent the *Portugueze* from ſettling in the *Indies*; from whence we may diſcern, that Intereſt operates more ſtrongly than Religion, Neighbourhood, or indeed any other Principle whatever. The *Portugueze* were *Chriſtians*, *Europeans*, and good Allies to the State of *Venice*; the *Mohamedans* were none of theſe, but their Intereſt and Trade was the ſame; and whatever affected the Commerce of the one, muſt neceſſarily be detrimental to that of the other. In ſhort, the Diſpute was, whether the Poſſeſſors of *Egypt*, and the *Venetians*, ſhould divide between them the Profits of the *Indian* Commerce, or whether it ſhould remain intirely to the *Portugueze*; and there is no Reaſon to wonder, that when this was the Queſtion, a State depending ſo much upon Commerce as that of *Venice* did, ſhould ſet all Conſiderations aſide in order to attend more cloſely to her Intereſt.

It is not, however, to be underſtood from hence, that the *Indian* Commerce, by the way of *Egypt*, is even at this Day entirely deſtroyed, or that the *Venetians* have no farther Concern therein; neither of which is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, true; but that this Commerce is nothing now to what it was, either with reſpect to the *Egyptians*, or the *Venetians*, is daily declining, and muſt decline more and more, the Paſſage by the *Red-Sea*, the Country of *Egypt*, and the Commerce of the Port of *Alexandria*, having now loſt thoſe diſtinguiſhing Advantages which for ſo many Ages they poſſeſſed, and which enabled them to recover as they did, after ſuch intolerable Devaſtations as they were expoſed to.

We may eaſily ſatisfy ourſelves as to the Truth of this, by comparing the Revenues of *Egypt*, when in the Hands of the *Arabians*, with what they now produce, to the *Turk*: The former amounted to three hundred Millions of Crowns, and the People were not at all oppreſſed; the latter are fixed at three Millions, and the People are beggared by the raiſing that Sum. We may add to this, that formerly there were in *Egypt*, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, three thouſand Cities, whereas now there are not above three hundred conſiderable Towns, and none of theſe can boaſt any thing of their ancient Splendor. It is now time for us to return to the *Greek* Empire, and to ſhew in as few Words as poſſible how it ſunk into Ruin.

12. *Conſtantine* the Son of *Heraclius* ſucceeded his Father; but in the fourth Month of his Reign he was poiſoned by his Mother-in-law *Martina*, a Woman of great

Parts, and of bewitching Speech. She raiſed her own Son to the Throne; but the Government being in Confuſion, and all things going to Wreck, the Senate cut out the Empreſs's Tongue to prevent her deluding the People any more with her Eloquence; and cut off his Noſe, leſt he ſhould gain the People's Affection by his Beauty. *Conſtans*, the Grandchild of the old Emperor, was then raiſed to the Throne, and reigned twenty-ſeven Years; his Son *Conſtantine* ſucceeded him, under whom *Conſtantinople* was beſieged by the *Saracens*; but they were obliged, however, to raiſe it, and he had afterwards great Succeſs againſt them. His Son *Juſtinian* was ſtill more fortunate, but withal ſo perfidious, that when he had made a Peace with them upon good Terms, he broke it when he thought it for his Advantage, which expoſed him to Hatred abroad, and Contempt at home, ſo that he was depoſed and baniſhed; but was afterwards reſtored, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Bulgarians*, and behaved with great Cruelty, after he recovered his Dominions. He even invaded the Territories of that Prince, who had protected and reſtored him, by whom his Army was totally defeated; and now being grown odious to every body, his Subjects rebelled againſt him, and cut off his and his Sons Heads.

The two ſucceeding Emperors were depoſed, and *Theodoſius* abdicated the Empire of his own Accord; and then *Leo* the Third became Emperor, who was the Son of a Shoemaker, in whoſe Time the *Saracens* again blocked up the City of *Conſtantinople* for three Years, but were at laſt obliged to retire: He was ſucceeded *A. D.* 741, by his Son *Conſtantine Copronimus*, who was very ſucceſsful againſt the *Saracens*, and held the Empire thirty-four Years, and then left the Throne to his Son *Leo* IV. who was likewiſe a great Prince, and defended his Dominions with equal Courage and Succeſs. He ruled the Empire only five Years, and might have eſtabliſhed both the Reputation of his Government, and the Succeſſion of his Family, if it had not been for the over-bearing Temper of his Empreſs *Irene*, who after his Death firſt governed in Conjunction with her Son *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*, and afterwards murdering him and all the Royal Family, reigned for ſome time alone, till in *A. D.* 802, ſhe was depoſed, and ſhut up in a Monaſtery.

Charlemagne having now aſſumed the Title of Emperor of the Weſt, it ſunk the Reputation of the *Greek* Monarchs exceedingly; and the ſucceeding Emperors being moſt of them unfortunate, and many of them unworthy, there fell out nothing but Tyrannies, Rebellions, Depoſitions, Murders, and ſuch-like Confuſions, during the Space of between three and four hundred Years, till the Holy War broke out, when through the Madneſs of the Weſtern Princes the Emperors of the Eaſt might, if they had managed prudently, have recovered their former Glory; but they behaved unſteadily, baſely, and perfidiouſly, during the whole War; and beſides, they were perpetually plagued with Rebellions and Revolutions, in which the *Latins*, for their own ſakes, taking part, ſet up *Alexis Angelus*, whom the *Greeks* murdered; which threw all that Part of the World into the utmoſt Confuſion, ſo that the Chriſtian Princes, inſtead of proſecuting their Wars againſt the *Turks*, turned their Arms upon the *Greeks*, who in the midſt of theſe Miſfortunes could not agree amongſt themſelves, but divided their Empire into two under *Alexis Commenus*, who made *Trebiſond* a Town in *Natolia* on the *Euxine* Sea, his Capital; and *Theodorus Laſcaris*, who made *Adrianople* the Seat of his Government, while the *Latins* ſeized the greateſt Part of the Empire, becauſe the *Greeks* did not reimburſe their Charge for reſtoring young *Alexis*. By this means the *Greek* Empire was divided into three Parts, and the *Latins* ſet up *Baldwin* Count of *Flanders* to be Emperor at *Conſtantinople*.

This great Event happened about the Year 1200, and the *Latin* Emperors, which were five in Number, remained poſſeſſed of *Conſtantinople* for ſixty Years; and then it was recovered by the *Greek* Emperor *Michael Palæologus*, who, though a bad Prince, enlarged his Dominions, and defended himſelf bravely againſt all his Enemies; and after a Reign of twenty-three Years, left the Empire to his Son *Andronicus* II. who ruled it forty-five Years with various Fortune, till in his old Age his Grandſon *Andronicus* III. by the Aſſiſtance of the *Genoeſe*, dethroned him, and ſhut him up in a Monaſtery. It was under the Reign of this latter *Andronicus* that the *Turks* became very formidable, and threatened to compleat that Ruin which the *Saracens* had begun, to which they were encouraged by the looſe Adminiſtration of this Emperor and his Succeſſors.

John Cantacuzenus being left Guardian to *Andronicus*'s two Sons, *John* and *Manuel*, uſurped the Throne in 1338. In the Beginning of his Reign he was chaſed from *Conſtantinople*, where the People had crowned *John* the Son of *Andronicus*, which occaſioned a long War; *Cantacuzenus* made a League with the *Turks*, ſubdued *Lydia*, *Cappadocia*, and other Provinces, with the Help of the *Venetians*; but *John Paleologus*, by the Help of the *Genoeſe*, defeated him by Sea and Land; after which he retired to a Monaſtery on Mount *Athos*, with his Son *Matthew*, whom he had aſſociated into the Empire; and his Empreſs retired to a Nunnery. During his Retirement he wrote the Hiſtory of his own Reign in four Books, which is reckoned one of the fineſt Pieces written by any of the modern *Greeks*.

John VI. of the Family of *Paleologus*, ſucceeded in 1354. He was ſucceſsful in his War againſt the *Bulgarians*, and afterwards made a League with the *Turks*; but was deſpiſed by the Sultan *Amurath* I. who took ſeveral Places from him, and made *Adrianople* the Seat of the *Turkiſh* Empire in 1362. *Andronicus* Son to *John*, conſpired againſt his Father, for which he was impriſoned, and had his Eyes put out; but making his Eſcape to *Amurath*, he by his Aſſiſtance, and that of the *Genoeſe*, dethroned his Father, and impriſoned him and his Uncle *Emanuel*, who making his Eſcape to *Bajazet* the Sultan of the *Turks*, and offering to hold the Empire of him, dethroned his Nephew in the third Year of his Reign; yet afterwards the *Turks* broke with him, and beſieged *Conſtantinople*, which obliged him to go about to the chief Courts of *Europe* for Relief. He ſtayed two Years at *Paris*, where, hearing that *Tamerlane* had defeated *Bajazet* Emperor of the *Turks*, and obliged him to raiſe the Siege, he returned to *Conſtantinople*; but being ſtill unſucceſsful, he reſigned the Empire to his Son *John*, and retired into a Monaſtery, where he died.

His Son *John* VII. ſucceeded in 418. During his Reign the *Turks* took *Theſſalonica*, and became Maſters of moſt of the *Greek* Empire, except *Conſtantinople*. This obliged *John* to have Recourſe to the *Latins* for Aſſiſtance, and to wiſh for an Union of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches. It was with this View that he came to *Ferrara*, where the Pope had ſummoned a Council; and there he had great Promiſes made him of Support againſt the *Turks*; and returning from thence to *Conſtantinople*, he died about ſix Years afterwards.

Conſtantine XV. ſucceeded his Brother in 1445. He had ſignalized himſelf in the War of *Peloponneſus*, and for his great Strength was ſurnamed the *Dragon*. Pope *Nicholas* V. ſent a Cardinal to renew the Agreement, wherein he ſucceeded, on promiſe of aſſiſting him; but the *Latins* being ſlow in ſending their Supplies, Sultan *Mahomet* II. ravaged *Greece*, beſieged *Conſtantinople* by Sea and Land, and carried it after fifty-eight Days. The Emperor *Conſtantine* did all that was poſſible to defend the Place; but being neglected by the *Latins*, and not ſupplied with Money by the Citizens, the *Turks* prevailed, and himſelf, after taking Leave of his Officers, went to defend the Breach, where he was killed, fighting valiantly; and being known by his Armour, the *Turks* cut off his Head, and carried it on a Lance through the City. This happened on the 28th of *May* 1453. The *Turkiſh* Emperor deſtroyed afterwards all the Imperial Family, and having totally overturned the *Greek* Monarchy, eſtabliſhed the Seat of the *Turkiſh* Empire at *Conſtantinople*, where it has ever ſince remained.

If we conſider the extenſive Dominions, the vaſt Power, and the wiſe Form of Government, originally eſtabliſhed in this Eaſtern Empire; one cannot help wondering that it ſhould be overturned, and extinguiſhed in ſuch a manner. But, on the other hand, if we reflect on the Luxury, Corruption, and tyrannical Abuſe of Power, that ſo manifeſtly appeared in the Adminiſtration of almoſt all the Emperors after *Juſtinian*, and conſider at the ſame time the mutinous and ſeditious Diſpoſition of their Subjects, we may be rather inclined to wonder how, under ſuch Circumſtances, this Empire could ſubſiſt ſo long.

On the whole, there is no room to doubt, that the Ruin of the *Greek* Power was not owing ſo much to the Force of its barbarous Enemies, as to the Weakneſs of its Government, and the diſſolute Manners of the People. The excellent Situation of its Provinces, and their happy Communication with the Capital of the Empire, rendered the *Greeks*, in times of Peace, incredibly rich, as appears from what the Hiſtorian *Zonaras* informs us, with reſpect to the Treaſure of the Emperor *Baſilius*, who reigned in the middle of the ninth Century; and who, beſides vaſt Heaps of Silver, was poſſeſſed of two hundred thouſand Talents in Gold, which at the loweſt Eſtimation amounts to upwards of thirty-eight Millions of our Money.

As the Empire diminiſhed, its Trade and Riches muſt ſink of courſe; but even long after this, they were ſo conſiderable, that a Traveller, who will be hereafter mentioned, reports in the thirteenth Century, that the Cuſtoms and Exciſe of *Conſtantinople* amounted to twenty thouſand Crowns a Day, at the very time that it was deſtroyed; and when the People refuſed to furniſh the Emperor with Money to defend the City and themſelves, they were ſo immenſely rich, that the Fleet, which was laden with the Plunder, was ſcarce able to keep the Sea, the Ships being ſo overcharged with their Riches.

All this ſufficiently ſhews what prodigious Wealth had accrued to them by their Commerce. To ſay the Truth, it was this Abundance that proved the Ruin of the *Greeks*; for what between the vaſt Riches that flowed in upon them from all Parts of the World, for to the very laſt their City was the Centre of the Trade of *Europe*, and the mighty Plenty they had of all ſorts of Proviſions and rich Wines in their own Neighbourhood; they grew ſo inſolent and ungovernable, that the ill uſe of their Proſperity rendered the Preſervation of it impoſſible.

The *Venetians* and the *Genoeſe* aggrandized themſelves by the Fall of the *Greeks*, and preſerved for a long time the Fragments of that Empire of which they made themſelves Maſters. By this means, likewiſe, the *Europeans* became better acquainted with the Eaſtern Nations, found leſs Difficulty in viſiting their Countries; ſo that by degrees a Deſire of penetrating by Land into the moſt remote Parts of the Eaſt, and which had ſcarce been thought on in former Ages, came to diffuſe itſelf through all *Europe*; the Power of the *Turks* likewiſe excited great Jealouſies in the Chriſtian Princes, who were their Neighbours, and the Wars that theſe occaſioned, afforded new Opportunities of looking into the State of theſe diſtant Countries, by thoſe who remained long Priſoners amongſt them, ſo that though at firſt Sight it may ſeem a Paradox, yet we may with Reaſon affirm, that the Ruin of the Eaſtern Empire by the *Mohammedans*, contributed not a little to the Eſtabliſhment of that Empire which the ſeveral Nations of *Europe* now poſſeſs in the Eaſt.

This Obſervation is of greater Conſequence than may at firſt Sight appear; for whoever looks into almoſt all the great Events that have fallen out in the ſeveral Ages of the World, will very plainly perceive that they have been brought about by the moſt unlikely Means. The ſudden Riſe of the *Saracen* Empire threatened all *Europe* with an Inundation of barbarous Tyranny; but the Humour of undertaking the Holy War, as it was called, for the Recovery of the City of *Jeruſalem* from the Infidels, proved the moſt effectual means of preventing that Misfortune, by occupying the *Mohammedans* in the Defence of the Countries which they had already acquired, at the ſame time that it excited ſuch a martial Spirit in almoſt all the Nations of *Europe*, as rendered them capable of ſuſtaining that Shock, by which otherwiſe they muſt have been overpowered.

One may carry this Reflection ſtill farther, if we advert to that maritime Power which has been raiſed in *Europe*, by the Diſcovery of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, and which has viſibly ſet Bounds to the Ambition of all the *Mohammedan* Princes, who, notwithſtanding the vaſt Dominions they poſſeſs, and the prodigious Armies they are able to raiſe, are, notwithſtanding, very apprehenſive of the Power of the Chriſtians by Sea, who are indeed able to make them extremely uneaſy upon any Quarrel, notwithſtanding their ſeeming Superiority. This ſufficiently ſhews the Solidity of that Maxim, that whoever is Maſter at Sea, muſt be likewiſe Maſter on Land, or which is the ſame thing, have the Power of controuling ſuch as eſteem themſelves Maſters. Theſe Remarks ariſe naturally from the Subject, and therefore claim the Attention of every Reader, eſpecially in a Country like ours, which has always affected the Dominion of the Sea, and never can be deprived of it but by want of Attention.

13. We have now run through the Hiſtory of the Commerce between the Weſtern Parts of the World and the *Eaſt-Indies* from the earlieſt Accounts, and this without ever loſing the Connection, or leaving the Subject untraced through any Period of Time. The Diſcuſſion of this Point has indeed taken up a great deal of Time, and of Room; but in return, it has furniſhed us with a great deal of uſeful Knowledge; for the Reader will eaſily perceive, that in purſuing this Topic, we have been led into a kind of Univerſal Hiſtory of Commerce, a thing of far greater Conſequence, and infinitely more inſtructive than the tacking together an incoherent Collection of Voyages, which, however, has been the Scheme of almoſt all former Writers, who perceiving their Error too late, have endeavoured to mend it by Prefaces, Diſſertations, and Extracts from ancient Writers; whereas by purſuing a right Method, and being content to take the Pains of bringing what is ſcattered, through a Diverſity of Authors, into its proper Order, we have furniſhed the Reader with the Means of underſtanding this Subject perfectly, and of being able to pronounce, with Certainty, how and by whom this advantageous Commerce was managed at any Time given.

We have indeed inſiſted ſomewhat largely on the Hiſtory of the ſeveral Empires, which we were obliged to mention in the Courſe of this Work; but beſides, that in doing this, we have relieved the Reader from the Fatigue of reading a dry Narration of Facts, unenlivened by Circumſtances, it will be found that we have mentioned nothing that does not contribute to the better apprehending the principal Subject, and to the rendering the following Voyages and Travels perfectly intelligible, which never could have been done any other way. A particular Writer, who ſits down to give the World an Account of what he has ſeen abroad in a certain Number of Years, never propoſes, and indeed it cannot be expected, he ſhould propoſe delivering a general Hiſtory of the Countries and Kingdoms through which he paſſed; and yet without a competent Knowledge of theſe, his Accounts can never be thoroughly underſtood. But when we undertook to give not only a Series of the beſt and moſt authentick Pieces of this kind, but alſo to furniſh the World with a Hiſtory of the Diſcovery and Settlement of the *Eaſt-Indies*. It was requiſite to provide againſt all theſe Inconveniencies, which induced us to be more copious in theſe Sections than otherwiſe we ſhould have been, that the Reader may come prepared in ſuch a manner for the Peruſal of the reſt of this Work, as not to be interrupted at every Turn with critical Remarks, which always diſtract and confound the Narrations with which they are intermixed.

It is with the ſame View, that after ſo large a Detail of the Progreſs of this Commerce in the Hands of its principal Poſſeſſors, we have added yet another Section to explain the ſeveral Routs, by which, when the principal Channel of this Trade was interrupted, it was ſtill in ſome meaſure preſerved and carried on.

This will be found extremely uſeful for two very important Purpoſes; for in the firſt place, it will explain the Means by which ſo many different Nations came one way or other to have a Share in the Commerce of the *Indies*, and by what Accidents they have been deprived of that Share; how far it is, and how far it is not, poſſible to retrieve the Methods of carrying on this Trade, which have been formerly in uſe, or to ſupply them by ſtriking out new Routs. Secondly, in giving us great Light into the Means by which ſo many Strangers found their way into, and ſettled themſelves in the *Indies*, as were met with there by the moſt ancient Travellers, whoſe Writings have reached our Times, and whoſe Accounts might have been ſuſpected, if from the Knowledge of theſe Routs the Probability of all that they relate did not manifeſtly appear.

We may likewiſe add, that in the Deſcription of theſe ſeveral Routs to and from the *Indies*, we ſhall have frequent Occaſion to examine and compare the Induſtry of the Ancients and Moderns; from whence it will fully appear, that the latter owe their Superiority over the former, rather to their Diſcoveries in Sciences, and the lucky Improvement of Lights derived by various Accidents, than to any Elevation of genius or extraordinary Degree of Virtue or Application. It is true, we might have found means to have inſerted many, or indeed, moſt of theſe Accounts in the foregoing Part of our Work; but then it would have led us into long and frequent Digreſſions, which would have obſcured the principal Subjects of our ſeveral Sections, and at the ſame time would have rendered the Account of theſe Routs much more perplexed; whereas by their following one another in a certain Order, the Reader will the more eaſily apprehend them, and by comparing of them with each other, will form a better Notion of their Conveniencies and Inconveniencies, will enter more eaſily into the Circumſtances attending the Riſe, and bringing on the Diſuſe of them; and in a word, will, with Facility and Pleaſure, conquer, in a ſhort Space of Time, thoſe Difficulties, which, if they had occured to him in the Peruſal of Voyages or Travels, would either have hindered his Progreſs, or have coſt him much Time and Pains to have got over them.

SECTION XVII.

An Account of the ſeveral Paſſages to the Indies *both by Sea and Land, that have been attempted, diſcovered, or practiſed by the Ancients.*

1. *Of the North-eaſt and North-weſt Paſſages, and the Improbability of their being at all known to the Ancients, notwithſtanding what ſome Authors have aſſerted on this Subject.* 2. *Of the Paſſage by Land from* Ruſſia *to* China, *and the Probability of its being anciently practiſed.* 3. *Of the Rout by* Samarcaud *and the* Caſpian *Sea, and of* Pompey's *Project for ſecuring the Commerce of the* Indies *by that Rout to the* Romans. 4. *Of the old Rout by* Bogar, *and of the Alterations that have happened to ſome of the great Rivers in* Tartary. 5. *Of the Paſſage through the Country of the* Arians, *as deſcribed by* Ammianus Marcellinus. 6. *Of another Rout from the* Indies, *through the Country of the* Sacæ *or* Saces, *deſcribed by the ſame Author.* 7. *Of the Rout by* Cabul, *and of the great Commerce anciently carried on that way between* Perſia *and the* Indies. 8. *Of the great Rout by* Candahar, *how far it was known to the Ancients, and how much it has been improved ſince.* 9. *Of the Paſſage to the* Indies, *through the Country of the* Sinæ *or* Thinæ, *and of the Miſtakes of the Ancients on that Subject.* 10. *Of ſome other Routs to the* Indies, *and particularly that by* Palmyra. 11. *Of the ſeveral Paſſages diſcovered or practiſed ſince the* Mohammedans *became Maſters of* Egypt. 12. *Of the Commerce carried on by the* Genoeſe *at* Caffa *in* Crim Tartary. 13. *Remarks and Obſervations tending to the farther Explanation of this Subject.*

1. THE firſt Rout to the *Indies* which we ſhall mention is, that by the North-Eaſt, through thoſe that are ſtiled the Streights of *Waygatz*. A Paſſage often attempted for Reaſons that will be hereafter ſhewn in their proper Place, but never hitherto performed; though, doubtleſs, of all others the ſhorteſt Paſſage to that Country, at leaſt from this Part of the World. This Rout is ſuppoſed to lie through that which is generally called the *Icy-Sea*, ſteering North-Eaſt, along the Coaſts of *Lapland*, *Muſcovy*, and *Grand Tartary*, till you enter the *Indian* Ocean by the Streights of *Uries*, and ſo fall on the Coaſt of *Japan* and *China*. That the Ancients never had any Notion of ſuch a Paſſage is very certain, becauſe they were not at all acquainted with the Navigation of the northern Seas till the Time of *Auguſtus*; and even then, the utmoſt Limits of their Diſcoveries was the *Cimbric Chereoneſe*, which is the Country now called *Jutland*; and indeed, conſidering their maritime Skill, this was a very conſiderable Diſcovery. The Reaſon that we take Notice of this Paſſage, in the firſt place is, on Account of a matter of Fact which has never been diſputed, and which ſome modern Writers conſider as an infallible Proof, that ſuch a Paſſage is not only poſſible, but practicable.

The Fact is this; About the Year before Chriſt 57, a ſmall Veſſel, having ſeveral *Indian* Merchants on board, was ſhipreck'd on the Coaſt of *Germany*, and all the Perſons who eſcaped that Misfortune were entertained by the King of the *Suevi*, who preſented them to *Metellus Celer*, then the *Roman* Proconſul in *Gaul*[a]. The Writers beforementioned, are very poſitive that theſe *Indians* came from *Japan*, or the Land of *Jedſo*, through the Sreights of *Waygatz*, and ſo into the northern Ocean, from whence they infer, that, with due Induſtry and Application, we might be able to diſcover a Paſſage the ſame Way.

But in anſwer to this it has been ſaid, that theſe *Indians* might have fallen upon the Coaſt of *Germany* by another Way, which, like the former, hath never yet been practiſed, but differs from it in this, that it is beyond all queſtion practicable; and if ever it ſhould be brought into uſe, might divert a great Part of the *Indian* Commerce from the ſouthern and weſtern Parts of *Europe* into thoſe which lie moſt towards the North. This Paſſage then is thus laid down. Theſe *Indians* are ſuppoſed to have embarked on the River *Oxus*, and ſo to have paſſed through the *Caſpian-Sea*; thence up the River *Volga*, and ſo into the *Dewina*, which, falling into the *Baltic*, might well enough have brought them to the Coaſt on which they are ſuppoſed to have been ſhipwreck'd. It is however very improbable, that ſuch a Thing ſhould have happened, becauſe it ſuppoſes theſe *Indians* to have been perfectly acquainted with the Navigation of Rivers, which it is much more likely they never heard of, and it is very poſſible are unacquainted with ſo much as their Names to this very Day.

It is one Thing to deſcribe a Paſſage to a diſtant Country, and to recommend it to Trial, and quite another Thing to inſiſt that ſuch a Trial has been actually made; if therefore any Writer ſhall inſiſt on the Poſſibility of carrying on a Commerce to *India*, by the Canal laſt mentioned, it ought to be granted him, that the Thing is feaſible, and might turn much to the Advantage of the *Ruſſian* Empire, eſpecally at this Juncture, when it is almoſt entirely in the Power of the *Shah Nadir* to eſtabliſh ſuch a Commerce, as being poſſeſſed of the greateſt Part of the Country between the *Caſpian-Sea* and the Frontiers of *India*. But whoever would endeavour to perſuade us that in thoſe early Ages, when Geography was ſo little underſtood as then in the Eaſt or in the North, and Men were ſo timorous in navigating even known Seas, that the Inhabitants of the remoteſt *Indies* ſhould attempt, not only to ſail through the *Caſpian-Sea*, for that is not ſo improbable; but to enter the *Volga*, and pretend to ſeek a Paſſage that Way into the *Baltick*, is to bid us lay aſide common Senſe and Experience, in order to take up with Improbabilities and Fictions.

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[a] *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* ii. *cap.* 67. He there affirms them poſitively to be *Indians*, and to have paſſed from *India* thither.

But it may be ſaid, you have already admitted the Fact. You own that it is not to be diſputed, that theſe *Indians* were thrown upon the Coaſt of *Germany*, and preſented by the King of the *Suevi* to the Proconſul of *Gaul*, why then ſhould you deny their coming either of theſe Ways, when it does not appear there was any other Way for them to come, at leaſt by Sea; and that they did come by Sea cannot be conteſted, becauſe you admit they were ſhipwrecked? All this is true, but with Biſhop *Huet*, and other learned Men, I very much doubt whether theſe People were *Indians*; becauſe, it is very certain, the Ancients very frequently beſtowed that Appellation upon very remote Nations, merely becauſe they were very remote. It is therefore much more probable that theſe People who were thus caſt on ſhore on the Coaſt of *Germany*, were *Norwegians*, or *Scritofinnians*, which are the ſame People that we now ſtile *Laplanders*; or, it may be, they were *Icelanders*, if we ſo far credit the Northern Hiſtories, as to ſuppoſe that Iſland was ſo early inhabited. This, I ſay, is infinitely more credible than that they were *Indians* ſtrictly and properly ſpeaking; and that this is more credible, appears from hence, that Accidents of the like Nature have happened in *Scotland* [b], and elſe where; that is to ſay, ſome of theſe People have been driven on ſhore in their little Fiſhing-boats; and when an Accident of this Sort happened in thoſe early Times, before the northern Parts of the World were ſo well known as they are at preſent, it is no great Wonder that ſuch People ſhould be taken for *Indians*.

While we are upon this Subject, I cannot help hinting a Conjecture of my own, which is, that if they muſt needs be *Indians*, it is much more likely that they were *Weſt-Indians*, and that they came into the *Baltick* through *Hudſon's* Bay. Yet I do not lay this down as either certain or probable, but mention it only as a Thing more agreeable to modern Diſcoveries, than the former Notion of their coming from the *Eaſt-Indies*; but with regard to the Fact itſelf, I am firmly of Opinion that they were *Norwegians*, and that for theſe Reaſons; there were many of them, and they were on board a kind of Bark or Veſſel of ſome Burthen; whereas the *Finns* and *Laplanders* are not known to make uſe of any other than ſmall Boats, which one Man can manage.

The ſame Reaſons may be applied to another Fact of the ſame Nature, ſince it is affirmed, that under the Reign of the Emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, *A. D.* 1160, certain *Indians* were again caſt upon the Coaſt of *Germany* [c]; but there is no more Proof that theſe were really *Indians* than the former; for, in both Caſes, it is acknowledged, that they were a ſtrange People, whoſe Language was not underſtood, which might be true if they were *Norwegians*, but moſt certainly is no kind of Evidence, that they came either from the *Eaſt* or from the *Weſt-Indies*, or through the North-Eaſt or North-Weſt Paſſage.

I muſt not however omit, that according to *Pliny*, they had ſome Suſpicion that the firſt mentioned *Indians*, and the ſame has been hinted with reſpect to the laſt, came on the Coaſt of *Germany* by ſurrounding the Continent of *Africa* [d]; that is to ſay, by the Rout of the *Cape of Good Hope*, which is however a Thing abſolutely incredible, ſince it cannot be imagined, the *Indians* ever victualed their Ships for a Voyage of ſuch a Length; neither is it to be believed, that if ſo much as one of their Veſſels had reached *Europe*, and returned, we ſhould have had ſome Account of this from them as well as of other Points of their Hiſtory, which are well enough preſerved in ſome Places. But it is Time to quit a Subject on which we can ſay little that is either uſeful or entertaining, and therefore we ſhall paſs on to another Rout to the *Indies*.

2. This was by Land, from *Ruſſia* to *China*, a Thing now commonly known, ſince the Hiſtory of the Embaſſy ſent by the *Czar* in the Year 1659, when his Miniſter paſſed to the North of the Kingdom of *Boutan*, and through the Deſarts of *Great Tartary*. There is no Reaſon to believe that there is any thing new in this Paſſage, or that it had not been as much frequented of old as in the preſent Times; for as we have heretofore ſhewn, it was in the moſt early Ages of the World, that the *Chineſe* and *Indian* Empires were in their moſt flouriſhing Condition, and carried on the moſt extenſive Commerce; whence I conceive it highly probable, that they made uſe of Caravans on this Side, in the ſame Manner as they do now; and it is not impoſſible that, by the Paſſage of theſe Caravans through the *Northern Indies*, the Ancients came to hear of the *Seres*, ſince it is very certain that the Country in which they placed them, is not very far diſtant from the Rout theſe Caravans muſt have taken [e].

That there muſt have been ſome Paſſage on the North, appears alſo from hence, that the Ancients were ſo fully perſuaded that the *Indian* Ocean communicated with the *Caſpian-Sea*, a Thing that could never have come into their Heads, if they had not been informed that there was ſome kind of Commerce carried on between the northern Parts of *Europe* and the *Indies*; and it is not eaſy to conceive how any Commerce of that Kind ſhould be carried on, unleſs by the Rout which we have mentioned, which was always practicable, and which therefore there is no Improbability in ſuppoſing it was formerly practiſed. The only formidable Objection that can be made to this is, the Fierceneſs and Barbarity of the Nations inhabiting between *China* and *Ruſſia*; and therefore this Objection deſerves ſome Conſideration.

In the firſt Place then, I obſerve, that the Ancients had no diſtinct Account of theſe People at all, and therefore whatever they have advanced, ought to make no Impreſſion to the Diſadvantage of theſe Nations. In the next Place, I muſt put the Reader in mind, that what they have told us of the *Seres*, does not appear to agree with the *Chineſe* Hiſtory; and though I am very far from aſſerting that we ought to give an implicit Credit to all that is advanced in that Hiſtory, yet, I think there is nothing abſurd, in ſuppoſing that the *Indians* or the *Chineſe* might be as knowing and as induſtrious in Commerce, as we know with Certainty, the *Chaldeans* and the *Iſhmaelites* were, in Times much earlier than thoſe in which we conceive this Commerce to have been in uſe.

Human Nature is every where the ſame; and it appears even from the Reports of the *Greek* Hiſtorians, that the *Indians*, from the earlieſt Accounts they had of them, were as civilized, and as well governed a People as any in the World, which certainly adds ſome Credit to the *Chineſe* Hiſtory; whether we believe that the *Indians* derived any Part of their Knowledge from the *Chineſe*, or which is a Notion more probable in itſelf, and much better ſupported by Authority, that the *Chineſe* were indebted for the beſt Part of their Improvements to the Lights they received from the *Indians*. The firſt Account we had of the *Tartars*, repreſented them as a Race of ſtupid and ignorant *Barbarians*; but their own Hiſtories ſhew quite the contrary, and carry in them this intrinſick Evidence of their own Veracity, that they muſt have been ſuch a People as their Hiſtories repreſent them; becauſe, had it been otherwiſe, thoſe Hiſtories could not have been written.

To ſpeak my own Opinion freely and fairly, we are but too apt to treat People that have lived at a great Diſtance of Time, as we do thoſe that live at a great Diſtance in point of Place; that is to ſay, we meaſure their Wiſdom and Civility by their Remoteneſs from our own Country, and even our own Time, which is particularly hard upon the Eaſtern Nations, ſince both Reaſon and Experience teach us, that as they were firſt ſettled, their Governments firſt formed, and Laws firſt introduced among them, there is the higheſt Probability that Knowledge of every kind came earlier to Maturity amongſt them than amongſt other Nations, though afterwards their Countries might be over-run, their Governments ſubverted, and

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[b] There have been ſeveral *Greenlanders*, in their little Boats, taken up on the Coaſts of the *Orkneys* and *Cathneſs*.

[c] *Lopez Gomara* in *Hiſt. Indic. lib.* i. *cap.* 10. He too aſſerts theſe People were *Indians*.

[d] It is very plain, that *Pliny* meant this Paſſage, for he labours in this Chapter to prove that the Continent of *Africa* had been often ſurrounded, and aſſerts in Proof of it, that the Wrecks of *Spaniſh* Veſſels had been found in the *Indian* Seas; which, tho it proves nothing as to the Matter of Fact, yet it ſhews clearly that the Ancients had a Notion that ſuch a Paſſage was practicable.

[e] We have conſidered this Subject at large in the fifteenth Section.

[f] The Reader will find this verified, if he conſults the genealogical Hiſtory of the *Tatars*, written by a *Tartar* Prince, and of which we have a very good Tranſlation in *Engliſh*.

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in their Manners much altered by the Interruption of other Nations, yet were truly barbarous with reſpect to them; that is to ſay, differed widely from them in point of Laws and Cuſtoms, and eſtabliſhing themſelves by Force of Arms, diſturbed that Order they found, and were a long Time before they eſtabliſhed any regular Conſtitution in its Place.

3. We ſhall apprehend this Matter better, if we conſider the next Rout to *China*, which was by *Samarcand*, the Capital of the Country, called *Tranſoxiania*; that is, the Country beyond the River *Oxus*. It was by this River, which runs at no great Diſtance from *Samarcand*, that a Trade was carried on to the North, by ſailing down that River into the *Caſpian-Sea*, and ſo to the Mouth of the *Volga*. Biſhop *Huet* [g] hath very juſtly obſerved, that, by this Rout, there was no great Difficulty in paſſing from *China* to *Spain*, without ever entering the Ocean. For, as he remarks, if after entering the *Volga*, and ſailing up that River as high as the Country of the *Coſſacks*, the Merchants and Merchandiſe went by Land no greater Journey than ſix *German* Leagues, they might then ſail down the *Tanais*, and ſo into the *Black-Sea*; and paſſing the Streights of *Conſtantinople*, proceed by the Mediterranean to *Gibraltar*.

Strabo [h] has pointed us out another Rout by the *Caſpian-Sea*, ſtill ſhorter than that of the *Volga*, which is by turning towards *Albania*, and ſo entering the River *Cyrus*, and ſailing up as far as it is navigable; and then proceeding by Land directly to the *Black-Sea*. But tho', as he obſerves, this might be a ſhorter Way, yet certainly it was not ſo commodious, or at this Time ſo practicable; however the Account he has given of it, is a plain Indication, that all theſe Things had been very well conſidered by the Ancients.

But *Pliny* [i] carries the Matter much farther; for he tells us on the Authority of *Varro*, that *Pompey* the Great, during the War that he carried on againſt *Mithridates*, had actually a Deſign of opening a Commerce this Way. He was, ſays he, informed, that it was but ſeven Days Journey from the Frontiers of *India* through the Country of the *Bactrians* to the River *Icarus*, which falls into the *Oxus*; ſo that the Merchandiſe of *India* might be this Way tranſported into the *Caſpian-Sea*, and from thence carried up the River *Cyrus*, to within five Days Journey of *Phaſis* in *Pontus*, which five Days Journey, might be very eaſily performed over Land [k]. *Solinus* [l], indeed, ſpeaks of the Veſſels paſſing this Way, but that is a Miſtake; he muſt have meant the Merchandiſe. It is impoſſible to mention this Rout to and from the *Indies*, without obſerving, that it was the neareſt and moſt convenient that could be to *Conſtantinople*; and there ſeems to be no Reaſon to doubt, that it was made uſe of, eſpecially when the Inhabitants of the *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Black-Sea*, were Subjects to the *Greek* Emperors, or in times of Peace; and by this means it might probably happen, that the Commerce of the *Indies* was preſerved after the Eaſtern Provinces of the Empire were loſt, becauſe it was a long time after that before this Road was in any danger of being diſturbed by the Excurſions of the *Arabs*.

This would have become ſtill an eaſier and better Method of carrying on this Trade; perhaps we ſhould not err much in ſaying the eaſieſt, and beſt of all, if the Project, which *Pliny* tells us, on no leſs Authority than that of the Emperor *Claudius* [m], was formed by *Seleucus Nicator*, had been carried into Execution, either by him, or by the *Greek* Emperors, who had a much better Opportunity of doing it, which was by cutting a Canal from the *Cimmerian* Boſphorus to the *Caſpian-Sea*, which would have ſhortened the Paſſage extremely, and would beſides have enabled the Merchants to have conveyed their Goods by Water all the Way.

The Scheme itſelf is truly great, and was originally that of *Alexander*, who, as we obſerved in the Account we gave of that great Conqueror's Deſigns, ordered the *Caſpian-Sea* to be perfectly ſurveyed, with this very View of finding ſome Communication with the *Pontus Euxinus*, that he might thereby open a Paſſage from the *Indies* to his hereditary Dominions of *Macedon* [n]. One would imagine, that this might have been more in the Power of the Grand Signior; but as the *Turks* have no great Genius for Trade, we need not wonder that it has been hitherto neglected; but if ever the *Shah Nadir* ſhould compaſs his Deſign of penetrating as far as the *Black-Sea*, there is good Reaſon to believe that he would revive this Project, as well on account of his known Attention to whatever regards Commerce, as becauſe he would then be intirely Maſter of the Country through which this Trade muſt be carried on.

4. The City of *Bogar* ſtands not far from *Samarcand*, and is much nearer to the River *Oxus*; it was formerly a Place of very great Trade, and is ſtill reſorted to by abundance of Merchants from *Cathay*, or *Great Tartary*, *China*, and the *Indies*, on this and on the other Side the *Ganges*; as alſo by the *Perſians* and *Muſcovites*, who there furniſh themſelves with all the rich Commodities of the Eaſt, ſo that it ſtill paſſes for a very great Mart in that Part of the World [o].

Our Countryman *Anthony Jenkinſon*, who was actually there in 1558, aſſures us, that in his Time the River *Oxus* did not fall into the *Caſpian-Sea*, as of old, but emptied itſelf into another River called *Ardocke*, which, he ſays, runs towards the North; and after running a thouſand Miles underground, riſes again, and falls into the Lake of *Kithay*. This is a Fact which he expreſly affirms in one Place; but in another, he gives the following Account of the Matter. "On the 26th of *November* we departed from "the Town of *Urgence*, and having travelled by the River "*Oxus* one hundred Miles, we paſſed over another great "River called *Ardocke*, where we paid a certain petty "Cuſtom. This River *Ardocke* is great, and very ſwift; "and falling out of the aforeſaid *Oxus*, it paſſes about a "thouſand Miles to the Northward, and then conſumeth "itſelf in the Ground; and paſſing under the ſame about "five hundred Miles, iſſueth out again, and falleth into "the Lake of *Kithay*, as I have before declared [p]."

He had forgot, it ſeems, what he had before declared; for there he ſays in ſo many Words, that it paſſes under the Ground above one thouſand Miles; but, as what he relates in both Places, muſt be from Hearſay, it is the leſs to be regarded. As to what he records of his own Knowledge, it deſerves Notice, becauſe he has the Reputation of being an Author of great Fidelity. He aſſures us then, that all the Country thereabouts is watered by Canals drawn from the River *Oxus*, which, in his Judgment, is a great Detriment to that River; and the Cauſe that it does not fall into the *Caſpian-Sea*, as it did in Times paſt. He adds, that in a ſhort time all that Country is like to be deſtroyed, and to become a Wilderneſs for want of Water, when the River *Oxus* ſhall fail. He likewiſe gives us an Account of the City of *Bogar*, as it was in his Time.

He ſays, that it is ſeated in a low Country, not far from the River *Oxus*, which is there navigable, and is ſurrounded with a high Wall of Earth; the City is divided into three Parts, two of which belong to the King, and the Inhabitants, and the third to the Foreign Merchants; all of the ſame Trade living in the ſame Place. This City is very large, and the Houſes, for the moſt Part, of Earth; but there are alſo many of them, and all the Temples and publick Buildings of Stone, ſumptuouſly built, and very richly gilt, eſpecially their Bagnio's, which, in the Opinion of this Writer, exceed any in the World. The King had a Tenth of all Wares that were ſold; but what is more to our Purpoſe, he gives us a very copious Account of theſe Wares, and of the Trade carried on there in his Time.

There is, ſays he, yearly, a great Reſort of Merchants from *Perſia*, *Balk*, *Ruſſia*, and in times paſt from *Cathay*, when there was a Paſſage; the *Indians* bring white Cottons for Turbants; but for Gold, Silver, Precious Stones, and Spices, they bring none; but all that ſort of Trade is car-

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[g] *Hiſtoire du Commerce, & de la Navigation des Anciens*, cap. 56.
[h] *Geog. lib.* xi.
[i] *Hiſt. Natural. lib.* vi. *cap.* 17. Wherein he diſcourſes largely on this Subject, and acquaints us with abundance of curious Particulars that relate to it; and which demonſtrate the Aſſiduity of the Ancients, in contriving to ſecure the Monopoly of this Commerce to the *Indies*.
[k] *Plin. ubi ſupra.*
[l] *De Mirab. Mund. cap.* 19.
[m] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. *c.* 11.
[n] See before, *p.* 409.
[o] *Hiſtoire du Commerce des Anciens. cap.* 56.
[p] *Hackluyt's Voyages*, Vol. II. *p.* 358.

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ried on by the *Portugueze* on the Ocean. The *Indians* carry back with them wrought Silks, red Hides, Slaves, Horſes, and other Things. The *Indians* he ſays there came from the Country of *Bengal*, and beyond it; the *Perſians* brought Woollen Cloth, Linnen Cloth, ſeveral ſorts of Silks, and carried back red Hides, other *Ruſſian* Commodities, and Slaves. As for the Cloth, he tells us, he found, upon Enquiry, they brought it from *Aleppo*. The *Ruſſians* dealt in red Hides, Sheep-Skins, Woollen Cloth, Wooden-ware, Bridles, Saddles, and other ſuch-like Goods, which they exchanged for Cotton and Silk Manufactures. He farther tells us, that the Caravans which came from *Cathay* in time of Peace, and when the Ways were open, brought Muſk, Rhubarb, Sattins, Damaſks, and other rich Commodities; but by reaſon of the Wars, there had been no Caravans in three Years; and when they did come, he tells us, their Journey took up nine Months. He left the City of *Bogar* on the 8th of *March* 1559, in a Caravan, conſiſting of ſix hundred Camels, and arrived on the 23d of *April* following on the Coaſt of the *Caſpian-Sea*.

It is clear from what this Writer delivers, that the Accounts we have of the ancient Commerce in theſe Parts, and particularly by the Way of *Bogar*, is exactly agreeable to Truth; and there is no doubt, that the Splendor of this City, the fine Houſes, Temples, and other publick Edifices, were owing to the Wealth which this Commerce produced; and it is no leſs plain, that in times of Peace, and when the *Perſian* Empire, upon which the Kingdom of *Bogard* or *Bucharia* depends, is thoroughly ſettled, this Commerce may be revived to very great Advantage.

5. There is another Rout which could not differ much from that before deſcribed, mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus*[q], which he ſays lay through the Country of the *Arians*, ſituated, with regard to the *Oxus*, between the North and the Weſt; and which Rout likewiſe led to the *Caſpian-Sea*. According to the Deſcription he has given us, there was a River, called *Arias*, which ran through that Country, and which was navigable. He farther ſays, that the Navigation through this Country to the *Caſpian-Sea*, did not exceed a hundred Leagues. According to all the ancient Maps, and even according to *Ptolemy*'s Tables, there is no navigable River to be found in this Part of the Country, except the *Oxus*, into which there might run ſome little Rivulet from the Country of the *Arians*; and indeed *Strabo* mentions ſuch a Rivulet by the Name of *Zariaſpe*. One might be tempted to think, from the Similitude of Names, that this River might be the ſame that *Jenkinſon* mentions, and which he calls *Ardoche*; but that it is evident, from his Account, that even this River does not run into the *Caſpian-Sea*; ſo that no Navigation could be carried on this Way in the Manner that *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions. But we ought likewiſe to conſider, that it is very clear from *Jenkinſon*'s Account, that the Rivers in this Country have ſuffered much Alteration ſince the Time that *Ammianus* wrote; and we muſt likewiſe conſider, that he wrote entirely from the Information of others, and not from his own Knowledge; ſo that, very probably, he may be ſomewhat miſtaken in this Matter, at leaſt in ſome of the Circumſtances. And this Rout, through the Country of the *Arians*, might be carried on by Land, and by the Help of Caravans, as *Jenkinſon* aſſures us it was in his Time. After all, there does not ſeem to be any good Reaſon for diſtinguiſhing this from the former Paſſage, ſince, in all Likelihood, the *Indian* Commodities that were thus tranſported, were carried no farther than either *Bogar* or *Samarcand*, and paſſed from thence down to the *Caſpian-Sea*.

6. We are indebted to the ſame ancient Author for the Account of another Road from the Country of the *Seres*, which lay through that of the *Saca*, a very fierce and barbarous People, as all the Writers of Antiquity agree that mention them[r]. *Ptolemy*, in the Account he has left us in this Country, mentions two Rivers, the one called *Araxates*, and the other *Dymas*, which, he ſays, running near each other, ſometimes over-flow the adjacent Country, and cauſe a great Tract of marſhy and fenny Ground, which from its lying near the River *Oxus*, is called the *Oxian* Marſhes.

This Paſſage is very perplexed and obſcure, and ſeems to give us an Idea of the *Oxus* very different from that which *Jenkinſon* had of it when he travelled thither in the laſt Century. In order to reconcile theſe Differences, and to give as full and fair an Account as is poſſible of this River, which, upon the whole appears to have been the grand Canal in ancient Times of the Commerce of the Eaſt, we ſhall give ſuch a Deſcription of it as is to be met with in the beſt modern Accounts of theſe Parts.

The River *Oxus* is now called *Amu*. It riſes in the high Mountains on the Frontiers of the *Leſſer Bucharia*, which ſeparate the Dominions of the Great Mogul from the Country of *Great Tartary*, in the Latitude, as near as can be diſcovered of 29° 30′ N. This River paſſes thro' the Country of *Grand Bucharia*, running from Eaſt to Weſt, and about forty Leagues from its Mouth divides itſelf into two Branches. That which runs to the left continues its Courſe weſtward, till it falls into the *Caſpian-Sea*, in the Country of *Aſtarabat*, which belongs to the *Perſian* Empire, in the Latitude of 38° 20′ N. As for the Right-hand Branch, which formerly paſſed by the City of *Urgence*, it fell likewiſe into the *Caſpian-Sea*, about twelve Leagues more to the North than the other Branch; but at preſent it has changed its Courſe, and running North-Weſt, falls into another River called *Koſel*, not far from the little Town of *Tuk*. The old Channel, which paſſed by the City of *Urgence*, is abſolutely dry, and all the Country thereabouts is become a Deſert, as our old *Engliſh* Traveller fore-ſaw it would for want of Water[s].

This Account is taken from the Diſcoveries made in theſe Parts, by the order of the late Czar; and if it may be depended upon, as indeed I ſee no Reaſon why it ſhould not, it frees us from all the Difficulties that ariſe from the former Deſcription, and enables us to account for the wide Difference between the ancient and modern Relations of the Commerce in theſe Parts. As for the other Branch of the *Amu*, or *Oxus*, which continues its Courſe to the *Caſpian-Sea*, it is ſtill a large navigable River; the Country about it extremely fertile and pleaſant, producing the largeſt and fineſt Melons in the World, and other excellent Fruits, which are carried not only into *Perſia* and *India*, but alſo into *Ruſſia*.

7. The next Rout, declining ſtill a little to the South, is that of *Cabul*, or *Caboul*, which derives its Name from a City of the ſame Name, ſeated in the Latitude of 34° North, on the Frontiers of *Great Bucharia*, on the South-ſide of the Mountains, which divide the Territories of the Mogul from that Part of *Great Tartary*. This City of *Cabul*, is the Capital of a little Province, called from thence *Cabuliſtan*; it is one of the fineſt Cities in that Part of the World, large, rich, and very populous. As it is conſidered as the Key of the Great Mogul's Dominions, great Care is taken to keep its Fortifications in conſtant Repair, and a numerous Garriſon is maintained for its Security. This City is very ancient, and has been always famous, as it ſtill is, for being the great Mart or Centre of Commerce between *India*, *Perſia*, and *Great Bucharia*.

The *Uſback Tartars* drive there a great Trade in Slaves, as alſo in Horſes, of which it is ſaid, that not fewer than ſixty thouſand are ſold there every Year. It ſtands on a little River which falls into the *Indus*, and thereby affords a ſhort and ſpeedy Paſſage for all the rich Commodities in the Country behind it, which, when brought to *Cabul*, are there exchanged for Slaves and Horſes, and are conveyed from thence by Merchants of different Countries into other Parts of the World. The Neighbourhood of this City, is one of the pleaſanteſt and moſt fertile Regions that can be imagined; the Climate temperate and wholſome, well watered, producing Fruits of all Kinds in equal Plenty and Perfection. The Inhabitants are moſt of them *Indian Pagans*, though the Officers of the Mogul and moſt of the Garriſon are *Mohammedans*.

8. A little farther to the South, lies the greateſt and moſt frequented Road to the *Indies*, by the City and Pro-

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[q] *Amm. Marcell. lib.* xxiii. *cap.* 6.

[r] *Ammian. Marcellin. lib.* xxiii. *cap.* 6. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* ii. *Strabo, lib.* xi. *Ptolem. lib.* vi. c. 13. *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. *cap.* 17.

[s] *Hiſtoire Genealogique des Tatars. p.* 57.

[t] The Facts mentioned in this Paragraph will be abundantly verified in the ſucceeding Sections.

vince of *Candahar*, which has been for many Ages the Centre of Commerce between *Perſia* and the *Indies*. The City of *Candahar* is ſeated in 33° 10′ N. and is by Nature one of the ſtrongeſt Places in the Eaſt. There is great Reaſon to believe from the Compariſon of our modern Maps with the old Tables of *Ptolemy*[u], that this City is either raiſed out of the Ruins, or built very near the Place where *Alexandria* ſtood, and is a new Proof of the Wiſdom of *Alexander* the Great, in the Choice of a proper Situation for the Colonies he intended to have erected in this Part of the World. Some learned Men have thought that the modern, as well as the ancient Name of this Place, is derived from that of this great Conqueror, who is called in the Eaſt *Iſcander*; but there ſeems to be more Reaſon to believe that it derives its preſent Appellation from the *Candarians*, an ancient People that were formerly the Inhabitants of the adjacent Country[w].

This City and Province has been expoſed to many Revolutions. It was long an independant Principality, preſerved in that Condition, not ſo much by the Strength of the Place, and the Power of its Princes, though both were in paſt Times very great, as by its advantagious Situation on the Frontiers of the two great Empires of *Perſia* and the *Indies*, which ſecured it a powerful Protector on one Side whenever it was attacked on the other. It has been ſince however, ſometimes in the Hands of the Mogul, ſometimes in thoſe of the *Perſian*, where it is now like to remain. It is not very large, but extremely well built and well peopled; and the Caravans from *Iſpahan* and *Agra* paſs conſtantly through it, and even continue there for ſome Time for the Conveniency of Merchants of all Nations, who reſort thither to exchange the Commodities of their own Countries for thoſe of the Eaſt.

It is highly probable that this Commerce was in a very flouriſhing Condition, under the *Perſian* Kings cotemporary with the firſt Emperors of *Conſtantinople*, and that by the regular Returns of Caravans from the *Indies*, the *Perſians* were furniſhed with vaſt Quantities of the Commodities of *India*, which they afterwards carried into their frontier Provinces, in order to diſpoſe of them at the Fairs in which they traded with the *Greeks*. The Settlements of the *Europeans* in the *Indies* have certainly leſſened this Commerce by *Candahar*, as well as all the inland Trade of thoſe Parts. But, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, it is for all that very conſiderable, and muſt always continue ſo, from the natural Conveniency of the Place, which renders it the Staple of *Perſian* as well as *Indian* Commodities.

9. There is yet another Rout more to the South than any of thoſe we have mentioned, *viz.* through the Country of the *Sinæ*, or *Thinæ*, whom we have mentioned before, and have ſhewn them to be the *Siameſe*. We have this Account from the Author of that Periplus of the *Red-Sea*, which goes under the Name of *Arrian*, and a very dark Account it is, though not altogether unworthy of Notice. The City of *Thina* lies, as he tells us, on the Sea-ſide in the ſouthern Part of the Country, and from thence ſilk and cotton Manufactures are carried by Land through the Country of *Bactria* to *Barygaza*, and from thence to *Limyrica* by the *Ganges*. There cannot be any thing wilder, or more abſurd than this Story; for, according to *Ptolemy*'s Tables, there is a Diſtance of 32° of Latitude, between the Country of *Bactria* and *Barygaza*, and 25° of Longitude between *Limyrica* and the *Ganges*[x].

One need not, however, much wonder at theſe Miſtakes, when, in the ſame Deſcription, we find this Author placing this City of *Thina* very near the Pole, which is ſo extravagant an Error, as plainly betrays his Want of Skill in Geography. He proceeds to inform us, that this City is exceſſively difficult of Acceſs, ſo that few People go to it; and yet he talks of its Vicinity to *Pontus* and the *Caſpian-Sea*, which renders all he ſays abſolutely unintelligible. He informs us farther, that there came annually to the Frontiers of the Country of the *Sinæ*, a People whom he calls *Seſatas*, and whom he deſcribes as a Sort of Savages, of a low Stature, broad-faced, and with flat Noſes, between whom, and the *Sinæ*, a very conſiderable Commerce was carried on.

The very learned Biſhop *Huet*[y], profeſſes himſelf at a Loſs to know what to make of theſe People. I muſt confeſs, that there cannot well be any thing more dark or confuſed than this Story; but, for my own part, I believe that the Text is corrupted, and that the Meaning of the Paſſage may poſſibly be this, that there was anciently a Trade carried on over land between the *Tartars*, for ſuch I conceive theſe People to have been from his Deſcription and the *Siameſe*; but whether I am right in my Conjecture or not, I muſt leave the ingenious Reader to determine. This, however is certain, that if I have gueſſed right, it will make ſome Senſe of this Paſſage, of which hitherto the beſt Commentators have been able to make no Senſe at all.

There is another ancient Writer who mentions this City in the following Terms: There lies, ſays he, in that Part of *India*, which is beyond the *Ganges*, the *Golden Cherſoneſe*, beyond which is the *Sinus Magnus*, then the Country of the *Sinæ*, whoſe Capital is called *Thina*, which ſtands on the Frontiers of the Country known and unknown[z]. That is, in plain *Engliſh*, this City of *Thina* was the very laſt Place in the *Indies* of which the Ancients had any Knowledge.

Taking this therefore altogether, it amounts, I think, to this; that there was anciently a very great inland Commerce throughout the *Indies*, from the Countries that lay fartheſt to the North, to thoſe which lay in the remoteſt Parts of the South and Eaſt: Which is very agreeable to what I have before laid down, that notwithſtanding the Reports of their Barbarity, which aroſe wholly from their being unknown, the ancient *Indians* were much addicted to Commerce; which, by the Help of their Rivers and Caravans paſſing from River to River, they carried on in a manner the moſt extenſive; of which, the *Alexandrians*, by their Commerce on the Sea Coaſt, came to have ſome Knowledge, and from their natural Prejudice, reported Things in this dark and confuſed manner.

10. We have now gone through moſt of the Routs to and from the *Indies*, which are mentioned in ancient Authors, excepting ſuch as were performed both by Land and Sea; of which it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat, tho' we ſhall not dwell long upon them, becauſe we ſhall have Occaſion to mention them in the ſubſequent Sections. After the Time of *Alexander*, there was always a very conſiderable Trade carried on, at leaſt in Times of Peace, through *Perſia* to the *Indies*, by the Help of regular Caravans, which there is great Reaſon to believe, went annually from the Banks of the *Tygris* to thoſe of the *Indus*. But in Proceſs of Time, a great Part of this Journey was ſaved, and the *Indian* Commodities being ſhipped at *Muziris*, *Barygaza* or at *Patala*, were carried by Sea through the *Perſian* Gulph, and then up the River *Euphrates*, within in a very ſmall Diſtance of *Palmyra*, to which City they ſeem to have been tranſported by Land; where they were laid up in moſt ſtately Magazines, till, as Occaſion ſerved, they were tranſported thence to *Antioch*, and ſo over all *Europe*[a].

We have already mentioned the Riſe and Ruin of that famous City, and ſhall here only obſerve, that it is highly probable that the Commerce of this Place fell off by Degrees, and not all at once, as moſt Writers ſeem to imagine; for Want perhaps of the Hiſtories of thoſe Countries after the *Roman* Empire began to decline. It certainly required a long Courſe of Time to eſtabliſh ſo large, ſo well-built and rich a City; and therefore it is by no means credible, that it ſhould be deſerted and abandoned all at once. There are, to ſay the Truth, ſome Paſſages in Oriental Hiſtorians, which would incline one to believe, that it was ſtill a City of conſiderable Figure and Trade under the *Khaliffs*; and therefore, I think, it may be concluded, that its Total Deſtruction was owing to the Trade to the *Indies* taking another Courſe, eſpecially after the Foundation of *Bagdad*; as alſo to the Wars, to which the adjacent Countries have been continually expoſed for ſo many Years laſt paſt; firſt between the *Arabs* and the *Tartars*, and ſince between the *Perſians* and the *Turks*[b].

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[u] *Ptolem. Aſiæ Tab.* vii.

[w] *Hiſtoire de Commerce des Anciens*, *p.* 399.

[x] *Arrian. Peripl. Maris Erythræi p.* 36, 37.

[y] *Hiſtoire de Commerce des Anciens*, *p.* 431.

[z] *Marcian. Heracliot. Peripl. Maris Externi*, *p.* 14.

[a] See the Hiſtory of *Palmyra*, *p.* 33, 65.

Yet ſtill the old Rout is, in ſome Meaſure, preſerved by the Caravans that paſs from *Perſia* to *Aleppo*; which ſhews of how great Conſequence it is, to have the Rout of an advantagious Commerce once laid down through any Country: For though, through the Alterations and Revolutions to which all Places are, in ſome meaſure, liable, it may be for ſome Time interrupted or diſuſed, yet ſooner or later it is again revived, tho' perhaps not exactly in the old manner, yet ſo near it, that the Inhabitants are ſeldom totally deprived of the Benefits reſulting from it[c].

It has been of late apprehended, that the preſent Monarch of *Perſia*, *Kouli Khan*, has it in View to ruin this Commerce intirely, as prejudicial to his Subjects, or rather detrimental to his Plan of Power, which is to draw the Commerce Northward, and make himſelf ſole Maſter of the Trade to the *Indies* through his Dominions. But there is good Reaſon to doubt, whether this be not a Scheme too large for him to execute in his Life-time; and whether his Succeſſors may not be brought to alter it, and to put things again upon their old Foot: Yet thus much is certain, that if this Monarch and his Succeſſors ſhould ever compaſs this Deſign, and divert the whole Trade of their Dominions to the *Caſpian-Sea*, it will have its Effects with Reſpect to *Aleppo* and the other Towns on that Coaſt, and that in the ſame Manner, and to as high a Degree, as the Diſcovery of the Paſſage to the *Indies* has had on the Port of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*.

11. As the *Arabian* Empire took Riſe in the Peninſula of *Arabia*, ſo as ſoon as the Princes of that new Power had any Leiſure to form a Scheme of Politicks, they began to frame a Deſign of attracting the *Indian* Trade from the Country of *Perſia* where it then centered, as near as poſſible to the Place of their own Reſidence. It was with this View, that *Omar* the Second Khaliff, in the 15th Year of the Hegira, A. D. 636, cauſed the City of *Baſſora*, or *Balſora*, to be built a little above the Entrance into the *Perſian* Gulph.

There never was perhaps a City more happily erected, or which ſooner came to anſwer the End for which it was erected than this. The Khaliffs did not indeed make it the Place of their Reſidence, and if they had, it is highly probable it would have been rather diſadvantagious than ſerviceable to it. But they always ſent thither a Perſon of Diſtinction as Governor, and made it the grand Port of their Dominions. It became by this Means, and by the Priviledges allowed to all Merchants that ſettled there, exceedingly rich and very populous; and that too in a ſurprizing ſhort Space of Time.

It was for ſeveral Ages, a Place of the greateſt Concourſe, and of the greateſt Trade in the known World. The richeſt Commodities in the Eaſt, but more eſpecially Spices, Precious Stones, Drugs, Silk and Cotton Manufactures were brought hither, and diſperſed from hence by Caravans, till ſuch Times as the *Portugueze* became Maſters of the City and Iſland of *Ormuz* on the Coaſt of *Perſia*; which, for a long Time ſunk the Commerce of *Baſſora*. But after the Shah *Abbas*, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, made himſelf Maſter of that Iſland, and raiſed the famous Emporium of *Bander Abaſſi*, or *Gambroon*, on the oppoſite Coaſt of *Perſia*, the Trade of *Baſora* began to revive, and has been ever ſince conſidered as beyond Compariſon, the greateſt Mart of this Part of the World; as ingroſſing all the Trade of the *Perſian* Gulph.

It was, as we have already ſhewn, originally in the Hands of the *Arabs*; the *Perſians* became afterwards its Maſters: But ſince the Year 1668 it has belonged to the *Turks*.

At the ſame Time that the Khaliffs ſecured to their Subjects all the Trade on this Side, by opening ſo convenient a Port as that of *Baſſora*, they took no leſs Care of the *Arabian* Gulph, and of the Trade carried on thereby; for they directed a Canal to be cut from *Cairo* to *Suez*, which is ſtill viſible, though at preſent choaked up with Sand; and partly by Shipping, partly by Caravans, eſtabliſhed ſuch a Trade there, as very near equalled that carried on in the Days of the *Romans*. Thus the Reader ſees that, for a long Tract of Time, the whole Trade of the *Indies* was in the Hands of the *Mohammedans*, and carried on by them with all the Caution and Succeſs imaginable.

It is true, that this is now in a great meaſure in the Hands of the *Europeans*, who are eſtabliſhed in all the Ports in this Part of the World, and carry on a prodigious Trade in their own Bottoms. But, notwithſtanding this, perhaps we yet owe the Trade of the *Indies* more to the Weakneſs of the *Turkiſh* Policy, than to any other Cauſe whatever; for, notwithſtanding our Superiority in Maritime Skill and Maritime Force, if the *Turks* were a People in any degree addicted to Trade, they might ſtill drive a great Part of that to the *Indies* by the old Rout through the *Red-Sea*, in ſpight of all our Power and of all our Settlements.

This will appear clearly to the Reader, if he conſiders that *Surat* is ſo well ſituated, that it might be very eaſily made the Centre of all the Commerce of the *Indies*. From *Surat* to *Suez* is not above a Month or five Weeks Sail; and from *Suez* to *Cairo* is a Journey of no more than three Days; from *Cairo* to *Alexandria* Goods may be conveyed in the ſame Space of Time; and from *Alexandria* to *Marſeilles* is a Voyage only of a Fortnight or three Weeks. So that taking this altogether, it appears far from being an Impoſſibility for a Perſon to go from *Marſeilles* to *Surat* in the Space of two Months, or ten Weeks. It may indeed be objected, that the Voyage from *Suez* to *Surat*, and conſequently that from *Surat* to *Suez*, depends on the *Monſoons*; but, notwithſtanding this, if proper Magazines were erected at both Ports, and Fleets went regularly between them at Spring and Fall, an immenſe Quantity of *Indian* Goods might be this Way brought into *Europe* much freſher, and in much better Condition than they are at preſent[e].

This is a Project the *French* have often had in their Heads; and if ever they ſhould prevail with the *Ottoman* Port to concur with them in carrying it into Execution, there is no anſwering for its Conſequences. It muſt be owned, that an Attempt of this ſort might in the Beginning meet with many Obſtacles; but if once the *Turks* taſted the Sweets of this Commerce, or were tempted by the Offer of a large Sum of Money to be paid annually at *Conſtantinople*, as an Equivalent for the Duties with which Goods coming this way into *Europe* might be charged, it is not eaſy to ſay how far this might operate; for how indolent and negligent ſoever they may be with regard to Trade and Navigation, yet there is no Nation in the World more avaricious than they, or more ready to do any thing to which they are prompted for Money.

12. The laſt Rout we ſhall mention, is one not very ancient, and which neverthleſs is now, in a manner, abſolutely forgot. The Genoeſe had it formerly in their Hands: And is no other than the Port of *Caffa*, in *Crim Tartary*. This Country was anciently called the *Cherſoneſus Taurica*; and this City is very often mentioned by old Writers under the Name of *Theudoſia*[f]. It was taken from the *Genoeſe*, who, while they poſſeſſed it, were Maſters of the Trade of the *Black-Sea*, by *Mohammed* the Great, A.D. 1475. It was then in a very flouriſhing Condition, and was one of the beſt-built and richeſt Places of its Size in *Europe*.

It ſtands at the Foot of a ſmall Hill upon the Sea-Shore, North and South, with long Walls ſtretching on both Sides down to the Sea; ſo that from the Port, which is very large, very ſafe and very commodious, it makes a very agreeable Appearance: There is a Caſtle on the South Side, in which the *Turkiſh* Baſhaw reſides, with his Garriſon. The Number of Houſes in the Place are about 4000; of which, 800 belong to Chriſtians, the reſt to *Turks* and *Tartars*; but the former are Maſters here, and it is the only Place the Grand Seignor has in *Tartary*.

After the *Genoeſe* were driven from hence, they carried on for a long time a very advantagious Trade with the Inhabitants, who, by the way of the *Caſpian-Sea*, found means

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[b] See the Article *Balbeck* in *Herbelot*. [c] All this Commerce has been carried one Way, though not conſtantly in the Hands of one People.
[d] *Elmacin. Hiſt. Saracen.* p. 191. [e] I take moſt of theſe Particulars from the Deſcription of *Egypt*, compiled from the Papers of M. *Mallet*, the *French* Conſul. [f] *Cellar. Geograph. Antiq.* Vol. I. p. 409.

means to enter into a conſiderable Trade in Spices, Drugs, Cotton, Silk, and other *Indian* Commodities. At laſt the *Turks* grew jealous of the Intercourſe of the *Genoeſe* in theſe Parts, and abſolutely excluded them, as well as all other Nations, from trading to, or even entering into the *Black-Sea*. Yet this did not immediately put an End to the Commerce between this Place and *Genoa*; for the *Tartars* preſerved ſo ſtrong a Senſe of the Advantages derived from this Commerce, that for ſome time they proſecuted it in their own Veſſels, and carried the Spices and other *Indian* Goods which they received by Caravans from *Aſtracan*, and which had been brought thither from the oppoſite Side of the *Caſpian-Sea* to *Genoa*; but the *Turks*, equally jealous of this, as they had been of the former Correſpondence, ſoon put an end to this Commerce likewiſe, and thereby ſecured themſelves from the Fears of ſeeing a Chriſtian Fleet in thoſe Seas.

Yet *Caffa* ſtill remains a Place of very great Trade, and the Staple of the *Black-Sea*, inſomuch that Sir *John Chardin* [g] tells us, he ſaw in the ſpace of forty Days no leſs than four hundred Ships ſail in and out of this Port. The *Venetians*, in hopes perhaps of reviving, in ſome meaſure, the old Trade, procured, at a great Expence in the Year 1672, Leave from the *Port* to ſend annually a Cargo of their Manufactures on board a ſmall Squadron of their own into the *Black-Sea*; but this Trade did not laſt long, for the *Jews* inſinuated ſo many Dangers would ariſe from permitting this Commerce, that in a Year's time the Licence was retracted; and thus ended all Attempts for retrieving the Commerce of the *Indies* by this Rout. In proceſs of time, however, it is not at all incredible that it may be reſtored; for ſince the *Ruſſians* are Maſters of *Azoff*, and have a conſiderable Number of trading Veſſels in thoſe Seas, it is not impoſſible that ſome ſuch Revolution may happen, as will ſet the Navigation of the *Black-Sea* entirely open, and thereby reſtore to the *Europeans* in general, but more eſpecially to the *Italian* States, a Commerce highly profitable in itſelf, and capable of great Improvements.

13. We have now entirely done with the ancient Hiſtory of this Commerce, and ſhall add only a very few Obſervations on this, as on the former Sections, and thoſe with no other view, than to convince the Reader of the Importance of this Hiſtory, and to ſhew what an Effect it has had, and is ever like to have, in favour of thoſe who are poſſeſſed of it.

Every one of the four great Empires, which, in paſt Ages, have had the ſupreme Dominion, and the Hiſtory of which ſtill makes ſo great a part of that Learning which is moſt valued, had each of them a large Share, and many of them the entire Monopoly of the Trade to the *Indies*.

The Accounts we have of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, are very ſhort, as well as very obſcure; and yet the Attempt made by *Semiramis* to conquer the *Indies*, is the moſt conſiderable Event of which, with reſpect to that Monarchy, we have any Account. The *Perſians*, as we have ſhewn at large, owed a great part of their Wealth to this Commerce, as it was carried on by Land, while their conſtant Allies, the *Tyrians*, derived from it much of their Maritime Power, which was almoſt all the *Perſians* had to depend upon by Sea. The Proſpect of ingroſſing it was the principal Object which *Alexander the Great* had in View, which afterwards occupied the Thoughts of his principal Commanders, and which was, at length, in a great meaſure accompliſhed by the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*. The *Romans* acquired it, together with the Dominions of thoſe Princes, and held it as long as they retained any Power anſwerable to their ancient Reputation. The *Arabians* became Maſters of it in conſequence of their rapid Victories, and it has ſince proved the great Source of Maritime Power in the *Weſt*.

This ſeems to be a very full and convincing Anſwer to the Objection that has been made, as if the Trade to the *Indies* was in itſelf prejudicial to the *Europeans*. For how is it poſſible to conceive there can be any Truth in this, when we plainly ſee that Riches and Empire conſtantly attended it, and have been as conſtantly loſt, together with this Trade. This too will the more ſtrongly appear, when we reflect on the Riſe and on the Decline of the *Italian* Republicks, which, as they owed their Fame and their Riches, the flouriſhing State of their Affairs at home, and their great Power by Sea, to the Share they had in this Commerce, ſo together with that they loſt both, and have made a Figure ſince by Dint chiefly on the Remains of that Wealth and Strength which that Commerce procured them.

It is a Point alſo extremely worthy of Notice, that all the Routs known to, and practiſed by, the Ancients, are ſtill in ſome meaſure preſerved; ſo that almoſt all the different Nations in *Europe*, have ſtill, ſome Way or other, Views upon this Trade. In the North, *Sweden* and *Denmark* carry it on by Sea, with ſome Pains and Difficulty indeed, but, at the ſame time, with conſiderable Profit. The *Ruſſians* have three Ways of coming at the *Indies*; the firſt is, by ſailing North-about from *Archangel* to *Japan*, which though never hitherto accompliſhed, they ſtill believed practicable; and if ever that Rout ſhould be brought into Practice, it will be by them; which however could not be done without changing, in a great meaſure, the Face of Affairs in *Europe*, ſince the Wealth of the *Indies*, joined to the Force of the *Muſcovite* Empire, muſt raiſe ſuch a Power in the North, as could not but produce extraordinary Conſequences. The ſecond is, by Caravans from *Moſcow* to *China* directly; and the third, by the *Caſpian-Sea*, joined to the Caravans that are continually paſſing through the *Greater* and *Leſſer Bucharia*. Such of the *German* Hanſe Towns as ſtill preſerve any Power by Sea, ſuch as *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, and *Hamburgh*, keep up a conſtant Correſpondence with *Venice* and *Alexandria*. *Great-Britain*, *Holland*, and *France*, have Settlements in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and trade thither by the *Cape of Good-Hope*. The *Spaniards* ſupply their Empire in the *Weſt-Indies* with the Commodities of the *Eaſt-Indies*, from the *Philippines*; but it does not appear that they bring much of the Merchandize of thoſe Parts into *Europe*. The *Portugueze* have yet in their Hands the Remains of thoſe vaſt Dominions which they once poſſeſſed, and conſequently have ſtill a Share in this Commerce. The *Venetians* drive yet a very conſiderable Trade at *Alexandria*, in Spices, Drugs, Perfumes, Cotton, and Silk Manufactures from the *Indies*.

It is eaſy to diſcern from this general Account of the paſt and preſent State of this important Commerce, that it ſtill engroſſes the Attention of all the Mercantile World, that Projects are continually forming to enlarge it in Countries where it is already ſettled, and to transfer it into thoſe where at preſent it is not exerciſed: And how far any of theſe Projects are, or may be practicable, the Reader will beſt judge from what has been laid down concerning the ſeveral Routs thither in this Section, which we ſhall conclude with this Remark, That the Oriental Nations have, generally ſpeaking, adhered cloſely to their own Maxims, and have never once been tempted, by the many Viſits made them by the different Nations of *Europe*, to fit out any Fleet, or even to ſend ſo much as a ſingle Ship beyond the *Cape of Good-Hope*; though, with reſpect to their Commerce by Land, as the *Indian* Merchants formerly travelled to great Diſtances in Caravans, they do the ſame at preſent; for though Cuſtom be every where a Law, yet among the Eaſtern Nations it remains moſt inviolate; and, as the Reader will obſerve from the ſubſequent Travels, what was practiſed Ages ago, is ſtill the Uſage in thoſe Parts, or at leaſt Variations have been introduced by Force, and cannot therefore be imputed in any degree to the Genius of the People.

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[g] Sir *John Chardin*'s Travels to *Perſia*.

SECTION XVIII.

An Account of the Travels of two Mohammedans *through* India *and* China, *in the ninth Century.*

Tranſlated from the *Arabick* by the Abbé RENAUDOT.

1. *A conciſe Account of the original Editor of theſe Voyages, and of the Works which rendered him famous.* 2. *The Antiquity of theſe Relations, and of the Manuſcript from which they were tranſlated.* 3. *Of the Sea of* Herkend, *and of the Iſlands therein.* 4. *Of the Iſland of* Serandib, *or* Ceylon; *the Riches it contains, and the Manners of its Inhabitants.* 5. *Of ſeveral other Iſlands, particularly thoſe of* Andaman, *the Inhabitants of which eat human Fleſh.* 6. *Of an Iſland in which are Silver Mines, and other extraordinury Things in theſe Seas.* 7. *Of the Trade of* China, *and of the Reſpect ſhewn there to the* Mohammedans. 8. *A very clear and diſtinct Account of the Navigation to* China, *which is probably the firſt Account of it that was ever publiſhed.* 9. *Of an Iſland in which there are no Women ſeen.* 10. *Of the Port of* Canſu *in* China, *and of the Irregularity of the Tides there.* 11. *Of many remarkable Things obſerved in the Countries touched at in this Voyage to* China. 12. *The Cuſtoms and Manners of the* Chineſe *in Civil and Religious Affairs.* 13. *An Account of the four great Kings,* viz. *the* Khaliff, *the Emperor of* China, *the Emperor of the* Greeks, *and the* Balhara *of the* Indies. 14. *A ſuccinct Account of ſeveral other Kingdoms in the* Indies. 15. *The Account of* China *reſumed, the Number of the Cities in that Empire, and the extraordinary Diſcipline maintained in them.* 16. *Of the Burials of the* Chineſe, *and of their domeſtick Affairs.* 17. *Of the Power of the Vice-Roys, and of the Emperor of* China. 18. *Of the publick Revenues of the* Chineſe *Empire.* 19. *Of the Paſſes requiſite for travelling through that Country.* 20. *Of the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in* China. 21. *Their Laws with regard to Bankrupts.* 22. *Other wiſe Regulations practiſed in that Country.* 23. *Miſcellaneous Cuſtoms among the* Chineſe. 24. *Of the Methods practiſed for diſcovering Truth in Trials in the* Indies. 25. *Some other extraordinary Cuſtoms among the* Indians. 26. *The Vices of the* Chineſe, *and the Puniſhment of bad Governors among them.* 27. *Several Laws in* India *and* China. 28. *Strange Cuſtoms that prevail among the Inhabitants of both Countries.* 29. *A Compariſon between* India *and* China. 30. *Of other Countries bordering upon* China. 31. *The Preface of the ſecond Author in Confirmation of what the former had delivered.* 32. *The Hiſtory of a great Revolution in* China, *by the Rebellion of one* Baichu. 33. *The Emperor of* China *reſtored, and the Declenſion of that Empire.* 34. *Of various Puniſhments in uſe among the* Chineſe. 35. *A curious Account of the Maintenance of publick Women in* China. 36. *Of various Regulations in the* Chineſe *Empire.* 37. *Of the Excellence of the* Chineſe *Painters.* 38. *The Hiſtory of* Eben Wahab, *an* Arab, *who made a Voyage into* Perſia. 39. *His Conference with the Emperor.* 40. *Some very ſingular Paſſages in relation to the Knowledge of the Emperor, with regard to the Religions in other Countries.* 41. *Concluſion of the* Arab's *Conference with the Emperor of* China. 42. *Other Circumſtances from that Traveller's Relation.* 43. *Of the Communication between the Ocean and the* Mediterranean. 44. *Of the Province of* Zapage, *and of the Commodities it produces.* 45. *A remarkable Story of an ancient Prince of this Country.* 46. *The War between the King of* Komar *and the King of* Zapage. 47. *The Concluſion of that War.* 48. *Of the Doctrine of the Metempſychoſis, or Tranſmigration of Souls, with a remarkable Story on that Subject.* 49. *A moſt ſingular Act of Juſtice done by the Emperor of* China, *on behalf of an* Arabian *Merchant, againſt his Favourite.* 50. *The great Care taken with reſpect to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in* China. 51. *Of the Situation of the Province of* Choraſſan. 52. *Of the Animal that produces Muſk; the Reaſon why the Muſk of* Thibet *is better than that of* China, *and of the ſeveral Sorts of that Perfume.* 53. *Of certain Cuſtoms in* China *that reſemble thoſe of the* Arabs. 54. *The Cuſtom of the* Indians *to burn themſelves on particular Occaſions, and of their great Conſtancy in Acts of this Nature.* 55. *An incredible Story of the deſperate Courage of a certain* Indian. 56. *Other Inſtances of the ſame Nature.* 57. *Of the immenſe Riches of* Serandib, *or* Ceylon, *and of the Laws of that Country.* 58. *Of the flagrant Vices, and exceſſive Debauchery of thoſe People.* 59. *Of the rainy Seaſon in the* Indies. 60. *Of the* Indian *Brachmans and Penitents.* 61. *Monſtrous Errors proceeding from religious Miſtakes.* 62. *Ships built, rigg'd, and laden from a Plantation of Cacoa Trees.* 63. *Of the Country of the* Zinges, *or Negroes, with an Account of thoſe People.* 64. *Of the Iſland of* Socotra, *and its Productions.* 65. *Of the different Seas omitted in the former Relation.* 66. *Of the Riches of the* Indian *Ocean.* 67. *Of the Formation of Pearl, according to the Notion of the* Arabs. 68. *A very ſingular Story on the foregoing Subject.* 69. *Some farther Particulars as to the Cuſtoms of the* Indians. 70. *The Uſe of this Section with regard to the Hiſtory of the* Indies *in the ninth Century.* 71. *Additional Remarks and Obſervations.*

1. THE moſt natural, eaſy, and certain Method of attaining a perfect Knowledge of the Diſcoveries made in the *Eaſt-Indies*, is unqueſtionably that of reading the beſt Voyages and Travels into thoſe Parts, in the Order of Time in which they were made; for by this means they illuſtrate each other, and ſerve as a kind of Commentaries, deliver the Hiſtory of Places and Perſons with the leaſt poſſible Confuſion, and ſhow us at once the different State of the Countries mentioned in them in different Periods of Time, and the Advances that were made in perfecting the Knowledge of thoſe Countries by ſuch as undertook to go thither, and to report what they had ſeen and heard, for the Information of others and of Poſterity. Of all the Travellers into theſe Parts of the World, whoſe Writings are ſtill preſerved, thoſe which are contained in this Section, are beyond all doubt the moſt ancient, and in that reſpect, as well as in many others, extremely curious. To render theſe as clear and as intelligible as is poſſible to our Readers, we ſhall firſt give ſome Memoirs of that eminent *French* Critick

who tranſlated and made them publick, and ſhall next give a ſuccinct Account from the Materials he has afforded us of the Authors themſelves, the Nature of their Works, the Circumſtances which peculiarly recommend them, the Reaſons which induce us to believe they are genuine, and the Credit which on that account is due to them.

It was *Euſebius Renaudot* who delivered theſe venerable Remains of Antiquity from the Obſcurity in which they had been buried for Ages, and ſent them abroad in the *French* Language, with ſome very valuable Notes and Diſſertations of his own. He was a Perſon whoſe Family had been diſtinguiſhed for their Learning through ſeveral Deſcents. His Grandfather *Theophraſtus Renaudot*, eſtabliſhed the *French* Gazette in the Year 1631, under the Patronage of Cardinal *Richlieu*. His Father was firſt Phyſician to the Dauphin, Son to *Lewis* XIV. This Gentleman addicted himſelf chiefly to the Study of Divinity and the Oriental Languages, which might have raiſed him to ſome eminent Station in the Church, if, from his great Modeſty and unaffected Love of Privacy, he had not ſtudiouſly declined it. He was very early taken notice of at Court, where the Politeneſs of his Manners recommended him as ſtrongly to the principal Miniſters, as the Severity of his Studies endeared him to moſt of the learned Men of his Time.

In the Year 1689, he was choſen a Member of the *French* Academy, and in 1691 became a Member of that of Inſcriptions, and of the *Belles Lettres*. He accompanied Cardinal *Noailles* to *Rome* in 1700, and was with him in the Conclave in which *Clement* XI. was raiſed to the Papal Throne, by whom the Abbé *Renaudot* was ſo much eſteemed, that he kept him at *Rome* ſeven or eight Months after the Cardinal's Departure, and forced upon him a Benefice, which he had the Modeſty to refuſe, though his Circumſtances were not ſuch as made it unneceſſary to him.

In his Return to *France*, the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany* kept him a whole Month at *Florence*, where he had an Appartment in the Palace; and during his Stay there, was received into the famous Academy of *la Cruſca*; after which the Grand Duke loaded him with Preſents, and ſent him to *Marſeilles* in his own Veſſels.

He publiſhed, after his Return to *France*, many learned Works, and particularly in the Year 1713, *The Hiſtory of the Patriarchs of* Alexandria, *from St.* Mark *to the Cloſe of the thirteenth Century*, with an Appendix, containing the Hiſtory of the *Mohammedans* in *Egypt*, from their own Writers; which gained him great Reputation. In 1716 he publiſhed, in two Volumes in Quarto, *The Hiſtory of the Oriental Liturgies*, which was alſo much eſteemed. And in the Year 1718, he ſent abroad theſe Voyages and Travels, which were likewiſe received with univerſal Applauſe. Beſides theſe, he publiſhed many other learned Treatiſes; and having for many Years weakened his Conſtitution by an aſſiduous Application to his Studies, he died on the 1ſt of *September* 1720, of a ſevere Fit of the Cholick, in the 74th Year of his Age, with the Reputation of being one of the moſt learned Men, and one of the exacteſt Criticks of his Time[a].

2. As to the firſt of theſe Voyages, we know not by whom it was written, the Beginning of it being imperfect; but it appears clearly that it was written in the Year of the Hegira 237, A.D. 851. The latter, which is no more than a Commentary or Diſcourſe upon the former, appears to have been the Work of *Abu Zeid al Haſan* of *Siraf*, who penned it about the Year of the Hegira 303, A.D. 915. It appears therefore, that both of them are, at leaſt, two Centuries older than any Accounts than had been publiſhed before. They were tranſlated from an original Manuſcript in the Library of the Count de *Seignelay*, the Age of which was aſcertained by the Character in which it is written. But there is ſtill a plainer Proof of its being penn'd in the Year of the Hegira 619, A.D. 1173, becauſe there are at the End of it, ſome Obſervations in the ſame Hand, relating to the Extent of the Walls and Fortifications of the City of *Damaſcus*, under the Reign of the famous Sultan *Noureddin*, and of other Cities under his Dominion; in which the Writer ſpeaks of him as ſtill living: and therefore, as that Monarch died the ſame Year, this Manuſcript is clearly between five and ſix hundred Years old[b].

It is alſo very apparent, that there is nothing in either of theſe Works, that can create the leaſt Suſpicion, that they are later than theſe Dates ſpeak them; but, on the contrary, all the Facts mentioned in them, which are capable of being examined and compared with other Hiſtories, afford the cleareſt Teſtimonies of their being genuine and authentick. The great Value of theſe Relations ariſes from their giving us a large Account of *China*, above four hundred Years earlier than the Travels of *Marco Polo*[c], who, till theſe Accounts were publiſhed, was always eſteemed the firſt Author we had on that Subject.

There are Abundance of very curious and remarkable Paſſages in both theſe Writers, that inform us of Cuſtoms and Events not mentioned any where elſe; and, though it be true, that ſome of theſe appear to be fabulous; yet it is no leſs true, that the greateſt Part of them are confirmed and juſtified by the beſt Writers in ſucceeding Ages. But without ſpending Time to little Purpoſe, in remarking on what will be obvious to the Reader himſelf in the Peruſal of theſe Pieces, we ſhall proceed to the Relations themſelves. Obſerving only, that the firſt of them begins abruptly on Account of there being a Page or two wanting in the Original Manuſcript; which very probably contained the Name and Country of its Author, and the Occaſion of his Voyage; the Loſs of which there is great Reaſon to regret.

3. The third of the Seas we have to mention, is that of *Herkend*[d]. Between this Sea and that of *Delarowi*, are many Iſlands, to the Number, as they ſay, of nineteen Hundred; which divide thoſe two Seas from each other[e], and are governed by a Queen[f]. Among theſe Iſlands they find Ambergreece in Lumps of extraordinary Bigneſs, as alſo in leſſer Pieces, which reſemble Plants torn up. This Amber is produced at the bottom of the Sea, as Plants upon Earth; and when the Sea is tempeſtuous, the Violence of the Waves tears it up from the bottom, and waſhes it to the Shore in the Form of a Muſhroom or Truffle. Theſe Iſlands are full of that kind of Palm-tree which bears the Cocoa-nut, and are from one to four Leagues diſtant from each other, all inhabited. The Wealth of the Inhabitants conſiſts in Shells, of which even the Queen's Treaſury is full. They ſay there are no Workmen more expert than theſe Iſlanders, and that of the Fibres of the Cocoa-nut, they make Shirts all of a piece, as alſo Veſts or Tunics. Of the ſame Tree they build Ships and Houſes, and they are ſkilful in all other Workmanſhip. Their Shells they have from the Sea at ſuch times when they riſe up to the Surface, when the In-

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[a] *Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Inſcriptions*, Tom. V. p. 384.

[b] See M. *Renaudot*'s Preface to theſe Relations.

[c] *Marco Polo* returned from his Voyage, *A. D.* 1295.

[d] By the Sea of *Herkend*, in all probability, our Author means the Sea about the *Maldives*; which, according to the Eaſtern Geographers, divides that Part of the *Indian* Ocean from the Sea of *Delarowi*, which is the Gulph called by the Ancients *Sinus Magus*. The Eaſtern Writers frequently ſpeak of the ſeven Seas, which ſeems to be rather a proverbial Phraſe, than a geographical Definition. Theſe Seas, without comprehending the Ocean, which they call *Bab-Mahit*, are the Sea of *China*, the Sea of *India*, the Sea of *Perſia*, the Sea of *Kolzuma* or the *Red-Sea*, ſo called from a Town which is thought to be the *Clyſma* of the Ancients; the Sea of *Rum*, or of *Greece*, which is the *Mediterranean*; the Sea called *Al-Chozar*, or the *Caſpian*; and the Sea of *Pont*, or the *Pontus Euxinus*; but theſe are not all the Names they give them, for the Sea of *India* is very often called the *Green-Sea*; that of *Perſia*, the Sea of *Baſſora*; and other Names they have for particular Parts of theſe Seas.

[e] It is no wonder that the *Arabs* had but a very imperfect Knowledge of theſe Iſlands, ſince we are not very well informed about them to this Day. The Reader may probably think that our Author has multiplied them, from the Number he ſpeaks of; but the Truth is, that he rather diminiſhes them; for the moſt accurate Writers we have, aſſure us that there are twelve thouſand of them; and this is ſaid to be the Signification of their Name in the *Malabar* Tongue, *viz. Male Dive*, i. e. a thouſand Iſlands; that round Number being put for the true Number of them, let it be what it will. We ſhall hereafter give the Reader a full Account of theſe Iſlands, and therefore ſhall inſiſt no longer on them here.

[f] The ſubſequent Accounts we have had of the *Maldives*, do not juſtify this Particular, if the Intent of the Author was to inform us that theſe Iſlands were always governed by a Woman. It might perhaps be ſo in his Time, where, by Accident, one Woman might have ſucceeded another, as Queen *Elizabeth* did Queen *Mary* here.

habitants throw Branches of the Cocoa-nut Tree into the Sea, and the Shells ſtick to them. They call them *Kaptaje* in their Language.

4. Beyond theſe Iſlands, in the Sea of *Herkend*, is *Serendib*[g], or *Ceylon*, the chief of all thoſe Iſlands, which are called *Dobijat*. It is all compaſſed by the Sea, and on its Coaſt they fiſh for Pearl. In this Country there is a Mountain called *Rahun*, to the Top of which it is thought *Adam* aſcended, and there left the Print of his Foot in a Rock, which is ſeventy Cubits in Length; and they ſay that *Adam*, at the ſame time, ſtood with his other Foot in the Sea. About this Mountain are Mines of Rubies, Opals, and Amethyſts. This Iſland, which is of great Extent, has two Kings; and here are found Lignum, Aloes, Gold, precious Stones, and Pearls, which are fiſhed for on the Coaſt; as alſo a kind of large Shells, which they uſe inſtead of Trumpets, and are much valued.

In the ſame Sea, towards the *Serendib*, there are other Iſles, but not ſo many in Number, tho' of vaſt Extent, and unknown. One of theſe Iſlands, called *Ramni*[h], is under ſeveral Princes, in which there is great Plenty of Gold. The Inhabitants here have Cocoa-nut Trees, which ſupply them with Food, and therewith alſo they paint their Bodies, and oil themſelves.

The Cuſtom of the Country is, that no one may marry till he has ſlain an Enemy in Battle, and brought off his Head. If he has killed two, he claims two Wives; and if he has ſlain fifty, he may marry fifty Wives. This Cuſtom proceeds from the Number of Enemies which ſurround them; ſo that he amongſt them who kills the greateſt Number, is the moſt conſidered. Theſe Iſlands of *Ramni* abound with Elephants, Redwood, and Trees called *Chairzan*, and the Inhabitants eat human Fleſh.

5. Theſe Iſlands ſeparate the Sea of *Herkend* for the Sea of *Shelahet*, and beyond them are others called *Najabalus*, which are pretty well peopled; both the Men and the Women there go naked, except that the Women conceal their private Parts with the Leaves of Trees. When Shipping is among theſe Iſlands, the Inhabitants come off in Embarkations, and bring with them Ambergreece and Cocoa-nuts, which they truck for Iron; for they want no Cloathing, being free from the Inconveniencies either of Heat or Cold. Beyond theſe two Iſlands lies the Sea of *Andaman*: The People on this Coaſt eat human Fleſh quite raw; their Complexion is black, their Hair frizled, their Countenance and Eyes frightful, their Feet are very large, and almoſt a Cubit in Length, and they go quite naked. They have no ſort of Barks or other Veſſels; if they had, they would ſeize and devour all the Paſſengers they could lay hands on. When Ships have been kept back by contrary Winds, they are often in theſe Seas obliged to drop Anchor on this barbarous Coaſt for the ſake of Water, when they have expended their Stock; and upon theſe Occaſions they commonly loſe ſome of their Men[i].

6. Beyond this there is a mountainous and yet inhabited Iſland, where it is ſaid, there are Mines of Silver, but as it does not lie in the uſual Track of Shipping, many have ſought for it in vain, though remarkable for a very lofty Mountain, which is called *Kaſhenai*. It once ſo happened, that a Ship ſailing in this Latitude had Sight of the Mountain, and ſhaped her Courſe for it, and falling in with the Land, ſent a Boat on Shore, with Hands to cut Wood: The Men kindled a Fire and ſaw Silver run from it, which plainly indicated there was a Mine of this Metal in that Place; they ſhipped therefore as much of the Earth, or Ore as they thought fit; but as they were proceeding on their Voyage they met with ſuch a Storm, that to lighten their Ship, they were under a Neceſſity of throwing all their Ore over board.

Since that Time the Mountain has been carefully ſought, but it has never ſince been ſeen. To conclude, there are many ſuch Iſlands in the Sea, more in Number than can be ſet down, ſome inacceſſible by Seamen, and ſome unknown to them. In theſe Seas it often happens, that a whitiſh Cloud at once ſpreads over a Ship, and lets down a long thin Tongue or Spout, quite to the Surface of the Water, which then is turned round as by a Whirl-wind; and if a Veſſel happens to be in the Way, ſhe is immediately ſwallowed up thereby. But at length this Cloud mounts up again, and diſcharges itſelf in a prodigious Rain. It is not known whether this Water is ſucked up by the Clouds, or how this comes to paſs. All theſe Seas are ſubject to great Storms, which makes them boil up like Water over a Fire. Then it is that the Surf daſhes Ships againſt the Iſlands, and breaks them to Pieces with unſpeakable Violence; and then alſo is it that Fiſh of all Sizes are thrown dead aſhore upon the Rocks. The Wind, which commonly blows upon the Sea of *Herkend*, is from another Quarter, *viz.* from the N. W. but this Sea is alſo ſubject to as violent Agitations as thoſe juſt mentioned, and then Ambergreece is torn up from the Bottom, and particularly where it is very deep; and the deeper it is, the more valuable the Ambergreece.

It is likewiſe obſerved, with reſpect to this Sea, that when it is thus toſſed by the tempeſtuous Winds, it ſparkles like Fire, and that it is infeſted by a certain Kind of Fiſh called Lockham, which frequently preys upon Men. This is probably no other than the Shark, which is common enough on all the Coaſts of the *Indies*. Here there is a Part of the Manuſcript loſt, wherein the Author treated of the Trade to *China*, as it ſtood in his Time, and of the Cauſes which had brought it into a declining Condition. He then proceeds thus:

7. Amongſt others, the Fires that frequently happen at *Canfu* are not the leaſt. *Canfu* is the Port of all the Ships of the *Arabs*, who trade in *China*, and Fires are there very frequent, becauſe the Houſes are built with nothing but Wood, or elſe with ſplit Cane; beſides, Ships are often loſt in going and coming, or they are plundered, or obliged to make too long a Stay in Harbours, or to ſell their Goods out of the Country ſubject to the *Arabs*, and there make up their Cargo. In ſhort, Ships are under a Neceſſity of waſting a conſiderable Time in refitting, not to ſpeak of any other Cauſes of Delay.

Soliman, the Merchant[k], relates, that at *Canfu*, which is the principal Scale of Merchants, there is a *Mohammedan* appointed Judge over thoſe of his Religion, by the Authority of the Emperor of *China*; and that he is Judge of all the *Mohammedans* who reſort to thoſe Parts. Upon feſtival Days he performs the publick Service with the *Mohammedans*, and pronounces the Sermon or Kotbat, which he concludes in the uſual Form, with Prayers for the Sultan of Moſlems (or Muſlemen). The Merchants of *Irak*, i. e. *Perſia*, who trade hither, are no way diſſatisfied with his Conduct or Adminiſtration in this Poſt, becauſe his Deciſions are juſt and equitable, and conformable to the Koran.

8. As for the Places whence Ships depart, and thoſe they touch at, many Perſons affirm, that the Navigation is performed in the following Order; moſt of the *Chineſe* Ships take in their Cargo at *Siraff*[l], where alſo they ſhip

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[g] This, as we have ſhewn elſewhere, is the *Taprobana* of the Ancients; and I think ſcarce any Iſland has been called by more Names than thoſe, which have been beſtowed on this; but whereas in the ancient Work of *Coſmas Indopleuſtes*, it is called *Sielendiba*, it is very eaſy to account for this, and to ſhew that it is only a *Greek* Termination given to the true Name; *ſ* or *b* is often put for *u*, and conſequently *Sielendiba* is the ſame with *Sielendive*; that is, *Sielen Iſland*; whence the modern Name, as we uſually write it, *viz.* the Iſland of *Ceylon*.

[h] In ſome of the *Arabian* Geographers, theſe are called the Iſlands of *Rami*; we ſhall give the Reader ſome Account of them in a ſubſequent Voyage.

[i] It is moſt certain, that upon a ſtrict Enquiry, moſt of theſe Stories of *Man-eaters* have been found to be Fables void of all Foundation; but it muſt be allowed, in regard to our Author's Account, that what he ſays has never yet been diſproved; for the very lateſt Accounts we have of the *Indies*, give theſe People the ſame Character that he does.

[k] As to this *Soliman* the Merchant, it is very probable, that ſome Account was given of him in the Page that is loſt; but as to the *Mohammedan* Conſul, it is a very extaordinary Fact, and deſerves particular Notice, becauſe it plainly ſhews, that the *Mohammedans* had for ſome Time carried on a regular and ſettled Trade to *China*, which is what from other Accounts we could never have ſuſpected.

[l] It is a very difficult Thing to dinſtinguiſh, at this Diſtance of Time, the Rout laid down by our Author, chiefly by reaſon of the Changes of Names, of which we have particularly an Inſtance in this great Port of *Siraff*, not to be met with in any of our Maps, of which however we have ſome Mention made in other *Arabian* Writers, who ſay, that it lay ſixty Leagues from *Shiraz*, that it ſtood in the Gulph of *Perſia*, and that when it decayed, the Trade thereof was tranſported to the Iſland of *Ormuz*.

their Goods which come from *Baſra*, or *Baſſora*, *Oman*, and other Ports; and this they do becauſe, in this Sea there are frequent Storms and ſhoal Water in many Places. From *Baſra* to *Siraff* is an hundred and twenty Leagues; and when Ships have loaded at this laſt Place, they there water alſo; and from thence make ſail for a Place called *Maſcat*, which is in the Extremity of the Province of *Oman*, about two hundred Leagues from *Siraff*. On the Eaſt-coaſt of this Sea, between *Siraf* and *Maſcat*, is a Place called *Naſis Bani al Safak*, and an Iſland called *Ebn Kabewan*; and in this Sea are Rocks called *Oman*, and a narrow Streight called *Dordur*, between two Rocks, where Veſſels do venture; but the *Chineſe* Ships dare not. There are alſo two Rocks called *Koſſir* and *Howare*, which ſcarce appear above the Water's Edge: After they are clear of theſe Rocks they ſteer for a Place called *Shitu Oman*, and at *Maſcat* take in Water, which is drawn out of Wells; and here alſo they are ſupplied with Cattle of the Province of *Oman*: From thence Ships take their Departure for the *Indies*, and firſt they touch at *Kaukammali*: And from *Maſcat* to this Place it is a Month's Sail with a fair Wind.

This is a frontier Place, and the chief Arſenal in the Province of the ſame Name: And here the *Chineſe* Ships put in and are in Safety; freſh Water is to be had here, and the *Chineſe* pay a thouſand Drams for Duties, but others pay only from one Dinar to ten Dinars. From *Maſcat* to *Kaukammali* it is a Month's Sail; and then having watered at this Place, they begin to enter the Sea of *Herkend*, and having ſailed through it, touch at a Place called *Lajabalus*, where the Inhabitants underſtand not the *Arabic*, or any other Language in uſe with Merchants. They wear no Cloaths, are white and weak in their Feet.

9. It is ſaid their Women are not to be ſeen [m]; and that the Men leaving the Iſland in Canoes, hollowed out of one Piece, go in Queſt of them, and carry them Cocoa-nuts, Canes, Mouſa, and Palm-wine. This Liquor is white, and, if drank freſh, has the Taſte of the Cocoa-nut, and ſweet like Honey; if kept ſomewhat longer, it becomes as ſtrong as wine; but if it is kept for ſeveral Days it turns to Vinegar. They give it in Exchange for Iron; and in like Manner they truck the little Quantity of Amber, which is thrown on their Coaſts for Bits of Iron. The Bargain is driven by Motions of the Hand. But they are very quick, and are apt to carry off Iron from the Merchants, and leave them nothing in Return.

From hence Ships ſteer towards *Calabar*, the Name of a Kingdom, on the Coaſt to the Right-hand beyond the *Indies*. *Bar* ſignifies a Coaſt in the Language of the Country; and this depends on the Kingdom of *Zabage*. The Inhabitants are dreſſed in thoſe Sorts of ſtriped Garments, which the *Arabs* call *Fauta*; and they commonly wear but one at a time, which is equally obſerved by Perſons of every Degree. At this Place they commonly take in Water, which is filled from Wells fed by Springs, and which they like better than what is drawn out of Ciſterns, and *Tanks*. *Calabar* is about a Month's Voyage from a Place called *Kaukam*, which is almoſt upon the Skirts of the Sea of *Herkend*. In ten Days after this, Ships reach *Betuma*; from whence, in ten Days more, they come up with *Kadrange*.

It is to be obſerved, that in all the Iſlands and Peninſulas of the *Indies*, they find Water when they dig for it. In this laſt mentioned Place there is a very lofty Mountain, which is peopled by none but Slaves and Fugitives, from thence in ten Days they arrive at *Seneſ*. Here is freſh Water, and hence comes the Aromatic Wood we call *Hud al Seneſi*. Here is is a King; the Inhabitants are black, and wear two ſtriped Garments. Having watered at this Place, it is ten Days Paſſage to *Sanderfulat*, an Iſland where is freſh Water; then they ſteer through the Sea of *Sanji*, and ſo to the Gates of *China*; for ſo they call certain Rocks and Shoals in that Sea, forming a narrow Streight, through which Ships paſs. It requires a Month to ſail from *Sanderfulat* to *China*; and it takes up eight whole Days to ſteer clear of theſe Rocks.

10. When a Ship has got through theſe Gates, ſhe, with the Tide of Flood, goes into a freſh Water Gulph, and drops Anchor in the chief Port of *China*, which is that of *Canfu*; and here they have freſh Water both from Springs and Rivers, as they have alſo in moſt of the other Cities of *China*. The City is adorned with large Squares, and ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for Defence againſt an Enemy, and in moſt of the other Provinces there are Cities of Strength, fortified in the ſame Manner.

In this Port it ebbs and flows [n] twice in twenty-four Hours; but with this difference, that whereas from *Baſra* to the Iſland called *Bani Kabouan*, it flows when the Moon is at full, and ebbs when ſhe riſes and when ſhe ſets; from near *Bani Kabouan* quite to the Coaſt of *China*, it is Flood when the Moon riſes, and when ſhe is towards her Height it is Ebb: And ſo, on the contrary, when ſhe ſets it is Flowing Water, and when ſhe is quite hidden under the Horizon, the Tide falls.

11. They ſay, that in the Iſland of *Muljan*, which is between *Serendib* and *Cala*, on the Eaſtern Shore of the *Indies*, there are Negroes quite naked, and that, when they meet with a Stranger, they hang him with his Head downward, and ſlice him into Pieces, which they eat quite raw [o]. Theſe Negroes have no King, and feed upon Fiſh, Mouſa, Cocoa-nuts and Sugar-Canes; they have Ponds and ſome Lakes in the Country. They report alſo, that in ſome Parts of this Sea, there is a ſmalliſh kind of Fiſh, which flies upon the Water, and which they call the Sea-Locuſt; and that in another Part there is a Fiſh, which leaving the Sea, gets up to the Cocoa-nut Trees, and having drained them of their Juice, takes to the Sea again: To all which, they add, that in this Sea there is a ſort of Fiſh like a Lobſter, which petrifies as ſoon as taken out of its Element; they pulverize it, and it is good for ſeveral Diſeaſes of the Eyes.

They ſay alſo, that near *Zabage* there is a Mountain, called the *Mountain of Fire*, which no one can approach; that in the Day-time it ſends forth a thick Smoak, and in the Night it throws out Flames. At the Foot of this Mountain, there are two Springs of freſh Water, the one hot, and the other cold.

12. The *Chineſe* are dreſſed in Silk both Winter and Summer, and this kind of Dreſs is common to the Prince and the Peaſant. In Winter they wear Drawers of a particular Make, which fall down to their Feet: Of theſe they put on two, three, four, five or more, if they can, one over another, and are very careful to be covered quite down to their Feet, becauſe of the Damps, which are very great, and of which they are very apprehenſive. In Summer, they only wear a ſingle Garment of Silk, or ſome ſuch Dreſs, but have no Turbans.

Their common Food is Rice, which they often eat; with a Broth, like what the *Arabs* make of Meat or Fiſh, which they pour upon the Rice. Their Kings eat Wheat-Bread, and all ſorts of Animals, not excepting Swine and ſome others. They have ſeveral ſorts of Fruits, Apples, Lemons, Quinces, Moulats, Sugar-Canes, Citruls, Figs, Grapes, Cucumbers of two ſorts, Trees which bear a Subſtance like Meal, Walnuts, Almonds, Filberts, Piſtachios, Plumbs, Apricots, Services and Cocoa-nuts, but they have no Store of Palms, they have only a few about ſome private Houſes.

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[m] We ſhall have an Opportunity of explaining this ſtrange Story, which is confirmed by *Marco Polo*, and *Nicolo di Conti*, when we come to ſpeak of the Travels of the former, who aſſures us, that there were two Iſlands, one entirely inhabited by Men, the other by Women, and that theſe People were Chriſtians.

[n] It is very probable, or rather certain, from the Account given by our Author, that this muſt the Port of *Canton*, and the Irregularity of the Tide is a Circumſtance that ſtrongly confirms it; and a Circumſtance which ſhews, at the ſame Time, that the *Arabs* were not ſo ignorant in thoſe Matters as they are generally imagined.

[o] It muſt be allowed, that there are Abundance of very odd Accounts in theſe Relations; but it muſt be owned, at the ſame Time, that there are very few of them which have been diſproved. What follows about petrified Crabs or Lobſters, is a full Proof that the Port he ſpeaks of muſt be *Canton*; for Father *Martini* tells us the ſame Thing; adding, that theſe Crabs are found only on that Part of the Coaſt of *China*, which is oppoſite to the Iſland of *Haiman*, and that the *Portugueze* uſe the Powder of theſe petrified Crabs, as an abſorbent in Fevers. The Story of this Fiſh is alſo reported by Father *Martini*.

Their Drink is a kind of Wine made of Rice; they have no other Wine in the Country, nor is there any brought to them: They know not what it is, nor do they drink of it. They have Vinegar alſo, and a kind of Comfit like what the *Arabs* call *Natef*, and ſome others.

They are not very nice in point of Cleanlineſs, and waſh not with Water when they eaſe Nature, but only wipe themſelves with Paper; they eat of dead Animals, and practiſe many other Things like the *Magians*; and in truth, the Religion of the one and the other is much the ſame. The *Chineſe* Women appear uncovered, and adorn their Heads with ſmall Ivory Combs, of which they wear ſometimes a Score together; the Men are covered with Caps of a particular Make. The Law they obſerve with regard to Thieves is to put them to Death as ſoon as they are caught.

Our Author ſeems here to interrupt his Narration, and to take occaſion from what he has before reported (and which, in the main, is confirmed by later Writers) to compare the Cuſtoms of the *Indians* and *Chineſe*, intermixing his Diſcourſe alſo with other Matters.

13. The *Indians* and *Chineſe* agree, that there are four great or principal Kings in the World; they all allow the King of the *Arabs* to be the firſt, and to be, beyond Diſpute, the moſt Powerful of Kings, the moſt wealthy and the moſt excellent every way; becauſe he is the Prince and Head of a great Religion, and becauſe no other ſurpaſſes him.

The Emperor of *China* reckons himſelf next after the King of the *Arabs*, and after him the King of the *Greeks*, and laſtly the *Balhara*, King of *Moharmi al Adon*, or of theſe who have their Ears bored[p].

This *Balhara* is the moſt illuſtrious Prince in all the *Indies*; and all the other Kings there, though each is Maſter and independant in his Kingdom, acknowledge thus far his Pre-eminence. When he ſends Embaſſadors to them they receive them with extraordinary Honours, becauſe of the Reſpect they bear him. This King makes magnificent Preſents after the Manner of the *Arabs*, and has Horſes and Elephants in great Numbers, and great Treaſures in Money. He has of thoſe Pieces of Silver called *Thartarian Drams*, which weigh half a Dram more than the *Arabian Dram*. They are coined with the Die of the Prince, and bear the Year of his Reign from the laſt of the Reign of his Predeceſſor.

They compute not their Years from the Æra of *Mohammed*, as the *Arabs* do, but only by the Years of their Kings. Moſt of theſe Princes live a long Time, and many of them have reigned above fifty Years, and thoſe of the Country believe, that the Length of their Lives and of their Reigns is granted them in Recompence for their Kindneſs to the *Arabs*. In truth, there are no Princes more heartily affectionate to the *Arabs*, and their Subjects profeſs the ſame Friendſhip for us.

Balhara[q] is not a proper Name, but an Appellative common to all theſe Kings, as was *Coſroes* and ſome others. The Country under the Dominion of this Prince begins on the Coaſt of the Province called *Kamkam*, and reaches by Land to the Confines of *China*. He is ſurrounded by the Dominions of many Kings, who are at War with him, and yet he never marches againſt them.

14. One of thoſe Kings is the King of *Harez*, who has very numerous Forces, and is ſtronger in Horſe than all other Princes of the *Indies*, but is an Enemy to the *Arabs*; though he at the ſame Time, confeſſes their King to be the greateſt of Kings, nor is there a Prince in the *Indies*, who has a greater Averſion to the *Mohammedan* Faith. His Dominions are on a Promontory, where are much Riches, many Camels and other Cattle. The Inhabitants here traffick for Silver, which they watch for, and they ſay there are Mines of the ſame on the Continent. There is no Talk of Robbers in this Country, any more than in the reſt of the *Indies*.

On one Side of this Kingdom lies that of *Tafek*, which is not of very great Extent. This King has the fineſt white Women in all the *Indies*; but he is awed by the Kings about him, his Army being but ſmall. He has a great Affection for the *Arabs*, as well as the *Balhara*.

Theſe Kingdoms border upon the Lands of a King called *Rami*, who is at War with the King of *Harez*, and with the *Balhara* alſo. This Prince is not much conſidered either for his Birth, or the Antiquity of his Kingdom; but his Forces are more numerous than thoſe of the *Balhara*, and even than thoſe of the Kings of *Harez* and *Tafek*. They ſay, that when he takes the Field, he appears at the Head of fifty thouſand Elephants, and that he commonly marches in the Winter Seaſon; becauſe the Elephants, not being able to bear Thirſt, he can move at no other Time. They add likewiſe, that in his Army, there are commonly from ten to fifteen thouſand Tents. In this ſame Country they make Cotton Garments in ſuch extraordinary Perfection, that no where elſe are the like to be ſeen: Theſe Garments are for the moſt Part round, and wove to that Degree of Fineneſs, that they may be drawn through a Ring of a moderate Size. Shells are current in this Country, and ſerve for ſmall Money, notwithſtanding that they have Gold and Silver, Wood Aloes, and Sable-ſkins, of which they make the Furniture for Saddles and Houſings.

In this ſame Country is the famous *Karkandan*[r], that is, the (*Rhinoceros*, or) Unicorn, who has but one Horn upon his Forehead, and thereon a round Spot, with the Repreſentation of a Man. The whole Horn is black, except the Spot in the Middle, which is white. The Unicorn is much ſmaller than the Elephant; from the Neck downwards he pretty much reſembles the Buffaloe, his Strength is very extraordinary, for he excells therein all other Creatures, his Hoof is not cloven, and from his Foot to his Shoulder is all of a Piece. The Elephant flies from the Unicorn, whoſe Lowing is like that of an Ox, with ſomething of the Cry of the Camel; his Fleſh is not forbidden, and we have eaten of it; there are great Numbers of this Creature in the Fens of this Kingdom, as alſo in all the other Provinces of the *Indies*; but the Horns of theſe are moſt eſteemed; and upon them are generally ſeen the Figures of Men, Peacocks, Fiſhes, and other Reſemblances. The *Chineſe* adorn their Girdles with theſe ſorts of Figures, ſo that ſome of their Girdles are worth two or three thouſand Pieces of Gold in *China*, and ſometimes more, the Price augmenting with the Beauty of the Figure: All the things we have here enumerated are to be purchaſed in the Kingdom of *Rahmi* for Shells, which are the current Money of the Country.

After this Kingdom there is another, which is an inland State diſtant from the Coaſt, and called *Kaſchbin*; the Inhabitants are white, and bore their Ears; they have Camels, and their Country is for the moſt part deſert, and full of Mountains; farther upon the Coaſt there is a ſmall Kingdom called *Hitrange*, which is very poor; but it has a Bay, where the Sea throws up great Quantities of Ambergreece; they have alſo Elephants Teeth, and Pepper; but the Inhabitants eat it green, becauſe of the Smallneſs of the Quantity they gather. Beyond theſe Kingdoms here mentioned, there are others of Number unknown, and among the reſt that of *Mujet*; the Inhabitants are white, and dreſs after the *Chineſe* Mode; their Country is full of Mountains, with white Tops, and of very great Extent; here are very great

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[p] It is very highly probable, that this *Balhara*, or Monarch of the Nation which have their Ears bored, which is plainly the *Indians*, was no other than the *Samorin*, or Emperor of *Calicut*, who, according to the Reports of the moſt ancient *Portugueze* Hiſtorians, was acknowledged as a kind of Emperor in the *Indies*, ſix huudred Years before they diſcovered the Paſſage to them by the Cape of *Good Hope*.

[q] This is another good Reaſon, why the Monarch here mentioned ſhould be taken for the Emperor of *Calicut*, ſince he likewiſe was not called by his proper Name, but by ſuch an Appellative as this; and if we could obtain an Etymology of theſe Words, that could be depended upon, 'tis very likely that *Balbara* and *Samorin* would be found to mean the ſame Thing.

[r] We have already given ſo large an Account of the Rhinoceros, that we ſhall not trouble the Reader with any thing on that Subject here, but content ourſelves with obſerving, that it is evident, this Writer makes the Unicorn and the Rhinoceros the ſame Creature, agreeable to what we have advanced elſe where.

Quantities of Muſk, eſteemed the moſt exquiſite in the World. They have War with all the neighbouring Kingdoms.

The Kingdom of *Mabed* [s] is beyond that of *Mujet*, therein are many Cities, and the Inhabitants have a great Reſemblance to the *Chineſe*, even more than thoſe of *Mujet*; for they have Officers or Eunuchs, like thoſe who govern the Cities amongſt the *Chineſe*; the Country of *Mabed* is bordering upon *China*, and is at Peace with the Emperor, but not ſubject to him. The *Mabed* ſends every Year Embaſſadors and Preſents to the Emperor of *China*, who on his part ſends Embaſſadors and Preſents to them. Their Country is of great Extent; and when the Embaſſadors of *Mabed* enter *China*, they are carefully watched, and never once allowed to ſurvey the Country, for fear they ſhould form Deſigns of conquering it, which would be no difficult Taſk for them, becauſe of their great Numbers, and becauſe they are divided from *China* only by Mountains and Rocks.

15. They ſay, that in the Kingdom of *China* there are above two hundred Cities, with Juriſdiction over others, and have each a Governor, and an Eunuch, or Lieutenant. *Canfu* is one of theſe Cities, being the Port for all Shipping, and preſiding over twenty Towns. A Town is dignified with the Title of City, when it is allowed ſome of thoſe great *Chineſe* Trumpets, which are faſhioned after this Manner: They are three or four Cubits in Length, and as much about as can be graſped with both Hands; but they grow narrower towards the End, which is fitted to the Mouth; on the Outſide they are coloured with *Chineſe* Ink, and may be heard a Mile off. Each City has four Gates, at each of which are five of theſe Trumpets, which the *Chineſe* ſound at certain Hours of the Day, and of the Night. There are alſo in each City ten Drums, which they beat at the ſame time; and this they do as a publick Token of their Obedience to the Emperor; as alſo to ſignify the Hour of the Day, and of the Night, to which End they have alſo Dials and Clocks with Weights.

They coin a great deal of Copper Money, like what the *Arabs* call *Falus*: They have Treaſures like other Kings; but they only have this ſort of ſmall Money, which is current all over the Country; for though they have Gold, Silver, Pearls, Silk, and rich Stuffs in great abundance, they conſider them only as Moveables and Merchandiſe, and the Copper-pieces are the only current Coin; from foreign Parts they have Ivory, Frankincenſe, Copper in Pigs, Tortoiſe-ſhells, and Unicorns Horns, which we have mentioned, and with which they adorn their Girdles. Of their own Stock, they have abundance of Beaſts of Burthen, Horſes, Aſſes, and Dromedaries; but they have no *Arabian* Horſes.

They have an excellent kind of Earth, wherewith they make a Ware of equal Fineneſs with Glaſs, and equally tranſparent. When Merchants arrive here [t], the *Chineſe* ſeize on their Cargoes, and convey them to Ware-houſes, where they remain ſix Months, and till the laſt Merchantman be arrived, then they take three in Ten, or thirty *per Cent.* of each Commodity, and return the reſt to the Merchant. If the Emperor hath a Mind for any particular Thing his Officers have a Right to take it, preferrably to any other Perſons whatſoever, paying for it to the utmoſt Value. They diſpatch this Buſineſs immediately, and without the leaſt Injuſtice; they commonly take Camphire, which they pay for after the rate of fifty *Fakuges per* Man, and the *Fakuge* is worth a thouſand *Falus*, or Pieces of Copper. When it happens that the Emperor does not take Camphire, it ſells for half as much again.

16. The *Chineſe* do not bury their dead till the Day Twelve-month of their Deceaſe. Till the Expiration of this Term, they keep them in Coffins; for having previouſly dried them with Quick-lime, that they may keep, they place them in ſome Part of their Houſes. The Bodies of their Kings are embalmed with Aloes and Camphire. They mourn for three whole Years; and whoſoever ſhould not do ſo, would be chaſtiſed with the Bamboo, a Puniſhment both Men and Women are liable to; at the ſame time they are reproached, *What then, thou art not concerned at the Death of thy Parent?*

They bury their Dead in deep Pits, much like thoſe in uſe among the *Arabs*: Till this is done, they conſtantly ſet Victuals before the Corps; and as it is in the Evening that they thus exhibit Meat and Drink to their Dead, if the next Morning they find nothing left, they imagine that they have conſumed all, and ſay; *The Deceaſed hath eaten.* They ceaſe not from bewailing their Dead, nor from ſeting Meat and Drink before them as long as they are kept in the Houſe, inſomuch that their Expences upon thoſe Occaſions, and in thus paying their laſt Duties to their departed Relations, are ſo exorbitant as often to ruin them, and conſume their Wealth and Eſtates. Formerly they, with the dead Bodies of their Kings, or others of the Royal Blood, buried very rich Apparel, and thoſe Sorts of Girdles which we have obſerved coſt ſo much; but this Cuſtom is now out of Date, becauſe it has happened that the Bodies of ſome have been dug up by Thieves, for the Sake of what was buried with them.

The *Chineſe*, poor and rich, great and ſmall, learn to read and write; the Titles of their Kings or Governors, are varied according to the Dignity and Rank of the Cities under them. Thoſe of the ſmaller Cities are called *Tuſing*; and this Word ſignifies the Governor of a Town; thoſe of the greater Cities, as *Canfu*, for Example, are ſtiled *Difu*; and the Eunuch, or Lieutenant, is ſtiled *Tukam*. Theſe Eunuchs are ſelected from the Inhabitants of the Cities. There is alſo a ſupreme Judge, and him they call *Lakſhima-makvan*; other Names they have for other Officers, which we know not how properly to expreſs.

17. A Man is not raiſed to the Dignity of a Prince, or Governor of a City, till he has attained his fortieth Year; for then, ſay they, he hath Experince. When one of theſe Princes, or Vice-Kings keeps his Court in a City, he is ſeated upon a Tribunal, and receives the Petitions or Complaints of the People. Behind this Tribunal there is an Officer called *Lieu*, who keeps ſtanding, and according to the Order he receives from the Prince, indorſes his Anſwer on the Petition, for they never anſwer otherwiſe than in Writing, or admit of any Applications, but what are committed to Paper. Before the Parties preſent their Petitions to the Prince, they get them examined by an Officer, who, if he diſcovers any Fault, ſends them back again; for no Man may draw up theſe Writings which are to be preſented to the Prince, except a Clerk verſed in Buſineſs; and at the Bottom of each Writing they put, *Written by ſuch a One, the Son of ſuch a One:* And if, in this Caſe, there happen any Blunder or Miſtake, the Clerk is bambood [u].

The Prince never ſeats himſelf on his Tribunal till he has eaten and drank, for fear he ſhould be miſtaken in ſome Thing; and each of theſe Princes or Governors has his Subſiſtance from the publick Treaſury of the City he commands. The Emperor of *China*, who is above all theſe Princes or petty Kings, never appears in publick but once in ten Months, fancying, that if he ſhewed himſelf oftener to the People, they would loſe the Veneration they have for him; for he holds it as a Maxim, that Principalities cannot ſubſiſt but by Force, and that the People know not what Juſtice is; and that thus Conſtraint and Violence muſt be uſed to maintain amongſt them the Majeſty of Empire.

18. They have no Duty impoſed upon their Lands, but are ſubject to a Poll-tax, which is levied upon Men only, and that, according to their Condition and Capacity. When any *Arabs*, or other Strangers, are in this Country, the *Chineſe* tax them according to their Subſtance. When any Dearth makes Neceſſaries dear, then the King opens his Store-houſes, and ſells all Sorts of Proviſions much

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[s] It would be an endleſs thing to fatigue the Reader with Conjectures about theſe Countries, the Names of which are totally unknown to us; ſo that all we can ſay of them with Certainty is, that they lie between Cape *Comorin* and *China*.

[t] This Account of the Conduct of the *Chineſe* towards the Merchants, correſponds ſo well with, both with ancient and modern Relations, that it leaves no room for us to doubt, either of the Truth of them, or of it, and cannot but illuſtrate, and at the ſame time confirm in the Opinion of the Reader, many Things delivered in our Obſervations on the foregoing Sections?

[u] This kind of Practice is ſtill in uſe at *China*, ſo that there can be nothing clearer than that this Account is both genuine and exact; ſince it is impoſſible to conceive how an *Arabian* Author of the Age in which this Manuſcript was wrote, ſhould be Maſter of theſe Facts, none of which were known in *Europe* till ſome Ages after.

cheaper than they are to be had at Market: And hence no Dearth is of any long Continuance among the *Chineſe*. The Sums that are gathered from this Capitation-tax, are laid up in the publick Treaſury; and I believe, that from this Tax fifty thouſand Dinars are paid every Day into the Treaſury of *Canfu* alone, although this City is not one of the largeſt in *China*.

The Emperor reſerves likewiſe to himſelf, the Revenues which ariſe from the Salt-mines, and from a certain Herb which they drink with hot Water, and of which great Quantities are ſold in all the Cities of *China*, to the Amount of great Sums; they call it *Ttcha*, that is Tea, and it is a Shrub, more buſhy than the Pomegranate-tree, and of a more pleaſant Smell, but has a kind of Bitterneſs with it. Their Way is to boil Water, which they pour upon this Leaf; and this Drink cures all ſorts of Diſeaſes. Whatever Sums come into the Treaſury, ariſe from the Pole-tax, the Duties upon Salt, and the Tax upon this Leaf[w].

19. In each City there is a ſmall Bell hung to the Wall above the Prince's or Governor's Head.; and this Bell may be rung by a String, which reaches about three Miles, and croſſes the High-way, to the End that People may get at it; when the String is pulled, the Bell ſtrikes over the Governor's Head, and ſtrait he commands that the Perſon who thus demands Juſtice, be brought before him; and accordingly the Complainant ſets forth his Caſe in Perſon; and the ſame Practice is in uſe throughout all the other Provinces.

If a Man has a Mind to travel from one Place to another, he muſt take two Paſſes with him, the one from the Governor, the other from the Eunuch or Lieutenant. The Governor's Paſs permits him to ſet out on his Journey, and takes Notice of the Name of the Traveller, and of thoſe alſo of his Company, the Age and Family of the one and the other; for every Body in *China*, whether a Native, or an *Arab*, or any other Foreigner, is obliged to declare all he knows of himſelf, nor can he poſſibly be excuſed.

The Eunuch, or Lieutenant's Paſs, ſpecifies the Quantity of Goods or Money, which the Traveller and thoſe with him, take along with them; and this is done for the Information of the frontier Places, where theſe two Paſſes are examined; for whenever a Traveller arrives at any of them, it is regiſtered, That ſuch a one, the Son of ſuch a one, of ſuch a Family, paſſed through this Place on ſuch a Day, in ſuch a Month, in ſuch a Year, and in ſuch Company; and by this Means they prevent any one from carrying of the Money or Effects of other Perſons, or their being loſt: So that if any thing has been carried off unjuſtly, or the Traveller dies on the Road, they immediately know what is become of the Thing, and they are either reſtored to the Claimant, or to his Heirs[x].

20. The *Chineſe* adminiſter Juſtice with great Strictneſs in all their Tribunals. When any Perſon commences a Suit againſt another, he ſets down his Claim in Writing, and the Defendant writes down his Defence, which he ſigns, and holds between his Fingers. Theſe two Writings are delivered in together; and being examined, Sentence is delivered in Writing, and each Party has his Papers returned to him; but firſt they give back to the Defendant his Writing, that he may acknowledge it.

When one Party denies what the other affirms, he is ordered to return his Writing; and if the Defendant thinks he may do it ſafely, and accordingly delivers his Papers a ſecond time, they alſo call for that of the Plaintiff, and then they ſay to him who denies what the other affirms, Make it appear that your Antagoniſt has no Right to demand of you what is in Debate; but take Notice, if he makes out what you deny, you ſhall undergo twenty Strokes of the Bamboo upon the Backſide, and pay a Fine of twenty *Fakuges*, which make about two hundred *Dinars*. Now this Puniſhment is ſuch, as the Criminal could not ſurvive; it is ſo grievous, that no Perſon in all *China* may, of his own Authority, inflict it upon another, upon pain of Death, and Confiſcation of his Goods; and ſo no body is ever ſo hardy as to expoſe himſelf to ſo certain a Danger; wherefore Juſtice is well adminiſtred to every one. They require no Witneſs, nor do they put the Parties upon Oath.

21. When any Man becomes a Bankrupt in this Country, they throw him into Priſon in the Governor's Palace, and he is immediately put upon the Declaration of his Effects. After he has been a Month in Priſon, he is releaſed by the Governor's Order, and Proclamation is made, That ſuch a one, the Son of ſuch a one, has conſumed the Subſtance of ſuch a one; and that if he has any Effects in the Hands of any Perſon, in any Shape whatſoever, it muſt be made known in the Term of a Month. In the mean time the Bankrupt is bamboo'd on the Backſide if Diſcovery is made of any Effects of his; and at the ſame time is upbraided with having been a Month in Priſon eating and drinking, tho' he had wherewithal to ſatisfy his Creditors. He is chaſtiſed in the ſame manner, whether he makes any Declaration of his Effects or not. They reproach him, that he has made it his ſtudy to get by Fraud the Subſtance of private Perſons into his Hands, and embezzle it; and that he ought not ſo to defraud thoſe he had Dealings with, by ſtripping them of their Property. But after all, if they cannot diſcover him to have been guilty of any Fraud, and if it is proved to the Magiſtrate, that the Man has nothing in the World, the Creditors are called in, and receive a Part of their Debt out of the Treaſury of the *Bagbun*. This is the ordinary Title of the Emperors of *China*, and ſignifies the Son of Heaven; but we commonly pronounce it after a different Manner, and call him *Magbun*. Then it is publickly forbidden to buy of, or ſell to this Man, upon pain of Death, that he may not defraud any of his Creditors by concealing their Money. If Diſcovery be made that he hath any Sums in the Hands of another, and if the Perſon he intruſts makes no Declaration within the Time limited, he is bamboo'd to death, and nothing is ſaid to the Proprietor or Bankrupt. The Sums that they diſcover are divided among the Creditors, and the Debtor or Bankrupt muſt never more concern himſelf with Trade[y].

22. The *Chineſe* have a Stone which is ten Cubits high, erected in the publick Squares of their Cities, and on this Stone are engraved the Names of all Sorts of Medicines, with the exact Price of each; and when the Poor ſtand in need of any Relief from Phyſick, they go to the Treaſury, where they receive the Price each Medicine is rated at. There is in *China* no Tax upon Land; they only levy ſo much *per* Head, according to the Wealth and Poſſeſſions of the Subject. When a Male Child is born, his Name is immediately enter'd in the King's Books; and when this Child has attained his eighteenth Year, he begins to pay for his Head; but they demand it not of the Man who has ſeen his eightieth Year; on the contrary, he receives a Gratification by way of Penſion from the publick Treaſury; and in doing this, the *Chineſe* ſay, That they make this Proviſion for him in his old Days, in Acknowledgment for what they received of him when he was young.

23. There are Schools in every Town for teaching the poor Children to write and read, and the Maſters are maintained at the publick Charge. The Women wear nothing on their Heads but their Hair, whereas the Men are covered. In *China* there is a certain Town called *Tayu*, which has a Caſtle advantagiouſly ſeated on a Hill, and all the Fortreſſes in the Kingdom are called by the ſame Name. The *Chineſe* are generally handſome, of

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[w] It appears from hence, that the Cuſtom of drinking Tea in *China*, is much more ancient than we have generally imagined it, for it muſt have prevailed long before our Traveller went into this Country, otherwiſe a Tax upon it would have been ineffectual. It may not be amiſs, to obſerve here, that the Remarks of the Author are equally natural and judicious; for he inſiſts chiefly on thoſe Things in which the *Chineſe* differed moſt from the *Mohammedans*, as that they did not circumciſe, were not very exact in waſhing, and made no Conſcience of eating Blood.

[x] The Reader will remember, that this was a ſettled Regulation among the ancient *Indians*, ſo that it is very probable, that the *Chineſe* derived a great Part of their Policy from the *Indians*.

[y] This Fact is likewiſe confirmed by later Travellers; and though there ſeems to be a great deal of Severity in it, yet it is well adapted to the Genius of the *Chineſe*, who would not fail to become Bankrupts frequently, if they were allowed to trade afterwards; and perhaps the introducing this Law in other Countries, in caſe of a ſecond or third Bankruptcy, might be found very effectual.

comely Stature, fair, and by no means addicted to Exceſſes of Wine; their Hair is blacker than the Hair of any other Nation in the World; and the *Chineſe* Women wear it curled.

24. In the *Indies*, when a Man accuſes another of a Crime puniſhable with Death, the Cuſtom is to aſk the Accuſed if he is willing to go through the Trial by Fire; and if he anſwers in the Affirmative, they heat a Piece of Iron till it is red-hot. This done, they bid him ſtretch forth his Hand, and upon it they put ſeven Leaves of a certain Tree, and upon theſe Leaves they put the red-hot Iron, and in this Condition he walks backward and forward for ſome time, and then throws off the Iron. Immediately after this, they put his Hand into a Leathern Bag, which they ſeal with the Prince's Signet; and if at the End of three Days he appears, and declares he has ſuffered no Hurt, they order him to take out his Hand; when, if no Sign of Fire is viſible, they declare him innocent, and delivered from the Puniſhment which threatned him, and his Accuſer is condemned to pay a *Man* of Gold as a Fine to the Prince.

Sometimes they boil Water in a Chaldron [a], till it is ſo hot that no one can touch it; then they throw an Iron Ring into it, and command the Perſon accuſed to thruſt his Hand down, and bring up the Ring. I ſaw one who did this, and received no manner of Hurt. The Accuſer is in this Caſe alſo to pay a *Man* of Gold.

25. When a King dies in this Iſland of *Serendib*, they lay his Body on an open Chariot, in ſuch a manner, that his Head hangs backwards till it almoſt touches the Ground, and his Hair is upon the Earth; and this Chariot is followed by a Woman with a Broom in her Hand, therewith to ſweep Duſt on the Face of the Deceaſed, while ſhe cries out with a loud Voice, "O Man behold
" your King, who was yeſterday your Maſter, but now
" the Empire he exerciſed over you is vaniſhed and gone;
" he is reduced to the State you behold, having left the
" World, and the Arbiter of Death hath withdrawn his
" Soul: Reckon therefore no more upon the uncertain
" Hopes of Life."

This [a] Proclamation, or ſome other like it, they continue for three Days; after which, the dead Body of the King is embalmed with *Sandal* Wood, Camphire and Saffron, and is then burned, and the Aſhes are ſcattered abroad to the Wind. It is a univerſal Cuſtom all over the *Indies*, to burn the Bodies of the Dead. The Iſland of *Sarandib* is the laſt of the Iſlands of the *Indies*. When they burn a King, it is uſual for his Wives to jump into the Fire, and to burn with him; but this they are not conſtrained to do, if they are not willing.

In the *Indies* there are Men, who profeſs to live in the Woods and Mountains, and to deſpiſe what other Men moſt value. Theſe abſtain from every thing but ſuch wild Herbs and Fruits as ſpring in the Woods, and put an Iron Buckle upon their natural Parts, that they may not be able to have any Commerce with Women. Some of them are quite naked, or have only a Leopard's Skin thrown over them, and in this Plight, keep ſtanding with their Faces towards the Sun. I formerly ſaw one in the Poſture I have deſcribed, and returning to the *Indies* about ſixteen Years afterwards, I found him in the very ſame Attitude, and was aſtoniſhed he had not loſt his Eye-ſight by the Heat of the Sun [b].

In all theſe Kingdoms, the Sovereign Power reſides in the Royal Family, and never departs from it; and the next Heirs of this Family ſucceed each other. In like manner, there are Families of learned Men, of Phyſicians, and of all the Artificers concerned in Architecture, and none of theſe are mixed with a Family of a Profeſſion different from their own. The ſeveral States of the *Indies* are not ſubject to one King; but each Province has its own King. The *Balhara* is nevertheleſs in the *Indies* as King of Kings. The *Chineſe* are fond of Gaming, and all Manner of Diverſions; on the contrary, the *Indians* condemn them, and have no Pleaſure in them. They drink no Wine, nor make any Uſe of Vinegar, becauſe it is made of Wine; and yet they abſtain not therefrom as a religious Duty, but for another Reaſon. They ſay, that if a King is given to Wine, he ought not to be deemed a King: For, continue they, as there are frequent Wars with the neigbouring States, how ſhould a Drunkard manage the Affairs of his Kingdom?

26. The Wars, in which they engage with neighbouring Princes, are not uſually undertaken with a View to poſſeſs themſelves of their Dominions; and I never heard of any but the People bordering upon the Pepper Country, that have ſeized on the Poſſeſſions of their Neighbours after Victory. When a Prince makes himſelf Maſter of ſome other Principality, he confers the Government thereof upon ſome Perſon of the Royal Family of the conquered Country; and thus he keeps it in Subjection to himſelf, from a Perſwation that the Natives would never agree to be otherwiſe governed. When any one of the Princes or Governors of Cities within the Dominions of the Emperor of *China* is guilty of a Crime, he is put to Death, and eaten; and in general, it may be ſaid, that the *Chineſe* eat all thoſe that are put to Death. When the *Indians* and *Chineſe* are about to marry, the Parties come to an Agreement; then Preſents are made, and, at laſt, the Marriage is celebrated with the Sound of many ſorts of Inſtruments and Drums. The Preſents they ſend conſiſt of Money, and in this every one does what he can afford.

27. If a Man in the *Indies* runs away with a Woman, and abuſes her Body, they kill both him and the Woman, unleſs it be proved that ſhe was forced; then the Man only is puniſhed with Death: But if the Woman conſented to the evil Deed, they are both puniſhed with Death. Theft is always puniſhed capitally, as well in the *Indies* as in *China*, whether the Theft be conſiderable or inconſiderable; and particularly in the *Indies*, where, if a Thief has ſtolen but the Value of a ſmall Piece of Money, or a thing of greater Worth, they take a long, ſtrong, and ſharp Stake, which they apply to his Fundament, and thruſt it through till it comes out at his Neck. The *Chineſe* are addicted to the abominable Vice of Sodomy, and the filthy Practice of it they number among the indifferent things they perform in Honour of their Idols.

The *Chineſe* Buildings are of Wood, with Stone, Plaiſter, Brick and Mortar. The *Chineſe* and *Indians* are not ſatisfy'd with one Wife, but both Nations marry as many as they pleaſe. Rice is the common Food of the *Indians*, who eat no Wheat; whereas the *Chineſe* eat of Rice and Wheat indifferently. Circumciſion is not practiſed either by the *Indians* or *Chineſe*. The *Chineſe* worſhip Idols, pray to them, and fall down before them; and they have Books which explain the Articles of their Religion. The *Indians* ſuffer their Beards to grow, and I have ſeen one of them with a Beard three Cubits long; they wear no Whiſkers; but the *Chineſe*, for the moſt part, have no Beard, and have all ſmooth. The *Indians*, upon the Death of a Relation, ſhave both Head and Face. When any Man in the *Indies* is caſt into Priſon, they allow him neither Victuals nor Drink for ſeven Days together, and this with them anſwers the End of other Tortures to extort from the Criminal a Confeſſion of the Truth. The *Chineſe* have Judges beſides the Governors, who decide in Cauſes between Subject and Subject, and the ſame they have in the *Indies*. Both in *China* and in the *Indies* there are Leopards and Wolves, but no Lions. Highway Robbers are puniſhed with Death.

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[a] This Manner of finding out the Truth by appealing to God in ſo extraordinary a Manner, was in uſe in moſt Countries. *Sophocles* mentions it as practiſed by the Ancients. The *Caffers* on the Coaſt of *Moſambique*, if they are accuſed of any capital Crime, lick Iron to prove their Innocence. The *Indians* of *Calicut* decide their Differences in the ſame Manner. If a Man is accuſed of Theft, he and the Accuſer are brought before the Judge; a Pint of Oil is heated till it almoſt boils, and then the Party accuſed dips in three of his Fingers, which are immediately bound up, and opened on the third Day; when, if it appears he is ſcalded, he ſuffers Death; and if not, the ſame Sentence falls upon the Accuſer. All this is the more probable, ſince this was once the common Law of our own Country, as the Reader will perceive by conſulting any of our Gloſſographers on the Word *Ordeal*.

[a] The Author of the *Arabian* Geography, and many other of the Oriental Writers, have tranſcribed this Paſſage *verbatim*, from whence it appears evidently that they were acquainted with this Work. The Reader may remember, that the Accounts given by the Ancients of the Manners of the Inhabitants of *Taprobana* agree perfectly well with this Account.

[b] Theſe Penances among the *Indians*, as ſurprizing or as incredible as they ſeem to be, are confirmed by all the Travellers that have written of thoſe Countries, whether ancient or modern, as we ſhall have an Opportunity of ſhewing in the ſubſequent Part of this Chapter.

29. Both the *Chineſe* and the *Indians* imagine the Idols they worſhip ſpeak to them and give them anſwers. Neither the one nor the other kill their Meat by cutting the Throat, as the *Mohammedans*, but by beating them on the Mouth till they die. They waſh not with Well-water; the *Chineſe* wipe themſelves with Paper, whereas the *Indians* waſh every Day before they eat.

The *Indians* touch not their Wives while their Diſeaſe is upon them, but turn them out of their Houſes, and avoid them; the *Chineſe* behave in quite a contrary Manner. The *Indians* waſh not only the Mouth, but the whole Body alſo before they eat, which the *Chineſe* obſerve not. The Country of the *Indies* is larger in Extent than that of *China*, and exceeds it by one half; the Number of Kingdoms is greater in the *Indies* than in *China*, but *China* is the more populous of the two.

It is not uſual to ſee Palm-trees either in the *Indies* or in *China*, but they have alſo other Sorts of Fruits and Trees, which we have not. The *Indians* have no Grapes, and the *Chineſe* have not many, but both abound in other Fruits; though the Pomegranate thrives more plentifully in *India* than in *China*.

The *Chineſe* have no Sciences, and their Religion and moſt of their Laws are derived from the *Indians*; nay, they are of Opinion that the *Indians* taught them the Worſhip of Idols, and conſider them as a very religious Nation; both the one and the other believe the *Metempſychoſis*[c]; but they differ in many Points touching the Precepts of their Religion. Phyſick and Philoſophy are cultivated among the *Indians*, and the *Chineſe* have ſome Skill in Medicine; but it almoſt wholly conſiſts in the Art of applying hot Irons or Cauteries. They have alſo ſome Smattering of Aſtronomy, but therein alſo the *Indians* ſurpaſs the *Chineſe*. I know not that there is ſo much as one of either Nation that has embraced Mohammediſm, or ſpeaks *Arabic*. The *Indians* have but few Horſes, and there are more in *China*; but the *Chineſe* have no Elephants, and cannot endure to have them in their Country, for they abhor them. The *Indian* Dominions furniſh a great Number of Soldiers, who are not paid by the King, but when they are rendezvouſed for War, take the Field entirely at their own Expence, and are no Charge to the King; whereas the *Chineſe* allow their Forces much the ſame Pay with the *Arabs*.

China is a pleaſant and fruitful Country; moſt of the *Indian* Provinces have no Cities, whereas in *China* there are many in Number, great in Extent, and well fortified: The Climate of *China* is more wholſome, and the Country itſelf is leſs fenny. The Air there is alſo much better, and there is ſcarce a blind Perſon to be ſeen, or any one ſubject to the Diſeaſes of the Eyes; and the ſame Advantages are enjoyed by ſeveral Provinces of the *Indies*: The Rivers of the two Countries are large, and ſurpaſs our greateſt Rivers; much Rain falls in both theſe Countries. In the *Indies* are many deſert Tracks, but *China* is inhabited and peopled throughout its whole Extent. The *Chineſe* are handſomer than the *Indians*, and come nearer to the *Arabs*, not only in Countenance but in Dreſs, in their Way of riding, in their Manners, and in their Ceremonies: They wear long Garments and Girdles, in form of Belts. The *Indians* wear two ſhort Veſts; and the Men, as well as the Women, wear golden Bracelets, adorned with precious Stones.

30. Beyond the Continent of *China*, there is a Country called *Tagazgaz*, from the Name of a Nation of the *Turks*, who there inhabit, and alſo the Country of *Kakhan*, or *Tibet*, wich is bordering on the Country of the *Turks*. The Iſlands of *Sila* are inhabited by white People, who ſend Preſents to the Emperor of *China*, and who are perſuaded, that if they did not ſend him Preſents, the Rain of Heaven would not fall upon their Country. None of our People have been there to inform us concerning them: They have white Falcons.

As we are now arrived to the End of this Work, it may not be amiſs, to offer here ſome Remarks that may tend to enlighten the foregoing Diſcourſe, and prepare us at the ſame time for that which is to come. We are informed that the Date of this Narration was of the *Hegira* 237, *A. D.* 851, which Circumſtance, though preſerved to us in the enſuing Diſcourſe, was very probably contained in the firſt Leaf of this, which is wanting in the Manuſcript. But though it was written then, yet it ſeems highly probable, that our Author's firſt Journey to the *Indies* was, at leaſt, twenty Years before; becauſe he obſerves, that he made a ſecond Journey there ſixteen Years afterwards; and we may very well allow four Years for the Time ſpent in the firſt Journey, and the Space that might intervene between his Return and his compoſing this Treatiſe. According to this Calculation, his firſt Voyage to the *Indies* was in the Year of the *Hegira* 217. *A. D.* 833. and his ſecond *An. Heg.* 235. *A. D.* 849.

As to the Occaſion of his Voyages, there is nothing occurs in this Account that can give us the leaſt Light into it; however, it ſeems moſt probable, that he underwent theſe Fatigues on the ſcore of Commerce; for it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that a Man would have made ſo long a Journey a ſecond Time purely out of Curioſity, and to ſatisfy the Deſire of being better acquainted with theſe People, which had been excited by his former Intercourſe with them. There is not much to be obſerved with reſpect to the Form of this Treatiſe, or the Stile in which it is written; and yet ſomething there is worth mentioning with reſpect to each of them. We cannot, indeed, boaſt much of the Regularity of his Method; and yet it would be unjuſt to condemn it entirely, becauſe, for want of having the Introduction to it, we cannot determine exactly what was his Plan, and conſequently cannot ſay how far he came up to, or fell ſhort of it; one Thing I think is manifeſt, which is, that the Scope of his Undertaking is a Compariſon between the *Indians* and the *Chineſe*; at leaſt he falls into this immediately after he has deſcribed the uſual Navigation from *Siraff* to *China*; and conſidered in this Light, his Treatiſe appears regular enough. As to his Stile, it is extremely ſimple and plain, and has nothing of that ſwelling hyperbolical Eloquence which is generally obſerved in oriental Writers; upon which, I beg leave to remark, that with regard to the *Arabs*, as well as other Nations, this was a Vice that prevailed in later Times, after Poetry and Rhetorick had been more cultivated than they were in the firſt Ages of their Empire, which has been the Caſe in moſt other Nations.

One cannot poſſibly doubt, that this Piece was extremely well received when it firſt came abroad, and that it had maintained its Reputation for a conſiderable Space of Time, appears from the ſecond Treatiſe, which we are about to give the Reader. It ſeems, that when the Affairs of *China* were better known, ſome Prince, or other Perſon of Diſtinction, deſired the Author of the following Pages to look over that Diſcourſe, and to inform him, how far the Facts contained therein, had been confirmed or contradicted, by ſucceeding Relations. What Time this happened, we cannot, with any Certainty ſay, from the Compariſon of the two Pieces, or from the Lights given us by the learned and accurate Critick who publiſhed them. The Manuſcript which the Abbé *Renaudot* made uſe of, was apparently older than the Year of the *Hegira* 569, which anſwers to the Year of Chriſt 1173; but the Diſcourſe muſt certainly have been written long before that Time. In our Notes we have ſhewn that *Eben-Wahab* travelled into *China*, *A. H.* 285. *A. D.* 898; and the Author of this laſt Treatiſe informs us, that he had converſed with this Man after his Return, and had from him the Facts which he has inſerted in his Diſcourſe; ſo that the Book itſelf muſt have been two Centuries older than the Manuſcript from which the Abbé *Renaudot* publiſhed it, and might probably be written 60 or 70 Years after the foregoing Treatiſe. Theſe are all the Lights which, from an aſſiduous Study of theſe valuable Fragments of Antiquity, we have been able to give the Reader, and therefore we ſhall detain him no longer from the Piece itſelf, which in the Original bears the following Title.

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[c] Of this Doctrine we have already ſpoken in our Account of the Philoſophy of the *Brachmans*; and in our Notes on the ſubſequent Treatiſe, we ſhall take Occaſion to ſhew when it was firſt embraced in *China*, and with what Modifications it is ſtill taught there.

[d] We ſhall take another Opportunity of acquainting the Reader with the Hiſtory of the ancient *Turks*, and ſhall only obſerve here, that the Nations here mentioned are to be conſidered as dwelling in their native Region, before they became famous by their Irruption into *Perſia*, which is the Country every where meant in this and in the ſubſequent Treatiſe by the Name of *Irak*, and before they became *Mohammedans*; which is the more neceſſary, becauſe from the preſent State of Things it is very natural to connect the Ideas which we have of the modern *Turks*, with theſe Accounts of their Anceſtors.

The Diſcourſe of Abu Zeid al Haſan *of* Siraf, *concerning the Voyage to the* Indies *and* China.

31. Having very carefully examined the Book I was directed to peruſe, that I might confirm what the Author relates, when he agrees with what I have heard concerning the Affairs of the Sea, the Kingdoms on the Coaſt, and the State of the Countries; and that I might add upon this Head, what I have elſewhere collected concerning them, which is not to be found in this Book, I find it was written in the Year of the Hegira CCXXXVII. and that the Accounts the Author gives in regard to Things at Sea, were in his Time very true, and agreeable to what I have underſtood from Merchants, who from *Irak* ſailed through thoſe Seas. I find alſo, that all the Author writes is agreeable to Truth, excepting ſome few Paſſages.

Speaking of the Cuſtom of ſetting Meat before the Dead, which he attributes to the *Chineſe*, he ſays, when they have ſerved up the Meat over Night, and find nothing in the Morning, they cry, The Deceaſed hath eaten. We had been told the ſame, and believed it, till we met with a Man of undoubted Credit, who being aſked concerning this Cuſtom, he anſwered, that the Fact was not ſo, and that this Notion was groundleſs, as well as what is vulgarly ſaid of the idolatrous Nations, that they imagine their Idols ſpeak to them.

He told us alſo, that ſince thoſe Days the Affairs of *China* wear quite another Face; and ſince much is related to ſhew the Reaſon why the Voyages to *China* are interrupted, and how the Country has been ruined, many Cuſtoms aboliſhed, and the Empire divided, I will here declare the Cauſes I know of this Revolution [a].

32. The great Troubles which have embroiled the Affairs of this Empire, which have put a Stop to the Juſtice and Righteouſneſs there formerly practiſed, and which have in fine interrupted the ordinary Navigation from *Siraff* to *China*, flowed from this Source: An Officer who was conſiderable for his Employment, though not of the Royal Family, revolted ſometime ago; this Man's Name was *Baichu*, and he began with committing Hoſtilities in the Country, marching his Armies into many Places, to the great Loſs of the Inhabitants, till, winning a Party over to him by his Liberalities, he got together a Multitude of Vagabonds and abandoned People, whom he formed into a conſiderable Body of Troops.

His Army thus ſtrengthened, and himſelf in a Condition to undertake any thing, he diſcovered his Deſign of ſubduing the Empire, and marched ſtrait to *Canfu*, one of the moſt noted Cities in *China*, and at that Time the Port for all the *Arabian* Merchants. This City ſtands upon a great River ſome Days Diſtance from the Entrance, ſo that the Water there is freſh. But the Citizens ſhutting their Gates againſt him, he reſolved to beſiege the Place, and the Siege laſted a great while. This was tranſacted in the Year of the Hegira CCLXIV. and of Chriſt 877.

At laſt he became Maſter of the City, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword. There are Perſons fully acquainted with the Affairs of *China*, who aſſure us, that beſides the *Chineſe* who were maſſacred upon this Occaſion, there periſhed one hundred and twenty thouſand *Mohammedans*, *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Parſees* who were there on account of Traffick. The Number of the Profeſſors of theſe four Religions, who thus periſhed, is exactly known, becauſe the *Chineſe* are exceedingly nice in the Accounts they keep of them.

He alſo cut down the Mulberry-trees, and almoſt all the Trees of other Kinds: But we ſpeak of the Mulberry in particular, becauſe the *Chineſe* cultivate it carefully, for the ſake of its Leaf, on which their Silkworms ſubſiſt. This Devaſtation is the Cauſe why Silk has failed, and that the Trade which uſed to be driven therein through all the Countries under the *Arabs*, is quite at a ſtand. Having ſacked and deſtroyed *Canfu*, he poſſeſſed himſelf of many other Cities, which he attacked one after another, the Emperor of *China* not having it in his Power to ſtop his Progreſs. He advanced then to the capital City, called *Cumdan*; and the Emperor left this, his royal Seat, making a precipitate Retreat to the City of *Hamdu*, on the Frontiers, towards the Province of *Tibet*.

The Rebel, puffed up by theſe great Succeſſes, and perceiving himſelf Maſter of the Countries, fell upon the other Cities, which he demoliſhed, having firſt ſlain moſt of the Inhabitants, with a View, in this general Butchery, to involve all the ſeveral Branches of the Royal Blood, that none might ſurvive to diſpute the Empire with him. We had the News of theſe Revolutions, and of the total Ruin of *China*, which ſtill continues.

Thus were Affairs ſituated, and the Rebel ſtood uncontrolled by any Diſadvantage that might abaſe his Authority [b].

33. At laſt the Emperor of *China* wrote to the King of *Tagazgaz* in *Turkeſtan*, with whom, beſides the Nearneſs of his Dominions, he was, in ſome Degree, ally'd by Marriage; and, at the ſame time, ſent an Embaſſy to him, to implore his Aſſiſtance for reducing this Rebel. Upon this, the King of *Togazgaz* diſpatched his Son, at the Head of a very numerous Army, to fight this Oppreſſor; and, after many Battles, and almoſt continual Skirmiſhes, he utterly defeated him. It was never known what became of the Rebel: Some believe he fell in Battle, while others thought he ended his Days in another Manner.

The Emperor of *China* returned then to *Cumdan*, and although he was extremely weakened, and much diſpirited becauſe of the Embezzlement of his Treaſures, and the Loſs of his Captains and beſt Troops, and becauſe of all the late Calamities, he nevertheleſs made himſelf Maſter of all the Provinces which had been conquered from him. However, he never laid Hands on the Goods of his Subjects, but ſatiſfied himſelf with what was yet left in his Coffers, and the ſmall Remainders of publick Money, his Condition indiſpenſably obliged him to take up with what his Subjects would give him, and to require nothing from them but Obedience to his Mandates, forbearing to ſqueeze Money from them, becauſe the King's Governors had exhauſted them already.

Thus *China* became almoſt like the Empire of *Alexander* after the Defeat and Death of *Darius* [c], when he divided the Provinces he took from the *Perſians* amongſt ſo many Chiefs, who erected themſelves into ſo many Kings; for now each of theſe *Chineſe* Princes joined with ſome

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[a] The Account here given by our Author, very plainly proves, that the Trade to *China* was conſidered in his Time as very ancient, and of very great Conſequence, inſomuch that whatever affected the Peace of that Country, was looked upon as a Thing of common Concern to all the Nations of the Eaſt. But till theſe Travels were publiſhed, who could have imagined this? Who would have ſuſpected that the Affairs of *China* were ſo well known to the *Arabs*? And therefore when theſe Things are maturely weighed, who can doubt that we had Reaſon to advance it as a Thing highly probable, that long before this, the Empires of *China* and the *Indies* were in the moſt flouriſhing Condition, as well in point of foreign Commerce, as of domeſtick Oeconomy.

[b] It is a very difficult thing to pretend to ſettle the Chronology of the *Chineſe* Empire; and the very learned Editor of theſe Travels, confeſſes that he is not able to give any ſatiſfactory Account of this Revolution. It ſo falls out, however, that Father *du Halde*, in his Hiſtory of *China*, lately publiſhed, has enabled us to ſet this Matter right, or at leaſt very nearly right. He informs us, that in the Reign of the Emperor *Hi Tſong*, who was the eighteenth of the Dynaſty of *Tang*, the Affairs of *China* fell into very great Diſorder, from the heavy Taxes laid upon the People, and a great Famine, cauſed by the Inundation of Rivers, and infinite Numbers of Graſs-hoppers that deſtroyed their Harveſts. While Things were in this Situation, there happened ſeveral Revolts in the Provinces, which encouraged a certain Rebel, whoſe Name was *Hoan Tſia*, to put himſelf at the Head of the Malecontents, and that with ſuch Succeſs, as to drive the Emperor from the Imperial City, of which he made himſelf Maſter; but he was afterwards defeated, and the Emperor reſtored. It muſt be owned, that there is about twenty Years Difference between the Time mentioned by our Author, and the Date of this Revolution, aſſigned by Father *du Halde*. I ſhall not take upon me to decide where the Miſtake lies; but I conceive that the Reader will be of the ſame Opinion with me, in concluding this to be the Revolution mentioned in the Text.

[c] All the Oriental Writers agree in giving a different Account of the Diviſion of the Empire of *Alexander* the Great, from that which is given us by the *Greeks*; and that this Notion of theirs was ancient, appears from what we are told by the Author of the firſt Book of *Maccabees*, who having related

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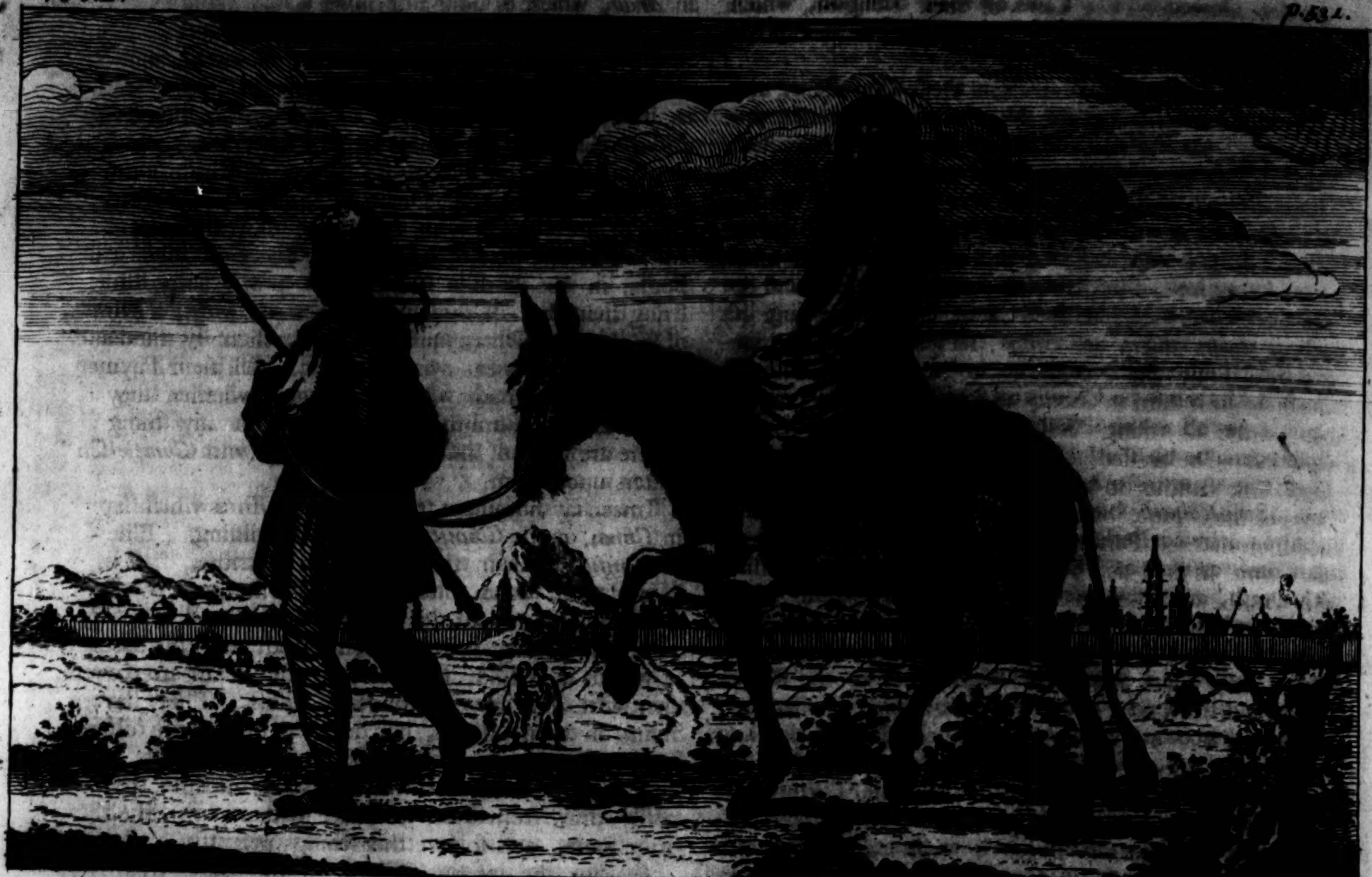
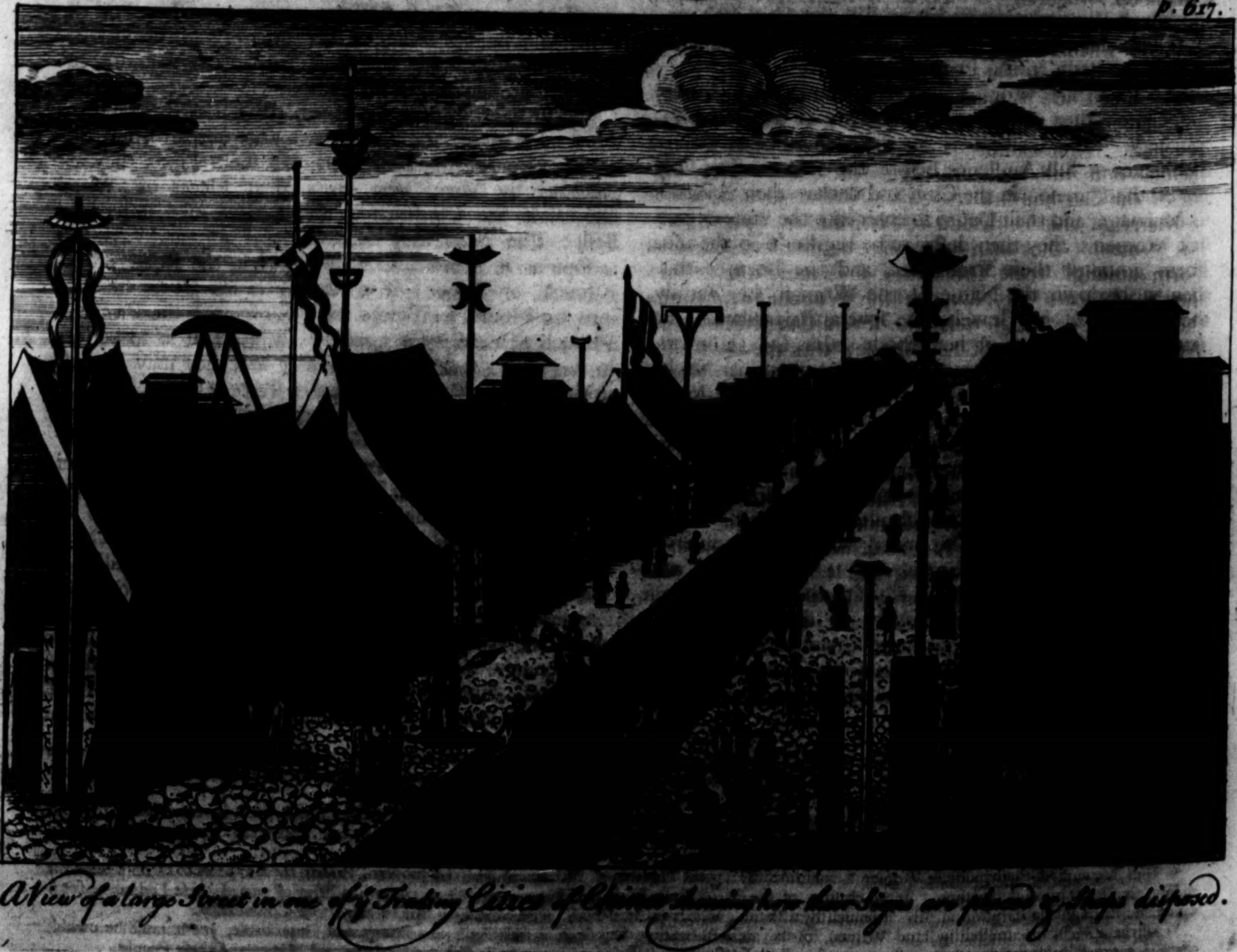


A Chinese Prostitute, riding in Publick, with a Man going before, who makes known her Price.



A View of a large Street in one of ye Trading Cities of China, shewing how their Signs are placed & Shops disposed.

ſome other to wage War againſt a third, without conſulting the Emperor; and when the ſtrongeſt had ſubdued the weakeſt, and was become Maſter of his Province, all was waſted and unmercifully plundered, and the Subjects of the vanquiſhed Prince were unnaturally devoured, a Cruelty allowed by the Laws of their Religion, which even permit human Fleſh to be expoſed to Sale in the publick Markets.

There aroſe, as was natural from theſe Confuſions, many unjuſt Dealings with the Merchants who traded thither, which having gathered the Force of a Precedent, there was no Grievance, no Treatment ſo bad, but they exerciſed upon the *Arabs*, and the Maſters of Ships; they extorted from the Merchants what was uncuſtomary, they ſeized upon their Effects, and behaved towards them in a manner directly oppoſite to ancient Uſages, and for theſe things has God puniſhed them, by withdrawing his Bleſſing from them in every Reſpect; and particularly by cauſing the Navigation to be forſaken, and the Merchants to return in Crouds to *Siraf* and *Oman*; agreeable to the all-ruling Will of the Almighty Maſter, whoſe Name be bleſſed!

34. The Author in his Book notes ſome Cuſtoms and Laws of the *Chineſe*, but mentions not the Puniſhments inflicted on married Perſons, when convicted of Adultery; this Crime as well as Homicide and Theft is puniſhed with Death, and they execute the Criminal in this Manner; they bind both the Hands together, and then force them backwards over the Head, till they reſt upon the Neck; they then faſten the Right-Foot to the Right-Hand, and the Left-Foot to the Left-Hand, ſo that both Hands and Feet are ſtrongly bound behind the Back; and thus bundled up, it is impoſſible for the Criminal to ſtir, nor wants he any Body to hold him. This Torture diſjoints the Neck, makes the Joints ſtart out of their Sockets, and diſlocates the Thighs; in ſhort, the Patient is in ſo miſerable a Condition, that were he to continue therein but a few Hours, there would be no need of any thing elſe to make an End of him: But when they have bound him as we have ſaid, they give him ſo many Strokes with a Bamboo, which they always uſe upon the like Occaſions, and which alone were ſufficient to kill the Criminal, and leave off when he is at the very laſt Gaſp of Life, abandoning the Body to the People, who eat it[d].

35. There are Women in *China* who refuſe to marry, and chuſe rather to live a diſſolute Life of perpetual Debauchery. The Cuſtom is for theſe Women to preſent themſelves in full Audience before the commanding Officer of the Garriſon in the City, and declare their Averſion to Marriage, and their Deſire to enter into the State of publick Women; they then deſire to be regiſter'd in the uſual Form amongſt theſe Proſtitutes, and the Form is this; they write down the Name of the Woman, her Family, the Number of her Jewels, the ſeveral Particulars of her Attire, and the Place of her Abode; thus ſhe is admitted a publick Woman: After this, they put about her Neck a String, at which hangs a Copper Ring with the King's Signet, and deliver to her a Writing which certifies that ſhe is received into the Liſt of common Proſtitutes, and entitles her to a yearly Penſion of ſo many *Falus*, to be paid her out of the publick Treaſury, and threatens with Death the Perſon who ſhould take her to Wife. They every Year give publick Notice of what is to be obſerved with regard to thoſe Women, and turn out thoſe who have worn out their Charms. In the Evening theſe Women walk abroad in Dreſſes of different Colours, without any Veil, and proſtitute themſelves to all new Comers that love Debauchery; but the *Chineſe* themſelves ſend for them to their Houſes, whence they depart not till the next Morning[e].

36. The *Chineſe* coin no Money, beſides the little Pieces of Copper, like thoſe we call *Falus*, nor will they allow Gold or Silver to be coined into Specie, like the Dinars and Drams that are current with us; for, ſay they, if a Thief goes, with an evil Intent, into the Houſe of an *Arab*, where is Gold and Silver Coin, he may carry off ten thouſand Pieces of Gold, and almoſt as many Pieces of Silver, and not be much burdened therewith, and ſo be the Ruin of the Man who ſhould ſuffer this Loſs: Whereas, if a Thief has the ſame Deſign on the Houſe of a *Chineſe* Artificer, he cannot at moſt take away above ten thouſand Falus, or Pieces of Copper, which do not make above ten Meticals or Dinars of Gold. Theſe Pieces of Copper are alloy'd with ſomething of a different kind, and are of the Size of a Dram, or Piece of Silver called Bagli; in the Middle they have a pretty large Hole to ſtring them by: A thouſand of them are worth a Metical of Gold, or a Dinar, and they ſtring them by thouſands, with a Knot between every hundred. All their Payments in general, are made with this Money, whether they buy or ſell Lands, Furniture, Merchandize or any thing elſe. There are ſome of theſe Pieces at *Siraf* with *Chineſe* Characters upon them.

I need ſay nothing as to the frequent Fires which happen in *China*, or the *Chineſe* manner of Building. The City of *Canfu* is built in the manner he deſcribes, that is, of Wood with Canes interwoven, juſt like our Works of Split-cane, they waſh the whole over with a kind of Varniſh, which they make of Hemp-ſeed, and this becomes as white as Milk; ſo that when the Walls are covered therewith they have a wonderful Gloſs. They have no Stairs in their Houſes, nor do they build with different Stories, but put every thing they have into Cheſts, which run upon Wheels, and which in Caſe of Fire, they can eaſily draw from Place to Place without any Hindrance from Stairs, and ſo ſave their things preſently.

As for the inferior Officers in the Cities, they commonly have the Directions of the Cuſtoms and the Keys of the Treaſury: Some of theſe have been taken on the Frontiers and caſtrated; others of them have been cut by their own Fathers, who have ſent them as a Preſent to the Emperor. Theſe Officers are at the Head of the principal Affairs of State, of the Emperor's private Affairs, and of his Treaſures; and thoſe particularly who are ſent to *Canfu* are ſelected from this Body[f].

37. It is cuſtomary for them, as well as the Kings or Governors of all the Cities, to appear abroad from time to time, in ſolemn Proceſſion; at ſuch Times they are preceded by Men, who carry great Pieces of Wood like thoſe the Chriſtians of the *Levant* uſed inſtead of Bells: The Noiſe they make is heard a great Way, and as ſoon as it is heard no body ſtands in the Road of the Eunuch, or Prince: If a Man is at his Door, he goes into his Houſe, and keeps his Door ſhut till the Prince or Eunuch of the City is gone by; ſo no Soul is to be ſeen in the Way; and this is enjoined, that they may be held in the greater Veneration, and to ſtrike a Dread, that the People may not ſee them often, and that they may not grow ſo familiar as to ſpeak to them.

The Eunuch, or Lieutenant, and the principal Officers, wear very magnificent Dreſſes of Silk, ſo fine that none of this Sort is brought into the Country ſubject to the *Arabs*, the *Chineſe* keep it up at ſo high a Rate. One of the chief Merchants, whoſe Words cannot be called in queſtion, relates, that he waited on an Eunuch, whom the Emperor had ſent to *Canfu*, in order to purchaſe ſome things he wanted out of the Goods carried thither from the Country of the *Arabs*; and that upon his Breaſt he perceived a ſhort Veſt, which was under another ſilk Veſt, and which ſeemed to be under two other Veſts of the

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related the Conqueſt of the *Perſian* Empire by *Alexander* the Great, adds the following remarkable Words, 1 *Maccab.* i. 5, 6. "And after theſe "Things, he fell ſick and perceived that he ſhould die. Wherefore he called his Servants, ſuch as were honourable, and had been brought up with "him from his Youth, and parted his Kingdom among them, while he was yet alive."

[d] As barbarous as this Cuſtom may appear, and as ſeemingly inconſiſtent as it may be with the Politeneſs of the *Chineſe*, yet it is very certain, that our Authors are not the only Writers that have mentioned it, as will appear hereafter, when we come to give the Reader the Travels of the famous *Marco Polo*, who aſſerts the very ſame thing.

[e] This Account of their publick Women is confirmed by a great Number of Writers ancient and modern, ſo that there appears to be no Reaſon for calling the Truth of it in Queſtion. In the Hiſtory of the *Dutch* Embaſſy to the Emperor of *China*, there is a Print of one of theſe Ladies, as ſhe is conducted through the City on an Aſs, attended by a Perſon, who cries her Price, as he would do that of any other Commodity.

[f] All theſe Facts are atteſted by later Writers, ſo that notwithſtanding they ſeem at firſt Sight very ſtrange and improbable, yet it muſt be own'd, there is as good Evidence for them as for any other Facts in the ſeveral Relations we have had of the Cuſtoms and Manners of theſe People.

ſame kind; that the Eunuch obſerving him to look ſteadfaſtly upon his Breaſt, ſaid, "I ſee you keep your Eyes "fixed upon my Stomach, what may be the Meaning of "it?" The Merchant immediately cried out, *I am ſurpriſed at the Beauty of that little Veſt, which appears under your other Garments.* The Eunuch laughed, and held out his Shirt-ſleeve to him; Count, ſays he, how many Veſts I have above it: He did ſo, and counted five, one on another; and the Waiſtcoat, or ſhort Veſt was underneath. Theſe Garments are wove with raw Silk, which has never been waſhed or fulled; and what is worn by the Princes or Governors, is ſtill more rich, and more exquiſitely wrought.

The *Chineſe* ſurpaſs all Nations in all Arts, and particularly in Painting; and they perform ſuch perfect Work as others can but faintly imitate. When an Artificer has finiſhed a fine Piece, he carries it to the Prince's Palace to demand the Reward he thinks he deſerves for the Beauty of his Performance; and the Cuſtom is, for the Prince to order him to leave his Work at the Palace-gate, where it ſtands a whole Year; if, during that Time, no Perſon finds a Fault therein, the Artificer is rewarded, and admitted into the Body of Artiſts; but if the leaſt Fault be found, it is rejected, and the Workman ſent away empty.

It happened once, as the Story goes, that one of theſe Painters drew an Ear of Corn, with a Bird perched on it, upon a Piece of Silk; and his Performance was ſo admirable, that all who beheld it were aſtoniſhed. This Piece ſtood expoſed to publick View, till one Day a crooked Fellow paſſing by the Palace, found fault with the Picture, and was immediately conducted to the Prince or Governor of the City, who at the ſame Time ſent for the Painter. Then he aſked this crooked Fellow, what Fault he had to find with this Piece; to which he anſwered, "Every body knows that a Bird never ſettles upon an Ear "of Corn but it bends under him, whereas this Painter "has repreſented his Ear bolt upright, though he has "perched a Bird upon it; this is the Fault I have to "find." The Objection was held juſt, and the Prince beſtowed no Reward upon the Artiſt. They pretend by this, and ſuch other Means, to excite their Workmen to Perfection, by engaging them to be extremely nice and circumſpect in what they undertake, and to apply their whole Genius to what is to go out of their Hands[g].

38. There was formerly a Man of the Tribe of *Korkiſh*, whoſe Name was *Ebn Wahab*, deſcended of *Hebar* the Son of *Al Aſud*, and he dwelt at *Baſra*; this Man left *Baſra* when that City was ſack'd, and came to *Siraf*, where he ſaw a Ship ready to ſail for *China*. The Humour took him to go on board of this Ship, and in her he went to *China*, where in the Sequel he had the Curioſity to travel to the Emperor's Court; and leaving *Canfu*, he reached *Cumdam*, after a Journey of two Months; he ſtaid a long time at the Emperor's Court, and preſented ſeveral Petitions; wherein he ſignified that he was of the Family of the Prophet of the *Arabs*. Having waited a conſiderable while, the Emperor at laſt ordered him to be lodged in a Houſe appointed for him, and to be ſupplied with every Thing he wanted. This done, the Emperor wrote to the Governor of *Canfu*, commanding him carefully to inform himſelf among the Merchants concerning the Relation this Man pretended to bear to the Prophet of the *Arabs*; and the Governor, by his Anſwers, confirming the Truth of what he had ſaid, touching his Extraction, the Emperor gave him Audience, and made him rich Preſents, wherewith he returned to *Irack*.

This Man, when we ſaw him, was much advanced in Years, but had his Senſes perfectly, and told us, that when he had his Audience, the Emperor aſked him many Queſtions about the *Arabs*, and particularly how they had deſtroyed the Kingdom of the *Perſians*. *Ebn Wahab* made Anſwer, that they did it by the Aſſiſtance of God, and becauſe the *Perſians* were immerſed in Idolatry, adoring the Stars, the Sun and Moon, inſtead of worſhipping the true God.

To this the Emperor replied, that the *Arabs* had conquered the moſt illuſtrious Kingdom of the whole Earth, the beſt cultivated, the moſt opulent, the moſt pregnant of fine Wits, and of the moſt extenſive Fame. Then ſaid he, *What Account do the People in your Parts make of the other Kings of the Earth?* To which the *Arab* replied, that he knew them not. Then ſaid the Emperor to the Interpreter, "Tell him we eſteem but five Kings; that he "whoſe Kingdom is of wideſt Extent, is the Maſter of "*Irak*, for he is in the midſt of the World, and ſurrounded by the Territories of other Kings; and we find "he is called the King of Kings. After him we reckon "our Emperor here preſent, and we find that he is ſtiled "the King of Mankind, for no King is inveſted with a "more abſolute Authority over his Subjects, nor is there "a People under the Sun more dutiful and ſubmiſſive to "their Sovereign, than the People of this Country. We "therefore, in this reſpect, are the Kings of the human "Race; after us the King of the *Turks*, whoſe Kingdom "borders upon us, and him we call the King of Lions. "Next is the King of the Elephants, who is the King of "the *Indies*, whom we alſo call the King of Wiſdom, "becauſe he derives his Origin from the *Indians*. And "laſt of all the King of *Greece*, whom we ſtile the King "of Men; for upon the Face of the Earth, there are no "Men of better Manners, nor of comlier Preſence, than "his Subjects. Theſe, added he, are the moſt illuſtrious "of all Kings, nor are others to compare with them."

Then ſaid *Ebn Wahab*, he ordered the Interpreter to aſk me, "If I knew my Maſter and my Lord, meaning the "Prophet (*Mohammed*,) and if I had ſeen him?" I made Anſwer, "How ſhould I have ſeen him who is with "God?" He replied, "That is not what I mean, I aſk "you, what ſort of a Man he was in his Perſon?" I replied, that he was very handſome." Then he called for a great Box, and opening it, he took out another contained therein, which he ſet before him, and ſaid to the Interpreter, "ſhew him his Maſter and his Lord;" and I ſaw in the Box, the Image of the Prophets; whereat I moved my Lips, praying to myſelf in Honour of their Memory.

The Emperor did not imagine I ſhould know them again, and ſaid to the Interpreter, "Aſk him why he "moves his Lips?" I anſwered, "I was praying in "Memory of the Prophets;" *How do you know them*, ſaid the Emperor? I replied, that I knew them by the Repreſentation of their Hiſtories; "There, ſaid I, is "*Noah* in the Ark, who was ſaved with thoſe that were "with him at the ſame Time," and I made the uſual Salute to *Noah* and his Company. Then the Emperor laughed, and ſaid, "Thou art not miſtaken in the Name "of *Noah*, and thou haſt named him right; but as for the "univerſal Deluge, it is what we know not. It is true, "indeed, that a Flood covered Part of the Earth; but "it reached not our Country, nor even the *Indies*." I made my Anſwer to this, and endeavoured to remove his Objections the beſt I could; and then ſaid again to him, "There is *Moſes* with his Rod, and the Children of *Iſrael*." He agreed with me, as to the ſmall Extent of their Country, and the Manner how the ancient Inhabitants were deſtroyed by *Moſes*. I then ſaid to him; "He "there, is JESUS, upon an Aſs, and here are his Apoſtles

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[g] There is nothing very ſurpriſing in this Account, for the very ſame Method had been in Uſe among the *Greeks* long before, and has been ſince practiſed in *Italy* and elſewhere; and without doubt, it is the true Method of coming at the juſt Knowledge of the Value of ſuch Performances; and therefore ſomething of this ſort is annually practiſed at *Paris*.

[h] It ſeems a little ſtrange, that the learned *Abbé Renaudot* did not endeavour to ſettle the Time when this *Arabian* Traveller went to *China*, eſpecially when there is a Circumſtance which ſeems to fix it, *viz.* the plundering of *Baſſora*, upon which it is ſaid he took a Reſolution of going to *Siraff*. In order to ſupply this Defect, I have conſulted *Abul-Pharagius*, who informs us, that *A. H.* 285, which anſwers to *A. D.* 898, there was one *Abu-Said*, who revolted againſt the Khaliff, and ruined *Baſſora*, which occaſioned the walling and fortifying that City, which coſt fourteen thouſand Pieces of Gold. The Khaliff then reigning was *Al' Mohated*, in whoſe Time *Elmacinus* informs us, things were in great Confuſion; and he likewiſe takes notice of this Rebellion. The Date agrees very well with the reſt of this Hiſtory, and particularly with the Account given by this Man, of the Reaſons which induced him to quit his Country in his Conference with the Emperor of *China*.

“ with him.” *He*, ſaid the Emperor, *was not long upon Earth, ſeeing that all he did was tranſacted within the Space of ſomewhat better than thirty Months.*”

After this the *Ebn Wahab* ſaw the Hiſtories of the other Prophets preſented in the ſame Manner we have already declared; and he fancied that what was written in great Characters, under each Figure, might be the Names of the Prophets, the Countries whence they were, and the Subjects of their Prophecies. Then ſaid the ſame *Ebn Wahab*, I ſaw the Image of *Mohammed* riding upon a Camel, and his Companions about him on their Camels, with Shoes of the *Arabian* Mode on their Feet, and leathern Girdles about their Loins. At this I wept, and the Emperor commanded the Interpreter to aſk me, why I wept? I anſwered, *There is our Prophet and our Lord, who is alſo my Couſin.* He ſaid I was right, and added, that he and his People, had ſubdued the fineſt of all Kingdoms; but that he had not the Satisfaction of enjoying his Conqueſts, though his Succeſſors had.

I afterwards ſaw a great Number of other Prophets, ſome of them ſtretching forth their Right-hand, and with their three Fingers bent down between the Thumb and the Fore-finger, juſt like thoſe who hold up the Hand to make oath; others were ſtanding, and pointed to the Heavens with their Finger, and others were in different Poſtures. The Interpreter took them to be the Figures of their Prophets, and thoſe of the *Indians*. The Emperor then aſked me many Queſtions concerning the Khaliffs, their uſual Dreſs, and concerning many Precepts and Injunctions of the *Mohammedan* Religion, and I anſwered him the beſt I could.

41. After this, he ſaid, “What is your Opinion concerning the Age of the World?” I made Anſwer, that Opinions varied upon that head; that ſome were for ſix thouſand Years, and others would not allow ſo many; and that others reckoned it at a ſtill higher Rate; but that it was, at leaſt, as old as I had ſaid. At this the Emperor and his firſt Miniſter, who was near him, broke out into Laughter, and the Emperor made many Objections to what I had advanced. At laſt, ſaid he, “What does your Prophet teach upon this Subject; does he ſay as you do?” My Memory failed me, and I aſſured him *that he did*.

Hereupon I obſerved I had diſpleaſed him, and his Diſpleaſure appeared plainly in his Countenance. Then he ordered the Interpreter to ſpeak to me in the following Terms. “Take heed of what you ſay, for Kings never ſpeak but to be informed of the Truth of what they would know. What did you mean by giving the Emperor to underſtand, that there are among you various Opinions concerning the Age of the World? If ſo it be! you are alſo divided upon the Things your Prophet has ſaid at the ſame Time that no Diverſity of Opinions are to be admitted on what the Prophets have pronounced, all which muſt be revered as ſure and infallible; take heed then how you talk at ſuch a Rate any more[1].”

To this he ſubjoined many other Things, which, thro' Length of Time, have eſcaped my Remembrance. At laſt he aſked me, “How is it that thou haſt forſaken thy King, to whom thou art nearer, not only by the Place of thy abode, but by Blood alſo, than thou art to us?” In Return to which, I informed him of the Revolutions which had happened at *Baſſora*, and how I came to *Siraf*, where I ſaw a Ship ready to ſail for *China*; and that having heard of the Glory of his Empire, and its Abundance in all Neceſſaries, Curioſity excited me to a Deſire of coming into his Country, that I might behold it with mine own Eyes; that I ſhould ſoon depart for my own Country, and the Kingdom of my Couſin, and that I would make a faithful Report of what I had ſeen of the Magnificence of the Empire of *China*, and the vaſt Extent of the Provinces it contains, and that I would make a grateful Acknowledgment of the kind Uſage I there met with, which ſeemed to pleaſe him very much. He then made me rich Preſents, and ordered that I ſhould be conducted to *Canfu* upon Poſt-horſes. He wrote alſo to the Governor of the City, commanding him to treat me with much Honour, and to furniſh me with the like Recommendations to the other Governors of the Provinces, that they might entertain me till the Time of my Departure. I was thus treated every where during my Stay, plentifully ſupplied with all Neceſſaries of Life, and honoured with many Preſents till the Time of my Departure from *China*.

42. We aſked *Ebn Wahab* many Queſtions concerning the City of *Cumdan*, where the Emperor keeps his Court; he told us that the City was very large and extremely populous, that it was divided into two Parts by a very long and very broad Street; that the Emperor, his chief Miniſters, the Soldiery, the ſupreme Judge, the Eunuchs, and all belonging to the Imperial Houſhold lived in that Part of the City which is on the Right-hand eaſtward, that the People had no manner of Communication with them; and that they were not admitted into the Places watered by Canals from different Rivers, the Borders of which were planted with Trees, and adorned with magnificent Palaces. The Part on the Left-hand weſtward, is inhabited by the ordinary People and the Merchants, where are alſo great Squares, and Markets for all the Neceſſaries of Life. At Break of Day, the Officers of the King's Houſhold, with the inferior Servants, the Purveyors, and the Domeſticks of the Grandees of the Court, come ſome on Foot, others on Horſeback, into that Diviſion of the City, where are the publick Markets, and the Habitations of ſuch as deal in all Sorts of Goods, where they buy whatever they want, and return not again to the ſame Place till their Occaſions call them thither next Morning. It is by the ſame Traveller related, that this City has a very pleaſant Situation in the Midſt of a moſt fertile Soil, watered by ſeveral Rivers, hardly deficient in any thing except Palm-trees, which grow not there.

43. In our times Diſcovery has been made of a thing quite new and unknown to thoſe who lived before us. No body imagined that the great Sea, which extends from the *Indies* to *China*, had any Communication with the Sea of *Syria*, nor could any one apprehend the Poſſibility of any ſuch thing. Now behold what has come to paſs in our Days, according to what we have heard. In the Sea of *Rum*, or the *Mediterranean*, they found the Wreck of an *Arabian* Ship, which had been ſhattered by Tempeſts; for all her Men periſhing, and ſhe being daſhed to Pieces by the Waves, the Remains of her were driven by Wind and Weather into the Sea of *Chozars*, and from thence to the Canal of the *Mediterranean* Sea, and at laſt were thrown on the Shore of *Syria*[2].

This renders it evident, that the Sea ſurrounds all the Country of *China* and *Cila*, or *Sila*, the uttermoſt Parts of *Turkeſtan*, and the Country of the *Chozars*; and that then it enters at the *Streight* till it waſhes the Shore of *Syria*. The Proof of this is deduced from the Conſtitution of the Ship we are ſpeaking of; for none but the Ships of *Siraff* are ſo put together, that the Planks are not nailed or bolted, but joined together in an extraordinary manner, as if they were ſewn. Whereas the Planking of all Ships of the *Mediterranean* Sea, and of the Coaſt of *Syria*, are nailed, and not joined together in that Way[3].

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[1] This plainly ſhews, that the *Chineſe* were formerly well acquainted with the Hiſtory of other Nations, and affords us good Grounds to believe that their Records muſt have been deſtroyed in ſome ſubſequent Revolution; for, otherwiſe, it is impoſſible to account for their Ignorance in Matters of this Nature in ſucceeding Times.

[2] This is one of the moſt curious Paſſages in this Treatiſe, inaſmuch as it plainly proves, that the *Arabians* had the ſame Notions in Geography with the *Greeks*, or, to ſpeak with greater Propriety, had their Notions of Geography from them. Our Author, ſays plainly, that, according to his Judgment, the *Indian* Ocean waſhed the Coaſt of *Great Tartary*, and ſo fell into the *Caſpian-Sea*, by which Paſſage, he ſuppoſes, that this Ship was driven from the *Indian-Sea* into the *Mediterranean*. The Conjecture was wrong; but there is ſtill ſomething in it very bold, and well imagined, and at the Bottom ſomething of Truth too; for though it was impoſſible that this Ship ſhould come into the *Mediterranean* in the Manner our Author imagines, yet it is not impoſſible but it might have come through the North-eaſt Paſſage, agreeable to the firſt Part of his Suppoſition; and if by the Sea of *Chozars*, we underſtand that of *Muſcovy*, he would be quite right.

[3] I very much doubt, whether the Conſtruction of this Veſſel, as our Author deſcribes it, be ſufficient Evidence of its coming from the *Indies*. It is very poſſible, that it might have been a Boat belonging to the Inhabitants of *Greenland*, or of ſome other Country bordering upon *Hudſon's-Bay*; ſince, it is very certain, that there are ſuch Veſſels in theſe Parts, and it is not at all impoſſible that this might have come from thence. I do not pretend, however, abſolutely to contradict him, but only to ſhew that the Argument he uſes is not concluſive, though I think, as Things then ſtood, he had ſufficient Grounds to believe it was concluſive.

We have alſo heard it reported, that Ambergreece has been found in the Sea of *Syria*, which ſeems hard to believe, and was unknown to former times. If this be as is ſaid, it is impoſſible that Amber ſhould have been thrown up in the Sea of *Syria*, but by the Sea of *Aden*, and of *Kolzum*, which has Communication with the Seas where Amber is found: And becauſe God has put a Separation between theſe Seas, if this Story be true, it muſt neceſſarily have been, that this Amber was driven firſt from the *Indian-Sea* into the others, and ſo from the one to the other, it at laſt came into the Sea of *Syria* [*].

44. We will now begin to ſpeak of the Province of *Zapage*, which is oppoſite to *China*, and diſtant from thence a full Month's Sail by Sea, or leſs, if the Wind be fair. The King of this Country is ſtiled *Mehrage*, and they ſay his Dominions are nine hundred Leagues in Circumference, and that this King is Maſter of many Iſlands which lie round about. Thus altogether this Kingdom is above a thouſand Leagues in Extent; among thoſe Iſlands there is one called *Serbeza*, which is ſaid to be four hundred Leagues in Circuit; and another called *Rahmi*, which is eight hundred Leagues in Compaſs, and produces Redwood, Camphire, and many other Commodities. In this ſame Kingdom is the Iſland of *Cala*, which is the mid Paſſage between *China* and the Country of the *Arabs*.

This Iſland, they ſay, is fourſcore Leagues in Circumference; and hither they bring all ſorts of Merchandize, Wood-Aloes, of ſeveral ſorts, Camphire, Sandal Wood, Ivory, the Wood called Cabahi, Ebony, Redwood, all ſorts of Spice, and many other things too tedious to enumerate. At preſent the Commerce is carried on between this Iſland and that of *Oman*. The *Mehrage* is the Sovereign over all theſe Iſlands; and that in which he makes his Abode is extremely fertile, and ſo very populous, that the Towns almoſt croud one upon another. A Perſon of great Probity relates, that when the Cocks crow at their accuſtomed Hours, juſt as with us when at rooſt, upon Trees, they anſwer each other a hundred Leagues round, and more, becauſe of the Proximity of the Villages which almoſt touch each other; and he adds, that no part of it is uninhabited, nor any of its Land uncultivated. Thoſe who travel in this Country may ſtop at every Step, and find Shelter from the Beams of the Noon-day Sun; and if they are tired, they may repoſe themſelves every Day at Noon, go which way they will.

45. Yet what follows from the Teſtimony of ſeveral Perſons is, the moſt remarkable Particular we have heard concerning the Iſland of *Zapage*. There was formerly a King, or, as he is there called, *Mehrage*: His Palace is ſtill to be ſeen on a River as broad as the Tygris at *Bagdad*, or at *Baſſora*. The Sea intercepts the Courſe of its Waters, and drives them back again with the Flood; and during the Ebb, it ſtreams out freſh Water a good way into the Sea. This River is let into a ſmall Pond cloſe to the King's Palace, and every Morning the Officer, who has Charge of his Houſhold, brings an Ingot of Gold wrought in a particular manner, which is thrown into the Pond in the Preſence of the King. The Tide riſing, covers it with the reſt, and quite conceals them from Sight. But low Water diſcovers them, and they appear plain by the Beams of the Sun. The King comes to view them as often as he repairs to an Apartment of State, which looks upon this Pond. This Cuſtom is very ſcrupulouſly obſerved; and thus they every Day throw an Ingot of Gold into this Pond as long as the King lives, not touching them upon any Account, but regarding this as a ſacred Treaſure.

When the King dies, his Succeſſor cauſes them all to be taken out, and not one of them is ever miſſing. They count them, and melt them down; and this done, the Sums ariſing out of this great Quantity of Gold are diſtributed to thoſe of the Royal Houſhold, Men, Women, and Children, to the ſuperior and inferior Officers, each in proportion to the Rank he bears; and the Surplus is given away to the poor and infirm. Then they reckon up the Number of Ingots, and what they weigh, and ſay ſuch a *Mehrage* reigned ſo many Years; for he left ſo many Ingots of Gold in the Pond of the Kings, and they were diſtributed after his Death to the People. It is accounted a Felicity with them to have reigned a long while, and to have thus multiplied the Number of thoſe Ingots given away at their Death.

46. Their ancient Hiſtory relates, that one of the Kings of *Komar* would have waged War with him in this Iſland. This Country of *Komar* is the ſame from whence they bring the Wood-Aloes called *Hud al Komari*, nor is there any Kingdom more populous in proportion than that of *Komar*. The Inhabitants are all very courageous, and the boundleſs Commerce with Women, and the Uſe of Wine are forbidden among them; nor have they any Wine in their Country. This Kingdom was at Peace with that of *Zapage*, where reigned the *Mehrage*. They are divided from each other by a Paſſage of ten or twenty Days Sail, with a very eaſy Gale. They ſay, that in former Days there was a very young and high-ſpirited Prince in this Iſland of *Komar*. This King was one Day in his Palace, which looks upon a River much like the *Euphrates* at the Entrance, and but a Day's Journey from the Sea; his prime Miniſters were with him, and in the Diſcourſe they had together, notice was taken of the Kingdom of the *Mehrage*, and its Glory, how well it was peopled and cultivated, and the Croud of Iſlands which depended thereupon.

Then ſaid the King of *Komar* to his Miniſter, I am ſeized with a Deſire which I earneſtly wiſh to ſee accompliſhed. The Miniſter, who was a wiſe and a prudent Man, and no Stranger to the Levity of his Maſter, anſwered, My Lord, what is your Deſire? I could wiſh, replied the King, to ſee in a Diſh the Head of the *Mehrage* of *Zapage*. The Miniſter, well aware it was Jealouſy that inſpired him with this impetuous Fury, rejoined, My Lord, I wiſh you would not diſturb your Mind with ſuch Thoughts, ſince nothing ever fell out between thoſe People and us; to furniſh Matter of Complaint, they never offended us by Word or Deed, or ever did us the leaſt Injury; beſides, they are divided from us, and have no manner of Communication with our Country; nor do they diſcover any Inclination of making a Conqueſt of this Kingdom. No one therefore ought to hearken to ſuch Diſcourſe, or make a Word of Anſwer upon this Head. The King was enraged at this Reply, and ſaid not a Word thereto; but without any Regard had to the good Advice of his firſt Miniſter, he opened the ſame thing to the principal Officers of State, and to ſuch of his Courtiers as he thought proper.

47. This Matter being rumoured about, at length reached the Ears of the *Mehrage*. He, who then reigned, was a wiſe and an active Prince, of conſummate Experience, and in the Flower of his Age. He called for his firſt Miniſter, and having acquainted him with what he had heard, ſaid to him, it is by no means proper to publiſh the Behaviour of this giddy Prince, or to betray how little we eſteem him, becauſe of his Youth and ſlender Experience; nor is it expedient to divulge what he ſaid againſt me; for ſuch Speeches cannot but be prejudicial to the Dignity of a King. Having thus enjoined his Miniſter to conceal what had paſſed between them, he commanded him to prepare a thouſand Ships of no extraordinary Size, and to equip them with all things neceſſary, Arms and Ammunition, and to man them with as many of his beſt Forces as they could tranſport. Then he gave out, that he would make a Voyage through the neighbouring Iſlands under his Dominion, to divert himſelf. He wrote alſo to all the tributary Princes of thoſe Iſlands to acquaint them, that he deſigned them a Viſit; and this being a publick Talk, each of thoſe Kings prepared for the Reception of the *Mehrage*.

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[*] It is moſt evident from our Author's way of reaſoning, that he had no Notion of any Paſſage by the *Cape of Good Hope*; for if he had, he would moſt certainly have taken this Opportunity of inſinuating it. At the ſame time, however, I leave it to the Reader's Conſideration, whether this Veſſel, ſuppoſing it to have been built in the *Eaſt-Indies*, might not have come this way into the *Mediterranean*, more probably than by the North-Eaſt Paſſage. It is likewiſe clear from what our Author has delivered, that the *Arabians* knew no more of *Japan*, which they called *Sila*, than they learned from the *Chineſe*, ſince by the Teſtimony of the eldeſt of our Authors, no *Arab* had yet ſet Foot there in the Year of the *Hegira* 230. *A. D.* 844.

When every Thing was in readineſs as he had ordered, he went on Board his Ships, and with a powerful Army, ſailed over to the Kingdom of *Komar*. The King and thoſe belonging to his Court, were effeminate Creatures, who all the Day long did nothing but view their Faces, and rub their Teeth with Mirrors and Toothpicks in their Hands, or if they moved, had them carried after them by Slaves. So the King of *Komar* diſcovered nothing of the *Mehrage*'s Purpoſe, till he appeared in the Mouth of the River, on which ſtood the Palace of the King of *Komar*, and till he had landed his Troops, who immediately inveſted the Capital, and there took him. The King was taken in his Palace, and all that belonged to him fled without fighting.

Then the *Mehrage* cauſed Proclamation to be made, that he granted entire Security of Life and Effects to all the Inhabitants of the Country, and ſeating himſelf on the Throne of the King of *Komar* now a Captive, he ordered him to be brought into his Preſence, together with his firſt Miniſter. Then addreſſing himſelf to the King of *Komar*, he ſaid, Who was it filled your Head with a Project unequal to your Strength, and abſolutely impoſſible for you to compaſs? What would you have done if you had gained your Point? This Prince who had nothing to ſay for himſelf, made no Anſwer. Then, continued the *Mehrage*, if you had enjoyed the Pleaſure you wiſhed, of ſeeing my Head in a Diſh before you, you would have ſpoiled my Kingdom, and retained it after you had committed all ſorts of Violence. I will not ſo behave with Regard to you, but yet I will execute upon you what you wiſhed concerning me, and then will I return into my Kingdom, without touching any Thing in your Dominions, and without carrying away ought of great Value or ſmall, deſirous only that you may be recorded an Example, for the Inſtruction of thoſe who ſhall come after you, that none may exceed the Bounds of his Power, that each may be contented with his own, and that thoſe you have diſturbed may be reſtored to perfect Security [a].

This ſaid, he ordered them to ſtrike off his Head, and then turning to the Miniſter he ſaid, You have done all a good Miniſter could do; I know you offered good Advice to your Maſter, and that he hearkened not unto you. Conſider who may beſt ſucceed this Fool for the Good of the Kingdom, and ſet him immediately upon the Throne. This done, the *Mehrage* departed for his own Territories, and neither did he or any of his, lay Hands on the leaſt Thing in the Kingdom of *Komar*. When he arrived in his own Kingdom, he ſat down upon the Throne, and being in the Palace which looked upon the Pond beforementioned, he cauſed the Head of the King of *Komar* to be put into a Baſon and ſet before him, and calling in the Chiefs of his Kingdom, he acquainted them with all he had done, and with the Reaſons which had induced him to the Expedition we have related, and they approved the Deed with Acclamations and Prayers for his Proſperity. Then he ordered the Head of the King of *Komar* to be waſhed and embalmed, and put it into a Coffer, and ſent it back to the King of *Komar*, who had been elected in the Room of him he had put to Death; at the ſame Time writing a Letter to this new Prince in the following Terms: What inclined us to do what we did to your Predeceſſor, and your Lord, was, his known Malevolence towards us; and that we might ſet an Example to his Equals, we have been ſo happy as to treat him as he would have treated us. But we think it convenient to ſend his Head back to you, having had no Deſign of detaining it, or of arrogating any Glory to ourſelves, from the Advantage we obtained over him. The News of this Action being reported to the Kings of the *Indies* and of *China*, it added to the Reſpect they before had for the *Mehrage*, and from that Time it has been a Cuſtom with the Kings of *Komar*, every Morning they riſe to turn towards the Country of *Zapage*, to proſtrate themſelves on the Ground, and to make the moſt profound Inclinations in Honour of the *Mehrage*.

48. All the Kings of the *Indies* and of *China* believe the Metempſychoſis or Tranſmigration of Souls, and make it an Article of their Religion. A Perſon of Credit relates, That one of theſe Princes being newly recovered of the Small-pox, and beholding himſelf in a Glaſs, was deeply troubled to ſee how ſadly his Face was diſfigured, and that turning himſelf towards one of the five Sons of his Brother, he ſaid to him, ſure it never happened to any Man as to me, to remain in his Body after ſuch a Change! But this Body is only a Veſſel puffed up with Wind, and when the Soul leaves it, ſhe paſſes inſtantly into another. Go mount you upon the Throne, for I am about to ſeparate my Body from my Soul, until I return into another Body: At the ſame Time he called for a ſharp and keen *Cangiar*, with which he commanded his Nephew to cut off his Head, which the other did, and he was afterwards burnt, as is the Cuſtom of the Country [*]. Our Author here quits his Subject ſomewhat abruptly, in order to return again to the Country of *China* and the Manners of its Inhabitants. The Reaſon of this is not at firſt Sight very evident, but if we conſider that he follows the former Writer, we ſhall very eaſily diſcern that this was the true Cauſe of his making ſo ſudden a Tranſition. What he had before ſaid was in Conſequence of the Facts delivered by the firſt Author in Regard to the *Indies*, and having diſcuſſed theſe it was natural for him to follow that Author in what he ſays of *China* and the *Chineſe*, and indeed it muſt be allowed, that notwithſtanding theſe ſmall Interruptions, there are ſcarce any Books of Travels of ſo ancient a Date, written in a clearer or better Method than theſe.

49. The *Chineſe* were wonderfully regular in all Things relating to Government, before the laſt Revolution deſtroyed and reduced them to the State they are in at preſent. There was a certain Merchant, a Native of *Choraſſan*, who coming into *Irak*, there dealt to a conſiderable Amount, and having bought up a Quantity of Goods went to *China*. This Man was extremely ſelfiſh and of incredible Avarice; it happened that the Emperor of *China* had ſent one of his Eunuchs to *Canfu*, the City of all the *Arabian* Traders, there to purchaſe what he wanted, and was to be had on Board of the Ship that was arrived. This Eunuch was one of thoſe who had the largeſt Share in his Maſter's good Opinion and Confidence, and was Keeper of his Treaſure and of all that he eſteemed precious.

A Diſpute aroſe between this Eunuch and the beforementioned Merchant, about ſome Pieces of Ivory and other Goods, and it ran ſo high that the Merchant refuſed to deal with him. But this Affair making a great Noiſe, the Eunuch puſhed it ſo far, that he forced from him the Choice of his Goods, deſpiſing whatever the other could ſay to him. The Merchant withdrawing himſelf, went privately to *Cumdan* where the Emperor reſides, and which is two Months Journey from *Canfu*, and being arrived he went to the String of the Bell mentioned in the former Book. The Cuſtom was, that whoever pulled it was thereupon ſent ten Days Journey from thence, into a kind of Baniſhment; it was ordered alſo that he ſhould be committed to Priſon, there to remain for two whole Months; which expired, the Vice-King or Governor of the Province releaſed him, and ſaid you have involved yourſelf in an

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[a] This is a very pleaſant Story, and well related; but with reſpect to the Country in which it happened, I think it very difficult to ſay any Thing with Certainty, and yet this does not at all leſſen the Credibility of the Fact. It is not impoſſible however, that this Hiſtory might relate to ſome of the Iſlands which are now called *Philippines*; or perhaps ſome of the Iſlands in the Straits of *Sonda*. I pretend to determine nothing in ſuch doubtful Points, but leave the Reader to decide for himſelf, according to the Lights given him by the Author, who appears to have written with great Caution and Fidelity.

[*] This Doctrine of the Metempſychoſis is generally held amongſt the *Chineſe*. Their Hiſtories ſay, that one *Xekia*, or *Shekia*, an *Indian* Philoſopher, who lived about a thouſand Years before Chriſt, was the firſt that taught this Doctrine of Tranſmigration; and our Authors add, that the *Chineſe* had it from the *Indians*. It overran *China* in the Year of Chriſt 65, and the Chiefs of this Sect have to this Day their Abode on or near the Mountain *Tientai* in the Province of *Chekiang*. This *Xekia*, according to the *Chineſe* Tradition in *Navarretta*, has been born eight thouſand Times over, the laſt Time in the Form of a white Elephant. It is he that was called *Fohe* after his Apotheoſis. The Sect of *Xekia*, as we are told by Father *Martini*, hold the Metempſychoſis; but this Sect is divided into two Branches, the one believing the exterior Metempſychoſis, or that the Souls of Men paſs after Death into other Bodies, and theſe worſhip Idols, and abſtain from every Thing that has Life, while the other Sect has Faith in an interior Metempſychoſis, which is the principal Foundation of their Morality, which conſiſts in ſuppreſſing the Paſſions, which are as ſo many different Animals proceeding from Man; but neither the one nor the other expect Rewards or dread Puniſhments in the World to come.

Affair which may turn to your utter Ruin, and to the Loſs of your Life if you ſpeak not the real Truth; foraſmuch as the Emperor hath appointed Miniſters and Governors to diſtribute Juſtice to you and to all Strangers, nor is there any one of them that would not right you, if when you appear before the Emperor your Wrongs are not ſuch as may entitle you to have recourſe to him, it will moſt certainly coſt you your Life, to the End that every Man who would preſume to do as you have done, may be deterred from the ſame. Withdraw therefore immediately, and be gone about your Buſineſs. Now if the Party endeavoured to fly, he was chaſtiſed with fifty Strokes of the Bamboo, and was then ſent back to the Country whence he came; but if he perſiſted in his Demand of Redreſs, he was admitted to an Audience of the Emperor.

The *Chooraſſanian* ſtrenuouſly perſiſted in his Demand of Juſtice, and of Leave to be admitted to the Emperor, which was at Length granted him. The Interpreter aſking him his Buſineſs, he related what had befallen him with the Emperor's Officer, and how he had forced from him a Part of his Effects. This Thing was ſoon divulged and noiſed about at *Canfu*: In the mean Time the Emperor commanded the Merchant to be caſt into Priſon, and that Care ſhould be there taken that he wanted not for either Victuals or Drink.

At the ſame Time he ordered his Prime Miniſter to write to the Governor of *Canfu*, charging him to inform himſelf concerning the Complaints of this Merchant, and to examine into the Grounds thereof; at the ſame Time alſo three principal Officers received the ſame Order. Theſe Officers are called of the Right, of the Left, and of the Midſt, according to their Rank, have the Command of the Emperor's Forces under the Prime Miniſter. He truſts them with the Guard of his Perſon, and when he takes the Field for ſome military Enterprize, or on any other Account, each of them, according to his Rank, marches near him: Theſe three Officers wrote each apart what they had upon the ſtricteſt Enquiry diſcovered of the Matter, and aſſured the Emperor that the Merchant's Complaint was juſt and well founded.

Theſe firſt Informations were followed and confirmed by many more ſent to the Emperor from divers Parts, and the Eunuch was cited to appear. He no ſooner arrived, than the Emperor ſeized on all his Effects, and deprived him of his Office as Treaſurer, and then ſaid to him, Death ought to be thy Doom for giving this Man who is come from *Chooraſſan*, on the Frontiers of my Kingdom, Cauſe of Complaint againſt me. He hath been in the Country of the *Arabs*, whence he came into the Kingdoms of the *Indies*, and at laſt to my City, ſeeking his Advantage by Trade, and thou wouldſt have had him return croſs theſe Kingdoms, and have ſaid to all the People in his Way, I have been abuſed in *China*, where they have ſtripped me of my Subſtance. I grant thee thy Life in Conſideration of thy former Services in the Rank thou heldeſt in my Houſe, but I will confer on thee a Command among the Dead, foraſmuch as thou haſt not been able to acquit thyſelf of thy Duty in that thou holdeſt over the Living, and he ordered him to be ſent to the Tombs of the Kings to have the Cuſtody of them, and there to remain for [p] Life.

50. One Thing moſt worthy Admiration in *China* before the late Commotions, was the good Order they obſerved in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the Majeſty of their Tribunals; to fill them, they made Choice of ſuch Men as were perfectly verſed in their Laws, and ſuch conſequently as were never at a Loſs, when they were to paſs Judgment, Men of Sincerity, zealous in the Cauſe of Juſtice upon every Occaſion, not to be biaſſed by what the Great could offer to embezzil a Dispute, ſo that Juſtice was always adminiſtred to him who had Right on his Side.

In a Word, they made Choice of upright Men of Men who neither oppreſſed the Poor, or accepted Preſents from the Rich. When they deſigned to promote any Man to the Office of Principal Judge, they previouſly ſent him to all the chief Cities of the Empire, in each of which he ſtaid a Month or two. During this Space it was his Buſineſs moſt minutely to enquire into the Affairs of the People, into all that paſſed in the City, and into the various Cuſtoms. He informed himſelf of all ſuch as deſerved to be believed upon their Teſtimony, and this Knowledge was of Uſe to him in the Sequel as Occaſion required. After he had gone through all the Cities in the Manner aforeſaid, and made a Stay of ſome Time in the moſt conſiderable of them, he repaired to the Imperial Court, where he was inveſted with the Dignity of Supreme Judge.

To him therefore the Emperor referred the Nomination of all the other Judges, and by him were they appointed, after he had acquainted the Emperor with thoſe, who in his whole Dominions were moſt worthy of exerciſing Juriſdiction, each in his own City, or in others; for he knew who were commendable for their Underſtanding, and ſo no one was raiſed who poſſeſſed not adequate Endowments, or who bore not Teſtimony according to the Truth, when he was interrogated. The Emperor allows none of his Judges to write to him upon any Affair, when he is informed that he has done Injuſtice, and even deprives them of their Office. The ſupreme Judge cauſes Proclamation every Day to be made before his Gate by his Officers, and in his Name they cry out, If any Man hath been wronged by the Vice King, or Governor, who is not to be ſeen of the People, or by any one of his Relations, or Officers, or by any one of the Body of the People, I will do him ample Juſtice, ſo ſoon as the Offender is put into my Hands, and that I have Charge of him. This Proclamation is thrice repeated.

It is an ancient Cuſtom with them never to degrade a Vice King, or Governor of a City, but by virtue of Letters iſſued out of the Council or Divan of Kings; and this is commonly executed for ſome flagrant Malverſation, or when Judgment is ſuſpended or delayed: But when the Governor avoids theſe two things, it is ſeldom he is diſturbed with Letters of Revocation, which are never drawn up but on a legal Account. The Poſts of Judicature are conferred on none but Perſons of Probity, and Lovers of Juſtice, and ſo good Order is maintained in the Kingdom.

51. The Province of *Chooraſſan* is almoſt on the Borders of *China*. From *China* to *Sogd*, it is of about two Months Journey through impracticable Deſarts, and through a Country all covered with Sand, where no Water is to be found. It is not refreſhed by any Rivers, nor is there any Habitation in this Province; and for this Reaſon it is that the *Chooraſſanians* can make no Irruptions into *China*. That Part of this Empire which lies fartheſt Weſtward, is the Province of *Medu*, which borders upon *Tibet*, ſo that on this Side the two Nations are at War with each other.

Among thoſe of our Time who have travelled into *China*, we were acquainted with one, who told us, he had ſeen a Man that had a Veſſel with Muſk in it on his Back, and had travelled on Foot from *Samare*, and to *Canfu*, the Port for all Merchants from *Siraf*. He had by Land travelled thro' all the Cities of *China* one after another, which he might eaſily do, becauſe the Provinces of *China* and *Tibet*, where the Creature that affords Muſk is met with, are contiguous. The *Chineſe* carry off as many of theſe Creatures as they can; and thoſe of *Tibet*, on their Part, do the ſame [q].

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[p] This was a very extraordinary Act of Juſtice in the *Chineſe* Emperor, and very agreeable to the Maxims of that Empire, in which they are very fond, upon particular Occaſions, of doing Things of this Nature, eſpecially where Strangers are concerned for two Reaſons. The firſt is, that theſe Stories may be blazed Abroad and create an high Idea of the Equity of their Judgments, a Thing very agreeable to the natural Vanity of theſe People: The other, that it may have a good Effect at Home, and ſerve to make even the greateſt and moſt powerful Perſons in *China*, afraid of committing Exceſſes in their reſpective Offices.

[q] As to this Country of *Tibet*, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of it here, becauſe it will occur in the ſubſequent Part of this Work. It makes at this Day a Part only of the great Kingdom of *Tangut*, which, according to the beſt Accounts that I have met with, is thus ſeated. It has the Empire of *China* on the Eaſt, The Kingdom of *Ava*, or of *Brema*, on the South; The Dominions of the Great Mogul on the Weſt, and thoſe of the Contaiſch, or Great Khan of the *Calmuc Tartars*, on the North. This Kingdom is divided into two Parts; that which lies on the North is the Kingdom of *Tangut* properly ſo called; and the South Part is the Country of *Tibet*: Both taken together, make the Patrimony of that famous Eccleſiaſtical Prince the Grand Lama, who is the Pope or Sovereign Pontiff of the *Tartars* that are not *Mohammedans*; but whether they or he ought to be eſteemed *Pagans* or *Chriſtians* is a Point that admits of much Diſpute, and ſhall therefore be diſcuſſed in another Place.

But the Muſk of *Tibet* is far preferable to that of *China* for two Reaſons; firſt, in *Tibet* this Creature feeds on Aromatic Paſtures, while in *China* he has nothing to ſubſiſt him but what is common; ſecondly, the Inhabitants of *Tibet* preſerve their Bladders or Cods of Muſk in the pure natural State, while the *Chineſe* adulterate all that come into their Hands. They dip them alſo into the Sea, or elſe expoſe them to the Dew; and having kept them ſome time, they take off the outward Membrane, and then cloſe them up; and this Muſk paſſes in the Country of the *Arabs* for Muſk of *Tibet*, becauſe of its Excellence.

The moſt exquiſite of all the ſorts of Muſk is what the Roebucks that yield it leave behind them when they rub themſelves againſt the Rocks on the Mountains; for the Humour whence it is generated, falling down towards the Navel of the Creature, it there gathers into a Quantity of turbid Blood exactly like Biles, and ſuch-like Tumours; when this Swelling is ripe, the Creature, ſenſible of a painful Itching, ſeeks out for Stones, and rubs himſelf againſt the ſame, till he opens his Sore, and the Contents run out. Now, as ſoon as this Matter falls from the Creature, it coagulates, the Wound cloſes, and the ſame kind of Humour gathers to a Head again as before.

In *Tibet* there are Men who make it their Buſineſs to collect this Muſk, and are very ready in knowing it; and having found it, they carefully collect it, and put it up in Bladders, and it is carried to their Kings. This Muſk is moſt exquiſite, when it has ripened in the Bladder of the Creature which bears it. It ſurpaſſes all others in Goodneſs, juſt as Fruit is better when it is gathered ripe from the Tree, than when it is pulled green.

There is ſtill another way of getting Muſk; they inſnare the Creature in Toils, and ſhoot him with Arrows; but it often happens, that the Hunters cut the Tumours of the Creature before the Muſk is elaborated; and in this Caſe it has at firſt an ill Scent, that prevails till the Matter is thickened, which ſometimes does not happen in a great while; but ſo ſoon as it coagulates, it turns to Muſk. This Muſk is a Creature like our Roebuck, his Skin and Colour the ſame, with ſlender Legs, a ſplit Horn ſmooth, but ſomewhat bending withal; on each Side he has two ſmall white Teeth, which are ſtrait, and riſe above his Muſſel, each half a Finger, or ſomewhat leſs in Length, and in their Form not unlike the Teeth of the Elephant; and this is the Mark which diſtinguiſhes this Creature from other Roebucks [k].

53. The Emperors of *China* write to the Kings or Governors of Cities, to the Eunuchs, or Lieutenants, and their Letters are conveyed by Poſt-horſes, with a cut Tail, diſpoſed almoſt like the Poſts among the *Arabs*, in ſuch Order as every body knows.

Beſides what we have here related concerning the *Chineſe* Cuſtoms, it is uſual for the Princes, and even the People, to make Water ſtanding. Perſons of Dignity, as the Vice Kings, and the principal Officers, have gilded Canes a Cubit long, which are bored through; and theſe they uſe as often as they make Water, ſtanding upright all the time, and by this means the Tube carries the Water to a good Diſtance from them. They are of Opinion, that all Pains in the Kidneys, the Strangury, and even the Stone, are cauſed by making Water in a ſitting Poſture; and that the Reins cannot free themſelves abſolutely of theſe Humours, but by ſtanding to evacuate; and that thus this Poſture contributes exceedingly to the Preſervation of Health. They ſuffer their Hair to grow, for the Men will not round the Head of a Child when he comes into the World, as the *Arabs* do, for they ſay it cauſes a conſiderable Alteration in the Brain, and that their Senſes are very ſenſibly impaired thereby. They ſuffer the Head then to be all covered with Hair, which they carefully comb.

As for their Marriages, they obſerve the Degrees of Conſanguinity after this Manner; They are divided among themſelves into Families and Tribes, like the *Arabs*, and ſome other Nations; and they know each other by the Difference of their Deſcents. No Man ever marries in his own Tribe, juſt as the Children of *Thummim* among the *Arabs* take not to Wife a Daughter of the ſame Race of *Thummim*; and a Man of one Family eſpouſes not a Woman of the ſame. But for example, a Man of the Family of *Robayat*, marries into that of *Modzar*; and in like manner a *Modzar* marries with a *Robayat*; they are of Opinion, that ſuch Alliances add to the Nobility of the Children, by increaſing their Alliances, and rendering their Families more powerful.

Here our Author makes, as it were, another Break in his Work, in order to paſs once more to the *Indians*, and their Cuſtoms. In ſpeaking of the Method purſued by the firſt Author, we obſerved, that the main Deſign of his Work was, by comparing the Manners of the *Indians* with thoſe of the *Chineſe*, to render them both better known to, and more fully underſtood by his Countrymen. His Commentator therefore, with great Propriety, follows the ſame Track; and as he had conſulted both Books and Travellers to illuſtrate what had been ſaid of *China*, we ſhall find him as diligent in what regards *India*.

54. In the Kingdom of the *Balhara*, and in all the other Kingdoms of the *Indies*, there are certain Perſons who burn themſelves. This Cuſtom proceeds from their Notion of a Metempſychoſis or Tranſmigration, which they firmly believe as a Truth never to be diſputed. There are Kings, who upon their Acceſſion, obſerve the following Ceremony: They dreſs a great Quantity of Rice, and pour it upon Leaves of the Mouſa in Sight of the King; then three or four hundred Perſons come of their own Accord without the leaſt Conſtraint on the Part of the King, and preſent themſelves before him; after he has eaten ſome of this Rice, he gives a little of it to ſome of them as faſt as they come up to him one after another, and they eat it in his Preſence [l]. By eating of this Rice, they all engage to burn themſelves on the Day the King dies, or is ſlain; and they punctually fulfil their Promiſe, throwing themſelves into the Fire from the firſt to the laſt, ſo that not one of them is left behind.

When a Man is determined to burn himſelf, he firſt goes to the King's Palace to aſk Leave ſo to do, and having obtained it, he goes round the publick Squares of the City, and proceeding afterwards to the Place where the Pile is heaped up with dry Wood, while round about it ſtand many Perſons who feed the Fire, ſo that it is very violent, and blazes prodigiouſly. At laſt the Perſon comes preceded by a Number of Inſtruments, and moves round the Place in the midſt of his Friends and Relations; during which ſome put upon his Head a Garland of Straw, or dry Herbs, which they fill with burning Coals, whereon they pour Sanderac, which catches Fire as ſtrongly as Naphtha; nevertheleſs, he continues the Proceſſion, although the Crown of his Head be all on Fire, and the Stench of his burnt Fleſh be ſmelt, not ſo much as changing Countenance in the leaſt, or betraying the ſmalleſt Senſe of Pain;

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[k] We have formerly mentioned the Animal which produces Muſk, the Manner in which it is prepared, and the Value of that rich Perfume. At preſent we ſhall only remark, that the beſt Writers, Ancient and Modern, agree perfectly with our Author in Opinion, that the richeſt and higheſt flavoured Muſk is that of *Tibet*, or, as others call it, *Tungage*; and this becauſe of the Aromatic Paſtures in that Land, ſuch as are no where elſe to be found. That the *Indian* Muſk comes next in degree of Fineneſs, if ſo we may term it, with what was brought to *Cabul*, and the other trading Towns of the *Indies* by Merchants, who carried it from *China* by Land, and diſpoſed of it throughout the Eaſt. That the *Chineſe* Muſk is worſt of all, not only becauſe the *Chineſe* adulterate it ſeveral ways, but alſo becauſe what is produced naturally in that Kingdom is not comparable to what is in *Tibet*. All this is confirmed by the Teſtimony of the learned *Golius*; and Father *Martini Teixeira* ſays, the Muſk that does not come from *China* is always the beſt; and that the Reaſon is, becauſe the *Chineſe* cannot find in their Hearts to let that or any thing elſe that paſſes through their Hands eſcape unadulterated. At preſent the Kingdom of *Boutan* is the greateſt Mart for Muſk; and thence it is, that the *Indian* Merchants fetch the beſt ſort of this Perfume, whether in the Cod, or out of it.

[l] This was a very old Cuſtom in other Parts of the World, as appears from what *Cæſar* tells us of the Ambacti amongſt the *Gauls*. In the *Indies* this Notion generally prevailed; for in the Iſland of *Ceylon* the King had always about him certain Noblemen, who ſtiled themſelves faithful to the King in this World, and in the next, and whoſe Cuſtom it was to burn themſelves when he died. *Barboſa* obſerves the ſame thing with reſpect to the *Nairs*, a ſort of *Indian* Soldiers, who always periſhed with their Chief. In the Kingdom of *Tonquin*, when the King died, many of his Nobles deſired to be buried with him. In a word, all the *Portugueſe* Writers confirm this, and give us many Inſtances in Support of it. The Term they make uſe of in their Writings, to expreſs this Act of devoting themſelves in a ſuch a manner to a Monarch, is *Fazer ſe Amoucos*.

At laſt he comes to the Pile, throws himſelf into it, and is ſoon reduced to Aſhes[a].

55. A certain Perſon, to whom we give intire Credit, ſays, he beheld one of theſe *Indians* burn himſelf, and avers, that when he came near to the Pile, he drew out a Cangiar, and with it ripp'd down his Breaſt to the Rim of his Belly; and that this done, he with his left Hand pulled out a Flap of his Liver, and with the Cangiar cut a Piece of it, which he gave to one of his Brothers, talking all the time, and diſcovering an invincible Contempt of Death, and a wonderful Patience under his Torments, till at laſt he leaped into the Fire in his Paſſage to Hell.

56. The Perſon who affirmed this added, that in the Mountains of this Country there are *Indians*, who in Opinions and Manners differ but little from thoſe we call *Kamiſians* and *Jelidians*, and who are addicted to all manner of Superſtition and Vice; there is a great Emulation between theſe Mountaineers and the People on the Coaſt, the latter continually going up to the Mountains to dare the Inhabitants there to do as they do, and the Mountaineers on their Part as frequently coming down to the Coaſt with Defiances of the ſame Nature.

Among others, there once came down a Man on this Errand, and having gathered a Number of the Inhabitants of the Coaſt about him, who came as well out of Curioſity to ſee the Sight, as with Intent to imitate him, he told them to do what he was about to perform, or if they deſpaired of doing it, to acknowledge themſelves overcome. He ſat himſelf down then in a Place planted with Canes, and directed them to bend one of them down to the Ground. Theſe Canes are like our Sugar Canes, bend like them, and have a very large Stem; when they are pulled down they lie along, but when let go they riſe again with prodigious Violence. One of the largeſt of theſe he cauſed to be bowed down to his Height, and faſtened his Hair ſtrongly thereto, when taking in his Hand his Cangiar, which ſparkled like Fire, he ſaid to thoſe about him, I am going to cut off my Head with this Cangiar. As ſoon as it is ſevered from my Body, let go the Cane, and when it flies up with my Head, I will laugh, and you ſhall hear me. The People of the Coaſt had not Courage enough to imitate him. The Perſon who related theſe Things to us did it without Emotion or Wonder; and in our times theſe Facts are very generally known, for this Part of the *Indies* is in the Neighbourhood of the Country of the *Arabs*, and we hear from thence every Day.

57. It is a cuſtomary Thing alſo for Men and Women of the *Indian* Blood, to deſire thoſe of their Family to throw them into the Fire, or drown them when they are grown old, or perceive themſelves ſink under the Weight of their Years, firmly believing that they are to return in other Bodies. They burn their dead. It has often Times happened in the Iſle of *Sarandib*, where there is a Mine of precious Stones in a Mountain, a Pearl Fiſhery, and other rare and extraordinary Things, that an *Indian* would come into the Buzar, or Market-place, with his Kris, as they call a kind of Cangiar they wear, made after a very particular Manner, and ſeize on the moſt wealthy Merchant there preſent, and holding his Kris to his Throat, leading him by the Veſt out of the City in the Midſt of a Throng of People, while not a Soul of them dared attempt his Reſcue; for if any Attempt of this kind was made, the *Indian* was ſure to kill the Merchant, and make away with himſelf; When he had got him out of the City, he obliged him to redeem himſelf with a Sum of Money. This Outrage continuing, the Kings ordained that ſuch *Indians* ſhould be ſeized; but when they came to execute this Order, the *Indian* killed the Merchant firſt, and then himſelf: The ſame Misfortune befel many other Merchants; and after this Manner a Number both of *Arabs* and *Indians* periſhed: The Merchants therefore ſought after other Means to ſecure themſelves, and the *Indians* were no longer apprehended.

58. In the Mountain of *Sarandib* they find precious Stones of various Colours, red, green, and yellow, moſt of which are at certain Times forced out of Caverns and other Receſſes by Rains and Torrents. In theſe Places the King has his Officers to keep an Eye over thoſe who pick them up: Many Times alſo they are dug out of Mines in the ſame Manner as Metals; and they ſometimes find precious Stones in the Oar, which muſt be broken to get at them.

The King of this Iſland makes Laws, which are the Fundamentals of the Religion and Government of the Country; here are Doctors and Aſſemblies of learned Men, like thoſe of the *Hadithis* among the *Arabs*. The *Indians* repair to theſe Aſſemblies, and write down what they hear of the Lives of their Prophets, and the various Expoſitions of their Laws. Here is a very great Idol of the fineſt Gold, but concerning the Weight thereof Travellers are not agreed. Here alſo are Temples, where great Sums of Money are expended in Incenſe[b].

In this ſame Iſland there is a very great Multitude of *Jews*, as well as of many other Sects, even *Tanouis*, or *Manichees*, the King permitting the free Exerciſe of every Religion. At the End of this Iſland are Vallies of great Length and Breadth, which extend quite to the Sea. Here Travellers ſtay two Months and more in that called *Gab Sarandib*, allured by the Beauty of the Country, chequered with Groves and Plains, Water and Meads, and bleſſed with a wholſome Air. This Valley opens upon the Sea called *Harkand*, and is tranſcendantly pleaſant. You there buy a Sheep for half a Dram, and for the ſame you purchaſe as much of their Drink as may ſuffice many Perſons. This Drink is made of Palm-honey, boiled and prepared with *Tari* (*Toddi*) or Juice which runs from the Tree.

59. Gaming is the uſual Diverſions of the Inhabitants here; they play at Draughts, and their other principal Paſtime is fighting of Cocks, which are very large in this Country, and better provided with Spurs than Cocks commonly are; and, beſides this, the *Indians* arm them with Blades of Iron in the Form of Cangiars. Upon theſe Combats they bet Gold, Silver, Lands, Farms, which are won by the Owner of the Cock that beats. They play alſo at Draughts, and venture great Sums upon this Game, but with ſuch Fury, that thoſe who have not wherewithal, Debauchees and deſperate People, often play away the Ends of their Fingers.

While they are at play, they have a Fire by them, and thereon a Pot of Walnut or Seaſame-oil (they have no Oil of Olives) and they place a little, but very ſharp Hatchet between them; when one of them has won a Game, the other lays his Hand upon a Stone, and the Winner cuts off the End of the Loſer's Finger with the Hatchet, and the Patient dips the injured Part into the boiling Oil to cauteriſe the Wound, and yet they cannot ſhake off this evil Habit of gaming; on the contrary, they ſometimes perſiſt in it ſo obſtinately and ſo long, that before they part, they have all their Fingers thus mutilated. Some of them will take a Wick, and ſoaking it in Oil, apply it to ſome Member, ſet Fire to it, and let it burn, ſo that the Scent of the burnt Fleſh is ſmelt by thoſe who play with them, while the Parties themſelves betray not the leaſt Senſe of Pain.

There is much Debauchery in this Country, as well among the Women as among the Men, for they are laid under no Reſtraint. It runs ſo high, that ſometimes a foreign Merchant, juſt arrived from Sea, ſhall ſend for the Daughter of a King of the Country, and ſhe ſhall come to him to the fiſhing Grounds, with her Father's

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[a] There are many modern Authors who atteſt every Circumſtance mentioned in this Account; but it muſt be acknowledged, few beſides Women burn themſelves; and that the *Bramins*, who were wont to behave with ſo much Conſtancy on ſuch Occaſions, are now content to die in the ſame way with other Men; and even the Women, generally ſpeaking, are far enough from that Spirit of *Heroiſm* for which they were ſo famous in former Ages. They burn themſelves, indeed, with the dead Bodies of their Huſbands, as in Times paſt, but not with ſo good a Will; nor would they do it at all, but that the Cuſtom of their Country, and the Power their Relations have over them, oblige them to it.

[b] It appears, that this Iſland, which is that of *Ceylon*, has been in all Ages famous for its immenſe Wealth and Riches. As to the Idol that our Author mentions, it is not impoſſible that the Prieſts of this Country might practiſe the ſame Art, which has been uſed at *Siam*, where they have a monſtrous Idol of Clay and Bricks, very artificially gilt, which was for many Ages ſuppoſed to be pure Gold; though it muſt be allowed, that there are few Countries were ſuch a golden Image might be looked for, with greater Probability, than in this Iſland, the People having been always equally remarkable for their Wealth and their Superſtition.

Conſent and Privity; wherefore the *Mahommedan* Doctors of *Siraf* ſtrictly warn young People not to go that Way[m].

60. In the *Indies* there are heavy Rains, which the People of the Country call *Jaſara*; they laſt three whole Months during Summer, inceſſantly, Night and Day, and ſcarce does the Winter ſtop them. The *Indians*, to the beſt of their Abilities, prepare themſelves againſt theſe Rains ſome Time before they fall; and no ſooner do they come on, than they ſhut themſelves up in their Houſes, made of Wood and Cane, interwoven, and thatched with Leaves; they ſtir not out during all this Time, and no Soul is ſeen abroad, no, not even the Artificers, who now do their Work at home; and during this Seaſon, they are ſubject to ſeveral Sorts of Ulcers in the Soles of their Feet, cauſed by the Damps. The Rains are the Life of the *Indians*; were they to fail, they would be reduced to the utmoſt Want, for their Fields, ſown with Rice, are watered only by Rains, and are rendered fruitful thereby; for if great Store of Water lie upon the Rice-grounds, they need no other Help either from Induſtry or Art; but when the Rains are plentifully poured down, the Rice flouriſhes abundantly, and even becomes much better in kind. It never rains in this Country in the Winter.

61. The *Indians* have devout Men, or Doctors, known by the Name of *Bramins*. They have Poets alſo, who compoſe Verſes, ſtuffed with Flattery in Praiſe of their Kings. They have alſo Aſtrologers, Philoſophers, Soothſayers, and Men who obſerve the Flight of Birds; and others who pretend to the Calculation of Nativities, particularly at *Kanuge*, a great City in the Kingdom of *Gozar*[n].

In the *Indies* there are certain Men called *Bicar*[o], who go all their Life-time naked, and ſuffer their Hair to grow till it hides their hinder Parts, and the reſt of their Body. They ſuffer alſo their Nails to grow ſo that they become pointed, and ſharp as Swords; nor do they ever cut them, but leave them to break and fall off as it happens; and this they obſerve as a religious Duty: Each of them has a String about his Neck, to which hangs an earthen Porringer, and when they are preſſed by Hunger, they ſtop at the Door of ſome *Indian* Houſe, and thoſe within immediately, and with much Satisfaction, bring out Rice to them, believing there is great Merit in ſo doing, while they eat out of the Porringer and withdraw, never returning to make the ſame Requeſt, if not urged thereto by downright Want.

62. The *Indians* have many Laws, and religious Precepts, by which they imagine they pleaſe God; of ſuch as theſe it is written in the Koran, *The Wicked are mighty in Pride*. One Part of their Devotion conſiſts in building of *Kans*, or Inns upon the Highways, for the Accommodation of Travellers, where alſo they ſet up a ſort of Pedlars, of whom the Paſſengers may purchaſe whatever they may happen to want[p].

They there alſo ſettle publick Women, ſuch as are in the *Indies*, who expoſe themſelves to Travellers; all which the *Indians* number among their meritorious Deeds. But they have beſides theſe in the *Indies*, publick Women called *Women of the Idol*, the Origin of whoſe Inſtitution is this; when a Women has laid herſelf under a Vow, that ſhe may have Children, if it happens that ſhe brings forth a handſome Daughter, ſhe carries the Child to the *Bod*, (ſo they call the Idol they worſhip) and there leaves her. When the Girl has attained a proper Age, ſhe takes an Apartment in this publick Place, and ſpreads a Curtain before the Door, and waits the Arrival of Strangers, as well *Indians*, or Men of other Sects, to whom this Debauchery is made lawful; ſhe proſtitutes herſelf at a certain Rate, and delivers her Gains into the Hands of the Idol's Prieſt, to be by him diſpoſed of for the Uſe and Support of the Temple[q]. We praiſe the Almighty and Glorious God, who hath choſen us to be free of the Sins which defile the Man involved in Infidelity!

Not very far from *Almanſin*, there is a famous Idol called *Multan*, whither they reſort in Pilgrimage from the remoteſt Parts, even from Diſtances of ſeveral Months Journey: Some of the Pilgrims bring with them ſome of the Oderiferous Wood *Hud. al Camruni*, ſo called from the City of *Camrun*; where they have an excellent Wood-Aloes, which they offer to this Idol, delivering it to the Prieſt of the Temple that he may burn it before his God. Some of this Wood is worth two Hundred *Dinars* the *Man*[r], and is commonly marked with a Seal to diſtinguiſh it from another Sort of the ſame Wood, but of leſs Value: It is uſual for Merchants to buy it of the Idolatrous Prieſts.

63. There are likewiſe among the *Indians* certain Men, who make Profeſſion of Piety, and whoſe Devotion conſiſts in ſeeking after unknown Iſlands, or ſuch as are newly diſcovered, there to plant Cocoa-nut-trees, and to ſink Wells of Water for the Uſe of Ships that ſail to thoſe Parts. There are People at *Oman*, who croſs over to the Iſlands that produce Cocoa-nuts, carrying with them Carpenter's Tools, and having felled as much Wood as they want, they let it dry, and then ſtrip off the Leaves, and with the Bark of the Tree they ſpin a Yarn, wherewith they ſew the Planks together, and ſo build a Ship; of the ſame Wood they cut and round away a Maſt; of the Leaves they weave their Sails, and the Bark they work into Cordage: Having thus compleated their Veſſel, they load her with Cocoa-nuts, which they bring and ſell at *Oman*. Thus it is, that from this Tree alone, ſo many Articles are derived, as ſuffice not only to build and rigg out a Veſſel, but to load her alſo when ſhe is compleated, and in a Trim fit to Sail[s].

64. The Country of the *Zinges* or *Negroes*, is of vaſt Extent; they there commonly ſow Millet which is the chief Food of the Negroes. Sugar Canes alſo they have, and other Sorts of Trees, but their Sugar is very black.

These

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[m] This is very agreeable to that Severity of Manners, for which the *Mohammedans* were remarkable in theſe early Ages; and it ſhews how careful they were to preſerve the Morals of the younger ſort of People uncorrupted. It was upon the ſame Principle that the old *Spartans* did not admit of any Commerce at all, as deſiring rather to be known to Poſterity by the Fame of their Virtues than of their Wealth; and being more aſſiduous to tranſmit to their Deſcendants Freedom, and the Power of maintaining it, than fine Palaces; and that Ability of living luxuriouſly, which ends ſooner or later in abject Poverty.

[n] The Reader has been ſo fully informed of the State of the *Brachmans* among the ancient *Indians*, and of the Communities formed by them for the promoting of Science, that there is no Need of inſiſting long upon this Settlement of the *Bramins*, which, without doubt, was a Remnant of ſome ancient Univerſity in the ſame Place. Some of the *Arabian* Geographers aſſure us, that this City of the *Kanuge* lies between two Branches of the River *Ganges* in the Latitude of 27°, and in the Longitude of 131°. Other Eaſtern Writers inform us, that *Kanuge* is alſo a Royal City, the King of which is ſtiled the *Kanuge*, according to the common Cuſtom of the *Indies*. It is very difficult to ſay when or how, this Kingdom and Univerſity was ruined; but, at preſent it is very clear, that there is no ſuch Eſtabliſhment as in the Text is mentioned.

[o] Theſe are no other than the aſſociated *Bramins*, or *Indian* Pilgrims, or Penitents, mentioned by moſt Travellers, who relate very extraordinary Things with reſpect to the Auſterity of their Manners, and the Severity of their Penances, as the Reader will ſee in the ſubſequent Part of this Work.

[p] There are many Foundations of this ſort in the *Indies*, as well as in *Turky*, *Perſia*, and *Mogoliſtian*; not to mention the many Hoſpitals in the *Indies* for ſick Animals. *Thevenot* obſerves, that the Charity of the *Indians* of *Cabul*, conſiſts in digging of Pits, or ſinking of Wells, and in erecting a Number of ſmall Receptacles on the Highways, for the Accommodation of Travellers.

[q] This infamous Practice is of old ſtanding in the Eaſt. *Herodotus* has a Story of this kind of the Women, who proſtituted themſelves in honour of *Mylittia*, who by the Analogy of the *Chaldee* muſt be *Venus*; and the Tents or Tabernacles of theſe Women were much like thoſe deſcribed by our Author. In *Marco Polo* we read, that the People of the Province of *Cainda*, did the ſame Thing, expoſing their Women in honour of their Idols. *Tavernier* ſpeaks of a *Pagod* near *Cambaya*, whither moſt of the Courtezans of the *Indies* repair to make their Offerings, and adds, that old Women, who have ſcraped together a Sum of Money, buy young female Slaves, whom they train up to wanton Songs and Dances, and all the Allurements of their infamous Calling; and that when the Girls have attained their eleventh or twelfth Year, their Miſtreſs conducts them to this *Pagod*, under a Notion that it is a Happineſs for them to be offered and delivered up to the Idol.

[r] As this kind of Money is very often mentioned, both in the former Treatiſe, and in this, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of its Value: The Dinar is of very fine Gold, and according to the Proportion which that Metal bears now to Silver, that Coin ought to be reckoned at about nine Shillings; from whence we conceive at once the Value of the Copper-Money of *China*, ſince a thouſand of theſe Copper Pieces were equal only to one Dinar; from whence it follows, that nine of theſe Pieces of Copper-Money, called by the *Arabs* Falus, were worth about One penny.

[s] This Paſſage is very ſingular, but the Facts contained therein are inconteſtably true: The Cocoa-Tree furniſhes every thing neceſſary for building and rigging ſuch Ships as are uſed in the *Indies*, and for a Cargoe of conſiderable Value when built. The Body of the Tree furniſhes Plank, Maſts,

Anchors,

Theſe People have a Number of Kings, who are always at War with each other. About their Kings they have certain Men called *Moharamin*, becauſe each of them bore their Noſe, and wear therein a Ring: They have Chains alſo faſtened about their Necks, and when they are at War and going to fight, they each take one End of his Companion's Chain, and paſs it thro' the Ring that hangs under his Noſe; two Men holds this Chain, and ſo prevent the reſt from advancing towards the Enemy till Deputies have been from Side to Side to negociate a Peace; which if it is concluded, they take their Chains about their Necks again and retire without fighting: But when they once begin to unſheath the Sword, not one Soul of them quits his Poſt, but remains there 'till he is ſlain.

They have all of them a profound Veneration for the *Arabs*, and when they chance to ſee any of them they fall down before him, and cry, this Man comes from the Kingdom where flouriſhes the Date-bearing Palm, for they are very fond of Dates. Among theſe People there are Preachers who harangue them in their own Tongue, nor may the Catebs or Orators of any other Nation whatſoever, be compared with them. Some of theſe profeſs a religious Life, and are covered with the Skin of a Leopard or Ape. One of theſe Men with a Staff in his Hand, ſhall preſent himſelf before them, and having gathered a Multitude of People about him, preach all the Day long to them. He ſpeaks of God, and recites the Actions of their Countrymen who are gone before them. From this Country they bring the Leopard Skins called Zingiet, ſpotted with red and black, very great and broad.

65. In this ſame Sea is the Iſland of *Socotra*, whence come the *Socotrin* Aloes. This Iſle lies near the Land of *Zinges*, and near alſo to the Country of the *Arabs*, and moſt of its Inhabitants are Chriſtians, which is thus accounted for. When *Alexander* ſubdued the Kingdom of the *Perſians*, his Preceptor *Ariſtotle*, to whom he had by Letters communicated his Conqueſts, wrote back to him to deſire, that by all Means he would ſeek after the Iſland of *Socotra*, which afforded Aloes, an excellent Drug, and without which they could not make up the famous Medicament called *Hiera*: That the beſt Way would be to remove the Inhabitants thence, and inſtead of them plant a Colony of *Greeks*, that they might ſend Aloes into *Syria*, *Greece* and *Egypt*. Accordingly *Alexander* gave the neceſſary Orders to diſpoſſeſs the Inhabitants, and to ſettle a Colony of *Greeks* in their Stead. Then he commanded the Kings of the Nations who divided his Empire after he had ſlain the Great *Darius*, to execute the Orders he had iſſued out for the Preſervation of theſe *Greeks*: They remained then as a Garriſon upon this Iſland, till God ſent JESUS CHRIST into the World. When the *Greeks* of this ſame Iſle being informed thereof, embraced the Chriſtian Faith as the other *Greeks* had done before them, and in the Profeſſion of this Faith, have they perſevered to this Day, as well as all the Inhabitants of the other Iſles.

In the former Book, no mention is made of the Sea which ſtretches away to the right, as Ships part from *Oman* and the Coaſt of *Arabia*, to launch into the Great Sea; but the Author deſcribes only the Sea on the Left, and in which is comprehended the Seas of *India* and *China*, which he ſeems to have particularly had in his Eye. In this Sea, which is as it where on the Right of the *Indies* as you leave *Oman*, in the Country of *Sihar* or *Shihr*, where Frankincenſe grows, and the other Countries poſſeſs'd by the Nations of [illegible], *Hemyer*, *Jorham* and [illegible]. The People in this Country have the Sonna in *Arabic* of very antient Date, but in many Things different from what is the Hands of the *Arabs*, and containing many Traditions to us unknown: They have no Villages, and they lead a hard and a very miſerable Life[t].

The Country they inhabit, extends almoſt as far as *Aden* and *Judda*, upon the Coaſt of *Yemen* or *Arabia the Happy*; from *Judda* it ſtretches up into the Continent as far as the Coaſt of *Syria*, and ends at *Kolzum*. The Seas in this Part divide by a Slip of Land, which God has fix'd as a Line of Separation between theſe two Seas, as it is written in the *Koran*: From *Kolzum* the Sea ſtretches along the Coaſt of the *Barbarians* to the Weſt Coaſts, which is oppoſite to *Yaman*, and then along the Coaſt of *Æthiopea*; from whence you have the Leopard Skins of *Barbary*, which are the beſt of all, and moſt ſkilfully dreſſed; and laſtly, along the Coaſt of *Zeilah*, whence you have Amber and Tortoiſe-Shell.

When the *Siraf* Ships arrive in this Sea, which is to the right of the Sea of *India*, they put into *Judda*, where they remain, for their Cargoe is thence tranſported to *Kebira* (or *Cairo*) by Ships of *Kolzum*, who are acquainted with the Navigation of the *Red-Sea*, which thoſe of *Siraf* dare not attempt, becauſe of the extream Danger, and becauſe this Sea is full of Rocks at the Waters-Edge; becauſe alſo, upon the whole Coaſt there is no Kings, or ſcarce any inhabited Place; and in fine, becauſe Ships are every Night obliged to put into ſome Place of Safety, for Fear of ſtriking upon the Rocks. They ſail in the Daytime only, and all the Night ride faſt at Anchor. This Sea moreover is ſubject to very thick Fogs, and to violent Gales of Wind, and ſo has nothing to recommend it either within or without.

66. It is not like the Sea of *India* or of *China*, whoſe Bottom is rich with Pearls and Amber-greece, whoſe Mountains of the Coaſt are ſtored with Gold and precious Stones, whoſe Gulphs breed Creatures that yield Ivory, and among the Plants of whoſe Shores are Ebony, Red-Wood, the Wood of *Hairzan*, Aloes, Camphire, Nutmegs, Cloves, Sandal-Wood, and all other Spices and Aromatics; where Parrots and Peacocks are Birds of the Forreſt, and Muſk and Civet are collected upon the Lands: In ſhort, ſo productive are thoſe Shores of ineſtimable Things, that it is impoſſible to reckon them up[u].

Amber-greece which is thrown upon the Coaſt of this ſame Sea, is waſhed to Shore by the Swell: It begins to be found in the *Indian* Sea, but whence it comes is unknown. We only know, that the beſt of it is thrown upon the *Barbary* Coaſt, or upon the Confines of the Land of *Negroes*, towards *Sihar*, and Places thereabouts: It is of a bluiſh-white in round Lumps. The Inhabitants of this Country have Camels trained up to the Buſineſs which they mount, and go in Search of it by Moon-ſhine, and ride for that Purpoſe along Shore. Theſe Camels are broke to this, and as ſoon as they perceive a Piece of Amber-greece, they bend their Knees, and their Rider picks it up[w].

Anchors and Oars. That Subſtance like Thread, which covers the Nut, and which may be drawn out and ſpun, makes the moſt excellent Cordage in the World, inaſmuch as it never decays in the Water. The Anchors are not to be boaſted of, but they ſerve well enough for ſuch Veſſels. The Liquor in the Nut when fermented, becomes a kind of Wine; when ſour it is an excellent Vinegar, and diſtilled, it affords a ſoft, pleaſant Brandy. It is certain, that the Inhabitants of the *Maldives*, ſubſiſt chiefly on their Trade in Cocoa-nuts, Cocoa Plank, and the Cordage, made from this Tree; the Manufacture of which, they are better ſkilled in than any other People in the *Indies*.

[t] The *Arabs* beſides the *Koran*, have many Traditions relating to the *Mohammedan* Religion, which they received from the Companions of their Prophet and his Diſciples; from theſe Traditions and Stories, they form the Body of their Sonna, which therefore is very different in different Places; ſo that not only the Sonna of the *Perſians* differs from that of the *Arabians*, but that of the *Africans* varies from that of *Mecca*, and the *Arabians* of the Deſert: In a Word, the Sonna with Reſpect to the *Mohammedans*, is pretty near the ſame Thing with the Talmud among the *Jews*; and it is owing to both, that there are ſo many different Sects, and ſuch a Variety of Fabulous Notions amongſt the People of both Religions.

[u] This is at once a very magnificent, and a very juſt Account of the Wealth of the *Indies*, and it proves very plainly, that ſcarce any Part of its Riches were concealed from the *Arabs* at this Time; ſo that what ſome Writers report of the Deſigns formed by the Khaliffs and Sultans of *Egypt*, for making themſelves Maſters of the Coaſts of *India*, and even of its Iſlands, hath nothing in it abſurd or incredible.

[w] Amber-greece, or as it ought to be wrote Amber-griſe, is a very rich Perfume, and it is certain, that there is more of it, and in greater Perfection in the *Indian-Sea*, than in any other of the whole World. How it is formed, or from whence it comes, is as great Secret to us as it was to the *Arabs*. It is of different Colours, *viz.* dark-grey, light-grey, black and red; but the firſt is the moſt eſteemed, as having by far the richeſt Scent. What our Author reports of its being found in this Manner by Camels, is not very improbable; for the beſt Ambergreece in the World is driven on the Shores of the Iſland of Prince *Maurice*, and the *Dutch* aſſure us, that their Hogs ſmell it out at a great Diſtance, and run furiouſly to the Shore, in order to devour it.

There is another ſort, which ſwims in great Lumps upon the Surface of the Sea, almoſt like the Body of an Ox, or a little leſs, and weighs a great deal. When a certain Fiſh of the Whale-kind, called *Tal*, ſees theſe floating Lumps, he ſwallows the ſame, and is killed thereby. Then they ſee the Whale floating upon the Surface, and inſtantly the Men who are accuſtomed to this kind of Fiſhery, and know when theſe Whales have ſwallowed Amber, go out to him in their Boats, and darting him with Iron Harpoons, they tow him to Shore, where they ſplit him down the Back and take out the Amber; what they find about the Belly of the Creature is commonly ſpoiled with the Wet, and contracts an unpleaſant Scent *.

You may buy the Bones of this Fiſh of the Druggiſts of *Bagdad* and *Baſſora*. The Amber which has not been infected by the Ordure in the Belly of the Whale, is perfectly good: It is a uſual Thing to make Stools of the *Vertebræ* of the Back Bone of this Whale, called *Tal*. They ſay, that in a Village ten Leagues from *Siraf*, called *Tain*, there are old Houſes neatly enough built, the Lintils of whoſe Doors are of the Rib of this Whale. I have heard a Perſon ſay, that formerly one was thrown upon the Coaſt not very far from *Siraf*, and that going to view him, he ſaw People getting upon the Back of this Creature with Ladders, and that the Fiſhermen expoſed him to the Sun, ſliced away his Fleſh, and having digged a Pit, gathered up the Greaſe which was melted by the Sun, and that having drained off all the Oil, they ſold it to the Maſters of Ships. This Oil mixed up with another kind of Stuff, in uſe with Seamen, ſerves for calking of Ships to ſecure the Seams of the Planking, and to ſtop up Leaks. This Whale Oil is a valuable Commodity, and produces great Sums of Money.

67. Our Author propoſing next to ſpeak of Pearls, breaks out firſt, according to the Cuſtom of the *Arabs*, into the following pious Soliloquy, vhich I would not omit, becauſe it is a kind of Characteriſtick in their Manner of Writing, and may enable the Reader to account for ſuch Apoſtrophes in other Pieces of this Nature. Let us before we ſpeak of PEARLS and the Manner of their Formation, magnify the Great GOD, who in Wiſdom has created all Things out of Earth, and ſo faſhioned living Creatures, as that they produce their like. Wherefore for theſe Things which we know, and for many more which we know not, all Glory be unto the Almighty, and all Reverence paid unto his moſt holy and tremendous Name.

Pearls begin to be formed of a Subſtance at firſt ſomewhat like the Plant called Anjedana, being in Size the ſame, in Colour and Figure pretty much alike, ſmall, thin, and tender, juſt like the Leaves of this Plant; at firſt it ſwims feebly on the Surface and ſticks to the Sides of Ships under Water, where in Time it hardens, grows, and gets covered with a Shell. When theſe Oiſters become heavy, they fall down to the Bottom of the Sea, where they ſubſiſt after a Manner to us unknown. They appear no other than a Piece of red Fleſh, like the Tongue towards the Root, without Bones, Sinews, or Veins.

But there are various Opinions touching the Production of Pearls, for ſome ſay when it rains the Oiſters riſe up to the Surface, and that gaping, the Drops of Water they catch turn to Pearls. Others hold, they are generated in the Oiſters themſelves, which is moſt likely, and is confirmed by Experience; for moſt that are found in Oiſters are fixed and move not. When they are looſe the Merchants call them Seed Pearl: God alone knoweth how this Matter is.

68. Now this is the moſt wonderful Thing we have heard concerning the Subſiſtence of Oiſters. A certain *Arab* came formerly to *Baſſora*, and brought with him a Pearl worth a great Sum of Money; he ſhewed it to a Druggiſt of his Acquaintance, and, ignorant of the Value thereof, aſked him what he thought of it? The Merchant telling him it was a Pearl, the *Arab* aſked him what he thought it might be worth, and he valued it at a hundred Pieces of Silver. The *Arab* much aſtoniſhed at his Words, aſked if any Perſon would be willing to give him what he had ſaid it was worth: Upon which the Merchant counted him out a hundred Drams, and with this Money the *Arab* purchaſed Corn to carry back into his own Country. The Merchant on the other Hand brought the Pearl to *Bagdad*, and ſold it at a very high Rate, which enabled him afterwards to deal very conſiderably. This ſame Merchant declared that he had examined the *Arab* touching the Origin of Pearls, and that he delivered himſelf to the following Effect: "I was going along, ſaid he, by *Saman* in "the Diſtrict of *Bahrein*, not very far diſtant from the "Sea, and upon the Sand I ſaw a dead Fox, with ſomething at his Muzzle that held him faſt. I drew near "and ſaw a white glittering Shell, in which I found the "Pearl I took. Hence he gathered, that the Oiſter was "upon the Shore, driven thither by Tempeſt, which very "often happens. The Fox paſſing by and leering at the "Meat of the Oiſter, as the Shell ſtood open, jumped "thereon, and thruſt in his Snout to ſeize the Fiſh, which "in its Defence cloſing, locked him faſt, as has been ſaid; "for it is a Property of theirs never to let go their Hold "of any thing, except forcibly opened by an Iron Inſtrument at their Edges."

This is the Oiſter that breeds Pearls, which it as carefully keeps as a Mother her Child; when therefore it was ſenſible of the Fox, it withdrew as to avoid an Enemy, and the Fox feeling himſelf ſqueezed, beat the Ground on each Hand till it was ſtifled and ſo died. The *Arab* found the Pearl, and God would have it that he ſhould apply himſelf to the Merchant, a very happy Thing for him †.

69. The Kings of the *Indies* wear Ear-rings of Stones ſet in precious Gold. They wear alſo Collars of great Price, adorned with precious Stones of different Colours, but eſpecially Green and Red; yet Pearls are what they moſt eſteem, and their Value ſurpaſſes that of all other Jewels; they at preſent hoard them up in their Treaſures with their moſt precious Things. The Grandees of their Court, the great Officers and Captains wear the like Jewels in their Collars *; they dreſs in a half Veſt, and carry an Umbrella of Peacocks Feathers to ſhade them from the Sun, and are ſurrounded by thoſe of their Train.

There are certain *Indians* who never eat two out of the ſame Diſh or upon the ſame Table, and would eſteem it a very great Sin if they ſhould. When they come to *Siraff*, and are invited by any of the conſiderable Merchants who are in that City, they muſt though they are a hundred in Number, each have a ſeparate Diſh, and without the leaſt Communication with the reſt. The Kings and Perſons of high Quality have freſh Tables made for them every Day, together with little Diſhes and Plates wove of the Cocoa-nut Leaf, in which they eat what is prepared for their Subſiſtence; and their Meal once over, they throw the Table, the Diſhes and Plates into the Water, together with the Fragments they have left. Thus at every Meal they have a new Service. To the *Indies* they formerly carried the Dinars, called *Sindiat*, or Gold Pieces of the *Sind* and the *Dinar*, which there paſſed for three of ours and even more. Thither alſo are carried Emeralds from *Egypt*, which are ſet for Rings.

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* The Abbe *Renaudot* in his Notes upon this Treatiſe, ſpeaks very ſlightly of this Story, and ſeems to think it fabulous. There is however no ſort of Cauſe for this Suſpicion: Since this ſort of Whale is very often found in the *Weſt-Indian Seas*, and eſpecially on the Coaſt of *Bermudas*; and vaſt Quantities of Ambergreeſe are taken out of its Guts. It is alſo very certain, that tho' the beſt of this Perfume is found in the *Indian-Seas*; yet Ambergreece has been frequently found on the Shore even of our own Iſlands, as well as in ſome other Parts of *Europe*, and in *America* it is very common.

† I muſt confeſs this Story ſeems to me by far the meaneſt Paſſage in the whole Work, and all the Remarks upon Pearls are very low and trifling: But at the ſame Time it muſt be allowed, that we know very little more about them, than either the Ancients or the *Arabs*. What ſeems to be moſt probable is, that Pearls are not the natural Produce of any Oiſters; by which I mean, that they are an irregular and accidental Production, occaſioned by ſome Infirmity or Diſeaſe in the Fiſh. I am led to this Notion from two Reaſons: The firſt is, that when Animal Subſtances begin to corrupt, they conſtantly ſhine, which perhaps may be the Effect of ſome inteſtine Motion; the other, that Pearl-Oiſters are not eatable, but tough, taſteleſs, and very unwholſome.

* The Princes and the chief Inhabitants of theſe Countries, were by this Time better acquainted with the Nature and Value of all ſorts of precious Stones than formerly they had been, and of theſe they had of all kinds from the Mines in the Iſland of *Ceylon*. It is remarkable that the *Arabs* have but one Word to ſignify coloured Stones, which is *Jacut*, or *Jacut*, which ſtrictly ſpeaking ſignifies a Jacinth; but to vary this, and to render it expreſſive of Rubies, Emeralds, and Saphirs, they add the Name of the Colour; [illegible] proper to ſubjoin two Remarks upon this Subject before we leave it: The firſt is, that our Author is perfectly in the right in his Obſervation, that Pearls are more eſteemed in *India* than many other Parts of the World, and that they are more valued there in Proportion, than any other kind of Jewels. Our ſecond Obſervation is, as to the carrying Emeralds thither from *Egypt*, which is a very plain Proof of the Truth of what we have often aſſerted, viz. that theſe Stones are not ſtrictly ſpeaking Oriental, though they may, and indeed do very often come to us from the Eaſt.

70. Theſe two authentick Pieces are of very great Uſe in filling up this Period of *Indian* Hiſtory, of which, till they appeared, we had no Memoirs at all. It is plain enough from the Account given us by the firſt Author, that Voyages from *Siraff* to *China* were not very frequent, till about his Time, for otherwiſe he would not have deſcribed that Navigation ſo particularly. But it appears no leſs clearly from the ſecond Treatiſe, that theſe long Voyages were grown into much greater Uſe between the Time the firſt Voyage was made, and this Commentary upon it was drawn up, for otherwiſe the ſecond Writer would have been but indifferently furniſhed with Materials, whereas we find that he ſtood in no ſort of Want of them, but was able to mention the Voyages and Travels of four or five different Perſons into *China* and the *Indies*, excluſive of the Author, whoſe Voyage gave Occaſion to this Diſcourſe.

The moſt remarkable of theſe was *Eben Wahab*, whoſe Adventures are equally ſingular and inſtructive, ſince from them it is very evident that the *Chineſe* Emperor, to whoſe Preſence he was admitted, had, as we obſerved, very perfect Intelligence as to the *Jewiſh*, *Chriſtian*, and *Mohammedan* Religions, and as to the Hiſtory of their Founders and Propagators. We might indeed ſuſpect the Truth of this, if there were not ſome other Circumſtances in this Diſcourſe which render them not only probable but certain. I mean the Deſtruction of the Capital of *China* at that Time, which our Author calls the City of *Cumdan*, and which without Doubt was no other than *Nankin*, and *Cansfu* or *Canton*, in which ſo many Thouſand *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Mohammedans* were ſlain; a clear Demonſtration that Multitudes of all theſe Religions had been long before ſettled in that Empire, and conſequently the *Chineſe* Monarch had it fully in his Power to be well acquainted with all the Particulars beforementioned.

Neither does this Fact ſtand entirely upon the Credit of this Treatiſe, ſince an ancient Monument has been diſcovered in *China*, which plainly proves that Chriſtians from *Syria* were ſettled there in ancient Times[a], though none were to be found when the firſt Travellers from *Europe* went thither, which is as ſtrong a Confirmation of the Truth of what our Author relates, as in the Nature of Things can poſſibly be expected. The Miſſionaries alſo that were firſt ſent to *China* found there viſible Marks of Chriſtianity, though they found no Chriſtians. The *Jews* have been ſettled in that Empire for Time immemorial, and many of them for the Sake of Riches and Preferment have abjured their own Religion, and embraced the Opinions of the *Chineſe*, which is alſo an unqueſtionable Argument of the Truth of theſe Relations.

We may add to this the Conformity between the Accounts given by our Travellers and the beſt *Chineſe* Hiſtories, which never could have happened, if the former had not been in every Reſpect agreeable to Truth. All this is not only ſupported by our Knowledge of many of the Cuſtoms of theſe People, which remain to this Day the ſame with thoſe reported in theſe Relations, but they are ſtill more plainly verified by ſuch as are now no longer in Uſe, becauſe many *Chineſe* Writers and Chriſtian Miſſionaries from them, take Notice of ſuch obſolete Cuſtoms, and inform us when they were laid aſide or began to grow into Diſuſe. On the whole therefore we may ſafely affirm, that theſe Treatiſes are free from all juſt Grounds of Suſpicion, and ought to be regarded as the earlieſt and beſt Accounts we have of this Empire and its Inhabitants.

They are conſidered in this Light, of very great Uſe in many Reſpects, but more eſpecially in correcting thoſe Errors that have been introduced by Authors who depended more upon their own Conjectures than on any Light they received from Experience, endeavouring to impoſe upon their Readers, their Notions of Things as Facts of undoubted Credit, of which it may not be amiſs to give a few Inſtances. Our Author is the oldeſt, and indeed almoſt the only *Arabian* Writer that mentions the *Chineſe* Drink, ſo univerſally uſed in our Days all over *Europe*, and known by the Name of *Tea*. He ſays, that it is an Herb or Shrub, more buſhy than the Pomegranate-tree, and of a more pleaſant Scent, but ſomewhat bitter to the Taſte. That the *Chineſe* boil Water and pour it in ſcalding hot upon this Leaf, and that this Infuſion preſerves them from all Diſtempers. This, to be ſure, is an imperfect Deſcription; but it is plain enough to evince, that nothing can be meant but the Plant we know by the Name of *Tea*; the ſame with the *Tcha Catayi*, or *Sini* of the Orientals.

The Tree which bears this Leaf is but ſmall, and ought to be reckoned among Shrubs. It has a pleaſant kind of violet Scent, is bitter to the Taſte, and it is common for them who are fond of it, to imagine it doth them good, and preſerveth their Health. It is certain then, that Father *Trigaut*[b] is miſtaken, when he imagines it is but of late Date amongſt the *Chineſe*, becauſe there is not, as he ſays, any Character in their Tongue to ſignify this Drink; for by the Teſtimony of the oldeſt of our Authors, who does not ſpeak of it as any new Thing, but as an Herb very much in Vogue with them; nay, to that Degree, that the Emperor thought fit to lay a Duty upon it; it appears, that the *Chineſe* have been addicted to it above eight hundred Years. Nor is it poſſible to believe with *Piſo*[c], that it grew a long Time wild, and uncultivated, or that the *Chineſe*, or *Japoneſe*, have been but lately acquainted with its Virtues and the Manner of preparing it, which, he ſays, he was told by ſome *Dutch* Commander, who had been a long Time in the Country.

Father *Martini*, who has written more accurately of *China* than almoſt any other Perſon, ſays no ſuch Thing. He aſſures us, that it grows particularly in the Province of *Kiangnan*, or *Nankin*, where the beſt of it is. It is, adds he, a ſmall Leaf, perfectly like that of the *Rhus Coriarius*, or *Sumac* of the Curriers. It grows not wild, but is domeſtic, and cultivated, nor is it a Tree, but a Shrub, which ſpreads out in little Branches, with a Bloſſom very much like that of the Sumac, except that the former inclines more to a Yellow than the latter. It blows firſt in Summer, when it emits no great Scent; then it puts out a Berry, which is firſt green, and afterwards blackiſh. In the Spring it is when they gather the Leaf to make their *Tcha*, for then it is moſt ſucculent and tender. The Preparation of theſe Leaves conſiſts in gathering them, drying them by a ſmall Fire, rolling them upon a cotton Mattreſs, and packing them up in Tin-Cheſts or Boxes, for the ſake of preſerving them, and the Conveniency of tranſporting them. Such is the Account given us by this learned and accurate Writer, whoſe Work is ſtill deſervedly eſteemed after ſo many later Accounts of *China*[d].

But as it is natural to ſuppoſe that every Man is the beſt Judge of what regards his own Profeſſion, I perſuade myſelf, that my Readers will not be diſpleaſed at my inſerting here a very curious Paſſage from the Writings of the celebrated Doctor *Kæmpfer* [e], wherein he gives us a very entertaining Account of the Manner in which the Virtues of Tea were firſt diſcovered; neither is this at all foreign to my Subject, ſince it is an additional Proof of the Veracity of our Author, and clearly points out the Time when this Plant came firſt into Uſe among the *Chineſe*, and, at the ſame time, fully refutes the Objection that had been raiſed from this Herb's not having a proper Character aſſigned it by the learned.

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[a] This ancient Monument was firſt mentioned by the famous Jeſuit *Kircher*, who made many Miſtakes about it, and from thence there grew ſome Queſtions as to the Matter of Fact, which however upon Enquiry has been ſince clearly made out, and from thence it is evident, that the Chriſtian Religion was ſettled in *China* in *A. D.* 636, that is upwards of two hundred Years before the Maſſacre at *Canton*, mentioned by the laſt of our Authors. We have no certain Accounts of the Chriſtians in *China* beyond the Tenth Century, and when the *Portugueze* came firſt to *Canton* under Don *Fernand Perez d' Andrada*, which was *A. D.* 1517, there was no ſort of Remembrance of Chriſtianity preſerved in that Empire; ſo that it is impoſſible to diſcover how this Religion was exterminated there, otherwiſe than for Want of Paſtors.

[b] *Lib.* 1. *p.* 16. It is inconceivable how differently Writers have repreſented the Shrub that bears this Herb; for ſome ſay it is like a Roſe, others like a Currant-buſh.

[c] *Addit. ad Hiſt. Medicin. Braſ.* 1. 6. Of like Credit, perhaps, is another Report current among the *Dutch*, as if they ſold the Sage of *Europe* to the *Japoneſe* at as high a Price as they gave for their Tea, and which has been received as an undoubted Truth by the Vulgar here.

[d] He reſided long in *China*, was a Man of great Fidelity and Candour, one who did not love to contradict others, or to impoſe his own Senſe of Things upon his Readers in a dogmatick Stile. His *Chineſe Atlas* is an admirable Performance, in which he has explained *Marco Polo*, corrected Father *Kircher*, and informs us of a Multitude of Things relating to the Hiſtory of *China*, which, till the Publication of his Book, were utterly unknown.

"This Herb, *ſays he*, which the *Japaneſe* call *Tſjaa*, " has as yet no Character aſſigned it by the *Literati*, but " there are ſeveral in uſe, ſome expreſſing only the Sound " of the Word, and others alluſive to its Virtues. Among the latter, that is to be accounted, which gives " it the Likeneſs of the Eye-lids of *Darma*, a holy Man, " much famed among them. There is ſomething very " witty in this Alluſion, and the Explanation of it deſerves the greater Notice, becauſe it very plainly points " out the Time when this Herb firſt came into Uſe. " Thus then the Story is told.

"This *Darma* was the third Son of an *Indian* King, " whoſe Name was *Koojuwo*, and was the Head of a religious Order inſtituted by a famous *Indian* Saint, " called *Sjaka*, who flouriſhed in the Year before Chriſt " 1028, and to whom this *Darma* was the twenty-eighth " Succeſſor in a regular Order. It ſo fell out, that in " *A. D.* 519, he was driven into *China*, where he applied " himſelf entirely to the teaching of Mankind the Knowledge of God, and, as he called it, of the only true Religion, and the ſole Means of acquiring Happineſs. He " was not content to enlighten the World only by his " Doctrine, but ſtudied to do it ſtill more by his Example, ſtriving by the Purity of his Life, the afflicting his " Body, and the bringing all his Paſſions under perfect " Subjection, to ſecure the Aſſiſtance of the Divine " Grace. He eat nothing but the wild Herbs of the " Field, and which is eſteemed the very Perfection of " Holineſs in Man, ſpent his Nights without Sleep in " the Contemplation of the Supreme Being; for he conſidered it as the higheſt Degree of Piety to forego Eaſe " and Reſt, that his Thoughts might be wholly employed " in meditating upon God.

"It fell out, that after many Years watching, he was " ſo overcome as to fall faſt aſleep: His Vow thus violated, " he was ſo afflicted when he awaked, that partly to expiate " his Crime, and partly to ſecure himſelf from falling " again into what he eſteemed ſo great a Weakneſs, he " cut off his Eye-lids, as the Inſtruments of his Offence, " and threw them in a Fit of holy Zeal upon the Ground. " The next Day coming to the Place where he had inflicted this Puniſhment upon himſelf, he ſaw, with " Amazement, a moſt wonderful Transformation, for " behold each of his Eye-lids had taken Root, and had " ſprung up into the Shrub called TEA, which hitherto the World had never ſeen, or at leaſt Mankind " were unacquainted with its Virtues.

"By taking the Leaves of this Herb, but whether the " chewing them, or prepared by Infuſion, I cannot ſay, " he found a wonderful Chearfulneſs of Mind, and a Diſpoſition perfectly ſuited to his divine Meditations. As " he recommended the Uſe of this Herb to his Diſciples, " and as the Benefits derived therefrom were every " where publiſhed, the Cuſtom of drinking Tea grew " quickly into Uſe among all ſorts of People; and the " mighty Virtues of this wonderful Herb became univerſally known and admired. Hence it is, that as hitherto no certain Character has been aſſigned for expreſſing the Herb *Tea*, and its Virtues, the Cuſtom of diſtinguiſhing it by the Figure of *Darma's Eye-lids* has " grown into Practice." So much ſays my Author for the Names of this Plant. The Story is plainly fabulous and extravagant [f]; but like the Extravagancies of the Eaſt, full of Fire, and of that ſort of enthuſiaſtick Eloquence which conveys Ideas with ſuch Force as prevents their Impreſſions from ever wearing out of the Mind.

We learn likewiſe from the firſt of our Travellers, that at the Time he viſited their Country the *Chineſe* were perfectly well verſed in the Art of Pottery, and made a kind of Porcelain, as fine, as beautiful, and almoſt as tranſparent as Glaſs. It is certain, that for many Ages after this we had very dark and confuſed Accounts of this Matter; and the Stories we are told in almoſt all the Accounts we have of *China* upon this Subject have apparently the Air of Fables, and look as if they were impoſed upon their Authors by the *Chineſe*, on purpoſe to conceal from them the Truth. It is a Point now univerſally agreed, that the Porcelain formerly made in this Country was infinitely better than what has come from thence of late Years; but the *Chineſe* themſelves carry this much farther, and maintain, that the old *China* we ſo much admire is very far inferior to what was made in theſe early Ages.

Doctor *Kæmpfer* [g] tells us from the *Chineſe* Hiſtorians, that this moſt excellent Porcelain was made in a certain Iſland not far from *Formoſa*, or at leaſt of the Earth found in that Iſland, which for the ſame Crimes in its Inhabitants, has long ago ſhared the Fate of *Sodom*, and lies now buried in the Sea. Yet it ſeems it is not ſunk ſo deep, but that their Fiſhermen and Divers frequently bring up Veſſels of this old Porcelain, which are ſold at a moſt extravagant Price in *China* and *Japan*, from a Perſuaſion that they not only keep Tea better, but even heighten its Qualities, and reſtore its Flavour when loſt by long keeping in other Veſſels.

I do not pretend to make myſelf anſwerable for the Truth of theſe Facts, but I mention them only to ſhew, that in the Opinion of theſe People, who are undoubtedly the beſt Judges of their own Manufactures, the Porcelain made at the Time our Author ſpeaks of was really ſuperior in Quality to any that has been made ſince. But if it ſhould be demanded, whether any Proof can be had of the Truth of this Fact, excluſive of what our Author delivers, I anſwer, there is. For in a Manuſcript preſerved in the *French* King's Library, the Credit of which cannot be doubted among the Articles of a noble Preſent ſent *Noureddin* by *Saladin*, ſoon after he became Maſter of *Egypt*, mention is made of a Service of *China-Ware*, conſiſting of forty Pieces of ſeveral kinds [h]. It is very true, that this Preſent was not ſent till the Year of the *Hegira* 567, which anſwers to the Year of our Lord 1171, which is ſome Ages after the Time in which our Author wrote; but then it is to be conſidered, that this *China-Ware* had been long before brought to *Egypt*; and if it had not been much ſuperior in Beauty to what was brought from the ſame Country, even at that Time, when the Trade to *Baſſora* was in a flouriſhing Condition, it would not have been thought worthy the Acceptance of ſo great a Prince; and therefore when thoroughly conſidered, this Objection proves, at leaſt in its neceſſary Conſequences, a Confirmation of the Fact.

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[e] *Amœnitat. Exotic.* p. 608. We ſhall have an Opportunity of inſerting this learned Writer's Travels in *Japan*, in the ſecond Volume of this Work; but the Paſſage here cited is from another Work of his, which is excellent in its Kind, notwithſtanding what ſome ſuch *French* Criticks have inſinuated to the contrary.

[f] Father *Charlevoix*, in his Hiſtory of *Japan*, blames Doctor *Kæmpfer* for inſerting this Story, which he calls a ridiculous Fable; but I beg leave to ſay, that he had not well conſidered the Intention of the Parable, the Genius of the Eaſtern Nations or the Eaſtern Languages; for, if he had, he would probably have been of another Opinion. There is a wide Difference between Fables in Religion and Fables in Natural Philoſophy, eſpecially when they are known to be ſuch, and introduced with no other View than to convey uſeful Knowledge in an eaſy, familiar, and effectual Manner, all which were viſibly conſulted in the framing of this Story or Parable, which declares the Virtues of this Herb, by whom diſcovered, and when brought into Uſe.

[g] *Amœnitat. Exotic.* p. 621. Our learned Author tells us, that the *Japaneſe* Name of this fine Porcelain is *Maats ubo*, and that the Iſland in which it was made was *Mauri ga Sima*. He aſſures us, that theſe Veſſels are of different Sizes, and conſequently of different Prices; the ſmalleſt are worth from twenty to one hundred Theils; but the largeſt and fineſt, which are generally bought for the Uſe of the Emperor of *Japan*, coſt three, four, or five thouſand Theils or Thaels, of which there is about three in a Pound Sterling. This is very moderate in compariſon of what we are told by *Mandelſloe* in his Travels, p. 156, where he ſays, that the *Japaneſe* have Tea-pots that coſt them between ſix and ſeven thouſand Pounds. There ſeems to be two Miſtakes in this; the firſt is as to the Veſſel, which was not a Tea-pot, but a Tea-Caniſter; the ſecond, as to the Sum, which was not Pounds, but Thaels.

[h] The Title of this *Arabian* Manuſcript is *Makrizi*, which was probably the Surname of its Author; but as to the particular Subject of the Book I can ſay nothing, the Paſſage I have mentioned from it being reported by the Abbé *Renaudot* in his Notes on our Author's, p. 200.

I have dwelt the longer upon theſe Inſtances, and have taken the more Pains to ſupport and confirm the Truth of them, becauſe I am perſuaded that an intire Credit is due to the Matters of Fact aſſerted by both of our Authors, and that conſequently we may abſolutely depend upon what they have delivered as to the State of *China*, and the *Indies*, within this Period of Time; that is to ſay, from *A. D.* 833, to 900, or thereabouts. This being clearly eſtabliſhed, let us ſee what will follow from it. In the firſt place, it is moſt evident, that theſe Eaſtern Countries were in a very happy and flouriſhing Condition, were governed by their own Princes, and knew not, generally ſpeaking, what it was to ſuffer by ſuch ſudden and violent Revolutions as have ſince happened in thoſe Parts. It muſt, however, be at the ſame time obſerved, that though their State was far better than it is now, yet both our Authors agree that it was beginning to decline, that the Dignity of their Princes began to ſink, the Severity of their Diſcipline to relax, and the Manners of their People to become much more corrupt than they had been.

In the next place, it is very evident, that in *China*, a Country ſtill more remote than the *Indies*, the People were in this Period very well acquainted with the Condition of their Neighbours, to whom they muſt alſo have been tolerably well known; and yet within the Space of two hundred Years, the Face of Things were ſo intirely changed, that the *Chineſe* loſt almoſt all Knowledge of us in *Europe*, and we of them, as from the ſubſequent Part of this Chapter will clearly appear.

Laſtly, we ought to conclude from the Conſideration of theſe Facts from the State of things in *China* and the *Indies*, and eſpecially from the Superiority of their Manufactures, that this Empire was in every reſpect in a much better Situation than in ſucceeding times; that is to ſay, was better governed, more populous, the Induſtry of the People better conducted, and their Foreign Commerce far more extenſive than in the Ages immediately preceding the Diſcovery of the Paſſage thither from *Europe* by the *Cape of Good Hope*. The fixing all this firmly in the Reader's Mind, will contribute to his apprehending rightly all that follows, and will prevent his running into the oppoſite Vice of Incredulity, to avoid being thought credulous.

He will not be amazed when he hears of potent Princes that governed in the *Indies*, or in *China*, many hundred Years before we knew any thing with Certainty of thoſe Countries; he will not be aſtoniſhed at the Extent of their Territories, or what is reported of their prodigious Revenues; he will not be at a Loſs to account for the different Condition of Places, when firſt viſited by the *Europeans*, from that reported either by their own Hiſtories, or Traditions. On the contrary, he will plainly perceive, by comparing the Facts laid down in the ſeveral Sections of this Work, that all this is not only probable, but certain; and that the Notions which ſome great Criticks have advanced to the contrary, were not ſo much founded in greater Learning, or ſuperior Abilities, as in ſtrong Prejudices in favour of their own Countries, and in high Conceits of their own Abilities.

In Things of this Nature, all abſtracted Reaſoning ought to be laid aſide, and we ought to draw our Concluſions from Facts only. If the *Indians* ſtopped the Progreſs of the *Aſſyrian*, *Perſian*, *Greek* and *Parthian* Empires, this is a ſtrong, or to ſpeak fairly, an invincible Argument to prove, that their Government was then in its full Vigour. If we ſee the *Indians* now for the moſt part a broken, diſperſed, dejected, and deſpiſed People, preſerving, however, ſtill in their Manners and Cuſtoms, viſible Marks of that Policy aſcribed to them by the *Greek* and *Roman*, as well as their *Arabian* Writers, we ought to conclude, that this Difference has been owing to mighty Revolutions in theſe Parts, after the Hiſtory of which we muſt enquire, and not pretend to take up with the Aſſurances given us by fanciful Men, that their People were never in a better Condition.

I do not, however, pretend by this to eſtabliſh by any means the Opinions entertained by ſome very great Men as to the Learning of the *Chineſe*; with regard to which our Travellers ſpeak very freely, and I think there is Reaſon to believe very truly, affirming, that in regard to the Sciences the *Chineſe* had very little Knowledge, that is, in Compariſon of the *Arabs*, who at the time the laſt of our Authors wrote were very ſkilful in moſt Sciences; and though their famous Commander *Muſa*, who conquered *Spain*, was the firſt that delivered it in the Form of a Maxim, yet it is very probable, that the *Arabians* had long before his Time thoſe Sentiments of the Progreſs of Science which he ſo happily expreſſed. Wiſdom, ſaid he, *deſcending from above, ſettled in the* Heads *of the* Greeks, *in the* Hands *of the* Chineſe, *and on the* Tongues *of the* Arabs. It plainly appears from hence, that what they moſt admired in *China* was the Induſtry of its Inhabitants, which was chiefly the Effect of their wiſe Government, derived to them, as is indeed every thing of Conſequence they knew, ſeems to have been from the *Indies* [i]. All therefore that from the Authority of our Authors I infer is, that the political State of *China* was at leaſt as perfect anciently as it is at preſent in all its Branches; and not that they were better acquainted with Sciences than they are now.

71. The Reader, I perſuade myſelf, is by this time of the ſame Opinion with myſelf as to the Value of theſe ancient Writers, and would be very well pleaſed to proceed with as good Guides during the reſt of his Journey, which is, however, more than I can promiſe; but thus far I dare undertake, that he ſhall have as good Guides as are to be procured, and that the next Stage is the worſt in the whole Road. There is, however, a Neceſſity of going through it; for it is with Learning as it is in Travelling, there is no knowing of Things with Certainty by Reports. If we would be thoroughly ſatisfied, we muſt uſe our own Eyes; and to obtain a compleat View of the *Indies*, we muſt be content to read Voyages and Travels in their natural Order. It is plain from what theſe Authors tell us, that the *Indies* in their Time were not much altered from what they were in the Days of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; whereas when the *Portugueze* came thither, they were in quite another Condition; we muſt therefore learn how this came to paſs. The thing is difficult indeed, but it muſt be done, for otherwiſe we have hitherto been doing nothing; and to leave a large Gap in our Hiſtory in order to hurry on to modern Voyages, is to prefer Amuſement to Inſtruction, which is certainly what neither I nor the Reader aims at; and therefore I flatter myſelf that he will be very well pleaſed with the Revival of the Voyages and Travels that follow, and which have never hitherto appeared in an *Engliſh* Dreſs at all ſuitable to their Merit [k].

Hackluyt, our moſt ancient Collector, whoſe Pains can never be too much commended, gave ſuch as came to his Hands in the beſt manner he could, and was therefore very commendable in that reſpect. *Purchas*, who followed him, complains, however, with Reaſon, that theſe ancient Writers were ſtrangely disfigured, and therefore he thought it neceſſary to reviſe and republiſh them, for which alſo he deſerves Praiſe; and there is no doubt he might have ſucceeded much better than he has done, if he had not followed the Humour of the Age in which he wrote, and affected, as he has done, to give a quaint and fanciful Turn to all that he translated, instead of keeping close to his Authors. This was chiefly owing to a Notion that then prevailed, that there were many Improbabilities and Abſurdities in their Writings; which, however, the Diligence of ſucceeding Times hath, in a great meaſure, diſcovered to have been a groundleſs and injurious Charge ariſing ſometimes from their having very bad Copies of the Authors they uſed, at other Times from the Ignorance of thoſe who undertook to tranſlate them either in the Languages in which they were wrote, or as to the Subjects which were handled in them.

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[i] The Progreſs of Science from the *Indies* to *China*, and from thence to *Japan*, is very natural and agreeable to ancient Hiſtory; but it does not at all follow from thence, that the *Indians* received their Learning from the *Egyptians*. It is far more probable, that they had it from the *Chaldeans*; for Mankind ſpread originally from that Country, as *Moſes* informs us, and as all ancient Hiſtory plainly proves. From *Chaldea* to the *Indies* theſe firſt Colonies might have eaſily proceeded by Land, whereas their own Writers allow, that the firſt Attempts by the *Egyptians* towards the Conqueſt of *India* were by Fleets fitted out by the *Red-Sea*.

[k] We have very full Proof of the Truth of this Obſervation from what *Purchas* ſays in his Pilgrims, Vol. III. p. 65. of *M. Polo*, where he has theſe Words: "I found this Book tranſlated by Maſter *Hackluyt* out of the *Latin*. But where the Blind lead the Blind, both fall: As here the corrupt *Latin* could "not but yield a Corruption of Truth in *Engliſh*. *Ramuſio*, Secretary to the Decemviri (he means the Council of Ten) in *Venice*, found a better "Copy, and publiſhed the ſame; whence you have the Work in a manner new, ſo renewed, that I have found the Proverb true, that it is better to "pull down an old Houſe, and to build it anew, than to repair it; as I alſo ſhould have done had I known that which in the Event I found. The "*Latine* is *Lattin* (that is, a ſort of Tin) compared to *Ramuſio's* Gold, and he which hath the *Latin* hath but *Marco Polo's* Carcaſs, or not ſo "much; but a few Bones, yea, ſometimes Stones rather than Bones, things divers, averſe, adverſe, perverted in manner, disjointed in manner beyond "Belief. I have ſeen ſome Authors maimed, but never any ſo mangled, and ſo mingled, ſo preſent, and ſo abſent, as this vulgar *Latin* of *Marco* "*Polo*; not ſo like himſelf as the three *Polos* were at their Return to *Venice*, where none knew them, as in the Diſcourſe you ſhall find, &c."

It deſerves alſo to be conſidered, that the firſt Voyages into any remote Country muſt lie under great Diſadvantages, becauſe they report Things abſolutely unknown before, and which, for that Reaſon, appear monſtrous and incredible; whereas, in Proceſs of Time, and after various Perſons have viſited the ſame Place, the Publick begins to grow familiar with their Relations; and having received repeated Teſtimonies as to the Truth of ſtrange Facts, renounce the Prejudices that were conceived againſt them at the Beginning. It is for this Reaſon that many learned Men abroad, but particularly *Ramuſio* in *Italy*, and *Bergeron* in *France*, have taken ſo much Pains to examine, correct, and ſet forth in a moſt perfect Manner, many of theſe old Writers; which after the Care they have taken about them, appear to ſo great Avantage, that they ſcarce ſeem to be the ſame that were known to us formerly in ſo wretched a Condition[*].

But if ſuch Treatiſes are liable to a bad Reception at their firſt Appearance, their Credit increaſes with Poſterity, and there is very good Reaſon for recurring to the firſt Voyages, as we do to the firſt Editions of Books to ſee how Things ſtood at the Beginning. Such Writers are, generally ſpeaking, the moſt curious and the moſt exact; for being extremely ſtruck with every thing they ſee and hear, they are more vigilant in their Searches, and more particular in their Relations, than thoſe that follow them, ſuch taking it for granted, that what is common in remote Countries has been already reported by others, and will not give themſelves the Trouble of ſetting down any thing that is not marvelous or extraordinary. We ought not, likewiſe, to forget that ſuch Travellers as are ſent to viſit diſtant Countries, or who go thither purely out of Curioſity, and from a Deſire of ſeeing what others have not ſeen before, are much more likely to record exactly whatever they meet with, than ſuch as go afterwards into theſe Countries purely on the Score of Trade; and on their Return, perhaps, are perſuaded to oblige the World with an Account of what they have met with, compiled at a conſiderable Diſtance of Time, and conſequently very liable to Miſtakes and other Imperfections.

We may add to all this, that the firſt Sort of Authors are, generally ſpeaking, Men of better Capacities, and more capable of ſetting forth their Diſcoveries than the latter; ſo that on the whole, if we mean to be thoroughly acquainted with Things, and with all the Circumſtances relating to them, we ſhall read ſuch original Writers with much greater Pleaſure than thoſe Collections which have appeared in later Times, and which are frequently no way comparable to them, either for the Importance of Facts, or the Accuracy with which they are related.

It fell out in the Eaſt, as it fell out before in the Weſt; that is to ſay, the northern Nations poured in upon them as a Deluge, and bore down all before them. It was this Inundation of the *Tartars* which overturned, and, in a great meaſure, effaced the whole Policy of the Eaſt; ſo that in the thirteenth Century, the Empire eſtabliſhed by the Great *Tartar* Monarch *Jenghiz-khan*, extended as far as *China* on the one Side, and into *Europe* on the other. His Succeſſors augmented his Dominions, and that in ſuch a Manner as to reach as far as the *Nile* one Way, and to the *Danube* and *Viſtula* on the other. Such an Extent of Dominion muſt appear to a conſiderate Reader, a more formidable Empire than any yet ſpoken of; and the ſhort Space of Time in which it was raiſed, muſt render it ſtill more amazing: To ſay the Truth, all the great Monarchies in this Part of the World, large and powerful as they are, ought, ſtrictly ſpeaking, to be conſidered as Fragments only of this enormous Sovereignty, and as the Remains and Ruins of this prodigious Structure. All the *Tartar* Principalities in *Europe* and *Aſia*, the noble Empire of *China*, with ſo much of *Tartary* as belongs to it, the wide Dominions of the Great Mogul, ſome of the Kingdoms eſtabliſhed in the *Indian* Iſlands, the Kingdom of *Perſia* as it ſtands at preſent, together with the beſt Part of the Grand Seignor's Territories, fall under this Deſcription, and were once but ſo many Parts of the *Tartar* Empire, and we may from thence eaſily diſcern how much it imports us to have a competent Knowledge of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Declenſion of this over-grown Power.

But that this, however expedient, however neceſſary, might not break in too much on the Series of our Voyages, I have taken Care to ſelect a few out of the many ancient Travels that may anſwer both Ends; that is to ſay, may preſerve the Chain of our Narrations, according to the natural Order of Time, and alſo fulfil what is requiſite with reſpect to explaining the Hiſtory of theſe People, ſo as to bring the whole into a reaſonable Compaſs, without depriving the Reader of any thing that is neceſſary for his Information, or curtailing the Authors that are given him, ſo, as to put it out of his Power to judge of the Value of each, or to know what the Writer himſelf relates, and what has been inſerted by his Editors.

The firſt of theſe ſhall be the earlieſt Traveller next to our *Arabs*; I mean the famous *Jewiſh* Writer *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, who travelled through a great Part of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, in the twelfth Century, in which we have not one Voyage beſides; and though his chief Deſign, as plainly enough appears, was to aggrandize his own Nation, however diſperſed over the Face of the Earth, and to keep up the Hopes of his Brethren, by repreſenting them as a numerous, wealthy, and flouriſhing People, notwithſtanding their Diſperſion: Yet, in doing this, he has collected ſo many curious Circumſtances with regard to the Eaſtern Nations, and interſperſed his Travels with ſuch a Variety of hiſtorical Paſſages to be met with no where elſe, that whatever Faults may be found with him, he will be always thought an Author worthy of Notice; though, to avoid Prolixty, we have inſerted only ſo much of his Work in the next Section, as has relation to the Subject of which we are treating. It will from thence however, appear, that what is ſuggeſted by *Purchas*, the only Author that has attempted to publiſh him in our Language, as to the Impoſſibility of making his Treatiſe clear and intelligible, is not over-well founded, but that with due Care and diligent Attention, his Travels might be publiſhed entire, in ſuch a Manner as to ſatisfy the moſt critical and inquiſitive Reader.

The next of theſe ancient Travellers ſhall be *William Rubruquis*, a Monk ſent by the *French* King St. *Lewis*, to the then *Khan* of the *Tartars*, whoſe Hiſtory of his Journey through ſeveral Countries then in a Manner entirely, and even now, but very imperfectly known, is addreſſed to that Prince, and written with a Spirit of Humility and Modeſty, and with ſuch plain Evidence of their Author's Veracity, as very fully juſtifies the Eſteem that has been always had of his Work. The third is *Marco Polo*, the *Venetian*, who travelled as well as *Rubruquis* in the thirteenth Century, whoſe Work has ſtood the Teſt of Time and the ſevereſt Criticks, and riſen by ſlow Degrees, from the leaſt into the higheſt Credit. There are indeed very few Books that have born ſo many Editions, or have had ſo much Pains taken about them; and indeed hardly any have deſerved it better, ſince purged from the Errors that had crept into the old Copies, and into the ſeveral Tranſlations made into different Languages, it appears to be as well diſpoſed, as well written, as curious, as entertaining, and as correct a Performance as any of its kind: And yet to avoid the Trouble of comparing ſo many Copies and Tranſlations, it has been wholly omitted in our modern Collections, though the peruſing it is in a Manner abſolutely

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[*] The Quotation in the preceding Note from *Purchas*, will fully prove the Truth of this to the intelligent Reader.

lutely neceſſary, to the underſtanding the ſubſequent Voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

The laſt of theſe old Writers taken into our Collection, ſhall be Sir *John Mandeville* our Countryman, who, notwithſtanding all the Objections made to his Relation, deſerves much better Uſage than he has met with. This great Traveller flouriſhed in the fourteenth Century, and ſpent no leſs than thirty-three Years in Travelling through the *Levant*, *Syria*, *Tartary*, *India*, *Cathey*, *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Ethiopia*, and other Countries. He compoſed the Hiſtory of theſe Travels in *Latin*, *French*, and *Engliſh*, and yet we have never hitherto had his Work ſet in ſuch a Light as might bear reading with Pleaſure. I had almoſt ſaid, and it would be no more than Truth with Patience; and at the ſame Time it has been reſpected and well eſteemed Abroad. There are indeed Abundance of ſtrange Stories and incredible Paſſages in his Work, which we do not pretend to juſtify or impoſe upon the Reader, but there are others worth knowing, and to be met with no where elſe.

The Trouble which neceſſarily attends freeing theſe Authors from the Rubbiſh under which they have been buried, and recovering ſo much of their perſonal Hiſtory as is requiſite to give Light and Life, Spirit and Intelligence to their ſeveral Labours, has been not a little: but when one conſiders how pious an Act it is to vindicate the Memory of great Men deceaſed, who thought no Pains too great for the Service of Poſterity; and how ready the preſent Age is to encourage all Attempts of this kind, a Man goes through his Taſk with Pleaſure. It is our Happineſs to live in Times more enlightened, in which all the Sciences are better underſtood than when thoſe Authors lived and wrote; but the Contemplation of our Advantages ought to diſpoſe us to a charitable Condeſcenſion, and a Diſpoſition to excuſe Infirmities, not ſo properly in them as in the Ages in which they flouriſhed, and from which therefore they could not be exempt, eſpecially when we reflect, that to their Attempts we owe the Splendour that has ſucceeded, and that without the Struggles made by them we muſt have been in the ſame Region of Darkneſs ſtill.

SECTION XIX.

The Travels of Rabbi Benjamin, *the Son of* Jonas *of* Tudela, *through* Europe, Aſia, *and* Africa, *from* Spain *to* China, *from the Year of our Lord* 1160 *to* 1173.

From the Latin *Verſions of* Benedict Arias Montanus, *and* Conſtantine l'Empereur, *compared with other Tranſlations into different Languages.*

1. *A ſuccinct Account of* Benjamin *of* Tudela, *the ſeveral Editions and Tranſlations of his Work, and the Reputation it has acquired.* 2. *The Objections that have been made to the Credit of our Author, and the true State of that Queſtion.* 3. *The Manner in which we propoſe to give the Subſtance of theſe Travels to the Reader.* 4. *The Deſcription of the City of* Conſtantinople, *the Court of the* Greek *Emperor, and other things remarkable there, in the Words of* Benjamin *of* Tudela. 5. *A ſuccinct Account of his Travels from* Conſtantinople *to* Balſora, *or* Baſſora. 6. *His Journey from thence to the Frontiers of* Perſia, *to the City of* Aria; *and his Account of the Tomb of the Prophet* Daniel. 7. *The Hiſtory of the celebrated* David El Roi, *a Native of* Aria, *who ſet up for the Meſſiah, induced the* Jews *to revolt from the King of* Perſia; *of the Miracles ſaid to be performed by him, and of his deplorable End.* 8. *The Rout from* Aria, *and the Mountains of* Haphton *to the Mountains of* Niſbon *and the River* Oxus, *by* Hamadan *and* Iſpahan. 9. *Deſcription of the Mountains of* Niſbon, *or* Niſbor, *inhabited by the Tribes of* Dan, Zebulon, Aſher, *and* Nephthali. *The Hiſtory of the War between the Copheral* Turks *and the* Perſians, *together with an Account of Rabbi* Moſes. 10. *Return to* Chuzeſtan, *Deſcription of the Iſland of* Nekrokis, *of the Pearl Fiſhery, of ſeveral Counories in the* Indies, *of the diabolical Practices of the Natives; and finally of the frozen Sea, or the Sea of* China. 11. *Rout from* Gingala *into* Ethiopia, *and from thence to* Grand Cairo. 12. *A large Deſcription of the City of* Mitzraim, *or* Grand Cairo, *the State of the* Jews *in that Country, of the overflowing of the* Nile, *of the famous Column for meaſuring the Riſe of that River, the Fertility of the Country of* Egypt, *the Mouths of the River* Nile, *and the Situation of the ancient City of* Memphis. 13. *An Account of many other Cities in* Egypt, *a large Deſcription of* Alexandria, *and the principal Things therein, with the State of its Commerce at the Time of our Author's being there.* 14. *A conciſe Account of his Return into* Europe, *and going back into his native Country of* Spain. 15. *Remarks and Obſervations on the foregoing Travels.*

1. THERE are few Authors better known to the learned World than our *Benjamin*, called from the Place of his Birth *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, a very pleaſant Town in *Navarre*, on the Confines of the Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*. The *Jews*, who boaſt very much of our Author's Work, inform us, that he was the Son of Rabbi *Jonas*, who was ſettled at *Tudela*; but they do not acquaint us with the Year in which our Author was born, of what Profeſſion he was, or what induced him to travel. In ſhort, all that at this Diſtance of Time can be diſcovered on the Subject, amounts to no more than this, that he began his Travels, *A. D.* 1160, and that he ended them in 1173, which was the very Year in which he died.

Theſe Travels of his have been always in great Credit amongſt his own Countrymen, who never cite them but with the greateſt Applauſe; neither have there been wanting ſeveral very learned Chriſtians, who have been of the ſame Opinion, to which probably it may be owing, that from *A. D.* 1543, when it was firſt printed at *Conſtantinople*, we have had of this Book no leſs than ſixteen different Editions, and ſome of them by the ableſt Criticks.

The firſt Verſion of it that appeared in *Latin* was in 1575, by *Benedict Arias Montanus*, a Man of great Learning, and high Reputation, who in his Preface paid great Compliments to the *Spaniſh* Nation on account of the Diſcoveries made by them in the moſt diſtant Parts of the World.

This, however, did not hinder *Conſtantine l'Empereur* from making another Tranſlation in 1633, with the *Hebrew* Text in the Margin, and the Addition of very learned Notes; notwithſtanding which, many great Criticks have teſtified an earneſt Deſire to ſee another and ſtill correcter Verſion, ſince to ſay the Truth, there are ſome apparent Errors in this as well as in the former Tranſlation, occaſioned, as I conceive, chiefly by the Miſtakes that have been made by Tranſcribers in the Text, where we have many Names of Countries, Cities, and Princes, that never were heard of in any other Author; and therefore are with great

Reaſon believed to have come by ſome ſuch Miſtake into this, the rather, becauſe on comparing ſeveral Editions, ſome of theſe Errors have been detected and amended, which affords us room to hope that ſome time or other ſo judicious a Critick may ariſe, as will be able to correct them all, and give us this Author in his genuine Purity.

2. But, notwithſtanding the great Reputation of our Author, ſome very conſiderable Writers, and thoſe too extremely well verſed in *Hebrew* Learning, have attacked this Work of his with much Vivacity. M. *Wagenſeil* for inſtance, who wrote a very learned Defence of the Chriſtian Religion againſt the Cavils and Aſperſions of the *Jews*, is pleaſed to ſay of this Writer, that whenever he meets with any thing that makes for the Honour of his Nation, he is not only careful to report it in its full Extent, but even ventures ſometimes to exceed the Truth [a].

The famous *Hottinger* deals as freely, or rather more ſo, with *Benjamin*; his Voyage, ſays he, is puffed up with *Jewiſh* Pride, and the ſole Aim of it is to deceive and miſlead the Ignorant into an Opinion, that obſcure and unknown Places are full of the Glory of the *Jews*. He adds farther, that there are many Fables and Contradictions in the Book, and ſtill more Stories that are reported upon very ſlender Grounds: Yet after all, he concludes, that our Author has many things in him that are not to be found elſewhere [b].

The very learned *Spanheim* gives the true Character of the Work in a few Words: It is, ſays he, pretty highly ſeaſoned with Fables; but there are many good Things in it for all that [c]. This is preciſely the Caſe, the *Jews* and ſuch as are fond Admirers of *Rabinick* Learning have cried it up much beyond its real Merit; and others again have, for a particular Reaſon, run it down beyond all Meaſure; nay, they have queſtioned whether our Author ever travelled at all, and would perſuade us that he made this Book without ſtirring out of *Spain*; but they would have done well to have ſhewn us how he came by the Materials, which I think a much harder Taſk than to anſwer all their Objections.

His Countrymen, it ſeems, frequently quote this Book of *Benjamin*'s, to ſhew, that the *Jews* are not yet totally deprived of Power, but that there is ſtill a kind of Sovereignty exerciſed by ſome of their Nation over their Brethren in certain Countries of the Eaſt, which being ſuppoſed to contradict the famous Prophecy relating to the coming of Chriſt, theſe Criticks will have to be a Fable. But if *Benjamin* had never wrote, the *Jews* would be able to prove the Truth of this in ſtronger Terms [d] than it is aſſerted by him, and yet without overthrowing the Application of that Prophecy to *Jeſus Chriſt*; and therefore this is no Reaſon to me for depreciating the Work at all. He has certainly exaggerated ſome Things, and miſtaken many more. What then, we find in him many things curious and entertaining, which we can find no where elſe?

3. Our Author in his firſt Chapter gives us an Account of his Travels by Land from *Sarragoſſa* to *Marſeilles*. In his ſecond Chapter, he tells us that he embarked for *Genoa*, and proceeded from thence to *Rome*, of which he gives us a Deſcription. He went from that City through the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Otranto*, and ſailed from thence to the Iſland of *Corfu*, and then paſſed by Land through *Greece* to *Conſtantinople*, and in his Paſſage traverſed the Country of *Walachia* [e]. This takes up his fourth Chapter, but as there is nothing very extraordinary in this Part of his Work, and as we have no Room to ſpare, I thought it better to omit theſe Chapters than to abridge them, becauſe I muſt have given the Senſe of the Author in my own Words, which would not have put it in the Reader's Power to form any Judgment of the Writer's Stile or Manner of Writing. In his fifth Chapter he gives a long Account of the City of *Conſtantinople*, of the Court of the *Greek* Emperor, and of the State that Things were in at the Time of his being there, with many other curious Particulars, and therefore I have given this Chapter at large, accompanied with ſuch explanatory Notes as were requiſite, that I might afford the Reader a proper Specimen of this Performance, without treſpaſſing too much on his Time or my own.

4. "From thence we travelled three Days Journey to
" *Abiro*, ſeated upon the Sea-Shore, and travelling five
" Days Journey more among the Mountains, one comes to
" *Conſtantinople*, an exceeding great City, and the Head
" of the Kingdom of *Javanites* [f], or thoſe called *Greeks*.
" This is the principal Seat of the Emperor *Emanuel* [g],
" whoſe Command twelve Kings obey; for every one
" whereof there are ſeveral Palaces at *Conſtantinople*, and
" they have alſo Fortreſſes and Governments, and unto
" theſe the whole Land is ſubject. The Principal and
" Chiefeſt is called *Apripus*, the ſecond *Mega Dumaſtukitz*,
" the third *Dominot*, the fourth *Mackducus*, the fifth *Ikno*-
" *mus Megli*, and the reſt have Names like unto theſe [h].
" The Compaſs of the City of *Conſtantinople* containeth
" eighteen Miles, one half of it ſtandeth upon the Sea,
" but the other half on the Continent, and it is ſeated up-
" on two Arms of the Sea, into one of which the Sea
" flows out of *Ruſſia*, but into the other from *Spain*, and
" it is frequented by many Traders from the Provinces
" and Countries of *Babylon*, *Senaar*, *Media*, *Perſia*, and
" all the Kingdom of *Egypt* and Land of *Canaan*, and
" the Kingdoms of *Ruſſia*, *Hungary*, and *Pſianki*, *Buria*,
" *Lombardy*, and *Spain*.

" The City itſelf is exceſſively populous, unto which
" Merchants reſort out of all Countries, travelling thither
" both by Sea and Land. It hath none to compare with it
" in the World, except *Bagdat*, that mighty City of the
" *Iſmaelites*. Here is the moſt famous Temple of St. *So*-
" *phia*, and the Patriarch of the *Grecians* dwelleth here,
" nor do they agree in Doctrine with the Pope of *Rome*.
" There are in it alſo as many Altars in Number as Days
" in the Year; but it hath an exceeding great Treaſure
" almoſt beyond all Eſtimation, by the Offerings and
" Riches yearly brought from divers Countries, Iſlands,
" Caſtles, Forts, and Places, ſo that the Wealth of no
" Temple in the whole World can be compared with the
" Riches thereof; and in the Midſt of the Temple there
" are Pillars of Gold and Silver, huge Candleſticks, Lan-
" thorns, Lamps and other Ornaments of theſe precious
" Metals, more than any Man is able to reckon. Next ad-
" joining to the Walls of the Temple, there is a Place
" built for the Emperor's Diverſion, called *Hippodromus*,
" where yearly upon the Birth-day of JESUS of *Naza*-
" *reth*, great Spectacles are publickly preſented, and

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[a] *Not. ad Lipmanni Carmen Nizzachon in Tel. ign. Sat. pag.* 374. This Writer is induced to cenſure our Author, for the Reaſons I have afterwards aſſigned, that is, becauſe he thinks what *Benjamin* has advanced derogatory from the famous Prophecy in the 49th Chapter of *Geneſis*.

[b] *Hiſt. Eccl. Sect.* XII p. 241.

[c] *Introd. ad Hiſt. Eccl.* Part II. Secul. XII. Sect. XIV. p. 370.

[d] It appears evidently from the *Khoran*, that there were Principalities of the *Jews* in *Arabia* at the Time that *Mohammed* ſet up for a Prophet, which is certainly as ſtrong as any thing advanced by our Author, and is, notwithſtanding, a Fact that cannot be diſputed.

[e] The Manner and Stile of this Voyage is a proper Specimen of all the *Jewiſh* Writers, who uſe exactly the ſame Terms in their Narrations; and by affecting to keep cloſe to the Names of Nations and Cities mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, render their own Writings very perplexed and obſcure.

[f] This Term is made Uſe of by the *Jews* to ſignify the *Greeks*, becauſe they conceive them to be the Deſcendants of *Javan*; it is their Manner of Writing, and we muſt be contented with it. It is true we might have given all this a modern Dreſs, but then it would have been no longer the Travels of *Benjamin of Tudela*, which was what we promiſed.

[g] This Emperor *Emanuel* is *Manuel Comnenus*, who aſcended the Imperial Throne *A. D.* 1143, and died in 1180. He was famous for his Treachery to the Chriſtian Princes ingaged in the Holy War, but it is very certain that the Time of his Reign agrees exactly with the Time of our Author's viſiting the City of *Conſtantinople*.

[h] There cannot well be any thing more confuſed than this Paſſage of our Author, is at firſt ſight, and yet it is not impoſſible to make tolerable good Senſe of it. *Benjamin* thought that as *Manuel* was an Emperor, his Miniſters and Governors of Provinces ought to be conſidered as equal in State and Dignity to Kings. There is no Doubt great Difficulty in tranſcribing *Greek* Words by *Hebrew* Characters, eſpecially where a Perſon is not fully Maſter of both Languages, which was certainly the Caſe of our Author, and perhaps the Errors of the Work have been heightened as well as multiplied by ſuch as have copied it. *Apripus* in the Text very probably means *Protoſebaſtus*, or *Prime Miniſter*. *Mega Domeſtukitz*, is plainly the Corruption of μέγας Δομέστικος, or Great Chamberlain. *Dominot* ſtands for *Dominus*. *Makaducus* is put for μέγας Δοὺξ, or Great Duke, and the laſt is intended for Οἰκονόμος μέγας, or Lord High Steward.

“ there all Sorts of Men in all manner of Habits of the whole World, appear before the King and Queen. Lions alſo, and Bears, Leopards and wild Aſſes, are brought forth into the Place where theſe Spectacles are to be ſeen, that they may fight together, and Birds alſo after the ſame manner: And my Opinion is that in no Country of the World ſuch Princely Sports are to be ſeen.

“ But this King *Emanuel*, beſides that Palace left him by his Anceſtors, hath built him another upon the Sea Shore, which they call *Bilbernæ*, the Pillars and Walls whereof he hath overlaid with beaten Gold and Silver, whereon he hath engraved all the Wars made by him and his Anceſtors; and he hath prepared a Throne there for himſelf of Gold and precious Stones, and hath adorned it with a golden Crown hanging on high by Gold Chains; the Compoſure whereof is equal with the Throne itſelf, ſo enrich'd with precious Stones and Pearls, that the Price whereof no Man is able to value; of ſo great a Luſtre, that without the Aſſiſtance of Light they ſhine, and may be ſeen in the Night.

“ Moreover there are ſuch valuable Things in the ſame Place, as were incredible if told; and Tributes are yearly brought into that Palace, wherewith the Towers are filled with ſcarlet and purple Garments, and Gold; ſo that the like Example of building and Riches, can no where elſe be found in the World. And, it is affirmed, that the Revenue only of this City itſelf, gathered from the Markets, Haven, and Tribute of Merchants, amounted to Twenty Thouſand Crowns a Day. Furthermore, the *Grecians* themſelves, Inhabitants of the Country, are exceeding rich in Gold, and have abundance of precious Stones, and are dreſſed in moſt ſumptuous Apparel, their Garments being made of Crimſon intermingled with Gold, or embroidered with Needle-work, and are all carried upon Horſes, as if they were the Children of Kings. The Country itſelf being very large, abounds with all Sorts of Fruits, and hath great Plenty of Corn, Fleſh, and Wine; nor is there a finer Spot in the whole World to be found. They are alſo learned, and ſkilful in the Diſcipline of the *Grecians*; but giving themſelves wholly to Pleaſure, they eat and drink every one under his own Vine and under his own Fig-tree. Of all the Nations which they call *Barbarians*, they have Soldiers to fight with the *Soldan* King of the Children of *Thogarma*, who are commonly called *Turks*, becauſe they themſelves, through Idleneſs and Luxury, are become quite unfit for the Wars, and ſeem unto me more like Women than Men, through their exceſſive Love of Pleaſure [i].

“ But no *Jews* dwell within the City, for they are excluded from thence by an Arm of the Sea of *Sophia*; they are not ſo much as permitted to come into the City but by Boats, and that for the ſake of Commerce; and here are about two thouſand *Jews Rabbanites*, beſides five hundred *Karaites* on the other Side. There is a Wall to ſeparate them from the *Rabbanites*, that are the Diſciples of wiſe Men: And among whom *Abtalion* the Great, and *R. Abdias*, and *Aaron Cuſpus*, and *Joſeph Starginus*, and *Eliakim* the Governor, have the chief Authority. Amongſt theſe ſome are Artificers of ſilken Garments; but there are many Merchants, and thoſe too very rich. No *Jew* is there permitted to be carried on Horſe-back, except *Solomon* the *Egyptian*, the King's Phyſician, through whoſe Intereſt the *Jews* are comforted and eaſed in their Captivity, which they feel to be grievous; for all the *Jews* are very much hated by the *Grecians*, without making any Difference between the good and evil: But they are worſt uſed by the Tanners, who, while they dreſs their Skins, pour out the filthy Water into the Streets before their Doors. They are in general oppreſſed with a grievous Yoke, and are inſulted and beaten in the Streets, enduring from every Hand abundance of Injuries. But among the *Jews* themſelves, ſome are rich, as I have ſaid, and good Men, and merciful, and obſerve the Commandments, who patiently endure the Miſery of Captivity. The Place wherein they dwell is called *Pera*.”

5. Our Author continued his Journey from *Conſtantinople* to the City of *Tyre*, from thence to *Jeruſalem*, and from thence through the *Holy Land*, of which he gives a very particular Deſcription, to the City of *Damaſcus*; and from thence to *Balback*, which is in the Neighbourhood of the ancient *Palmyra*, which he calls by its old Name of *Tadmor*, and aſſures us, that there were in it, when he paſſed through, two thouſand *Jews*. He gives us next a copious Account of the City of *Bagdat*, of the Court of the Khaliff, and of the Condition of the *Jews* in that City. Then he carries us into the Country of *Thema*, where he places a whole Nation of *Jews*, about which there have been great Diſputes; and ſome would have us believe, that the whole is a Forgery. However that Matter be, as it it no way relates to my Subject, I did not think it requiſite to trouble the Reader therewith, eſpecially as there are Stories enough of the ſame kind in the reſt of the Book. In his fifteenth Chapter, he acquaints us, that he proceeded to *Botzra* on the River *Tigris*, which is plaily *Balſora*, or *Baſſora*, a Place frequently mentioned in the preceding Part of this Work; and from thence he continued his Journey through *Perſia*, as I ſhall acquaint the Reader in his own Words [k].

“ 6. The River *Samoura* is eſteemed the Limits of the Kingdom of *Perſia*, and near it ſtands a City of the ſame Name, wherein dwell fifteen hundred *Jews*. There is the Sepulchre of *Eſdras* the Scribe and Prieſt, who died at this Place in his Return from *Jeruſalem* to the Court of *Artaxerxes*. Our People have built before this Sepulchre a great Synagogue; and on the other Side the *Iſhmaelites*, i. e. the *Arabians*, or *Mohammedans*, have built a Moſque; ſo great is their Eſteem for *Eſdras*, and their Reſpect for the *Iſraelites*. It is on this Score alſo, that the *Iſhmaelites* reſort hither to pray.

“ It is four Miles from hence to *Chuzeſthan*, which is the ſame with *Elam*, that great City of old; but it is now in ſome meaſure ruined and uninhabited. At one End, but in the midſt of Ruins, is *Suſa*, a Caſtle, and formerly the Palace of *Ahaſuerus*; ſome Remains of which are yet ſtanding. There are here ſeven thouſand *Jews* and fourteen Synogogues, before one of which ſtands the Tomb of *Daniel*. The River *Tigris* [l] runs through the City, over which there is a Bridge. All the *Jews* that live on one Side are very rich, have Shops extremely well filled, and carry on a great Commerce. Thoſe on the other Side the River are all poor, having neither Market, Shops, Gardens, nor Orchards. The Senſe of their Condition threw them once into an Inſurrection, from a Notion that all the Glory and Riches of thoſe on the other Side the River, ſprung from no other Cauſe than their having the Sepulchre of the Prophet *Daniel* on their Side.

“ They demanded therefore that his Tomb ſhould be transferred to their Side; but the others vehemently oppoſing this, a War began, of which both Sides growing weary, it was agreed, that the Coffin of *Daniel* ſhould remain one Year on one Side the River, and the next Year on the other. This Treaty was obſerved till ſuch

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[i] However ſharp or ſevere this Character of the People at *Conſtantinople* may ſeem, yet it is beyond all queſtion very juſt and well founded, fully ſupports what we have delivered upon this Subject in the ſixteenth Section, and is at once a Mark of Veracity in theſe Travels, and of the Author's Capacity in judging of what he ſaw.

[k] Our Author's Travels, with the Remarks neceſſary to explain them, would, if delivered entire, take up a great many Sheets; and for this Reaſon it is, and that we may keep the Subject as much within Bounds as poſſible, that we take this Method of acquainting the Reader with the Contents of his Work.

[l] Our Author is a little out here in his Geography, for the River *Tigris* does not come near this City; the River he means was anciently called *Eulæus*, and in the modern Maps we find it deſcribed under the Name of *Coron*. It is, in all Probability, the ſame as before mentioned, which ſome Criticks will have to be a River of our Author's making; but the Truth of the Matter is, that the River *Coron* takes its Riſe near a Town called *Samira*, from whence he might hear it called the River of *Samira*, and ſuch an Error, conſidering the Times in which he lived, is not very conſiderable.

“ time as *Sanigar Shah*, Son to the great *Shah* of *Perſia*, who rules over forty-five Princes, cancelled it. He is called in *Arabic* Sultan *Phars-Al-Chabir*, which is as much as to ſay, Great Emperor of *Perſia*. His Empire extends from the Mouth of the River *Samoura* to the City of *Samarcand*, and to the River of *Gozan*, the Province of *Gelbot*, including the Cities of the *Medes*, the Mountains of *Haphton*, and ſo to the Province of *Thibet*; in the Foreſts of which Country are found the Animals that produce Muſk. His Empire is four Months and four Days Journey in Extent [a].

“ When therefore this great Monarch *Sanigar* King of *Perſia* came to *Elam*, and ſaw them tranſporting the Coffin of *Daniel* from one Side of the River to the other, with a great Croud of *Jews* and *Iſhmaelites* upon the Bridge, he demanded what they were doing, and the Reaſon of their doing it; and being informed of what has been before related, he decided the Point thus. It is by no means decent, ſaid he, that the Remains of *Daniel* ſhould be treated in this manner; meaſure therefore to a Place that is at an equal Diſtance from both Sides, and there let the Coffin of *Daniel* be ſuſpended in a Glaſs Caſe, faſtened to the Middle of the Bridge by Chains of Iron, and let there be a ſpacious Edifice built in the ſame Place in the Form of a Synagogue, open to all People, whether *Jews*, or of other Nations that incline to come thither to ſay their Prayers [b]. As a ſtill ſtronger Mark of his Eſteem, that Emperor likewiſe forbad, by an expreſs Edict, that any Man ſhould take Fiſh out of the River for one Mile below, and another above, for the Reverence and Honour of *Daniel*.”

From hence to *Robad-bar* are three Day's Journey, where dwell twenty thouſand *Iſraelites*, among whom there are very many Diſciples of the Wiſe-men, and alſo ſome of them very rich; but theſe live under the Power and Authority of a ſtrange Prince. In two Day's Journey from thence you come to the River *Vanth*, where are four thouſand *Jews*, or thereabouts; but four Day's Journey from the River lieth the Country *Molhat*, the Inhabitants whereof believe not the Doctrine of the *Iſmaelites*, but they dwell in very ſtrong Mountains, and they obey an Elder, whoſe Seat is in the Country *Alchefiſin*; and among theſe there are four Colleges of the *Iſraelites*, and they go forth to the Wars with them; nor are they ſubject to the Dominion of the King of *Perſia*; but live in high Mountains, from whence deſcending, they invade the bordering Countries, and drive away Booties, and return again, fearing no Man; but the *Jews*, who dwell among them, are the Diſciples of the wiſe Men, and obey the Head of the Captivity of *Babylon*.

You travel five Day's Journey from hence to *Omaria*, where are five-and-twenty thouſand *Iſraelites*; and it is the Beginning of the Synagogues of the Inhabitants of the Mountains of *Haphton*, which are known to be more than an hundred in Number; and in theſe Places the Country of *Media* beginneth; and theſe are of the firſt Captivity carried away by King *Salmanaſar*; but they ſpeak the *Chaldee* Language, and among them are the Diſciples of the wiſe Men, and the chief City *Omaria*, pertaining to the Kingdom of *Perſia*, within one Day's Journey; but they are under the Dominion of the King of *Perſia*, to whom they pay Tribute; and the Tribute appointed in all the Kingdoms of the *Iſmaelites*, is for Males above fifteen Years old, one Golden Amir, which is in Value one *Spaniſh* Morabetine Piece of Gold and an half, or half a Crown of our Money.

7. It is now twelve Years ſince a certain Man named *David Elroi* aroſe in the City of *Omaria*, who was the Diſciple of *Chaſdai*, the Head of the Captivity, and of *Jacob* the honourable Head of the Aſſembly of *Levi*, in the Metropolitan City of *Bagdat*; he became very learned in the Law of *Moſes*, and in the Books of Doctrine, and alſo in all Wiſdom; in the Language of the *Iſmaelites*, and in the Books of the Magicians and Inchanters; he therefore took it in his Head that he would raiſe Arms againſt the King of *Perſia*, and gather together the *Jews* who dwelt in the Mountains of *Haphton* would war againſt the whole World, and go to *Jeruſalem* and win it by Aſſault; and that he might perſuade the *Jews* thereto, he ſhewed them lying and deceitful Signs, affirming that he was ſent from God to *Jeruſalem*, and to free them from the Yoke of the Nations, ſo that with many of the *Jews* he procured Credit unto himſelf, and was owned by them for their Meſſiah [c].

The King of *Perſia* hearing the Report of this Inſurrection, ſent for him to talk with him, to whom he went without any Fear; and it being demanded whether he was the King of the *Jews*, he boldly anſwered, that he was; and he was thereupon apprehended and caſt into the Goal, in which State Priſoners are kept all their Lives. This Priſon is in the City *Dabaſtran*, nigh the great River *Gozan*. After three Days a Council of the Princes and Miniſters being called by the King, in which they conſulted as to this Inſurrection of the *Jews*, *David* was preſent there, being eſcaped out of Priſon, no Man knowing thereof. When the King ſaw him, he demanded, *Who hath brought thee hither, or delivered thee out of Priſon?* “Mine own Wiſdom, anſwered he, for I am not afraid of thee, or thy Servants.” Then the King cried out to thoſe about him, *Seize him! lay Hands on him!* To whom the Princes and Servants anſwered, that his Voice was heard by all, but he was ſeen by none [d].

The King wondering at his Wiſdom, was aſtoniſhed. *David* then cried out aloud, *Lo, I take my Way*; and he began to go before, the King following him, and all the Nobility and their Servants followed the King. When they came to the Bank of the River, *David* ſpreading abroad his Handkerchief upon the Waters, paſſed over dry, and at that time was ſeen of all. They endeavoured to purſue and take him with little Boats, which they attempted in vain; and thence concluded, that no Inchanter in the World might be compared to him. As for *David*, he travelled that Day ten Day's Journey, coming to *Omaraia*; through the Virtue of the ineffable Name [e], he declared what had befallen unto him to their great Amazement.

But the King of the *Perſians* ſending Meſſengers unto *Bagdat*, informed the Great Khaliff of the *Iſmaelites* of this Matter, and requeſted that he would cauſe *David Elroi* to be reſtrained from ſuch Enterprizes, by the Head of the Captivity, and the chief Rulers of the Aſſemblies, otherwiſe he threatened total Deſtruction to all the *Jews* living in the Kingdom of *Perſia*. All the Synagogues of the Kingdom of *Perſia* falling thereupon into great Fear of the

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[a] This pompous Account of an Emperor commanding over forty-five Kings is very ſuitable to the Genius of a *Jewiſh* Traveller; but the Difficulty is to find out who he is of whom all this is ſaid. We read in *Elmacinus* of a Prince of this Name, who was the Son of a King of *Perſia*, and flouriſhed about this Time; and therefore it is very probable, that this Deciſion is to be aſcribed to him in the Life-time of his Father, though *Benjamin* ſeems to attribute it to the Shah, or Emperor himſelf.

[b] This Circumſtance is not in itſelf very conſiderable; but in ſo large a Collection as this, it was neceſſary to have a Writer ſo much talked of as our Author, and the Reader cannot think his Time thrown away in acquiring by this Inſtance the Power of judging of ſuch a Performance; for, as I obſerved before, the *Jewiſh* Authors all write alike.

[c] This Story, as extravagant as it ſeems, is really a Matter of Fact, and as ſuch is recorded by two *Jewiſh* Hiſtorians, *viz.* *R. Selomo Ben Virga*, *R. David Ganiz*, who place it in *A. D.* 1135, which, as ſome Criticks have obſerved, does not agree with the Date aſſigned by our Author, who ſays, it happened twelve Years before he was there. This, however, is no great Miſtake, even if we ſhould admit that it is our Author's Miſtake, tho' for my part I ſhould ſuppoſe it as eaſy for the other Writers to err in this particular. The whole, however, may perhaps be ſolved, by ſuppoſing that *Benjamin* copied the Account that he has given us from ſome Hiſtory of this Impoſtor written twelve Years after this Inſurrection. However it be, the Thing is of no great Moment, any more than the Difference between the Name mentioned by our Author, and that of *David El David*, which is uſed in the other Hiſtories.

[d] There are ſome little Variations in the Manner in which theſe Facts are told by the other Hiſtorians; but they are of no great Conſequence, and therefore I ſhall not trouble the Reader with them, neither ſhould I have mentioned theſe Writers at all, but to convince the Reader, that this is not a Tale invented by *Benjamin*, as he might otherwiſe very readily imagine.

[e] Both the *Latin* Tranſlators have miſſed the Senſe as to this Name, which the *Jews* call ineffable, becauſe they are perſuaded that the true Pronunciation of the Name of God is loſt, or unknown; and they pretend, that whoever has the Secret of pronouncing it right, is able thereby to work Miracles. They likewiſe aſſert, that by this Means our Saviour wrought his; and though this be a very idle Conceit, yet it is worth the knowing, becauſe it ſhews plainly, that the *Jews* do not pretend to deny the Matters of Fact, but are forced to have Recourſe to this Evaſion, in order to juſtify their Incredulity.

Matter, ſent Letters therefore unto the Heads of the Captivity, and to the Heads of all the Aſſemblies in *Bagdat* to this Purpoſe: *Why ſhould we die before your Eyes, as well we as all the Univerſities ſubject unto this Kingdom! Reſtrain this Man, we beſeech you, leſt innocent Blood be ſhed.* Therefore the Head of the Captivity, and the chief Rulers of the Aſſemblies, wrote Letters unto *David El Roi* to the following Effect: *We give you hereby to underſtand, that the Time of our Delivery is not yet come, and that our Signs, which ought to precede that Deliverance, are not yet ſeen, and a Man is not made ſtrong through Pride; wherefore we enjoin you to abſtain wholly from ſuch Enterprizes and Attempts, otherwiſe ye ſhall be excommunicated, and cut off from all* Iſrael.

They alſo by Meſſengers advertized *Zachai Hanaſſi*, who was in the Country of *Aſſur*, and *Joſeph*, ſurnamed the *Seer*, *Burhan Alpelech* living there, that *David Elroi* might be reſtrained by Letters written from them, which was diligently purſued by them, but all in vain; for he would not forſake that wicked way, but perſiſted till a certain King of the *Togarmim* called *Zinaldin*, ſubject to the King of *Perſia*, ſent ten thouſand Pieces of Gold unto the Father-in-Law of *David Elroi*, and perſuaded him to end theſe Troubles, by privately killing his Son-in-Law, which, when he had undertaken to perform, he thruſt *David* through with a Sword in his Bed as he ſlept; and this was the End of all his Subtilty and Deluſions[r]. But even when he was dead, the Anger of the King of *Perſia* was not appeaſed towards thoſe People of the Mountains, and other *Jews* ſubject to him, and ſettled in his Dominion; and therefore they deſired once more Help from the Head of the Captivity, who going to the King himſelf, appeaſed him by mild and wiſe Speeches; and having preſented him with one hundred Talents of Gold, he ſo mollified him, that there was ever afterwards great Quietneſs through the whole Country.

8. From theſe Mountains before deſcribed, you travel ten Days Journey to *Hamadan*, the principal City of the Country of *Media*, in which City there are about fifty thouſand *Jews*; and in that City over-againſt one of the Synagogues are the Sepulchres of *Mordecai* and *Eſther*. *Dabreſtan* is four Days Journey diſtant from hence, where four thouſand *Jews* dwell, nigh unto the River *Gozan*; but from thence you travel ſeven Days Journey to *Iſpahan*, a very great City, the Capital of this Country, and twelve Miles in Compaſs, wherein there are about twelve thouſand *Iſraelites*, over whom *Shallum* is apppinted by the Head of the Captivity, as alſo over all the reſt of the *Iſraelites* who dwell in the Cities of *Perſia*. After four Days Journey you come to *Siaphaz*[s], the moſt ancient in this Country, called *Perſidis* of old, from whence the Name was given to the whole Province, in which there are almoſt ten thouſand *Jews*.

From *Siaphaz*, in ſeven Days Journey you come to the City *Ginah*, ſeated nigh the River *Gozan*, to which there reſort Merchants of all Nations and Languages, and where are about eight thouſand *Jews*. The fartheſt City of this Kingdom is the famous *Samarcand*; and five Days Journey from *Ginah*, where are fifty thouſand *Iſraelites*, over whom *Obdias* ruleth; and among them are many wiſe and rich Men. In four Days Journey from hence you come to *Thibet*, a capital City of the Province of the ſame Name, in the Foreſts of which are the Animals found that produce Muſk.

9. About twenty-eight Days Journey from thence lie the Mountains of *Niſbon*, which are ſituated near the River *Gozan*; and ſome of the *Jews* that inhabit *Perſia* affirm, that in the Cities of *Niſbor* dwell the four Tribes of *Iſrael*, carried away in the firſt Captivity by *Salmanaſar* the King of the *Aſſyrians*, viz. *Dan*, *Zebulon*, *Aſſer*, and *Nepthali*, as it is written, *And he carried them away into Lechalach and Habor, the Mountains of Gozan*, and the *Mountains of Media*. Their Country is extended twenty Days Journey in Length, with many Cities and Caſtles inhabited, all mountainous, the River *Gozan* running on the one Side; but the Inhabitants are abſolutely free, and are ruled by a certain Governor, whoſe Name was at this Time *Joſeph Amraela*, a *Levite*, and among them are the Diſciples of Wiſe Men: They ſow and reap, and are at War with the Children of *Chus*, who dwell in the Deſarts. They are in League with the *Copherall Turks*, Worſhippers of the Winds, a People who lead their Lives in the Deſarts, neither eat Bread nor drink Wine, but feed on the raw Fleſh of Beaſts, as well clean as unclean; and theſe either new killed, and yet trembling with Life-Blood, or dried in the Air, but unboiled. They devour alſo the Limbs torn from Beaſts yet alive. They ſeem to want Noſes; but inſtead thereof, they have two Holes in their Faces, through which they breathe. They are Friends to the *Iſraelites*[t].

It happened about fifteen Years ſince, that invading the Country of *Perſia* with a great Army, they vanquiſhed the metropolitan City *Rei*; and having made a mighty Slaughter afterwards, utterly waſted it, and ſpoiled the Houſes and Fields, and carried away a prodigious Plunder, returning through the Deſarts, a Calamity which for many Ages was never felt in *Perſia*. The King of *Perſia*, vehemently enraged, ſaid, In the Days of my Anceſtors, no Army never came out of this Deſart, therefore will I go in Purſuit of them and deſtroy them from the Earth. He aſſembled accordingly an Army for War, and ſeeking ſome Guide to whom the Places of that Nation were known, a certain Man offered himſelf, who affirmed, that he was of that Nation, and knew their Dwellings; but being aſked what Proviſion was neceſſary for the Army, he anſwered Bread and Water for fifteen Days, which you muſt ſpend in paſſing through the Deſarts. When they had marched theſe fifteen Days, the Army found themſelves deſtitute of Subſiſtance for Men or Beaſts, without ſeeing any thing of the Place whither they intended to go, or the leaſt Signs of an inhabited Country. The Guide was aſked for by the King, who ſaid to him, you ſee how well you have kept your Word, tell us where are our Enemies that you aſſured us you could diſcover? The Guide ſaid by way of Excuſe, I have loſt my Way; and the King thereupon loſing all Patience, ordered him to be put to Death, commanding at the ſame time by Proclamation, that whoever had any Proviſions in his Army, ſhould bring them forth, and divide them with his Companions[u].

They then eat up all that they had, even to the Beaſts that carried their Baggage; and in this diſtreſſed Condition they proſecuted their March for thirteen Days more, till at laſt they arrived at the Mountains of *Niſbor*, inhabited by the *Jews*. The *Perſians* encamped themſelves among the Gardens and Orchards by the Side of Canals drawn from the River *Gozan*. As it was then the Seaſon of ripe Fruits, they eat what they thought fit, and made free with all they found, no body coming out to oppoſe them: But at a Diſtance they diſcovered among the Mountains ſeveral Hamlets, and ſome Forts, that looked like Places of Strength. The King of *Perſia* being informed of all this, ſent two of his Servants to diſcover what Nation it was that had ſettled in theſe Mountains, and directed them for this Purpoſe to paſs the River either by Boats, if they found any, or if not, by ſwimming.

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[r] The Authors we have before cited, tell us the ſame Story as to the Death of this Impoſtor, but with a Circumſtance that *Benjamin* has omitted, which is, that the *Jews* themſelves were obliged to raiſe the Ten thouſand Pieces of Gold that were given as a Bribe to the Father-in-Law of *David*, for killing him when he was aſleep.

[s] All the Tranſlators and Commentators on our Author, have been at a Loſs to conceive what Place he could mean by this; and yet I think the Difficulty is not quite ſo great as they repreſent it; for to me it appears very plain, that this City was *Schiraz*, which anſwers exactly his Deſcription. As for Confuſion in Names, I have already aſſigned the Cauſe of it, which was his expreſſing, in *Hebrew* Characters, Words that theſe Characters could not expreſs, and in expreſſing which Words he was entirely governed by their Sound.

[t] This, without doubt, is a very odd Deſcription of theſe People; and yet it is not very far wide of the Truth, for modern Travellers aſſure us, that the *Kalmuc Tartars* have Noſes ſo flat that they are ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed but by the riſing of the Noſtrils; and as to their Manners, our Author is not much out of the Way. The City he ſpeaks of as ruined by the People, was the great City of *Rey*, which makes ſuch a Figure in all the Eaſtern Hiſtorians; the ſame that in the Book of *Tobit* is called *Rhages*, and of which we ſhall give an ample Account in the next Volume.

[u] This Expedition is among the Singularities which render theſe Travels valuable; for I do not know that there is any Account of it to be met with elſewhere; and our Author tells us very honeſtly how he came by it; neither do I think that the Dexterity with which his Countrymen the *Jews* made their Court to both Parties, is a Circumſtance that in the Opinion of ſuch as are acquainted with that Nation, will render it at all improbable.

Theſe Men had not proceeded far in their Journey before they met with a Bridge that was very well built, and had a good Barrier; and on the other Side of the Bridge they ſaw a very large City: They immediately called out, and the Town's People coming to the Gate, demanded who they were, and to whom they belonged; but as they underſtood not each others Language, they were forced to wait till an Interpreter was called, who underſtood the *Perſian* Tongue; he having put the ſame Queſtion, they anſwered, We are Servants to the King of *Perſia*, and we come to know who you are, and who is your Lord. The Townſmen replied, We are *Jews*, and not ſubject to any King or Prince of the *Gentiles*, but we have a Prince of our own. The *Perſians* then informed themſelves as to the *Copheral Turks*, and the *Jews* told them, that they were their Allies, and that whoever were their Enemies, they muſt regard as Enemies to themſelves. Theſe two Men returning to the Camp, and having reported to the King what they had diſcovered, he was very much at a Loſs how to proceed. The *Jews* on the next Day collected their Forces, and the Day following offered them Battle.

The King declined fighting, and addreſſed himſelf to the *Jewiſh* Chiefs in the following Words; I do not come to make War againſt you, but only againſt the *Copheral Turks* my Enemies: But if you proceed to commit Hoſtilities againſt me, I will revenge myſelf by putting to death all the *Jews* in my Kingdom; for I know, that as Things ſtand here, you will be too hard for me: But let me adviſe you to prefer Peace to War: Suffer me to proceed in my Expedition againſt the *Copheral Turks* my Enemies, and ſupply me and my Army, for ready Money, with what we want. The *Jews* having conſidered this Propoſition among themſelves, reſolved, out of regard to their Brethren, to yield to the King of *Perſia*'s Propoſal. The King therefore being admitted with all his Army into their Country, ſpent fifteen Days there, being honourably entertained among them.

But in the mean time, the *Jews* declared the whole Matter by Meſſengers and Letters unto their Confederates. The *Turks* thereupon gathering their Forces together, expected the Enemy at the Paſſage of the Mountains, and in a convenient Place for that Purpoſe, they attacked, and gave the *Perſians* ſo mighty an Overthrow, that the King's Army being ruined, they compelled him to return into his own Country with a very ſmall Number.

But it happened that a *Jew* of this Province, named *Moſes*, being ſeduced by a certain *Perſian* Horſeman, followed the King of *Perſia*, and when they came into *Perſia*, he was made a Slave by the ſame Horſeman. But when at a Time of publick Diverſion, they exerciſed their Bows in the Preſence of the King, this *Moſes* appeared the moſt excellent Archer in *Perſia*; he was thereupon examined by an Interpreter, and openly declared to the King the manner of his being ſeduced, and his Condition, whereon he was preſently infranchiſed, cloathed with purple and ſilk Garments, and enriched with Royal Gifts; and was offered likewiſe, if he would embrace their Religion, great Riches, and the Government of the King's Houſe; which, when he courteouſly denied to do, he was placed by the King with *R. Shallom*, the Prince of the Synagogue at *Iſpahan*, whoſe Daughter alſo he married by Conſent of the Father. This very *Moſes* it was, who told me all that I have related.

10. When I departed out of theſe Countries, I returned into *Chuzeſtan*, through which the River *Tygris* runs, falling from thence into *Hodu*, or the *Indian-Sea*; and in it, its Paſſage thither encompaſſes the Iſland *Nekrokis* [y]; near the Mouth thereof, which Iſland is in Extent ſix Days Journey. There is in it only one Canal of freſh Water, and they drink no other than what is gathered from the Showers, which is the Reaſon that Land is neither ſowed nor tilled; and yet it is very famous through the Commerce of the *Indians* and Iſlands ſeated in the *Indian-Sea*; and Merchants of the Country of *Senaar*, *Arabia the Happy*, and *Perſia*, bringing thither all ſorts of ſilk and purple Manufactures, Hemp, Cotton, Flax, and *Indian*-Cloth; Wheat, Barley, Millet, and Rice in great Plenty, which they barter and ſell among themſelves: But the *Indian* Merchants bring alſo exceeding great Plenty of Spices thither, and the Natives act as Factors and Interpreters; and by this they live: But in that Place there are not above five hundred *Jews*. Sailing thence with a proſperous Wind in ten Days, I was brought to *Kathipha*, where are five thouſand *Jews*.

In theſe Places Pearls are found, made by the wonderful Artifice of Nature; for on the four and twentieth Day of the Month *Niſan*, a certain Dew falleth into the Waters, which being ſucked in by the Oiſters, they immediately ſink to the Bottom of the Sea: Afterwards, about the Middle of the Month of *Tiſri*, Men deſcend to the Bottom of the Sea, and by the Help of Cords, theſe Men bringing up the Oiſters in great Quantities from thence, open and take out of them the Pearls [z].

In ſeven Days Journey from thence I came to *Oulam*, which is the Entrance of their Kingdom, who worſhip the Sun, and are prone to the Study of Aſtrology, being the Children of *Chus*. They are Men of a dark Complexion, ſincere Tempers, and of very great Fidelity in all Reſpects. They have among them this Cuſtom, that ſuch as come to them from remote Countries, when received into the Haven, have their Names ſet down in Writing by three Secretaries, who carry their Liſts to the King, and afterwards bring the Merchants themſelves, whoſe Merchandiſe being received into his Protection, the King directs them to be landed, and left on the Shore, where they remain without any Watch to keep them. There is alſo a Magiſtrate, unto whom all Things that are loſt, or caſually removed, are conſtantly brought, and of him they are eaſily received by the Owner, ſo that certain Tokens be ſhewed whereby the loſt Thing may be made known; and this ſtrict Fidelity, and honeſt Dealing, is common through all the Kingdom.

In this Country, from *Eaſter* to the Beginning of the ſucceeding Year, the Sun ſhines with outragious Heat; and therefore, from the third Hour of the Day until the Evening, all Men remain ſhut up in their Houſes. But about that Time Lamps being lighted, and ſet in Order throughout all the Streets and Markets, they work and exerciſe their reſpective Arts and Callings all the Night; for, as I ſaid, they cannot do it in the Day-time, by reaſon of the exceeding Heat. It is in this Country that Pepper grows upon Trees planted by the Inhabitants in the Fields belonging to every City, and their proper Gardens are particularly aſſigned and known. The Shrub itſelf is ſmall, and brings forth a white Seed, which being gathered, is put into Baſins ſteeped in hot Water, and is ſet forth in the Sun, that it may be dried and hardened, acquiring thereby a black Colour. Cinnamon and Ginger are likewiſe found there, as well as many other kind of Spices.

The Inhabitants of this Country do not bury their Dead, but having embalmed their Bodies with divers ſorts of Drugs and Spices, they place them in Niches, and cover them with Nets ſet in order according to their ſeveral Families; but their Fleſh drieth with the Bones, and when grown ſtiff, they ſeem as if they were alive, and every one knows their

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[y] There is no Paſſage in the Travels of *Benjamin* more perplexed than this Deſcription of the Iſland of *Nekrokis*, about which all his Commentators are divided in their Sentiments. That which hitherto has been thought moſt probable, is that he means the Iſland of *Ormuz*, which, without doubt, was once a Place of great Trade, and was always deſtitute of Water. It is however more credible, that he means the City and Country of *Baſſora*, becauſe he places it at the Mouth of the River *Tigris*, makes it the Centre of the *Indian* Commerce, and mentions preciſely the Commodities, of which that City was the Staple.

[z] This Deſcription has alſo graveled many of the Commentators. The Word uſed in the *Hebrew* is *Bdellia*; and from the Deſcription there is no ſort of doubt, that our Author meant Pearls. The account he has given of their Formation, how wild and extravagant ſoever it may appear, is however that which is embraced by the moſt learned of his Countrymen. Their Opinion, in few Words, is this; they hold, that at a certain Seaſon of the Year, there is an oily, ſpirituous, and briny Subſtance, floats on the Surface of the Sea, which being ſwallowed by the Oiſters, or rather ſucked in, as our Author expreſſes it, turns afterwards to a Pearl. Thus far, without doubt, they have Truth on their Side, that ſuch a Subſtance is ſometimes ſeen floating on this and other Seas, the Drops of which, at firſt Sight, reſemble liquid Pearl.

Anceſtors from many Deſcents [y]. But as to their Religion, or rather Superſtition, they worſhip the Sun, and have many and great Altars built along the Coaſt about half a Mile without the City. Early in the Morning therefore they go in Crouds to pay their Devotion to the Sun, to whom upon all the Altars there are Spheres conſecrated, made by Magic, reſembling the Circle of the Sun; and when the Sun riſes, thoſe Orbs ſeem to be inflamed, and turn round with a great Noiſe [z]. They have every one a Cenſer in their Hands, as well Women as Men, and all together offer Incenſe to the Sun; ſuch and ſo great is their Folly. But among theſe People the *Jews*, who are ſettled, at the moſt amount to a thouſand Families in all; they are of as black a Colour as the Inhabitants themſelves, yet are nevertheleſs good honeſt Men, and ſtrict Obſervers of the Commandments of the Law of *Moſes*; and are not altogether unſkilful in the Books of Doctrine and Cuſtoms commonly called the *Talmud*.

From this Country in two and twenty Days I ſailed unto the Iſlands *Cinrag*, the Inhabitants of which worſhip the Fire, and are called *Dogbüm*, among whom twenty-three thouſand *Jews* are ſettled. The *Dogbüm* have Prieſts in every Place to officiate in their Temples; and theſe Prieſts are the moſt ſkilful Sorcerers and Inchanters in the whole World. Before every Temple there is a large Pit, in which a mighty Fire is lighted every Day, which they call *Albuta*, and they make their Children paſs throught his Fire to purge them, and alſo caſt their Dead into the midſt of this Fire to be there burned: Nay, there are ſome of the Nobility who ſolemnly devote themſelves to be conſumed in this Fire alive.

When a Man, who has taken this Reſolution, declares ſuch his intended Devotion to his Acquaintance and Kindred, they preſently ſalute him in theſe Words: Bleſſed art thou, and it ſhall be well with thee. On the Day the Vow is to be performed, having firſt given an Entertainment, he is carried, if rich, on Horſe-back; but if he be poor, he is brought on Foot, accompanied with a Multitude of his Friends and others unto the Brink of the Pit, from whence beginning his Career, he leaps into the Fire, at which all his Friends and Kindred rejoice exceedingly, and with all ſorts of Muſick and Dancing, celebrate the Feaſt, until he be wholly conſumed. But the ſtrangeſt Part of the Story is to come; for three Days after two of the Chief Prieſts going unto his Houſe, command the whole Family to prepare for the Reception of their Father, who is coming to viſit them the ſame Day, and declare to them what they are to do on this Occaſion: They call to them certain Perſons to be Witneſſes out of the City, and bring ſomething reſembling the Deceaſed, of whom the Wife and Children demandeth how it fareth with him in the other World, to whom he anſwers, I came unto my Companions, by whom I am not received until I diſcharge my Duty to my Friends and Kindred. He then diſtributes his Goods to his Children, and orders all the Debts to be paid to his Creditors, and whatever is owing to him to be demanded, the Witneſſes ſetting down in Writing all his Inſtructions, of whom, notwithſtanding, he is not ſeen; and then ſaying he will go his way again, he vaniſheth [a]. By theſe Arts, (in which there is nothing but Juggling and Colluſion) the Prieſts govern all.

In the Space of forty Days one may travel from hence by Land to the Frontiers of *Tzin*, that is, to the Borders of *China*, which is the very Extremity of the Eaſt. Some hold that this Country is waſhed by the *Nikpha*, or coagulated Sea, which is liable to prodigious Storms, by which when Mariners are ſurprized, they are caſt frequently into ſuch Streights, that not being able to get out, they are, after expending all their Proviſions, miſerably ſtarved to Death [b].

At firſt Sight there is nothing in this Paſſage that will ſeem very extraordinary to the Reader, and yet after a little Reflection it will appear of conſiderable Uſe. This coagulated Sea is no other than the icy or frozen Sea on the Coaſt of *Tartary* and *Ruſſia* to the North of *China*, and through which the North-eaſt Paſſage, ſo often ſought to little Purpoſe, is ſuppoſed to lie. It appears clearly from hence, that before this Time ſome Attempts had been made on that Side, and that ſeveral Ships had been frozen, and their Crews periſhed; whence the Oriental Name of *Nikpha*, or congealed Sea, which *Benjamin* gives it. It muſt be confeſſed, that our Author has a very romantick Way of expreſſing even the plaineſt Facts; but at the ſame time we ought to conſider, that this was not only the Vice of all the Writers of his Country, but of the Age in general in which he flouriſhed, ſo that he is the more excuſable; and at the ſame time the Reader will be ſo juſt as to remember, that we do not inſert his Travels as the beſt, but as the only Travels we have in this Period of Time, which muſt acquit us in the Judgment of the Impartial from all Objections that might be otherwiſe made from the Contents of this Performance. But to proceed.

11. It is three Day's Journey to *Gingala*, where there are about a thouſand *Iſraelites*: From thence in ſeven Days you ſail to *Coulan*, where there are none of our Countrymen. It is from thence twelve Day's Journey to *Zabid*, where there are ſome few *Jews*. It is from thence eight Day's Journey to the *Indies* on the oppoſite Coaſt (by which our Author means *Ethiopia*). In this Country there are very high Mountains inhabited by Multitudes of *Iſraelites*, who are not under the Yoke of the *Gentiles*, but have here great Cities, and ſtrong Fortreſſes. They deſcend from thence in Parties into the flat Countries of *Abyſſinia*, which are under the Dominion of the *Edomites*, (which is the Name the *Jews* beſtow upon all *Chriſtians*) where having acquired as much as they can by Plunder, they return with their Booty into the Mountains, where they are abſolutely ſafe from all Purſuits. Many of theſe *Jews* travel on the ſcore of Commerce into *Perſia* and *Egypt* [c].

It is from thence to the Land of *Aſvan* twenty Day's Journey through the Deſarts of *Saba*, which lie on the River *Phiſon*, which comes from the County of *Chus*; the Inhabitants of which are ſubject to a Prince, who is ſtiled *Shab-Abâſch*, i. e. the King of *Abyſſinia*. Part of the Inhabitants of this Country live like Beaſts, they feed only on the Graſs and Herbs that grow along the River-ſide, are quite naked, and as if their Miſeries had deprived them of common Senſe, they propagate their kind with their Siſters, and neareſt Relations, without the leaſt Shame or Scruple. The Climate of this Country is exceſſively hot. When the People of *Aſvan* make their Expeditions into theſe Parts for the ſake of Plunder, and what they can carry away; they conſtantly take with them Bread, Rice, dried Raiſins, and Figs. Theſe they throw in large Quantities among the half-famiſhed Blacks, whom, while they ſcramble for them like Dogs, they ſeize and carry away Priſoners, and ſell them in *Egypt*, and other Countries. Theſe are the Negroes, or Black Slaves, the Poſterity of *Ham*. It is twelve Days Journey from *Aſvan* to *Chelvan*, in which there are about three hundred *Jews*.

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[y] It appears from this Account, that theſe People were *Perſees*, neither is there any thing in what he relates that is not very eaſily reconcilable to the Truth; for all Writers that pretend to give us any Account of the Religion of the ancient *Perſians* agree, that they did not bury their Dead, but left them expoſed to the Elements, from this Principle, that the living Man being a Compound of all the Elements, it was but reaſonable, after he was dead, that each Element ſhould recover its own.

[z] This is another *Jewiſh* Notion agreeable to their Ignorance in thoſe Days, which made them aſcribe every thing they did not perfectly underſtand to Witchcraft. As to theſe Spheres they were really very wonderful things, being ſo contrived as to ſhew the Riſing and Setting of the Sun, and the Motions of the heavenly Bodies. They were made and kept by the Magi, who made uſe of them to ſtrike the Vulgar with Aſtoniſhment, and to inſtruct their Diſciples in the Science of Aſtronomy.

[a] This is pretty evident from the Manner in which *Benjamin* tells this Story, that he ſuſpected the Prieſts impoſed upon the People, as without doubt they did. The Witneſſes were Perſons in the Confederacy, and the Terror of the Family was probably ſo great, and their Prejudice ſo ſtrong, that with tolerable Management this Scene might be carried through, and little or nothing of the Fraud be diſcovered. Beſides, whoever had attempted to diſcloſe the Cheat, would have been conſidered as an impious Perſon, and a declared Enemy to the Religion of his Country. It would be no difficult Matter to ſhew from the Abſurdities that have paſſed upon other Nations the Poſſibility of tranſacting an Impoſture of this kind, as the intelligent Reader will eaſily conceive.

[b] Our Author has added a Story here concerning the Gryphons, ſo very ridiculous, and of ſuch an Extent, that I could not prevail upon myſelf to inſert it. It is plain enough from his Account, that he does not pretend to have travelled into *China*, but barely to relate what he had heard of it. The Extent of his Travels ſeems to have been Cape *Commorin*, or ſome of the Countries near it, from whence he took Shipping for the oppoſite Coaſt of *Africa*.

[c] There is no doubt to be made from what *Benjamin* relates, that he followed the old Opinion, according to which *Ethiopia* was looked upon as part of the *Indies*; and with regard to what he tells us of the *Jews* being ſettled in the Mountains there, it is fully juſtified both by the ancient and modern Accounts of that Country, as is alſo the following Circumſtances in relation to the Paſſage of Caravans through the Deſarts, and the Accidents to which they are ſometimes ſubject in paſſing through them. His Readineſs to aſcribe the Slavery of the Negroes to the Curſe pronounced by *Noah* on *Ham* and his Poſterity, is very agreeable to the Divinity and Spirit of the *Jews*.

From *Chelvan* they go in Caravans fifty Days Journey through the Deſart called *Al Tſachra*, or *Zaara*, to the Province called *Zuila*, which is *Havalah*, in the Land of *Gana*, i. e. *Guinea*. In theſe Deſarts there are vaſt Mountains of Sand, which being carried by the Force of violent Tempeſts, ſometimes overwhelm whole Caravans, and bury under them all the Paſſengers. Such of the Merchants as eſcape this perilous Journey bring with them from that Country, Iron, Copper, Salt, and all ſorts of Fruits and Pulſe; and they likewiſe bring Gold and Precious Stones. This Country is part of the Land of *Chus*, and lies to the Weſt of *Abyſſinia*. It is thirteen Days Journey from *Chelvan* to the City of *Kous*, which is the firſt in the Land of *Egypt*, where there are ſettled about thirty thouſand *Jews*. At the Diſtance of five Days Journey is *Phium*, anciently called *Pithom*. In the Neighbourhood of this City are ſtill to be ſeen the Ruins of thoſe ancient Structures that were built by our Anceſtors during their Captivity in *Egypt*.

12. Four Days Journey from thence ſtands the great City of *Miſraim*, or *Cairo*, ſituated on the Banks of the River *Nile*, in which there are ſettled about two thouſand *Jews*, who have in this City two fair Synagogues, one belonging to the *Jews* of *Paleſtine* and *Syria*, the other to thoſe of the Country of *Babylon*. Theſe two Sorts of *Jews* differ only in the Diviſion of the Law into Sections; for the *Babylonians* every Week read one Paraſcha after the Manner which is common throughout all *Spain*; and therefore once every Year they finiſh the Law: But the *Iſraelites* of *Syria* divide every Paraſcha into three Sedarim, or ſmaller Sections, and ſo they read over the Law only once in three Years; and both theſe after a ſolemn Manner twice in the Year join in their Prayers together, *viz.* upon the Day of the rejoicing of the Law, and on the feſtival Day of the Law given. Over all theſe *Nathaniel* hath the chief Authority, being the greateſt of the Nobility, and Head of the Aſſembly, who rules all the Synagogues in *Egypt*, and appoints Maſters and Elders.

He is alſo the Miniſter of the great King, who reſides in the Palace of *Zoan*, (which is a City of *Egypt*, wherein *Ali* the Son of *Abitaleb* was once *Commander* of the *Faithful*) whoſe Subjects are ſtiled *Rebells* by the other *Arabs*, becauſe they refuſe Obedience to the *Abiſſidian* Khaliff, whoſe Seat is *Bagdat*. There is an irreconcilable Enmity between theſe Princes. This Monarch appears in publick twice in the Year, *viz.* at the Time of their Feaſt of *Eaſter*, and when the River *Nile* overflows[c].

The Royal City itſelf is encompaſſed and fortified with Walls, but *Miſraim* is without Walls, ſurrounded by the River *Nile* on the one Side. This is a very large City, furniſhed with many Market-places and publick Buildings; and here are many rich *Jews*. The Country itſelf is never troubled with Rain, Ice, or Snow, but is often afflicted with outragious Heat. It is watered by the *Nile*, which once every Year ſwelling in the Month *Elul* covers and overflows all the Land for fifteen Days Journey, the Waters continuing to riſe in the Months of *Elul* and *Tiſri*, and making the Earth fruitful: And the Policy and Diligence of the old *Egyptians* was ſuch, that in an Iſland which the River makes here, a Pillar was by them erected of fine Marble and excellent Workmanſhip, raiſed twelve Cubits above the Surface of the River. When therefore the Waters overflow and cover that Column, the Inhabitants are fully ſatisfied that the whole Extent of their Country for fifteen Days Journey is entirely overſpread. If the Water riſe but half the Height of the Pillar, they gather from thence that their Country is but half watered. There is a Man ſtands by the Pillar, and every Day at Noon proclaims in all Parts of the City the Height of the Water in this Form, *Be thankful to God, the River is riſen ſo many Cubits*.

If the Water riſes to the Top of the Column, it is a Sign that the Year will be fertile throughout all *Egypt*. At this Seaſon whoever has any Land, hires Workmen to cut a Trench through his Ground, into which as the Water riſes, the Fiſh are carried, and are left therein; when the River ſinks then the Owners of the Lands take them out, and either ſpend them in their Families, or ſell them to ſuch as ſalt and export them. Theſe Fiſh are exceedingly large and fat, and the very beſt People in the Country make uſe of the Oil drawn from them to burn in their Lamps. If it falls out, as it frequently does, that People eat too much of theſe Fiſh, they have nothing more to do than to drink largely of the Water of the *Nile*, which immediately removes that Inconvenience. It has been an old Queſtion, and a great Diverſity of Opinions there has been concerning the overflowing of the *Nile*, but the *Egyptians* ſuppoſe, that at the Time when this River overflows, heavy Rains fall in the higher Countries, that is in the Land of *Habahs*, which we call *Havila*; at the Time the River does not overflow, nothing is ſown in *Egypt*, and hereupon Sterility and Famine follow.

But uſually the Fields are ſowed in the Month of *September*, the *Nile* being then retired into its Channel; but Barley is reaped in the Month of *February*, and Wheat the next Month after; and in the ſame Month Cherries are ripe, as are alſo Almonds and Cucumbers, Gourds, Peaſecods and Beans, Lintiles, *&c.* and divers kinds of Pot-Herbs, as Purſlain, Aſparagus and Lettice, Corianders, Succory, Coleworts and Grapes; but the Gardens and Orchards throughout *Egypt* are watered, and Trenches filled with the Waters of the River[d].

This great River after paſſing through the City *Miſraim* or *Cairo*, is divided into four Heads, one whereof runneth by *Damiata*, ſometime called *Caphtor*, nigh unto which it falleth into the Sea. The ſecond runneth down into the City *Raſir*, not far from *Alexandria*, and there diſchargeth itſelf into the Sea. The third paſſeth by *Aſmon*, a very great City on the Borders of *Egypt*, nigh which Heads of the River many Cities, Caſtles and Towns are ſeated on either Side, and People may travel to them all either by Boat or Land. No Country in the whole World can be compared to this for the Multitude of Inhabitants, and all the Country of *Egypt* is plain, fruitful, and well ſtored with good Things. *Old Miſraim* is two Leagues diſtant from the *New Miſraim*, but it is waſted and deſolate: Yet there are many Ruins of the Walls and Houſes, and not a few Monuments there of the Treaſuries and Store-houſes of *Joſeph* yet to be ſeen. In the ſame Place there is an artificial Pillar built by Art Magic, like which there is none in all the Land. Without the Compaſs of the City ſtands a Synagogue, which bears the Name of *Moſes* our Teacher, of ancient Date; to preſerve the Ruins that yet remain, a certain old Miniſter, a Diſciple of the wiſe Men is there maintained, who from his Office is ſtiled *Sebech Albounetzar*, or *The Father of the Watch*. The Ruins of *Old Miſraim* take up a Space of about three Miles.

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[c] There is not a Paſſage in all our Author's Work which has been more conteſted than this with regard to the Khaliff then reigning in *Egypt*; and ſome have gone ſo far as to produce it as a direct Proof of his never having travelled at all: But, I cannot help ſaying, that though the Criticks have a Right to amend what is amiſs in the Copies of any Author which they publiſh, yet I cannot conceive they have any Authority firſt of all to impoſe their own Senſe upon a Paſſage, and then produce it to the Prejudice of the Author, whoſe Credit they would deſtroy. We ſhall ſhew hereafter, that in the preſent Caſe, there is no Ground for ſuch a Suggeſtion; but that what our Author has delivered may be well reconciled to the Current of Hiſtory, without any Alteration whatever.

[d] In the ſubſequent Part of this Work, we ſhall have more than once Occaſion to mention moſt of the Circumſtances that our Author hath recorded, and to compare the Reports of later Travellers with his. The Reaſon of this Note is, to take Notice of a Particular which our Author has omitted, and which however the Reader may be glad to know. It is this, The *Nile* is of ſo great Conſequence to the *Egyptians*, that they have always had a very ſuperſtitious Regard to it, inſomuch that they fancied the riſe and fall of this River, not only portended the Fertility or Scarceneſs of the ſucceeding Year, but likewiſe great Revolutions of State. It is certain that it did not overflow in the tenth Year of the Reign of *Cleopatra*, which might ſeem to predict the Conqueſt of that Country by the *Romans*, that ſoon after followed; but then the ſame Accident happened in the Time of *Trajan*, when nothing remarkable followed it. Beſides, we read of no Scarcity in *Egypt* before the Conqueſt of it by the *Arabs*, or the Deſtruction of the *Khaliffs* of the Family of *Ali*, which was brought about by *Saladin*; ſo that this ought to be conſidered as an abſurd and ridiculous Opinion, as moſt of theſe Notions are.

13. The Land of *Goſhen* is no more than eight Leagues from hence, and therein ſtands *Bolſir Salbis*, a great City, in which there are three thouſand *Jews*. From hence you travel half a Day's Journey to *Iſkaal Lein Al Sames*, which was anciently called *Rameſes*, where now are only the Ruins of a City, in which many Works are ſeen built by our Fathers, and among theſe certain huge Edifices like Towers made of Brick. From thence you make one whole Day's Journey to *Al-Buyg*, where are two hundred *Jews*; and from hence in half a Day's Journey you come to *Manziptha*, where are two hundred *Jews*, from which City *Ramira* is four Leagues diſtant, and in it there are ſeven hundred *Jews*, from whence it is five Days Journey to *Lambhala*, where are five hundred *Iſraelites*.

Two Days Journey more bring you to *Alexandria*, a City called after the Name of *Alexander* the *Macedonian*, at whoſe Command we read it was built and ſtrongly fortified, and adorned with Walls admirably finiſhed, Houſes uniformly built, and ſtately Palaces: Without the City a great and beautiful Building is yet to be ſeen, which is reported to have been the College of *Ariſtotle*, the Maſter of *Alexander*, wherein there are almoſt twenty Schools, which were frequented in former Times by the learned Men of the whole World, who aſſembled there to learn the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*; and his Academy had ſtately Portico's of Marble Pillars [*]. The City itſelf is excellently built, as well from the Pavement of the Ground, as with Vaults and Arches under Ground, through the hidden Paſſages whereof Men may come into the Market-places and not be ſeen; of which ſome are a whole Mile in length, as from the Gate *Reſid* unto the Gate leading to the Sea, from which Gate a Way was made and paved unto the very Haven of the City of *Alexandria*, which is extended one Mile within the Sea.

In this Place a very high Tower was built, which the Inhabitants call *Hemegarah*, but the *Arabians Magar Alexandria*, that is, the *Pharos* of *Alexandria*; on the Top of which Tower it is reported that *Alexander* ſet a curious Mirror, in which all warlike Ships ſailing either out of *Græcia* or from the Weſt unto *Egypt*, might be ſeen above the Space of five hundred Leagues off [f]. This continued for a long Time after the Death of *Alexander*. It fell out however that a Ship coming hither under the Command of a certain *Greek* Captain, who had a great Knowledge in the Sciences, came and caſt Anchor in that Port, and having made Preſents to the King of Gold, Silver, and very rick Silks, he thereby obtained his Favour. While he lay in the Port, he took Abundance of Pains to ingratiate himſelf with the Officer, who had the Charge of this Watch-Tower and Mirror, and having frequently entertained him on Board his Ship, contracted with him at laſt ſuch an Intimacy, that he was permitted to go into and ſtay in the Tower as long as he thought fit. One Day having feaſted the Captain and his Men very magnificently, he doſed them at laſt ſo plentifully with ſtrong Wine, that they all fell faſt aſleep. Having thus carried his Point, the Captain and his Crew firſt broke the Mirror to Pieces, and then weighed Anchor and ſailed away in the Night.

Since that Time the *Edomites*, *i. e.* the Chriſtians, have infeſted the Coaſts of *Egypt* with their Ships of War and Privateers, and have deprived the Sovereigns of this Country of the two great Iſlands of *Crete* and *Cyprus*, which remain at this Day under the Power of the *Greeks*, from whom the preſent Poſſeſſors of *Egypt* have not been able to recover them. This Watch-Tower is ſtill uſed as a Beacon for the Service of ſuch Ships as are bound to *Alexandria*; for they are able to diſcern it at the Diſtance of one hundred Miles by Day or Night, in Conſequence of a vaſt Fire which is kept continually burning therein for that Purpoſe.

This Country enjoys a large Share of Trade, and is frequented by almoſt all Nations for the ſake of Commerce. The Port of *Alexandria* ſwarms with Veſſels from all Parts of *Idumæa*, *i. e. Chriſtendom*, *viz.* from *Valencia*, *Tuſcany*, *Lombardy*, *Apulia*, *Malfi* and *Sicily*, others come from the moſt Northern, and ſome Inland Parts of *Europe*, as from *Cracow*, *Cordova*, *Spain*, *Ruſſia*, *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *England*, *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Normandy*, *France*, *Poitou*, *Angiers*, *Gaſcony*, *Arragon* and *Navarre*. There come alſo from the Weſtern Empire of the *Iſhmaelites*, *viz.* from *Andaluzia*, *Algarve*, *Africa*, and even *Arabia*, beſides what come by the *Indian* Ocean from *Havila* and *Abyſſinia*, and the reſt of *Ethiopia*, not omitting the *Greeks* and *Turks*. Thither are brought the richeſt Merchandizes of the *Indies*, and all ſorts of Perfumes and Spices which are bought by Chriſtian Merchants.

The City is extremely populous on account of its extenſive Trade; and for the greater Conveniency in the carrying on their Dealings, every Nation has its Factory by itſelf. There is near the Sea-ſide a Marble Tomb, on which are engraved the Figures of all ſorts of Birds and of Beaſts, with an Inſcription in Characters ſo old, that none now are able to read them; whence it is believed, with ſome Colour of Truth, that it belongs to an old King who governed that Country before the Deluge. The Length of this Sepulchre is fifteen, and the Breadth of it ſix Spans. To conclude, there is in *Alexandria* about three thouſand *Jews*.

14. It is not neceſſary to give at large the Remainder of our *Jew*'s Travels, and therefore I ſhall acquaint the Reader in few Words, That having made a Tour from *Damietta* in *Egypt* to Mount *Sinai*, he returned back to the firſt mentioned Place, and thence ſailed to *Meſſina* in the Iſland of *Sicily*, from whence he went by Land to *Palermo*, and croſſing the Sea to *Italy*, continued his Journey to *Rome* and *Lucca*.

He afterwards croſſed the *Alps*, and paſſed through a great Part of *Germany*, from whence he takes occaſion to mention what Multitudes of *Jews* were ſettled in the ſeveral great Cities of that extenſive Empire. He inſiſts at large on their Wealth, their Generoſity, and above all, their Hoſpitality to their diſtreſſed Brethren, and gives us a very particular Detail of the Manner in which they receive them. He aſſures us, that at their Feaſts they encourage each other to perſiſt in hoping for the bleſſed Advent of their Meſſiah, when the Tribes of *Iſrael* ſhall be gathered together, and under his Conduct be led back into their own Land. Until this long expected Time ſhall come, the *Iſraelites*, he ſays, hold it their Duty to perſevere in their Obedience to the Law of *Moſes*, to lament with Tears the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* and *Sion*, to beſeech the Almighty to pity them in their Affliction, and to reſtore them in his appointed Time [g].

He aſſerts, that his Countrymen are not only ſettled in all the Provinces of the Empire, but alſo through all the Northern Countries to the very Extremity of *Ruſſia*, which he deſcribes as a Country ſo exceſſively cold in Winter, that the Inhabitants are not able to ſtir out of Doors. He tells us next, that the Kingdom of *France*, which, he ſays, is called by their Rabbins the Land of *Tzorphat*, is likewiſe full of the Diſciples of the wiſe Men, that is, of the *Jewiſh* Doctors, who ſtudy the Law Day and Night, and are extremely kind and charitable to their diſtreſſed Brethren. He concludes with an earneſt Prayer to God, to remember his Promiſe to the Children of *Iſrael*, and to return and aſſemble them from all Nations, through which in his Wrath he has diſperſed them.

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[*] Our Author had this Notion of the School of *Ariſtotle* from the *Mohammedans*, ſo that whether it be wrong or right, he is not anſwerable for it. But with regard to the Fact it is certain, that it was not *Alexander* but *Ptolemy* that erected this famous School, in which however it is as certain that the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle* was taught, and in which the moſt famous of his Commentators flouriſhed.

[f] It muſt be confeſſed that this Fact is abſolutely falſe, ſince as the Reader has been before informed, the *Pharos* of *Alexandria* was built by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and not by *Alexander the Great*. As to this Mirror, it is mentioned by ſome other Writers as well as our *Benjamin*, but it is apparently a Fable, and a Fable ridiculous in all its Circumſtances. It is however of Uſe ſometimes to know ſuch Fables, and therefore I have preſerved it.

[g] It is very clear from hence as well as from a Multitude of other Circumſtances, that our Author chiefly intended in this Work to celebrate his own Nation, to preſerve an Account of the different Places in which they were ſettled, and to do all in his Power to keep up their Spirits under their Captivity, by putting them in Mind of the coming of the *Meſſiah*. I muſt confeſs, I conſider this in a different Light from moſt of the Criticks, for I do not conceive that a Man's loving his Countrymen ought to prejudice him in the Opinion of his Readers, and though it may poſſibly beget ſome Doubts as to the Fidelity of his Relations with regard to the *Jews*, yet I do not ſee how this can with Juſtice be extended to the other Parts of his Book.

In the ſeveral Places he mentions, he reckons up in the whole 394687 *Jews*, from which, if we ſubſtract 740 *Çaraites*, 1000 *Samaritans*, and 2000 other Schiſmaticks, there will remain 390947, to which, if we add 350000 free *Iſraelites*, whom he found in the Kingdoms of *Thema* and *Chebar*, they will ſwell the Account of the *Rabbanites* he met with in his Travels to 740947, which, when duly conſidered, will not, perhaps, appear very improbable. Thus we have brought to a Concluſion the Travels of *Benjamin de Tudela*, which had never appeared ſo fully as we have given them in the *Engliſh* Language.

15. We have in the Introduction to this Section given ſo large an Account of our Author, of his Performance, and the Reaſon of our inſerting it, that we have not much to add here. That there may be, and indeed that there are many Miſtakes in theſe Travels, is not to be denied, neither can we help confeſſing, that the Author was a very credulous Man, and far enough from deſerving the high Character beſtowed upon him by the *Jews*, who repreſent him as a Perſon ſkilled in all Sciences, and refer us to this Performance of his as a Proof of it. But granting that he did not merit theſe Praiſes, yet there is ſomething ſurely due to him for the Lights he has communicated to the World. It is from him, as from an impartial Perſon, that we learn the true State of Affairs at *Conſtantinople* within the Compaſs of this Period, the immenſe Wealth and Luxury of its Inhabitants, and their extenſive Commerce throughout the whole Eaſt.

His Travels from that City to *Baſſora* ſhew plainly, that the Communication was open, ſince otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible for a private Traveller to have proceeded through the whole Kingdom of *Perſia* in the Manner he did. Some Objections have been made to his Account of the *Jews* ſettled in the Mountains of *Niſbor*, which from his Relation appear to have been upon the Borders of the the Kingdom of *Thibet*; yet if we reflect upon what our *Arabian* Travellers have told us of the Number of *Jews* ſettled in the Empire of *China* before this Time, and remember that the Emperor *Heraclius* had long before driven them out of all the *Greek* Empire, we ſhall ſee many Reaſons to think this Account of his probable enough. It is true, that *R. Moſes* and our Author may be ſuſpected of magnifying theſe Settlements, and of making this Colony of *Jews* more conſiderable than it really was; but that we ſhould regard the whole as a Fiction, I muſt confeſs I ſee no juſt Grounds. It is very likely, though *Benjamin* does not ſay it, that he received from the ſame Perſon what he relates of *China*, and of the icy Sea to the North of that Country, which ſhews there had been a conſiderable Commerce carried on that Way, though *Benjamin* could give but a dark Account of it.

We are indebted to him likewiſe for a Piece of Hiſtory, which for any thing I know is not to be met with elſewhere, I mean the Settlement of the *Perſees*, who were the old *Perſians* or Worſhippers of Fire, in ſeveral Iſlands of the *Eaſt-Indies*, of which we ſhall make ſome Uſe in another Place. The Account he has given us of *Ethiopia*, and of the *Jewiſh* Colonies in that Country, is ſo conſiſtent with the ancient and modern Hiſtory of that Empire, that there is not the leaſt Reaſon to doubt the Truth of it, or of what he ſays as to the Paſſage of the Caravans through the Deſarts. It is evident from thence, that there was by this Means a large Commerce carried on between this Country and *Egypt*, in Slaves, Gold, Ivory, and perhaps alſo in ſome *Indian* Commodities; and it is likewiſe clear, that there was a great Trade between that Country and the oppoſite Coaſt of *Arabia*. If our Author had travelled as a Merchant, he might very poſſibly have given us many more curious Particulars on this Subject; but as he did not, we muſt be content with thoſe he has delivered occaſionally, and as they ſtruck him in his Paſſage.

There are great Exceptions taken at his ſhort Account of the Government of *Egypt*, when he was in it; and ſome of his Tranſlators have inclined to give him up in this Particular, though without any great Reaſon. It is plain enough from the reſt of his Work, that he did not ſet up for a great Politician, or pretend to deſcribe the Conſtitutions of the States through which he paſſed, but only to mention in general what he underſtood of ſuch Matters. It is alſo certain, that without changing his Words, we may give a clear and ſatisfactory Account of this Matter, which amounts to no more than this: That the then Maſters of *Egypt*, though they were *Mohammedans*, were yet treated as Hereticks, or Rebels, on account of their diſowning the Khaliff at *Bagdat*, and that on this Account there was an inveterate Hatred between the Subjects of the Khaliff of *Babylon*, and the *Mohammedans* in *Egypt*, as to which there can be no doubt at all.

The ſingle Difficulty in this Caſe is our Author's calling the Commander of the Faithful in *Egypt Ali* the Son of *Abitalab*; from whence it is inferred, that he makes him the Monarch then reigning, which would have been a moſt notorious Abſurdity. But the Truth of the Matter is, our Author ſays no ſuch thing: He only mentions *Ali* the Son of *Abitalab* as having been once Commander of the Faithful in *Egypt*; and the Reaſon of his mentioning it is very plain, *viz.* in order to account for the Difference between the *Mohammedans* in *Aſia* and *Egypt*, and the latter being ſtiled Rebels by the former on account of their taking the Part of this *Ali*.

But the greateſt Difficulties that occur in our Author's Work, ſome of which, it muſt be owned, are not to be got over, ariſe from his uſing ſcriptural Names for the Countries and Places through which he paſſed; and theſe, according to the Notions of the Rabbins, for want of being thoroughly acquainted with which, it is impoſſible for any Tranſlator to be perfectly ſure as to his Meaning. But if we ſhould be ſomewhat miſtaken in the Names of the ſeveral Countries from which Ships came to *Alexandria*, yet we muſt be right in the main; and the Reader may reſt ſatisfied from thence, that at the Time of our Author's being there, the Port of *Alexandria* was the Centre of Commerce between *Chriſtendom* and the *Indies*. All the Fables that he relates about the magical Mirror there cannot prejudice this Truth; for though our Author might be, as to be ſure he was, a very indifferent Hiſtorian, a bad Mathematician, and a credulous Writer, yet he could not be miſtaken about Things he ſaw, or be induced to ſet down the Names of Nations never heard of at *Alexandria*. Beſides, he is remarkably accurate in this Account; and the Liſt he has given us is more methodical than any other Paſſage in his Book, which ſeems to have been owing to his making an Enquiry at *Alexandria*, as to the ſeveral Foreign Lodges or Factories eſtabliſhed there.

On the whole, as theſe Travels plainly demonſtrate that it was both poſſible and practicable for a Perſon to travel in the midſt of the twelfth Century from *Spain* thro' *Italy* and *Greece* into the remote Parts of *Aſia*, and to return from thence through *Ethiopia* and *Egypt* into *Europe*, it was requiſite, that in a Collection of this kind, ſuch a Performance ſhould not be omitted; and if not omitted, it ought ſurely to appear in the beſt Dreſs we could poſſibly give it, which muſt be an Apology to the Reader for our having taken ſo much Pains therewith, and having dwelt upon it ſo long.

SECTION XX.

The remarkable Travels of William de Rubruquis *a Monk, ſent by* Louis IX. *King of* France, *commonly ſtiled* St. Louis, *Embaſſador into different Parts of the* Eaſt, *particularly into* Tartary *and* China, A. D. 1253, *containing abundance of curious Particulars relating to thoſe Countries.*

Written by the Embaſſador, and addreſſed to his Royal Maſter King *Louis.*

1. *A ſuccinct Account of the Empire of the* Tartars, *and particularly of the Princes to whom our Author was ſent.* 2. *The Character of* Louis IX. *of* France; *and a ſhort Hiſtory of his Expedition into* Syria *and* Egypt. 3. *The Occaſion and Deſign of his Embaſſy, together with the Character of our Author.* 4. *His dedicatory Epiſtle to the King his Maſter.* 5. *An Account of his Journey to* Conſtantinople. 6. *His Arrival at* Soldaia, *the firſt Town in* Tartary. 7. *An Account of the Habitations of the* Tartars. 8. *Of their Beds, Idols, and ſuperſtitious Ceremonies.* 9. *Of their Drinking and Merry-makings.* 10. *Of their Food and Manner of Eating.* 11. *Of a particular kind of Drink uſed by them, called* Coſmos. 12. *Of the Animals in their Country, their Rabbets, and their Manner of hunting.* 13. *Of the Manner in which the Men ſhave themſelves, and of the Ornaments of their Women.* 14. *Of the Employments of the female* Tartars; *of their Way of Life, and of their Marriages.* 15. *The Manner of adminiſtering Juſtice among them, and of the Ceremonies uſed at their Funerals.* 16. *The Author reſumes the Account of his Voyage, and acquaints us with the Ingratitude and Brutality of the* Tartars. 17. *Of the Court of* Zagatay, *and of their Adventures there.* 18. *Of the* Alans, *who came to viſit them there at the Feaſt of* Whitſuntide. 19. *An Account of a* Saracen *who deſired to be baptized, and of certain People that ſeem to be Lepers.* 20. *Of the great Hardſhips and Difficulties they went through in theſe Travels, and of the Burials of the* Comanians. 21. *Of the Country in which they found* Sartach *and his Subjects.* 22. *Of the Court of* Sartach, *and of its Splendor and Magnificence.* 23. *They are ordered to repair to* Baatu, *the Father of* Sartach. 24. *The Reſpect paid by* Sartach, Mangu-Khan, *and* Ken-Khan, *to Chriſtians, and of the Riſe and Progreſs of the* Tartar *Empire.* 25. *Of the* Ruſſians, Hungarians, Alans, *and of the* Caſpian-Sea. 26. *Of the Court of* Baatu, *and of their Reception there.* 27. *Their Journey from thence to the Court of* Mangu-Khan. 28. *Of the River* Jagag, *and of the Countries and People on that Side.* 29. *Of the Hunger, Thirſt, and other Inconveniencies by them ſuſtained in this Journey.* 30. *Of the Death of* Ban, *and of the* Germans *ſettled in that Country.* 31. *Of the ſtrange Mixture of Religions in this Country,* viz. Neſtorians, Mohammedans, *and* Idolaters. 32. *Of their Temples, Idols, and of their Manner of worſhipping their falſe Gods.* 33. *Of ſeveral Nations in thoſe Parts; and of thoſe whoſe Cuſtom it is to devour their Parents.* 34. *Of what happened to them at* Cailac *in their Paſſage from thence to the Country of the* Naymans. 35. *A Deſcription of that Country, with an Account of the Death of* Ken-Khan *the Princeſs, his Conſort, and their eldeſt Son.* 36. *Their Arrival at the Court of* Mangu-Khan. 37. *An Account of their meeting there with one* Sergius, *a* Neſtorian *Monk.* 38. *A Deſcription of their Audience, and what happened thereat.* 39. *They meet with a Woman of* Lorrain, *and a Goldſmith of* Paris *ſettled in theſe Countries.* 40. *An Account of ſeveral other Chriſtians they met with there.* 41. *Of a grand Feaſt given by* Mangu-Khan, *and of the Ceremonies of the* Neſtorians. 42. *Of the Faſt obſerved by thoſe People, and of a grand Proceſſion made to the Palace of the* Khan. 43. *An Account of a great Cure performed on a Lady by the Monk* Sergius. 44. *Deſcription of the Country under the Dominion of the* Khan, *and of the Cuſtoms and Manners of his Subjects.* 45. *Of the ſecond Faſt of the* Neſtorians, *which falls out in our Lent.* 46. *Of a noble Piece of Workmanſhip performed by the* French *Goldſmith, and of the Palace of the* Khan *at* Caracarum. 47. *Of ſeveral religious Ceremonies of the* Neſtorians. 48. *Of the Sickneſs of the* French *Goldſmith, and of* Jonas *the Prieſt.* 49. *A Deſcription of the City of* Caracarum, *and of* Mangu-Khan's *ſending his Brethren to make War againſt ſeveral Nations.* 50. *How our Author was ſeveral Times examined, and of ſeveral Conferences and Diſputes he had with the* Idolaters. 51. *Of our Author's being called before the* Khan *at* Whitſontide, *and of the Confeſſion of Faith made by the* Tartars. 52. *Of the* Sorcerers *and* Conjurers *in this Country, and of the wicked Lives they lead.* 53. *The Letters written by the* Khan *to the King of* France, *by our Author, and the Reſolution taken by his Companion to remain in* Tartary. 54. *Of our Author's Departure from* Caracarum *for the Court of* Baatu, *and from thence for the City of* Saray. 55. *Of the Road from* Saray *by the Mountains of* Alania, *of the* Leſgies, Derbent, *and other Places.* 56. *The Remainder of their Journey to the River* Araxes, *the City of* Waxnam, *the Country of* Sahenna, *and other Places.* 57. *Of their Paſſage over the* Euphrates, *the Caſtle of* Samuth, *the Author's Arrival at* Cyprus, Antioch, *and* Tripoli. 58. *His Letter from thence to the King his Maſter, and other Particulars.* 59. *Remarks and Obſervations upon this Section.*

1. IT ſeems to be a Problem hitherto undiſcuſſed, how it came to paſs, that for the Space of ſo many Ages, the Inhabitants of the northern Parts of the World lay ſo ſtill and quiet, that Hiſtory ſcarce gives us any Account of them; and then of a ſudden burſt out on all Sides, and over-run, as it were, the greateſt Part of the known World. At firſt Sight it ſhould ſeem from hence, that theſe northern Countries were firſt peopled; for otherwiſe it may appear difficult to account for their being ſo much more populous than any of the reſt. A little Attention however, will clear this Point, and ſhew us plainly, that inſtead of contradicting, it is the ſtrongeſt Proof that can be of the World's being originally peopled from the Country of *Chaldea*. For, whoever conſiders what an immenſe Tract of Land lies to the North of that original Seat of Mankind, will eaſily diſcern the Reaſon why it required a longer Space to people it throughly than the reſt of the World; and yet, at the ſame Time, if he reflects on the Accounts given us by ancient Authors, of the Manners of the *Scythians*, he will eaſily perceive that

they retained the old Simplicity of living much longer than any other People, and were therefore celebrated by *Homer* and *Hippocrates*, as the juſteſt and moſt innocent of Mankind. But, in Proceſs of Time, even theſe vaſt Countries became over-peopled; and then being preſſed by each other, theſe barbarous Nations, as they were ſtiled by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, broke out like an Inundation, and ſwept all before them.

At preſent our Concern is with thoſe who broke out laſt; I mean the *Tartars*, who are generally ſaid to have derived their Name from a River ſo called; but that is a Miſtake. The original Name of this numerous Nation was *Turks*, which they derived from *Turk*, the eldeſt Son of *Japhet*. But *Alanza-Khan*, one of their ancient Princes, leaving his Dominions to his Sons, which were Twins, the one called *Tatar*, and the other *Mogul*; this gave Riſe to the Diſtinction of thoſe two Nations, which hath ever ſince prevailed.

The great Conqueror *Jenghiz-Khan*, who in our old Writers is generally called *Zengis*, united both under his Dominion. He was born, *A. D.* 1164, and was raiſed to the Command of his own ſmall Tribe, at the Age of thirteen. He by Degrees firſt eſtabliſhed his Power in his own Country, then attacked and conquered the northern Parts of *China*, but was never heard of in *Europe* till about the Year 1218, when he entered the *Great Buchariq*; he extended his Conqueſts afterwards over a great Part of *Aſia*, and died in the Year 1227, at the Age of ſixty-five, and after having held the Dignity of *Khan* twenty-five Years. His eldeſt Son *Zuzi* died ſix Months after him, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *Batu* or *Baatu*, as our Author calls him, who had a great Part of *Tartary* for his Share. *Zagatai*, Son to *Jenghiz-Khan* had that Country which the Ancients call *Tranſoxiana*, which has been ſince called *Turkeſtan*, or the Country of the *Usbeks*; but by the *Tartars* to this Day *Zagatai*; *Tuli*, another Son of this Conqueror, had for his Share *Choraſſan*, *Perſia*, and the *Indies*, and *Octai*, all the reſt with the Title of *Khan*. This Prince began his Reign in 1228, and died in 1241. So much as to the State of *Tartary*.

2. The Chriſtian Princes had been very often put upon the Recovery of the *Holy-Land* by the Popes and *Louis* IX. King of *France*, called from thence St. *Louis*, took the Croſs, and engaged himſelf by a Vow, to endeavour the Recovery of the City and Kingdom of *Jeruſalem* from the *Infidels*. It was with this View that he embarked at *Marſeilles*, *Auguſt* 23d, 1248, accompanied by his Queen and two Brothers. He ſailed from thence to the Iſland of *Cyprus*, where he ſpent the Winter in preparing for the War. There he received Embaſſadors from the Khan of the *Tartars*, with an Account that he had embraced Chriſtianity, and was diſpoſed to attack the *Infidels* on one Side, while his Majeſty carried on the War on the other. This was an Affair of very great Importance to the King of *France*, who treated the Embaſſadors with great Reſpect, and promiſed to ſend an Embaſſador, to conclude an Alliance with the Emperor their Maſter.

He was hindered however in the Proſecution of this Deſign, by the unlucky Accidents of the War; for having invaded *Egypt* at firſt with great Succeſs, he was afterwards, in the Year 1250, taken Priſoner in the Battle of *Maſſora*, and remained for a long time in the Hands of the *Infidels*, who treated him very ill, but at laſt ſet him at Liberty, upon his ſurrendering the City of *Damietta*, and paying them a Ranſom of 400,000 Livres. This cruel Reverſe of Fortune did not hinder the King from purſuing his Deſign: He paſſed immediately over into *Syria*, where he put the Affairs of the Chriſtians into as good a Condition as it was poſſible, and would very probably have accompliſhed all that he propoſed, if the Death of his Mother, whom he had left Regent of *France*, had not obliged him to return home, which he did in the Year 1254, and reigned very glorioſly for many Years, and then undertook a ſecond Expedition in the ſame Cauſe, of which we ſhall hereafter give ſome Account.

3. At preſent our Buſineſs is to obſerve, that while this Monarch was in *Syria*, and there concerted Meaſures for reducing the Power of the *Mohammedans*, he made Choice of our Author Friar *William Rubruquis* for his Embaſſador to the Khan of the *Tartars*, and that for theſe three Reaſons; firſt, becauſe he had engaged himſelf, while in *Cyprus*, to ſend ſuch an Embaſſy. Secondly, becauſe the Aſſiſtance of ſo powerful a Prince, was a Matter of great Conſequence to all *Chriſtendom*. And, thirdly, that he might obtain a diſtinct and authentick Account of the Policy, Strength, and Intereſt of a Nation which, in the Space of fifty Years, had obtained an Empire of ſuch an Extent as hitherto the World had never ſeen.

The Reaſons which induced him to make Choice of our Author, were many; but we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning only a few. His Condition, as a religious Man, made him a fit Miniſter to a Prince lately converted to the Chriſtian Faith: It diſpenſed likewiſe with his having any Train of Attendance with which ſuch an Embaſſy could not be incumbered; and it put it more into his Power to enquire into all Things that his Maſter deſired to know, than if he had gone with all that Pomp which is uſually annexed to a publick Character. But, above all, he depended on the Abilities of the Man, who was looked upon as a Perſon of admirable Parts, and great Diligence, and whoſe unaffected Piety and Probity were not to be diſputed. After his Return from this Embaſſy, he compiled this Account, which we now preſent to the Reader, and ſent it to the King. It has been always eſteemed the fulleſt and cleareſt, as well as the moſt faithful and exact Deſcription of the *Tartars* that ever was publiſhed, and therefore we have given it entire, and in the Author's own Words, together with his Dedication, which follows.

4. *To the moſt Excellent and moſt Chriſtian Lord* Louis, *by the Grace of* God, *King of* France; *Brother* William de Rubruquis, *of the Order of* Friars Minors, *wiſhes Health, and that he may ever triumph in* Jesus Christ.

“ It is written in the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, that the
“ wiſe Man ſhall paſs through Countries inhabited by
“ foreign Nations, and that he ſhall have his Share in all
“ Things Good and Evil: I have done all this, Sire,
“ and God grant that I have done it as a wiſe Man,
“ and not as a Fool; for many there are which do
“ thoſe Things which wiſe Men do, but not wiſely,
“ and much I fear that I am of that Number. How-
“ ever that Matter may be, you were pleaſed to com-
“ mand me, at the Time of my Departure, that I
“ ſhould write to you all I ſaw, and whatever I could
“ diſcover among the *Tartars*. You were likewiſe
“ pleaſed to add, that I ſhould not be afraid of writ-
“ ing long Letters. I am now about to perform what
“ your Majeſty then gave me in Charge; yet not with-
“ out great Fear and Apprehenſion that the Simpleneſs
“ of my Thoughts, and the Homelineſs of my Stile,
“ may ſeem unworthy of being addreſſed unto your
“ Sovereign Majeſty.”

5. May it pleaſe you then, Sire, to underſtand, that departing from *Conſtantinople*, on the ſeventh of *May*, *A. D.* 1253, we entered into the Sea of *Pontus*, now the *Black-Sea*, which the *Bulgarians* call the *Great-Sea*, and which, as I was informed by Merchants who have long traded there, extends in Length from Eaſt to Weſt one thouſand Miles; and is, as it were, divided into two Parts. About the Middle there are two Provinces, the one on the South, which is called *Sinople*, from a Fortreſs and Port of the ſame Name, which belongs to the Sultan of the *Turks*: The other towards the North, which the weſtern Chriſtians call *Gazaria*, now *Crimea* or *Crim Tartary*; but the *Greeks* who dwell therein *Caſſaria*, which I take to be the ſame as *Cæſaria*. In this Province there are two Promontories, or Capes, which run out into the Sea towards the South, and the Country of *Sinople*; the Diſtance may be about three hundred Miles between *Sinople* and *Caſſaria*; ſo that theſe Points may be about ſeven hundred Miles from *Conſtantinople*, as well towards the South as towards the Eaſt, in which Quarter lies *Iberia*, which is a Province of the Country of *Georgia* or *Georgiana*.

We came then into the Country of *Gazaria*, which is in the Shape of a Triangle, having on the moſt Weſtern Point a City called *Kerſova*, where St. *Clement* Biſhop of *Ancyra* ſuffered Martyrdom, and paſſing in View of this City we had Sight of an Iſland in which there is a Church ſaid to have been built by Angels. In the Middle, which is alſo the moſt Southern Part, ſtands the City of *Soldaia*, which is directly over-againſt *Sinople*, to which all the Merchants coming from *Turky* reſort in their Paſſage to Northern Countries, as do likewiſe ſuch as come from *Ruſſia* with Intent to go to *Turky*.

Theſe laſt bring Ermine and other rich Furs; the former deal in Cotton, Cloth, Silks of all ſorts and Spices. Towards the Eaſt Part of this Country ſtands a City called *Matriga*, at the Mouth of the River *Tanais*, or the great River *Don*, where it falls into the Sea of *Pontus*, being there about twelve Miles over. This River before it falls into the Sea, makes of itſelf a kind of Sea, which is near ſeven hundred Miles in extent, but ſo ſhallow, that no Ships of Burthen can ſail therein. The Merchants of *Conſtantinople* however, when they arrive at the City of *Matriga*, ſend their Barks up the River *Tanais* to purchaſe dried Fiſh, ſuch as Sturgeons, Theoſes, Barbles, and many other ſorts of Fiſh. The Province of *Gazaria* beforementioned, has the Sea on three Sides, *viz.* On the Weſt, where ſtands the City of *Kerſova*; on the South, where lies the City of *Soldaia*, or *Caffa*, where we landed; and on the Eaſt, where is the City of *Matriga*, at the Mouth of the River *Tanais*.

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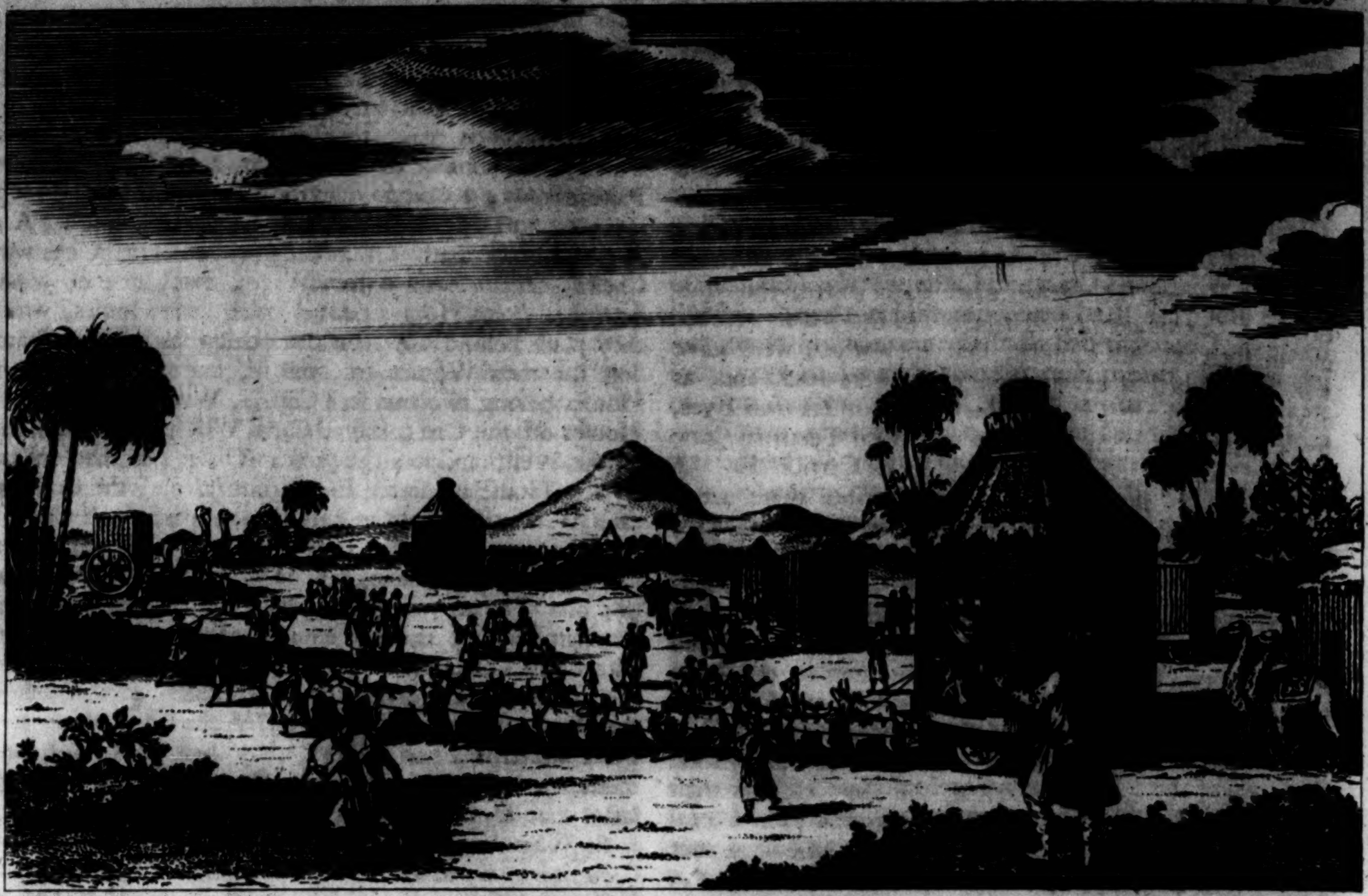

A TARTAR CAMP IN MOTION.

The Tartars have never any fixed or setled Habitations, but move up and down the vast Plains they poſſeſs, according to the different Seasons of the Year, travelling Northwards in the Summer, for the sake of Fruitfull Paſture; and in the Winter, towards the South, to avoid the extremity of the Cold Weather.

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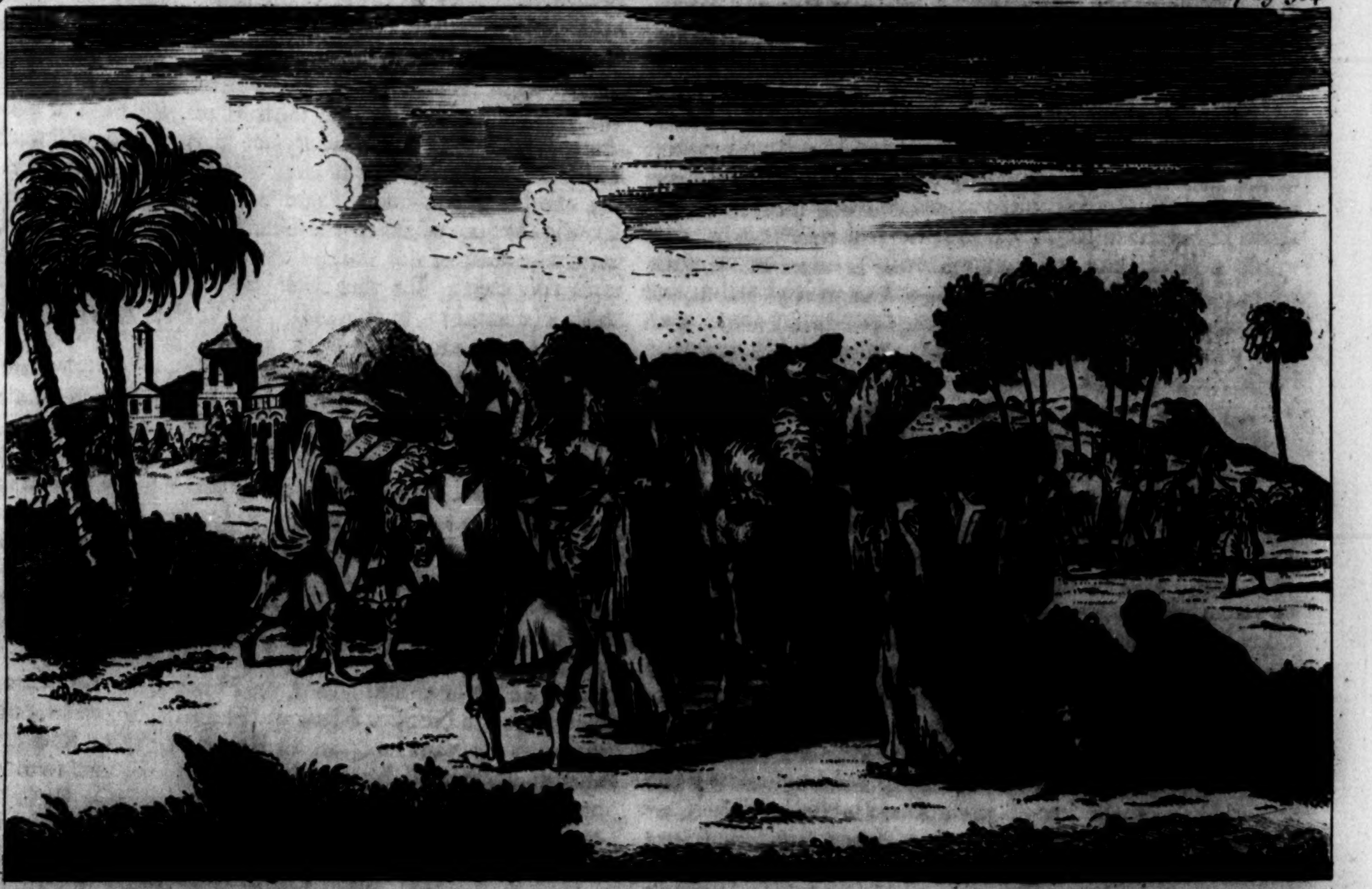


THE CEREMONY OF BLESSING THE HORSES.

The Tartars are for nothing more remarkable, than their extraordinary, & indeed extravagant Affection for their Horſes, which induces them from their Principle of Indifference to all Religions, to procure this Bleſsing of their Horſes, to be performed, by the Prieſts of all the Faiths amongst them.

Beyond theſe Mountains towards the North, there is a moſt beautiful Wood growing on a plain pleaſant Country, full of Springs and Rivulets. Beyond the Wood, there is a mighty Plain five Day's Journey, unto the very Extremity of the Province Northward; and there is a narrow Iſthmus, a Neck of Land, having the Seas on the Eaſt and Weſt Sides, which enter the Land ſo far, that there is a Canal made from one Sea unto the other. On this Plain before the *Tartars* the *Comanians* inhabited, who compelled the abovementioned Cities and Caſtles to pay Tribute unto them: But when the *Tartars* came upon them, the Multitude of *Comanians* fled all of them to the Sea-ſhore, being in ſuch extream Famine, that they which were alive were conſtrained to eat up thoſe which were dead, and, as a Merchant reported to me who ſaw it with his own Eyes, living Men devoured and tore with their Teeth the raw Fleſh of the Dead, as Dogs would gnaw Carrion.

Towards the Borders of the ſaid Province there are a great many Lakes, upon the Banks whereof are Salt-Pits, the Water of which ſo ſoon as it entereth into the Lake becomes hard Salt like Ice; and out of theſe Salt-Pits *Baatu* and *Sartach* have great Revenues, for they repair thither out of all *Ruſſia* for Salt, and for each Cart Load they give two Webs of Cotton, amounting to the Value of half an Yperpera. There come alſo many Ships for Salt, which pay Tribute every one according to their Burthen. The third Day after we were departed out of theſe Precincts of *Soldaia*, we found the *Tartars*, amongſt whom being entered, methought I was come into a new World, whoſe Life and Manners I will deſcribe unto your Highneſs as well as I can.

7. They have no ſettled Habitation, neither know they to Day where they ſhall lodge to Morrow. They have all *Scythia* to themſelves, which ſtretcheth from the River *Danube*, to the utmoſt extent of the Eaſt. Each of their Captains, according to the Number of his People, knows the Bounds of his Paſtures, and where he ought to feed his Cattle Winter and Summer, Spring and Autumn; for in the Winter they remove into warm Regions Southward, and in the Summer they go up into the cold Regions Northward. In Winter when Snow lies upon the Ground, they feed their Cattle in Paſtures where there is no Water, becauſe then they uſe Snow inſtead of Water. Their Houſes in which they ſleep, they raiſe upon a round Foundation of Wickers, artificially wrought and compacted together; the Roof conſiſting of Wickers alſo meeting above in one little Roundell, out of which there riſes upwards a Neck like a Chimney, which they cover with white Felt, and often they lay Mortar or white Earth upon the Felt with the Powder of Bones, that it may ſhine and look white: Sometimes alſo they cover their Houſes with black Felt. This Cupola of their Houſe they adorn with Variety of Pictures.

Before the Door they hang a Felt curiouſly painted over, for they ſpend all their coloured Felt in painting Vines, Trees, Birds, and Beaſts thereupon. Theſe Houſes they make ſo large, that they contain thirty Foot in Breadth; for meaſuring once the Breadth between the Wheel-ruts of one of their Carts or Wains, I found it to be twenty Feet over, and when the Houſe was upon the Cart, it ſtretched over the Wheels on each Side five Feet at leaſt. I told two and twenty Oxen in one Draught drawing an Houſe upon a Cart, eleven in one Row according to the Breadth of the Cart, and eleven more on the other Side. The Axle-tree of the Cart was of an huge Bigneſs, like the Maſt of a Ship, and a Fellow ſtood in the Door of the Houſe upon the Foreſtall of the Cart driving the Oxen. They likewiſe make certain four ſquare Baſkets of ſlender Twigs as big as great Cheſts, and afterwards from one Side to another they frame an hollow Lid or Cover of ſuch like Twigs, and make a Door in it before. Then they cover the ſaid Cheſt or Houſe with black Felt rubbed over with Tallow or Sheep's Milk, to keep the Rain from ſoaking through, which they likewiſe adorn with Painting or white Feathers. Into theſe Cheſts they put their whole Houſhold Stuff, or Treaſure, and bind them upon other Carts, which are drawn by Camels, that they may paſs through Rivers, neither do they ever take down theſe Cheſts from their Carts. When they take down their Dwelling-Houſes, they turn the Doors always to the South, and next they place the Carts laden with the Cheſts here and there within a Stone's Caſt of the Houſe, inſomuch that the Houſe ſtandeth between two Ranks of Carts, as it were between two Walls.

The Women make themſelves moſt beautiful Carts, which I am not able to deſcribe unto your Majeſty but by Pictures only; I would willingly have painted all Things for you, had my Skill been great enough in that Art. A rich *Tartar* hath a hundred or two ſuch Carts with Cheſts. *Baatu* hath ſixteen Wives, every one of which hath one great Houſe, beſides other little Houſes, which they place behind the great one, being as it were Chambers for their Women to dwell in, and to each of the Houſes belong two hundred Carts. When they take their Houſes off the Carts, the principal Wife placeth her Court on the Weſt, and ſo all the reſt in Order; ſo that the laſt Wife's Houſe is on the Eaſt Frontier, and the Court of each Wife is diſtant from another about a Stone's Caſt.

Hence it is, that the Court of a rich *Tartar* will appear like a very large Village, few Men being to be ſeen therein; one Woman will guide twenty or thirty Carts at once, for their Country is very flat, and they faſten the Carts with Camels or Oxen one behind another; a Wench ſits in the foremoſt Cart driving the Oxen, and all the reſt of themſelves follow a like Pace: When they come to a Place which is a bad Paſſage, they looſe them and guide them one by one, for they go a ſlow Pace, and not much faſter than an Ox can walk.

8. When they have taken down their Houſes from their Carts, and turned the Doors Southward, they place the Bed of the Maſter of the Houſe at the North Part thereof; the Womens Place is always on the Eaſt, that is, on the left Hand of the Maſter of the Houſe, when ſitting upon his Bed with his Face to the South; but the Mens Place is to the Weſt, that is, at the right Hand of their Maſter. Men, when they enter into the Houſe, never hang their Quivers on the Womens Side. Over the Maſter's Head there is an Image made of Felt, which they call the Maſter's Brother, and another over the Head of the Miſtreſs, which they call her Brother, faſtened to the Wall, and a Bow between both of them. There is a little lean Idol, which is, as it were, the Guardian of the whole Houſe. The Miſtreſs of the Houſe places at the Feet of her Bed, on the right Hand, the Skin of a Kid, ſtuffed with Wool, and near that a little Image, looking towards the Apartment of the Woman. Next the Door, on the Womens Side, there is another Image, with a Cow's Udder, which is the Guardian of the Women that milk the Cattle, for that is the conſtant Employment of their Women. On the other Side of the Door next the Men, is another Image, with the Udder of a Mare, for the Guardian of thoſe who milk the Mares.

When they meet to make merry they ſprinkle part of their Drink upon the Image which is over the Maſter's Head, and afterwards upon the other Images in their Order; then a Servant goes out of the Houſe with a Cup full of Drink, ſprinkling it thrice towards the South, and bowing his Knee every time; and this is done in Honour of the Fire. He performs the ſame Ceremony towards the Eaſt in Honour of the Air; and then to the Weſt in Honour of the Water; and laſtly, to the North in Behalf of the Dead. When the Maſter holds a Cup in his Hand to drink, before he taſtes he pours a Part of it upon the Ground: If he drinks ſitting on Horſe-back, he pours out part upon the Neck or Mane of the Horſe before he drinks. After the Servant has paid his Reverence to the four Quarters of the World, he returns to the Houſe, and two other Servants ſtand ready with two Cups, and two Baſons, to carry Drink to their Maſter and his Wife, who ſit together upon a Bed. If he has more Wives than one, ſhe with whom he ſlept the Night before, ſits by his Side the next Day, and all his other Wives muſt that Day reſort to her Houſe to drink, and there the Court is for that Day; the Gifts alſo which are preſented that Day are laid up in the Cheſts of that Wife. One Piece of Ceremony is conſtant in all Houſes, *viz.* a Bench, on which ſtands a Veſſel of Milk, or of other Drink, and Cups for drinking it.

9. They make in Winter an excellent Drink of Rice, and of Honey, ſtrong, well-taſted, and high coloured, like

Wine; they have alſo Wine brought to them from other Countries. In the Summer Time they care not for any Drink but Coſmos. This Liquor ſtands always at the Entrance of the Door, and next to it a Fidler. I ſaw there no ſuch Violins as ours; but many other muſical Inſtruments, which are not uſed with us. When the Maſter of the Houſe begins to drink, one of his Servants crieth out with a loud Voice, Ha! and the Muſician plays upon his Fiddle.

When they make a ſolemn Feaſt, they all of them clap their Hands, and dance to the Noiſe of Muſick, the Men before their Maſter, and the Women before their Miſtreſs; and when the Maſter has drunk, then his Servants cry, Ha! as before, and the Fidler ſtops; then they drink all round both Men and Women, and ſometimes they carouſe, eſpecially for a Victory, till they are drunk. When they invite a Man to drink, they pull him by the Ears to the Veſſel, and ſo lug and draw him ſtrongly to ſtretch out his Throat, clapping their Hands, and dancing before him.

When they would do Honour to any Perſon at their ſolemn Feaſting and Rejoicing, one of the Company takes a full Cup, and two others ſtand, one on his right Hand, and the other on his left, and ſo they three come ſinging to the Man, who is to have the Cup preſented him, ſtill ſinging and dancing before him; and when he ſtretches his Hand to receive the Cup, they leap ſuddenly back, returning again as they did before; and ſo having deluded him three or four Times by drawing back the Cup, until he is eager and very deſirous to drink, then they give him the Cup, ſinging and dancing, and ſtamping with their Feet, until he hath done drinking.

10. In reſpect to their Food, give me leave to inform your Highneſs, that without Difference or Diſtinction they eat all their Beaſts that die of Age or Sickneſs; and amongſt ſo many Droves, there muſt ſome Cattle die in Summer. However, ſo long as their Coſmos, that is, their Mares Milk laſts, they care not much for any Food; and if they chance to have an Ox or an Horſe die, they dry the Fleſh, cutting it into thin Slices, and hanging it up againſt the Sun and the Wind, it is preſently dried without Salt, and without ill Savour or Corruption. They make better Puddings of their Horſes than of their Hogs, which they eat as ſoon as made, the reſt of the Fleſh they reſerve till Winter. They make of their Ox Skins great Bags, which they dry in the Smoak; of the hinder Part of their Horſe Hides they make very fine Sandals. They give fifty or an hundred Men the Fleſh of one Ram to eat; for they mince it in a Bowl with Salt and Water, having no other Sauce, and then with the Point of a Knife, or little Fork, which reſembles ſuch as we uſe to take roaſted Pears and Apples out of Wine; they reach unto every one of the Company a Morſel or two, according to the Number of Gueſts. The Maſter of the Houſe, before the Ram's Fleſh is diſtributed, firſt takes of it what he pleaſes; if he giveth unto any of the Company a particular Service, the Receiver thereof muſt eat it alone, and not impart unto any other, or if he is not able to eat it up all, he carries it with him, and delivers it to his Boy, if he be preſent, to keep it; if not, he puts it up into his Saptarget, that is to ſay, his Satchel, or Snapſack, which they carry about with them for ſuch Purpoſes, and wherein they lay up their Bones, when they have not time to pick them thoroughly, that they may ſcrape them at Leiſure, and ſo nothing be loſt.

11. Their common Drink Coſmos, which is Mares Milk, is prepared after this Manner; they faſten a long Line to two Poſts, ſtanding in the Ground, and to the ſame Line they tie the young Foals of thoſe Mares which they intend to milk, then come the Mares to ſtand by the Foals, ſuffering themſelves to be milked; and if any of them be rude, then one takes her Foal and puts it under her, letting it ſuck a little while, and preſently carrying it away again, there comes another Man to milk the Mare. When they have got a good Quantity of this Milk together, while it is new, they pour it into a great Bag, and they beat the Bag with a Piece of Wood made for that Purpoſe, having a Knot at the lower End like a Man's Head, which is hollow within, and ſo ſoon as they beat it, it begins to boil like new Wine, and to be ſour, and of a ſharp Taſte; and they beat it in that manner till Butter comes; then they taſte it, and being indifferently ſharp, they drink it, for it bites ones Tongue like the Raſberry Wine. After a Man hath taken a Draught, it leaves a Taſte behind it like that of Almond Milk, going down very pleaſantly, and intoxicating weak Brains, for it is very heady and powerful.

As for their Caracoſmos, that is to ſay, Black Coſmos, which is for great Lords to drink, they make it thus; firſt, they beat the Milk ſo long till the thickeſt Part thereof deſcend down to the Bottom like the Lees of White Wine, and that which is thin and pure remains above like Whey, or White Muſt, the Lees and Dregs being very white, are given to Servants, and will make them ſleep exceedingly. That which is thin and clear their Maſters drink; and indeed it is a wonderful ſweet and wholeſome Liquor. *Baatu* hath thirty Farms within a Days Journey of his abiding Place, every one of which ſerves him daily with Caracoſmos of an hundred Mares Milk, and ſo all of them together every Day with the Milk of three thouſand Mares, beſides white Milk, which the reſt of his Subjects bring: For, as the Huſbandmen of *Syria* pay the third Part of their Fruits, and carry it unto the Courts of their Lords, ſo do they their Mares Milk every third Day.

Out of their Cows Milk they firſt churn Butter, boiling which Butter unto a perfect Decoction, they put it into Rams Skins, which they reſerve for that Purpoſe; neither do they ſalt their Butter, and yet by this boiling it never putrifies, and they keep it for Winter; the Churn Milk, which remains of the Butter, they let alone till it be as ſour as poſſible; then they boil it, and in boiling it is turned all into Curds, which Curds they dry in the Sun, making them as hard as the Droſs of Iron; and this kind of Food alſo they preſerve in Satchels againſt Winter. In that Seaſon when Milk fails them, they put the Curds beforementioned, which they call Gray-ut into a Bladder, and pouring hot Water upon them, they beat it till they have diſſolved them, and it is thereby made exceeding ſour; and this they drink inſtead of Milk, for it ſeems a Rule with them never to drink fair Water by itſelf.

12. The great Lords of this Nation have all of them Farms in the South Part of their Country, from whence their Tenants bring them Millet and Meal againſt Winter. The poorer ſort provide themſelves with ſuch Neceſſaries, by the Exchange of Rams, and other Beaſt Skins. As for their Slaves, they are forced to be content with Water, and that thick and bad enough. The only ſort of Animals from which I have known them abſtain, are Mice and Rats. There is, however, a little Animal which they call Sogur, which in the Winter Time lie and ſleep twenty or thirty of them together in Caves for ſix Months, where the *Tartars* find them out, and eſteem them excellent eating; and indeed they are very tender and fat. They have likewiſe great Plenty of a ſort of Rabbets with long Tails, the outſide Hair of which is black and white; other ſmall Creatures they have, on which they freely feed. I ſaw no Deer there, and but a few Hares, but a great Number of Roes.

I ſaw wild Aſſes in great Abundance, which are like Mules: I ſaw alſo another kind of Beaſt called Artack, reſembling, in its Body, a Ram with crooked Horns, and are of ſuch Bigneſs, that I could ſcarce lift up a Pair of them with one Hand; and of theſe Horns they make drinking Cups. They have Falcons, and other Hawks in great Numbers, which they carry upon their right Hands, and they put always about their Falcon's Necks a String of Leather, which hangs down to the midſt of their Gorges; by which String, when they caſt them off the Fiſt at the Game with the left Hand, they bow the Heads and Breaſts of the Hawks to prevent their being toſſed up and down in the Wind, or their ſoaring too high. Being expert in this Art, they gain a great Part of their Proviſion by Hunting and Hawking. In regard to their Attire, it may pleaſe your Majeſty to know, that out of *Cataya*, and other Regions of the Eaſt, out of *Perſia* alſo, and other Countries to the South, are brought to them Manufactures of Silks, Cloth of Gold, and Cotton Cloth, which they wear in time of Summer; but out of *Ruſſia*, *Moxell*, *Bulgaria*, *Hungaria*, and out of *Kerſis*, all which are Northern Regions, and full of Woods, and alſo out of many other Countries of the North, which are ſubject unto them, the Inhabitants bring them many rich and coſtly Skins of divers ſorts, ſuch as I never ſaw, wherewith they are cloathed in Winter, and againſt which Seaſon they make themſelves two Gowns, one with the Fur inward to their Skin, and another with the Fur outward, to defend them from Wind and Snow, which for the moſt part are made of Wolves Skins, or Foxes Skins.

When they ſit in the Houſe they have a finer Gown to wear: The poorer ſort make their Gowns of Dogs or of Cats Skins. When they go to hunt wild Beaſts they meet in a great Company, and ſurrounding the Place where they are ſure to find Game, by little and little they approach on all Sides, till they have got all the wild Beaſts into the midſt in a Circle, and then they diſcharge their Arrows at them. They make themſelves Breeches of Skins. The rich *Tartars* ſometimes fur their Gowns with Silk Shag, which is exceeding ſoft, light, and warm: The poorer ſort line their Cloaths with Cotton, or Cloth, which is made of the fineſt Wool they can pick out; and of the coarſer Part of the Wool they make Felt to cover their Houſes, and their Cheſts, and for their Bedding; alſo of the ſame Wool, being mixed with One-third Part of Horſe-hair, they make all their Cordage. They make of this Felt likewiſe Covering for their Stools, and Caps to defend their Heads from the Weather; for all which they ſpend a great Quantity of their Wool.

13. The Men ſhave a four-ſquare Spot upon the Crowns of their Heads, and from the two Corners, they ſhave, as it were, two Seams down to their Temples. They ſhave alſo their Temples, and the hinder Part of their Head, to the Nape of the Neck. They likewiſe ſhave the Fore-part down to their Foreheads, and upon their Foreheads they leave a Lock of Hair, reaching down to their Eye-brows; on the two hinder Corners of their Heads they have two Locks alſo, which they twine and brade into Knots, and ſo bind and knit them one under each Ear. The Garments of their Women differ not from the Mens, except that they are ſomewhat longer. But the Day after a Woman is married ſhe ſhaves from the midſt of her Head down to her Forehead, and wears a wide Garment like the Veil of a Nun; but larger and longer in all Parts than a Nun's Veil, being open before, and they girt them under the right Side. The *Tartars* differ from the *Turks*, becauſe the *Turks* faſten their Garments to their Bodies on the left Side; but the *Tartars* always on the right Side.

They have always an Ornament for their Heads, which they call *Botta*, which is made of the Bark of a Tree, or of ſome ſuch Subſtance as they can find, which by the Thickneſs and Roundneſs thereof, cannot be held but in both Hands together; and it hath a ſquare ſharp Spire riſing from the Top thereof, being almoſt two Foot in Length, and ſhaped like a Pinacle. This *Botta* they cover all over with a Piece of rich Silk, and it is hollow within; and upon the midſt of this ſame Spire they place a Bunch of Quills, or ſlender Canes, a Foot and a half long, or more, and the Bunch on the Top thereof they beautify with Peacocks Feathers; and round about they ſtick the Feathers of a Mallard's Tail, and adorn it with precious Stones. Alſo great Ladies wear this kind of Ornament upon their Heads, binding it ſtrongly to a kind of Hat, or Coif, which hath a Hole in the Crown, fit for the Spire to come through; and under this Ornament they comb the Hair of their Heads, which they gather up round together, from the hinder Part thereof to the Crown, and ſo lap them up in a Knot or Bundle within the *Botta*, which afterwards they bind ſtrongly under their Throats.

It is on this Account, that when a great Company of ſuch Ladies ride together, and are ſeen at a Diſtance, they look like Soldiers with Helmets on their Heads, carrying their Lances upright, for the *Botta* appears like an Helmet with a Lance over it. All their Women ſit on Horſeback like Men, and they bind their Veils or Gowns about their Waiſts with a Sky-coloured or Silk Scarf, and with another Scarf they gird it about their Breaſts; and they alſo bind a Piece of white Silk like a Muffler, or Maſk, under their Eyes, reaching down to their Breaſts. Theſe Ladies are, generally ſpeaking, exceeding fat; and the leſs their Noſes, the handſomer they are eſteemed. They daub over their Face with Greaſe too moſt frightfully, and they never keep their Beds on account of their bringing forth Children.

14. As to the Employments of their Women, they drive Carts, lay their Houſes upon Carts, and take them down again, milk Cattle, make Butter and Griat, dreſs Skins, and ſew them, which they uſually do with Thread made of Sinews; for they divide Sinews into ſlender Threads, and then twine them into one large one. They make Sandals and Socks, and other kind of Apparel; but they never waſh any Cloaths, for they ſay that God is then angry, and that dreadful Thunder will enſue, if waſhed Garments be hung out to dry. Nay, they beat ſuch as waſh, and take their Garments from them. They are wonderfully afraid of Thunder; for in the Time of Thunder they force all Strangers out of their Houſes, and then wraping themſelves in black Felt, lie hid therein till the Thunder be over. They never waſh their Diſhes, or Bowls; yet when the Fleſh is boiled they waſh their Platter, wherein it muſt be put, with ſcalding hot Broth out of the Pot, and then pour the Broth into the Pot again. They make Felt alſo, and cover the Houſes therewith.

The Duties of the Men are to make Bows and Arrows, Stirups, Bridles and Saddles, to build Houſes and Carts, to keep Horſes, to milk Mares, to churn Coſmos and Mares Milk, and to make Bags to put it in; they keep Camels alſo, and lay Burthens upon them. As for Sheep and Goats, they mind and milk them, both Men and Women. With Sheeps Milk thickened and ſalted they dreſs and tan their Hides. When they waſh their Hands and their Heads they fill their Mouths full of Water, and ſpouting it into their Hands by little and little, they ſprinkle their Hair, and waſh their Heads therewith. As to their Marriages, your Highneſs is to underſtand, that no Man can have a Wife among them till he hath bought her; therefore ſometimes their Maids are very ſtale before they are married, for their Parents always keep them till they can ſell them. They abſtain from the firſt and ſecond Degrees of Conſanguinity inviolably as we do; but they have no Regard to the Degrees of Affinity, for they will marry together, or by Succeſſion, two Siſters; their Widows never marry a ſecond time, for this Reaſon, becauſe they believe that all who have ſerved them in this Life, ſhall do them Service alſo in the Life to come. Whereupon they are perſuaded, that every Widow after Death ſhall return to her own Huſband; and hence ariſes an abominable and filthy Cuſtom amongſt them, namely, that the Son marrieth ſometimes all his Father's Wives, except his own Mother; for the Court, or Houſe of the Father or Mother, falleth by Inheritance always to the youngeſt Son, whereupon he is to provide for all his Father's Wives, becauſe they are part of his Inheritance, as well as his Father's Poſſeſſions; and then, if he will, he uſeth them for his own Wives, for he thinks it no Injury or Diſparagement to himſelf, tho' they return unto his Father after Death. Therefore when any Man hath bargained with another for a Maid, the Father of the Damſel makes him a Feaſt; in the mean time ſhe flies away ſome of her Kinsfolks to hide herſelf. Then her Father ſays to the Bridegroom, my Daughter is yours, take her whereſoever you can find her. Then he and his Friends ſeek her till they find her, and having found her, he takes her by Force, and carries her to his own Houſe.

15. In regard to their Laws, or their Execution of Juſtice, your Majeſty is to be advertiſed, that when two Men fight, no third Man dare intrude himſelf to part them: The Father dare not help his own Son; but he that happens to have the worſt, muſt appeal to the Court of his Lord, and whoever elſe offereth him any Violence after Appeal, is put to death; but he muſt be taken preſently without Delay. They puniſh no Man with Death, unleſs he be taken in the Commiſſion of the Fact, or elſe confeſs the ſame: But being accuſed, they put him to extreme Torture to make him confeſs the Truth. They puniſh Murder with Death, and even Fornication with any other beſides his own Women. By his own, I mean his Wife or his Maid-Servant; for every Man may uſe his Slave as he pleaſes. Heinous Theft alſo, or Felony, they puniſh with Death. For a light Theft, as for ſtealing of a Ram, the Criminal not apprehended in the Fact, but otherwiſe de-

tected, is cruelly beaten; and if the Executioner lays on an hundred Strokes, he muſt have an hundred Rods, for ſuch as are beaten upon Sentence given in Court. Frauds likewiſe of every kind they puniſh with Death. Sacrilegious Perſons they uſe in like manner, (of which kind of Malefactors your Majeſty ſhall be more fully informed hereafter) becauſe they eſteem ſuch to be Witches. When a Man dies they lament and howl moſt pitifully over him, and the Mourners are free from paying any Tribute for one whole Year after: Alſo whoever is preſent in the Houſe, where one of Man's Eſtate lies dead, he muſt not enter into the Court of *Mangu-Khan*, till one whole Year be expired. If it was a Child deceaſed, he muſt not enter into the Court till the next Month after. Near the Grave of the Party deceaſed, they always leave one Cottage. If any of their Nobles, being of the Stock of *Zingis*, their firſt Lord dies, the Place of his Burial is not known. About theſe Places where they inter their Nobles, there is a Family left to keep the Sepulchre: I could not learn that they uſed to hide Treaſures in the Graves of their Dead.

The *Comanians* build a ſtately Tomb over their Dead, and erect the Image of the dead Man thereupon, with his Face towards the Eaſt, holding a Drinking-cup in his Hand before his Navel. They erect alſo upon the Monument of rich Men Pyramids; and in ſome Places I ſaw high Towers made of Brick; in other Places Pyramids made of Stone, though there are no Stones to be found thereabouts. I ſaw one newly buried, in Honour of whom they hung up ſixteen Horſe-hides unto each Quarter of the World, four between certain high Poſts; and they ſet beſide his Grave *Coſmos* for him to drink, and Fleſh to eat; and yet they ſaid that he was baptized. We beheld other kind of Sepulchres alſo toward the Eaſt, *viz.* large Floors of Pavements, made of Stones, ſome round and ſome ſquare, and then four long Stones pitched upright about the Pavement towards the four Corners of the World. When any Man is ſick, he lieth in his Bed and cauſeth a Sign to be ſet up on his Houſe, to ſignify that there lies a ſick Perſon, that no Man may enter into the Houſe; for none are admitted there to ſick Perſons but a Servant only. When any one is ſick in their great Courts, they appoint Watchmen to ſtand round about the Court, who will not ſuffer any Perſon to enter the Precincts thereof; for ſuch is their Superſtition, that they are afraid that evil Spirits or Witches ſhould come together with the Parties that enter in.

16. On my Arrival among theſe barbarous People, I thought, as I before obſerved, that I was come into a new World, for they came flocking about us on Horſe-back, after they had made us wait for them in the Shade under the Black Carts. The firſt Queſtion they aſked was, whether we had ever been with them heretofore or not: And on our anſwering that we had not, they began impudently to beg our Victuals from us: We gave them ſome of our Biſcuit and Wine, which we had brought with us from the Town of *Soldaia*; and having drank off one Flaggon of our Wine, they demanded another, telling us, that a Man does not go into the Houſe with one Foot; we gave them no more however, excuſing ourſelves that we had but little. Then they aſked us whence we came, and whither we were bound; I anſwered them in theſe Words; that we had heard concerning their Prince *Sartach*, that he was become a Chriſtian, and that unto him our Determination was to travel, having your Majeſty's Letters to deliver unto him. They were very inquiſitive to know whether I came of mine own Accord, or whether I was ſent. I anſwered, that no Man compelled me to come, neither had I come unleſs I had been willing; and that therefore I was come according to my own Will, and to the Will of my Superior. I took the utmoſt Care never to ſay that I was your Majeſty's Embaſſador. Then they aſked what I had in my Carts, whether it were Gold, Silver, or rich Garments to carry to *Sartach*. I anſwered, that *Sartach* ſhould ſee what we had brought when we were come unto him, that they had nothing to do to aſk ſuch Queſtions; but rather ought to conduct me unto their Captain, and that he, if he thought proper, ſhould cauſe me to be directed to *Sartach*, if not, that I would return; for there was in the ſame Province one of *Baatu's* Kinſmen, called *Zagatai*, to whom the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* had written Letters to ſuffer me to paſs through his Territories.

With this Anſwer of ours, they were ſatisfied, giving us Horſes and Oxen, and two Men to conduct us. But before they would allow us thoſe Neceſſaries, they made us wait a long while, begging our Bread for their Brats, wondering at all Things they ſaw about our Servants, as their Knives, Gloves, Purſes, and Points, and deſiring to have them. I excuſed myſelf, ſaying, we had a long Way to travel, and that we could not deprive ourſelves of Things neceſſary to finiſh ſo long a Journey. Then they ſaid I was a nigardly Scoundrel. It is true, they took nothing by Force from me, but they will beg all they ſee very importunately; and if a Man beſtows any thing upon them it is but loſt, for they are thankleſs Wretches. They eſteem themſelves Lords, and think that nothing ſhould be denied them by any Man: If a Man gives them nothing, and afterwards ſtands in Need of their Service, they will do nothing for him. They gave us of their Cows-milk to drink after the Butter was churned out of it, which was very ſour, which they call *Apram*; ſo we departed from them: And indeed it ſeemed to me that we were eſcaped out of the Hands of Devils. The next Day we were introduced to their Captain. From the Time wherein we departed from *Soldaia*, till we arrived at the Court of *Sartach*, which was the Space of two Months, we never lay in Houſe or Tent, but always under the Canopy of Heaven, and in the open Air, or under our Carts; neither ſaw we any Village, or heard of any Building where any Village had been; but the Graves of the *Comanians* we ſaw in great abundance. The ſame Evening our Guide which had conducted us, gave us ſome Coſmos: After I had drank thereof, I ſweated extremely, which was owing, I believe, to the Novelty of it, becauſe I never drank of it before; notwithſtanding I thought it was very pleaſant and well taſted.

17. We met the Day following with the Carts of *Zagatai*, laden with Houſes; and I really thought that a great City came to meet me. I wondered at the Multitude of Droves of Oxen, and Horſes, and Droves of Sheep; I could ſee but a few Men that guided all theſe: Upon which I enquired how many Men he had under him, and they told me that he had not above five hundred in all, and that the one half of this Number were paſs'd, as they lay in another Lodging. Then the ſervant which was our Guide, told me that I muſt preſent ſomewhat to *Zagatai*; and ſo he cauſed us to ſtay, going themſelves before to give Notice of our coming. By this Time it was paſt Three, and they unladed their Houſes near a River; and there came unto us his Interpreter, who being informed by us that we were never there before, demanded ſome of our Victuals, and we granted his Requeſt. He alſo required of us ſome Garment, for a Reward, becauſe he was to interpret our Meſſage to his Maſter: We excuſed ourſelves as well as we could. Then he aſked us what we would preſent to his Lord, and we took a Flaggon of Wine, and filled a Baſket with Biſcuit, and a Salver with Apples, and other Fruits; but he was not contented therewith, becauſe we brought him not ſome rich Garment.

We were, however, admitted into his Preſence with Fear and Baſhfulneſs. He ſat upon his Bed holding a muſical Inſtrument in his Hand, and his Wife ſat by him, who, in my Opinion, had cut and pared her Noſe between the Eyes, that ſhe might ſeem to be more flat-noſed; for ſhe had left herſelf no Noſe at all in that Place, having anointed the very Scar with black Ointment, as ſhe alſo did her Eye-brows; which Sight ſeemed to us moſt ugly. Then I repeated to him the ſame Words which I had ſpoken in other Places; for we were directed in this Circumſtance by ſome that had been amongſt the *Tartars*, that we ſhould never vary in our Tale. I beſought him that he would vouchſafe to accept this ſmall Gift at our Hands, excuſing myſelf that I was a Monk, and that it was againſt our Profeſſion to poſſeſs Gold, Silver, or precious Garments, and therefore that I had not any ſuch Thing to give him, unleſs he would receive ſome Part of our Victuals inſtead of a Bleſſing. He cauſed thereupon our

Preſent to be received, and immediately diſtributed the ſame amongſt his Men, who were met together for that Purpoſe, to drink and make merry. I delivered alſo to him the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*'s Letters, eight Days after the Feaſt of Aſcenſion, and he ſent them to *Soldaia* to have them interpreted there; for they were written in *Greek*, and he had none about him that was ſkilled in the *Greek* Tongue.

He aſked us if we would drink any Coſmos, that is to ſay Mare's Milk, for thoſe that are Chriſtians among them, as the *Ruſſians*, *Grecians*, and *Alans*, who keep their own Law very ſtrictly, will not drink thereof, for they account themſelves no Chriſtians after they have once drank of it, and their Prieſts reconcile them unto the Church as if they had renounced the Chriſtian Faith. I anſwered, that we had as yet ſufficient of our own to drink, and that when it failed us we muſt be conſtrained to drink ſuch as ſhould be given us: He enquired alſo what was contained in the Letters which your Majeſty ſent to *Sartach*. I anſwered, that they were ſealed up, and that there was nothing contained in them but friendly Words. And he aſked what Words we would deliver unto *Sartach*? I anſwered, the Words of Chriſtian Faith. He aſked again what thoſe Words were? For he was very deſirous to hear them. Then I expounded unto him as well as I could by my Interpreter, who was a very ſorry one, the Apoſtle's Creed, which after he had heard he ſhook his Head. Then he aſſigned us two Men to attend upon us, and our Horſes and our Oxen, and he cauſed us to ride in his Company, till the Meſſenger he had ſent for the Tranſlation of the Emperor's Letters arrived; ſo we travelled in his Company till the Day after *Whitſunday*.

18. There came to us on *Whitſon-Eve*, ſome of the People called *Alans*, who are the Chriſtians of the *Greek* Church, uſing *Greek* Books, and were Prieſts, but they are not Schiſmaticks as the *Grecians* are, ſince without exception of Perſons they honour all Chriſtians; and they brought unto us boiled Fleſh, requeſting us to eat of their Meat, and to pray for one of their Company who was dead. I anſwered, becauſe it was the Eve of ſo great a Feaſt, we would not eat any Fleſh; and I expounded to them the Solemnity of the Feaſt, for they were ignorant of all Things relating to the Chriſtian Religion, except the Name of Chriſt.

They and many other Chriſtians, both *Ruſſians* and *Hungarians*, demanded of us whether they might be ſaved or no, becauſe they were conſtrained to drink Coſmos, and to eat the dead Carcaſſes of Things ſlain by the Infidels, which even the *Greeks* and *Ruſſian* Prieſts alſo eſteemed as Things ſtrangled or offered to Idols, becauſe they were ignorant of the Times of Faſting, neither could they have obſerved them if they had known them. I inſtructed them as well as I could, and ſtrengthened them in the Faith; as for the Fleſh which they had brought, we reſerved it till the Feaſt-day, for there is nothing ſold among the *Tartars* for Gold and Silver, but for Cloth and Garments, of which we had none. When our Servants offered them any of their Coin, called by them Yperpera, they rubbed it with their Fingers and put it to their Noſes, to try by the Smell whether it were Copper or no. They did not allow for our Food any Subſiſtence but Cow's Milk only, which was very ſour: One Thing moſt neceſſary was greatly wanting to us, for the Water was ſo foul and muddy by reaſon of their Horſes, that it was not fit to be drank; ſo that had it not been for ſome Biſcuit, which by the Goodneſs of God was ſtill left us, we had undoubtedly periſhed.

19. On the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* there came to us a *Mohammedan*, to whom, as he talked with us, we expounded the Chriſtian Faith, who (being informed of God's Goodneſs to Mankind in the Incarnation of our Saviour Chriſt, the Reſurrection of the Dead and the Judgment to come, and that Baptiſm was a waſhing away of Sins) ſaid that he would be baptized; but when we prepared to baptize him, he ſuddenly mounted on Horſeback, ſaying, that he would go Home and conſult with his Wife: And the next Day he told us that he durſt not receive Baptiſm, becauſe then he ſhould drink no more Coſmos; for the Chriſtians of that Place affirm, that no true Chriſtians ought to drink it, and that without it he could not live in that Deſart; from which Opinion I could not for my Life remove him. It is ſcarce credible, how many are reſtrained from becoming Chriſtians from this Opinion, broached and confirmed among them by the *Ruſſians*, of whom there are a great many ſettled here. The ſame Day *Zagatai* gave us one Man to conduct us to *Sartach*, and to guide us to the next Stage, which was five Days Journey for Oxen to travel. They gave us alſo a Goat for Victuals, and a great many Bladders of Cow's Milk, and but a little Coſmos, becauſe they love it ſo much themſelves; and ſo taking our Journey directly towards the North, I thought we had paſſed through one of Hell-Gates.

The Servants who conducted us began to play the bold Thieves, ſeeing us take little heed to ourſelves; at length having loſt much by their Thievery, Suffering taught us Wiſdom. When we came to the Extremity of that Province, which is fortified with a Ditch from one Sea unto another, without which was their Place of Lodging, into which ſo ſoon as we had entered, it appeared to us as if all the Inhabitants were infected with Leproſy, for certain baſe Fellows were placed there to receive Tribute of ſuch as took Salt out of the Salt-Pits. From that Place they told us we muſt travel fifteen Days Journey before we ſhould find any other Place; with them we drank Coſmos, and gave to them a Baſket full of Fruits and of Biſcuit, and they gave unto us eight Oxen and one Goat to maintain us in ſuch a Journey, and I know not how many Bladders of Milk; and ſo changing our Oxen we proceeded for ten Days, arriving then at another Stage, neither found we any Water all that Way, but only in ſome Ditches made in the Vallies and in two Rivers. From the Time alſo that we departed out of the Province of *Gaſſaria*, we travelled directly Eaſtward, having the Sea on the South-ſide of us, and a vaſt Deſart on the North, which Deſart in ſome Places reaches twenty Days Journey in Breadth, without Tree, Mountain, or ſo much as a Stone therein, and is a moſt excellent Paſture. Here the *Comanians*, which were called *Capthad*, were wont to feed their Cattle, and were the ſame the *Germans* ſtiled *Walani*, and the Province itſelf *Walania*. But *Iſidore* calleth all the Tract of Land ſtretching from the River of *Tanais* to the Lake of *Meotis*, and ſo far as the *Danube*, the Country of the *Alani*. And the ſame Country extends in Length from the *Danube* to *Tanais* (which divides *Aſia* from *Europe*) for the Space of two Month's Journey, and it was all inhabited by the *Comanians*, called *Copthai*, and beyond *Tanais* as far as the River of *Edil* or *Volga*, the Space between which two Rivers is a long Journey to be travelled in ten Days. To the North of the ſame Province lieth *Ruſſia*, which is full of Wood in all Places, and ſtretches from *Poland* and *Hungary* to the River of *Tanais*, and it likewiſe hath been waſted by the *Tartars*, and is ſtill waſted by them.

20. The *Tartars* have more Eſteem for the *Saracens* than the *Ruſſians*, becauſe the latter are Chriſtians, and when they are able to give them no more, they drive them and their Children, like Flocks of Sheep, into the Wilderneſs, conſtraining them to keep their Cattle there. Beyond *Ruſſia* lieth the Country of *Pruſſia*, which the *Teutonick* Knights of the Order of St. *Mary*'s Hoſpital of *Jeruſalem* have of late wholly ſubdued, and indeed they might eaſily win *Ruſſia* if they would attempt it vigorouſly; for if the *Tartars* ſhould once know that the great Prieſt, for that is the Name they give to the Pope, had cauſed the Enſign of the Croſs to be diſplayed againſt them, they would fly into the Deſarts. But to proceed;

We went towards the Eaſtward, ſeeing nothing but the Sky and the Earth, and ſometimes the Sea on our right Hand, called the Sea of *Tanais*, and the Sepulchres of the *Comanians*, which appeared unto us two Leagues off, in which their Cuſtom was to bury their Dead altogether. While we were travelling through the Deſart it went reaſonably well with us, but I cannot ſufficiently expreſs the Irkſomeneſs of their Place of Abode, for our Guide would have us go to every Captain with a Preſent, which was an Expence our Circumſtances would not bear, for we were eight Perſons ſpending our own Proviſion, for the *Tartar* Servants would all of them eat of our Victuals, The Fleſh which they gave us was not ſufficient for us, neither could we find any Thing to be bought for our Money: And as we ſat under our Carts in the cool Shadow, on Account of the extreme Heat, they would importunately and ſhamefully intrude themſelves into our Company, ſo that they would even tread upon us to ſee what we had; ſuch Slovens they were, that they would lay their Tails in our Preſence while they were yet talking with us: Many other Things they committed, which were moſt tedious and loathſome unto us.

But above all, it grieved me to the very Heart, that when I would have ſpoken what might tend to their Edification, my fooliſh Interpreter would ſay, you ſhould not make me become a Preacher now; I tell you I cannot, I will not rehearſe any ſuch Words: And true it was which he ſaid, for I perceived afterwards, when I begun to have a little Knowledge in the Language, that when I ſpoke one Thing he would ſay quite another; that is, whatſoever came next to his witleſs Tongue's End. Then ſeeing the Danger I might incur in ſpeaking by ſuch an Interpreter, I reſolved rather to hold my Peace, and thus we travelled with great Fatigue from Place to Place, till a few Days before the Feaſt of St. *Mary Magdalen*, we arrived at the Banks of the mighty River *Tanais*, which divides *Aſia* from *Europe*, even as the River *Nile* of *Egypt* ſeparates *Aſia* from *Africa*. At the Place where we arrived, *Baatu* and *Sartach* had cauſed Cottages to be built upon the Eaſtern Bank of the River, for a Company of *Ruſſians* to dwell in, that they might tranſport Ambaſſadors and Merchants in Ferry-Boats over that Part of the River; where firſt they ferried us over, and then our Carts, putting one Wheel into one, and the other into the other Lighter, firſt binding both the Lighters together, and ſo they rowed them over.

In this Place our Guide play'd the fool ſtrangely; for he imagining that the *Ruſſians* dwelling in the Cottage ſhould have provided us Horſes, ſent home the Beaſts we brought with us, in another Cart, that they might return to their own Maſters. But when we demanded ſome Beaſts of them, they anſwered, that they had a Privilege from *Baatu*, whereby they were bound to no other Service but to ferry Goers and Comers; and that they received great Sums from Merchants even for that. We ſtayed there by the River-ſide three Days. The firſt Day they gave us a great freſh Turbot: The ſecond Day they beſtowed Rye-bread and a little Fleſh upon us, which the Purveyor of the Village had taken up at every Houſe for us: And the third Day dried Fiſh, which they have there in abundance. The River was as broad in that Place as the River *Sein* is at *Paris*; and before we came there, we paſſed over many fine Waters all full of Fiſh, and yet the barbarous and rude *Tartars* know not how to take them; neither do they make any Reckoning of any Fiſh, except it be ſo great that they may eat the Fleſh of it as they do the Fleſh of a Ram.

This River is the Limit of the Eaſt Part of *Ruſſia*; it riſeth out of the Fens of *Mæotis*, which Fens extend quite to the North-ocean. It runs ſouthward, and forms a Sea of ſeven hundred Miles in Extent before it falls into the *Pontus Euxinus*, or the *Black-Sea*; and all the Rivers we paſſed over ran into the ſame. This River has alſo great ſtore of Wood growing on the Weſt Side thereof. The *Tartars* remove no farther towards the North: For about the firſt of *Auguſt*, they begin to return back to the South; and therefore there is another Cottage ſomewhat lower, where Paſſengers are ferried over in Winter-time. And in this Place we were driven to great Extremity, becauſe we could get neither Horſes nor Oxen for Money; at length, after I had declared unto them, that my coming was for the common Good of all Chriſtians, they ſent us Oxen and Men, but we ourſelves were forced to travel on foot. At this Time they were reaping their Rye; as for Wheat, it grows not well in that Soil: They have Millet in great abundance.

The *Ruſſian* Women dreſs their Heads like our Women: They embroider their Gowns on the Out-ſide, from their Feet unto the Knees, with party-coloured or grey Stuff. The *Ruſſian* Men wear Caps like the *Dutchmen*; alſo they wear upon their Heads certain ſharp and high-crown'd Hats made of Felt, much like a Sugar-loaf. We travelled thence three Days together without finding any People; and when ourſelves and our Oxen were exceeding weary and faint, not knowing how far it would be to any *Tartars*, on a ſudden there came two Horſes running towards us, which we caught with great Joy: Our Guide and our Interpreter mounted upon their Backs to ſee how far off they could diſcry any People; and upon the fourth Day of our Journey, having found ſome Inhabitants, we rejoiced like Seamen, who had eſcaped out of a dangerous Tempeſt, and had newly recovered the Haven. Then having taken freſh Horſes and Oxen, we paſſed on from Stage to Stage, till at laſt, the ſecond of *Auguſt*, we arrived at the Habitation of *Sartach*, the *Tartar* Prince.

21. All the Country lying beyond *Tanais* is a very beautiful and pleaſant Region, abounding with Rivers and Woods. Towards the North Part thereof there are large Foreſts inhabited by two ſorts of People, one of them is called *Moxel*, being mere *Pagans*, and without Law; they have neither Towns nor Cities, but only Cottages in the Woods. Their Lord, and a great Part of themſelves, were put to the Sword in *Germany*; whereupon they highly commend the brave Courage of the *Almians*, hoping as yet to be delivered out of the Bondage of the *Tartars* by their Means. If any Merchant come among them, he muſt provide Things neceſſary for him with whom he is firſt entertained all the time of his Abode among them. If any lieth with another Man's Wife, her Huſband, unleſs he be an Eye-witneſs thereof, doth not regard it, for they are not jealous of their Wives. They have abundance of Hogs, and great Store of Honey and Wax, and various ſorts of rich and coſtly Skins, and Plenty of Falcons.

The other People are called *Merclas*, which the *Latins* call *Mardui*, and they are *Mohammedans*. Beyond them is the River of *Etilia*, or *Volga*, which is the greateſt River that ever I ſaw, and it iſſues from the North Part of *Bulgaria the Greater*; and ſo trending along Southward, diſcharges itſelf into a certain Lake, containing in Circuit the Space of four Months Travel, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. The two Rivers aforementioned, *Tanais* and *Etilia*, otherwiſe called *Volga* in the Northern Regions, thro' which we travelled, are not diſtant above ten Days Journey; but Southward they are divided a great Space one from another, for *Tanais* deſcendeth into the Sea of *Pontus*. *Etilia* maketh the foreſaid Sea or Lake, with the Help of many other Rivers which fall into it out of *Perſia*, and we had to the South of us very high Mountains; upon the Side thereof towards the ſaid Deſart, the People called *Carges*, and the *Alani* or *Arcas* inhabit, who are as yet Chriſtians, and make War againſt the *Tartars*. Beyond them, next unto the Sea or Lake of *Etilia*, there are certain *Mohammedans* called *Leſgi*, who are in Subjection to the *Tartars*. Beyond this is *Porta-Ferrea*, or the Iron Gate, concerning the Situation of which your Majeſty ſhall be further informed towards the End of this Treatiſe, for I travelled in my Return by the very Place between theſe two Rivers; in the Regions through which we paſſed the *Comanians* formerly inhabited before they were over-run by the *Tartars*.

22. We found *Sartach* lying within three Days Journey of the River *Etilia*, whoſe Court ſeemed to us to be very great, for he himſelf had ſix Wives, and his eldeſt Son alſo had three Wives, every one of which Women hath a great Houſe, and each of them above two hundred Carts. Our Guide went unto a certain *Neſtorian* named *Coiat*, who is a Man of great Authority in *Sartach* Court; he made us go a long way to one *Jaſma*, for ſo they call him who has the Office of entertaining Ambaſſadors. In the Evening *Coiat* commanded us to come unto him. Then our Guide began to enquire what we would preſent him with, and was exceedingly offended when he ſaw we had nothing ready to preſent. We ſtood before him, and he ſat majeſtically, having Muſick and Dancing in his Preſence. Then I ſpoke unto him in the Words before recited, telling him for what Purpoſe I was come unto his Lord, and requeſting ſo much Favour at his Hands as to bring our Letters unto the Sight of his Lord. I excuſed myſelf alſo, that I was a Monk, not having, nor receiving, nor uſing any Gold or Silver, or other precious thing, ſave our Books, and the Garments in which, as Prieſts, we ſerved God; and this was the

Cauſe why I brought no Preſent to him, or to his Lord; for having abandoned my own Goods, it could not be expected I ſhould become a Carrier for other Men. To all which he anſwered very courteouſly, that being a Monk, in ſo doing I did well, for ſo I ſhould obſerve my Vow; neither ſtood he in need of ought we had, but rather was ready to beſtow on us ſuch things as we ſtood in need of; and having ſo ſaid, he cauſed us to ſit down, and to drink of his Milk, and preſently after he requeſted us to ſay our Devotions for him, and we did ſo.

He enquired alſo who was the greateſt Prince among the *Franks*, i. e. the Weſtern Chriſtians? and I ſaid the Emperor, if he could enjoy his own Dominions in Quiet. No, replied he, but the King of *France*, for he had heard of your Highneſs by Lord *Baldwin* of *Henault*. I found there alſo one of the Knights Templars, who had been in *Cyprus*, and had made Report of all things which he ſaw there. Then we returned to our Lodging, and the next Morning we ſent him a Flaggon of Muſcadel Wine (which had kept very well in ſo long a Journey) and a Box full of Biſcuit, which was moſt acceptable unto him, and he detained our Servants for that Evening, and they were well entertained at his Tents. The next Morning he commanded me to come to Court, and to bring the King's Letters, and my Veſtments and Books with me, becauſe his Lord was deſirous to ſee them, which we did accordingly, lading one Cart with our Books and Veſtments, and another with Biſcuit, Wine, and Fruits; then he cauſed all our Books and Veſtments to be ſpread abroad, and there ſtood round about us many *Tartars*, *Chriſtians*, and *Saracens*, on Horſeback; at the Sight of which he demanded, whether I would beſtow all thoſe things upon his Lord or no? Which ſaying made me tremble, and threw me into an exceſſive Fright. Diſſembling our Grief as well as we could, we gave him the following Anſwer: Sir, Our humble Requeſt is, that our Lord, your Maſter, would vouchſafe to accept our Bread, Wine, and Fruits, not as a Preſent, becauſe it is too mean, but as a Benediction, leſt we ſhould come with an empty Hand before him, and he ſhall ſee the Letters of my Sovereign Lord the King, and by them he ſhall underſtand for what Cauſe we are come unto him, and then both ourſelves and all that we have are at his Pleaſure, but for our Veſtments they are holy, and it is unlawful for any but Prieſts to touch them.

Then he commanded us to dreſs ourſelves in the Garments, that we might go before his Lord, and we did ſo. Then putting on our moſt precious Ornaments, I took in my Arms a very fair Cuſhion, and the Bible which your Majeſty gave me, and a moſt beautiful Pſalter, which the Queen was pleaſed to beſtow upon me, wherein there were very fine Pictures. My Aſſociate took a Miſſal and a Croſs, and the Clerk having put on his Surplice, took a Cenſor in his Hand, and ſo we came to the Preſence of his Lord, and they lifted up the Felt hanging before his Door, that he might behold us.

Then they cauſed the Clerk and the Interpreter thrice to bow the Knee; but of us they required no ſuch Submiſſion, and they diligently admoniſhed us to take care that in going in, and in coming out, we touched not the Threſhold of the Houſe, and requeſted us to ſing a Benediction for him. At length we entered ſinging *Salve Regina*; and in the Entrance of the Door ſtood a Bench with Coſmos, and Drinking-cups thereon, and all his Wives were there aſſembled; alſo the Moguls, or, as they pronounce, *Moals*, or rich *Tartars*, thruſt in, and preſſed hard on us. Then *Coiat* carried to his Lord the Cenſor, with Incenſe, which he beheld very diligently, holding it in his Hand; afterwards he carried the Pſalter unto him, which he looked earneſtly upon, and his Wife alſo that ſat by him; after that he carried the Bible; then *Sartach* aſked, if the Goſpel were contained therein? Yes, ſaid I, and all the Holy Scriptures beſides.

He took the Croſs alſo in his Hand, and aſked, as to the Image, whether it were the Image of Chriſt or no? I ſaid it was. The *Neſtorians* and the *Armenians* never make the Figure of Chriſt upon their Croſſes. Wherefore, either they ſeem not to think well of this Paſſion, or elſe they are aſhamed of it. Then he cauſed them that ſtood about us to ſtand aſide, that he might more fully behold our Ornaments. Afterwards I delivered unto him your Majeſty's Letters, with the Tranſlation thereof in the *Arabick* and *Syriack* Languages, for I cauſed them to be tranſlated at *Acon* into the Character and Dialect of both the ſaid Tongues. There were certain *Armenian* Prieſts, who were verſed in the *Turkiſh* and *Arabian* Languages, and the Knight before mentioned alſo of the Order of the Temple had Knowledge in the *Syriac*, *Turkiſh*, and *Arabian* Tongues. Then we departed, and put off our Veſtments, and there came unto us ſome Secretaries of the Court, together with the *Coiat*, and cauſed our Letters to be interpreted, which Letters being heard, he cauſed our Bread, Wine, and Fruits, to be received; and he permitted us alſo to carry our Veſtments and Books unto our own Lodging.

23. We had the next Morning betimes a Viſit from a certain Prieſt, who was Brother to *Coiat*, requeſting to have our Box of Chriſm, becauſe *Sartach*, as he ſaid, was deſirous to ſee it, and ſo we gave it him. In the Evening *Coiat* ſent for us, ſaying, my Lord, your King, wrote kind Words unto my Lord and Maſter *Sartach*. There are, however, certain Matters of Difficulty in them, concerning which he dare not determine without the Advice of his Father, and therefore you muſt depart unto him, leaving behind you the two Carts which you brought hither yeſterday with Veſtments and Books in my Cuſtody, becauſe my Lord is deſirous to take a more diligent View of them. I preſently ſuſpecting what Miſchief might enſue from his Covetouſneſs, made him Anſwer; Sir, We will not only leave thoſe with you, but the two other Carts alſo, which we have in your Poſſeſſion. You ſhall not, ſaid he, leave thoſe behind you; but for the two Carts firſt named, we will ſatisfy your Requeſt: I ſaid, that this could not conveniently be done, but we muſt leave all with him. Then he aſked, whether we meant to remain in the Land? I anſwered, if you have read, and underſtand the Letters of my Lord the King, you know that we are ſo determined; then he replied, that he ought to be patient, and ſo we departed from him that Evening.

The next Morning he ſent a *Neſtorian* Prieſt for the Carts, and we cauſed all the four Carts to be delivered; then came the beforementioned Brother of *Coiat* to meet us, and ſeparated thoſe things, which we had brought the Day before to the Court from the reſt, *viz.* the Books and Veſtments, and took them away with him. *Coiat* had, however, commanded, that we ſhould carry theſe Veſtments with us, which we wore in the Preſence of *Sartach*, that we might put them on before *Baatu*, if he ſhould require it; but the Prieſt took them from us by Violence, uſing theſe Words: You brought them to *Sartach*, and would you carry them to *Baatu*? And when I would have ſhewn him the Reaſon, he anſwered, Come, don't be too talkative, but go your way. Then I ſaw there was no Remedy but Patience, for we could have no Acceſs unto *Sartach* himſelf, neither was there any that would do us Juſtice. I was afraid alſo of the Interpreter, that he had ſpoken other things than I directed him; for his Will was good, that we ſhould have given away all that we had. There was yet one Comfort left to me, for when I once perceived their covetous Intent, I conveyed from among our Books the Bible, and the Sentences, and other Books, which I valued moſt. I durſt not, however, take away the Pſalter of my ſovereign Lady the Queen, becauſe it was too well known, on account of the golden Pictures therein: So we returned with the two other Carts to our Lodging; then came he that was appointed to be our Guide to the Court of *Baatu*, bidding us provide for our Journey in all haſte; to whom I ſaid, that I would in no caſe have the Carts go with me, which he declared unto *Coiat*.

Then *Coiat* commanded that we ſhould leave them, and our Servant with him, and we did as he directed, and ſo travelled directly Eaſtwards towards *Baatu*; the third Day we came to *Etilia*, or *Volga*, the Stream of which when I beheld I wondered from what Region of the North ſuch huge and mighty Waters ſhould deſcend. Before we were departed from *Sartach*, *Coiat*, with many other Scribes of the Court, ſaid unto us, Do not make Report that our Lord is a Chriſtian, but a *Moal*, becauſe the Name of a Chriſtian ſeemeth to them to be the Name of ſome Nation; and ſo great is their Pride, that though they believe, perhaps, ſome things concerning Chriſt, yet they will not be called Chriſtians, being deſirous that their own Name, that is to ſay, Mogul *Moal*, ſhould be exalted above all other Names: Neither will they be called by the Name of *Tartars*, for the *Tartars* were another Nation, as I was informed by them.

24. At the Time that the *Franks* made themſelves Maſters of the City of *Antioch*, which was about the Year 1097, there reigned in theſe Northern Parts a Prince whoſe Name was *Kon-Khan*, or *Ken-Khan*. *Kon* or *Ken* was his proper Name, and *Khan* his Stile of Power or Dignity; for it is to be underſtood, that the Word *Khan* ſtrictly taken, ſignifies a Diviner, a Man ſkilled in ſublime Sciences, or one who can foretel future Events; and from thence it is transferred to their Princes, as if they held them to be endowed with all theſe great Qualities. The *Turks*, at the Time of that Siege, demanded Succours of *Kon-Khan* againſt the Chriſtians, as coming themſelves originally out of theſe Countries. This *Kon-Khan* was ſtiled likewiſe *Khan*, or Prince of *Cara-Cathay*, which is as much as to ſay, the *Black Cathay*; for *Cara* in their Language ſignifies black, and *Cathay* is the Name of a certain Country, which, however, is to be diſtinguiſhed from that *Cathay* which lies farther towards the Eaſt, and is a maritime Country, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

As for this *Cara-Cathay*, it lies behind certain Mountains, over which I paſſed, as alſo through a plain Country, in which dwelt formerly a certain great *Neſtorian* Prieſt, who was the Sovereign of a Nation called *Naymans*, and who were all Chriſtians of the *Neſtorian* Sect. This *Kon-Khan* being dead, the *Neſtorian* Prieſt before mentioned took upon him the Stile and Office of a King, and thence the *Neſtorians* called him the King *Preſtre John*, i. e. *John* the Prieſt, and publiſhed mighty things concerning him, and much beyond the Truth; for it is the Cuſtom of the *Neſtorians* coming from this Country to magnify every little thing into a great Matter, juſt as they ſpread a Report that *Sartach* was become a Chriſtian, and that *Mangu-Khan*, and *Ken-Khan*, had alſo embraced our Religion only becauſe they were indulgent to thoſe of our Profeſſion, tho' nothing is more certain than that none of them are Chriſtians. So likewiſe there went abroad a great Report concerning this King and Prieſt *John*; notwithſtanding which, when I travelled through his Territories, there was no body that knew any thing of him, but a few *Neſtorians*. In his Paſtures or Territories dwelt *Ken-Khan*, at whoſe Court Friar *Andrew* was, and I myſelf paſſed by at my Return. This *John* had a Brother who was powerful alſo, and a Shepherd like himſelf called *Unc*, and he inhabited beyond the Mountains of *Cara-Cathay*, diſtant from his Brother *John* the Space of three Weeks Journey. He was Lord of a certain Village called *Cara-Carum*, having People alſo for his Subjects named *Prit*, or *Merkit*, who were Chriſtians of the Sect of *Neſtorius*; but their Lord abandoning the Worſhip of Chriſt, embraced Idolatry, retaining with him Prieſts of the ſaid Idols, who all of them are Worſhipers of Devils and are Sorcerers themſelves.

Beyond his Paſtures, about ten or fifteen Days Journey, are the Paſtures of *Moal*, who were a poor and beggarly Nation, without Governor, and without Law, except their Soothſayings, and their Divinations, unto which deteſtable Studies all in thoſe Parts apply their Minds. Near unto *Moal* were other poor People called *Tartars*. The aforeſaid King *John* died without Iſſue Male, his Brother *Unc* thereby was greatly inriched, and took himſelf the Stile of *Khan*, and his Cattle and Herds ranged to the Borders of *Moal*. About the ſame time there was one *Zingis* a Farrier among the People of *Moal*; this *Zingis* ſtole as many Cattle from the *Khan* as he could poſſibly, ſo that the Shepherds of *Unc* complained unto their Lord; upon which he raiſed an Army, and marched up into the Country of *Moal* to ſeek for *Zingis*: But *Zingis* fled amongſt the *Tartars*, and hid himſelf among them; and *Unc* having taken ſome Spoils both from *Moal*, and alſo from the *Tartars*, returned home; then *Zingis* addreſſed himſelf to the *Tartars*, and to the People of *Moal*, "Behold, Brethren, ſaid "he, becauſe we are deſtitute of a Governor and Captain, "you ſee how our Neighbour oppreſſes us;" on which the *Tartars* and *Moals* appointed him to be their Captain.

Then having ſecretly gathered together an Army, he broke in ſuddenly upon *Unc*, and overcame him, and *Unc* fled into *Cathaya*. At the ſame Time his Daughter was taken, which *Zingis* married unto one of his Sons, by whom ſhe conceived and brought forth the *Great Khan*, which now reigneth, called *Mangu-Khan*. Then *Zingis* ſent the *Tartars* before him in all Places where he came; and thereupon was their Name publiſhed and ſpread abroad; for in all Places the People call out, *The Tartars come, the Tartars come.* Yet through continual Wars, they are now all of them in a manner conſumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the *Moals* endeavour what they can to extinguiſh the Name of the *Tartars*, that they may exalt their own. The Country wherein they firſt inhabited, and where the Court of *Zingis-Khan* yet remaineth, is called *Mancherule*. But becauſe *Tartaria* is the Region out of which they have obtained their conqueſts, they eſteem that the Seat of their Kingdom; and there alſo, for the moſt part, do they elect their *Great Khan*.

25. In reſpect to this *Sartach*, whether he believes in CHRIST or no, I know not; this I am ſure of, that he will not be called a Chriſtian: On the contrary, he ſeems to me to deride and ſcoff at Chriſtians. His Country is in the Way of the *Chriſtians*, viz. of the *Ruſſians*, the *Walachians*, the *Bulgarians*, the *Soldaians*, the *Kerchis*, and the *Alans*, who all of them paſs by him as they are going to the Court of his Father *Baatu* to carry Gifts; and therefore he is more in Friendſhip with them. If the *Saracens* hower come and bring greater Gifts than they, they are diſpatched ſooner. He hath about him certain *Neſtorian* Prieſts, who tell their Beads and ſing their Devotions. There is alſo another under *Baatu*, called *Berta*, who feeds his Cattle towards the Iron-gate or *Derbent*, where lieth the Paſſage of all the *Saracens* which come out of *Perſia* and out of *Turky*, to go unto *Baatu*, and paſſing by they make him Preſents, and he profeſſeth himſelf to be a *Saracen*, and will not permit Swines Fleſh to be eaten in his Dominions. At the Time of our Return, *Baatu* commanded him to remove himſelf from that Place, and to inhabit upon the Eaſt Side of *Volga*, for he was not willing that the *Saracens* Embaſſadors ſhould paſs by the ſaid *Berta*, becauſe he ſaw it was not for his Profit.

For the Space of four Days, while we remained in the Court of *Sartach*, we had not any Victuals allowed us, except once a little Coſmos; and in our Journey between him and his Father, we travelled in great Fear; for certain *Ruſſians*, *Hungarians*, and *Alans*, being Servants to the *Tartars* (of whom they have great Multitudes among them) aſſemble themſelves twenty or thirty in a Company; and ſecretly in the Night conveying themſelves from Home, they take Bows and Arrows with them, and whoſoever they find in the Night Seaſon, they put him to Death, hiding themſelves in the Day-time; and having tired their Horſes, they go in the Night to a Company of other Horſes feeding in ſome Paſture, and change them for new, taking with them alſo one or two Horſes beſides, to eat them when they ſtand in Need. Our Guide therefore was much afraid, leſt we ſhould have met with ſuch Companions.

In this Journey we had periſhed through Famine, had we not carried ſome of our Biſcuit with us: At length we came to the vaſt River at *Etilia*, or the *Volga*, which is four Times greater than the River of *Sein*, and of a wonderful Depth, falling into that which of late they call the *Hircanian-Sea*, according to the Name of a certain Country in *Perſia*, lying on the Shore thereof. *Iſidore* calleth it however the *Caſpian-Sea*, for it hath the *Caſpian-Mountains* and the Land of *Perſia* ſituate on the South Side thereof, and the Mountains of *Maſibet*; that is to ſay, of the People called *Aſſaſſini*, towards the Eaſt, which Mountains are joined unto the *Caſpian* Mountains; but on the North Side thereof, lieth the ſame Deſart, wherein the *Tartars* now inhabit; in which heretofore there dwelt a Nation called *Changle*; and on that Side it receives the *Etilia*, which River riſes in Summer-time like the River *Nile* in *Egypt*. On the Weſt Part thereof it hath the Mountains of *Alan*, and *Leſgi*, and *Derbant*, or the Iron-gate, and the Mountains of *Georgia*. This

Sea therefore is encompaſſed on three Sides, with Mountains; but on the North Side hath a fine flat Country. Friar *Andrew*, in his Journey, travelled round about two Sides thereof, namely the South and the Eaſt Sides, and I myſelf about the other two; that is to ſay, the North Side, in going from *Baatu* to *Mangu-Khan*, and in returning likewiſe; and on the Weſt Side, in coming home from *Baatu* into *Syria*. A Man may travel round about it in four Months; and it is not true which *Iſidore* reports, that this Sea is a Bay or Gulph coming out of the Ocean, for in no Part it communicates the Ocean, but is invironed on all Sides with the Land.

26. All the Regions extending from the Weſt Shore of this Sea, where *Alexander*'s Iron-gate, otherwiſe called the City of *Derbent*, is ſituate, and from the Mountains *Alan*, all along by the Fences of *Mæotis*, unto which the River of *Tanais* falls, and ſo to the North Ocean was of old called *Albania*, of which Country *Iſidore* reporteth, that there are in it Dogs of ſuch huge Stature, and ſo fierce, that they are able, in Fight, to match Bulls, and to maſter Lions, which is true, as I was aſſured by ſeveral, who told me, that towards the North Ocean they make their Dogs draw in Carts like Oxen, on account of their Bigneſs and Strength. On that Part of *Etilia* where we arrived, there is a new Station built, wherein they have placed *Tartars* and *Ruſſians* together to ferry over and tranſport Meſſengers going and coming to and from the Court of *Baatu*, for *Baatu* keeps his Court upon the farther Side towards the Eaſt; neither aſcendeth he in Summer-time more northward than the Place where we arrived, but was even then deſcending to the South. From *January* to *Auguſt*, he, and all other *Tartars* aſcend by the Banks of Rivers towards cold and northerly Regions, and in *Auguſt* they begin to return back again.

We paſſed down the Stream therefore in a Bark from the above-mentioned Station unto his Court, from the ſame Place unto a Village of *Bulgaria the Greater*, ſtanding towards the North; it is five Days Journey. I wonder how the Devil carried the Religion of *Mohammed* thither; for, from *Derbent*, which is upon the extreme Borders of *Perſia*, it is above thirty Days Journey to paſs over the Deſart, and ſo aſcend to the Bank of *Etilia* into the Country of *Bulgaria*, in all which Way there is no City, only certain Cottages near unto that Place where *Etilia* falleth into the Sea. Theſe *Bulgarians* are more wicked *Mohammedans* than any other Nations whatever. When I beheld the Court of *Baatu*, I was aſtoniſhed at the firſt Sight thereof, for his Houſes or Tents are as though they had been ſome mighty City ſtretching out a great Way in Length, the People ranging up and down about it for the Space of ſome three or four Leagues; and even as the People of *Iſrael* knew every Man on what Side the Tabernacle to pitch his Tent, ſo every one of them knoweth very well toward which Side of the Court he ought to place his Houſe when he takes it from off the Cart. The Court is called therefore in their Language *Horda*, which ſignifies the Midſt, becauſe the Governor, or chief Captain among them, dwells always in the Midſt of his People, except only that directly towards the South no inferior Perſon places himſelf, becauſe, towards that Region the Court-gates are ſet open; but to the Right-hand and the Left-hand they place themſelves as far as they will, according to the Conveniency of Places, ſo that they erect not their Houſes directly oppoſite againſt the Court. At our Arrival we were conducted to a *Mohammedan*, who provided no Victuals for us at all. The Day following, we were brought to the Court, and *Baatu* cauſed a large Tent to be erected, becauſe his Houſe or Tent could not contain ſo many Men and Women as were aſſembled. Our Guide admoniſhed us not to ſpeak till *Baatu* had given us Commandment ſo to do, and that then we ſhould ſpeak our Minds briefly.

Then *Baatu* demanded whether your Majeſty had ſent Embaſſadors unto him or no? I anſwered, that your Majeſty had ſent Meſſengers to *Ken-Khan*, and that you would not have ſent Meſſengers or Letters to *Sartach*, had not your Highneſs been perſuaded that they were become Chriſtians, becauſe you ſent not unto them out of any Fear, but only for Congratulation and Courteſy-ſake, in regard that you heard they were converted to Chriſtianity. Then led he us unto his Pavilion, and we were charged not to touch the Cords of the Tent, about which they are as ſuſpicious as about the Threſhold of the Houſe. There we ſtood in our Habits bare-footed, and bare-headed, and were a great and ſtrange Spectacle in their Eyes. Indeed Friar *John Du Plano Carpini* had been there before my Coming; but becauſe he was the Pope's Embaſſador, he changed his Habit, that he might not be contemned. Then we were brought into the Midſt of the Tent, neither required they of us to do any Reverence, by bowing our Knees as they uſed to do of other Meſſengers; we ſtood therefore before him for the Space wherein a Man might have rehearſed the Pſalm *Miſerere mei Deus*, and there was a great Silence kept by all.

Baatu himſelf ſat upon a Seat long and broad, like a Bed gilt all over, with three Stairs to aſcend, and one of his Ladies ſat beſide him. The Men there aſſembled ſat down ſcattering, ſome on the Right-hand of the ſaid Lady, and ſome on the Left. Theſe Places on the one Side, which the Women filled not up (for there were only the Wives of *Baatu*) were ſupplied by the Men. Alſo at the very Entrance of the Tent ſtood a Bench furniſhed with Coſmos, and with ſtately Cups of Silver and Gold, richly ſet with precious Stones. *Baatu* beheld us earneſtly, and we him, and he ſeemed to reſemble in Perſonage Monſieur *John de Beaumont*, whoſe Soul reſteth in Peace; for like him, he had a freſh ruddy Countenance.

At length, he commanded us to ſpeak. Then our Guide gave us Direction that we ſhould bow our Knees and ſpeak; on which I bowed one Knee, then he ſignified that I ſhould kneel upon both my Knees; I did ſo, being loth to contend about ſuch Circumſtances; and again he commanded me to ſpeak. Then I thinking of a Prayer unto GOD, becauſe I kneeled on both my Knees, began to pray in theſe Words; "Sir, we beſeech the " Lord, from whom all good Things do proceed, and " who hath given you theſe earthly Benefits, that it " would pleaſe him hereafter to make you Partaker of his " heavenly Bleſſings, becauſe the former, without theſe, " are but vain and unprofitable: And, indeed, further be " it known unto you of a certain, that you ſhall not ob- " tain the Joys of Heaven, unleſs you become a Chriſ- " tian; for God ſaith, *Whoſoever believeth and is bap-* " *tized, ſhall be ſaved; but he that believeth not ſhall be* " *condemned.*"

At this he modeſtly ſmiled, but the other *Moals* began to clap their Hands and to deride us, and my ſilly Interpreter, of whom eſpecially I ſhould have received Comfort in Time of Need, was himſelf abaſhed, and utterly out of Countenance. Then after Silence made, I ſaid to him; "I came to your Son, becauſe we heard that he " was become a Chriſtian, and I brought to him Letters " on the Behalf of my Sovereign Lord the King of " *France*, and your Son ſent me hither unto you; the " Cauſe of my coming therefore is beſt known unto your- " ſelf." Then he cauſed me to riſe up, and he enquired your Majeſty's Name, my Name, and the Name of my Aſſociate and Interpreter, and cauſed them all to be put down in Writing. He demanded alſo (becauſe he had been informed that you was departed out of your own Countries with an Army) againſt whom you waged War? I anſwered againſt the *Saracens*, who had defiled the Houſe of GOD at *Jeruſalem*. He aſked alſo whether your Highneſs had ever before that Time ſent any Embaſſador unto him or no? To you, Sir, ſaid I, never.

Then he cauſed us to ſit down, and gave us of his Milk to drink, which they account to be a great Favour, eſpecially when any Man is admitted to drink Coſmos with him in his own Houſe; and as I ſat looking down on the Ground, he commanded me to lift up my Countenance, being deſirous yet to take a more diligent View of us, or elſe perhaps for a kind of ſuperſtitious Obſervation; for they eſteem it a Sign of ill Luck, or a Prognoſtication of Evil unto them, when any Man ſits in their Preſence holding down his Head as if he were ſad, eſpecially when he leans his Cheek or Chin upon his Hand. Then we departed, and immediately after came our Guide to us, and conducting us to our Lodging, ſaid unto me; "Your Ma-

“ ſter the King, requeſteth that you may remain in this “ Kingdom, which Requeſt *Baatu* cannot grant, without the Knowledge and Conſent of *Mangu-Khan*; “ wherefore you and your Interpreter muſt, of Neceſſity, “ go to *Mangu-Khan*; but, nevertheleſs, your Aſſociate “ and the other Man, ſhall return unto the Court of *Sartach*, and ſtay there for you till you come back.” Then began my Interpreter to lament, eſteeming himſelf but a dead Man; my Aſſociate alſo proteſted he would ſooner loſe his Head than withdraw out of my Company: I myſelf ſaid, that without my Aſſociate I could not go, and that we ſtood in Need of two Servants at leaſt, becauſe if one ſhould chance to fall ſick we would not be without another.

Upon this, returning unto the Court, he told this to *Baatu*, and *Baatu* anſwered, let the two Prieſts and the Interpreter go together, but let the Clerk return to *Sartach*; and coming again unto us, he told us ſo; and when I would have ſpoken for the Clerk to have had him with us, he ſaid, no more Words, for *Baatu* is reſolved that ſo it ſhall be, and therefore I dare not go to the Court any more. *Goſet*, the Clerk, had the Remainder of the Alms-Money beſtowed upon him, twenty-ſix *Yperperas*, and no more, ten whereof he kept for himſelf and the Lad, and ſixteen he gave unto the Interpreter for us; and thus were we parted with Tears, he returning unto the Court of *Sartach*, and ourſelves remaining ſtill in the ſame Place.

27. On the Eve of the Feaſt of *Aſſumption* our Clerk arrived at the Court of *Sartach*, and the next Day after the *Neſtorian* Prieſts were adorned with our Veſtments, in the Preſence of the ſaid *Sartach*. Then we ourſelves were conducted unto another Hoſt, who was appointed to provide us Houſe-room, Victuals, and Horſes; but becauſe we had not any thing to beſtow upon him, he did all things untowardly for us: Then we rode on forward with *Baatu*, deſcending along by the Bank of *Etilia*, or *Volga*, for the Space of five Weeks together. Sometimes my Aſſociate was ſo extreamly hungry, that he would tell me in a manner weeping, that it fared with him as though he had never eaten any thing in all his Life before. There is a Fair or Market following the Court of *Baatu* at all times; but it was ſo far diſtant from us, that we could not have Recourſe thereto, for we were conſtrained to walk on Foot for want of Horſes. At length certain *Hungarians*, a ſort of Clergymen, found us out, and one of them could as yet ſing many Songs without Book, and was accounted of other *Hungarians* as a Prieſt, and was ſent for unto the Funerals of his deceaſed Countrymen.

There was another of them alſo pretty well inſtructed in his Grammar, for he could underſtand the Meaning of any thing that we ſpoke, but could not anſwer us. Theſe *Hungarians* were a great Help to us, giving us Coſmos to drink, and ſometimes Fleſh to eat alſo, who when they requeſted to have ſome Books of us, and I had not any to give them (for indeed we had none except a Bible, and a Breviary) it grieved me exceedingly, and I ſaid to them bring me ſome Ink and Paper, and I will write for you ſo long as we ſhall remain here; and they did ſo, and I copied out for them the Hours of the bleſſed Virgin, and the Office of the Dead. One Day there was a *Comanian* that accompanied us, that ſaluted us, ſaying *Salve Domine*; wondering thereat, and ſaluting him again, I demanded of him who had taught him that kind of Salutation? He ſaid, that he was baptized in *Hungary* by our Friars, and that of them he learned it: He ſaid moreover, that *Baatu* had enquired many things of him concerning us, and that he told him the State of our Order. Afterwards I ſaw *Baatu* riding with his Company, and all his Subjects that were Maſters of Families riding with him, and in my Eſtimation there were more than five hundred Perſons in all.

At length, about the End of *Holy-rood*, there came a certain rich *Moal* unto us, whoſe Father was a Millanary, which is a great Office among them, and told us, I am the Man that muſt conduct you to *Mangu-Khan*, and we have thither a Journey of four Months to travel, and there is ſuch extreme Cold in thoſe Parts, that Stones and Trees burſt aſunder: Therefore I wiſh you would adviſe with yourſelves whether you be able to endure it or no? I anſwered, by God's Help I hope we ſhall be able to go thro' that which other Men can endure. Then he ſaid, if you cannot endure it, I will forſake you by the way, and I anſwered, it were not juſt Dealings for you ſo to do, for we go not thither upon any Buſineſs of our own, but by reaſon that we are ſent thither by our Lord; wherefore ſince we are committed to your Charge, you ought in no wiſe to forſake us. Then he ſaid, all ſhall be well. He cauſed us to ſhew him our Garments, and whatſoever he deemed to be leſs needful for us, he bid us leave behind in the Cuſtody of our Hoſt. On the Morrow they brought unto each of us a furred Gown made all of Ram's Skins, with the Wool ſtill upon them, and Breeches of the ſame, Boots according to their Faſhion, Shoes made of Felt, and Hoods alſo made of Skins after their Manner. The ſecond Day after *Holy-rood* we began to ſet forward on our Journey, having three Guides to direct us, and we rode continually Eaſtward till the Feaſt of *All-Saints* throughout all that Region, and beyond alſo, were the People *Changles* Inhabitants, who were deſcended from the *Romans*. On the North Side of us we had *Bulgaria the Greater*, and on the South the *Caſpian* Sea.

28. When we had travelled twelve Days Journey from *Etilia* we found a mighty River called *Jagac*, which River, iſſuing out of the North from the Land of *Paſcatir*, or of the *Hungarians* which is all one, and they are all of them Shepherds, not having any Cities; and their Country bordereth upon *Bulgaria the Greater* on the Weſt Frontier; from the North-Eaſt Part of the Country there is no City at all. Out of the ſaid Region of *Paſcatir* proceeded the *Hunnes* of old, who afterwards were called *Hungarians*. Next unto it is *Bulgaria the Greater*. *Iſidore* reporteth concerning the People of this Nation, that with ſwift Horſes they traverſed the impregnable Walls and Bounds of *Alexander*, which together with the Rocks of *Caucaſus*, ſerve to reſtrain thoſe barbarous and blood-thirſty People from invading the Regions of the South, inſomuch as they had Tribute paid unto them as far as *Egypt*, and that they waſted all Countries, even unto *France*. If ſo they were more mighty than the *Tartars* as yet are; and unto them the *Blacians* and the *Bulgarians*, and the *Vandals*, joined themſelves; for out of *Bulgaria the Greater* came thoſe *Bulgarians*. As for them who inhabited beyond *Danubius*, near unto *Conſtantinople*, and not far from *Paſcatir*, are called *Ilac*, which (ſaving the Pronunciation) is all one with black, for the *Tartars* cannot pronounce the Letter *B*: From whom alſo deſcend the People which inhabit the Land of *Haſſan*, for they are called *Ilac* (both theſe and the other) in the Language of the *Ruſſians*, the *Polonians*, and the *Bohemians*.

The *Sclavonians* ſpoke one Language with the *Vandals*, all which confederated with the *Hunnes*, and now, for the moſt part, they unite themſelves to the *Tartars*, whom GOD hath raiſed up from the utmoſt Parts of the Earth, according to that which the Lord ſaith; *I will provoke them to Envy by a People which is no People, and by a fooliſh Nation will I anger them.* This Prophecy is fullfiled, according to the literal Senſe thereof, upon all Nations, which obſerve not the Law of GOD. All this which I have written concerning the Land of *Paſcatir*, was told me by certain Friars, who travelled thither before ever the *Tartars* came; and, from that Time, they were ſubdued unto their Neighbours the *Bulgarians*, being *Saracens*; for which Reaſon many of them proved *Saracens* alſo.

Other Matters concerning theſe People may be known out of Hiſtory; for it is manifeſt, that thoſe Provinces beyond *Conſtantinople*, which are now called *Bulgaria*, *Valachia*, and *Sclavonia*, were of old Provinces belonging to the *Greeks*; alſo *Hungary* was heretofore called *Panonia*, and we were riding over the Land of *Changle* from the Feaſt of *Holy-rood*, until the Feaſt of *All Saints*, travelling almoſt every Day, according to my Account, as far as it is from *Paris* to *Orleans*, and ſometimes farther, according as we were provided with Poſt-Horſes; for ſome Days we had Change of Horſes twice or thrice in a Day, ſometimes we were two or three Days together, not finding any People, and then we were conſtrained not to ride ſo faſt. Of twenty or thirty Horſes we had always the worſt, becauſe we were Strangers, for every one took their Choice of the beſt Horſes before us. They provided me always a ſtrong Horſe, becauſe

I was corpulent and heavy; but whether he went a gentle Pace or no I durſt not make any Queſtion, neither durſt I complain, although he trotted very hard; for every Man muſt here be contented with his Lot as it falls. We were often exceedingly troubled, becauſe our Horſes tired before we could come at any People, and then we were conſtrained to whip our Horſes, and to lay our Garments on other Horſes, and ſometimes two of us to ride upon one Horſe.

29. Of Hunger and Thirſt, Cold and Wearineſs, there was no End, for they gave us no Fleſh-meat, but in the Evening. In the Morning they uſed to give us a little Drink, or ſome boiled Millet; in the Evening they beſtowed Fleſh upon us, as a Shoulder and Breaſt of Ram's Mutton, and every Man a Quantity of Broth to drink. When we had ſufficient of the Fleſh Broth we were well refreſhed, and it ſeemed to me moſt pleaſant, and moſt nouriſhing Drink. Every *Saturday* I remained faſting until Night, without eating or drinking, and when Night came I was conſtrained, to my great Grief and Sorrow, to eat Fleſh: Sometimes we were compelled to eat Fleſh half ſodden, or almoſt raw, for want of Fuel to boil it, eſpecially when we lay in the Fields, or were benighted before we came to our Journey's End, becauſe we then could not conveniently gather together the Dung of Horſes and Oxen, for other Fuel we found but ſeldom, except, perhaps, a few Thorns in ſome Places. Upon the Banks of ſome Rivers there are Woods growing here and there, but they are very rare: In the Beginning our Guide highly diſdained us, and it was tedious unto him to conduct ſuch baſe Fellows. Afterwards, when he began to know us ſomewhat better, he directed us on our Way by the Courts of rich *Moals*, and we were requeſted to pray for them: Wherefore had I carried a good Interpreter with me, I ſhould have had Opportunities to have done much good.

The beforementioned *Zingis*, who was the firſt great Khan or Emperor of the *Tartars*, had four Sons, of whom proceeded by natural Deſcent many Children, every one of which doth at this Day enjoy great Poſſeſſions, and they are daily multiplied and diſperſed over that huge and vaſt Deſart, which is in Dimenſions like the Ocean. Our Guide therefore directed us, as we were going on our Journey, to many of their Habitations, and they marvelled exceedingly, that we would not receive either Gold or Silver, or precious and coſtly Garments at their Hands. They enquired alſo concerning the Great Pope, whether he was of ſo laſting an Age as they had heard; for there had gone a Report among them, that he was five hundred Years old. They enquired alſo after our Countries, whether there was abundance of Sheep, Oxen, and Horſes, or no? Concerning the Ocean they could not conceive of it, becauſe it was without Limits or Banks. Upon the Eve of the Feaſt of *All Saints* we altered our Courſe, which hitherto pointed Eaſt, becauſe the People were now deſcended very much South, and we went on our Journey by certain Mountains directly Southward for the Space of eight Days together. In the Deſart I ſaw many Aſſes, which they call *Colan*, being rather Mules; theſe did our Guides and his Companions chaſe very eagerly, though they did but loſe their Labour, for the Beaſts were too ſwift for them.

Upon the ſeventh Day there appeared to the South of us very high Mountains, and we entered into a Place, which was well watered, and freſh as a Garden, and found Land tilled and manured. The eighth Day after the Feaſt of *All Saints* we arrived at a Town of the *Saracens* named *Kenchat*, the Governor whereof met our Guide at the Town's End, with Ale and Cups; for it is their Cuſtom at all Towns and Villages ſubject to them to meet the Meſſengers of *Baatu*, and *Mangu-Khan*, with Meat and Drink; at this Time of the Year they went upon the Ice in that Country, and before the Feaſt of Saint *Michael* they had Froſt in the Deſart. I enquired the Name of this Province, but being now in a ſtrange Territory, they could not tell me the Name thereof, but only the Name of a ſmall City in the ſame Province; and that there deſcended a great River down from the Mountains, which watered the whole Region, according as the Inhabitants would give it Paſſage, by making divers Chanels and Sluices, neither did the River diſcharge itſelf into any Sea, but was ſwallowed up by a Gulph into the Bowels of the Earth, and it cauſed many Fens or Lakes: Alſo I ſaw many Vines, and drank of the Wine made from them.

30. The Day following we came unto another Cottage near the Mountains, and I enquired what Mountains they were, which I underſtood to be the Mountains of *Caucaſus*, which are ſtretched forth and continued on both Sides to the Sea from the Weſt unto the Eaſt; and on the Weſt they are bordering to the *Caſpian* Sea, into which the River *Volga* diſcharges its Streams. I enquired alſo of the City of *Talas*, wherein were certain *Germans*, Servants unto one *Buri*, of whom Friar *Andrew* makes mention, concerning whom alſo I enquired very diligently in the Courts of *Sartach* and *Baatu*. I could get no Intelligence of them, but only that their Lords and Maſter *Ban* was put to Death upon the Occaſion following. This *Ban* was not ſettled in good and fertile Paſtures; and upon a certain Day being drunk, he ſpoke thus to his Men, *Am not I of the Stock and Kindred of* Zingis Khan *as well as* Baatu? (for indeed he was very nearly related to *Baatu*) *Why then do I not paſs and repaſs upon the Bank of* Etilia, *to feed my Cattle there as freely as* Baatu *himſelf doth?* which Speech of his was reported unto *Baatu*; whereupon *Baatu* wrote to his Servants to bring their Lord bound unto him, and they did ſo.

Then *Baatu* demanded of him whether he had ſpoken any ſuch Words? and he confeſſed that he had. But becauſe it is the Manner of the *Tartars* to pardon drunken Men, he excuſed himſelf by ſaying, *that he was drunk at the Time.* How durſt you, ſaid *Baatu*, once name me in thy Drunkenneſs? and having ſaid this, he cauſed his Head to be chopped off.

Concerning the aforeſaid *Germans*, I could not learn any thing till I was come to the Court of *Mangu-Khan*, and there I was informed that *Mangu-Khan* had removed them out of the Juriſdiction of *Baatu* for the Space of a Month's Journey from *Talas* Eaſtward to a certain Village called *Bolac*, where they are ſet to dig Gold, and to make Armour, ſo that I could neither go nor come by them. I paſſed very near the ſaid City in going, that is, within three Days Journey; but I was ignorant that I did ſo, neither could I have turned out of my way, if I had known ſo much. From the aforeſaid Cottage, we went directly Eaſtward by the Mountains, and from that time we travelled among the People of *Mangu-Khan*, who in all Places ſang and danced before our Guide, becauſe he was the Meſſenger of *Baatu*; for this Courteſy they do to each other, namely, the People of *Mangu-Khan* receiving the Meſſengers of *Baatu*, and ſo likewiſe the People of *Baatu* entertaining the People of *Mangu-Khan*, notwithſtanding the People of *Baatu* are more ſurly, and ſhew not ſo much Courteſy to the Subjects of *Mangu-Khan*, as in their Turn they do to them.

A few Days after we entered upon thoſe Mountains, where the *Cara-Cathayans* were wont to inhabit, and there we found a mighty River, inſomuch that we were conſtrained to embark ourſelves, and to ſail over it. Afterwards we came into a Valley, where I ſaw a Caſtle deſtroyed, the Walls whereof were only of Mud, and in that Place the Ground was tilled alſo; and there we found a certain Village named *Equius*, wherein were *Mohammedans* ſpeaking the *Perſian* Language; but they dwelt a great way off *Perſia*. The Day following, having paſſed over the great Mountains Southward, we entered into a moſt beautiful Plain, having high Mountains on our right Hand, and on the left Hand of us a certain Sea or Lake, fifteen Days Journey in Circuit. All the Plain is moſt commodiouſly watered by Trenches diſtilling from the ſaid Mountains; all which fall into the Lake in Summer Time. We returned by the North Side of the Lake, and there were great Mountains on that Side alſo. Upon this Plain there uſed to be formerly many Villages; but for the moſt Part they were all waſted in regard of the fertile Paſtures, that the *Tartars* might feed their Cattle there.

We found one great City there named *Cailac*, which was a Market, and great Numbers of Merchants frequented it. In this City we remained fifteen Days, ſtaying for a certain Scribe or Secretary of *Baatu*, who ought to have accompanied our Guide for the diſpatching of certain Affairs in the Court of *Mangu*. All this Country was wont to be called *Organum*, and the People thereof had their proper Language, and their peculiar kind of writing: But it was now inhabited by the People called *Contomans*. The *Neſtorians* likewiſe in thoſe Parts uſe the very ſame kind of Language and Writing; they are called *Organa*, becauſe they were wont to be moſt ſkilful in playing upon Organs, as was reported unto me. Here did I firſt ſee Worſhippers of Idols, concerning whom, let me obſerve to your Majeſty, that there be many Sects of them in theſe Eaſtern Countries.

31. The firſt ſort of theſe Idolaters are called *Jugures*, whoſe Country borders upon the Land of *Organum*, within the ſaid Mountains Eaſtward, and in all their Cities *Neſtorians* inhabit, and they are diſperſed likewiſe towards *Perſia* in the Cities of the *Saracens*. The Citizens of the aforeſaid City of *Cailac* had three Idol Temples, and I entered into two of them, and beheld their fooliſh Superſtitions. In the firſt I found a Man, having a Croſs painted with Ink upon his Hand; whereupon I ſuppoſed him to be a Chriſtian, for he anſwered like a Chriſtian unto all Queſtions which I demanded of him; and I aſked him, Why therefore have you not the Croſs with the Image of JESUS CHRIST thereupon? and he anſwered, we have no ſuch Cuſtom.

I thereupon conjectured, that they were indeed Chriſtians, but that for lack of Inſtruction they omitted the aforeſaid Ceremony; for I ſaw there behind a certain Cheſt, which was unto them inſtead of an Altar, whereon they ſat Candles and Oblations, an Image having Wings like unto the Image of St. *Michael*, and other Images alſo, holding their Fingers as if they would bleſs ſome body. That Evening I could not find any thing elſe, for the *Saracens* only invite Men thither, but will not have them ſpeak of their Religion, and therefore when I enquired of the *Saracens* concerning ſuch Ceremonies, they were offended thereat.

On the next Day after was the New Moon, and the *Saracens* Feaſt of Paſſover, and changing my Inn or Lodging the ſame Day, I took my Abode near another Idol Temple; for the Citizens of the ſaid City of *Cailac* courteouſly invite, and lovingly entertain, all Meſſengers, every Man of them according to his Ability and Station; and entering into the Temple, I found the Prieſts of the ſaid Idols there, for always at the New Moons they ſet open their Temples, and the Prieſts adorn themſelves, and offer up the Peoples Oblations of Bread and Fruits. Firſt, therefore, I will deſcribe to you thoſe Rites and Ceremonies which are common unto all their Idol Temples, and then the Superſtitions of the aforeſaid *Jugures*, which are, as it were, a Sect diſtinguiſhed from the reſt. They all of them worſhip towards the North, clapping their Hands together, and proſtrating themſelves on their Knees on the Earth, holding alſo their Foreheads in their Hands: Whereupon the *Neſtorians* in thoſe Parts will in no caſe join their Hands together in the Time of Prayer, but they pray, diſplaying their Hands before their Breaſts.

They extend their Temples in Length Eaſt and Weſt, and on the North Side they build a Chamber in the Manner of a Veſtry, for themſelves to go into, or ſometimes it is otherwiſe. If it be a Four-ſquare Temple, in the midſt of the Temple towards the North Side thereof, they take in one Chamber in that Place where the Choir ſhould ſtand, and in the ſaid Chamber they place a Cheſt long and broad like a Table, and behind the ſaid Cheſt towards the South, ſtands their principal Idol, which I ſaw at *Caracarum*, and it was as big as the Idol of Saint *Chriſtopher*; alſo a certain *Neſtorian* Prieſt, which had been in *Cathay*, ſaid, that in that Country there is an Idol of ſuch Bigneſs, that it may be ſeen two Days Journey before a Man came at it; and ſo they place other Idols round about the principal Idol, being all of them finely gilt over with pure Gold, and upon the Cheſt, which is in a manner a Table, they ſet Candles and Oblations. The Doors of their Temple are always open towards the South, contrary to the Cuſtom of *Saracens*: They have alſo great Bells like us, and that is the Cauſe, as I think, why the Chriſtians of the Eaſt will in no caſe uſe great Bells, notwithſtanding they are common among the *Ruſſians* and *Grecians* of *Gaſaria*.

32. All their Prieſts had their Heads and Beards ſhaven quite over, and they are clad in ſaffron-coloured Garments; and being once ſhaven, they lead an unmarried Life from that Time forward, and they live an hundred or two hundred of them together in one Cloiſter. Upon theſe Days, when they enter into their Temples, they place two long Forms therein, and ſo ſitting upon the ſaid Forms, like Singing-men in a Choir, one half of them directly over-againſt the other, they have certain Books in their Hand, which ſometimes they lay down by them upon the Forms, and their Heads are bare ſo long as they remain in the Temple, and there they read ſoftly to themſelves, not uttering any Voice at all. On my coming in among them at the Time of their ſuperſtitious Devotions, and finding them all ſitting mute in a manner, I attempted ſeveral Ways to provoke them unto Speech, and yet could not by any Means poſſibly. They have with them alſo, whitherſoever they go, a certain String with an hundred or two hundred Nut-ſhells thereupon, much like to our Beads which we carry about with us; and they do always utter theſe Words, *Ou mam hactavi*; *God, thou knoweſt*, as one of them expounded it unto me. And ſo often do they expect a Reward at God's Hands as they pronounce theſe Words in Remembrance of God.

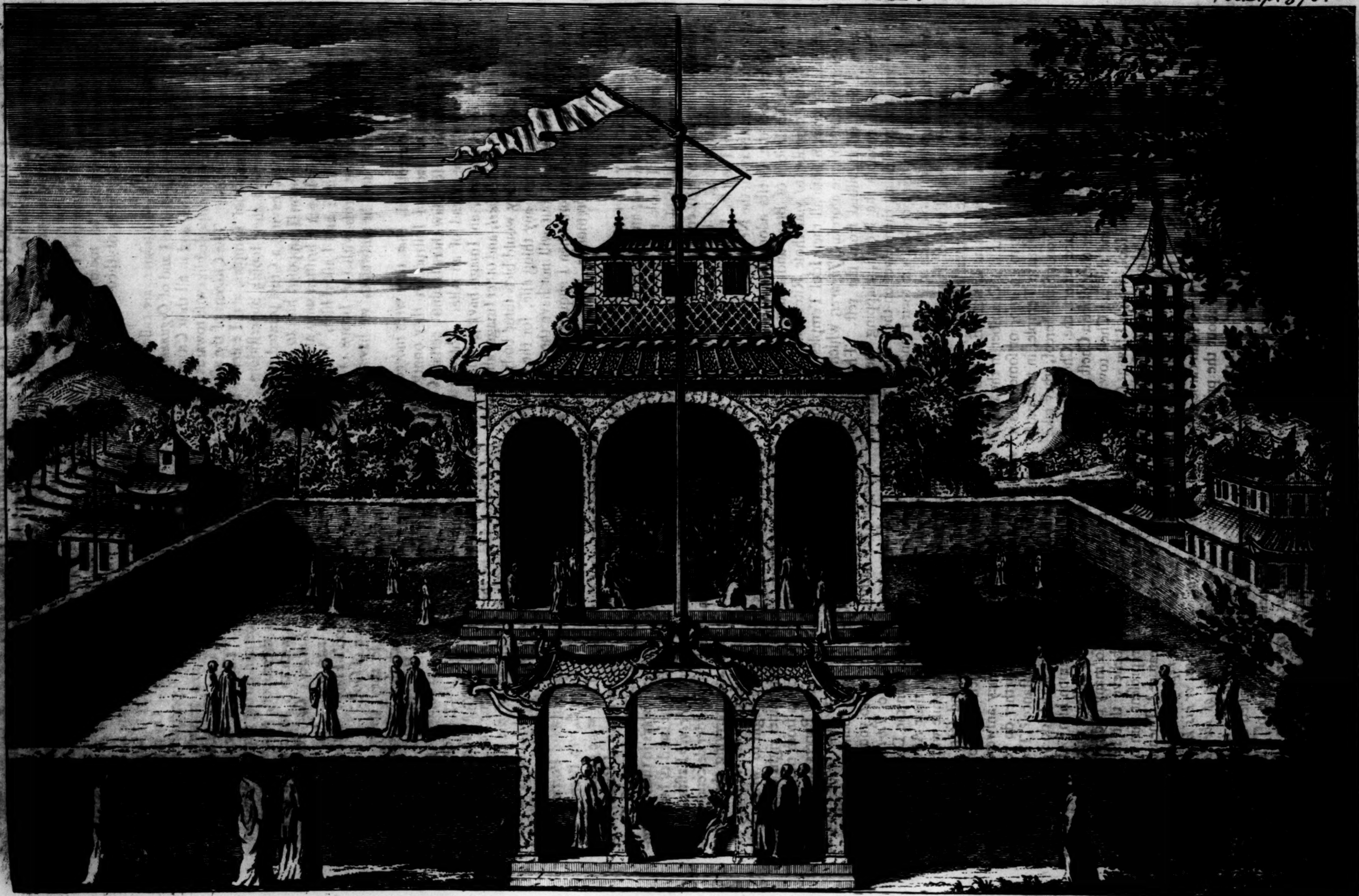
Round about their Temple they always make a fair Court like a Church-yard, which they environ with a good Wall; and upon the South Part thereof, they build a great Portico, wherein they ſit and confer together: And upon the Top of the ſaid Portico, they pitch a long Pole upright, exalting it if they can, above all the Buildings in the Town; and by the View of the ſame Pole, People may know that there ſtands a Temple of the Idols. Theſe Rites and Ceremonies are common to all Idolaters in thoſe Parts. Once I made a Viſit to this Idol-temple, and found certain Prieſts ſitting in the outward Portico, and thoſe which I ſaw ſeemed, by their ſhaven Beards, as if they had been our Countrymen. They wore certain Ornaments upon their Heads like Mitres, made of Paper. The Prieſts of the *Jugures* above-mentioned, uſe thoſe Ornaments where-ever they go. They go always in their ſaffron-coloured Jackets, which are very ſtraight laced or buttoned, from the Boſom downwards, after the *French* Faſhion; and they have a Cloak upon their Left-ſhoulder deſcending under their Right-arm, like a Deacon carrying the Collector's Box in time of *Lent*. Their Letters or Writings, the *Tartars* uſe as well as they. They begin to write at the Top of their Paper, drawing their Lines right down, and ſo they read and multiply their Lines from the Left-hand to the Right. They uſe certain little Papers and uncouth Characters in their magical Practices, and their Temples are full of ſuch ſhort Scrolls hanging round about them.

Mangu-Khan hath ſent Letters unto your Majeſty, written in the Language of the *Moals* or *Tartars*; but in the Characters theſe *Jugures*, they burn the Dead, according to the ancient Cuſtom, and lay up their Aſhes on the Top of a Pyramid. After I had ſat a while with theſe Prieſts, and entered into their Temple, and ſeen many of their Images both great and ſmall, I demanded of them, *What they believed concerning God?* They anſwered, *We believe that there is only one God*; Whether do you believe that he is a Spirit or ſome bodily Subſtance? They ſaid, *We believe that he is a Spirit.* Then ſaid I, do you believe that God ever took Man's Nature upon him? They anſwered, *No.* Again, I ſaid, ſince you believe that he is a Spirit, to what end do you make ſo many bodily Images to repreſent him, ſince alſo you believe that he was not made Man? Why do you rather repreſent him by the Image of a Man than of any other Creature? Then they anſwered, *We frame not theſe Images to repreſent God; but when any rich Man amongſt us, or his Son, or his Wife, or any of his Friends dieth, he cauſeth the Image of the dead Perſon to be made, and to be placed here, and we, in Remembrance of him, do Reverence thereunto.* I replied then, Do you theſe Things only for Friendſhip and out of Flattery to Men? *No*, ſaid they, *but out of regard to their Memories.*

Then they demanded of me, in Scorn and Diſdain, where is God? To whom I anſwered, Where is your Soul? They ſaid in our Bodies: Then ſaid I, is it not in every Part of our Body, ruling and guiding the whole Body, and yet, notwithſtanding, it is not perceived?

A VIEW OF A PAGAN TEMPLE.

Vol.I. p. 570.



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Even ſo God is every where, and rules all Things, and yet he is inviſible, being Underſtanding and Wiſdom itſelf. I was very deſirous to have had ſome farther Conference with them, but on account that my Interpreter was weary and not able to expreſs my Meaning, I was conſtrained to keep Silence. The *Moals*, or *Tartars*, are in this regard of their Sect, that is to ſay, they believe there is but one God, yet they make Images of Felt, in remembrance of their deceaſed Friends, covering them with five moſt rich and coſtly Garments, and putting them into one or two Carts, which Carts no Man dare touch; and theſe are in the Cuſtody of their Soothſayers, who are their Prieſts, concerning whom I will give your Highneſs an Account more at large hereafter.

Theſe Soothſayers, or Diviners, always attend upon the Court of *Mangu*, and of other great Perſonages; as for the poorer, or meaner Sort, they have them not, except ſuch only as are of the Kindred of *Zingis*; and when they are to remove, or take any Journey, the ſaid Diviners go before them, as the cloudy Pillar went before the Children of *Iſrael*, and they appoint Ground where the Tents muſt be pitched; and, firſt of all, they take down their own Houſes, and after them the whole Court does the like. Alſo on their feſtival Days, or new Moons, they take out theſe Images, and place them in order circle-wiſe within the Houſe; then come the *Moals* or *Tartars* into the ſame Houſe, bowing themſelves before the Images, and worſhip them. It is not lawful for any Stranger to enter the Houſe. And, on a certain Time, I myſelf would have gone in, but was very rudely turned out, and obliged to remove, ſo that I never after attempted to pry any further into this matter.

33. But it is my Opinion, that theſe *Jugures* who live among the Chriſtians and *Saracens*, by frequent Diſputes with them, have been brought to believe that there is but one God; and they dwell in certain Cities, which were brought into Subjection to *Zingis-Khan*, and he gave his Daughter in Marriage unto their King: Alſo the City of *Caracarum* itſelf, is in a manner within their Territories; and the whole Country of King, or Preſbyter *John*, and of his Brother *Unc*, lieth near to their Dominions, except that they inhabit in certain Paſtures Northward, and the ſaid *Jugures* between the Mountains towards the South.

The *Moals* received their Letters or Characters from them; and they are the *Tartars* principal Scribes, and all the *Neſtorians* almoſt can read their Letters. Next unto them, between the aforeſaid Mountains Eaſtwards, inhabiteth the Nation *Tangut*, who are moſt valiant People, and took *Zingis* in Battle; but after the Concluſion of a Peace he was ſet at Liberty by them, and afterwards ſubdued them. Theſe People of *Tangut* have Oxen of great Strength, with Tails like Horſes, and with long, ſharp Hair upon the Backs and Bellies. Their Legs are larger than thoſe of other Oxen, and they are exceeding fierce; theſe Oxen draw the Houſes of the *Moals*, and their Horns are ſlender, long, ſtreight, and very ſharp-pointed, inſomuch that the Owners are obliged to cut off the Ends of them. A Cow will not ſuffer herſelf to be coupled to one of them, unleſs they whiſtle or ſing unto her. They have alſo the Qualities of a Buffalo, for if they ſee a Perſon cloathed in Red, they run upon him immediately to kill him.

Next to this Nation are the People of *Tibet*; Men, who had formerly a Cuſtom to eat the Bodies of their deceaſed Parents, that they might make no other Sepulchre for them than their own Bowels. But of late they have left off this Cuſtom, becauſe thereby they became odious to all other Nations; notwithſtanding which, at this Day, they make fine Cups of the Skulls of their Parents, to this end, that when they drink out of them, they may, in the Midſt of all their Jollities and Delights, call their dead Parents to Remembrance: This was told me by one that ſaw it. The ſaid People of *Tibet* have vaſt Plenty of Gold in their Land; whoſoever therefore wants Gold digs till he hath found ſome, and then taking ſo much thereof as will ſerve his Turn, he lays up the Remainder in the Earth, becauſe, if he ſhould put it into his Cheſt, or Storehouſe, he is of Opinion that God would with-hold from him all other Gold.

I ſaw ſome of theſe People, being very deformed Creatures. In *Tangut* I ſaw luſty, tall Men, but brown and ſwarthy in Colour. The *Jugures* are of a middle Stature, like *Frenchmen*. The Language of the *Jugures*, is the Original and Root of the *Turkiſh* and *Comanian* Languages. Next to *Tibet* are the People of *Langa* and *Solanga*, whoſe Embaſſadors I ſaw in the *Tartars* Court; and they brought ten great Carts with them, every one of which was drawn by ſix Oxen. They are little brown Men, like *Spaniards*. Theſe People wear Jackets, like the upper Veſtment of a Deacon, ſaving that the Sleeves are ſomewhat ſtreighter, and they have Mitres upon their Heads like Biſhops; but the Fore-part of their Mitre is not ſo hollow within as the hinder Part, neither is it ſharp-pointed, nor cornered at the Top; but there hang down certain ſquare Laps, compacted of a kind of Straw, which is made rough through extreme Heat, and is ſo trimmed, that it glittereth in the Sun-beams like a Glaſs, or an Helmet well burniſhed. On their Brows they have long Bands of the ſame Manufacture faſtened to their Mitres, which hover in the Wind as if two long Horns grew out of their Heads; and when the Wind toſſes them up and down too much, they tie them over the midſt of their Mitre, from one Temple to another, and ſo they lie a-croſs their Heads. Their principal Embaſſador to the *Tartar*'s Court, had a Table of Elephants Teeth about him, of a Cubit in Length, and a Handful in Breadth, very ſmooth, and whenſoever he ſpoke to the Emperor himſelf, or to any other great Perſonage, he always looked on that Table as if he had found therein thoſe Things which he ſpake; neither did he caſt his Eyes to the Right-hand or to the Left of thoſe with whom he talked.

Beyond them, as I was certainly informed, there are other People called *Muc*, having Villages, but no one Man of them appropriates any Cattle to himſelf, notwithſtanding there are many Flocks and Droves of Cattle in their Country, and nobody appointed to keep them; but when any of them want a Beaſt, he goes up upon a Hill, and there makes a Shout, and all the Cattle which are within hearing of the Noiſe, come flocking about him, and ſuffer themſelves to be taken as if they were tame. And when any Meſſenger, or Stranger, cometh into their Country, they ſhut him up in an Houſe, allowing him Things neceſſary, till his Buſineſs be diſpatched; for if any Stranger ſhould travel through that Country, the Cattle would fly away at the very Scent of him, and ſo become wild. Beyond *Muc* is the grand *Cathaya*, the Inhabitants of which, as I ſuppoſe, were of old called *Seres*, for from them are brought moſt excellent Stuffs and Silk; and this People are called *Seres* of a certain Town in the ſame Country. I was credibly informed, that in the ſaid Country, there is a Town having Walls of Silver, and Bulwarks of Gold. There are many Provinces in that Land, the greater Part of which are not as yet ſubdued by the *Tartars*, and the Sea lieth between them and *India*. Theſe *Cathayans* are Men of little Stature, ſpeaking much through the Noſe.

This is a general Remark, that all the People of the Eaſt have ſmall Eyes. They are excellent Workmen in every Art, and their Phyſicians are well ſkill'd in the Virtue of Herbs, and judge very exactly of the Pulſe, but know not any thing concerning Urine. Some of them I ſaw, for there are many at *Caracarum*, and they always bring up their Children in the ſame Trade of their Father, and therefore they pay ſo much Tribute; for they give the *Moals*, or *Moguls*, every Day, one thouſand five hundred Caſſino's, or Jaſcots (Jaſcot is a Piece of Silver weighing ten Marks) that is to ſay, every Day, fifty thouſand Marks, beſides Silks, and a certain Quantity of Victuals, and other Services which they do them. All theſe Nations are between the Mountains of *Caucaſus*; on the North Side of thoſe Mountains to the Eaſt Sea, on the South Part of *Scythia*, which the Shepherds of *Moal* inhabit, all are Tributary unto them, and all given to Idolatry, and report many Fables of a Multitude of Gods, and certain deified Men, and make a Pedigree of the Gods, as our Poets do.

The *Neſtorians* are intermix'd with them as Strangers, ſo are the *Saracens* as far as *Cathay*. The *Neſtorians* inhabit fifteen Cities of *Cathay*, and have a Biſhop there in a City called *Segin*; but if you proceed further, they are meer Idolaters: The Prieſts of the Idols of thoſe Nations have all broad yellow Hoods. There are alſo among them certain Hermits, living in the Woods and Mountains, of an auſtere and ſtrange Life. The *Neſtorians* there know nothing, for they ſay their Service, and have Holy Books in the *Syrian* Tongue, which they know not; ſo that they ſing, as our Monks do, who are ignorant of Grammar; and hence it cometh that they are wholly corrupted. They are great Uſurers and Drunkards, and ſome of them alſo who live amongſt the *Tartars*, have many Wives in the ſame manner as the *Tartars* have.

When they enter into the Church, they waſh their lower Parts, as the *Saracens* do; they eat no Fleſh on *Friday*, and hold their Feaſts on that Day, after the manner of the *Saracens*. The Biſhops come ſeldom into the Countries, perhaps once in fifty Years; then they cauſe all their little Children to be made Prieſts, even in the Cradle, ſo that all their Men almoſt are Prieſts, and after this, they marry Wives, which is directly againſt the Decrees of the Fathers. They are alſo Bigamiſts, for their Prieſts themſelves, when their Wife is dead, marry another. They are all *Simoniſts*, for they give no Holy Thing freely. They are very careful of their Wives and Children, wherefore they apply themſelves to Gain, and not to the ſpreading of the Faith; whence it comes to paſs, while ſome of them bring up the Nobilities Children of *Moal*, altho' they teach them the Goſpel, and the Articles of the Faith, yet by their evil Life and Covetouſneſs, they drive them further from Chriſtianity, becauſe the Life of the *Moals*, or *Moguls*, and *Tuinians*, who are down-right Idolaters, is more juſt and upright than theirs.

34. We departed from the City *Cailac* on Saint *Andrew*'s Day, and within three Leagues found a Village of *Neſtorians*. Entring into the Church, we ſang *Salve Regina*, &c. with Joy, becauſe it was long ſince we had ſeen a Church. Departing thence, in three Days we came to the Entrance of that Province, not far from the Sea beforementioned, which ſeemed to us as tempeſtuous as the Ocean, and therein we ſaw a great Iſland. My Companions drew near the Shore, and wet a linnen Cloth therein, to taſte the Water, which was ſomewhat ſalt, but however might be drank. There was a Valley over-againſt it, between the great Mountains South and Eaſt, and between the Hills was another ſalt Lake or Sea; and there ran a River through that Valley from the other Sea into this, and there came ſuch a continual Wind through the Valley, that Men paſs through the Road with great Danger, fearing the Wind ſhould carry them into the Sea.

Therefore we left the Valley, and went towards the North, to the hilly Countries, cover'd with deep Snow, which then lay upon the Earth, ſo that upon Saint *Nicholas*'s Day we began to haſten our Journey, and becauſe we found no People but the *Jani*, or Men appointed from Day's Journey to Day's Journey, to conduct the Meſſengers; for in many Places in the hilly Countries, the Way is narrow, and there are but few Fields; ſo that between Day and Night we met with two *Jani*, and therefore of two Days Journey we made one, and travelled more by Night than by Day: It was extreamly cold there, ſo that they lent us their Goat-Skins, turning the Hair outward. On the ſeventh of *December* in the Evening, we paſſed by a certain Place, between very terrible Rocks, and our Guide ſent unto me, intreating me to pray to God, which I did. Then we ſang with loud Voice, *Credo in Deum*, &c. and by the Grace of God, we paſſed theough unhurt.

After that, they began to intreat me that I would write them Papers, and I told them I would teach them Words which they ſhould carry in their Hearts, whereby their Souls and Bodies ſhould be ſaved; but when I ſought to teach them, I wanted an Interpreter, yet I wrote them the Creed and Lord's-Prayer, ſaying, "Here is written
" whatſoever a Man ought to believe concerning God;
" here alſo is that Prayer wherein we beg of God whatſo-
" ever is needful for a Man; now therefore believe firmly
" what is written here, although you cannot underſtand it,
" and aſk God to do that for you which is contained in this
" written Prayer, becauſe with his own Mouth he taught
" it his Friends, and I hope he will ſave you." I could not do any thing elſe, becauſe it was dangerous to ſpeak by ſuch an Interpreter, nay, almoſt impoſſible, becauſe he was ignorant.

35. After this, we entred into the Country where the Court of *Ken Khan* was, which was formerly called the Country of *Naymans*, who were the peculiar Subjects of *Preſtre*, that is, *Preſbyter John*, but I ſaw not that Court till my Return; yet here I ſhall briefly mention what befel his Son and Wives. *Kon Khan* being dead, *Baatu* deſired that *Mangu* ſhould be *Khan*, but I could not well underſtand in what manner happened the Death of *Khan*. Friar *Andrew* ſaid, that he died by a certain Medicine given him, and it was ſuſpected that *Baatu* cauſed it to be adminiſtred: Yet I heard otherwiſe, for he ſummoned *Baatu* to come and do him Homage, and *Baatu* took his Journey with great Pomp and Splendor, but he and his Servants were much afraid, and he ſent one of his Brothers before, called *Stichin*, who, when he came to *Kon*, and ought to have preſented him with his Cup, high Words aroſe between them, inſomuch that they ſlew one another. The Widow of *Stichin* kept us a whole Day, that we might go to her Houſe, and bleſs her, or pray for her.

Kon being dead, *Mangu* was choſen by the Conſent of *Baatu*, and was then choſen while Friar *Andrew* was there. *Kon* had among others a Brother called *Siremon*, who by the Counſel of *Kon*'s Wife, and her Vaſſals, went with a great Train towards *Mangu*, as if he went to do him Homage, and yet in reality he purpoſed to kill him, and deſtroy his whole Court; and when he was near *Mangu*, and within one or two Days Journey, one of his Waggons happened to break in the Way; while the Waggoner endeavoured to mend it, came one of the Servants of *Mangu* who helped him; he was ſo inquiſitive of their Journey, that the Waggoner revealed unto him what *Siremon* purpoſed to do. Then turning out of the Way, as if he lightly regarded it, he went unto the Herd of Horſes, and took the beſt Horſe he could, and poſting Night and Day, came ſpeedily to the Court of *Mangu*, reporting what he had heard.

The Plot being thus diſcovered, *Mangu* quickly aſſembled all his Forces, cauſed four Lines of armed Men to encompaſs his Court, that none might go in or out, and ſent the reſt againſt *Siremon*, who took him, and brought him to the Court, with all his Followers, who, when *Mangu* laid the Matter to his Charge, confeſſed it immediately. Then he and his eldeſt Son *Kon Khan* were ſlain, and three hundred of the Nobility of the *Tartars* with them. The noble Women alſo were ſent for, who were all beaten with burning Firebrands, to make them confeſs, and having confeſſed, were put to Death. His youngeſt Son *Kon*, who was not capable of entring into the Conſpiracy, was left alive, and his Father's Palace was left him with all belonging unto it, and we paſs'd by it in our Return, nor durſt my Guide turn in unto it, either going nor coming: *For, the Lady of the Nations ſat there in Heavineſs, and there was none to comfort her.*

36. We now went up again into the high Countries, ſteering always towards the North. At length, on Saint *Stephen*'s Day, we entred into a great Plain, where there was not ſo much as a Mole-hill; and the next Day, on the Feaſt of Saint *John* the Evangeliſt, we came unto the Palace of that great Lord: But when we were near it, that is to ſay, within five Days Journey, our Hoſt where we lay, would have directed us much about, ſo that we ſhould have travelled more than fifteen Days; and this was the Reaſon, as I underſtood, that we might go by *Onam Kerule*, their proper Country where the Court of *Zingis Khan* is. Others ſaid, that he did it for this Purpoſe, that he might make the Way longer, and might ſhew their Power the more, for ſo they are wont to deal with Men coming from Countries not ſubject to them; and our Guide obtained with great Difficulty, that we might go the right Way, for they held us debating this from the Morning till Three o'Clock.

By the Way alſo the Secretary told me, that it was contained in the Letters which *Baatu* ſent to *Mangu-Khan*, that we required an Army and Aid of *Sartach* againſt the *Saracens*. Then I began to wonder much, and to be greatly troubled, for I knew the Contents of the Letters, and that no mention of any Army was made therein, only you adviſed him to be a Friend to all Chriſtians, and that he ſhould exalt the Croſs, and bear Enmity to all the Enemies of the Croſs; and becauſe alſo the Interpreters were *Armenians*, of the greater *Armenia*, who greatly hated the *Saracens*, leſt perhaps they had interpreted any thing in evil Part, to make the *Saracens* more odious and hateful at their Pleaſure. I therefore held my Peace, not ſpeaking a Word for them, or againſt them; for I feared to gainſay the Words of *Baatu*, leſt I ſhould incur ſome falſe Accuſation, and without reaſonable Cauſe.

We came therefore the Day after into the ſaid Court. Our Guide had a great Houſe appointed him, and we three a little Cottage, wherein we could ſcarce lay our Baggage, make our Beds, and have a little Fire. Many came to viſit our Guide, and brought him drink made of Rice, in long ſtrait-mouthed Bottles, in which I could diſcern no Difference from the beſt Wine, except that it had not the Scent of Wine. We were called ſoon after, and moſt ſtrictly examined upon what Buſineſs we came; “ I anſwered, “ that we having heard *Sartach* was a Chriſtian, “ we came therefore unto him. The King our Maſter “ ſent him a Packet by us, he ſent us to *Baatu* his Father, “ and his Father ſent us hither, he ſhould have written “ the Cauſe.” Whereupon they demanded, whether we would make Peace with them? I anſwered, “ He had “ ſent Letters unto *Sartach* as a Chriſtian; and if he had “ known he were not a Chriſtian, he would never have “ ſent him Letters. That as to a Treaty of Peace, there “ was no Ground for it, ſince he has done you no wrong; “ if he had not done any, why ſhould you war upon him “ or his People? He willingly (as a juſt Man) would reform “ himſelf and deſire Peace. If ye without Cauſe “ will make War with him or his Nation, we hope that “ God (who is juſt) will help them.” At this they wondered, always repeating, *why came ye not to make Peace*. For they are now ſo puffed-up with Pride, that they think the whole World ſhould deſire to make Peace with them; whereas, if I might be ſuffered, I would preach War againſt them to the utmoſt of my Power. But I would not plainly deliver the Cauſe of my Coming, leſt I ſhould ſpeak any thing againſt that which *Baatu* commanded: I told them therefore the ſole Cauſe of my coming thither was, becauſe he ſent me.

The Day following we were brought to the Court, and I thought I could go barefoot, as I did in our Country, and therefore I laid aſide my Shoes; but ſuch as come to the Court, alight far from the Houſe, where the great *Khan* is, as it were a Bow-ſhot off, where the Horſes remain, and a Boy to keep them. When we alighted there, and our Guide went with us to the Houſe, a *Hungarian* Boy was preſent there, who knew our Order; and when the Men came about us, and ſtared at us as Monſters, eſpecially becauſe we were barefooted, and demanded whether we did not need our Feet, becauſe they ſuppoſed we ſhould by Cold have loſt them, that *Hungarian* told them the Reaſon, ſhewing them the Rules and Practice of our Order. Then the chief Secretary, who was a *Neſtorian*, and a Chriſtian, by whoſe Council and advice almoſt all is done, came to us to ſee us, looked earneſtly upon us, and called the *Hungarian*, of whom he aſked many Queſtions. Then we were directed to return to our Lodging.

37. When we returned, at the End of the Court, towards the Eaſt, as far from the Court as a Croſs-bow could ſhoot at twice, I ſaw a Houſe, upon which there was a little Croſs, at which I rejoiced much, ſuppoſing there was ſome Chriſtian there, and I went in boldly, and found an Altar there, very well furniſhed; for there, in a golden Cloth, were the Images of *Chriſt*, the Bleſſed Virgin, and Saint *John Baptiſt*, and two Angels; the Lineaments of their Bodies and Garments diſtinguiſhed with Pearl, and a great ſilver Croſs with precious Stones in the Corners, and the Middle thereof, and many other Embroiderings, and a Lamp burning with Oil before the Altar, having eight Lights; and there ſat an *Armenian* Monk, ſomewhat black and lean, clad with a rough hairy Coat to the Mid-leg having upon it a black Cloak of Briſtles, furred with ſpotted Skins, girt with Iron under his Hair-cloth.

Preſently after we entred in; before we ſaluted the Monk, falling flat upon the Ground, we ſang *Ave Regina Cœlorum*, &c. and he riſing, prayed with us; then ſaluting him, we ſat by him, having a little Fire before him in a Pan; therefore we told him the Cauſe of our coming, and he began to comfort us, ſaying, that we ſhould boldly ſpeak, becauſe we were the Meſſengers of God, who is greater than all Men. Afterwards he told us of his Coming, ſaying, he came thither a Month before us, and that he was a Hermit of the Territories of *Jeruſalem*, and that the Lord appeared unto him three Times, commanding him to go to the Prince of the *Tartars*; and when he deferred to go the third Time, God threatned him, and over-threw him upon the Ground, ſaying, he ſhould die, unleſs he went; and that he told *Mangu-Khan*, that if he would become a Chriſtian, the whole World ſhould be obedient to him. Then I anſwered, “ Brother, I will willingly “ perſuade him to become a Chriſtian; I will promiſe “ him alſo that the *French* and the Pope will much “ rejoice thereat, and account him a Brother and a Friend; “ but I will never promiſe that they ſhall become his Servants, “ and pay him Tribute, as theſe other Nations, “ becauſe in ſo doing, I ſhould ſpeak againſt my Conſcience. “ ” On which he held his Peace. We afterwards went together to our Lodging, which I found a cold Habitation.

We had eaten nothing that Day; ſo we boiled a little Fleſh and Millet, of which we made Broth for our Suppers. Our Guide and his Companions were drunk at the Court, and little Care was had of us. At that Time the Meſſengers of *Veſtace* were there, hard by us, which we knew not, and the Men of the Court made us riſe in great Haſte at the Dawning of the Day. I went barefoot with them a little way unto the Houſe of the ſaid Meſſengers, and they demanded of them whether they knew us. Then that *Grecian* Soldier calling our Order, and my Companion to remembrance, becauſe he had ſeen him in the Court of *Veſtace*, with Friar *Thomas*, our Miniſter, and all his Fellows, gave great Teſtimony of us. Then they demanded whether we had Peace or War with *Veſtace?* We have, ſaid I, neither War nor Peace; and they demanded how that might be? Becauſe, ſaid I, their Countries are far from each other, and meddle not together. Then the Ambaſſador of *Vaſtace* ſaid, we had Peace, giving me a Caution; ſo I held my Tongue. That Morning my Toes Ends were frozen ſo, that I could no longer go barefoot; for in theſe Countries, the Cold is extream ſharp, and from the Time when it beginneth to freeze, it never ceaſes till *May?* Nay, in the Month of *May*, it froze every Morning, but in the Day-time it thawed, thro' the Heat of the Sun; but in Winter it never thaws, but the Ice continues with every Wind. And if there were any Wind there in Winter, as there is with us, nothing could live there; but it is always mild Weather till *April*, and then the Winds riſe; and at that Time when we were there (about *Eaſter*) the Cold riſing with the Wind, killed Multitudes of living Creatures.

In the Winter little Snow fell there; but about *Eaſter*, which was in the latter End of *April*, there fell ſo great a Snow, that all the Streets of *Caracarum* were full; ſo that they were forced to carry it out with their Carts. Then they firſt brought us (from the Court) Ram-ſkin Coats, and Breeches of the ſame, and Shoes, which my Companion and Interpreter received; but I thought I had no need of them, becauſe I ſuppoſed my furr'd Garment, which I brought from *Baatu*, was ſufficient for me. On the 5th of *January*, we were brought to the Court, and there came *Neſtorian* Prieſts to me, whom I knew not to be Chriſtians, demanding which Way we worſhipped? I ſaid, to the Eaſt; and this they demanded, becauſe we had ſhaven our Beards, by the Advice of our Guide, that we might appear before the *Khan*, according to the Faſhion of our Country, whereupon they thought we had been *Tuinians*, or Idolaters. They made us alſo expound out of the Bible. Then they demanded what Reverence we would pay to the *Khan*, whether after our own Faſhion or theirs? To whom I made anſwer, “ We are Prieſts dedicated to the “ Service of God; Noblemen in our Country will not ſuf-

“ fer Prieſts to bow their Knees before them for the Ho-
“ nour of GOD: Nevertheleſs we will humble ourſelves
“ to all Men for the Lord's ſake. We came from a far
“ Country, if ye pleaſe we will firſt ſing Praiſes unto GOD,
“ who hath brought us ſafe hither from afar, and after-
“ wards we will do whatſoever pleaſeth this Lord, with
“ this Exception, that he command us nothing which may
“ be againſt the Worſhip and Honour of GOD.” Then
they entering into the Houſe, delivered what we had ſaid; ſo their Lord was contented, and they ſet us before the Entrance of the Houſe, lifting up the Felt which hung before the Gate, and becauſe it was *Chriſtmas* we began to ſing, *A Solis ortus cardine*, &c.

38. When we had ſung this Hymn, they ſearched our Boſoms to ſee we had no Knives about us. They made our Interpreter ungird himſelf, and leave his Girdle and his Knife without, in the Cuſtody of a Door-keeper. When we came in, there ſtood in the Entrance a Bench with Coſmos, by which they made our Interpreter ſtand, and cauſed us to ſit upon a Form before the Ladies; the whole Houſe was hung with Cloth of Gold, and on a Hearth, in the Middle of the Houſe, there was a Fire made of Thorns and Wormwood Roots (which grow there very big) and Ox Dung. The *Khan* ſat upon a Bed covered with a ſpotted Skin, or Fur, bright and ſhining like a Seal's Skin: He was a flat noſed Man, of a middle Stature, about the Age of five and forty, and a little pretty young Woman his Wife ſat by him, and one of his Daughters, whoſe Name was *Cerina*, a hard-favoured young Woman, with other Children that were younger, ſat next unto them upon a Bed; for that was the Houſe of a certain Chriſtian Lady he loved, by whom he had this Daughter, and he married the young Wife afterwards; yet the Daughter was Miſtreſs of all that Court which was her Mother's.

Then he made them aſk us what we would drink, whether Wine, or Caracina, that is, Drink made of Rice, or Caracoſmus, that is, clear Cow's Milk, or Ball, that is, Mead made of Honey; for they uſe theſe four kinds of Liquor in the Winter? Then I anſwered, Sir, we are not Men who take Pleaſure in Drink, what pleaſeth you ſhall content us. Then he commanded Drink of Rice to be given us, clear and good as White-wine; whereof I taſted a little for Reverence of him, and our Interpreter, to our Miſfortune, ſtood by the Butlers who gave him much Drink, ſo that he was quickly drunk; then the *Khan* cauſed Falcons and other Birds to be brought unto him, which he took upon his Fiſt, and looked upon them, and after a long time he commanded us to ſpeak. We were then to bow the Knee; and he had his Interpreter, a certain *Neſtorian*, whom I knew not to be a Chriſtian; and we had our Interpreter, ſuch a one as he was, who by this Time was drunk.
Then I ſaid, “ We firſt give Thanks and Praiſe to GOD,
“ who hath brought us from ſo remote Parts of the World
“ to ſee *Mangu-Khan*, to whom GOD hath given ſo great
“ Power upon Earth; and we beſeech our Lord, by whoſe
“ Command we live and die, that he would grant him a
“ long and a proſperous Life,” (for this they deſire, that
Men pray for their Lives) then I told him, “ Sir, We have
“ heard of *Sartach*, that he was a Chriſtian, and the Chri-
“ ſtians who heard it, but eſpecially the *French* King, re-
“ joiced; wherefore we come unto him, and our Lord and
“ King hath ſent him Letters by us, wherein were Words
“ of Peace, and amongſt other things he teſtifieth of us
“ whoſe Servants we are, and entreated him to ſuffer us to
“ abide in his Country; for it is our Office to teach Men
“ to live according to the Law of GOD, and he ſent us to
“ *Baatu* his Father, and *Baatu* hath ſent us hither unto
“ you; you are they to whom GOD hath given great
“ Dominions upon Earth, we therefore intreat your High-
“ neſs to give us leave to continue in your Country to do
“ the Service of GOD for you, your Wives, and Chil-
“ dren. We have neither Gold, nor Silver, nor Precious
“ Stones, to preſent unto you, but ourſelves, whom we
“ preſent to ſerve and pray unto GOD for you: At leaſt
“ give us leave to continue while the Cold be paſt. My
“ Companion is ſo weak, that he cannot by any means
“ travel on Horſeback without Hazard of his Life;” for
my Companion begged me and adjured me to crave leave to ſtay. Then he began to anſwer, Even as the Sun ſpreads his Beams every where, ſo our Power and *Baatu*'s ſhews itſelf every where, ſo that we have no need of your Silver and Gold.

Hitherto I underſtood my Interpreter, but further I could not perceive any perfect Sentence, whereby I eaſily found he was drunk, and *Mangu-Khan* himſelf was drunk too, at leaſt I thought ſo; yet he was diſpleaſed that we came firſt to *Sartach*, before we came to him. Then ſeeing the Defect of my Interpreter, I held my Peace, this only excepted; I intreated his Highneſs not to be diſpleaſed for that which I ſpake of Gold and Silver, becauſe I ſpoke it, not that he had need of ſuch things, or deſired them, but becauſe we would willingly honour him with ſpiritual things. Then he made us riſe, and ſit down again, and after ſome few Words, and paying our Duty to him, we went out, and his Secretaries, and that Interpreter of his (who had the bringing up of one of his Daughters) went with us. They began to be very inquiſitive concerning the Kingdom of *France*, whether there were many Rams, Oxen, and Horſes there, as if preſently they ſhould enter and take all? And oftentimes I was fane to bridle myſelf much in diſſembling Anger and Indignation. I anſwered, however, there are many good things there which ye ſhall ſee if you happen to come thither. Then they appointed us one who ſhould have Care of us, and we went to the Monk; and when we came out again ready to go to our Lodging, the Interpreter came to us, ſaying, *Mangu-Khan* hath Compaſſion on you, and gives you two Months Time to ſtay, then the extream Cold will be paſt; and he offers to ſend you ten Days Journey, where is a good City called *Caracarum*; if you will go thither he will cauſe neceſſary Things to be given you, but if ye will ſtay here ye may have Neceſſaries; yet it will be a troubleſome thing for you to follow the Court.

I ſaid the Lord preſerve *Mangu-Khan*, and grant him a good and long Life. We have found this Monk here, who we think to be a holy Man, and that by the good Pleaſure of GOD he came into theſe Parts; wherefore we would willingly ſtay with him, and we will pray together for the Life of *Khan*. Then he held his Peace, and departed, and we went to our Houſe, which we found very cold, and without any Fuel, as yet faſting, though it was Night. Then he to whom we were recommended, provided us Fuel, and a little Meat. Our Guide was now to return to *Baatu*, who deſired a Carpet of us, which we left in the Court of *Baatu*, which we gave him, and he peaceably departed; ſo kiſſing our right Hand, and confeſſing his Fault, if he ſuffered us to endure Hunger and Thirſt upon the Way, we pardoned him, craving Pardon of him and his whole Family, if we had given them any evil Example.

39. A certain Woman of *Metz* in *Lorraine*, called *Paſcha*, found us, who made us good Cheer, according to her Power, who belonged to the Court of that Lady who was a Chriſtian, of whom I ſpoke before, who told us of her ſtrange Poverty which ſhe endured before ſhe came to the Court; but now ſhe was well to live, for ſhe had a young Huſband, a *Rutenian* (by whom ſhe had three very fair Children) who was ſkilful in Building, which amongſt them is an excellent Art. She told us farther, that at *Caracarum* there was a certain Goldſmith called *William*, born at *Paris*, whoſe Surname was *Bouchier*, and his Father's Name *Lawrence Bouchier*, and ſhe believed he hath a Brother yet living upon the Great Bridge, called *Roger Bouchier*; and ſhe told me that he had a certain young Man which he brought up, whom he accounted as his Son, who was an excellent Interpreter; but *Mangu-Khan* delivered to the aforeſaid Goldſmith three hundred Jaſeots, that is, three thouſand Marks, and fifty Workmen, to make a Piece of Work, ſo that ſhe feared he could not ſend his Son to me; for ſhe heard ſome ſay in that Court, the Men which came from your Country are good Men, and *Mangu-Khan* would willingly ſpeak unto them, but their Interpreter is good for nothing; therefore ſhe was careful for an Interpreter.

Then I wrote unto the Goldſmith, certifying him of my coming hither, and requeſting him, that if he could he would ſend me his Son, and he wrote me Anſwer, that he could not that Moon; but the next his Work ſhould be perfected, and then he would ſend him unto me. We ſtayed therefore with other Embaſſadors, and it is otherwiſe with Embaſſadors in *Baatu*'s Court than in the Court of *Mangu-Khan*; for in the Court of *Baatu* there is one *Jani* on the Eaſt Side, who receiveth all ſuch as come from the Weſt, and ſo of other Countries of the World; but in the Court of *Mangu* they are all together under one *Jani*, and they may ſee and viſit one another. In *Baatu*'s Court they know not one another, or whether a Man be a Meſſenger or no, becauſe they know not one another's Lodging, nor ſee one another, but in the Court; and when one is called by Accident, another is not, for they go not to Court unleſs they be ſent for. We found there a certain Chriſtian in *Damaſcus*, who ſaid he came in the Behalf of the Soldan of *Mons Regalis*, and of *Crax*, who deſired to become Friend and Tributary to the *Tartars*.

40. The Year before I came thither there was a certain Clerk of *Acon*, or *Ptolemais* in *Syria*, who called himſelf *Raimund*, but his true Name was *Theodolus*, and he took his Journey from *Cyprus* with Friar *Andrew*, and went with him into *Perſia*, and procured certain Inſtruments of *Amoricus* then in *Perſia*, who remained after Friar *Andrew*. Friar *Andrew* returning, he went forward with his Inſtruments, and came to *Mangu-Khan*, and being demanded upon what Account he came, ſaid, "That he was with a certain holy Biſhop, to whom the Lord ſent Letters from Heaven, written in Golden Characters, and commanded him to ſend them to the Emperor of the *Tartars*, becauſe he ſhould be Lord of the whole Earth, and that he ſhould perſuade Men to make Peace with him." Then *Mangu* ſaid unto him, if thou hadſt brought theſe Letters, which come from Heaven, and the Letters of thy Lord, thou hadſt been welcome. He anſwered, that he brought Letters, but they were with other things of his on a wild and pampered Gelding, which eſcaping, fled from him through the Woods and Mountains, ſo that he had loſt all.

Then *Mangu* demanded the Name of the Biſhop; he ſaid he was called *Odo* of *Damaſcus*, and informed him alſo of Maſter *William*, who was Clerk of the Lord Legat. The *Khan* demanded, in whoſe Kingdom it was? To whom he made Anſwer, that it was under a certain King of the *Franks*, called *Moles*; for he had heard of that that happened at *Maſſora*, and he would have ſaid, that they were of your Servants. He alſo told the *Khan*, that the *Saracens* were between the *Franks* and him, who hindered his way; but if the way had been open, he would have ſent Embaſſadors, and willingly have made Peace with him. Then *Mangu-Khan* aſked him, if he would bring his Meſſengers to that King, and that Biſhop? He told him he would, and alſo to the Pope.

Then *Mangu* cauſed an exceeding ſtrong Bow to be made, which two Men could ſcarce bend, and two Arrows of Silver, whoſe Heads were full of Holes, which ſung, when they are ſhot, like a Whiſtle; and he choſe a *Moal*, whom he ſhould ſend with the ſaid *Theodolus*, and to whom he ſaid, "Thou ſhall go to the King of the *Franks*, to whom this Man ſhall bring thee, and preſent him with theſe on my Behalf; and if he will have Peace with us, we will win the Country from the *Saracens*, even home to him, and will grant him the reſt of the Country unto the Weſt; if otherwiſe, bring back the Bow and Arrow unto us, and tell him we ſhoot far and ſtrongly with ſuch Bows." Then he cauſed *Theodolus* to go forth, whoſe Interpreter Maſter *William*'s Son was, and in his Hearing, he ſaid unto the *Moal*, "Thou ſhalt go with this Man, mark well the Ways, the Countries, and their Caſtles, Men and Mountains". For this Reaſon the young Man blamed *Theodolus*, ſaying, he had done ill in conducting the Meſſengers of the *Tartars* with him, for they went for no other Cauſe but to ſpy.

He anſwered, that he would ſet them on the Sea, that they ſhould not know which Way to return. *Mangu* gave alſo unto *Moal* his golden Bull or Tablet, to wit, a Plate of Gold of an Hand Breadth and half a Cubit long, wherein his Orders are engraven: Whoſo carrieth that, may command what he will, and it is done without Delay. So then *Theodolus* came to *Veſtacius*, determining to paſs over to the Pope, that he might deceive the Pope, as he had deceived *Mangu-Khan*. Then *Veſtacius* demanded of him, whether he had Letters to the Pope, becauſe he was a Meſſenger, and ſhould conduct the Meſſengers of the *Tartars*; but not being able to ſhew the Letters, he took him and ſpoiled him of all that he had got, and caſt him in Priſon, and the *Moal* fell ſick and died there.

But *Veſtacius* ſent back the golden Tablet to *Mangu-Khan* by the Servants of the *Moal*, whom I met at *Aſſron* in the Entrance into *Turky*, who told me what had happened to *Theodolus*. Such Sharpers run through the World, whom the *Tartars* kill when they can take them. Now the Epiphany was at hand; and that *Armenian* Monk, *Sergius* by Name, told me that he ſhould baptize *Mangu-Khan* upon that Holy Day. I entreated him to labour, by all means, that I might be preſent, that I might bear Witneſs that I ſaw it; and he promiſed me he would.

41. When this feſtival Day came, the Monk called me, not, but at ſix of the Clock I was ſent for to Court, and I ſaw the Monk with the Prieſts returning from the Court with his Croſs, and the Prieſts with the Cenſor, and the Goſpel for that Day. *Mangu-Khan* made a Feaſt, and his Cuſtom is, that on ſuch Days as his Soothſayers appoint him, or the *Neſtorian* Prieſts make Holy Days, he held his Court; and on theſe Days the Chriſtians come firſt, with their Furniture, and pray for him and bleſs his Cup; then they departing, the *Saracen* Prieſts come and do the like: Next after them come the idolatrous Prieſts, and do the ſame. The Monk told me, that he only believes the Chriſtians, yet will have all to pray for him; but in this he lied, for he believes none; yet all follow his Court as Flies do Honey. He giveth to all, and all Men think they are his Familiars, and all propheſy Proſperity to him. Then we ſat before the Court a long Space, and they brought us Fleſh to eat; to whom I made anſwer, that we would not eat there, but if they would provide us Meat, they ſhould provide it for us at our Houſe; to which they anſwered, Get Home to your Houſe, you were invited here for nothing elſe but to eat: Therefore we returned to the Monk, who bluſhed at the Lie he had told me, and therefore would not ſpeak a Word of the Matter; yet ſome of the *Neſtorians* affirmed, that he was baptized; to whom I ſaid, that I would never believe it, nor report it to others, ſeeing I ſaw it not.

We came at laſt to our old and empty Houſe, where they provided us Bedding and Coverlids; they brought us alſo Fuel, and gave us three the Carcaſs of one little lean Ram, as Meat for ſix Days, and every Day a little Platter-full of Millet, and lent us a Caldron, and a Trivet to boil our Fleſh, which being boiled, we boiled our Millet in the Broth of the Fleſh. This was our Meat, and it had well ſufficed us, if they had ſuffered us to eat in Peace; but there were ſo many ſtarved Fellows, who were not provided with Meat, that as ſoon as they ſaw us dreſs ours, they thruſt in upon us, and would eat with us. The Cold began then to prevail, and *Mangu-Khan* ſent us three Fur-coats with the Hair outwards, which we thankfully received: They demanded alſo how we were provided with neceſſary Food; to whom I anſwered, that little Meat ſufficed us, but we have not an Houſe wherein to pray for *Mangu-Khan*; for our Cottage was ſo little, that we could ſcarce ſtand upright in it, nor open our Books for Smoak after the Fire was lighted. Of this they gave him an Account, and he ſent to the Monk, to know if he would be pleaſed with our Company, who gladly anſwered that he would. From that Time we were provided with a better Houſe, and we went down with the Monk before the Court, where none lodged but we and their Soothſayers; but they lodged nearer before the Palace of the greateſt Lady, and we at the fartheſt End towards the Eaſt, before the Palace of the laſt Lady; and that was on the Thirteenth of *January*.

On the next Morning, all the *Neſtorian* Prieſts came together before Day at the Chapel, and ſmote upon a Broad inſtead of ringing a Bell, and ſang Matins ſolemnly, and put on their Ornaments, preparing the Cenſor and the Incence; and while they were waiting thus, behold, in the Morning the principal Wife *Cotata-Caten* by Name (*Caten* is of the ſame Import as Lady, and *Cotata* is her proper Name) came into the Chapel with many other Ladies, and with her eldeſt Son called *Baltu*, and other Children, and they caſt themſelves down upon the Earth, ducking after the Manner of the *Neſtorians*; and after this, they touched all the Images with their Right-hands, always kiſſing their Hands after they had touched; and after that they gave their Right-hands to all that ſtood by them in the Church, for this is the Cuſtom of the *Neſtorians* when they come into the Church; then the Prieſts ſang many Things, giving the Lady Incenſe in her Hand, and ſhe put it upon the Fire; then they perfumed her: After this, when the Day was clear, ſhe began to put off the Ornament off her Head, which is called *Bacca*, and I ſaw her bare Head; then ſhe commanded us to go forth, and as I went out I ſaw a Silver Baſon brought, whether they baptized her or no I know not; but I know they celebrate not Maſs in a Tent, but in a ſtanding Church; and at the Feaſt of *Eaſter* I ſaw them baptize and conſecrate a Fount with great Solemnity, which now they did not.

While we went into our Houſe, *Mangu-Khan* himſelf came and went into the Church or Oratory, and a golden Bed was brought, on which he ſat by his Queen, over-againſt the Altar; then we were ſent for, who knew not then that *Mangu* was come, and the Door-keeper ſearched us, leſt we ſhould have Knives about us; but coming into the Oratory, having a Bible and a Breviary in my Boſom, I firſt bowed down to the Altar, and after to *Mangu-Khan*, and ſo paſſing by we ſtood between the Monk and the Altar; then they made us ſing a Pſalm after our Manner and chaunt it; but we ſang *Veni ſancte Spriritus*, &c. and *Khan* cauſed our Books to be brought unto him, the Bible and the Breviary, and diligently enquired concerning the Images, what they ſignified; the *Neſtorians* anſwered him at their Pleaſure, becauſe our Interpreter came not in with us; and when I was firſt before him, I had the Bible in my Boſom, which he commanded to be brought unto him, and he looked earneſtly on it; then he departed, and his Lady remained there, and diſtributed Gifts to all the Chriſtians there; ſhe gave the Monk a Jaſeot, and to the Arch-Deacon of the Prieſts another; ſhe cauſed a Naſſic to be ſpread before us, that is, a Piece of Cloth as broad as a Coverlid of a Bed, very large, and a Buckram, which, when I would not receive, they ſent them to my Interpreter, who had them to himſelf. He brought the Naſſic to *Cyprus*, which he ſold for eighteen Sultanines of *Cyprus*, but it was much the worſe for the Carriage. Then Drink was brought us, *viz.* Drink made of Rice and Red-wine, like a Wine of *Rochelle*, and Coſmos; then the Lady holding the Cup full in her Hand, deſired a Bleſſing upon her Knees, and all the Prieſts ſung with a loud Voice, and ſhe drank it up, and I and my Companion were obliged to ſing.

Another Time, when all of them were almoſt drunk, there was brought the Carcaſs of one Ram, which was preſently devoured, and after that great Fiſhes, which are like our Carp, without Salt or Bread, whereof I eat a little, ſo they paſſed the Day till the Evening; and when the Lady herſelf was drunk, ſhe took her Chariot, the Prieſts ſinging, and went her Way. The next *Sunday*, which was the Twenty-third of *January*, the *Khan*'s Son came (whoſe Mother was a Chriſtian) and did the like, but not with ſo great Solemnity, for he gave no Gifts, but made the Prieſts drink, and gave them parched Millet to eat. Before the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*, the *Neſtorians* faſt three Days, which they call the Faſt of *Jonas*, when he preached to the *Ninevites*. And the *Armenians* faſt five Days, which they call the Faſt of St. *Lorkis*, who is the greateſt Saint among them. The *Neſtorians* begin their Faſt on *Tueſday*, and end it on *Thurſday*; ſo that on *Friday* they eat Fleſh: And all that Time I ſaw the Chancellor, who is there called *Bulgai*, give them ſmall Pieces of Fleſh upon the *Friday*; and they bleſſed the Fleſh with great Solemnity, as the Paſcal Lamb is bleſſed, but he eat none with them; and this I learned of the *French* Goldſmith, who was his very familiar Friend.

The Monk ſent to *Mangu* to faſt that Week, which he did; ſo that on the *Eaſter* of the *Armenians* we went in Proceſſion to the Houſe of the *Mangu*, and the Monk and we too went in with the Prieſts before him; and while we went in, one of the Servants went out, carrying out the Shoulder Bones of Rams burnt as black as Coals. I wondered at this greatly, as not knowing what it ſhould mean; but after I had enquired, I underſtood, that the *Khan* never does any thing before he has conſulted theſe Bones, which kind of Divination is thus performed: When the *Khan* undertakes any thing, or rather before he undertakes it, he cauſes three of theſe Bones to be brought to him unburnt, and holding them, he conſiders in his Mind the thing he conſults about, and whether he ſhall do it or not, and then delivers the Bones to be burnt; and there are always two little Rooms by the Houſe where he lies, where theſe Bones are burnt, which are diligently ſought for every Day thro' all the Leſkar or Camp of the *Tartars*. When they are burnt black, they bring them to him; then he looks upon them, whether the Bones, by the Heat of the Fire, be cleſt Lengthways, for then he may do it; but if the Bones are cracked athwart, or round Pieces fly out of them, then he doth it not, for the Bones are always cleft in the Fire, or the thin Skin which covers the Bone; and if one be cleſt downright, he proceeds in his Deſign be it what it will.

When therefore we went in before him, having a Caution to avoid touching the Threſhold, the *Neſtorian* Prieſts brought him Incenſe, and he put it upon the Cenſor, and they purfumed him, then they ſung, bleſſing his Cup; after them the Monk pronounced his Bleſſing, and we bleſſed laſt: And when he ſaw us holding up the Bible towards our Breaſts, he cauſed it to be brought to him that he might ſee it, which he earneſtly looked upon; then after he had drunk, and the chief Prieſt had waited on his Cup, they gave the Prieſts Drink, but we went out; but my Companion ſtaying laſt, when we were gone, turned his Face to the *Khan*, bowing himſelf to him, and then haſtily following us, he ſtumbled at the Threſhold of the Houſe, while we went in Haſte towards the Houſe of *Baltu*, the *Khan*'s eldeſt Son. They that obſerved the Threſhold ſeized my Companion and made him ſtay, calling one, and commanding him to be carried to the *Bulgai*, who is the Chancellor, or Secretary of the Court, who judgeth thoſe that are arraigned of Life and Death, but I knew it not; yet, when I looked back, and did not ſee him coming, I thought they kept him to give him ſome lighter Garments, for he was weak, and ſo laden with Felt-Garments that he could ſcarce go.

Then they called our Interpreter, and made him ſit with him, but we went to the *Khan*'s eldeſt Son's Houſe, who had two Wives, and was lodged at the right Side of his Father's Court; who, as ſoon as he ſaw us coming, leaping from his Bed whereon he ſat, caſt himſelf upon the Earth, ſmiting his Forehead againſt the Ground, where kiſſing the Croſs, and then ariſing, cauſed it to be laid upon a new Cloth, in an high Place by him, very honourably: He hath a Schoolmaſter, a *Neſtorian* Prieſt called *David*, a Drunkard, who inſtructs him. Then he made us ſit, and gave the Prieſts Drink, and he alſo drank, receiving the Bleſſing from them; then we went to the Court of the ſecond Lady, which was called *Cota*, who followed Idolaters, whom we found lying ſick a-bed; then the Monk made her riſe out of her Bed, and worſhip the Croſs, bowing her Knees thrice, and bowing towards the Ground, he ſtanding with the Croſs at the Weſt Side of the Houſe, and ſhe on the Eaſt; this being done, they changed Places, and the Monk went with the Croſs unto the Eaſt, and ſhe unto the Weſt, and he boldly commanded her, tho' ſhe was ſo weak that ſhe could ſcarce ſtand upon her Feet, that ſhe ſhould caſt herſelf down thrice, and worſhip the Croſs, towards the Eaſt, after the Manner of the Chriſtians, which ſhe did, and he taught her to make the Sign of the Croſs upon her Forehead, after ſhe laid down upon her Bed; and praying for her, we went unto the third Houſe, where a Chriſtian Lady uſed to be, who being dead, a young Woman ſucceeded her, who, together with the Daughter of her Lord, joyfully received us; and all that whole Houſe reverently worſhipped the Croſs, and he ſat it upon a velvet Cloth, in an high Place, and ſhe ordered Meat to be brought, which being ſet before the Lady, ſhe cauſed it to be diſtributed to the Prieſts; but I and the Monk were very weary of the Meat and Drink, for the Meat being eaten, and much Drink drunk, we were to go to the young Lady *Cerina*, who lodged behind that great Houſe, which was her Mother's, who, at the coming-in of the Croſs, caſt herſelf down upon the Earth, and worſhipped it very devoutly, becauſe ſhe had been taught ſo to do, and ſhe ſet it in a high Place, upon a Piece of Silk, and all thoſe Cloths whereon the Croſs was ſat, were given to the Monks.

A certain *Armenian* brought his Croſs, who came with the Monk, as he ſaid, from *Jeruſalem*, and it was of Silver, weighing about ſome four Marks, and it had four precious Stones in the Corners, and one in the Middle. It had not the Image of our Saviour, and he had preſented it to *Mangu-Khan*, and *Mangu* demanded of him what he deſired? To whom he anſwered, that he was the Son of an *Armenian* Prieſt, whoſe Church the *Saracens* had deſtroyed, and craved his Help for the Building again that Church. Then he aſked him for how much it might be built again? He anſwered, for two hundred Jaſcots, that is, for two thouſand Marks; and he commanded Letters to be given him, to him, who received the Tribute in *Perſia* and *Armenia* the Greater, that they ſhould pay him the ſaid Sum in Silver. This Croſs the Monk carried with him every where, and the Prieſts ſeeing the Gain he made thereof, began to envy him. We were therefore in the Houſe of the young Lady, and ſhe gave the Prieſts much Drink; from hence we went up into the fourth Houſe, which was the laſt, for he uſed not to come often unto that Lady, and her Houſe was very old, and herſelf not over gracious; but after *Eaſter*, the *Khan* made her a new Houſe, and new Chariots. She likewiſe, as well as the Second, knew little or nothing of Chriſtianity, but followed Soothſayers and Idolaters; yet at our coming in, ſhe worſhipped the Croſs as the Monk and the Prieſt taught her. There alſo the Prieſts drank again, and from this Place we returned to our Oratory, which was not far from thence, the Prieſts accompanying us with great Howling and Outcries in their Drunkenneſs, which is not conſidered there as blameable, either in Man or Woman. A little after, my Companion was brought home, and the Monk ſharply rebuked him, becauſe he touched the Threſhold. The next Day *Bulgai* came (who was a Juſtice) and diligently enquired whether any had warned us to take Heed of touching the Threſhold; and I anſwered, Sir, We had not our Interpreter with us, and if they did, how could we underſtand? Then he pardoned him, but would never after ſuffer him to come into any of the Houſes of *Mangu-Khan*.

43. Sometime afterwards, it happened that the Lady *Cota* was ſick, almoſt to Death, and the Divination by Lot of the Idolaters, did her no good at all; then *Mangu* ſent unto the Monk, demanding of him what might be done for her, and the Monk indiſcreetly anſwered, that if ſhe were not cured, he ſhould cut off his Head. Having made that Anſwer, the Monk called us, declaring the Matter unto us with Tears, intreating us to watch with him that Night in Prayer, which we did; and he had a certain Root, which is called Rhubarb, and he beat it almoſt to Powder, and put it in Water, with a little Crucifix which he had, whereon the Image of our Saviour was advanced, whereof he reported, that by it he knew whether the Sick would recover or die; for if they ſhould eſcape, it ſtuck to the Breaſt of the Sick, as if it were glewed; if otherwiſe, it ſtuck not at all; and I ſtill thought that Rhubarb had been ſome holy Relick, which he had brought from the Holy Land of *Jeruſalem*. And he gave all ſick Perſons of that Water to drink, ſo that it could not be, but their Bowels ſhould be griped with ſo bitter a Potion; which Alteration in their Bowels they accounted a Miracle. Then I told him, he ſhould prepare ſome of that Holy Water which is made in the Church of *Rome*, which hath great Virtue to expel Devils, becauſe I underſtood ſhe was vexed of a Devil; and at his Requeſt, we made him ſome Holy Water, and he mingled Rhubarb, and put his Crucifix all the Night long in the Water to temper it. I ſaid, moreover, that if he were a Prieſt, that the Order of Prieſthood had great Power to expel Devils; and he ſaid, it was very true, and yet he lied, becauſe he had no Order, nor knew any one Letter; but was a Weaver, as I underſtood after, in his Country, when I returned.

The next Morning therefore, I and the Monk, and two *Neſtorian* Prieſts, went unto the Lady, and ſhe was in a little Houſe, behind her greater Houſe. When we came in, ſhe ſat in her Bed, and worſhipped the Croſs, and ſat it honourably by her, upon a Cloth of Silk, and drank of the Bleſſed Water with Rhubarb, and waſhed her Breaſt, and the Monk requeſted me to read a Goſpel over her; ſo I read the Paſſion of our Lord according to *John*; at length ſhe was cheared, and felt herſelf better, and ſhe cauſed four Jaſcots to be brought, which ſhe firſt laid at the Feet of the Croſs, and after gave them to the Monk, and reached me one, which I would not receive; then the Monk ſtretched forth his Hand, took it, and gave each of the Prieſts one; ſo that at that Time ſhe gave forty Marks. Then ſhe cauſed Wine to be brought, and gave it the Prieſts to drink, and I was forced to drink thrice from her Hand, in Honour of the Trinity: She began alſo to teach me the Language, jeſting with me, becauſe I was ſilent, as not having any Interpreter.

The next Day again *Mangu-Khan*, hearing that we came that Way, made us come into him, becauſe he underſtood, that the Lady was ſomewhat better; and we found him with a few Servants, taking a ſort of Meat made of Paſte, for comforting the Head, and the burnt Shoulder-blades of a Ram lay before him, and he took the Croſs in his Hand, but that he worſhipped it, I ſaw not; he looked upon it indeed, and aſked ſome Queſtions, but I know not what. Then the Monk craved Leave to carry the Croſs aloft, upon a Lance, becauſe I had ſpoken to the Monk before concerning this, and *Mangu* ſwered, carry it as you think beſt; then paying our Duty to him, we went unto the Lady, and we found her ſtrong and chearful, and ſhe ſtill drank of the Holy Water, and we read the Paſſion over her, and thoſe miſerable Prieſts never taught her the Faith, nor adviſed her to be baptized; but I ſat there mute, not able to ſpeak any thing, yet ſhe ſtill taught me the Language, the Prieſts found no fault with any kind of Sorcery; for there I ſaw four Swords half drawn out of the Sheath, one at the Head of the Lady's Bed, another at the Feet, and two other, on either Side of the Door one. I ſaw alſo there one ſilver Chalice, of our Chalices, which very probably was taken out of ſome Church in *Hungary*, and it hung againſt the Walls full of Aſhes, and upon thoſe Aſhes there was a black Stone, and concerning ſuch things, the Prieſts never teach them that they are evil; nay, they themſelves do teach ſuch things. We viſited her three Days, ſo that ſhe was reſtored to perfect Health; after that, the Monk made a Banner full of Croſſes, and got a Cane as long as a Lance, and we carried the Croſs aloft.

I honoured him as my Biſhop, becauſe he could ſpeak the Language, yet he did many things that did not pleaſe me; for he cauſed a Chair, which may be folded, to be made for him, ſuch as Biſhops uſed to have, and Gloves, and a Cap of Peacocks Feathers, and upon it a little Croſs of Gold; I was well pleaſed with the Croſs. He had ſcabbed Feet, which he endeavoured to palliate with Ointments, and was very preſumptuous in Speech; the *Neſtorians* alſo repeated certain Verſes of the Pſalter upon two Rods, which were joined together, being held by two Men. The Monk was preſent at ſuch Things, and many other Vanities appeared in him, which diſpleaſed me, yet we joined ourſelves to his Society for the Honour of the Croſs, for we carried the Croſs advanced through all the Tents ſinging, *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, &c. Whereupon the *Mohammedans* were much dejected.

44. From the Time we came to the Court of *Mangu-Khan* he rode but two Journeys towards the South, and from that time he began to return towards the North, which was towards *Caracarum*; whereon I noted all the Way a thing of which Maſter *Baldwin* of *Hannonia* had ſpoken to me at *Conſtantinople*, that he had ſeen this only wonderful, that he always aſcended in going, and never deſcended; for all Rivers came from the Eaſt to the Weſt, either directly or indirectly, bending towards the South, or the North, and I enquired of the Prieſts which came from *Cathaya*, who teſtified the ſame. From the Place where I found *Mangu-Khan* to *Cathaya* were twenty Days Journey, going towards the South and Eaſt to *Oman Kerule*, which is the proper Country of *Moall*, where the Court of *Zingis* is, were ten Days Journey right Eaſt; and in thoſe Parts of the Eaſt there was no City, yet there were People which are called *Su-Moall*, that is to ſay, *Moall* of the Waters,

for *Su* is Water. Theſe People live upon Fiſh and Hunting, having neither Flocks nor Herds. Towards the North likewiſe there is no City, but a poor People feeding Cattle, who are called *Kerkis*; the *Orangin* are alſo there, who bind ſmooth filed Bones under their Feet, and thruſt themſelves forward upon the conjealed Snow and Ice with ſuch Swiftneſs, that they take Birds and Beaſts; and many other poor People there are on the North-ſide, ſo far as they may ſpread themſelves for the Cold; and they join on the Weſt with the Country of *Paſcatir*, which is *Hungary the Greater*, whereof I have ſpoken before. The Bound or Summit of the North Corner is not known, for the Extremity of the Cold; for in that Place there are continual Mountains of Snow.

I was inquiſitive of the Monſters, or monſtrous Men, whereof *Iſodorus* and *Solinus* make report; they told me they never ſaw any ſuch, and I therefore doubt whether it be true or no. All theſe Nations are poor, yet they muſt ſerve in ſome Trade, for it was the Commandment of *Zingis*, that none ſhould be free from Service, till he were ſo old, that he could labour no longer by any means. Once I remember a certain Prieſt of *Cathaya* ſat with me cloathed in a red coloured Cloth, and I demanded of him whence he had ſuch a Colour, and he told me, that in the Eaſt Parts of *Cathaya* there were high craggy Rocks, wherein certain Creatures dwell, having in all Parts the Shape of Men; but that they bow not the Knees, but leap inſtead of walking, which are not above one Cubit long, and their whole Body is covered with Hair, who have their Abode in Caves, which no Man can come unto, and they who hunt them, go to them, and carry ſtrong Drink with them, and make Pits in the Rocks like Wells, which they fill with that ſtrong Drink; for *Cathaya* hitherto has had no Wine, tho' now they begin to plant Vineyards; but the ſtrong Liquor beforementioned is made of Rice. The Hunters hide themſelves, and then theſe Creatures come out of their Holes and taſte the Drink, and cry, Chin-Chin; on this they come together in great Multitudes, and drink till they are made drunk, ſo that they ſleep there. Then the Hunters come and bind them Hand and Feet, while they are ſleeping, and afterwards open the Veins in their Neck, and draw forth three or four Drops of Blood from every one, and let them go free, and that Blood, as he told me, is the moſt precious Purple.

He told us alſo as a Truth, (which, however, I do not believe) that there is a Province beyond *Cathaya*, into which, at whatever Age a Man enters, he continueth in the ſame Age wherein he entered. *Cathaya* is on the Ocean, and the Goldſmith ſo often mentioned, told me, that there arrived Meſſengers from a certain People which are called *Tante* and *Manſe*, who inhabit Iſlands, the Sea of which is frozen in the Winter, ſo that the *Tartars* may invade them, who offered two thouſand Tuemen or Jaſcots yearly, ſo they would let them live in Peace. Tuemen is a Piece of Money containing ten Marks. The common Money of *Cataya* is Paper made like Paſteboard, the Breadth and Length of an Hand, upon which they imprint Lines like the Seal of *Mangu*; they write with a Pencil, like that with which Painters paint, and in one Figure they make many Letters comprehending one Word. The People of *Thibet* write as we do, and they have Characters very like ours. They of *Tangut* write from the right Hand to the left, as the *Arabians* do, and multiply the Lines aſcending upwards; the *Jugures*, as I ſaid before, from above to the Bottom of the Line. The common Money of the *Rutenians* are little ſpotted and griſled Skins. When we came with the Monk, he charitably admoniſhed us to abſtain from Fleſh, and that our Servants ſhould eat Fleſh with his Servants; but he would promiſe us Meal, and Oil, or Butter, which we did, though it much grieved my Companion by reaſon of his Weakneſs; wherefore our Food was Millet and Butter, or Paſte boiled in Water, with Butter, or ſour Milk, and unleavened Bread baked on Ox-dung, or Horſe-dung.

45. When our *Quinquageſima* came, which is the *Lent* Time of all the People of the Eaſt, the great Lady *Cota*, with all her Company, faſted that Week, who came every Day to our Oratory, and gave Meat to the Prieſts, and other Chriſtians, of whom a great Multitude flocked thither the firſt Week to hear their Duty, and ſhe gave me and my Companion each a Coat and Breeches of grey Samito, furred with coarſe Hair, becauſe my Companion complained much of the Weight of his Skins, which I received for his ſake, excuſing myſelf nevertheleſs, that I would not wear ſuch Cloaths; I gave to my Interpreter what belonged to me. Then the Porters of the Court ſeeing that ſuch a Multitude came daily to the Church, which was within the Bounds of the Keepers of the Court; they ſent one of their Attendants to the Monk, to let him know, that they would not have ſuch a Multitude come within the Precincts of the Court; to this the Monk roughly anſwered, that he would know whether they commanded this from *Mangu-Khan*, and he added certain Speeches, as if he would accuſe them to *Mangu-Khan*; but they preventing him, accuſed him before *Mangu*, that he was too full of Words, and that he gathered together too great a Multitude to hear him ſpeak.

Afterwards being called to the Court, we came in before the *Khan* himſelf, who having the burnt Shoulder-blade of a Ram in his Hand, looked upon it, as it were, reading it, began to reprove the Monk ſeverely, telling him, that ſeeing he was a holy Man, he ſhould pray unto God, and aſked why he ſpoke ſo much with Men? but I ſtood behind with my Head bare. Then the *Khan* ſaid to him, Why doſt thou not put off thy Cap when thou comeſt before me, as that *Frank* doth? and commanded me to be called nearer: Then the Monk being much abaſed, put off his Cap contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, and when *Khan* himſelf had ſpoken ſharply to him, we went out; the Monk then delivered me the Croſs to bear to the Oratory, becauſe he could not carry it for Shame. After a few Days he was reconciled to him, promiſing that he would go to the Pope, and that he would bring all the Nations of the Weſt to his Obedience. Whereupon he returning to the Oratory, after that Conference had with the *Khan*, began to enquire of me touching the Pope, if I believed he would ſee him, if he came unto him in the Behalf of *Mangu*, and if he would furniſh him with Horſes unto *Saint James* in *Galicia*. He demanded alſo of your Majeſty, if I thought you would ſend your Son unto *Mangu*? Then I counſelled him, that he ſhould take heed that he did not promiſe Falſhoods to *Mangu*, becauſe the laſt Error would be worſe than the firſt, and that God needeth not our Lies, or that we ſhould ſpeak deceitfully for him.

At that time there aroſe a certain Queſtion between the Monk and a Prieſt, a learned Man, whoſe Father was an Archdeacon, and the other Prieſts accounted him an Archdeacon. For the Monk ſaid, that Man was created before Paradiſe, and that the Scripture ſaid ſo; then was I called to be an Arbitrator of the Queſtion, but I being ignorant that they contended about this, anſwered, that Paradiſe was made upon *Tueſday*, when the other Trees were made, and that Man was made the ſixth Day. Then the Monk began to ſay, did not the Devil bring Earth the firſt Day from the four Parts of the World, and making Clay, made the Body of Man therewith, and God inſpired his Soul? Then hearing this Hereſy of the Monk, and that he ſo publickly and ſhamefully recited it, I reproved him ſharply, ſaying, he ſhould put his Finger upon his Mouth, becauſe he knew not the Scriptures, and that he ſhould take heed what he ſaid; and he began to ſcorn me, becauſe I was ignorant of the Language.

I departed therefore from him, going to our Houſe; it fell out afterwards, that he and the Prieſts went in Proceſſion to the Court without calling me, becauſe the Monk would no longer ſpeak to me as he was wont; when therefore they came before *Mangu*, he earneſtly demanded where I was, and why I came not with them? The Prieſts being afraid, excuſed themſelves, but, returning, they told me the Words of *Mangu*, and murmured at the Monk. After this, the Monk was reconciled to me, and I to him, intreating him, that he would help me with his Language, and I would help him in the Holy Scripture: *For a Brother that is holpen of a Brother, is as a ſtrong City*. After the firſt Week of Faſting, the Lady ceaſed to come unto the Oratory, and to give Meat and Drink, which we were wont to have; for the Monk ſuffered it not to be brought, ſaying, that Mutton-fat, or Suet, was put in the Sauce; and ſhe gave no Oil, but very ſeldom; ſo that

that we had nothing but brown Bread and Paſte, boiled in Water, tho' we had no Water but of diſſolved Snow, or Ice, which was exceeding bad. My Companion began to be much grieved, ſo I acquainted *David*, the Schoolmaſter of the Khan's eldeſt Son, with our Neceſſity, who made Report thereof to the Khan, and he commanded to give us Wine, Flower, and Oil.

Neither the *Neſtorians* or *Armenians* eat Fiſh by any means in *Lent*; but the Monk had a Cheſt by him under the Altar, with Almonds and Raiſins, and dried Prunes, and many other Fruits, which he eat all the Day, whenever he was alone. We eat once a Day, and that in great Affliction; for as ſoon as they knew that *Mangu* had given us Wine, moſt impudently they came in upon us like Dogs, both the *Neſtorian* Prieſts, who were drunk all the Day in the Court, and the *Moals* alſo, and the Servants of the Monk. The Monk alſo, when any came unto him to whom he would give Drink, he ſent to us for Wine; ſo that the Wine cauſed us more Trouble than Comfort, becauſe we could not deny it without Offence. If we gave, we wanted ourſelves; nor durſt we, that being ſpent, deſire any more from the Court.

46. About the Middle of *Lent* the *French* Goldſmith's Son came, bringing with him a Silver Croſs made after the *French* Faſhion, having the Image of *Chriſt* all of Silver faſtened upon it at the Top, which the Monks and Prieſts ſeeing, put it away. This Croſs he was to preſent in the Behalf of his Maſter to *Bulgai*, who was the chief Secretary of the Court, which when I heard I was offended. The ſame young Man alſo declared to *Mangu-Khan*, that the Work, which he had commanded to be made, was finiſhed, which Work I deſcribed unto you. *Mangu* hath at *Caracarum* a great Court hard by the Walls of the City, encloſed with a Brick Wall, as the Priories of Monks are encloſed with us. In that Court there is a great Palace, wherein he held his Feaſts twice a Year, once in *Eaſter*, when he paſſeth that Way, and once in Summer, when he returneth; but the latter is the greater, becauſe then all the Nobles meet together at his Court, and then he gives unto them Garments, and ſhews all his Magnificence. There are many other Houſes there as large as our Farms, wherein his Victuals and Treaſures are ſtored. In the Entrance of that great Place, becauſe it was indecent to have Flaggons going about, as in a Tavern; *William* the Goldſmith made him a great Silver Tree, at the Root whereof were four Silver Lions, having one Pipe ſending forth pure Cow's Milk; and the four Pipes were conveyed within the Tree unto the Top thereof, whoſe Top ſpread back again downward, and upon every one of them was a Golden Serpent, whoſe Tails twine about the Tree; and one of theſe Pipes run with Wine; another with Caracoſmos, that is, clarified Whey; another with Ball, that is, Drink made of Honey; another with Drink made of Rice, called *Teracina*; and every Drink had a Veſſel prepared of Silver at the Foot of the Tree to receive it. Between theſe four Pipes, at the Top he made an Angel holding a Trumpet; and under the Tree he made an hollow Vault, wherein a Man might be hid, and a Pipe aſcending up the Heart of the Tree unto the Angel. He firſt made Bellows, but they gave not Wind enough. Without the Palace there is a Chamber, wherein the Liquors were laid, and there were Servants ready to pour it out when they heard the Angel ſounding the Trumpet; and the Boughs of the Tree are of Silver, and ſo are the Leaves and Pears that are on it; when therefore they want Drink, the Butler commands the Angel to ſound the Trumpet; he who is hid in the Vault, hearing, blows the Pipe ſtrongly, which aſcending to the Angel, he ſets his Trumpet to his Mouth, and the Trumpet ſoundeth very ſhrill; then the Servants hearing, which are in the Chamber, pour Liquor into the proper Pipe, and the Pipes pour it from above, and they are received below into Veſſels prepared for that Purpoſe. Then the Butlers draw them, and carry them through the Palace to Men and Women.

The Palace is like a Church, having the middle Iſle and the two Sides beyond two Rows of Pillars, and three Gates on the South; before the middle Gate ſtands the Tree, and the *Khan* himſelf ſits in the North Front on an high Place, that he may be ſeen of all; and there are two Flights of Steps aſcending to him; by one he that carries the Cup goes unto him, and by the other he comes down. The Space which is in the Middle, between the Tree and the Steps by which they aſcend, is void; for there ſtands he that waits on his Cup, and the Meſſengers which bring Preſents, the *Khan* ſitting there above like a God. On the right Side, towards the Weſt, are the Men, on the left Women; for the Palace ſtretched out in Length from North to South: on the Right-ſide are Places full of Seats, on which his Sons and Bretheren ſit; on the Left-ſide are the like, where his Wives and Daughters ſit, one Woman only ſits above by him, but not ſo high as he. When therefore he had heard that the Work was finiſhed, he commanded the chief Workman to ſet it up in its Place and make it fit.

About *Paſſion Sunday*, he went before with his ſmall Houſes, leaving his greater Houſes behind, and the Monk and we followed him; and he ſent us another Bottle of Wine. The *Khan*, in his March, paſſed between the hilly Countries, where there was great Wind, and extreme cold, and there fell a great Snow; whereupon he ſent about Midnight to the Monk and us, entreating us to pray unto God, that he would mitigate the Wind and Cold, becauſe all the Beaſts which were in the Train were in Jeopardy; eſpecially becauſe all that Time they were with Young, and ready to bring forth. Then the Monk ſent him Incenſe, requiring him to put it upon the Coals, and offer it to God, which whether he did, I know not; but the Tempeſt ceaſed, which had continued two Days.

On *Palm-Sunday* we were near *Caracarum*, in the Dawning of the Day, we bleſſed the Willow-boughs, whereon, as yet, there appeared no Budd; and about Nine we entered the City, carrying the Croſs aloft, with the Banner, paſſing through the Middle of the Street of the *Saracens*, where the Market and Fair are, to the Church, and the *Neſtorians* met us in Proceſſion; and entering into the Church, we found them prepared to celebrate the Maſs; which being celebrated, they all communicated; and they aſked we whether I would communicate? I anſwered, that I had drank before, and the Sacrament ſhould not be received but faſting. Maſs being ſaid, it was Evening, and Maſter *William* the Goldſmith, brought us with Joy to his Inn to ſup with him. He had a Wife who was the Daughter of *Mohammeden* Parents, though born in *Hungary* herſelf, who could ſpeak *French*, and the Language of *Comania*. We found alſo there one other Man, called *Baſſilius*, the Son of an *Engliſhman*, born in *Hungary*, who alſo was ſkilful in the ſame Languages. Supper being ended, they brought us to our Cottage, which the *Tartars* had appointed in a certain Plat of Ground near the Church, with the Oratory of the Monk.

On the next Morning the *Khan* himſelf entered into his Palace, and the Monk, and I, and the Prieſts, went to him; they ſuffered not my Companion to go, becauſe he ſtumbled on the Threſhold. I much deliberated with myſelf what I ſhould do, whether I ſhould go or no; and, fearing Offence, if I ſhould depart from other Chriſtians, and becauſe it pleaſed him, and fearing leſt that Good might be hindered, which I hoped to obtain, I choſe rather to go, though I ſaw their Actions full of Idolatry and Sorcery; nor did I any other Thing there but pray for the whole Church with a loud Voice, and alſo for the *Khan* himſelf, that GOD would direct him to the Way of eternal Salvation. We therefore went into the Court, which was very neat, for in the Summer Rivers are conveyed into every Place, whereby it is watered. After this we entered into the Palace full of Men and Women, and ſtood before the *Khan*, having the aforeſaid Tree at our Backs, which, with the Veſſels thereof, took up a great Part of the Palace. The Prieſts brought two little Loaves and Fruit in an earthen Diſh, which they preſented unto him, bleſſing them, and the Butler brought them to him, ſitting above on a very high Place, and he preſently began to eat one of the Loaves, and ſent the other to his Son and a younger Brother of his, who was brought up by a *Neſtorian*, and knew the Goſpel, who alſo ſent for my Bible that he might ſee it. After the Prieſts, the Monk ſaid his Prayer, and I after the Monk; then he promiſed that the next Day he would come unto the Church, which is great enough and fair, and all the Ceiling above was covered with Silk wrought with Gold: The next Day he departed, deſiring the Prieſts to excuſe him, that he durſt not come to the Church, becauſe he underſtood the Dead were carried thither: But we and the Monk remained at *Caracarum* and the other Prieſts of the Court, that we might celebrate *Eaſter* there.

47. The Feaſt of *Eaſter* was now drawing near, and we had not our Veſtments; and I likewiſe conſidered the Manner how the *Neſtorians* made the Sacramental Bread, and was much troubled what I ſhould do, whether I ſhould receive the Sacrament from them, or ſhould celebrate in their Veſtments and Chalice, and upon their Altar, or ſhould altogether abſtain from the Sacrament. There was a great Multitude of *Chriſtians*; *Hungarians*, *Alans*, *Rutenians*, *Georgians*, and *Armenians*, all which had not ſeen the Sacrament ſince they were taken Priſoners, becauſe the *Neſtorians* would not admit them into their Church, unleſs they were baptized by them, as they ſaid; yet they made no mention of that to us, and they offered their Sacrament freely to us, and made me ſtand in the Door of the Choir, that I might ſee their Manner of Conſecration. On the Vigil of *Eaſter* I ſtood by the Fount, that I might ſee their Manner of baptizing. They ſay they have of the Ointment wherewith *Mary Magdelane* anointed the Feet of our LORD; and they pour in as much as they think fit of that Oil, with which they knead their Bread; for all the People of the Eaſt put fat in their Bread inſtead of Leaven, which Fat is Butter, or Suet out of a Sheep's Tail, or Oil.

They ſay alſo, they have of the Flour of which the Bread was made, which the LORD conſecrated, and always add as much freſh as the Quantity of the Flour they lay aſide; and they have a Chamber, hard by their Choir, and an Oven, where they bake the Bread, which they next conſecrate with great Reverence. They therefore make one Loaf of an Hand's-breadth, with the before-mentioned Oil, which they firſt break into twelve Pieces, according to the Number of the Apoſtles, and after divide thoſe Pieces according to the Multitude of the People, and the Prieſts give the Body of CHRIST to every one in his Hand; and then every one taketh it out of the Palm of his Hand with Reverence, and ſtretcheth his Hand to the Top of his Head. The Chriſtians I mentioned before, and the Monks, very earneſtly entreated us, for God's Sake, that we would celebrate. Then I made them be confeſſed by an Interpreter as I could, reckoning the ten Commandments, and the ſeven deadly Sins, and other Things, for which every Man ought to be penitent and confeſſed; all of them publickly excuſed themſelves, concerning Theft, ſaying, that without Theft they could not live, becauſe their Maſters provided them neither Food nor Rayment. Then conſidering that they had taken away their Perſons and their Subſtance without juſt Cauſe, I ſaid unto them, that they might lawfully take Neceſſaries of the Goods of their Maſters, and I was ready to maintain it to the Face of *Mangu-Khan*.

Some of them alſo were Soldiers, who excuſed themſelves, that they muſt go to the Wars, or elſe they ſhould be ſlain: I forbad them to go againſt the Chriſtians, and that they ſhould not hurt them, and that they ſhould rather ſuffer themſelves to be ſlain, for ſo they ſhould become Martyrs. And I ſaid, that if any would accuſe me of this Doctrine before *Mangu-Khan*, I would be ready to preach the ſame in his hearing; for the *Neſtorians* themſelves of the Court were preſent when I taught this, of whom I was ſuſpicious they might report ill of us. Then Maſter *William* the Goldſmith, cauſed an Iron to be made for us to make Hoſts; and he had certain Veſtments which he had made for himſelf, for he had ſome Knowledge in Learning, and officiated as a Clerk. He cauſed the Image of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary* to be graven after the *French* Faſhion, and engraved the Hiſtory of the Goſpel very fair; and made a ſilver Box to lay up the Body of CHRIST, and the Relicks in certain little Holes curiouſly wrought in the Side of the Box.

He made alſo a certain Oratory upon a Chariot, very fairly painted with Scripture Hiſtories; I therefore took his Veſtments and bleſſed them; and we made Hoſts after our manner very fair: And the *Neſtorians* aſſigned me their Fount for Baptiſm. And their Patriarch ſent them from *Baldach* a ſquare Hide like a portable Altar, made with Chriſm, which they uſe inſtead of conſecrated Stone; therefore I celebrated on the Day of the Lord's-Supper, in their ſilver Chalice and Diſh, which were very great Veſſels. I did the like alſo on *Eaſter-day*, and we communicated the People with the Bleſſing of God, as I hope; but they baptized in the Vigil of *Eaſter* more than threeſcore Perſons very orderly. There was great Joy for this generally among all Chriſtians.

48. After this, it happened that Maſter *William* the Goldſmith was grievouſly ſick, and when he was upon recovery, the Monk viſiting him, gave him Rhubarb to drink, ſo that he had almoſt killed him. Then viſiting him when I found him ſo ill, I aſked him what he had eat or drank? And he told me the Monk had given him the Potion, and he drunk two little Diſhes full, thinking it had been Holy Water. Then I went to the Monk, and ſaid to him, either go as an Apoſtle, doing Miracles indeed by Virtue of Prayer and the Holy Ghoſt, or as a Phyſician, according to the Art of Medicine; you give a ſtrong Potion of Phyſick to drink to Men not prepared, as if it were an innocent Thing; for which you will incur a foul Scandal, if it come to the Knowledge of Men. From that Time he began to fear and to be weary of him.

It happened at that Time, that the Prieſt too was ſick, who was as it were the Archdeacon of the reſt, and his Friends ſent for a certain *Saracen*, who was a Soothſayer, who ſaid unto them, a certain lean Man, who neither eateth or drinketh, nor ſleeps in a Bed, is angry with him; if he can obtain his Bleſſing, he may recover; then they underſtood it was the Monk, and about Midnight, the Prieſt's Wife, his Siſter, and his Son came, intreating that he would come and bleſs him; they alſo raiſed us up to interceed with the Monk, who anſwered us upon this Occaſion, Let him alone, becauſe he, with three others, who likewiſe took evil Courſes, conſulted to go to the Court, to procure *Mangu-Khan*, that I and you, ſhould be expell'd from theſe Parts; for there aroſe a Contention among them, becauſe *Mangu* and his Wives ſent four Jaſcots, and Pieces of Silk, upon *Eaſter* Eve, to the Monk and Prieſts, to diſtribute among them, and the Monk had kept unto himſelf one Jaſcot for his Part, and of the other three one was counterfeit, for it was Copper. The Prieſts thought therefore that the Monk had kept too great a Share to himſelf, whence (it might be) that they had ſome Words among themſelves, which were reported to the Monk.

When Day came, I went to the Prieſt, who had extream Pain in his Side, and ſpit Blood, whence I thought it was an Impoſtume; then I adviſed him, that if he had any-thing that was another's to reſtore it; he ſaid he had nothing. I ſpoke unto him alſo of the Sacrament of Extream Unction; who anſwered, we have no ſuch Cuſtom, neither do our Prieſts know how to do it; I intreat you, that you would do it for me, as you know beſt. I adviſed him alſo, concerning Confeſſion, which they frequent not; and he ſpake a little in the Ear of a certain Prieſt, one of his Companions. After this, he grew better, and intreated me to go for the Monk, ſo I went, but the Monk would not come at firſt; but when he heard he was ſomewhat better, he went with his Croſs, and I alſo went, and carried the Body of Chriſt, which I had reſerved upon *Eaſter Day*, at the Intreaty of Maſter *William*; then the Monk began to kick him with his Feet, and he moſt humbly embraced his Feet; then I ſaid unto him, it is the Cuſtom of the Church of *Rome*, that the Sick ſhould receive the Body of Chriſt, as it is the beſt Proviſion for their Journey, and a Defence againſt all the Deceits of the Enemy; turning next to the ſick Man, I ſaid, *Behold the Body of Chriſt, which I conſecrated on* Eaſter Day, *you muſt be confeſſed, and deſired it.* Then ſaid he, with a great Faith, *I deſire it with all my Heart*; which when I had offered to him, he with great Affection, ſaid, *I believe that this is my Creator, and my Saviour, who gave me Life, and will reſtore it again unto me after Death in the general Reſurrection*; and ſo took the Body of Chriſt (from my Hand) made after the Manner of the

Church of *Rome*; the Monk then ſtayed with him and gave him, in my Abſence, I know not what Potions.

The next Day he began to have the Pangs of Death upon him; then taking their Oil which they ſaid was Holy, I anointed him according to the manner of the Church of *Rome*, as they entreated me. I had none of our Oil, becauſe the Prieſts of *Sartach* kept it all. When we ſhould have ſung a Dirge, and I would have been preſent at his End, the Monk ſent to me, bidding me depart, becauſe, if I were preſent, I could not come into the Houſe of *Mangu-Khan* for one whole Year; which, when I had told his Friends, they ſaid it was true, and deſired me to depart, leſt I might be hindered in that Good which I might promote. As ſoon as he was dead, the Monk ſaid unto me, *Never mind it, I have killed him with my Prayers; this Man only was learned, and oppoſed himſelf againſt us, the reſt know nothing: Henceforth* Mangu-Khan *himſelf, and they all will couch at our Feet.* Then he declared unto me the before-mentioned Anſwer of the Soothſayer; which, not believing it, I enquired of the Prieſts who were Friends of the Deceaſed, whether it were true or no, who ſaid it was; but whether he was pre-inſtructed or not, that they knew not.

Afterwards I found that the Monk called the Soothſayer and his Wife into his Chapel, and cauſed Duſt to be ſifted for him to divine to him, for he had a certain *Rutenian* Deacon who divined to him; which, when I underſtood, I was amazed at his Fooliſhneſs, and ſaid to him, Brother, a Man full of the Holy Ghoſt, which teacheth all Things, ſhould not demand Anſwers or Counſels from Soothſayers, ſeeing all ſuch Things are forbidden, and they are excommunicated who follow ſuch Things. Then he began to excuſe himſelf, that it was not true that he ſought after ſuch Things; but I would not depart from him, becauſe I was placed there by the Commandment of the *Khan* himſelf, nor could I remove without his ſpecial Command.

49. As to the City of *Caracarum*, your Highneſs may be pleaſed to know this; that, excluding the Palace of the *Khan* himſelf, it is not ſo good as the Caſtle of *St. Dennis*, and the Monaſtary of *St. Dennis* is worth ten Times that Palace, and more too. There are two Streets there, one of the *Saracens* or *Mohammedans*, where the Fairs are kept, and many Merchants reſort thither, by reaſon of the Court which is always near, and for the Number of Embaſſadors. There is another of the *Cathaians*, who are all Artificers. Without thoſe Streets there are great Palaces, which are the Courts of the *Secretaries*; there are there twelve kinds of Idolaters of divers Nations, two Moſques, where the Law of *Mohammed* is proclaimed, and one Church of the Chriſtians at the End of the Town. The Town is incloſed with a Mud-wall, and hath four Gates; on the Eaſt Part Millet and other Grain is ſold, which, as yet, is ſeldom brought thither; on the Weſt Sheep and Goats, on the South Oxen and Waggons are ſold; and on the North Horſes.

Following the Court, we came thither on the *Sunday* before the *Aſcenſion*; the next Day after we were called before *Bulgai*, who is their Juſtice and chief Secretary; both the Monk and all his Family, and we and all the Meſſengers and Strangers likewiſe who frequented the Houſe of the Monk, and we were called before *Bulgai* ſeverally, firſt the Monk, and after us, and they began diligently to enquire whence we were, and for what Purpoſe we came, and what our Errand was? and this Enquiry was made becauſe is was told *Mangu-Khan*, that four hundred Aſſaſſines or ſecret Murderers, were gone forth in divers Habits to kill him. About that Time the *Khan*'s Lady was reſtored to Health, and ſhe ſent for the Monk, and he not willing to go, anſwered, ſhe hath ſent for Idolaters about her, let them cure her if they can, I will go no more.

Upon *Aſcenſion* Eve, we were in all the Houſe of *Mangu-Khan*: And I ſaw as often as he was to drink, they caſt Coſmos to their Idols of Felt; then I ſaid to the Monk, *What Fellowſhip hath Chriſt with* Belial? *What Part hath our Croſs with thoſe Idols? Mangu-Khan* hath eight Brethren, three by the Mother, and five by the Father. One of them, of his Mother's Side, he ſent into the Country of *Aſſaſſines*, who are called by them *Mulibet*, and he commanded him to kill them all. Another went to *Perſia*, and is now entered therein to go, as is thought, into *Turky*, from thence to ſend Armies to *Baldach* and *Vaſtacius*. One of the others he ſent into *Cathaia* againſt ſome that rebelled: His youngeſt Brother of the ſame Venter, he kept himſelf, whoſe Name was *Arabucha*, who holds his Mother's Court, who was a Chriſtian, whoſe Servant Maſter *William* is; for one of the Brothers on the Father's Side took him in a certain City called *Belgrade*, where there was a *Norman* Biſhop, of *Belle-Ville* near *Roan*, with a Nephew of the Biſhop's, whom I ſaw there at *Caracarum*, and he gave Maſter *William* to *Mangu*'s Mother, becauſe ſhe was deſirous to have him. But when ſhe was dead, Maſter *William* came back again to *Arabucha*, with all Things elſe pertaining to the Court of his Mother; and from him he came to the Knowledge of *Mangu-Khan*, who on finiſhing of the aforeſaid Work, gave unto Maſter *William* one hundred Jaſeots, that is, a thouſand Marks.

On the Eve of the *Aſcenſion*, *Mangu-Khan* ſaid, he would go to his Mother's Court and viſit her, and the Monk ſaid he would go with him, and gave his Bleſſing to his Mother, with which *Khan* was well contented. In the Evening of the Day of the *Aſcenſion*, the aforeſaid Lady was very ill, and the Chief of the Soothſayers ſent to the Monk, commanding him that the Table ſhould not be ſmitten. On the Morrow, when the whole Court removed, the Court of the Lady remained ſtill, and when we came to the Place where the Court ſhould ſtay, the Monk was commanded to depart farther from the Court than he was wont, which he did; then *Arabucha* met his Brother the *Khan*: So the Monk and we, ſeeing that he was to paſs by us, met him with the Croſs; and he calling us to mind, becauſe ſometimes he had been at our Oratory, ſtretching forth his Hand made a Croſs unto us like a Biſhop; then the Monk taking Horſe followed him, bearing certain Fruits; but he alighted before his Brother's Court, waiting while he came from hunting: The Monk alighted there alſo, and offered him the Fruit, which he received; and hard by him ſat two *Saracens* of the Nobility of the Court of *Khan*; but *Arabucha* underſtanding of the Contention between the Chriſtians and the *Saracens*, enquired of the Monk if he knew theſe *Saracens*, and he anſwered, *I know they are Dogs, why have you them ſo near you?* But they replied, why, ſay they, do you Wrong to us, when we do none to you? To whom the Monk ſaid, I ſpeak the Truth, and ye and your *Mohammed*, are vile Dogs: Then they began to blaſpheme CHRIST, but *Arabucha* forbad them, ſaying, ſpeak not ſo blaſphemouſly, for we know that the MESSIAH is GOD. That very Hour there aroſe a great Wind over all the Street, and after a while, there came a Rumour that the Lady was dead.

The next Morning the *Khan* returned towards the Court another Way; for this is a Rule amongſt them, that they never return the ſame Way they come. While the Court remained here, none dare paſs that Way (neither Horſe-man nor Foot-man) where the Court ſtayed, ſo long as any Shew of the Fire made there remaineth. That Day certain *Saracens* kept Company with the Monk, uppon the Way, provoking him, and diſputing with him, and when he could not defend himſelf with Argument, and they made light of him, he would have laſhed them with the Whip which he held in his Hand, and he went ſo far that his Words were reported at the Court, and we were commanded to depart to the ſame Place with other Meſſengers, and not to abide before the Court as we were wont. I hitherto always hoped the King of *Armenia* would come. There came ſome about *Eaſter* from *Bolac*, where thoſe *Germans* are, for whoſe Sake chiefly I went thither, who told me, that the *Dutch* Prieſt ſhould come to Court; therefore I moved no Queſtions to *Mangu* concerning our Stay or Departure; for at the Beginning, he gave us Leave to ſtay two Months, and now five Months were paſt. This was done about the End of *May*, and we had continued there all *February*, *March*, *April*, and *May*; but hearing no News of the King or the ſaid Prieſt, and fearing leſt we ſhould return in the Winter, the Sharpneſs of which we had experienced, I cauſed it to be demanded of *Mangu-Khan*, what his Pleaſure was concerning us, becauſe we would ſtay there, if ſo he pleaſed, or if we muſt return, it were eaſier for us to return in Summer, than in the Winter.

He preſently ſent to me, commanding that I ſhould not go far off, becauſe his Pleaſure was to ſpeak with me the next Day: To which I anſwered, if he would ſpeak with me, he ſhould ſend for Maſter *William*'s Son, for my Interpreter was not ſufficient, and he that brought this Meſſage to me was a *Saracen*, who had been a Meſſenger to *Vaſtacius*, and blinded with Rewards, counſelled *Vaſtacius* to ſend Embaſſadors to *Mangu-Khan*, and the mean while the Time paſſed, for *Vaſtacius* thought he would preſently enter their Country, ſo he ſent, and after he knew them, he little regarded them, nor made a Peace with them; neither did they yet enter his Country, nor will they be able ſo long as they dare defend themſelves; nor did they ever take any Country by Force, but by Deceit; and becauſe Men make Peace with them, under Colour of that Peace they circumvent them, and overthrow them. Then he began to be very inquiſitive of the Pope, and of the King of the *Franks*, and of the Way to go to them; but the Monks hearing this, adviſed me ſecretly not to anſwer him, becauſe he would procure that an Embaſſador ſhould be ſent. I therefore held my Peace, not willing to anſwer him; and he ſpake to me I know not what injurious Words, for which the *Neſtorian* Prieſts would have accuſed him, ſo that he had either been ſlain or beaten, but I would not agree to it.

50. The very next Day they brought me to the Court, and the chief Secretaries of the Court came to me, one of them a *Moal*, who waiteth upon the *Khan*'s Cup, and the reſt *Saracens*, enquiring on the Behalf of the *Khan*, wherefore I came? Then I told him in the very ſame Words I did before, how I came to *Sartach*, and from *Sartach* to *Baatu*, and how *Baatu* ſent me thither. Whereupon I ſaid unto him, I have nothing to ſpeak on the Behalf of any Man, unleſs I ſhould ſpeak the Words of God unto him, if he would hear them, for the *Khan* ſhould beſt know what *Baatu* hath written unto him. They ſtuck upon this, demanding what Words of God I would ſpeak unto him; thinking I would propheſy unto him ſome proſperous thing as many uſe to do.

To whom I anſwered, if ye will that I ſpeak the Words of God unto him, get me an Interpreter, who ſaid we have ſent for him, yet ſpeak by this Interpreter as you may, we ſhall underſtand you well, and they urged me much to ſpeak. Then I ſaid, "This is the Word of God. To
" whom more is committed more is required at his Hands.
" Another alſo, to whom more is forgiven, he ought to
" love more. Out of theſe true Words of God; I ſaid to
" the *Mangu* himſelf, that God hath given him much:
" For the Power and Riches which he hath, the Idols of
" the *Tuenians* hath not given him, but the Omnipotent
" God, who hath made Heaven and Earth, in whoſe
" Hands all Kingdoms are, and he tranſlateth them from
" Nation to Nation for the Sins of Men, wherefore if he
" love him, it ſhall go well with him; if otherwiſe, let him
" know that God will require all theſe things at his Hands,
" even to the uttermoſt Farthing." Then ſaid one of the *Saracens*, Is there any Man that loveth not God? I anſwered, "God ſaith, if any Man love me, he will keep
" my Commandments; therefore he that keepeth not the
" Commandments of God, loveth not God." Then ſaid he, have ye been in Heaven, that ye might know the Commandments of God? "No, ſaid I, but he hath given
" them from Heaven to holy Men, and at the laſt himſelf
" deſcended from Heaven, teaching us, and we have theſe
" things in the Scriptures, and we ſee by the Works of
" Men whether they keep them or no."

Whereupon he replied, Will ye then ſay that *Mangu-Khan* keeps not the Commandments of God, to whom I ſaid your Interpreter will come as ye ſay? Then before *Mangu-Khan*, if it pleaſe him, I will recite the Commandments of God, and he ſhall be his own Judge, whether he keep them or not; ſo they departed and told him, that I ſaid he was an Idolater, or a *Tuinian*, and kept not the Commandments of God. The next Day he ſent his Secretaries unto me, ſaying, our Lord ſends us unto you, ſaying, ye are here Chriſtian *Saracens*, and *Tuinians*, and every of you ſaith his Law is better, and his Books are true; Wherefore he would that ye all come together, and make Compariſon that every one write his Words, that he may know the Truth. Then I ſaid, "Bleſſed be God, that
" hath put this in the Heart of *Khan*; but our Scripture
" ſaith, the Servant of God muſt not be contentious, but
" meek unto all. Wherefore I am ready without Strife
" and Contention to render an Account of the Faith and
" Hope of Chriſtians to every one that ſhall require it." Then they wrote my Words, and brought them unto him.

Then the *Neſtorians* were commanded to provide themſelves, and write what they would ſpeak, and the *Saracens* likewiſe, and the *Tuinians* alſo. On the next Morning he ſent the Secretaries again, ſaying, *Mangu-Khan* would know wherefore ye came to theſe Parts? To whom I ſaid, he may know by the Letters of *Baatu*; to this they anſwered, *Baatu*'s Letters are loſt, and he hath forgotten what *Baatu* hath wrote to him. Wherefore he would know of you.

At this ſomewhat emboldened, I ſaid, "The Duty or
" Office of our Religion is to preach the Goſpel unto all.
" Whereupon when I heard of the Fame of the People of
" *Moal*, I had a Deſire to come unto them, and while I was
" thus minded we heard of *Sartach*, that he was a Chriſtian;
" then I directed my Journey unto him, and my Sovereign
" Lord the King of the *Franks* ſent him Letters containing
" good Words, and other Words beſides which teſtify of us
" unto him what Men we are, when he made Requeſt that he
" would ſuffer us to remain with the People of *Moal*; then
" he ſent us to *Baatu*, and *Baatu* to *Mangu-Khan*; where-
" upon we intreated, and yet intreat him to ſuffer us to ſtay."
They wrote all, and made Relation thereof unto him. On the Morrow he ſent to me again, ſaying, the *Khan* knows well enough that ye have no Meſſage unto him, but ye came to pray for him as many other Prieſts do; but he demandeth whether ever any of your Embaſſadors were with him, or ours with you. Then I declared all unto them concerning *David* and Friar *Andrew*, ſo they putting all in Writing, reported the ſame to him.

Then he ſent again unto me, ſaying, our Lord *Khan* ſaith ye have ſtaid long here; his Pleaſure is, that ye return unto your own Country, and he further demands, whether ye would conduct his Embaſſadors with you? To whom I made anſwer, that I durſt not carry his Embaſſadors beyond his own Country, becauſe there is a warlike Nation between us and you, and the Sea and Mountains, and I am a poor Monk, and therefore dare not take upon me to be his Guide; ſo they having ſet down all in Writing, returned, and reported it to the *Khan*. When *Whitſon-Eve* came the *Neſtorians* wrote Chronicles from the Creation of the World to the Paſſion of *Chriſt*, and paſſing over the Paſſion, they ſpake of the Reſurrection of the Dead, and of the Aſcenſion and of the coming of Judgment, wherein many things were to be reprehended, which I told them; and we likewiſe wrote the Symbol or Creed, *Credo unum Deum*. Then I demanded of them how they would proceed? They ſaid they would firſt diſpute with the *Saracens*; I ſhewed them this was not the proper Method, for the *Saracens* in this agree with us, that they affirm there is but one God, and therefore you may have them to help you againſt the *Tuinians*, ſo they were contented. Then I aſked them, if they knew how Idolatry had its firſt Original in the World, and they could not tell? I told them, and they ſaid you ſhall clear theſe things to them, and then let us ſpeak, for it is hard to ſpeak by an Interpreter; to whom I ſaid, try how you can behave yourſelves againſt them, I will take the *Tuinian*'s Part, and you the Chriſtians.

Suppoſe I am of that Sect that ſay there is no God, prove ye there is a God; for there is a Sect there which ſaith, that every Virtue, in what thing ſoever, is the God thereof, and that otherwiſe there is no God. Then the *Neſtorians* knew not how to prove any thing, but only that which their Writing declareth: I ſaid they believe not the Scriptures, if ye ſhew one, they will ſhew another. Then I directed them to let me firſt talk with them, becauſe if I ſhould be overcome, they might ſtill have Liberty of Speech; whereas if they ſhould be overcome, I ſhould have no hearing: They agreed unto it.

We therefore gathered together at our Oratory, and *Mangu-Khan* ſent three Writers to be Judges, one *Chriſtian*, one *Saracen*, and one *Tuinian*, and it was firſt proclaimed, “This is the Commandment of *Mangu-Khan*, and none dare ſay that the Commandment of God is otherwiſe. He commandeth that none ſpeak contentious or injurious Words to another, or make any Tumult, whereby this Buſineſs may be hindered, upon Pain of his Head.” Then all were ſilent, and there was a great Aſſembly there, for every Party invited the wiſeſt of their Nation, and many others came flocking thither. Then the Chriſtians ſet me in the Middle of them, willing the *Tuinians* to ſpeak with me. Then they began to murmur againſt *Mangu-Khan*, becauſe never any Khan attempted thus to ſearch into their Secrets. Then they oppoſed one to me, who came from *Cathaya*, having his Interpreter, and I had Maſter *William*'s Son. And he firſt ſaid to me, Friend, if thou be brought to a Nonplus, who muſt ſeek a wiſer than yourſelf? But I held my Peace.

Then he demanded whereof I would diſpute, either *how the World was made, or what becomes of the Souls after Death?* To whom I anſwered, “Friend, this ſhould not be the beginning of our Speech. All things are of God, and he is the Fountain and Head of all, and therefore we ought to ſpeak firſt of God, of whom ye think otherwiſe than ye ought to do, and *Mangu* deſires to know who believes better?” Then the Arbitrators allowed this to be reaſonable, they would willingly have begun with the following Queſtions; becauſe they hold them for the ſtrongeſt, for they are all of the Hereſy of the *Manichees*, believing two Principles, the one bad, and the other good; and concerning Souls they all think they paſs from Body to Body, inſomuch that one of the wiſeſt of the *Neſtorian* Prieſts demanded of me concerning the Souls of brute Beaſts, whether they could fly to any Place where they ſhould not be compelled to labour after Death? For Confirmation alſo thereof, as the Goldſmith told me a certain Child was brought from *Cathaya*, who by the Size of his Body appeared to be three Years old, yet was capable of any Reaſon, who affirmed of himſelf, that he had been three times in ſeveral Bodies, and knew Letters, and how to write.

I ſaid to the aforeſaid *Tuinian*, *We firmly believe with the Heart, and confeſs with the Mouth, that there is a God, and there is but one God, and one in perfect Unity, what believe you?* He ſaid, Fools ſay there is but one God, but wiſe Men ſay there are many. Are not there great Lords in your Country, and here is a greater Lord, *Mangu-Khan*? ſo it is of the Gods, becauſe in divers Countries there are diverſe. To whom I ſaid, you make a bad Compariſon of Men with God; for ſo every mighty Man in his own Country may be called a God. And when I would have diſſolved the Similitude, he prevented me, enquiring what Manner of God is yours, whereof you ſpeak? that he is but one. I anſwered, “Our God, beſide whom there is no other, is Omnipotent, and therefore needeth not the Help of another. Nay, all we have need of his Help, it is not ſo with Men; no Man can do all things, and therefore there muſt be many Lords in the Earth, becauſe no one can ſupport all. Again, he knows all things, therefore he needs not a Counſellor: Nay, all Wiſdom is from him; moreover he is perfectly good, and needeth not our Good. Nay, in him we live, move, and have our Being: Such is our God, and therefore you muſt not hold that there is any other.” It is not ſo, ſaith he. Nay, there is one higheſt in the Heavens, whoſe Generation we know not yet, and ten are under him, and under them there is one inferior, and in the Earth there are infinite. Then he would have added other Fables: So I aſked him of that higheſt God, whether he thought him Omnipotent? or of any other God? and fearing to anſwer, he demanded, if your God be ſuch as you ſay, why made he the half of things evil? It is falſe, ſaid I, whoſo maketh any Evil is no God, and all things whatſoever are good. At this Word all the *Tuinians* marvelled, and ſet it down in Writing, as falſe, or impoſſible. Then he began to aſk, Whence therefore cometh Evil? You aſk amiſs, ſaid I; for firſt you ſhould demand what Evil is before you aſk whence it is. But to return unto the firſt Queſtion, whether do you believe that any God is omnipotent? and after I will anſwer you to whatſoever you demand. Then he ſat a long time and would not anſwer, inſomuch that the Writers on the Behalf of the Khan were forced to command him to anſwer. At length he anſwered, that no God was Omnipotent. Then all the *Saracens* break out into a great Laughter. Silence being made, I ſaid therefore none of your Gods can ſave you in all Dangers, becauſe ſuch a Chance may happen wherein he hath no Power. Again, no Man can ſerve two Maſters. How then can you ſerve ſo many Lords in Heaven and in Earth? The Auditory decreed him to anſwer, but he held his Peace.

Then when I was about to alledge Reaſons to prove the Truth of the Divine Eſſence, and the Trinity, in every Man's Hearing, the *Neſtorians* of the Country ſaid, that it was enough, becauſe they meant to ſpeak, ſo I gave them place; and when they would have diſputed with the *Saracens*, they anſwered, we grant that your Law is true, and whatſoever is in the Goſpel is Truth, wherefore we will not diſpute with you in any thing, and they confeſſed, that they beg at the Hands of God in their Prayers, that they may die the Death of the Chriſtians. There was there a certain old Prieſt of the Sect of *Jugures*, who confeſs One God, yet they make Idols, with whom they talk'd much, ſhewing all till the Coming of Chriſt to Judgment, declaring the Trinity to him, and the *Saracens* by Similitudes; all of them hearkened without any Contradiction, yet none of them ſaid, I believe, and will become a Chriſtian: The Conference ended, the *Neſtorians* and *Saracens* ſang together with a loud Voice, the *Tuinians* holding their Peace, and after that, they all drank moſt plentifully.

51. On *Whitſunday*, *Mangu-Khan* called me before him, and the *Tuinian*, with whom I diſputed; and before I went in, Maſter *William*'s Son, my Interpreter, ſaid to me, that we muſt return to our Country, and that I ſhould ſpeak nothing againſt it, becauſe he underſtood it for a thing determined. When I came before him, I kneel'd, and the *Tuinian* by me, with his Interpreter. Then he ſaid unto me, tell me the Truth, whether you ſaid, when I ſent my Writers unto you, that I was a *Tuinian*? Then I anſwered, My Lord, I ſaid not ſo; but if it pleaſe Your Highneſs, I will tell you the Words I ſpake; then I recited what I had ſpoken, and he anſwered, I thought well you ſaid not ſo, for it was a Word which you ſhould not ſpeak, but your Interpreter hath ill interpreted it. So he reached forth his Staff towards me whereon he leaned, ſaying, fear not. I ſmiling, ſaid ſoftly, if I had feared, I had not come hither; then he demanded of the Interpreter what I ſaid? So he repeated my Words unto him: Afterwards he began to confeſs his Faith unto me.

“We, *Moalians*, ſaid he, believe that there is but One God, through whom we live and die, and we have an upright Heart towards him;” then ſaid I, God grant you this, for without this Gift it cannot be, and he demanded what I ſaid, ſo the Interpreter told him; then he added further, *that God who hath given to the Hand diverſe Fingers, ſo he hath given many Ways to Men: God hath given the Scriptures to you, and the Chriſtians keep them not; ye find it not in the Scriptures, that one of you ſhall diſpraiſe another: Do you find it, ſaid he?* No, ſaid I; but I ſignified unto you from the Beginning, that I would not contend with any; I ſpeak it not, ſaid he, touching you. In like manner ye find it not that for Money a Man ought to decline from Juſtice. No, Sir, ſaid I, and truly neither came I into theſe Parts to get Money, nay, I refuſed that which was given me; and there was a Scribe preſent there, who gave Teſtimony that I had refuſed a Jaſeot, and certain Pieces of Silk. I ſpeak it not, ſaid he, for that, God hath given you the Scriptures, and ye keep them not; but he hath given us Soothſayers, and we do that which they bid us, and we live in Peace. He drank four times, as I think, before he diſcloſed theſe things; and while I hearkened attentively, whether he would confeſs any thing elſe concerning this Faith, he began to ſpeak of my Return, ſaying, you have ſtaid a long time here, my Pleaſure is therefore that you return; You ſaid, you durſt not carry my Ambaſſadors with you, will you carry my Meſſenger, or my Letters? And from that time I could neither have Place nor Time to ſhew him the Catholick

Faith; for a Man cannot ſpeak before him, ſave what he pleaſeth, unleſs he were an Ambaſſador, but an Ambaſſador may ſpeak what he will, and they always demand, whether he have any thing elſe to ſay.

But he ſuffered me to ſpeak no more; but I muſt hear him, and anſwer as to Interrogatories. Then I anſwered, that if he would make me underſtand his Words, and that they were ſet down in Writing, I would willingly carry them to my Power. Then he aſked me, if I would have Gold or Silver, or coſtly Garments? I anſwered, we receive no ſuch things; but we have not wherewith to bear our Expences, and without your Help, we cannot get out of your Country. Then ſaid he, I will provide you all Neceſſaries throughout my Country, will you have any thing more? I anſwered, it ſufficeth me. Then he demanded how far will you be brought? I ſaid let our Paſs bring me to the *Armenian* Country; if I were there, it were enough. He anſwered, I will cauſe you to be conveyed thither, and after look to yourſelf; and he added, there are two Eyes in one Head, and though they be two, yet there is one Object to both; and whither the one directeth the Sight, the other doth: You came from *Baatu*, and therefore you muſt return by him. When he had thus ſaid, I craved Leave to ſpeak; ſpeak on, ſaid he; then ſaid I, "Sir, we are not Men of War; we deſire that they have Dominion of the World, who would moſt juſtly govern it according to the Will of God; our Office is to teach Men to live according to the Will of God; for this Purpoſe came we into theſe Parts, and would willingly have remained here, if it had pleaſed you; but ſeeing it is your Pleaſure that we return, it muſt be ſo; I will return, and carry your Letters according to my Power, as ye have commanded. I would requeſt your Magnificence, that when I have carried your Letters, it may be lawful for me to return to you, with your good liking, chiefly becauſe you have poor Servants of yours at *Balac*, who are of our Language, and they want a Prieſt to teach them and their Children their Law, and I would willingly ſtay with them." To this he anſwered, Know you whether your Lords would ſend you back to me? I anſwered, "Sir, I know not the Purpoſe of my Lords; but I have Licence from them to go whither I will, where it is needful to preach the Word of God; and it ſeems to me, as if it were very neceſſary in thoſe Parts: Whereupon, whether they ſend Ambaſſadors or no, if it pleaſe you, I will return." Then he held his Peace, and ſat a long Space, as it were in a Muſe; and my Interpreter deſired me to ſpeak no more, and I carefully expected what he would anſwer.

At length, he ſaid, you have a long Way to go, make yourſelf ſtrong with Food, that you may come luſty into your Country, and he cauſed them to give me Drink; then I departed from his Preſence, and returned not again. If I had been endowed with Power to do Wonders, as *Moſes* did, peradventure he had humbled himſelf.

52. The Soothſayers therefore, as he confeſſed, are their Prieſts, and whatſoever they command to be done, is performed without Delay; whoſe Office I ſhall deſcribe unto you, as I could learn of Maſter *William*, and others, who reported unto me things like to be true. They are many, and they have always one Head, or chief Prieſt, who always places his Houſe before the great Houſe of *Mangu-Khan*, within a Stone's Caſt; under his Study are the Chariots which bear their Idols, the others are behind the Court, in Places appointed for them, and they who have any Confidence in that Art, come unto them from divers Parts of the World. Some of them are ſkilful in Aſtronomy, and eſpecially the Chief of them, and they foretel to them the Eclipſes of the Sun and Moon. And when they are to come to paſs; all the People prepare them Food, ſo that they need not go out of the Door of their Houſe; and when there is an Eclipſe, they play upon their Timbrels and Organs, and make a great Noiſe, and ſet up loud Shouts. When the Eclipſe is paſt, they give themſelves to Feaſting and Drinking, and make great Chear. They foretel fortunate and unlucky Days for all Buſineſs; therefore they never levy an Army, or undertake War, without their Direction; and they had long ſince returned into *Hungary*, but that their Soothſayers will not ſuffer them: They make all things that are ſent to the Court, paſs between Fires, and have a due Portion of them.

They alſo purgify the houſhold Stuff of the Dead, drawing them between theſe Fires; for when any one dieth, all things whatſoever which appertain to him, are ſeparated, and not mingled with other things of the Court, till all be purged by the Fire; ſo did I ſee it done to the Court of the Lady who died while we were there; whereupon there was a double Reaſon why Friar *Andrew* and his Fellows ſhould go between the Fires, both becauſe they brought Preſents, and alſo for that they belonged to him who was dead, to wit, *Khon-Khan*; no ſuch thing was required of me, becauſe I brought nothing. If any living Creature, or any thing elſe, fall to the Ground while they thus make them paſs between the Fires, that is theirs; they alſo on the ninth Day of the Moon of *May*, gather together all white Mares of the Herd and conſecrate them. The Chriſtian Prieſts alſo muſt come together with their Cenſors; then they caſt new Coſmos upon the Ground, and make a great Feaſt that Day, becauſe then they think they drink Coſmos firſt, as it is the Faſhion, in ſome Places with us, as for Wine, on the Feaſt of Saint *Bartholomew*, or *Sixtus*; and for Fruits, on the Feaſt of St. *James* and *Chriſtopher*.

They alſo are invited when any Child is born, to foretel his Deſtiny. They are ſent for alſo when any is ſick, to uſe their Charms, and they tell whether it be a natural Infirmity, or by Sorcery; in regard to which, that good Woman of *Metz* I mentioned before, told me a wonderful thing. On a certain time, very coſtly Furrs were preſented, which were laid down at the Court of her Lady, who was a Chriſtian, as I ſaid before, and the Soothſayers drew them through between the Fires, and took more of them than was their Due, and a certain Woman under whoſe Cuſtody the Treaſure of her Lady was, accuſed them thereof unto her Lady, whereupon the Lady herſelf reproved them. It fell out after this, that this Lady herſelf began to be ſick, and to ſuffer certain ſudden Pains in divers Parts of her Body; the Soothſayers were called, and they ſitting far off, commanded one of thoſe Maidens to put her Hand upon the Place where the Grief was, and if ſhe found any thing, ſhe ſhould ſnatch it away; then ſhe ariſing, did ſo, and ſhe found a Piece of Felt in her Hand, or of ſome other thing: Then they commanded her to put it upon the Ground, which being laid down, it began to creep, as if it had been ſome living Creature; then they put it into the Water, and it was turned as it were into a Horſe-leech; and they ſaid ſome Witch hath hurt you thus with her Sorceries, and they accuſed her that had accuſed them of the Furrs, who was brought without the Tents into the Fields, and received the Baſtinado ſeven Days together there, and was afterwards tormented with other Puniſhments, to make her confeſs; and in the mean time her Lady died, which ſhe underſtanding, ſaid unto them, I know my Lady is dead, kill me, that I may go after her, for I never did her hurt; and when ſhe confeſſed nothing, *Mangu-Khan* commanded ſhe ſhould live.

Then the Sorcerers accuſed the Lady's Daughter's Nurſe, of whom I ſpake before, who was a Chriſtian, and her Huſband was the chief among all the *Neſtorian* Prieſts; ſo ſhe was brought to Puniſhment, with a Maid of hers, to make her confeſs, and the Maid confeſs'd, that her Miſtreſs ſent her to ſpeak with a certain Horſe to demand Anſwers. The Woman alſo herſelf confeſs'd ſomething ſhe did, to be beloved by her Lady, that ſhe might do her Good, but ſhe did nothing that might hurt her. She was demanded alſo whether her Huſband were privy to it; ſhe excuſed him, for that he had burnt the Characters and Letters which ſhe had made. Then ſhe was put to Death, and *Mangu-Khan* ſent the Prieſt her Huſband to the Biſhop, who was in *Cathaya*, to be judged, altho' he was not found culpable.

In the mean time it fell out, that the principal Wife of *Mangu-Khan* brought forth a Son, and the Soothſayers were called to foretel the Deſtiny of the Child, who all propheſied Proſperity, and ſaid, he ſhould live long, and be a great Lord. After a few Days it happened that the Child died; then the Mother enraged, called the Soothſayers, ſaying, you ſaid my Son ſhould live, and he is dead. Then they ſaid, Madam, behold, we ſee that Sorcereſs,

cereſs; the Nurſe of *Chrima*, who the other Day was put to Death, ſhe hath killed your Son, and behold we ſee ſhe carries him away. Now there remained one Son and a Daughter of that Woman, grown to full Age, in the Tents; and the Lady ſent preſently for them in a Rage, and cauſed the young Man to be ſlain by a Man, and the Maid by a Woman, in Revenge of her Son, whom the Soothſayers affirmed to be killed by their Mother. Not long after, *Mangu-Khan* dreamed of theſe Children, and demanded in the Morning what was become of them? His Servant was afraid to tell him, and he being troubled, the more demanded where they were, becauſe they had appeared to him in a Viſion by Night, then they told him; after which he, preſently ſending for his Wife, demanded whence ſhe learned that a Woman ſhould give Sentence of Death, without the Privity of her Huſband? And he cauſed her to be ſhut up ſeven Days, commanding to give her no Meat, but the Man (who ſlew the young Man) he cauſed to be beheaded, and the Head to be hung about the Woman's Neck, who had killed the Maid, and ordered her be cudgeled with burning Firebrands, through all the Tents, and after to be put to Death: He had alſo put his Wife to Death, but for the Children he had by her, and he went out of his Court, and returned not till after one Moon.

The Sorcerers alſo trouble the Air with their Charms, and when the Cold is ſo great naturally, that they cannot apply any Remedy, than they ſearch out ſome in the Camp, whom they accuſe, that the Cold comes through their Means, ſo they are put to Death without Inquiry or Delay. A little before I departed from thence, one of the Concubines was ſick, and languiſhed long, and they mumbled their Charms over a certain *German* Slave of hers, who ſlept three Days, who, when ſhe came to herſelf, they demanded what ſhe had ſeen, and ſhe had ſeen many Perſons, of all which ſhe judged they ſhould ſhortly die; and becauſe ſhe ſaw not her Miſtreſs there, they judged ſhe ſhould not die of that Sickneſs. I ſaw the Maid, while her Head was yet aching, by reaſon of that Sleep. Some of them alſo call upon Devils, and gather them together (who will have Anſwers from the Devil) in the Night, unto their Houſe; and they put boiled Fleſh in the Midſt, and that *Khan* who invoketh, beginneth to ſay his Charms, and having a Timbrel, ſmites it ſtrongly againſt the Ground; at length he begins to rave, and causeth himſelf to be bound; then the Devil comes in the Dark, and gives him Fleſh to eat, and makes him Anſwer. Once at ſuch a time, (as Maſter *William* told me,) a certain *Hungarian* hid himſelf with them, and the Devil being upon the Houſe, cried, that he could not come in, becauſe a certain Chriſtian was with them; he hearing this, fled with Haſte, becauſe they began to ſearch for him. Theſe things, and many other they do, which are too long for me to repeat.

53. After the Feaſt of Pentecoſt, they began to prepare their Letters, which they intend to ſend unto your Majeſty; in the mean time, the *Khan* returned to *Caracarum*, and held a great Feaſt about the fifteenth of *June*, and he deſired that all the Ambaſſadors ſhould be preſent. The laſt Day he ſent for us, but I went to Church to baptize three Children of a certain poor *German*, who we found there. Maſter *William* was chief Butler at that Feaſt, becauſe he made the Tree which poured the Drink, and all the Poor and Rich ſung and danced, and clapped their Hands before the *Khan*. Then he began to make an Oration unto them, ſaying, "I have ſent my Brethren far off, and have ſent them into Danger, into foreign Nations, now it ſhall appear what you will do, when I ſhall ſend you, that our Commonwealth may be enlarged." Every Day, in thoſe four Days, he changed Garments, which he gave them, all of one Colour, every Day, from the Shoes to the Ornament of the Head. At that time I ſaw the Embaſſador of the *Khans* of *Bagdad*, who cauſed himſelf to be carried upon a Horſe-litter, between two Mules, to the Court, of whom ſome ſaid that he made Peace with them, on Condition that they ſhould give him ten thouſand Horſes for his Army; others ſaid, that *Mangu* declared he would not make Peace with them, unleſs they would deſtroy all their Ammunition; and the Embaſſador anſwered, when you will pluck off your Horſe's-hoofs, we will deſtroy our Ammunition.

I ſaw alſo there the Embaſſadors of a *Soldan* of *India*, who brought with him eight Leopards, and ten Harehounds, taught to ſit upon the Horſe's Buttocks, as Leopards do. When I enquired of *India*, which Way it lay from that Place, they ſhewed me towards the Weſt, and theſe Embaſſadors travelled with me almoſt three Weeks together, always Weſtward. I ſaw alſo the Embaſſador of the *Soldan* of *Turky*, who brought him rich Preſents; and he anſwered, as I heard, he needed neither Gold nor Silver, but Men, wherefore he required of him an Army. On the Feaſt of St. *John*, he held a great Feaſt, and I cauſed one hundred and five Carts, and ninety Horſes to be numbered, all laden with Cows-milk; and on the Feaſts of the Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, in like manner. At length, the Letters being diſpatched which he ſent to you, they called me and interpreted them, the Subſtance whereof I wrote, as I could underſtand them by my Interpreter, which is this; "The Commandment of the Eternal GOD is this: There is but one Eternal GOD in Heaven, upon Earth let there be but one Lord, *Zengis-Khan* Son of GOD and *Mangu-Tingij*, that is to ſay, the Sound of Iron. This is the Word which is ſpoken to you; whatſoever *Moals* we are, whatſoever *Namans*, whatſoever *Markets*, whatſoever *Muſſulmen*, whereſoever Ears may hear, whereſoever Horſe may go, cauſe it to be heard and underſtood; that ſuch as have heard my Commandment, and would not believe it, and would levy an Army againſt us; ſhall be as having Eyes and not ſeeing; and when they would hold any thing they ſhall be without Hands; and when they would walk they ſhall be without Feet. This is the Commandment of the Eternal GOD, by the Virtue of the Eternal GOD, by the great Monarch of the *Moals*, the Commandment of *Mangu-Khan* is given to the *French* King, King *Lodowick*, and all other Lords and Prieſts, and to the great World of the *Franks*, that they underſtand my Words, and the Commandment of the Eternal GOD, made to *Zengis-Khan*; neither but from *Zengis-Khan*, ever came this Commandment unto you. A certain Man called *David* came unto you as an Embaſſador of the *Moals*, he was a Liar; and with him you ſent your Embaſſador to *Khen-Khan*. After *Khen-Khan* was dead, your Embaſſador came to his Court; *Charmis*, his Wife, ſent you Cloth, called Naſſick. But to know Matters appertaining to War and Peace, and to ſettle the great World in Quiet, and to ſee to do good, that wicked Woman, more vile than a Dog, how could ſhe know how to do it? Thoſe two Monks which came from you unto *Sartach*, *Sartach* ſent them to *Baatu*; but *Baatu*, becauſe *Mangu-Khan* is the greateſt over the World of the *Moals*, ſent them unto us. But now, that the great World, and the Prieſts, and the Monks, might live in Peace and enjoy their Goods, that the Commandment of GOD might be heard among you, we would have ſent our Embaſſadors of *Moal* with your Prieſts; but they anſwered, that betwixt us and you there was a warlike Nation, and many bad Men and troubleſome Ways, ſo as they were afraid they could not bring our Embaſſadors ſafe unto you. But if we would deliver unto them our Letters, containing our Commandments to their King *Lodowick*, they would carry them. For this Cauſe we ſent not our Embaſſadors with them; but we have ſent the Commandment of the Eternal GOD by your ſaid Prieſts. It is the Commandment of the Eternal GOD which we have given you to underſtand; and when you ſhall hear and believe it, if you will, obey us; ſend your Embaſſadors unto us, ſo ſhall we be ſatisfied whether you will have Peace with us or War. When by the Power of the Eternal GOD, the whole World ſhall be in Unity, Joy, and Peace, from the riſing of the Sun unto the going down of the ſame, then ſhall it appear what we will do. But if ye ſhall ſee and hear the Commandment of the Eternal GOD, and will not hearken to it, or believe it, ſaying, our Country is far off, our Hills are ſtrong, our Sea is great; and in this Confidence ſhall lead an Army againſt us to know what

“ we can do; he that made that which was hard eaſy, and “ that which was far off near, the Eternal GOD himſelf “ knows that alone.” And as they called us your Embaſſadors in the Letters, I ſaid unto them, call us not Embaſſadors, for I ſaid to the *Khan* that we were not the Embaſſadors of the King *Louis*: Then they went unto him and told him; but when they returned, they ſaid unto me, that he held it much for our good, and that he commanded them to write as I ſhould direct them: Then I told them they ſhould leave out the Name of Embaſſadors, and call us Monks and Prieſts. In the mean time, while thoſe Things were doing, my Companion hearing that we muſt return by the Wilderneſs to *Baatu*, and that a Man of *Moal* ſhould be our Guide, he ran, without my Knowledge to *Bulgai*, the chief Scribe, ſignifying to him by Signs, that he ſhould die if he went that Way; and when the Day came wherein we ſhould have our Paſs, *viz.* a Fortnight after the Feaſt of *St. John*, when we were called to the Court, the Scribe ſaid unto my Companion, *Mangu*'s Pleaſure is, that your Companion return by *Baatu*; and you ſay you are ſick, and it appeareth ſo: *Mangu* therefore grants, if you will go with your Companion go, but let it be your own Fault, becauſe, it is poſſible, you may remain with ſome *Jani* that will not provide for you, and it will be a Hindrance to your Companion; but if you will ſtay here, we will provide Neceſſaries for you, till ſome Embaſſadors come, with whom you may return more eaſily, and by a Way where there are Villages.

The Friar anſwered, GOD grant the *Khan* a proſperous Life, I will ſtay: Then I ſaid to my Companions, Brother, be adviſed what you do, I will not leave you. You leave not me, ſaid he, but I leave you, becauſe, if I go with you, I ſee the Death of my Body and Soul, becauſe I have no Patience under intolerable Labour. Then they brought us three Garments, or Coats, and ſaid unto us, ye will not receive Gold or Silver, and yet ye have ſtayed long here, and prayed for the *Khan*; he entreats you, that, at the leaſt, every one of you will receive a ſingle Garmant, that ye depart not empty from him. Then we were forced to receive them for Reverence of him, for they account it a very evil Thing when their Gifts are contemned. Firſt he cauſed us to be aſked what we would have? and we always anſwered the ſame thing; ſo that the Chriſtians inſulted over the Idolaters, who ſeek nothing but Gifts; and they anſwered that we were Fools, becauſe, if he would give them his whole Court, they would willingly take it, and would do wiſely too; receiving therefore the Garments, they entreated us to make our Prayers for the *Khan*, which we did, and afterwards we went to *Caracarum*.

But it happened, while we were with the Monks, far from the Court with other Embaſſadors, that the Monk cauſed the Table to be ſtruck ſo hard, that *Mangu-Khan* heard it, and demanded what it was; then they told him. Upon which he aſked why he was removed ſo far from the Court; they told him, becauſe it was troubleſome to bring him Horſes and Oxen every Day to the Court; and ſaid further, that it were better that he ſhould ſtay at *Caracarum*. Then the *Khan* ſent unto him, ſaying, if he would go to *Caracarum*, and ſtay there near about the Church, he would give him all Things neceſſary: But the Monk anſwered, I came from the Holy Land of *Jeruſalem* hither by the Command of GOD, and left that City, wherein are a thouſand better Churches than that of *Caracarum*; if he pleaſe that I ſtay here and pray for him as GOD commanded me, I will ſtay, if not I will return to the Place from whence I came. So that every Evening Oxen were brought him yoaked to the Carts, and in the Morning he was brought to the Place where he uſed to be before the Court; and a little before we departed thence, a certain *Neſtorian* came, who ſeemed to be a wiſe Man: *Bulgai* the chief Secretary, placed him before the Court, to whom the *Khan* ſent his Children that he ſhould bleſs them.

54. We came therefore to *Caracarum*, and while we were in Maſter *William* the Goldſmith's Houſe, my Guide came to me and brought me ten Jaſcots, five of which he left in Maſter *William*'s Hands, commanding him to ſpend them on the Behalf of the Khan, for the Friar's Uſe while he remained there; he alſo left the other five in the Hands of my Interpreter, commanding him to ſpend them in the Way, for my Subſiſtence; for Maſter *William* had given them ſuch Inſtructions without our Knowledge. I preſently changed one into ſmall Money, and diſtributed it to the poor Chriſtians which were there, for all their Eyes were fixed upon us. We ſpent another in buying things neceſſary for us, as Garments and other things, which we wanted. With the third my Interpreter himſelf bought ſome things, by which he gained ſomewhat. We ſpent the reſt, becauſe after we came into *Perſia* ſufficient Neceſſaries were no where given us, nor yet among the *Tartars*, amongſt whom we ſeldom found any thing to be ſold.

Maſter *William*, Your Majeſty's Citizen and Subject, ſends you a certain Girdle ſet with a precious Stone, which they uſed to wear againſt Thunder and Lightening, and moſt humbly ſalutes you, always commending you to God in his Prayers. We baptized there in all ſix Souls. When we departed from each other, it was with Tears, my Companion remaining with Maſter *William*, and I returning with my Interpreter, my Guide, and one Servant, who had Directions to take one Mutton in four Days for us four. We came therefore in two Months and ten Days from *Caracarum* to *Baatu*, and never ſaw a Town, nor ſo much as the Appearance of any Houſe, but Graves, except one Village, wherein we did not ſo much as eat Bread, nor did we ever reſt in theſe two Months and ten Days, ſave one Day, becauſe we could not get Horſes. We returned for the moſt part by the ſame kind of People, and yet through other Countries, for we went in the Winter, and returned in the Summer, and by the higher Parts of the North, except that fifteen Days Journey we were obliged to go, and return by a certain River between the Mountains, where there is no Lodging but by the River Side. We went two Days, and ſometimes three, without taking any other Food but Coſmos. Once we were in great Danger, not being able to find any People, our Proviſion failing us, and our Horſes tired.

When I had travelled twenty Days, I heard that the King of *Armenia* had paſſed by. In the End of *Auguſt* I met with *Sartach*, who went to *Mangu-Khan* with Flocks and Herds, and with his Wives and Children, yet the Bulk of his Families remained between *Tanais* and *Etilia*. I ſent my Duty to him, ſaying, I would willingly ſtay in his Country, but *Mangu-Khan* would have me return and carry his Letters. He anſwered, that I muſt perform the Will of *Mangu-Khan*. Then I aſked *Coiac* for the Children? He anſwered, they were in the Court of *Baatu*, carefully provided for. I alſo aſked him for our Cloaths and Books again? He anſwered, did ye not bring them to *Sartach*? I ſaid I brought them unto *Sartach*, but I did not give them to him as you know; and I put him in mind what Anſwer I made when he demanded whether I would give them to *Sartach*? Then he anſwered, you ſay Truth, and none can reſiſt Truth. I left your Goods with my Father, who remaineth near *Sarai*, which is a new Town *Baatu* hath made upon *Etilia* on the Eaſt Shore; but our Prieſts have ſome of the Veſtments. If any thing pleaſe you, ſaid I, keep it, ſo my Books be reſtored.

Then he told me he would report my Words to *Sartach*. I muſt have Letters, ſaid, I to your Father, to reſtore me all. But he was ready to be gone, and ſaid unto me, the Train of the Ladies followeth us near at Hand, ye ſhall alight there, and I will ſend you *Sartach*'s Anſwer by this Man. I was very careful he ſhould not deceive me, yet I dare not contend with him: Late in the Evening the Man came unto me, and brought two Coats with him, which I thought had been all of Silk, and he ſaith unto me, behold two Garments, the one *Sartach* hath ſent unto you, and the other, if ſo it pleaſe you, you ſhall preſent to the King on his Behalf; to whom I anſwered, I wear no ſuch Garments, I will preſent them both to my King in honour of your Lord. Then ſaid he, do with them what you pleaſe; now it pleaſed me to ſend them both unto you, and I ſend them to you by the Bearer of theſe Preſents. He delivered me Letters alſo to the Father of *Coiac* to reſtore me all which appertained unto me, becauſe he had no need of any thing which was mine, ſo we came to the Court of *Baatu*.

the ſame Day I departed thence a Year before, *viz.* the ſecond Day after the Exaltation of the bleſſed Croſs, and I found our young Men in Health, yet much afflicted with Poverty, as *Goſſet* told me, and if the King of *Armenia* had not comforted them, and recommended them to *Sartach*, they had periſhed, for they thought I had been dead. The *Tartars* alſo demanded of them, if they could keep Oxen, or milk Mares, for if I had not returned, they had been brought into Servitude by thoſe People.

After this *Baatu* ordered me to come to him, and made the Letters which *Mangu-Khan* ſends unto you to be interpreted unto me; for ſo *Mangu* wrote unto him, that if it pleaſed him to add any thing, or leave out, or change, he ſhould do it. Then ſaid he, ye ſhall carry theſe Letters, and cauſe them to be underſtood. He demanded alſo what Way I would go, whether by Sea or Land? I ſaid, the Sea was froze, becauſe it was Winter, and I muſt go by Land, for I thought you had been ſtill in *Syria*, ſo I directed my Journey towards *Perſia*, for if I had thought you had paſſed into *France*, I would have gone into *Hungary*; for I ſhould ſooner have come into *France*, and by a more eaſy Way than tho' *Syria*; then we travelled a Month with him before we could obtain a Guide; at length they appointed me a certain *Jugure*, who underſtanding I would give him nothing, and that I would go forthwith into *Armenia*, cauſed Letters to be made to conduct me to the Soldan of *Turky*, hoping he ſhould receive Gifts of the Soldan, and that he ſhould gain more that Way; then we took our Journey ſpeedily fifteen Days before the Feaſt of *All Saints* towards *Sarai*, going directly Southward, deſcending near to *Etilia*, which is there divided into three Arms, every one whereof is almoſt twice as big as the Branch of the River of *Nile* at *Damieta*.

It divides afterwards into four leſſer Arms, ſo that we paſſed the River in ſeven Places by Boats. Upon the middle Branch is the Village called *Sumerkant*, without a Wall; but when the River overflows, it is compaſſed with Water. The *Tartars* were eight Years about it before they could take it, and the *Alani* and the *Saracens* were nine. There we found one *German* with his Wife, a very good Man, with whom *Goſſet* ſtayed in the Winter; for *Sartach* ſent him thither to eaſe his Court. About theſe Parts was *Baatu* on the one Side of the River, and *Sartach* on the other about *Chriſtmaſs*, and they go no farther down; and when it happens that all the River is frozen, they paſs over. Here is great Store of Graſs, and there among the Caves, Thieves hide themſelves till the Ice melt. *Coiac*'s Father receiving *Sartach*'s Letters, reſtored my Veſtments unto me, except my Albs, and an Almic trimmed with fine Silk, a Stole, a Girdle, and a Tualia, adorned with Golden Embroidery, and a Surplice. He reſtored alſo to me all the Silver Plate, except the Cenſor, and the little Box where the Chriſm was, all which the Prieſt which was with *Sartach* had. He returned my Books, except our Lady's Pſalter, which he kept with my Leave, becauſe I could not deny it him; for he ſaid *Sartach* took much Delight in it. He alſo requeſted me, that if it happened that I return unto thoſe Parts again, I would bring them a Man that knew how to make Parchment, for he had built a great Church by the Command of *Sartach* upon the Weſt Side of the River, as he ſaid, and a new Town; yet I knew that *Sartach* meant no ſuch Matter. *Sarai* and the Palace of *Baatu* are upon the Eaſt Side of the River, and the Valley through which the Arms of the River are ſpread abroad containeth more than ſeven Leagues in Breadth. There is great Store of Fiſh there, a Bible alſo in Verſe, and a certain Book in the *Arabian* Language worth thirty Sultalines, and many other things I never recovered.

55. After our Departure from him on the Feaſt of *All Saints*, going towards the South until the Feaſt of Saint *Martin*, we came to the Mountains of the *Alani*, between *Baatu* and *Sarai*. In fifteen Days, we found no People but one of his Sons, who went before him with Falcons and his Falconers, who were many, at one little Village; from the Feaſt of *All Saints* for five Days we met not with ſo much as a Man, and we were in great Danger by reaſon of Thirſt, one whole Day and a Night, finding no Water, till about Three of the Clock the next Day. The *Alani* in ſome Mountains yet hold out, ſo that of ten of the Subjects of *Sartach* two muſt come and guard the narrow Paſſages of the Hills, leſt they come forth of the Mountains, and carry away the Cattle in the Plain. Between the *Alani* and *Porta Ferrea*, which is two Days Journey from thence, where the Plain of the *Alani* beginneth, between the *Caſpian* Sea and the Mountains, there are certain *Saracens*, called *Leſgi*, inhabiting the Mountains, who likewiſe are free; ſo that thoſe *Tartars* who dwell at the Foot of the Mountains of the *Alani* were obliged to give us twenty Men to bring us beyond the Iron Gate, or *Porta Ferrea*; and I was glad, becauſe I hoped to ſee them armed, for I could never ſee their Armour, tho' I had been very deſirous of ſeeing it; and when we came to this dangerous Paſſage of the whole twenty, there were but two who had Harbergions, and I demanded of whom they had them? They ſaid, they had them of the *Alani*, who are able Workmen in ſuch things, and excellent Smiths. I think they have ſmall Store of Armour, but Quivers and Bows, and Leather Jackets; I ſaw them preſented with Iron Plates, and Iron Skull-caps out of *Perſia*, and ſaw two alſo who preſented themſelves to *Mangu*, armed with Coats made of Hogs-ſkins, bent inward, of rough Leather, which were very clumſy and unweildy.

Before we came to *Porta Ferrea*, we found one Caſtle of the *Alans*, which was *Mangu Khan*'s, for he had ſubdued that Country. There we firſt found Vineyards and drunk Wine; the Day following we came to *Porta Ferrea*, or the Iron-Gate, which *Alexander* the *Macedonian* King made, and it is a City whoſe Eaſt End is upon the Sea Shore: And there is a little Plain between the Sea and the Mountains, through which the City extends in Length to the Top of the Mountain, which bordereth upon it on the Weſt, ſo that there is no Way above for the Ruggedneſs of the Mountains, nor below for the Sea, but immediately through the midſt of the City, where there is an Iron-Gate, from whence the City hath its Name. This City is more than a Mile long, and on the Top of a Hill is a ſtrong Caſtle; and it is as much in Breadth as a Stone's Caſt. It hath very ſtrong Walls, without Trenches and Turrets, of large poliſhed Stones. But the *Tartars* have deſtroyed the Tops of the Turrets and the Bulwarks of the Walls, laying the Turrets even with the Wall. Below that City, the Country was formerly like a Paradiſe. Two Day's Journey from hence we found another City called *Samaron*, wherein there were many *Jews*, and when we paſſed it we ſaw Walls deſcending from the Mountains to the Sea; and leaving the Way by the Sea by thoſe Walls, becauſe it turns towards the Eaſt, we went up into the high Countries towards the South.

The next Day we paſſed through a certain Valley, wherein the Foundations of Walls appeared from one Mountain to another, and there was no Way through the Tops of the Mountains. Theſe were in times paſt the Incloſures, or Walls erected by *Alexander* for reſtraining the fierce Nations, the Shepherds of the Wilderneſs, that they could not invade the inhabited Countries and Cities. There are alſo other Walls and Incloſures where *Jews* are. The next Day we came to a certain great City called *Samach*, and after this we entered into a great Plain called *Moan*, thro' which the River *Cur* or *Cyrus* runs, from which the *Curgi* or *Curdi* have their Names, whom we call *Georgians*; and it runneth through the Middle of *Tefflis*, which is the Metropolis of the *Curgines*, and comes directly from the Weſt, running to the Eaſt into the *Caſpian* Sea, and in it are excellent Salmon. In that Plain we found *Tartars* again. Alſo by that Plain runs the River *Araxes*, which cometh from the *Greater Armenia*, from betwixt the South and Weſt, from which it is called the Land of *Ararat*. Whereupon in the Book of the *Kings* it is ſaid of the Sons of *Senacherib*, that having ſlain their Father, they fled into the Land of the *Armenians*. And in *Iſaiah* it is ſaid, that they fled into the Land of *Ararat*. To the Weſt then of that moſt beautiful Plain is *Curgia*. In that Plain the *Croſmini* were ſettled formerly. And there is a great City in the Entrance of the Mountains called *Ganges*, which was their Metropolis, ſtopping the *Georgians*, that they could not come down into the Plain. Then we came to the Bridge of Boats, which was faſtened together with a great Iron Chain, ſtretched forth croſs the River, wherein *Cur* and the *Araxes* met together, but the *Cur* loſeth its Name there.

56. We proceeded thence, till travelling up the *Araxes*, of which it is ſaid, *Pontem, indignatus Araxis*; *Araxes*, diſdains a Bridge, leaving *Perſia* and the *Caſpian* Mountains on the left Hand towards the South, having on the right Hand *Curgia* and the Great Sea towards the Weſt. Going all the Way Southward, we paſſed through the Meadows of *Bacchu*, who is General of that Army which is there within the River *Araxes*; he has likewiſe made the *Curgi*, and *Turks*, and *Perſians*, ſubject to him. There is likewiſe another Governor in *Perſia* at *Tauris* over the Tribute called *Argon*, both which *Mangu-Khan* hath called Home to give Place to his Brother, who is going into thoſe Countries. The Country which I have deſcribed to you is not properly *Perſia*, but was ſometimes called *Hyrcania*. I was in *Bacchu*'s Houſe, and he gave us Wine to drink, and he himſelf drank Coſmos, which I would willingly have drank if he had given it me; yet it was the beſt new Wine, but Coſmos is more wholeſom for a half ſtarved Man as I was. We went up therefore by the River *Araxes* from the Eve of *St. Clement* until the ſecond *Sunday* in *Lent*, till we came to the Head of the River, and beyond the Mountains where it riſeth there is a good City called *Arſorum*, which belongs to the *Soldan* of *Turky*, and near thereabouts *Euphrates* riſes towards the North, at the Foot of the Mountains of *Curgia*, to whoſe Spring I had gone, but the Snow was ſo great that no Man could go out of the common Path, and on the other Side of the Mountains of *Caucaſus* towards the South riſeth the *Tygris*.

When we departed from *Bacchu* my Guide went to *Tauris* to ſpeak with *Argon*, carrying my Interpreter with him; but *Bacchu* cauſed me to be brought to a certain City called *Naxuan*, which heretofore was the Head or Capital of a great Kingdom, and the greateſt and faireſt City in thoſe Parts, but the *Tartars* have made it a Wilderneſs; and there were anciently eight hundred Churches of the *Armenians* there; now there are but two little ones, for the *Saracens* have deſtroyed them; in one of which I held the Feaſt of *Chriſtmas* as I could with our Clerk, and the next Day following the Prieſt of the Church died, to whoſe Burial came a certain Biſhop with twelve Monks from the high Countries, for all the Biſhops of the *Armenians* are Monks, and of the *Greeks* likewiſe for the moſt Part. The Biſhop told me that there was a Church near this Place where St. *Bartholomew*, and likewiſe St. *Judas Thaddæus* were martyred, but there was no Way open for Snow. He told me alſo that they had two Prophets, the firſt or chief *Methodius* the Martyr, who was of their Country, and plainly propheſied of the *Iſmaelites*, which Prophecy is fulfilled in the *Saracens*. The other Prophet is called *Acacron*, who when he died, propheſied of a Nation of Archers that ſhould come from the North, ſaying, “That they ſhould conquer all the Countries of the Eaſt, and ſhould ſpare the Kingdoms of the Eaſt, to aſſiſt them in obtaining the Kingdoms of the Weſt; and they ſhall poſſeſs the Countries from North to South, and ſhall come to *Conſtantinople*, and ſhall take the Gate of *Conſtantinople*, and one of them who ſhall be called a wiſe Man, ſhall enter the City, and ſeeing the Churches and Rites of the *Franks*, ſhall cauſe himſelf to be baptized, and ſhall counſel the *Franks* how they may kill the Emperor of the *Tartars*, and there they ſhall be confounded. Hearing this, the *Franks* which ſhall be in the Middle of the Land, *viz.* at *Jeruſalem*, ſhall ſet upon the *Tartars* who ſhall border upon them, and with the Help of our Nation, that is, the *Armenians*, ſhall purſue them; ſo that the *French* King ſhall place his Royal Throne at *Taurinum* in *Perſia*, and then all the Eaſt Countries and all the unbelieving Nations ſhall be converted to the Faith of Chriſt; and there ſhall be ſo great Peace in the World, that the Living ſhall ſay to the Dead, Wo be unto you Wretches! that lived not until theſe Times.” And I read this Prophecy brought to *Conſtantinople* by the *Armenians* which remain there, but I made light of it. Yet when I ſpake with the Biſhop, calling it to Mind, I regarded it ſomewhat the more. But throughout all *Armenia* they as firmly believe this Prophecy as they do the Goſpel.

He ſaid to us alſo, even as the Souls in *Limbo* expect the Coming of Chriſt for their Delivery, ſo do we look for your Coming, that we may be freed from this Slavery wherein we have ſo long lived. Near the City *Naauam* there are Mountains on which they ſay the Ark of *Noah* reſted; and there are two, one greater than the other, and *Araxes* running at the Foot of them; and there is a little Town there called *Comanium*, which is in their Language Eight, for they ſay it was ſo called of the eight Perſons which came forth of the Ark and built it. Many have attempted to climb the great Hills and could not, and the Biſhop told me that a certain Monk being very much troubled thereat, an Angel appeared to him and brought him a Piece of the Wood of the Ark, bidding him to trouble himſelf no more. That Piece of Wood they had in their Church as he told me, neither is the Hill ſo high in Appearance but the Men might well get up it. A certain old Man gave me however this worthy Reaſon why no one ſhould climb it. They call that Mountain *Maſſis*, and as this Word is of the *Femenine* Gender in their Tongue, no Man, ſaid he, muſt climb up *Maſſis*, becauſe it is the Mother of the World.

In the City of *Naxuam*, Friar *Barnard* a *Catalan*, of the Order of the Preaching Friars, found me, who lives in *Georgia*, with a certain Friar of the Sepulchre, who poſſeſſeth great Lands there, and he had learned ſomewhat of the *Tartar* Language; he formerly went with a certain *Hungarian* Friar, who returned with me to *Teſſis*, with one Servant; but Friar *Barnard* remained at *Tauris*, with a certain Lay Friar, whoſe Language he underſtood not. We went out of the City of *Nexuam*, about the *Epiphany*, for we had ſtayed long there, by reaſon of the Snow; we came therefore in four Days to the Country of *Sabenſa*, a *Curdiſh* Prince, heretofore mighty, but now Tributary to the *Tartars*, who deſtroy'd all his Ammunition, whoſe Father *Zacharias* poſſeſſed himſelf of the Country of *Armenians*, having delivered them from the Hands of the *Saracens*, and there are many fair Villages of true Chriſtians, having Churches like the *Franks*; and every *Armemian* hath in his Houſe, in an honourable Place, a wooden Hand, holding a Croſs, and ſets a burning Lamp before it; and that which we do with holy Water, ſprinkling it to drive away wicked Spirits, they do with Frankincenſe; for every Evening they burn Frankincenſe, carrying it through all the Corners of the Houſe, to rid them of all kind of Enemies. I eat with *Sabenſa*, and he did me great Reverence, both he and his Wife, and his Son *Zachary*, a very comely and wiſe young Man, who demanded of me, whether if he ſhould come to you, you would entertain him; for he is ſo uneaſy under the Dominion of the *Tartars*, that tho' he hath a Plenty of all things, he had rather travel into a ſtrange Country, than endure their violent Exactions. They ſaid further, that they were true Sons of the Church of *Rome*, and if the Pope would ſend them any Aid, they would bring all the bordering Nations unto the Subjection of the Church of *Rome*.

From that Town of his, in fifteen Days, we entered the Country of the *Soldan* of *Turky*. On the firſt Sunday in *Lent*, and the firſt Caſtle we found, is called *Marſeugen*; all in the Caſtle were Chriſtians, *Armenians*, *Curgines* and *Greeks*: The *Saracens* only have the Dominion. There the Captain of the Caſtle ſaid, he had received Commandment, that no Victuals ſhould be given to any *Franks*, or to the Ambaſſador of the King of *Armenia*, or of *Veſtacius*; ſo that from the Place where we were the firſt Sunday in *Lent*, quite to *Cyprus*, whither I came, eight Days before the Feaſt of Saint *John* the Baptiſt, we were forced to buy our own Proviſion. He who was my Guide, procured me Horſes, and took Money for the Victuals, and put it in his Purſe. When he came into the Fields, ſeeing a Flock, away he went, and without more to do, took one Sheep, and gave it to his Family to eat, and wondered I would not take part of his Robbery. In the Purification, I was in a certain City called *Ayni*, which was *Sabenſa*'s, whoſe Situation is ſtrong; and there are an hundred *Armenian* Churches, and two Moſques of the *Saracens*: The *Tartars* place an Officer there.

At this Place five Preaching Friars met me, whereof four came from *Provence* in *France*, and the fifth joined himſelf to them in *Syria*. They had but one ſick Boy, who could ſpeak the *Turkiſh* Language, and a little *French*; and they had the Pope's Letters to *Sartach*, and to *Mangu-Khan*, and to *Buri*, ſuch as your Highneſs gave me Letters of Requeſt, that they would ſuffer them to continue in their Country, and preach the Word of God, *&c.* But when I told them what I had ſeen, and how they ſent me back again, they directed their Journey to *Teſflis*, where there are Friars of their Order, to conſult what they ſhould do; I anſwered them, they might well paſs by thoſe Letters, if they would; but they ſhould be well aſſured, to endure much Labour, and render an Account of their coming; for ſeeing they had no other Meſſage but the Office of Preaching, they would care but little for them, and chiefly becauſe they had no Interpreter: What they did after, I know not, and cannot therefore report.

58. On the ſecond *Sunday* in *Lent* we came to the Head of *Araxes*, and paſſing beyond the Top of the Mountain, we came to *Euphrates*, by which we deſcended eight Days going to the Weſt to a certain Caſtle called *Camath*; where *Euphrates* bends to the South towards *Halapia*. But we paſſing the River went through very high, mountainous Countries, and through the deepeſt Snow to the Weſt. There was ſo great an Earthquake there that Year, that in one City called *Arſengan*, ten thouſand Perſons, according to their Regiſter, periſhed, beſide poor Men, of whom there was no Notice taken. Riding three Days together, we ſaw the gaping of the Earth, as it was cleft by the Earthquake, and the Heaps of Earth that came from the Mountains, and filled the Vallies, ſo that if but a little more of the Earth had been moved, that which *Iſaiah* ſpeaketh had been literally fulfilled, *Every Valley ſhall be filled, and every Mountain and little Hill ſhall be humbled.* We paſſed through the Valley where the *Soldan* of *Turky* was vanquiſhed by the *Tartars*. It were too long to write how he was overcome; but a certain Servant of my Guide's who was with the *Tartars* ſaid, that the *Tartars* were not above ten thouſand in the whole; and a certain *Curd* of the *Soldans*, ſaid that there were two hundred thouſand with the *Soldan*, all Horſe-men. In that Plain where the Battle was, there broke out a great Lake at the Time of the Earthquake; and it came into my Mind, that all the Earth opened her Mouth to receive yet more Blood of the *Saracens*. We were in *Sebaſta* a Town of the *Leſſer Armenia* in *Eaſter* Week; here we viſited the Tombs of forty Martyrs; there the Church of *St. Blaſe* ſtandeth, but I could not go thither, becauſe it was above in the Caſtle.

On the ſucceeding *Sunday*, we came to *Cæſaria* of *Cappadocia*, where there is a Church of *St. Baſil the Great*. About fifteen Days after, we came to *Iconium*, making ſmall Journies, and reſting in many Places, becauſe we could not readily procure Horſes, and my Guide did this on purpoſe, taking upon him to ſollicit his own Buſineſs three Days in every Town, at which I was much diſſatisfied, but durſt not ſpeak, becauſe he might have ſold or ſlain me and our Servants, and there was none to hinder it. I found many *Franks* at *Iconium*, and a certain Merchant called *Nicholas de Sancto Syrio*, who with a Companion of his, a *Venetian*, called *Boniface de Molandino*, carried all the Allum out of *Turky*, ſo that the *Soldan* could not ſell any but to thoſe two; and they made it ſo dear, that what was worth but fifteen Bizantines, is now ſold for forty. My Guide preſented me to *Soldan*; the *Soldan* ſaid he would willingly cauſe me to be conveyed to the Sea of *Armenia*, or *Cilecia*, though the above-mentioned Merchant, knowing that the *Saracens* made little account of me, and that I was much burthened with the Company of my Guide, cauſed me to be conveyed to *Curruma*, a Port belonging to the King of *Armenia*. I came thither before the *Aſcenſion*, and ſtayed till the Day after *Pentecoſt*; then I heard that Embaſſadors came from the King to his Father; then I went ſpeedily to the King's Father, to demand whether he had heard any News from his Son, and I found him ſet with all his Sons, one excepted, called *Barum Uſin*, who reſided in a certain Caſtle, and he received News from his Son that he was returned, and that *Mangu-Khan* had much eaſed his Tribute, and had given him a Privilege that no Embaſſador ſhould come into his County; whereupon the old Man himſelf, with all his Sons, made a Banquet, and he cauſed me to be conveyed to the Sea, to the Haven called *Aijax*; and thence I paſſed over into *Cyprus*; and at *Nicoſia* I found our Provincial, who the ſame Day carried me with him to *Antiochia*, which is in a very weak State. We were there on the Feaſt of *St. Peter* and *Paul*, and from thence we came to *Tripolis*, where our Chapter was held on the Aſſumption of the Bleſſed Virgin.

59. Our Provincial being determined that I ſhould have my Reſidence in our Convent at *Acon*, would not ſuffer me to come to you; but commanding me to write unto you what I would by the Bearer of theſe Preſents; and not daring to reſiſt contrary to my Obedience, I did, according to my Power, and Underſtanding, craving Pardon of your Clemency, for my Superfluities, or Wants, or for any thing that ſhall be indiſcreetly or fooliſhly ſpoken, as for a Man of little Underſtanding, not accuſtomed to write long Hiſtories. The Peace of God which paſſeth all Underſtanding preſerve your Heart and fortify your Mind. I would willingly ſee your Highneſs, and certain ſpiritual Friends, which I have in your Kingdom. Wherefore if it ſhould not be contrary to your Majeſty's liking, I would beſeech you to write to our Provincial, that he would let me come unto you and return ſhortly again into the Holy Land. Concerning *Turky*, your Majeſty ſhall underſtand, that the tenth Man there is not a *Mohammedan*, nay, they are all *Armenians* and *Greeks*, and Children rule over them; for the *Soldan*, who was conquered by the *Tartars*, had a lawful Wife of *Iberia*, by whom he had one feeble Son, concerning whom he charged that he ſhould be the *Soldan*. He had another of a *Greek* Concubine, whom he committed to a certain great Admiral. The third he had by a *Turk*, to whom many *Turks* and *Turcomans* being gathered together, they purpoſed to have ſlain all the Sons of the Chriſtians. They had determined alſo, as I underſtood, that after they had got the Victory, they would deſtroy all the Churches, and kill as many as would not become *Mohammedans*; but he was overcome in Battle, and many of his Men ſlain. He recruited his Army however, a ſecond Time, and then was taken, and is ſtill in Priſon. *Paceſter* the Son of the *Greek* Concubine, procured ſoon after that he might be *Soldan*, becauſe the other was weak whom they ſent to the *Tartars*; whereupon his Kindred on the Mother's Side, ſuch as the *Iberians* and the *Curds*, were angry; ſo that, at preſent, a Child ruleth in *Turky*, having no Treaſure, few Soldiers, and many Enemies. The Son of *Veſtacius* is weak, and at war with the Son of *Aſſau*, who likewiſe was a Child, and worn out with the Servitude of the *Tartars*. If therefore an Army of the Church ſhould come to the Holy Land, it were a very eaſy Thing to ſubdue all theſe Countries, or to paſs through them.

The King of *Hungary* hath not above thirty thouſand Soldiers. From *Cologne* to *Conſtantinople*, are not above threeſcore Days Journey by Waggons; from *Conſtantinople* are not ſo many Days Journey to the Country of the King of *Armenia*. In old Time, valiant Men paſſed through thoſe Countries and proſpered; yet they had moſt valiant Opponents, whom God hath now deſtroyed out of the Earth, and we need not be in Danger of the Sea, or the Mercy of Sailors; and the Price which we ſhould give for Freight were ſufficient for Expences by Land. I ſpeak it confidently, if our Countrymen would go as the Kings of the *Tartars* go, and be contented with ſuch Victuals, they might win the whole World. It ſeemeth not expedient, as I think, that any Friar ſhould go to the *Tartars* any more, as I did, or as the Preaching Friars do; but if our Lord the Pope would ſend a Biſhop in an honourable manner and anſwer their Follies, about which they have thrice writ to the *Franks*, once to Pope *Innocent* the Fourth, of ſacred Memory, and twice to your Majeſty, once by *David*, who deceived you, and now by me, he might ſpeak unto them what he would, and alſo cauſe them to put theſe Things in Writing, for they hear whatſoever an Embaſſador will ſpeak, and always demand if he will ſay any more, but he muſt have a good Interpreter; nay, many Interpreters, and be at large Expences.

60. Such is the Relation of the Monk *Rubruquis*, who had the beſt Opportunity that any Man had to that Time, of looking into the Affairs of the *Tartars*, of examining their Force, of enquiring into the Form of their Government, and making himſelf perfectly acquainted with their Manners and Cuſtoms, of which he has given ſo large, ſo curious, and ſo accurate an Account. Before we proceed to our Remarks thereon, it may not be amiſs to clear up a few Difficulties that occur in this Relation, and which, for want of being clearly reſolved, may occaſion ſome Doubts in the Mind of our inquiſitive Reader; and this is the more neceſſary, becauſe hitherto nothing of this kind has been done, at leaſt in our Language; but the Relation has been left naked and unſupported to the Cenſure of the Peruſer, without the leaſt Notice taken of thoſe Facts that muſt neceſſarily embarraſs him, and in a great Meaſure affect the Credit of the Author. I am very ſenſible, that many of my Readers may be of Opinion, that I might ſpare myſelf ſome part of the Trouble I take in illuſtrating thoſe old Writers; but I beg leave to obſerve once for all, that it is not either for their Intereſt or mine, that I ſhould do ſo. If I had not been throughly ſatisfied that theſe Travels were the beſt in their kind, I ſhould not have inſerted them; but with reſpect to the World, this is not enough; for though I have it in my Power to give them what ſeems to me moſt proper for ſuch a Collection, yet I owe it to them, and to myſelf, to make it as evident as it is poſſible, that I diſcharge this Truſt as I ought, and that I give them nothing which is not truly worthy of their Peruſal; and this can no otherwiſe be done, than by obviating every Difficulty that may poſſibly incline them to differ from me in Sentiment, and therefore I hope this will juſtify me in the Pains I am ſtill to take with regard to this Author, who, as he was a Writer of great Candour and Sincerity, ſo he has mentioned many Particulars, which, tho' they were well known in his Time, and more eſpecially to the Prince, to whom this Work was addreſſed; yet are ſo imperfectly known to us, that without a ſtrict Search into the Hiſtories of thoſe Times, it is not eaſy to conceive, how they can be reconciled to the reſt of his Narration.

We will ſtate theſe plainly, and then the Truth of my Obſervation will be manifeſt. In the firſt Place, it ſeems extraordinary that the King of *France* ſhould be ſo much deceived with reſpect to the Embaſſy that was ſent him from the *Tartars*, which occaſioned the whole of this Tranſaction; but with reſpect to this, it appears clearly from the Hiſtorians that have written the Reign of Saint *Louis*, that theſe Embaſſadors came from a *Tartar* Prince called *Ercalthay*, and brought with them Letters which are ſtill extant, and which poſitively aſſert, that it was the Deſign of the *Khan*, to co-operate with the Chriſtians, in order to reduce the Power of the *Mohammedans*. At the Head of this Embaſſy was one *David*, who is named in the Letters as one to whom the King of *France* might give entire Credit, to which his Majeſty might be more inclined, becauſe he had in his Company Friar *Andrew de Lontumal*, whom the Pope had formerly ſent into *Tartary*, and who aſſured the King, that he had known *David* there in a Poſt of Diſtinction. This Embaſſador it was, that poſitively aſſerted, that the *Khan* was become a Chriſtian, and that there was no Difficulty in procuring a cloſe Alliance between him and the Chriſtians. Upon this, the King firſt ſent Friar *Andrew* with a conſiderable Number of Perſons in his Train, back with the *Tartar* Ambaſſadors, in the beginning of the Year 1250; but as to the Succeſs of this Negociation, we have no Account. There is another thing a little dark in our Author's Account, and that is with reſpect to his Character; for tho' it appears plainly, that he was ſent by the King his Maſter with Letters to *Sartach*, yet he frequently tells us, that he did not affect to be thought an Ambaſſador, but deſired rather to be conſidered as a Monk, who viſited *Tartary* from his Zeal for the Chriſtian Religion.

His Reaſon for acting thus, was to preſerve the Honour of the King, from ſuffering thro' any ill Treatment that he might meet with, to which he was induced by many Reaſons, but particularly by theſe two. In the firſt place, he was perfectly ſatisfied, that what had been reported as to the Converſion of *Sartach*, was falſe; and next, becauſe he was aware the *Tartars* were informed, that the King his Maſter had been beat in *Egypt*, and taken Priſoner there by the Infidels; whence he concluded, that he ſhould not meet with a very good Reception. He therefore takes great Care to inform the King, that whatever Uſage he received, could reflect no Diſhonour upon his Majeſty, becauſe of the Precaution he had taken to aſſume no higher Character than that of a Monk, who came to preach the Chriſtian Religion to the *Tartars*. But the Readers may very probably wonder why the *Tartar* Prince *Ercalthay*, ſhould take ſuch a Step as this, in order to miſlead ſo great a Monarch, and yet, if he adverts to the Account our Author has given of the Genius and Diſpoſitions of the *Tartars*, he will eaſily perceive, that this was a Stroke of their Policy, and no very bad one. They had a Mind to be perfectly acqainted with a Deſign of the *Franks* their Forces, and the Manner in which they intended to carry on the War againſt the *Saracens*; nor could they fall upon a Way more proper than this for accompliſhing their Ends. The Character afforded, by our Author, to the *Tartars*, is juſtified by all Writers, both ancient and modern; for their Policy with reſpect to foreign Countries, conſiſts entirely in Cunning and Subtilty; for not having the Advantages that other Nations have of free Commerce and conſtant Intercourſe with the Inhabitants of diſtant Countries, they ſupply themſelves with Intelligence by ſuch Artifices as theſe. Some petty *Tartar* Prince takes upon him to ſend Miniſters to foreign Courts, whoſe Buſineſs it is, under Colour of a Negotiation, to get the beſt Accounts they can of the Regions in which they reſide, in order to ſerve their Countrymen whenever Occaſion offers as Harbingers or Guides; and as they depend on theſe Arts in Time of Peace, ſo they place all their Confidence in War, in the Quickneſs of their Motion, and in that Rapidity with which they over-run even great Countries, before the Inhabitants have Time to take proper Meaſures for their Defence.

It was for theſe Reaſons, and to ſave the Honour of the King his Maſter, that our Author denied that any Embaſſadors had been ſent to *Mangu-Khan*, for he conſidered Friar *Andrew* as ſent only to the Prince, who wrote to the King his Maſter, and not to the great Khan, of whom it does not appear that the *French* had any juſt Ideas, till they were derived to them by this Relation. We may add to all this, that our Author was ſomething diffident as to the Character which *David* aſſumed, by his giving us to underſtand, that in thoſe Days there were a certain bad ſort of People, who in theſe remote Parts of the World, made a Practice of giving themſelves out for the Miniſters of Princes they ſcarce knew, and made a Livelihood by ſuch ſtrange Exploits. He likewiſe ſeems to be fully ſatiſfied, that the Eaſtern Chriſtians in general were Men of great Vivacity, and ſo fertile in their Imaginations, that every thing they ſaw or heard appeared to them in the Light of a Wonder, and as ſuch they reported it wherever they came, to ſerve their own Purpoſes.

Upon theſe Principles he grounds the political Part of his Work, in which he ſeems to labour with all his Force to eſtabliſh theſe two Maxims. The firſt, that it was not either ſafe or honourable to aim at making Alliances with the *Tartars*, who were in his Sentiments a fierce intractable ſort of People, very proud of their extraordinary Succeſſes, and who underſtood all Applications made to them, as proceeding from Fear. The ſecond, that their Power was nothing near ſo great as it had been repreſented, ſo that there was far leſs Danger like to accrue from the regarding them as Enemies, than from treating with them as Friends, into which Notion he was led by obſerving, that their Diſcipline was not exact, that they were utterly unacquainted with the regular Art of War, and no way capable of carrying it on againſt ſuch as ſtood upon their Guard, and were prepared to meet them in the Field with well-diſciplined Armies. That which ſeems to be the leaſt defenceable Part of his Work, is his ſtrong Attachment to the Pope, and his high Notions of his Power, both of which, however, are in ſome meaſure excuſable, conſidering the Age in which he lived, and the Conduct of the Popes in thoſe times, who took upon them to excommunicate and depoſe the greateſt Princes in Chriſtendom, as the Caſe then was with the Emperor, or to ſend them into the moſt diſtant Parts of the World, under Pretences of Religion, as appears from the Expeditions undertaken by his Maſter King *Louis*, which were as unfortunate in their Event, as ill founded in their Principles.

But it is now Time to add a few Obſervations with reſpect to the Uſefulneſs of this Work, as it ſtands in this Collection, and to ſhew how far the Travels of *Rubruquis* contributed to make the Weſtern Parts of the World acquainted with the Paſſages into the Eaſt, as well as with what was doing there, and the Force of the ſeveral Monarchs that were in Poſſeſſion of thoſe Countries at the Time he viſited them.

61. The Travels of *Rubruquis* are equally aſtoniſhing in whatever Light they are conſidered. Take them with reſpect to Length, and they extend to upwards of five thouſand Miles one Way, and to near ſix thouſand another. I mean from *Conſtantinople* in his going out, and to *Acon* or *Ptolemais* in his Return, which is ſuch a Space of Ground as it will not be eaſy to find any Man that has traverſed, and left us ſo diſtinct an Account of what he has ſeen. But if Travels are not ſo conſiderable from their Length as from the Nature of the Countries that are travelled through, then here again is a new Proof of the Value of this Performance, ſince it is certain no *European*, except *John Carpin*, ever travelled ſo far before, neither have we any Accounts of Travels of the ſame kind ſince, that, only excepted, which follows in the next Section, and from which we have received here in *Europe* the firſt certain Accounts of *China*, and the firſt Notice we had of there being in the World ſuch a Country as *Japan*. We ſhall apprehend this Matter better, if we take a ſhort View of the Countries through which our Monk paſſed by the Names they are known to us at preſent. It is plain, that from *Conſtantinople* he ſailed croſs the *Black-Sea* to the Port of *Caffa*; from thence he travelled by Land all the reſt of the Way, that is to ſay, firſt through *Crim Tartary*, then croſſing the great Rivers, *Tanais* and *Volga*, he came into the Country of *Bolgar*, and to the Camp of *Baatu*, thence through the vaſt Country of the *Calmucks*, and ſo North-Eaſtward to the Court of *Mangu-Khan*, which, according to his Deſcription, muſt have lain in the Latitude of fifty Degrees North, or ſomewhat more, and conſiderably higher than what is now called the *Chineſe Tartary*. In his Return he paſſed thro' all the vaſt Deſarts of *Great Tartary*, though the Country of the *Moguls*, and ſo by the Head of the *Caſpian* Sea, and then along the Weſt Side of it through the Countries of *Georgia*, *Armenia*, *Curdiſtan*, *Diarbeck*, and ſo into *Syria*; all which Countries then were, and moſt of them are ſtill, in the Hands of the *Tartars*, of whom he has given us ſuch an Account as is not only very conſiſtent with itſelf, and carries therein the ſtrongeſt Marks of Veracity, but is very agreeable alſo to the beſt Accounts we have ſince received of thoſe Countries.

As our Author was not acquainted with the Language of the *Tartars*, and did not remain long enough amongſt them to acquire it in that Degree of Perfection which was neceſſary to read and to underſtand their Hiſtories, we need not at all wonder at ſome ſmall Errors that have eſcaped him in Points of no great Conſequence. As for Inſtance, in what he tells us of *Zingis-Khan*, who he makes a Farrier, as other Writers have done a Blackſmith, I ſhall not trouble the Reader with Remarks on the right ſpelling of this Word *Zingis*, which I have already given them as it ought to be ſpelt, and have ſince conformed to our Author's Manner of writing it, that the Reader might find leſs Difficulty in comparing this with other Books of the ſame kind. I ſay, I ſhall not inſiſt on ſuch Trifles, but ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that *Zingis*, however ſpelt, is an Adjective, and ſignifies properly the glittering or ſhining of Steel; whence ſprung the Notion, that this Prince was originally of ſome Trade in which Iron or Steel was employed, becauſe all the *Tartars* repreſented him as a Man, who from low Beginnings had raiſed himſelf to univerſal Empire, and aſperſed him at the ſame time from the Conſideration of his having deprived them of their Freedom and Independency; but among the *Tartars* themſelves, this Appellation was taken in an honourable Senſe, *Zingis* ſignifying with them illuſtrious, and *Zingis-Khan* ſignifies litterally, the moſt illuſtrious Monarch.

As to the Religion of this Prince, it was undoubtedly that of his Country, concerning which we have a great deal in *Rubruquis* agreeable to what he ſaw and heard, but not ſo clearly expreſſed, as that we ſhould be able to ſay preciſely what is the Faith of the *Tartars*. Our Author is certainly in the Wrong as to Preſbyter *John*, of whom ſuch a Noiſe has been made in the World, and about whom ſo little can ſtill be ſaid with any Certainty. What led him into the Miſtake was this; *Tujan* was the Khan of the *Naymans*, defeated and killed by *Zingis-Khan*, and it was from the Likeneſs of his Name to *John*, that our Author took it for granted he was that *John* the Prieſt ſo well known to the World. But after all, the Preſbyter *John* is ſtill in being, and is no other than the grand Lama, or Supreme Pontiff of the *Tartars*, who reſides, as we have before obſerved, in the Kingdom of *Tangut*, and is in the Opinion of the whole *Tartar* Nation, immortal. The Truth of the Matter is, that he is an Eccleſiaſtical Prince, whoſe Fame and Credit is very extenſive, tho' his Power be very reſtrained. He reſides in a Monaſtery ſurrounded by his Monks, who, whenever he dies, ſupply his Place from among themſelves, and keep this Secret ſo religiouſly, that all the *Tartars* are as firmly perſuaded that their grand Lama lives for ever, as that the Sun always ſhines. This ſerves to explain another Circumſtance, that at firſt Sight might ſeem very idle and ridiculous to the Reader, I mean the Queſtion put to *Rubruquis*, whether the Pope was not four or five hundred Years old. It is very plain from hence, that they conſidered the Pope as the grand Lama of the Weſt, and having heard the *Romiſh* Prieſts inſiſt much on the Perpetuity of the Church, they referred all this to the Perſon of the Pope, and ſuppoſed this ſpiritual Monarch to be immortal like their own.

If I durſt avow my own Sentiments plainly, I ſhould ſay, that there is no better Evidence of the Idolatry of the *Tartars*, than of the *Papiſts*; and this without intending any high Reflection on the Members of the *Romiſh* Church; for both have Images or Idols, both ſeem to worſhip them, and yet both when charged with it abſolutely deny the Fact. Our Author plainly owns, that *Mangu-Khan* told him expreſly he worſhipped but one God, and that the *Tartar* Prieſts, whom he charges very freely with Idolatry, diſowned it themſelves, and affirmed that they reverence their Images only, and did not worſhip them. But after all, it plainly appears, that they kept the Secret of their Religion ſo well, that our Author never ſo much as heard of the Grand Lama, and conſequently could know nothing at all of the Grounds of their Religion, which, to deal plainly with the Reader, remains full as great a Myſtery to this Day.

It is a Point that the *Tartars* will never be brought to explain in any manner whatever; and after all the Pains that I have been able to take in order to obtain ſome ſort of Certainty on this Head, I am able to ſay no more of it than this, that what Doctrines the Lamas or Prieſts teach publickly, are reſtrained to theſe three Points: I. That there is one God the Fountain of Being, the Creator of all things, the Ruler of all things, and the ſole Object of Divine Worſhip. II. That all Men in general are his Creatures, and therefore ought to conſider each other as Brethren deſcended from one common Parent, and alike entitled to all the Bleſſings he beſtows, and that therefore it is great Impiety to abuſe thoſe Bleſſings, or to injure each other. III. That inaſmuch as the common Reaſon of Mankind hath taught them to eſtabliſh Property, it is neceſſary that it it ſhould be preſerved, and that it is therefore the Duty of every Man to be content with his own, and to be juſt to his Neighbours. This Religion theſe Prieſts not only teach, but practiſe with irreproachable Exactneſs; and therefore *Rubruquis* very fairly owns, that the Regularity of their Manners hindered the Progreſs of the Chriſtian Religion, not becauſe the Doctrines of the latter were at all inferior in Sanctity to thoſe of the former, but becauſe in point of Purity of Manners the *Neſtorians* and other Chriſtians were very deficient.

After ſetting this Subject in the beſt Light we are able, the Reader will not find it at all difficult to apprehend a what extreamly puzzled, not only our Author, but all who have wrote of the Affairs of the *Tartars*, and it is this; that they are abſolutely indifferent as to other Religions, entertaining all with equal Reſpect, whether *Chriſtians*, *Mohammedans*, or *Jews*, which proceeds from their finding the fundamental Principles of their own Religion taught by them all, and practiſed by none that come amongſt them better than by themſelves, or by their Prieſts.

We find in *Rubruquis*, ſome mention made of a Nation called *Albaſiſin*, of whom it will be requiſite to give the Reader ſome Account; they are the ſame that are mentioned by our antient Hiſtorians, under the ſeveral Names of *Haſſeſſins*, *Aſſeſſins*, *Aſſaſſins*, *Aſſanites*, and *Chaſians*, and were in Truth as odd a Sort of People as ever exiſted. They poſſeſſed a Tract of Country which contained twelve Caſtles and Villages in the Neighbourhood of *Tyre*, were a mix'd Race of Men, and for a long time made no Profeſſion of any Religion, but practiſed a looſe Kind of *Mohammediſm*, and were Tributaries, firſt to the Knights Templars, and then to the Chriſtian Earls of *Tripoly*. In the eleventh Century, they would have declared themſelves Chriſtians, if they might have been releaſed from that Tribute; but this was refuſed, and they grew thenceforward the moſt bitter Enemies the Chriſtians had.

Theſe People were governed by a Prince ſtiled by our old Hiſtorians, the old Man of the Mountain, who finding himſelf ſurrounded by States much more powerful than his own, deviſed a new and ſtrange Way of making himſelf equally dreadful to his Neighbours and to Strangers. He gave out, that he only was the true Vicar of *Mohammed*, and that he had the Keys of Paradiſe in his Hands: To ſupport which Notion, he cauſed a fine Garden to be laid out, in a Valley, near his Palace, adorned in every reſpect, ſo as to reſemble the Paradiſe of that Prophet; he likewiſe provided a ſort of Opiate, and whenever he ſaw a young Man of a daring and reſolute Temper, he ſent for him, and promiſed him the perpetual Enjoyment of all ſenſual Delights, if he would execute boldly whatever he commanded; and by way of earneſt, having given him the Opiate to drink, cauſed him to be carried while aſleep into his Garden, where, when he awoke, he found every thing he could wiſh for, and many beautiful Women to attend him; when he had remained there a certain time, the Opiate was again adminiſtred, and he was conveyed back when aſleep, to the Palace, where the old Man of the Mountain promiſed him, that provided he fulfilled all his Commands during Life, he ſhould dwell after Death perpetually in that Garden.

By this Artifice, he eſtabliſhed an Order of Men ready to venture on whatever he commanded, and when any Prince made War upon him, he diſpatched three or four of theſe young Villains to his Court, or Camp, with Inſtructions to murder him, which they never failed to perform. It was by their Hands that *Louis* of *Bavaria* was killed in the Year 1231, and in 1251, he diſpatched four of them with the like Commiſſion to the Court of *Louis* IX. but ſuddenly altering his Mind, he diſpatched four more with counter Orders, who made ſuch haſte, that they arrived at the *French* Court before the former, and diſcovering themſelves to King *Louis*, remained always near his Perſon, to preſerve him from their Companions, whom they likewiſe diſcovered at their Arrival, and for this Service, the *French* Monarch ſent them back to their Maſter, loaded with Preſents. By this Means the old Man of the Mountain became terrible, even to the moſt powerful Monarchs; and from the Practice of his deſperate Bravos, we have the Word Aſſaſſins, and the Phraſe of Aſſaſſination, for Murders of this Nature. This Practice was continued to the Time of which an Author ſpeaks, a little after which, the whole Nation was extirpated by the *Tartars*.

Theſe are all the Facts mentioned in his Writings, that ſeem to ſtand in Need of Explanation, unleſs we except what he has delivered concerning the Witchcraft and Sorceries of the *Tartars*. As to theſe, we can only ſay, that they are ſtill much addicted to ſuch Superſtitions, and are thereby expoſed, as he has ſhewn us, to many Impoſtures, and abundance of Miſchiefs that attend them. But in one Particular he is miſtaken, which is in confounding the *Sorcerers* with the Lamas, or *Tartar* Prieſts, whereas they are quite different Perſons. What he relates of the Divination by the Blade-bones, is confirmed by all other Travellers, and is a Sort of Folly practiſed by the *Laplanders* and other northern Nations. A Folly ridiculous and abſurd indeed, but not more ſo than the other Arts of Divination, which have prevailed in politer Countries, and which are not perhaps wholly extinguiſhed at this Day. What he ſays in relation to the ſprinkling of Aſhes on the Floor, relates to another ſuperſtitious Cuſtom of the ſame kind, which gave Birth to that kind of Fortune-telling called Geomancy, which was transferred to *Europe*; and about which ſeveral Treatiſes have been written, and one particularly in our own Tongue, not many Years ago, which I mention to ſhew not only the Probability of what *Rubruquis* has related, but likewiſe to demonſtrate, that the giving into ſuch fooliſh Practices is not peculiar to ſuch Nations as we eſteem barbarous; though I ſhall readily allow, that it is a Mark of Stupidity and Barbarity where-ever it appears.

We have no certain Account how this Relation of *Rubruquis* was received by the King his Maſter, but in all Probability it was very agreeable to him, ſince, though that Prince, after his Return to *France*, took all imaginable Pains to ſet the Affairs of his Kingdom in Order, and to reform the Abuſes that had crept into it during his Abſence: Yet he ſtill retained a ſtrong Deſire of repairing alſo the Diſgrace he had ſuſtained in his former Expedition, by renewing the War againſt the Infidels, which determined him to make another Expedition againſt them, and this, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition that could be made to it, he undertook in the Spring of the Year 1270. He tranſported on this Occaſion a numerous Army into *Africa*, reſolving to begin the Operations of the War with reducing the Kingdom and City of *Tunis*, to which he laid Siege. But before he had made any great Progreſs towards taking the Place, the Plague broke out in his Army, and the King being infected therewith, died on the Twenty-fifth of *Auguſt* the ſame Year.

The beſt *French* Hiſtorians, as well as thoſe of other Nations, condemn theſe Kinds of Expeditions, as idle and romantick; and yet it cannot be denied, that if this Spirit of making War againſt the Infidels had not been raiſed at that Time, it is more than probable, that the *Mohammedans* would have over-run the beſt Part of *Europe*; whereas in conſequence of this Spirit, they were driven out of *Portugal* and *Spain*, to which I muſt crave Leave to add, that the Travels of *Rubruquis*, and others into different Parts of the Eaſt, firſt inſpired that Paſſion for Diſcoveries, which has ſince produced ſuch mighty Effects. Before that Time, we knew little or nothing in this Part of the World of the Situation of diſtant Countries; and thoſe who affected to be thought great Wits, laboured to diſcredit whatever was delivered in Relations of this Kind, which prevailed in ſome Places; and if it had prevailed in all, we had been, at this Day, as ignorant, as poor, and as much Slaves as our Anceſtors were before that Spirit of Commerce aroſe, that has not only diſcovered both the *Indies*, but has taught Men of Courage, that the whole World is their Country; and that he who improves uſeful Knowledge, if not properly encouraged at home, will be a welcome Gueſt where-ever he goes.

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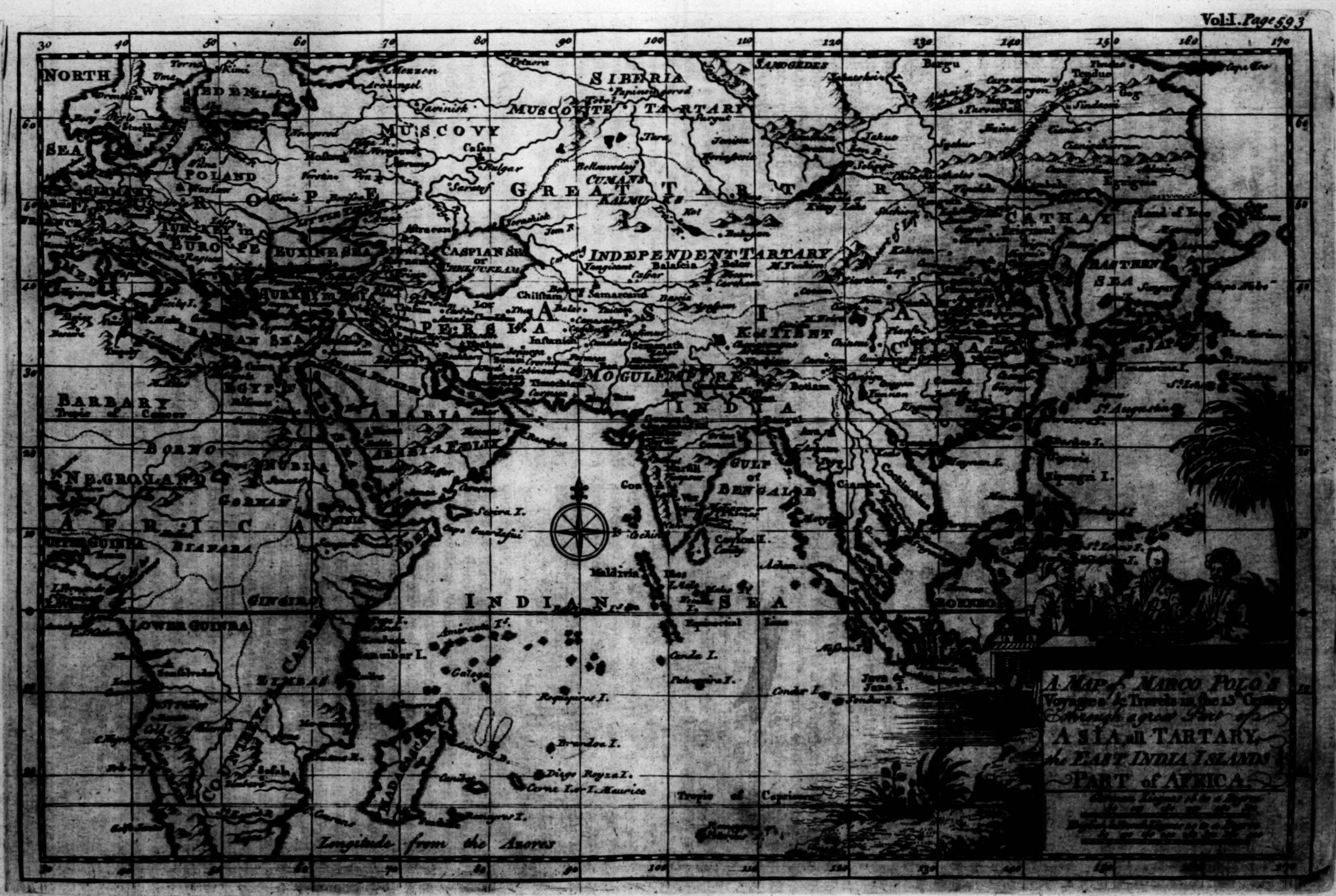
A MAP of MARCO POLO'S
Voyages & Travels in the 13th Century
through a great Part of
ASIA, all TARTARY,
the EAST INDIA ISLANDS
& PART of AFRICA.
Longitude from the Azores
NORTH SEA
MUSCOVY
SIBERIA
MUSCOVITE TARTARY
GREAT TARTARY
INDEPENDENT TARTARY
CASPIAN SEA or CHELUCKLAM
EUXINE SEA
POLAND
EUROPE
TURKY in EUROPE
PERSIA
ASIA
TIBET
MOGUL EMPIRE
INDIA
CATHAY
EASTERN SEA
ARABIA
ARABIA FELIX
GULF of BENGALA
INDIAN SEA
BARBARY
Tropic of Cancer
BORNO
NEGROLAND
GORHAN
AFRICA
BIAFARA
UPPER GUINEA
LOWER GUINEA
ZANGUEBAR
MADAGASCAR
BORNEO
Tropic of Capricorn

SECTION XXI.

The curious and remarkable Voyages and Travels of Marco Polo, *a Gentleman of* Venice, *who in the Middle of the XIIIth Century, paſſed through a great Part of* Aſia, *all the Dominions of the* Tartars, *and returned home by Sea through the Iſlands of the* Eaſt-Indies.

Taken chiefly from the accurate Edition of *Ramuſio*, compared with an original Manuſcript in his *Pruſſian* Majeſty's Library, and with moſt of the Tranſlations hitherto publiſhed.

1. *A ſuccinct Introduction to this Work.* 2. *An Account of the Author from* Ramuſio, *and other Writers.* 3. *The ſeveral Editions and principal Tranſlations that have been publiſhed of theſe Travels.* 4. *An Account of the Objections that have been raiſed againſt them.* 5. *The Characters given of this Performance by ſeveral eminent Criticks.* 6. *The Author's introductory Account, containing an Abridgment of his Travels to the Time of his Return to* Venice. 7. *A Deſcription of* Armenia the Leſſer, *of the Country of the* Turks, *of* Armenia the Greater, *of the Province of* Zorzania, *the Kingdom of* Moſul, *of the City of* Baldach, *or* Bagdat, *of the City of* Tauris, *with an Account of a remarkable Earthquake.* 8. *Of the Country of* Perſia, *the City of* Jaſdi, *the City of* Cermam, *of the Town of* Camandu, *and of the Country where Rhubarb grows.* 9. *Of ſeveral other Countries, and the principal Curioſities in them.* 10. *The Hiſtory of the Aſſaſſins, and of the Manner in which their Prince was killed, together with the Deſcription of many other Countries.* 11. *Of the City of* Samarcand, *the Town of* Lop, *and of the great Deſart in its Neighbourhood, with other remarkable Paſſages.* 12. *Of the Province of* Camul, *and ſeveral other Countries to the City of* Ezina, *and another great Deſart.* 13. *Of the City of* Caracarum, *and of the* Tartars, *with a compleat Hiſtory of that Nation, and of their Monarchs.* 14. *Of the vaſt Countries to the Northward of* Tartary, *and many other curious Particulars.* 15. *Of the great Power of* Cublai Khan, *of his Government, Family, Dominions,* &c. 16. *Of his Palace in the City of* Cambalu, *a particular Deſcription of that City, and other remarkable Obſervations.* 17. *Of the Magnificence of the Court of the Grand Khan, and of the Manners and Cuſtoms of his Subjects.* 18. *A copious Account of the Countries between the Place of his Reſidence, and the Country of* Thibet. 19. *A large Deſcription of the laſt mentioned Province, and of many others, with an Account of the Obſervations made by the Author in his Progreſs through them.* 20. *Of the Province of* Mangi, *and of the Manner in which it was reduced under the Power of the* Tartars, *together with an Account of the Provinces and Cities, afterwards reduced under their Dominion.* 21. *Of the noble City of* Quinſai, *and of the vaſt Revenues drawn from thence by the Emperor of the* Tartars. 22. *Of the Iſland of* Zipangri, *and of the Attempts made by the* Tartars *to conquer it, and their Miſcarriage in them.* 23. *A large Account of various Countries, Provinces, Cities and Iſlands in the* Eaſt-Indies. 24. *Of the great Iſland of* Ceylon, *of the Kingdom of* Malabar, *and the State of other Countries viſited by the Author.* 25. *Of the Kingdom of* Murfili, *the Diamond Mines there, and other Countries adjacent.* 26. *Of the Iſland of* Madagaſcar, *the Country of* Ethiopia, *and other Parts of* Africa. 27. *Of the Province of* Aden, *and of ſeveral Countries reputed to be inacceſſible.* 28. *Many obſcure Paſſages in this Performance explained.* 29. *Remarks and Obſervations.*

1. IT is with ancient Writers, as with ancient Coins, ſuch as underſtand them value them above meaſure, while ſuch as will not be at ſufficient Pains to examine them, not only deſpiſe them, but alſo ſuch as admire them. Thus none are more governed by Prejudice than thoſe who declaim againſt it, and none greater Bigots than ſuch as are attached to their own Opinions, from a Notion that they think freely. Yet this Zeal for Freedom of Thought ought to be amended rather than diſcouraged, as being in itſelf commendable, though ſometimes dangerous, by being miſapplied. It may, and to ſay the Truth, to many it does ſeem a tedious and diſagreeable Labour to look ſo far back as the firſt Springs and Dawnings of Knowledge, yet, however they may colour this with Pretences to refined Taſte, it is in fact no better than an Excuſe for Idleneſs, and a Diſlike to the taking that Pains which is requiſite to ſucceed in ſuch Enquiries.

The Travels of *Marco Polo* are indeed very old, and are come into our Hands with conſiderable Defects, but they are very valuable for all that, and very well worthy of our Attention. He was the *Columbus* of the *Eaſt-Indies*, the firſt that gave a certain and diſtinct Account of the Sea beyond *China*, and of the free Paſſage thereby through all the Iſlands of the *Eaſt-Indies*, back into thoſe Countries that were very well known. It is true, that a great Part of what he related, though delivered with much Solemnity, and confirmed by the ſtrongeſt Aſſeverations, was much called in Queſtion, and thought in ſome meaſure beyond all Belief. But ſubſequent Diſcoveries have baniſhed this Incredulity, and what were once eſteemed Fables have been ſince found true Relations; and the Diſcourſes of *Marco Polo*, that were rejected by the ſupercilious Wits of his own time have been raked out of the Duſt of old Libraries, decyphered in a manner from the barbarous *Latin* of monkiſh Tranſlators, and brought into the Form we now have them by the indefatigable Pains of the learned *Ramuſio*.

A Man whoſe Countenance alone might be ſufficient to give Credit to this, or any other Work, though from the Notes we have added, it will appear that there are intrinſick Marks of its Value in the Performance itſelf: Yet we owe to *Ramuſio* the being able to diſcover theſe, and therefore to him we willingly aſcribe all the Glory that reſults from the Vindication of this curious Piece, and the Honour of its illuſtrious Author. To the ſame excellent Perſon is due the Account we have received of ſeveral Particulars relating to the perſonal Hiſtory of *Marco Polo* and his Family, of which in as few Words as poſſible we ſhall give the Reader a Relation; which, though not abſolutely neceſſary, to the underſtanding the Book, will be found uſeful and entertaining.

2. Signior *Nicolo Polo*, the Father of our Author, and his Brother Signior *Maffio*, began their Travels from *Conſtantinople* in the Year 1250, and having proceeded to the Court of the Grand Khan of *Tartary*, reſided there for many Years, and returned, as the Reader will ſee, to *Venice*, about the Year 1269, where they found the Wife of Signior *Nicolo* deceaſed, and her Son, of whom ſhe was left big at the Time of their Departure, a well accompliſhed Youth, of nineteen Years of Age. Him they carried back with them to the Court of the Khan, and after having ſpent

twenty-ſix Years more without any News being heard of them by their Friends at *Venice*, returned ſafely thither in the Year 1295. On their Arrival at their own Houſe in *St. John Chryſiſtom*'s Street, they found themſelves in a ſtrange Situation, being not only worn entirly out of the Memory of their Family and Acquaintance, but having loſt in a manner the very Tokens of their Country, being become *Tartars* in their Speech as well as their Habit, and therefore under a Neceſſity of taking ſome extraordinary Steps to recover the Reſpect and Reverence due to them, by convincing the World that they were really noble *Venetians*, and the individual Perſons who had been ſo long loſt to their Country and Friends.

It was with this View that they gave a magnificent Entertainment to their Relations, at which they all three came forth in rich Suits of Crimſon-ſatin, of which, when the Gueſts were ſeated, they ſtripped themſelves, and gave them to the Servants; appearing next in Crimſon-damaſk, theſe alſo they put off at the laſt Service, and beſtowed likewiſe on the Servants, being then dreſſed in Crimſon-velvet. When Dinner was over, and all who waited withdrawn, *Marco Polo* brought out their Coats of *Tartarian* Cloth or Felt, and out of their Foldings produced an incredible Quantity of rich Jewels, among which there were ſome well known to thoſe preſent, and which indiſputably proved theſe Strangers of the *Polo* Family. Seignior *Mathio Polo* became a worthy Magiſtrate of *Venice*, and lived and died in Peace.

As for our Author Signior *Marco*, a few Months after his Return, the *Genoeſe* Admiral *Lampa Doria* coming with a Fleet of ſeventy Gallies to the Iſland of *Curzola*, they fitted out from *Venice*, under the Command of *Andrea Dandolo*, a great naval Force, in which he had the Command of a Galley, and was ſo unlucky as to be taken Priſoner and carried to *Genoa*, where he remained in ſpight of all the Offers that were made for his Ranſom ſeveral Years; ſo that his Father deſpairing of his Return, and deſirous that his own Offspring might inherit his Riches, married a ſecond Time, and had three Children. In the Time of this Impriſonment all the young Nobility of *Genoa* reſorted to our *Marco* to hear the Recital of his Voyages and Adventures, which gave them ſo great Satisfaction, that one of them prevailed upon him to ſend for his Notes from *Venice*; and when thus aſſiſted, wrote from his own Mouth the following Hiſtory in *Latin*; from whence it was tranſlated into *Italian*; and this *Italian* was again tranſlated into *Latin*, and abridged; whence grew that prodigious Corruption ſo juſtly complained of in the firſt printed Copies. This Work of *Marco*'s was ſupported by the Teſtimony of his Father, and by that of his Uncle on his Death-bed. At laſt *Marco* himſelf obtained his Liberty, returned to *Venice*, married, and had two Daughters, *Moretta* and *Fautina*, but had no male Iſſue. He died as he lived, beloved and admired by all who knew or converſed with him; for with the Advantages of Birth and Fortune he was humble, and made no other Uſe of his great Intereſt in the State than to do good.

3. We have already ſhewn, that this Work was originally written in *Latin*, and if not by the Author's Hand, at leaſt from his Mouth; but after the *Italian* Verſion that was made of it, the Copies of the *Latin* Manuſcript became extremely rare, inſomuch that the *Italian* Tranſlation was taken for the Original. One *Francis Pepin* a Monk, tranſlated it into *Latin*, and abridged it at the Command of his Superiors; and it is a Copy of this Manuſcript that is in the Library of the King of *Pruſſia*. It was printed at *Baſil* by the Care of the celebrated *Reinecius*, and afterwards in other Places. It was from one of theſe Copies that it was tranſlated by *Hakluit*, of which *Purchas* ſo heavily, and, at the ſame Time, ſo juſtly complains. *Ramuſio* took a great deal of Pains, as well in reſtoring the Senſe and the Text of our Author, as in juſtifying his Character, and ſupporting the Credit of his Work by his learned Diſcourſes. He was aſſiſted therein by a Copy of the original *Latin* Manuſcript, which was lent him by his Friend Seignior *Chiſi*, without which it had been impoſſible for him to have brought it into ſo good Order as we now ſee it.

There has been, beſides the Tranſlations already mentioned, at leaſt two in the *German* Language. It was printed in *Portugueſe* at *Liſbon* in 1502, and it has been ſeveral Times tranſlated into *Dutch*. I have been the more particular in the Account of theſe Additions and Tranſlations, becauſe they differ very much from each other; ſo that the only Way to come at a compleat View of the Author, is by collecting and comparing theſe, a Work of infinite Pains and Labour, in which however we have the Aſſiſtance of *Andrew Muller* a learned *German* Critick, and of *Peter Bergeron* a Frenchman, who, next to *Ramuſio*, was, of all others, the moſt capable of ſuch an Undertaking, and has ſucceeded in it the beſt.

There was, however, one Thing wanting, which was the juſtifying the Dates, verifying the Facts, and explaining the obſcure Names of Places which occur in theſe Travels; and this we have done, to the beſt of our Ability, in this Tranſlation, ſo that the Reader may be ſatisfied that he has the Work of this ancient Writer as entire, and in as good Condition as it was in our Power to give it him.

4. There have been abundance of Objections raiſed againſt the Credit and Authority of this Writer, many of which, as they were founded on the Errors of Tranſcribers and Tranſlators, are taken away by reſtoring our Author's genuine Senſe; and therefore we need not mention them particularly; but there are others which deſerve more Regard. It is ſaid, that our Author mentioned ſome Countries and many Places that were never heard of before or ſince. A ſhrewd Objection this, inaſmuch as it ſeems to repreſent all the Pains that has been taken about his Writings, as entirely thrown away. In anſwer to this, we muſt obſerve, that he wrote according to the Lights he received, and thoſe Lights were chiefly from the *Tartars*; whence it might very well happen that the Names of Places mentioned by him ſhould appear ſtrange and uncouth in this Part of the World. But it ſo happens, that we have ſince received ſuch Helps as enable us to get pretty well clear of this Difficulty; for though we have retained in the Text the Names uſed by our Author, yet we have afforded, from the Aſſiſtance given us by oriental Writers, ſuch Explanations as remove, in every reſpect, theſe geographical Obſcurities, ſo as to leave no ſort of Doubt either as to the Capacity, or the Veracity of *Marco Polo*.

Another Charge againſt him is, that he does not agree with other Writers, or rather that other Writers do not agree with him; but when examined to the Bottom, this Charge will not be found to have any great Weight, as having chiefly ariſen from the Miſtakes made as to the true Senſe of what this Writer delivered; ſo that very often, what was imputed as Ignorance to him, was, in Fact, no more than Temerity in thoſe who pretended to find fault with them. The laſt, and indeed the greateſt Objection is, that he has related many Things that are abſurd, ſome that are incredible, and not a few that are impoſſible. Againſt this Charge we cannot pretend to vindicate him, though much may be ſaid to excuſe him. The Facts he tells us of his own Knowledge, are ſurpriſingly verified by authentick and indiſputable Evidence; and grant that he might be impoſed upon in what he gives us on the Authority of others, we muſt be content, the rather becauſe it is our Happineſs to live in an Age when Men are leſs liable to be cheated and miſled; therefore this ought to make us the more ready to bear with Failings in one who wanted this Advantage, who lived in a Time of Darkneſs and Obſcurity, when Credulity paſſed for Faith, and when conſequently Errors of this ſort were rather a Man's Miſfortune than his Fault.

5. In ſpite however of all theſe Charges, there have been ſome great Men in all Ages, who have done Juſtice to our Author's Merit. Among theſe we may reckon the famous *Voſſius*, in his Account of the *Latin* Hiſtorians, the great Geographer *Sebaſtian Munſter*, the learned Naturaliſt *Conrad Geſner*, the accurate Hiſtorian *Leunclavius*, the celebrated *Joſeph Scaliger*, and many others. The learned *German* Critick, *William Schickard*, in his Hiſtory of the Kings of *Perſia*, gives our Author this Character; "*Marco Polo*, the *Venetian*, ſays he, is a very "good Writer, and thoſe Things which he reports, and "were heretofore thought incredible, are now verified "daily by later Diſcoveries." But of all who have undertaken the Cauſe of our Author, none has done it with greater Capacity, with more Good-will, or better Succeſs

than Father *Martini*, to whom we owe the beſt Deſcription of *China*, and who was conſequently a better Judge than any other of the Merit or Demerit of this Work. He aſſures us, that there is not the leaſt Reaſon to doubt the Truth of our Author's Relations on Account of the Obſcurity of the Names of Places; for, ſays he, he wrote them after the *Tartar* Pronunciation, whereas later Writers ſtudy to imitate as well as they are able the Pronunciation of the *Chineſe*.

I will add to theſe but one Teſtimony more, which is that of an Author, very able to have detected him, if he had caught him in Untruths, and who was far enough from being tender of Mens Reputations if he thought them to blame. The Author I mean is *Athanaſius Kircher*, who in his Account of *China*, confeſſes, that none of the old Authors have more fully, or more accurately deſcribed the remoteſt Countries of the Eaſt, than *Marco Polo* has done; yet he readily admits, that there are many things in him ſo very dark, that they may be in a manner ſtiled inexplicable; but then with great good Senſe and Candour, he attributes this to the Author's want of Skill in Geography and Aſtronomy; and if we conſider how young he was, when his Father carried him into *Tartary*, and how little Opportunity he had of acquiring that ſort of Knowledge that was moſt neceſſary for preventing thoſe Miſtakes, we may eaſily concur in Opinion with ſo many eminent and learned Writers, that in Conſideration of the many curious and uſeful Paſſages in his Writings, theſe Blemiſhes, eſpecially as they were in a manner unavoidable, may very well be forgiven. After having thus cleared the Way, we will no longer detain the Reader from the Peruſal of theſe Travels, which their Author has thus digeſted. He firſt gives a ſuccinct Account of his Father's and Uncle's Peregrinations, and then of his own; after which, he enters into a more particular Deſcription of the Countries and Places thro' which they paſſed, and relates alſo ſuch remarkable things as he was informed of in the Courſe of his Voyages.

6. At the Time that *Baldwin* was Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, in the Year of our Lord 1250, two Gentlemen of the moſt illuſtrious Family of *Paolo* or *Polo*, at *Venice*, embark'd on board a Veſſel freighted with various kinds of Merchandize, on their own Account; and having travers'd the *Mediterranean*, and the *Boſphorus*, they came with a fair Wind, and the Bleſſing of God, to *Conſtantinople*. There they continued for ſome Time, to repoſe themſelves, and then croſſing the *Pontus Euxinus*, arriv'd at a certain Port call'd *Soldadia*, from whence they went to the Court of a great *Tartar* Prince call'd *Barba*, to whom they ſhew'd the fine Jewels they had brought, and preſented him with ſome of the moſt valuable. That Monarch was far from being ungrateful; he kindly accepted their Preſents, and in return, gave them others of greater Value. They remain'd a full Year at his Court, and then diſpos'd all things for their Return to *Venice*. But before they had an Oppportunity of departing, there broke out a War between this Prince *Barba* and another *Tartar* King, whoſe Name was *Alan*; and this Diſpute being decided by a Battle, the Army of *Barba* was defeated. This unlucky Accident exceedingly embarraſs'd the *Venetians*, who knew not what Meaſures to take, or how to get ſafely back into their own Country. At length, however, they took a Reſolution of eſcaping, as well as they could, out of the Country where they were, and by ſeveral By-roads eſcap'd to a City call'd *Guthacam*, ſeated on the River *Tygris*. They continued their Journey from hence, thro' a great Deſart, where there were neither Inhabitants nor Villages, till at laſt they arriv'd at *Bochara*, a conſiderable City in the Confines of *Perſia*. It was at the Time of their Arrival, the Reſidence of a Prince call'd *Barach*, in whoſe Court, meeting with a good Reception, and not knowing how otherwiſe to diſpoſe of themſelves, they remained three Years. At that Time, a certain Perſon of Diſtinction was ſent Embaſſador from the ſaid Prince *Alan* to the great *Khan*, who is the ſuperior Monarch of all the *Tartars*, reſiding in the remoteſt Countries of the Earth, betwixt the North-Eaſt and the Eaſt, called *Cublai*, *Khan* who coming to *Bocara*, and finding there theſe two Brethren, who were now well verſed in the *Tartarian* Language, he rejoiced exceedingly, and perſuaded theſe Men to go with him to the great Emperor of the *Tartars*, knowing that he ſhould gratify him in this, and that they alſo ſhould be entertained with great Honour, and rewarded with large Gifts, eſpecially ſeeing, through the Conference had with them, he perceived their pleaſing Behaviour. Theſe Men therefore, conſidering that they could not eaſily return home without Danger, conſulting together, agreed to go with the ſaid Embaſſador, and accompany him to the Emperor of the *Tartars*, having certain other Chriſtians in their Company, whom they brought with them from *Venice*, and departing towards the North-Eaſt and the North, were a whole Year in going to the ſaid Court of the ſaid King.

The Cauſe of their long Time ſpent in this Journey, was the Snows and Waters being much increaſed, ſo that they were forced in their Travel to ſtay the waſting of the Snow, and decreaſing of the Floods. Being therefore brought before the Preſence of the great *Khan*, they were moſt courteouſly received by him. He queſtioned them concerning many things; as of the Countries of the Weſt, the Roman Emperor, and other Kings and Princes, how they carried themſelves in Government, and in warlike Affairs; how Peace, Juſtice and Concord, continued among them; alſo what Manner of Life and Cuſtoms were obſerved among the *Latins*, and eſpecially of the Pope, of the Chriſtians, of the Church, and of the Religion of the Chriſtian Faith; and M. *Nicholo*, and M. *Maffeo*, as wiſe Men, told him the Truth, always ſpeaking well to him, and orderly, in the *Tartarian* Tongue; inſomuch that he often commanded they ſhould be brought to his Preſence, and they were very acceptable in his Sight; having well underſtood the Affairs of the *Latins*, and reſting ſatisfied with their Anſwers.

The great *Khan* intending to ſend them his Embaſſadors to the Pope, firſt conſulted with his great Lords, and then calling to him the two Brethren, deſired them to go to the Pope of the *Romans*, with one of his Barons called *Chogatal*, to pray him to ſend an hundred Men learned in the Chriſtian Religion unto him, who might ſhew his wiſe Men, that the Faith of the Chriſtians was to be preferred before all other Sects, and was the only Way of Salutation, and that the Gods of the *Tartars* were Devils, and that they, and others, the People of the Eaſt, were deceived in the Worſhip of their Gods. He gave them alſo in Charge, to bring in their return from *Jeruſalem*, of the Oil of the Lamp which burneth before the Sepulchre of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, towards whom he had great Devotion, and held him to be the true God; they therefore yielding due Reverence to the great *Khan*, promiſed that they would faithfully execute the Charge committed unto them, and preſent the Letters which they received from him, written in the *Tartarian* Tongue, according to his Command unto the Biſhop of *Rome*.

He, according to the Cuſtom of the Kingdom, commanded a golden Tablet to be given them, engraven and ſigned with the King's Mark, carrying which with them, throughout his whole Empire, inſtead of a Paſſport, they might be every where ſafely conveyed through dangerous Places, by the Governors of Provinces and Cities, and receive their Expences from them; and laſtly, how long ſoever they would ſtay in any Place, whatſoever they needed, for them or theirs, ſhould be furniſhed them. Taking their Leave therefore of the Emperor, they took their Journey, carrying the Letters and golden Tablet with them; and when they had rid twenty Days Journey, the Lord who was aſſociated with them, began to fall grievouſly ſick; whereupon conſulting, and leaving him there they proſecuted their intended Journey, being every where courteouſly received, by reaſon of the Emperor's Tables, yet in many Places they were compelled to ſtay, occaſioned by the over-flowing of the Rivers, ſo that they ſpent three Years before they came unto the Port of the Country of the *Armenians*, named *Giazza*; from *Giazza* they went to *Acre*, about the Year of our Lord 1269, in the Month of *April*.

But having entred into the City of *Acre*, they heard that Pope *Clement* the Fourth was lately dead, and that no other was ſubſtituted in his Place, for which they were not a little grieved. At that Time there was a certain Legate of the apoſtolic See at *Acre, viz.* Maſter *Tibaldo Viſconti di Piacenza*, to whom they declared all they had in Commiſſion from the great *Khan*, and he adviſed them to expect the Creation of a new Pope: In the mean Space therefore departing to *Venice* to viſit their Friends, Maſter *Nicolo* found that his Wife was dead, whom at his Departure he had left with Child, but had left a Son named *Marco*, who was now nineteen Years of Age. This is that *Marco* who compoſed this Book, who will manifeſt therein all thoſe things that he hath ſeen. The Election of the Pope of *Rome* was deferred two Years. They fearing the Diſcontent of the Emperor of the *Tartars*, who expected their Return, went back again to *Acre*, to the Legate, carrying with them *Marco* aforeſaid, and having gone to *Jeruſalem*, and fetched the Oil with the Legate's Letters, teſtifying their Fidelity to the Great *Khan*, and that a Pope was not yet choſen, they went again towards *Giazza*.

In the mean Time, Meſſengers came from the Cardinals to the Legate, declaring to him that he was choſen Pope, and he called himſelf *Gregory*. Hearing this, he preſently ſent Meſſengers to call back the *Venetians*, and admoniſhing them not to depart, prepared other Letters for them, which they ſhould preſent to the Great *Khan* of the *Tartars*, with whom he alſo joined two preaching Friars, Men famous for their honeſt Converſation and Learning. The one was called Friar *Nicolo Davicenza*, the other Friar *Guielmo de Tripoli*: To theſe he gave Letters and Priviledges, and Authority to ordain Prieſts and Biſhops, and of Abſolution in all Caſes, as if himſelf were preſent, with Preſents alſo of great Value, to preſent the great *Khan*, together with his Benediction. They came to *Giazza*, a Sea-Port in *Armenia*, and becauſe *Bentiochdas* and the Sultan of *Babylon*, leading a great Army, then invaded the *Armenians*, the two Friars above-mentioned began to be afraid of themſelves, and delivering the Letters and Preſents to Seigniors *Nicolo*, *Maffo*, and *Marco*, deſiring to avoid the Danger of the Ways and Peril of Wars, remained with the Maſter of the Temple, and returned with him.

But the three *Venetians* expoſing themſelves to all Danger, with many Labours, and much Difficulty, travelled many Days always towards the North-Eaſt and North, till they, after three Years and a half, came to the Emperor of the *Tartar*'s great City of *Clemeniſu*; for in the Winter Time their Journey had often long Hindrances by reaſon of the Snow, and extreme Cold, with Inundations of Waters. However, King *Cublai* hearing of their coming, though they were yet very far off, ſent Meſſengers forty Days Journey to meet them, who ſhould conduct them, and furniſh all Neceſſaries for their Journey. Going therefore to the King's Court, and being brought to his Preſence, they fell down before him on their Faces, yielding the accuſtomed Reverence, of whom being courteouſly received, they were ordered to riſe, and he commanded them to declare how they paſſed the many Dangers of the Ways, and what they had treated with the Biſhop of *Rome*; then they related it diſtinctly and at large, and gave the Emperor the Pope's Letters and Preſents, which they brought; at which the Khan wonderfully rejoicing, commended their faithful Cares. The Oil alſo brought from the Lord's Sepulchre, and offered unto him, he reverently received, commanded it ſhould be honourably preſerved, and aſking of *Marco*, who he was? Maſter *Nicolo* anſwered, that he was his Majeſty's Servant, and his Son; he entertained him with a friendly Countenance, and taught him to write among other his honourable Courtiers; whereupon he was much eſteemed of all the Court, and in a little Space learned the Cuſtoms of all the *Tartars*, and four different Languages, being able to write and read them all.

The Great Khan, to make his Wiſdom more apparent, committed an Ambaſſage unto him to be performed in a City called *Caracham*, unto which he could ſcarcely travel in ſix Months Space; but he carrying himſelf wiſely in all things, diſcharged what he had in Commiſſion with the Commendation and Favour of the Prince, and knowing the Emperor would be delighted with Novelties in the Places which he paſſed through, he diligently ſearched the Cuſtoms and Manners of Men, and the Conditions of the Countries, making a Memorial of all that he knew and ſaw to divert the Great Khan; and in ſix and twenty Years, which he continued one of his Court, he was ſo acceptable to him, that he was continually ſent through all his Realms and Seigniories for the Affairs of the Great Khan, and ſometimes for his own, but by the Khan's Order; and this is the true Reaſon that the ſaid Maſter *Marco* learned and ſaw ſo many Particulars relating to the Eaſt, which follow in order in theſe Memoirs; but theſe *Venetians* having ſtayed in that Court many Years, and grown very rich in Jewels of great Value, were inſpired with Deſire to viſit their Country, fearing, that if the Khan (now old) ſhould die, they ſhould not be able to return. One Day Maſter *Nicolo*, ſeeing the Khan merry, craved Licenſe to depart in the Name of all the three; whereat he was moved, and aſked, why they would put themſelves on ſo dangerous a Journey, and if they wanted Riches, he would give them twice as much as they had, and out of pure Affection would not permit their Departure.

Yet not long after it happened, that a King of the *Indians*, named *Argon*, ſent three of his Counſellors unto the Court of the Great *Cublai*, whoſe Names were *Ulatai*, *Apuſea*, and *Coza*, to treat with him, that he would deliver him a Wife; for his Wife, named *Bolgana*, being lately dead, begged this Favour of the King at the Point of Death, and left in her Will, that he ſhould not marry a Wife of another Family than her own, which was of *Cathay*. King *Cublai* therefore yielding to his Requeſt, cauſed to be ſought out for them a fair young Maiden of ſeventeen Years of Age, named *Cogalin*, deſcended of the former Queen's Family, to be the Wife of *Argon*. Thoſe Embaſſadors departing, rode eight Months the ſame Way they came, but found bloody Wars among the *Tartars*, that they were conſtrained to return, and acquaint the great Khan with their Proceedings. In the mean time Maſter *Marco* had returned from thoſe Parts of *India*, where he had been employed with certain Ships, and declared to the Khan the Singularities of the Places, and the Security of thoſe Seas, which reaching the Ears of the Embaſſadors, they conferred with the *Venetians*, and agreed, that they with the Queen ſhould go to the Great Khan, and deſire Leave to return by Sea, and to have the three *Latins*, Men ſkilful in Sea Affairs, with them, to the Country of King *Argon*. The Great Khan was much diſpleaſed with their Requeſt, yet upon their Petition granted it, and cauſed *Nicolo*, *Maffio*, and *Marco* to come into his Preſence, and after much Demonſtration of his Love would have them promiſe to return to him after they had ſpent ſome time in Chriſtendom, and in their own Houſe; and he cauſed to be given them a Tablet of Gold, in which was written his Command for their Liberty and Security through all his Dominions, and that Expences ſhould be given them and theirs, and a Guide or Convoy for ſafe Paſſage, ordering alſo that they ſhould be his Embaſſadors to the Pope, the King of *France* and *Spain*, and other Chriſtian Princes.

He cauſed fourteen Ships to be prepared, each having four Maſts, and able to bear nine Sails in ſailing, the Form of which is too long to be here related; four or five of them had from two hundred and fifty to two hundred and ſixty Mariners in each of them. In theſe Ships the Embaſſadors, the Queen, with *Nicolo*, *Maffio*, and *Marco*, ſet ſail, having firſt taken Leave of the Great Khan, who gave them many Rubies, and other Precious Stones, and their Expences for two Years. After three Months they came unto a certain Iſland called *Java*, and from thence ſailing through the *Indian* Sea, after eighteen Months they came into the Country of King *Argon*: Six hundred Men of the Mariners, and others, and but one of the Women died in the Journey; but only *Coza* of the three Embaſſadors ſurvived. When they came to the Country of King *Argon*, they found that he was dead, and that one *Chiacato* governed the Kingdom for his Son, who was under Age; they ſent to acquaint him with their Buſineſs, who anſwered, that they ſhould give her to *Caſan* the King's Son, then in the Parts of *Arbor Secco*, in the Confines of *Perſia*, with ſixty thouſand Perſons for the Guard of certain Paſſages againſt the Enemy. Having done ſo, *Nicolo*, *Maffio*, and *Marco*, returned to *Chiacato*, and ſtaid there nine Months.

After this, taking Leave, *Chiacato* gave them four Tables of Gold, each a Cubit long, and five Fingers broad, of the Weight of three or four Marks, in which were written, that in the Power of the eternal God the Name of the Great Khan ſhould be honoured and praiſed many Years, and every one who ſhould not obey ſhould be put to Death, and his Goods confiſcated. In them were further contained, that theſe three Embaſſadors ſhould be honoured, and Service done them in all Lands and Countries as to his own Perſon, and that Horſes, Convoys, Expences and Neceſſaries, ſhould be given them; all which was ſo duly put in Execution, that ſometimes they had two hundred Horſes for their Safe-guard. In this their Travel, they heard that the Great Khan was dead, which took from them all Deſire of returning thither.

They rode till they came to *Trebizond*, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*, and after to *Negropont*, and at laſt came with great Riches ſafe to *Venice*, A.D. 1295.

Here ends the Hiſtorical Introduction of our Author, which ſhews us how he came to be qualified for writing the following Deſcription of the remoteſt Countries in the Eaſt. The Reader will naturally obſerve, that our Author wrote under very particular Circumſtances, as having no other Knowledge than what he acquired amongſt the *Tartars*, and therefore though the harſh and uncouth Names that occur in the ſubſequent Relation of his Travels may both diſfigure and perplex them, yet they very plainly prove the Sincerity and Authority of our Author's Writings, ſince taking Things as he has ſtated them, it was ſimply impoſſible that he ſhould have written them any otherwiſe than as they ſtand; for it was his hard Lot to travel with the *Tartars*, and to pen the Hiſtory of his Travels in a Priſon, ſo that their Imperfections ought not to be aſcribed to the Man, but to his Circumſtances.

7. There are two *Armenia's*, the *Greater* and the *Leſs*. In the *Leſſer Armenia* the King reſides, in a City called *Sebaſte*, and in all his Country is obſerved Juſtice and good Government. The Kingdom itſelf hath many Cities, Fortreſſes, and Caſtles; the Soil alſo is fertile, and the Country abounds with every thing neceſſary, nor is there any want of Game, or Wild-Fowl; the Air indeed is not very good. The Gentlemen of *Armenia*, in times paſt, were ſtout Men, and good Soldiers, but are become now effeminate and nice, give themſelves up to Drunkenneſs and Riot. There is a certain City in this Kingdom ſeated near the Sea, which is called *Giazza*, having an excellent Haven, whither Merchants reſort from divers Countries, and even from *Venice* and *Genoa*, on account of ſeveral ſorts of Merchandize brought thither, eſpecially Spices of ſundry kinds, and abundance of other valuable Goods brought thither out of the Eaſt Countries; for this Place is, as it were, the ſettled Mart of all the Eaſt[a].

In *Turcomania* are three ſorts of Nations, *viz.* the *Turcomans*, or *Turkmen*, who obſerve the Law of *Mohammed*: They are Men illiterate, rude, and ſavage, inhabiting the Mountains, and inacceſſible Places, where they can find Paſtures; for they live only by their Cattle. There are good Horſes in this Country, which are called *Turkiſh* Horſes: Mules are alſo in that Country of great Eſtimation. The other Nations are *Grecians* and *Armenians*, who poſſeſs the Cities and Towns, and beſtow their Labour on Merchandize and Arts. They make the beſt Carpets in the World, and they have many Cities, the chief whereof are *Cogno*, or *Iconium*, *Cæſarea*, and *Sebaſte*, where St. *Baſil* ſuffered Martyrdom for Chriſt, and they acknowledged one of the Khans, Kings of the *Tartars* for their Lord.

Armenia the Greater, which is a very large Province tributary to the *Tartars*, and hath many Cities and Towns, the chief City whereof is called *Arzugia*, and the beſt Buckram in the World is made there, moſt wholeſome hot Waters alſo ſpring there for the waſhing and curing of Mens Bodies, and the other more famous Cities next to the Metropolis are *Argiron* and *Darziz*. In the Summer Time many *Tartars* reſort there, with their Flocks and Herds drawn thither by the Fatneſs of their Paſtures; and again in the Winter depart for a certain Time by reaſon of the abundance of Snow. The Ark of *Noah* remained in the Mountains of this *Armenia*.

This Country hath the Province of *Moſull* and *Meridin* bordering on the Eaſt; but on the North is *Zorzaina*, in the Confines of which a Fountain is found, from which a Liquor like Oil flows, and though unprofitable for the ſeaſoning of Meat, yet is very fit for the ſupplying of Lamps, and to anoint other things; and this natural Oil flows conſtantly, and that in Plenty enough to lade Camels. In *Zorzania* is a King called *David Melic*, or King *David*; one Part of the Province is ſubject unto him, the other pays Tribute to a Khan of the *Tartars*; the Woods there are of Box-trees. The Country extends to the two Seas, *Marmaggiore*, or the *Euxine*, and that of *Baccu*, or the *Caſpian*, which containeth in Circuit 2800 Miles, and is like a Lake, having no Communication with other Seas. In it are many Iſlands, Cities, and Caſtles, ſome of which are inhabited by thoſe that fled from the *Tartars* out of *Perſia*[b].

The People of *Zorzania* are Chriſtians, obſerving the ſame Rites with other Chriſtians. They keep their Hair ſhort like the Weſtern Clergy; the Inhabitants have many Cities, and their Country abounds with Silk, of which they make very fine Manufactures. *Moxul* is a Province in which there are many ſorts of People, ſome called *Arabi*, are *Mohammedans*, others are *Chriſtians*, ſome *Neſtorians*, others *Jacobites*, and others *Armenians*; and they have a Patriarch called *Jacolet*, who ordains Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Abbots, and ſends them through all Parts of *India*, and to *Cairo* and *Baldach*, or *Bagdat*, and where-ever *Chriſtians* dwell, as is done by the Pope of *Rome*; and all the Stuffs of Gold and Silk called Muſleims are wrought in *Moxul*.

But in the Mountains of this Kingdom dwell the People called *Curdi*, of whom ſome are *Neſtorians*, others *Jacobites*, and ſome Followers of *Mohammed*; they are wicked Men, and rob Merchants. Near to them is another Province called *Mus*, or *Meridin*, wherein grows great Quantities of Cotton, whereof they make Buckrams, and other Works; they are ſubject to the *Tartars*. *Baldach*, or *Bagdat*, is a great City, in which reſided the Great Khaliff, that is, the Pope of all the *Saracens*; a River runs through it, from whence to the Sea is accounted ſeventeen Days Journey. They ſail by a City called *Chiſi*; but before they reach the Sea they come to *Balſora*, about which grow the beſt Dates in the World. In *Baldach*, or *Bagdat*, are many Manufactures of Gold and Silk. There are wrought Damaſks and Velvets, with Figures of various Creatures: All the Pearls in Chriſtendom come from thence. In that City is an Univerſity, where is ſtudied the Law of *Mohammed*, Phyſick, Aſtronomy, and Geomancy. It is the chief City in thoſe Parts.

When the *Tartars* began to extend their Conqueſts, there were four Brethren, the eldeſt of which, *Mangu*, reigned in *Sedia*. Theſe purpoſing to ſubdue the World, went one to the Eaſt, another to the North, to the South a third, which was *Ulan*, and the other to the Weſt. In the Year of our Lord 1250, *Ulan* having a great Army of one hundred thouſand Horſe, beſides Foot, uſed Policy, and having hid a great Part of his Men, brought, by pretending Flight, the Khaliff into his Ambuſcade, and took him and the City, in which he found infinite Store of Treaſure, inſomuch that he was amazed. He ſent for the Khaliff and reproved him, that in that War he had not provided himſelf with Soldiers for Defence, and commanded that he ſhould be encloſed in that Tower where his Treaſure was without other Suſtenance[c].

This ſeemed a juſt Judgment from our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* on him; for in the Year 1225, ſeeking to convert the *Chriſtians* to the *Mohammedan* Religion, and taking Advantage from that Place of the Goſpel, *That he which*

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[a] There is nothing obſcure in this Deſcription of *Armenia the Leſs*, and I added this Note only to put the Reader in Mind, that our Author ſhews that a great Part of the Trade from *Europe* to the *Indies* was carried on this Way by the *Venetians* and *Genoeſe*.

[b] *Zorzania* is indeed a Name not to be met with in any other Author; but the Account given us by *Marco* is ſo clear and exact, that there can be no doubt about it.

[c] There is nothing gives ſo much Credit to our Author's Relation as theſe hiſtorical Facts, which are capable of being verified by other Authors. The Prince he mentions was *Halaku-Khan*, who was Brother to *Mangu-Khan*; he entered theſe Countries *A.D.* 1255, with an Army of *Tartars*, and in 1258, put an end to the Empire of the *Abbaſſidian* Khaliffs, by taking *Bagdat*, as our Author relates it.

hath Faith, as the Grain of Muſtard-ſeed, ſhall be able to remove Mountains. He ſummoned all the *Chriſtians, Neſtorians*, and *Jacobites*, and propounded to them in ten Days to remove a certain Mountain, or turn *Mohammedans*, or be ſlain, as not having one Man amongſt them which had the leaſt Faith. They therefore continued eight Days in Prayer; after which a certain Shoemaker, in conſequence of a Revelation made to a certain Biſhop, was fixed upon to perform it. This Shoemaker once tempted to Luſt by Sight of a young Woman, in putting on her Shoe, zealouſly had fulfilled that of the Goſpel, and literally had put out his right Eye. He now on the Day appointed with other Chriſtians followed the Croſs, and lifting his Hands to Heaven prayed to God to have Mercy on his People, and then with a loud Voice commanded the Mountain in the Name of the Holy Trinity to remove, which preſently, with great Terror to the Khaliff and all his People, was effected, and that Day is ſince kept holy by faſting alſo on the Evening before it.

8. *Tauris* is a great City in the Province of *Hircania*, and is a moſt populous Place. The Inhabitants live by the Exerciſe of Arts and Merchandize, they make Stuffs of Gold and Silk; foreign Merchants reſiding there make very great Gain, but the Inhabitants are generally poor. They are a mixed People of *Neſtorians, Armenians, Jacobites, Georgians, Perſians*, and *Mohammedans*: Theſe laſt are perfidious and treacherous, thinking all well gotten which they ſteal from Men of other Religions; and this Wickedneſs of the *Saracens* had converted many *Tartars* thereto. If the Chriſtians kill them in their Robbery, they are reputed Martyrs. From *Tauris* into *Perſia* are twelve Days Journey. In the Confines is the Monaſtery of Saint *Baraſam*, the Monks whereof are like *Carmelites*; they make Girdles which they lay on the Altar, and give to their Friends, who devoutly eſteem them. *Perſia* containeth eight Kingdoms, whereof the firſt is called *Caſbin*, the ſecond *Curdiſtan*, the third *Lor*, the fourth *Suſiſtan*, the fifth *Spahan*, the ſixth *Shiras*, the ſeventh *Soncara*, the eighth *Timochaim*, which is near *Arboreſecco* towards the North. They have fine Horſes here, whence they are ſold into *India*; there are alſo very excellent Aſſes ſold dearer than the Horſes, becauſe they eat little, carry much, and travel far. They have Camels, but not ſo ſwift. Theſe are neceſſary in thoſe Countries, which ſometimes for a long way yield no Graſs[d].

The People in thoſe Countries are very wicked, covetous, Thieves and Murderers, profeſſing the Faith of *Mohammed*. Merchants are every where ſlain by thoſe Thieves, unleſs they travel in Caravans. There are excellent Artificers in the Cities, who make wonderful things in Gold, Silk, and Embroidery. The Countries abound with Silkworms, Wheat, Barley, Millet, and other kinds of Corn, and Plenty of Wine and Fruits; and though their Law forbid Wine, yet they have a Gloſs to correct or corrupt the Text, that if they boil it, then it changeth the Taſte, and therefore the Name alſo of Wine, and may be drank. *Iaſdi* is a great City in the Confines of *Perſia*, where there is great Trade; it hath alſo many Manufactures in Silk. *Chiaman* is a Kingdom in the Confines of *Perſia*, to the Eaſt, ſubject to the *Tartars*. In Veins of the Mountains Stones are found commonly called Turquoiſes and other Jewels. There alſo are made all ſorts of Arms and Ammunition for War, and by the Women excellent Needleworks in Silks, with all ſorts of Creatures very admirably wrought therein. There are the beſt Falcons in the World, very ſwift of Flight, red breaſted, and under the Train leſs than thoſe of other Countries. Proceeding further, you go through a great Plain, and having ended eight Days Journey, you come to a certain Deſcent. In the Plain are many Caſtles and Towns, but in that ſteep Deſcent are many Trees, and thoſe fruitful, but no Habitation, except a few Shepherds. This Country in Winter Time is intolerable cold. After this you come into a large open Plain, where a certain City is ſeated which is called *Camandu*, heretofore large and populous, but now deſtroyed by the *Tartars*, and the Country is called *Reobarle*. There grow Pomegranates, Quinces, Peaches, and other Fruits, which grow not in our cold Countries. It hath alſo very great Oxen, and all white, thin haired, with thick, ſhort, blunt Horns, with a Camel's Bunch on the Back, accuſtomed to bear great Burthens, and when the Pack-Saddles are ſet upon the Bunch, they bow the Knee like Camels, and having received the Burthen, riſe again, being ſo taught. The Sheep of that Country are as big as Aſſes, having ſo long and broad Tales, that they weigh thirty Pounds Weight. They are very fair, and fat, and good Meat.

Moreover, in the Plain of this Country are many Cities and Towns, with high Walls of Earth to defend them from the *Caraons*, that is, *Meſtizos*, that is, a mixed ſort of People between *Indian* Women and *Tartars*. Ten thouſand of which are commanded by one *Nugodar* the Nephew of *Zagathai*, who formerly ruled in *Turkeſtan*. This *Nugodar*, hearing of the *Malabars* ſubject to *Soldan Aſiden*, without his Uncle's Knowledge, went and took *Dely* with other Cities, and erected a new Seigniory, and mixing with the *Indian* Women, raiſed theſe *Caraons*, which go up and down to rob and ſpoil in *Roobarle*, and other Countries. The Plain whereof I now ſpeak is five Days Journey, extended towards the South; but at the End thereof the Way beginneth by little and little to deſcend for twenty Miles together, and the Road itſelf is very bad, and not without Danger, by reaſon of Thieves. At length you come to very good Plains, which extend themſelves two Days Journey in Length, and the Place itſelf is called *Orinus*.

That Country abounds with Rivers and Palm-Trees; there is alſo Plenty of divers Fowls, eſpecially Poppin-Jays, which are not like ours. From hence you come unto the Ocean, wherein an Iſland is ſeated called *Ormus*, to which many Merchants reſort, bringing Spices, Pearls, precious Stones, Cloth of Gold and Silver, Elephants Teeth, and all other precious Things from *India*. That City is a great Mart, having Cities and Caſtles under it, and is Head of the Kingdom of *Chermain*. The King is called *Ruchined Ben Achomach*, who yields Obedience to the King of *Chermain*. He makes himſelf Heir, if any Merchant dies there. In Summer, by the reaſon of the Heat, they betake themſelves to their Summer-Houſes, built in the Waters; and from Nine till Noon, there blows a Wind with ſuch extream Heat from the Sands, that it ſwallows a Man's Breath, and ſtifleth him, which makes them lie in the Water. The King of *Chermain* ſent an Army of ſixteen hundred Horſe, and five thouſand Foot, againſt the Lord of *Ormus*, for not paying his Tribute, which were all ſurprized, and ſtifled with that Wind. The Inhabitants of the Place eat no Bread made of Corn, or Fleſh, but feed upon Dates, ſalt Fiſh and Onions. They have not very ſtout Ships, for they do not faſten them with iron Nails, by reaſon the Wood is brittle, and would cleave; but with wooden Pins, with certain Shells made of the Threads of *Indian* Nuts. Theſe Shells are dreſſed after the Manner of Leather, out of which Threads are cut, of which Threads exceeding ſtrong Cords are made, which are able to endure the Force and Violence of the Waters, and are not eaſily corrupted thereby. Thoſe Ships have one Maſt, one Sail, one Beam, and are covered but with one Deck. They are not calked with Pitch, but with the Oil and Fat of Fiſhes, and when they croſs the Sea to *India*, carrying Horſes and other Freight with them, they loſe many Ships, becauſe that Sea is very tempeſtuous, and the Ships are not ſtrengthened with Iron[e]. The Inhabitants of that Country are black, and have embraced the Law of *Mohammed*. It is the Cuſtom of this Country, when any Maſter of a Family dies, that the Wife left behind him, ſhould mourn for him four Years, once a Day. They have Women which profeſs the Practice of Mourning, and are therefore hired to mourn daily for their Dead. Returning from *Ormus* to

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[d] In the ſeveral Copies of this Work, there are great Variations in the Names of theſe eight Parts, into which the Kingdom of *Perſia* is divided; but as it is very apparent that they are Corruptions only of the Cities, and Provinces of that Kingdom, it is not neceſſary to trouble the Reader with a long Explanation of them.

[e] It is evident from this Account, that our Author extends the Name of *Ormus* to the Coaſt oppoſite to the Iſland ſo called, and as to the other Country he ſpeaks of, it is plainly the Province of *Kherman*.

Chermain, is a fertile Plain, but the Bread made there cannot be eaten, but by ſuch as are accuſtomed thereto, it is ſo bitter by reaſon of the Water put therein: Here are excellent hot Baths, which cure many Diſeaſes.

9. From *Chermain*, in three Days riding, you come to a Deſart, which extends to *Cobinbam*, ſeven Days Journey from thence. In the firſt three Days, you have no Water ſave a few Ponds, and thoſe ſalt and bitter, of a green Colour in ſhew, as if it were the Juice of Herbs; and whoever taſteth but a little thereof, cannot eſcape a Looſeneſs; the like alſo happeneth if any taſte the Salt made of the Water: It is therefore neceſſary, that Travellers carry ſome Water with them, if they would eſcape the Inconvenience of Thirſt; the Beaſts alſo which are compelled to drink that Water, eſcape not without ſcouring; In the fourth Day they find a freſh River under-ground; the three laſt Days are as the firſt. *Cobinbam* is a great City, inhabited by *Mohammedans*, where great Looking-glaſſes of Steel are made. Tutia, or Tutty alſo, which cureth the Eyes and Spodio, and that after this Manner. That Country hath Mines, out of which they dig Earth, which they boil, caſting it into a Furnace, an iron Grate receiving the aſcending Vapour from above, in which the conglutinated and clammy Vapour becometh Tutia, but the groſſer Matter remaining in the Fire, is called Spodio. Leaving the City *Cobinbam*, you meet with another Deſert, eight Days Journey in Length, and grievouſly barren; it hath not either Trees or Fruits, or Water, except what is very bitter, ſo that the very Beaſts refuſe to drink it, except they mix Meal therewith, and Travellers carry Water with them.

But having paſſed over this Deſart, you come to the Kingdom of *Timochaim*, in the North Confines of *Perſia*, where are many Cities and ſtrong Caſtles. There is a great Plain, in which a great Tree grows, called the Tree of the Sun, which the Chriſtians call the dry Tree. This Tree is very thick, and hath Leaves which on the one Side are white, and on the other Side green. It produceth prickly huſky Shells, like thoſe of Cheſnuts, but nothing in them. The Wood is ſolid and ſtrong, in Colour yellow, like Box. There is no Tree within one hundred Miles, except on one ſide, on which are Trees, within ten Miles. In this Place the Inhabitants ſay, that *Alexander* the Great fought with *Darius*. The Cities are plentifully furniſhed with good things; the Air is temperate, the People are handſome, but eſpecially Women, the moſt beautiful in my Judgment in the World.

10. Mulehet, in the *Saracen* Language, is as much as to ſay, a Place of Hereticks, and of this Place they call the Men Mulehetici, that is, Hereticks in their Law, as with us Patarines. As I have ſpoken of the Country, the Prince of it, who is called the old Man of the Mountain, ſhall be next ſpoken of, concerning whom *Marco* heard much from many. His Name was *Aloadine*, and he was a *Mohammedan*. He had, in a lovely Valley, betwixt two Mountains, which were very high and inacceſſible, cauſed a pleaſant Garden to be laid out, furniſhed with the beſt Trees and Fruits he could find, adorned with diverſe Palaces and Houſes of Pleaſure, beautified with gilded Bowers, Pictures and Tapeſtries of Silk. Through this Place, by Pipes, to different Parts of theſe Palaces, run Wine, Milk, Honey and clear Water; in them he had placed beautiful Damſels, ſkilful in Songs and Inſtruments of Muſick and Dancing, and to make Sports and Delights unto Men whatſoever they could imagine. They were alſo richly dreſſed in Gold and Silk, and were ſeen continually ſporting in the Garden and Palaces. He made this Palace, becauſe *Mohammed* had promiſed ſuch a ſenſual Paradiſe to his devout Followers. No Man could enter it, for at the Mouth of the Valley was a ſtrong Caſtle, and the Entrance was by a ſecret Paſſage. *Aloadine* had certain Youths, from twelve to twenty Years of Age, ſuch as ſeemed of a bold and dauntleſs Diſpoſition, whom he inſtructed daily as to the Delights in *Mohammed*'s Paradiſe, and how he could bring Men thither, and when he thought proper, he cauſed a certain Drink to be given to ten or twelve of them, which caſt them into a dead Sleep, and then he cauſed them to be carried into ſeveral Chambers of the ſaid Palaces, where they ſaw things as aforeſaid; as ſoon as they awaked, each of them having thoſe Damſels to ſupply them with Meats and excellent Wines, and yield all Varieties of Pleaſures to them; inſomuch that the Fools thought themſelves in Paradiſe indeed.

When they had enjoyed theſe Pleaſures four or five Days, they were caſt into a Sleep, and carried forth again, after which he cauſed them to be brought into his Preſence, and queſtioned them where they had been? Who anſwered, by your Grace, in Paradiſe, and recounted before all what hath been before-mentioned. Then the old Man anſwered, this is the Commandment of our Prophet, that whoſoever defends his Lord, he allows him to enter Paradiſe, and if thou wilt be obedient to me, thou ſhalt have this Grace; and having thus animated them, he was thought happy whom the old Man would command, though it coſt him his Life; ſo that other Lords, and his Enemies, were ſlain by theſe Aſſaſſines, who expoſed themſelves to all Dangers, and contemned their Lives. Hereupon he was eſteemed a Tyrant, feared in all thoſe Parts, and had two Vicars, one in the Parts of *Damaſcus*, and another in *Curdiſtan*, which obſerved the ſame Order with young Men. He uſed alſo to rob all which paſſed that Way. *Ulan*, in the Year 1262, ſent and beſieged his Caſtle, which, after three Years Siege they took, ſlew him, and undermined his Paradiſe, not being able for want of Proviſions to hold out longer[r].

Departing from the aforeſaid Place, you come unto a Country pleaſant enough, diverſified by Hills, Plains, and excellent Paſture, in which are Fruits in great Plenty, the Soil being very fruitful: This continues ſix Days, and then you enter a Deſart of forty or fifty Miles, without Water; after this you come to the City *Sapurgan*, where Plenty of Proviſions are found, but eſpecially Melons, the beſt in the World, ſweet like Honey. Paſſing from hence we came to a certain City called *Batach*, which formerly was large and famous, having ſumptuous marble Palaces, but now overthrown by the *Tartars*.

In this City they report, that *Alexander* took the Daughter of King *Darius* to Wife. To this City on the Eaſt and North-Eaſt continue the Confines of *Perſia*; but if you go from hence and proceed between the Eaſt and the North-Eaſt, you cannot find any Habitation for two Days Journey, becauſe the Inhabitants of the Place having endured many great Grievances by Thieves, are compelled to fly unto the Mountains, to Places of more Safety. Many Rivers are found there, and much Game. Lions alſo are found there; and becauſe Travellers find no Food in that Journey, they carry as much Victuals with them as is neceſſary for two Days. The two Days Journey ended, we met with a Caſtle called *Thaican*, where is great Plenty of Corn, and very pleaſant Fields; the Mountains alſo on the South are high, ſome of which are of white and hard Salt; and the Inhabitants for thirty Days Journey about fetch it from thence, being the beſt in the World, and ſo hard that they muſt break it with Iron Inſtruments, ſo much that the whole World might have a ſufficient Quantity of Salt from thence. The other Mountains have Store of Almonds and Piſtaches.

Going between the Eaſt and North-Eaſt from hence, the Country is fruitful; but the Inhabitants are Murderers, perfidious *Mohammedans*, and Drunkards. Their Wine is boiled and truly excellent. They go bare-headed, ſave that the Men bind up their Heads with a certain String of ten Handfols long, but they make Cloathing of the Skins of the wild Beaſts, ſuch as Breeches and Shoes, and uſe no other Garments. After three Days Journey is the City *Seaſſom*, ſeated in a Plain, and there are many

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[r] It is neceſſary to obſerve, that thoſe People inhabited ſeveral mountainous Countries in the Eaſt, and had much the ſame Cuſtoms in all the Countries where they were ſettled. At the Cloſe of the former Section, I gave ſome Account of this Nation, and ſhall only add here, that their Prince was called the old Man of the Mountains, becauſe they generally made choice of the oldeſt Man amongſt them for their Chief, who had his Reſidence on a Mountain, the ſtrongeſt and beſt fortified in the Country. They pretended to be the Deſcendants of the Royal Family of *Arſaces*, and from thence affected to be called *Arſacides*, from whence came the Word *Aſſaſſines*. The laſt of their Princes was called *Moadin*, and he and his Subjects were entirely deſtroyed by the before-mentioned *Kaluku-Khan*.

Caſtles in the Mountains round about it: A certain great River alſo flows through the Middle thereof. There are many Porcupines in that Country, which they hunt with Dogs, and they contracting themſelves with great Fury, caſt their prickly Quills at Men and Dogs, and wound them. That Nation hath a particular Language, and the Shepherds abide in the Mountains, having made Caves for their Habitations. You go hence three Days Journey without meeting any Inabitants, to the Province of *Balaxiam*, which is inhabited by *Mohammedans*, who have a peculiar Language. Their Kings, who ſucceed each other hereditarily, are reported to have derived their Deſcent from *Alexander* the Great, and from the Daughter of *Darius*, and are called *Dulcarlen*, that is to ſay, *Alexandrians*. There are found the Ballaſſas, and other precious Stones, of great Value.

No Man, on pain of Death, dare either dig ſuch Stones, or carry them out of the Country, but with the Licence and Conſent of the King; for all thoſe Stones are the King's, and he only ſends them to whom he pleaſes, either as Preſents, or in Payment of Tribute: He exchanges alſo many for Gold and Silver; and this he doth leſt the Stone, whereof there is ſo much Plenty, ſhould become too common and cheap. Other Mountains alſo in this Province yield Stones, called *Lapis Lazuli*, whereof the beſt Azure is made, the like is not found in the World. Theſe Mines alſo yield Silver, Braſs, and Lead. The Country itſelf is very cold: There are many Horſes, and thoſe excellent large, ſtrong, and ſwift, which have ſo hard and tough Hoofs, that they need no Iron-ſhoes, although they run through Rocks. It is ſaid, that not many Years ago, there were Horſes of the Race of *Alexander*'s *Bucephalus* which had the ſame forehead Mark as he had, in the Poſſeſſion only of the King's Uncle, who was killed for refuſing the King to have of them; whereupon his Widow, in ſpite, deſtroyed the whole Race. There are alſo excellent Falcons. The Soil of this Country bears excellent Wheat and Barley without Huſks, and Oil made of Nuts, and Muſtard, which is like Flax-ſeed, but more ſavory than other Oil. There are ſtraight Paſſages and difficult Places. The Men are good Archers and Huntſmen, cloathed in Beaſts Skins. The Hills are ſteep and high, large Plains, fine Rivers; and if any have an Ague, by living two or three Days on the Hills he recovers, which *Marco* experienced himſelf after a Year's Sickneſs. The Women, in the Skirts of their Garments put ſixty or eighty Yards of Cotton; the burlier a Woman looks ſhe is in their Eyes the handſomer.

The Province of *Baſcia* is ten Days Journey towards the South from the Country of *Balexiam*, and the Country itſelf is very hot, which is the Reaſon the People are brown. They have a Language of their own, and wear gold and ſilver Ear-rings, with Pearls and other Stones, artificially wrought in them; they eat Fiſh and Rice, and are Idolaters, crafty and cruel. The Province of *Cheſmur* is ſeven Days Journey diſtant from *Baſcia*, the Inhabitants whereof have alſo their own Language, and are Idolaters, beyond all others, cunning Inchanters, forcing their Idols to ſpeak and darkening the Day. From hence you may go to the *Indian-Sea*. The Men and Women are brown, not wholly black, the Heat ſomewhat tempered. Their Food is Fleſh and Rice, yet are they exceeding lean: There are many Cities and Towns in this Country; their King is tributary to none. There are certain Hermits in this Province who in Monaſteries and Cells worſhip Idols, honouring their Gods with great Abſtinence of Meat and Drink, and obſerve great Chaſtity, are very cautious not to offend their Idols, and live long; of theſe are many reputed Saints, and the People ſhew them great Reverence. The Men of this Province kill no living Creature, and ſhed no Blood; and if they eat Fleſh it is neceſſary that the *Saracens*, who live amongſt them, kill the Creature. Coral is here ſold dearer than any where. We will leave the Way to *India* now, and return to *Balaxiam*, and direct our Way towards *Cathay*, betwixt the Eaſt and North-Eaſt. Beyond *Balaxiam* is a certain River whereon ſtand many Caſtles and Villages belonging to the King of *Balaxiam*'s Brother; and after three Days Journey is the Province *Vathan*, having in Length and Breadth three Days Journey, the Inhabitants whereof have a peculiar Language, and worſhip *Mohammed*. They are however ſtout Warriors and good Hunters, for the Country abounds with wild Beaſts.

If you depart thence betwixt the North-Eaſt and the Eaſt, you muſt aſcend for three whole Days together, until you come to an exceeding high Mountain, than which there is ſaid to be none higher in the World. There alſo between two Mountains is a great Lake, and through a Plain runs a very fine River, near which are excellent Paſtures, ſo that in them a lean Horſe or an Ox may be fat in ten Days. There is alſo Plenty of wild Beaſts, eſpecially exceeding great wild Sheep, having Horns ſome of them ſix Spans long, of which they make divers kinds of Veſſels. The Plain contains twelve Days Journey in Length, and is called *Pamer*; nor is there any Habitation there, and Travellers muſt carry Victuals with them: No Bird alſo appears there, by reaſon of the Cold; and it is reported, that if Fire be kindled there it is not ſo bright nor ſo effectual to boil any thing as in other Places. From hence the Way leadeth forty Days Journey further between the Eaſt and the North-Eaſt, through the Mountains, Hills, and Valleys, in which many Rivers are found, but no Village or Herbs, and the Country itſelf is called *Palow*, and ſome Huts and Cottages of Men are ſeen on the Top of thoſe high Mountains; but ſuch as are ſavage and wicked Idolaters, who live by hunting, and are clothed by the Skins of the Beaſts they kill. After this you come to the Province of *Caſchar*, which is tributary to the Great Khan, and the People are *Mohammedans*. In it are Vines, pleaſant Gardens, fruitful Trees, Cotton, Flax, and Hemp, and a fertile Soil. The Inhabitants have a particular Language, and are Merchants and Artificers, ſo covetous that they eat that which is bad, and drink worſe. Some *Neſtorian* Chriſtians are found there, who alſo have their Churches. The Country extends itſelf five Days Journey.

11. *Samarcand* is a great and famous City in that Country, where are lovely Gardens, and a fertile Plain. It is ſubject to the Nephew of the Great Khan; in it the Chriſtians dwell with the *Saracens*, whence little Agreement is betwixt them. It is reported, that on this Account a Miracle happened; the Brother of Great Khan, named *Zagatai*, who governed that Country about an hundred Years ago, being perſuaded to become a Chriſtian, the Chriſtians, through his Favour, built a Church in Honour of *St. John* Baptiſt, with ſuch Cunning that the whole Roof thereof was ſupported by one Pillar in the midſt, under which was ſet a ſquare Stone, which, by favour of their Lord, was taken from a Building of the *Saracens*. *Zagatai*'s Son ſucceeded after his Death in the Kingdom, but not in the Faith, from whom the *Saracens* obtained that the Chriſtians ſhould be compelled to reſtore that Stone, and when they offered a ſufficient Price, the *Saracens* refuſed to receive any other Compoſition than the Stone; whereupon the Pillar lifted up itſelf, that the *Saracens* might take away their Stone, and ſo continued.

Departing again from this City, you come into the Province *Charahan*, about five Days Journey in Length. This Province hath Plenty of Proviſions, being ſubject to the Dominion of the Nephew of the Great Khan. The Inhabitants worſhip *Mohammed*, yet among them certain *Neſtorian* Chriſtians dwell. They are great Artificers, and have moſt of them ſwelled Legs, and a great Wen or Bunch in their Throat, by reaſon of the Waters which they drink. The Province *Cotam* follows between the Eaſt and the North-Eaſt. It is ſubject to the Dominion of the Nephew of the Great Khan, and hath many Cities and Towns. The chief City thereof is called *Cotam*. The Province extends eight Days Journey in Length. There is no Want there of any Thing needful to the Maintenance of Life. It hath Plenty of Cotton, Flax, Hemp, Corn and Wine; but the People are not warlike, yet good Artificers in various Manufactures and Merchandize. They acknowledge *Mohammed* for their Prophet.

Proceeding farther through the ſame Country, you come to the Province *Peim*, extending four Days Journey in Length; it is ſubject to the Great Khan, and hath many Cities and Caſtles; the chief City thereof is called *Piem*, near which runs a River wherein precious Stones are found, ſuch as Jaſpers and Chalcedons. The Inhabitants of the Country follow the Law of *Mohammed*, and are Artificers and Merchants. There is a Cuſtom in this Province, that when any married Man goeth into another Place and returneth not home in twenty Days, it becomes lawful for the Wife to marry another Huſband; and the Men alſo, whenſoever the Women go away for the ſame time, do the like. All thoſe Provinces, *viz. Caſcha*, *Cotem*, *Piem*, to the City of *Lop*, are in the Bounds of *Turkeſtan*.

Ciaſcian is ſubject to the *Tartars*; the Name of the Province and chief City is the ſame: It hath many Cities and Caſtles; many precious Stones are found there in the Rivers, eſpecially Jaſpers and Chalcedones, which Merchants carry quite to *Oucbach* to ſell and make great Gain. From *Piem* to this Province, and quite through it alſo is a ſandy Soil, with many bad Waters and few good. When an Army paſſes through this Province, all the Inhabitants theof, with their Wives, Children, Cattle, and all their Houſhold-ſtuff, fly two Days Journey into the Sands, where they know that good Waters are, and ſtay there, and carry their Corn thither alſo to hide it in the Sands, after Harveſt, from the like Fears. The Wind doth ſo deface their Steps in the Sand, that their Enemies cannot find their Way. Departing from this Province, you are to travel five Days Journey through the Sands, where no other Water almoſt than that which is bitter is any where to be found, until you come to the City called *Lop*, which is a great City, from whence is the Entrance of a great Deſart, called alſo the *Wilderneſs of Lop*, ſeated between the Eaſt and the North-Eaſt. The Inhabitants are *Mohammedans*, ſubject to the Great Khan.

In the City of *Lop*, Merchants who deſire to paſs over the Deſart, cauſe all Neceſſaries to be provided for them; and when Victuals begin to fail in the Deſart, they kill their Aſſes and Camels, and eat them. They make it moſtly their Choice to uſe Camels, becauſe they are ſuſtained with little Meat, and bear great Burthens. They muſt provide Victuals for a Month to croſs it only, for to go thro' it Lengthways would require a Year's Time. They go through the Sands and barren Mountains, and daily find Water; yet it is ſometimes ſo little that it will hardly ſuffice fifty or an hundred Men with their Beaſts; and in three or four Places the Water is ſalt and bitter. The reſt of the Road, for eight and twenty Days, is very good. In it there are not either Beaſts or Birds; they ſay, that there dwell many Spirits in this Wilderneſs, which cauſe great and marvellous Illuſions to Travellers, and make them periſh; for if any ſtay behind and cannot ſee his Company, he ſhall be called by his Name, and ſo going out of the Way is loſt. In the Night they hear as it were the Noiſe of a Company, which, taking to be theirs, they periſh likewiſe. Concerts of muſical Inſtruments are ſometimes heard in the Air; likewiſe Drums and Noiſes of Armies. They go therefore cloſe together, hang Bells on their Beaſts Necks, and ſet Marks, if any ſtay[g].

Having paſſed over the Deſart you come into the City *Sachion*, betwixt the Eaſt and North-Eaſt, ſubject to the Great Khan, in the Province of *Tangut*, where, amongſt the Worſhippers of *Mohammed*, a few *Neſtorian* Chriſtians are found; many Idolaters are alſo there, who have their proper Language. The Inhabitants of this City live not by Merchandize, but on the Fruits of the Earth. The City hath many Monaſteries conſecrated to divers Idols, in which many Sacrifices are offered with great Reverence: And when a Son is born to a Man, he preſently commendeth him to ſome Idol, and in honour thereof nouriſheth a Sheep that Year in his Houſe, which he preſenteth before it, together with his Son, the next Feſtival Day of that Idol, with many Ceremonies, and great Reverence. Afterwards the Fleſh of the Sheep is boiled, and left ſo long before the Idol till their Prayers are finiſhed, which they make for the Conſervation of their Son, and the Idol hath, as they ſuppoſe, ſucked the Savour of the Meat; after which, all his Kindred being gathered together, eat the Fleſh at home with great Devotion and Joy, but religiouſly keep the Bones in certain Veſſels. The Prieſts have the Feet, Head, Inwards, Skin, and ſome Part of the Fleſh, for their Share.

In celebrating the Funerals of ſuch as were Men in Eſteem, the dead Bodies are buried after this Manner; the Kindred ſend for the Aſtrologers, and tell them what Year, Month, Day and Hour he who died was born, who, having conſidered the Conſtellation, aſſigns the Day when he is to be buried; ſo that when the Planet ſuits not, they preſerve the dead Body ſometimes ſeven Days, and ſometimes ſix Months, preparing a Cheſt for it at home, and joining the Sides together with ſuch Art, that no noiſome Smells iſſue forth. They alſo embalm the Body itſelf with Spices, and cover the Cheſt, fairly painted with embroidered Cloth; and every Day that the dead Corps is kept at home, at the Hour of Dinner a Table is ſpread near the Cheſt, Wine and Meat ſet thereon for the Space in which one might eat a Meal's Meat, ſuppoſing that the Soul of the Dead feedeth on the Savour thereof. The Aſtrologers ſometimes forbid to carry it out of the chief Gate, pretending ſome diſaſtrous Star, and cauſe them to carry it out another Way, and ſometimes break the Wall which is oppoſite to that Place, which the Planet makes more lucky; for otherwiſe the Spirits departed would be offended, and hurt thoſe of the Houſe; and if any ſuch Evil happen, they aſcribe it to the Dead thus wronged. When the Body is carried through the City to be buried without, wooden Cottages are erected in the Way, with a Porch covered with Silk, in which they place the Body, and ſet before it Bread, Fleſh, and delicate Meats, ſuppoſing the Spirit to be refreſhed therewith, which is held to be conſtantly preſent at the burying of the Body; and when they come to the Place where the Body is to be buried, they diligently and curiouſly paint upon Papers made of the Bark of Trees the Images of Men and Women, Horſes, Camels, Money and Garments, all the Inſtruments of the City ſounding, which are burned together with the dead Body; for they ſay, that dead Men ſhall have ſo many Men-ſervants, and Maid-ſervants, Catle, and Money in another Life, as Pictures were burned with him, and ſhall perpetually live in that Honour and Riches.

12. The Province of *Camul* lieth in the wide Country of *Tangut*, ſubject to the Great Khan, having many Cities and Towns; the chief City is called *Camul*. This Province is bounded by two Deſarts, *viz.* the Great Deſart, of which we have ſpoken before, and another, that is leſs, of three Days Journey. It abounds with all things for the convenient Support of Life. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, have a peculiar Language, and ſeem to be born for no other Purpoſe but to apply themſelves to ſporting, ſinging, dancing, writing and reading, after their Faſhion, playing on Inſtruments, and giving themſelves unto Pleaſure. When any Traveller paſſing by goes into any Man's Houſe for Entertainment, the Maſter of the Family receives him with great Joy, and commands his Wife, and all the Family, that as long as he will abide with them, they obey him in all things. In the mean time he departs, and returns not ſo long as the Gueſt remains at his Houſe; and during all this Space the Stranger lies with the Wife, Daughter, and the reſt, as with his own Wives. The Women of the Country are beautiful, and ready to obey all theſe Commandments of their Huſbands, who are ſo beſotted with this Folly, that they think it a glorious thing for them, and believe it ſo acceptable to their Idols, that, through their Favour thus obtained, they proſper, and enjoy Plenty of all things. *Mangu-Khan* having heard of this Folly, commanded them not to obſerve this deteſtable Cuſtom any longer, and accordingly they forbore it for about three Years, and then not ſeeing their wonted Fertility, and troubled with ſome domeſtic Croſſes, they ſent Embaſſadors to

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[g] This Deſart mentioned by our Author, ſtill retains the ſame Name in the moſt modern Maps. His Deſcription of this and other Wilderneſſes are very exact; and the Hardſhips he mentions in paſſing through them are not at all exagerated. It is for this Reaſon that it is ſo extremely difficult to paſs from any Part of the Dominions of the Great Mogul to *China*, without taking a prodigious Compaſs to avoid theſe Deſarts. It is not above forty Years ago ſince a certain Rajah who had incurred the Mogul's Diſpleaſure, attempted, with a Train of thirty Followers, to paſs through theſe Deſarts, in which they all periſhed by Hunger and Thirſt, except the Nobleman himſelf and four of his Attendants, who reached the Province of *Chienſi*, where he and one of his Men died of the Fatigue a few Days after.

the Khan, and earneſtly entreated that he would revoke ſo grievous an Edict, and not aboliſh that ancient Cuſtom which they had received from their Anceſtors. The Khan anſwered, Since you deſire your Reproach and Shame, let it be granted you, go and do herein after your Wont. The Meſſengers returning with this Anſwer, brought great Joy to all the People; and this Cuſtom is obſerved by the whole Nation to this Day.

After the Province of *Camul*, a Traveller entered the Province of *Chinchintalas*, which on the North is bounded by the Deſart, and is ſixteen Days Journey in Length, ſubject to the Great Khan. It hath large Cities, and many Caſtles; the People are divided into three Sects; ſome few acknowledge Chriſt, and theſe are *Neſtorians*; others worſhip *Mohammed*; and the third ſort adore Idols. In this Province there is a Mountain, wherein are Mines of Steel, and Andanicum, and alſo, as was reported, Salamanders of the Wool of which Cloth was made, which if caſt into the Fire, cannot be burned; but that Cloth is in reality made of Stone, in this manner, as one of my Companions, a *Turk*, named *Curifar*, a Man indued with ſingular Induſtry, informed me, who had the Charge of the Minerals in that Province. A certain Mineral is found in that Mountain, which yields Thread not unlike to Wool, and theſe being dried in the Sun, are bruiſed in a brazen Mortar, and afterwards waſhed, and whatſoever earthy Subſtance ſticks to them, is taken away. Laſtly, theſe Threads ſo cleanſed, are ſpun like other Wool, and woven into Cloth, and when they would whiten thoſe Cloths, they caſt them into the Fire for an Hour, and then take them out unhurt whiter than Snow, after the ſame manner they cleanſe them when they have taken any Spots; for no other waſhing is uſed to them, beſides the Fire. But with regard to the Salamander, or the Serpent, which is reported to live in the Fire, I could find nothing of ſuch a Creature in the Eaſt Countries. They ſay there is a certain Napkin at *Rome* woven of Salamander-Wool, wherein the Handkerchief of the Lord is kept wrapped up, which a certain King of the *Tartars* ſent to the Biſhop of *Rome*[h].

After you are paſt this Province, you travel on betwixt the Eaſt and North-Eaſt, ten Days Journey, in which few Habitations or Things remarkable are found, and then you come to the Province *Succir*, in which are many Villages and Towns; the chief City is called *Succir*. In this Province, among many Idolaters, a few Chriſtians are found; they are ſubject to the Great Khan. They do not addict themſelves to Merchandize, but live on the Fruits of the Earth. The beſt Rhubarb is found in this Province in great Quantities, which is carried thence by Merchants to divers Parts of the World. Strangers dare not go to the Mountains where it grows, by reaſon of venomous Herbs, which if their Beaſts ſhould eat them, would loſe their Hoofs; but thoſe of that Country know and avoid them.

The general Name of this Province, and of the two following, is *Tangut*: *Campion* is a great City, the Principal in the Country of *Tangut*. In it are Chriſtians, which have three great and fair Churches, *Mohammedans* and Idolaters. The Idolaters have many Monaſteries, where they worſhip their Idols. Thoſe Idols are made either of Stone, Wood, or Clay, ſome of which are inlaid with Gold, and very artificially wrought. Some are ſo great, that they contain ten Paces in Length, faſtened to the Earth, as if they lay upright, near which little Idols are placed, which ſeem to give Reverence to the greater, and both are much worſhipped. The religious Men ſeem to live more honeſtly than other Idolaters, abſtaining from Whoredom, and other baſe things; yet Wantonneſs is not held there any grievous Sin, for they ſay, if a Woman ſues to a Man, he may uſe her without Sin, but not if he ſues firſt to her. They reckon the whole Compaſs of the Year by Moons. In the Moons they obſerve in ſome five, in others four or three Days, wherein they kill no Beaſt, or Bird, nor eat Fleſh. The Laymen marry twenty or thirty Wives, or as many as they are able to maintain; yet the firſt is accounted more worthy, and more legitimate. The Huſband receives no Dowry from the Wife, but he himſelf aſſigns ſufficient Dowry in Cattle, Servants, or Money, according to his Ability. If the Wife becomes hateful to the Huſband, it is lawful for him to divorce her from him when he pleaſes. They take for Wives, without Scruple, their Kinſwomen, or Mothers-in-Law. Our Author, together with his Father and Uncle, remained a Year in this City for the Diſpatch of certain Affairs. From the City *Campion* you proceed twelve Days Journey to the City *Ezina*, bordering on a ſandy Deſart towards the North, being ſtill in the Province or Kingdom of *Tangut*. Many Camels are there, and many other Beaſts and Animals of ſeveral kinds. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, living on the Fruits of the Earth, neglecting Merchandize, or manual Labour, other than Huſbandry. All the Provinces and Cities aforeſaid, *Sachion*, *Camul*, *Chinchintalas*, *Succair*, *Camion*, and *Ezina*, are comprehended in *Tangut*.

13. Having paſſed over the aforeſaid Deſart, you come unto the City *Careoran*, or *Caracarum*, a large Place, which is in Compaſs three Miles, ſtrongly fortified with Earth, for Stone they have none. Near it is a great Caſtle, and in it the Governor's fair Palace. This was a Place, near which in old Times the *Tartars* aſſembled themſelves, and here therefore we will declare how they began to reign. They dwelt in the North Parts, *viz.* in *Curza* and *Barga*, where are many vaſt Plains, without Cities and Towns, but abounding in Paſtures, Rivers, and Lakes. They had not a Prince of their Nation, but paid Tribute to a certain great King, named, as I have heard in their Language, *Umcan*, which, in ſome Mens Opinion, in our Language ſignifieth *Preſbyter*, or *Prieſt John*. To him the *Tartars* gave yearly the Tenths of all their Beaſts. In Proceſs of Time the *Tartars* ſo increaſed in Multitudes, that *Umcan* was afraid of them, and thought to diſperſe them into ſeveral Parts of the World, and therefore when any of them rebelled, he ſent three or four hundred *Tartars* into thoſe Parts, ſo diminiſhing their Power, and the like he did on other Occaſions, deputing ſome of their Nobility for that Purpoſe. They ſeeing their Ruin intended, and loth to be ſeparated one from another, went from the Places where they dwelt to the Deſart towards the North, where they might be ſafe, and denied *Umcan* their accuſtomed Tribute.

It happened, that about the Year *A. D.* 1162, the *Tartars* having continued for ſome time in thoſe Parts, choſe a King among themſelves, a wiſe and valiant Man, named *Zingis-Khan*; he began to reign with ſuch Juſtice, that he was beloved and feared of all as a God rather than a Prince, inſomuch that his Fame brought all the *Tartars* in all Parts to his Subjection, and he ſeeing himſelf Lord over ſo many valiant Men, determined to leave theſe Deſarts, and commanding them to provide Bows and other Weapons, began to ſubdue Cities and Provinces, in which Conqueſts he placed ſuch juſt Governors, that the People were not diſpleaſed. The chief of them he carried along with him beſtowed on them Proviſions and Gifts. Seeing therefore that he was advanced to ſo great Glory and Power, he ſent Embaſſadors politickly to *Umcan*, to entreat that he would beſtow his Daughter upon him to be his Wife, which he taking in very evil Part, anſwered with Indignation, and rejecting the Embaſſadors of *Zingis*, ſaid, "Doth my Servant demand "my Daughter? Get ye out of my Sight, and tell your "Maſter, if he ever make ſuch Demand again, I will "make him die a miſerable Death."

But King *Zingis* levying a great Army, marched boldly and encamped in a certain great Plain named *Tanduc*, ſending unto the King, and ſignifying unto him, that he ſhould defend himſelf; but he commanding a mighty Army, deſcended to the Plains, and pitched his Tent within ten Miles of the Camp of the *Tartars*. Then *Zingis* commanded his Aſtrologers to ſhew him what Event and Succeſs the Battle ſhould have. They cutting a Reed lengthwiſe, in two Parts, ſtuck the Pieces by themſelves into the Ground, and wrote upon the one *Zingis*, and the other *Umcan*, and ſaid to the King, In the mean Space while we read, it ſhall come to paſs, by the Idol's Power, that theſe two Parts of the Reed ſhall fight together, and whoſe Part ſhall fall on the other, the King ſhall obtain Victory in the Battle. The Multitude therefore running together to behold that Spectacle, the Aſtrologers began to mumble their Prayers, and read their Inchantments, when preſently the Parts of the Reed being moved, fought together, until the Part of *Zingis* aſcended upon the Part of *Umcan*, which being ſeen by the *Tartars*, aſſured of the future Victory, they were encouraged to the Battle, and *Umcan* being ſlain, the Victory and Kingdom, and *Umcan*'s Daughter remained to *Zingis*.

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[h] It appears from hence, that our Author was not quite ſo credulous as ſome other Writers, who have told us very ſtrange Stories of the Salamander: But notwithſtanding what is aſſerted of that Creature's living in the Fire, is equally falſe and fabulous; yet as it is a Fable generally known in all Parts of the World, we need not wonder that in the Eaſt, where the People are ſo fond of figurative Expreſſions, they ſhould beſtow the Name of Salamander's Wool on Cloth capable of reſiſting the Fire. This is plainly the ſame kind of Manufacture with what the *Greeks* called *Arbeſtos*, of which there are ſmall Quantities ſtill found in ſeveral Countries, and of late Years, particularly in the Iſland of *Angleſey*, as I have been informed by a very curious and intelligent Gentleman, who has made ſeveral Experiments on it.

Zingis reigned ſix Years after this, in which he conquered many Provinces; and laſtly, when he endeavoured to win a certain Caſtle called *Thaigin*, and came ſomewhat too near, being ſhot in the Knee by an Arrow, he died, and was buried in the Mountain *Altai*. The firſt King of the *Tartars* was called *Zingis*, the ſecond *Khen-Khan*, the third *Bathyn-Khan*, the fourth *Eſu-Khan*, the fifth *Mangu-Khan*, the ſixth *Kublai-Khan*, whoſe Power is greater than all his Predeceſſors, having inherited theirs, and adding by Conqueſt in a manner the reſt of the World; for he lived near ſixty Years in his Goverment. The Name *Khan* ſignifieth Emperor. All the Great *Khans* and Princes of the Blood of *Zingis*, are carried to the Mountain of *Altai* to be buried, whereſoever they die, altho' one hundred Days Journey from it; and they which carry the Corps to the Burial, kill all thoſe that they meet in the Way, ſaying, go and ſerve our Lord the King in another Life; they kill alſo the beſt Horſes. When the Body of the Great *Khan-Mangu*, the Predeceſſor of *Khan-Cublai* was brought unto the Mountain *Altai* to be buried, the Soldiers accompanying the Funeral, are reported to have ſlain above ten thouſand Men upon the aforeſaid Occaſion[1].

The *Tartarian* Women are moſt faithful to their Huſbands. Adultery is the greateſt Shame amongſt them, yet it is accounted lawful and honeſt that every one may marry as many Wives as he is able to maintain, altho' the firſt be looked upon as principal and more honourable than the reſt. Theſe live together in one Houſe, without one ill Word, in admirable Concord, make their Merchandizes, buy and ſell, and procure all things neceſſary to their Huſbands and Houſhold, the Men meddling with nothing but their Hunting, Hawking, and things pertaining to Arms. They have the beſt Falcons in the World, and alſo Dogs; they live only on Fleſh and Milk, and what they take in Hunting. They eat Horſes, Camels, Dogs, if fat, and drink Mares Milk, called Coſmos, ſo managed, that it is like white Wine. If the Father dies, the Son may have all his Wives, except his own Mother and Siſters; ſo the Brother being dead, it is lawful for the Brother who remaineth alive, to marry the Widow of his deceaſed Brother. The Huſbands receive no Dowry of the Wives, but they themſelves aſſign Dowry to the Wives and their Mothers. Through the Multitude of their Wives, the *Tartars* have many Children, nor is this Multitude of Wives very burthenſome, ſeeing they gain much through their Labour; beſides, they are very careful for the Government of the Family, and Preparation of their Food, and with no leſs Care execute the other Duties of the Houſe; but the Men apply themſelves wholly to Hunting, Fowling, and the Exerciſe of Arms.

The *Tartars* feed many Herds of Oxen, Flocks of Sheep, and other Beaſts and Cattle, and remain with them in Places of Paſture, in the Summer Time, in the Mountains, and colder Places, where they find Paſture and Wood; but in the Winter, they remove to the hotter Countries, where they find Paſture for their Cattle, marching forwards two or three Months together. Their Houſes are covered with Sticks and Felts, and are commonly round, which they carry with them in Carts, or Waggons, with four Wheels, for they can fold and extend them, ſet them up and take them down, and they turn, whereſoever they go, the Door of theſe moveable Houſes always to the South. They have alſo neat Carts of two Wheels, covered with Felt ſo cloſe, that the Rain cannot pierce thro' them, drawn by Oxen and Camels, wherein they carry their Wives, Children, and neceſſary houſhold Stuff with them, and defend them from the Injury of foul Weather and Rain.

The *Tartars*, if they be rich, are cloathed in Sables, Ermins, and Cloth of Gold, and all their Furniture is coſtly. Their Arms are Bows, Swords, Pole-axes, and ſome Lances; but they can beſt uſe their Bows, to which they are uſed from their Childhood: They are hardy, active, brave, but ſomewhat cruel, will continue two Days and Nights on Horſeback armed, exceeding patient and obedient to their Lords; their Cattle alſo are ſtrong and hardy. The Law and Faith of the *Tartars* is this, they ſay, that there is one Great God, Supreme in Heaven, of whom with daily Incenſe they deſire good Underſtanding and Health. They have another which they call *Natigay*, which is a little Image covered with Felt, or ſome other thing, which every one hath in his Houſe. To this God they make a Wife and Children, placing the Wife's Image at the Left-hand, and the Repreſentations of the Children before his Face. This they call the God of earthly things, which keeps their Children and their Beaſts, and Corn, and give it great Reverence. Before they eat themſelves, they anoint the Mouths of the Images with the Fat of the ſodden Fleſh, and they caſt the Broth out of Doors, in Honour of other Spirits, ſaying, that now their God with his Family, has had their Part, and after they eat and drink at Pleaſure.

If the Son of a *Tartar* die before he has been married, and the Daughter of another die alſo unmarried, the Parents of the deceaſed meet together, and celebrate a Marriage between the Dead, and making a Draught in Writing of that Contract, they paint Men and Women for Servants, Horſes, and other Creatures with Cloaths of all Sorts, and Monies in Paper, and burn them together with the Contract, by the Smoak whereof they ſay, that all theſe things are carried to their Children in another World, where they are married, and the Fathers and Mothers conceive, they are joined together in ſuch a Bond of Affinity, as if theſe Marriages had been celebrated while the married Couple were ſtill living.

When the *Tartars* go to War, their Prince conducts about a hundred thouſand Horſe, appointing Heads over Tens, Hundreds, Thouſands, and ten Thouſands, by which Subordination, Commands are eaſily maintained; every Hundred is called a *Tuc*, every Ten a *Toman*: When they begin their March, they ſend out Men every Way as Scouts, that no Enemy aſſault them unprovided. Of Horſes and Mares, every Man has about eighteen. They carry alſo their Felt-houſes, under which they ſhelter themſelves in times of Rain. When there falls out ſome important Employment, they will ride ten Days together without Victuals dry or boiled, and live on the Blood of their Horſes, cutting a Vein, and ſucking it. They have Milk dried like Paſte, which they make by boiling the Milk, and ſkimming the Cream, which ſwims on the Top, into another Veſſel, and make Butter; afterwards they ſet the Milk in the Sun, and dry it, and when they go into the Army, carry with them about ten Pounds thereof, and every Morning a Man takes about half a Pound, and puts it in a

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[1] Our Author has been charg'd with many Miſtakes in this Liſt of the Princes who ſucceeded *Zingis-Khan*, but he has been charg'd by thoſe who knew much leſs of the Matter than he did; and therefore to ſet this Matter right, we will give a ſhort Account of that Succeſſion, from the authentick Work of *Abulgaſi-Bayadur-Khan*. Two Years after the Death of *Zingis-Khan*, the *Tartar* Princes, in Compliance with the Emperor's Will, would have exalted *Ugadai-Khan* to that Dignity, which he abſolutely refuſed, becauſe he had an Uncle and two elder Brothers living. This Diſpute laſted forty Days, when at a great Council his elder and younger Brother roſe up and ſaid, You have heard our Father's Will, your Modeſty ſhall not render us guilty of Impiety, we will execute his Will, if you will not; and ſo taking him, one by one Arm, and the other by the other, they forced him into the Imperial Chair againſt his Conſent, *A. D.* 1230. This Prince died ſuddenly in 1245. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Kajuk-Khan*, whom our Author ſtiles *Khen-Khan*, who died in the Year 1247, and was ſucceeded by *Mangu-Khan*, who held the Empire to the Year 1257, when he was ſucceeded by by *Koplai-Khan*, the ſame with whom our Author liv'd; and whom he calls *Kublai-Khan*. He reign'd in all thirty-five Years, and died in the Year 1292, which agrees very well with *Marco Polo*'s Relation.

Flaſk, or leather Bottle, with as much Water as he pleaſes, which while he rides, mixes together, and this is his Dinner.

When they encounter with their Enemies, they ride here and there ſhooting, and ſometimes make a Shew of Flight, ſhooting as they fly; and finding the Enemy broken, rejoin their Forces, and purſue the Victory, having their Horſes ſo at Command, as with a Sign to turn any Way. But now the *Tartars* are mixed and confounded, and ſo are their Faſhions. They puniſh Malefactors after this Manner; If any ſteal a Thing of ſmall Value, and is not to be deprived of Life, he is ſeven Times beaten with a Cudgel, or ſeventeen, or ſeven and twenty, or thirty and ſeven, or forty-ſeven, giving the Strokes according to the Meaſure and Quality of the Offence, and that unto an hundred: Some die through theſe Strokes. But if any have ſtolen an Horſe, or other Thing, for the which he deſerves to die, he is cut aſunder with a Sword in the Middle; but if he will redeem his Life he may, by reſtoring the Theft nine-fold. Such as have Horſes, Oxen, or Camels, brand them with their Marks, and ſend them to feed in the Paſtures without a Keeper. Leaving the City of *Caracarum* and the Mountain *Altai*, we come unto the champion Country of *Bargu*, which extends itſelf northwads about ſixty Days Journey in Length. The Inhabitants of theſe Places are called *Medites*, and they are ſubject to the Great Khan, and in Manners like the *Tartars*; they are a Sort of ſavage Men, and eat the Fleſh of Beaſts which they take by hunting, eſpecially Stags, of which they have Plenty, and they make them ſo tame that they can ride them; they have no Corn or Wine. In the Summer they chiefly practiſe hunting of wild Beaſts and Fowls, on the Fleſh whereof they may live in the Winter; for in Winter Fowls, as well as other living Things fly from thence on account of the Extremity of the Cold.

14. After forty Days Journey you come to the Ocean, near which is a Mountain, where Storks and fine Falcons breed, which are carried thence unto the Court of the Great Khan. Here we muſt return unto the City *Campion*; if therefore you proceed farther five Days' Journey from the City *Campion* towards the Eaſt, you come to the Kingdom of *Erginul*, in the Province of *Tangut*, ſubject to the Great Khan. In this Kingdom are many Idolaters; there are ſome *Neſtorian* Chriſtians and *Turks*; as alſo many Cities and Caſtles, of which *Erginul* is chief. From hence, if you proceed farther to the South-Eaſt, you may go to the Parts of *Cathay*. Going South-Eaſt towards *Cathay*, there is a certain famous City named *Cinguy*, the Name alſo of the Province, tributary unto the Great Khan contained in *Tangut*; the People are ſome Chriſtians, ſome *Mohammedans*, and others Idolaters. There are alſo found wild Oxen, very near as big as Elephants, very fair, having white and black Hair, ſhort in other Parts, and on the Shoulder three Palms long, fine, white, and in many Reſpects beyond Silk, of which Hair our Author brought ſome to *Venice* as a rare Thing. Many alſo of theſe Oxen are tamed, and made to couple with tame Kine, and the Breed of them are fitter for Buſineſs than any other Creatures, bear great Burthens, are yoaked to the Plough, and do twice as much Service as others.

The beſt Muſk in the World is found in this Province, and is taken from a Beaſt of the Bigneſs of a Goat, having Hair like a Stag, Feet and Tail like a Gazell, but without Horns. It hath four Teeth, two above and two beneath, of the Length of three Fingers, as white as Ivory, and is a very beautiful Creature. When the Moon is at full, near the Navel, under the Belly, there grows to this Beaſt an Impoſtume or Bladder, full of Blood, and at the Full Moon they go to hunt them, and take away that Swelling, which is dried in the Sun, and is the beſt Muſk; the Fleſh alſo is good to eat: Maſter *Marco* brought to *Venice* the Head and Feet of this Beaſt dried. The Men live by Merchandiſe and Arts, and have abundance of Corn. They are Idolaters, of a fat Body and little Noſe, black Hair, having no Beard but four Hairs on their Chin. The Women are wonderfully fair, and when the Men deſire to marry Wives, they rather make Choice of the Beautiful than the Noble or Rich. It often happens from hence, that a great Nobleman marries a poor Wife, if beautiful, aſſigning a Dowry to her Mother. This Province extends itſelf five and twenty Days Journey in Length, and is very fertile; in it are exceeding large Pheaſants, having Trains eight or ten Handfuls long; many other Kinds of Birds are alſo found there, which have very beautiful Feathers of various excellent Colours[k].

After eight Days Journey further Eaſt, you meet with the Province *Egrigaia*, in the which are many Cities and Caſtles; all but this lies ſtill in *Tangut*. The principal City is called *Calacia*, the Inhabitants thereof are Idolaters; there are three Churches of *Neſtorian* Chriſtians, who are ſubject to the Great Khan. In this City Camblets are made, woven of white Wool, and the Hair of Camels, than which there are ſcarce any better in the World. Eaſt from this Province of *Egrigaia*, lies that of *Tandach*, in which are many Cites and Caſtles, and here Preſbyter *John* reſides, who now pays Tribute to the Great Khan. The King of that Nation is called *George*, and is a Prieſt and a Chriſtian, and moſt of the People are Chriſtians. All the Great Khans, after his Death (who was ſlain in Battle by *Zingis*) give their Daughters to thoſe Kings to Wife. This King *George* holds not all that the Prieſt *John* before held, and is the Fourth of that Family[l]. There is a Nation there called *Argons*, more ſightly Men, and fitter for Merchandize than the reſt, deſcended of Idolaters and *Mohammedans*. There are alſo two Regions, where they dwell, which in thoſe Parts are called *Og* and *Magog*; but they which dwell there call them *Ung* and *Mongul*; in *Ung* are *Gog*, and in *Mongul* the *Tartars*. Riding Eaſt ſeven Days towards *Cathay* are many Cities peopled with Idolaters, *Mohammedans*, and *Neſtorians*. There is one City called *Sindicin*, where very excellent Arms are made of divers ſorts fit for Armies. In the Mountains of this Province are great Mines of Silver, and much Game, and the Country of the Mountains is called *Idiſa*.

Three Days Journey from the City laſt mentioned ſtands another City *Jangamur*, that is, *The White Lake*, where there is a Palace, in which the Great Khan delights, becauſe there are many Lakes and Rivers, many Swans, and in the Plains, Cranes, Pheaſants, Partridges, and other Fowls. There are five ſorts of Cranes there, ſome have black Wings like Crows, others are white, and bright, having their Feathers full of Eyes like Peacocks, but of a Golden Colour, the Neck black and white, very beautiful; a third ſort for Bigneſs not unlike ours; a fourth little, and very fair, intermingled with red and blue Colours; the fifth of a grizzle, or grey Colour, having red and black Heads, and theſe are very large; and near to this City lies a Valley, where are many Cottages, in which a great Number of Partridges are maintained, which are kept againſt the King's coming to lodge there for ſome Time. Three Days Journey North-Eaſtward, is the City *Ciandu*, which the Great Khan *Cublay* now reigning built, erecting therein a marvellous Palace of Marble, and other Stones, which extends to the Wall on the one Side, and the middle of the City on the other. He included ſixteen Miles, within the Circuit of the Wall on that Side, where the Palace joins the City Wall, into which none can enter but by the Palace. In this Incloſure or Park are pleaſant Meadows, Springs, Rivers, red and fallow Deer, Fawns carried thither for the Hawks, of which are mewed there about two hundred Ger-Falcons, which he goes once a Week to ſee, and he often uſeth one Leopard or more ſitting on Horſes, with which he hunts the Stag and Deer, and having taken the beſt, gives it to the Ger-Falcons, and in beholding this

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[k] This Account of the Muſk Animal is very exact, and contains nothing in it liable to Exception, which ſhews that where our Author relates Things of his own Knowledge, and which fall within the Compaſs of his Underſtanding, he may very well be relied on.

[l] There is the ſame Miſtake here, as in the Relation of *Rubruquis*. The People in *Europe* were extremely deſirous of learning ſome News of this Chriſtian Monarch, as they would needs have him to be; and therefore when our Author heard that this Prince was a *Neſtorian*, he took it for granted that he muſt be Preſbyter *John*; but as we have already ſet that Matter in a clear Light, we ſhall not trouble the Reader any farther with it at preſent.

Spectacle, he takes much Delight. In the midſt of a fair Wood, he hath built a Royal Houſe on Pillars gilded and varniſhed, on every one of which is a Dragon all gilt, which winds his Tail about the Pillar, with his Head bearing up the Roof, as alſo with his Wings diſplayed on both Sides; the Cover alſo is of Reeds gilt and varniſhed, ſo that the Rain can do it no Injury, the Reeds being three Handfuls thick, and ten Yards long, ſplit from Knot to Knot; the Houſe itſelf alſo may be pulled in Pieces, and taken down like a Tent, and erected again; for it is ſuſtained, when it is ſet up, with two hundred ſilken Cords. The Great Khan uſeth to dwell there three Months in the Year, *viz.* *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*. On the twenty-eighth Day of *Auguſt* he departeth to make a ſolemn Sacrifice. He hath an Herd of white Horſes, and white Mares, about ten thouſand, of the Milk whereof none may drink, except he be of the Imperial Race of *Zingis-Khan*, and except one Family called *Boriat*, who had this granted by *Zingis* for their Valour; and theſe Beaſts, as they go up and down feeding, are much reverenced, nor dare any go before them, or hinder them in their Way.

The Aſtrologers or Sorcerers tell the Khan, that on the twentieth of the Moon of *Auguſt*, he ſhall diſperſe that Milk here and there for the Honour of all Spirits, and his Idols, that they may be careful Preſervers of all things which he poſſeſſes. There are two ſorts of Idolaters called *Chebeth* and *Cheſmu*, which in the midſt of Storms aſcend the Palace, and ſuffer no Rain to fall thereon, which they make the People believe comes to paſs by their Sanctity, and therefore they go ſlovenly and negligent of their Perſons, never waſhing nor combing themſelves. They alſo have a horrible Cuſtom to dreſs and eat ſuch as are condemned to Death, but not thoſe which die naturally. They are called alſo *Bachſi*, which is the Name of their Order, as Friars, Predicants, or Minors with us; they ſeem by Magick to do what they liſt. When the Great Khan in his Hall ſits at his Table, it is raiſed eighty Yards high, and in the midſt of the Hall, a good Diſtance from the Table, is a great Cupboard of Plate, from whence theſe Sorcerers cauſe Wine or Milk to fill the Goblets, without any Hand touching them; this they do in the Preſence of any Man, whenever their Lord commands it. Theſe *Bachſi* alſo, when they have a mind to make Feaſts to their Idols, go to the Khan, and addreſs him thus, "Sir, You are to know that if our Idols be "not honoured with Sacrifices, they will bring Plagues on "Corn and Beaſts, and therefore we intreat you to give us the "Fleſh of ſo many Sheep, with black Heads, and ſo many "Pounds of Incenſe, and Lignum Aloes, that we may "make them due Sacrifice and Honour." This they ſpake not to him themſelves, but by certain Lords deputed to that Office, who ſpeak to the Khan, and obtain it. On the Feaſt-day they ſacrifice theſe Beaſts, and ſprinkle the Broth before the Idols.

They have great Monaſteries, ſome of the Bigneſs of a City, in ſeveral of which are about two thouſand Monks, who ſerve an Idol, ſequeſtrated from the Laity, as appears by their Shaving and Garments; for they ſhave their Heads and Beards, and wear a religious Garment. Theſe, in the Solemnities of their Idols, ſing with ſolemn Songs, and Lights; ſome of them may marry. There are ſome who obſerve ſtrict Abſtinence, called *Senſim*, leading an auſtere Life; for they eat nothing but Meal mingled with Water, till all the Flour be gone, and eat the Bran without any Savour. Theſe worſhip the Fire, and the Men of other Rules ſay, that theſe, which are ſo auſtere, are Hereticks againſt their Law, becauſe they worſhip not Idols as they do; and there are great Differences between them, and theſe marry not at all. They ſhave their Head and Beard, wear black hempen Garments, or of a bright yellow. They ſleep on thick Mats, and live the ſevereſt Life in the World.

15. In this Book I purpoſe to write all the great and marvellous Acts of the preſent *Khan* called *Cublai-Khan*, which is, if expreſſed in our Tongue, Lord of Lords, the greateſt Prince in People, Cities, and Treaſures, that ever was in the World, he being deſcended from the Progeny of *Zingis*, the firſt Prince of the *Tartars*, the ſixth Emperor of that Country, beginning to reign in the Year of our Lord 1256, being *twenty-ſeven Years old*[m], and ruling the People with great Wiſdom and Gravity. He is a valiant Man, exerciſed in Arms, ſtrong of Body, and of a lofty Mind, for the Performance of Matters before he attained to the Dignity of the Empire, which by his Wiſdom he did, againſt the Will of his Brethren. He often ſhewed himſelf a valiant Soldier in the Wars, and carried himſelf like a wiſer and bolder Captain than ever the *Tartars* had; yet ſince he ſwayed the Kingdom, he went but once into the Field, and ſends his Sons and other Captains on Expeditions.

In the Year of our Lord 1286, his Uncle, whoſe Name was *Naiam*, being thirty Years of Age, and having the Command of many People and Countries, ſo that he was able eaſily to bring together four hundred thouſand Horſe, being puffed-up through youthful Vanity, would no longer be ſubject, but would needs take away the Kingdom from his Lord *Cublai*, and ſent to another great Lord named *Caydu*, Lord of the Parts toward great *Turky*, who was Nephew of the Emperor *Cublai*, yet hated him, who yielding to his Motion for Rebellion, promiſed to come in Perſon with an hundred thouſand Horſe.

Both of them began to gather Forces, which could not be done ſo ſecretly, but *Cublai* heard of it, and preſently took order to ſet Guards on the Ways, that no Intelligence might paſs, and then aſſembled all the Forces, within ten Days Journey of *Cambalu*, with great Speed, ſo that in twenty Days were gathered together three hundred and ſixty thouſand Horſe, and one hundred thouſand Foot, a great Part of them Falconers, and Men of his Houſhold; with theſe he made Haſte Day and Night towards *Naiam*'s Country, where, at the End of twenty-five Days he arrived, altogether unlooked for, and reſted his Men two Days; then he called his Aſtrologers, and cauſed them, before all the Army, to divine who ſhould have Victory; a thing they uſe to encourage their Men, and they promiſed it to *Cublai*. One Morning whilſt *Naiam* was ſleeping negligently in his Tent, having not ſo much as ſent out any Scouts to gain Intelligence, *Cublai* made ſhew of his Army upon a Hill, himſelf ſat in a certain Caſtle of Wood, full of Archers and Croſs-bow Men, born by four Elephants, on the Top whereof was the royal Standard, with the Images of the Sun and Moon. He divided his Army into three Bodies, of which he ſent that on the Right-hand, and the other on the Left againſt *Naiam*'s Army. To every ten thouſand Horſe were aſſigned five hundred Foot, with Lances, taught to leap up behind the Horſemen, if any Occaſion of Flight happened, and ſuddenly, on Advantage, to light and kill the Enemies Horſes with their Lances: *Caidu* was not yet come.

The Battles joined, and made a cruel Fight, which continued from Morning till Noon, and then was *Naiam* taken and brought before *Cublai*, who commanded that he ſhould be ſewed betwixt two Carpets, which ſhould be toſs'd up and down, till the Breath was out of his Body, that ſo the Imperial Blood might not be expoſed to the Sun or to the Air. The Remainder of his People ſware Obedience to *Cublai*, which were four Nations, *Ciazza*, *Carli*, *Barſcol* and *Sitinqui*. *Naiam* was ſecretly baptized, and by Profeſſion a Chriſtian, but no Follower of the Works of Faith, yet he ſigned his principal Enſign with the

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[m] The Year of this Emperor's Age, at the Time of his Acceſſion, is put in a different Character, becauſe none of the MSS. have it at all, and it is alſo omitted in ſeveral of the printed Editions; we cannot therefore fairly charge the Author with the Miſtake in it, which conſiſts of ten Years, that Prince at the Time of his Acceſſion being thirty-ſeven Years old, or rather in the thirty-eighth Year of his Age. There ſeems alſo to be an Error in the Year of his Reign, but that is eaſily corrected, ſince, as that Prince was rais'd to the Imperial Dignity in the Month of *January*, *Marco Polo*, who reckons according to the *Tartar* Year, places it in 1256, whereas we computing from the beginning of the Month of *January*, make it 1257. The genealogical Hiſtory of the *Tartars* informs us of the breaking-out of a civil War upon the Election of this Emperor, tho' it gives us ſomewhat a different Account of the Concluſion of it, in which our Author might be eaſily miſtaken, ſince he owns what he delivers was from Hearſay. However, the Exactneſs as to Dates is truly wonderful, ſince in the Compaſs of one hundred Years after theſe Travels were publiſh'd, we had no authentick Hiſtory of the *Tartars* in *Europe*, and conſequently neither *Marco Polo*, nor his Editors, could have any Opportunity of correcting their Accounts, ſo as to make them correſpond with the genealogical Hiſtory before-mention'd. This Remark is an invincible Proof of our Author's Veracity, and of the Value of his Work.

Sign of the Croſs, having with him infinite Numbers of Chriſtians, who were all ſlain.

The *Jews* and *Saracens* that were in the Army of *Cublai*, began to upbraid the Chriſtians with this Diſaſter of the Croſs, who complain'd of it to *Cublai*; he ſharply reproved the *Jews* and *Saracens* for this Behaviour, and then turning to the Chriſtians, he ſaid, "Surely, your God and "his Croſs, would not give any Aid to *Naiam*, but be "not you therefore aſhamed, becauſe God being good "and juſt, ought not to defend Injuſtice, or Iniquity. "*Naiam* was a Traitor to his Lord, and contrary to "all Equity, raiſed Rebellion, and ſought the Help of "your God in his miſchievous Purpoſe; but he, as a "good and upright God, would not favour his Deſigns."

He returned after this with great Triumph to *Cambalu*, and ſtaid there till *Eaſter*. On that Day he called the Chriſtians before him, and kiſſed their Goſpels, and made his Barons do the ſame. He does the like on the great Feaſts of the *Saracens*, *Jews* and *Heathens*, that *Segomamber-Khan*, the God of the Idols, *Mohammed*, *Moſes*, or whoſoever is greateſt in Heaven, might help him; yet he made beſt ſhew of liking to the Chriſtian Faith, but pretended, the Ignorance of the *Neſtorian* Prieſts, and the mighty Acts of the Sorcerers, hindered his profeſſing it.

For the better rewarding his Soldiers, he kept twelve Barons or Counſellors, who gave him Notice of each Captain's Merit; and accordingly he raiſed them from the Command of one hundred to a thouſand, and from one thouſand to ten thouſand, and ſo on, giving them Veſſels of Plate and Tablets. The Captain of one hundred hath a Tablet of Silver; and the Captain of a thouſand, of Gold or Silver gilded; the Captain of ten thouſand has a Tablet of Gold, and a Lyon's Head on it. The Weight of the Tablets differ alſo according to the Dignity. On the ſaid Tablet is written a Command in this Manner: "By the Strength "and Power of the Great God, and by the Grace which "he hath given to our Empire, the Name of Khan be "bleſſed, and let them all die, and be deſtroyed, which "will not obey him." All Officers who have theſe Tablets have Privileges in writing of all things, which they are to do and demand; and the Generals, when they ride in publick, have a Cloth born over their Heads, and when they ſit, it is on a Chair of Silver. Their Tablet is of three hundred Sagi, which is equal to fifty Ounces of Gold, with the Images of the Sun and Moon, ſuch as have a Tablet, with a Ger-Falcon thereon, may take with them for their Guard the whole Army of a great Commander. *Cublai* is a comely, handſome Man, of middle Stature, of a very freſh Complexion, black and bright Eyes, well-faſhioned Noſe, and all the Lineaments of his Body conſiſting of due Proportion. He has four Wives, who are eſteemed lawful, and the firſt-born of them is to ſucceed him in the Kingdom, and every one of them is called Empreſs, and holdeth a peculiar Court, and that in a magnificent Palace, having about three hundred Women to attend her, and many Eunuchs Servants, and at leaſt ten thouſand Perſons in their Families.

The Grand Khan hath alſo many Concubines. There is likewiſe a Nation of fair People among the *Tartars* called *Virgut*, where every ſecond Year he ſends Embaſſadors to make Search for the faireſt young Women for him; who returning, bring him four or five hundred more or leſs, as they ſee Cauſe. There are Examiners appointed to take a View of all their Beauties, examining Eyes, Noſe, Mouth, *&c.* apart, and ſet a Price on them at ſixteen, ſeventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, or more Carats, and they bring thoſe of that rate, which their Commiſſion appoints; theſe he cauſes to be received by other Examiners, and of ſo many perhaps chuſes thirty for his Chamber of the chief, which he puts to ſome of his Barons Wives to ſee if they ſnore not in their Sleep, if in Smell or Behaviour they be not offenſive; thoſe which are approved are by Fives divided, each fifth Part waiting three Days and Nights in his Chamber by courſe, the other in the next Lodgings preparing whatſoever theſe command them. The leſs priſed are put to Cookery, and other Offices, and ſometimes the Khan beſtows them on Gentlemen, with great Portions. The Men of that Country eſteem it a Grace and Credit to have Daughters worthy his liking; and think themſelves born under an ill Planet, if they are not kept when ſent to Court.

Cublai had two-and-twenty Sons by his four legitimate Wives, and the Firſt-born of his firſt Wife was called *Zingis*, who would have ſucceeded him in the Empire, if he had not died before his Father. He left a Son named *Timur*, a valiant Man, wiſe, and experienced in Arms, who is to ſucceed his Grandfather in the Empire, inſtead of his deceaſed Father; but by his Concubines he hath five-and-twenty Sons, all which are daily exerciſed in Feats of Arms, and are great Lords; ſeven of his Sons by his Wives are Kings of great Provinces, and maintain their States with great Reputation.

16. Three Months of the Year, that is, *December*, *January*, and *February*, *Cublai* reſides ordinarily in *Cambalu*[a], which is at the North-Eaſt Border of *Cathay*; and there, on the South Part by the new City, is ſeated a great Palace; firſt there is a great Wall, each Square being eight Miles, with a deep Ditch environing, and a Gate in the middle of each; after which is the Space of a Mile in Circuit, where Soldiers ſtand; after this is another Court of ſix Miles ſquare, with three Gates on the South-ſquare, and three on the North; that which is in the midſt, being in both the greater, and kept ſhut, except when the Khan paſſeth that Way; the other is always open to others; in each Corner of this Wall, and in the midſt is a fair Palace, eight in all very large, in which are kept the Khan's Ammunitions, and Furniture of all Sorts; for Horſes in one, in another Bows and Shooting Artillery; in a third, Caſtlets, Cuiraſſes, and Leather Armour; and ſo in the reſt.

Within this Circuit is another Wall like the former, very thick and ten Paces high, all the Battlements white, the Walls ſquare, each Square a Mile in Length, with ſix Gates as the former, and eight Palaces alſo very large, wherein are the Khan's Proviſions; between theſe two laſt Walls are alſo many fair Trees and Meadows, in which are Deer with other Game, and Store of Graſs, the Paths being raiſed two Cubits to ſpare it. No Dirt or Puddles of Water, being therein. Within this laſt Wall is the Palace of the Great Khan, the greateſt that hath been ſeen, extending to the Wall on the North and South, and open where the Barons and Soldiers paſs. It hath no Cieling but a very high Roof; the Foundation of the Pavement ten Palms high, with a Wall of Marble round about it two Paces wide, as it were a Walk. At the End of the Wall without, is a fair Turret with Pillars. In the Walls of the Halls and Chambers, are carved Dragons, Soldiers, Birds, Beaſts of divers kinds, Hiſtories of Wars gilded; the Roof is ſo made, that nothing is ſeen but Gold and Imagery; in every Square of the Palace is a great Hall, capable of holding a Multitude of People; the Chambers are diſpoſed the beſt that may be deviſed: The Roof is red, green, azure, and of all Colours. Behind the Palace are great Rooms and private Store-houſes for his Treaſure and Jewels, for his Women, and other private Purpoſes.

Over-againſt the ſaid Palace of the Khan, is another for *Zingis* his Son, whoſe Court was in all Things like his Father's. Near this Palace towards the North, is a Mount made by Hand, a Mile in Compaſs, one Hundred Paces high, adorn'd with Trees, that are always green; unto this Mountain the King commands all the Trees to be brought from remote Parts, lading Elephants with them, for they are taken up with the Roots, and are tranſplanted in this Mountain; and becauſe this Mountain is always green, it is called the *Green Mountain*: And where the Earth of the Mount was taken away, are two Lakes anſwering each other, with a ſmall River ſupplying them with ſtored Fiſh, and ſo grated, that the Fiſh cannot get out.

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[a] There have been large Diſſertations written upon this Deſcription of our Author, and great Diſputes about the City here deſcribed; ſome will have it one Place, ſome another, becauſe it is a *Tartar* Appellation; and modern Writers ſpeak of this City by another Name. We have not either Time or Room to waſte in this Controverſy; and therefore we ſhall cut it ſhort. *Marco Polo* wrote by the Ear chiefly, and therefore ſet down *Cambalu* for *Khanbalik*, i. e. the Imperial City; and it is allow'd, that *Khan-balick*, is the City of *Peking*, the preſent Metropolis of *China*, of which we ſhall hereafter have Occaſion to ſpeak at large in another Place; and ſhall therein take an Opportunity of juſtifying the Accounts given us in the Text by *Marco Polo*.

The City of *Cambalu* in the Province of *Cathay*, ſeated on a great River was famous, and the Royal Seat in ancient Times; and this Name *Cambalu* ſignifies the City of the Lord or Prince. This City the Great Khan removed to the other Side of the River where the Palaces are, for he underſtood by the Aſtrologers, that it would rebel againſt the Empire. This new-built City is called *Taidu*, and he commanded all the *Cathayans* to go out of the Old City into the New; which contains in Compaſs four and twenty Miles, every Side of the Square containing ſix Miles. It hath Walls of Earth ten Paces thick at the Bottom, and at the Top but three, as growing by little and little thinner. The Battlements are white, every Square of the Wall hath three principal Gates which are twelve in all, having ſumptuous Palaces built over them. There are alſo certain Pavilions in the Angles of the Walls where the Arms of the Garriſon, which are one Thouſand at each Gate, are kept. The Buildings are ſquared, and the Streets laid very ſtrait by Line throughout this City; ſo that from one Gate a free Proſpect opens through the City to the oppoſite Gate; having very ſtately Houſes built on both Sides like Palaces, with Gardens and Courts, divided according to the Heads of Families: In the midſt of the City is a certain noble Building, wherein hangeth a very great Bell; after the tolling whereof in the Night, no Man muſt go out of his Houſe until the Beginning of the Day following, except it be for ſome extraordinary Cauſe, as for a Woman in Travail, and then they are compelled to carry Lights with them.

Without the City of *Cambalu*, are twelve large Suburbs three or four Miles long, adjoining to each of the twelve Gates, more inhabiting in the Suburbs than in the City; here Merchants and Strangers live, each Nation having ſeveral Store-houſes, or Burſes, in which they lodge. No dead Corps of any Man is burned within this City, but the Bodies of Idolaters are burned without the Suburbs, where the dead Bodies of other Sects are buried, and becauſe an huge Multitude of *Saracens* inhabit there; they have above twenty-five thouſand Harlots in the Suburbs and in the City; and theſe have a chief Captain appointed over every hundred and thouſand, and one General, whoſe Office is, that when Embaſſadors come, or ſuch as have Buſineſs with the Khan, whoſe Charges he defrays, then this Captain giveth every Embaſſador, and every Man of his Family, a Change of Women every Night at Free-coſt, for this is their Tribute. The Guards, every Night, carry ſuch to Priſon whom they find walking late; and if they be found guilty, they are beaten with Cudgels, for the *Bachſi* tell them, that it is not good to ſhed Man's Blood; but many die of theſe Beatings. The Great Khan hath in his Court twelve thouſand Horſe-men, which they call *Caſitan*, faithful Soldiers of their Lord, who guard his Perſon, more for State than Fear; and four Captains have the Charge of theſe, whereof every one commandeth three thouſand. When one Captain, with three thouſand Soldiers within the Palace, hath guarded the King for three Days and Nights, another Captain, with his Soldiers, ſucceeds; and ſo, throughout the Year, this Courſe of watching by Turns is obſerved [o].

When on account of any feſtival Day, he keeps a ſolemn Court, his Table, which is higher than the reſt of the Tables, is ſet at the North Part of the Hall, his Face is to the South, having the firſt Queen on his Left-hand, that is, his principal Wife; and his Sons and Nephews, and thoſe of the Royal Blood, on his Right; yet their Table is in a lower Place, ſo that they ſcarce touch the King's Feet with their Heads, the Seat of the eldeſt being higher than the reſt; the Princes ſit in a lower Place than that; their Wives alſo obſerve the like Order: Firſt, the Khan's Sons Wives and his Kinſmen ſit lower on the Left-hand, and after thoſe, of the Lords, and of every Captain and Nobleman, each in their Degree and Order; and the Emperor himſelf, while he ſits at his Table, may caſt his Eyes upon all that feaſt with him in that Hall. There are not Tables for them all to ſit; but the greateſt Part of the Soldiers and Barons eat on Carpets. At all the Doors ſtand two gigantick Fellows with Cudgels, to ſee that none touch the Threſhold, which, if he does, they take his Garment away, which he muſt redeem by receiving ſo many Blows as ſhall be appointed, or elſe loſe them. They who ſerve the King, and thoſe ſitting at the Table, all of them cover their Mouths with Silk, leſt their breathing, ſhould by any means touch the King's Meat or Drink: And when he hath a mind to drink, the Damſel who giveth it goes back three Paces and kneels down, and then the Barons and all the People kneel, and the Muſicians ſound their Inſtruments. There is no Cauſe, ſince I would avoid Prolixity, why I ſhould write any thing concerning the Meats which are brought to the Table, how dainty and delicate they are, and with what Magnificence and Pomp they are ſerved in.

All the *Tartars* obſerve this Cuſtom to celebrate the Birth-day of their Lord moſt honourably. The Birth-day of *Cublai* is kept the twenty-eighth of *September*, and this Day he accounteth more ſolemn than any in the whole Year, except the firſt of *February*, on which they begin the Year. The King therefore, on his Birth-day, is clothed in a moſt precious Garment of Gold, and about two thouſand Barons and Soldiers are clothed in the ſame Colour of Gold, though of Silk Stuff, and a Girdle wrought in Gold and Silver, which is given them, with a Pair of Shoes. Some wear Pearls and Garments of great Price, who are next to the Khan; and theſe Garments are not worn but on thirteen ſolemn Feaſts, according to the thirteen Moons of the Year, all are then clothed like Kings. This Cuſtom is alſo obſerved by the *Tartars*, that on the Birth-day of Great Khan, all the Kings, Princes, and Nobles, who are ſubject to his Dominions, ſhould ſend Preſents unto him, as to their Emperor; and they who deſire to tain any Place of Dignity or Office of him, offer their Petitions unto twelve Barons appointed for that Purpoſe; and what they decree is all one as if the Emperor himſelf had anſwered them. All People alſo of what Faith or Sect ſoever, whether *Chriſtians* or *Jews*, *Saracens*, or *Tartars*, and *Pagans*, are bound ſolemnly to call upon their Gods, for the Life, Safety, and Proſperity of the Great Khan [p].

On the Firſt of *February*, which is the Beginning of the *Tartar* Year, the Great Khan, and all the *Tartars*, whereſoever they are, celebrate a very ſolemn Feaſt, and all, as well Men as Women, deſire to be clothed in white Garments as a Token of good Luck; therefore, that Fortune may favour them all the Year, they wear white at the Beginning thereof. The Rulers of Cities, and Governors of Provinces, mindful of their Duty, ſend unto their Emperor this Day Preſents of Gold and Silver, Pearls and precious Stones, many white Cloths, and other white Things, and many Horſes of a white Colour. The reſt of the *Tartars*, at the Beginning of the Year, ſend white Preſents one to another. It is the Cuſtom of thoſe who bring Preſents, if they can, of each, to preſent nine Times nine, as if they ſend Horſes to preſent nine Nines, that is eighty-one; and ſo of Gold, of Cloths, and other Things; that ſometimes he hath, by this Reckoning, one hundred thouſand Horſes. Alſo, at this happy Seaſon, all the Elephants which the Emperor hath, (five thouſand in Number) are brought unto the Court, covered with Tapiſtry, in the Similitudes of divers Beaſts and Fowls being portrayed therein, carrying upon their Shoulders two Cheſts full of gold and ſilver Veſſels; many Cames are alſo brought, covered with fine ſilken Cloths, which bring other Things neceſſary for the Court.

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[o] This Method of poſting Guards and relieving them, was extremely ancient in the Eaſt, as appears from the Accounts given us by the *Greek* Writers of the Oeconomy in this reſpect of the *Perſian* Emperors; and it is ſtill practiſed by almoſt all the *Tartar* Princes, and particularly by the Great Mogul, as we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew in the ſecond Volume.

[p] This Account agrees exactly with what is related from Authors of good Credit in Dr. *Hyde*'s moſt learned Treatiſe of the Religion of the ancient *Perſians*, with reſpect to the Ceremonies obſerved on the Birth-day of the Emperor, and at the Beginning of the new Year. Indeed the Conformity is ſo great, that one might be tempted to believe there is a nearer Relation between the *Tartars* and the ancient *Perſians*, than is commonly imagined; and I muſt confeſs, that I cannot, for my own part, help thinking that the Religion of the *Tartars* is very nealy the ſame with that of the old *Perſians*, that is to ſay, I apprehend the Lamas of the one correſpond with the Magi among the others.

On this Day, in the Morning, all the King's Captains, Barons, Soldiers, Phyſicians, Aſtrologers, and Governors of Provinces, and Armies, and other Officers of the Empire, aſſemble in the great Hall before the King, and they who happen to have no Place there, for the Multitude ſtand in another Place, where they may ſee them, all being placed in their Order and Degree. One riſeth, who is amongſt their Clergy as a Prelate, and crieth with a loud Voice, *Bow down and adore*, and preſently all do Reverence, bending down their Foreheads to the Earth; then he ſaith, *God preſerve our Lord with long Life and Joy*; and all anſwer, *God grant*; then he ſaith, *God increaſe and advance his Empire, and preſerve his Subjects in Peace, Concord, and Proſperity*; and all anſwer, *God grant*; and this they do four Times, then the Adoration being finiſhed, the ſame Prelate goes to an Altar, richly adorned, on which is a red Table, whereon is written the Name of the Khan; and taking a Cenſer, and putting Spices therein, they perfume the Table and the Altar with great Reverence, in Honour of the Great Khan, and ſo return to their Places; after which are offered the Gifts of which we have ſpoken; and then the Tables are prepared, and a moſt ſolemn Dinner held, eating and drinking with great Joy with their Wives, in manner before deſcribed. And laſtly, a tame Lion is brought to the King, which, lying at his Feet like a gentle Whelp, acknowledgeth and careſſes his Lord.

In thoſe three Months in which we ſaid before, the Emperor reſides in the City of *Cambalu*, *viz.* in *December*, *January*, and *February*, all the Hunters which the Emperor hath in all his Provinces round about the Province of *Cathay*, apply themſelves to hunting, and bring all the larger wild Beaſts, ſuch as Stags, Bears, Roe-bucks, Wild Boars and Deer, to their Governors; who if they be diſtant from the Emperor's Court leſs than thirty Days Journey, ſend ſuch Beaſts as are taken, by Waggons or Ships, to the Emperor; having firſt bowelled them: But ſuch as are forty Days diſtant from his Court, ſend only the Skins which are neceſſary for making of Armour. He hath many Leopards and Wolves for Hunting, and many Lions alſo greater than thoſe which are in *Babylon*, in the Hair whereof certain little Beams appear of divers Colours, *viz.* white, black and red, and they are bred to catch Bears, Boars, Stags, Roe-bucks, wild Aſſes, and wild Oxen, and it is marvellous to ſee the Lion's Fierceneſs and Dexterity in this Sort of Hunting; two Lions are commonly carried in one Waggon when they go to hunt, and with them a Dog, with which they are tamed; and they carry them in this Faſhion becauſe of their Fury and Unrulineſs; and they muſt carry them contrary to the Wind, for elſe the Beaſts would ſcent them and flee. He hath alſo many tame Eagles which are ſo taught, that they take Hares, Roe-bucks, Deer and Foxes; among which, ſome of them fear not to ſeize upon Wolves, and vex them ſo grievouſly, that without Labour and Danger they may be taken by them.

The Great Kan hath in his Court two which are Brethren, one called *Boyan*, the other *Mingan*; called in the *Tartar* Language *Ciurco*, that is, Maſters of the Game; each of them hath the Command of ten thouſand Men: They which are under one of them, are cloathed in Red; the others in Sky Colour; when they hunt, theſe keep diverſe Sorts of Dogs, to the Number of five thouſand Maſtiffs and others. In Hunting they go with their People one on the Right-hand, and the other on the Left; and the King and they take up ſo great a Length of the Plain, that from one End to the other is a Day's Journey, ſo that no Beaſt can eſcape them; and it is great Pleaſure when the Khan goes in the midſt to ſee the Dogs follow Harts, Bears, and all other wild Beaſts. Theſe Brethren are bound by Covenant from the Beginning of *October* to the End of *March*, to bring to the Court one Thouſand Head of Beaſts and Birds, beſides Quails and Fiſhes, the beſt they can, in ſuch Proportion.

17. The Month of *March* coming in, the Great Khan departeth from the City of *Cambalu*, and proceedeth North-eaſtward towards the Ocean, diſtant thence two Days Journey, bringing with him about ten thouſand Falconers, who have Falcons, Hawks, Ger-Falcons, and other kind of Fowls of Prey, fit for Hawking. Theſe Falcons diſperſe themſelves by an hundred or two hundred in a Company, and the Birds that are taken for the moſt part are brought unto the King, who by reaſon of his Gout, ſitteth in a wooden Houſe, which two Elephants carry covered with the Skins of Lions, and within hung with Cloth of Gold, having with him for his Recreation twelve choice Hawks, and twelve Courtiers; many Noblemen and Soldiers ride by, who guard the King's Perſon, who when they ſee Pheaſants, or Cranes, or other Birds flying in the Air, ſpeak to the Falconers, who are near the King, and they ſignify the ſame unto the King, uncover the King's Houſe, and let their Falcons and Hawks fly, and the King ſitting on his Bed beholds the Paſtime of the Birds. Other ten thouſand Men go alſo with the King, who in that Hawking run hither and thither by two and two, and mark whither the Falcons and Hawks fly that are caſt from the Fiſt, that if need be they may help them, and theſe in the *Tartars* Language are called *Toſcaol*, that is to ſay, Watchmen, or Markſmen, being ſkilful in a certain kind of Whiſtle, wherewith they call in the Hawks that are flown; nor is it needful that the Falconer, who let the Hawks fly, ſhould follow them, ſeeing theſe of whom I now ſpeak are buſily employed in taking up the Hawks, and are careful, that by no means they are hurt or loſt; and every flying Hawk carrieth a little Table of Silver on her Foot, ſigned with the Mark of her Maſter, or Falconer, that if ſhe be loſt, ſhe may be reſtored to her Owner[q].

But if the Mark cannot be known, the Hawk is delivered to a certain Baron, who for this Cauſe is called *Bulangazi*, to whom are brought all loſt things (otherwiſe the Finder would be puniſhed as a Thief) and to him Loſers reſort to enquire of things loſt. He hath a moſt eminent Place noted by his Enſign, that in ſo great an Aſſembly of People he may always be known. While they are thus buſied in Sporting and Hawking, they come into a certain great Plain called *Carzarmodin*, where the Tents of the King, and all the Courtiers are prepared, about ten thouſand in Number.

The firſt is the Khan's Pavilion, under which ten thouſand Soldiers ſtand, beſides Barons and Noblemen, with the Door to the South, ſuſtained by three Pillars, wrought with curious and excellent carved Work, and covered with the Skins of Lions, and other wild Beaſts, which keep out Rain; but within the Walls of the Pavillion are covered with moſt coſtly Skins of Ermines and Sables, although in thoſe Countries theſe Skins are accounted moſt precious, ſo that ſometimes Skins worth two thouſand Sultanines of Gold are ſcarce ſufficient for one Pair of Veſts. The *Tartars* call the Sable the *Queen* of *Furs*; the Cords wherewith theſe Pavilions are ſupported are of Silk. There are alſo other Pavilions erected, wherein the Wives, Sons and Concubines of the King remain. Further alſo the Falcons, Hawks, Ger-Falcons, and other Birds, which ſerve for Hawking, have their Tents; for there is ſo great a Multitude of Tents, that to them that come thither, it ſeems at a Diſtance, as if a famous City was built there.

The King remains all *March* in that Plain, and takes innumerable Beaſts, and infinite Multitudes of Fowl; for no Man may at this time hunt in all the Provinces of that Kingdom, at the leaſt within five Days Journey one Way, ten another, and fifteen a third Way, of the Khan's Court, nor keep an Hunting Dog, or an Hawk, from the Beginning of *March* until the Month of *October*. No Man is permitted to uſe any Device or Engine whatſoever to take Stags, Deer, Roe-bucks, or Hares, leſt he ſhould hinder their Breed; and hence it is, that there is ſuch Plenty of Game. It is incredible what Multitudes of People, Merchants, and Merchandiſes of all ſorts are ſeen in *Cambalu*. The Money of the Great Khan is not made of Gold, or Silver, or other Metal; but they take the middle Bark from the Mulberry-tree, and this they make firm, and cut into divers round Pieces, great and little, and imprint the King's Mark thereon; of this Paper-Money therefore the Emperor cauſeth an huge Maſs to be made in the City of *Cambalu*, which ſufficeth for the whole Empire, and no Man under Pain of Death may coin any other, or ſpend any other Money, or refuſe it in all his Kingdoms and Countries, nor any coming from another Kingdom dare ſpend any other Money in the Empire of the Great Khan. Hence it follows, that Merchants often coming from remote Countries unto the City of *Cambalu*, bring with them Gold, Silver, Pearl, and Precious Stones, and receive the King's Money for them; and becauſe this Money is not received in their Country, they change it again, in the Empire of the Great Khan, for Merchandize, which they carry away with them. He alſo payeth Stipends to his Officers, and Army, in the abovementioned Money. And laſtly, whatever thing he needs in his Court, he buyeth with this Money. Wherefore there is not a King to be found in the World, who exceedeth him in Treaſure, not expended on the Mint, as elſewhere.

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[q] It may not be amiſs to remind the Reader, that this Paſſage of our Author confirms what we have before met with in the Accounts of the *Arabian* Travels, and in the Relation of the Monk *Rubruquis*. It is alſo very clear from the whole of this Account, that the Notions generally received of the Barbarity, Stupidity, and Want of Genius among the *Tartars*, are not extreamly well founded, but are rather to be ranked among thoſe Prejudices which are the Effects of ſpeaking or thinking without juſt Motives, or, in plain *Engliſh*, are the Effects of Ignorance.

The Great Khan hath twelve Barons, as is ſaid, before which are the Council of War, who diſpoſe of martial Affairs, and the exalting or diſgracing of Captains and Soldiers. Their Office is called *Thai*, that is, the High Court, becauſe they have none above them but the Khan. Other twelve Barons are appointed Counſellors for the four-and-thirty Provinces, which have a fair Palace in *Cambalu*, in which is for every Province a Judge, and many Notaries. Theſe have Power to chuſe Governors of the ſaid Provinces, and preſent their Names to the Khan, who confirms them. Theſe alſo have the Charge of the Treaſure to collect and diſpenſe the ſame; their Office is called *Singh*, that is, the ſecond Court, ſubject to none but the Khan, yet reputed leſs noble than the former, that being a military Eſtabliſhment.

There are many publick Roads from the City of *Cambalu*, which conduct to the neighbouring Provinces, and in every one of them, at the End of five and twenty, or thirty Miles, are Lodgings or Inns built called *Lambs*, that is, Poſt-houſes, with large and fair Courts, Chambers furniſhed with Beds, and other Proviſions, every way fit to entertain great Men, nay, even to lodge a King. The Proviſions are laid in from the Country adjacent; there are about four hundred Horſes, which are in Readineſs for Meſſengers and Embaſſadors, who there leave their tired Horſes, and take freſh; and in mountainous Places, where are no Villages, he ſends People to inhabit, about ten thouſand at a Place, where theſe Lambs or Poſt-Houſes are built, and they cultivating the Ground for their Proviſions. Theſe excellent Regulations continue unto the utmoſt Limits of the Empire, ſo that in the publick Ways throughout the whole Empire, about ten thouſand of the King's Inns are found; and the Number of the Horſes appointed for the Service of the Meſſengers in thoſe Inns, are more than two hundred thouſand, a thing almoſt incredible, hence it is that in a little while, with Change of Men and Horſe, Intelligence comes without Stop to the Court; and if any wonder how ſo many Men and Beaſts ſhould be provided for, he muſt conſider, that the *Moors* and *Gentiles* have many Women, and by them abundance of Children, ſome having thirty Sons, which follow them, armed; and for Victuals, they ſow three kinds of Seeds, Rice, Panike, and Millet, which yield an hundred Fold. They make no Bread, but boil theſe with Milk, or Fleſh. Wheat will not ſo increaſe with them, nor ſuffer they any Ground, which will bear, to lie untilled; and the Cattle continually increaſe, ſo that each of them carries with him ſix, eight, or more Horſes into the Field, for his own Perſon. The Horſes are employed by Turns, ſo that of the four hundred, two hundred are in the Stables ready, the other two hundred at Graſs, each a Month at a Time. Their Cities alſo that are adjoining to Rivers or Lakes are appointed to have Ferry-boats in Readineſs for the Poſts, and Cities on the Borders of Deſarts are directed to have Horſes and Proviſions, for the Uſe of ſuch as paſs through thoſe Deſarts; but have a reaſonable Allowance for this Service of the Khan. In Caſes of great Conſequence, the Poſt rides with a Ger-Falcon Table, and is equipped ſo, that he will ride two hundred Miles in a Day, or two hundred and fifty ſometimes; alſo they ride all Night, Foot-Poſts running by them with Lights, if the Moon does not ſhine.

They ſound a Horn, that the freſh Horſes may be brought forth for them to mount preſently, and having their Bellies and Heads girded, they run as faſt as the Horſe can go; and thoſe which are able to endure this exceſſive riding, are on that Account in great Reputation among them, who admire nothing ſo much as Horſemanſhip. There are alſo between theſe Inns other Habitations, three or four Miles diſtant one from another, in which there are a few Houſes, where Foot-Poſts live, having each of them his Girdle hung full of ſhrill ſounding Bells. Theſe keep themſelves always ready, and as often as the Khan's Letters are ſent to them, convey them ſpeedily to the Poſts at the next Village, who, hearing the Sound of the Foot-Poſt coming, when at a Diſtance, expect him, and receive his Letters, preſently carry them to the next Watch; and ſo the Letters paſſing through ſeveral Hands, are conveyed, without Delay, to the Place whither they ought to come: And it often happens, that the King by this learns News, or receives new Fruits from a Place, ten Days Journey Diſtance in two Days. As for inſtance, Fruits growing at *Cambalu*, in the Morning, by the next Day at Night are at *Xandu*; but all the beforementioned Poſts are free from all Tribute, and receive a great Recompence from their Labours from the King's Rent-gatherers beſides. Some alſo are appointed to examine theſe Poſts Monthly, and to puniſh their Faults, if they are fairly convicted.

He ſends yearly to the divers Provinces of his Empire, to enquire whether any Prejudice be done to the Corn, by Tempeſts, Locuſts, Worms, or any other Means; and when he hath Notice given him, that any Province or City hath ſuſtained any Damage, he remits his Tribute to that People for that Year, and ſends Grain for Victual and for Seed out of his own Granaries; for in a time of great Plenty the King buys abundance of Corn, and keeps it with great Care by his Officers, three or four Years in Granaries, that when there happens to be a Scarcity of Corn in one Country, that Defect may be ſupplied out of the King's Store-houſes in another. He ſelleth his Grain for a fourth Part of the common Price, and always provides, that his Store-houſes are kept fully ſupplied. Likewiſe when any Murrain lights among Cattle, he ſends them other Cattle, which he has for Tenths in other Provinces; and if a Thunderbolt has ſtricken any Beaſt of any Herd or Flock, he receives no Tribute from it for three Years, let the Herd be ever ſo great; neither will he receive any Cuſtom of a Thunder-ſtricken Sheep, as thinking God is angry with them that are ſo ſtricken.

Likewiſe that Travellers may diſcern all Places able to bear Trees, he hath cauſed Trees to be planted, at a convenient Diſtance one from another, near the principal Roads, and in the ſandy and deſart Places he hath cauſed Stones and Pillars to be erected for that Purpoſe, and Officers are appointed to look to theſe things. He plants Trees the rather becauſe his Aſtrologers tell him, that planting Trees lengthens the Life of Man. They make excellent Drink in the Province of *Cathay*, of Rice, and divers Spices, which in the Taſte thereof excels the Flavour even of Wine; and they who drink more greedily thereof than is fit, or the Nature of the Drinker can bear, become ſooner intoxicated than if they had drank Wine.

Through the whole Province of *Cathay*, certain black Stones are dug out of the Mountains, which put into the Fire, burn like Wood, and being kindled, preſerve Fire a long Time, and if they be kindled in the Evening, they keep Fire all the Night[r]; and many uſe thoſe Stones, becauſe that though they have plenty of Wood, yet is there ſuch frequent uſe of Stones and Laths, that the Wood would not ſerve.

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[r] The Reader will eaſily diſcern, that what our Author ſpeaks of here with ſo much Wonder, is, in truth, nothing more than a Coal Mine, which might appear very ſtrange to him, who very probably had never ſeen or heard of any ſuch thing; but ſome of the Miſſionaries ſeem to be inexcuſable, who have dreſſed up this Matter with ſuch pompous Expreſſions, as might induce unwary Readers to believe, that the *Chineſe* dug Fire out of the Earth, and that they laid it up in Cellars or Vaults; whereas after all, there is nothing ſtranger in their digging and keeping Coals there, than what we ſee practiſed every Day in our own Country, and very probably, if we were to examine other Wonders that are told us, as cloſely and ſeverely as they deſerve, we might be able to diſcover that they were rather rendered marvellous by the Ignorance of Relators, than by any thing ſupernatural in themſelves.

It is not amiſs, having ſpoken of his Proviſion abroad, to mention his Care for the Poor of *Cambalu*. When he hears of any honourable Family decayed by Misfortune, or of any which cannot work, and have no Subſiſtance, he gives to ſuch Families the whole Year's Expences, each Head of ſuch Families going to the Officer for that Purpoſe, and ſhewing their Bill of Allowance, receive Proviſions accordingly. There is a Place ſet apart for thoſe Officers; they are provided alſo of Garments for Winter and for Summer. The *Khan* having the Tenths of all Wool, Silk and Hemp, which he cauſes to be made into Cloaths, in a Houſe for that Purpoſe appointed; for all Trades are bound one Day in the Week to work for him. He provides alſo Apparel for his Armies, and in every City cauſes Cloth to be made of his Tythe Wool. You muſt underſtand, that the *Tartars*, according to their antient Cuſtoms, beſtowed no Alms, but rather upbraided thoſe that were in Neceſſity, as hated of God; but the Idolaters, eſpecially thoſe *Bachſi*, have propounded it as a good Work acceptable unto God, and have taught him to be thus bountiful; ſo that in his Court, Bread is never denied to any who aſk it, and there is no Day in which is not given away twenty thouſand Crowns in Rice, Millet and Panike; whence he is eſteemed as a God by his Subjects.

There are in *Cambalu*, Chriſtians, *Saracens* and *Catayans*, about five thouſand Aſtrologers and Diviners, which the Great *Khan* provideth yearly in Food and Raiment, as he doth thoſe Poor abovesaid. Theſe have an Aſtrolabe, in which are marked the Signs of the Planets, the Hours and Points of all the Year. Herein all thoſe Aſtrologers, each Religion apart, view the Courſe of the Year according to every Moon, obſerving the Diſpoſition of the Weather, referring always to God to do more or leſs after his own Pleaſure. They write alſo upon certain Squares they call *Tacuini*, the things which are to come that Year, which they ſell to thoſe that will buy them, and ſuch as ſpeak moſt Truth are moſt honoured. If any intend any great Work, or to go a far Journey, and will know the Event before-hand, he has recourſe to theſe Aſtrologers, to ſee it with their Eyes in the Heavens, which they pretend to do, comparing the preſent Conſtellation with that of his Birth, which they demand of him; ſo foretelling him the Good or Evil. The *Tartars* reckon the Computation of their Years by Twelves, the firſt ſignified by a Lion, the ſecond by an Ox, the third by a Dragon, the fourth by a Dog, and ſo through the whole Twelve; ſo that if it be demanded of a Man when he was born, he will anſwer, ſuch a Point of ſuch an Hour of ſuch a Day, in the Year Lion. This their Fathers exactly ſet down in a Book, and when the Twelve is compleat, they go over the ſame again[a].

Of their Religion, we have ſaid, that they are Idolaters, and for their Gods, have a Table ſet aloft in the Wall of their Chamber, on which is written a Name repreſenting the High God of Heaven, and there every Day with a Cenſer of Incenſe, they adore it in this Manner; they lift up their Hands aloft, and ſtrike their Teeth thrice, praying it to give them a good Underſtanding, and Health, and deſire thereof nothing elſe. Beſides, on the Ground they have another Statue called *Natigai*; the God of earthly things, with his Wife and Children, whom likewiſe they worſhip with Incenſe, ſtriking or gnaſhing the Teeth, and lifting up their Hands, and deſire thereof Temperature of the Air, Fruits of the Earth, Children, and the like. They hold the Soul to be immortal, and that when a Man dies, it enters into another Body, better or worſe, according to the Merits of the former Life; as of a poor Man to become a Gentleman, and after, a Prince or Lord, and ſo higher, till it be abſorbed in God; and if it have ill deſerved, to be a poorer Man, after a Dog, always deſcending to the loweſt Rank of Baſeneſs. They have a comely Speech, ſalute chearfully, and honeſtly, have a graceful Carriage, and feed cleanly. They bear great Reverence to their Parents, and if any be undutiful, or regardleſs of their Neceſſity, there is a publick Tribunal aſſigned for this Particular to puniſh ungrateful or diſobedient Children: Priſoners are releaſed at three Years end, and marked in the Cheek, that they may be known for Malefactors.

The Barons and People which go to the Grand *Khan*, obſerve theſe Rights, firſt, within half a Mile of the Place where the *Khan* is, all is ſtill and quiet, without Noiſe or any loud Speech; that every Baron carries continually a little Veſſel to ſpit in, after which he covers it, none daring to ſpit in the Hall: They have furr Buſkins of white Leather, which they put on when they enter the Hall, putting off the former, and giving them to the Servants, leſt they ſhould foul the Carpets.

18. Ten Miles off *Cambalu* is a certain great River named *Puliſangan*, emptying itſelf into the Ocean, by which many Ships with much Merchandiſe aſcend; and in that Place there is a very fair Bridge, all of ſerpentine Stone, curiouſly wrought, containing three hundred Paces in Length, and eight in Breadth, ſo broad that ten Men may ride a-breaſt; on each Side, it is ſecured with a Wall of Marble, and Pillars ſet in a Row, and in the Height of this Aſcent is a great and high Pillar, at the Feet whereof is a great Lion, and on the Top another, and ſo quite through the Bridge: One Pace and a half Diſtance are Pillars with Lions on the Top, and a fair Wall with wrought marble Work betwixt, to keep Men from falling. Having paſſed over the River and Bridge, and proceeding thirty Miles weſtward (in which Palaces are continually ſeen, with Vinyards and fertile Fields) you come to the City *Gouza*, both fair and great, having many Monaſteries of Idols. Cloth of Gold and Silk are made there, and the pureſt and fineſt Cambricks or Lawns; and many common Inns for Strangers or Travellers are found in that City. The Citizens are Artificers and Merchants. A Mile without this City the Way parteth, one leading Weſt, the other South-Eaſt; that to the Weſt leadeth through the Province of *Cathay*, but the other towards the Country of *Mangi*, from the City of *Gouza* to the Kingdom of *Tainfu*[b].

You ride ten Days through *Cathay*, always finding many fair Cities, well furniſhed with Vineyards, and tilled Fields, from whence Wine is carried to *Cathay*, where there is none: There are many Mulberry-trees for Silk-worms, the People civil, and Cities very numerous and populous. *Tainfu* is the Name of the Kingdom, and of the chief City, which is great and fair, hath much Trade, with Store of Ammunition fit for the Khan's Armies. The Wine about this City ſerveth the whole Province. Seven Days further weſtward, is a pleaſant Country, beautified with many Caſtles and Cities, in which alſo there is great Trade in different Merchandize carried on. After which you come to a City very great, named *Pianfu*, in which there is vaſt abundance of Silk and much Trade. Weſtward from *Pianfu*, ſtands a very pleaſant Caſtle, named *Thaigin*, anciently built by a King called *Dor*; in it is a ſpacious Palace, wherein is a fine Hall, in which are painted all the famous Kings which have reigned there, and it is a fair Spectacle. Of this King *Dor*, they ſay, he was potent, and was attended only by young Damſels, of which he had many in his Court. Theſe alſo, when he had a Mind to take his Pleaſure, carried him in a ſmall light Chariot through the Caſtle, which was ſo fortified by Art and Nature, that the Governor thereof fear'd none, no not *Umcan* his Lord, againſt whom he rebelled.

But ſeven Men profeſſing Fidelity and Service to *Dor*, took him at a Diſadvantage in hunting, and brought him

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[a] The *Tartarian* Cycle was a very good Contrivance, and as ſuch, has been not only preſerv'd amongſt them, but ſpread itſelf alſo into other Countries; we ſhall hereafter have Occaſion to explain it more at large; at preſent it ſhall ſuffice to obſerve, that ſomething of the ſame kind was anciently uſed in the northern Nations of *Europe*, and is ſtill practiſed among the Savages in ſome Parts of *America*.

[b] It muſt be acknowledged, that the Deſcription here given by our Author is a little dark and perplexed, and that, at the ſame time, it is no eaſy Matter to ſettle the Places he mentions; but, on the other hand, it muſt be conſidered, that this is the firſt Account that was received here in *Europe* of the great Country of *China*, and that this Account was written by a Man little, if at all acquainted with the Sciences, and who aimed at nothing more than tranſcribing from his Note-book, the Names of Places and Provinces, their Diſtances from each other, with ſuch other Circumſtances relating to them as at ſo great a Diſtance of Time he was able to recollect.

Priſoner to Preſbyter *John*, or *Umcan*, who put him on vile Cloaths, and appointed him to keep his Caſtle, and ſet over him a ſtrong Guard, till two Years were ended; after which he commanded him to be brought before him, and being dreſſed in princely Apparel, he giving him his Pardon, after a ſharp Admonition, ſent him well attended to the Repoſſeſſion of his Kingdom. About twenty Miles beyond the Caſtle *Thaigin* is the River *Caramaran*, which, by reaſon of the exceeding Breadth and Depth thereof, hath no Bridge over it in all the Space from thence, till it floweth to the Ocean. On the Shore thereof are many Cities and Caſtles built, wherein great Trade is carried on. This Country abounds with Ginger, Silk, and Fowl, eſpecially Pheaſants, ſo that three of them are bought for a *Venetian* Groat. There grow Reeds in vaſt Plenty, ſo thick that ſome are a Foot, and others a Foot and a half in Compaſs, which are applied to many Uſes. Paſſing this River, after two Days Journey, is the famous City called *Carianfu*, where many Cloths of Gold and Silk are made. Here grows Ginger, Galingale, Spike, and many Spices. The People are Idolaters.

Proceeding ſeven Days Journey weſtward, many Cities and Towns, lovely Fields and Gardens are found, and every where Mulberries for Silk-worms. As for the People, they are moſtly Idolaters; but there are alſo *Chriſtians*, *Turks*, *Neſtorians*, and ſome *Saracens*. There is a vaſt Abundance here of wild Beaſts and Fowl. If you proceed ſeven Days Journey farther, you ſhall come to a certain great City, named *Quenzanfu*, which is the chief City of the Kingdom, in which have reigned many famous Kings; and, at this Day, the Son of the Great Khan, called *Mangalu*, hath the Command thereof. That Country yields great Plenty of Silk, Cloth of Gold, and all other Things neceſſary for furniſhing an Army, and for the Preſervation of Man's Life. The Inhabitants worſhip Idols, and there are ſome *Chriſtians*, *Turks*, and *Saracens*. Five Miles without this City, ſtandeth the Palace of *Mangalu*, ſeated in a Plain, where are many Springs, Rivulets, and Places of Game. There is a high Wall encompaſſing a Park of five Miles, where are all Sorts of wild Beaſts and Fowls. In the Midſt is an excellent Palace, having many Halls and Chambers, great and fair, all painted with Gold and Azure, and numberleſs Statues adorning it. The King, with his Courtiers, delights himſelf in hunting the wild Beaſts, and taking of Fowl, and following his Father's Example in Juſtice and Equity, is much beloved of his People.

Proceeding three Days Journey weſtward from the ſaid Palace, through a very beautiful Plain, where many Cities and Caſtles are, which abound with ſilk Merchandize and Manufactures, you come to a Country, where in the Mountains and Valleys are frequent Habitations, and many Villages of the Province of *Chunchian*. The Inhabitants, as to Religion, are Idolaters; and as to Employment, Huſbandmen. Alſo in that Country they hunt Lions, Bears, Stags, Roe-bucks, Deer, and Wolves. The Plain is two Days Journey over, and the Country is about twenty Days Journey weſtward, well inhabited, being finely diverſified into Mountains, Valleys, and Woods. After theſe twenty Days, towards the Weſt, there lies a Province called *Achbaluch Mangi*, that is, the *White City*, of the Borders of *Mangi*, which is well peopled. This Province, for two Days Journey, hath a Plain, in which are an infinite Number of Villages: Beyond theſe lie Mountains, Valleys, and Woods, all well inhabited. It hath Plenty of wild Beaſts, and of thoſe Creatures that yield Muſk. In this Province Ginger grows in great Plenty, as alſo Corn, and Rice.

After twenty Days Journey through thoſe Hills, is a Plain, and a Province in the Confines of *Mangi*, named *Sindinfu*. The chief City, hath the ſame Name, and is very great, and exceeding rich, being twenty Miles in Circuit. It hath had many rich and mighty Kings; but an old King dying, left three Sons Succeſſors in the Kingdom, who divided the City into three Parts, compaſſing every Part with their proper Walls; all which, notwithſtanding, were contained within the former Wall; but the Great Khan ſubjected nevertheleſs that City and Kingdom. Thro' this City run many Rivers, and many Places round about, ſome half a Mile over, ſome two hundred Paces, very deep; on them are many Bridges of Stone, very fair, eight Paces broad, ſet on both Sides with Marble Pillars, which bear up a Timber Frame that covers the Bridge, each Bridge having Streets and Shops thereupon. When the Rivers have paſſed through the City, they become one great River, called *Quian*, which runs one hundred Days Journey hence to the Ocean. Near theſe Rivers are many Cities and Caſtles, and on them innumerable Ships for Merchandize. Proceeding four Days Journey farther, thro' a very fine Plain, many Cities, Caſtles, and Villages are found, in which five Launs extend in beautiful Order. There are alſo many wild Beaſts there. Beyond the Plain, which we have now mentioned, is the wide Province of *Thebet*, which the Great Khan vanquiſhed and waſted; for in it lie many Cities deſtroyed, and Caſtles overthrown, by the Space of twenty Days Journey; and becauſe it is become a Wilderneſs, wanting Inhabitants, wild Beaſts and Lions are there increaſed exceſſively, and it is requiſite therefore that Travellers carry Victuals with them. Very large Cane grows in this Country, ten Paces in Length, and three Palms in Thickneſs, and as much from Knot to Knot. When Travellers therefore will reſt at Night ſecure from Beaſts, they take great Bundles of the greener Reeds, and putting Fire under, kindle them, which make ſuch a Crackling, and ſo great a Noiſe, that it may be heard two Miles off; which terrible Sound the wild Beaſts hearing, flee away, but it has ſometimes happened, that Horſes and other Beaſts, which Merchants uſe for their Journey, hearing this Noiſe, and Cracking, have grown alſo much afraid, and betaking themſelves to Flight, have eſcaped from their Maſters; and therefore wiſer Travellers binding their Feet together, detain them in their proper Places.

19. Theſe twenty Days Journey ended, having paſſed over the Province of *Thebet*, we met with Cities, and many Villages, in which, through the Blindneſs of Idolatry, a wicked Cuſtom is uſed; for no Man there marrieth a Wife that is a Virgin; whereupon, when Travellers and Strangers, coming from other Places, paſs through this Country, and pitch their Pavilions, the Women of that Place having marriageable Daughters, bring them unto Strangers, deſiring them to take them, and enjoy their Company as long as they remain there. Thus the handſomeſt are choſen, and the reſt return home ſorrowful, and when they depart, they are not ſuffered to carry any away with them, but faithfully reſtore them to their Parents. The Maiden alſo requireth ſome Toy, or ſmall Preſent, of him who hath deflowered her, which ſhe may ſhew, as an Argument and Proof of her Condition; and ſhe that hath been loved and abuſed of moſt Men, and ſhall have many ſuch Favours and Toys to ſhew to her Wooers, is accounted more noble, and may on that Account be advantageouſly married; and when ſhe would appear moſt honourably dreſſed, ſhe hangs all her Lover's Favours about her Neck, and the more acceptable ſhe was to many, ſo much the more Honour ſhe receives from her Countrymen. But when they are once married, they are no more ſuffered to converſe with ſtrange Men, and the Men of this Country are very cautious never to offend one another in this Matter. They are Idolaters, and cruel, thinking it no Sin if they rob, and exerciſe Theft. They live by Hunting and the Fruits of the Earth: Many Beaſts alſo are found with them, yielding Muſk, called in this Country Gadderi. They have a Language of their own, and have no Money, not ſo much as the Paper-Money of the Khan, but uſe Corals for Money, and are cloathed with the Skin of Beaſts, or coarſe Hemp. This Country belongs to the Province of *Thebet*; for *Thebet* is a very large Province, and has been ſome time divided into eight Kingdoms, having many Cities and Towns, with Mountains, Lakes and Rivers, where Gold is found. The Women wear Coral about their Necks, and hang it about the Necks of their Idols, as a precious thing. In this Country there are very large Dogs, as big as Aſſes, which take wild Beaſts, eſpecially wild Oxen, called *Boyamini*.

There are in this Province many ſorts of Spices, which are never brought into theſe Parts. This *Thebet* is (as all the former Provinces) ſubject to the Khan. On the Weſt of the Province of *Thebet* bordereth the Province of *Caindu*, which was formerly governed by her own Kings, now by the Governors of the Khan, by the Weſt, you muſt not underſtand, that the Countries are in the Weſt; but that we, departing from thoſe Parts, which are betwixt the Eaſt and North-eaſt, came hither Weſtward, and therefore reckon them Weſtward. The People are Idolaters, have many Cities, the chief called by the Name of the Province, *Caindu*, built on the Frontiers of the Province. There is a large Salt Lake, in which are abundance of Pearls, white, but not round, ſo many, that in point of Price they would become little Worth, if they were ſuffered to be carried away at Mens Pleaſures. It is therefore provided, upon Pain of Death, that none ſhould preſume to fiſh for Pearl in this Lake, without the Licence of the Great Khan. There is alſo a Mountain, in which is found a Mine of Turquoiſe Stones, the digging of which is reſtrained by the like Licence. Many Gadderi are alſo in this Province, which yield Muſk. That Lake alſo, which breeds Pearl in ſuch Plenty, abounds with Fiſh, and the whole Country is full of wild Beaſts, that is to ſay, of Lions, Bears, Stags, Deer, Ounces, Roe-bucks, and divers kinds of Birds. Cloves are found there in great Plenty, which are gathered from ſmall Trees, which have Boughs and Leaves like the Bay-tree, but ſomewhat longer, and ſtraiter, white Flowers, and brittle, as are the Cloves, and when they are ripe, they are black and duſky. Ginger, Cinamon, and ſeveral other Spices, grow there in great Plenty, which are not brought into our Countries. Wine, however, though plentiful with us, groweth not in it, but inſtead thereof, they make a moſt excellent Drink, of Corn, Rice, and divers Spices.

The Inhabitants of this Country worſhip Idols, to which they are ſo beſotted, that they think they deſerve their Favour, if they proſtitute their Wives, Siſters and Daughters, to be abuſed by Travellers; for when any Stranger cometh amongſt them, every Maſter of a Houſe ſeeketh to give him Entertainment, and leaving the Females and Houſe to the Strangers, will not return until they depart, which he doth for the Glory of his Idols, hoping they will be more gracious to him. Certain Sprigs of Gold are their Money, uſing Weights, and according to the Weight of the Sprig, is the Value of the Money, and this Money is their larger ſort of Money without Stamp. They have alſo a leſſer, which they make after this manner. They boil Salt in a Caldron for about an Hour, and of this, being congealed, they make little Lumps like Two-penny Loaves, which being ſolid, is ſigned with the Prince's Stamp, and they make vaſt Profit thereof in Places remote from Cities, which have Store of Muſk, and Gold, and want Chapmen. Theſe barter their Gold for Salt, to uſe with their Meats.

Leaving this Province, they proceed fifteen Days Journey further, and in that Space meet with Caſtles, and many Villages, whoſe Inhabitants have the ſame Cuſtoms that the Province of *Caindu* hath, and at length they come unto a River called *Brius*, by which the Province of *Caindu* is bounded. In this River Gold is found in great Plenty, which they call *Di Paiola*, waſhed in Veſſels to cleanſe it from the Sand and Earth. On the Banks thereof Cinamon grows in great Abundance. This River falls directly into the Ocean. Having paſſed over the River *Brius*, they come Weſtward to the Province *Caraian*, which contains ſeven Kingdoms. It is ſubject to the Great Khan, whoſe Son, named *Sentemur*, is made Vice-King of that Kingdom, and is a young Prince, rich, wiſe, and juſt.

The Inhabitants thereof are Idolaters; you ride five Days Journey through it, and find it all well peopled: They live on their Beaſts and Fruits. The Country breeds excellent Horſes, and it hath a peculiar and difficult Language. Having finiſhed theſe five Days Journey, you come to the chief City called *Jaci*, which is both great and famous, hath in it many Merchants and Artificers, and many ſorts of People, Idolaters, *Chriſtians*, *Neſtorians*, and *Saracens*; but the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants are Idolaters. It hath Corn and Rice, notwithſtanding which they eat no Bread of Corn, becauſe it is not wholeſome, but they make Bread of Rice; they make Drink alſo of it, and ſeveral Spices, which is very pleaſant; they uſe white Porcelane inſtead of Money, and for Ornaments, Shells which are found at Sea. Much Salt is made in this City of the Water of Salt Wells, from whence the Vice-King hath great Profit. The Men of this Country care not if any Man come to their Wives, ſo they give their Conſent. There is alſo a Lake there very full of Fiſh, containing an hundred Miles in Compaſs. Theſe Men eat raw Fleſh of Hens, Beef, Mutton, and Buffaloes, but prepared after this Manner: They firſt cut it into ſmall Pieces, and after ſeaſon it with excellent Spices; but the poorer ſort ſhred it, and lay it in Garlick Sauce, and eat it as we do boiled Meat. Departing from the City of *Jaci*, having travelled ten Days Journey Weſtward, we came to the Province called, as the chief City, *Carazan*, which *Cogatin*, Son of *Cublai*, governeth. The Rivers there yield great Quantities of waſhed Gold, and alſo that which is ſolid, and on the Mountains they find Gold in the Vein, and they give one Pound of Gold for ſix of Silver. They ſpend Porcelane for Money brought thither from *India*.

The Inhabitants are Idolaters; very great Serpents are bred in this Country, ſome of which are ten Paces in Length, and in Thickneſs ten Spans. They have two little Feet before near the Head, with three Talons or Claws like Lions, and the Eyes bigger than a Loaf, ſhining very bright. They have their Mouths and Jaws ſo very wide, that they are able to ſwallow a Man, great and ſharp Teeth; nor is there any Man, or other living Creature, which can behold theſe Serpents without Terror. There are alſo ſome leſs, of eight, or ſix, ſome of five Paces long, which are taken after this Manner: In the Day-time they uſe to lie hid, by reaſon of the Heat, in Holes, out of which they go by Night to ſeek their Prey, and devour whatſoever they get, Lions, Wolves, as well as other Beaſts, and then go to ſeek Water, leaving ſuch a Tract thro' their Weight in the Sands, as if a Piece of Timber had been drawn there; whereupon the Hunters faſten under the Sands great Iron Spikes, in their uſual Tracts, whereby they are wounded and ſlain. The Crows preſently proclaim the Serpent's Fate, and by their Cries, invite the Hunters, which come and flea him, taking out his Gall, which is uſed for divers Medicines, amongſt other things, for the biting of mad Dogs, a Penny-weight given in Wine; and for Women in Travel, for Carbuncles, and other Diſtempers, and they ſell the Fleſh dear, as being exceeding delicate.

There are ſtout Horſes bred in this Province, which by their Merchants are carried into *India*. They commonly take one Bone out of the Tail, leſt he ſhould bend his Tail hither and thither, and eſteem it more comely, that it hang downright. They uſe long Stirrups as the *French*, which the *Tartars* and other Nations, for their Shooting, uſe ſhort, becauſe when they ſhoot they riſe up. They uſe Targets and Armour in the Wars, made of the Hides of Buffaloes; they have Lancets and Croſs-bows, and poiſon all their Arrows. Some of them, who are Villains, are ſaid to carry Poiſon about them continually, that if they be taken they may ſuddenly ſwallow it, and ſo dying at once, prevent Torture; for which Cauſe the great Lords have Dogs Dung ready, which they force them to ſwallow, and that makes them vomit the Poiſon. Before the Great Khan ſubjected them, they uſed when any Stranger, which ſeemed of good Preſence and Parts, lodged with them, to kill him by Night, ſuppoſing that thoſe good Parts of that Man would abide afterwards in that Houſe; and this ſilly Notion has proved the Death of many.

Travelling forwards from the Province of *Carazan*, after five Days Journey Weſtward, is the Province of *Cardandan*, which alſo is ſubject to the Great Khan: The chief City thereof is called *Vociam*, the Inhabitants whereof uſe Porcelane, and weighed Pieces of Gold inſtead of Money; for in that Country, and many other lying round about, Silver Mines are not found, and they give an Ounce of Gold for five Ounces of Silver, and according to this Exchange, great Gain is made. The Men and Women in that Country cover their Teeth with thin Plates of Gold, which they ſo fit to them, that the Teeth themſelves ſeem, as they were, ſet in thoſe Plates. The Men about their Arms and Legs make Liſts, pricking the Places with Needles, and putting therein a black indelible Tincture; and theſe Liſts or Marks are eſteemed with them as a Mark of great Galantry. They give their Minds to nothing but Riding, Hunting, Hawking, and the Exerciſe of Arms, leaving the Houſhold

Cares to the Women, who are aſſiſted therein by Slaves, which they buy, or take in War. When a Woman is once delivered, ſhe forſakes the Bed, waſhes the Child, and dreſſes it, and then the Huſband lieth down, and keeps the Child with him forty Days, not ſuffering it to depart; is viſited all that time by Friends and Neighbours, to chear and comfort him. The Woman looks to the Houſe, and carries the Huſband his Broths to the Bed, and gives Suck to the Child by him. Their Wine is made of Rice and Spice; their ordinary Food is Rice, and raw Fleſh, dreſſed as before mentioned. In this Province there are no other Idols, ſave that every Family adoreth the oldeſt Man in the Houſe, of whom they ſay, come themſelves, and all they have; they dwell for the moſt part in wild and mountainous Places, but Foreigners come not to thoſe Mountains, becauſe the Air would kill them, being in Summer very corrupt.

They have no Letters, but make their Contracts and Obligations by Tallies of Wood, one half whereof one keepeth, and the other the other, which being afterwards paid, the Tally is deſtroyed. There are no Phyſicians in this Province, nor in *Caindu*, *Vociam*, and *Caraian*; but when any is ſick, they call the Magicians, or Idol Prieſts together, and the ſick Perſon declares his Diſeaſe unto them; then the Magicians dance, and ſound certain Inſtruments, and bellow forth Songs, in Honour of their Gods, till at length the Devil entereth into one of them, ſkipping and playing in the Dance. Then leaving the Dance, they conſult with him that is poſſeſſed, for what Cauſe that Diſeaſe happened unto him, and what is to be done for his Recovery. The Devil anſwereth by him, becauſe he hath done this or that, or becauſe he hath offended this or that God, therefore he fell into this Diſeaſe. Then the Magicians intreat that God to pardon him this Offence, promiſing, that if the ſick Perſon recovers, he ſhall offer a Sacrifice of his own Blood; but if the Devil, or the Prieſt, think the Patient to be ſick of ſuch a Diſeaſe that he cannot be freed from the ſame, he uſeth to anſwer; This Man hath ſo grievouſly offended that God, that he cannot by any Sacrifices be appeaſed; but if he think he ſhall recover, he commandeth to offer ſo many Rams, having black Heads, and to prepare ſo many Magicians with their Wives, by them to offer Sacrifices, and that God may then be appeaſed towards him; which being heard, his Kinſmen quickly cauſe thoſe things to be done which the Devil commanded. They kill Rams, and ſprinkle their Blood in the Air, and the Magicians aſſembled, light great Candles, and perfume the whole Houſe with Incenſe, making great Smoke of Lignum Aloes, and ſprinkle the Broth of the Fleſh in the Air, with the Potion made of Spices; all which being duly performed, they ſkip about again, and dance in Honour of that Idol, which is ſuppoſed to have been favourable to the Sick, ſinging and making a horrible Noiſe with their Voices. Theſe things being performed, they aſk the poſſeſs'd again, whether the Idol be pleaſed? And if he anſwer no, they preſently prepare themſelves to fulfil any other Command of his; but if he anſwer that he is ſatisfied, they ſit down at the Table, and eat the Fleſh offered to the Idol with great Joy, and drink the Liquors, and Dinner being ended, and the Magicians paid, every one returns to his own Home; and when the Sick hath thus eſcaped the Diſeaſe, thro' the Providence of God, and hath been reſtored to Health, they attribute it to the Idol, to whom they ſacrificed; but if he die, then they ſay, the Idol was defrauded, and that ſome of the Sacrificers taſted thereof firſt: This is not done to all, but by the richer, the Devil, or his Prieſts, in his Name, impoſing on their Blindneſs.

The Great Khan, *A. D.* 1272, ſent an Army into the Kingom of *Vociam* and *Gurazan*, to reduce it, his Forces being to the Number of twelve thouſand veteran Troops, under the Conduct of a *Neſtorian*, an experienced Officer. As ſoon as the King of *Mien* and King of *Bengala* heard of their coming, aſſembling their Forces, they joined Horſe and Foot together about threeſcore Thouſand; and about a thouſand Elephants bearing Caſtles, and in every Caſtle twelve or ſixteen armed Men were placed; with this Army the King of *Mein* marched ſpeedily towards the City of *Vociam*, where the Army of the *Tartars* lay encamped. *Neſtardin*, however, marched forth with invincible Courage to fight the Enemy, and drawing near them, encamped near a certain great Wood, knowing that the Elephants with their Towers on their Backs were not able to enter into the Wood. Then the King of *Mein* ſeeing this, reſolved to meet them; but the *Tartarian* Horſe perceiving the Elephants which were placed in the Front of the Battle, were terrified, ſo that they could not by any Means be brought to charge the Elephants; the *Tartars* therefore were compelled to alight from their Horſes, and tying them to the Trees, they came to fight on Foot againſt thoſe Beaſts, and very wiſely ſhot a Multitude of Arrows againſt the Elephants, which not able to endure the Wounds received by the Arrows, betook themſelves to flight, and went all to the next Wood, brake their Caſtles, and overthrew the armed Men ſitting in them; which the *Tartars* ſeeing, run to their Horſes, and getting upon them, furiouſly fell upon the King's Army with great Violence, and many of either Army fell. At length the King of *Mein* being put to Flight, left the Victory to the *Tartars*, who haſtened to the Wood, and taking many Captives, uſed their Help to ſeize two hundred of theſe Elephants, and ever ſince the Great Khan hath uſed Elephants in his Army, to which before he was not accuſtomed: Hereupon alſo he vanquiſhed the Countries of the King of *Mein* and *Bengala*, and ſubjected them to his Empire[t].

Departing from the Province of *Caraiam*, there is a great Deſart, which continueth two Days and a half, nor is there any Habitation there, but a very large Plain, in which three Days in the Week Multitudes meet together for Trading. Many deſcend from the great Mountains of that Country, bringing Gold with them to change for Silver, that is, giving an Ounce of Gold for five Ounces of Silver, and therefore many Merchants from foreign Nations come thither, who bring Silver and carry Gold away, and bring thither Merchandize to ſell to theſe People; for to thoſe high Mountains in which they who gather Gold in that Country dwell, no Stranger can come, becauſe the Way is intricate and unpaſſable. When you are paſt that Plain, going toward the South, *Mein* bordereth upon *India*, and the Diſtance is about fifteen Days Journey, through Places uninhabited, and woody, in which innumerable Elephants, Unicorns, and other wild Beaſts wander.

After that fifteen Days Journey, you come to *Mein*, a great and noble City, the Head of the Kingdom, and ſubject to the Great Khan. The Inhabitants thereof have a peculiar Language, and are Idolaters. In this City there was a King, who being ready to die, commanded that near to his Sepulchre there ſhould be erected two Towers, in the Form of Pyramids, one at the Head, the other at the Feet, both of Marble, of the Heighth of ten Fathom. On the Top was placed a round Ball; he cauſed one to be covered all over with Gold, a Finger thick, and the other with Silver; and upon the Top, round about the Balls, many little gold and ſilver Bells were hanged, which at the blowing of the Wind, gave a certain ſhrill and pleaſant Sound. The Monument, or Sepulchre, was alſo covered with Plates, partly of Gold, partly of Silver. He commanded this to be made in Honour of his Soul, and that his Memory ſhould never die among Men. And when the Great Khan undertook to ſubdue this City, he ſent a valiant Captain, and the greateſt Part of his Army were Cavalry, of which the better Part of his Troops conſiſts; theſe winning the City, would not demoliſh that Monument without the Khan's Knowledge; who hearing that the deceaſed had erected it for the Honour of his Soul, would not ſuffer it to be injured; for the Manner of the *Tartars* is not to violate things which belong to the Dead. In this Province are many Elephants, wild Oxen, great and fair Stags, and Deer, and other wild Beaſts of divers Kinds.

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[t] The great Conqueſts made by the *Tartars* in the Eaſt, have ſo overturned all Monuments of Antiquity among the Nations they have ſubdued, that if it were not for theſe Travels of *Marco Polo*, we ſhould be at a Loſs for any of the Particulars relating to them. The *Chineſe* Hiſtorians indeed, very fully confirm the Truth of what he has delivered, but in general Terms only; ſo that they add nothing circumſtantial, or capable of giving us a clearer or more diſtinct Idea of what he has laid down, in reſpect to which it is ſufficient for us to obſerve, that moſt of the Facts he mentions either happened at the Time when he was actually preſent in the Court of the Great Khan, or a very little before it; ſo that he could not but be well informed as to the Truth of what he aſſerts. Strange indeed to us, who live at ſo great a Diſtance from theſe Countries, and are ſo little acquainted with the Manners of their Inhabitants, but at the ſame Time very agreeable to the beſt Accounts that have been afforded us of theſe Countries by modern Travellers, and more eſpecially by the Miſſionaries, who have been at great Pains to collect and reduce into Order ſuch Paſſages as they have met with in *Chineſe* and other Oriental Writers.

The Province *Bengala* bordereth upon *India* towards the South, which the Great Khan ſubdued when *Marco Polo* lived in this Country. This Country has its own proper King and Language, the Inhabitants whereof are all Idolaters; they have Maſters which keep Schools, and teach Idolatries and Enchantments, a thing common to all the great Men of that Country. They eat Fleſh, Rice, and Milk; they have Cotton in great Plenty, and by the Manufacture thereof, much Trade is there carried on. They abound alſo with Spike, Galingal, Ginger, Sugar, and diverſe other Spices; huge Oxen alſo are there, comparable unto Elephants in Height, but not in Bulk. Many Eunuchs are made in this Province, which are afterwards ſold to Merchants. This Province continueth thirty Days Journey, in the End whereof, going Eaſtward, is the Province of *Cangigu*, which is a Country having alſo its proper King and peculiar Language, the Inhabitants whereof worſhip Idols, and are tributary to the Great Khan; their King hath about three hundred Wives; much Gold is found in this Province, and many Spices, but they cannot eaſily be tranſported, becauſe that Country is far diſtant from the Sea: There are alſo many Elephants in it, and much Game. The Inhabitants live on Milk, Fleſh, and Rice; they have no Wine, but they make very good Drink of Rice and Spices. As well the Men as the Women uſe to embroider their Faces, Necks, Hands, Bellies, and Legs, making the Images of Lions, Dragons and Birds, and ſo firmly imprint them, that they cannot eaſily be put out, and the more ſuch Images any one has upon his Body, ſo much he is eſteemed the finer and the more gallant. And there are alſo in this Country Profeſſors of this fooliſh Art of Fleſh-Embroidery, which uſe no other Trade but this needlework and dying of Fools-Skins.

Amu lies to the Eaſt of that Province, and is ſubject to the Great Khan, whoſe Inhabitants worſhip Idols, and have to themſelves a peculiar Language. They abound with Herds of Cattle, and have Plenty of Victuals, and many Horſes, and theſe excellent, which Merchants carry for Sale into *India*. They have alſo many Buffaloes and Oxen, becauſe there are delicate Paſtures there. As well Men as Women wear Bracelets of Gold and Silver, of great Value, on their Arms, as alſo the like on their Legs; but thoſe of the Women are moſt valuable: From *Amu* to *Cangigu* are above five and twenty Days Journey. The Province of *Tholoman*, is ſtill eight Days Journey farther diſtant to the Eaſt from *Amu*, ſubject to the Great Khan, having a peculiar Language, and worſhipping Idols. The Men and Women in this Country are tall, well ſhaped, and of a brown Complexion. The Country is very well inhabited, having many and ſtrong Caſtles and Cities. The Men are practiſed in Arms, and accuſtomed to War; they burn the Bodies of their Dead, and incloſing the Relicks of their Bones in a Cheſt, hide them in the Caves of the Mountains, that they cannot be touched either of Man or Beaſt. Gold is found in great Plenty there, and inſtead of Money, they uſe Porcelane brought from *India*, as alſo in *Cangigu* and *Amu*. From the Province of *Tholoman*, the high Road leads towards the Eaſt, by a River, on the Bank of which are many Cities and Caſtles, and at the End of twelve Days you come to the great City *Cintiqui*. The Country is ſubject to the Great Khan, and the Inhabitants therefore addicted to Idolatry. Excellent Cloths are made in this Country, of the Bark of Trees, with which they are cloathed in the Summer. Many Lions are there, ſo that for fear of them, none dare ſleep without Doors by Night; the Veſſels which ſail up and down the River, for fear of theſe Lions, are not faſtned to the Bank. There are great Dogs in the ſame Country, ſo hardy and ſtrong, that they fear not to attack the Lion; and it often happeneth, that two Dogs, and one Archer, kill a Lion: For the Dogs, ſet on by the Man, give the Onſet, and the Lion's Nature is preſently to take Shelter from ſome Tree, that the Dogs may not come behind him, neither will his great Heart ſuffer him to run from the Dogs, leſt he ſhould ſeem afraid; but he holds his ſtately Pace, the Man mean while ſhooting, and the Dogs faſtening on his hinder Parts, but with ſuch Agility, that when the Lion turns on them, they are gone; and then this magnanimous Beaſt holds on his Way again, to ſeek a Tree for Succour, till what with Bitings and Arrows, he ſometimes comes ſhort, and with Expence of Blood, dieth by the Way. This Country abounds with Silk, which by Merchants is carried to diverſe Provinces by the River; they live therefore chiefly by their Merchandize: Their Money is Paper; and they are Valiant in Arms.

At the End of ten Days is the City of *Sidinſu*, and twenty Days from thence is *Gingui*, and four Days thence is *Palanſu*, towards the South, and is in *Cathay*, returning by the other Side of the Province. The People are Idolaters, and burn their Dead; there are alſo certain Chriſtians which have a Church, are all under the Khan, and uſe Paper Money. They make Cloths of Gold and Silk, and Lawns, very fine. By this City, which has many Cities under it, runs a great River, which carries Store of Merchandize to *Cambalu*, made by many Chanels to paſs thither; but we will leave this Place, and proceeding three Days Journey, ſpeak of *Ciangu*, a great City towards the South, of the Province of *Cathay*, ſubject to the Khan. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, and burn their Dead. Their Money is the (Mulberry) Paper-Coin of the Khan. In this City, and the Territories that depend upon it, they make large Quantities of Salt, for that Earth abounds therewith, and out of it they get Salt after this Manner; they heap up the Earth in the Manner of an Hill, and pour Water upon it, which draws the Saltneſs of the Earth into it, and then runs into certain Conduits, and is boiled in Pans, till it be congealed to Salt, fair and white, to the great Gain of the People, and of the Great Khan, being carried into other Countries to ſell. There are large Peaches, high flavoured, which weigh two Pounds a-piece. Five Days Journey beyond the City *Ciangu*, in *Cathay*, Southward, ſtandeth another City named *Ciangli*, in which Road are many Cities and Caſtles, ſubject to the Khan, through the midſt of which runs a great River, very convenient for Shipping laden with Merchandize.

Six Days Journey hence to the South, is the noble Kingdom and great City of *Tudinſu*, which had formerly its proper King, before it was ſubdued by the Great Khan, *A. D.* 1272, and hath eleven royal Cities famous for Traffick under the Juriſdiction thereof. It is very pleaſantly ſeated for Gardens and Fruits, rich in Silks; their Khan ſent to be Governor thereof one of his Barons named *Lucanſer*, with eight thouſand Horſe, who rebelled againſt this Lord, but was reduced and ſlain, by an Army of one hundred thouſand Horſe, under two other Barons, ſent againſt him, and the Country reduced to Obedience. Seven Days off towards the South, is the famous City named *Singuimatu*, to which on the South a great River runs, which being divided by the Inhabitants of the Place into two Rivers, flows one Branch to the Eaſt towards *Cathay*, and the other to the Weſt toward *Mangi*; by theſe Rivers innumerable Veſſels, and incredible for their Size and Wealth, bring Neceſſaries to both Provinces. If you proceed ſixteen Days Journey towards the South from *Singuimatu*, you will meet with Cities and Towns where prodigious Trading is exerciſed. The Inhabitants of theſe Countries are Idolaters, ſubject to the Great Khan. After that, ſixteen Days, you come unto a great River named *Caramoran*, which is ſaid to take its riſe in the Kingdom of *Uncan*, or *Preſbyter John*, in the North. It is very deep, and carries Ships of great Burthen; it is alſo well ſtock'd with Fiſh, within one Day's Journey of the Sea. There are in this River fifteen thouſand Sail, each of which carries fifteen Horſes, and twenty Men, beſides Victuals and Mariners. This is the *Khan's* Fleet, kept there in Readineſs to carry an Army to any of the Iſlands, if they ſhould rebel, or to any remote Region. Near the Bank of the River, where theſe Ships are kept, is *Coiganzu*, and over-againſt it *Quanzu*, one a great City, the other a ſmall one. After you are paſt that River, you enter into the noble Kingdom of *Mangi*; but you muſt not think that we have handled in Order the whole Province of *Cathay*, having not ſpoken of the twentieth Part; for *Marco Polo* paſſing by the ſaid Province, hath only deſcribed the Cities in his Way, leaving thoſe on both Hands, and thoſe betwixt theſe, to prevent Tedіouſneſs, and to avoid writing from hear-ſay.

20. The Province of *Mangi* is the richeſt and moſt famous that is founded in the Eaſt; and in *An. Dom.* 1269, was governed by a certain King, called *Fanfur*, who was richer and mightier than any which had reigned there in an hundred Years, but a Man peaceable and charitable, ſo beloved of his Subjects, that thereby, and by the Strength of the Country, he ſeemed invincible. It was from a Perſuaſion of this that the King, as well as the People, loſt the Uſe and Excerciſe of War and Arms. All the City was encompaſſed with Ditches full of Water. He held in Pay no Horſes, becauſe he feared Nobody; and, in Proceſs of Time, the King, betaking himſelf to Pleaſure more than was fit, employed his whole Time in Delights. He maintained about a thouſand Concubines, with whom he paſſed his Time in Pleaſure. He maintained Juſtice, and preſerved Peace; no Man durſt offend his Neighbour and diſturb the Peace, for fear of ſevere and impartial Puniſhment; ſo that Artificers would often leave their Shops full of Wares open by Night, and yet none would preſume to go into them. Travellers and Strangers ſafely walked Day and Night through that whole Kingdom, fearing no Man. The King himſelf alſo was merciful towards the Poor, and did not overlook them that were oppreſſed with Neceſſity, or puniſhed with Penury. Beſides, every Year he took up twenty thouſand young Infants, caſt off by their Mothers, who, through Poverty, were not able to keep them, which he brought up, and put them, when they were grown up, to ſome Trade, marrying the young Men with the Maids, which he had in like manner ſo educated *.

Cublai-Khan was of a different Diſpoſition from *Fanfur*, and delighted only in Wars and Conqueſts; and to make himſelf great, he levied an Army, of Horſe and Foot, and made one, named *Chinſan-Baian*, i. e. an hundred Eyes, General thereof, he therefore coming with his Army and a Fleet to the Province of *Mangi*, firſt ſummoned the City *Coiganzu* to yield Obedience to his Emperor, who refuſed the ſame; he departed without any Aſſault given to the City, and required the ſame of the ſecond City, which, likewiſe refuſing, he marched forwards to the third and fourth, and received the like Anſwer of them all; but he aſſaulted the next with great Courage, and vanquiſhed the ſame by Force, and ſlew every Creature of what Sex or Age ſoever therein, which ſo frighted and terrified the reſt, that they all preſently yielded. The Great Khan ſent out another great Army after the former, with both which Armies he marched againſt the chief City *Quinſai*, where the King of *Mangi* reſided, who being mightily terrified, as never having ſeen any War, fled with his Wealth on board the Ships he had prepared, to certain impregnable Iſlands in the Ocean, where he afterwards died, committing the Cuſtody of the City of *Quinſai* to his Wife, bidding her to defend it as well as ſhe could; for being a Woman, ſhe need not fear Death, if ſhe was taken.

It is to be obſerved, that King *Fanfur* had been told by his Diviners, that his Kingdom would never be taken from him but by one which had an hundred Eyes, which the Queen knew, and therefore was ſtill in Hopes not to loſe the City however ſtreightened, thinking it impoſſible for one Man to have an hundred Eyes; but one Day ſhe heard the Commander of the *Tartars* was called *Baian Chinſan*, that is to ſay, an hundred Eyes, and was much terrified; wherefore, calling for the Commander of the *Tartar* Army, thinking him to be the Man which the Aſtrologers ſpoke of, ſhe delivered the City unto him, which, being heard, the Citizens and Inhabitants of the whole Province yielded to the Obedience of the Great Khan. The Queen was ſent unto the Court of the Great Khan, and was moſt honourably received by him, and maintaind like a Queen. And now we will ſpeak of the Cities in the Country of *Mangi*. *Coiganzu* is a very fair and rich City, ſituate towards the South-Eaſt and Eaſt, in the Entrance of the Province of *Mangi*, where are always great Numbers of Ships, being ſeated on the River *Caramu*, and a great Quantity of Merchandize is carried thither; Salt is alſo made there in Abundance. Proceeding from *Coiganzu*, you ride towards the South-Eaſt one Day's Journey on a Stone Cauſeway, on both Sides whereof are great Fences, with deep Waters, through which they may paſs with proper Veſſels; neither is there any Entrance into *Mangi* but by Shipping, excepting this Cauſeway.

At the End of that Day's Journey is a City called *Paughin*, large and fair; the People make Stuffs of Gold and Silk, are Merchants, and Idolaters. The Paper-Money of the Great Khan is received throughout the whole Country. It is plentiful in all Neceſſaries of Life. To the City *Caim* is from *Paughin* one Day's Journey South-Eaſt; and this is alſo a famous City. The Country thereabouts abounding with Fiſh, Beaſts, and Fowl, eſpecially Pheaſants, are found in exceeding great Plenty, as large as Peacocks, of which you may have three for a *Venetian* Groat, Proceeding farther from hence one Day's Journey, you come through a well manured, moſt fruitful and well peopled Country, to the City *Tingui*, which, tho' it be not over large, yet hath in it exceeding great Plenty of Victuals. They are Merchants, and have a vaſt Reſort of Ships: There is Plenty of Beaſts and Fowls. It is ſeated to the South-Eaſt, and on the Left-hand towards the Eaſt, three Days Journey off the Ocean, and in the Country between, are very many Salt-pits, and they make great Quantities of Salt. After this is *Cingui*, a great City, whence the Country is furniſhed with Salt, whereof the Khan makes immenſe Profit, almoſt beyond Belief: They are Idolaters, and have Paper-Money. From *Cingui*, riding towards the South-Eaſt, you meet with the noble City *Jangui*, under the Government whereof are other Cities, ſeven-and-twenty in Number; and in that City reſides one of the twelve Barons, which are Governors of Provinces, choſen by the Great Khan; they are Idolaters, and live on Merchandize. They make Arms and Harneſs for War, and Maſter *Marco* had the ſole Government thereof, by Commiſſion, from the Great Khan, three Years together, inſtead of one of theſe Barons. *Naughin* is a Province to the Weſt, one of the greateſt and nobleſt of *Mangi*; a Place of great Merchandize; they are Idolaters, have none but Paper-Money, have vaſt Quantities of Beaſts and Fowl, wild and tame. They make Cloths of Gold and Silk, and are rich Merchants, and the Country is very advantageous to the Khan, eſpecially by Cuſtoms of Merchandiſe; there is likewiſe great Plenty of Corn.

Sianfu is a noble and great City in the Province of *Mangi*, and hath twelve rich and great Cities under her Juriſdiction. They make great Quantities of Silks, and Cloths of Gold, have Plenty of Game, Fowl, and all Things pertaining to a City of Note; ſo ſtrong that it was three Years beſieged, and could no the vanquiſhed by the Army of the *Tartars*, when the Province of *Mangi* was ſubdued, for it is encompaſſed on every Side with Lakes, that there was no way to it but on the North; ſo that Ships came and went, continually bringing Plenty of Victuals, which not a little afflicted the Great Khan. The two Brethren, Maſter *Nicolo*, and Maſter *Maffio*, then in his Court, hearing thereof, went to him, and offered him their Service, to deviſe certain Engines, after the Manner of the Weſt, able to ſhoot a Stone of three hundred Weight, thereby to kill Men and ruin Houſes. The Khan appointed Carpenters, which were *Neſtorian* Chriſtians, who made three of theſe Engines in a ſhort Space, which were proved before him, and by Ships ſent to his Army. Planting them therefore againſt the City *Sianfu*, they began to caſt great Stones into the City; and the firſt, falling upon a certain Houſe, broke the moſt part of it with the Violence thereof, which the beſieged Inhabitants ſeeing, were very much aſtoniſhed, and yielded themſelves, and became ſubject to the Great Khan, on the ſame Conditions with the reſt of *Mangi*, to the great Repute of the two *Venetian* Brethren, the one the Author's Father, and the other his Uncle.

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* The *Chineſe* Hiſtories agree exactly, as to the Character of this Prince, with what we find delivered concerning him by our Author; but they differ widely with reſpect to the Name; ſince, according to them, he was called *Tou*, and from the Name of his Family *Tſong*. He was the fifteenth Emperor of the nineteenth Dinaſty, and ſucceeded to the Throne in the Year 1264. It was to his Indolence, Debauchery, and exceſſive Love of Pleaſure, that the *Chineſe* attribute the Deſtruction of their Country, and the total Conqueſt of it by the *Tartars*. This Monarch died in the Midſt of his Misfortunes, and left three young Children under the Tutelage of the Empreſs their Mother. Theſe Hiſtorians give us a great Character of the *Tartar* General, mentioned by our Author; but then they give him quite another Name, *viz. Pe Yen*; but what the Signification of that is, I cannot inform the Reader. He is ſaid to have commanded an Army of two hundred thouſand Men, with the ſame Eaſe as if it had been only a ſmall Body of Troops, and to have ſhewn ſo great Modeſty in the Midſt of his Conqueſts, as never once to have valued himſelf on the many and great Services he rendered to his Maſter.

From the City of *Sianfu* to a certain City called *Singui*, are accounted fifteen Miles South-eaſtward, which, altho' it is not very large, yet has a prodigious Number of Ships, being ſeated upon the greateſt River in the World, called *Quian*, the Breadth of which in ſome Places is ten Miles, in others eight, and in many ſix; but the Length thereof extendeth above an hundred Days Journey from the Source of it to the Sea. Innumerable other Rivers flow into it, which run through divers Regions, and are navigable; and theſe make it ſo great, that incredible Quantities of Merchandize are brought by this River. There are alſo many other Cities, in Number about two hundred, which participate of the Advantages of this River, for it runs through the Bounds of ſixteen Provinces. The greateſt Commodity is Salt, wherewith all the Cities which communicate by theſe Waters are ſupplied. Maſter *Marco* ſaw at one time at *Singui* five thouſand Veſſels, and yet other Cities on the River have more; all theſe Ships are covered, and have but one Maſt, and one Sail, and uſually carry four thouſand, and ſo upwards, ſome of them twelve thouſand *Venetia Cantari*; neither do they uſe Cordage of Hemp, except for the Maſt and Sail, but have Canes fifteen Paces long, which they ſplit into thin Parts from one End to the other, and binding the cut Parts together, and wreathing them, make very long Ropes, ſo that ſome of them contain three hundred Fathom in Length; and thoſe Ropes are as ſtrong as Hemp, and ſerve for Halſes and Cables to draw their Ships up and down the River, each Veſſel having ten or twelve Horſes for that Purpoſe.

On that River, in many Places, are rocky Hillocks, on which are built Monaſteries to their Idols, and all the way are Vallies and Places inhabited. *Cayngui* is a little City upon the ſame River South-eaſtward, where every Year is brought Plenty of Corn and Rice, carried for the moſt part to *Cambalu*; for they paſs thither by Lakes and Rivers, and by one large Canal, which the Khan cauſed to be made for a Paſſage from one River to another, and from *Mangi* to *Cambalu*, without going to Sea; which Work is beautiful and wonderful for the Sight and Length, and more for the Profit which accrues thereby to the Cities. He hath made alſo great Cauſeways to go on Land by theſe Waters commodiouſly. In the midſt of the ſaid River is an Iſland, or Rock, on which is erected a great Temple and Monaſtery, in which are two hundred idolatrous Monks. *Cinghianfu* is a City of *Mangi*, rich in Merchandize, plentiful of Game, having all kind of wild Beaſts and Fowl, and of Victual. In it are two Churches of *Neſtorian* Chriſtians, built *A.D.* 1274, when the Great Khan ſent a Governor thither, *Marſachis*, a *Neſtorian*, who built them. From the City *Cinghianfu*, in three Days Journey South-eaſtward, you find many Cities and Caſtles, all Idolaters, and at laſt come to *Tinguigui*, a great and fair City, abounding with all kind of Proviſions [w].

When *Baian Chinſam*, General of the Army of the *Tartars*, conquered the Province of *Mangi*, he ſent many Chriſtians called *Alani*, againſt the City, which was double walled; into the Inner they retired, into the other the *Alans* entered, and found there abundance of Wine, whereof, after a bad Journey, they began to drink ſo largely, that they were all drunk, and the Citizens in their Sleep, ſuddenly falling upon them, ſlew them all, not one eſcaping; but *Baian* hearing this, ſent another great Army againſt thoſe Citizens, which in a ſhort Space of Time vanquiſhing the City, in Revenge, put them all to the Sword, leaving none alive. The great and excellent City *Singui* contains in Circuit twenty Miles: Multitudes of People are in it, it hath many rich Merchants, and induſtrious Artificers, and it hath alſo very many Phyſicians and Magicians, and wiſe Men, or Philoſophers. In the Mountains of this City, Rhubarb and Ginger grow in great Plenty. This City hath ſixteen Cities under the Juriſdiction thereof, in each of which much Trade is carried on, and many curious Arts are exerciſed, many ſorts of Silk are made there. The Word *Singui* ſignifies the City of the Earth: Alſo they have another City which they call *Quinſai*, that is to ſay, the City of Heaven. From *Singui*, at the Diſtance of one Day's Journey, is *Vagiu*, where is alſo abundance of Silk, and able Artificers, with many other Merchants, as there are in general in all the Cities in this Country.

21. In a Journey of three Days, you find Cities, Caſtles, and Villages, well peopled, and rich. The People are Idolaters, under the Dominion of the Great Khan. At the End of theſe Days you come to *Quinſai*, *i. e.* the City of Heaven, which for the Excellency thereof hath that Name; for in the World there is not the like, or a Place, in which are found ſo many Pleaſures, that a Man would think he were in Paradiſe. In this City our Author *Marco Polo* hath often been, and conſidered the ſame with great Diligence, obſerving the whole State thereof, ſetting down the ſame in his Memorials, as here from them ſhall be declared briefly. This City, by common Report, is an hundred Miles in Circuit. The Streets and Lanes are very long, and very wide; there are Market-places exceeding large; on the one Side a clear Lake of freſh Water, on the other a great River, which enters in many Places, and carries away all the Filth of the City, and ſo runneth into that Lake, thence continuing its Courſe into the Ocean. This Courſe of Water cauſeth a good Air, and commodious Paſſage both by Land, and by thoſe Canals. There may go both Carts and Barks to carry Neceſſaries; and the Report is, that there are twelve thouſand Bridges, great and ſmall, and thoſe on the chief Channels are ſo high, that a Ship without her Maſts may paſs under, and at the ſame time Chariots and Horſes paſs over it. On the other Side the City is a large Canal forty Miles long, which encloſes it on that Side, large and full of Water, from the River made by the ancient Kings of that Province, both to receive the Overflowing of the Water, and beſides that to fortify the City, the Earth which was taken out being laid within as a Bank or Hill encompaſſing it [x].

There are ten great Market-places, beſides others in the great Streets, which are ſquare, half a Mile in each Square; and from the Great Entrance is a principal Street, forty Paces wide, running right from one End of the City to the other, with many Bridges croſſing it, and every four Miles is found ſuch a Market-Place, two Miles, as is ſaid, in Compaſs. There is alſo one large Canal, which runs againſt the ſaid Street behind the Market-places, on the next Bank whereof is erected great Store-houſes of Stone, where the Merchants from *India*, and other Parts, lay up their Merchandize, being at Hand, and commodious for the Market-places. In each of theſe Market-places the People meet three Days in a Week, to the Number of between forty and fifty thouſand, who bring thither all things that can be deſired for Man's Life, Beaſts, Game, and Fowls, that Lake yielding ſuch Advantages for bringing them up, that for a *Venetian* Groat you may have two Geeſe, and four Ducks for the ſame. Then follow the Butcher-rows, of Veal, Beef, Kid, and Lamb, which the great and rich Men eat; for the Poor eat all the Offal, and unclean Meats, without Reſpect. There are all ſorts of Herbs and Fruits continually, and amongſt the reſt huge Pears, weighing ten Pounds apiece, white within like Paſte, and very fragrant. Peaches yellow and white, very delicate. Grapes grow not there, but are brought from other Places dried; very good Wine alſo, but it is not eſteemed in thoſe Parts as with us, that of Rice and Spices contenting them. Every Day from the Ocean is brought up the River, which is the Space of five and twenty Miles, great Quantities of Fiſh, beſides that of the Lake, ſo much that a Man would think would never be bought, and yet in a few Hours all is gone. All theſe Market-places are encompaſſed with high Houſes, and underneath are Shops for Artificers, and all ſorts of Merchandize, as Spice, Jewels, Pearls, and in ſome only Rice-Wine. Many Streets anſwer one to another in the ſaid Market-places; in ſome of them are many cold Baths, accommodated with Attendants of both Sexes, a thing to which from Children they uſe themſelves. There are Chambers alſo in the ſame Baths, with hot Waters for Strangers, which are not accuſtomed to the cold Waters; they waſh every Day, neither do they eat before they have waſhed.

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[w] This happened the Year before the Death of the Emperor *Tou-Tſong*, and in about four Years more all his Children, who ſucceeded one after the other to the Empire, periſhed. The firſt was taken Priſoner by the *Tartars*, and ſent by them into their own Country, where he died in Captivity. The ſecond was driven to *Canton*, where he died of a Conſumption, at the Age of eleven Years. The third, whoſe Name was *Ti-Ping*, having loſt all his Country, was obliged to take Refuge on Board the Fleet, which was purſued, and forced to an Engagement by that of the *Tartars*. When the *Chineſe* Lord, who had the Care of the Emperor's Perſon, found his Veſſel ſurrounded, he took the young Prince in his Arms, and jumped with him into the Sea. The Empreſs ſeeing the laſt of her Sons thus unhappily deſtroyed, followed his Fate, and threw herſelf alſo into the Sea. One whole Squadron of the *Chineſe* Fleet forced a Paſſage through that of the *Tartars*, but was afterwards deſtroyed by a Tempeſt, ſo that not a Veſſel or a Man eſcaped of the whole Navy; and the *Chineſe* Writers ſay, that there periſhed in the whole a hundred thouſand Men. The Loſs of this Battle put an End to the *Chineſe* Empire, and left the *Tartars* totally Maſters of the whole Country.

[x] This Deſcription of the City of *Quinſay* has occaſioned many Reflections upon our Author, as if writing of Countries at ſo great a Diſtance, he took the Liberty of impoſing on his Readers the Fictions of his Imaginations for the Facts which he had ſeen. Under this Imputation he for a long time laboured, eſpecially with ſuch as were deſirous of maintaining the Reputation of ſagacious and penetrating People; but by degrees the Credit of our Author has got the better of all ſuch Inſinuations, and the Relations given by the *Portugueze*, and other *Europeans*, who went thither after the Diſcovery of the Paſſage by the *Cape of Good Hope*, have put it out of doubt that he did not invent any Part of his Relation, but repreſented things fairly as they appeared to him, though certainly with fewer Circumſtances, and leſs Accuracy, than ſucceeding Travellers, who had more Time to examine, and greater Capacities for deſcribing what they ſaw.

In other Streets are mercenary Proſtitutes, in ſuch Numbers, that I dare not report it, and not only near the Market-places, where they have their Places appointed, but through all the City; they ſtand pompouſly adorned with rich Perfumes, many Servants, and their Houſes finely furniſhed. Theſe are very ſkilful in making Sports and Dalliances, and contriving Pleaſures for raviſhing Men out of themſelves. In other Streets are the Phyſicians, the Aſtrologers, they which teach to read and write, and infinite other Trades. At each End of every Market-place is a Palace, where Lords and Governors are appointed by the King to determine Difficulties which happen betwixt Merchants and others, as alſo to look to the Guards on the Bridges, puniſhing ſuch as are negligent. Along the principal Street on both Sides are great Palaces with Gardens, and near them Houſes of Artificers, and ſuch Multitudes of People conſtantly going to and fro, that a Man would wonder whence ſuch Multitudes could be provided with Victuals; and Maſter *Marco* learned of an Officer of the Cuſtom-houſe in *Quinſai*, that by a very accurate Computation, it appeared, the daily Expence of Pepper in *Quinſai* was three and forty Soma, and every Soma is two hundred and twenty-three Pounds. Hence may be gueſſed the Quantity of Victuals, Fleſh, Wine, and Spices, were there ſpent. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, uſe none but Paper-Money, are of a very fair Complexion, apparelled for the moſt part in Silk, which grows in all that Territory abundantly, beſides that which is brought from other Places. There are twelve principal Companies or Corporations, each of which have one thouſand Shops, and in each Shop or Standing are ten, fifteen, or twenty Men at Work, and in ſome forty under one Maſter.

The rich Tradeſmen do not work with their Hands, but ſtand in their Shops, well, or rather pompouſly dreſſed, eſpecially their Wives, with Jewels invaluable. And altho' their old Kings ordained, that the Child ſhould be of the Father's Trade, yet the Rich are permitted not to work at it, but to keep Shop, and Men working in the ſame Trade. Their Houſes are well built, and very richly furniſhed with Pictures and other Ornaments of immenſe Price. The Natives are peaceable, know not how to manage Arms, nor keep them in their Houſes, neither is there Strife and Debate amongſt them. They exerciſe their Trades with great Sincerity. They live in ſuch Amity, that one Street ſeems as one Houſe, without Jealouſy among their Wives, which they hold in great Reſpect; and it would be reputed a great Diſgrace to ſpeak a diſhoneſt Word to a married Woman. They entertain foreign Merchants kindly, both in their Houſes, and with beſt Advice for their Affairs; but they are not overfond of the Soldiers, and Guards of the Grand Khan, becauſe by them deprived of their natural Lords and Kings. About the Lake are very fair Buildings, and great Palaces of the principal Men, and Temples of their Idols, with Monaſteries of many Monks. In the midſt of the Lake are two Iſlands, upon each of which is a Palace, with incredible Numbers of Rooms, whither they reſort upon Occaſion of Marriages, or other Feaſts, where Proviſions of Veſſels, Linnen, and other things are maintained in common, for ſuch Purpoſes, one Hundred ſometimes accommodated at once, in ſeveral Rooms. In the Lake alſo are Boats and Barges for Pleaſure, adorned with fair Seats and Tables, and other Proviſions for a Banquet, covered above, and flat, upon which Men ſtand with Poles to puſh the Boat on, the Lake being but ſhallow: Within they are painted, without are Windows to open and ſhut at Pleaſure; nor can any thing in the World ſeem more pleaſant than in this Lake, to have ſuch various Objects, the City ſo fully preſenting itſelf to the Eye, with ſo many Temples, Monaſteries, Palaces, Gardens, with high Trees, and on the Water Barges and People; for their Cuſtom is to work one Part of the Day, and to ſpend ſome Part in this Diverſion with their Friends, or with Women on the Lake, or elſe in Chariots, riding through the City, which is alſo another of the *Quinſay* Pleaſures; for all the Streets are paved with Stone, as alſo are all the Highways, in the Province of *Mangi*, only for the Foot, Poſts are left on the Side a Space unpaved: The principal Street of *Quinſay* is paved ten Paces on each Hand, and in the midſt it is full of Gravel, with Paſſages for the Water, which keep it always clean.

In this Street are innumerable long cloſe Chariots, accommodated with Cloths and Cuſhions of Silk for ſix Perſons, who divert themſelves in the Street, or go to the Gardens, and there paſs the Time in Bowers, fine Walks, *&c.* which are kept for that Purpoſe, and return at Night in the ſame Chariots. When a Child is born, the Father ſets down the exact Point of Time, and with that Note goes to the Aſtrologer, to conſult of his future Fortunes; of theſe Aſtrologers are a great Number in every Market-Place. Theſe People will not celebrate a Marriage without ſuch Conſultation. When one dies that is of Note, the Kindred cloath themſelves in Canvas, and ſo both Men and Women accompany him to the Burying-Place, playing on Inſtruments, and ſinging all the Way Prayers to their Idols, and being come to that Place, caſt into the Fire many Papers of Cotton, whereon are painted Slaves, Horſes, Camels, Stuffs of Gold, and Silk, and Monies, which they think he ſhall really poſſeſs in another World, and make a grand Concert of Muſick in Conceit of the Joy wherewith the Idols there receive his Soul, where he beginneth, as they fancy, to live anew. In every Street are Towers of Stone, to which, when in Danger of Fire, they uſe to carry their Gods, their Timber-Houſes being very ſubject to ſuch Caſualties. The Khan hath ordered, that on the moſt of the Bridges, Day and Night, there ſtands under a Covert, ten Soldiers, five by Day, and five by Night, and in every Guard-Room is a Tabernacle of Wood, with a great Baſon, whereby they know the Hours of the Day and Night, which at every Hour's end the Warders ſtrike, to ſignify what Hour, One, Two, *&c.* beginning at the Sun-riſing; and then again, at the beginning of the Night. They walk up and down, and if any have a Light or Fire after the appointed Time, they cauſe him to anſwer it before the Juſtices, or Governors aforeſaid, or if any walk later.

If any be not able to work, they carry him to ſome Hoſpital, of which are exceeding many, founded by the old Kings, with great Revenues, through the City: When they are well again, they are compelled to work. If a Fire happen, theſe from diverſe Places come to and quench it, and to carry the Goods to the Iſlands, or thoſe Towers;

for in the Night none of the Citizens dare go out, but thoſe who are in Danger. The Khan always keeps here a Body of his beſt and moſt faithful Soldiery, as being the beſt and richeſt Place in the World. Within a Mile of each other, are built Ramparts of Wood, where the ſame Precautions are uſed for like Purpoſes. When the Khan had reduced all *Mangi* to his Obedience, he divided it, being before but one Kingdom, into nine Parts, and ſet them a Vice-King over each, who there adminiſters Juſtice. Every Year they give Account to the Khan's Officers of the Revenues, and other Accidents, and every third Year are charged, as all other Officers are. One of theſe Deputy Kings is reſident at *Quinſay*, who is Governor of above one hundred and forty Cities, all rich and great: Nor let this be eſteemed a Wonder, ſeeing in *Mangi* there are twelve thouſand Cities, all inhabited by rich and induſtrious People, in one of which the Khan maintaineth a Garriſon, proportionable to the Greatneſs and Occaſions, one thouſand, ten, or twenty thouſand, not all *Tartars*, but *Cathayans*; for the *Tartars* are Horſemen, and keep in ſuch Places as may be fit to exerciſe their Horſes. Into *Cathay* he ſends thoſe of *Mangi*, and *Cathayans* hither, ſuch as are fit for Arms, of which he makes choice every third Year, and ſends them for four or five Years together, into Places twenty Days Journey from their own Country, and then ſuffers them to return Home, a freſh Body ſucceeding; and moſt Part of the Khan's Revenues are this Way expended, and if any City rebel, he ſuddenly from the next Garriſon compoſes an Army to reduce or deſtroy them. The City of *Quinſay* hath in conſtant Garriſon thirty thouſand Soldiers, and that which hath leaſt, hath one thouſand regular Troops, Horſe and Foot in Garriſon [b].

I come next to ſpeak of the Palace of King *Fanfur*. His Predeceſſors cauſed to be encloſed a Place of ten Miles Circuit, with high Walls, and divided it into three Parts. That in the midſt was entred by one Gate on the one Side, and on the other were great and large Galleries, the Roof ſuſtained by Pillars, painted and wrought in pure Gold, and fine Azure. Theſe were ſmaller at the Entry, and the further the greater, the faireſt at the End; the Roof richly adorned with Gold, and on the Walls were painted the Stories of the former Kings, done very elegantly. Every Year, on certain Idol Holidays, *Fanfur* keeps his Court, and feaſts his principal Lords, the great Merchants, and rich Artificers of *Quinſay*. Ten thouſand are at a Time under theſe Teraces. This feaſting endured ten or twelve Days with incredible Magnificence, every Gueſt endeavouring to preſent himſelf in greateſt Pomp. Behind this marble Building was a Wall, which divided the Palace, in which were, as it were a Cloiſter with Pillars, ſuſtaining the Terace round about the Cloiſter, wherein were Chambers for the King and Queen, curiouſly wrought. From this Cloiſter was an Entrance into a Gallery ſix Paces wide, extending in Length to the Lake, all covered. On each Side of this Gallery were ten Courts, anſwering to each other like Cloiſters, each Court having fifty Chambers, with their Gardens, and in them one thouſand Concubines abode, which the King kept for his Service, who ſometimes with the Queen, ſometimes with them, went in his Royal Barge, on the Lake, for Recreation, or to viſit his Idol Temples. The other two Parts of the Seraglio were divided into Groves, Lakes and Gardens, planted with Trees, in which were incloſed all Sorts of Beaſts, Roe-Bucks, Stags, Hares, Conies, and there the King diverted himſelf with his Damſels in Chariots, or on Horſeback, no Man entering there. There the Ladies hunted with his Dogs, and when weary, they went into thoſe Groves, which anſwered one another over the Lakes, and there leaving their Garments, came forth naked, and fell to ſwimming in the King's Preſence. Sometimes he would eat a Banquet in thoſe Groves, being ſerved by thoſe Damſels, without once thinking of Arms, which ſweet Meat coſt him the ſour Sauce ye have heard. All this was told me by a rich old Merchant of *Quinſay*, while I was there, one who had been familiar with King *Fanfur*, and knew all his Life, and had ſeen that Palace flouriſhing, into which he would needs bring me.

The Viceroy now reſides there, and the firſt Galleries remain as they were, but the Damſels Chambers are ruined. The Walls alſo which encompaſſed the Woods and Gardens, are fallen to the Ground, the Beaſts and Trees being gone, and all the other Ornaments deſtroyed. Twenty-five Miles from *Quinſay* is the Ocean, between the Eaſt and North-Eaſt, near which is a City called *Gampu*, an excellent Port, where arrive the *Indian* Ships with Merchandize. While *Marco Polo* was in *Quinſay*, Account being given to the grand Khan of the Revenues, and the Number of Inhabitants, he hath ſeen that there have been inrolled one hundred ſixy Toman of Fires, reckoning for a Fire the Family dwelling in one Houſe; every Toman contains ten thouſand, which makes ſixteen hundred thouſand Families, of all which there is but one Church of Chriſtians, and thoſe *Neſtorians*. Every Houſholder is bound to have written over his Door the Names of his whole Houſhold, Males and Females; alſo the Number of Horſes, the Names added or blotted out as the Family increaſeth or decreaſeth; and this is obſerved in all the Cities of *Mangi* and *Cathay*. Thoſe alſo that keep Inns write in a Book the Names of their Gueſts, and the Day and Hour of their Departure, which Books they ſend daily to the Lords, or Magiſtrates, who preſide at the Market-Places. In *Mangi*, the Poor which are not able to bring up their Children, ſell them to the Rich. The Revenues which accrue to the Khan from *Quinſay*, and the other Cities pertaining thereto, being the Ninth Part of the Kingdom of *Mangi*, are firſt of Salt, every Year, eight Tomans of Gold, every Toman is eighty thouſand Sazzi's of Gold, and every Sazzi is more than one Florin of Gold, which will amount to ſix Millions and four hundred thouſand Ducats. The Cauſe is, that that Province being nigh the Sea, there are many Lakes, where the Water in Summer is coagulated into Salt, wherewith five other Kingdoms in that Country are ſerved. There is plenty of Sugar growing, which pay, as likewiſe all Spices do, three Parts, and a third in the Hundred: The like of Rice, Wine. Alſo thoſe twelve Companies, which we ſaid had twelve thouſand Shops, and the Merchants which bring Goods hither, or carry any hence by Sea, pay the ſame Price. They which come from remote Countries and Regions, as for Example, from the *Indies*, pay Ten *per Cent*. Likewiſe all things there breeding, as Beaſts, and growing out of the Earth, and Silk, pay Tithe to the King, and the Computation being made in the Preſence of Maſter *Marco*, beſides Salt before-mentioned, yearly amounts to two hundred and ten Tomans, which will be ſixteen million eight hundred thouſand Ducats in Gold [c].

A Day's Journey from *Quinſay* to the South-Eaſt, are, all the Way, Houſes, Villages, fair Gardens, and Plenty of Victuals; at the End whereof is *Tapinzu*, a fine City, in the Juriſdiction of *Quinſay*. Three Days thence, South-Eaſt, is *Uguiu*, and two Days farther you may ſtill ride that Way, finding Caſtles, Cities, and well cultivated Places, in ſuch a Neighbourhood that they ſeem to Travellers all one City, and are all in the Juriſdiction of *Quinſay*; there are great Canes fifteen Paces long and four Palms thick. Two Days Journey farther is the City *Congui*, fair and large; and travelling farther South-Eaſt, are

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[b] The *Tartars* viſibly depended upon a military Force for the Preſervation of their Empire in *China*, which whether it was an Effect of their own Policy, or a Part of the *Chineſe* Syſtem of Government, which they adopted, is uncertain; but it is moſt probable that it was the latter. However it was far enough from anſwering the End, for the *Tartar* Forces becoming a meer ſtanding Army, and having nothing to do but to make a lazy Livelihood of that Profeſſion, the Soul of which is an active State; they ſoon degenerated, and became as ſoft and effeminate as the *Chineſe*, while the latter, humbled by the *Tartar* Conqueſt, impoveriſh'd by enduring the Burthen of ſuch a numerous Army, and above all, taught the Value of Liberty by the Loſs of it, began to form Deſigns for bringing about a new Revolution, which at laſt they were ſo lucky as to effect.

[c] Theſe Particulars might very well appear (as indeed they did) abſolutely incredible, at a Time when there was not ſo much as an Idea of a well-peopled, and regularly ſetled Country beyond the Limits of *Perſia*, received among the *Europeans*. As the *Chineſe* were amazed, and knew not what to think of our Manners, when we came firſt amongſt them, ſo the firſt News of ſuch an Empire as *China*, ſo extenſive, ſo well peopled, ſo admirably governed, and in ſo flouriſhing a Condition, muſt needs aſtoniſh us not a little. According to the lateſt Accounts of this Empire, its Revenues amount to fifty Millions Sterling annually.

Places full of People and Trades; and in this Part of *Mangi* are no Sheep, but Beavers, Buffaloes, Goats, and Swine in great Plenty. At the End of four Days Journey farther is the City *Zengian*, built on a Hill in the Midſt of a River, which, dividing into two Branches, encompaſſes it, and then runs one to the South-Eaſt, the other to the North-Weſt. This City is in the Juriſdiction of *Quinſai*, and its Inhabitants are Merchants, alſo and Idolaters; this Country abounds with all Sorts of Game. Three Days Journey from thence, through a moſt pleaſant Country, exceeding well inhabited, ſtands *Gieza*, a great City, which is the laſt of the *Quinſai* Kingdom; after which you enter into another Kingdom of *Mangi*, called *Concha*; the principal City thereof is *Fugiu*, by which you travel ſix Days Journey South-Eaſt, through Hills and Dales, always finding Places inhabited, and Plenty of Game, of Beaſts, and Fowl; they are Idolaters, Merchants ſubject to the Khan. There are ſtout Lions: and here grow Ginger, and Galingale in great Plenty, with other Sorts of Spices; eight Pounds of Ginger are ſold for a *Venetian* Groat. There is an Herb, whoſe Fruit hath the Effect, and gives the Colour and Smell of Saffron, but is not Saffron, which is uſed in their Meats. They commonly eat Man's Fleſh, if the Perſons die not of Sickneſs, as better taſted than others. When they go into the Field, they ſhave to the Ears, and paint their Faces with Azure; they ſerve on Foot, except the Captain, who rides, and uſes a Sword and Lance; they are very cruel, and when they kill an Enemy preſently drink his Blood, and afterwards eat his Fleſh.

After ſix Days Journey is *Quelinfu*, a great City with three Bridges, each eight Paces broad, and above an hundred long: The Women fair and delicately ſhaped. They have abundance of Silk and Cotton, are great Merchants, have Plenty of Ginger and Galingale. I was told, but ſaw them not, that they have Hens without Feathers, hairy like Cats, which yet lay Eggs, and are good to eat. Here are many Lions, which make the Way very dangerous. After three Days Journey, you arrive in a populous Country, inhabited by Idolaters, who make abundance of ſilk Manufactures, the chief City is *Unguem*, where is great Plenty of Sugar, ſent thence to *Cambalu*, which they knew not how to make good till they became ſubject to the Khan, in whoſe Court were *Babilonians*, which taught them to refine it with Aſhes of certain Trees, they only boiling it before into a black Paſte. Fifteen Miles farther lies *Cangiu*, ſtill in the Realm of *Concha*, and here the Khan keeps an Army in Readineſs for a Guard of the Country. Through this City paſſes a River a Mile broad, fairly built on both Sides, and abounding with Ships carrying Sugar, and other Lading. This River diſembogues from hence five Days Journey South-Eaſt at *Zaetum*, a Seaport, from which the rich Ships of *India* come to this pleaſant City, as is all the Country betwixt, in which are Trees and Shrubs of Camphire. *Zaitum* is a famous Port, where all the Ships arrive with Merchandize, thence diſperſed through all *India*. There is here ſuch a Quantity of Pepper, that what comes by *Alexandria* to the Weſt is little to it, and, as it were, one of a hundred. The Concourſe of Merchants is incredible, it being one of the moſt commodious Ports in the World, exceeding profitable to the Khan, who receives Cuſtom at the rate of ten in the Hundred of all Merchandize. They pay ſo much for Hire of Ships alſo, that there is not above one half of their Merchandize remaining entire to themſelves, and yet that Moiety yields vaſt Profit to them. The Citizens are idolatrous, given to Pleaſure; in it are many Artificers in embroidered and Arras Work. The River is great, very wide, and ſwift, and one Arm of it runs to *Quinſai*, at the parting of which is *Tingui* ſituated, where *Porcelane* Diſhes are made. I was told of a certain Earth, which they caſt up in Hills, and ſo let lie expoſed to all Weathers for thirty or forty Years without ſtirring; after which, refining by Time, they make Diſhes, paint them, and then put them in the Furnace. You may there have eight Diſhes for one *Venetian* Groat. In this Kingdom of *Concha*, the Khan has as great a Revenue almoſt as that of the Kingdom of *Quinſai*. In theſe two Maſter *Marco* was, and in none of the other nine Kingdoms of *Mangi*, in all which one Language is uſed, with Variety of Dialect, and but one Sort of Writing; and therefore we will ſpeak no more of them, but in the next Book diſcourſe of *India* the Greater, the Middle, and the Leſs, in which he was both in the Service of the Khan, and alſo in his Return with the Queen to *Argon*.

22. We will now enter into the Affairs of *India*, and begin with their Ships, which are made of Firr, with one Deck, on which are twenty Cabins, more or leſs, according to the Bigneſs of the Ships, each for one Merchant. They have a good Rudder, and four Maſts with four Sails, and ſome two Maſts, which they either raiſe or take down at Pleaſure. Some greater Ships have thirteen Diviſions on the Inſide, made with Boards inchaſed, ſo that if by a Blow of a whale, or Touch of a Rock, Water gets in, it can go no farther than that Diviſion, and the Leak being found, is ſoon ſtopped. They are double, that is, have two Courſes of Boards, one within the other, and are well calked with Oakam, and nailed with Iron, but not pitched, for they have no Pitch, but anointed with an Oil of a certain Tree mixed with Lime and Hemp, beaten ſmall, which binds faſter than Pitch or Lime. The greater Ships have three hundred Mariners, the others two hundred, or one hundred and fifty, as they are in Bigneſs and in Burthen, from five to ſix thouſand Bags of Pepper[d]; and they were wont to be larger than now they are, the Sea having broken into Parts and Iſlands, that the Defect of Water in ſome Places, cauſeth them to build leſs. They uſe alſo Oars in theſe Ships, four Men to one Oar; and the greater Ships have with them two or three leſs Ships, able to carry a thouſand Bags of Pepper, having ſixty Mariners, or upwards, on board; which ſmall Ships ſerve ſometimes to tow the greater. They have alſo with them ten ſmall Boats for Fiſhing and other Services, faſtened to the Sides of the larger Ships, and let down when they pleaſe to uſe them. They ſheath their Ships alſo after a Year's Uſage, ſo that then they have three Courſes of Boards, and they proceed in this Manner ſometimes till there be ſix Courſes, after which they break them up. Having ſpoken of the Ships, we will ſpeak of *India*, and firſt, of certain Iſlands.

Zipangu, *i. e.* *Japan*, is an Iſland on the Eaſt, one thouſand five hundred Miles diſtant from the Shores of *Mangi*, very great, the People of white Complexion, of gentle Behaviour, in Religion Idolaters, and have a King of their own. They have Gold in great Plenty, for few Merchants come thither, and the King permits no Exportation of it; and they which have carried on Commerce there, ſpeak of the King's Houſe covered with Gold, as Churches here with Lead, gilded Windows, Floors of Gold. There are alſo many Pearls. Once the Fame of theſe Riches made *Cublai-Khan* to ſend to conquer it, two of his Barons with a great Fleet of Ships, one named *Abbaca*, and the other *Venſanſin*, who going from *Zaitum* and *Quinſai*, arrived there, but falling out between themſelves, could take but one City, and there beheaded all they took, except eight Perſons, which, by an inchanted precious Stone, incloſed in the Right-arm between the Skin and Fleſh, could not be wounded with Iron; whereupon, with wooden Clubs, at the Command of the two Barons, they were ſlain. It happened one Day, that a northern Wind blew hard, which was dangerous to the Ships riding there, ſo that ſome were loſt, ſome put out farther to Sea, and others, with the two Leaders and a few principal Perſons, returned home. Out of many broken Ships ſome eſcaped by Boards and ſwimming to an Iſland not inhabited, four Miles off *Zipangu*, and were about thirty thouſand, without Proviſions or Arms, againſt whom the *Zipanguaners*, after the Tempeſt was calmed, ſet out a Fleet of Ships, and an Army. Theſe coming on Land to ſeek the wrecked *Tartars* without Order, gave Occaſion to the *Tartars* to wheel about, the Iſland being high in the Midſt, and to get unſeen to their Ships, which were left unmanned, with the Streamers diſplayed, and in them they ſailed to the chief City of *Zipangu*, where they were admitted without Suſpicion, and found few others but Women. The King of *Zapanga* beſieged them ſix Months, and they having no Relief, yielded themſelves, and their Lives were ſaved. This happened *A. D.* 1264[*].

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[d] This Account of the Ships uſed in the Trade of the *Eaſt-Indies*, agrees exactly with the modern Relations; and though, without doubt, they fall very far ſhort of our Ships for many Purpoſes; yet for ſome, and the Nature of thoſe Seas conſidered, they may be, and very probably are, more convenient.

The Khan, for the ill Conduct of his two Commanders, cut off the Head of one, and ſent the other to a deſart Iſland called *Zerga*, where he cauſed Offenders to die, by ſewing them, their Hands, bound in a new fleed Hide of a Buffaloe, which drying, ſhrinketh ſo, as it puts them to vaſt Tortures, which lead to a miſerable Death. The Idols in this and the adjoining Iſlands are made with Heads of Kine, Swine, Dogs, and in other Faſhions more monſtrous, as with Faces on their Shoulders, with four, ten, or even an hundred Hands; and to theſe they aſcribe moſt Power, and do moſt Reverence, and ſay, that ſo they learned of their Progenitors. They ſometimes eat their Enemies which they take, with great Joy, and for great Dainties; at leaſt ſo it is reported of them. The Sea, in which this Iſland lies, is called the Sea of *Cin*, or *Chin*, that is, the Sea againſt *Mangi*, and in the Language of that Iſland *Mangi* is called *Chin*, or *Chint*, which Sea is ſo large, that the Mariners and expert Pilots, who frequent it, ſay, that there are ſeven thouſand four hundred and forty Iſlands therein, the moſt part of them inhabited, that there grows no Tree which yields not a good Smell, and that there grows many Spices of divers kinds, eſpecially Lignum Aloes, and Pepper, black and white. The Ships of *Zaitum* are a Year in their Voyage, for they go in Winter, and return in Summer, having Winds of two ſorts, which keep their Seaſons, and this Country is far from *India*; but I will leave them, for I never was there, nor are they ſubject to the Khan, and return to *Zaitum*; from hence ſailing South-weſtward one thouſand five hundred Miles, paſſing a Gulph called *Cheinan*, which continues two Months ſailing to the Northward, ſtill confining on the South-eaſt of *Mangi*, and elſewhere with *Ania* and *Toloman*, and other Provinces before named. Within it are infinite Iſlands all in a manner inhabited: In them is found abundance of Gold, and they trade one with another.

22. This Gulph ſeems like another World; and after one thouſand and five hundred Miles, ſailing acroſs this Gulph, is the County *Ziambar*, rich and great, having a King and a Language of their own, Idolaters, and paying Tribute to the Grand Khan of twenty Elephants, and Lignum Aloes in great Quantities yearly. *A.D.* 1268, the Khan hearing of the Riches of this Iſland, ſent thither *Sagatu* with an Army to invade it. *Acambale* the King thereof was old, and made his Compoſition by paying the Tribute, which has been mentioned. There are many Woods of black Ebony there, which are of infinite Value. Sailing thence betwixt the South and South-eaſt one thouſand five hundred Miles is *Java*, at preſent ſuppoſed by Mariners the greateſt Iſland in the World, being above three thouſand Miles in Circuit, under a King who payeth Tribute to none, the Khan not offering to ſubject it, becauſe of the Length and Danger of the Voyage. The Merchants of *Zaitum* and *Mangi* fetch thence abundance of Gold and Spices. South and South-weſtward ſix hundred Miles from *Java*, are two Iſlands, one *Sondur*, which is the greater, the other *Condur*, leſs, both deſolate.

Fifty Miles South-eaſt from them is a Province, or firm Land, very rich and great, named *Locbac*, the People Idolaters, having a Language of their own, as well as a King. There grows Braſil Wood in great Plenty, much Gold, Elephants, wild Beaſts, and Fowl, a Fruit called *Bercias*, large as Lemons, very good; the Place is mountainous and ſavage, and the King permits not any to come thither, leſt they ſhould know his Country, and attempt to conquer it. There are abundance of Porcelain Shells for Money tranſported to other Places. Five hundred Miles Southward from *Locbac* is the Iſle *Pentan*, a ſavage Place, which produceth in all the Woods ſweet Trees; ſixty Miles in the way, the Sea is in many Places but four Fathom, after which ſailing to the South-eaſt thirty Miles further, is the Iſland and Kingdom of *Malaiur*, which hath a peculiar King and Language to itſelf, and here a great Trade is carried on in Spices from *Pentan*. One hundred Miles South-eaſt is *Java the Leſs*, in Compaſs about two thouſand Miles, and hath in it eight Kingdoms, and the People as many Languages; they are Idolaters, have abundance of Treaſure, Spices, Ebony, and Braſil, and are ſo far to the South, that the North Star cannot there be ſeen. Maſter *Marco* was in ſix of thoſe Kingdoms, of which he gives the following Account, leaving the other two which he ſaw not.

One of theſe eight Kingdoms is *Felech*, where the Idolaters, by frequent Trade with *Saracens*, are converted to the Law of *Mohammed*. In the Cities the Mountaineers are very beaſtly, eating Man's Fleſh, and all kinds of impure Food, and worſhip all Day what they firſt ſee in the Morning: Next to that is *Baſma*, which hath a Language by itſelf; they live without Law like Beaſts, and ſometimes ſend Hawks to the Khan, who lays claim to all the Iſland. For ſavage Beaſts they have wild Elephants, and Unicorns much leſs than Elephants, like the Buffaloe in Hair; their Feet are like Elephant's Feet, they have one Horn in the midſt of the Forehead, and hurt none therewith, but with the Tongue and Knee; for on their Tongue are certain long Prickles, and ſharp, and when they hurt any, they trample on him, and preſs him down with their Knees, and then tear him to Pieces with their Tongue. The Head is like a wild Boar's, which he carries downwards to the Ground. They love to ſtand in the Mire, and are filthy Beaſts, and not ſuch Unicorns are ſaid to be in our Parts, which ſuffer themſelves to be taken by Maids, but quite contrary. They have many Apes, and of ſeveral kinds; they have Goſ-hawks black as Ravens, great, and good for Prey. There are certain ſmall Apes, in their Faces like Men, which they put in Boxes, and preſerve with Spices, and ſell them to Merchants, who carry them through the World, ſhewing them for Pigmies, or little Men.

Samare is the next Kingdom, where Maſter *Marco* ſtaid five Months againſt his Will, forced by ill Weather. There none of the Stars of *Charles Wain* are ſeen. He once went on Shore with two thouſand People, and there fortified for thoſe five Months, for fear of thoſe brutiſh Men-eaters, and traded mean while with them for Victuals. They have excellent Fiſh, Wine of the Date-Tree, very wholeſome for Phthiſick, Dropſy, Diſeaſes of the Spleen; ſome white, ſome red, and *Indian* Nuts as big as a Man's Head, the middle whereof is full of a pleaſant Liquor better than Wine; they eat on all ſorts of Fleſh without any Difference. *Dragoian* is another of theſe Kingdoms claimed by the Khan, having a King, and Language of their own. I was told of an abominable Cuſtom, that when one is ſick, they ſend to enquire of the Sorcerers, whether he ſhall eſcape? If the Devils anſwer No, the Kindred ſend for ſome, whoſe Office it is to ſtrangle the ſick Party; after which they cut him in Pieces, and the Kindred eat him with great Jollity, even to the Marrow of the Bones; for, ſay they, if any Subſtance of him ſhould remain, Worms would breed thereof, which would want Food, and ſo die, to the great Torture of the Soul of the Deceaſed. The Bones they afterwards take and carry into ſome Caves in the Hills, that no Beaſt may touch them. If they take any Stranger they eat him in the ſame manner.

Lambrai is the fifth Kingdom of *Java*, in which is great Plenty of Braſil, of the Seeds whereof Maſter *Marco* brought to *Venice*, and ſowed them, but in vain, the Soil being too cold. They have Unicorns in great abundance, and Choice of Beaſts and Fowls. *Fanfur*, the ſixth Kingdom, hath the beſt Camphire, which is ſold Weight for Weight with Gold. In that Province they make Meal out of great and long Trees, as thick as two Men can fathom; whence paring off the thin Bark and Wood about three Fingers thick, the Pith within is Meal, which they put in Water, and ſtir it very well, the lighteſt Droſs ſwimming, and the fineſt ſettling to the Bottom, and then the Water being caſt away, they make Paſte, of which Maſter *Marco* brought ſome to *Venice*, taſting not much unlike Barley-Bread. The

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[*] This Attempt made by the *Tartars* to conquer *Japan*, is a very curious Circumſtance, and of great Conſequence to the Hiſtory of this Country, becauſe mentioned by no other Author, which is the Reaſon that Father *Martini* refers us hither on that Head, in his moſt accurate Work of the Empire of *China*.

Wood of this Tree thrown into the Water ſinks like Iron; of which they make Lancets, but ſhort, for if long, they would be too heavy to bear. Theſe they ſharpen, and burn at the Tops, with which ſo prepared, they will pierce thro' Armour ſooner than if they were made of Iron. About one hundred and fifty Miles from *Lambri*, ſailing Northwards, are two Iſlands, one called *Nocueran*, in which the Inhabitants live like Beaſts, go all naked, both Men and Women, and worſhip Idols, have excellent Trees, Cloves, Sanders white and red, *Indian* Nuts, Braſil, and other Spices; the other *Angaman*, ſavage as the former, and where I was told they had Dogs Heads and Teeth.

24. Sailing hence one thouſand Miles to the Weſt, and a little to the North-weſt, is *Zelan*, two thouſand and four hundred Miles in Circuit, and anciently three thouſand and ſix hundred Miles, as is ſeen in the Maps of the Mariners of thoſe Places; but the North Winds have made a great Part of it Sea. It is the fineſt Iſland in the World; the King is called *Sendernaz*. The Men and Women are Idolaters, go naked, ſave that they cover their Privities with a Cloth, have no Corn, but Rice and Oil of *Seſamino*, Milk, Fleſh, Wine of Trees, abundance of Braſil, the beſt Rubies in the World, Saphires, Topazes, Amathiſts, and other Gems: The King is ſaid to have the very fineſt Ruby that was ever ſeen, as long as ones Hand, and as big as a Man's Arm, without Spot, ſhining like a Fire, not to be bought for Money. *Cublai-Khan* ſent and offered the Value of a City for it; but the King anſwered, he would not give it for the Treaſure of the World, nor part with it, becauſe it had been his Anceſtors. The Men are unfit for Soldiers, and hire others when they have Occaſion. From *Zelan*, ſailing ſixty Miles to the Weſt, lies the great Province of *Malabar*, which is not an Iſland, but firm Continent, called *India the Greater*, the richeſt Province in the World: There are in it four Kings, the chief of which is *Sinder Candi*, in whoſe Kingdom they fiſh for Pearls, *viz.* betwixt *Malabar* and *Zeilan*, in a Bay where the Sea is not above ten or twelve Fathom; in which Divers deſcend, and in Bags or Nets tied to their Bodies, bring up the Oiſters, in which are the Pearls: And becauſe there are ſome great Fiſh which kill the Fiſhermen, they hire certain Bramins to charm them, and theſe have the twentieth, the King the tenth. Theſe Oiſters are found through the whole Month of *April*, and till the Middle of *May*, and not at any time elſe. In *September* they find them in a Place above three hundred Miles off, and till the midſt of *October*. The Khan goes as naked as the reſt, ſave that he wears ſome honourable Enſigns, as a Collar of precious Stones about his Neck, and a Thread of Silk to his Breaſt, with one hundred and four fair Pearls ſtrung thereon to count his Prayers by, of which he muſt daily ſay ſo many to his Idols. A ſort of Bracelets he weareth on three Places on his Arms, and likewiſe on his Legs, on his Fingers, and on his Toes. The Prayers which he ſays are *Pacauca, Pacauca, Pacauca*, one hundred and four times. This King hath one thouſand Concubines, and if any pleaſe him, he takes her as once he did from his Brother, whence Wars had followed; but the Mother threatning to cut off her Breaſts, which had nouriſhed them, if they proceeded, the Quarrel was compoſed. He hath many Horſemen for his Guard, which always accompany him, who when the King dies, throw themſelves voluntarily into the Fire, when he is burned, to do him Service in the next World.

This Prince and his Brethren, the Kings of *Malabar*, buy their Horſes from *Ormus*, and other Parts, the Country breeds none; and if it ſometimes falls out that it does, yet are they there bred ill-favour'd and naught. Condemned Perſons will offer themſelves to die in Honour of ſuch an Idol, which is performed with twelve Knives, and twelve Wounds in divers Parts of the Body, at every Blow, ſaying, *I kill myſelf in Honour of that Idol*; and the laſt he thruſts in his Heart, and is then burned by his Kindred. The Wives alſo caſt themſelves into the Fire with their Huſbands, diſrepute following thoſe who refuſe it. They worſhip Idols, and moſt of them adore Cows, and would not eat ſo holy Fleſh as Beef, for all the World. There are ſome called *Gaui*, who eat ſuch Oxen as die of themſelves, but may not kill them, and dawb over their Houſes with Ox-dung. Theſe *Gaui* are of the Poſterity of thoſe which ſlew *St. Thomas*, and cannot enter the Place where his Body is. They ſit on Carpets on the Ground in this Kingdom: They have no Corn but Rice; are not a martial People, kill no Beaſts, but when they will eat any get the *Saracens* to do it, or other People; waſh twice a-day, Morning and Evening, both Men and Women, and will not otherwiſe eat, which they who obſerve not are accounted Hereticks. They touch not their Meat with their Left-hand, but uſe that Hand only to wipe, and for other unclean Uſes. They drink each in his own Pot, and will not touch another Man's Pot, nor ſuffer their own to touch their Mouth, but hold it over, and pour it in. To Strangers who have no Pot they pour drink into his Hands, and oblige him to drink with them. Juſtice is ſeverely adminiſtered for Crimes, and a Creditor may in ſome Caſes encompaſs his Debtor with a Circle, which he dares not paſs till he hath paid the Debt, or given Security; if he does, he is to be put to Death; and Maſter *Marco* once ſaw the King himſelf on Horſe-back thus encircled by a Merchant, whom he had long delayed and put off; neither would the King go out of the Circle which the Merchant had drawn, till he had ſatisfied him, the People applauding the King's Juſtice. They are very ſcrupulous of drinking Wine made of the Grape, and they which do it are not thought worthy, or honeſt Men, or admitted to be Witneſſes, a Thing denied alſo to him who ſails by Sea, for they ſay ſuch Men are deſperate. They think Leachery no Sin. It is very hot, and they have no Rain but in *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*; without which refreſhing of the Air they could not live. They have many Phyſiognomers and Soothſayers, which obſerve Beaſts and Birds, and have an unlucky Hour every Day in the Week, called *Choiach*, as on *Monday*, betwixt two and three, on *Tueſday* the thrid Hour, and on *Wedneſday* the ninth, *&c.* through all the Year, ſet down in their Books. They curiouſly obſerve Nativities. At thirteen Years old, they put their Boys to get their own Livings, who run up and down to buy and ſell, having a ſmall Stock given them to begin, and in Pearl Seaſon they buy a few Pearls, and ſell them again to the Merchants, which cannot well endure the Sun, for little Gain; what they get they bring to their Morthers to dreſs for them, for they may not eat at their Fathers Coſt. They have Idols, male and female, to whom they offer their Daughters, who when the Monks or Prieſts appoint, ſing and dance to the Idols, and very often ſet Victuals before them, ſaying that they eat, leaving it the Space of a Meal, ſinging all the while, and then they fall to eating in earneſt; after which they return home. The Cauſe of theſe Sacrifices is the houſhold Quarrels betwixt the God and Godeſs, which, if they ſhould appeaſe, they ſhould loſe their Bleſſing. The great Men have Litters, made of large Canes, which they faſten artificially to ſome upper Place to prevent Tarantulas biting, and alſo Fleas and other Vermin, and for freſh Air.

The Place of *St. Thomas*'s Sepulchre is a ſmall City, not much frequented by Merchants, but very much by Chriſtians and *Saracens* for Devotion. The *Saracens* hold him a great Prophet, and call him *Ananias*, that is, a holy Man. The Chriſtians take of the Earth where he was ſlain, which is red, and carry it with them with great Reverence, and give it, mix'd with Water, to the Sick. *A. D.* 1288, a great Prince, having more Rice than Room to lay it in, made bold with *St. Thomas*'s Church, in the Room where Pilgrims were received; but by a Viſion of *St. Thomas* in the Night, was ſo terrified that he quickly left the Place. The Inhabitants are black, not ſo born, but became ſo by often anointing themſelves with Jeſſamine Oil, to obtain that Beauty. They paint the Devil white, and their Idols black. The Cow-worſhippers carry with them to Battle, ſome of the Hair of a wild Ox, as a Preſervation againſt Dangers, and therefore ſuch Hairs are ſold at a high Price.

25. *Murſfili*, or *Monſul*, is northward from *Malabar* five hundred Miles; the Inhabitants are Idolaters. They have Diamonds in their Hills, which they ſearch for after great Rains. Weſtward from *St. Thomas* is *Lar*, whence the *Bramins* have their Original, who are the honeſteſt Merchants in the World, and will not lye for any thing,

and faithfully keep any thing committed to their Cuſtody, or as Brokers ſell or bartar Merchandize for others. They are known by a Cotton-thread, which they wear over the Shoulders, tied under the Arm croſſing the Breaſt. They have but one Wife, are great Aſtrologers, of great Abſtinence, and long Life; obſerve their own Shadow in the Sun, when they are to buy, and thence conjecture according to the Rules of their Art. They conſtantly chew a certain Herb, which makes their Teeth good, and helps Digeſtion. There are ſome religious among them, called *Tangui*, who go altogether naked, live auſterely, worſhip Cows, of which they have little braſs Images on their Forehead, and of the Ox Bone's Aſhes make an Ointment, wherewith they anoint their Bodies in divers Places with great Reverence. They neither kill or eat any live Creature, nor Herb green, or Root before it is dried, eſteeming every Thing to have a Soul. They uſe no Diſhes, but lay their Victuals on dry Leaves of Apples of Paradiſe. They eaſe themſelves in the Sands, and then diſperſe it hither and thither, leſt it ſhould breed Worms, which muſt die for want of Food. Some of them live to one hundred and fifty Years, and their Bodies, after Death, are burned.

In *Zeilan* I had forgot to mention a high Mountain, which none can aſcend but by Iron Chains, as I was told, in the Top whereof the *Saracens* ſay is *Adam*'s Sepulchre; the Idolaters ſay it is the Body of *Sogomon Barchan*, the firſt Idol Founder, Son to the King of that Iſland, who betook himſelf to a ſolitary Life on the Top of this Hill, from whence no Pleaſures nor Perſuaſions could draw him, his Father made an Image after his Death to repreſent him, all of Gold, adorned with Garments, and commanded all the Iſlanders to worſhip it: And hence, as they ſay, began Idolatry. Hither they come from remote Places in Pilgrimage, and there his fore Teeth, and a Diſh of his are reſerved, and as holy Relicks ſolemnly ſhewed. The *Saracens*, ſay they, are of *Adam*, which Report cauſed the Khan, *A. D.* 1281, to ſend Embaſſadors thither, who obtained two Teeth and a Diſh, and ſome of his Hairs, by Grant, from the King of *Zeilan*, which he cauſed to be received by the whole People of *Cambalu* without the City, and brought to his Preſence with great Honour.

Cael is a great City, governed by *Aſter*, one of the four Brethren, who is very rich, alſo very kind to Merchants; he hath three hundred Concubines. All the People have a Cuſtom to be continually chewing in their Mouths a Leaf called *Tembul*, with Spices and Lime. *Coulam* is five hundred Miles South-weſt from *Malabar*, they are Idolaters. There are alſo Chriſtians and *Jows*, who have a Speech by themſelves. They have Pepper, Braſil, Indico, Lions all black, Parrots of divers Sorts, all white as Snow, others azure, others red, and ſome ſmall Peacocks and Peahens, very different from ours, and larger, as are their Fruits; they are leacherous, and marry their Siſters and near Kindred: There are many Aſtrologers and Phyſicians. In *Camari* are Apes ſo large, that they ſeem to be Men: And here we had a Sight of the North-ſtar. *Delai* hath a King, and the Inhabitants have their own Language: The People are Idolaters, and have Plenty of Spices; the Ships of *Mangi* come thither. *Malabar* is a Kingdom in the Weſt, in which, and in *Guzerat*, are many Pirates, who ſometimes put to Sea with above an hundred Sail, and rob Merchants. They bring with them their Wives and Children, and there remain all Summer. In *Guzzerat* is abundance of Cotton, the Trees ſix Fathoms high, and laſt twenty Years; the Cotton of theſe Trees is not fit to ſpin, after they are above twelve Years old, but for Quilts: There are many Rhinoceros's. In *Canbau* is Store of Frankincenſe. It is a great City, where is great Trade for Horſes. In *Cambaia* is much Indico, Buckram, and Cotton. *Semenath* is a Kingdom of a peculiar Language, they are Idolaters, Merchants, and a good People. *Reſmacoran* is a great Kingdom of Idolaters and *Saracens*. The laſt Province of the *Greater India*, towards the North-weſt is five hundred Miles, near which are ſaid to be two Iſlands, one of Men and the other of Women, thoſe coming to theſe, and there ſtay in *March*, *April*, and *May*. The Women keep their Sons till twelve Years, and then ſend them to their Fathers. It ſeems the Air of that Country admits no other Courſe: They are Chiſtians, and have their Biſhop, ſubject to the Biſhop of *Socotera*; they are good Fiſhermen, and have Store of Amber. *Socotora* hath an Arſhbiſhop, not ſubject to the Pope, but to one *Zatulia*, who reſides at *Baldach*, who chooſeth him. The *Socoterans* are Inchanters, as great as any in the World, though excommunicated therefore by their Prelate, and raiſe Winds to bring back ſuch Ships as have wronged them, till they obtain Satisfaction.

26. A thouſand Miles thence Southward, is *Magaſter*, one of the greateſt and richeſt Iſles in the World, three thouſand Miles in Circuit, inhabited by *Saracens*, governed by four old Men; the People live by Merchandize, and ſell vaſt Quantities of Elephants Teeth. The Currents in theſe Parts are of exceeding Force. They report ſtrange Stories of Fowls, called *Ruch*, like an Eagle, but of incomparable Bigneſs. *Zenſibar* alſo is ſaid to be of great Length, *&c.* There are Elephants, Giraffas, and Sheep, very unlike to ours; the Men and Women very deformed. I have heard Mariners and ſkilful Pilots of thoſe Parts report, and have ſeen in their Writings, which have compaſſed the Sea of *India*, that there are in it twelve thouſand and ſeven hundred Iſlands inhabited and deſart. In *India Major*, which is from *Malabar* to *Cheſmacoran*, are thirteen Kingdoms.

India-Minor is from *Ziambi* to *Murſili*, in which are eight Kingdoms, beſides many Iſlands. The ſecond, or middle *India*, is called *Abaſcia*, the chief King a Chriſtian. There are ſix other Kings, three Chriſtians, and three Saracens, ſubject to him; there are alſo Jews. St. *Thomas* having preached in *Nubia*, came to *Abaſcia*, and there did the like, and went afterwards to *Malabar*. They are very valiant Soldiers, always in Arms againſt the Soldan of *Aden*, and the People of *Nubia*. I heard that *A. D.* 1288, the Great Emperor of the *Abiſſines* would have viſited *Jeruſalem*, but being diſuaded by reaſon of the *Saracen* Kingdoms in the Way, he ſent a Biſhop of holy Life to perform his Devotions, who in his Return was taken by the Soldan of *Aden*, and circumciſed by Force; whereupon the *Abiſſine* Monarch raiſed an Army, diſcomfited the Soldan, with two other *Mohammedan* Kings, took and ſpoiled *Aden*. *Abaſcia* is rich in Gold, *Eſcier* is ſubject to *Aden*, forty Miles diſtant South-Eaſt, where is plenty of white Frankincenſe, very good, which drops from ſmall Trees by Inciſion of the Bark, a rich Merchandize, *&c.* Some in that Country, for want of Corn, make Biſcuit of Fiſh, of which they have great Plenty: They alſo feed their Beaſts with Fiſh. They take them in *March*, *April*, and *May*.

27. After having ſpoken of the Provinces on the Coaſt, I will now return to ſome Provinces more to the North, where many *Tartars* dwell, which have a King called *Caidu*, of the Race of *Zingis-Khan*, but ſubject to none. Theſe obſerve the Cuſtoms of their Anceſtors, dwell not in Cities, Caſtles, or Fortreſſes, but dwell with their King in the Fields, Plains, Vallies and Foreſts, and are eſteemed true *Tartars*. They have no ſort of Corn, but live on Fleſh and Milk, in great Peace. They have multitudes of Horſes, Kine, Sheep, and other Beaſts. There are found great white Bears, twenty Palms long, black Foxes, very large, wild Aſſes, and little Beaſts called *Rondes*, which bear the Sable-Furs, and Variarcolini, and thoſe which are called *Pharaoh*'s Rats, which the *Tartars* are ſkilful in taking. The great Lakes which are frozen, except in a few Months in the Year, are the Cauſe, that in the Summer it is ſcarce to be travelled for Mire, and therefore the Merchants in going to buy their Furrs, for fourteen Days Journey through the Deſart, have ſet up for each Day a Houſe of Wood, where they barter with the Inhabitants, and in Winter they uſe Sledges without Wheels, and plain on the Bottom, riſing with a Semicircle at the Top, or End, which are drawn on the Ice, by Beaſts like great Dogs, by Couples, the Sledge-Man only with his Merchant and Furrs ſitting therein.

At the Extremity of the Region of theſe *Tartars*, is a Country reaching to the fartheſt North, called the obſcure Land, becauſe the moſt Part of the Winter Months the Sun appears not, and the Air is thick and darkiſh, as betimes in the Morning with us. The Men there are pale and ſquat, have no Prince, and live like Beaſts. The *Tartars* often rob them of their Cattle in thoſe dark Months, and leſt they ſhould loſe their Way, they ride on Mares which have Colts ſucking, which they leave with a Guard at the Entrance of that Country, where the Light beginneth to fail, and when they have taken their Prey, give Reins to the Mares, which haſten to their Colts. In their long continued Summer, they take many of the fineſt Furrs (one Occaſion of the *Tartars* going to rob them) of which I have heard ſome are brought into *Ruſſia*. *Ruſſia* is a great Country near that Northern Darkneſs. The People are *Greek* Chriſtians, the Men and Women fair, and pay Tribute to the King of the *Tartars* of the Weſt, on whom they border. On the Eaſt there is plenty of Furrs, Wax, and Mines of Silver; it reaches, as I was told, to the Ocean Sea, in which are Iſlands that abound in Ger-Falcons and Falcons.

28. We are now arrived at the Cloſe of this Author's Writings, and therefore are the more capable of judging of the Particulars they contain, which was the Reaſon that I left ſome Points to be conſidered here, which I ſhould otherwiſe have thrown under the Head of Objections. Some critical Readers have affected to doubt, whether our Author, or rather his Performance, deſerves Credit, from the Account that is given of the Manner in which it was wrote, and from the different Stories that we have told of the Original. We have already accounted for the Miſtakes that have been made on this Head, and ſhall here only take Notice, that *Francis Pipin*, of the Order of Preachers, who made a *Latin* Tranſlation of our Author's Work, tells us in his Preface, that from the Report of his Domeſticks, he was ſatisfied that *Marco Polo* was a Man of great Prudence, remarkably honeſt, and one who had the faireſt Character that could be. It is not very eaſy to conceive, that ſuch a Man ſhould expoſe that Credit which he had been at ſo much Pains to eſtabliſh, by ſending into the World an indigeſted Heap of Fictions and Romances. But the ſame Perſon informs us farther, that Seignior *Nicolo Polo*, the Father of our Author, was the moſt eſteemed, and beſt beloved Man of his Time, and that he conſtantly reported the very ſame Facts, during his whole Life, which his Son publiſhed in his Works; and as for his Uncle Seignior *Maffio*, who enjoyed ſome of the principal Offices in the Government at *Venice*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Wiſdom and Integrity, when he was upon his Death-Bed, he took particular Care to aſſure his Confeſſor, that he had reviewed his Nephew's Work, and that he was fully ſatisfied, that there was nothing in it that was not ſtrictly true, and this he gave him Leave to declare for the Satisfaction of the World. Here then are three credible Witneſſes to the ſame Facts, and therefore, according to all the Laws of Evidence, they ought to be looked upon as throughly eſtabliſhed.

We muſt however diſtinguiſh between ſuch Facts as our Author reports from his own Knowledge, and thoſe which are grounded only on hear-ſay and Information. We may accuſe an Author of Credulity or Imprudence, who inſerts ſtrange and improbable things in his Writings, but we cannot with Juſtice charge him with Infidelity or Falſhood on that Head, and we ought alſo to make ſome Allowance for the Genius of the Time in which he wrote, becauſe it cannot be preſumed, that even the wiſeſt and moſt prudent Man can be totally free from the Errors of the Age in which he flouriſhed: It may not be amiſs to give a few Inſtances with regard to our Author.

In the twenty-fifth Chapter, there is an Account of Diamond Mines, in the Kingdom of *Murfili*, where we have omitted a Paſſage that is to be met with in moſt of of the Editions of our Author, becauſe it is reported on the Credit of the Inhabitants, and we were willing to examine it by itſelf, that the Reader might perceive we had no Intention to impoſe upon him thoſe Improbabilities which had been impoſed upon our Author himſelf. After having told us, that Diamonds are found there at the Bottom of the rocky Mountains, after the rainy Seaſon is over, he proceeds thus: “ They alſo in the Summer-Time aſcend “ theſe Mountains, though with great Difficulty, becauſe “ of the Vehemence of the Heat, and find abundance of “ thoſe precious Stones among the Gravel. In this they “ are likewiſe much expoſed to Danger from the vaſt “ Number of Serpents of enormous Size, which ſhelter “ themſelves in the Holes and Caverns of theſe Rocks, “ where, nevertheleſs, they find Diamonds in the greateſt “ Abundance. Among other Methods of obtaining them, “ they make uſe of this: There are abundance of white “ Eagles that reſt in the upper Part of thoſe Rocks, for the “ ſake of feeding on the Serpents, and in the deep Vallies and Precipices, where Men are afraid to venture “ themſelves, they throw Pieces of raw Meat, which the “ Eagles perceiving, immediately ſtoop and ſeize it, with “ all the little Stones and Gravel that adhere to theſe moiſt “ Pieces of Meat. Such as ſearch for Diamonds watch “ the Eagles Neſts, and when they leave them, pick up “ ſuch little Stones, and ſearch likewiſe for Diamonds “ among the Eagles Dung. The Kings and Great Men “ in this Country keep the faireſt and fineſt of theſe Stones “ to themſelves, and ſuffer the Merchants to ſell the reſt.

The famous *Julius Cæſar Scaliger* was extremely offended with this Relation, which he treats with the utmoſt Contempt, and ſeems to wonder at the Aſſurance of a Writer that expects Stories of this kind ſhould gain Credit: Yet, after all, I do not ſee that there is any great Harm in our Author's relating this Tale, however improbable it may ſeem, ſince without doubt he received it from the Inhabitants, and what Motives they had to tell him ſuch a Story, is not very difficult to gueſs. The native *Indians*, in all the Revolutions that have happened in the Countries where they live, have preſerved this Trade in their own Hands, and by Fables of one ſort or other kept Strangers from attempting to interfere with them. Our Author was very probably the firſt *European* that was ever at the Diamond Mines, and therefore we have the leſs Reaſon to be ſurprized at his being impoſed upon, in an Affair of which he could not be a competent Judge.

But to make the Reader ſome Amends for ſo imperfect a Relation of the manner in which this valuable Trade is carried on, I ſhall take this Opportunity of inſerting the beſt Account of the Matter that I believe has been hitherto given by one who was an Eye-witneſs of it in the Year 1680, and that too in the very Country known to our Author by the Name of the Kingdom of *Murfili*. “ The Diamonds are ſo “ ſcattered and diſperſed in the Earth, and lie ſo thin, that “ in the moſt plentiful Mines it is rare to find one in digging, or till they have prepared the Stuff, and ſearched “ purpoſely for them: They are alſo frequently encloſed in “ Clods; and ſome of thoſe of *Mokwilleed*; and the new Mines “ in the Kingdom of *Golconda* have the Earth ſo fixed “ about them, that till they grind them on a rough Stone “ with Sand, they cannot move it ſufficiently to diſcover “ they are tranſparent, or were it not for their Shapes, to “ know them from other Stones. At the firſt opening of “ the Mine, the unſkilful Labourers ſometimes, to try “ what they have found, lay them on a great Stone, and “ ſtriking on them with another, to their coſtly Experience “ diſcover they have broken a Diamond. One I know who “ had an excellent Stone of eight Mangellans, that is, “ thirty-two Grains, ſerved ſo by ignorant Miners he employed. Near the Place where they dig they raiſe a “ Wall, with ſuch rugged Stones as they find at hand, “ whereof all the Mines afford Plenty, of about two Foot “ high, and ſix Foot over, flooring it well with the ſame; “ for the laying of which they have no other Mortar than “ the Earth tempered with Water. To ſtrengthen and “ make it tight, they throw up a Bank againſt the Side of “ it, in one Part whereof they leave a ſmall Vent about two “ Inches from the Bottom, by which it empties itſelf into “ a little Pit made in the Earth to receive ſmall Stones, if “ by chance any ſhould run through. The Vent being “ ſtopp'd, they fill the Ciſtern they have made with Water, “ ſoaking therein as much of the Earth they dig out of “ the Mine as it can conveniently receive at a time, breaking the Clods, picking out the great Stones, and ſtirring “ it with Shovels till the Water is all muddy, the gravelly “ Stuff falling to the Bottom; then they open the Vent, “ letting out the foul Water, and ſupply it with clean, till “ all the earthy Subſtance be waſhed away, and none but a “ gravelly one remains at the Bottom. Thus they continue “ waſhing till about Ten of the Clock before Noon, when they take the gravelly Stuff they have waſhed, and ſpread it on a Place made plain and ſmooth for that Purpoſe near the Ciſtern, which being ſo dried by the Heat of the Sun at that Time of the Day, they very curiouſly look it over, that the ſmalleſt Bit of a Stone can hardly eſcape them. They never examine the Stuff they have waſhed, but between the Hours of Ten and Three, leſt any Cloud, by interpoſing, intercept the briſk Beams of the Sun, which they hold very neceſſary to aſſiſt them in their Search, the Diamonds conſtantly reflecting them when they ſhine on them, rendering themſelves thereby the more conſpicuous.

“ Some of the experteſt Labourers are employed in ſearching, he that ſets them at work uſually ſitting by, and over-looking; but it is hardly poſſible, eſpecially where many are employed, to watch them ſo narrowly, but that they may ſteal part of what they find, as many times ſome of them do, and ſelling it privately, convert it to their own Uſe. If they find a large Stone, they carry it not preſently to their Employer, but keep on looking, having an Eye on him, till they obſerve he takes notice of it, when with the Turn of their Hand, they give him a Glimpſe of it, but deliver it not till they have done Work, and then very privately, it being the general Endeavour to conceal what they find, leſt it ſhould come to the Knowledge of the Governor of the Place, and he requires a Share, which in the Kingdom of *Golconda* is uſually practiſed, without any Reſpect to the Agreement made with them. The Miners, thoſe that employ them, and the Merchants that buy the Stones of them, are uſually *Pagans*, not a Muſleman, that ever I heard of, followed the Employment. Theſe Labourers, and their Employers, are *Tellinga's*, commonly Natives of, or near the Place. The Merchants are the *Banians* of *Guzzarat*, who for ſome Generations have forſaken their own Country to take up this Trade in which they have had ſuch Succeſs, that 'tis now ſolely engroſſed by them, who, correſponding with their Countrymen in *Surat*, *Goa*, *Golconda*, *Viſiapore*, *Agra*, and *Dilu*, and other Places in *India*, furniſh them all with Diamonds.

“ The Governors of the Mines are alſo Idolaters. In the King of *Golconda*'s Dominions a *Tellenga Brammee* rents moſt of them, whoſe Agreement with the Adventurer is, that all the Stones found under a *Pagoda* Weight are to be their own; all that Weight and above is to be his, for the King's Uſe. But although this Agreement be ſigned and ſealed, he minds not at all the Performance thereof, but endeavours to engroſs all the Profit to himſelf, by tyrannically ſqueezing both Merchants and Miners, who he not only taxes very high, but maintaineth Spies among them of their own People. On the leaſt Suſpicion that they have been any ways fortunate, he immediately makes a Demand on them, and raiſes their Tax, elſe on a falſe Pretence, they have found a great Stone, drubs them till they ſurrender what they have, to redeem their Bodies from Torture.

“ Beſides, the Exciſe is ſo high on all ſorts of Proviſions, Beetle and Tobacco, which with them are eſteemed Neceſſaries, that the Price of all Things is doubted; by which Courſe there is hardly a Man to be found worth five hundred Pounds amongſt them, moſt of them dealing by Monies taken up at Intereſt of Uſurers, who reſide there purpoſely to furniſh them, who with the Governor eat up their Gains, ſo that one would wonder any of them ſhould ſtay, and not betake themſelves to Places where they might have better Uſage, as there are many in other Governments, and ſome few that have the Senſe to remove; but many their Debts, others Hopes of a great Hit, detains. Both Merchant and Miner go generally naked, only a poor Cloth about their Middle, and their Saſh on their Heads; they dare not wear a Coat, leſt the Governor ſhould ſay they have thriven much, and are rich, and ſo enlarge his Demands on them. The wiſeſt, when they find a great Stone, conceal it till they have an Opportunity, and then with Wife and Children run all away into the *Viſiapore* Country, where they are ſecure. The Government in the *Viſiapore* Country is better: Their Agreements obſerved, Taxes eaſier, and no ſuch Impoſitions on Proviſions; the Merchants go handſomely clad, among whom are ſeveral Perſons of conſiderable Eſtates, which they are permitted to enjoy peaceably, by reaſon whereof their Mines are much more populous, and better employed than thoſe of *Golconda*.”

It is for the ſame Reaſon, that I have omitted another improbable Story of a Bird called a *Ruc*, of ſuch a monſtrous Size, as to be able to carry an Elephant into the Air, which Abſurdities our Author was probably induced to believe, by the ſtrange Things he daily ſaw in theſe Parts of the World, and of which the People in *Europe* had not ſo much as the leaſt Idea. Theſe Omiſſions I thought requiſite for keeping the Work within Bounds, as having no Inclination to try the Patience of my Readers, by inſerting any more of theſe old Travels than ſeem abſolutely neceſſary for connecting the ſeveral Parts of this Diſcourſe, and ſhewing how, in what Manner, and by whom thoſe great Diſcoveries were made, which enabled the different Nations in *Europe* to carry on ſo great a Trade as they do to all Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*. This, without doubt, was originally owing to this Work of *Marco Polo*, who, though no Geographer or Seaman himſelf, yet left ſuch clear and evident Proofs of the Poſſibility of reaching the moſt diſtant Parts of *Aſia* by Sea, that his Work was more eſteemed in *Portugal*, where the firſt Spirit of Diſcovery appeared, than in *Italy* itſelf. It remans, in this Place, to give a ſhort Account of the Names by which he has diſtinguiſhed the Countries he viſited, and particularly to anſwer the great Objection raiſed againſt his Work, from his not making any Mention of the famous Wall in *China* for keeping out the *Tartars*, which ſhall be done in as few Words as poſſible.

Our Author following exactly the Sentiments of the *Tartars*, diſtinguiſhes all this great Country into two Parts, *viz.* *Cathay* and *Mangi*, about which many Doubts have been raiſed, and many Diſputes ſet on Foot without any juſt Grounds, ſince it is very plain, that under the Denomination of *Cathay*, *Marco Polo* comprehends the ſix northern Provinces of *China*; and under that of *Mangi* the nine Southern Provinces, which are ſeparated from the former by the great River *Kiang*; and when we come hereafter to treat of the preſent State of the Empire of *China*, we ſhall take Occaſion to ſhew, that this Deſcription of his agrees very well with the beſt Accounts of that Empire. This will be the more intelligible to the Reader, when he is informed, that the *Tartars* ſtill preſerve theſe very Forms of Speech, that is to ſay, give the Name of *Cathay* to the Northern Parts, and that of *Mangi* to the Southern Provinces of *China*. As to this latter, it is a Name of Contempt, for *Mangi*, in the *Tartar* Tongue, implies *Barbarians*, and ſo they eſteemed the *Chineſe* to be, not from the Brutality of their Manners, but from their extravagant Haughtineſs and Pride, and eſpecially from that intolerable Hatred and Contempt with which they treated the *Tartars* themſelves. The plain Reaſon why our Author did not mention the famous Wall in *China*, was, becauſe he entered it by the ſouthern Provinces; and as he confines himſelf to the Places he ſaw, or to ſuch as were in their Neighbourhood, and proſecutes his Deſcription from the Weſtern Parts of *China* to the Sea, it was impoſſible he ſhould take Notice of it; ſo that when we conſider this Matter attentively, it is very plain, that this Circumſtance, inſtead of leſſening the Credit of *Marco Polo*, ought, in Truth, to ſtrengthen it very much, ſince it is a convincing Proof of the Truth of what he has aſſerted in relation to his own Travels, and his Deſcriptions of the Countries through which he paſſed; and evidently ſhews, he did not amuſe himſelf with Accounts of Countries and Provinces of which he could ſay nothing but from Report, to which, if he had liſtened, his Relation muſt have been much more obſcure and perplexed than we find it at preſent. But it is now Time to proceed to the Concluſion of this Section, by ſhewing the Advantages that may be obtained by the Peruſal of *Marco Polo*'s Travels, in order to the thorough Underſtanding of our Subject. And this we ſhall perform as conciſely as poſſible, and in ſuch a Manner as may diſengage us from the Neceſſity of looking into any more of theſe old Writers for the future.

29. As the Inhabitants of *Europe* received the firſt diſtant Accounts of the vaſt Country of *China* from our induſtrious *Venetians*, ſo from them likewiſe they had the cleareſt and beſt Account of the Revolutions that had happened in that Empire by the Power of the *Tartars*; a Thing of ſuch Conſequence to the right Underſtanding what ſubſequent Travellers have related, that I will be bold to ſay all the Difficulties and Diſcouragements that have been thrown in our Way, and have ſo long hindered our making a right Uſe of the many Collections of Travels already publiſhed, have ariſen in part from a Humour that for ſome Time prevailed, of treating *Marco Polo*'s Relation as a Romance, and partly through the Miſtakes made by thoſe, who for Want of having ſufficient Lights, and the Materials that were requiſite, undertook to explain the Hiſtory of the Irruptions of the *Tartars* into *China*, and endeavoured to make the Dates and Facts mentioned in theſe Travels, fall in with their Accounts, accuſing, at every turn, the Author of Errors and Faults, of which themſelves only were guilty. To remedy theſe Diſorders, and to make the Way plainer for the future, we ſhall, without running into a long Diſcuſſion of what other Writers have advanced, obſerve, that there have been three diſtinct Conqueſts of *China* made by the *Tartars*, of each of which we ſhall give a clear and diſtinct Account in very few Words. The firſt of theſe was by the Eaſtern *Tartars*, who, before the Time of *Zingis-Khan*, made themſelves Maſters of the Northern Provinces of *China*, and fixed the Seat of their Empire at *Khanbalick*, *Cambalu*, or *Pekin*; and this, as I conceive, gave Riſe to what is called the Empire of *Cathay*; concerning which, all our ancient Writers in general deliver themſelves with ſo much Confuſion, ſometimes repreſenting *Cathay* as a Part of *Tartary*, ſometimes again comprehending under that Name the whole Empire of *China*; and at others, diſtinguiſhing it from both. But from this Diſtinction, it clearly appears, that though the ancient Empire of *Cathay* was ſituated in *China*, yet it was an Empire raiſed by the *Tartars*; and that from want of attending to this, ſo many Miſtakes have been introduced.

The Prince who governed *Cathay* in the Time of *Zingis-Khan* was *Altan-Khan*, againſt whom that great Conqueror made his firſt Attempt, in the Year 1206, and that with ſuch Succeſs as to oblige this Monarch, after various Defeats, to ſhut himſelf up in the City of *Cambalu*, and to ſue for a Peace, which, with much Difficulty, he obtained; for the Confirmation of which he gave his Daughter in Marriage to *Zingis-Khan*. This Peace was but of very ſhort Continuance; for *Altan-Khan*, having a Jealouſy that ſome of his Nobility held Intelligence with his Enemy, he put many of them to death; and finding the northern Parts of his Dominions in a manner waſted and depopulated by the late Invaſion, he retired to the City of *Nankin*, which his Father had fortified with three Walls, the laſt of which was forty Leagues in Circuit, and left his Son in Poſſeſſion of *Khanbalick* and of the adjacent Countries. The reſt of the Nobility, enraged at the Inſtances of Severity before-mentioned, and at the ſame time doubting their own Safety, had immediate Recourſe to *Zingis-Khan*, and drew him a ſecond Time into *Cathay*, where he made himſelf Maſter of the Imperial City of *Cambalu*; the News of which Accident affected *Altan-Khan* to ſuch a Degree, that he poiſoned himſelf. This happened about the Year 1210; and thus the *Tartars* became Maſters of the northern Parts of *China*. They continued their Conqueſts under the Reign of the Succeſſors of *Zingis-Khan*, till the Emperor, who reigned when our Author was in theſe Parts, *viz.* *Coplai-Khan*, who in the Year 1278, compleated the Conqueſt of *Mangi*, or the ſouthern Parts of *China*.

The Bounds of *Zingis-Khan*'s Conqueſts on this Side, was the River *Hoang*; but his Succeſſors annexed all the Country between that River and the River of *Kiang*. All the reſt were ſubdued by *Coplai-Khan*, and his General *Pe Yen*. This was the ſecond Conqueſt made by the *Tartars*, who not only deſtroyed the Empire formerly eſtabliſhed by their Countrymen in *Cathay*, but alſo that of the native *Chineſe*, which had ſubſiſted for ſo many Ages. This ſhort Recapitulation ſets this Affair in its true Light, and not only explains what *Marco Polo* has told us, and reconciles his Accounts with thoſe of later Authors, but alſo connects his Relation with that of *Rubruquis*, and even thoſe of the *Arabian* Travellers; ſo that taking the whole together, we have a clear and ſatisfactory View of the Affairs of *China*, to that which I call the ſecond Conqueſt by the *Tartars*; but as the Affairs of this Country were entirely changed again before the Arrival of the *Portugueſe* by the Way of the *Cape of Good Hope*, I think it will be for the Reader's Eaſe and Advantage to have this Hiſtory conducted to its Cloſe before we enter upon the Diſcoveries and Conqueſts of the *Portugueſe*; becauſe otherwiſe, when we come to ſpeak of the *Chineſe* as again in the Poſſeſſion of their Country, and again driven out and conquered by the *Tartars*, it muſt neceſſarily introduce infinite Confuſion. It is from the *Chineſe* Writers that we have the Reigns of the *Tartar* Emprors who ſucceeded *Coplai-Khan*, and of whom there is very little mention made in the Hiſtories of the *Tartars*.

The *Chineſe*, as I before obſerved, called this new Imperial Family *Yuen*, and beſtowed the Name of *Chi-Tſou* upon *Copli-Khan*, of whom their Hiſtories ſpeak with the utmoſt Reverence, and whom they celebrate, for his having opened the great Canal mentioned by our Author, and which has been ever ſince juſtly conſidered as one of the Wonders of *China*. It is three hundred Leagues in Length, and nine thouſand Imperial Barks are conſtantly employed thereon, in tranſporting the Tributes of the ſouthern Provinces to *Cambalu* or *Pekin*, and in other Services. Theſe Writers place the Death of this Emperor ſomewhat lower than the *Tartar* Hiſtorians; for the former ſay, that he lived to the Age of fourſcore, and died *A. D.* 1295, whereas the latter place that Event in 1292. He was ſucceeded in the Empire by his Grandſon, whom our Author calls *Timur*; but in the *Chineſe* Chronicles he is ſtiled *Tching-Tſong*; and as his Grandfather excelled in Power, ſo he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Clemency and the Love of his Subjects. After him reigned ſeven other Princes of his Family, all of whom were no leſs illuſtrious on the ſcore of their perſonal Virtues, than glorious from their poſſeſſing ſo large an Empire: And it is very remarkable, that the *Chineſe* Hiſtory renders ſo great Juſtice to this foreign Race of Princes, as to ſtile the Period in which they ruled over *China*, the *wiſe Adminiſtration*. The laſt of them was *Chun-ti*, a Prince of great natural Endowments, but who unfortunately gave himſelf up to Prieſts and Women, leaving the Management of the Affairs of the Empire entirely to his Prime Miniſter. The *Tartar* Soldiers, through ſo long a Peace, had loſt their original Diſcipline, and were become ſlothful and effeminate, which ſo raiſed the Courage of the *Chineſe*, that they began to ſhew a Diſpoſition to revolt; and one *Tchou*, an obſcure Perſon, who had been no better than a Footman, having put himſelf at the Head of a Body of Malcontents, reduced many of the great Cities in the Empire; and became, by Degrees, ſo powerful, that he twice defeated the Imperial Army, and at laſt forced the *Tartars* to abandon *China*, after they had been poſſeſſed of it ninety-nine Years. This Revolution happened in 1370; and *Tchou* having by his Succeſs in this War raiſed himſelf to the Imperial Throne, aſſumed the Name of *Tai Tſou*, and fixed his Imperial Reſidence in the City of *Nankin*. And thus it was that the *Chineſe*, having expelled their Conquerors, recovered the Dominion of their own Country.

As for the Emperor *Chun-ti*, he retired with his *Tartar* Subjects northwards, and died of Grief and Vexation about two Years after this Revolution happened. The *Tartars* that were thus expelled, having a ſtrong Tincture of the *Chineſe* Cuſtoms, did not join with the reſt of the *Moguls*, but ſettled themſelves in the Country of *Leaoton*, and were, from this Time forward, ſtiled the *Nieuchen Moguls*, or *Moguls of the Eaſt*, to diſtinguiſh them from the other *Moguls*, who were called *Moguls of the Weſt*.

This deſart Country they cultivated with the utmoſt Care, built therein ſeveral conſiderable Cities, and practiſed that Induſtry which they had learned by converſing ſo long with the *Chineſe*; yet, in ſome Reſpects, they ſtill retained a Tincture of their ancient Manners; for, inſtead of remaining firm and united, which ſeemed to be the only Means left for recovering again the Dominions they had loſt, they ſplit themſelves into ſeveral little Principalities, under ſo many Khans; who, though their Territories were not very wide, maintained nevertheleſs their Independency. Among the moſt conſiderable of thoſe Cities which they erected, were *Kirin*, *Ula*, and *Kinkrita*, all three of them ſeated on the Weſt Bank of the River *Sangoro*, which falls into the great River *Amur* about twelve Days Journey above its Mouth. The City of *Kirin* is diſtant from the Province of *Leaoton* about three hundred and ſixty Miles. The City of *Ula* is in Latitude 44° 20′ N. and was conſidered as the Capital of the *Nieuchen Moguls*. The Khan of *Ula* however was far from being a conſiderable Prince, had no ſort of Superiority over the reſt of the Khans of the Eaſtern *Tartars*, was without Allies or Reſources beyond the Power of his own Subjects; and yet, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, it was this Khan *Ula*, that had the Courage to undertake, and the good Fortune to accompliſh the third Conqueſt of *China*[g]: But at preſent we will leave the *Tartars* cultivating their Deſarts, and return to the new-founded Empire of *Tchou*, and his Deſcendants.

The Dynaſty, founded by this Prince, was called *Ming*, and the Emperor, who, as I have ſaid before, aſſumed the Name of *Tai Tſou*, reigned thirty-one Years with great Glory, and left the Empire to his Grandſon, who periſhed in a Civil War, and was ſucceeded by his Uncle, who, having been formerly King of *Peking*, transferred the Seat of the Empire thither. The ſixth Emperor of this Family was *Yng Tſong*, under whoſe Reign the *Tartars* made new Incurſions into *China*; to oppoſe them, the Emperor marched at the Head of a great Army, and purſuing them conſiderably beyond the famous Wall, they ſuddenly faced-about, attacked, and defeated the *Chineſe*, making the Emperor Priſoner. His Son, who was but two Years old, was advanced to the Empire, and the Brother of the captive Emperor, whoſe Name was *King Ti*, declared Protector, which Promotion gave him an Opportunity of ſeizing the Empire. The *Tartars*, ſome Time after, releaſed *Yng Tſong*, who choſe however to lead a private Life, and leave his Brother in Poſſeſſion of the Empire, which he enjoyed to his Death; and then the old Emperor was again ſeated on the Throne.

The eleventh Emperor of this Race was *Chi Tſong*, who had the good Fortune to defeat the *Tartars* in ſeveral Battles; and it was under his Reign that the famous *Francis Xavier* preached the Chriſtian Religion in the Eaſt, where he died in 1552. The Emperor *Chi Tſong* reigned forty-five Years, in the latter Part of which the Government began to decline very ſenſibly, as it continued to do under all his Succeſſors, down to *Hoai Tſong*, who was the ſixteenth and laſt Emperor of the Family of *Ming*. It was under his Reign that *Zungt-hy*, who was Khan of *Ula*, formed the Deſign of making himſelf Maſter of *China*, notwithſtanding that all the Force he was able to raiſe did not exceed fifteen thouſand Horſe. He began with entering into private Intrigues with ſome of the *Chineſe* Mandarins, who were exiled into the Province of *Leaoton*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance, he ſoon became Maſter of a great Part of that Povince. The Emperor ſent againſt him an Army more than ſufficient to have forced him back into his own Country; but he had ſo much Addreſs, as to prevent the principal Officers of this Army from doing their Duty; ſo that by Degrees, he maſtered all the reſt of that Province, and at laſt took Poſſeſſion of its Capital[h].

While this Scene was tranſacted in the Eaſt, and the whole Force of the *Chineſe* Empire employed there to ſo little Purpoſe, new Troubles aroſe in the Weſtern Provinces, where ſeveral Bands of Thieves and Highwaymen committed the moſt extravagant Outrages; and, at laſt, under the Command of one *Lycoungz*, an obſcure and infamous Fellow, plundered ſeveral Cities, and even whole Provinces, which encreaſing the Number of their Forces, the Rebel had at laſt ſufficient Power to attempt the Subverſion of the Empire. It was with this View that he marched directly to *Pekin*, where in three Days he became Maſter of the Place, and the Emperor finding himſelf abandoned, hanged himſelf on a Tree in his Garden. *Lycoungz* immediately took the Title of Emperor, and endeavoured, by all the Methods he could deviſe, to bring over to his Intereſt *Ou-ſan-guei*, who was General of the Army ſent againſt the *Tartars*, and the only Perſon capable of diſputing with him the Poſſeſſion of *China*. That General however rejected all his Offers with Contempt, which obliged *Lycoungz* to take the Field once again, and to march againſt him with his numerous Army: *Ou-ſan-guei*, who ſaw that it was ſimply impoſſible for him to think of making head at once againſt the Uſurper and the *Tartars*, reſolved to make Terms with the fairer Enemy of the two, and thereupon invited *Zungt-hy* to come to his Aſſiſtance[i].

This was preciſely what the the *Tartar* Prince deſired, and therefore he made no Difficulty of complying with his Demand. He left five thouſand of his own Troops in the Province of *Leaoton*, and then marched with ten thouſand *Tartars*, and twenty thouſand of the Inhabitans of that Country to the Relief of the *Chineſe* General, who received him with great Joy. They marched together directly towards the Uſurper, and when they were upon the Point of giving him Battle, *Zungt-hy* obſerved, in a Conference he had with the *Chineſe* General, that, as the beſt Part of the Forces of the Empire, and eſpecially thoſe of the ſouthern and weſtern Provinces were extremely afraid of the *Tartars*, it would be very expedient for him to cut the Tails of his Horſes after their Manner; by which Means the Army of the Uſurper would take them all for *Tartars*. *Ou-ſan-guei* following the Advice of the Khan, it had ſo good an Effect, that the Rebels were totally defeated, and *Lycongz* obliged to fly with the Remainder of his Army towards *Pekin*. The victorious Allies continued their Purſuit without the leaſt Intermiſſion; and on their drawing near the City, the *Chineſe* General made Proclamation, that all ſuch as did not take part with the Uſurper, ſhould trim their Horſes after the Manner of the *Tartars*, that they might the more eaſily diſtinguiſh them on all Occaſions. This Stratagem had as great an Effect as a ſecond Victory: Such Multitudes declared themſelves againſt the Uſurper, that finding it abſolutely impoſſible to maintain his Ground, he firſt plundered the Imperial City, and then retired with his Army loaded with Booty. When the Allies were in Poſſeſſion of *Pekin*, it was agreed that *Zungt-hy*, with his Forces, ſhould remain there for the Security of the Place, and that *Ou-ſan-guei*, with his Army, ſhould purſue the Uſurper till ſuch Times as an End could be put to the War.

The ſame Arts, or rather the ſame Virtues by which the *Tartar* Prince had gained the Affections of the People of *Leaoton*, produced the like Conſequences amongſt the Inhabitants of *Pekin*; and, as on the one hand, they were weary of living without the Support and Protection of a Governor, ſo they flattered themſelves on the other, with enjoying all imaginable Happineſs under a Prince of ſo much Humanity and ſo great Abilities as *Zungt-hy*, and therefore, almoſt of their own Accord, they declared him Emperor in the Abſence of the *Chineſe* General, who had himſelf Views upon the Throne, in which he had very

[g] At preſent all the Eaſtern *Tartary* is ſubject to the *Chineſe* Emperors, and is divided into two Parts; the firſt contains what may be called the hereditary Dominions of the Family now reigning in *China*. It is divided into three Governments, and the Inhabitants are diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Mantcheoux*. The Capital of this Country is called by the Inhabitants themſelves *Mongdon*, but by the *Chineſe Chin Yang*, which, at this Day, is a well peopled, and well fortified City, where there is a Sovereign Tribunal for deciding all Affairs that relate to the Dominions of *Tartary*. The other Part of this Country is ſtill under the Dominion of its own Princes, who have the Title of Khans, which they receive from, and are Vaſſals to the Emperor of *China*. The Inhabitants are called ſimply *Mongols*, or *Mongous*, and the Country paſſes alſo under the ſame Denomination.

[h] As it is not my Intention to give the Reader here a Hiſtory of *China*, but barely to mention ſuch Facts as may be neceſſary to explain what has been related before, and may occur in ſucceeding Voyages, I did not think myſelf obliged to mention all the Emperors of this Family, and therefore have touched only on the Reigns of ſuch as might beſt anſwer my Purpoſe.

[i] Theſe Facts are ſomewhat differently related by different Hiſtorians; but I have given them the Reader from the Collections of a Perſon who has taken great Pains to make himſelf Maſter of the *Chineſe* Hiſtory, which he may probably be prevailed upon to publiſh when he thinks it perfect enough to bear the Inſpection of the Criticks.

probably ſucceeded, if he had not been thus out-witted by the *Tartar Zungh-hi*, who foreſeeing how different a thing it might prove for him to maintain himſelf in Poſſeſſion of ſo great an Empire, with ſuch a handful of Forces, was no ſooner ſeated on the Imperial Throne, than he inſtantly dipatched Advice of his good Fortune to the Khans of *Eaſt Tartary*, who were Princes of his own Family, inviting them to come, and ſhare with him in ſo rich a Conqueſt. This was certainly a good Expedient for ſecuring himſelf againſt the Fickleneſs, or Infidelity of the *Chineſe*; but at the ſame Time, it viſibly expoſed the new Emperor to the Danger of being undone by his Auxiliaries; for the Khans of the *Tartars*, who on the firſt Summons haſtened to his Aſſiſtance, had certainly in View, the dividing the *Chineſe* Empire amongſt them; but *Zungi-hi* was a Prince of ſuch Wiſdom and Penetration, that he immediately diſcovered the Danger to which he ſtood expoſed, and provided againſt it, with a Sagacity equal to his Penetration. He divided theſe Corps of *Tartars* as ſoon as they entred his Dominions, ſent for ſeveral of their Princes to *Pekin*, and in a ſhort Time ſo ſeparated them from each other, that they became abſolutely his Subjects, and were unable to act otherwiſe than was conducive to his Service. In the Conqueſt and Settlement of *China*, this *Tartar* Prince ſhewed all the Courage and Capacity of *Julius*, all the Policy and Conduct of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, by which he throughly accompliſhed the third Conqueſt of *China* by the *Tartars*, which happened in one thouſand ſix hundred forty and four, after the *Chineſe* had preſerved their Freedom for two hundred ſixty-ſix Years[k].

This new Race of *Tartar* Princes, which ſtill continue to reign in *China*, for the twenty-ſecond Dynaſty of their Monarchs, which is diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Tſing*; it is however very remarkable, that *Zungt-hi* is not accounted the firſt of thoſe Emperors, becauſe he died almoſt as ſoon as he was ſeated on his Throne, and before he was entirely poſſeſſed of *China*, leaving the Empire to his Son *Chun-Tchi*, who was then no more than ſix Years Years old, and to whom his dying Father aſſigned his Brother *Ama-Van* for his Guardian. So early a Minority, one would have imagined, muſt have been fatal to the new raiſed Empire; but *Ama-Van*, during the Non-Age of his Nephew, conducted all things with ſo much Wiſdom and Fidelity, that when the young Emperor came to take the Reins of Goverment into his own Hands, he found himſelf in as full Poſſeſſion of his Dominions, as if they had deſcended to him from a long Line of Anceſtors. The Emperor *Chun-Tchi* was himſelf a Perſon of extraordinary Abilities, eaſy and affable amongſt his Soldiers, wiſe and prudent in his Councils, and ſo refined a Politician, that under Colour of executing the Laws with Exactneſs, he took off all the great Men in *China* that were capable of giving him either Jealouſy or Diſturbance; ſo that after a Reign of ſeventeen Years, he left the Empire perfectly ſettled to his Son, who was but eight Years old.

The Name of this Prince was *Cang-hi*, he was raiſed to the Throne in the Year 1662, and, during his Minority, the Empire was governed by four great Miniſters, who executed their Offices with the greateſt Wiſdom and Integrity, ſo that this ſecond Minority proved not in the leaſt dangerous to the Empire. It is true, that the famous *Chineſe* General *Ouſanguei*, took the Advantage of it, and endeavoured to ſhake off the Yoke of the *Tartars*, of whom with equal Wit and Wiſdom, he ſaid, that he had called in Lions to aſſiſt him in hunting Dogs. He had ſome Succeſs at the Beginning, and might probably have ſecured at leaſt ſome Part of the Empire for himſelf and his Poſterity, if he had not been very old at the Time of his Revolt, and died not long after, which gave the Emperor's Miniſters an Opportunity of taking ſuch Meaſures, as put it out of the Power of the *Chineſe* to rebel for the future. *Cang-hi* fell nothing ſhort, either of his Father or his Grandfather, ſo that it may be reckoned an extraordinary Felicity, in this Family, that for three Generations, there were as great Princes of it as perhaps of any other in the World. This Emperor was extreamly careful with regard to two Points, the encouraging and diſtinguiſhing his *Tartar* Subjects, and behaving with the utmoſt Juſtice and Moderation towards the *Chineſe*.

In the Beginning of his Reign indeed, he committed ſome neceſſary Acts of Severity, but when he found that he had by this Means abſolutely broken the mutinous Spirit of the People of *China*, he changed his Conduct entirely, and applied himſelf wholly to the putting every thing in the beſt Order poſſible, for the Benefit of all his Subjects. It was with this View, that he obliged the Viceroys and other Governors of Provinces, to adminiſter Juſtice with Impartiality and Mildneſs, taking from them the Power of puniſhing Capitally, and obliging them to ſend all ſuch Sentences to the ſupreme Tribunal of the Empire. In order to take away all Diſtinctions, and to render his *Tartar* and *Chineſe* Subjects but one People, he eſtabliſhed this Regulation; he obliged the *Tartars* to wear the *Chineſe* Habit, and obliged the *Chineſe* to cut their Hair, after the Mode of the *Tartars*, and this upon Pain of Death. It may ſeem ſtrange, but it is nevertheleſs true, that many refuſed to comply with this Order, and choſe rather to part with their Lives than their Hair, and that many more abandoned their native Country, to fly into Places where they might wear their Hair as long as they were wont. But the Emperor's Edict had notwithſtanding the deſired Effect, that is to ſay, freed him from ſuch mutinous Spirits as might have diſturbed the Tranquillity of his Reign.

The moſt important Employments, and the moſt honourable Offices in the Government, he gave only to the *Tartars*; but then he made a Law, by which the Children of *Tartars* by *Chineſe* Women, or of *Chineſe* by *Tartarian* Women, who were bred up in the Cuſtoms, and were taught to ſpeak the Language of the *Tartars*, were declared capable of the higheſt Offices in the Empire. He was not more careful of the Domeſtick than of the Foreign Affairs of his Empire, which almoſt all his Predeceſſors had neglected to a great Degree; for he not only reduced all the Eaſtern *Tartars* intirely under his Obedience, but made two Journeys into that Country, where he admitted all Ranks of People freely to his Preſence, and thereby gained the Love of the *Moguls* in the higheſt Degree. As for the *Tartars* of the Weſt, he forced them to have reſource to his Protection, and not only drove the *Calmucks* from his Frontiers, but entering their Country alſo in his Turn, took from them the Provinces of *Chamill* and *Tarfan*, which ſerve as an excellent Barrier on that Side for the *Chineſe* Empire[l].

In his Perſon, and in his Manners, he had nothing of the *Tartar*, and was ſo perfectly acquainted with every Government in *Europe*, that he diſcourſed of them in a manner that ſurpriſed even the *Europeans* themſelves. The late Czar *Peter* the *Firſt*, ſent M. *d'Iſmailoff* with the Character of his Embaſſador to the *Chineſe* Court, whom the Emperor not only received with all imaginable Politeneſs, but at the firſt Audience preſented his Exccellency, a Nobleman who accompanied him, and his Secretary, each with a Gold Cup full of Mead, by which they plainly perceived that he was informed of the Czar's Cuſtom, who when he had a mind to diſtinguiſh any Foreigner, was wont to preſent him with a Glaſs of Wine with his own Hand. This Emperor *Cang-hi* reigned with great Glory ſixty-one Years, and died on the 20th of *Dec.* 1722. He left behind him ſeventeen Sons, the fourth of which he declared his Succeſſor, who at his Acceſſion to the Imperial Dignity, aſſumed the Name of *Yong Tching*, *i. e.* Peace undiſturbed. This Prince, who is ſaid to inherit the Virtues as well as Dominions of his Anceſtors, was in quiet Poſſeſſion of the Empire in the Year 1735, ſince which we have not had any certain, or at leaſt very important Accounts from *China*.

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[k] The *Chineſe* Hiſtorians themſelves agree, that this Race of Emperors were far inferior to the *Tartars*, as giving themſelves up too much to a ſort of Studies that were by no Means ſuitable to their Dignities. Some of them were carried away by a vain Deſire of finding the Water of Life; that is a Kind of Liquor, by drinking of which a Man might become immortal; but with ſo little Succeſs, that the Emperor *Chi-Tſong* died immediately after he had drank of this pretended Water of Life, at the Age of Fifty-eight. Others were poſſeſſed with a violent Deſire of finding the Philoſopher's Stone, which induc'd them to ſpend too much of their Time in chimical Experiments. The Fate of theſe Monarchs ſufficiently ſhew, that the *Art* of *Government* is the only Science worthy of the Attention of Princes.

[l] This Prince took care to ſecure the Moguls of the Eaſt from the ambitious Deſigns of the *Ruſſians*, and for that Purpoſe made a very wiſe and honourable Treaty with the Czar *Peter* the *Firſt*, for ſettling the Limits of their reſpective Empires, in Conſequence of which the Town and Fortreſs of *Albaſſinſkoy* was demoliſhed.

By this Deduction of the *Chineſe* Hiſtory we learn a Multitude of things neceſſary for the underſtanding ſuch of the ſubſequent Voyages as mention that Country, which was the Reaſon that I inſiſted upon it ſo long; and we likewiſe diſcover the Uſefulneſs of this ſort of Knowledge, with reſpect to the Voyages that have gone before. We ſee that the *Chineſe*, with whom our *Arabian* Travellers converſed, were quite another ſort of People than thoſe that now inhabit *China*; for they were a pure and unmixed Nation, whereas the modern *Chineſe* are in a great meaſure incorporated with the *Tartars*; from whence it is eaſy to diſcern, that great Alterations muſt have happened in their Manners, eſpecially if we conſider the Character that *Rubruquis* gives the *Tartars*, which comes much nearer that of the modern *Chineſe* than any thing we meet with in the *Arabian* Writers. It appears likewiſe from the Compariſon of the Facts related by the *Arabians* with thoſe mentioned by *Marco Polo* of the People of *Mangi*, that both theſe Writers muſt have reported Things with great Fidelity, ſince they agree in a Multitude of Particulars. The Conqueſt of the Northern Part of *China* by the *Tartars*, though not expreſsly mentioned, yet is plainly alluded to by the ſecond *Arab* Writer; and as to the intire Conqueſt of *China* by the ſame Nation, we owe the full Account of it to *Marco Polo*; for, without the Aſſiſtance of his Relations, it would have been a thing very difficult, if not impoſſible, to have diſcovered, that *Chi-Tſou* was the ſame with *Coplai-Khan*, or *Cublai-Khan*, Emperor of the *Tartars*, who before he became Maſter of their Country, was called by the *Chineſe* *Ho-pi-lie*[m].

We likewiſe learn from this ſuccinct View of the *Chineſe* Hiſtory, that the *Tartars*, who now poſſeſs *China*, are the very ſame Nation that formerly poſſeſſed it, contrary to what ſome very learned Men aſſerted, and which was generally believed half an Age ago. We likewiſe ſee, that the reigning Family in *China* are direct Deſcendants of *Cublai-Khan*, and conſequently of *Zingis-Khan*, that famous Conqueror, whoſe Empire, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, was the moſt extenſive that has been hitherto known in the World. Theſe Things are of very great Conſequence, if we read Voyages for the ſake of improving and enlarging our Knowledge, and not merely for the ſake of Amuſement, which, however, is rather encreaſed than leſſened, by attending to theſe Circumſtances. We can eaſily apprehend, after a little Reflection, that in the Time of our *Arabian* Travellers, and even in that of *Marco Polo*, the *Chineſe* Empire muſt have been in a much better Condition, and its Trade much more flouriſhing than when it was firſt viſited by the *Portugueze*, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*. Before that Time it had not been expoſed to thoſe cruel Ravages that enſued firſt on the breaking out of their Civil Wars, and next from the laſt Conqueſt by the *Tartars*. Beſides, we can at any time have Recourſe to this ſhort Hiſtory, when we are at a Loſs as to the Facts mentioned in ſubſequent Voyages, and by comparing the Times in which they happened with the Dates that are therein ſet down, obtain an eaſy Solution of Doubts that perhaps we could never otherwiſe have got over.

It is from the Conſideration of theſe Advantages, and that as far as in my Power lies, I might remove all Obſtacles whatſoever to the perfect underſtanding of this Subject, that I have determined to give the Reader in the next Section a conciſe Hiſtory of the other *Tartar* Empire in the *Indies*, I mean that of the Great Mogul, who was likewiſe a Deſcendant from the ſame Family with the great Conqueror I have ſo often mentioned. By purſuing this Method, which I have brought into the narroweſt Compaſs poſſible, the Reader will gain ſuch a previous Knowledge of a great Number of Facts as never to be at a Loſs in peruſing any of the Voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*, either in this, or in any other Collection, which, without ſuch an Introduction, it would have been abſolutely impracticable for him to have underſtood, and that for many Reaſons, of which I will take the Liberty to mention only a few. In the firſt place then, every Voyage brings us not only into a new Country, but, if I may ſo ſpeak, introduces us into a new Company, with the Character of which, if we have not ſome previous Acquaintance, it is impoſſible for us to be at our Eaſe, whereas if we know in general who and what they are, we enter immediately into the true Senſe of the Relation, and hear all that is told us with Pleaſure. In the next place, it often happens, that either from the Fear of appearing tedious, or from ſome other Motive, the Writers of Voyages give us only ſhort Hints as to the Government of the Countries through which they paſs, or the Characters of Princes that reign in them, which would be utterly unintelligible to ſuch as never heard of them before, and yet may be ſufficient for the Information of thoſe who have a general Notion of the Poſture of things in that Country at the Time mentioned by the Author. Laſtly, we are by this means enabled to rectify the Miſtakes of ſuch Writers, to diſtinguiſh between the Truth and Falſhood of what they relate, and to form a clear and certain Judgment of the Merit of their Performances.

It may poſſibly be objected, that for the ſame Reaſons which have been offered in Support of theſe two Hiſtories of the *Chineſe* and of the *Indian* Empires, we might be obliged to write the Hiſtory of all the other Princes that have reigned in the *Upper Aſia*, which Objection, however, is not at all founded in Fact, ſince in the firſt place the Hiſtories of all the little Princes in *India* are very far from being ſo neceſſary as thoſe of the capital Empires; and in the next, how neceſſary ſoever we might think them, it is impoſſible for us to write any ſuch Hiſtories, becauſe the neceſſary Materials for them are not to be found. When therefore this Matter is ſeriouſly conſidered, it appears to be a new Argument in favour of our Deſign; for ſince there have been but two great Empires in this Part of the World, of which any juſt and regular Account can be given, and to which all Books of Voyages and Travels through the *Eaſt-Indies* muſt neceſſarily refer, it would ſeem very abſurd and unreaſonable, after all the Pains we have taken in the darker Ages of this Hiſtory, to decline that Period of it, which is at once the moſt uſeful, and will appear by far the moſt agreeable to a modern Reader, as there is not in the Compaſs of Univerſal Hiſtory any Branch ſo full of extraordinary Events, or in which there occur more ſurprizing Turns and Revolutions than in that which we are about to give.

Add to all this, that however deficient the reſt of the Oriental Hiſtories may be, we have abundant Materials for this, and thoſe too as excellent in their kind as can be deſired; for beſides the particular Relations afforded us by ſeveral Writers of Credit, who were actually on the Spot when thoſe Events happened which they record, we have very great Lights given us by ſuch of the Oriental Writers as have undertaken to explain the ſeveral Expeditions of the *Tartars*, and eſpecially thoſe of the famous *Timur-bec*, known to us by the Name of *Tamerlane*, whoſe Conqueſts, though leſs extenſive, have, notwithſtanding, made a greater Figure in our general Hiſtories than thoſe of his glorious Predeceſſor *Zingis-Khan*. Beſides all which, we have the ſingular Advantage of having a great Part of this Hiſtory taken from the very Records of that Empire which it concerns, by the Induſtry of Mr. *Manouchi*[a], who was forty

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[m] The Change of Names is a very clear Proof that no ſort of Blame ought to lie on *Marco Polo* for writing Places after a different Orthography than what is commonly uſed; and we have this Advantage from it, that we learn the *Tartar* Appellation, and have thereby an Opportunity of comparing them with the *Chineſe*. I cannot help remarking upon this Occaſion, that in all probability, *Ho-pi-lie* is no more than the *Tartar* Name of *Khoplai* (for ſo in that Language it is written) expreſſed in *Chineſe* Characters; but for the Name given him after he attained the Empire of *Chi-Tſou*, it may be rendered the firſt of his Race, for *Chi* ſignifies the beginning, and *Tſou* a kind of Violet coloured Plume, or Feather worn in the Imperial Diadem.

[a] This Mr. *Manuchi* was a *Venetian* by Birth, but he wrote his Hiſtory of *Indoſtan* in the *Portugueſe* Language, which was then, and is ſtill common in the Eaſt. We owe the Publication of it to the famous Jeſuit Father *Cartrou*, who dedicated his *French* Tranſlation to the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Father of the preſent *Louis* XV. In his Preface to that Work, he promiſes ſome farther Memoirs by the ſame Hand; but I cannot find that theſe were ever publiſhed, which is the more wonderful, conſidering the great Reputation that the firſt Part of the Work acquired. As Father *Catrou* is lately dead, it is very poſſible thoſe Papers may fall into other Hands, and yet ſee the Light.

Years in that Country, in the Quality of Phyſician to its Emperors, and had thereby an Opportunity of having free Recourſe to thoſe Records, which for the Benefit of Poſterity, as well as his own Information, he tranſcribed, and from which in a great Meaſure we have taken the Facts that are contained in the following Section.

SECTION XXII.

A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Empire of the Great Mogul, *from its Foundation by the Great* Tartar *Conqueror* Timur-Bec, *or* Tamerlane, *to the preſent Times.*

Taken chiefly from the Oriental Writers.

1. *The Hiſtory of* Timur-Bec, *or* Tamerlane, *from his firſt Appearance in the World, to his being declar'd Khan of the* Tartars. 2. *His Conqueſts in the* Indies, *and ſubſequent Victories, to the Time of his Death.* 3. *The Hiſtory of* Miracha *the Son of* Tamerlane, *and his Succeſſor in Part of his Dominions.* 4. *The Reign of* Abouchaid *the Grandſon of* Tamerlane. 5. *The Hiſtory of* Sheik-Omar, *the Seat of whoſe Empire was at* Samercand. 6. *The Life and Reign of* Babar, *the firſt of theſe Monarchs who aſſum'd the Title of* Grand Mogul. 7. *An Account of the great Revolution which happen'd under* Homayum, *his Reſtoration to the Empire of the* Indies, *and his Death.* 8. *The Reign of* Akebar, *and the Acceſſions made by him to the Dominion of the* Moguls. 9. *The Reign of* Iehan-Guire, *and of the Troubles that happen'd therein.* 10. *The Hiſtory of* Shah-Jehan, *and of the Princes his Sons, to the Time of his Deceaſe.* 11. *A ſuccinct Account of the Reign of* Aurengzebe, *and of the ſeveral Acceſſions made by him to the* Indian *Empire.* 12. *Of the Diſputes that happen'd after his Deceaſe among the Princes his Sons.* 13. *Of the Reign of* Badour-Shah, *and of the War carried on by him againſt his Brethren.* 14. *Of the Troubles that have happen'd ſince in that Empire.* 15. *The Hiſtory continued to the Expedition of the* Shah-Nadir, *or* Kouli-Kan, *with an authentick Account of its moſt remarkable Particulars.*

1. THE Empire of the *Tartars* ſubſiſted for near two hundred Years, under the Adminiſtration of the direct Deſcendants of its illuſtrious Founder *Zingis-Khan*, when a new Conqueror was born of the ſame Race; for *Timur-Bec*, or, as he is uſually called by us *Tamerlane*, was deſcended in a direct Line from *Cabul*, who was the Great-Grandfather of *Zingis*. His Family, tho' not powerful, was very illuſtrious, ſince, tho' he was the Vaſſal or Subject of *Adill-Khan*, yet he was by Birth, Prince or Chieftan of the Tribe of *Burlaſs*. The viſible Declenſion of the Power of *Adill-Khan*, gave him ſome Hopes of ſhaking off his Dominion. The Weakneſs of four Princes had ſo looſened the Foundation of their Throne, that this *Adill-Khan* had little more left him than the Shadow of ſupreme Authority. Whole Tribes of the *Mongals* or *Moguls*, withdrew themſelves entirely from his Obedience, and ſet up particular Princes of their own; the reſt, who ſtill acknowledged his Sovereignty, pretended to aſſign the Meaſure of their Submiſſion, and to fix the Bounds of that Duty they were content to pay. As for *Tamerlane*, his Deſign was to throw off the Yoke entirely, but wanting ſufficient Strength for ſo bold an Undertaking, he confederated with *Huſſein*, who had exactly the ſame way of thinking; and when they had joined their Forces together, they declared War againſt *Adill-Khan*, attack'd and defeated his Army, and having taken him Priſoner, tied him Hand and Foot, and threw him into a Torrent, where he was drowned. *Tamerlane*, to give the beſt Colour poſſible to ſo foul a Fact, raiſed *Cabul*, who was a direct Deſcendant from the famous *Zagatai-Khan*, to the Throne, from whom in two Deſcents it came to the Poſſeſſion of *Mohammed* his Grandſon. But he who was now powerful enough to beſtow Crowns, had ſo much of Ambition, as to deſerve the Power that attended them in his own Hands, tho' for certain Purpoſes he ſuffered the Title to remain elſewhere. Under the Name of *Mohammed-Khan*, he made War on the reſt of the Princes of the Family of *Zingis*, and by his repeated Victories became ſo famous, that he was quickly conſidered as the firſt, or principal Khan of the *Tartars*. This provoked the Jealouſy of *Huſſein*, who had been his firſt Companion in Arms, ſo that of a Friend and Ally, he firſt became a ſecret Rival, and very ſoon an open Enemy. Their Armies met in the Plains of *Balk*, where a bloody Battle enſued, in which *Huſſein* was defeated and killed, and *Tamerlane* then ſaw himſelf at the Head of the whole Power of the *Tartars*, without a Competitor, and therefore having ſummoned all the Princes of the Blood of *Zagatai* to *Samarcand*, there, by a ſort of Election, aſſumed the Title of Khan, which hitherto he had not done, put on the Imperial Crown of Gold, and the Girdle, which was alſo an Enſign of that Dignity, received the Homage of all who were preſent, and very rich Preſents upon that Occaſion. It is from this Election and Coronation, that the Reign of this great Prince is uſually dated, becauſe tho' he had the Power long before, yet his Title was never till now acknowledged, or himſelf known to the World, as ſupreme Khan of the *Tartars*, which Title he ever after bore.

2. This great Event fell out in the Year of the *Hegira* 781, in the Year of our Lord 1379, and in the thirty-fourth Year of the Age of *Timur*. He was no ſooner ſeated on the Throne of *Zingis-Khan*, than he began to form a Deſign of uniting under his Dominion, all the Countries that had formerly paid Obedience to that Conqueror, with which View he inſtantly attack'd the Princes of *Choraſſan*, *Sigeſtan*, and *Kandahar*, whom he reduced in a ſhort Space of Time, and thereby opened a fair Road into the *Indies*. It was in the Year of the *Hegira* 800, and *A. D.* 1409, that he undertook the Conqueſt of that extenſive Empire, at the Entrance of which, he found Abundance of little Clans of Thieves, that by the Help of the ſtrong Holds which they had erected, maintained a kind of tyrannical Power over the adjacent Country. Theſe he firſt of all rooted out, and at the ſame Time deſtroyed without Mercy a Multitude of Guebres, or Worſhippers of Fire, that had ſettled themſelves on the Confines of *Indoſtan*, when driven out of their native Country of *Perſia*. He next beſieged the famous Fortreſs of *Uldugin*, which had hitherto been conſidered as impregnable; but as this was not a Taſk that required ſo great an Army as that under his Command, he employed a Part of it in reducing the adjacent Country, then under the Dominion of Sultan *Mohammed*, who finding himſelf in ſuch imminent Danger, invited all the neighbouring Princes to join him, in order to defend themſelves againſt a common Enemy, who made no Scruple of declaring that he meant to diſpoſſeſs them of all their Dominions, in order to annex them to his own. This Application had the deſired Effect; Rajah *Rana*, and the reſt of thoſe little Princes took care to aſſemble their Forces, and at the Time appointed, joined Sultan *Mohammed*, who immediately march'd to give the Invader Battle. The Forces of the *Indian* Princes ſurpaſſed in Number by very far the Army of the *Tartars*, but the Conduct of *Timur*, who had

ſpent almoſt his whole Life in Arms, proved more than a Balance to their Numbers. He made choice of a ſmall Plain out of which there was a narrow Paſſage, between two high Mountains, for the Field of Battle, in which he drew up about a third Part of his Army; the reſt he drew up in two Bodies, which he poſted behind thoſe Mountains, and as ſoon as the *Indian* Army advanced, his Horſe, that were drawn up in the Plain, as if ſtruck with a ſudden Panick, fled thro' the narrow Paſs, and were followed by the *Indians*, who thought that the very Sight of their Army had defeated their Enemies; but they ſoon found their Miſtake, for they no ſooner entered the great Plain behind the Mountains, than the two Bodies of Horſe attacked them in Flank and Rear with the utmoſt Fury. This Engagement proved deciſive, and *Timur*, by this ſingle Victory, became Maſter of the *Indies*; that is to ſay, he put *Tartar* Garriſons into moſt of the Fortreſſes, left a conſiderable Army at *Debly*, the Capital of the Country, and having received the Homage of moſt of the Rajahs, or petty Princes, returned in Triumph to *Samarcand*, which he made choice of for the Capital of his Empire, laden with the Spoil of the *Indies*. He had not been long returned, before he had Advice, that *Achmet*, whom ſome Years before he had driven from *Bagdat*, was come back thither. This News ſoon drew him into the Field again, and his Enemy retired at his Approach. This War was ſucceeded by another of much greater Conſequence, and to which he chiefly owes his Fame in this Part of the World. *Bajazet*, Emperor of the *Turks*, one of the greateſt Monarchs of that Age, and withal, one of the braveſt and beſt Captains, gave him ſome Cauſe of Provocation. *Timur* march'd againſt him with his victorious Army, and not only defeated and diſpoſſeſſed him of his Dominions, but made him Priſoner alſo, and afterwards put him to Death. On his Return, after this Victory, to *Samarcand*, he formed a new Deſign of reducing *China*, out of which, at this Juncture, the *Tartars* were expelled. He marched for this Purpoſe with a moſt puiſſant Army, and being encamped at *Otrar*, was there ſeized by a Diſtemper which put an End to his Conqueſts, and his Life, in the thirty-ſeventh Year of his Reign, and in the ſixty-ſixth of his Age, in the Year of the *Hegira* 807, and *A. D.* 1605.

3. The great Empire of *Timur-Bec*, or *Tamerlane*, ſunk almoſt as ſoon as it roſe. He divided his Dominions amongſt his Children, and, according to his Will, the Eaſtern Part of *Perſia*, together with *Cabuliſtan* and *Indoſtan*, fell to the Share of *Miracha*, his third Son. He was a Prince of conſiderable Courage, and did not want Capacity; but, during his Father's Life-time, had been extreamly unfortunate, inſomuch, that he was once in Danger of loſing that Share of the Empire, which had been aſſigned him. At the Time of that Monarch's Deceaſe, *Miracha* did not find himſelf ſtrong enough to eſtabliſh himſelf abſolutely in the *Indies*, he therefore made choice of the City of *Herat*[a], in the Province of *Choraſſan*, for its Capital, which was indeed very conveniently ſeated for that Purpoſe, as being almoſt in the Centre of his Dominions. He marched from thence annually, at the Head of a conſiderable Army, into *Cabuliſtan* and *Indoſtan*, in order to levy the Tribute which his Father had impoſed, and which the *Indian* Rajahs rather choſe to pay, than to run the Hazard of a War.

The King of *Caſcar* was the only Prince that refuſed to acknowledge him as his Sovereign, or to pay him any Tribute. Againſt him therefore *Miracha* made a long and cruel War, in which however he was at firſt very unſucceſsful, his Forces being abſolutely defeated, and himſelf taken Priſoner by the *Indian* Prince. That Monarch, by a Stroke of extraordinary Generoſity, took no other Advantage of his Victory, than to engage *Miracha* to quit all claim to Tribute, and thereupon reſtored him to Liberty. This Treaty however was but indifferently kept, for when the *Tartar* Prince had recruited his Army, he, without Scruple, renewed the War, in which he was ſo fortunate, as to defeat his Enemy, and make the King of *Caſcar* Priſoner in his turn. He did not however behave as Gratitude, or even as Humanity required; but barbarouſly ordered the Eyes of that Prince to be put out, over-run his Dominions, and kept himſelf, during his whole Life, a Priſoner.

This baſe Action, however, drew upon him that Puniſhment which it ſo well deſerved. His *Tartar* Soldiers exerciſed before him every Day, and hearing a Diſcourſe amongſt them, of the great Dexterity of the King of *Caſcar*, notwithſtanding he was blind, he thought fit to enquire into it, and being told, that this Prince ſhot with the greateſt Truth to any Corner where he heard the leaſt Noiſe, he reſolved to make the Experiment, conceiving in himſelf, that the thing was abſolutely impoſſible. When the Queſtion came to be decided, the captive King declared, that he would not diſcharge an Arrow at the Command of any other Perſon than the Emperor. He accordingly gave the Word, which ſcarce had eſcaped his Lips, before the Rajah let fly a poiſoned Arrow, which ſtruck him through the Body; at the Sight of which, his Guards cut the unfortunate *Indian* Prince to Pieces.

Such was then the End of *Miracha*, after he had reigned forty-ſix Years. He is juſtly eſteemed the firſt of the *Mogul* Emperors; for tho' the Country was conquered by his Father, yet it made only a Province of his Dominions, whereas it was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the Main of this Monarch's Poſſeſſions, as well as his peculiar Share of his Father's Empire, and as ſuch was tranſmitted by him to his Poſterity.

4. He was ſucceeded in his Throne by his Son *Abouchaid*, or *Abuſeyd*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 855, *A. D.* 1451. But this Prince neither reſembled his Father or his Grandfather, for he was lazy and luxurious to the laſt Degree, and withal exceſſively cruel, which irritated the *Rajahs* to ſuch a Degree, that they reſolved to depoſe him, and to ſet his younger Brother on the Throne, which they accordingly did, but had very ſoon Reaſon to repent of the Exchange. *Abouchaid*, on loſing his Crown, took the Habit of a Faquir[b], and in it travelled through the *Indies*. His Subjects ſoon found him out, though he took all imaginable Pains to conceal himſelf, and they no ſooner diſcovered him, than as they had forced him to reſign the royal Robes for the Habit of a Monk, they now with like Paſſion obliged him to a contrary Exchange. He no ſooner appeared, than he ſaw his Brother totally abandoned, by which he was peaceably reſtored to his Dignity; but that he might be ſafe from future Affronts, he ordered his Brother's Head to be ſtruck off, as the Puniſhment of his Tyranny, as he pretended; but in reality, to prevent a ſecond Uſurpation.

His Government was now preciſely the reverſe of what it had been before, for he ſtudied nothing but the Art of pleaſing his People; and tho' he did not, and perhaps could not, change his Temper, yet he diſſembled it ſo well, that with reſpect to his Subjects, his Hypocriſy had the ſame good Conſequences as if he had acted from real Virtue. His Depoſition however was not the laſt Misfortune of his Life, for while he was engaged in War againſt the Khan of *Samarcand*, one of the young Princeſſes in his Seraglio, ſet up a new Prince, whoſe Name was *Ibraim*, who bid fair for depriving *Abouchaid* of his Dominions; but at laſt he was defeated, and on the firſt News of this, the Princeſs, who had raiſed him to the Throne, firſt murdered the Son ſhe had by him, at the Breaſt, and then deſtroyed herſelf, by a Doſe of Poiſon, which for that Purpoſe ſhe had concealed in her Locket. *Abouchaid* returning in Triumph to *Herat*, reigned for ſome Time with great Succeſs and Glory; but the Violence of his Temper, joined to a high Opinion of his good Fortune, drew him into another War, which coſt him both his Crown and his Life.

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[a] This City of *Herat* is ſituated in the ſouthern Part of the Province of *Choraſſan*, in the Lat. of 34°. It is now the fineſt, and moſt beautiful City in thoſe Parts, ſince the *Uſbeck Tartars* deſtroyed *Meſched*; and the Inhabitants are very rich, chiefly through the Trade they carry on with the Subjects of the Great *Mogul*. It is in this City that the fineſt Carpets in *Perſia* are made, and the fineſt Brocades alſo; but the greateſt Advantage it enjoys is, the being a convenient Stage, in the direct Road from *Iſpahan* to *Candahar*; ſo that the Magazines of this City are not better ſupplied with their own Manufactures, than with the choiceſt and moſt valuable Merchandize of the *Indies*.

[b] This is an *Arab* Word, and ſignifies the ſame thing with the *Turkiſh* Word *Derviſh*, that is, a mendicant Monk, one who has made a Vow of Poverty, and travels through the Country without Food, Raiment or Shelter, but what is afforded him out of Charity. They are generally eſteemed ſacred in *Mohammedan* Countries, and every body is willing to contribute whatever Neceſſaries they want.

He had always a ſtrong Inclination to paſs for the great Diſpenſer of Juſtice amongſt his Neighbours, and therefore taking Offence at the Proceedings of *Uſum Caſſan*, a very potent Monarch of the Family of *Zingis-Khan*, who had deprived one of his Relations of his Dominions, he declared War againſt him, notwithſtanding all the Pains that Prince could take to terminate the Difference between them by a Negotiation. *Uſum Caſſan*, though much inferior in Power, was much better verſed in the Art of War; and by ruining his Country, and keeping his Forces always encamped in Places that were inacceſſible, he ſo weakened the Forces of the *Tartar*, that, at laſt, he found himſelf obliged to retreat, in order to ſave the Remains of a numerous Army, worn out with perpetual Fatigue. But he was not able to conduct them, as he endeavoured, into his own Dominions, but was defeated and taken Priſoner by the Sons of *Uſum Caſſan*, who immediately conducted him to the Preſence of their Father, who received him at firſt with great Humanity, but being provoked at the inſolent Speeches of *Abuchaid*, who reproached him with not daring to meet him in the Field, at laſt ordered his Head to be ſtruck off, and put out the Eyes of his three eldeſt Sons, who were taken with him.

Such was the Fate of this inſolent and vain-glorious Monarch, equally unfortunate in the Beginning, and in the Cloſe of his Reign, but in neither more ſo than he deſerved. The Chronicles of the Mogul Empire, take Notice, that he left a bad Example to his Succeſſors in theſe two Points, firſt, in putting to Death his Brother, and next in his Ingratitude to his moſt faithful Servants; Circumſtances very diſhonourable for his Memory, and which ſhew how unworthy he was of ſo great an Empire, that in the Courſe of twenty-eight Years, which he ſat upon the Throne, could leave nothing but the Shame of his Vices [c] to make him remembered by Poſterity. There have ſome Doubts ariſen about the Succeſſion of this Prince, becauſe, in the great Seal of the Mogul, on which the Names of all the Emperors are engraved, there is one *Mirza-Mohammed* mentioned, whom ſome therefore would have the Son of *Miracha*, and the Father of *Abouchaid*. The firſt may be true, but not the latter, ſince it is probable, that this *Mirza-Mohammed* was his Brother, whom he put to death.

5. *Sheik-Omar*, the fifth Son of *Abouchaid*, ſucceded his Father in the Year of the *Hegira* 874, *A. D.* 1469, and was of a quite contrary Diſpoſition: He is recorded to have been a very pious *Mohammedan*, and to have made the Study of the Khoran the Buſineſs of his Life, which is the more extraordinary, ſince his Great-grandfather *Timur* had a Religion of his own, which was a Sort of Deiſm. His Grandfather had very little Religion, and his Father none at all, though he made ſome Pretences to *Mohammediſm*. The Reign of *Omar* was a continued Peace; he never ſought to trouble his Neighbours, was contented with his own Dominions, where he ruled his Subjects with Juſtice and Moderation, and was neither diſturbed by Plots at home, or Wars abroad. The only Thing remarkable in the Reign of this Monarch, is the Manner in which he amuſed himſelf, for it muſt appear ſomewhat ſingular, that a Prince, who ſeriouſly delighted in Peace, ſhould invent a new kind of War for his Diverſion.

At the End of his Garden, he had a high Terras, at each Extremity of which was built a Pidgeon-houſe; thither the Emperor daily reſorted, and as he fed his Pidgeons with his own Hand, they flocked about him as ſoon as he appeared. He had taught theſe Creatures to live in a perpetual State of Enmity; ſo that as ſoon as the Emperor lifted up a white Sattin Standard, the Pidgeons of one Houſe attacked thoſe of the other, and they with great Reſolution defended themſelves, and often ſallied out and drove away the Invaders. It one Day happened that the Emperor, deeply engaged in this Sport, flouriſhing his Standard in the Air, and having his Eyes fixed on his Pidgeons, fell againſt the wooden Baluſtrade of his Terras, which, being rotten, gave way, ſo that by his Fall he broke his Skull, of which unlucky Accident he died in two Days after, having reigned happily for himſelf and for his Neighbours twenty-four Years.

6. He was ſucceeded in the Throne by his Son *Babar*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 899, *A. D.* 1493. This Prince had ſcarce taken Poſſeſſion of the Government before he found himſelf engaged in a War, for which he was every way indifferently provided. The Prince of the *Uſbeck Tartars* at that Time was *Schaibac-Khan*, who remembering that his Father had been deprived of *Samarkand* by *Abouchaid*, the Grandfather of *Omar*, he determined to lay hold of the Opportunity that offered of recovering his Dominions, knowing that the *Moguls* were much ſoftened by their Inactivity, during ſo long a Peace. He made a right Judgment in this Matter; for, on his Approach, *Babar* found it impoſſible to make head againſt him, and therefore retired from Place to Place, till at laſt he took Shelter in *Cabuliſtan* [d], the Governor of which remained faithful to him, and ſoon aſſembled an Army capable of recovering what he had loſt to the *Uſbecks*.

Babar, had hitherto appeared of as peaceable a Diſpoſition as his Father; but now, whether ſtung with Reſentment, or rouſed by Deſpair, he ſhewed as great Courage as any of his Anceſtors, and ſeemed impatient to invade that Country, which he had ſo lately abandoned. The Governor of *Cabuliſtan* however was of quite a different Sentiment, and having ſhewn his Maſter that it was infinitely more eaſy to make himſelf abſolutely Lord of *Indoſtan* than to recover the Countries he had loſt, he brought *Babar* over to his Opinion. In order however to proceed with the greater Security and Succeſs, the Emperor propoſed making a Journey through *India*, under the Diſguiſe of *Giogis*, or *Indian* Pilgrims, that they might the better judge of the Strength and Condition of thoſe whom they meant to conquer.

They executed this Reſolution almoſt as ſoon as they had formed it; and having travelled undiſcovered from one Extremity of *India* to the other, they found it inhabited by four Nations. The firſt were the native *Indians*, who ſtill kept up the Form of the ancient Conſtitution, though the Spirit of it was in a manner loſt. Their Kings ſhutting themſelves up in their Seraglios, thought of nothing but their Pleaſures, and left the great Affairs of Government to their Miniſters, who were often as indolent as themſelves, and left them in their Turn to their Domeſticks. The *Bramins* had exchanged the elevated Philoſophy of their Anceſtors for a Life of Superſtition, which amuſed the Vulgar with a falſe Religion, and ſeemed to juſtify the Men of Senſe, in having little or none at all. Their Soldiers kept their Horſes, took their Pay, and appeared at their ſtated Times in Review; but as for Service they knew it not in Practice, and the very Idea of it gave them Diſquiet. The common People were ſunk in Luxury and Sloth, miſtaking the Power of doing Evil for Liberty, and placing all Happineſs in the Purſuit of their vicious Appetites, without Danger of Reſtraint, or Fear of Reproach.

The ſecond Sort of People were the *Pattans*, a Race of *Mohammedans*, who from the oppoſite Coaſt of *Arabia* had paſſed over thither, and having firſt ſettled on the South-ſide of the River, erected there a Town, which ſtill bears the Name of *Muſſilipatan*; from whence extending themſelves ſtill farther and farther, they at laſt became Maſters of the Kingdom of *Dehly*, of which they were poſſeſſed when *Tamerlane* made his Irruption into the *Indies*,

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[c] That Vice, which of all others has moſt ſtained the Glory of the Mogul Race, is Ingratitude; the firſt Imputation of which was derived from the Conduct of this *Abuchaid*. When he was obliged to fly, in order to ſave his Life, after the Loſs of his Crown, two only of his Courtiers remained faithful, and ſhared with him all his Misfortunes. After he was reſtored, theſe two worthy Men expected ſome Share in his Favour, but *Abuchaid* told them plainly he was more obliged to them than it was in his Power to repay, and therefore he hated to ſee them; neither was he contented to baniſh them his Court, but ordered their Names to be ſtruck out of the Roll of his Servants. Hence *the Ingratitude of Abouchaid* is, to this very Day, a Proverb through the Eaſt.

[d] This is a frontier Province between *Perſia* and the *Indies*, and has belonged ſometimes to one, and ſometimes to the other of theſe Empires, and is thought of ſo great Conſequence to the laſt, that it is a common Saying, he who is not Maſter of *Cabuliſtan*, is not Maſter of the *Indies*.

The *Perſees* were the third Sort of People; and theſe were no other than the Remains of the ancient *Perſians*, who were, and are certainly the moſt innocent People in the World, and perhaps the moſt pious. As the principal Part of their Religion conſiſts in worſhipping the Almighty Author of all things, under the Symbol of Fire, the *Mohammedans*, without taking any Pains to enquire into their principles, concluded them Idolaters; and when they conquered *Perſia*, forced them to abjure their Religion or to quit their Country. They choſe the latter, and this brought Multitudes of them into the *Indies*, where, by a laborious Induſtry, they procured a bare Subſiſtance, expoſed continually to the Inſults of the other Nations, without any thing to ſuſtain them under the Weight of ſo many and ſo great Misfortunes, ſave the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience in this Life, and the Hopes of a Reward in that to come. The fourth Sort of People were his own Subjects the *Moguls*, placed there in Garriſons by his Anceſtors, and employed in levying the Tributes impoſed by them upon the *Rajahs*.

When *Babar* and his faithful Companion, had examined all Things with the utmoſt Diligence and Attention, they returned to *Cabuliſtan*, and began to prepare for the Execution of their Project. They had obſerved, that the Prince of the *Pattans*, who was in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Dehly*, was the moſt powerful of any of the *Rajahs* in the Country of *Indaſtan*, and therefore they reſolved to begin with reducing him. *Babar*, having put himſelf at the Head of a numerous Army, ſummoned this Monarch, whoſe Name was *Amwixa*, to lay aſide the Stile and Title of a Sovereign, in a Country which belonged to the *Moguls* by Right of Conqueſt. *Amwixa* anſwered, that a King, though tributary, was ſtill a King, and that ſince they diſputed his Title, he was determined to pay no more Tribute to one driven out of his Dominions, and who, by his Conduct, ſeemed unworthy of Reſpect. *Babar* having received this Anſwer, proſecuted his March towards *Dehly*, and met with *Amwixa*, at the Head of an Army much greater than his own; but as the *Indians* were Soldiers only in Shew, ſo they were broke and defeated by the firſt Attack. Their King periſhed like a brave Man in the Midſt of his Enemies; the Remains of his Army took Shelter in the Mountains of *Thebet*. *Babar* remaining Maſter of the Country, made Choice of *Dehly* for his Capital, which has continued to be the ordinary Reſidence of his Succeſſors ever ſince *.

The firſt Care of this Prince, after his Eſtabliſhment in the *Indies*, was to frame a Body of Laws, or rather to eſtabliſh a few fundamental Maxims for the Government and Security of his Empire, that his Succeſſors might not be expoſed to ſuch Accidents as he had met with, or be obliged, at every turn, to ſet their whole Dominions on the Hazard of a Battle. The Foundation on which this Structure was raiſed, was the ſole and abſolute Right of the Grand Mogul, for ſo *Babar* was firſt called to all the Country he had acquired by Conqueſt; and this was ſo clearly underſtood, as that it ſecured all Property to him, and made even the greateſt of his Subjects Tenants at will, or Tenants for Life at the very utmoſt. As by this Means the whole Lands in his Dominions were veſted in the Mogul, and all the great Men in the Kingdom made dependant upon his Pleaſure; ſo by another Principle, the Bulk of the People were put as much into his Power, ſince no written Laws were allowed, but the Judgment of the Emperor eſtabliſhed what was right and wrong in his Dominions. In his Capital he gave Judgment himſelf in all Cauſes that came before him; in other Cities there were Officers who decided all Things in his Name, and whoſe Decrees were liable to be reviewed by the Mogul himſelf.

Theſe Conſtitutions were deviſed by the Governor of *Cabuliſtan*, who, as he had fixed the Emperor upon the Throne by his Fidelity, now ſecured him thereon by his Wiſdom. The Effects of theſe Settlements very ſoon appeared by the Change that was perceived in the Face of Affairs; for the *Tartars*, who had been the old Subjects of *Babar* and his Anceſtors, ſwarmed to him now from all Quarters, as did alſo the *Perſians* and other *Mohammedans*, with whom the Court and the Army were filled, and upon whom all Places of Truſt and Profit were beſtowed. The great Officers, and in ſhort all who had Preferments, civil or military, were ſtiled *Omrahs*, and the old *Indian* Princes retained their ancient Appellation of *Rajahs*. We ſhall meet with theſe Words very often, and therefore it may not be amiſs to fix the Senſe of them effectually. The *Omrah* is the mere Creature of his Prince, and tho' he often enjoys large Tracts of Land by his Favour, as well as conſiderable Appointments, yet he enjoys both but for Life, and can leave nothing to his Children, all being reſumed by the Mogul at his Deceaſe, who is the Heir-General of every Man in his Service. The *Rajahs* are hereditary Princes in their own Dominions, which they hold indeed of the Mogul, but by certain Tenures, with which, if they comply, he has no farther Demands upon them. It often happens that theſe *Rajahs* live at Court, and are honoured with Employments, in right of which they become *Omrahs*; but at their Deceaſe the Mogul reſumes all that they poſſeſs in his Dominions, and nothing but the Principality deſcends to their Children.

After all the Obligations that *Babar* owed to the Governor of *Cabuliſtan*, he became as ungrateful to him as his Grandfather had been to the Companions of his Misfortunes, and treated him in ſuch a Manner, that he, for his own Security, turned *Faquir*, and in that Diſguiſe ſheltered himſelf in ſome diſtant Part of the *Indies*. After he left the Court, all Things ran to Confuſion, and it plainly appeared, that none was able to govern the Empire, according to its preſent Conſtitution, but him who had framed it. It was ſome Time before the Emperor diſcerned this, but at length he found it out, repented of his Ingratitude, and would very willingly have recalled his Miniſter to Court, if he had known where to have found him. His Endeavours for ſome Time were fruitleſs, but at laſt he bethought himſelf of an Expedient, which was as ſucceſsful as it was ſingular; he publiſhed an Edict, by which he ordered every Market-Town in his Dominions, to ſend its *Bazar*, or *Market-Place* up to *Dehly*, or to return a ſufficient Reaſon for not doing it. His Motive to this, was, that he believed he ſhould be able to diſtinguiſh, amongſt theſe Returns, the Place where his Miniſter had taken Shelter. When he came to look them over, he laid his Finger on the following Anſwer from a Town at a great Diſtance from his Reſidence. The Inhabitants declared, that they were ready, and willing, to obey his Imperial Decree, *but that their* Bazar *did not know the Way to* Dehly, *and therefore, if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſend one of the* Bazar's *of his Capital to conduct it, theirs ſhould immediately ſet out*. *Babar* directed the Deputies that brought him this Return, to ſend him inſtantly to Court, the Man by whoſe Advice they made it, which accordingly they did, and it proved as he expected, his old faithful Servant the Governor of *Cabuliſtan*, whom he reſtored to his former Poſt, and to his Favour, both which he enjoyed as long as he lived. The reſt of this Emperor's Reign affords us nothing remarkable, inaſmuch as he ſpent it in profound Peace, and having lived to a good old Age, deceaſed in the Year of the *Hegira* 937, *A. D.* 1230, after reigning five Years at *Samarcand*, three in *Cabuliſtan*, and thirty in the *Indies*.

7. He was ſucceeded in his Dominions by his Son *Hemayum*, or *Amayum*, who very ſoon experienced how difficult a Thing it is for the Succeſſor of a Conqueror to preſerve his Dominions. He had the Aſſiſtance of his Father's old Counſellor, but, like a young Man, he did not put that Confidence in him that he deſerved; but, contrary to his Advice, and in ſpite of all his Remonſtrances, promoted to the higheſt Employments the Perſon in the World moſt capable of doing him Miſchief.

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* The Name of this City is ſometimes called *Delli*, and the Reader will meet with a large Deſcription of it hereafter. It is very ancient, and made a Part of the Kingdom of *Porus*; and it was in the Neighbourhood of this Place, that the great Battle was fought, which put *Alexander* in Poſſeſſion of his Dominions. There is ſaid to be ſtill remaining in this City a Column erected in Memory of that Event, with an Inſcription almoſt worn out, in Characters, and in a Language now altogether unknown. The *Rajah Rana*, who was defeated by *Tamerlane*, is reported by all the Oriental Writers to have been a direct Deſcendant from King *Porus*.

The Thing happened thus: A young *Pattan* Lord, named *Chira*, who had been bred up with *Amayum* in his Father's Court, became his principal Favourite, and was advanced to the greateſt Poſts in the Government. Such a Confidence did this Prince place in him, that he made him his Generaliſſimo and Commander of the Guards about his Perſon. But *Chira*, on whom Ambition, or a pretended Love to his Country, had a much greater Influence than all the Favours beſtowed on him by *Amayum*, meditated how he might depoſe his indulgent Maſter, and reſtore the *Pattans* to their ancient Sovereignty. This great Miniſter firſt diſcovered his Ambition, it is ſaid, by changing his Name from *Chira*, which ſignifies a young Lion, to that of *Chircha*, which ſignifies the Royal or Imperial Lion. And being Commander of all the *Perſian*, *Tartar*, and *Mogul* Troops, among whom he had rendered himſelf very popular, by his obliging Behaviour; and his own People the *Pattans*, as well as the *Indian Rajahs*, being glad of an Opportunity of throwing off the Mogul Yoke, all Things ſeemed to conſpire to raiſe him to the Throne.

Amayum however being appriſed of this univerſal Diſaffection to his Perſon, occaſioned by his Favourite, aſſembled a ſmall Body of *Tartars* and *Perſians*, with whom he gave Battle to *Chira*; but their Numbers being very unequal, *Amayum* was ſoon compelled to leave the Field, and fled to the Shah of *Perſia* for Protection, after he had reigned in *Dehly* about eleven Years, almoſt in continual Trouble and Confuſion. The Inhabitants of the Eaſt are extremely addicted to Augury, or obſerving the Flight of Birds, from whence the few Courtiers who attended *Amayum* in his Retreat, predicted his Return to his Empire; for, it fell out one Day, when the Weather was hot, and he was weary with Travel, that Prince lay down to reſt, when an Eagle, followed by her young ones, hovered for a conſiderable Time over his Head, and thereby ſhaded him from the Sun-beams. When he awaked, his Attendants complimented him on the Omen, which ſerved to keep up his Spirits; for it is obſerved, by all the Writers of his Hiſtory, that he bore his Misfortunes with great Dignity, and appeared as much a Monarch in his Exile, as he had ever done upon his Throne. The *Perſian* Prince received him with all imaginable Kindneſs and Reſpect, aſſigned him a Palace in his Capital, with a competent Revenue, and left nothing untried that might contribute to leſſen his Senſe of his Diſaſter, which had ſo good an Effect, that the *Indian* Monarch forgot his Cares, and paſſed his Time as comfortably as it is poſſible for one Prince to do in the Dominions of another.

In the mean time however, *Circha* employed all his Thoughts in providing for the Welfare of that Nation, who had, in ſome meaſure, called him to the Throne. He was a Man of great Parts, and of a benevolent Nature; he ſaw that the only Means to make his People happy was, to enlarge and facilitate their Trade; and therefore to this he applied his Attention and his Power. He erected, at proper Diſtances in all the great Roads throughout his Dominions, Caravanſeras, or publick Inns, where Merchants might find all Conveniencies, and proper Perſons to attend them at a very moderate Expence, and where Foot-paſſengers might be entertained at the publick Expence. His Example had ſuch an Effect on the richeſt of his Subjects, that they began to imitate him in the like Foundations, which proved of infinite Advantage to the Publick; and has therefore been practiſed ever ſince. The founding ſuch Receptacles for Strangers and Travellers, being accounted the higheſt Point of Charity in that and other Eaſtern Countries to this Day. Another Regulation with the ſame View did equal Honour to the Adminiſtration of this Prince, and contributed no leſs towards making him the Darling of his Subjects. There was, before his Time, no kind of Certainty in the Weights or Meaſures of this Country, but all Things were in a manner bought and ſold by hand, which was attended with many Inconveniencies. This Evil he remedied by a Law, which forbid the ſelling any thing but by Weight and Meaſure, and appointed the Standards of both to be kept in the great Towns throughout his Dominions. The Reign of this Prince was but ſhort, and he died without Iſſue, for otherwiſe he had, in all Probability, put an End to the Mogul Empire in the *Indies*. He was a very martial, as well as a very wiſe and prudent Prince in Time of Peace, and had a particular Turn for the Art of Engineering, which, by an Accident, proved fatal to him; for, having a Cannon of an unuſual Size ſent him from *Bengal*, he would needs make Trial of it himſelf, and the Piece burſting, he was killed by the Breech of it that ſtruck him on the Head, when he had enjoyed the Empire about nine Years [g].

All Things upon his Death fell into Confuſion; every one of the petty Princes had either Views for himſelf or for ſome greater Prince, to whom he was attached; and, in the Midſt of his Diſtraction, the Government remained without a Head, and every *Rajah* acted as an independent Prince in his own Dominions. While Things were in this Situation, a certain *Faquir*, whoſe Name was *Chadaula*, went privately to the Court of *Perſia*, and informed *Amayum* how Matters ſtood, aſſuring him that if he could procure but any Appearance of Force, he might be able to recover his Throne. He applied himſelf upon this to the Shah of *Perſia* his Protector, and offered, if he would aſſiſt him, to pay him an annual Tribute, and, as a Compenſation for the Expence he muſt neceſſarily be at in furniſhing him with an Army, he propoſed to make a Ceſſion of the Principality of *Kandahar*. Theſe Terms were immediately accepted, and with a conſiderable Body of Foot, and twelve thouſand *Perſian* Horſe, he began his March towards the Frontiers of the *Indies*. The King of *Perſia*, at his taking Leave of him, gave him a ſhort Piece of Advice, which contributed no leſs to the Preſervation of his Dominions, than the Army with which he furniſhed him, did to the regaining them. His Advice was to keep up continual Enmity between the *Pattans* and the *Raſhpouts*, or *Indian* Soldiery, by which Means each of them would be weakened, and both of them kept within the Bounds of their Obedience.

On his entering the Confines of *India*, he found the whole Country open except only the Fortreſs of *Labor*, in which a *Pattan* Lord was Governor, and had under his Command a numerous Garriſon, every way well provided. Of this Place however he ſoon became Maſter by the following Stratagem. An hundred young *Perſians*, wholly devoted to his Service, diſguiſed themſelves in the Habits of Pilgrims juſt returned from *Mecca*; of theſe a Part got into the Fortreſs before it was dark, and the reſt preſented themſelves at the Gates juſt as the Day was ſhut in, entreating Admittance for that Night only. The Governor looking upon it as an Act of Religion, admitted them: But in the midſt of the Night, when the Garriſon, weary with Fatigue, were buried in Sleep, the pretended Pilgrims fell upon the Governor and thoſe who were about him, and having maſſacred them without Mercy, delivered the Fortreſs to *Amayum*, who, by this Means, entered *Labor* without the leaſt Reſiſtance. He marched on from thence with the utmoſt Diligence toward *Dehly*. A ſingle Battle fought at the Diſtance of three Leagues from that City determined the Diſpute, and put him once more in Poſſeſſion of the Dominions of his Anceſtors. *Amayum*, upon his Reſtoration, ſhewed his Gratitude to the *Faquir Chadula*, who firſt brought him the News of *Chira*'s

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[f] This, probably, might be, in ſome Meaſure, owing to the perſonal Behaviour of *Amayum*, who aſtoniſhed the *Perſian* Monarch by his Preſence of Mind at their firſt Interview, which happened to be in a Summer-Houſe, where there was but one Sopha, and that too ſmall for them to ſit on together. The *Indian* Prince ſaw this with Indignation, but recollecting himſelf after he had paid his Compliments to the *Shah*, who was ſtanding, he deſired him to be ſeated; and as ſoon as he had placed himſelf on the Sopha, *Amayum* ſate down by him on his Quiver, which, after the *Tartar* Cuſtom, he had hanging at his Back, which Act of Spirit pleaſed the Shah extremely.

[g] There is one Circumſtance of this Prince's Reign which ought not to be paſſed over. When he took Poſſeſſion of the Palace of *Amayum*, he treated his Empreſs with extraordinary Reſpect; and being informed that ſhe was with Child, ordered her to be ſent to *Perſia* to her Huſband; but *Amayum*, ſeized with a Fit of Jealouſy, refuſed to ſee her; of which ſhe informed *Chiracha* by Letter. Upon this he wrote to *Amayum*, aſſuring him that he had never ſo much as ſeen the Empreſs; and to confirm the Truth of this Fact, he ſwore it upon the Khoran; on which the Emperor received her with great Tenderneſs and Affection; and the Son, with which ſhe was then big, ſucceeded him in the Empire.

Death, by granting him an Eſtate in Lands, to be enjoyed by him and his Poſterity for ever; and this is the only *Mohammedan* Family in *India*, it is ſaid, who can claim the Property of any Lands at this Day. His Deſcendants alſo take Place of all others, and his Tomb has great Honours paid to it; but his Gratitude ſeems to have been exhauſted, by the returns made to this worthy Man, ſince in regard to the Shah, to whom he owed all things, he neither ſhewed Kindneſs, or Juſtice, ſince he never paid him ſo much as one Year's Tribute, nor yielded to him the Principality he promiſed. Yet he remembered his Advice, and followed it very exactly, by which Means he took away from future Malecontents all Power of giving him Diſturbance, and left it as a Maxim to his Poſterity, who have practiſed it with great Succeſs, and to this has been chiefly owing the Preſervation of the Dominions he left them[h].

Amayum was in the Flower of his Age when he recovered his Dominions, but whether it was that a ſettled Melancholy had grown upon him, while under his Misfortunes, or that he had a Mind to ſhew, that in the Poſſeſſion of the higheſt Bleſſings, he had ſtill the common Fate of Mankind in his Eye, or that he was led thereto by a Cuſtom common among the *Mohammedan* Princes of his Age; ſo it was, that as ſoon as his Goverment was ſettled, he began to build himſelf a Tomb, upon which he beſtowed incredible Expence. He likewiſe ſettled a large Revenue for the Maintenance of a certain Number of Mollas, or Doctors of the *Mohammedan* Law, to reſide conſtantly there, and to ſpend their Time in praying for his Soul, and reading the Khoran, near the Tomb where his Body was to be laid. When this Edifice was in good Forwardneſs, *Amayum* went one Day to ſee it, and having a Carpenter's Rod in his Hand, walked upon the Battlements, and gave the Workmen ſome Directions, when, either through Wearineſs, or that he might look about him with greater Eaſe, he clapp'd the Rule down, and leaned upon it, which being but ſlender, broke, and the Roof being ſloping, the Emperor rolled forwards, and fell from thence to the Ground; by which Accident he was killed upon the Spot, and found his Death and his Tomb together, in the Year of the *Hegira* 966, and *A. D.* 1552. The latter was finiſhed by his Succeſſor with the utmoſt Magnificence, and adorned with a Dome, which is ſo richly gilt, that it dazzles the Eyes of the Spectator by its Splendor. It ſtands a little Way without the Gates of *Debly*, at the End of a fine Bridge, compoſed of twelve Arches, and is eſteemed one of the nobleſt Monuments in the Empire of *Indoſtan*. This Monarch ſurvived his Reſtoration two Years, nine Months and fourteen Days, and reigned from his firſt Acceſſion twenty-two Years.

8. *Amayum* was ſucceeded by his Son *Akebar*, or *Akbar*, then but thirteen, whom all our Hiſtorians agree wanted no Accompliſhments to adorn a Throne. He had, they tell us, a moſt penetrating Judgment, an extenſive Knowledge, an intrepid Soul, and at the ſame Time was generous, tender, and compaſſionate. He ſoon perceived that the *Moguls* and *Tartars* bore no Proportion with the *Pattans* and *Indians* under his Government, and therefore inviting the neighbouring *Uſbecks* and *Perſians* to ſerve under him, he preferred them to the principal Poſts, and gave them Wives, that they might in Time be a Balance for that Part of his Subjects whom Nature and Intereſt inclined to be diſaffected to his Government. And the greater Part of theſe who are called *Moguls*, at this Day, are a Mixture of white People of ſeveral Nations, profeſſing the *Mohammedan* Religion; but it being found, that in a ſhort Time they loſe their Complexion, and degenerate into Softneſs, like the original Natives of the Country, new Supplies of *Perſians* and *Tartars* are encouraged to tranſplant themſelves, and theſe uſually fill the greateſt Poſts in the Government. This Prince alſo, to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the *Pattans*, whom he dreaded moſt, took ſeveral Bodies of *Raſhpouts*, or *Raſhboots*, into his Service. Theſe are the braveſt People amongſt the native *Indians*, who make Arms their Profeſſion, and are Pagans by Religion[i]; and to endear them the more, it is ſaid, he took the Daughters of the principal Rajas among the Number of his Wives, and ſuffered the Rajas to match with the *Mogul* Princeſſes; tho' I muſt confeſs this Part of the Hiſtory is a little difficult to give Credit to, becauſe no People in the World are ſo ſcrupulous of mixing with thoſe of a different Religion, or even with a different Sect, or Employment, as the Generality of the Pagans of *India* are; tho' there are ſome Sects, on the other Hand, that admit of very great Liberties.

To proceed, *Akebar* having taken all prudent Meaſures to render his Government ſecure at home, began to think of extending his Dominions towards the Sea-Coaſts, that he might come in for a Share of the Trade and Riches that the maritime Places poſſeſſed; and the firſt Enterprize of this Nature that he undertook, was againſt the Kingdom of *Guzarat*, which extends from the River *Tapte*, upon which the Town of *Surat* ſtands, to the Mouth of the River *Indus*. This Part of *India*, at that Time, enjoyed a moſt flouriſhing Trade; the *Portugueze* in Particular, who had eſtabliſhed ſeveral Colonies in this Part of the Country, imported immenſe Treaſures every Year from *Europe*, in Exchange for the Manufactory of *India*. The Prince who then reigned in *Guzarat*, was Sultan *Bahadar*, a *Mohammedan*. This Sultan *Badar* had maintained a long War with the *Portugueze*, who daily encroached upon his Territories, and lately made themſelves Maſters of *Diu*, a Town which lies upon an Arm of the Sea, almoſt oppoſite to *Surat*; but both the Sultan *Badar*, and the *Portugueze*, being alarmed at the Approach of the *Mogul*, united their Forces againſt him.

It was with ſome Difficulty, it is ſaid, that *Akebar* prevailed on his Troops to march againſt the *Portugueze*. They had been repreſented at *Debly* as ſomething more than mortal, and thoſe vaſt floating Machines armed with Artillery, with which they had heard they fought upon the Water, they were apprehenſive might be made uſe of, or at leaſt ſomething of the like Nature upon the Land. They dreaded the Encounter therefore to ſuch a Degree, that they were upon the Point of turning their Backs, and quitting the Enterprize, till *Akebar*, who had fully informed himſelf of the Numbers, and Strength of the Enemy, and their manner of engaging, convinced his Troops how much inferior this little *Guzarat* Prince, and the *Portugueze*, were to the Forces he brought with him, and putting himſelf at the Head of his Troops, in one briſk Charge, he routed both the *Guzarats* and *Portugueze*. Sultan *Badar* fled, but his Children were taken Priſoners, and put to Death by the Conqueror, and the whole Kingdom immediately ſubmitted to his Power, except thoſe Towns the *Portugueze* were poſſeſſed of, which being fortified after the modern Way, bid Defiance to his Forces, as indeed, a very ſlight Fortification will at this Day. Their Elephants, which are their greateſt Strength, are of very little uſe in a Siege, becauſe a Battery of great Guns would ſoon lay them in Heaps, if they could be ſuppos'd ſo intrepid, as not to be diſordered by the very Fire, or even the Report of a Cannon.

Akebar finding *Guzarat* ſo eaſy a Conqueſt, bent his Arms towards *Decan*, which lies to the Southward of it.

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[h] The intelligent Reader will eaſily perceive the Reaſon why this Empire has been more ſubject to Revolutions than any other, the *Mogul* having no Subjects that he can depend on but *Tartars* and Strangers, the native *Indians* remaining ſtill as diſtinct a Nation as ever, and abhorring the *Mohammedans* as heartily as the *Mohammedans* contemn them; ſo that this Government ſtill remains what it was at the Beginning, that is to ſay, Military, the Sword giving Law, and being the true Source of Power. This Obſervation will be found of great uſe to the underſtanding the ſubſequent Part of this Hiſtory.

[i] It is a pretty difficult thing to fix the Manner of Writing this Word, which in all Probability is very incorrectly expreſſed by the *Europeans*. Moſt of our *Engliſh* Authors write it, *Raſhpoots*, or *Raſhpouts*, they are properly the War Tribe of the ancient *Indians*, and we find them very frequently diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Queteries*. The Arms they uſe, are commonly Swords, Pikes and Bucklers; but when they appear with a yellow Cloak, it is a certain Sign that they have made a Vow either to conquer or die. On theſe Occaſions, it is common enough for them to heighten their Courage, by taking Opium, which inſpires 'em with a ſort of military Fury, that differs not much from Madneſs. There is one thing remarkable in their Diſcipline, which is, that before they engage, they embrace each other, as if they were on the Point of departing on a long Journey, intimating thereby their Readineſs to ruſh into another State.

This was divided into ſeveral little Sovereignties. *Muſtapha*, a *Mohammedan* Prince, poſſeſſed that Part of the Country wherein the Towns of *Brampour* and *Acer* are ſituated, whoſe Subjects gave him the Title of *Melec*, or King. *Amanadagar*, and the Territory belonging to it, was ſubject to the Queen of *Cande*, and *Ambar* commanded the Diſtrict of *Doltabad*. Theſe Princes, tho' at other Times Enemies, united their Forces againſt *Akebar*, and gave him Battle, but were defeated by him with very little Loſs. The Reduction of the Fortreſſes which theſe Princes poſſeſſed, prove a Work of greater Labour; for now every one being to defend what was their own, exerted their utmoſt Force, and their utmoſt Capacity.

The Fortreſs of *Acer* was the firſt that he attack'd, an irregular Fortification, and which could have made no Defence againſt an *European* Army, but a Place of great Strength in the *Indies*, and very well provided with Artillery, ſome of which, it is ſaid, were caſt by the *Indians* themſelves, before the *Portugueze* viſited their Coaſts. King *Muſtapha* was there in Perſon, with a very numerous Garriſon, compoſed entirely of his beſt Troops. The Defence he made, was worthy of his Reputation for Conduct, and for Courage, and the Army of the *Mogul* was ſo ruined by the Fatigue of this Siege, that the Emperor himſelf had Thoughts of raiſing it, when he was informed by ſome Deſerters, that the Garriſon began to want Water, which encouraged him to remain before the Place. King *Muſtapha* perceiving the Ciſterns dry, and knowing the Rainy-Seaſon to be at a Diſtance, reſolved to retire privately out of the Fortreſs, in order to throw himſelf into *Brampour*, and there defend himſelf and the reſt of his Dominions.

It was with this Deſign, that in the middle of the Night, he quitted *Acer* in Diſguiſe, and before he had proceeded far, he was ſeized by the Advance Guards of the *Mogul* Army, who carried him immediately to the Emperor's Tent. When he came into the Preſence of *Akebar*, that Monarch aſked him who he was, and where he was going? To which, with great Spirit, he anſwered, that he was King *Muſtapha*, and that knowing him to be a wiſe and generous Prince, he came out to aſk his Advice, ſince they had now no Water left, and he could not bring himſelf, after living ſo long as a King, to become the Subject of another. *Akebar* bid him go back to the Place, and be ſatisfied, that if Heaven intended to deliver him, he would meet with a Supply of Water by ſome unexpected Means. *Muſtapha* took his Advice, and returned to his Fortreſs. It was then about the middle of *May*, and as the rainy Seaſon does not uſually commence till the middle of *June*, he had not much Reaſon to expect what nevertheleſs fell out the Night following, in which it rained ſo plentifully, that his Ciſterns were all full by the next Morning. *Akebar*, aſtoniſhed at this Accident, left a ſufficient Body of Troops to block up *Acer*, and marched with the reſt of his Forces to beſiege *Brampour*, which, tho' a Place of conſiderable Strength, and well provided with every thing, did not hold out long, and *Muſtapha* ſeeing the beſt Part of his Dominions loſt, reſolved to make the beſt Terms he could for himſelf, in Conſideration of the Surrender of *Acer*. The *Mogul* granted him as good Conditions as he could reaſonably expect, and *Muſtapha* entering into his Service, had the ſame Reſpect paid him as the other Rajahs.

After the Reduction of *Acer*, the *Mogul* prepared next for the Siege of *Amanadagar*, which the Princeſs of *Cande* defending with great Courage, kept him two Months before the Place. At length, deſpairing to hold out, ſhe cauſed all her Treaſure to be melted into Bullets, and, inſcribed with the bittereſt Curſes againſt her Enemies, ſhot them into the neighbouring Woods, to prevent his poſſeſſing it. Some of theſe gold and ſilver Bullets *Manouchi* aſſures us, were found in his Time, and he read the Inſcriptions on them with abundance of Delight, and one particularly of Gold, he ſays, weighed eight Pounds at leaſt. *Ambar* hearing the great Diſtreſs that this Princeſs was in, reſolved to make an Effort for her Deliverance, and at the ſame Time to keep the War out of his own Country. The Deſign was generous in itſelf, and well enough contrived, and on the Review of his Forces, it ſeemed not altogether impoſſible to have executed it; for this *Indian* Prince, by compelling all his Subjects to take Arms, had drawn together near fifty thouſand Men. *Akebar* however attacked him ſuddenly on his March, defeated him without the Loſs of a Man, and his own People being diſcontented with his Conduct, murdered the unfortunate *Ambar* in his Flight. The Princeſs of *Cande* ſeeing now no Hopes left, yielded her City, and herſelf, to the victorious *Mogul*, who not only treated her with all the Reſpect due to her Quality, but ſoon after received her into the Number of his Wives, and ſhe remained for many Years his principal Favourite. *Akebar* was now Maſter of beſt part of the South Coaſt of *Indoſtan*, and almoſt all the Rajahs of that Country readily yielded him Obedience.

It was at this Time, that from a Motive hitherto concealed, he took Occaſion to deſtroy the vaſt and beautiful City of *Debli*, the antient Reſidence of the *Pattan* Kings, and the Capital of *Indoſtan*. He built a Moſque, and a Palace at *Fetipour*, and the Rajahs building alſo many Palaces near them, it ſoon became a very conſiderable City; but the Luſtre of this Place laſted not long, ſince the Emperor himſelf perceiving that the Air was unwholſome, removed from thence, and returned into the Neighbourhood of *Debli*, where, out of the Ruins of the old City, he erected a new one on the Banks of the River *Jemma*; but even the Splendor of this new City could not pleaſe him long, and therefore proceeding farther on the River, he fixed on the little Town of *Agra*, for the Seat of his Empire. It is ſeated on a large Plain, and the River *Jemma* making an Elbow therein, the City lies round it in the Form of an Half-moon. At one End he erected a noble Palace, round which the Omrahs and Rajahs built theirs; ſo that in a very ſhort Space of Time, from an inconſiderable Hamlet, it grew to be a large City, of nine *Italian* Miles in Circumference, and having no fewer than 660,000 ſettled Inhabitants, excluſive of Strangers.

The Palace of the Emperor, which ſerves for a kind of Citadel to *Agra*, is one of the fineſt Structures in the World. The Walls of it, which are about thirty-five Foot high, are of a fine red Stone, little inferior in Hardneſs and Beauty to Marble, and it is built in ſuch a Manner, that the joining of the Stones does not in the leaſt appear. It is adorned with rich and beautiful Balconies, on every Story; and between the Palace and the River, there is a kind of Parade, where the Emperor ſees his Guard reviewed, and the Battles of his Elephants. On the other Side the River, ſtands another City, as long as *Agra*, and not much inferior to it in Bigneſs. This is entirely inhabited by *Indians*, or, as they are now called, *Banians*, who are either Merchants, or Artificers; ſo that this City is no leſs remarkable for its Commerce, than the other for being the Imperial Reſidence of the Grand *Mogul*, and being the Capital of the *Indies*. When this great Work was accompliſhed, it plainly appeared, that this Emperor intended it for a Monument of his Glory to lateſt Poſterity, by his beſtowing upon it the Name of *Akebarabad*, *i. e.* the City of *Akebar*; but after his Deceaſe, this new Name was laid aſide, and the old one revived; ſo that this Capital of the *Indian* Empire is ſtill known by the Name of *Agra*.

His Attention to the raiſing of this new City, did not extinguiſh that Thirſt of Empire, which had appeared in the firſt Years of his Reign. On the contrary, having heard of an *Indian Rajah*, who was equally celebrated for his Wiſdom and Courage, and who was beſides illuſtrious on the ſcore of his Deſcent from the famous *Porus*, and whoſe Dominions lay but twelve Days Journey from his Capital, he immediately formed a Deſign of reducing them, the rather becauſe they lay between his hereditary Dominions, and his new Conqueſts. This *Rajah* took the Name of *Rana*, which ſeems to have been common to all his Family, according to the ancient Cuſtom of the *Indies*. He was a Prince worthy of the Blood of *Porus*, and who, if he had been well ſeconded, might have reſtored the Liberty of his Country. As it was, he made a noble Attempt, which will be ever remembered in the Chronicles of that Country.

He was ſoon obliged to quit the Field, and to ſhut himſelf up in the Fortreſs of *Chitor*, ſeated on the Top of an high Mountain, and ſurrounded by a River. The Siege of this Place coſt the Mogul two Years, though at the Head of the moſt numerous and beſt furniſhed Army that had ever been ſeen in that Country, and was endangered by the fouleſt Piece of Treachery that perhaps was ever committed[k]. *Akebar* pretended to raiſe the Siege, and deſired of *Rana* to have the Liberty only of entering the Place with fifty Attendants, which was granted him by the honeſt *Indian* without the leaſt Suſpicion; but after he had been very kindly entertained, and conducted to the Gates of the Fortreſs by the *Rajah* himſelf, he threw over his Neck a Chain of Pearl, ſtrung upon Mohair for that Purpoſe, and pulled him without the Place, where a Body of the Mogul's Troops made him Priſoner. He afterwards made his Eſcape, and the Mogul having renewed the Siege, he was killed on the Walls, and ſo the Place was forced to capitulate, and thereby all the Dominions of that once powerful *Rajah* were annexed to the Empire of *Akebar*, and proved a very conſiderable Acquiſition.

The Concluſion of this War could not but be very agreeable to the Emperor, who found his troops ſufficiently harraſſed by a War of ſuch Continuance, and in which at the Beginning ſo many *Indian* Princes were engaged, who, notwithſtanding, retired into their reſpective Territories as ſoon as they ſaw *Chitor* inveſted; whereas if they had kept the Field, and harraſſed the Army of the Mogul, it is highly probable they might have preſerved the City of *Chitor*, and the Country of *Rajah Rana*, from being thus ſwallowed up by him, who meant to bring them all under his Subjection. But whether it proceeds from Religion, Humour, or Cuſtom, certain it is, that the *Banians* have an eſtabliſhed Principle amongſt them, that defenſive Wars againſt Foreigners are only lawful, and that they ought not to march out of their own Dominions, in order even to attack an Enemy that has often attempted their Deſtruction. This weak Notion has always given the Moguls great Advantages over them, and particularly this politick, as well as enterprizing Prince, who, when he had torn from them a Part of their Dominions, ſuddenly laid down his Arms, and thereby put an End to the War, till another favourable Opportunity offered.

Akebar therefore, after he had ſubdued this Province, employed himſelf for ſome time in cultivating the Arts of Peace, in enlarging the City of *Agra*, and beautifying his Palaces; and among other great Works, he planted the Road from *Agra* to *Labor*, and made it one continued Walk of ſhady Trees, though it be not leſs than four hundred and fifty *Engliſh* Miles from one City to the other. This ſtill remains as a Monument of this Emperor's Grandeur, and is an inconceiveable Refreſhment to Travellers in ſo hot a Climate. He was a great Admirer of all robuſt Exerciſes, and took a Pleaſure in the moſt hazardous Uſes thereof, breaking unruly Horſes, and managing the War-Elephants when they fought; an Employment ſo very dangerous, that the Wives of thoſe who are obliged to do it by their Office, tear off their Cloaths, and the Pendants from their Ears, when their Huſbands are thus expoſed. Nay, it is reported of him, that in the War he had with the Peaſants of the Country, the moſt obſtinate he ever engaged in, when ſome of them had ſhut themſelves up in a Town, and the Conductors of the Elephants were ordered to break open the Gates; upon their expreſſing ſome Reluctance to hazard themſelves in ſo deſperate an Undertaking, the Emperor commanded one of them to diſmount, and cloathed in a common Soldier's Coat, mounted the Elephant himſelf, and managed him with that Dexterity, that he forced open the Gate in the midſt of a Shower of Arrows which the beſieged poured upon him, and had the good Fortune to come off unhurt. This War with the Peaſants, which begun in *Akebar*'s Reign, laſted a conſiderable time; for being acquainted with all the Defiles and inacceſſible Parts of the Foreſts, it was found exceeding difficult to drive them from their Haunts, and the Government is ſo ſevere upon this ſort of People to this Day, that if a Peaſant be found in Arms, he loſes his Head. Nothing is more common than to ſee the Heads of theſe Wretches hanging on the Road Sides *in terrorem*.

While *Akebar* was engaged in this War with the Peaſants, his eldeſt Son *Jehan Guire* broke out in Rebellion againſt him, but his Party was ſoon defeated, and the Prince made a Priſoner. However, ſuch was his Father's Tenderneſs towards him, that he did not keep him long confined; but, to deter him from ſuch Practices for the future, upon his Enlargement, he made the Prince follow him into a Foreſt, where he ſhewed him the Heads of the principal Conſpirators hanging upon the Branches of the Trees. The Prince being taught, by ſo tragical a Proſpect, the Danger that attended ſuch Enterprizes, or moved by a Senſe of the Emperor's Indulgence to him, ever after continued unſhaken in his Loyalty and Duty to his Father. This Inſurrection was no ſooner ſuppreſſed, but the *Pattans*, who had been driven up into the Mountains by *Amayum*, began to make Incurſions into the open Country, and threatened to aſſume their ancient Sovereignty in that Kingdom of *Dehly*. Againſt theſe *Akebar* ſent an Army of eighty-thouſand Men, who entered the *Pattan* Country, but were all cut in Pieces, or periſhed in the Deſarts.

This Misfortune obliged the Emperor to lay aſide all Thoughts of ſubduing theſe People, at leaſt for the preſent, and perceiving that the chief Cauſe of his Miſcarriage was, that his Artillery had not been ſo well played as it might have been, he reſolved to take ſome *Europeans* into his Service, and with this View he ſent for ſome *Engliſh* Gunners from on Board their Ships that came to trade upon his Coaſts; and of one of theſe Gunners we have a very whimſical Story, which, as it has nothing in it improbable, I will venture, for the Reader's Amuſement, to relate. This Man was particularly ſkilful in his Profeſſion, but withal had a great Affection for his Bottle, and found himſelf much at a Loſs in a *Mohammedan* Country, where Wine was prohibited. He at laſt contrived a very ſingular Method for procuring in this reſpect a Diſpenſation for himſelf. The Emperor being deſirous to ſee a Proof of his Dexterity, ordered a large Carpet to be hung up at a reaſonable Diſtance, and directed him to fire at it, which the Fellow did, but pointed his Gun in ſuch a manner, that the Shot flew extreamly wide. The Emperor called him, and gave him a pretty briſk Reproof, telling him, that it was a Shame for a Man to take upon him that Office, who knew ſo little of the Matter. The Gunner anſwered with great Humility, that ſince he had been debarred the Uſe of Wine, his Eyes were grown dim, but that if his Majeſty would order him a chirruping Cup, he durſt engage to hit a ſmaller Mark. *Akebar* immediately commanded that they ſhould give him a Quart, of which the Gunner made but one Draught, and then applying himſelf to the Taſk he had undertaken, he performed it with univerſal Applauſe. The Emperor upon this ordered it to be entered in the Annals of his Reign, *That* Wine *is as natural to* Europeans, *as Water to Fiſh, and that to deprive them of it, was to rob them of the greateſt Comfort of their Lives.*

It was from this Accident that a Law was made, giving Leave to ſuch Foreigners as ſettled in the Empire to cultivate Vineyards, which they have ſince done with great Succeſs and Profit. He from this Time forward had a great Kindneſs for the *Europeans*, and took all imaginable Pains to engage them, as well as all other Strangers, to ſettle in his Dominions, that they might enlarge the Trade, and perfect the Manufactures of his Subjects. By this means his Empire became every Day more and more flouriſhing, and the Inhabitants of it more and more induſtrious; yet with all theſe great Properties, and notwithſtanding he was certainly one of the ableſt Politicians in the Eaſt, *Akebar* had ſomething very extravagant, which diſcovered itſelf particularly in his Notions about Religion. His own good Senſe, aſſiſted by the Lights he received from the *Portugueze* Miſſionaries, brought him to diſcern many Abſurdities in the *Mohammedan* Religion, to which he had never been much addicted; but inſtead of becoming a Chriſtian, as the *Portugueze* Prieſts expected [l], he framed a ſtrange Project of introducing a new Religion, which very plainly ſhewed that he conſidered it only as a political Inſtitution, and as a uſeful Engine of Government. He was ſenſible of the great Inconveniencies that aroſe from his Subjects, being of different Faiths, and therefore he was willing to introduce a Syſtem that might reconcile them all, and at the ſame time place him at the Head of Eccleſiaſtical, as well as Civil Affairs. This Scheme of his he publiſhed at *Labor*, and at firſt it was tollerably well received, at leaſt among his Courtiers, who were ready enough to embrace any thing that might pleaſe their Maſter. In this new Religion he ſtudied to comprehend the principal Doctrines and moſt remarkable Rites of all the reſt. Baptiſm he borrowed from the Chriſtians, Circumciſion from the *Mohammedans*, a profound Reverence for the Sun from the *Perſees*, and with theſe he mingled ſomewhat of the Morality, and even of the Theological Notions of the *Bramins*, aſſuming, in conſequence of this Invention, the Title of *Shah Geladin*, that is, the ſupream Pontiff of the ſovereign Law.

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[k] The Siege of *Chitor* is almoſt as famous among the modern *Indians*, as the Siege of *Troy* among the ancient *Greeks*; and an infinite Number of fabulous Stories have been thruſt into this Hiſtory. Thus it is ſaid to have had its Beginning from the Character which *Akebar* had received of the beautiful *Padmani*, the Wife of *Rana*, and the moſt lovely Woman in the *Indies*. All theſe Embelliſhments I thought requiſite to leave out, that we might keep the more within Bounds, and report as near as poſſible nothing but Matters of Fact to the Reader.

But in the midſt of his Politicks there were certain Circumſtances attended theſe Proceedings, which he had not foreſeen, and that was the diſguſting all ſuch of his Subjects as were really Men of Principles, and ſincerely attached to the Faiths which they profeſſed. The *Mohammedans*, who are, generally ſpeaking, Bigots, were provoked to the higheſt Degree by what they call his Apoſtacy. The *Indians* were by no means pleaſed, and the *Perſees* remained obſtinately fixed to their old Religion, which they thought was grievouſly profaned by this new Regulation; and thus, inſtead of pleaſing all, he pleaſed none but ſuch Men of corrupt Intentions as were leaſt to be relied or depended on. The Firſt-fruits of his new Religion was a dangerous Revolt begun in the following Manner: *Muſtapha*, one of the Decan Princes, whom he had formerly ſubdued, and who, as has been before obſerved, had lived peaceably in the Mogul's Court for a conſiderable Time, about this Time retired from thence, and found means to repoſſeſs himſelf of his Country, where many *Mohammedans*, diſguſted at the Slights the Emperor had put upon their Religion, went over to him. The Prince *Pibari*, the Emperor's beloved Son, to whom he had given the Name of *Morad*, was ſent with a gallant Army to ſuppreſs this Inſurrection; he engaged the *Rajah* in the Province of *Cambaya*, being conſiderably ſuperior to the Enemy in Numbers, but *Muſtapha*, who was an experienced Captain, and perfectly acquainted with the Country, gained an intire Victory over the Emperor's Forces, and the Body of young *Morad* was found in the Field of Battle among the ſlain. This Stroke of Fortune, it is ſaid, pierced *Akebar* to the Heart, and he was ſo ſenſible of the Anger of Heaven, that he never after worſhipped the Sun, nor ſuffered, as in Conſequence of his Scheme he had done, Divine Honours to be paid to his own Perſon.

The Emperor ſoon after returned from *Cachemire*, by the Way of *Lahor*, and marched Southward till he arrived at *Agra*, where mighty Preparations were made againſt *Muſtapha*. In the mean while the Emperor grew extreamly thoughtful, abandoning all ſorts of Diverſions but Hunting, which he followed chiefly for the Opportunity of retiring alone into the Foreſt, and unfrequented Places. In one of theſe Excurſions, ſitting by himſelf under a ſhady Tree, it is ſaid he obſerved a certain kind of Caterpillars creeping near him, which he killed with the Point of one of his Arrows, and ſhooting an Antelope ſoon after with the ſame Arrow, the Beaſt expired in an Inſtant, tho' the Wound was not in a mortal Part; whereupon the Emperor commanded the Antelope to be opened, the Fleſh of which appeared black and corrupted, and the Dogs died that eat of it, by which *Akebar* diſcovered how very ſubtil the Poiſon extracted from this Inſect was, and cauſed a Quantity of Pills to be made up with it, which he compelled ſome diſaffected Lords to take in his Preſence, and thereby diſpatched them out of his Way [m]. He practiſed the ſame Conduct towards all whom he eſteemed Friends to *Muſtapha*, whom he found to have abundance of Creatures in his Court, and promiſed himſelf, by this Contrivance, a ſafe and happy Reign for the future.

But it ſo fell out, that this very Art turned upon himſelf, and ſhortened his Days in the ſame manner that it had done thoſe of his Enemies. The Perſon to whom he confided the Secret of mixing theſe Pills, had Orders to ſupply the Emperor's Box from Time to Time with a certain Quantity of them. In this Box there were three Partitions, in one of which he kept his Betel, which, according to the Cuſtom of his Country, he chewed in the ſame manner as in *Europe* People chew Tobacco; in the ſecond he had ſome cordial Pills to help Digeſtion, and in the third were thoſe Poiſon Pills. It happened one Day, that either through Hurry or Inadvertency, he miſtook the Pills in the third Partition for thoſe in the ſecond, and by this means poiſoned himſelf. The Venom operated ſlowly, but ſurely, notwithſtanding all the Aſſiſtance he received from his own Phyſicians, and from the *Portugueze*, ſo that he ended his Days in great Pain and Miſery, after he had reigned fifty-three, and lived ſixty-ſix Years. His Corps was interred in a very fine Tomb of his own Building, and he left behind him the Character of one of the braveſt, wiſeſt, and moſt fortunate Princes of the Age in which he lived, and ſeemed to have merited in the Courſe of his Reign, the Title he aſſumed at the Beginning of it, *Akebar* in the Language of his Country ſignifying inimitable.

9. *Shâh-Selim*, i. e. *the peaceable King*, ſucceeded his Father *Akebar* on the 21ſt of *October* in the Year of the *Hegira* 1014, and in that of our Lord 1605. On his aſcending the Throne, he aſſumed, as the Cuſtom is in the Eaſt, a new Name or Title, and called himſelf *Nour'odin Mohammed Jehanguîr*, i. e. *the Light of Religion*, Mohammed *Conqueror of the World*. Almoſt all the *European* Authors call him *Jehan Guire*, and therefore that we may not ſeem to affect Singularity in Matters of no great Importance, we ſhall call him ſo likewiſe, that the Reader may apply what is here delivered the more readily to what he may read of this Prince in other Authors. As to the Character of this Monarch, we are obliged to ſpeak of it more largely than hitherto we have done of any of theſe Princes, becauſe the Hiſtory of his Reign depends in a great meaſure thereupon. He fell very far ſhort of his Father in Abilities, and at the ſame time exceeded him very much in his Vices. He loved eating and drinking more than became a King, and the chief Reaſon why he inclined rather to the Chriſtian than to the *Mohammedan* Religion was, becauſe the former did not reſtrain him in Meats or Drinks as the latter did. He was very brave in his Perſon, though he did not affect War ſo much as ſome of his Predeceſſors; but whenever his Affairs forced him to take the Field, he ſhewed himſelf as capable of conducting his Armies as any of them. He was naturally fond of the *Franks* or *Europeans*, becauſe he found them more inclined to that manner of Life, which he liked beſt, than the *Mohammedans*, whom he treated with great Harſhneſs and Severity; for he particularly affected Feaſting at the Seaſon of the Year, when by the Precepts of their Law they were bound to faſt; and if at ſuch times they refuſed to eat and drink as freely as he would have them, he threatened to throw them out of the Window of his Dining-room, under which two fierce Lions were conſtantly chained. One would imagine

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[l] There are abundance of ſtrange Stories related of the Conferences between this Monarch and theſe Miſſionaries, which, as I cannot believe, I will not relate, but content myſelf with obſerving, that in this Court, as well as in moſt others, the Suppleneſs of the Clergy did more Harm to Religion than their Preaching could do good. The Truth of the Matter ſeems to be, that they had one thing in View, and the Emperor another, ſo that they were continually at Croſs-purpoſes, they ſtudying by Artifices unworthy of the Chriſtian Religion to convert him, and he labouring all he could to pick out of them ſuch things as might be of moſt Uſe to him, in which he ſucceeded much better than they.

[m] There ſeems to be ſomething contradictory in this Account of the Poiſon which *Akebar* diſcovered, ſince it is ſaid to have operated ſo ſuddenly on the Beaſt, and ſo ſlowly in Men; but if we conſider the Facts attentively, we ſhall very ſoon be convinced, that they are very conſiſtent. In the firſt place the Poiſon in one inſtance was unmixed, and in the other compounded, which muſt neceſſarily make a great Alteration in the manner of its working; and in the next the Poiſon was very differently applied; for with reſpect to the Antilope, it was thrown immediately into the Blood and Juices, whereas when adminiſtered to Men, it paſſed firſt through all the Operations of the Stomach, which, though they could not entirely deſtroy, muſt, however, much weaken its Force.

from hence, that he was obſtinate and cruel, and yet it is certain that no Prince was more under the Influence either of Women, or of Miniſters, than he, as will very clearly appear from the ſubſequent Part of this Hiſtory.

It has been already obſerved, that he took up Arms againſt his Father, and this Crime drew after it the Puniſhment it deſerved; for as the old Emperor *Akebar*, while his Son was under Diſgrace with him upon this Account, often threatened to deprive him of the Succeſſion, and to leave the Crown to his eldeſt Son Sultan *Khoſro*, or, as it is commonly wrote, *Coſrou*, ſo from the very Beginning of his Reign, that young Prince at leaſt ſecretly diſputed his Right to the Crown, conceiving himſelf the lawful Emperor, and his Father no better than an Uſurper; which Notion, whether well or ill founded, was the Source of thoſe Troubles and Diſturbances in the Government, which laſted for near an hundred Years. Yet it does not appear, that the Emperor ſhewed any great Jealouſy or Diſlike to this Son, before ſuch time as his Behaviour made it abſolutely neceſſary for him to treat him with Severity; and in all probability, the Reaſon that Sultan *Coſrou* had ſo many Friends in his Father's Court, and was able to give him ſo much Diſturbance, proceeded from his own ill Management, and eſpecially from his applying himſelf too little to Affairs of State, and giving up too much of his Time to his Pleaſures. Another great Error in the Conduct of *Jehan Guire*, was his ſhewing a great Contempt for his Father's Memory, and altering almoſt every thing that he had done; whereas Sultan *Coſrou*, on the other hand, ſtudied in every thing to follow the Footſteps of his Grandfather, to ſupport the Dignity of his Character, to maintain his Intereſt with the great *Omrahs* and *Rajahs* at Court, and withal, to gain the Affections of the People. It is eaſy to diſcern from what has been ſaid, that how peaceable ſoever this Monarch's Temper might be, his Reign could not but be liable to Troubles and Diſtractions, as we ſhall ſee it was.

This Emperor removed the Imperial Seat from *Agra* to *Lahor*, which lies four or five hundred Miles to the North in a more temperate Climate, and the fine Walk of Trees from one City to the other, which was begun by *Akebar*, was finiſhed by this Prince; he made alſo large Additions to the City of *Lahor*, and built him an elegant convenient Palace, but not near ſo magnificent as that of *Agra*. Here it was that the Emperor engaged in an Amour, which occaſioned him infinite Troubles during the Remainder of his Reign; and though the Beginning of the Story have the Air of a Romance, yet as to the Subſtance of it, there is very little Reaſon to entertain a Doubt, the Diſtractions in the Royal Family, and the Wars that ſucceeded amongſt the Princes of the Blood, ſufficiently atteſt the Truth of the principal Facts. His Majeſty it ſeems was walking on his Terras, under which runs a fine River, when he ſaw a Barge rowing under him, wherein was a Lady of ſurprizing Beauty ſitting under a Canopy. The Emperor let the Barge paſs by, but ſent immediately to enquire after her Name, and where her Reſidence was. The Meſſengers informed him that the Lady's Name was *Nour Mahal*[n], and that ſhe was married to an Officer who commanded five hundred Men in his Majeſty's Service; whereupon the Emperor ordered rich Preſents to be made her, and that ſhe ſhould be acquainted how much he was ſmitten with her Beauty; but the Lady vowed inviolable Fidelity to her Huſband, and would not hear any Propoſals to his Diſhonour. His Majeſty, not being able to prevail with her to alter her Reſolution, wrote to her Huſband to attend a certain General, and at the ſame time ſent to the General to put him to Death as ſoon as he ſaw him, which was executed accordingly, but not ſo ſecretly but *Nour Mahol* heard of it, and would not be put off with Accounts the Emperor ordered to be divulged, that he was killed by Accident.

When his Majeſty therefore renewed his Addreſſes, and acquainted her there was now no Difficulty in the Way, and that he deſired no more than the niceſt Virtue might comply with, to take her among the Number of his Wives, ſhe broke out into the bittereſt Invectives, and reproached him with his Treachery and Cruelty. But the Time of her Widowhood being expired, and having had Leiſure to vent her Grief, and reflect on the advantageous Offers which were made her, his Majeſty found her more complying; and upon Condition that ſhe ſhould be the firſt Queen, that her Brother ſhould be Prime Miniſter, and her Relations preſented to the higheſt Poſts, ſhe was contented to yield to the Embraces of her Huſband's Murderer. The Emperor ſolemnized his Marriage on the Arrival of the new Queen in his Palace, by a Feſtival, which laſted eight Days; and inſtead of the Name of *Nour Mahal*, which ſhe had before, he gave her that of *Nour Jehan*, or *the Light of the World*.

But, notwithſtanding one of the greateſt Emperors of the Eaſt was captivated with her Charms, and the Empire was, for ſome Time, governed by her Arts, her Parentage was but mean; and when ſhe came from *Perſia*, the Place of her Birth, with her firſt Huſband, he was no more than a Camel-Driver, though he afterwards advanced his Fortune in the Mogul's Service, and became a Commander of five hundred Men, as was obſerved before. Within the Compaſs of the firſt Year after her Admiſſion into the Haram, or Seraglio, ſhe diſpatched five of the Ladies there, who were moſt in the Emperor's Favour, by Poiſon. And ſuch was her Influence over the Emperor himſelf, that ſhe engaged him to forbear drinking, at leaſt, beyond the Bounds of Moderation, allowing him no more than nine Glaſſes at a Sitting. She had no Children by the Emperor, and but one Daughter by her former Huſband; and the great Object therefore of her Policy was, to marry this Daughter to one of the Emperor's Sons, and then advance him to the Throne. *Jehan Guire* had four Sons by ſeveral Wives, the eldeſt was born in the Life of his Granfather *Akebar*, and was ſtiled Sultan *Coſrou*; the ſecond Sultan *Parvis*; the third Sultan *Chorrom*[o]; and the fourth Sultan *Shehriar*. It was to Sultan *Coſrou* that *Nour Jehan* intended to have married her Daughter, but this Prince, it ſeems, was prejudiced againſt her already, on account of the Influence ſhe had over his Father; and another Obſtacle was, his having married a Daughter of one of the great *Rajahs*, of whom he was paſſionately fond, whereupon he ſlighted the Propoſal. The Sultaneſs offered her Daughter to *Shehriar*, the youngeſt Son, Sultan *Chorrom* being already married to her Niece, the Daughter of *Aſaph Khan*. His Brother *Shehriar* was pleaſed with the Match, as the moſt likely Means to advance him to the Throne after the Death of his Father. And the Marriage was no ſooner celebrated, but the three elder Brothers were appointed to diſtant Governments. Sultan *Chorrom* was ſent to *Decan*, Sultan *Parvis* to *Bengal*, and Sultan *Coſrou*, the eldeſt, was deſigned for *Guzerat*.

But, inſtead of going to that Command, he aſſembled a Body of Troops to ſecure his Succeſſion to the Crown, which he apprehended to be his Right, even at this Inſtant, for he was bred up in a Belief that his Grandfather *Akebar* had appointed him his immediate Succeſſor; and though he was content his Father ſhould enjoy the Crown before him, he could not bear to ſee his youngeſt Brother the Favourite at Court, and with his Mother-in-law the Sultaneſs, taking ſuch Steps as muſt infallibly exclude him. If this did not juſtify it, at leaſt it excuſed his Conduct, and brought many to ſide with him; but there were others who were not caught, even with this plauſible Pretence, and, amongſt them, the very beſt Friend the young Prince had in the World.

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[n] In the Text I have followed the uſual Way of Spelling, becauſe by that this Lady is well known to us from Mr. *Dryden*'s Play of the *Great Mogul*; but her Name more accurately expreſſed was *Nour-Mahl*, which ſignifies the *Light of the Haram*, or Seraglio; and therein conſiſts the Complement of the Emperor's changing her Name to *Nour Jehan*, in which there is a double *Entendre*, ſince it ſignified at once the *Light of the Emperor*, and the *Light of the World*. She was not only the handſomeſt Woman in the *Indies*, but a great Wit alſo, and had a fine Vein in Poetry. In a word, ſhe was the moſt accompliſhed of her Sex, and if ſhe had not had too many of their Vices, would have made a very ſhining Figure in Hiſtory. There are compleat Memoirs of her amorous and political Intrigues under the Title of *Macir Jehanguiry*.

[o] The proper Name of this Son of the Emperor was Sultan *Khourm*, i. e. the *Prince of Joy*. He was born in the Year 1592, and was the Son of an *Indian* Princeſs, the Daughter of *Rajah Oudeſung*; and though he was the third Son of the Emperor, yet ſucceeded his Father, and his Family, are ſtill poſſeſſed of the Throne of *Indoſtan*.

This was *Mohammed-Khan*, his Father's Prime Miniſter, who had always ſupported him even at the Hazard of his Intereſt. The Empreſs, who hated that Miniſter for many Reaſons, and eſpecially, becauſe he was the only Rival that her Brother *Aſaph-Khan* had in the Emperor's Favour, placed Things in ſuch a Light to her infatuated Huſband, that at laſt he gave his Conſent that this great Man, who had deſerved alike well of himſelf and of his Subjects, ſhould be murdered. The Scheme laid for this Purpoſe, had as much in it of female Management as of Malice. A Company of *Indians*, who were poſted in a Hall through which he was to go to the Emperor's Apartment, had Orders to ſtab him in his Paſſage. Had this Commiſſion been given to one reſolute Man, the Thing had probably been done; but theſe People behaved in ſo cowardly a Manner, that they diſcovered the Deſign without executing it, and *Mohammed*, who had much perſonal Bravery, forced his Paſſage into the Emperor's Apartment, where, finding him ſurrounded by Officers, upon whom he could depend, he ſeized upon his Perſon, forced him to mount his Elephant, and then ſeating himſelf by him under the ſame Canopy, with a Dagger drawn in his Hand, he ſent the Empreſs Word by one of her own Spies, that the Life of *Jehan Guire* ſhould anſwer for it, if any Attempt was made to hinder his Paſſage. In this Manner he conducted the Emperor to his own Palace, where he was very ſafely guarded; for *Mohammed* was not only General and Commander in chief of the Army, but had it entirely at his Devotion; ſo that notwithſtanding this ſurpriſing Accident, there was not the leaſt Stir amongſt the Soldiers, nor any Attempt made to reſcue the Emperor out of his Hands. While he had him thus in his Cuſtody, he obliged him to continue ſober, and repreſented to him, in very plain Terms, the bad State of his Affairs, and the bad Conſequences that muſt neceſſarily attend the Intrigues of the Sultana. In the mean time, he directed every thing as he was wont to do, in the Emperor's Name; levied Troops, and made open Preparations for War. The young Prince, who was all this Time in the Field, collected alſo a numerous Body of Men, the beſt Part of whom however were *Indians*; for having married a Wife of that Nation, and having always ſtudied to oblige the *Rajahs*, his chief Intereſt lay among thoſe People, who promiſed themſelves great Things whenever he came to the Crown.

But all their Hopes were daſhed by *Mohammed*, who releaſed the Emperor, defeated *Coſrou*, and ſent him and his Family Priſoners to the Citadel of *Guallier*. While the Prince remained in this Captivity, *Nour Jehan* made him an Offer not only of his Liberty, but to aſſure his Succeſſion to the Crown, if he would marry her Daughter, whom ſhe promiſed to divorce from his younger Brother *Shehriar*, as being an unactive Prince, and never likely to maintain himſelf upon the Throne, if he ſhould be placed upon it. But ſuch was Sultan *Coſrou*'s Contempt, or Prejudice to *Nour Jehan*'s Family, or, as others ſay, ſuch was his Paſſion for one of his Wives, that he refuſed to comply with her, even in thoſe wretched Circumſtances. *Aſaph Cham*, Brother to the Sultaneſs, alſo encouraged the unfortunate *Coſrou* to perſiſt in his Reſolution, having an Intereſt to manage diſtinct from that of his Siſter's; for Sultan *Chorrom*, the third Son of the Emperor, as has been obſerved, had married his Daughter; and if Sultan *Coſrou* and *Nour Jehan* ſhould be reconciled, his Son-in-law could never hope to ſucceed. But, to make all ſure, leſt Sultan *Coſrou*, induced by the Hardſhips he ſuffered, or the Hopes of a Crown, might, at length, be prevailed on to comply with the Sultaneſs, he procured the Emperor to ſend for Sultan *Chorrom* to Court, where they agreed together to cauſe Sultan *Coſrou* to be privately murdered in Priſon. It was firſt attempted by Poiſon, but the Prince ſuſpected the Deſign, and would eat nothing but what was dreſſed by his beloved Wife; whereupon they reſolved to take the ſhorteſt Way, and ordered the Captain of the Fortreſs to ſtrangle him, which was executed without the Emperor's Knowledge.

However, a Fact of this Nature could not be tranſacted ſo privately, but it was at laſt diſcovered; and though the Murderers were Perſons of that Conſequence, that the Emperor could not puniſh it in the Manner it deſerved, yet he, from thenceforward, determined to make his Grandſon *Bolaqui*, the Son of Sultan *Coſrou*, his Succeſſor, who appeared to be a Prince of great Expectations, and then about ſeventeen Years of Age. This Prince therefore was brought to Court, and treated as the preſumptive Heir of the Crown, while Sultan *Chorrom* was commanded to retire to his Government of *Decan*. Here he ſpent his Time in making Alliances with the neighbouring *Rajahs*, and by Preſents and Offers of Preferment, brought over moſt of the beſt Officers in the Empire to his Party, while the old Emperor ſpent his Days in the Amuſements of the Seraglio, or over a Bottle, with his Friends; for either the Sultaneſs now indulged him in it, or ſhe had not that Influence over him, as when her Charms were in their Bloom.

It was while Things remained in this Situation, that *Jehan Guire* enjoyed the pleaſanteſt Part of his Reign. He ſpent the hot Summer Months in the little Kingdom of *Cachemire*, which all the Eaſtern Writers repreſent as incomparably the fineſt Country in the World. It is the moſt Northern Part of the Dominions of the Great Mogul, and is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, no more than a Valley, ſurrounded by high Mountains. The Air is temperate and wholſome, the Country rich and fruitful, and the People valiant in War, laborious and induſtrious in Time of Peace. It was in this beautiful Region that the Emperor indulged himſelf in all the Pleaſures of a rural Life. His Palace was elegant and agreeable, but, at the ſame time, rather convenient than magnificent; his Gardens large, but irregular, and remarkable, rather for their Reſemblance to a Foreſt, than for the Decorations that are derived from Art. The Empreſs, that ſhe might ſeem to comply with the Humour of ſo kind a Huſband, condeſcended to ſhare in thoſe rural Delights, and particularly diverted herſelf with feeding tame Fiſh in her Canals, ſome of which were many Years afterwards known by Fillets of Gold which ſhe cauſed to be put round them. In the winter Seaſon, when the rainy Weather makes it very uncomfortable living in the *Indies*, *Jehan Guire* contrived a ſingular Method of amuſing himſelf at *Agra*, or *Labor*. He cauſed a kind of Fair to be kept in the Galleries of his Palace, where the *Omrahs* and *Rajahs* kept Shops, and attended them with their Wives and Daughters. The Emperor and the Royal Family were their only Cuſtomers, and amuſed themſelves in going from Shop to Shop, cheapening Goods and hagling for them as if they were in earneſt concerned about laying out their Money[p].

But theſe kinds of Pleaſures were frequently interrupted by untoward Accidents in the Imperial Family, and ſometimes too by Cauſes of another Nature. The wiſe and potent Shah *Abbas* was, at that Time, Monarch of *Perſia*, and a formidable Neighbour to the Mogul. He revived the Pretenſions which his Predeceſſors had on the Principality of *Khandahar*; and one Summer, when *Jehan Guire* was diverting himſelf in the Kingdom of *Cachemire*, the Schah ſent an Embaſſador to demand the Reſtitution of that City and Country, agreeable to the Promiſe made by his Grandfather *Amayum*. The Emperor ſent Orders immediately to the Viceroy of *Multan*, which is the neareſt Province to *Khandahar*, to aſſemble, with the utmoſt Expedition, an Army for its Relief; but being informed that the Thing was impoſſible, he ſent Inſtructions to the Governor of the Fortreſs of *Khandahar*, which is the ſtrongeſt Place in the *Indies*, to ſet a good Face upon the matter, and to deliver up the City and Caſtle, as ſoon as the *Perſian* Army appeared. The Governor, however, could not believe his Eyes, and being a better Subject than a Stateſman, was unable to comprehend that any Reaſons could be ſtrong enough to induce the Emperor to part with a Place of ſo great Strength, and ſo much Importance; he therefore defended it very bravely for ſix Months, and did not even ſurrender it then, till the Breach was practicable; and Shah *Abbas* on the very Point of making a general Storm. The Conduct of this Officer was very ſerviceable to the Emperor, though not agreeable to his Orders, for it gave *Mohammed-Khan* an Opportunity of drawing together ſuch a Force as put a Stop to the Progreſs of the *Perſian* Arms, and prevented Shah *Abbas* from proſecuting the Deſign he had formed of making an Irruption into *Indoſtan*.

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[p] This Diverſion has been much uſed by his Succeſſors, but eſpecially by his Grandſon; though it has always given great Offence to the *Omrahs* and *Rajahs*, becauſe it obliges them to expoſe their Wives and Concubines, which tho' done only to the Imperial Family, is not born by them but with infinite Uneaſineſs, and the rather, becauſe this has ſometimes occaſioned the carrying their Wives into the Imperial Haram.

This Misfortune was quickly followed by a greater; the Emperor had given Orders for tranſporting the Treaſures of the Empire from *Agra* to *Labor*, and *Aſaph-Khan* was directed to ſee this performed, of which he immediately gave Notice to his Son-in-law, Sultan *Chorrom*, and adviſed him to march with an Army and ſeize them on the Road; and he accordingly put himſelf at the Head of ſixty thouſand Men for that Purpoſe. The Deſign, however, was prevented by the Fidelity of the Officer, who had the Cuſtody of thoſe Treaſures, and who abſolutely refuſed to deliver them to *Aſaph-Khan*, though he produced the Emperor's Order. Sultan *Chorrom* not meeting with them upon the Road, proceeded to *Agra*; and though he was not able to take the Citadel, plundered the City, and then returned into his own Province of *Decan*, with an immenſe Booty. The Emperor, incenſed at this outrageous Act of Diſloyalty, aſſembled all his Forces, and marched in Perſon againſt this unnatural Son. The Armies met in the Neighbourhood of the City of *Dehly*, where an obſtinate Engagement enſued, in which, however, the Emperor was at laſt victorious, and Sultan *Chorrom* was obliged to retire into the Mountains. The young Sultan *Bolaqui* was ſent by his Grandfather to lay Siege to the City of *Amadabat*, which was the Capitl of his rebellious Son's Province. This he performed with all the Zeal, and all the Expedition that could be expected, made himſelf Maſter of the Place in a few Days after he appeared before it, ſeized all the Treaſures that were laid up therein, broke to Pieces the Throne of Gold the Sultan had erected there, and diſtributed the Diamonds with which it was adorned, amongſt his Officers. This Victory had, in all Probability, put an End to the War, if one of the Emperor's Generals, whoſe Name was *Abdul-Khan*, had not gone over to the Party of Sultan *Chorrom*, which gave him freſh Hopes, and enabled him, once more, to take the Field, though with a ſmall Army, with which he retired behind the River *Nerbda*, and fixed his head Quarters at *Brampour*. While he was in this Poſt, and endeavouring to recruit his Forces, very high Diſputes aroſe between his old Miniſter *Kanna*, and his new Favourite *Abdul-Khan*, which, by Degrees, grew to ſuch a Height that the former deſerted his Intereſt, and made his Peace with the Emperor. To do this the more effectually, he informed Sultan *Parvis* and *Mohammed-Khan* of the diſtreſſed Situation of Sultan *Chorrom*'s Affairs, adviſing them to paſs the River immediately, and ſecure his Perſon. But *Abdul-Khan*, ſuſpecting that he would give this Advice, adviſed his Maſter to retire into the Dominions of *Amber Malec*, an *Indian* Prince, who was his Friend; by which he eſcaped his total Ruin: And, on the other hand, *Mohammed-Khan* believing that *Kenna* had deceived him, treated them but very indifferently. By this Time however the Empreſs began to apprehend that *Mohammed-Khan* intended to put Sultan *Parvis* the Throne, in which ſhe was confirmed by the great Victory gained over the Sultan *Chorrom* at *Alabaſſen*, one of the moſt famous Battles that was ever fought in the *Indies*; ſhe therefore determined to ruin that great Miniſter, in the Opinion of a Maſter who owed his Life and Crown to his Fidelity.

It was with this View that ſhe ſent for the Traitor *Kanna* to Court, whoſe Eloquence, aſſiſted by the Influence of the Sultana, drew over the old Emperor to their pernicious Opinion, and induced him to ſend an Order to *Mohammed-Khan* to come to Court immediately, without any Attendance. He was too wiſe a Man not to diſcern upon what Motives this Order was founded, and therefore made no great Haſte to obey it; but he was much more perplexed, when he diſcovered that Sultan *Parvis* was not at all diſpleaſed at his Diſgrace, but rather looked upon it as a Piece of good Fortune, which left him an Army entirely at his Diſpoſal. *Mohammed-Khan* then ſaw that Loyalty and Probity were Virtues quite unneceſſary to Miniſters under an abſolute Government, and that in the Situation he ſtood, it was neceſſary to practiſe the ſame bold Meaſure which he had once before taken with ſo much Succeſs. He had Information, that the Court was removing from *Agra* to *Cabul*, and that the Bulk of the Army generally moved at ſome Diſtance before it. He aſſembled therefore with great Secrecy and Diligence, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome old Officers devoted to his Service, five thouſand *Rajpouts*, of determined Courage, with whom he watched the Emperor's Motions, and underſtanding, that the Army had paſſed the River *Nilab*, in the Grey of the Morning, he inveſted the Camp of *Jehanguire* before Sun-riſe, and almoſt without Bloodſhed, ſecured Him, the Empreſs, Sultan *Bolaqui*, Sultan *Sheriar*, and his two mortal Enemies, *Aſaph-Khan* and *Kanna*, which was, perhaps, one of the boldeſt Actions ever performed in the *Indies*.

The Uſe this Miniſter made of it was ſurprizingly generous; he told the Emperor, as ſoon as he ſaw him, that he did not come to make him a Priſoner, but to ſet him at full Liberty, and leave it in his Power to place whom he pleaſed on the Throne after his Deceaſe. As for the two Princes, he ſent them Priſoners to the Citadel of *Agra*, and after having detained the Miniſters, his Enemies, for ſome Time in Cuſtody, he ſet them at Liberty, having firſt ſworn *Kanna* on the Khoran, not to bear Arms againſt him, which Oath he kept in a very miniſterial Manner; for the Empreſs having by her Intrigues recalled the Emperor's Army, he put himſelf at the Head of it, with a View to have deprived of Liberty and Life that great Man from whom he had juſt received both; but *Mohammed* had timely Notice of the Deſign, and made his Eſcape. He ſoon after ſaw himſelf in worſe Circumſtances than ever; for the Troops at *Agra* ſet the two Princes at Liberty, Sultan *Chorrom* took the Field with a freſh Army, and Sultan *Parvis*, who was juſt reconciled to him, died of a Diſeaſe. His Affairs appeared now ſo deſperate, that his Son deſerted him, and took Part with the Court. In this Diſtreſs, the old Man preſerved nothing but his Loyalty, and his Spirits, retiring, for the ſake of immediate Safety, to Rajah *Rana*, a powerful *Indian* Prince, and yet ſo ſimple, and ſo bad a Politician, that he received his old Friend covered with Misfortunes, and in all Appearance without Reſource, with as much Affection as when the firſt Man in the Empire, and at the Head of its Armies and Councils. The firſt thing *Mohammed* thought of in his Retreat, was his reſtoring the publick Peace, and ſecuring the Quiet of his Maſter as long as he lived, which was all the Revenge he took for the repeated Injuries he had received.

It was with this View, that he wrote to Sultan *Chorrom*, and offered him his Service, not to act againſt his Father, but to ſecure the Crown to him after his Deceaſe. That Prince had married the Daughter, and was entirely under the Influence of *Aſaph*, the avowed Enemy of *Mohammed*, to whom he revealed the Propoſition made him, and aſked his Advice: He conjured his Son to accept the Offer; you cannot, ſaid he, have a better General, or a more faithful Servant. Thus, in an Inſtant, the whole Face of Affairs was again changed; *Mohammed* reconciled the Emperor to his Son, pacified all the Troubles of the Empire, and put it in the Power of *Jehanguire* to ſpend the Remainder of his Days in Peace. That Monarch was now grown old and infirm, and therefore deſired to enjoy his Eaſe in the pleaſant and wholſome Country of *Cachemire*, whither he retired, but had not continued there long, before he found himſelf troubled with an Aſthma. The Impatience natural to Age and Sickneſs, made him

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[q] There are many Circumſtances of this Prince's private Life that very well deſerve to be recorded, if we were not preſſed both in point of Time and Room; and theſe are known with the greater Certainty, becauſe he wrote himſelf a Treatiſe, entituled, *Vabeat Jehanguiry*, or, the Commentaries of *Jehanguire*, for the firſt thirteen Years of his Reign, *viz.* from the 21ſt of *October* 1605 to 1618. In theſe are contained Abundance of very curious and pleaſant Stories; for he was wont to diſguiſe himſelf in an Evening, in order to go and drink with the Tradeſmen of *Agra*, at the common Punch-Houſes, and kept a very exact Account of his Adventures.

long once more to change the Place of his Reſidence, and accordingly he ſet out for *Labor*, and in his Way thither died at *Bimber* on the 27th of *October*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 1038, *A. D.* 1627, having reigned twenty-two Years and ſix Days, and lived fifty-eight Years, one Month and twenty-nine Days.

He was much regretted by his Subjects, over whom he reigned with much Juſtice, and with whom he lived in a manner ſo familiar, that they loved him as a Father and a Friend, as much as they reſpected him as a Prince. He was far from wanting great Qualities, or good ones; the Eaſineſs of his Temper was his greateſt Fault.

The Death of the Emperor revived the Commotions in the Empire, and raiſed them much higher than ever, as the Time was now come, when the Poſſeſſion of the Crown was the only thing that could give any of the Princes a ſecure Title to his Life. There were immediately three Parties formed, and in the Space of a very few Days, two Emperors proclaimed. The firſt of theſe was *Shebriar*, the deceaſed Monarch's youngeſt Son by a Concubine, then twenty-two Years of Age, whoſe Dominions never extended farther than the Palace, and who owed the Shadow of Empire that attended him for a little while, to the Influence of *Nour-Jehan*, whoſe Daughter, by her firſt Huſband, he had eſpouſed. Sultan *Bolaqui*, the Grandſon of the late Emperor, and the true Heir of the Crown, was proclaimed by the Army, and ſoon after acknowledged by the City of *Agra*, by which Means the Empreſs and her Son-in-law fell into his Hands; he impriſoned them both, and to ſecure himſelf more effectually, put out the Eyes of the latter; ſo that his Empire ended almoſt as ſoon as it began, and indeed, he was in every reſpect ſo weak a Prince, that his Mother-in-law had no great Hopes of him, notwithſtanding all the Arts ſhe had practiſed in his Favour. The Conteſt ſeemed now in a Manner over, and Sultan *Bolaqui* thought himſelf ſo ſecure of the Empire, that he took little or no Pains to ingratiate himſelf with the principal Omrahs, or to procure the Affections of the People, which are always a Monarch's firmeſt Support. *Aſaph* and *Mohammed*, notwithſtanding, had their Eyes upon Sultan *Chorrom*, but the Treaſure and Forces of the Empire being in the Power of *Bolaqui*, they did not yet think it a proper Time to declare themſelves.

Bolaqui reſolving to ſound his Uncle's Intentions, ſent to demand a Tribute, and Homage, for the Kingdom of *Decan*, and the other Dominions he held of the Empire. The Omrah, who was diſpatched to Sultan *Chorrom* on this Occaſion, was acquainted, that he was in ſo ill a State of Health, that he could not poſſibly tranſact any Buſineſs; the Omrah ſtill perſiſted to ſee him, which, with ſome Difficulty, he was at length permitted to do, and found the Sultan in a very weak, languiſhing Condition, as he apprehended, and vomiting Blood in ſuch Quantities, that he did not think it poſſible he could live many Days. The Omrah thereupon immediately diſpatched a Courier to *Agra* with the News, which he knew would be very acceptable to the Court. But this Illneſs it ſeems was all counterfeit, and the Blood he ſeemed to vomit, was only the Blood of a Kid he held in his Mouth: However, the Deſign was ſtill carried on, Sultan *Chorrom* diſappeared on a ſudden, and it was not only given out, that he was dead, but his whole Court went into Mourning for him.

The crafty *Mohammed* alſo prevailed with the Omrah who came from *Bolaqui*, to write to his Maſter, to obtain Leave for the burying the Sultan in the royal Sepulchre at *Agra*, which was readily granted; and upon the return of the Courier, a pompous funeral Proceſſion begun, agreeable to the Quality of ſo great a Prince. *Mohammed-Khan*, at the Head of a thouſand Officers of the deceaſed, attended the Hearſe, and Sultan *Chorrom* himſelf followed in Diſguiſe. Several Bodies of the *Rajpoots*, or *Raſhpouts*, Allies of Sultan *Chorrom*, fell in with the Proceſſion, upon the Road, under Pretence of paying their laſt Duties to the deceaſed. *Aſaph Khan*, who had not declared himſelf, but remained of *Bolaqui*'s Council in *Agra*, treacherouſly adviſed the young Emperor to meet his Uncle's Corps, as they drew near *Agra*, who thereupon marched out with an ordinary Guard, and ſuch an Equipage as was ſuitable to the Occaſion. He was ſurprized to ſee ſo numerous a Body of Troops attending the Hearſe, and ſuſpecting he was betray'd, turned ſhort on a ſudden, and made his Eſcape, never attempting to recover *Agra*; and, indeed, he did not ſtop till he found himſelf in the *Perſian* Dominions. He looked upon the Infection to be univerſal, and very well knew, that the Conſequence of falling into his Enemies Hands, was Death, or the Loſs of his Eyes at leaſt[1]. This Tranſaction ſhews, that the Stateſmen of the Eaſt are as able, and as refined Politicians as the *Italians* themſelves, and within a Trifle as wicked too. But let that paſs, and let us ſee how the Affair was conducted after this Flight of the ſecond Emperor, who reigned only a few Months.

10. Sultan *Chorrom* having thrown off his Diſguiſe, mounted the Carriage which was ſuppoſed to contain his Body, and which when ſtripped of its funeral Ornaments, appeared to be a triumphal Car, in which he entered the City of *Agra* in Splendor, where he was received with the loud Acclamations of the People, who began to be afraid of the bloody Diſpoſition ſhewn in ſo ſhort a Space by his immediate Predeceſſor. The firſt thing he did, was to enquire for *Shebriar*, and the reſt of the Princes of the Blood, and being informed, that they were all kept Priſoners in one of the Apartments of the Palace, he inſtantly gave Orders that the Gates of it ſhould be walled up, and there left a Brother and three Nephews to periſh for want of Suſtenance. This Piece of Cruelty was the more extraordinary, becauſe he had but the Moment before, and out of the very next Apartment, delivered his own three Sons, who being at Court with their Aunt the Empreſs, *Nour-Jehan*, had been impriſoned ever ſince the old Emperor's Death. Whether this Act of Severity diſpleaſed the old Miniſter *Mohammed-Khan*, or whether he was grown ſo weary of Courts, as to wiſh he might breath his laſt in a better Air, is uncertain; but ſo it was, that as ſoon as this great Revolution was over, he demanded Leave to retire, which was with ſome Difficulty granted him, and he paſſed the Remainder of his Days in an honourable Retreat in Peace and Quiet.

The Subjects of this Empire had now all the Reaſon in the World to hope for an happy Adminiſtration; the Prince was in the Flower of his Age, drawing towards his thirty-ſixth Year, one who had ſhewn a martial Diſpoſition, great Intrepidity, and a Soul not to be broken by the Frowns of Fortune. He aſſumed with the Imperial Diadem[2], a new Name, and cauſed himſelf to be called thenceforward, *Shababo' din Mohammed Shah Jehan*, i. e. *The bright Star, Mohammed King of the World*; but our *European* Hiſtorians generally call him by the laſt Part of this long Name, *viz. Shah Jehan*, and therefore it is by that we ſhall mention him in the enſuing Account of his Reign. The Dominions he poſſeſſed were larger in Extent, and produced much greater Revenues than many of his Predeceſſors had enjoyed; for all the vaſt Extent of Countries between the Principality of *Kandahar* to the River *Indus*, owned him for their Monarch; neither was it barely an Acknowledgment of his Superiority, but they were content likewiſe to pay him large Tributes, the Quantities of which, as well as the Title thereto, was now, through Length of Time, effectually eſtabliſhed.

Yet he had ſtill ſome Difficulties to ſtruggle with, notwithſtanding this fair outſide of his Circumſtances. The Rajahs, however ſubmiſſive they might be, were little to be depended on, tho' Subjects they were Princes, and had Dominions of their own, no way deſpicable either for their Size or their Situation. In order to underſtand this Matter clearly, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that all the flat

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[1] It was not for a long Time known where this Prince took Shelter, and ſome of the Memoirs of theſe Times ſay, that it was *Mohammed-Khan* who privately gave him a Hint to make his Eſcape, that he might have no Hand in ſhedding the Blood of any of his Maſter's Family.

[2] The Day on which he mounted the Throne, was the firſt of *February* 1628, ſo that the Confuſions, after his Death, laſted very little more than three Months. It was believed, that after the Death of *Shebriar*, the old Empreſs *Nour-Jehan*, was not diſpleaſed to ſee him mount the Throne, as he had married her Niece, and was thereby Son-in-law to *Aſaph-Khan* her Brother.

Country within the Bounds before-mentioned, was entirely and abſolutely under the Dominion of the Great Mogul. But in the Heart of theſe Territories, were many little Principalities well bounded by Foreſts and Mountains, ſo that the native Inhabitants, though no great Soldiers, were very able to defend themſelves againſt a Prince who was obliged to truſt a mercenary Army, compoſed of different Nations, and whoſe natural Subjects the Moguls, were in a manner worn out.

In the next Place, Difference in Religion was another Cauſe of Diſtraction and Diſquiet. The eſtabliſhed Faith was *Mohammediſm*, yet the Rajahs, and the greateſt Part of the People, were of the old *Indian* Religion, and there were beſides, a large Mixture of Chriſtians and *Perſees*. The Difficulties that this created were ſo many, and ſo intolerable, that the two laſt Emperors were inclined to have invented a new Religion, which might have reconciled the Minds of all their Subjects; but in this, as indeed it was no great wonder, they failed; but what adminiſtered the greateſt Cauſe of Diſturbance was, the Cuſtom introduced in the Court of the Mogul, of ſending the young Princes of the Empire to govern ſeveral Provinces of it, which gave them a Habit of commanding, ſo that it was difficult, if not impoſſible, to teach them to obey, even a Parent, as well as a Prince, and yet this was a Cuſtom, that it was not either eaſy, or ſafe to break through; for on the one Hand it was a thing very unnatural for a Father to make his Sons Priſoners in his own Palace, and on the other, it was no leſs difficult to prevent their forming Factions, if they were allowed ſuch Liberties as were ſuitable to their Birth.

The Emperor knew this by Experience in the Reign of his Father, and had conſequently much Reaſon to fear the like under his own Reign, having four Princes grown up to Mens Eſtate, and all very capable of pretending to the Crown. The eldeſt of theſe, Sultan *Dara Shekowh*, that is, *in Pomp like Darius*, the ſecond Sultan *Sujah*, that is, *full of Valour*, who was a Year younger than *Dara*, the third Sultan *Auringzebe*, or as we uſually write it, *Aurengzebe*, that is, *the Ornament of the Throne*; his fourth Son was Sultan *Morad Bukhſh*, that is, *the Fulfiller of Deſires*; he had likewiſe three Daughters by his Sultanas, whoſe Names it will be neceſſary to mention, becauſe, contrary to the uſual Cuſtom, they had a great Influence over their Father, and by that Means a conſiderable Share in the Adminiſtration. The eldeſt of theſe, and indeed of all his Children, was *Jehan Ara Begum*, that is, *the Ornament of the World*; ſhe was her Father's greateſt Favourite, and entirely in the Intereſt of her Brother, Sultan *Dara*. The next was *Roſhnrai*, or *Roxana Begum*, that is, the Princeſs *of enlightened Mind*. This Lady had great Parts, and wonderful Addreſs, which ſhe employed to favour the Deſigns of her Brother *Aurengzebe*. The third was *Suria Banu Begum*; that is, the *ſhining*, or, *bright Princeſs*, of an eaſy and gentle Temper, who diverted herſelf with innocent Amuſements, and had little or no Share in thoſe Intrigues, which occaſioned ſo many Diſturbances in the Empire[t]. He had beſides ſeveral other Princes and Princeſſes by his Concubines, the Names of which, as they are not neceſſary to our Purpoſe, we ſhall omit.

In regard to his Neighbours, this Emperor had not much to fear. The Kingdom of *Perſia* was at that Time governed by a weak and very inactive Prince, not capable of giving him any Uneaſineſs or Diſturbance. The *Tartars* were much altered from what they were, and beſides, their Strength was ſo much exhauſted, that he had nothing to apprehend from them. The *Indian* Nations in the South of his Territories were, generally ſpeaking, peaceable and puſillanimous People. The *Portugueze* were the only Nation with whom he was like to have any Quarrel, and that not from any Diſturbance they gave him or his Subjects, but from a natural Averſion he had to them, which aroſe from different Motives. He had ſolicited their Aſſiſtance when he was in Arms againſt his Father, and was not only refuſed it, but reproached for having deſired it againſt his Parent and his Prince, a Thing he could not either forget or forgive. His Empreſs alſo was a bitter Enemy of the *Portugueze*, on the ſcore of their Religion. She was the Niece of the old Empreſs, and the Daughter of *Aſaph-Khan*; her Name was *Taage Mahl*, that is, *the Crown of the Seraglio*, a Woman of a violent Spirit, and yet of ſo much Art, that ſhe entirely gained the Affection of her Huſband, and is ſaid to have put him upon this War.

When it was once reſolved on, he ſent his General *Coſſam-Khan* with a Body of Forces, in order to make himſelf Maſter of *Ougli*, a Place near the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, where the *Portugueze* had a Garriſon of ſix or ſeven hundred Men, who were all taken Priſoners, becauſe it ſo happened, that the Place was inveſted, at that Seaſon of the Year, when the Waters of the *Ganges* were ſo low that they were not able to make uſe of Boats; for, otherwiſe they might have eſcaped very eaſily. They were moſt of them conducted to *Agra*, where they were treated with great Severity; many of them obliged to turn *Mohammedans*, while ſome choſe rather to ſuffer Death, and thereby obtained the Reputation of Martyrs. Some Prieſts and Jeſuits that were taken here had, after a Time, their Liberty given them, and were ſuffered to return to the *Portugueze* Colonies. It was very happy for them that the Empreſs *Taage Mahl* was dead before the War ended; for, otherwiſe they had, undoubtedly, all ſuffered. She was regretted by none but the Emperor himſelf, who, in a great meaſure, owed his Crown to her Arts, and to her Intereſt.

He built, to perpetuate her Memory, a noble Tomb, at the Expence of about ſixty Lacks of Rupees, or 750,000 Pounds Sterling. After the Cloſe of this War, and of her Death, Shah *Jehan* changed his Manner of living entirely, and gave no farther Signs of a martial Diſpoſition. His Father had been particularly fond of *Lahor*, as his Grandfather had been of *Agra*. This Prince choſe rather the City of *Dehly* for his Habitation; and not far from it he erected a very fine Caſtle for his own Reſidence, built at a vaſt Expence, and adorned it with two very magnificent Gardens, laid out by a *Venetian*, who was extremely ſkilful in his Profeſſion. He was ſo delighted with this Place, and with the Improvements he had made, that he affected to call it *Shahjehanabat*, i. e. *the Dwelling-place of Shah Jehan*[u]. The enlarging and beautifying, the laying out and peopling this City, employed him for ſeveral Years, and, by Degrees, gave him ſuch a Turn for building, planting, and ſuch like Pleaſures, that he ſpent his whole Time in them and in the Delights of his Seraglio, for he was exceſſively addicted to Women, and that in a Manner ſcarce known to any of his Predeceſſors; for not content with a vaſt Number of Ladies, and thoſe the moſt beautiful the Eaſt could afford in his own Seraglio, he fell to debauching the Wives of his principal *Omrahs*, particularly thoſe of *Jaſer-Khan* and *Kalil-Khan*, which were attended with fatal Conſequences.

By degrees, he formed his Pleaſures into a kind of Syſtem, and every ſort of Diverſion had its proper Seaſon, and the Meaſure of its Expence ſettled. In this voluptuous Manner of living he ſpent upwards of twenty Years, and then the Heat of his Paſſions abating, and the Vigour of his Conſtitution being worn out, he grew, from being the moſt expenſive and profuſe, the narroweſt and moſt miſerly Prince in the World. To gratify this unkingly Thirſt of Money, he altered the whole Courſe of his Proceedings; and having cauſed two large Vaults or

[t] It will be neceſſary to ſet down here the Age of theſe Princes and Princeſſes, to which the Reader may have recourſe, for the better underſtanding what is ſaid of them. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that theſe were all the Sons and Daughters of the Sultana mentioned in the Text, whoſe Name was originally *Arjumund Banu Begum*; that is, *the moſt noble Princeſs*. *Jehan Ara Begum* was born in the Year 1614, Sultan *Dara* in 1615, Sultan *Sujah* 1616, *Roiſhurai Begum* in 1617, Sultan *Auringzebe* in 1618, *Suria Banu Begum* in 1622, and Sultan *Morad* in 1624.

[u] I follow, in the Text, the Obſervations made by other Hiſtorians, as to the Vanity of theſe Princes, in giving their own Names to the Cities they erected; but, I muſt, for my own part, obſerve, that I think the Fact is, in itſelf, a little doubtful; and I am rather inclined to think, that it is the People themſelves that give theſe Names to the Cities, in order to diſtinguiſh which were the Capitals of the Empire under the Reign of particular Monarchs; and I am confirmed in this, by obſerving that theſe Names are ſtill in uſe, at leaſt in all the Court-Writings.

Cellars to be made under his Palace, in one of which he kept his Gold, and in the other his Silver, caſt into ſuch large Ingots, as could not be eaſily removed or imbezeled; and one great Pleaſure of his Life was to viſit theſe Receptacles of his Riches, and delight his Eyes with gazing upon them. This ſingle Vice of Covetouſneſs abſorbed and ſwallowed up all the reſt of his Deſires, inſomuch that though in the firſt Years of his Reign he had particularly piqued himſelf upon doing ſtrict Juſtice to his Subjects, yet now he gave them up to be plundered by all the Governors of Provinces, and other great *Omrahs*; and when he found they were grown exceſſively rich by ſuch Practices, he turned the Edge of his Reſentment ſuddenly upon them; and, under a Colour of puniſhing their Oppreſſions, put them to death, and ſeized their Effects.

His three Sons he ſent to govern the moſt diſtant Provinces of his Empire, and kept only the eldeſt Sultan *Dara*, to ſhare with him the Cares of Government, and to be the nearer that Throne which he was one Day to poſſeſs. Sultan *Sujah* was made Viceroy of *Bengal*; his youngeſt Son *Morad*, was eſtabliſhed in *Guzerat*; and *Orangzebe* was Viceroy of *Decan*; all of them were obliged to pay their Tribute exactly; and for their Subſiſtance in a manner that became their Rank, were compelled to have Recourſe to the ſame unjuſt Meaſures which other Governors practiſed. It was this, and the earneſt Deſire of obtaining Poſſeſſion of the Diamond-Mines, that put the laſt-mentioned Prince upon attacking the King of *Golconda*, a very unjuſt War in itſelf, but ſo remarkable for the Iſſue of it, and for the Conſequences attending it, that it is neceſſary we ſhould enter into a more particular Account of it. It took Riſe therefore in the following Manner; *Mirza Mula*, a Perſon who came into *India* in the Service of a Merchant, entering afterwards into that of the Mogul, was advanced, by degrees, to the moſt conſiderable Commands in the Army; but, finding himſelf ſlighted by Sultan *Dara*, he went over to the King of *Golconda*, who gave him a Poſt in the Treaſury, and the Direction of the Trade of his Country; in which Employment *Mirza Mula* having amaſſed together conſiderable Sums, he endeavoured to diſtinguiſh himſelf at Court by a magnificent Equipage, and the Curioſities he purchaſed and preſented to his Majeſty and the Royal Family; and amongſt the reſt the King's Mother, the Dowager Queen, who was ſo ſmitten with the Gallantry of the *Perſian*, that ſhe denied him no Favours; which the King having an Intimation of, without taking any farther Notice of her Majeſty's irregular Paſſion, ſent *Mirza Mula* out of the Way, to the Government of *Carnate*, in which were the famous Diamond-Mines. Here he took Care to lay by the moſt curious Stones for his own Uſe; and one among the reſt he happened on, ſo large and fine, that it was not to be matched in the *Indies*, either for its Size or Luſtre, which he afterwards preſented to *Aurengzebe*. *Mirza Mula* was not contented with what he found in the Mines, but he forced the People under his Power to bring in their Gold and Jewels, under Pretence of the Neceſſities of the Government. He plundered the very Temples, and pulled off the precious Stones with which the Images were adorned; of which the King of *Golconda* being informed, determined to call *Mirza Mula* to a ſevere Account for his Rapine and Extortions; but the good old Queen let her Favourite know the Dangers that threatened him: Whereupon *Mirza Mula* immediately diſpatched a Courier to *Aurengzebe*, whoſe Government lay contiguous to *Golconda*, to let him know, that if he would march with his Army into that Kingdom, he would join him with a Body of Troops from *Carnate*, and that his Intereſt was ſo conſiderable in the Palace itſelf, that he might depend upon an eaſy Conqueſt; and to convince him of the Advantage of the Enterprize, made him a Preſent of the large Diamond above-mentioned [*].

This was the moſt agreeable Meſſage that *Aurengzebe* could have received; for he did not doubt, that if he was once poſſeſſed of the Riches of *Golconda*, he ſhould bid fair for the Empire of *Indoſtan*; he marched therefore, without Delay, and joined the treacherous *Mirza Mula* with his Army. The King of *Golconda* hereupon retired, in the utmoſt Conſternation, from his Capital of *Bagnagur*, and ſhut himſelf up in the Fortreſs of *Golconda*, which ſtands about three Miles from it. The Confederates plundered *Bagnagur*, and afterwards inveſted the Fortreſs, of which *Aurengzebe* ſent Advice to the Emperor. Sultan *Dara* was alarmed at the Progreſs of *Aurengzebe's* Arms, and repreſented to the Shah *Jehan*, that if his Brother was once Maſter of the Diamond-Mines, his next Attempt would be infallibly againſt the Crown; wheupon Orders were immediately diſpatched to *Aurengzebe* to deſiſt from the Enterprize, and retire to his Government of *Decan*. As Things were not yet ripe for the Execution of his great Deſign, *Aurengzebe* obeyed the Orders of the Court, and concluded a Treaty with the King of *Golconda*; the principal Articles whereof were, that the Mogul ſhould be reimburſed his Charges in the War; that the King's Daughter ſhould be given in Marriage to the Prince *Mohammed*, *Aurengzebe's* eldeſt Son, who ſhould ſucceed to the Crown of *Golcanda*, after the Demiſe of his Majeſty, and that *Mirza Mula* and his Family ſhould be at Liberty to retire, with their Effects, out of the Kingdom. Thus was *Golconda* delivered from the Danger that threatened it at this Time. But *Aurengzebe* had ſuch a Taſte of the Riches that Country afforded, that he fully determined to make it a Province of the Empire, if ever he ſucceeded to the Crown.

Aurengzebe, finding his Friend *Mirza* wanted neither Courage nor Conduct, and that he had a confirmed Averſion to his Brother, the Sultan *Dara*, and above all, that he was Villain enough to execute whatever he ſhould command, without Remorſe, looked upon him as a proper Inſtrument to promote the ambitious Deſigns he had in View; he took him therefore into his moſt intimate Confidence, and made him General of the Forces againſt the Kingdom of *Viſiapour*, while he himſelf ſpent his Time in amuſing the People with extraordinary Shews of Devotion, moſt exact Juſtice, and uncommon Benevolence to the Poor, which rendered him exceeding popular. In the mean time the Emperor Shah *Jehan* was taken dangerouſly ill, and it was reported in *Dehly*, and even in the remoteſt Provinces of the Empire, that he was dead; whereupon the three youngeſt Sultans, his Sons, began to make Preparations in their reſpective Provinces to puſh for the Empire. Sultan *Sujah*, or *Chula*, Viceroy of *Bengal*, was the firſt that appeared in Arms, directing his March toward *Dehly* with an Army of forty thouſand Horſe. When he firſt ſet forward, it is ſaid, he laid his Hand on his Cymeter, crying out, "Now for a Throne, "or for a Grave." He gave out, upon the March, that Sultan *Dara* had poiſoned the Emperor, and that he was going to revenge his Father's Death: But Shah *Jehan* recovering from his Indiſpoſition, wrote his Son Word with his own Hand, that he was now perfectly in Health, and that his Brother *Dara* had not contributed to his late Illneſs, and therefore he would do well to return to his Government of *Bengal*, and repair the Over-ſight his Exceſs of Zeal had induced him to commit, by a more exact Obedience for the future. But Sultan *Sujah* receiving other Letters from his Friends at the ſame Time, aſſuring him that it was not likely that his Father ſhould recover, and that his Fortune depended on his appearing immediately before *Dehly*, the Sultan thought fit to continue his March. Shah *Jehan* threupon removed his Court to *Agra*, being a Place of much greater Strengh. *Dara* followed his Father's Court; but detached his Son *Soliman Chacu*, and with him *Rajah Jaſing*, and *Dhil-Khan*, two experienced Generals, and a gallant Army, to oppoſe Sultan *Sujan*, whoſe Forces, in all reſpects, were eaſily defeated, and the Sultan himſelf, with ſome Difficulty, eſcaped to *Bengal*, where he endeavoured to recruit his Army.

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[*] The Kingdom of *Golconda* is a maritime Country, on the Eaſt-Coaſt of the Peninſula of *India*, on this Side the *Ganges*. *Aurengzebe* would never be eaſy, after he had obtained this large Diamond, till he was likewiſe poſſeſſed of the Country, which, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, he annexed, notwithſtanding this Peace, to the Mogul Empire, under the Name of the Province of *Hyderebad*, which is only another Name for the Capital of this Country, called in the Text by its old Name *Bagnagur*; and that this Country was very well worth acquiring, appears from the annual Revenue which it produces to the Great Mogul, of 3,711,000 Pounds.

The Confuſions in the Empire did not end here. The two younger Sons of the Emperor were alſo in Arms, in order to diſpute the Poſſeſſion of the Empire with Sultan *Dara*. And now it was that the profound Diſſimulation of *Aurengzebe* paved the Way for his mounting the Imperial Throne, while he pretended to aſſiſt the Ambition of his youngeſt Brother. The old Pretence was that of Religion: Sultan *Dara*, he ſaid, was an Infidel, Sultan *Jujah* a Heretick, and therefore the Crown ought to be ſecured to Sultan *Morad*; for, as to himſelf, the utmoſt of his Deſire was to ſpend the Remainder of his Days near the Tomb of *Mohammed* in Acts of Mortification and Devotion. But to ſhew, that as much a Saint as he was, he underſtood the Affairs of this World as well as any of them, he aſſembled a very numerous Army, compoſed of veteran Troops that had been employed in his former Wars, extremely well provided with every thing neceſſary, with which he joined his Brother *Morad*, and his Troops, not far from *Dehly*. The firſt Step he took was, to perſuade that Prince to aſſume the Title of Emperor, in which Quality he received and obeyed his Orders, which, however, were ſuch as himſelf dictated in his Council. As ſoon as Sultan *Dara* was informed that the two Brothers had joined their Forces, he ſent a Trumpet with a Letter from the Emperor, his Father, to each of them, aſſuring them that he was in perfect Health, and commanding them to retire and diſband their Troops, on pain of being treated as Rebels. This ſurpriſed Sultan *Morad* exceedingly, and he would willingly have attoned for his firſt Offence, by yielding the Emperor, his Father, immediate Obedience: But *Aurengzebe* prevented his Return to his Duty, by ſuggeſting that Obedience now came too late; that though the Emperor might be ſatisfied Sultan *Dara* would be revenged, and that to ſeparate their Armies now, would be doing his Buſineſs, and giving themſelves up to Deſtruction. Theſe Arguments ſoon got the better of Sultan *Morad*'s Loyalty, eſpecially when it was farther inſinuated to him that his Father was now ſuperanuated, and that Sultan *Dara* only made uſe of his Name. *Morad* conceiving with himſelf that it was better for him to impoſe Law upon his Brethren, than be obliged to receive it from them, determined to proceed, and to acquire, if poſſible, by Arms, a Crown, to which he was not entitled either by the Laws of Nature, or the Cuſtom of his Country.

But as we are now to enter on that War which has made ſo great a Noiſe in *Europe*, as well as the *Indies*, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the Characters of theſe Princes; and the rather, becauſe ſome of them have been much miſrepreſented, and, in *Europe*, generally miſunderſtood. Sultan *Dara* was always happy in the Enjoyment of his Father's Favour, in conſequence of which he received an Education truly Royal; he enjoyed, from Nature, a very graceful Perſon, and a ſtrong Conſtitution; his Parts were not only ſolid, but bright and ſparkling, ſo that before he reached the Flower of his Age, he was Maſter, not only of all the Sciences which are uſually taught in the Univerſities, but moſt of the Languages likewiſe that are ſpoken in *Europe*. His ſuperior Knowledge, and the great Quickneſs of his Wit, joined to a philoſophical Virtue, were the Sources of his Ruin. He was, beyond Compariſon, the greateſt Prince that ever drew Breath in the *Indies*, and the moſt unfortunate; the wiſeſt Man of the Age in which he lived, yet unaccountably weak in his Conduct; one of the beſt Men that ever was bred up in a Court; and withal, the worſt qualified to live in one. Theſe Paradoxes ſhall be in few Words explained. His Wiſdom drew upon him the Hatred of ſuch as affected to be thought wiſe; his Quickneſs and Penetration rendered him leſs capable of being adviſed by ſuch as were moſt able: He had ſpent much of his Time in Books, knew the Duties of every Profeſſion, and expected that Men of every Profeſſion ſhould diſcharge thoſe Duties. He had no ſort of Craft, and deſpiſed it too much; he was ſo truly virtuous, that he knew too little of bad Deſigns to guard againſt them; and he was ſo open and ſincere, that he never ſuſpected any Man of Diſſimulation. He had a great Reſpect for the Miſſionaries, and they, in return, had taken a great deal of Pains to perſuade the World that he was a Chriſtian in his Heart; and that the Knowledge of this was one great Cauſe of his Misfortunes, which, however, is ſo far from being true, that I venture to affirm, they flowed from quite a different Fountain. He had, indeed, ſtudied Religion more than became a Prince, and left behind him a Teſtimony of it, which plainly proves the Truth of what I have aſſerted; and yet not one of the Miſſionaries have mentioned it, for Reaſons that I cannot aſſign. In ſhort, he revived the old Scheme of his Anceſtors, and had a Mind to become the Legiſlator, as well as the Monarch of the *Indies*. It was with this View that he compoſed a large and learned Work, to prove that the Principles of the old *Indian* Religion were the ſame with thoſe of Mohammediſm; and, in Support of this, he collected, with great Labour, all that was worth collecting from the Works of the ancient *Bramins*, and compared theſe with the principal Paſſages of the Khoran, to demonſtrate that theſe Religions were not ſo far from each other as thoſe who profeſſed them imagined, and that there wanted nothing but a little Temper and good Senſe to bring them to a good Underſtanding [*]. This armed the Bigots againſt him, as the Steadineſs of his Conduct, and his Contempt for the Arts of a Court, ruined him, with thoſe who placed their Hopes and their Credit in being well verſed in them.

Sultan *Sujah* was the very reverſe of his Brother, except that he had a fine Perſon, a happy Conſtitution, and great Parts, for he was a finiſhed Courtier, underſtood the Art of Inriguing perfectly, and practiſed it with ſuch Succeſs, that *Jacontſing*, upon whom his Brother *Dara* had chiefly depended, was privately his Creature, and betrayed the Maſter, to whoſe Favour he owed all Things. This Prince had Spies in every Part of the Court, knew every thing that was done there, and the Sentiments of all who compoſed it. He held likewiſe private Intelligence with the principal *Rajahs* throughout the Empire, had a private Correſpondence with the King of *Perſia*; and that he might not want a religious Party to eſpouſe his Intereſt, he declared for the Sect of *Ali*, which is the eſtabliſhed Faith of the *Perſians*.

The Character of *Aurengzebe*, tho' directly oppoſite to thoſe of his Brethren, was very probably formed upon theirs. He had ſtrong Senſe, much Application, and a deep Reach of Thought; the greateſt Hypocrite, and the moſt profound Diſſembler in the World. Humble in Appearance, in reality exceſſively ambitious; covetous in the higheſt Degree, and yet affecting to deſpiſe Money; devout in Shew, without the leaſt Tincture of Faith or Goodneſs in his Heart. He ſaw that his Brethren had courted Men of other Religions, and therefore he placed all his Hopes in the bigotted *Mohammedans*, whom he knew to be a powerful Party, and moſt capable of ſerving him in the Way that he deſired to be ſerved. He knew very well, that if he could not attain the Throne by his Cunning, he was not likely to preſerve his Life, and therefore he ſpent his whole Time, and applied all his Thoughts in meditating how to acquire the Imperial Diadem, and in hindering the reſt of the World from perceiving his Deſign, which he believed, and which Experience ſhewed to be the ſureſt Method of effecting it.

Morad, the youngeſt of *Shah Jehan*'s Sons, was an honeſt generous Prince, one who profeſſed *Mohammediſm* from his Heart, and was really as much a Believer as any of the Clergy could wiſh him. He loved Hunting, and other Exerciſes of that Kind, and was much given to Women. In all other reſpects he was a very amiable and worthy Prince, and if he appeared from ſome Parts of his Conduct in a different Light, it was owing to the Influence that *Aurengzebe* acquired over him, and in which he acted againſt his own Sentiments. Let us now return to Matters of Fact, and diſcuſs them in as few Words as poſſible. All the Hopes of *Aurengzebe* lay in making his Brethren deſtroy each other. His Schemes were in ſome Meaſure accompliſhed with reſpect to Sultan *Sujah*, and from his Intelligence, he knew very well, that Sultan *Dara* was not an equal Match for the Forces they had in the Field againſt him, and this gave him as much Diſquiet in one Senſe, as it did Pleaſure in another; for, as he ſaw very clearly, that his Brother's Safety and Intereſt depended upon taking him off, ſo notwithſtanding the Difference of their Characters, he was afraid his Brother might ſee it himſelf, or at leaſt be ſhewn it by ſome who were about him, which made him more intent upon his Deſtruction, towards whom he profeſſed both Duty and Affection, than on that of his elder Brother againſt whom he was in Arms: Yet he covered his Uneaſineſs with a Shew of great Tranquillity, and prevented any Suſpicion, that might have riſen from his Reſervedneſs, by aſcribing it to a Spirit of Religion; ſo that while he was plotting the moſt deteſtable Villanies, the far greater Part of the Camp believed him entirely taken up with religious Meditations. He employed the vaſt Treaſures he had heaped up by the moſt unjuſtifiable Means, in Practices no leſs wicked; and by that Means had conſtant Advice of whatever paſſed in all the Courts; ſo that if his Hypocriſy had ever been detected, he would have had leiſure ſufficient to have ſecured a Retreat, and at the ſame Time, his Officers and his Troops were ſo devoted to him, that he had not the leaſt Reaſon to doubt their defending him to the laſt Man: Such were the Circumſtances on this Side.

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[*] The Title of this ſingular Treatiſe is, *Mujmahal Bahrain*, that is, *the Junction of the two Seas*. Theſe ſort of Titles are, and always have been, much eſteemed in the Eaſt, as having in them ſomething of Allegory; and, at the ſame time, ſomething ſententious and very expreſſive. I cannot but inform the Reader, that theſe Lights are derived from Mr. *James Fraser*, who has not only given us the Titles and Characters of abundance of Oriental Pieces, hitherto abſolutely unknown in this Part of the World, but has likewiſe brought with him the Books themſelves, which are, indeed, an invaluable Treaſure, inaſmuch as they afford the Means of filling up that vaſt *Chaſm*, which has been ſo long left in *Univerſal Hiſtory*, for the Annals of theſe Eaſtern Countries.

Dara was not idle in the mean Time, but ordered his Generals *Jaconſing* and *Caſſam-Khan*, to take a Paſs upon the River *Ugin*, which might have been maintained againſt all the Forces of the two Brothers. But *Caſſam-Khan*, one of thoſe whom *Dara* had formerly diſobliged, being in the Intereſt of *Aurengzebe*, withdrew upon the Approach of his Army, and left the Rajah *Jaconſing* to fight it out by himſelf; whereupon the two Brothers gained an eaſy Victory, making themſelves Maſters of all the Enemies Artillery and Baggage, and ſo did the Partiſans of *Aurengzebe* manage this Matter, that all the Glory of the Victory was aſcribed to him, which gave a great Diſguſt to the Miniſters and Generals of *Morad*'s Army, knowing that their Maſter's Troops had born all the Burthen of the Day, while *Aurengzebe* ſeemed to reſerve his own Forces for another Occaſion. They began now to be convinced of the ambitious Deſigns of the Diſſembler, and had, it is ſaid, without their Maſter's Knowledge, formed a Deſign to cut him off next Time he came to *Morad*'s Quarters, which *Aurengzebe*, who had his Spies in every Place, had ſome Intelligence of, and came no more to his Brother's Tent as uſual, but ſent his Son *Mohammed* to pay his Compliments, without diſcovering that he was apprized of the Conſpiracy againſt him. While the two Brothers continued their March, the Malecontents at Court came over to them every Day, and many of thoſe who ſtaid behind, remained there for an Opportunity of giving Intelligence to the Enemy. Shah *Jehan* finding himſelf betrayed on every Side, and reflecting on his former Conduct, 'tis ſaid, in reſpect to the Omrahs, thought this univerſal Defection might proceed from a particular Prejudice to his own Perſon; he made a Ceſſion therefore of the Crown, and devolved all his Authority on his Son *Dara*, who thereupon raiſed a prodigious Army, and marched to meet the Enemy upon the 14th of *May*, 1656[y].

To ſee this mighty Army, ſays the Hiſtorian, extend itſelf on the vaſt Plains of *Agra*, would have inclined any one to believe, that *Dara* muſt have commanded Victory where-ever he went; but *Dara*'s haughty Carriage, it ſeems, had raiſed him as many Enemies as the Vices of Shah *Jehan* the Father, inſomuch that there was hardly a conſiderable Officer in the Army, but had his particular Prejudices. *Dara* continued his March for four Days, till he came to the River *Chambal*, where he entrenched himſelf, and determined to wait the Motions of the two Brothers; for here his Army could be ſupplied with all Manner of Proviſions from *Agra*, and the Enemy, he knew, could not poſſibly ſubſiſt long in that barren Country, which lay to the Southward, eſpecially at this Seaſon of the Year, when the Heats are intolerable. *Aurengzebe* obſerving the Diſpoſition of the Imperial Army, and that all the Avenues to *Dara*'s Camp were fortified with Entrenchments and Batteries of Cannon, concluded it was impoſſible to face the Enemy in that Poſt. On the other Hand, he was ſenſible, that the leaſt Delay was their infallible Ruin. *Dara* would be joined in a little Time by his victorious Son, who was returning from the Purſuit of Sultan *Sujah*, and their own Troops would be diſheartened, and diſperſed, if their firſt Heat was a little cooled, as is uſual in all Inſurrections, where Rebels meet with unforeſeen Difficulties. In this Diſtreſs, the Rajah *Campet*, a confirmed Enemy to the Court, offered the two Brothers a Paſſage through his Country, which lay about thirty Miles higher up the River, where it was probable they would meet with no Oppoſition; for the Rajah's Territories being woody and mountainous, and the Rajah himſelf a General in the Imperial Army, *Dara* looked upon himſelf as ſecure on that Side, when, to his Surprize, Intelligence was brought him, that a Body of the Enemy had actually paſſed the River, and was preparing to attack his Rear. *Dara* immediately diſpatched the treacherous *Calim-Khan* to oppoſe them, but he having a Correſpondence with *Aurengzebe*, ſuffered his whole Army to paſs the River, and form themſelves in Order of Battle, without giving them any Diſturbance; ſo that now both Armies came to a Battle on equal Terms, which was fought with very great Bravery on that Side, where *Dara* himſelf commanded; but the other Generals not doing their Duty, and ſome of them with their whole Bodies going over to the Enemy, the two Brothers, at Length, obtained an entire Victory. *Dara* retired with a ſmall Body of Troops, which remained faithful to him, to *Agra*, where he ſtaid but a few Hours to refreſh himſelf, and continued his March to *Dehly*; but the Governor having heard of the Loſs of the Battle, refuſed him Admittance, whereupon he was compelled to retire to *Lahor*.

The two Brothers, with their victorious Army, advanced to the Gates of *Agra*, and inveſted the Place, which was betrayed to them in a few Days, and the old Emperor *Shah Jehan* made Priſoner. The two Brothers poſſeſſed themſelves of his prodigious Treaſures, which they found ſufficient to reward their Adherents, and ſupport their Uſurpation; and having refreſhed their Troops, and put the Government into ſuch Hands as they could depend on, they left a Garriſon in *Agra*, and continued their March towards *Dehly*, *Morad* being treated by *Aurengzebe*, and the whole Army, as their Emperor. They were encamped in the fertile Plains of *Matura*, where ſtands a noble Moſque or Temple erected by ſome of the Mogul Emperors; which *Aurengzebe* propoſed as a proper Place for the Inauguration of his Brother; whereupon great Preparations were made to perform the Solemnity on the 15th of *June* 1656. The Evening before *Aurengzebe* ſent a moſt dutiful Meſſage to his Brother, importing, that he was extreamly ſorry that a ſudden Illneſs, with which he was ſeized, would not allow him to wait upon his Imperial Majeſty, in order to concert with him and his Aſtrologers the lucky Hour for his Coronation; but that if he would have the Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion to accept of a ſmall Collation at his

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[y] We have many very authentick Relations of the Tranſactions in theſe Wars, but particularly two, the firſt by M. *Bernier*, and the ſecond by M. *Manouchi*, who were both upon the Spot, and both Attendants on the unfortunate Sultan *Dara*. I have, however, chiefly followed the latter, for ſeveral Reaſons; firſt, Becauſe he made the Hiſtory of the *Moguls* his Study, and procured the Materials from which his Memoirs were compoſed, at a great Expence. Secondly, Becauſe he wrote at Leiſure, and after he had taken Time to enquire into, and examine the Facts which he recorded, and ſo was the leſs likely to be deceived by common Reports. Thirdly, Becauſe he was an *Italian*, had a Head well turned for Intrigues, and appears to have been much better verſed in Affairs of State, and in the Practices of the Court, than the other Hiſtorian, tho' he was a very able, and faithful, as well as entertaining Writer.

Quarters, all things might be regulated there, ſo as to prevent any Delay in a Matter of ſo great Importance[a]. Some of the principal Confidents of Sultan *Morad* could not very well digeſt this Meſſage, but fancied there was ſomething concealed under it which might be prejudicial to their Maſter, and therefore they adviſed him to return a very civil Anſwer to this Complement, but by all means to decline the Viſit. There were, however, others, who were ſecretly in his Brother's Intereſt, who perſuaded him to go, and as Sultan *Morad* was a Prince of a very open and generous Diſpoſition, he liſtened to their Advice, and went with his ordinary Guard, and a few of his principal Courtiers, at the Time appointed, to his Brother's Tent, where he was received with ſuch high Marks of Reſpect, and with ſo much ſeeming Affection, that he laid aſide all Suſpicion, and according to his uſual Cuſtom, drank freely of ſeveral ſorts of excellent Wine, which were provided for him; but as for the pious *Aurengzebe*, he, for a Principle of Conſcience, could not taſte a Drop of that prohibited Liquor, and therefore drank Water only. At laſt Sultan *Morad*, having got his full Doſe, fell faſt aſleep, and was, by his Brother's Command, immediately removed into another Tent, attended only by his faithful Eunuch, who could not by any means be perſuaded to leave him.

In the mean time the Officers and Courtiers of *Morad*, were entertained in another Tent by Perſons of equal Rank with themſelves, who were known to have ſtrong Heads, and could bear drinking. The Guards all the time attended round the Tent, and all the Muſick of the Camp playing, as if the Brothers had ſpent the Night together in Feaſting. *Aurengzebe* early in the Morning went with ſix of his Guards into the Tent, where Sultan *Morad* and his Eunuch were ſtill faſt aſleep, and having cauſed them to be bound before they were well awake, he ordered them to be put in two cloſe Litters, and ſent away privately, one to the Citadel of *Dehly*, and the other to that of *Agra*. When all was over, he directed a Meſſage, in his Brother's Name, to ſuch as were to aſſiſt at the approaching Coronation, importing, that the ſolemn Proceſſion to the Moſque was to be made from the Tent of *Aurengzebe* at a certain Hour, and therefore they were to be ready by that Time in the Temple. When the Hour fixed for the Coronation came, the greateſt Part of both Armies were drawn up in perfect Order, under Colour of preventing Diſturbances without Arms. On a ſudden they were ſurrounded by ſeveral choice Squadrons of Horſe from the Army of *Aurengzebe*, who, as ſoon as the Proceſſion began to move, made the firſt Declaration of the Change by brandiſhing their Swords, and crying out, *May the Emperor* Aurengzebe *live for ever*. The reſt of the Army were exceedingly aſtoniſhed at firſt, but they were ſoon forced to join in the Cry, from an Apprehenſion, that theſe Troops might trample them down, and put them to Death, if they diſcovered the leaſt Signs of Diſobedience. As ſoon as they joined in the Acclamations, *Aurengzebe* himſelf appeared, ſat down for a Moment on the Throne prepared for his Brother, and having inveſted himſelf with the Enſigns of the Imperial Dignity, preſently withdrew, the whole Army ſhewing the greateſt Joy at his Acceſſion, which is a Proof, that in arbitrary Governments there is no ſuch thing as Loyalty; for Slaves reverence *Power*, and not *Right*, which ought to render Princes as careful of their Subjects Privileges as of their own Prerogatives, becauſe both ſtand upon the ſame Foundation.

In the midſt of all this Succeſs, *Aurengzebe* ran a great Hazard of being dethroned, or at leaſt of ſeeing the War revived from a Quarter which, with all his Cunning, he never ſuſpected. He had ſent his eldeſt Son Sultan *Mohammed* to *Agra* to execute his Orders with reſpect to *Shah Jehan*, which he performed very punctually, ſince as ſoon as he entered the Preſence of his Grandfather, he told him in very few Words, that he was grown old, and incapable of managing the Empire, and ought therefore to leave it to him, who in ſuch a Conjuncture was beſt able to ſuſtain it; but at the ſame time informed him, that his Father intended no Hurt to his Perſon, but was content to allow him a Palace, his Seraglio, and ſuch Amuſements as might content an old Man. The Eunuchs and the Women ſet up a loud Outcry at this barbarous Meſſage; but *Shah Jehan* bore it calmly, and with great Patience. He did ſtill more, for he gave the ſtrongeſt Proof of the Falſhood of this Pretence, and of his Capacity for governing at a Time when his rebellious Children treated him as a Doatard. He retired as Sultan *Mohammed* commanded, and as ſoon as he was fixed in his new Apartment, he ſent to deſire another Viſit from his Grandſon, whom, as ſoon as he ſaw coming at a Diſtance, he threw himſelf on his Knees. The young Man coming to lift him up, he addreſſed him in theſe Words: "Since it is ſo, ſince I muſt be dethroned by "my own Children, I ſubmit to my Fate; but be you "courageous enough to ſnatch the Crown of the *Indies* "from him, who is moſt unworthy to wear it. The City "of *Agra* is yours, you have in it a powerful Army de-"voted to your Service; revenge then my Wrongs, and "ſecure yourſelf from the Cruelty of a Parent who will "never ſhew Affection to his *Son*, after treating a *Father* "as he has done *me*." Sultan *Mohammed* was ſtruck with this Diſcourſe; but as he knew that all the Officers under his Command were entirely devoted to *Aurengzebe*, he durſt not purſue his Grandfather's Advice, which, however, made ſuch an Impreſſion on him, that he never forgot it, or obeyed his Father afterwards but with Reluctance.

The People however, more ſuſceptible of Pity than of Duty, could not help murmuring at the harſh Treatment of ſo great a Monarch. *Aurengzebe* was no ſooner informed of it, than he cauſed a Letter to be written in his Father's Hand, addreſſed to Sultan *Dara*, in which he directed him to march with what Forces he could gather, towards *Agra*, promiſing him to engage *Aurengzebe* to make him a Viſit, and cauſe him to be murthered in his Apartment. The forged Letter had its Effect upon the Mob, who immediately pronounced the Uſage of the old Emperor to be what he deſerved, and admired the Wiſdom and Humanity of *Aurengzebe*. That artful Prince, having thus ſettled all Things behind him, and having, out of the Treaſures of his Father, rewarded, even beyond their Hopes, all who had hitherto aſſiſted him in his Enterprizes, found himſelf at Leiſure to purſue Sultan *Dara*, who had again drawn a formidable Army together in the Neighbourhood of *Lahor*. That Prince was now happy in a faithful and able General, whoſe Name was *Daut-Khan*. *Aurengzebe* attempting to corrupt him, failed for the firſt Time; upon which he cauſed a Letter to be forged in the Hand of *Daut-Khan*, importing a Deſign to betray his Maſter, and contrived the Matter ſo, that it fell into the Hands of Sultan *Dara*, who, having ſuffered ſo much through ill-placed Confidence before, became now unreaſonably ſuſpicious. On the Sight therefore of this Letter, he diſmiſſed his faithful General; upon which the reſt of his Officers, and ſoon after his whole Army abandoned him, and he was forced to fly into the Provence of *Guzarat*, from whence he propoſed retiring into *Perſia*.

Aurengzebe took this Opportunity of turning his Forces againſt his other Brother Sultan *Sujah*, who being informed of his March northwards, began immediately to move with his Army towards *Agra*. But *Aurengzebe* returning with a ſurprizing Celerity, prevented that Capital from falling into his Hands. However, Sultan *Sujah* had poſted his Troops ſo advantageouſly that he was not to be forced in his Camp, and kept a Communication open with ſeveral Towns, from whence he was well ſupplied with Proviſions, while his Enemies wanted all Neceſſaries, and even Water, which they were forced to bring to their Camp upon the Backs of Camels from the *Ganges*, which lay at twenty Miles Diſtance. In this Diſtreſs *Aurengzebe* ordered it to be given out, that he would decamp the next

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[a] It is ſtill the Cuſtom in moſt Eaſtern Countries, but eſpecially in *China*, *Perſia*, and the *Indies*, to conſult Aſtrologers upon all great Events, and to be guided by them in the Choice of lucky Hours. *Shah Jehan* was ſtrangely addicted to theſe Superſtitions, and became thereby the Dupe of theſe Fortune-tellers to the laſt Degree. They once perſuaded him to leave his Capital, upon pretence, that the enſuing Month would be fatal to the chief Perſon in *Dehly*. He left the chief Juſtice to preſide in his Abſence, and the Aſtrologers took care to poiſon him before his Return, by which they verified their Prediction, and kept the Emperor ever after in the moſt ſlaviſh Dependance upon them.

Morning, and accordingly the Tents were ſtruck, and the Troops actually in Motion; which Sultan *Sujah* obſerving, prepared to fall upon their Rear. The Troops of *Aurengzebe* were ordered to give Way upon the firſt Attack, until they had drawn the Advance-guards of Sultan *Sujah* ſome Diſtance from their Camp, and then to make a Stand, which Orders were punctually executed; and Sultan *Sujah* obſerving his Men were over-powered, detached ſtill other Troops to ſupport them; and the Enemy doing the like on the other Side, it came at length to a general Battle. The Generals, mounted on their reſpective Elephants, advanced with the Bodies under their immediate Commands to engage each other, and the Battle was fought with great Obſtinacy, till *Aurengzebe* artfully drew his Enemy into a Field, where he had ordered Pits to be made the Night before, and covered over with Turf, ſo that they lay unperceived. Here the brave Sultan *Sujah* was advancing to engage his Brother, and perſonally deſide the Fortune of the Day, when his Elephant flounced into one of theſe Pits prepared for him, from whence the Sultan found it impoſſible to diſengage himſelf ſuddenly; whereupon the Army, not ſeeing their General, imagined he was killed, and thought of nothing but making their Retreat. Sultan *Sujah* afterwards mounted a Horſe that was brought him, and endeavoured to rally his flying Troops, but it was too late; the Rout was total, a panick Fear had ſeized his Forces, and they could never be brought to make a Stand again; and *Sujah*, with great Difficulty, made his Eſcape into the Provence of *Bengal*. Here he recruited his ſhattered Army, and, having poſted himſelf in an advantegeous Camp, waited the Approach of the Enemy, when he underſtood that *Mohammed*, the eldeſt Son of *Aurengzebe*, was in ſome Diſgrace, and ſecretly invited him to come over to his Party, which Negotiation was ſo well managed, that he did not only deſert his Father's Court himſelf, but brought over with him ſeveral of his beſt Officers. Upon this, *Aurengzebe* had Recourſe to his old Practice of forging Letters, by which he drew Sultan *Sujah* to believe that *Mohammed* had deſerted by his Orders, who thereupon treated the young Prince in ſuch a manner that he was glad to reconcile himſelf to his Father, who fed him with fair Promiſes till he had him in his Power, and then, in a little time, ſent him Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Gallier* [a].

Sultan *Dara*, having drawn another Army together, marched, with great Diligence, towards the City of *Amadabat*; but when he was within a few Miles of it, the Governour, who had been corrupted by *Aurengzebe*, ſhut the Gates of it againſt him; upon which, the Army he had aſſembled, ſeeing him thus betrayed, abandoned him, in order to provide the beſt they could for their own Safety. The Sultan, now entirely deſpairing of his Affairs, determined to fly for Refuge to *Perſia*; to which he was the rather induced, becauſe, *Given Khan* had the Command of a Fort upon the Frontiers, who was his Friend, and might favour his Retreat. This Man had received the higheſt Favours from the Sultan, and particularly, once he ſaved his Life, when the Emperor Shah *Jehan* had commanded him to be trod to Death by Elephants for ſome Miſdemeanour he had committed. This Traitor received the Sultan with the greateſt Profeſſions of Gratitude, but immediately gave Intelligence to the General who commanded the Forces of *Aurengzebe* on that Side, that he had *Dara* in his Power, and would deliver him up. The Sultan ſuſpected the Treachery, and was meditating how he might make his Eſcape from thence, when a Detachment of *Aurengzebe*'s Forces ſurrounded the Palace, and carried *Dara* Priſoner with them to *Bakar*, which was beſieged by his Brother's Troops, being the only Fortreſs which ſtill held out for *Dara*, they compelled the unfortunate Sultan to ſend Orders to the Governor to ſurrender the Fortreſs, who obeyed, on condition he might be at Liberty to retire into the Kingdom of *Cachemire*. When the captive Prince was brought to *Dehly*, he was ſet in an open Chair on the Back of an Elephant, with his Feet chained, and his youngeſt Children about him, which moved the Compaſſion of the People. His Brother *Aurengzebe* would not ſee his Face, but ordered him to be ſecured in a Caſtle without the Town; and, having aſſembled a Council of the principal *Omrahs*, he propoſed it as a matter indifferent to him whether it were moſt adviſable to condemn *Dara* to perpetual Impriſonment, or deprive him of his Life; by which Means he did not doubt but he ſhould diſcover which of them were in *Dara*'s Intereſt, determining with himſelf not to ſpare one of them. But theſe great Lords were all ſo wiſe as to ſave their own Lives by voting away their Maſter's, except one, who had been his declared Enemy, which, 'tis ſaid, gave *Aurengzebe* ſuch an Opinion of the Man, that he afterwards took him into the Number of his Friends. After long waiting the fatal Stroke, Sultan *Dara* met with it from the Hand of a common Executioner, who, with great Brutality, threw him on the Ground, and afterwards cut off his Head [b]. Some of the Miſſionaries have reported he died a Chriſtian, but, as they do not produce any Evidence in ſupport of it, we can ſcarce credit the Fact barely on their Aſſertion.

The perſonal Hatred of *Aurengzebe* to his Brother, 'tis reported, was ſuch, that he ordered *Dara*'s Head to be brought him, and viewed it with great Satisfaction, and inſulting over it, ſaid, "Behold the Remains of a weak "Man, who would have wreſted a Crown from me he "was not able to ſuſtain." He afterwards ordered the Head to be carried to his Father Shah *Jehan*, and his Siſter *Ichan Ara Begum*, who were impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Agra*; at which melancholy Spectacle the old Emperor fell into a Swoon, but it did not break his Heart, as his pious Son *Aurengzebe* expected; nor was the Sight a leſs Affliction to the Siſter, who had always eſpouſed the Intereſt of Sultan *Dara*, and whom he had promiſed to marry, 'tis ſaid, if ever he poſſeſſed the Throne. Sultan *Sujah*, the ſecond Son of Shah *Jehan*, ſtill remained in *Bengal*; but, upon the Approach of *Aurengzebe*'s Army, finding himſelf in no Condition to oppoſe ſo great a Force, he propoſed to retire to the Kingdom of *Arracan*, which lies to the South-Eaſt of *Bengal*, but ſeparated from it by impaſſable Mountains and Forreſts. The *Portugueze*, who were then poſſeſſed of *Chaligan*, a Port near the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, took upon them to tranſport the Sultan, with his Treaſure, and Family thither; but, it is ſaid, they ſunk the Veſſel in which the Money and Jewels were, and afterwards converted them to their own Uſe. However that be, Sultan *Sujah* arrived ſafe at *Arracan*, though it might have been as happy for him if he had periſhed at Sea with his Treaſure; for he had not been long in the Court of *Arracan*, before there happened ſome Miſunderſtanding between him and the Prince he fled to for Refuge; and not only himſelf, but his Wives and Children were all cut to Pieces in the Year 1658. Thus miſerably died the ſecond Son of Shah *Jehan*, who firſt began the Rebellion againſt his Father.

Sultan *Chacu*, eldeſt Son of *Dara*, a Prince of great Expectation, ſtill remained ſecure from his Uncle's Cruelty in the Territories of the Rajah *Sirmager*, whom neither Threats nor Promiſes could move to deliver him up. But *Aurengzebe* ſo inſinuated himſelf into the Favour of *Sirmager*'s Son, that he prevailed with him to betray Sultan *Chacu* into his Hands; to which end, a Hunting-Match was appointed, and Intelligence given, in what Part of the Country they would hunt; whereupon an Attachment of the Mogul's Troops formed an Ambuſcade, and carried off the young Prince, who was impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Gallier*, with his Uncle *Morad*. It was not long before he removed that Prince out of his Way; ſome ſay by a form of Law, under Pretence that he had cauſed an Officer, ſent by Shah *Jehan*, to enquire into his Conduct, to be murdered, which, if true, was a very ſingular Act in one who had committed ſo many Murders himſelf; but, however it was, all Authors agree that Sultan *Morad* was, by his Orders, put to death [c].

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[a] There are ſome Writers, who tell us, that he did not ſend his Son, Sultan *Mohammed*, immediately to this Priſon, but kept him ſome Time under a Guard; but when he had taken the eldeſt Son of Sultan *Dara*, he ſent them both thither, on the 14th of *January*, 1661, and kept them there many Years, till, at laſt, *Mohammed* died of a natural Death, as moſt Writers ſay, but, as ſome would inſinuate, by Poiſon, which, however, is improbable; becauſe, with equal Provocation from another of his Sons, this Emperor contented himſelf with a long Impriſonment, and ſet him at Liberty before his Death.

[b] This Execution was performed in the Night, on the 28th of *Auguſt*, 1659. We are told, that a little before his Death, this Prince was aſked, by *Aurengzebe*'s Orders, what he would have done with him in caſe he had obtained the Victory. As he is a Rebel, and a Murderer, anſwered Sultan *Dara*, he beſt knows what he deſerves; which Anſwer occaſioned his Death. It is highly probable, that *Aurengzebe* invented this Story, and cauſed it to be inſerted in the Chronicles of the Mogul Empire, in order to execuſe this Cruelty. At leaſt this is certain, that he cauſed the Hiſtory of his Father's Reign to be penned in ſuch a Manner as might give the faireſt Colour poſſible to the foul Actions of which he had been guilty. And as he was a Perſon of prodigious Abilities, it is very eaſy to conceive that, by his Aſſiſtance, a very plauſible Account might be drawn up.

It was now, in the Judgment of *Aurengzebe*, a fit Time that he ſhould be more ſolemnly inveſted with the Government, and that the Omrahs and other Officers of the Court, ſhould take the Oaths, and pay their Homage to him, as was uſually practiſed on every Emperor's Acceſſion. It was very wonderful that, as Things then ſtood, either this, or any thing elſe, ſhould be oppoſed; and yet he met with ſome Contradiction, where he leaſt expected it. In ſhort, the Cadi, or Head of the *Mohammedan* Religion interpoſed, and declared that, according to the Precepts of the Khoran, as well as the Laws of Nature, it was forbidden to acknowledge him as Emperor, while his Father was ſtill living; and the whole Empire was well acquainted with the barbarous and bloody Methods by which he had opened a Paſſage to the Throne. To remove this Obſtacle, he ſummoned an Aſſembly of Mollas, or Doctors of the *Mohammedan* Law, to whom he juſtified his Title, by ſhewing that his Father was ſuperannuated, that his Brother had been a Contemner of the Law, and a Favourer of Infidels, that he had violated their holy Religion by drinking Wine, and had a Deſign entirely to ſubvert the Conſtitution, and introduce Unbelievers into the Adminiſtration; and that it was only his Zeal to ſee the Precepts of their Great Prophet maintained, which could have induced him to take the Government upon him; but the Cadi ſtill oppoſing his Inauguration, he procured him to be depoſed, and a more complying High Prieſt ſubſtituted in his Room, who, being convinced by his Arguments, or terrified by his Troops, made no Oppoſition to his mounting the Throne. Thus this great Point was ſettled to his Satisfaction; and from this ſecond Inauguration, he, by a ſpecial Edict, directed they ſhould reckon the Years of his Reign. All Parts of the Empire ſubmitted to him, without the leaſt Diſpute, and all the Princes, his Neighbours, ſent to compliment him upon his Acceſſion, which, however, is to be underſtood of his firſt taking the Title of Emperor; and out of the Number of theſe Princes, we muſt except the famous Shah *Abbas*, at that Time Monarch of *Perſia*, who, inſtead of complimenting him on the acquiring his Crown, reproached him with his many barbarous Murders, his unnatural Behaviour towards his Father, and his Treachery towards his Brethren. This Prince carried the Matter ſtill farther when *Aurengzebe* ſent a Miniſter to his Court, about ſome private Affairs, and, at the ſame Time, charged with very rich Preſents, for he cauſed the Envoy's Beard to be pulled up by the Roots, and directed the Preſents to be burnt. He likewiſe granted his Protection to all the Malcontents that retired into *Perſia*, and was preparing to have invaded the *Indies* with a moſt powerful Army, when he was taken off by Death, which, perhaps, was as fortunate an Event for *Aurengzebe* as any in his whole Reign, ſince all Things conſidered, ſuch an Invaſion might have been fatal, not ſo much from the Power of the *Perſians*, as from the general Diſcontent and Diſſatiſfaction of the People throughout all *Indoſtan*, which, however, wore off by degrees; for, after he was once poſſeſſed of the Empire, and firmly eſtabliſhed in that Poſſeſſion, *Aurengzebe* governed as well as any of his Predeceſſors, eſpecially with regard to the common People, towards whom he behaved with much Mildneſs and Moderation, at the ſame time that he adminiſtred the Government with great Wiſdom and Juſtice.

11. The ſecond Coronation of this Conqueror of his own Family, was performed on the fifteenth of *May*, but he ordered his Reign to be dated from the twelfth of that Month, in the Year of the *Hegira* 1069, and in the Year of our Lord 1659, when he was in the forty-firſt Year of his Age. He aſſumed, on this Occaſion, according to the Cuſtom of the Empire, a new Stile, and called himſelf *Mohy O' Din Mohammed Aurengzebe Alamguir*, that is, *The Reviver of Religion*, Mohammed Aurengzebe, *Conqueror of the World*. This laſt Part of his Title gave great Offence to the *Perſian* Monarch, who thought that dethroning his Father, and murdering his Brothers, did not, by any means, give this new Emperor a Right to ſtile himſelf Conqueror of the World. *Aurengzebe*, however, gave himſelf very little Trouble about what other People thought; his Actions were entirely governed by three capital Maxims, which were theſe: Firſt, he ſtudied the Khoran aſſiduouſly, was extremely exact in the Exteriors of Religion, ſhewed infinite Reſpect to the Clergy, and was remarkably exact in doing Juſtice, and hearing Cauſes, by which he engaged the Eſteem of all the zealous *Mohammedans*, and preſerved the Affections of the Bulk of his Subjects. The ſecond was, to have always a numerous Army on Foot, commanded by himſelf, for it was his Opinion that, in all abſolute Governments, he who was at the Head of the Army was, in Fact, at the Head of the Empire. His third Maxim was, to be always active, that the great Officers under him might find ſomewhat to do, and not run into Cabals for want of Employment. He puſhed this laſt Principle ſo far, that falling ſoon after his Acceſſion into a dangerous Illneſs, and fearing that ſome Advantage might be taken from thence to create new Diſturbances in the Government, he cauſed himſelf to be carried to Council in his Bed, and behaved himſelf there with as much Temper and Patience as when he was in perfect Health. Some of the great Men, however, either from real Concern, or to make their Court to him, earneſtly preſſed him to ſpare this Fatigue, and to take Care of his Health, which was of ſo great Conſequence to the Empire; to which Advice he gave this remarkable Anſwer: "That the ſame good Providence "which had raiſed him to the Crown, required he ſhould "ſpend his Time in hearing and redreſſing the Grievances "of his Subjects; and that Kings ceaſed to be Kings "when they did not govern their Kingdoms themſelves, "but left their People to be devoured by rapacious Mi"niſters." It is very probable, that there was much of Diſſimulation, and little of Sincerity in this Anſwer; but I beg Leave to remark, that in Order to be perfect, we ſhould regard the Sayings of Hypocrites, and imitate the Actions of good Men [d].

The Treatment which old Shah *Jehan* met with after this Son of his was quietly ſeated on the Throne, was much better than he had received before, which had ſuch an Effect on the old Man, that he freely gave him ſome Jewels of prodigious Value, which he had threatened to break to pieces, and likewiſe yielded his Conſent to the Marriage of the new Emperor with his Niece, the Daughter of Sultan *Dara*, by which he was in Hopes of ſtrengthening his Title to the Empire. But in the midſt of theſe Regulations, *Aurengzebe* could not diveſt himſelf of his Suſpicions, but remained under the utmoſt Apprehenſions of his Generals, who were conſcious of thoſe wicked Arts by which he had raiſed himſelf to the Throne, and particularly of Emir *Jemla*, whom he advanced, indeed, to the higheſt Poſts. Him, he employed in a diſtant War, commanding him to invade the Territories of the Rajah of *Acham*, which lie to the Eaſtward of *Bengal*. Emir *Jemla* being a Man of ambitious Spirit, joyfully accepted the Command, propoſing to extend his Conqueſts as far as *China*; or, however, being at the Head of ſo powerful an Army, hoped to be in a Condition to give Laws to his Sovereign. The General met with great Succeſs in the Beginning of his Enterprize. The Rajah of *Acham* was defeated, his Capital *Chamdara* plundered, and that Prince forced to retire into the Mountains; but the rainy Seaſon coming on ſooner than was expected, the Country was immediately overflowed. The Army of Emir *Jemla* found it very difficult to ſubſiſt in their new Conqueſt, and not leſs difficult to retreat; however, Emir *Jemla* did at length find Means to return into *Bengal*, of which Province he was Governor, propoſing the next Year to compleat his Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Acham*; but his Army having contracted the Bloody-Flux in that wet Seaſon, were moſt of them ſwept away, and among the reſt, Emir *Jemla*, to the great Satisfaction of *Aurengzebe*, who hardly looked upon himſelf to be Emperor while he lived. As this Officer was a Man of a very enterprizing Genius, his Maſter took the propereſt Method to be rid of him, by feeding his Vanity, and ſeeming to expect from his Zeal, Activity and Abilities, the Conqueſt even of the Empire of *China*, though he was ſenſible, that the Countries which lay between him and that Kingdom, were impaſſable for great Armies, and therefore when Emir *Jemla* was dead, he made no farther Attempts on that Side; but, to encourage others to ſerve him, he gave *Mohammed*, the Son of Emir *Jemla*, all his Father's Eſtate, which by the Laws of the Empire devolved to the Crown.

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[c] The Method he took in deſtroying this Brother, differed a little from that which he had practiſed towards Sultan *Dara*; for he not only pretended to make a Sacrifice of him to the Publick Juſtice of the Empire, but directed that he ſhould die by the Bite of a Serpent; which, for that Purpoſe, was ſent to the Place where he was confined, and, as ſome ſay, bit him in his Sleep.

[d] As much a Hypocrite, and as deep a Diſſembler as this Monarch was, he choſe to avow things after they were done, and truſted rather to the Colourings that he was able to give them, than to the Methods that might have been taken either to conceal, or obſcure the Facts. His conſtant Topick was Neceſſity. I knew my own Intentions, ſaid he, were to make the People of my Empire happy; and that I might be able to fulfil thoſe Intentions, I ſaw ſuch and ſuch Steps were neceſſary: It was not therefore by Choice, that I acted cruelly in this, or that Inſtance, but I took off particular Men, that I might have it in my Power to ſhew Juſtice and Mercy to a whole Nation. This is what he has actually ſaid, or at leaſt cauſed to be ſaid for him, in the Hiſtory of his Reign, penned by his Order; and it is very eaſy to diſcern, that the ſame Excuſes may be made by any bad Man for any bad Actions.

The next conſiderable Expedition in this Reign, was againſt the Pirates, who infeſted the Bay of *Bengal*, and had fortified themſelves at *Chatagan*, and other Places, on the Mouths of the *Ganges*, and in the Kingdom of *Aracan*, which lies contiguous to *Bengal*. Theſe Pirates conſiſted of *Europeans*, or *Franks*, of all Nations, but chiefly of *Portugueze*, who frequently made Slaves of the Moguls Subjects, burnt and plundered the frontier Towns, and rendered both the Seas and the Shores very unſafe. Againſt theſe, *Aurengzebe* ſent another of his Generals, who ſuppreſſed the Pirates, and brought that Part of *India* under as peaceable and regular a Government, as any other Part of the Empire. About the Beginning of the Year 1666, there happened ſome Stirs in the Empire, occaſioned by the Ambition of ſome of his own Children, but coloured with the fair Pretences of Zeal for the Conſtitution of the Empire, and Pity for its lawful Monarch, the unfortunate Shah *Jehan*, which, however, had no other Conſequence, than making the innocent old Man a Victim to the Terror of his cruel and unnatural Son, who, to ſpare himſelf any farther Trouble, and to take away all ſuch Pretences for the future, ordered the old Emperor to be poiſoned at the Age of Seventy-four[e].

This, however, did not make him the eaſier, or diſpoſe his Sons to greater Obedience. Of theſe, excluding Sultan *Mohammed*, who lived and died in Priſon; he had four, *viz.* *Mohammed Mauzm*, that is, *the Illuſtrious*, was exceſſively ambitious, and began very early to form Deſigns againſt his Father's Life; once he was very near carrying his Point; he cauſed a Pit to be dug very deep, in the Place where his Father's Tent was to be pitched, which was ſo well covered, that *Aurengzebe* very narrowly miſs'd being buried in it, for which Sultan *Mohammed* was for many Years confined in a Dungeon, where he enjoyed not ſo much as a Ray of Day-light. Shah *Azem*, *i. e.* *the Glorious*, had likewiſe engaged in Plots of the ſame Nature, which proving unſucceſsful, and he fearing they might come to be detected, fled to the King of *Viſiapour*, where he remain'd till the Edge of his Father's Reſentment was worn off. But the greateſt Hazard this Emperor ever ran, was from the Ambition of Sultan *Akbar*, whom he truſted with a great Army, in order to reduce one of the Rajahs, who had rebelled; but the firſt News that the Emperor heard, was, that his Son had joined the Rebel, and that they were marching toward him with ſeventy-thouſand Horſe, and a proportionable Number of Foot. The Troops which *Aurengzebe* had about him, were in no Capacity of diſputing with ſuch a Force, and therefore he had recourſe to his old Artifice; that is to ſay, he ſent a Letter to the Prince, which he contriv'd the Rajah ſhould intercept, wherein he commended his Son's Conduct, in drawing the Army of the Idolaters to that Place, aſſuring him, he would advance the next Day to ſuch a Poſt, where, having the Rajah's Forces between them, they might charge them on all Sides, and that it was not poſſible any of them ſhould eſcape. The Eunuch, by whom this Letter was ſent, being brought Priſoner to the Camp by the Rajah's Out-guards, and the Letter read among the Officers of the *Raſhpoots*, occaſioned a terrible Conſternation in the Rajah's Army, and notwithſtanding Sultan *Akbar* ſwore on the Alcoran it was a Contrivance of his Father's, he found it impoſſible to remove thoſe Jealouſies the Letter had created, which gave the Mogul Time to reinforce his Troops. The Rajah was afterwards defeated, and *Akbar* fled with a Body of four-thouſand Horſe to another *Pagan* Prince; but being cloſely purſued by his Father's Troops, was forced to fly to the *Portugueze* at *Goa* for Protection, who tranſported him to *Perſia*, where he was very kindly entertained by the Shah, and afterwards, it is ſaid, married his Daughter; nor could the Mogul, either by Threats or Promiſes, ever procure him to be delivered up. *Aurengzebe*, however, fell upon the Rajah *Seva*, who had aſſiſted *Akbar* in his Rebellion, and having taken ſeveral of his Towns, beſieged him in his capital City of *Gingy*, but they held out a Siege of many Years, nor was it taken while *Seva* lived, tho' the Mogul, in the mean Time, ſubdued both the Kingdoms of *Viſiapour* and *Golcanda*. The youngeſt of his Sons was Sultan *Kambukſh*, who had as much Ambition as any of the reſt, but he knew better how to conceal it, and therefore never took up Arms againſt him, but laboured all he could to gain his good Graces by Flattery[f].

In this Manner the Emperor ſpent many Years of his Life, without loſing any Part of his Authority, which was in great Meaſure owing to his florid Health, and his retaining the free and perfect Uſe of his Senſes. In order to preſerve them, he led a Life as regular as that of a religious Perſon, reſtrained by a certain Rule, and kept his Paſſions under ſuch Reſtraint, that he was never known to ſhew any Sign of an Alteration in his Temper; ſo that there was no gueſſing, either from his Countenance, the Tone of his Voice, or from his Geſtures, at what paſſed within. He loved Regularity extreamly, and obſerved it himſelf with ſuch Strictneſs, that every body about him knew his Duty, and knew when it was to be performed; and all who had any Petitions to preſent, or Complaints to make, knew when they might have Admiſſion. To gain Time for going through ſuch a Variety of Buſineſs, and that one thing might not interfere with another; this was the Emperor's conſtant Courſe of Life. Early in the Morning, before Break of Day, he bathed, and ſpent ſome Hours in his Devotions; then having eaten a little Rice, or Sweetmeats, ſhut himſelf up with his Secretaries, and before Noon, he gave publick Audience to his Subjects. After which he prayed again, and then went to Dinner, his Table being furniſhed only with Rice, Herbs, Fruits or Sweetmeats; for neither Fleſh, or Fiſh, or any ſtrong Liquors, were ever brought before him. In the Afternoon he gave Audience again, which being over, he prayed a third and fourth Time. The Remainder of the Day, till two Hours after it was dark, he ſpent in the private Concerns of his Family, then he ſupped, and ſlept afterwards only two Hours; after which, it is ſaid, he read the *Alcoran*, and prayed almoſt all the remaining Part of the Night. And here we have a remarkable Inſtance of what vaſt Advantage an abſtemious regular Courſe of Life is towards the procuring Health and long Life, and rendering a Prince fit for the moſt important and intricate Affairs; for this Emperor, notwithſtanding he was an unwearied Hearer of Cauſes, and conſtantly directed the Affairs of ſo vaſt an Empire, and conquered ſeveral large Kingdoms, lived without contracting any Diſtemper, and neither his Judgment, or Memory, were at all impaired when he was near Ninety Years of Age. This Regularity was not at all the Effect either of Decay in his Conſtitution, or of Repentance on account of paſt Liberties. He was altogether as temperate in the Vigour of his Age as in the Decline of it, and from the ſame Principles of Wiſdom, Moderation and Prudence; for it is related of him, that even in his Youth, having ſingled out a young Lady in the Haram to lie with him one Night, and ſhe had dreſſed and prepared herſelf to receive her Royal Lover, the King coming into the Apartments at the appointed Time, inſtead of going to Bed, fell to reading, and between his Books and his Devotions, paſſed the whole Night without ever taking Notice of the expecting Lady. He gratified, however, his Appetites, when they were very ſtrong, from the very ſame Motives that induced him to reſtrain them, that is to ſay, that they might not diſturb or diſtract his Reaſon.

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[e] Authors differ very much in regard to this Fact; for ſome poſitively aſſert, that he compelled his Father to drink Poiſon; and others, that Shah *Jehan* died of old Age and thoſe Infirmities, which he had brought upon himſelf by his Vices. One thing is certain, that his being a Bigot to the *Mohammedan* Religion, expoſed *Aurengzebe* to the Hatred and Calumnies of the Miſſionaries. They very well knew, that the general Character of this Prince, would make any thing they ſaid of him believed; and in the Confidence of this, it is very poſſible, they may have charged him with Crimes of which he was never guilty.

[f] The Behaviour of theſe Princes plainly ſhew, how much Example goes beyond Precept; for moſt certainly there never was a Father more careful of his Childrens Education than *Aurengzebe*. He did not ſuffer his Sons, according to the general Cuſtom of the Eaſt, to remain till they were grown Men, in the Haram or Women's Apartment, but took Care that they ſhou'd not only be inſtructed in the Sciences, but alſo made acquainted with the World, and for this Reaſon called them to Council, and employed them in his Armies, tho' for his own Safety he very ſeldom truſted them with independent Commands. In ſhort, he was a very bad Man, with very great Abilities.

He conducted his Conqueſts in the ſame manner, contenting himſelf for many Years with the Tributes of two neighbouring Kingdoms; but at length finding it neceſſary to employ his Troops, and keep his Army in Action, he in the Years 1685 and 1686, deprived the Kings of *Viſiapour* and *Golconda*, even of that Shadow of Sovereignty which till then he had left them, and bringing them Priſoners to his Camp, annexed their Kingdoms as Provinces to his Empire, and appointed Viceroys to govern them, in which State they have continued ever ſince. Theſe Conqueſts gave *Aurengzebe* the Sovereignty of moſt of the other petty States in the South of the *Peninſula*, as far as Cape *Comorin*, for theſe were ſubject or tributary to one or other of thoſe Kings before the Great Mogul ſubdued them. There are indeed ſome Rajahs or Pagan Princes in the Mountains, who ſtill govern their own People; but theſe ſeldom think fit to attack the Mogul, and are very well ſatisfied if he will let them remain at Quiet in their little Principalities. Some of them alſo are his Allies, and aſſiſted him in the Conqueſt of *Viſiapour* and *Golconda*, and theſe are ſuffered to retain their ancient Juriſdiction. However, it may properly enough be ſaid, that the Empire of the Great Mogul has no other Boundaries than the Ocean towards the South, for the Sea-Coaſts are generally in his Power, nor is there any Rajah now left able to meet him in the Field, though ſome few of them may ſkulk in inacceſſible Mountains, and boaſt to this Day that they have not ſubmitted to his Arms.

It was in reducing theſe Kingdoms, and making freſh Acceſſions to the Empire, that this great Monarch ſpent his Time, and ſpent it in a Camp, and in the Field. He thought that every Palace, every Caſtle, had the Air of a Priſon, and therefore he ſeldom entered one, but when his Affairs would allow him ſo much reſt; he was content to ſtay ſometimes a conſiderable Space in the ſame Camp, as particularly in that near *Galgela*; after the Defeat of his Son Sultan *Akbar*, he remained no leſs than four Years. His Magnificence appeared, however, as great in this military Life, as if, like his Anceſtors, he had founded Cities, and erected Palaces; for when he decamped at any time no leſs than one hundred and twenty Elephants, one thouſand and four hundred Camels, and four hundred Carts, were employed in carrying the Royal Tents, Baggage and Furniture, and theſe were always ſent away the Night before, the Emperor and every Omrah in the Army had a double Suit of Tents and Field Equipage; ſo that when they came to their Ground the Camp was always ready pitched, and Proviſions of all kind to be had as ſoon as the March was over. It was by theſe extraordinary Precautions, and by a ſtrict Adherence to theſe Maxims, which from a ſteady Attention to the Situation of things in that Country, he at firſt laid down, that for ſo many Years he governed with ſo great Eaſe ſo vaſt an Empire, and left it not only entire, but very much extended to his Children. In one thing only his Fortune failed him, which was in the War againſt *Seva-Rajah*, commonly called by our Writers of Travels and Voyages *Seva-gi*, of whom we have hitherto had ſo dark an Account, that it may not be amiſs to take this Opportunity of ſetting it at once in a clear Light. This *Seva* was originally in the Service of the King of *Viſiapour*, and would have perſuaded him to have united with other Princes his Neighbours, when *Aurengzebe* firſt attacked their Countries before he aſcended the Throne of the Moguls: But that Prince would neither liſten to his Advice, nor believe that it was given with any other View than to put himſelf at the Head of an Army, with which he might attempt things to his Prejudice. This unjuſt Suſpicion had a very bad Effect, for it put the Rajah *Seva* upon ſeizing a Part of his Maſter's Dominions, which with ſome of the adjacent Countries were confirmed to him by *Aurengzebe*; but when that Prince had dethroned his Father, and was eſtabliſhed in the Empire, he was for depriving Rajah *Seva* of what he had before given him, in order to annex thoſe Countries to his Dominions, which was the firſt Cauſe of the War; for this Rajah *Seva* was as great a General, and a much better Man, than the Emperor himſelf; and by his Behaviour plainly proved, that if the reſt of the *Indian* Princes had been Men of like Courage and Spirit, their Kingdoms had never become Provinces of the Mogul Empire. In order to accompliſh this Deſign, and remove ſo formidable a Prince out of his Neighbourhood, *Aurengzebe* commanded his Uncle *Chaſta-Khan*, with a numerous Army, to march againſt him; upon which Rajah *Seva* retired to his Mountains, where he bid Defiance to the whole Forces of the Mogul, and was very near ſurpriſing *Chaſta-Khan* one Night in his Tent, having killed his Son, and wounded the General himſelf; and in ſhort, he ſo harraſſed the Moguls Troops, that *Chaſta-Khan* was glad to quit the Enterprize, and return to his Government of *Aurengabad*.

Rajah *Seva* ſoon after formed a Project of ſurprizing *Surat*, a Port of the greateſt Trade in the Mogul's Dominions. To cover his Deſign, he marched with the greateſt Part of his Troops the direct contrary way, and while *Aurengzebe*'s Forces were preparing to oppoſe him he, diſguiſed in the Habit of a Faquir, travelled to *Surat* on Foot, in order to view the Avenues to that City, and finding it a Place not capable of making any great Defence, at his Return to the Camp, he took with him no more than four thouſand Men, with whom he marched with the utmoſt Secreſy and Expedition, inſomuch that the Governor had no Notice of his Approach, till he came within Sight of the Town, and then thought fit to retire into the Caſtle, with the Garriſon, and the Effects of the greateſt Value. The Inhabitants alſo forſook their Houſes, and fled into the Country, ſo that the Rajah had the plundering one of the richeſt Towns in the World four Days together, without any manner of Oppoſition, except what he met with from the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Factories, who having time to erect a Battery or two of great Guns before their Houſes, ſaved all their Effects; nor was he prepared to attack the Caſtles, and therefore thought fit to march off with the Plunder he had got, which was computed to amount in Gold, Silver, and Jewels, only to the Value of three Millions Sterling at leaſt; for in the Houſe of one *Banjan*, Merchant, it is ſaid, he found twenty-two Pound Weight of ſtrung Pearl, beſides a great Quantity of others unpierced [‡].

[‡] The Courage and Conduct of this *Indian* General is very much magnified by moſt of our Writers, on the Credit of the Relations received from ſuch as then reſided in the *Indies*, and particularly at *Surat*, when the thing happened. But there are two Remarks that are neceſſary, in order to ſet this Action in a true Light. The firſt is, that he had formed in his Mind a Project of becoming at once a Prince able to defend himſelf againſt his old Maſter, and againſt the Mogul. It was a bold Reſolution, but at the ſame time it was neceſſary If he had not a Fund ſufficient for an Army equal to that of the Mogul, his Force ſignified nothing, and from being a Prince, he muſt ſoon have ſunk into a Highway-man. The Plunder of *Sura* he judged would be ſufficient to anſwer his Purpoſes; ſo that conſidered in this Light, this appears a very different Exploit from what it does in moſt of our Relations;

This Enterprize of *Seva*'s was undertaken in *January* 1664, and though *Aurengzebe* was piqued to the Heart to ſee a little Pagan Prince contemn his Power, and plunder his beſt Towns at Pleaſure, he was not then, it ſeems, in a Condition to call him to an Account, and therefore thought fit to ſtifle his Reſentment; nay, he extolled the ſurprizing of *Surat* as one of the greateſt Actions that ever was performed, and inſinuated to the Rajahs, who attended the Court, that he was ambitious of ſeeing ſo great a Hero, deſiring they would uſe their utmoſt Art to invite him into his Service, and gave them his Word he would protect him from all Violence. *Seva* hereupon ventured himſelf and his Son in the Mogul's Camp, where they were received at firſt with all imaginable Careſſes; but after ſome Months, obſerving a more than ordinary Coldneſs in the Mogul's Behaviour to him, and having ſome Intimation that there was a Deſign to diſpatch him, he made his Eſcape, with his Son, into *Viſiapour*, where he and his Deſcendants maintained long Wars with *Aurengzebe*. That Monarch indeed outlived him, but was never able to reduce all his Country; and during the Confuſions that happened after his Death, the Poſterity of this *Indian* Prince grew ſtronger, and more powerful every Day, and partly by erecting Forts in convenient Places, partly by their Civilities to ſuch as trade with them, have eſtabliſhed a Power, that it will not be eaſy to ſubdue. According to the very lateſt Accounts we have from the *Indies*, the preſent *Sebou Rajab*, who keeps his Court at *Settara* in *Deccan*, is a Deſcendant of this *Seva Rajab*. He is a Prince of the *Moharattas* or *Ganims*, who have of late Years acquired a ſurprizing Power, making great Inroads into the Mogul's Territories, and levying a Tribute from ſeveral Provinces. They have lately taken the Iſland of *Salſet*, the Caſtle and Town of *Bachaim*, with other Places from the *Portugueze*; and have above two hundred thouſand Horſe in the Northern, Southern, and inland Provinces.

But, to return to *Aurengzebe*, of whom we have not much more to ſay. As ſoon as he began to feel the Effects of Age, and that his Strength was on the decay, he reſolved to ſet his eldeſt Son, Sultan *Mohammed Mauzm*, at Liberty, and beſtowed upon him the Province of *Indoſtan*. He gave his ſecond Son, *Azem*, the Government of *Decan*, and the Provinces depending upon it. To his youngeſt Son he gave the new-conquered Provinces, and ſhewed himſelf extremely ſolicitous about his Preſervation. A little before his Death, he was reduced very low by a dangerous Diſeaſe, which put all his Sons in Motion, and ſhewed him plainly, that they regarded much more the Example he had left them in his Conduct, than the wiſe and peaceable Leſſons he had taught them. He quieted however theſe Diſturbances; for, his eldeſt Son, in Obedience to his Command, retired into his Province, but Sultan *Azem* continued to advance, yet with a ſmall Body of Troops however; and as if he came to viſit his Father, and to enquire after his Health, which the old Emperor took very kindly, embraced him, and kept him with him as long as he lived, which was not above a few Months, for he was now in a manner worn out; and yet his Senſes remained vigorous to the laſt.

He was then incamped in the Neighbourhood of *Ahmednagur*, in the Province of *Dowlatabad*, where he expired on the Twenty-firſt of *February*, 1707, having reigned forty-eight Years, and lived eighty-nine. We are told, by many Hiſtorians, that he lived to upwards of a hundred, which is a Miſtake; but we muſt not ſay the ſame as to ſuch Eaſtern Authors as report that he was upwards of Ninety, for they reckon by lunar Years; according to which, he alſo reigned above fifty Years. It does not appear that he intended any of his Children ſhould ſucceed him in the Whole of his Empire, not out of any Want of Affection, or through Envy of their Glory, but becauſe he judged it for their mutual Intereſt, to keep that Diviſion which had been made by him in his Life-time; yet he fore-ſaw that this would never take Place, and therefore contented himſelf with propoſing it as a Thing reaſonable and proper, but without any expreſs Command, which he knew would be to no Purpoſe. Some of the old Captains that were about him, were deſirous that he ſhould have declared his eldeſt Son Sultan *Mohammed Mauzm*, his Succeſſor, which, at firſt, he declined; and when urged further, he could not help telling them plainly, I have done for him what I can, I have made him King of *Indoſtan*; if he will have any thing more, he muſt aſk it of Almighty God, in whoſe Power it is. As his Will is a very ſingular Piece, and may be of peculiar Uſe, not only to the Hiſtory of the Mogul Empire, but in explaining the Character of its Author, I thought it might not be amiſs to inſert it here, eſpecially as it is as ſhort as it is curious.

A Tranſlation *of* AURENGZEBE'*s* Laſt Will.

“I CAME with empty Hands into the World, and with empty Hands I quit it. Whoever of my fortunate Children ſhall chance to rule the Empire, let him not moleſt *Mohammed Kambukſh*, ſhould he reſt contented with the two new Soubahs. There cannot be a better Vizir than *Emir al Omrah*[h]. Let all the King's Servants be true and faithful to *Mohammed Azem Shâh*. Whoever ſhall chance to have the Empire, let him not turn out, or moleſt thoſe born or bred up in my Houſe. If the Diviſion, I formerly made, proves agreeable to my Children, it will prevent a great deal of Confuſion and Blood-ſhed.

“There are too imperial Seats, *Agra* and *Dehly*: Whoever ſettles in *Agra*, may have the Province thereof, *Decan*, *Malva*, and *Guzurat*; and who reſides at *Dehly*, may have *Cabul*, and the other Provinces. I came naked into the World, and naked I go out of it. Let no Enſigns, or Royal Pomp, accompany my Funeral. Let *Hamid o' din Khan*, who is faithful and truſty, convey my Corps to the Place of *Shâh Zen al din*[i], and make a Tomb for it in the ſame Manner as is done for *Derveiſhes*. Let not my fortunate Children give themſelves any Concern about a Monument.

“There is, in my private Treaſury, Fifty-ſeven thouſand, three hundred, and eighty-two Rupees, (which make Seven thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-two Pounds fifteen Shillings of our Money.) Let a thouſand Rupees (which make One hundred and twenty-five Pounds of our Money) be diſtributed among the Poor at my Funeral.”

It is very remarkable, that this Monarch perſiſted, to the laſt, in maintaining his Character of a devout *Mohammedan*, and deſpiſed, after Death, all thoſe Honours which had been paid to his Predeceſſors, as much as he did the Pomp and Magnificence, and the luxurious Pleaſures

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Relations; for they make Rajah *Seva* an able Partizan, whereas in truth he acted the Partizan only as an under Character, that was neceſſary to make him a Prince. When his Coffers were again exhauſted, he had Recourſe a ſecond time to the ſame Expedient, and, which is very extraordinary, he demanded the Sum he wanted, and ſent the Citizens of *Surat* Word of the Day and Hour when he would come to receive it, and performed it again with as much Facility as at firſt. The ſecond Remark is, that the *Indian* Rajahs going always to Court with a great Number of Attendants, he ſent his Troops in ſmall Bodies, ſo that they were not ſuſpected of being in his Service, till they were actually in the Place, and then it was too late to think of Defence; for having taken their ſeveral Poſts, the People could not ſtir in any Quarter of *Surat*, without the immediate Danger of having their Throats cut. This takes off the Improbability of the Thing, which otherwiſe would be ſo great, that we could hardly credit it.

[h] This Title of *Emir al Omra*, rendered literally, is the *Prince of Princes*; for *Omra* is the Plural of *Emir*, but rendered ſignifically, and with due Regard to the Idiom of Languages, ſignifies *Prime Miniſter*. This great Officer, in the Court of the Mogul, has many more Titles agreeable to the Pomp of the Eaſtern Language. He is, for Example, ſtiled; The Security of Fortune and Truſt worthy of the Empire; Chief of the Omrahs of exalted Rank; choſen among the Khans of the High Court; Manager of the Empire, and of its Riches; Director of its Fortune and Grandeur; Maſter of the Sword and Pen; Exalter of the Standard and Enſign; Vizir of true Judgment; Prop of the Empire; Supreme Manager of its Affairs; The Victorious General; The Grateful Friend, and Patron for all Vizirs.

[i] *Zen al din* ſignifies literally, *The Ornament of Religion*, and *Shâh*, which ſignifies King, is a Title frequently given to *Dirveiſhes*. This *Zen al din* was a remarkable *Santon*, who kept his Cell near that City, and was buried there, which being reckoned a ſanctified Place, *Aurengzebe* in his Will, directed that he ſhould be interred there. As this Prince was very zealous, or, at leaſt pretended to be ſo, for Mohammediſm, thoſe of that Religion make a great Merit of viſiting his Tomb, eſpecially on the 28th of the Month *Zeccadih*, which was the Day he died on.

of their Palaces while living. He thought, it ſeems, that Power and Pleaſure were incompatible, and that the former ought to be preferred to the latter: How far he was in the right I pretend not to determine; but, moſt evident it is, that he took the right Method to obtain what he choſe, and to keep it when obtained. His Government, with reſpect to his Subjects in general, was exact without Severity; for, though he improved the Revenues of the Empire, and took care that the Governors of the reſpective Provinces ſhould pay into the Imperial Treaſury the Tributes levied upon the People, yet he alſo took care that there ſhould be none of that Extortion or Oppreſſion which had been practiſed under the Reign of his Father, but allowed all his Officers competent Salaries, and puniſhed them ſeverely, if they were guilty of any Exactions.

He kept up, in the ſeveral Provinces of his Empire, an Army of regular Troops, amounting, in Horſe and Foot, to upwards of Nine hundred thouſand, who were regularly paid and well diſciplined, ſo that his Sons were in Want of Soldiers, when they came, after his Death, to diſpute the Succeſſion. In his Father's Time, the Empire conſiſted of twenty-three Provinces, the Revenues of which amounted to Twenty-ſeven Millions and a half of our Money; but, in the latter End of his Father's Time, the three Provinces of *Balkh*, *Kandahar*, and *Bidduckſhan* were loſt, which produced a Revenue of Six hundred thouſand Pounds; and yet, at his Deceaſe, he left his Dominions in a better Condition than he found them, as will appear from the following ſuccinct Table of Provinces, and their Revenues, which may be depended upon, and which will be of great Uſe in underſtanding the ſubſequent Part of this Work, as well as other Books which treat of the Mogul Empire.

The Nineteen Old Soubahs, *i. e.* Provinces.

Names.	Capitals.	Revenues in Dams.
Dehli	*Dehli*	1221950137
Agra	*Agra*	1146760157
Ajmir	*Ajmir*	652345362
Alehabad	*Alehabad*	456543248
Panjab	*Lahor*	826132107
Audih	*Audih*	322327829
Multan	*Multan*	214442936
Cabul	*Cabul*	161039354
Caſhmir	*Strinagar*	229911397
Guzerat	*Ahmedabad*	607849135
Beha	*Patna*	407161000
Scind	*Tatta*	91816810
Dowlatabad	*Aurengabad*	1034945100
Malva	*Eugene*	403901658
Bera		614025000
Khandeiſh	*Prampore*	448630000
Bedr	*Zafferabad*	372974370
Bengall	*Dacca*	524636240
Odiſſea		142820000

The Two New Soubahs.

Hyderabad	*Hyderabad*	1113360000
Vijapore	*Vijapore*	1078305000
		12071876840 or *l.* 37.724.615 02 06

12. The great Emperor, *Aurengzebe*, had no ſooner breathed his laſt, than his Sons were immediately in Motion, in order, each of them, to force his Paſſage to the Throne at the Head of an Army. His ſecond Son being on the Spot, had ſome Advantage; he aſſumed immediately all the Enſigns of the Imperial Dignity, took the Title of *Mohammed Azem Shâh*, i. e. *The glorious, or, illuſtrious Monarch*; and, at the ſame Time, by the Advice of his Miniſters, poſted Guards on the Frontiers of the Province, to prevent any Correſpondence between his elder Brother and the Grandees of the Court. He made great Preſents to the principal Miniſters and Officers in the Army, and much greater Promiſes, in which he certainly acted very wiſely. But, being naturally of a haughty Temper, he could not help ſhewing it in the Letters that he wrote to the Rajahs, in which he diſclaimed their Aſſiſtance, but threatened, at the ſame time, to puniſh, with the utmoſt Severity, ſuch as ſhould preſume to take the Field againſt him.

His elder Brother, *Mohammed Mauzm*, or, as he is commonly ſtiled, by our *European* Writers (from the Title he afterwards aſſumed) *Shâh Alum*, i. e. *King of the World*, was then in *Cabuliſtan*, the moſt diſtant Part of the Empire; but he ſoon raiſed Forces ſufficient to put him in a Condition to make good his Claim to the Empire; and that Kindneſs and Alacrity with which he received every Body, did him as much Service as his Arms. He wrote ſeveral Letters to ſuch Governors of Provinces as he ſuppoſed leaſt in his Intereſt, importing his great Regard for their Perſons, and his Deſire that they would remain neuter till the Empire was eſtabliſhed on a ſettled Foundation, and make Uſe of their Troops to protect the People in their reſpective Governments, from the Miſeries incident to a Civil War. This Advice they took very kindly, and followed it very exactly. When *Shâh Alum* had advanced as far as *Dehly*, that Capital, without any Scruple, opened her Gates to him, and he there ſeated himſelf on the Throne of his Grandfather *Shâh Jehan*.

He marched from thence towards *Agra*, and on the Banks of the River *Chun*, both Armies met. That of *Shâh Alam* conſiſted of 150,000 Horſe, and 178,000 Foot, excluſive of the Auxiliaries furniſhed by the Rajahs and Shah *Azem*, had very near the ſame Force. The Battle was fought in the Middle of the Month of *June*, with great Obſtinacy on both Sides, and laſted for near three Days; but, at length, Fortune declared in Favour of the elder Brother, and *Shâh Azem* loſt the Field, the Crown and his Life together. Some Writers tell us, that when he found himſelf ſurrounded, and heard one of his Brother's Sons calling out to take him alive, he was ſo tranſported with Rage and Deſpair, that he killed himſelf with his own Poniard, to avoid falling into the Hands of his Enemies, of whom he is ſaid to have ſlain twenty before he fell. This ſingle Battle put an End to the Diſpute, and the Conqueror entering *Agra* in Triumph, aſcended the Throne of his Father, and was immediately owned for their Emperor, by ſuch of his Brother's Miniſters and Generals as eſcaped from the Defeat[k].

13. Sultan *Mohammed Mauzm*, or *Shâh Alum*, aſſumed, on his mounting the Throne at *Agra*, the Title of *Koteb o' din Bahadr Shâh*, i. e. *The Axis of Religion, the moſt valiant Monarch*; thence he is called by our Writers ſimply *Badour Shâh*. He declared *Mohammed Khan* his Prime Miniſter, and *Zulfekar Khan* his High Treaſurer: So that under this Reign thoſe Offices were diſtinct, though under many of the Mogul Emperors they had been enjoyed by the ſame Perſon. As ſoon as every thing was ſettled, he formed a Deſign of attacking his ſurviving Brother, upon what Provocation is not very clear; but, if what ſome Writers relate of this Monarch be true, he was not the moſt tenacious Man in the World of his Word.

After that great Battle, which gave him the Empire, he is reported to have been ſo over-joyed, that he offered the Rajahs, who had aſſiſted him, whatever Proofs of Gratitude they could poſſibly deſire, and gave them his Conſent freely, to conſider what they would aſk. After conſulting among themſelves, they deſired him to grant them the free Exerciſe of their Religion, with leave to rebuild their Pagods, or Temples, to exempt them from the Capitation of Poll-Tax, which *Aurengzebe* had impoſed upon them, to admit them to Offices and Employments; and that with reſpect to Cuſtoms and Tolls, and generally in all other Points, they might be treated in the ſame Manner as *Mohammedans*, which Privileges were all granted them by *Bahadr Shâh*, but they did not enjoy them long.

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[k] This has been always a common Practice in the Mogul Empire, where, without Victory, no Cauſe is good, and with it none is ever queſtioned, but every Man ſubmits to the Conqueror, and acknowledges him for his lawful Sovereign to Day, with whom Yeſterday it would have been Treaſon to have had the leaſt Correſpondence.

His Sons and Miniſters repreſented to him with ſo much Earneſtneſs, that he would thereby deprive himſelf of his principal Revenues, that his Finances were exhauſted, that he had Occaſion for Money to maintain the War againſt his Brother, that he would make the Rajahs and Idolaters too powerful, and that they might turn their Arms againſt him: To which they added ſo many other Reaſons, that they obliged him to revoke all the Grants he had made to the Rajahs. Thoſe Princes reſenting the Violation of his Word, took Arms, not to make War upon him with their joint Forces, but to plunder and ravage the Country, as they do ſtill without any Oppoſition, about their own Territories, which are ſituated in the Mountains. In the mean time, *Bahadr Shâh*, who could not then remedy it, becauſe of the War he was engaged in, advanced into the Dominions of his Brother, with an Army of fifty thouſand Horſe, and thirty thouſand Foot.

Khambukſh, who was in the Neighbourhood of *Hyderabad*, where he drew together the greateſt Force he was able, which, however, was far from being ſuch as might enable him to take the Field. All that he could do was to ſecure himſelf behind ſome good Retrenchments; with a Handful of Troops he made a very glorious Defence, till, at laſt, over-powered by Numbers, his Army was defeated and himſelf mortally wounded, and taken Priſoner; in which Condition, however, he continued for one Day, and then expired. Thus the whole Dominions of *Aurengzebe* were united under the Power of the eldeſt of his ſurviving Sons, of whoſe Reign no farther Particulars are recorded, except that he extinguiſhed ſome religious Diſputes at *Lahor*, which, otherwiſe, were like to have excited a Rebellion. He enjoyed the Empire only ſix Years, and then died in a good old Age, univerſally regretted by his Subjects[l].

14. This Monarch no ſooner expired, than a Civil War was again kindled in the Empire, for *Jehandar Shah*, *Jehan Shah*, and *Raffeeih al Shan*, Sons to *Bahadr Shah*, having joined againſt their Brother *Azim al Shan*, defeated and killed him. His Treaſure falling into the Hands of *Zulfecar Khan*, who was in *Jehandar Shah*'s Intereſt, they marched againſt the other two Brothers, *Jehan Shah* and *Raffeeih al Shan*, and having overcome them, put them to Death. Their Deaths ſecured the Empire to *Jehandar Shah*, and *Zulfecar Khan* became his Vizir. He was a weak Prince, and ſo fooliſhly fond of one of his Wives, called *Lal Koar*, who was of an obſcure, mean Parentage, and a Singer by Profeſſion, that he endeavoured to fill the Places of the greateſt Truſt and Honours in the Empire with her baſe Relations, which ſo diſguſted *Seyd Abdallah Khan*, and *Seyd Hoſſan Khan*, two Brothers of great Authority in the Empire, and who had a Body of choice Troops, that they reſolved to place *Mohammed Furrukhſir* on the Throne.

This Prince, notwithſtanding he had but little Treaſure, got Numbers to join him. At firſt, he defeated *Eaz o' din*, *Jehandar Shah*'s Son, and afterwards *Jehandar Shah* himſelf was defeated near *Agra*, and was obliged to fly, tho' he had near 100000 Horſe and Foot.

Mohammed Furrukhſir, Son to *Azim al Shan*, being ſettled on the Throne, *Seyd Abdallah Khan* was made Vizir, with the Title of *Koteb al Mulück*, and *Jarba Vaſa*, that is, *Faithful Friend*, and *Hoſſan Ali Khan* made *Mir Bukhſhi*, or Pay-maſter-General, with the Title of *Emir al Omra*. The Emperor was only ſo in Name, for theſe two had the abſolute Management of every thing; *Furrukhſir*, at laſt, with the Advice, and at the Inſtigation of *Khandoran* and *Mir Jumla*, began to contrive Means to cut off the two Brothers. They, on the other Hand, were intent on nothing ſo much as inriching themſelves. They turned out *Mizam al Mulluck* from his Government of *Decan*, and *Hoſſan Ali Khan* went thither himſelf. At laſt, the two Brothers finding the Emperor jealous of their Power, reſolved to remove him, and put a more paſſive Prince in his ſtead. Having got *Ajeet Sang*, the *Maha Rajah*, and the Emperor's Father-in-law, to join them, they confined him, and ſhortly after they blinded him, by drawing a red-hot Wire over his Eyes; and on the 6th of *February*, 1719, offering him a thouſand Indignities and Inſults, put him to Death, after a Reign of ſeven Years. It was in this Emperor's Reign, that the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company obtained a Firman, exempting them from paying any Duties in his Dominions[m].

The *Seyds*, after having thus traiterouſly and treacherouſly deſtroyed *Furrukhſir*, took *Reffeeih al Darjat*, Son to *Raffeeih al Shan* out of the Caſtle of *Sclimgur*, where the Royal Family are confined, and placed him on the Throne. He had not reigned above three Months before they murdered him; and ſending for his Brother *Raffeeih al Dowlat*, placed him on the Throne, who, in a few Days afterwards died a natural Death, and was ſucceeded by the preſent Emperor. *Naſr o' din Mohammed Shah*, Son to *Jehan Shah*, who, being raiſed to that Dignity by the *Seyds*, *Hoſſan Ali Khan*, and *Abdalla Khan*, they kept the Power ſo much in their own Hands, that he had nothing except the Name of Emperor, which made him eagerly wiſh for an Opportunity of making himſelf independent, and revenging the Death of his Uncle's Son.

Mohammed Shah, in *October*, 1720, marched, with a numerous Army, from *Agra* towards *Decan*, accompanied by *Hoſſan Ali Khan*, and ſeveral Omrahs. When they came to halt, after the firſt Day's March, the Emperor called a Divan, from which, after a ſhort Stay, he withdrew. As ſoon as he was gone, *Khandoran*, and ſeveral others of the principal Omrahs, who were beſt affected to the Royal Family, drew their Swords, and falling upon *Hoſſan Ali Khan*, killed him, and two or three of his Friends. When this was over, the Emperor thought no more of his firſt Expedition, but marched back with his Army to *Dehly*, in order to cut off *Seyd Abdellah Khan*, the other Brother, who was in that Capital, with a great Force, and, who, hearing of his Brother's Murder, had taken out Sultan *Ibrahim*, Son to *Raffeeih Shan*, and proclaimed him Emperor, gathering together what Treaſure he could, and having broke to Pieces the famous Throne of *Shah Jehan*, which coſt eleven Millions of our Money, in order to raiſe wherewithal to pay his Soldiers. By the Help of this extraordinary Supply, he was very ſoon in a Condition to look his Enemies in the Face, and, accordingly, marched with fifty thouſand Horſe to give the Emperor Battle.

It was on the ſecond of *November*, 1720, that thoſe Armies came to a general Engagement, and, after an obſtinate and bloody Battle, *Abdallah Khan*'s Forces were defeated, and himſelf deſparately wounded, and taken Priſoner. The young Sultan, whom he had brought with him to countenance his Rebellion, being taken, had no other Puniſhment inflicted on him, but being ſent back to his old Quarters the Caſtle of *Sclimgur*.

Upon this Victory, the Emperor made great Rejoicings, and appointed *Mohammed Amin Khan* Vizir, and returned to *Dehli*. *Abdallah Khan* being brought before him, the Emperor ſaid to him, "Traitor, ſee what thou haſt " done!" To which he anſwered, "I took you out of " Priſon, and gave you an Empire. My Brother being " murdered by your Order, as I was at the Head of an " Army, Self-preſervation directed me to make Uſe of " it; Providence decreed you the Victory, uſe it as you " think proper, by treating this Clay as your Reſentment " or Intereſt may prompt you." Then the Emperor ſaid to him, "What Harm had *Furrukhſir* done to you?" To which he anſwered; "He grew jealous of mine and " my Brother's Power; and, as it was inconſiſtent with " our Intereſt to reſign it into his Hands, we thought it " dangerous to loſe any time in removing him. Had " Providence permitted us to have been ſo prudent hi" therto, we ſhould not have come to this tragical End; " but when Fate deſtines one to Ruin, it begins by blind" ing the Eyes of his Underſtanding." Then the Emperor ordered him to be confined, and four Servants allowed to attend him, and ſaid, "As for the young Sultan, he is "not to blame; ſhould he be puniſhed, it would diſtract "his poor Mother, let him remain with her."

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[l] We have not, ſince this Emperor's Reign, had any diſtinct Account in *Europe*, of what has paſt in this Empire, and therefore the Reader muſt be content with a very ſummary Relation of thoſe Matters here; and indeed theſe Reigns themſelves are ſo ſhort, that, except their Beginnings and Endings, they contain little or nothing worthy of Notice.

[m] This Firman, or Imperial Decree, is dated on the 4th of the Month *Saſtr*, in the fifth Year of the Emperor *Mohammed Furrukhſir*'s Reign, that is, on the 6th of *January*, 1716-17. It was ſollicited by Mr. *John Surman*, and an *Armenian* Merchant, on the Behalf of the *Eaſt-India* Company, to whom it is a Thing of great Conſequence, and, at the ſame time highly honourable for the *Engliſh* Nation.

In Conſequence of the great Services rendered him upon this Occaſion, the Emperor preferred all who had been active, either in killing *Hoſſan*, or in the War that followed againſt *Abdallah*. *Khandoran* was made High Treaſurer, with the Title of *Emir al Omra*, and *Sirbullind Khan*, of whom we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak at large hereafter, was ſent for from *Cabul*, and appointed one of the Vizirs. It was upon this ſingular Revolution, that the Mother of the Emperor *Mohammed Furrukhſir*, demanded that *Abdallah Khan* ſhould be delivered up to her as the Murderer of her Son; but the Emperor refuſed to comply with her Demand, telling her that his Brother had already ſuffered for that Offence, and therefore he would not ſacrifice two Lives to expiate the Loſs of one. But this was not all, for he treated his Priſoner not only with Humanity, but with moſt ſurpriſing Kindneſs, in Gratitude, as it may be preſumed, for the Reſpect formerly ſhewn him; for he ordered that *Abdallah Khan* ſhould lodge in in the Palace of *Aſof al Dowlat*, have a Penſion of three thouſand Rupees monthly, thirty houſhold Servants, ſeventy menial ones, with Proviſions of all kind from the Royal Kitchen, five Women to amuſe him, and proper Guards over him. He did not live long to enjoy this generous Allowance, dying a few Months afterwards of his Wounds. Five and forty Women, moſt of them, his Wives and Concubines, and ſome of them his near Relations, burnt themſelves in one Room the Night after he died.

One cannot but obſerve here, how ſtrangely even the wildeſt and worſt-founded Cuſtoms ſpread, and that too againſt all the Principles of Religion, Reaſon, and common Senſe. In ancient Times, none but the Wives of *Bramins*, or *Indian* Prieſts, had the Privileges of burning themſelves with their deceaſed Huſbands; but ſince the Government fell into the Hands of the *Rajapouts*, 'tis cuſtomary, when any of their Princes die, for one or more of their Wives to be burnt with him. There is no Compulſion to this Sacrifice as ſome People groundleſsly imagine, it is entirely of their own Accord, and often they are diſuaded from it; ſometimes, indeed, when a vain-glorious Paſſion prevails over natural Affection, the Widow's Relations would gladly have her burn herſelf, as it raiſes the Character of her Family, by making it remarkable for virtuous and loving Women; yet, according to their Religion, it is more meritorious to behave chaſtly and decently in their Widowhood until Death, than burning, becauſe one is but a ſhort Pain, and the other a State of Trial. The Moguls have endeavoured to diſcourage this Cuſtom as much as poſſible; but ſince Money is omnipotent in that Country, as well as in many others, a ſmall Bribe generally purchaſes the Conſent of the Governor or commanding Officer. Lately the *Seyd* and *Pattan* Families[n], in ſeveral Parts of *India*, have thro' their exceſſive Pride got into this Cuſtom, and as it is ſtrictly forbidden by their Religion (which is the *Mohammedan*) they do it privately, by ſetting an Apartment on Fire about their Ears.

In the Year 1721-2, the Emperor wrote to *Nizam al Muluck*, then at *Decan*, deſiring his Preſence at Court, and that he would appoint him Vizir; but, if he declined it, he ſhould nominate whomſoever he ſhould judge to be the moſt deſerving: To which he anſwered, "I am a *Derveiſh*, and not ambitious of ſo high a Station; I was "contented with the Province of *Malva*, when the *Seyds* "intending to diſtreſs me, I was obliged to take Arms. "By the Divine Aſſiſtance I baffled their Deſigns, and "ſecured myſelf. At laſt your Majeſty, by their Inſtigations, ſet out againſt me with a mighty Army. Here "the Almighty protected me likewiſe. In the Beginning, one of the Brothers was killed, and as you knew "me to be a faithful Servant, you laid aſide the Expedition, and returned to *Dehly*, where, being ſettled to the "Satisfaction of all People, you have now condeſcended "to diſtinguiſh me, the meaneſt of your Slaves, with "this extraordinary Mark of your Favour, which I only "decline, as knowing myſelf unequal thereto, and that "there are many about your Court, more capable and "deſirous of ſuch an Employment than I."

But though he refuſed to come to Court, he ſtill continued in Poſſeſſion of the Government of *Decan*, and tho' he acknowledged himſelf a Subject, yet he made no Remittances to Court, but appropriated the Revenues to the remaintaining of an Army, which he ſaid, was to keep in Awe the *Maharattas*, or *Ganims*, the *Sahou* Rajahs, Subjects in *Decan*, whom notwithſtanding he permitted to plunder and lay waſte ſeveral of the Emperor's Provinces. They impoſed a Tribute of one Quarter-part of the Revenues which they call *Chot*, in many Places, and ſome Parts they have taken entirely to themſelves. He well knew, that with the *Maharattas* Aſſiſtance, he could defy any Attempts that could be made againſt him from Court. The Character of this Man is truly ſingular, and deſerves to be both written and read with Circumſpection; he had not only great Power, but a very comprehenſive Genius, and was not ſo much diſtinguiſhed by his Situation in the World, as by his great Merit and wonderful Capacity; but the Reader is to obſerve, that *Decan* is to *Dehli* or *Agra*, what the moſt diſtant Part of *Wales* or *Scotland* is to *London*, and ſuch as paſs'd the beſt Part of their Time there, are not the fitteſt to be made Dancing-Maſters when they come to Court. Our Governor had a good Head, but ſpoke it ſeems in a Country Tone, could execute the Functions of a Stateſman or a General, but would perhaps have made a bad Figure, if obliged to open a Ball. In Compliment to his Power, he was with much ado forced up to Court, when the Emperor's Affairs were in a very declining Way, and he was preferred to the firſt Place in the Government. All this, however, was meer Shew; for behind his Back, the Courtiers made a Jeſt of him, and could ſcarce forbear affronting him to his Face. He acted at firſt as became a Man of Honour; he took an Opportunity to lay before the Emperor a true State of his Affairs, and the Neceſſity of his making a thorough Change in his Adminiſtration, if he meant to enjoy the Fortune, as well as the Throne of *Aurengzebe*.

The Emperor told his Favourites of this, who made a Jeſt of this Stateſman's old faſhioned Notions, and redoubled their Impertinences, as to his clowniſh Behaviour, which piqued him at laſt to that Degree, as to make him reſolve upon ſacrificing ſuch a Neſt of Fools and Knaves, without conſidering that his Sovereign muſt be ſacrificed with them. He firſt propoſed his Scheme to the Vizir, their Families being allied; but he rejected it on this honeſt Principle, that the Publick ought not to be given up to gratify private Prejudices. *Nizam al Muluck*, however, found enough to join with him in his Scheme, for a wanton Court will never fail of raiſing a Multitude of Malecontents, and ſuch is the Nature of Men, that the far greater Part of them employ their Reaſon only to gratify their Reſentments. Such therefore as fell in with the Schemes of this diſguſted Stateſman, reſolved to call in *Nadir Shah*, ſo well known in *Europe* by the Name of *Thamas Kouli-Khan*, in order to rouze the Court, or in plain *Engliſh*, to rid themſelves of a weak and corrupt Miniſtry, as vain and inſolent in their Abuſe of Power, as they were incapable of managing it for the Honour of their Prince, or the Benefit of his Subjects. Thus this great Empire was betrayed, and expoſed to numberleſs Miſchiefs, purely to gratify the Reſentments of a few, who, to revenge their own Wrongs, cared not what they brought upon their Country.

It muſt be allowed, however, that they choſe a fit Time, and a fit Perſon, for executing their wicked Purpoſe,

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[n] I ſhall take this Opportunity of obſerving, that the ſame People mentioned in ancient Writers by the Name of *Pattans*, are now called *Afghans* and all the Northern Parts of *India*, but more eſpecially ſuch as are mountainous, are inhabited by Tribes of theſe People. They are not originally *Indians*, but are deſcended from the *Mohammedans*, that began to eſtabliſh themſelves in theſe Countries from *Arabia* and *Egypt*. They are a bold, brave, hardy, patient, and active People; and it was they that, under the Command of *Mir Vaez*, or, as we commonly, tho' very corruptly, call him *Meriweis* and his Son, made themſelves in a manner Maſters of *Perſia*, out of which they were driven in the Beginning of his Glory by *Thamas Kouli Khan*, to whom, however, they gave a great deal of Trouble afterwards in the Province of *Kandahar*.

poſe, which they accompliſh'd to the utmoſt. *Nadir Shab*, having fully eſtabliſhed himſelf, and ſettled his Affairs in *Perſia*, he left his Son *Reza Kuli Miza* to command there, and ſet out with his Army towards *Kandahar*. *Hoſſein-Khan*, the Governor thereof, having laid up great Stores of Proviſions and Ammunition, held out for eighteen Months; at laſt being reduced to Straits, he ſallied out with his Men, moſt of whom died bravely fighting, *Hoſſein-Khan* and his Son being taken Priſoners, the *Perſians* entered the Caſtle, and took Poſſeſſion thereof. While *Nadir Shab* was buſy in ſecuring and fortifying *Kandahar*, and bringing over to him the *Zemidars* [*] of thoſe Parts, Letters came from *Nizam al Muluck*, and *Saadit-Khan*, inviting him to march towards *Indoſtan*. In anſwer to which, he objected the Difficulties of getting thro' the Defiles, paſſing the great Rivers, and the many Encounters he muſt expect to have with the *Afghans*, and the warlike Nations of thoſe Parts. The Oppoſition he muſt expect from *Nadir-Khan*, *Soubahdar* of *Cabul*, and *Zekaria-Khan*, Ruler of *Lahor*; and laſt of all, his Fate to depend on his Succeſs againſt a powerful Imperial Army. They ſoon ſatisfied him how unneceſſary his Fears were, and that before he croſſed the *Attock*, he ſhould have a Proof how able they were, and how much inclined to facilitate his Paſſage. Being encouraged by thoſe Repreſentations, he ſet out with an Army of 125,000 Horſe, *Kuzzlebaſh*, *Georgians*, *Turks*, *Khoraſanians*, *Balkhis*, &c. all inured to Fatigues and Hardſhips; they were well provided for this Expedition, and greatly encouraged thereto by the Hopes he gave them of not only enriching themſelves, but of bringing Wealth and Glory to their impoveriſhed Country, by the Plunder of *India*. In the mean Time, *Nizam al Muluck* and *Saadit-Khan* uſed all their Endeavours ſecretly to promote his Intereſt, and wrote to *Sherzith-Khan*, Governor of the Caſtle of *Cabul*, and *Maar-Khan*, *Soubahdar* of that Province, as alſo to *Zakaria-Khan*, Ruler of the Province of *Lahor*, to this Purport; “ *Nadir Shah*, being throughly informed of “ the State of Affairs in *India*, and that his Imperial Ma- “ jeſty and favourite Courtiers employ their Time in Wine “ and Women, has come to a Reſolution to ſtrike a “ Blow at this Empire. You well know, that none of “ the great Ones here are fit to take the Field, much leſs “ to reſiſt a Man who is conducted by Fortune. As this “ is the Caſe, you can have little Hopes of Aſſiſtance “ from hence; the beſt you can do, will be to behave diſcreet- “ ly and ſave yourſelves.” Theſe Letters cooled them pretty much, and had the deſired Effect with *Nadir-Khan* and *Zekaria-Khan*. *Nadir Shah* having ſubdued *Ghorbund* and *Ghoznavi*, and garriſoned them with his own People, came to *Cabul* and beſieged it. *Nain-Khan* had left it, and marched to *Peiſhor*, but *Sherzib-Khan* defended both the City and Caſtle for ſix Weeks, with the utmoſt Bravery, and wrote repeatedly to *Nadir-Khan*, and to Court, for Aſſiſtance; but none coming, both City and Caſtle were at laſt taken by Storm, and he and his Son were put to Death.

Nadir Shah found Treaſure, Jewels, Arms, *&c.* to a great Value, which, ſince the Great Mogul *Babar*'s Time, had been ſhut up in Vaults. When the taking of *Cabul* was known at Court, the Emperor gave Orders to get his Troops in Readineſs, and provide all things neceſſary for taking the Field. As Rajah *Jeſſing* was more attached to *Khandoran* than to any of the other Omrahs, he repeatedly wrote to him to this Purport: “ *Nadir Shah*'s coming is “ a concerted thing, you muſt be watchful over the Mo- “ gul Omrahs, who ſeem to be united in order to compaſs “ ſome treacherous Deſign *Nadir-Khan* and *Sherzib-Khan* “ are gone; one has ſacrificed his Life to his Intereſt, and “ the other has fled to *Peiſhor*. If *Zekaraia-Khan*, Ruler of “ *Lahor*, makes any Oppoſition, it will give the Empe- “ ror's Army Time to advance pretty far, in order to check “ this Invader; as for us *Rajapouts*, we are ready to join “ the Royal Enſigns.” *Khandoran* knowing him to be well affected, repreſented this to the Emperor, and told him, it would be very imprudent in him to leave the Capital, and take the Field; however, it was at laſt agreed, that the Army ſhould march to *Lahor*, that the Emperor ſhould accompany it ſo far, and that from thence it ſhould proceed towards *Cabul*, under the Command of *Nizan al Muluck*, and the other two Omrahs; for which Purpoſe the *Peiſhkhana* was ordered out to the Gardens of *Shalimar*; but after it was ſent thither, to every body's Surprize, *Khandoran* came back to the Palace, and delayed the March, whereas *Nizam* ſeemed to be for haſtening it all in his Power.

The Emperor's Servants, as they knew *Khandoran* [p] to be attached to their Maſter, contrived all the Impediments they could think of; ſo that *Nadir Shah* had not only Time to ſecure *Cabul*, but was far advanced in his March to *Peiſhor*, where the *Afghans* and Mountaineers very much incommoded him, and kept him in Play for ſeven Weeks; in which Time he had a great many Men wounded and killed, ſeeing there was no way for forcing the Paſſes without much Blood-ſhed, and that the *Afghans* had fortified themſelves on the Tops of the Hills, he ſent them Officers of Accommodation, to which they came into the more readily, as the *Soubahdars* had ſent no Aſſiſtance, and that they had been four or five Years without receiving any of their uſual Allowance from Court. Upon *Nadir Shah*'s paying them a certain Sum of Money, they not only let him paſs unmoleſted, but ſeveral of them liſted in his Army; the other *Afghans* hearing of this, followed their Example; ſo leaving the main Army behind, with ten thouſand choſen Horſe, *Kuzzlebaſh*, in ſeven Days he got to *Peiſhor*. *Nadir Khan*, who with ſeven thouſand Horſe had encamped without the City, not imagining he could get through the Paſſes ſo ſoon, upon hearing of his Approach with ſo large a Body of Horſe, was greatly perplexed, ſeveral of his Auxiliaries left him, and few beſides the King's Men ſtood by him, who, after a brave Reſiſtance, were defeated, and *Nadir-Khan* taken Priſoner. Some *Afghans*, who waiting the Event, were poſted on the Hills, ſeeing *Nadir Shah* prevail, came and offered him their Service; after this Victory he entered *Peiſhor*, and took Poſſeſſion thereof.

When the News of this Defeat came to the Court, *Nizan al Muluk*, *Khandoran*, *Zammir ô din Khan*, and the other Omrahs, according to the King's Orders, on the ſecond of *January* 1738-9, marched out with a numerous Army, a large Train of Artillery, and other Neceſſaries, in order to oppoſe this Conqueror, and halted at the Gardens of *Shalimar*. *Nizam*, who was the Contriver of this Storm, endeavoured all he could to prepoſſeſs the Minds of the Soldiers with a Terror of *Nadir-Shah*'s Forces, and how vain it was to reſiſt him, and at the ſame time amuſed them, to divert their going too far forward; but the King iſſued out Orders, that *Nizam*, and the other Omrahs, ſhould advance with all Expedition, himſelf intending to follow ſoon after them. *Nizam al Muluck*, and the reſt, according to theſe Orders, marched on, and encamped in the Plains of *Karnal*, which is fifty-five Coſs diſtant from *Dehli*. The Emperor alſo ſet out the 18th of *January* 1738-9, and on the 4th of *February* joined them. *Nadir Shah* having thrown a good Garriſon into *Peiſhor*, paſſed the River *Attok*, and marched on directly towards *Lahor*, the Governor of which had fortified the Place with great Diligence, and ſeemed diſpoſed to defend it to the laſt Extremity; but as he was in the Secret of Affairs, upon the Approach of the *Perſian* Army, he abandoned the Town, and retired into the Caſtle, which he held out no more than three Days.

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[*] It will be neceſſary to explain this Word, and in order to make the Reader perfectly comprehend it, we muſt obſerve, That *Dar* ſignifies as Poſſeſſor, that is to ſay, one who holds, or enjoys any thing. *Zemin* ſignifies Land, and *Zemidar* is one who poſſeſſes Land, that is, a Rajah, or little *Indian* Prince, who pays ſome Acknowledgment to the Emperor, but who is notwithſtanding the free Lord of his Inheritance. In the ſame Manner the Word *Manſubdar* is compounded from *Manſub*, a Poſt or Office, and conſequently he who poſſeſſes it is a *Manſubdar*. If, inſtead of a Salary, he has Lands aſſigned him, thoſe Lands are called *Jaguir*, and from thence the Officer is ſtiled *Jaguirdar*. The *Zimedar* and *Jaguidar* both poſſeſs Lands, but by very different Titles; for the former is a Freeholder, and the latter a Tenant at Will, by the Grant of the Emperor.

[p] This Miniſter was ſincerely attached to his Maſter, but had a very odd Scheme of Politicks, for he thought that the moſt precarious Peace was preferable to War, and therefore he was always for Negotiations and Expedients, rather than having Recourſe to Arms; by which he ſunk his Maſter's Credit, and, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, drew on his own Ruin and Death.

It was natural to expect, that *Mohammed Shah* ſhould ſome way or other be acquainted with the Motives that had induced this Invaſion of his Dominions, and accordingly *Nadir Shah* wrote him a Letter, dated in the middle of *Auguſt*, in which he tells him, that he came out of pure Friendſhip, having heard that a Handful of barbarous People had preſumed to harraſs ſeveral of the Provinces of his Empire, and to lay his Subjects under Contribution, which were things unworthy of ſo great a Monarch to bear, and from which he was come with an Army to reſcue and relieve him. The Emperor, however, took up Arms, and ſeemed determined to meet him in the Field; but the Diſputes and Heart-burnings among his Miniſters continued. As for *Khandoran*, he was ſincerely in his Intereſt, though miſtaken in his Politicks; and now he ſaw that the Empire was to be ſaved by fighting, he did his utmoſt towards carrying on the War; but the Misfortune was, that the Emperor confided moſt in *Mizam al Muluck*, as indeed he was the beſt Officer in his Service; but it cannot be ſuppoſed, that he, who had been the Author of the War, and had drawn *Nadir Shah* into his Maſter's Dominions, ſhould be forward to oppoſe him; yet he marched with the reſt, and on the fourteenth of *February* an Engagement enſued, wherein the Mogul's Army was defeated, and *Khandoran* mortally wounded. This Action, however, was far from being deciſive, though the Mogul loſt ſeveral of his beſt Officers, and a great many Men. On the Side of *Nadir Shah*, ſeven principal Officers, and two thouſand five hundred Men were killed, and about five thouſand wounded. The Mogul's Troops, on their Return into their Camp, fell into great Confuſion, and plundered the Tents of ſuch Officers as were either killed, or taken Priſoners, which obliged the Emperor to go in Perſon to that Part of the Camp where the Forces, under the Command of *Nizam al Muluck* were poſted, in order to put things into a better Condition, by reducing the Soldiers to their Duty. It was with the ſame View, that the Emperor, with that Officer the Vizir, and other Omrahs, went without the Mourchas or Retrenchments, and drew up their Men in a Line of Battle, with a Deſign to put a ſtop to the Enemy's advancing any farther; but had not the Night come on, theſe Precautions would have ſtood them in little ſtead, and that Day would have put an End to the whole Affair. About an Hour after Sun-ſet the Emperor returned back to his Tent; ſeveral of thoſe who eſcaped out of the Field, as alſo thoſe who attended the Baggage and Carriages, fled towards *Dehli*, a great many of whom were plundered and killed by the way. The Camp in ſome Places was very thin of Men, inſomuch, that when at Midnight the Emperor ſent for *Nizam al Muluck*, the Space from his Mourcha to the Emperor's Tent, which is about three Quarters of a Coſs, was found intirely empty. *Nizam al Muluck*, *Sirbullind-Khan*, *Kummir ô din Khan*, and all the other Omrahs that were left, ſtaid with the Emperor in deep Conſultation until near the Morning, when each returned to his own Quarters.

On the 16th, finding the Camp thin, and being apprehenſive of the *Kuzzlebaſh*'s attacking them, they contracted the Circuit thereof, and their Mourchas into the Compaſs requiſite to contain the Number of Troops they had left, which was the Space between the Emperor's Tent and *Nizam*'s Mourcha, and there they ſtood under Arms the whole Day, every Minute expecting the Enemy's Approach. Towards the Evening a ſmall Tent was pitched for the Emperor, and all the Troops were diſpoſed of to their reſpective Poſts, where they continued under Arms the whole Night, and their Horſes ſaddled, without either Hay or Corn. The next Day was paſt in great Fear and Apprehenſion, for the Emperor ſaw plainly his Soldiers were very much diſpirited, and his Miniſters and Generals in a manner at their Wits End, ſo that they were as little fit to adviſe him, as he was to act without their Advice. On the 17th of *February*, *Niſum al Muluck*, with *Azim Allah Khan*, and ſeveral Horſemen, went out and pitched a ſmall Tent betwixt the two Camps, to which *Nadir Shah*'s *Aitmauld al Dowlet*, or Vizir *Kaſſum Beg-Khan* came, and from thence conducted him to his Maſter, who embraced him ſitting, and made him ſtand honourably cloſe by himſelf; he gave him a Cup of Sherbet, and made him eat at the Vizir's Houſe; after which it was agreed, that *Mohammed Shah* ſhould come and ſtay with *Nadir Shah*. This Conference laſted about ſix Hours, and was immediately followed by two very remarkable Events; the firſt was a kind of Ceſſation of Arms, which was ſo much the more neceſſary, that the Emperor might be under no Apprehenſions, and that he might be the better able to bring his Troops into good Order, who hitherto had been in a great deal of Confuſion; the next was, that *Nizam al Muluck* was declared High Treaſurer, and *Emir al Omrah*, that is, prime Miniſter, ſo that with reſpect to him, the End of the War was intirely accompliſhed. All the Miniſters who oppoſed him were driven from Court, and he was not only veſted with the Title, but was in Fact at the Head of the Emperor's Counſels, and had the whole Power of the Empire in his Hands[q].

It is from this Time therefore, that we are to date his real Concern for the Peace of his Country, which having firſt accompliſhed, his own Views he now laboured to promote. About this Time *Khandoran*, his old Antagoniſt, died of the Wounds he had received in the Battle, and was buried with more Privacy than ſeemed conſiſtent with the great Offices he had held, and the high Favour in which he had ſtood with his Maſter. It is not eaſy to conceive by what Arguments *Mohammed Shah* was prevailed upon to quit his own Camp, and truſt himſelf in that of his Enemy; but it ſeems he was now intirely guided by his new Miniſter, who very probably told him, that in his preſent Circumſtances he hazarded little by taking that ſtep, ſince it was in the Power of the *Perſian* Monarch to force him to accept what Terms he pleaſed, and that therefore it was better to do with good Grace a thing he might otherwiſe be compelled to do, whether he would or not. But, however it was, this is certain, that on the 19th of *February*, in the Morning, the Emperor ſitting in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy over it, followed by a lead Horſe, and a Drum, and attended only by a few of his faithful Servants, and an Eſcort of about two hundred Horſe, marched out of the Camp, and when he had gone a good way by a Sign, he forbad the Horſemen to accompany him any farther; then with his Eunuchs, and the aboveſaid Omrahs, each of whom had not above two or three Servants to attend him, he went on to *Nadir Shah*'s Camp.

When he had advanced about half way, one of *Nadir Shah*'s Miniſters came to meet him, and paid him the uſual Honours. He likewiſe aſſured him, that his Maſter waited for him with much Impatience, that due Care would be taken to make this Interview as eaſy and as agreeable to him as poſſible, and that he had no Reaſon to apprehend any Danger, or the leaſt Failure in point of Decorum or Complaiſance. All this was certainly requiſite to keep up the Spirits of a Monarch in ſuch a Situation, and under ſo many Difficulties. He continued his March therefore, and as he drew near *Nadir Shah*'s Tent, he received another and more welcome Meſſage; for there *Neſr Allah Mirza*, *Nadir Shah*'s Son, who came in a Royal Litter, having alighted, paid his Reſpects, according to the Form of his Country. The Emperor ordering his own Litter to be ſet down, embraced *Neſr Allah Mirza*; after which they both marched on until they came as far as the Train of Ordnance: Here all the Attendants were obliged to ſtay behind, only the Emperor with two or three Eunuchs, and the Omrahs abovementioned, were allowed to paſs. When they came to the Door of the Royal Tent, and the Emperor was alighted, *Nadir Shah* came forth to receive him; having embraced him, he ſeated him cloſe by himſelf on the ſame Muſnidd [r]. After the accuſtomary Forms of Salutation, and the Enquiry after each others Health were over, *Nadir Shah* addreſſed him thus: “ It is ſtrange that you ſhould be ſo unconcerned, and regardleſs of your own Affairs, that notwithſtanding I wrote you ſeveral Letters, ſent an Ambaſſador, and teſtified a Friendſhip for you, your Miniſters ſhould not think proper to ſend me a ſatiſfactory Anſwer, and by reaſon of your want of Command and Diſcipline over your own People, one of my Ambaſſadors, contrary to all Laws, has been killed in your Dominions. Even when I entered your Empire, you ſeemed under no Concern about your Affairs, nor ſo much as ſent to aſk who I was, or what was my Deſign. When I advanced as far as *Lahor*, none of your People came with a Meſſage or Salutation, nay, not with an Anſwer to my Salutation to you. Afterwards, when your Omrahs were awakened out of their Lethargy and Indolence, they prevented all Means of a Reconciliation, and coming tumultuouſly with an Intent to ſtop my farther Progreſs, they brought themſelves into one general Snare, without having the Foreſight to leave any behind, who, upon an Emergency, could make Head and retrieve their Affairs. Beſides this, you have fooliſhly cooped yourſelves up in your Murchas, as not conſidering, that if your Enemy was ſtronger, you could not remain within thoſe Barricadoes, without either Water or Grain; and if he was weaker, it was both unneceſſary and diſgraceful, to ſuffer yourſelves to be beſieged by him. Beſides, if you thought lightly of him, and imagined him a raſh inconſiderate Man, without expoſing your own Perſon and Reputation ſo much, you ought to have detached a faithful and experienced Officer, who, in a little Time, might have found Means to diſtreſs and cut him off; but if you dreaded his Experience and Conduct, you had ſtill the leſs Reaſon (after provoking him thus far) to venture your all at one Blow. Even when you had thus entangled yourſelf, I ſent you Offers of an Accommodation, but you was ſo puffed up with your own childiſh Conceits, and fooliſh Reſolutions, that you would not give ear to any honourable Overtures, or conſult your own Intereſt, until at laſt, by the Aſſiſtance of the Creator of the World, and the Strength of the Arms of the victorious Warriors, you have ſeen what has happened. Moreover, your Predeceſſors were wont to take *Jeſiah*, or Poll-Tax from the Infidels, and you in your Reign have given it to them; having for theſe twenty Years ſuffered the Empire to be over-run by them; but as hitherto the Race of *Timur* have not injured, or miſbehaved towards the *Seffi* Family, and the People of *Perſia*. I ſhall not take the Empire from you, only as your Indolence and Pride have obliged me to march ſo far, and that I have been put to an extraordinary Expence, and my Men, on account of the long Marches, are much fatigued, and in want of Neceſſaries, I muſt go to *Dehly*, and there continue ſome Days, until the Army is refreſhed, and the *Peiſhcuſh* that *Nizam al Muluck* has agreed to, is made good to me: After that, I ſhall leave you to look after your own Affairs.” *Mohammed-Shah* gave no Anſwer during the whole Speech, but continued in a fixed Silence, which teſtified a good deal of Confuſion and Shame.

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[q] We are indebted for this very exact and no leſs curious Account of this extraordinary Tranſaction, to Mr. *James Fraser*, whom I have beforementioned, and I have inſerted it here, in order to render this Hiſtory of the Mogul Empire as compleat as poſſible. The Reader will perceive, that at this Juncture there was a kind of Suſpenſion of the Emperor's Power, and all was at the Mercy of a Stranger. It may ſeem ſtrange, that *Nadir Shah* ſhould let ſlip this Opportunity of making himſelf Maſter of *Indoſtan*; but when it is conſidered, that the Power of the *Perſian* was chiefly owing to the Weakneſs and ill Conduct of *Mohammed Shah*, it will appear great Wiſdom and conſummate Policy in the Conqueror, to act as he did: For, if he had cut off the Mogul Emperor, his Subjects might have become deſperate, and *Nadir Shah*'s Army was ſo ſmall, and ſo far advanced into this Country, that he might have been ruined in his Retreat, if he had not acted as he did.

There were only three of his Miniſters preſent at this Conference, and the Emperor having remained ſome Hours in *Nadir Shah*'s Quarters, returned in the Evening to his own Camp. He continued there three or four Days, without well knowing what Iſſue things would come to. On the 23d, *Nizam* was ſent for to the *Perſian* Camp, where he was kept, and about Eight the ſame Night, the Vizir received a Firman from *Nadir Shah*, to this Import; “ *Kummir ô din Khan Vizir*, Know, that To-morrow, *Mohammed-Shah*, *Sirbullind-Khan*, *Mohammed-Khan Bungush*, and *Azim Allah-Khan*, ſhall come into the Preſence; therefore look well to your People, that they be not diſperſed, or ſtraggle abroad; when you have ſecured that Point, come you hither alſo.” When the Emperor was apprized of this, he ſent for *Sirbullind-Khan*, and all the other Omrahs, with whom he held Council until Midnight. At laſt the Emperor declared, that Affairs were now gone beyond his Power, and that he muſt do one of theſe three things; To-morrow to march out and make one deſperate Puſh, to determine his Fortune at once, or put an End to all things and Miſery by a Doſe of Poiſon, or elſe ſubmit peaceably to what Terms might be impoſed. The Emperor's Inclination, though he did not then declare it, was for the laſt of theſe. On the 24th, *Sirbullind-Khan*, *Mohammed-Khan*, &c. were ready, each with his own Men, that in caſe the Emperor ſhould make a Puſh, they might not be unprepared, and if on ſubmitting, he ſhould go to *Nadir*, and bid them come, they ſhould follow his Fate. At Night arrived a Note from *Nadir Shah*, to this Effect; “ *Sirbullind-Khan*, be of good Cheer, perfectly compoſed, get yourſelf hither, before *Mohammed-Shah* ſets out.”

On the 25th, *Sirbullind-Khan* having obtained Leave, marched towards *Nadir-Shah*'s Camp, and according to an Order, leaving his Men and Baggage on the Right-hand thereof, he with *Khan*, *Zad-Khan*, three Horſemen, and four or five Servants, entered the Camp, and pitched a ſmall Tent for himſelf, near the *Bargah*, cloſe by *Saadit-Khan*'s Quarters. About 9 o'Clock that Morning, *Mohammed-Shah*, according to an Order, being ſeated in a royal Litter, with a Canopy and Umbrella, ſet out for *Nadir-Shah*'s Camp, attended only by *Emir-Khan*, *Iſhak-Khan*, and ſome Eunuchs. On his Arrival, he alighted at a Tent which had been pitched the Day before, by *Nadir-Shah*'s Order, for that Purpoſe, in the Front of the Camp, where he was allowed to have as many of his Domeſticks of all Sorts as were neceſſary, and 1000 *Kuzzlebaſh* Horſemen were detached as Guards round him. About Eight o'Clock in the Evening, *Mohammed* being called, went to wait on *Nadir-Shah*. After three Hours ſtay, he returned to the Camp, and there was an Order, that none of the Omrahs ſhould be allowed to go to ſee him. In this uncomfortable Situation he paſſed all that Afternoon, and the ſucceeding Night. The next Day, all the Ordnance, and the Emperor's Baggage, were ſeized for the Uſe of the Conqueror, who ſelected out of the former two hundred Pieces of Cannon, and ſent them away; after which, out of the Treaſure he had taken, he rewarded his Army with three Months Pay by way of Gratuity, and took Care that it ſhould be diſtributed to every Man in the ſame Proportion as his Pay [s].

On the 1ſt of *March*, *Nadir-Shah* began to move towards the City of *Dehly*, having *Mohammed-Shah* in his Hands, guarded by ten thouſand Horſe. On the 8th of the ſame Month, the Emperor entered the Caſtle of that Capital, under a Guard of four thouſand Horſe, before it was light, and the ſame Morning *Nadir-Shah* alſo made his Publick Entry into the City, at the Head of 20,000 Horſe, and proceeding thro' it to the Caſtle, was there received by *Mohammed-Shah*, who entertained him at Breakfaſt. They ſpent the whole Day together, and *Nadir-Shah* did not retire till towards Evening, behaving all the Time towards him with much Civility and ſeeming Affection. The *Shah* likewiſe, at his Requeſt, iſſued out a Proclamation, forbidding, on very ſevere Penalties, any of his Soldiers from inſulting the Inhabitants, at the ſame Time ſtrictly enjoining the proper Officers to ſee this Proclamation duly executed, and to ſpare no Severities requiſite for that Purpoſe in puniſhing the Offenders; which Proclamation had ſuch an Effect, that very exact Diſcipline was maintained, and none of the Mogul's People ſuffered any Injury.

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[r] The *Muſnidd* is a Part of the *Divan*, which is raiſed higher than the reſt, and is large enough for two or three People to ſit upon. It is covered with a fine Carpet, and over that there lies a Quilt of fine Linnen. The placing the Emperor here, was a very high Mark of Reſpect, and treating him as an equal, ſince this was a Place to which none of *Nadir-Shah*'s Miniſters were ever admitted.

[s] This was a thing conſtantly practiſed by the *Perſian* Conqueror, on his becoming Maſter of any great City. He did the ſame thing after the taking of *Kandahar*, where he found immenſe Riches, and he did much more, when he became Maſter of the whole Wealth of this Empire, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. It was by theſe Acts of Generoſity, that he kept his Army ſo perfectly attached to him; from the Conſideration, that in ſerving him, they ſerved themſelves, and that he was not more their Monarch than their Benefactor.

On the 10th, an Order was ſent to open the Magazines in the Corn-Market, and to ſee that Commodity ſold at a reaſonable Rate, which was abſolutely neceſſary, as things were then circumſtanced. A Mob, however, was raiſed upon this Occaſion, and thoſe who would not fight for their Country, took up Arms rather than part with their Corn at a fair Price. In ſhort, the *Perſian* Officers were kill'd, as alſo a good Number of their Men, and in a few Hours Time the whole City was in Confuſion. About Eight the next Morning, *Nadir-Shah* mounted on Horſeback, in order to quell the Tumult, and in his Paſſage through the Streets, ſeeing Abundance of his own Soldiers dead Bodies lying about, he was extreamly provoked, yet he moderated his Paſſion ſo much, as to give very juſt and favourable Orders, though at the ſame Time he detached a ſtrong Body of Horſe and Foot to reduce the People that were in Arms to Reaſon. There were ſome very dirty Circumſtances in this Affair, which it is neceſſary ſhould be explained. Some of the Mogul's Miniſters had promiſed *Nadir-Shah* a Preſent of a Crore of *Rupees*, that is, a Million and a Quarter of our Money, on his coming to *Dehly*, which however they did not raiſe, but privately excited this Tumult, by giving out, that *Nadir-Shah* was killed in his Quarters, and other ſuch like Stories, calculated for the Underſtanding of a Mob, and keeping up their Fury. The Troops that were detached to reduce them, had ſtrict Orders not to proceed to Extremities, till fair Means were found ineffectual, and even then, they were ordered to be very careful in diſtinguiſhing between the Innocent and the Guilty, by firing on none but thoſe that were in Arms, and ſuffering ſuch as remained quiet in their Houſes to reſide there undiſturbed. But as Mobs are apt to miſtake Mildneſs for Fear, and gentle Perſuaſions for a Dread of their Force, ſo the People of *Dehly*, inſtead of diſperſing, aſſembled in Crowds upon their Terraſſes, and from thence they furiouſly began to throw Stones, and either from one of theſe Terraſſes, or a Window thereabouts, a Muſket was deſignedly ſhot at *Nadir-Shah*, which miſſing him, killed one of his Officers who ſtood next him. This made him give way to his Paſſion, and to order a general Slaughter to be commenced from that very Place; the Soldiers in an Inſtant getting upon the Walls and Terraſſes, began to plunder and kill.

This bloody Scene extended from the *Sarafa Ardui*, which is before the Caſtle, to the old *Eidgah*, which is three *Coſs* Diſtance, on one Side as far *Jittli* Tomb, and on the other as far as the Tobacco *Mandavi*, and *Poul Meetai*, the whole Streets of the *Bazar*, and the Alleys and Wards on all Sides the *Khanums Bazar*, and round about the *Jamih Misjidd*, and the Cotton and Jewellers *Bazars*, were all plundered; ſeveral Places were ſet on Fire, and whomſoever they found in the Wards and Houſes, Streets, Alleys and Shops, great and ſmall, Men and Women, they put to the Sword, even the brute Creatures did not eſcape their Fury; ſeveral Women were made Priſoners. *Loutf Ali Khan*, the Officer who was appointed to ſlaughter and plunder, towards the Square of *Saad Allah Khan*, and *Dehly* Gate, when he came as far as *Sirbullind-Khan*'s Houſe, he, in a great Surprize and Fright, came out to meet the ſaid Officer, and repreſenting to him, that the People of that Quarter were not to blame, he made him deſiſt, and ſtop his Men, on promiſing they ſhould pay a Sum of Money; but in other Places the Slaughter, Plundering and Burning went on, in a moſt barbarous Manner. *Nadir-Shah*, after he had given the Orders, returned back to the Caſtle. About Two o'Clock *Mohammed-Shah*, and *Nizam al Muluck* waited on him, who having made great Interceſſion for the City, the Soldiers were ordered to deſiſt, and it was proclaimed by Beat of Drum, that none of the Inhabitants ſhould be any longer moleſted. The Slaughter continued from Eight in the Morning till Three in the Afternoon; above 400 *Kuzzlebaſh* were killed, and of the Citizens, great and ſmall, 120,000 were ſlaughtered, others computed them 150,000; what Treaſure and Effects were plundered, ſome *Nadir-Shah* had, and a great deal was deſtroyed by the Fire.

In ſeveral of the *Hindu*[1] Houſes, where one of a Family ſurvived, he uſed to pile thirty or forty Carcaſſes a-top of one another, and burn them, and ſo they did in the Streets; notwithſtanding which, there ſtill remained ſo many, that for a conſiderable Time there was no ſuch thing as paſſing any of the narrow Lanes. When the Slaughter began, thoſe who raiſed the Commotion diſappeared in an Inſtant, and left the innocent Shopkeepers, *Bazaris*, and many honeſt Families, to be butchered by the enraged *Kuzzlebaſh*. Several, jealous of their Honour, not only killed their Women, but laid violent Hands upon themſelves. One of theſe unfortunate Wretches in particular, when the Soldiers came near his Houſe, burned about twenty Women of his Family, and was in Expectation of their entering every Minute, and killing him; by Chance they miſſed that Houſe, but he was ſo infatuated, that finding himſelf diſappointed, he went out, and bringing ſome of them back, ſhewed them the Way to his own Houſe, telling them, there was a good deal of Money and Effects therein. After they had plundered the Houſe, they went their Way without killing him, which ſo enraged him, that he diſpatched himſelf. There were great Numbers of People, eſpecially Women and Children, burnt in their Houſes. The very next Day, the Priſoners, and eſpecially the Women, were, by *Nadir-Shah*'s Order, conducted back to their own Houſes, to the Number of fifty thouſand. About ten thouſand Women, in the midſt of the Confuſion, had thrown themſelves into Wells, of whom there were many taken out alive, two or three Days after.

On the Thirteenth, *Nadir-Shah* having an Account that a Detachment of his Troops that had been ſent to ſeize the Cannon at the *Serai* of *Rouh Allah Khan*, had been cut off by the People, a ſtrong Body was ſent thither to puniſh that Offence, which they did by cutting to Pieces five or ſix thouſand of them, and bringing in three hundred of the principal Perſons Priſoners, who had their Heads ſtruck off. The ſame Day Proclamation was made that every Man ſhould retire to his Houſe and Employment, without Fear of the Soldiers. Two Days after, as the great Number of dead Bodies that lay about the Caſtle, and in the *Bazars*, and other Places, cauſed a very offenſive Stench, they preſſed moſt of the People they met with in the Streets, and employed them in removing the Bodies; ſome, by tying Cords to the Feet, they dragged without the City; ſome they threw into the River, and thoſe whom they imagined to be *Hindus*, they piled forty or fifty of their Bodies a-top of each other and burnt them, with the Timber of the demoliſhed Buildings.

On the Sixteenth, a *Firman*, to exempt the Dominions of *Perſia* from Taxes for three Years, was drawn up, and diſpatched by a Choppar, at the ſame time the Arrears formerly due to the Soldiers, as alſo one Year's Pay beforehand, and ſix Month's Pay as a Gratuity, was given to all his People, even his Servants, and thoſe who trafficked for Neceſſaries in the Camp. On the Seventeeth, *Nadir-Shah* ſent for *Sirbullind Khan*, and told him, that he apprehended his Pretenſions of old Age and Infirmity, were calculated purely to retard the raiſing of the Money, and therefore he would adviſe him, for his own ſake, to be more expeditious, becauſe it was a Thing that would admit of no Delay. On the next Day, which was the Eighteenth, *Sirbullind Khan* went likewiſe to the Dirbar, where were preſent *Nizam al Muluck*, and *Kummir o' din Khan*, and he ſtayed there until Noon. *Thamas Khan* and *Muſtapha Khan*, preſſing them concerning the Money, *Sirbullind Khan* told *Nizam al Muluck* as follows; "I "have, a long time ago, foreſeen this Diſgrace, and fre- "quently repreſented to the Emperor, that before Things "were paſt Remedy, he ought to take ſome Meaſure, "and not through too much Security reckon any Acci- "dent unworthy his Care and Prevention. I deſired him "to employ ſome experienced and faithful Perſon, and "to give him full Power, that with a Sum of Money, "and other valuable Things, as a Peiſhcuſh, he might "make up Matters, prevent the impending Calamity, "and live, as formerly with the Shah, in an amicable "Manner. Every Body imagined I couched ſome De- "ſigns and Self-Views under this Advice. They them- "ſelves would contrive no Expedient, nor would they re- "ly on the Contrivance of another, until, at laſt, Affairs "are come to this calamitous and diſgraceful Iſſue." To this *Nizam al Muluck* made no Anſwer. Then *Thamas Khan* addreſſing himſelf to *Kummir o' din Khan*, repeated to him the Subſtance of what *Nadir Shah* at firſt meeting reproached *Mohammed Shah* with. Afterwards he told him, "What is paſt ſhall not be remembered. Now my Shah "wants the Money, uſe all Means you can to raiſe it, and "bring not yourſelves into any further Diſgrace by being "dilatory." *Sirbullind Khan* anſwered, "undoubtedly "we will raiſe it wherever it is to be found." *Thamas Khan* aſked him, if he had not Money himſelf, *Sirbullind Khan* ſaid to him, "If I had had Money, I would have ſent "it to you to *Khandahar*, and prevented you from having "the Trouble of coming hither."

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[1] In order to underſtand this Word, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that *Hindu*, ſtrictly taken, ſignifies a ſwarthy, dark-coloured Perſon, and was therefore given to the original Inhabitants of the Country, round about *Dehly*, from whence it received, in Proceſs of Time, the Name of *Hindoſtan*, or as we commonly write it, *Indoſtan*; that is, the Country of the *Hindu*'s, and many have believed, that from thence the *Europeans* derived the Name of *India*, which, however, ſeems more probably to have been taken from the River *Indus*. As for the Natives of this Empire, they are ſtill diſtinguiſhed by their old Name of *Hindu*'s; becauſe of that Mixture of Nations which now inhabit their Country, ſuch as *Moguls*, *Pattans*, *Perſians*, &c. They are a very harmleſs, inoffenſive People, very laborious and induſtrious, but exceedingly contemned and deſpiſed by the *Mahommedans* in general.

In ſhort, by what paſſed at this Meeting, it was known that *Nadir Shah*, after this Victory, and having eſtabliſhed his Power, had demanded of *Nizam al Muluck* twenty Crore of Rupees, or twenty-five Millions Sterling, (excluſive of the Jewels, Gold-Plate ſet with precious Stones, and other fine Goods, ſeized of the King's and other Omrahs) to be collected in the beſt Manner he could, out of the King's Treaſury, his own Effects, and all the other Omrahs, wealthy People, and Inhabitants. Such a Sum was not to be raiſed out of the King's Treaſury or the Omrahs Effects; for, in the King's, all the Gold and Silver Coins did not exceed three Crore: But, in the inward Vaults, (which had been ſhut up and ſealed for many Years, no body knowing by whom they were ſealed, or what they contained) there was found of Gold and Silver a much larger Amount than the Money in the Treaſury. *Nizam al Muluck* contributed a Peiſhcuſh of one Crore and a half in Jewels, Treaſures, and Goods; as did alſo *Kummir o' din Khan* to the ſame Amount. *Saadit Khan* had formerly agreed to pay one Crore of Rupees, and made good thirty Lacks thereof, which was all that had eſcaped being plundered; he promiſed to ſend for the Remainder from his Soubah. *Sirbullind Khan*, on account of his Poverty, was excuſed from any Share; and three Crore of Rupees were appointed to be levied on ſome of *Manſubdar*, *Mutteſiddys*, Officers, and the rich Inhabitants, each in Proportion to his Circumſtances. Formerly *Saadit Khan* was ordered to collect this Money. After his Death, and the Slaughter and Plunder of the City, this Buſineſs was recommended to the Care of *Sirbullind Khan* and the other Omrahs, which *Thamas Khan*, at his Meeting, preſſed them about. Accordingly it was now agreed, that *Azim Khan*, *Chuchl Keiſhvir*, *Vakeel* of the *Sobbahdars* of *Bengal*, *Seta Ram*, and all the *Manſubdars* and Officers of the *Chaboutra*, &c. ſhould meet at *Sirbullind Khan*'s Houſe, and make an End of this Affair. All Officers, Inhabitants, &c. who were ſuſpected to be rich, were ordered to give in a Liſt of what Money and Effects they were Maſters of, to be laid before the Shah, that what he liked he might take; and what he forgave them they might keep; and whoever pleaded Poverty, ſuch Perſon ſhould declare the ſame by a Writing under their Hand and Seal, that in caſe it ſhould be afterwards proved that he had given in a falſe Account, he might be puniſhed. That Day the People before-mentioned came to *Sirbullind Khan*'s Houſe, and having ſtaid until the Evening, and enrolled ſome Names, returned to their own Houſes.

This Affair was proſecuted for ſeveral Days following with the utmoſt Diligence; during which time alſo they were buſy in preparing Illuminations on the Banks of the River, and Fire-works for the Wedding of *Neſr Allah Mirza*, *Nadir Shah*'s Son, who was to be married to the Daughter of *Jeſden Bukhſh*, Son of *Kam Bukhſh*. On the Night of the Twenty-ſeventh of *March*, the Marriage was conſummated: *Mohammed* Shah made the young Princeſs a Preſent of Jewels to the Value of 50,000 Rupees, and, in ready Money, 50,000 more. Some Days after the Marriage, *Nadir Shah* ſent them Jewels to the Value of five Lack of Rupees, or 62,500 Pounds[*].

The Council for aſcertaining the Peiſhcuſh or Preſent, was continually held in the Caſtle, near the Divan of Juſtice, at which aſſiſted *Thamas Khan*, *Muſtapha Khan*, and *Mohammed Shah*'s Omrahs, until the Eighth of *April* at Noon; and, during that Time, every Body was preſent at the ſaid Place, from Sun-riſe to Sun-ſet. All the *Vakeels* and Agents of the *Manſubdars*, and other Officers, gave conſtant Attendance; and, at Night, each returned to his own Houſe without having a Centry or Guard over them. In thoſe Days, and alſo afterwards, ſeveral People finding Affairs go hard with them, left their Effects and Families behind, and made their Eſcape out of the City in the beſt Manner they could, being glad, at any rate, to ſave their Lives. Several of *Mohammed Shah*'s Omrahs were obliged to ſtay the whole Day in the Caſtle in a mean Manner, and perpetual Fear, with but one Horſe and a few Servants to attend them, and at Night they returned to their own Houſes. The whole of this Month was paſſed by, the Subjects of *Mohammed Shah* in a very melancholy Manner; for, notwithſtanding they raiſed prodigious Sums, yet new Demands were ſtill made and exacted from them in ſo rigorous a manner, that they frequently choſe Death, as a milder Puniſhment than thoſe to which they were expoſed: As, for Inſtance, the Agent of the Province of *Bengal*, was ordered to ſend for ſeven Crore of Rupees from thence, which is almoſt nine Millions of our Money. He, to demonſtrate the Impoſſibility of complying with this Order, anſwered, that ſuch a Sum of Money would fill a Line of Waggons, reaching from *Bengal* to *Dehly*. For this Freedom he was ſo ill treated, that, in Reſentment, he went home, murdered his Family, and then himſelf; and it would appear a Thing incredible, if we were to mention a few only of the many Examples of this ſort that happened[*].

On the Firſt of *May*, all the Omrahs were ordered by *Nadir Shah* to be at *Mohammed Shah*'s by Five of the Clock in the Morning, where they all received Preſents from that Conqueror, according to their ſeveral Ranks, conſiſting of Cloaths, Arms, and Pieces of Gold, and Silver-Stuff. About Eight in the Morning, *Mohammed Shah*, ſeated in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy Umbrella, and ſome red Litter, with ſeveral of the Omrahs, went towards the General Divan, the Omrahs being mounted at a ſmall Diſtance behind him; when they came near the General Divan, the Emperor ordered *Saad o' din Khan* to let none but the head Omrahs, and a few of the chief *Manſubdars* to go farther. As the Door of the General

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[*] One would imagine that this was a Marriage formed upon ſome political Motive, which, however, it is very difficult to diſcover, ſince *Nadir Shah* never ſhewed any Intention of depriving the Mogul of his Dominions. It is not impoſſible, however, that he might ſuſpect, from the Condition in which he ſaw the Empire, that it could not long ſubſiſt, and might therefore incline to have a Son or a Grandſon ſo related to the Imperial Family, as, in that caſe, to form a Pretenſion to it; for otherwiſe this is a Tranſaction, for which no rational Account can be given, eſpecially, conſidering the Time when this Marriage was ſolemnized.

[*] There cannot be a ſtronger Mark of Degeneracy and Corruption, than what ſome People may miſtake for Bravery and high Spirit; I mean theſe ſort of Self-murders. We have, in this Hiſtory, the cleareſt Inſtance of it; for theſe People had ſeen their Country over-run, their Friends and Relations abuſed and murdered, their Sovereign inſulted, and their Government overturned, without ſo much as one riſquing their Perſons to prevent ſuch Miſchiefs; but now, when the Means of Luxury were to be taken away, and they were in Danger of living poor, they could pluck up a Spirit and kill themſelves.

Divan, all the Omrahs alighted, and followed on foot to the Door of the private Divan, where *Nadir Shah* was; there the Emperor came out of his Royal Litter and went in. After they had mutually embraced, they breakfaſted together, and the Omrahs likewiſe had Breakfaſt given them. A little after the following Things were brought in for *Mohammed Shah*, *viz.* a Crown richly ſet with Jewels, a Sirpeach, or Fillet, to be worn round the Turban likewiſe ſet with Jewels, a Bracelet richly adorned, a Girdle of great Value, two Swords, the Handles ſet with Jewels, an enameled Cuttarry or Dagger. The Crown *Nadir Shah* put on with his own Hands, making him an Apology at the ſame time. After giving him ſome Advice he took leave of him; the Subſtance of the Advice, was to this purpoſe; "In the firſt Place, you muſt ſeize all the Omrahs and *Jaguirs*, and pay each of them according to their Manſubs and Rank, with ready Money out of the Treaſury. You are to allow none to keep any Forces of his own, but you yourſelf are conſtantly to keep Sixty thouſand choſen Horſemen, at ſixty Rupees *per* Month, one with another; every ten Men to have one Dehbaſhi, every ten Dehbaſhis one Sudival, and every ten Sudivals one Hazzari. You ought to be well acquainted with the Merit of each, their Name, their Family, and Nation, not allowing any of them, Officers, Soldiers, or others, to be idle or inactive; when any Occaſion may require, detach a ſufficient Number under the Command of one whom you can truſt for Conduct, Courage, and Fidelity; and when that Buſineſs is over, recall them immediately, not letting any Perſons ſtay too long in Command, for fear of bad Conſequences. You are more particularly to beware of *Nizam al Muluck*, whom, by his Conduct, I find to be full of Cunning and ſelf-intereſted, and more ambitious than becomes a Subject". *Mohammed Shah*, knowing theſe Advices proceeded from Good-will, was very thankful, and deſired him, as his Empire depended on him, that he would appoint thoſe whom he thought moſt deſerving of the principal Poſts. *Nadir Shah* ſaid, "That will not be at all for your Intereſt, ſuch Officers will have little Deference for you in my Abſence. When I am gone, diſpoſe of every Poſt to thoſe whom you think moſt worthy; and ſhould they, or any of them rebel, upon the firſt Advice, I will ſend a Perſon to chaſtiſe them; if it be neceſſary, I will ſend Forces, or, on Occaſion, I can be with you myſelf in forty Days from *Kandahar*; but, at all Events, don't reckon me far off." After this, *Mohammed Shah*, taking Leave, returned back to *Aeyſh Mahl*, from whence he gave the Omrahs Leave to go home. On the Second of *May*, *Nadir Shah* ſent for *Nizam al Muluck*, *Sirbullind Khan*, and the other Omrahs, and having enjoined Obedience to *Mohammed Shah*, and threatened them, in caſe of Rebellion, took his Leave[x]. It was whiſpered, that *Nadir Shah* declared before ſome of his Omrahs, that he had acted indiſcreetly in regard to two Things; one was, his giving the Empire to *Mohammed Shah*, who being unequal to ſo great a Taſk, the Affairs of *India* would become worſe than formerly. The other his giving Quarter to *Nizam al Muluck*, who being ſo very ſubtile and crafty, it was more than probable, he would raiſe a Diſturbance; but, as according to the Decrees of Providence, and the Aſſiſtance of their own good Fortune, he had once paſſed his Word to them, he would not act contrary thereto. This ſhews the Temper and Spirit of this Conqueror, and his Reſolution to do nothing that might deſtroy that Confidence which even his Enemies repoſed in him.

On the Fourth of *May*, 1739, he began his March from *Dehly*, having firſt iſſued out ſtrict Orders for all his Soldiers to join his Army, upon Pain of Death, which, with great Severity, he inflicted upon ſuch as ſtaid behind, Sixty of whom were diſcovered, and ſent after him, by the Command of *Mohammed-Shah*; a larger Number was afterwards collected, and were likewiſe to have been ſent to him; but upon Reflection, the Mogul Emperor declared in Council, that as it was morally certain theſe poor People would be likewiſe put to Death, he ſaw no Reaſon why they ſhould make themſelves acceſſory to the ſhedding of ſo much innocent Blood, and therefore ordered theſe Deſerters to be ſet at Liberty. *Nadir-Shah*, when he had once begun his March towards *Perſia*, proſecuted it with great Diligence, that he might effectually ſecure the vaſt Riches he had obtained, and to which, however, he made ſome Acceſſions. Some Days before he left *Dehly*, he ſent Part of his Army before to *Lahor*; when they approached the Place, and *Zekaria-Khan* was apprized thereof, he called together all the great Men, Merchants, Serafs, and wealthy People of the City. At their Meeting it was agreed, that the Khan and they ſhould go out of the City, and ſend a Meſſage to the commanding Officer, in theſe Words; "If your Deſign be to ſlaughter the Inhabitants, lo! we are here preſent. If Plunder be your Intent, the City is deſerted, and our Effects left there, or if Money be what you want, the Soubahdar and Citizens can raiſe no more than one Crore; ſo whatever your Intentions or Orders are, that execute. This is a ſmall City, and not able to withſtand the Fury of an Army, as *Dehly* is." On the Receipt of this Meſſage, the commanding Officer thought proper to repreſent the Affair to his Maſter, who ordered him to receive the Crore of *Rupees*, and to moleſt them no further. After the Payment of the Money, amounting to 1,250,000 *l.* he drew off, and joined the main Army upon their March.

It is amazing, that ſo ſudden, ſo extraordinary, and ſo dreadful a Blow as was by this Invaſion given to the Mogul Empire, did not awaken ſuch as were entruſted with the Adminiſtration of Affairs, to a juſt Senſe of their Duty; and yet we are aſſured, that for almoſt two Months after the *Shah*'s Departure, there were no Steps taken to rectify thoſe Diſorders in their Government, that had produced this melancholy Event; on the contrary, the Miniſtry perſiſted in their Ill-will to each other, and were more Intent on the Means of promoting their ſeparate Intereſts, or gratifying their particular Reſentments, than in contriving any thing for the publick Good, or for reſtoring their Affairs. Neither did this ſtrange Humour prevail among the Great only, but ſpread like a peſtilential Infection through all Ranks and Degrees of People. The Inhabitants, from the Terror of this Calamity, like People poſſeſſed, and in Fits, were quite ſtupified, and not come to themſelves; and what is ſtill more ſtrange (notwithſtanding the Oppreſſions and Diſgrace the People of this Empire have met with ſince *Nadir-Shah*'s Departure) the indecent Expreſſions and beaſtly Actions of his Soldiers, were the conſtant Subjects of Diſcourſe, in all Companies, related with a ſeeming Satisfaction and Pleaſure, and by way of Jeſt and Drollery, not being the leaſt affected with the Reflection on their paſt Diſgrace and Misfortunes, but on the contrary ſeemed ſorry for his going away[y].

It is impoſſible to account for this, ſince the Loſſes they ſuſtained of all Kinds were incredibly great, for in gold and ſilver Coin, he carried away twenty-five Crores of *Rupees*, making upwards of thirty-one Millions of our

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[x] It is very evident, from this very ſingular and curious Converſation, that, in the Opinion of *Nadir Shah*, nothing could ſecure a Government like that of the Mogul's, but a ſtanding and well-diſciplined Army, conſtantly kept on Foot, and as conſtantly kept in good Order. The Reaſon is not hard to find out: In Countries where the People have Liberty and Property, they have no Temptations, or, at leaſt, very few, to endeavour to overturn that Conſtitution, or form a Government, by which, or under which they enjoy ſuch Advantages; and in caſe their Country is invaded from abroad, they are hearty and zealous in defending it. But in ſuch Countries as are under arbitrary Princes, as none have either Liberty or Property, ſo none but ſuch as are hired to fight, will fight in Defence of that Power which belongs to one whom perhaps they fear, rather than love, or, as in this Caſe, neither fear him nor love him.

[y] This is another Proof, that there is no political Diſtemper ſo hard to cure, as a rivetted Luxury and total Corruption. One would naturally imagine, that there could not be in Nature a better Remedy contrived, or at leaſt one more effectual than this, which was deviſed by *Nizam al Muluck*, but even this we ſee did not operate. While the Miſchief was upon them, they ſunk under it, and groaned under the immediate Senſe of their Sufferings, but like lethargick Patients, as ſoon as the Cauſtick is withdrawn, they relapſe again into their former Condition, and ſleep as ſound as ever. We may, however, venture to predict, that the Diſſolution of this Government is at hand, and that it will not be long before we hear of *Indoſtan*'s being over-run by foreign Enemies, or a new Family raiſed to the Throne by ſome fortunate Inſurrection.

Money; in Gold and Silver Plate he carried away five Crores; in Jewels, which he took from the Emperor and the Omrahs, twenty-five Crores. He ſeized likewiſe the famous Peacock Throne, and nine others, valued at as many Crores of *Rupees*. In fine, Cloths, rich Stuffs, and other valuable Commodities, he picked up ſix Crores more, ſo that in the whole, he received at leaſt ſeventy Crores, which make eighty-ſeven Millions and an half of our Money. He took with him likewiſe a thouſand Elephants, ſeven thouſand Horſes, ten thouſand Camels, and about a thouſand Artificers of ſeveral ſorts. His Officers and Soldiers acquired by Plunder ten Crores of *Rupees*, or twelve Millions and an half of our Money; the Charges of his Army, while he continued in the Territories of the Mogul, the Arrears, Pay, and Gratuities advanced them, together with the Goods they deſtroyed by Fire, and other Acts of Fury and Deſolation, could not fall much, if any thing, ſhort of twenty Crores more; and if to this we add the Loſs ſuffered by the Plunder of the City of *Debly*, and the Ravages committed in the March to and from thence, the entire Loſs ſuſtained by the Inhabitants of this Empire, will not be exaggerated, if computed at an Arrib of *Rupees*, or an hundred and twenty-five Millions Sterling. Again, as to the Number of Perſons deſtroyed in the March from *Labor*, in the Battle of *Carnal*, in the March to *Debly*, in the general Maſſacre there, and in the Conſequences of it, ſuch as Self-Murders, Famine, and arbitrary Puniſhments, it is believed there could not fall leſs than two hundred thouſand Perſons, of all Ranks, Sexes and Ages.

But it was not only Blood and Treaſure that paid for this Invaſion, but Dominions alſo, for *Nadir Shah* required, and obtained, an abſolute Ceſſion of all the Territories then poſſeſs'd by the *Indian* Monarch on the Weſt-Side of the River *Attock*, by which Means *Peiſhor*, with its Territories, the Principality of *Cabul*, and ſeveral other Countries, were yielded to *Perſia*[a]; ſo that the Extent of that Monarchy on this Side, is much larger than it was before *Nadir-Shah* came to the Crown.

Thus we have traced the Hiſtory of this *Tartar* Empire in the *Indies*, from its firſt Riſe, to the preſent Times, through the Courſe of three hundred and forty Years and upwards. It is by the help of this Hiſtory, that the ſubſequent Part of this Work will be rendered perfectly intelligible, becauſe from thence we ſee how all Parts of the higher *Aſia* changed their Government, and in a great Meaſure their Inhabitants, ſince it is certain, that from being the pureſt and moſt unmix'd People in the World, their Cities came to be filled by a vaſt Variety of different Nations, and thoſe too of different Faiths. Firſt, this was occaſioned by the utter Deſtruction of the *Perſian* Monarchy by the *Arabs*, which drove the Natives of that Country, who have ſince been called *Perſees*, and of late *Parſi's*, into all Parts of *Aſia*, but more eſpecially into *India*, where the Manners of the People, and the Laws of their Country, very nearly reſembled their own. The *Mohammedans* next, for the ſake of Trade, came to plant themſelves in the *Indies*, where, when they once found themſelves ſtrong enough, they ſeized ſuch Parts of the Country as were moſt convenient for them, and ſettled ſeveral Principalities, but particularly that under Sultan *Mohammed*, which gave the great *Timur* ſo much Trouble, when he firſt invaded *Indoſtan*, and which was afterwards ſo long famous under the Title of the Kingdom of the *Pattans*. The *Tartars*, as has been before obſerved in the laſt Section, had made ſeveral Incurſions into theſe Countries, to the great Diſturbance of the Inhabitants, who were likewiſe very much diſtreſſed by the continual Quarrels and frequent Wars among their own Princes, who by this Means weakened and deſtroyed that Force which was abſolutely neceſſary to their common Safety. It is very clear therefore, that the State of the *Indies* was much altered from what it was in the Time of the Ancients, and conſequently the Inhabitants were much leſs able to reſiſt the Attempts that were made upon their Liberties by the *Europeans*.

For, in the firſt Place, they had been totally enervated by their Luxury, which drew upon them thoſe Diviſions and Diſtractions which rendered them an eaſy Prey to the *Mohammedans* and *Tartars*. Neither was this at all cured by their Misfortunes, for tho' it be natural enough for a poor and hardy Nation to attain by ſlow Degrees, and unwearied Endeavours, to Wealth and Power; yet it is neither reaſonable to expect, nor does Hiſtory make it at all probable, that when once a Nation has been corrupted in its Morals, and ſoftened in its Manners, to a great Degree, it has ever recovered its former Temper and Spirit, tho' brought again into as great Poverty and Diſtreſs, as when it firſt ſtruggled for Empire. This was the Situation of the *Indians* preciſely, when they were firſt known to the *Portugueze*; that is to ſay, they had attained to the moſt flouriſhing Condition that perhaps ever any Nation enjoyed, and by abuſing their Wealth and Power, had ſunk into all the Depths of Luxury by which the Yoke of Slavery had been brought upon their Necks; which tho' they bore with Impatience, yet they wanted both Force and Virtue to throw off, living ſtill in perpetual Feuds and Animoſities againſt each other, and delighting as much as ever in that Sloth and Love of Pleaſure which had brought them into theſe Misfortunes.

After having theſe leading Circumſtances clearly laid down to us, and our making a few neceſſary Remarks upon them, from the Lights of Reaſon and Experience, we ſhall be as well prepared as we can deſire for the peruſal of the remaining Part of this Work, and be capable of entering fully into the Spirit and Meaning of it. We ſhall ſee how far we have Reaſon to expect, that modern Writers ſhould agree, and how far we may ſuppoſe, they muſt differ from, the Authors of Antiquity, tho' writing of the ſame Places, and of the ſame People. We cannot but believe, that in the great Points of Government, and what may be called the Exteriors of a Conſtitution, there muſt be ſtill a very apparent Likeneſs between the ancient *Indians* and the moderns, becauſe theſe are things permanent in their Nature, as we ſee in the Cuſtoms of the *Jews* and other Nations. Accordingly we find, that as to their Diviſion into Tribes, their Form of Government, and their ordinary Manner of Living, the modern *Indians* reſemble thoſe deſcribed by the Ancients ſo much, that there can be no manner of Doubt of their being the ſame People, or of the Truth of thoſe Relations that are delivered to us from the moſt early Times.

In the next Place, we find the Religion of the *Indians* exactly in that Situation in which we might expect it, that is, exceedingly altered and corrupted, intermixed with many Notions, Fables and Ceremonies, taken from the Doctrines maintained by the ſeveral Nations with whom they have ſince converſed. Laſtly, in reſpect to Trade, the Inhabitants of the *Indies* appear very much changed from what they were, but changed in a Manner very ſuitable to the Accidents that have befallen that Nation. They have no longer that Openneſs and Freedom in their Dealings, that Juſtice and Integrity in the Performance of their Contracts, that Regularity in their Proceedings, or that ſtrict regard for their Words, which heretofore rendered them famous; but they are to this Day induſtrious and indefatigable, excellent in the ſeveral Manufactures to which they apply themſelves, and more attentive than ever to the concealing thoſe Secrets which relate to them. The Commodities, and the wrought Goods of this Country, are ſuch as perfectly correſpond with the ancient Accounts of them; ſo that taking things altogether, there is as much Affinity between the old and the new Relations of this Country, and its Inhabitants, as the foregoing Particulars attentively conſidered, we can poſſibly require.

The Subject, as it has been hitherto purſued, has lead us into Abundance of troubleſome Digreſſions, ſome perplexed and abſtruſe Inquiries, and through Roads into which nothing could carry an Author but the Love of Truth. If either the Search of Eaſe to myſelf, or the Deſire of acquiring falſe Fame by amuſing my Readers with pleaſant Relations, could have diverted me from the Execution of the Plan laid down at the Opening of this Chapter, I might undoubtedly have taken my Journey over plainer Ground, and through a more cultivated Country, I mean that of ſuſpicious Voyages, where we are more indebted to the Imagination, than to the Induſtry of the Writers; but I was convinced, that this kind of Hiſtory of the *Indies*, was a thing equally wanted and deſired to compleat the Univerſal Hiſtory, if I may ſo ſpeak, of Voyages and Travels; I thought I ſhould render a greater Service to the Publick in compiling what had never been digeſted before, than by tacking together Piece after Piece, that had been before made publick: As this is now finiſhed, and we enter in the next Section on modern Voyages, I flatter myſelf, the Reader will, at every Step, diſcern the great Importance, and ſingular Utility of the foregoing Part of this Chapter.

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[a] The River *Attock* is a little Stream, as it is repreſented in ſome Maps, which divides the Provence of *Labor* from that of *Peiſhor*; but in Truth it is a very large and rapid River, which is fordable only in one Place, which is defended by a ſtrong Caſtle, called the Caſtle of *Attock*. So that by virtue of this Treaty, there are four Provinces cut off from the Mogul's Empire, and annex'd to that of *Perſia*, the Eaſtern Boundary of which is now this River and the River *Indus*.

SECTION XXIII.

A compleat Hiſtory of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Portugueze *Empire in the* Eaſt-Indies; *their* Diſcoveries *ſet forth in their natural Order; the Form of their* Government *in thoſe Parts explained; the Cauſes of the* Declenſion *of their* Power *examined; and the* preſent Poſture *of their* Affairs, *in this Part of the World, truly ſtated.*

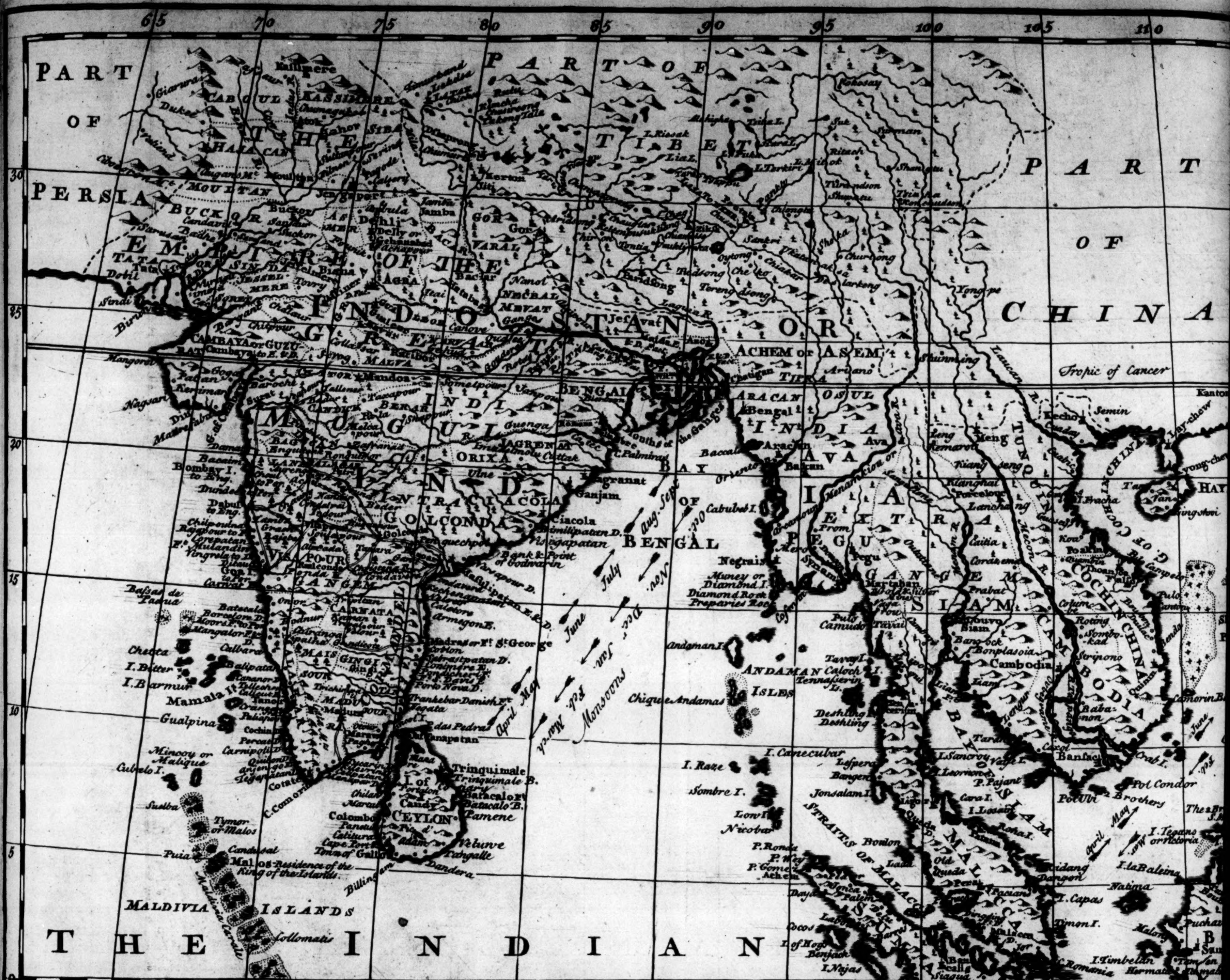
Collected chiefly from *their own* Writers.

1. *An introductory Diſcourſe, ſhewing the Deſign of this Section, and the Method obſerved therein.* 2. *The Diſcoveries made by the* Portugueze *in the fifteenth Century, and the Motives which induced them to attempt a new Paſſage to the* Indies. 3. *The Diſcovery of the* CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, *by* Bartholomew Diaz, *and the Reaſons why it was ſo called.* 4. *The glorious Expedition of* Vaſquez de Gama *to the* Indies, *by this new Paſſage, and his Exploits there.* 5. *The ſecond Voyage to the* Indies, *under the Command of Don* Pedro Alvarez de Capral, *who in his Paſſage diſcovered* Brazil. 6. *The King of* Portugal *ſends Don* Vaſquez de Gama *again into the Eaſt.* 7. *Affairs of the* Portugueze *to the Arrival of the two* Albuquerques *in the* Indies. 8. *Don* Francis d'Almeyda *ſent with the Title of Viceroy.* 9. *The noble Acts, and extenſive Conqueſts of Don* Alphonſo d'Albuquerque. 10. *The great Wars carried on by, and the prodigious Succeſs of the* Portugueze *in the* Indies. 11. *A ſuccinct Account of their Affairs to the Union of the Crowns of* Spain *and* Portugal. 12. *The Reaſons which oblige us to diſtinguiſh between their Conqueſts and Diſcoveries.* 13. *The* Maldives *and* Ceylon, *firſt known to the* Portugueze. 14. *They viſit* Sumatra, *and the adjacent Iſlands.* 15. *The important Diſcovery of the* Moluccas, *or* Spice-Iſlands. 16. *The* Portugueze *firſt viſit the Coaſts of* China. 17. *The Iſlands* de los Ladrones, *diſcovered.* 18. *The large Iſland of* Celebes, *firſt viſited by the* Portugueze. 19. *They diſcover likewiſe the Iſlands in the Streights of* Sonda. 20. *The Coaſts of* New Guinea, *firſt known to the* Europeans. 21. *The Diſcovery and Conqueſt of the* Philippines. 22. *The firſt Voyage made by the* Portugueze *to* Japan. 23. *Attempts made to diſcover the Land of* Yedzo, *and to the North.* 24. *The Hiſtory of the* New Philippines, *never before publiſhed in our Language.* 25. *An Account of the* Caroline *Iſlands, the laſt diſcovered in this Part of the Globe.* 26. *The Hiſtory of the* Portugueze *Commerce in the* Indies, *reſumed.* 27. *Several of their principal Colonies loſt, to whom and how.* 28. *The great Declenſion of their Power in the* Indies. 29. *The Cauſes of that Declenſion inquired into, and explained.* 30. *The preſent State of the* Portugueze *Settlements and Commerce.* 31. *Their Importance to the Crown of* Portugal *conſidered.* 32. *Conjectures as to the future State of their Affairs.* 33. *Obſervations and Remarks upon the foregoing Section.*

1. THE Diſcoveries and Conqueſts of the *Portugueze* take up not only ſo large a Part of their own Hiſtories, but make ſo conſiderable a Figure in thoſe of *Europe*, and above all concern the Subject of this Chapter ſo nearly, that I find myſelf obliged to treat this Matter in ſuch an Extent, as that it may anſwer the Reader's Expectations, and fulfil what I have promiſed for it in the original Plan of this Work. We have already many large and well written Books in ſeveral Languages, and ſome in our own, which promiſe a compleat Hiſtory of the Exploits of this Nation in the Eaſt; but none of theſe come up to what I have in View. They take in only a certain Period of Time, and are rather calculated to inform us of the Actions of the ſeveral Admirals, Governors, and Commanders in chief, than to give us a compleat Idea of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Declenſion of the *Portugueze* Power in thoſe Parts, which is what I aim at, and which, God willing, ſhall be performed in the Compaſs of this Section.

But to keep within due Bounds, and to bring ſo vaſt a Field of Matter within Compaſs, I have found it neceſſary for my Reader's Eaſe, and my own, to have Recourſe to the following Method. In the firſt place, I ſhall give a general and ſuccinct Account with due Regard to Perſons Circumſtances, and Time, of the firſt Diſcoveries and Conqueſts of the *Portugueze*, the Growth of their Empire in the Eaſt, and their ſeveral Eſtabliſhments, till other *European* Nations began to interfere with them in thoſe Parts, without running into any Digreſſions as to the Diſcoveries made by particular Perſons, and by this means I hope to give a clear and eaſy Account of that great Alteration made in the Commerce of all *Europe*, by the Diſcovery of a direct Paſſage by Sea to the *Indies*. But as in the ſubſequent Part of this Work, it will be found extremely requiſite to have Recourſe to the particular Diſcoveries and firſt Intercourſe between the *Portugueze* and ſeveral *Indian* Nations, I ſhall next endeavour to ſtate with all the Brevity that is conſiſtent with ſuch a Deſign, the particular Diſcoveries that have been made by this Nation, or by the *Spaniards*, who acquired all that they poſſeſs in the *Eaſt-Indies*, in right of the *Portugueze* down to the preſent Age; and when this is done, I ſhall reſume the general Hiſtory of their Empire, ſhew the true Cauſes of its Declenſion, and conclude with a fair and diſtinct Account of their preſent Poſſeſſions in thoſe Parts.

This, I conceive, will fully anſwer our Intention of repreſenting as accurately as is poſſible the Progreſs of this Trade, which, with ſo much Labour, we have conducted from the very earlieſt Ages; and in this manner of ſtating it, the Matter contained in this Section, though not abſolutely new in itſelf, will, however, appear in a Light very different from that in which it has hitherto ſtood in any Collection of this ſort. It will be eaſy to diſcern, that the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PART OF PERSIA
PART OF TIBET
PART OF CHINA
CABOUL
KASSIMERE
MOULTAN
BUCKOR
INDOSTAN OR
EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGUL
INDIA
AGRA
BENGAL
ORIXA
GOLCONDA
CAMBAYA or GUZURAT
ACHEM or ASEM
ARACAN
AVA
PEGU
SIAM
TUNQUIN
COCHINCHINA
CAMBODIA
MALACCA
INDIA EXTRA GANGEM
Tropic of Cancer
BAY OF BENGAL
Ganjam
Visagapatan
Bank & Point of Godavarin
Madras or Ft. St. George
Tranquebar Danish F.
Bombay I.
Goa
Cochin
Ceylon
I. of Ceylon
Colombo
Candy
Trinquimale
Negrais
Diamond Rock
Andaman I.
ANDAMAN ISLES
Nicobar
Achem
Bencoolen
I. Engan
STRAITS OF MALACCA
Pulo Condor
Bankock
Batavia
SUNDA ISLES
Monsoons
April
May
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MALDIVIA ISLANDS
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THE INDIAN
OR
EASTERN OCEAN
85 Longitude 90 East 95 from 100 London 105

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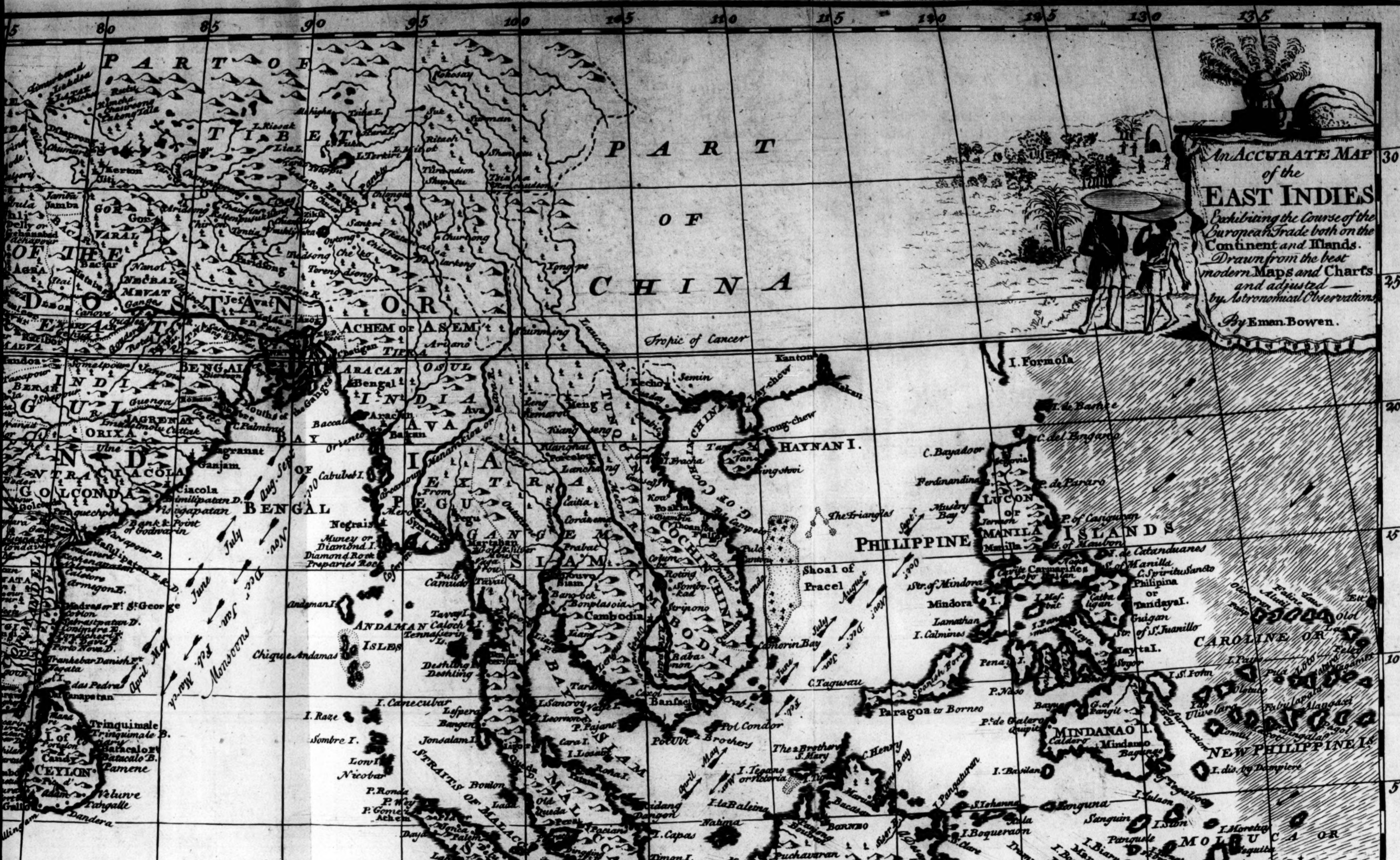
An Accurate Map
of the
EAST INDIES
Exhibiting the Course of the
European Trade both on the
Continent and Islands.
Drawn from the best
modern Maps and Charts
and adjusted
by Astronomical Observations
By Eman. Bowen.
PART OF TIBET
PART OF CHINA
Tropic of Cancer
INDOSTAN OR INDIA
ACHEM or ASEM
BENGAL
GOLCONDA
ORIXA
BAY OF BENGAL
ARACAN
AVA
PEGU
INDIA EXTRA GANGEM
SIAM
TUNQUIN
COCHIN CHINA
CAMBODIA
Canton
Macao
HAYNAN I.
I. Formosa
Shoal of Paracel
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
LUCON OR MANILA
Manilla
Mindora I.
MINDANAO I.
NEW PHILIPPINE Is.
CAROLINE OR
MOLUCCA OR GILOLO I.
CELEBES
BORNEO I.
Banjar Massin
Paragoa or Borneo
Pulo Condor
ANDAMAN ISLES
Nicobar
CEYLON
Madras or Ft. St. George
Tranquebar
Straits of Malacca
MALACCA
SUMATRA
Bencoolen
Banca
Batavia
JAVA
SUNDA ISLANDS
Strs. of Sunda
Bantam
Madura
TIMOR I.
Banda Islands
Amboyna
NEW GUINEA
Van Diemens L.
PART OF NEW HOLLAND
De Wits Land
INDIAN OR EASTERN OCEAN
Monsoons
April May June July Aug. Sept.
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80 85 90 95 100 105 110 115 120 125 130 135
Longitude East from London
30 25 20 15 10 5 0 5 10 15

reducing ſuch a vaſt Abundance of Materials, as the *Portugueze* Hiſtorians, and thoſe of other Nations, who have treated on different Parts of this Subject have amaſſed, within the Bounds of one Section, and that too of no great Size, will require great Diligence, and put me under the Neceſſity of laying aſide many things which thoſe Writers thought worthy of tranſmitting to Poſterity. But this will be ſo far from proving in any reſpect prejudicial to the Reader, that it will on the contrary turn to his Advantage, becauſe it will free him from the Trouble of running thro' a long Courſe of trifling Circumſtances that have little or nothing to do with the main Point.

For, as to the copious and ſwelling Panegyricks on particular Captains, the long Accounts of the Travels and Labours of Miſſionaries, and that pompous Detail of Church Hiſtory, which makes up at leaſt two-thirds of what theſe Authors have delivered, they are certainly Matters that an *Engliſh* Peruſer would be tempted to hurry over as faſt as poſſible, and therefore the Omiſſion of them muſt contribute not only to the Elegance, but to the Uſefulneſs of this Performance. Indeed, when freed from theſe and other cumbrous Circumſtances, there cannot be any thing more pleaſant or entertaining, and at the ſame time more curious and inſtructive than this Part of our Hiſtory, in which we ſee what mighty things may be performed by Courage, Induſtry, and Application, and how ſoon even the ſmalleſt States, by cultivating a maritime Power, become potent and conſiderable.

The little Kingdom of *Portugal* is bounded on the North and on the Eaſt by ſeveral Provinces of *Spain*, and on the South and Weſt by the *Atlantick* Ocean. It extends from 37° to 42° of North Latitude, and lies between the 7° and 10° Longitude Weſt from *London*. It is in Length from North to South about three hundred Miles, and in Breadth from Eaſt to Weſt about one hundred. The Climate is pleaſant and wholeſome, the Soil fertile in ſome Places, but not in many, ſo that they are ſupplied with Corn by us, and by the *Dutch*. This Country was formerly famous for Gold, but for many Ages there has been none, or at leaſt but little of that precious Metal found there. There is, indeed, a very rich Silver Mine at *Guacaldana*, ſtill wrought with conſiderable Profit; but the principal Advantage of *Portugal* is its Situation on the Sea, and the Excellence of its Habours. That of *Liſbon*, if we extend it from *St. Benet*'s above it, to the Bay of *Caſcais*, at the Mouth of the River, is four or five Leagues long; but if we only take in that Part of it about the Town, where Ships ride in the greateſt Security from Storms and Enemies in eighteen Fathom Water, it will contain ſeveral thouſand Sail; the Entry of it indeed is hazardous without a Pilot, but on the other hand, Ships ride ſecurely when they are in it, being covered by the Hills on which the City ſtands on one Side, and by the oppoſite Banks, which are very high, on the other. There are, beſides this, ſeveral other good Ports in this Kingdom, the Subjects of which have been always famous for their Application to Maritime Affairs, and after they had driven the *Moors* out of their Country, followed them into their own, and, under the Reign of King *John the Firſt*, defeated them in a great Battle, and took from them the Fortreſs of *Ceuta*, which ſtill remains in the Power of the Crown of *Spain**.

It was to the Zeal and Magnanimity of the Infant Don *Henry*, the Fifth Son of this King *John*, that the *Portugueze* ſtand indebted for all that Glory which they have acquired by their Diſcoveries and Conqueſts in the Eaſt, and we may juſtly conſider the Attempts made by them at this Juncture, as the more extraordinary, ſince their Country was but juſt recovered from a long and dangerous Civil War, the Power of their Prince very far from being great, his Finances very low, and the Country ſo indifferently peopled, that he was obliged to have Recourſe to other Nations for Men to recruit his Armies, and to ſerve on Board his Fleets, which were very far from being conſiderable; I do not mean in Compariſon of the Fleets fitted out in our Times, but of thoſe that were then employed by the Crown of *Spain*, and the Republicks of *Italy*. Yet under theſe Diſcouragements, this Spirit of Trade and Navigation not only ſprung up, but proſpered; and this too, notwithſtanding that many of their Stateſmen were very averſe to ſuch Undertakings, from the Danger and Difficulties that attended them; nor could they in all probability have been carried into Execution, but from the Zeal of the Clergy, who, out of a Deſire of propagating the Chriſtian Faith, promoted them to the utmoſt of their Power.

2. The Infant Don *Henry* Count *de Viſeo* was a Prince endowed with all the great Qualities that diſtinguiſh Heroes from other Men. He had ſhewn his Courage in his Youth in the Wars againſt the *Moors*; but he was far from valuing himſelf on the Power of deſtroying or making miſerable his Fellow-creatures, and therefore thought the proper Object of Valour was the facing thoſe Dangers that hindered the Proſecution of ſuch Deſigns as might be beneficial to the human Species. He reſolved therefore to make himſelf Maſter of the *Canaries*, which were then in the Hands of *Maciot de Bethancourt*, who held them under a Grant from the King of *Caſtille*, and who for a valuable Conſideration made over his Right to Prince *Henry* about the Year 1406. He ſent *Ferdidand de Caſtro*, who was at that time Maſter of his Houſhold, to take Poſſeſſion of them, and conceiving that they might be of great Uſe in the Diſcovery of the Coaſts of the great Continent of *Africa*, which were then very little known, he began about the Year 1410, to fit out Ships for that Purpoſe, and took *Spaniards*, and others who were ſkilled in Navigation, into his Service for that Purpoſe.

The utmoſt Limits of the South-weſt Part of *Africa*, then known to the *Portugueze*, was a Cape running out from the Foot of Mount *Atlas*, the proper Name of which was *Chaunar*, but called by the Seamen Cape *Non*, ſituated in the Latitude of 28° 10′ North; and theſe Veſſels proceeded along the Coaſt to Cape *Bojadore*, in 26° North Latitude, but they had not the Courage to double it. In 1418 *Triſtan-Vaz* diſcovered the Iſland of *Porto-Santo*, and gave it that Name, becauſe he firſt ſaw it on the Feaſt of *All Saints*. The next Year the *Portugueze* diſcovered the Iſland of *Madeira*, to which they gave that Name, on account of its being covered with Wood. In 1439, a *Portugueze* Captain doubled Cape *Bojadore*, which ſome think is the ſame that in the Writing of *Ptolemy* is called Cape *Canarea*. The next Year they ſailed as high as Cape *Blanco*, in the Latitude of 20°, and ſoon after diſcovered the *Rio del Oro*, with ſeveral ſmall Iſlands upon the Coaſt. In 1446, *Nuno Triſtan* doubled Cape *Verd*, in the Latitude of 14° 40′. In 1448, in the Spring, Don *Gonzalo Vallo* ſailed to the Iſlands called *Açorres*, or the *Hawk-Iſlands*, from the Word *Açor*, which, in the *Spaniſh* Language, ſignifies a Hawk. They were at that Time uninhabited, and were ſettled by this Commander, who did not, however, viſit at this Time the Iſlands of *Flores* and *Corvo*, which were ſettled, as we have elſewhere obſerved, by ſome *Flemings*, and from thence were called the *Flemiſh* Iſlands.

In the Year 1449, the Iſlands of Cape *Verd* were diſcovered on the Behalf of the Infant Don *Henry*; the firſt of theſe was called the Iſland of *May*, becauſe they came thither on *May-day*, and at the ſame time they beſtowed the Names of *St. James*, and *St. Philip* on two of thoſe Iſlands, the reſt remaining undiſcovered till the Year 1460. The Progreſs made by the Infant Don *Henry*, gave great Satiſfaction to the Princes that poſſeſſed the Crown of *Portugal*, inſomuch that King *Alphonſo* IV. or rather the Infant Don *Pedro*, who governed the Kingdom during his Minority, made him a Grant of the Iſlands of *Porto-Santo* and *Madeira*. The Infant, however, judged it requiſite, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times, to obtain the Sanction of the Holy See, and for that Reaſon ſent Don *Ferdinand Lopez d'Azevedo* as his Embaſſador to Pope *Martin* V. who, as the thing coſt him very little, made a free Grant to the Crown of *Portugal* of all that ſhould be diſcovered on that Side as far as the *Indies*. This Bull is dated in 1444, and was confirmed by his Succeſſors, *Eugenius* IV. *Nicholas* V. and *Sixtus* IV. which occaſioned afterwards high Diſputes[b].

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* It was very far from being my Intention to give the Reader either a Deſcription of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, or the Hiſtory of it, for both belong to the ſucceeding Volume. What I have ſaid in the Text was purely to render the ſubſequent Part of this Section perfectly clear, and well connected. By comparing the Force of the Kingdom of *Portugal* with the Conqueſts gained by the *Portugueze* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, he will be made fully ſenſible of the Truth of my Remarks, and by attending to the Situation of this Country, he will be ſatisfied, that there was nothing in it more than a Nation's turning their Thoughts to that for which Nature deſigned them; for with Reſpect to *Eaſt-India* Voyages, as the Art of Navigation then ſtood, the *Portugueze* were better ſeated than any other People in *Europe*.

In 1471, *Pedro d'Eſcovar*, diſcovered the Iſland of *St. Thomas*, and *Princes-Iſland*, and on the firſt Day of the next Year another Iſland on the ſame Coaſt, which for that Reaſon he called *Anno Bueno*, which is the ſame that is now called corruptly *Annobon*. In 1484, *Diego Cam*, a *Portugueze*, diſcovered the Kingdom of *Congo*, and having heard there of a Chriſtian Monarch, who reigned in *Ethiopia*, he magnified his Power ſo much on his Return, that *John* II. who was at that Time on the Throne, took a Reſolution to ſend by Land two Perſons he could truſt, to gain ſome certain Intelligence of this Chriſtian Prince, whom he judged to be Preſbyter *John*, and at the ſame time to gain the moſt ſatisfactory Knowledge they could of the State of the *Indies*. The Perſons who went with this Commiſſion, were *Pedro de Covillan* and *Alphonſo de Payva*, who had ſtrict Orders to commit to Writing whatever they judged worthy of Notice; but more eſpecially the Situation of Places, and the Navigation on the Coaſt of *Ethiopia*, by which it was judged ſome Diſcovery might be made of the Means of paſſing by a new Rout to the *Indies*. Our Travellers, who ſpoke the *Arabick* Tongue perfectly, went together to *Alexandria*, and from thence to *Cairo*, from which City they proceeded to the famous Port of *Aden* in *Arabia*, where they had an Opportunity of converſing with Traders of all Nations, and from all Parts of the *Indies*, from whom they learned many things, which were of great Conſequence to them, inaſmuch that they ſeemed to put it in their Power to give the King a good Account of the Commiſſion with which they were intruſted. Here they reſolved to part, in order, that while one made a Tour through the *Indies*, the other might go to the Court of the Emperor of *Ethiopia*. Accordingly, *Pedro de Covillan* went to the *Indies*, and having made a very exact Map of the Coaſts, he croſſed the *Arabian* Sea to *Africa*, and after having viſited moſt of the principal Ports there, came to *Sofala*, fully perſuaded, as well from the Reaſon of the Thing, as from the concurring Opinions of the Seamen he converſed with, that a ſhort, and eaſy Paſſage, might be found round the Continent of *Africa* to the *Indies*. Full of Joy, from this Diſcovery, he made the beſt of his Way to *Cairo*, where he was to meet his Companion; but when he came thither, he was informed that the unfortunate *Alphonſo de Payva* had been murdered on the Road to *Ethiopia*. He was ſomewhat at a Loſs as to the Meaſures which he was next to take; but, after mature Conſideration, he reſolved to acquaint the King with the Diſcoveries he had made by Letter, and to continue his Journey into *Ethiopia*, that, at his Return to *Portugal*, he might be able to ſatisfy the King, in every Reſpect, ſo that his Majeſty might not be under a Neceſſity of ſending any other Perſon to make farther Enquiries. He executed this ſecond Journey with the ſame good Fortune that he did the former, at leaſt at the Beginning, and was extremely well received by *Alexander*, who was at that Time Emperor of *Abyſſinia*, who was extremely well pleaſed with the Offers made him of the Aſſiſtance of a powerful Prince, and promiſed to ſend *Pedro de Covillan* back again with Letters to the King his Maſter; but he dying ſuddenly, his Succeſſor *Nabu*, treated our *Potugueze*, not only with Coldneſs and Diſreſpect, but with the greateſt Cruelty, refuſing him Leave to return home, and keeping him at his Court as a Priſoner for many Years; ſo that in *Portugal* they concluded him dead, though he lived afterwards to recover his Liberty[c].

3. The ſame worthy King of *Portugal John* II. while he endeavoured, by theſe his Embaſſadors, to gain a perfect Knowledge of the State of the *Indies* by Land, neglected not the Proſecution of what had been ſo long laboured with the ſame View at Sea. It was to facilitate this Deſign, that he employed *Bartholomew Diaz*, one of his Courtiers, and a Perſon remarkable for great Prudence, much ſkill in the Art of Navigation, as well as for invincible Courage, to proceed ſtill farther along the South-Coaſt of *Africa*, which accordingly he did in the Year 1486, and executed his Commiſſion with equal Conduct and Succeſs. He carried with him ſeveral Negroes, who had been many Years in his Service, and who, from time to time, he ſet on Shore, well dreſſed, with a ſmall Quantity of Goods, on purpoſe that they might inform the People of the Country how well they had been uſed, and how kindly treated by the *Portugueze*. He likewiſe ſet up Croſſes of Stone, with the Arms of *Portugal* engraven upon them, to aſſert his Maſter's Title to the Countries by him diſcovered.

At laſt, arriving in Sight of a high Cape, near which he met with very bad Weather, he loſt the Company of his victualing Bark; upon which his Crew mutined, complaining, that it was too much to endure at one time the Hardſhips of the Sea and of Famine. But Captain *Diaz* repreſenting to them, that the former was not to be eſcaped by going back, and that the only means they had of preventing the latter, was to proceed till they came to ſome Place where they could get Refreſhments; he prevailed upon them to double the Cape, and to ſail a good Way beyond it, to a Place where he erected another Pillar of Stone; and having obtained a ſmall Supply he returned, and, in his Paſſage homewards, met with his Bark again, in which, of nine Men that he had left, three only ſurvived, and of theſe *Ferdinand Colazzo* died with Joy at the firſt Sight of his Captain. He continued his Voyage ſafely to *Liſbon*, where he arrived in *December* 1487, ſixteen Months and ſeven Days after his ſetting out, having diſcovered above a thouſand Miles along the Coaſt[d].

He gave the King his Maſter, a very full Account of all that had happened to him, and inſiſted particularly on the Difficulty with which he had doubled that ſtupendious Promontory, which, from the ſtormy Sea about it, he thought fit to call *Cabo Tormontoſo*, that is, *The Tempeſtuous Cape*: But the King, who from the Lights he had received from *Covillan*'s Letters, knew how to form a right Judgment of the Importance of this Diſcovery, ſtiled it CABO DEL BUENO ESPERANZA, or, THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, which Name it has ever ſince retained: For he ſaw clearly from the Agreement between theſe Accounts, that the Paſſage was now open, and that there wanted but one Voyage more to finiſh what they had ſo much deſired, *viz.* the finding a direct Paſſage by Sea to the *Eaſt Indies*.

But while King *John* meditated this great Deſign in his Mind, and buſied himſelf in contriving the Means of executing it in ſuch a Manner as might be moſt honourable to himſelf and advantageous for his Subjects, the great Ruler of all Things diſpoſed of him otherwiſe, by calling him out of this Life. In his laſt Sickneſs he appointed his Couſin *Don Emanuel*, who alſo married his Siſter, his Heir. This Prince, who ſucceeded to the Throne of *Portugal*, 1495, was in the Flower of his Age, being then about Twenty-ſeven, and poſſeſſed, in an eminent Degree, thoſe Qualities that are moſt worthy of a Monarch. He had great Parts, much Penetration, and an excellent Judgment, yet he was ſo diffident of his own Abilities, that, foreſeeing the Execution of his Predeceſſor's Projects would be attended with a larger Expence than the Diſcoveries hitherto made had induced, he declined entering upon them, without taking the Advice of his Council before whom he laid all the Informations that either himſelf or his Couſin King *John* had received. The *Portugueze* Stateſmen were extremely divided in their Opinions, for ſome preſſed the King warmly to tread in the Footſteps of his Anceſtors, and, to compleat with Glory, what with ſo much Reputation they had begun; while others as vehemently oppoſed his Purſuit of this Deſign, each Party ſupporting their Opinion by very plauſible Arguments.

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[b] This Tranſaction ſhews, that Don *Henry* was a very great Politician, for by pretending that all Countries were to be diſpoſed of at the Will and Pleaſure of the Pope of *Rome*, he ſecured his Holineſs's Conſent to whatever he demanded; and he very well knew, that whatever was beſtowed upon him by thoſe Grants, would be infallibly ſupported by the Thunder of the Church. This great Prince died in the Year 1463. The Continent of *Africa* under his Auſpice having been diſcovered from Cape *Non* to Cape *Sierra Leona*, which is in the Latitude of 8° North, by which the Foundation was laid of all that was afterwards performed.

[c] I cannot help owning, that it is a little out of the Road of what is propoſed in this Section, to dwell on the Adventures of particular Perſons, but, as I know it is natural for an inquiſitive Reader to wiſh that he might be informed of what became of ſuch remarkable Perſons as are mentioned in the Hiſtory, I have taken Occaſion, in the former Note, to obſerve, that Don *Henry*, the firſt Encourager of the Diſcoveries of the *Portugueſe*, ſurvived to 1463; and here I ſhall obſerve, that this *Pedro de Covillan*, who was the firſt of his Nation that ever ſet Foot in the *Indies*, lived a Priſoner in *Ethiopia* to the Year 1520, when Don *Roderigo de Lima* came thither in Quality of Embaſſador from the Crown of *Portugal*, to whom he related all his Adventures, and from whom he learned what mighty Conqueſts his Letters had produced.

[d] The Remarks made upon this Tranſaction by Sir *William Monſon* in his naval Tracts, deſerve the Reader's Notice, the rather, becauſe he has been always eſteemed a very wiſe Man, and was, beyond Queſtion, a very able Seaman, and, by no means, envious of the *Portugueſe*, or diſpoſed to depreciate their Labours; yet he attributes their Diſcoveries to the peculiar Providence of God in theſe Words; Before I treat of any Particulars of the *Eaſt-Indies*, give me Leave to put you in mind of ſome Obſervations of mine, which will not be unworthy your Peruſal, ſeeing they are only to be attributed to God, who is the Searcher of all Hearts, and the Diſcoverer of hidden Secrets. It is ſtrange and ſurpriſing, that out of ſo many flouriſhing Nations as God hath created and civilized, he ſhould elect and chuſe the Kingdom of *Portugal* to perform this great Work of his, a Country in thoſe Day of leſs Eſteem and Reputation, of leſs Renown and Fame, and of leſs Ability and Valour than any other Chriſtian Monarchy we can call to mind, and to aſſign them ſuch a Time to effect it, when they enjoyed a happy Peace with their Neighbours, and had no Enemy to oppoſe, or hinder their Deſigns.

Such as were deſirous that this new Navigation might be attempted, obſerved, that the Trade to the *Indies* had been the great Source of Power and Riches to every Empire that had been poſſeſſed of it, that Providence ſeemed to have thrown it into the Hands of their Nation, in ſuch a manner that it would not only be diſadvantageous but diſhonourable, to refuſe it; that all Difficulties now were in a manner overcome, ſo that there remained ſcarce any thing but the going to take Poſſeſſion of thoſe fine Countries, and that vaſt Wealth which all the World thirſted after, though none but themſelves knew how to reach; that the engroſſing ſo rich a Trade to *Portugal*, would balance their ſmall Extent of Territory, and enable his Subjects to make as great, or greater Figure than the Inhabitants of Kingdoms much more potent in Appearance; that, in fine, there was no leſs Danger to be apprehended from abandoning this Deſign, than Benefit to be expected by purſuing it; ſince, in all Probability, their ambitious Neighbours, the *Spaniards*, would purſue and accompliſh this great Work, which would enable them to execute, with Eaſe, whatever they might be prompted to by their boundleſs Ambition.

On the other Side it was alledged, that there were many Things more apparently neceſſary to the Kingdom than ſuch long, ſuch expenſive, and ſuch uncertain Expeditions, ſince there were ſeveral large Tracts of Land, and particularly that ſpacious Plain between the *Ebro* and the *Tagus*, that were not properly cultivated, the Improvement of which would free them from the Neceſſity of depending for their daily Bread upon Strangers; that their Country was but thinly peopled, at leaſt, in Proportion to the Numbers it might be able to maintain, if, inſtead of maritime Expeditions they turned their Thoughts towards making the moſt of what was in their Power; ſo that it was very unreaſonable to ſquander away Men that might be immediately uſeful to their Country, for the ſake of diſtant, and perhaps fallacious Expectations; that all their Diſcoveries and Conqueſts hitherto, had furniſhed him only with a few Negroes, Elephants Teeth, ſtrange Birds, and other Curioſities, in procuring which they had ſuffered many Shipwrecks, and run the Hazard of many more; that, for a Century together, they had been amuſed with theſe golden Dreams, and therefore it was high Time to awake from this Deluſion; that the Kings his Predeceſſors, had been at vaſt Expences, to very little Purpoſe, in Purſuit of the like Deſigns, and that this ought to render him not only the more cautious in following their Example, but oblige him alſo to conſider the Conſequence of a running an exhauſted Nation into Expences ſhe was unable to bear; that, beſides the Succeſs of the Undertaking, might bring ſuch Demands upon the Crown of *Portugal*, as would greatly exceed her Forces; ſo that perhaps her Intereſts at home might come to be ſacrificed to thoſe abroad. I have dwelt the longer upon theſe Arguments, to ſhew that the greateſt and moſt ſalutary Deſigns are liable to as many Objections as the moſt dangerous and the moſt deſtructive [*].

4. The Deliberations into which the King entered upon this important Affair, though they did not abſolutely carry him from his Purpoſe, or engage him to abandon a Deſign which was, in ſome meaſure, recommended to him, with his laſt Breath, by that great Prince to whom he owed his Throne, yet they, for a long Time, retarded his Preparations, and hindered him from undertaking that Project in the Manner he had firſt intended: At laſt, however, fearing that his Neighbours might take Advantage of a longer Neglect, eſpecially as he underſtood that the *Spaniards* very vigorouſly puſhed forward their Diſcoveries, he came to a final Reſolution to wait no longer, but to make a Trial of what might be done in this Way, by ſending a few Ships only with a ſmall Number of Men, in which he endeavoured to avoid Extreams, and to ſteer as it were in the Middle, between the Opinions of ſuch as were of his Council. It was in conſequence of this Determination, that in the Spring of the Year 1497, he ordered four Ships to be equipped for this Expedition; of theſe, three were armed Veſſels, with ſome Pieces of Cannon on Board, and the fourth a ſmall Store-ſhip. We may be ſure that their Force was not very great, ſince, in the whole, it conſiſted in no more than an hundred and ſixty Soldiers and Seamen [†].

The Perſon choſen to command was Don *Vaſquez de Gama*, a Man of Quality, who poſſeſſed all the Talents neceſſary for ſuch an Employment. On the 9th of *July*, 1497, he embarked on board the *Gabriel*, which was the Admiral of this little Fleet, of the Burthen of One hundred and twenty Tons, and the ſame Day put to Sea: On the Third of *Auguſt* he left the Iſland of *St. Auguſtine*, on the Twentieth of *November* he doubled *The Cape of Good Hope*; in the Beginning of the Month of *January* he put into a Port of *Ethiopia*; and, on the firſt of *March*, he entered the Port of *Mozambique*, where the Scurvy deſtroyed many of their People, and where they were in great Danger of being betrayed, as ſoon as they were known to be Chriſtians. His Artillery, however, preſerved him, and from thence he continued his Voyage to *Mombaza*, where he again met with very perfidious Dealing. He ſailed from thence to *Melinda*, the Prince of which Country received him with great Civility, and promiſed to ſend an Embaſſador by them when they returned into *Portugal*.

Don *Vaſquez*, in Obedience to his Inſtructions, ſailed from thence for the Coaſt of *Malabar*, and arriving happily at *Calicut*, there firſt heard of a puiſſant Monarch in thoſe Parts, ſtiled the *Samorin*, which is a Dignity comparable to that of Emperor; there he met, very unexpectedly, with an extraordinary Act of Friendſhip; for, on the firſt going of his Officers on Shore, they were met by a *Moor* of *Tunis*, who knew them, by their Dreſs, to be *Portugueze*; and though both on the ſcore of his Country and his Religion, it was natural for him to hate them, yet he very generouſly offered them his Service, and very ſincerely fulfilled all that he promiſed. He acquainted the *Samorin*, that a certain rich, powerful, and warlike Nation, were come from the fartheſt Parts of the Earth to ſeek his Friendſhip, and to deſire Leave to trade with his Subjects: This Repreſentation had its Effects; *Gama* was allowed not only to anchor in that Port with his Ships, but was alſo admitted to an Audience, in which he was treated with all the Kindneſs and Reſpect imaginable.

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[*] It is evident from hence, that if any Accident, or Shipwreck had attended this Voyage, there had been an End of the Deſign for ever, though it would have remained juſt as reaſonable and fit to have been undertaken as before, which I mention to ſhew how probable a Thing it is, that many great and glorious Diſcoveries have been prevented by ſuch groundleſs Oppoſitions.

[†] The Reader will eaſily perceive, from this Inſtance, that it is not a *great Force*, or a *vaſt Expence*, that is neceſſary to the Execution of an important Deſign, but the Choice of a good Officer, one who knows what he is to do, and goes with a Reſolution to do what he is ſent to do. All the maritime Expeditions, from the Beginning of the World to this Period of Time, are not comparable to what was performed in the narrow Compaſs of *ſeven* Years Time by *Chriſtopher Columbus* and *Vaſquez de Gama*; for the former ſailed on the 11th of *October*, 1492, and the other on the 9th of *July*, 1497, ſo that, as I obſerved before, the Diſcovery of the *Eaſt-Indies* and the *Weſt*, were compleated in ſeven Years, at a *tenth* Part of the Expence that attended our *laſt Weſt-Indian* Expedition, and with a Force that would be ſcarce thought ſufficient for equipping, at this Day, *three Privateers*. I do not ſay this with any View of making invidious Compariſons, becauſe I am perſuaded that *our Admiral*, who commanded in the *Weſt-Indies*, had he lived in thoſe Times, and been intruſted with either of thoſe Commands, would have done as much as *Columbus* or *Gama*. But I make this Obſervation with this View, that our Countrymen may be ſatisfied, that as great Things as theſe may yet be done, whenever our Undertakings are conducted by *Publick Spirit*, and the Execution of them entruſted to *Officers* who are known to have a greater Regard to *Character* than *Fortune*.

But Things however did not remain long in this Poſture, for the *Mohammedans*, who were ſettled in great Numbers in the Dominions of this Prince, ſeeing that their own Commerce muſt be deſtroyed by the coming of the *Portugueze*, took incredible Pains to miſrepreſent them, as an ambitious, fraudulent, and cruel People, who meant nothing leſs than to depoſe the *Samorin* himſelf, and to conquer his Country; which Stories had ſuch an Effect on the *Indian* Monarch, that he began to form Schemes for the Deſtruction of *Gama* and his People. Don *Vaſquez* however, had very early Intelligence of his Deſign, and therefore haſtened on Board his Ships, and quitted the Coaſt. He wrote, however, a Letter to the *Samorin*, in which he vehemently complained of this Breach of Faith, juſtified himſelf from the Imputations thrown out againſt him, and adviſed the *Samorin* to return to his former Sentiments, aſſuring him that he would find his Account in changing his Commerce with the *Mohammedans* for that of the Subjects of the King his Maſter. The *Samorin* wrote him a very polite Anſwer, in which he threw the Blame upon his Miniſters and the *Mohammedans*, promiſing to puniſh ſuch as were guilty, aſſuring him, that, for the Time to come, his Nation ſhould meet with no Reaſon to complain. He added to theſe Compliments a very reſpectful Letter to the King of *Portugal*, in which he accepted the Propoſitions made him on his Majeſty's Behalf, and promiſed a free Trade to his Subjects, without Prejudice however to his former Allies.

Don *Vaſquez* having received the Letters, proceeded to the Iſland of *Angedive*, at the Diſtance of fifty Leagues from *Callicut*, where having repaired his Veſſels, and refreſhed his People, he ſet ſail from thence in order to return to *Europe*. In his Paſſage, he took Care to put into *Melinda*, where he was received with great Friendſhip, and the King, according to his Promiſe, ſent with him an Ambaſſador to *Portugal*. He ſail'd from thence to the Iſland of *Zanguebar*; but finding by the Way, that his Crew was much diminiſhed, he burnt the *S. Raphael*, which was commanded by his Brother *Paul Gama*, and took the Men on Board his own Ship: From *Zanguebar* he ſail'd to *Mozambique*, where he took in a Supply of Proviſions.

On the 20th of *March* following, he doubled the Cape of *Good-Hope*, proceeded from thence to the *Azorres* or *Terceras*, and in the Month of *September*, 1499, arrived ſafe at *Beline*, having ſpent two Years and two Months in his Voyage, and having loſt by Sickneſs and Fatigue, about one hundred Men, and amongſt them his Brother. The Captain of his third Ship deſerted him in his Paſſage Home, with a View to get to *Liſbon* before him, in which he ſucceeded; but this proved rather advantageous than prejudicial to Don *Vaſquez*, for King *Emanuel* ſent ſome of his prime Nobility to meet him, receiving him, on his coming to Court, with all imaginable Marks of Favour and Eſteem, and rewarded him beyond every thing but his Merit. He created him Count *de Vidiguera*, gave him the royal Arms of *Portugal*, charged with two Does, in Alluſion to his Name of *Gama*, which ſignifies a *Doe*; and tho' he brought no great Riches home, beſtowed upon him large Appointments. He made alſo great Preſents to all his Officers, nor was there ſo much as a private Man on Board the Fleet, that did not receive the perſonal Thanks of this Prince, and with it conſiderable Marks of his Bounty.

So happy a Concluſion of the firſt Attempt, naturally paved the Way to a ſecond Expedition, for which the King cauſed immediate Preparations to be made, but at the ſame Time declared, that Don *Vaſquez de Gama* ſhould enjoy in Peace that Glory he had acquired, and not be obliged to hazard his Perſon again in ſo long and dangerous a Voyage. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that this ſecond Expedition met with no Oppoſition, ſo much more powerful is Succeſs than Reaſon, and ſo much greater the Authority of Experience, than all the Arguments in the World. All Expences were now thought trifling, and thoſe who before had treated the Paſſage to the *Indies* as a Chimera, were now the loudeſt in applauding it when performed.

5. The Fleet therefore intended for this ſecond Expedition, conſiſting of thirteen Sail, ſome of which were large Ships, was ſo effectually victualled, manned and freighted, as to fill Strangers with a high Idea of the Courage, Power and Wealth of the People inhabiting that Country from which it came. Don *Pedro Alvarez de Capral*, was appointed General and Commander in Chief, and carried with him Prieſts to inſtruct the Natives, if they were ſo inclined; but if not, and determined to make uſe of Force, he had fifteen hundred choſen Men on Board, which was thought a Force ſufficient to ſupport him. In the Month of *March*, in the Year 1500, he ſailed from the River of *Liſbon*, Experience having ſhewn, that was much the propereſt Seaſon of the Year for ſailing to the *Indies*. In his Paſſage, keeping out to Sea, in order to avoid the Storms that hitherto had been met with in doubling the Cape, he found himſelf near an unknown Continent, oppoſite to that of *Africa*; and as the Coaſt made a very pleaſant Appearance, he thought fit to go on Shore, and took Poſſeſſion of it on the Behalf of the King his Maſter, which Country he called the *Land* of the *Holy Croſs*, but it has been ſince known by the Name of *Brazil*.

This Diſcovery appeared to him of ſuch Conſequence, that notwithſtanding he had loſt five Sail of his Fleet already, he thought fit to ſend *Gaſpar Lamidos* back to *Portugal* with the News, and one of the Natives on Board, as a Proof of this Diſcovery, and he likewiſe left twenty condemned Perſons who were put on Board him for ſuch deſperate Services, in this new found Country, and then proſecuted his Voyage[s].

In a ſhort Time after he left *Brazil*, he was ſurprized by a moſt dreadful Storm, which laſted twenty Days together, in which he loſt many of his People, and one of his Ships, on Board of which was the famous *Bartholomew Diaz*, who firſt doubled the Cape of *Good-Hope*, and who, by this unlucky Accident, periſhed with the reſt that were on Board that Ship. The General, notwithſtanding this Misfortune, continued his Voyage, and refreſhed at *Mozambique*, where he arrived with no more than ſix Sail, and thoſe too in a very ſhattered Condition. The Inhabitants remembring the Diſputes they had with his Predeceſſor, received him, if not with Kindneſs, at leaſt with Reſpect, and furniſhed him with whatever he demanded; he ſailed from thence to *Quiloa*, and then continued his Rout to *Milinda*, where he ſafely ſet on Shore the Ambaſſador of that Prince, whom *Vaſquez Gama* had brought over.

He proceeded from thence with a fair Gale of Wind to the *Angedive* Iſlands, where he refreſhed and refitted at his Leiſure. The *Samorin* having Intelligence of his Arrival, ſent certain Perſons of Diſtinction to complement him thereupon, and to invite him to *Calicut*, which Invitation he accepted, provided he had Hoſtages ſent him for his Security. This was in itſelf a pretty bold Demand, but when he came to explain himſelf as to the Hoſtages he expected, it appeared of a much more extraordinary Nature. He demanded the Catual, or Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms, and ſome other of the *Samorins* Miniſters, on which that Prince heſitated at firſt, but at laſt yielded to it, and to all the other Demands made by the *Portugueze* General. On his Landing, he was received with all imaginable Civility, and immediately admitted to an Audience of the Emperor, at which *Capral*, who was naturally vain, made a pompous Diſplay of his Magnificence. The *Samorin*, to demonſtrate the Sincerity of his Profeſſions, made him a Preſent of a Houſe, by a Deed of Gift, which was ingroſſed in Letters of Gold; he permitted him alſo to ſet up the Standard of *Portugal*, to appoint a Factor, or Conſul for his Nation, and to open Magazines for the effectual carrying on of Commerce; but all this fair ſhew of good Intelligence and reciprocal Friendſhip ſoon came to nothing.

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[s] This Diſcovery of *Brazil* is a plain Proof, that if *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* had not ſent *Columbus* to diſcover *America* at the Time they did, it would have been diſcovered by the *Portugueze*; which ſhews of how great Importance it is for every Nation that aims at maritime Power, to encourage and promote all probable Schemes for Diſcoveries, which if they do not immediately ſucceed, are neceſſarily attended with theſe excellent Conſequences, *viz.* Breeding up good Officers, and keeping Seamen in Action; ſo that in Time of Peace, Attention to ſuch Expeditions will always ſecure a ſufficient Number of Officers and Seamen fit for the Service of their Country in Time of War, and who, if they are duly paid, and well treated, need never be compelled to do their Duty.

The *Portugueze* Hiſtorians aſſure us, that it happened thro' the Imprudence of their new Factor, or Conſul, whoſe Name was *Correa*, and who, on ſome ſlight Information, acquainted *Capral*, that the *Samorin* intended him ſome foul Play. The *Portugueze* General, upon this, began to ſeize the Ships of the *Indians*, and to commit other Acts of Hoſtility; upon which the Inhabitants, as might be reaſonably expected, attacked the *Portugueze* Factory, forced open the Gates, pillaged and burnt the Houſe, and of ſixty-ſix People that were in it, murdered fifty, the reſt ſaving themſelves with great Difficulty on Board their Ships. The *Portugueze* General took a very ſevere Revenge, by burning ten rich Ships that were in the Port, making Slaves of Part of their Crews, and beating down a great many Houſes about their Ears; after which he ſail'd away for *Cochin*, which lies thirty Leagues from *Callicut*.

The Prince then on the Throne of *Cochin*, was called *Trimumpara*, who having Reaſons to be offended with the *Samorin*, received him very kindly, and concluded a Treaty with him, into which the Kings of *Coulan* and *Cananor* deſired to be admitted. *Capral* taking great State upon him, did not immediately liſten to this Propoſal, but offered to carry their Ambaſſadors, if they thought fit to ſend any with him, into *Portugal*, aſſuring them, that his Maſter would ſend them ſpeedy and powerful Aſſiſtance againſt the *Samorin*. They readily accepted his Offer, and the General having taken on Board a rich Cargo, paid a Viſit to the King of *Cananor*, and having received the Ambaſſadors of all the three Princes on Board, he in the Month of *January* ſail'd from *Cochin*, in order to return to *Europe*.

The *Samorin* fitted out a great Fleet, on Board of which were two thouſand Men, and ſent it in Purſuit of them, but the *Portugueze* being better Sailors, eaſily eſcaped this Danger. In his Paſſage home, one of his Ships unluckily ran aſhore on the Coaſt of *Melinda*, and *Capral*, to prevent the *Mohammedans* from making any Advantage of this Accident, firſt nailed his Cannon, and then ſet the Ship on Fire; notwithſtanding which, the King of *Monbaza* found Means to weigh the Artillery, and to render them ſerviceable, to the great Prejudice of the Chriſtians.

The *Portugueze* General continued his Voyage, doubled the Cape without any great Difficulty, and arrived ſafely at *Liſbon*, on the 23d of *July*, 1501. He brought Home with him a very rich Cargo, the Ambaſſadors of three Princes, and a pompous Account of the great Exploits he had performed againſt the *Samorin*. All which, however, did not procure him a very favourable Reception from his Maſter, on account of the great Loſs he had ſuſtained in this Voyage, and the Number of gallant Men who had periſhed in it, and who were not to be repaired or replaced, by all the Wealth of the *Indies* [h].

It ſeems, Don *Emanuel* had ſome Foreſight of what might happen from the haughty Diſpoſition of this Officer, and therefore had diſpatched a Squadron of four Sail to the *Indies*, under the Command of Don *Juan Nova Colleca*, a Man of great Prudence and Courage. He miſſed of *Capral* in his Paſſage, but arriving at *Melinda*, and there learning what had paſſed at *Calicut* and *Cochin*, he continued his Voyage to *Cananor*, and having complemented the King on the Part of his Maſter, ſailed from thence for *Cochin*. He met in his Voyage, a Fleet of upwards of fourſcore Sail, which the *Samorin* had ſent to attack and deſtroy him in the Port of *Cananor*. Don *Juan*, notwithſtanding the great Inequality of their Force, fought them for a whole Day, and having ſunk ten Sail of large Ships, four Barks, and other ſmall Veſſels, and killed upwards of four hundred Men, forced them to return with Shame to *Callicut*. After this Victory, he was received with all imaginable Marks of Kindneſs and Gratitude at *Cochin*, where having at Leiſure revictualled his Ships, and taken in a very rich Cargo, he ſailed for *Europe*.

He doubled the Cape without any Difficulty, and in his Paſſage from thence touched at the Iſland of *St. Helena*, of which he made ſuch a Report on his Return to *Liſbon*, as engaged the King of *Portugal* to inſtruct his Admirals to touch for Refreſhments there for the future. But a Squadron of ſix Sail that were ſent to *Brazil* at the ſame time Don *Juan* was diſpatched to the *Indies*, had not the like good Fortune, four of them being loſt at Sea, and the two that returned brought little with them except Monkies and Parrots.

6. The Neceſſity of ſending a greater Force into the *Indies* than had been hitherto employed, was now very apparent, and therefore King *Emanuel* ordered twenty Sail of ſtout Ships to be equipped for that Purpoſe, neither did he find it more difficult to furniſh ſo large a Force with every thing neceſſary, than to fit out the ſmall Fleets he had ſent before; for now that there was a Proſpect of great Riches being got by this Commerce, he had not only the Command of the Wealth of his own Subjects, but Foreigners alſo reſorted in Crowds to *Liſbon*, ſome in ſearch of Employment, and others to employ their Money. The Buſineſs was next to find a Perſon fit to be intruſted with ſo great a Command, and the King, after mature Reflection, determined to engage *Vaſquez de Gama* to go thither a ſecond Time. That great Officer was in every Reſpect as eaſy and as happy as he could wiſh; his Reputation was well eſtabliſhed, his Fortune larger than his Deſires, and the Affairs of his Family in the faireſt Situation. But the preſent Poſture of things made his Preſence neceſſary abroad, and from a Senſe of this he readily quitted his Retreat, and ſacrificed all the Bleſſings of Life, as became a Man of Honour, to the Service of his Country.

In the Spring of the Year 1503, he ſailed from *Liſbon*, doubled the *Cape* without any remarkable Accident, and arriving at *Quiloa*, forced the King thereof to become tributary to his Maſter, and to agree to the annual Payment of two thouſand Crowns of Gold. He ſailed from thence to *Cananor*, where he ſet the Embaſſador on Shore, made ſeveral rich Preſents to the King in the Name of his Maſter, renewed the Alliance made with him, and then ſailed for *Cochin*. While he was there, he received a Deputation from the Chriſtians of *India*, or, as they are commonly called, Chriſtians of *St. Thomas*, to whom he promiſed all the Aſſiſtance in his Power, and that he would leave, as indeed he did, a ſtrong Squadron behind him to protect them. The *Samorin* in the mean time neglected nothing in the Power of a great Politician, or of a puiſſant Monarch, to deſtroy his Enemies. He laboured all he could to engage *Trimumpara* to betray Don *Vaſquez* into his Hands; but that Prince anſwered, that hitherto the *Portugueze* had behaved towards him with great Honour and Generoſity, and that while they continued ſo to act, he would never abandon them.

The *Samorin* had next Recourſe to open Force, and aſſembling a Fleet of twenty-nine Sail, reſolved to attack Don *Vaſquez*, when he was ready to return with his Fleet heavy laden, and conſequently in a Condition leſs able to oppoſe him. When therefore he had Intelligence that the *Portugueze* Admiral was preparing for his Departure, he ſent this mighty Force againſt him. Don *Vaſquez de Gama* ſuffered them to come as near him as they thought fit, and then attacking two of their largeſt Ships with great Vigor, the Seamen and Soldiers, after a ſhort Reſiſtance, in which they loſt three hundred Men, jumped over-board, which ſtruck ſuch a Terror into their Companions, that they immediately ſpread all the Sail they could, and bore away in the utmoſt Confuſion. In theſe two Ships that were taken, Don *Vaſquez* found immenſe Riches; for beſides Gold and Silver Plate to a great Value, there was on board one of them an Idol of a moſt horrid Shape, which weighed ſixty Pounds in Gold. In the Head there were two Emaralds for Eyes, more perfect than any that had been ſeen in *Europe*; and in the Breaſt there was fixed a Ruby of the Size of a Cheſnut; theſe and other valuable things being taken out, together with a Robe deſigned for the Idol, embroidered with Pearls, Topazes, and Diamonds, the Ships were ſet on Fire.

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[h] I think it requiſite to add a Note here, in order to inform the Reader, that this is no Remark of mine, but taken from the *Portugueze* Writers, which is an Argument, that in thoſe Days, when a true Spirit of Virtue prevailed, it was held more honourable for a great Officer to ſerve his Country, than to inrich it; and that *Capral* was blamed, not for his want of Zeal or Courage, for he does not ſeem to have been defective in either, but for his not being ſo careful of his People as he ought to have been; for it is, and will be, a Maxim in all well-governed States, that he is no Friend to his Country who is careleſs of its Subjects.

Vaſquez proceeded from thence to *Cananor*, conferred with the King on the Meaſures neceſſary to be taken in his Abſence, and then leaving behind him ſix large Ships under the Command of *Vincent Sodrez*, he ſailed for *Mozambique*, where having taken in ſome neceſſary Refreſhments, he continued his Voyage without the leaſt unlucky Accident, till he arrived at *Liſbon*, where he was received with the utmoſt Joy, and the Tribute of the King of *Quiloa*, in a Silver Baſon, was carried in Triumph before him.

As ſoon as *Gama* left the *Indies*, the *Samorin* aſſembled an Army of 50,000 Men, and marched to attack the King of *Cochin* by Land. The News of this Invaſion ſo frighted the Subjects of that Monarch, that they began to curſe the *Portugueze*, and to intreat their King to make his Peace with the *Samorin*, by delivering up ſuch of them as were in his Hands, and renouncing his Alliance with them. *Trimumpara* behaved on this Occaſion with extraordinary Firmneſs, he gave the *Portugueze* that were at *Cochin*, a ſtrong Guard, and, notwithſtanding the Cowardice of his Subjects, reſolved to put all to the Hazard, rather than break his Faith.

At this Juncture *Vincent Sodrez* arrived with the Ships under his Command, to whom the King applied himſelf for Relief, and deſired he would land a Part of his Force to aſſiſt him in this Extremity. The *Portugueze* Officer was a very brave Man, and underſtood his Buſineſs perfectly; but he loved Money, and had found a very eaſy way of acquiring it, by plundering the *Mohammedan* Traders[h]: He therefore found out, that by his Inſtructions he was to act by Sea, and not on Shore, and therefore would not conſent to land ſo much as a ſingle Man. This amazed the King, and enraged the *Portugueze* that were at *Cochin* to the laſt Degree; but *Sodrez*, without putting himſelf to any Pain about their Reſentments, ſailed to the *Red-Sea*, in order to make Prizes, where his own Ship was loſt, and he and his Brother drowned.

In the mean time the *Samorin* marched with his Army into the Territories of *Cochin*, where the King being betrayed, they forced a Paſs that led to his Capital, by which they imagined they had him intirely at their Mercy. As ſoon as *Trimumpara* was informed of this unlucky Accident, his firſt Care was to ſecure the *Portugueze*, and in order to this, he directed that they ſhould be ſent over to the Iſland of *Viapan*, which lies over-againſt *Cochin*. This Iſland was conſecrated to the moſt ſolemn Myſteries of the *Indian* Religion, and had therefore been hitherto accounted ſacred in all the Diſputes between Monarchs of that Faith; but it was alſo a Place of extraordinary Strength, and that not only from its being inacceſſible by Nature, but from the Aſſiſtance alſo of Art; and in this Iſland there were conſiderable Magazines, and a very numerous Garriſon of good Troops.

The *Samorin* carrying all before him, and a great Part of *Trimumpara*'s Subjects having deſerted their Maſter, and ſubmitted to that Tyrant, the King of *Cochin* found himſelf at laſt obliged to follow the *Portugueze*, and take Shelter in the ſame Place. The Governor of *Viapan* remained firm to his Maſter's Intereſt, and thereby preſerved him from the Rage of his Enemy; for the *Samorin* having burnt the Town of *Cochin*, ſeveral times attacked the Iſland of *Viapan*, and was as often repulſed with great Loſs, and at laſt obliged to abandon his Deſign, and to return again into his own Dominions, the Winter Seaſon coming on, in which it is impoſſible for an *Indian* Army to keep the Field; but he left a conſiderable Garriſon in *Cochin*, and ordered ſeveral Forts to be erected, reſolving to return thither again in the Spring.

7. It was now become a ſettled Maxim in *Portugal* to ſend annually a Fleet to the *Indies*, and accordingly *Francis Albuquerque* coming with a ſtrong Force into thoſe Seas, and having joined at the *Angedive* Iſlands the Ships under the Command of *Pedro Ataida*, he ſailed directly to *Viapan*, where he comforted the King of *Cochin* on the Part of Don *Emanuel* his Maſter, and aſſured him that he ſhould receive all the Aſſiſtance from him that lay in his Power, which he performed with as much Sincerity as with Readineſs he promiſed. In the firſt place, he drove the Garriſon, which the *Samorin* had left in *Cochin* from thence, and having demoliſhed their Forts, brought the King back again in Triumph to his Capital. As this Victory, and the Uſe he made of it, gave the *Portugueze* Admiral a good Title to the King's Favour, he took Occaſion from thence to deſire the Liberty of erecting a Place of Strength for the Security of his Countrymen, that they might not be expoſed to ſuch Dangers as they had lately gone through for the future; the Propoſal was very kindly accepted, and the King of *Cochin* gave him leave to build a Fort where-ever he thought fit. In Conſequence of this Permiſſion, *Francis Albuquerque* made Choice of an Eminence, which commanded both the Town and the Fort, and the King having allowed him to cut down all the fine Palm Trees that were planted round his Palace, he quickly finiſhed the Fortreſs he had marked out in the beſt manner that ſuch Materials would permit. He likewiſe built a Chapel for the Performance of Divine Service; and thus as the *Portugueze* Writers themſelves expreſs it, their Nation became poſſeſſed of the Dominion both in Spirituals and Temporals of the *Indies*, and the King of *Cochin* without perceiving it, contributed all that lay in his Power to the introducing Strangers as Lords over himſelf and his Neighbours[i].

Under pretence of reducing ſuch as had rebelled againſt the King of *Cochin*, they made themſelves Maſters of their Countries, pillaged all their Towns and Villages at Pleaſure, and committed greater Devaſtations than the *Samorin* himſelf had done during the late Invaſion. In the midſt of theſe Proceedings *Alphonſo Albuquerque* arrived from *Portugal* with an additional Force, he ſoon added both to the Conqueſts and Alliances of the *Portugueze*. The Tutors or Guardians of the King of *Colan*, a very rich and potent Prince, whoſe Capital lay twenty-four Leagues South of *Cochin*, demanded the Protection and Friendſhip of *Portugal*, which was immediately granted, and a Factory ſettled there. The King of *Zanzibar* was ſoon after compelled to ſubmit to the Crown of *Portugal*, and the free City of *Brava*, which was a kind of Commonwealth, was obliged to pay an annual Tribute. The King of *Melinda* had Recourſe to the *Portugueze* for Aſſiſtance againſt his Neighbour the King of *Mombaza*, which ended in the Reduction of them both. Thoſe great Succeſſes terrified the *Samorin* to ſuch a degree, that in the moſt humble manner he ſought for Peace; and in order to obtain it, entered into ſuch Conditions as ſeemed ſatisfactory to the *Portugueze*, made them Reparation for the Loſſes they had ſuſtained when formerly ſettled at *Calicut*, and did every thing for them that they inſiſted upon.

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[h] This Man has a very good Character given him by the famous *Portugueze* Hiſtorian *John de Barros*, at leaſt in Point of Courage; but it ſeems his Love of Money got the better of his Virtue and his Underſtanding. He had heard of a rich Fleet of Ships in the *Red-Sea*, and he would needs ſail in the Month of *May* to intercept them. In vain the People of the Country repreſented to him, that it was dangerous putting to Sea at that Seaſon of the Year; in vain his Pilots diſſuaded him from his Purpoſe; he was ſo poſſeſſed with the Deſire of being rich, that he had no Regard to his own Safety. After his and his Brother's Death, *Pedro Ataida*, upon whom the Command devolved, endeavoured to return with the remaining Ships to *Cochin*; but finding it impracticable, was forced to retire to the *Angedive* Iſlands, where he wintered.

[i] It is not eaſy to conceive how in ſuch a Situation the King of *Cochin* could refuſe the *Portugueze* leave to build a Fort in his Dominions, and yet it muſt be allowed, that it was an Error in Policy not to be juſtified. He was preſſed by two Difficulties equally great; but the Dangers from whence thoſe Difficulties aroſe were not equally preſſing, and therefore he choſe, as indeed any other Prince would in his Circumſtances, to run the Hazard of that which was at the greateſt Diſtance. The *Portugueze* Writers, without any Ceremony avow, that the Deſign of their General's erecting a Fort was to eſtabliſh their Dominion over the Natives, to which, however, they had no ſort of Title, except what was derived from the Pope's Bull, and the Notion of converting the People from Idolatry. With regard to the Bull, it has been treated with equal and with juſt Contempt by Proteſtant and Popiſh Writers. With reſpect to Converſion, it might be eaſily ſhewn, that Force of any kind is incompatable with the Chriſtian Religion; ſo that on the whole theſe Proceedings were grounded on pure Maxims of Policy; and all that is ſaid of Religion is a mere Pretence, by which the *Portugueze* endeavour to hide their Ambition and Injuſtice.

But as great Proſperity is apt to corrupt the Minds of Men, ſo the *Portugueze* made a very ill Uſe of this extraordinary Turn of Affairs in their Favour, ſince not long after this Peace concluded with the *Samorin*, they took a Ship of his richly laden; and notwithſtanding he applied by his Embaſſadors for Satisfaction, *Francis Albuquerque*, who then acted with ſupream Authority in the *Indies*, not only refuſed him Satisfaction, but treated him with Scorn and Diſreſpect. This irritated that Monarch to ſuch a Degree, that he determined to renew the War, in order to revenge himſelf upon theſe Strangers, and to deſtroy the King of *Cochin*, who had ſacrificed the Freedom of the *Indians* by his indiſcreet Conceſſions to theſe foreign Invaders.

He kept, however, his Deſign to himſelf, and made ſecret Preparations for War, in order to be ready to fall upon his Enemies as ſoon as the *Portugueze* Fleet ſhould return to *Europe*. But all the Precautions he uſed could not hinder *Trimumpara* from gaining early Intelligence of his Intentions, who thereupon applied himſelf to the *Albuquerque's* intreating them to leave a ſufficient Force behind to protect their Countrymen and Allies in the *Indies*. The Requeſt was reaſonable in itſelf, and the King of *Cochin* had the juſteſt Grounds to expect it ſhould have been complied with; but notwithſtanding what he could ſay, *Francis Albuquerque* would not be perſuaded to leave him any more than three Ships, and one hundred and fifty Men, under the Command of *Edward Pacheco*, a Man of great Courage and Conduct, and of ſuch Steadineſs and Abilities, that he was an Army in himſelf. This Step once taken, the *Albuquerques* ſailed with a rich Cargo for *Europe*, but met with very different Fates in their Voyage, ſince *Francis Albuquerque* the Uncle periſhed, with all who were on Board his Ship, none knew where, or how; but *Alphonſo*, the moſt fortunate Commander of his Time, arrived ſafely at *Liſbon*, with all the Ships under his Command, having acquired as great Fame and Riches as any that had been hitherto employed in the Eaſt.

As ſoon as the *Portugueze* Fleet quitted *India*, the *Samorin* aſſembled an Army of ſixty thouſand Men, and a great Fleet, in order to attack *Trimumpara* and the *Portugueze* in his Dominions. The Subjects of that Prince acted as ill on this, as they had done on the former Invaſion; that is to ſay, they abandoned their Prince, and endeavoured to ſave themſelves without thinking of their Country. The King behaved with his uſual Firmneſs and Conſtancy, diſpoſed all things to the beſt Advantage, and left the reſt to Providence. *Pacheco* and his *Portugueze* gained great Reputation by this War; and it was chiefly by his Aſſiſtance, that the vaſt Preparations made by the *Samorin*, produced nothing but Confuſion and Shame to their Author. This Commander built another Fort for the Defence of the Haven, acted with the greateſt Alacrity and Courage by Sea or Land, where-ever the common Intereſt called him; ſo that when a new Fleet arrived from *Portugal*, and the Danger being over, he teſtified a Deſire of returning home: The King of *Cochin* gave him Letters, teſtifying how well he had behaved, and how much they were indebted to him for their Security.

At his Return King *Emanuel* paid him the higheſt Honours, ordered one of the moſt eloquent Prelates in the Kingdom to write the Hiſtory of this War, which he tranſmitted to the Pope, and other Chriſtian Princes, telling them at the ſame time, that it was as great a Satisfaction to him to have ſuch a Man his Subject, as to be Maſter of the *Indies*; and to ſhew that he did not mean to reward the important Services with Fame only, he beſtowed on *Pacheco* one of the richeſt Governments in *Africa*. Such was the noble Spirit of this Prince, to whoſe ſublime Virtues *Portugal* owes her Glory, and her *Indies*; a Prince, who knew how to ſuit the Abilities of Men to the Deſigns in the Execution of which he employed them, who judged impartially of their Behaviour, never puniſhed with any degree of Severity, or ſuffered Envy to mix with the Rewards he beſtowed on Men of Merit. Such a Prince was remarkably well ſerved at home, and highly eſteemed abroad: His Fortune made him the Delight of his Subjects; his Power rendered him the Terror of his Enemies; his Fidelity gained him the perpetual Confidence of his Allies. But it is now time to purſue our Hiſtory, and to ſpeak of the firſt Viceroy ſent by the Crown of *Portugal* to direct the Affairs of the *Indies*.

8. The immediate Acquiſition of Wealth and Power did not ſo take up the Mind of this great Prince, as to engage him in an Opinion that all Difficulties were overcome, and that there was nothing now to be thought on but making uſe of what was already in the Hands of his Subjects; on the contrary, the great things they had performed, inclined him to extend his Plan, and to think of driving the *Mohammedans* entirely out of the *Indies*. It was undoubtedly a great and glorious Deſign, but at the ſame time it ſeemed the Strength of his Kingdom, conſidered abſolutely impracticable. Don *Emanuel* had been informed that there were three great Ports in the Eaſt, in which the *Mohammedans* were eſtabliſhed, and from whence they carried on all their Commerce to the moſt diſtant Parts of the *Indies*. Theſe Ports were *Aden* in *Arabia*; *Ormuz*, in an Iſland of the ſame Name on the Coaſt of *Perſia*, and *Malacca*, near the Streights of *Sincapour*. As their Strength was divided, Don *Emanuel* judged it not impoſſible to make himſelf Maſter of all theſe Places in their Turns, and with this View it was that he began to fit out a larger and better appointed Fleet than hitherto he had ſent to the *Indies*[k].

While he was employed in theſe Preparations, there happened a new Scene of Affairs in the Eaſt, where the *Brammins*, who were about the *Samorin*, ſhewed themſelves able Politicians, by giving him the beſt Advice that the Poſture of his Affairs would admit. They obſerved to him, that the *Chriſtians* and *Mohammedans* were equally his Enemies, and that therefore the wiſeſt thing he could do was to call in the one to combat the other; that by thus waſting their Forces, they might be ſo reduced, as that he might be a Match for both. He, liſtening to their Requeſt, ſent for Aid from the Sultan of the *Mamalukes*, who were at that time in Poſſeſſion of *Egypt*; the News of which greatly terrified all the Chriſtians in the *Indies*, and occaſioned their ſending immediate Advice of it into *Portugal*.

This obliged King *Emanuel* to diſpatch his Fleet ſooner than he intended, and with a leſs Force, though it was even now very conſiderable, conſiſting of thirteen large Ships, and ſix Carvels, with a great Body of Soldiers on Board. He made choice of Don *Francis Almeyda Count d'Abrantes* to command it, who had ſerved King *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile* in his Wars with great Reputation, and gave him the Title of Vice King, and Governor General of the *Indies*. He likewiſe aſſigned him Guards for his Perſon, a certain Number of Chaplains, and whatever elſe could be thought neceſſary to give an Air of Grandeur to his Office. On the 25th of *March* 1505, the Fleet ſailed from the River of *Liſbon*, and on the 11th of *April* following reached the Iſlands of Cape *Verd*; from whence ſtretching too far to the South, in hopes of doubling the Cape with greater Eaſe, the Fleet ran into ſuch high Latitudes, as that the Seamen had many of them their Fingers frozen; but varying their Courſe a Point or two to the Eaſt, they arrived ſafely at *Quiloa*, where *Abraham*, the Tyrant of that Country, refuſing to pay his Tribute any longer, the Viceroy drove him out, and ſettled *Mohammed Anconin* in his Place, building a Fort there to keep the People the better in Subjection.

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[k] This Scheme of Don *Emanuel's* was actually executed in every Branch of it by Don *Alphonſo Albuquerque*; but I think it is very queſtionable, whether the *Portugueze* would not have found their Account much better in making two or three good Settlements in the *Indies*, without endeavouring to diſtreſs the Inhabitants, or to deprive them of their Liberty: In Proſecution of which Deſign, their own Succeſs ruined them, as in the ſucceeding Part of this Work we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew.

Thence he ſail'd to *Mombaza*, which is a ſmall City, in an Iſland well fortified with two Citadels, furniſhed with ſome Pieces of Cannon, which engaged the King to refuſe *Almeyda* Entrance, this, however, he forced, by beating their Forts to the Ground, and afterwards took the City by Storm, and made Slaves of a great Part of the Inhabitants. He continued his Voyage to the *Angedive* Iſlands, which are five in Number, not far from *Goa*, where, according to his Inſtructions, he built a Fort. He proceeded thence to *Cananor*, where, with the Conſent of the King, he built another Fort, and put a ſtrong Garriſon into it. On his Arrival at *Cochin*, he found things in a very unſettled Condition; for *Trimumpara*, worn out with Years, had reſigned the Crown to his Siſter's younger Son *Noubeador*, rejecting the elder, becauſe he had deſerted him on the laſt Invaſion, by the *Samorin*, which occaſioned great Troubles; but the Viceroy put an End to them, and fixed *Noubeador* firmly on his Uncle's Throne[l].

About this Time a Squadron of eight Ships was ſent out to diſcover new Lands, by which was found the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, otherwiſe called *St. Lawrence*, becauſe it was firſt ſeen on the Day dedicated by the Church of *Rome* to that Saint. *Almeyda* alſo detached a Squadron under his Son *Laurence de Almeyda*, on the ſame Service, who repaired to the *Maldive* Iſlands, from whence he was driven by a mighty Tempeſt to the Iſle of *Ceylon*, thought to be the *Taprobana* of the Ancients; where landing, he took the Inhabitants into the Protection of *Portugal*, and impoſed a Tribute on their King; nor was the Viceroy in the mean Time leſs employed, but defeated the *Calicutians* in a great Battle at Sea; then dividing his victorious Fleet, he committed one Part of it to *Emanuel Pazagno*, and the other to his Son, upon his return from *Ceylon*, appointing the firſt to accompany the trading Ships of *Cochin* to Cape *Comorin*, for their Security againſt the Rovers in thoſe Seas, and the other to cruize at large about the Coaſt for the Defence of the Iſlands and Ports. It became now an eſtabliſhed Rule among thoſe new Inhabitants of the *Indies*, that whoſoever came into thoſe Parts, without a Paſs from ſome *Portugueze* Admiral, or Governor of a Fort, ſhould be eſteemed as Enemies, and loſe both Ship and Goods, whereby they engroſſed all the Wealth of the *Eaſt* to themſelves; and the better to maintain their Authority, King *Emanuel* ſent out yearly new Reinforcements and Supplies.

In the Year 1508, fifteen Ships were fitted out, under the Command of *Triſtan de Cunha*, with which, repairing to the Coaſt of *Zanguebar*, he aſſiſted the King of *Melinda* againſt his rebellious Subjects, and burning the Cities of *Hoia* and *Brava*, ſailed to *Zocotara*, where, reducing the chief Town of the Iſland, he left a Garriſon in it, and made the beſt of his Way to *Malabar*, where, joining the Fleet of *Almeyda*, they repaired againſt the People of *Calicut*, who were now aſſiſted by a Fleet from *Arabia*, and before *Panan*, one of their Towns, gave them a final Defeat. Not long after they engaged off of *Chaal* near *Bombay*, the Fleet of *Campſon* Sultan of *Egypt*, coming to the Aſſiſtance of the Enemy, which they entirely ruined, and every where came off Conquerors, excepting that the aforementioned Son of *Almeyda* falling in with a Squadron of *Cambayan* and *Egyptian* Ships, was unfortunately ſlain with an Arrow, as he bravely defended himſelf againſt them. The Body of this young Hero could not be found, but the Fleet returned with the melancholy News, which the Viceroy received with great Conſtancy of Mind, ſaying no more, than that his Son could not end his Days more glorioully than in the Service of his Country.

Alphonſo Albuquerque was now arrived in the *Eaſt* with a ſtrong Squadron from *Portugal*, with which, deſigning to ſubdue the Iſle of *Ormus*, at the Mouth of the *Perſian* Gulph, he firſt reduced the Cities *Curiate*, *Maſcate*, *Sobar* and *Orſacan*, lying along the Coaſts of *Arabia*, then ſubject to the King of *Ormus*; after which, defeating the Enemy in an Engagement, in the Port of that City, he landed in the Iſland, and prepared to inveſt the Place, when the King (called *Zarfadin* II.) gave Leave that the *Portugueze* ſhould build a Fort on the Sea-Coaſts, and engaged, not only to pay them an annual Tribute, but to defray the Charges of the War. The Time of *Almeyda*'s Viceroyſhip being now on the Point of expiring, he reſolved to revenge the Death of his Son, and going out with a Squadron of nineteen Sail, attacked off *Diu* a great Fleet of *Cambayans*, *Egyptians*, *Calicutians*, and other of the Enemies of the *Portugueze*, by whoſe Hands his Son fell, and entirely routing them with great Slaughter, ſubdued all the Coaſt from *Diu* to *Cochin*, forcing the ſeveral Princes to yield themſelves Tributary to *Portugal*.

His Commiſſion being now expired, he delivered the Government with great Reluctance to *Albuquerque*[m], and having paſſed the Cape of *Good-Hope*, in his Way homewards, was, with his Companions, unfortunately ſlain by ſome Barbarians on the Coaſt of *Africa*, through his own Imprudence; for he would needs go on Shore in ſearch of Proviſions and Refreſhments, in a Country abſolutely unknown, and there ſome of his Attendants having quarrelled about the Price of Proviſions with the Natives, he, with more Courage than Prudence, ran to their Aſſiſtance; but when he ſaw the whole Country pouring down upon them, he would have retired, and did his utmoſt Endeavour to make a Retreat to his Ship; but it was too late, the Barbarians diſcharged on him, and thoſe who were with him, a Shower of Arrows, by which himſelf, and twelve experienced Officers were killed upon the Spot; ſo that he loſt not only the Rewards which he might reaſonably have expected from his Maſter, but even wanted a decent Funeral, which, in the Opinion of thoſe who ſurvived him, was a much heavier Misfortune.

9. He was ſucceeded in his Command in the *Indies* by *Alphonſo Albuquerque*, whoſe Services had already merited much from his Maſter, and whoſe Character rendered him the fitteſt of all others to be entruſted with Power at this Time; yet he had not the Title of Viceroy, but that of General only, though his Authority was as extenſive as that of *Almeyda*, and his Succeſs in his Adminiſtration ſo extraordinary, that it acquired him the Surname of *Great*. *Fernand Coutigno*, Grand Marſhal of *Portugal*, who was come with a Fleet of fifteen Sail, and with three thouſand Men on Board, to put him in Poſſeſſion of the Government, engaged *Albuquerque* to begin the Exerciſe of his Authority with the Deſtruction of *Calicut*, which had given them ſo much Trouble, and which was likely to give them ſtill more, as long as it ſtood. This Expedition was very honourable for the new General, though it proved fatal to its Author; for while *Albuquerque* took the Citadel that commanded the Place, and ſet fire to the Town, the Grand Marſhal made himſelf Maſter of the Royal Palace, where finding immenſe Riches, his People fell to plundering, and the *Indians*, taking Advantage of the Diſorder they were in, fell upon them, and cut them off to a Man. *Albuquerque* did all that in his Power lay, to prevent the Miſchief, but without Effect, and in endeavouring to ſave another, he ran a great Riſque of being deſtroyed himſelf; for in his Paſſage towards the Palace, he received two dangerous Wounds, and immediately after, was almoſt cruſhed to Pieces, by a great Stone thrown upon him from the Top of one of the publick Buildings. In this Condition his Soldiers took him up, and carried him on Board his Ship, and then they made a good Retreat, having loſt at this unfortunate Undertaking the Grand Marſhal, and fourſcore Men, and about three hundred wounded.

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[l] This was a very deep Queſtion in Politicks, *viz*. Whether Rebellion in the next Heir deprives him of his Right of Succeſſion? But it does not appear, that ever the *Portugueze* conſidered the thing in this Light, the youngeſt of the two Nephews ſeemed to them moſt in their Intereſt, and therefore it was very natural for them to be in his.

[m] We learn from ſome of the *Portugueze* Hiſtorians, that *Almeyda* ſuffered his Jealouſy of *Albuquerque* to carry him ſo far, as to cauſe him to be ſeized, together with all his Papers, and conducted to the Citadel of *Cananor*, where he kept him Priſoner, allowing him only three of his Servants to attend him; and tho' it was impoſſible they ſhould have Intelligence of this in *Portugal*, yet it ſeems they ſuſpected ſome ſuch Matter, and therefore ſent a Man of great Quality, and a ſtrong Fleet, to regulate Affairs in that Part of the World, without which, in all Probability, there might have been ſome Difficulty in perſuading the Viceroy to part with a Power of which he was ſo fond.

As ſoon as *Albuquerque* recovered, he formed a Deſign of making himſelf Maſter of *Ormuz*; and for that Purpoſe aſſembled a great Fleet, and a conſiderable Body of Troops, amongſt which were two thouſand veteran *Portugueze*, that had ſerved long in the *Indies*. But when he was on the Point of ſailing, he received ſuch Intelligence as engaged him to alter his Deſign, and to reſolve upon attacking *Goa*, a large and rich City in the Iſland of *Ticuarin*, with one of the beſt Ports in the *Indies*. This Iſland, which is about nine or ten Leagues in Circumference, was eſteemed, from its Situation, the moſt important Poſt on the Coaſt of *Malabar*. The King of *Decan* was the natural Lord of it, and the Perſon who commanded for him therein, was one *Idalcan*, a *Moor* by Birth, and a Man of great Courage and Experience. He took all imaginable Care to put the Place into the beſt Poſture of Defence poſſible; notwithſtanding which, the Iſland was reduced, and the City of *Goa* taken by Storm by the *Portugueze*, aſſiſted by a Fleet and Army of an *Indian* Prince, called the King of *Onor*, under the Command of *Timoia*, his General. Don *Alphonſo Albuquerque* made his publick Entry into it on the 17th of *February*, 1510, with great Magnificence; and having ſettled every Thing there, in the beſt Order poſſible, he appointed his Nephew *Antonio de Norogna* Governor of the City; *Gaſpar de Payva* General Director of the Commerce, and *Timoia*, had the Charge of the Revenues, which amounted to Eighty-two thouſand Pieces of Gold *per Annum*. This Conqueſt was not eaſily maintained, for *Idalcan* returned with ſuch a Force as recovered the Place, and the new Governor *Antonio de Narogna* was ſlain in the Diſpute, which, however, ſerved only to encreaſe the Deſire of *Albuquerque* to raiſe the Credit of his Nation, by ſecuring a Country and City of ſuch Conſequence, which, after a War of long Continuance, he accompliſhed; and this City became afterwards, *viz.* in 1559, the Seat of the Governor, and the See of an Archbiſhop, and Primate of the *Indies*.

The Conqueſt of *Goa*, though, in itſelf, of vaſt Importance, was far from ſatisfying the Ambition of *Albuquerque*, whoſe Mind was continually agitated with the Deſires of extending the Power of his Prince, and his Reputation. It was with this View, that he ſailed with a great Fleet to the Road of *Malaca*, where he demanded the *Portugueze* Priſoners the King had in his Hands[n]. The *Indian* Monarch put him off with fair Words and Promiſes, and the General being afraid that he might put the Priſoners to Death, bore with this Treatment for ſome Time; but, at laſt, was ſo provoked, that he made an Attempt on the Place, and actually ſet it on Fire; upon which the King of *Malaca* immediately ſent the before-mentioned Priſoners, and offered to make Peace with the *Portugueze* upon their own Terms. Thoſe preſcribed by *Albuquerque* were extremely hard, for he demanded Leave to build a Fort, where he thought fit, a Reparation of Damages done to the *Portugueze*, and a Sum of Money equivalent to the Expence of this Expedition.

The *Indian* Monarch, having conſulted with his Council, abſolutely refuſed to yield to them; and thereupon Hoſtilities were again begun on both Sides, which ended in *Albuquerque*'s attacking the City of *Malaca* by Sea and Land with great Fury, and, after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, it was taken by Storm, and given up to the Pillage of the *Portugueze* Soldiers; and we may gueſs at the Riches of the Place by the clear Fifth, which was reſerved to the King, and which was bought on the Spot by the Merchants for Two hundred thouſand Pieces of Gold. The General immediately cauſed a Fort to be erected for the Security of the Place, and putting a good Garriſon into it, he gave the Command thereof to *Rodriguez Patalino*: He raiſed one *Utimut*, an *Indian* Lord, who, by deſerting the King of *Malaca*, had been very uſeful to him, to the Poſt of ſupreme Magiſtrate of the *Indians* and *Mohammedans*; and, having received the Compliments of ſeveral *Indian* Princes upon his Victory, he prepared to return to *Goa*. Before he quitted the Place a Conſpiracy was diſcovered, in which *Utimut* was principally concerned, who thought to have made himſelf Maſter of the Place. As his Letters were intercepted, the Proof againſt him was clear, and the General ordered him and his Son to be executed, notwithſtanding his great Age, and an Offer made him of an hundred thouſand Pieces of Gold to ſpare their Lives. After this, and ſtaying there near a Year, he determined to leave a very brave Man, and experienced Officer Commander of the Forces at *Malaca*, with a ſufficient Number of Ships and Men. Theſe Precautions being taken, he ſailed for the Coaſt of *Malabar*; but, in his Paſſage, met with ſuch a Storm as deſtroyed the greateſt Part of his Fleet, with all the Riches on Board, and it was with very great Difficulty that the General himſelf eſcaped[o].

After a ſhort Stay at *Cochin*, and putting every thing there in the beſt Order they could, Don *Alphonſo Albuquerque* retired to *Goa*, where Things were in ſome Confuſion; but he ſoon reſtored them, and humbled all the *Indians* in his Neighbourhood to ſuch a Degree, that the *Samorin* himſelf ſent Embaſſadors to implore Peace, and to offer him Permiſſion to build a Fort at *Calicut*, wherever he thought fit. The Emperor of *Ethiopia* alſo ſent an Embaſſador to *Goa*, and from thence to *Portugal*; and, in ſhort, the Terror of the *Portugueze* Arms was now ſo great, that *Idalcan* and the Princes that had given the greateſt Oppoſition to the Settlement of that Nation in the *Indies*, were glad now to attone for their Indiſcretion, by offering to accept whatever Terms Don *Alphonſo* thought fit to preſcribe. Such a long Train of Succeſſes, and ſo ſplendid a Scene of Proſperity, would certainly have turned the Head of a Man of leſs Abilities than the Great *Albuquerque*, to whoſe Capacity the *Portugueze* were more indebted for their Conqueſts, than to the Armies and Fleets which he commanded.

He had, indeed, all the Talents requiſite for a Man in his Station, and with theſe ſuch a Degree of Diligence and Application, as would have enabled him to have performed great Things, if his Parts had been leſs ſhining. He loved the ancient Frugality of his Country, and never ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by the Power or Wealth that he poſſeſſed; and, indeed, he made no Uſe of either, but for the Service of the Crown. When he ſaw the Diſpoſition of the *Indians*, to meaſure every Thing by outward Pomp, he ſeemed to give into their Notion, and affected, upon publick Days, prodigious Magnificence: But, in the midſt of all this, he relaxed nothing of his former Severity, but lived in the midſt of all his publick Splendor, as courſely, in reſpect to his Perſon, as any private Man. In exacting the Dues of the Crown, he was ſomewhat ſevere, but, with regard to his own Fortune, he took ſo little Care of it, that, except his publick Appointments, he had ſcarce any thing he could call his own. His Officers were his Children, and he took as much Pains in teaching them their Duty as an affectionate Parent in the Education of his Sons. He overlooked Miſcarriages, but puniſhed Treachery, or Neglect of Duty, with inexorable Severity. He was extremely ready to reward, and all his Diſcourſe at his Table was of the great Actions performed by his Officers, while he was not only ſilent as to his own, but would not permit others to commend them. It was a common Saying of his, that he was afraid of nothing but Flattery; and, it was obſerved, that he never preferred any who attempted to gain his good Graces that way. Let them ſerve their King and Country, ſaid he, if they would be beloved by *Albuquerque*; and his Actions were agreeable to his Words, for he diſtinguiſhed none but Men of Merit. It has been well obſerved by ſome of the *Portugueze* Hiſtorians, that the Vanity of *Almeyda* made him affect the State of a Prince, when the Power of the *Portugueze* was but indifferently eſtabliſhed; whereas the Modeſty of *Albuquerque* was moſt conſpicuous when his Victories had left him nothing to fear, and when the greateſt Princes of the Eaſt ſent their Embaſſadors to beg his Friendſhip.

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[n] While theſe Diſputes laſted, *Sequeria*, a *Portugueze* Officer, had the Command of a conſiderable Squadron given him, which was to be ſent in order to make Diſcoveries; and as he had taken part with the Victory againſt the General, he no ſooner knew that the latter was inveſted with the chief Command, than he immediately haſtened his Departure. Sailing from *Cochin* on the the 19th of *Auguſt*, 1509, he arrived on the Coaſt of *Malacca* on the 11th of *September*, and was entertained with a Shew of Friendſhip by the King, who invited him to a grand Entertainment, with Intent to have murdered him, and all who came with him, which *Sequeria* avoided, by pretending Sickneſs; the King then attempted to ſurprize the *Portugueze* as they landed to carry on their Commerce, in which he ſucceeded better, killing ſome, and making a conſiderabe Number Priſoners. *Sequeria* revenged himſelf by attacking and plundering ſeveral rich Veſſels that he met with on the Coaſt, and then he continued his Voyage to *Portugal*. It was this Act of Treachery that induced Don *Alphonſo Albuquerque* to make his Attempt on *Malaca*.

[o] This Storm happened on the Coaſt of the Iſland of *Sumatra*, in which *Albuquerque* found a new Opportunity of raiſing his Reputation. The Ship on which he was a-board, ſtriking on a Rock, the Crew hurried him into his Long-boat, and juſt as they were putting off from the Wreck, the General ſaw a young Man fall from one of the Maſts into the Sea, near his Boat. He ſprung himſelf to his Aſſiſtance, caught him in his Arms, and thereby preſerved his Life at the Hazard of his own.

Yet, with all theſe Qualities, this Hero had his Faults. His Ambition was boundleſs, and carried away by an extravagant Deſire of extending the Dominions of the Crown of *Portugal*, he very little regarded whether the Meaſures he took for that Purpoſe, were juſt or unjuſt. In his private Life, he was a Man of the ſtricteſt Honour; in his publick Character Regard to Truth will not permit us to ſay ſo much [p]. What we have farther to relate of his Actions, will fully juſtify this Remark. He made himſelf Maſter of *Goa* without any other Pretence than that it was neceſſary to the Crown of *Portugal*. He had ſeized *Malaca* for the ſame Reaſon: And now he meditated the Conqueſt of *Ormuz* from the like Motive, and he effected it in the following manner: He had formerly, that is, before he was declared General of the *Indies*, attempted to raiſe a Citadel there without being able to effect his Deſign; but the Power of the *Portugueze* being now ſo much increaſed, that all the Commerce of the Eaſt depended upon them, the King of *Ormuz* had been obliged to become tributary, becauſe his City and Nation depended upon Trade; other Places could not be rich, but his Dominions, could not ſubſiſt without it.

The then King of *Ormuz*, was *Torun-Shah*, a young Prince of no great Abilities, and of a weak and timorous Spirit. In the Beginning of his Reign, he was entirely governed, as all Princes muſt be, who have not Parts enough to govern themſelves, by an old Miniſter, whoſe Name was *Noradin*, a Man of great Cunning, but of no enterprizing Genius, and who, to ſupport himſelf, and ſecure the Adminiſtration to his Family, brought three of his Nephews to Court, and gave them great Poſts in the Government and in the Army. *Hamed*, the youngeſt of theſe, in a ſhort Time gained, by his Intrigues, ſuch a Share of Power, that neither the King nor his Uncle, had any more than a Shadow of Authority left. Don *Alphonſo Albuquerque* being informed of this, aſſembled an Army, and gave it out that his Deſign was to attack *Aden*; but, when at Sea, he directed his Courſe to the Coaſt of *Perſia*, and appeared before *Ormuz* when he was leaſt expected. He demanded that the Citadel ſhould be immediately put into his Hands, *Portugueze* Factories ſettled in the Place, and that the King ſhould abſolutely acknowledge himſelf dependant on the Crown of *Portugal*.

Torun-Shah, thinking it better to be the Vaſſal of a foreign Prince, than the Slave of his own Miniſter, exerted his Authority to leſſen his own Dignity, admitted the General into the Citadel, aſſigned the *Portugueze* ſome of the beſt Houſes in the Town for their Factory, and ordered their Flag to be diſplayed upon the Palace. *Hamed* could not help diſcovering his Impatience, at a Change ſo ſudden and unexpected, to prevent the Effects of which, he formed ſome Deſigns againſt the General's Life; of which Don *Alphonſo* was no ſooner informed, than he gave Orders to ſome of his Soldiers to cut him off, which they, without Ceremony performed. If the General had ſtopped here, it had been well enough, but his Projects were not of a Nature to be bounded by any thing but the abſolute Poſſeſſion of what he aimed at, and therefore, under Pretence that a Fleet was coming from *Egypt*, to make a Deſcent upon the Iſland, he demanded all the Artillery of the Place, which, he ſaid, was neceſſary for his preſerving it from the Enemy.

Torun-Shah aſſembled his Council, who declared, that in the firſt Place, they knew nothing of any ſuch Deſign, and in the next, that they thought it very imprudent to comply with the General's Deſign. The Cowardice of the King, however, got the better of the good Senſe of his Miniſters, the Artillery was put on Board for the preſent Service, which the General would never reſtore; but having made *Pedro d' Albuquerque* Governor of the Citadel, he ſeized fifteen of the Princes of the Blood, with their Wives and Children, and carried them away with him to *Goa*, that he might have ſufficient Hoſtages for their good Behaviour to him, who, he was conſcious, had Reaſon enough to be diſpleaſed with his Conduct towards them; and thus, for the preſent, *Ormuz* was ſubjected to the *Portugueze* [q].

A little before the Return of *Albuquerque*, he received a magnificent Embaſſy from the King of *Perſia*, who, finding himſelf in danger of ſuffering by the new Empire, erected by this General in the Eaſt, reſolved to prevent it if he could, by offering him his Friendſhip. The General received him with all the Reſpect due to the Miniſter of ſo great a Prince, and cauſed him to be entertained during the Time he ſtaid at the publick Expence, and that too with as great Magnificence, as the Circumſtances of Time and Place would allow. He likewiſe made the *Perſian* Monarch very valuable Preſents, and ſuch as he very little expected; for he ſent him ſome very fine Pieces of Braſs Cannon, and various other Utenſils of War, together with ſome able Engineers, to manage them, which he did for two Reaſons; firſt, that he might ſecure the ſincere Friendſhip of ſo great a Monarch, which he knew would be of prodigious Conſequence, as Things then ſtood, to the Affairs of *Portugal*, and next, becauſe he was perfectly informed that the Advantages gained over the *Perſians* by the *Turks* were intirely owing to their Artillery; and this great Politician very rightly judged, that nothing could ſerve their Purpoſes better than keeping the Force of theſe rival Empires on an Equality.

A ſhort time after the Return of Don *Alphonſo de Albuquerque* to *Goa*, he was ſeized with an Illneſs, which in a few Days carried him off at the Age of ſixty-three. He was called by the *Mohammedans Albuquerque Malandy*, becauſe he was born at *Melinda* in *Africa*, which in all the Eaſtern Tongues is called *Malanda*; but by the *Portugueze* he was ſtiled, and that very juſtly, *Albuquerque the Great*. He was the ableſt Stateſman, and by far the moſt conſummate General they ever had in the *Indies*, and left their Affairs in the beſt Situation; and yet he performed all the great Actions of his Life with very inconſiderable Force: For with thirty Ships he took *Calicut*, with twenty-one he became Maſter of *Goa*, with twenty-three he ſurprized *Malacca*, and had no more than twenty-two in his laſt Expedition againſt *Ormux*. At the Time of his Deceaſe he was meditating two Projects, which would have raiſed his Reputation ſtill higher, if he had lived to execute them; and they are both of them worthy the Character of this illuſtrious Perſon, and ſuch as perhaps would never have entered any other Head than his own.

He had ſo firmly eſtabliſhed the Power of the *Portugueze* in the *Indies*, that he ſaw no Poſſibility of the Trade's being diverted into another Channel, but by the *Turks*, who he ſuſpected would make themſelves Maſters of *Egypt*; and he very well knew, that by a right Management the old Channel of Commerce, by the way of *Alexandria*, might be reſtored, and would then become more conſiderable than ever. To prevent this, he inſinuated to the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, that for his own Security againſt ſuch bad Neighbours as the *Turks*, the beſt Step he could take would be to divert the Channel of the *Nile*, by cutting a Paſſage for it into the *Arabian* Sea before it reached *Egypt*. If this Deſign had taken Effect, it muſt undoubtedly have rendered the greateſt Part of *Egypt* uninhabitable, and withal would have rendered it impracticable to renew the old Method of tranſporting *Eaſt-India* Commodities from the *Red-Sea* to *Alexandria*, which was the principal thing he had in View. His other Project was to tranſport three hundred Horſe from the Iſland of *Ormuz* to the oppoſite Coaſt of *Arabia*, which is but ſeventeen Leagues, and this Party he thought ſufficient to plunder the Tomb of *Mohammed* at *Mecca*, and to burn the Relicts of that falſe Prophet, which he imagined would have various good Conſequences. One it would certainly have had, that is, it would have ſtruck all the *Mohammedans* in the Eaſt with Terror and Amazement, and have diverted that Concourſe of People thither; I mean to *Mecca*, which made the Commerce of *Arabia* famous, and conſequently would have promoted in a great Degree his other Deſign of reſcuing the Trade of the Eaſt out of the Hands of the *Turks*, and other *Mohammedan* Nations.

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[p] If we conſider what Sentiments the *Indians* muſt have of the Behaviour of the *Portugueze*, we muſt naturally conclude, that they thought them as bloody and as barbarous as the *Tartars*; and, therefore, when we hear what the *Portugueze* call Acts of Treachery, we muſt not abſolutely attribute them to the faithleſs and wicked Diſpoſition of the *Indians*, but to their Terror and Apprehenſion of the *Portugueze*, whoſe Yoke they dreaded, and whoſe Force they knew not how to reſiſt.

[q] This City owed both its Being and its Grandeur to its Trade, and therefore we often hear it mentioned, to ſhew, that there is no Place ſo uncomfortable by Situation, that may not be rendered agreeable by Commerce and the Wealth that it brings in; the worſt of it is, that Luxury never fails to accompany this Abundance; and it was to the Factions that took Riſe from their Wealth and Corruption, that the King and People of *Ormuz* owed their Deſtruction.

The Death of this excellent Commander, though at ſo great an Age, proved ſome Inconvenience to the *Portugueze* Affairs, and would have proved a much greater, if his Succeſſor had not been at that Time at *Cochin* with a Squadron of ten Sail, which he had juſt brought from *Portugal*. This General *Albuquerque* left all the Settlements then made in the *Indies* in perfect Peace, and in admirable Order; and he likewiſe left ſuch a Body of regular Troops as were capable not only of maintaining what was already acquired, but alſo of adding ſuch Conqueſts as the King or his Succeſſors ſhould judge neceſſary. His Funeral was performed with great Solemnity, and his Body interred in a Chapel dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin, which himſelf had built at *Goa*, and which was much enlarged by his Son *Alphonſo Albuquerque*, who lived to the Age of fourſcore, and gave conſiderable Aſſiſtance to ſuch Hiſtorians as have recorded his Father's Actions.

10. The Perſon choſen to replace this great General was *Lopez Suarez*, who was come for that Purpoſe with a Squadron of Men of War from *Portugal* to *Cochin*, where he received the News of *Albuquerque*'s Death. It ſeems to have been a Maxim, and indeed it was a very right one, not to leave the ſame Officer too long in the Poſſeſſion of ſo great a Power as it was neceſſary to veſt in the Viceroy, or General of the *Indies*, and without doubt it was owing to this Method, that ſome of theſe great Officers were prevented from making an ill Uſe of their great Authority, and from ſetting up for themſelves, which all things conſidered, it is a wonder they did not, ſince with a little Management any enterprizing Commander might have ſecured an *Indian* Iſland to himſelf, and have brought the Inhabitants to think it their Intereſt to defend him. *Suarez* was no ſooner entered upon his Adminiſtration, but the People of *Aden* ſent Embaſſadors to him to let him know they were ready to comply with his Demands, but he took no notice of their Submiſſion; and having a Deſign on the *Egyptian* Fleet, which he heard was coming down the *Red-Sea*, he, to keep his People employed till their Arrival, near the Streights of *Babel-mandel*, attacked *Zeila* a Town on the Coaſt of *Africa*, oppoſite to *Aden*, and gave the Plunder to his Soldiers and Seamen [*].

But *Suarez* too late repented him of his Neglect of the People of *Aden*'s Officers, for the expected Fleet of *Egyptians* never appeared, and that City changed ſoon after its Reſolution of ſubmitting to *Portugal*. To the Loſs of this happy Opportunity ſucceeded another Misfortune; for *Campſon* the Sultan of *Egypt* being overcome by the Emperor *Selim*, and his Dominions becoming part of the *Turkiſh* Empire, the Coaſts of *Egypt* and the *Red-Sea* were much better guarded than before, ſeveral new Forts being erected there, and ſupplied with good Garriſons. In the mean time *Andrada*, who commanded in chief at *Malacca*, made an Expedition for ſettling of Trade to the Coaſt of *China*, where he was hoſpitably entertained for ſome Months, but his People growing inſolent upon his kind Reception, commited ſeveral Violences, and he was forced to quit the Country with the Loſs of a great Number of his Followers. The *Portugueze* of *India* were now but in an indifferent State, and the new Forts lately finiſhed in *Ceylon*, and the Kingdom of *Coulan*, were ſcarce ſufficient to keep the Inhabitants in their Duty, ſo that *Suarez* being looked upon as unequal to ſo great a Charge as the Government of thoſe Acquiſitions, was recalled, and *James Lopez* appointed his Succeſſor.

He, on his Arrival in *India*, having quelled ſome Inſurrections there, and overcome the King of *Bintam*, whom he forced to accept a Peace on his Terms, repaired to *Ormouz*, and defeating *Mocri* King of *Bobarim*, an Iſland in the *Perſian* Gulph, reduced it to the Obedience of *Portugal*. *Lopez* was ſucceeded by *Edward de Meneſes* in 1521, who reſtored the King of *Pacem*, in the Iſland of *Sumatra*, to his Dominions, on condition of his paying a Tribute, and giving leave for the erecting a Fort upon his Coaſt. In the firſt Year of this Viceroy's Adminiſtration died *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, the greateſt Prince that ever ſat on the Throne of that Kingdom, who, having reduced to his Obedience not only the Coaſts of all *India*, both within and without the *Ganges*, but of the Gulph of *Perſia*, and and of the *Red-Sea*, and covering with his Fleets the *Ethiopian* and *Atlantick* Oceans, ſhut up the Navigation to thoſe Countries from all others, thereby totally excluding the *Venetians* from the Commerce of the Eaſt, whoſe Merchants had ever ſince the Year 1269, to that Time, wholly engroſſed that Trade. He alſo ſubdued great Part of the Coaſt of *Barbary*, making himſelf Maſter of *Aſoſia*, *Tita*, and *Azamor*, near Cape *Cantin*, and defeated the Forces of the Emperor of *Morocco* in ſeveral Rencounters.

He was ſucceeded by his Son *John* III. about which Time the Viceroy of *India* appointed *Lewis de Meneſes*, with a ſtrong Squadron, to keep the People of *Ormuz* in Obedience, and ſent *Garſias Henriquez* with another to the Eaſtward to make farther Acquiſitions, which latter ſailed round the Iſlands *Banda Mira* and *Gumanapy*, and proceeding thence to *Tidore*, there fell in with one of the Ships that had been ſent out under *Magellan* by the Emperor *Charles* V. to make new Diſcoveries, which *Henriquez* attacked, and made himſelf Maſter of, putting to Death, or making Slaves of all the *Spaniards* on Board. This done, he erected a Fort in the neighbouring Iſland *Ternate*, and ſtrictly enjoined the Inhabitants not to vend their Spices to any other than the *Portugueze* [*].

The next Year *Hector Silveria* being appointed Admiral of the *Indies*, was joyfully received by the Viceroy of *Goa*, from whence he proceeded to *Malacca*, then beſieged by *Laquezimenes* the King of *Bintam*'s Admiral, and having happily raiſed the Siege, detached *Alonzo de Souſa* to the Coaſt of *Bintam*, which having ravaged, he gained a great Victory over the Ships of *Pahang*, *Patana*, and *Java*, killing great Numbers of the Enemy, and taking ſeveral Priſoners;

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[*] The Fleet with which this Commander ſailed into the *Red-Sea* was by much ſuperior to any thing the *Portugueze* had ever been able to put to Sea before that Time, and was intirely the Effect of Don *Alphonſo d'Albuquerque*'s Prudence and Diligence. It conſiſted of thirty-ſeven large Ships, and at the ſame time he arrived before *Aden*, there was no Force in the *Indies* capable of diſputing with him. The Reaſon that the Inhabitants of that City would then have ſubmitted was, becauſe a great Part of their Walls remained unrepaired, ſo that they were not in a Condition to make any Defence; but when they obſerved the Slowneſs of the *Portugueze* General, and that he did not embrace an Offer of ſuch Importance with the Readineſs that he ought to have done, they loſt no Time in repairing their Fortifications, and putting their City in a Poſture of Defence, ſo as to be no longer under Apprehenſions of his Power, and then they treated him with Contempt.

[*] It appears from hence, that the *Portugueze* were the firſt who attempted to monopolize the Trade of Spices; at which the Reader may be the more ſurprized, ſince we do not hear at this Time of any other *European* Nations that traded in thoſe Parts, and therefore this forbidding the Inhabitants to ſell Spices, might appear an unneceſſary Precaution. To ſet this Matter in a true Light, the three following Points muſt be obſerved: In the firſt place, there was a great Trade for Nutmegs carried on throughout all *Aſia*, and this the *Portugueze* were deſirous of keeping in their own Hands. In the next place, they were very apprehenſive of their being carried into the *Red-Sea*, and ſo through *Egypt* to *Alexandria*, to their great Rivals in Trade the *Venetians*; to prevent which, they kept a Squadron cruizing at the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*. Thirdly, they were afraid of the *Spaniards* from the *Weſt-Indies*, the Governors in *America* making frequent Attempts on this Side, in hopes of eſtabliſhing a regular Commerce between the Kingdom of *Mexico* and the *Moluccas*; ſo that it is very plain the *Portugueze* Viceroys had Reaſon enough to apprehend their having this valuable Commerce taken out of their Hands.

ſoners; after which, proceeding to *Machian* and *Bachian* two of the *Molucca* Iſlands near *Tidor*, he plundered them, and carried off a great Booty. The next Year *Vaſquez de Gama* was appointed Viceroy of the *Indies*; but as he was in a very advanced Age, it being improbable he ſhould live long, a Commiſſion was made out for *Henry de Meneſes* to ſucceed, in caſe of his Deceaſe, before the three Years of his Viceroyalty ſhould be expired. There was a third Commiſſion to *Pedro Maſcarenhas*, appointing him Viceroy, if *Meneſes* ſhould die; and a fourth to *Lopez de Sampayo* to ſucceed, in caſe of the Death of *Maſcarenhas*. The *Portugueze* by this means were almoſt ſecure of providing, that their Acquiſitions in *India* ſhould not remain without a Head, and the Event ſhewed the good Effects of their Care; for *Gama* did not long enjoy his new Honour; but having firſt defeated the People of *Calicut* in an Engagement at Sea, died within few Months after his Arrival at *Goa*, ſo that the Viceroyalty devolved upon *Henry de Meneſes*.

The Commiſſion by which he was to ſucceed was ſealed up with this Superſcription, *Not to be opened till* (which God forbid) *Vaſquez de Gama, Viceroy and high Admiral of the* Indies *ſhall be departed this Life*. This being now opened by the next commanding Officers in the great Church at *Cochin*, *Meneſes*, who was then abſent from the Place, was proclaimed Viceroy, whoſe Adminiſtration was likewiſe of a ſhort Date, and diverſified with both good and bad Fortune; for after ſeveral Engagements with the *Calicutians* with various Succeſs, he defeated their Fleet in the Port of *Guleta*, and made himſelf Maſter of moſt of their Ships; ſoon after which he deſtroyed a Fleet of *Turkiſh* Ships off *Dabal*, another of *Moors* off *Zeila* worſted, that of the Prince of *Patana* and *Laqueximenes* the Admiral of *Bintam*, and then advancing to relieve the *Portugueze*, beſieged by the Enemy in the Fortreſs of *Calicut*, he performed the ſame, but died of a Wound he had received in his Leg by an Arrow in the Year 1526.

This unlucky Accident had very bad Effects on the Affairs of the *Portugueze*, and as theſe were the Reſult of the very Precautions that were taken to avoid them, it may not be amiſs to examine them more at large. As ſoon as it was known at *Goa* that *Henry de Meneſes* was dead, all the great Officers aſſembled, in order to open the Billets by which the Succeſſor was appointed; and on opening theſe, the Authority of Viceroy devolved upon *Pedro Maſcarenhas*, who was then at *Malacca*. One of the Officers preſent, who took upon him to have more Wit than his Neighbours, thought proper to diſtinguiſh upon this Occaſion between a General preſent, and a General at a Diſtance; he ſaid, that the Intent and Meaning of theſe Subſtitutions was plainly, that the Government in the *Indies* might never want a Head, and that an abſent Head being in Effect no Head at all, it was neceſſary to open another Billet, in order to procure a Viceroy for the preſent, till *Pedro Maſcarenhas* ſhould arrive from *Malacca*[t].

This Propoſal was far enough from being univerſally approved by all who were preſent, becauſe many of them foreſaw, that under pretence of providing againſt a ſlight Evil, or rather an Inconvenience, they were on the Point of running into a much greater Miſchief. However, *Alphonſo Mexias*, who firſt propoſed the Opening the other Billet, preſſed it with ſuch Earneſtneſs, that at laſt it was complied with, and the Billet being opened, *Lopez de Sampayo* the Fourth, ſubſtituted Viceroy, took upon him that Charge, and gave the *Malabarians* a ſignal Defeat in an Engagement at the Mouth of the *Bacanor*: But *Maſcarenhas* highly reſenting it, that *Sampayo* ſhould uſurp the Viceroyalty out of his Turn, would by no means acquieſce with that Proceeding, but aſſumed to himſelf the Title and Office of Viceroy, and being forced to wait the proper Seaſon for coming down to *Goa*, took that Opportunity to repair with a Fleet of nineteen Sail to the Coaſt of *Bintam*, where he defeated *Laqueximenes*, the Enemies Admiral, together with the Fleet of *Pabang*, which came to their Aſſiſtance, when taking the City of *Bintam* by Storm, he burnt it, and the King dying with Grief at his ill Succeſs, *Maſcarenhas* appointed another in his Room, on condition that he ſhould maintain no Army nor Fleet without Leave from the *Portugueze*, but commit himſelf wholly to their Protection. This done, he went with his Fleet to *Goa*, where he deſired a Number of Arbitrators might be appointed to judge whether he or *Sampayo* was the proper Viceroy; but the latter at firſt refuſed to ſubmit to any Arbitration: Inſtead of which, contrary to all Reaſon and Juſtice, he ſeized and impriſoned him, ſuppoſing that this would put an End to the Conteſt, by frighting the Friends of his Competitor into Silence; but in this he took his Meaſures quite wrong, for this Violence, inſtead of leſſening the Intereſt of Don *Pedro*, increaſed it, ſo that at laſt he found himſelf under a Neceſſity of yielding to this Propoſition, and thirteen Judges were choſen to decide this difficult Queſtion, which by an Accident that happened in the mean time, was made ſtill more difficult.

For, a freſh Squadron arriving from *Portugal*, brought more of theſe Billets, with an Order that ſuch of the old ones as were not opened, ſhould be ſuppreſſed and ſent back, and that the Government ſhould be determined by the new Billets; the firſt of which, by the Advice of *Alphonſo Mexias*, the firſt Mover of all theſe Troubles, was opened, contrary to the Opinion of the wiſeſt and beſt Men at *Goa*, who foreſaw, that inſtead of leſſening, it would augment the Doubts and Suſpicions that had thrown them into Factions already. This Billet being in Favour of *Lopez*, he inſiſted, before the Judges, that both the former Nominations were void, and therefore he inſiſted only upon this laſt; and they being, for the moſt part, of his Faction, or elſe corrupted by *Mexias*, came into it at once, declared him Viceroy, and to put an end to all Diſputes, ordered Don *Pedro Maſcarenhas* to return immediately to *Portugal*; with which Arbitration he complied, as plainly perceiving that he could hope for nothing by continuing in the *Indies*, when Things were in this Situation. On his Return to *Liſbon*, he laid the whole Proceedings before the King, together with a Memorial, in which he repreſented, that as all theſe Diſputes had been occaſioned from their not knowing certainly his Majeſty's Pleaſure, he humbly deſired that it might be declared, who it was his Majeſty intended to have named Viceroy, that Accidents of this kind might be prevented for the future. The King accordingly heard and decided this Matter with great Juſtice and Wiſdom; for, in the firſt place, he cancelled the Decree of the Arbitrators, and ordered that the preſent Viceroy, *Lopez*, ſhould pay to Don *Pedro* Twenty thouſand Crowns, as the Profits of his two Years Government, and, at the ſame time, made a regulation for the future to this Effect, that on the opening of theſe Billets of Subſtitution, the Abſence of the Perſon nominated ſhould not prejudice him in any degree, provided the Perſon named was in any Part of the *Indies* between *Cape Cori* and *Diu*, which taking in the beſt Part of the *Indies*, rendered it impoſſible that any ſuch Accident ſhould hereafter fall out as that which had occaſioned all this Confuſion.

But as Don *Lopez* had, in other Reſpects, behaved well, it was judged the reaſonableſt Courſe to leave him in Poſſeſſion of the Government, more eſpecially, ſince he was obliged to part with all the Money he had hitherto acquired in it. As ſoon as the King's Orders arrived in the *Indies*, Don *Lopez* executed them in every Reſpect, reconciled himſelf to the Friends of Don *Pedro Maſcarenhas*, and behaved in every other Circumſtance as became a worthy Man and a good Subject. But no ſooner were theſe Troubles over, than new Diſturbances broke out, which occaſioned freſh Confuſions in the *Indies*.

Henry Garcias, who was at that Time Governor of the *Moluccas*, finding Affairs extremely embarraſſed by the Wars which his Predeceſſor had made againſt the King of *Tidor*, with very little Advantage, thought fit, on his firſt coming to his Government, to make Peace with *Almanſor*, who was then King of that Iſland, on Condition that he ſhould reſtore the Artillery and Priſoners he had taken from the *Portugueze*, which, in the Space of ſix Months, he undertook to do. But the

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[t] This was the Beginning of thoſe Factions which proved afterwards ſo fatal to the *Portugueze*; for it is certain, that if they had not fallen out amongſt themſelves, they might have preſerved their Empire in this Part of the World much longer, and much more intire; but when their Governors began to impriſon each other, and take many ſuch Steps for their private Advantage, at the Expence of the publick Intereſt of their Country, we need not wonder at the unlucky Accidents that followed, or the Deſertions of thoſe Officers and Pilots, which proved the Ruin of their Commerce, by bringing Strangers of all Nations into thoſe Seas.

Face of Affairs in thoſe Parts altering ſoon after, *Garſias* repented him of the Peace, and reſolved to renew the War, believing, that if he could reduce this Iſland, it would very much raiſe his Reputation; to furniſh himſelf therefore with ſome Pretence for breaking with the King of *Tidor*, he, before the Time limited was expired, ſent to demand the Cannon and Priſoners; to which *Almanſor* modeſtly reply'd, that he would have delivered them up when the Treaty was made, if it had been in his Power; but that having lent the Cannon to a Prince who was his Neighbour, it required ſome Time to get them back. He had ſo little Suſpicion however of the Governor's bad Deſign, that, being at this Time extremely indiſpoſed, he requeſted him to ſend a Phyſician, whoſe Advice he might make Uſe of for his Recovery. *Garſias* accordingly ſent one, under whoſe Direction the King put himſelf, without the leaſt Reſerve, and was by him moſt baſely poiſoned. Immediately after the King's Death, *Garſias* ſent again to demand the Cannon and Priſoners, and becauſe the People deſired a Delay till the King's Funeral was performed; he having all Things ready, expecting the Event, made a Deſcent upon the Iſland, attacked the capital City, took it, and plundered it, and treated the People with the utmoſt Inhumanity[u].

As this was done without the leaſt Provocation, in a Time of full Peace, and when there was not the leaſt Intention on the Side of the Natives to renew the War againſt the *Portugueze*, it cauſed among the People of that Iſland, and of moſt of the reſt of the *Moluccas*, an implacable hatred againſt them; ſoon after which, a Squadron of the Emperor *Charles* V. arriving there, was welcomed by the People of *Tidor*, with all the Marks of Kindneſs, on account of the *Spaniards* equal Enmity with them to the *Portugueze*, and being received into their Port, they raiſed Works for the Defence of it, in caſe of an Attack from the Enemy. The *Spaniards*, who were under the Command of *Ignigueza*, alledged, that the *Moluccas* belonged of Right to them, as being firſt diſcovered by *Magellan*, with a Commiſſion from the King of *Spain*, and that the Diſpute having been ſubmitted to Arbitration, was determined in their Favour.

On the other Hand, the *Portugueze*, under the Command of *Henriquez*, ſaid, that the unjuſt Sentence of the *Caſtilian* Arbitration had been reverſed by the Judges in *Portugal*, and that thoſe Iſlands were diſcovered ten Years before the Voyage of *Magellan* in the *Spaniſh* Service by *Anthony Abreu*, who was ſent out to make Diſcoveries by *Alphonſo Albuquerque*, in whoſe Company was *Magellan* himſelf, before he had deſerted his Country. Thus they diſputed with Words for a while, but ſoon after came to Blows, the People of *Ternate* taking Part with the *Portugueze*, and thoſe of *Tidor* and *Gilolo* with the *Spaniards*. The latter ſtruck the firſt Stroke, by beſieging the *Portugueze* Fortreſs in *Ternate*, where, at the firſt Attack, they took one of the Enemies Ships, and now the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* had gone near to have attoned for the Miſchiefs they had done to the *Indians* by the Deſtruction of each other, but that the Emperor being engaged in other Wars in *Europe*, neglected ſo remote an Acquiſition, and for a certain Sum of Money, yielded up his Right in the *Moluccas* to the King of *Portugal*[w].

This was look'd upon at that Time as very indifferent Policy, and as the Effects of his not conſidering attentively the Advantages that might have been derived to him in *Europe*, by the prudent Management of his Affairs in *America*, and this becauſe his Thoughts were entirely turned on the vain Project of raiſing an univerſal Monarchy by Force of Arms, whereas the *Portugueze* wiſely contented themſelves with puſhing on their Conqueſts in the *Indies*, and employed their Riches they derived from thence to ſecure themſelves againſt their ambitious Neighbours in *Europe*; from which Plan, if ſhe had never varied, ſhe might have eſcaped becoming a Province to *Spain*, as ſhe afterwards did, and all the unlucky Conſequences that followed from that Conjunction[x]. But it is now time to return from theſe Reflections to the Thread of our Hiſtory. Matters being ſettled in thoſe Iſlands, the Viceroy *Sampayo*, ſent out *John Deza* with a Squadron, to cruize off *Cananor*, and at the ſame Time, diſpatched *Alphonſus Melia* to the *Sunda* Iſlands, who, juſt as he had doubled the Cape of *Comorin*, met with ſome Deputies coming to *Goa*, from the Prince of *Calecura*, on the Pearl-fiſhing Coaſt, with Offers of Tribute and Submiſſion, upon Promiſe of Aſſiſtance againſt his Enemies the *Calecutians*.

In the mean time, *Deza*, upon his Station, intercepted all Ships paſſing between *Calecut* and *Cambaya*, to the incredible Loſs of the People of both thoſe Places, and landing at *Mangalor*, the Inhabitants deſerted the Town, which he plundered and ſet on Fire; after which, falling in with *Cutial* the Admiral of *Calicut*, he engaged and defeated him, and carried him Priſoner to *Cananor*; and about the ſame Time *Anthony Miranda* ſailing to the *Red-Sea*, took great Numbers of the *Arabian* Ships, and burnt ſeveral along the Shore; *Sampayo* himſelf, off *Cananor*, deſtroyed the greateſt Part of a Fleet of one hundred and thirty Sail of *Mooriſh* Ships, bound to *Mecca* with Spices, and then repairing to *Porca* (the Prince whereof was a formidable Sea Rover) he landed there, and took the Town, forcing the Prince to betake himſelf to Flight, who left ſuch a vaſt Booty to the *Portugueze*, that the Share of the meaneſt Sailor came to a thouſand Dollars. From thence he ſailed to the Northward, and near the Iſland of *Bombay*, fell in with a Fleet of the Enemies, under the Command of *Haliſſa*, Admiral of *Cambaya*; whereupon proffering a Reward of one hundred Dollars to the firſt Man who boarded one of the Enemies Ships, he immediately engaged, and having entirely routed them, committed the Fleet to the Command of *Miranda*, who, ſoon after the Viceroy's Departure, came to another Engagement with the *Malabarians*, before the Town of *Chaul*, and gave them a ſignal Defeat, killing great Numbers, and carrying off a rich Booty in Spices to *Cochin*; ſoon after which, the *Portugueze* reduced the Town of *Tanor*, made the Prince of the neighbouring Country their Tributary, and again routed *Halliſſa*, the *Cambayan* Admiral.

In the mean Time, *Nunho de Cunha* ſet out from *Portugal* with a Commiſſion to be Governor, accompanied by his Brother *Simon de Cunha*, who was conſtituted Admiral of the *Indies*, and in his Way thither, attempting to put in at *Monbaza*, in order to paſs the Winter-Seaſon there, was refuſed Entrance by the King, but forced a Paſſage into the Port, and making himſelf Maſter of the Town, gave the Plunder to the Mariners, and ſet it on Fire. Departing thence early in the Spring, he made the beſt of his Way to *India*, where he reſolved to make himſelf Maſter of the Town and Fortreſs of *Diu*, ſituate in an Iſland of the ſame Name, near the Entrance of the Gulph of *Cambaya*; to which Purpoſe, repairing thither with the Fleet, upon his Appearance off the Place, he received an

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[u] As ſoon as this was known to the Viceroy, he ſent a new Governor to the *Moluccas*, one *George Meneſez*, between whom and *Garcias* there happened a long Diſpute, in which the latter was firſt made Priſoner, and afterwards the former: And this, notwithſtanding the *Spaniards* were actually poſſeſſed of *Tidor*, and were endeavouring to get the reſt of the Iſlands into their Hands, which ſhews the Infatuation of the *Portugueze*, who woud not avoid quarrelling at that very Juncture, when Union was moſt neceſſary, and when not only the Extention of their Commerce, but the very being of it depended thereon, and could not be ſecured without it.

[w] We have a clear Account of this Matter, and a very good one, in Sir *William Monſon*'s Naval Tracts. The Controverſy, ſays he, to whom the *Moluccas* ſhould belong, continued between the two Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and the *Spaniards* made ſundry Attempts by Way of the *Streights*, but evermore with unfortunate Succeſs. At laſt Don *John* III. of *Portugal*, and Brother-in-Law to the Emperor, willingly lent him three hundred and fifty thouſand Ducats, when he went into *Italy* to be crowned Emperor, upon Condition the King of *Portugal* ſhould no Way be moleſted in his Poſſeſſion of the *Molucca* Iſlands, till that Money was repaid; which being never done, the *Spaniards* never ſince pretended to thoſe Iſlands.

[x] I mean by this, that if the *Portugueze* had cultivated Manufactures at Home, in order to ſupport and ſupply their Commerce in the *Indies*, without engaging, as Don *Sebaſtian* unfortunately did, in Wars on the Continent, and in *Barbary*, they muſt have become one of the principal maritime Powers in *Europe*, and have attained to ſuch Wealth and Strength, as would effectually have ſecured them for ever againſt the Attempts of *Spain*. But the launching out into wild and fruitleſs Expeditions, to gratify the Humours of ambitious Princes, will prove fatal to any, but ſooneſt, and moſt ſo, to a trading Nation.

Envoy from *Badur* King of *Cambaya*, with Offers of yielding the Fortreſs into his Hands, which being accordingly performed, it was committed to the Cuſtody of *Anthony Silveira*.

Not long after, the King of *Cambaya*, at the Inſtigation of the *Turks*, who were very deſirous of getting *Diu* into their Hands, made an Attempt to diſpoſſeſs the *Portugueze*, and recover the Place; but with an unfortunate Event he, with his *Turkiſh* Auxilliaries, being entirely routed, moſt of his Fleet ſunk, and himſelf received his Death's Wound in the Engagement. Soon after this, *Solyman*, the *Turkiſh* Emperor, ſent the Paſſha of *Cairo* to beſiege it, with a Fleet of ſixty-two Gallies, ſix Galleons, and other ſmaller Veſſels, having on Board four thouſand Janizaries, ſixteen thouſand other Soldiers, beſides Gunners, Seamen and Pilots, which, on their Arrival before the Town, were joined by eighty Sail of Ships of *Cambaya*.

The *Turkiſh* Paſſha landing his Forces, battered the Fortreſs with ſixty Pieces of Cannon; but the Governor with great Bravery ſuſtained his Attack till the Arrival of *Garſias de Noronha*, the new Viceroy from *Goa*, to his Aſſiſtance, who, by a Stratagem paſſing thro' the Enemies Fleet with Drums beating and Trumpets ſounding, as if they had been ſome of their *Indian* Allies, the *Turks*, upon Diſcovery of their Miſtake, raiſed the Siege in the utmoſt Confuſion, leaving behind them their Tents, Ammunition, Artillery, and above a thouſand wounded Men, beſides the like Number that were out on Foraging; all which fell into the Hands of the *Portugueze*[y]. After the Death of *Badur* before mentioned, *Mamud* became King of the *Cambayans*, and *John de Caſtro* ſucceeded *Noronha* as the *Portugueze* Viceroy, in which Time the *Cambayans* and *Turks* made another Attempt on *Diu*, but with the like Succeſs as before, *de Caſtro* routing them both by Sea and Land, with a very great Slaughter; after which, he added ſeveral Works to the Place, and raiſed a new Citadel, in a more advantageous Situation, and of much better Materials than the former.

11. In this proſperous Manner did the *Portugueze* carry all before them in *India*, during the Reign of *John* III. who dying *A. D.* 1557, was ſucceeded by *Sebaſtian*, then an Infant. That Prince growing up, was ſo intent upon his *Indian* Acquiſitions, that he reſolved on a Voyage thither himſelf; and it was with Difficulty his Council found Means to diſſwade him from it. They did at length prevail on that Point; but could not prevent his undertaking a Deſign more hazardous than the former, *viz.* an Expedition againſt the Emperor of *Morocco*; and he embarking for that Purpoſe with a great Army, and the Flower of the *Portugueze* Nobility, on Board a numerous Fleet, landed at *Tangier*, and unadviſedly marching up into the Country, gave the *Moors* Battle near *Alcacer*, where he was cut off with the whole Army[z].

He was ſucceeded by *Henry* his Uncle, then in an advanced Age, whoſe Reign is remarkable for nothing but the Diſputes about a Succeſſor to him; he dying *A. D.* 1580, *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, who had Pretenſions to the Crown, thought it moſt expedient to end all Diſputes by the Point of the Sword; and underſtanding the great Inclination the *Portugueze* had (through Hatred of a *Caſtilian* Government) to ſet *Antonio*, a natural Son of *John* III. upon the Throne, he ordered the Duke of *Alva* to march at the Head of a powerful Army into the Kingdom, who ſoon reduced it to his Obedience, forcing *Antonio* to withdraw to *England*; from whence, after ſome unſucceſsful Attempts to recover his loſt Dominions, he retired to *Paris*, and died there *A. D.* 1595. The reſt of the Territories of that Crown fell, at the ſame time, into the Hands of the Conqueror, except the *Azores*, or weſtern Iſlands, which were, at length, ſubdued to *Spain* by a great Victory obtained over a Fleet of *French* Ships ſent thither to maintain them in the Obedience to *Anthony*.

As this Subjection of the *Portugueze* to the *Caſtilians*, was very irkſome and odious to them, ſo was it attended with Conſequences very fatal to their Intereſts; for, upon the firſt Commotions in the Low Countries, *Philip* judging that one of the beſt Expedients to quell them, would be, to deprive the Inhabitants of the Advantages they received by Trade with *Portugal* and *Spain*, he prohibited all Commerce between them; for, in thoſe Times, the *Dutch* Ships made no longer Voyages than to theſe Countries, for the Commodities of *India*, with which they afterwards ſupplied the Northern Nations of *Europe*. But *Philip*'s Deſigns met with an Event very contrary to his Expectations, though they were laid very deeply, and purſued with the utmoſt Steadineſs, as well as Dexterity. The Conqueſt of *Portugal*, indeed, carried along with it the Conqueſt of the Dominions of the *Portugueze* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and ſeemed to promiſe the *Spaniards* the entire and quiet Poſſeſſion of both *Indies*: But the Project began very ſoon to fail, for, in the firſt Place, the *Portugueze* Governors paid no more than a forced Obedience to the Crown of *Spain*; and in proportion to the Diſtance of their Settlements, the Governors were, more or leſs, circumſpect as to their Conduct. On the other hand, the *Spaniards* having many Affairs of their own to mind, and very little, if any, Concern for the true Intereſts of *Portugal*, the annual Fleets and regular Supplies were neglected, or, when ſent, proved very far ſhort of what they ought to have been. A too quick Senſe of this Relaxation of Government, induced many who were veſted with Authority in the *Indies* to make Uſe of it purely to ſerve their private Purpoſes, without regarding either the publick Welfare of their Country or the particular Benefit of ſuch as were under their Protection.

But what contributed moſt to the ſpeedy Ruin of their Affairs was, this Act of Policy, by which *Philip* II. prohibited, on their Rebellion, his Subjects in the Low Countries from trading to any Part of his Dominions, by which he abſolutely forced them on the Meaſures, by which they aggrandized themſelves at his Expence. If he had avoided this unlucky Prohibition, had treated his new Subjects kindly, and made a reaſonable Proviſion for Don *Antonio*, he might have ſecured his *Indies*, and all their Wealth, which, well minded, and their Produce properly applied, would, in a ſhort Space of Time, have enabled him to put all his ambitious Projects into Execution. As it was the *Dutch* finding an abſolute Stop put to their profitable Trade in *India* Commodities, which hitherto they had bought in the Ports of *Spain* and *Portugal*, reſolved, immediately, to try if it was not poſſible to go and fetch them from the *Indies* directly; whereas, had they been permitted to have purchaſed them in their accuſtomed Manner, this Deſign had never been thought of, but the Commerce of *India* had continued in its old Channel, without Envy or Diſturbance.

We have now conducted to its Cloſe, the firſt Part of this Section, and have ſhewn how this Navigation was opened, improved, and monopolized by the *Portugueze*, how their Conqueſts in this Part of the World were made and maintained, and how by entertaining and purſuing this Scheme of diſtant Expeditions, the ſmalleſt and moſt inconſiderable of all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, became one of the richeſt and moſt potent, having it entirely in her own Power ſo to have increaſed her maritime Force as to have had no Cauſe to dread the Ambition of her Neighbours, or their united Endeavours to her Prejudice. Come we now to as clear an Explanation of the ſecond Point, which within the Compaſs of this Section we propoſed.

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[y] This was one of the greateſt and moſt honourable Victories ever gain'd by the Arms of the *Portugueze*; for it was not againſt raw and unexperienced Soldiers, or againſt a General unacquainted with the Art of War, that this Effort was made, but againſt a numerous and well diſciplined Army, compleatly furniſhed with every thing neceſſary for carrying on the Siege. The Reputation of this Victory was no leſs advantageous than the Victory itſelf, ſpreading over *Aſia*, *Africa* and *Europe*; ſo that the *French* King, *Francis* I. ſent into *Portugal*, to obtain the Picture of *Sylvera*, who had made this gallant Defence, in order to hang it up in his Cabinet of conſummate Officers.

[z] The Loſs of Don *Sebaſtian* was ſo fatal to the *Portugueſe*, and the perſonal Virtues of that Prince rendered him ſo much beloved by his Subjects, that they could ſcarce bring themſelves to believe (eſpecially as his Body was never found) that he periſhed in this Action: Nay, it is the ſettled Opinion of that Nation to this Hour, that he eſcaped; and it is certain, that a Perſon who called himſelf *Sebaſtian*, appeared afterwards at *Venice*, where, at the Requeſt of the King of *Spain*, he was ſeized, then examined in a full Senate, and defended himſelf ſo well, that he was ſet at Liberty. He afterwards fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who impriſoned him firſt at *Naples*, and afterwards carried him into *Spain*, where he died in Confinement, affirming to the very laſt, that he was no Impoſtor, but the true King *Sebaſtian*.

12. It would require much Room, and add very little to the Reader's Satisfaction, ſhould we proſecute the Hiſtory of the *Portugueze* Empire in the Eaſt, through all the Changes and Revolutions to which it was ſubjected, from the Cauſes before-mentioned; the rather, becauſe as their Dominions increaſed, they were obliged to carry on Wars in different Places at the ſame time, with ſeveral Nations, and with great Variety of Succeſs. In order therefore to ſeparate theſe Subjects, ſo as to repreſent to the Reader what is of Importance to be known, and that in the eaſieſt and cleareſt Method poſſible, we will conſider the moſt remarkable Diſcoveries and Settlements of this Nation in the *Indies*, according to the order in which they were made; the principal Events that happened in them during the Time they remained in their Hands, and the Manner in which they loſt them, whether to the *Indians* or *Europeans*. By this Diviſion, that Confuſion which muſt neceſſarily attend the Abridgment of a general Hiſtory, ſo pregnant with Events, will be avoided; all the Paſſages relating to the ſame Places and Perſons, will be ranged together, ſo as to give Light to each other, and render the Peruſal of them eaſy and entertaining; at the ſame time, that by being thus digeſted, every Colony, every Country will have its Hiſtory preſerved in ſuch a Manner, as that it may be eaſily compared with whatever has been ſaid before, and be with like Facility turned to, when what is hereafter ſaid, may make it neceſſary.

Before we proceed to theſe Diſcoveries and Settlements, it will be neceſſary to fix the Place from which they were made [a]. *Calicut*, as we have before ſhewn at large, proved the firſt Place they viſited in the *Indies*, though the firſt Fortification they built was at *Cochin*, which lies South from it. They were ſole Maſters of the Commerce on the Coaſts of *Malabar* from the Gulph of *Cambayo* to Cape *Comorin* for about one hundred and fifty Years, which determined them to fix the Capital of their Dominions as near as poſſible to the Centre of this Coaſt, which was one principal Inducement to their ſeizing *Goa* in the manner before mentioned. It ſtands at an equal Diſtance from *Surat*, and Cape *Comorin*, in a little Iſland made by the Rivers *Mandoa* and *Quari*, about ſix or ſeven Leagues in Circumference, and at the Diſtance of about three Leagues from the Fall of theſe Rivers into the Sea. The Name of the Peninſula adjoining is *Salſette*, and the Soil is extreamly rich and fertile. In the hot Seaſon the Waters are very low, ſometimes not above two Feet in Depth; but the reſt of the Year they are ſo high as to afford the largeſt Veſſels an Opportunity of entering the Port of *Goa*, which is one of the ſafeſt and moſt commodious in the Univerſe.

All the Territories adjacent to this City are held by a Treaty with the King of *Decan*, who by yielding theſe, purchaſed a free Trade for his Subjects throughout the *Indies*, in all Commodities except Pepper, with which they were to furniſh the *Portugueze* alone. Since this Agreement many Diſputes have happened, and when their Power has been great, particularly in 1635, the Viceroys of *Goa* have treated their Neighbours with great Severity. At the Time before-mentioned, they had Intelligence of four *Indian* Veſſels bound with Pepper for *Mocha* and *Perſia*, which they chaſed and took. Their Cargoes, purſuant to the Treaty, were confiſcated; yet not ſatisfied with that, they murdered all who were on Board them in cold Blood, in order to ſtrike a Terror into the Natives. This Behaviour has, as it might well be expected it would, raiſed a moſt violent Averſion in the *Indians* againſt them, which they never fail to diſcover when any Opportunity offers. There are in *Goa* many ſuperb Edifices, ſuch as the Viceroy's, the Archbiſhop's, and Inquiſitor General's Palaces; but above all, the Churches are exceedingly numerous, and ſome of them wonderfully rich. In Extent it contains about ten Miles, taking in all the Fortifications raiſed round it for its Security, which bend according to the Courſe of the River, and are ſo well furniſhed with Cannon, that hitherto they have rendered it impregnable, though it has been very hard preſſed both by *Indians*, and by the *Dutch*. It was from this City, in the Latitude of 15° 26′ North, that the *Portugueze* made their Diſcoveries, and ſent moſt of their Colonies, and having given this ſhort Account of it, we ſhall next proceed to deſcribe them.

13. The *Maldives* are ſo ſituated, that it was impoſſible the *Europeans* ſhould make many Voyages to, or be long ſettled in the *Indies*, without being acquainted with them, ſince the moſt northern of them lie but fifty Leagues from Cape *Comorin*. They extend from 8° of North Latitude to 4° of South, ſtretching in Length conſequently near two hundred Leagues; but they are not above thirty or thirty-five Leagues in Breadth in any part of the *Archipelago*. Within this Space are contained a prodigious Number of Iſlands, ſo that even in the Time of *Ptolemy*, that is, in the ſecond Century, they were accounted 1378; but the Inhabitants maintain, that a ſmall Part of them only were then known, for their Sovereign takes the Title of Sultan of the *Maldives*, King of thirteen Provinces, and of twelve thouſand Iſles. There is in this, without doubt, a Mixture of that Pomp and Oſtentation which is ſo common in the Eaſt; but for all that, there are, unqueſtionably, many more than the Ancients knew any thing of under this Monarch's Dominion. Admiral *Suarez* diſcovered them in 1507, and he made an Alliance with their King, which was confirmed by *Sequeria*, who demanded leave to build a Fort upon the Iſland of *Male*, which is the largeſt of them, and the chief City of the ſame Name is the Capital of their Monarch.

John Gomez, who was ſent thither for this Purpoſe, met with a favourable Reception, and by dint of Preſents prevailed upon the King to agree to his Demand. He built this Fort of Wood, there being neither Stone nor Lime in the Iſland. It was extreamly well ſituated, and in ſome meaſure commanded the Port, ſo that it might have been of great Service to the *Portugueze*, if he had behaved as became him; but no ſooner was the Fort finiſhed, than preſuming on the Terror of the *Portugueze* Name, he began to lord it over all the Strangers that traded thither, though his Garriſon conſiſted but of ſeventeen Men, which occaſioned a Conſpiracy of the *Mohammedans* againſt him, who attacked him when he leaſt expected it, and cut off him and all his People to a Man, levelling the Fort with the Ground. The *Portugueze* were never afterwards able to obtain any Eſtabliſhment in the *Maldives*, which is the Reaſon that ſeveral of their Authors treat them as pitiful Places, and their Inhabitants as a baſe and barbarous People, contrary, however, as we ſhall ſee, to all Reaſon and Prudence [b].

It was impoſſible for them to double Cape *Comorin*, without taking Notice of the noble Iſland of *Ceylon*, *Ceylan*, or *Ceilon*, called by the Inhabitants *Lamca*, which in their Language ſignifies the Terreſtrial Paradiſe, or Holy Land, a Name given it by its firſt King, *Vigia Rajah*, who is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed five hundred Years before Chriſt: It was afterwards called *Ilanara*, or *Tranate*, which is as much as to ſay the Inſular Kingdom; it was alſo called *Hibenaro*, or the *Fertile Land*, and *Tenariſim*, or the *Country of Delight*. The *Arabians* call it *Serendib*, or rather *Serendive*. It is by many held to be the largeſt, and is, beyond Controverſy, in itſelf, the richeſt and fineſt Iſland in the World. The *Portugueze* ſettled here in 1506, under the Conduct of *Lawrence Almeyda*, who erected a Column with an Inſcription, teſtifying that he took Poſſeſſion of that Country on Behalf of *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, becauſe it had no Maſter, though at the ſame time he treated with the Emperor, and promiſed him the Protection of his

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[a] The *Eaſt-Indies* in general are very properly divided into the Dominions of the Great Mogul, and the adjacent Kingdoms on the Continent, the *Peninſula* without, the *Peninſula* within the *Ganges*, and the Iſlands. The *Portugueze* falling as they did at their firſt coming into theſe Parts on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, which makes the Weſt Front of the *Peninſula* without the *Ganges*, acquired the happieſt Station that could be deſired for extending their Commerce, and their Conqueſts on every Side; and there is Reaſon to believe, that their fixing as they did the Seat of their Empire on this Side, contributed greatly to the Preſervation of their Dominions, notwithſtanding all the Efforts made by the *Indians* and the *Mohammedans* to diſpoſſeſs them.

[b] There is but one good Deſcription of this prodigious *Archipelago* written by *Francis Pirard de la Val*, a *Frenchman*, who was a long Time Priſoner in one of theſe Iſlands, and which, as it is a Work equally curious and inſtructive, and at the ſame time exactly within our Plan, the Reader ſhall have it at large in the next Section, which will give him an Opportunity of obſerving how little Cauſe the *Portugueze* had to treat the Inhabitants of the *Maldives* with Contempt, ſince it is certain, that they are one of the braveſt, and one of the moſt polite Nations of the Eaſt.

Maſter, in Conſideration of 2500 Quintals of Cinnamon to be paid him as an annual Tribute.

In 1520 they built a Fort here, and began to ſettle, and afterwards obtained an abſolute Power over a great Part of the Iſland, under Colour of the Emperor's Will, who made the *Portugueze* Heirs of his Dominions. The Trade they carried on there was very conſiderable, and next to the Viceroyſhip of the *Indies*; the Captain General of this Iſland, was thought the firſt Poſt the King of *Portugal* had to beſtow. The Commodities they drew from hence were long Pepper, fine Cotton, Ivory, Silk, Tobacco, Ebony, Muſk, Chryſtal, Salt-peter, Sulphur, Lead, Iron, Steel, Copper, beſides the three grand Articles, of, Cinnamon, all kinds of precious Stones except Diamonds, and Elephants.

As ſoon as the *Dutch* came into the *Indies*, they formed a Deſign of making themſelves Maſters of ſo valuable a Place. They made their firſt Deſcent in the Year 1602, and carried on ſometimes open Wars, ſometimes ſecret Contrivances againſt the *Portugueze*, till in the Space of about fifty-five Years, they compleatly drove and wormed them out of *Ceylon*, making themſelves Maſters of *Colombo* and *Negombo*, which were the principal Places in the Iſland and of the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Punto Gallo*, which commands the beſt Haven in *Ceylon*.

The *Portugueze* held their Eſtabliſhments here for about a hundred and fifty Years under ſixteen Captain-Generals, from Don *Pedro Lopez de Souza*, who was the firſt, down to Don *Antonio d'Amaral y Meneſes*, who was the laſt. Captain *Ribeyro*, who wrote the Hiſtory of this Iſland in 1685, and preſented it to the King of *Portugal*, aſſures us, that the Country was loſt through the Covetouſneſs and Pride of the Governors, and the Luxury, Lazineſs, and Cowardice of the Soldiers, which he charges on the inactive Adminiſtration in *Portugal*, that took no care to look into the Management of ſo conſiderable a Settlement, and which brought in ſo large a Revenue to the Crown of *Portugal*, till it was too late. A Circumſtance ſurely that ought to be remembered, and conſidered by every maritime Power.

14. The Iſland of *Sumatra*, which extends itſelf North-weſt and South-eaſt, fronting the *Peninſula* of *Malacca*, is divided by the Equinoctial almoſt into two equal Parts, extending to 6° of Latitude North and South. It is about two hundred and fifty Leagues in Length, ſixty in Breadth, and five hundred in Circumference. The *Portugueze* came hither in 1508, under the Command of Don *Diego Lopez de Seguira*. They found the Country very deſireable, as being extreamly rich and fruitful, and under the Dominion of ſeveral petty Princes, who were continually at War with each other.

One would have imagined, that this might have afforded an Opportunity to the *Portugueze* of ſubjecting it entirely, as they did other Parts of the *Indies*; but it happened otherwiſe; for the People, by their continual Diſputes among themſelves, were become ſo well acquainted with the Art of War, that they were not able to make great Impreſſion, but contented themſelves with a few Settlements on the Coaſt, which enabled them to carry on a very lucrative Trade with the Inhabitants, not only in Sulphur, Rice, Ginger, Pepper, Camphire, Caſſia, Sandal, and other rich Woods and Drugs; but alſo in fine Tin, Iron, Copper, Silver, Gold and Diamonds[a].

The *Dutch* began to infeſt this Iſland in 1596, and ſoon after, as their Power increaſed, began, as uſual, to exclude all other Nations; but the Inhabitants ſoon ſhook off their Yoke, and are ſtill in a great meaſure free. It is for this Reaſon probably that almoſt all our *European* Writers concur in treating theſe People as the moſt cruel, barbarous, and perfidious in the *Indies*, without ever conſidering that theſe very Epithets may be juſtly retorted upon thoſe who endeavour to deprive them of their Liberties and their Poſſeſſions, without the leaſt Colour of Right.

15. The *Moluccas*, or Spice-Iſlands, were not diſcovered by the *Portugueze* till the Year 1511, and then, as it were, by chance. *Francis Serrano* and *Diego d' Abreu*, being ſent to make Diſcoveries, were ſeparated by a Storm; the former penetrated as far as *Ternate*, but the latter diſcovered only the Iſland of *Amboyna*, and afterwards that of *Banda*. They ſpent about eight Years in theſe Diſcoveries, which coſt *Serrano* his Life in his Return. We are indebted to a *Portugueze* Writer, whoſe Name was *Argenſola*, for a large Hiſtory of theſe valuable Iſlands, which conſiſt, ſtrictly ſpeaking, of no more than five; from whence it is ſaid they received their Name in the original Language of the Inhabitants. They are not out of Sight of each other, and lie all of them within the Compaſs of twenty-five Leagues. They are famous for producing ſeveral ſorts of valuable Spices, and are governed by three Kings. Their Coaſts are very dangerous, becauſe of Sands and Shelves: They were formerly ſubject to the *Chineſe*, then fell under the *Javaneſe*, and were afterwards ſubdued by the *Malayans*; and the *Mohammedans* had begun to ſettle in them, and convert the Inhabitants to their Religion, but a very little while before they were diſcovered by the *Portugueze*. The Hiſtory we have before mentioned, is equally copious and curious, but much too long to have a Place in this Collection; yet we ſhall extract from thence a diſtinct Account of theſe Iſlands, becauſe no other Writer affords us any thing comparable thereto.

Ternate, ſays he, is eight Leagues in Compaſs; the Land is high, and they have good Water, but little Proviſions, and few Cattle, except Goats. Their chief Riches conſiſt in Cloves: They have extraordinary Parrots, which exceed thoſe of the *Weſt-Indies* in ſpeaking, and many Birds of *Paradiſe*. They have Almonds, and coarſe Tobacco. During their Wars with the *Portugueze*, they burnt all their Clove-trees, retired to the Mountains and Deſerts, and forbid ſelling any thing to the *Portugueze* on pain of Death, which reduced them to great Extremity. Though they burnt the Cloves in Deſpite, our Author ſays, their Aſhes did ſo cultivate the Soil, that it produced them in greater abundance than ever in a few Years. The King of this Iſland was the moſt powerful of all the fourteen in the *Moluccas*, and boaſted of a divine Extraction, which the ſilly People firmly believed. He was Sovereign over ſeventy-two Iſlands that lay in the *Great Archipelago*, betwixt *Mindanao* on the North, thoſe of *Bima* and *Corea* on the South, and the *Terra Firma* of *Papoas*, or *New Guinea*, on the Eaſt, and had his Tribute in Gold, Amber, and Birds of *Paradiſe*.

Having made theſe great Conqueſts over his Neighbours, he called himſelf Emperor of the *Archipelago*, where there were many Colonies of Chriſtians; but moſt of them were deſtroyed, or apoſtatized by the Perſecution abovementioned. *Argenſola* gives a particular Account of the Forces which every Iſland could raiſe, and in the whole reckons them at 120,300 Men that were liſted, beſides Multitudes of others, and a great Number of Slaves. Many of theſe Iſlands had their particular Kings, but all ſubject to him of *Ternate*, and ſerved under him, to revenge the Death of King *Aerio*, who was treacherouſly murdered by the *Portugueze*. This great King's Name was *Cachilbabu*, *Aerio*'s third Son: He allowed the *Dutch* to trade here in 1599, entered into a ſtrict Friendſhip with them, and entertained them with Fights of Gladiators, after the Manner of his Country. The *Dutch* aſſiſted him to ſhake off the Yoke of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*; and he was victorious over thoſe of *Tidor*. The Place where he kept his Court was *Gammalamma*, on the Coaſt, conſiſting chiefly of one Street, their Houſes being of Wood and Cane. About a League from hence, there is a Town called *Malleyo*, incloſed with Walls of Stone, without Mortar. The Road to *Cammalamma* is not good. There are ſtill ſome Remains of Churches and other Structures, built by the *Portugueze*. The firſt Fort the *Dutch* built here was *Terlucco*; the next was the Fortreſs of *Orange*, by which they fixed themſelves ſo well, that no *European* Nation has been able to diſlodge them.

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[a] The Revenue of this Iſland, while in the Hands of the Crown of *Portugal*, was annually conveyed to *Goa*, on Board a Galleon, maintained at the Expence of the Crown for that Purpoſe, and this Galleon was thus provided: The Officers were, a Captain, Purſer, Maſter, Pilot, Boatſwain, and Steward; the Men on Board were, two Gunners, four *European* Seamen, twenty Soldiers, and forty common Mariners of the *Indies*, with a Conſtable or Provoſt Marſhal; for the Maintenance and Pay of which, the King allowed annually 986,962 Reeys, or 616 *l.* 17 *s.* 1 *d.* as appears from a State of the Revenues of the *Portugueze* Settlements in the *Indies*, compiled and publiſhed by Don *Edward de Meneſes*, who was Viceroy there in the Year 1584.

Tidor is larger than *Ternate*, is alſo a particular Kingdom, and produces the ſame Fruits: It lies a little South-Eaſt from *Ternate*, near the Line. The *Spaniards* aſſiſted the Inhabitants againſt thoſe of *Ternate* at firſt, but had War with them at laſt, and treated them barbarouſly, till expelled by the League above-mentioned. The *Dutch* attacked the *Spaniards* here in 1607, and afterwards without Succeſs; but, at laſt, took it by the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Ternate*, after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, and were kindly received by the King, who allowed them to ſettle Factories here. The Capital is of the ſame Name, and has an Harbour about a Stone's Throw from the Shore, dry at Low-water, and defended by a Chain of narrow Rocks, over which the Tide riſes from three to ſix Foot. The Town is very ſtrong by Nature.

Motir, *Motil*, or *Timor*, lies between *Tidor* and *Machian*. It was laid waſte during the inteſtine Wars; but the *Dutch* built a Fort at the North End of it, which encouraged the Inhabitants to return from *Gilolo*, continuing firm to the *Dutch*; the *Spaniards* durſt not attack it. *Machian* lies juſt under the Line South from *Motir*. The *Dutch* took it from the *Spaniards* in 1609, and built three Forts here. It is ſeven Leagues in Compaſs, and has ſeveral little Towns; the Inhabitants were then about Nine thouſand: It was reckoned the fruitfuleſt of the *Moluccas*, and produced the beſt Cloves. The Inhabitants were more induſtrious than their Neighbours. *Bachian*, the laſt of the proper *Moluccas* lies South from *Machian*, and was a Kingdom. The Country is large and deſert; it abounds with Sagu, Fruits, Fiſh, and many other Sorts of Proviſions. It was formerly very potent, and had the beſt Cloves in the *Moluccas*, but was ruined by the Idleneſs of the Inhabitants. They had an Alliance with the *Portugueze* and *Spaniards*, who planted Garriſons there, but were diſpoſſeſſed by the *Dutch* in 1610, who built other Ports, and obtained a Liberty to trade without paying Cuſtom. The Iſle of *Labova* lies ſo near it, that they frequently go by the ſame Name, though each had their particular King. The latter is very pleaſant, and abounds in Cloves. The Inhabitants rebelled againſt the *Dutch*, but were forced to ſubmit, and have been ſince kept in Awe by Fort *Barnevelt*.

The Iſland of *Bouro* was formerly ſubject to the King of *Ternate*; it is not very conſiderable; but while in the Hands of the *Portugueze*, was more conſiderable than it is at preſent. But the Iſland they chiefly depended upon was that of *Timor*, which is much larger than the other of the ſame Name before-mentioned, and was extremely fruitful, ſo that it ſupplied moſt of the *Moluccas* with Proviſions. Weſt from thence lies the Iſland of *Solor*, in which was a ſtrong Fortreſs, wherein the *Portugueze* Garriſon held out a Siege of two Months againſt the *Dutch* Fleet and Army; and, when they ſurrendered, marched out near one thouſand ſtrong. There are many other Iſlands, which are commonly, ſince the *Dutch* Conqueſt, ſtiled the *Moluccas*, becauſe they make that Word ſynonimous with the Spice-Iſlands; whereas the *Moluccas*, ſtrictly ſpeaking, are no more than the five Iſlands firſt deſcribed. It was with the Spices they produced, that the *Portugueze* traded throughout the whole Extent of the *Indies*; that is to ſay, from *China* to the Coaſts of *Ægypt* [d].

16. The Viceroy *Lopez Suarez*, Succeſſor to the famous Don *Alphonſo d'Albuquerque*, was the firſt who thought of eſtabliſhing a Commerce with *China*; and in the Year 1517, ſent for that Purpoſe *Ferdinand Andrada*, with a Squadron of eight Ships, laden with Merchandize, together with *Thomas Perera*, with the Character of Embaſſador from *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*. On their Arrival at the Mouth of the River *Canton*, the *Portugueze* Ships were ſtopped by the *Chineſe*, and only two ſuffered to proceed up the River, on Board one of which was the Embaſſador, and the *Portugueze* Commodore *Andrada*, who was a Man of Quality and of ſtrict Honour, ſo that he ſoon gained very much on the *Chineſe*, notwithſtanding their natural Averſion to Strangers. By his Civility and polite Behaviour, he firſt drew them to trade with him, and then, by his Exactneſs and Probity, brought them to have a Confidence in him; but what had the greateſt Effect of all, and might have eſtabliſhed the Commerce of the *Portugueze* to the Excluſion of all other *European* Nations was, his giving Notice a little before his Departure, that at ſuch a Time he meant to ſail, and that if any Body had Demands upon him, or any who belonged to him, they might, before that Time, apply and receive Satisfaction.

This, it ſeems, was a Thing new to the *Chineſe*, but withal ſo agreeable, as they made him the higheſt Proteſtations of Friendſhip, and aſſured him that they would willingly trade with his Nation, in Hopes of meeting with the like juſt Uſage: But this fair Proſpect did not continue long; and, as this was the firſt, it had alſo very near proved the laſt Voyage of the *Portugueze* hither. The Captains of the Ships that were left at anchor at the Mouth of the River, were the Occaſion of this, for they landed and fell into Trade with the Natives; but preſuming on their Power in the *Indies*, they began to treat the *Chineſe* in the ſame manner they had done other People; that is to ſay, they landed ſeveral Pieces of Cannon, and then took what Goods they pleaſed, and at what Rates they thought fit, committing many other Inſolences, ſuch as raviſhing Women, and trading with Pirates for ſuch Perſons as they had taken Priſoners, of whom the *Portugueze* made Slaves. The Viceroy of the Province quickly aſſembled a great naval Force, with which he ſurrounded the *Portugueze* Squadron, and had infallibly taken every Ship, if a Storm had not riſen, which ſcattered the *Chineſe* Fleet, and gave them an Opportunity of returning to *Malacca* with more Profit than Honour. As for the Embaſſador, *Thomas Perera*, he, though perfectly innocent, proved the Victim of his Countrymens bad Behaviour; for the *Chineſe* Court having received Advice of what had paſſed before his Arrival, not only refuſed him Audience, but ſent him back to *Canton* in Chains, where he was put into the common Priſon with the loweſt and vileſt Criminals, and there ſpent his miſerable Life for ſeveral Years; till, at length, worn out with Hardſhips, he expired in ſuch wretched Circumſtances, that he did not leave wherewith to bury him [e].

It was many Years before the *Chineſe* would ſuffer the *Portugueze* to have any Trade with them at all; but, at laſt, permitted them to ſend annually ſome Ships to the Iſland of *Sanchan*, where they were allowed to erect Tents on Shore, for a very ſmall Space of Time, in which they diſpoſed of their Merchandize. At length, in the Beginning of the ſixteenth Century, a favourable Opportunity offered, not only of reſtoring their Commerce, but of procuring an Eſtabliſhment in *China*, which is what no other Nation ever had to boaſt. The Thing fell out thus; A certain Pirate, whoſe Name was *Tchang ſi Lao*, committed prodigious Ravages upon the Coaſts, and having at laſt acquired a great Force, he made himſelf Maſter of the little Iſland of *Macao*, and from thence not only blocked up the Port of *Canton*, but proceeded ſo far as to beſiege the City. The *Mandarines*, in this Diſtreſs, had Recourſe to the *Portugueze*, whoſe Ships were then at the Iſland of

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[d] The King of *Portugal* likewiſe maintained a Galleon for bringing the Tributes of the *Moluccas*, officered in the ſame Manner as that mentioned in the laſt Note; but inaſmuch as the Voyage was longer, and there were more Seamen employed, the yearly Expence amounted to 3,292,998 Reeys, or 2058 *l.* 2 *s.* 5 *d.* which ſhews that the publick Revenue was adminiſtred there with great Oeconomy in thoſe Times.

[e] The famous *Portugueze* Hiſtorian, *John de Barros*, though, otherwiſe, a very candid Writer, endeavours, as far as he is able, to cover and diſguiſe this Fact; but other Writers, even of that Nation, confeſs it ingenuouſly, and ſpeak of it as it deſerves. It proved, without doubt, of infinite Prejudice to their Concerns, as indeed their Pride and over-bearing Temper did in many other Places. It may be juſtly wondered, that they never employed Force while their Affairs in the *Indies* were in ſo flouriſhing a Condition; but they were reſtrained from this, by their Fear that the *Chineſe* would revenge any Injuries they did them upon the Chriſtians, which is very probable; and therefore they were in the right to proceed as they did. To ſay the Truth, the *Portugueze* ſeem, of all the Nations in the World, the leaſt fit to have any Correſpondence with the *Chineſe*, becauſe of their haughty and aſſuming Temper, and of the natural Suſpicion of the Natives of that Empire.

Sanchan. They readily offered them their Aſſiſtance, and not only forced *Tchang ſi Lao* to raiſe the Siege, but purſued him to *Macao*, and there killed him.

The Viceroy having made a faithful Report to the Emperor of this extraordinary Piece of Service, that Prince, out of juſt Gratitude, publiſhed an Edict, by which he granted the *Portugueze* this little Iſland, with the Power of making a Settlement there, which they joyfully accepted, and built a good Town, which they fortified after the *European* Manner, and furniſhed it with near two hundred Pieces of Cannon. One would imagine, that this might excite the Jealouſy of the *Chineſe*, who are juſtly eſteemed the moſt ſuſpicious People in the World; but they have provided ſo effectually for their own Security, that all the Force of the *Portugueze* is entirely at their Devotion, becauſe they have not a Day's Proviſion but what they received from the *Chineſe*, and are ſo ſurrounded by their Forces, that it is impoſſible for them to undertake any thing to the Prejudice of their Empire. The Poſſeſſion of this Place has been, notwithſtanding, extreamly beneficial to the *Portugueze*; for, from thence, they carried on for many Years, a moſt beneficial Commerce with *Japan*, by which *Macao* became one of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable Places in the *Indies*, and many of the Nobility of *Portugal*, who had enjoyed very high Offices, choſe, at the Expiration of them, to ſettle here, where they lived in great Splendor, and at the ſame Time acquired vaſt Eſtates by Trade[f].

We ſhall hereafter have occaſion to give ſome Account of the Cauſes which brought on the total Prohibition of their Trade with *Japan*; but at preſent, we ſhall confine ourſelves to what relates to the City of *Macao*. In the Year 1639, the *Portugueze* ſent from thence two large Ships laden with Merchandize, which came to an Anchor in the Road of *Nagazaqui*; immediately on which it was notified in Form to the Commodore, or, as the *Portugueze* ſtile him, the Captain-Major Don *Vaſco Paglia d'Almeyda*, that the Emperor of *Japan*, by his Edict, had totally prohibited all Commerce with the *Portugueze*, and that for theſe Reaſons: Firſt, becauſe, notwithſtanding the ſeveral Cautions given them, they had ſtill continued to bring over Miſſionaries into his Country. Secondly, for that they had ſupplied thoſe that were already there, with Proviſions and other Neceſſaries; and Thirdly, becauſe there were juſt Reaſons to ſuſpect, that they had ſome Knowledge of, and ſome Concern in the late Rebellion of the Chriſtians in *Arima*. They had alſo a Copy of the Emperor's Edict given them, which they were directed to make publick at *Macao*, and to inform the Inhabitants of that City, that theſe were the laſt Ships that ſhould ever be permitted to anchor in any Port of *Japan*, of which they were to take Notice, and to remain aſſured, that if ever they came thither again, they ſhould undoubtedly be treated as Enemies, and put to Death without Mercy.

On their Return to *Macao*, and making Report of theſe Facts, the whole City was ſtruck with Conſternation, being ſatisfied, that the Deſtruction of this Trade would prove the Ruin of their City; to prevent which, they reſolved to make one great Effort, and to ſend a ſolemn Ambaſſy to juſtify their Conduct, and if poſſible, engage the Emperor to recall this Edict, or at leaſt to qualify it ſo, as that they might on certain Terms have Leave to ſend ſome Ships thither. The Difficulty was to find any who would charge themſelves with ſo dangerous a Commiſſion; but at laſt the following Perſons offered, of their own Accord, to run the Hazard, *viz.* Don *Lewis Paez Pacheco*, who had ſerved with Honour as Commander of the Armies in the *Indies*, and who was now ſeventy-eight Years of Age, Don *Roderic Sanchez de Paredez*, Don *Gonzalez Montayro de Carvailho*, and Don *Simon Vaz de Pavia*; all Men of Diſtinction, and who were moved by nothing but the Deſire of juſtifying their Nation, and rendering Service to their Country. On the 9th of *July* 1640, the Ship that carried theſe Ambaſſadors arrived in the Road of *Nagazaqui*, and ſent an Account to the *Japoneſe* Governors of the Nature of the Commiſſion with which they were intruſted. Their Ship was immediately ſeized, and the Ambaſſadors, and all who belonged to them, except eight Negroe Seamen, were impriſoned in the Iſland of *Kiſma*, till the Emperor's Pleaſure ſhould be known. On the return of the Courier ſent to Court with the News of their Arrival, they were ſent for before the Magiſtrates, who treated them as Criminals, demanding of them, what it was that could induce them, after ſo fair Warning as was given them the Year before, to return thither, in direct Breach of the Emperor's Edict. They pleaded, that they were not at all within the Meaning of that Law, becauſe the Emperor forbid thereby any Attempt to trade, which was not their Buſineſs, having no Commodities of any ſort on Board their Ship, but coming thither with the Characters of Ambaſſadors, which had been always eſteemed ſacred. The Magiſtrates told them, that this would not ſerve their Turns, but that they had incurred the Penalty of the Edict; upon which they were inſtantly bound and conducted back to Priſon.

The next Day, the Ambaſſadors, and all their Attendants, to the Number of ſeventy-four, *Portugueze*, *Spaniards*, *Chineſe*, *Canarins*, and *Indians*, were again carried before the Magiſtrates, who then told them, it was his Imperial Majeſty's Pleaſure they ſhould all ſuffer Death, except thirteen; which Sentence was executed the ſame Evening, which was the 13th of *Auguſt*. The next Morning before it was light, the Governor ſent for the thirteen that were ſpared, and having aſked them whether they had ſeen their Ship burnt, inquired of them, whether they would faithfully report at *Macao*, what they were commanded by the Emperor to ſay to them on his Behalf. Being anſwered in the Affirmative, they proceeded thus; "You "are then to inform your Fellow-Citizens, that henceforwards the Subjects of *Japan* will not receive either Money, Merchandize, or Preſents, from them any more: "You ſee we have burnt the very Cloaths of thoſe who "were executed Yeſterday. Let your People uſe any of "ours that fall into their Hands in the ſame Manner, we "conſent to it, and deſire that you would think of us no "more than if there were not ſuch a Nation as the *Japoneſe* in the World. This is what we have to ſay "to you."

They then conducted theſe Mariners to the Place where the Heads of thoſe who were murdered the Day before were fixed upon Poles in three Rows; the four Embaſſadors firſt, the *Europeans* next, and the Strangers laſt of all. They likewiſe ſhewed them a great Iron Cheſt, in which they told them were the Bodies of the Perſons executed, and obliged them to read a long Inſcription, ſetting forth who they were, on what Account, and by whoſe Order they were put to Death; which Inſcription ended with theſe Words: "All this is ſet forth as a Memorial of what has "paſt, and as an Advertiſement for the Time to come.

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[f] I have taken all the Care I could to diſcover whether this Nation had ever any other Settlement in *China* than this at *Macao*, but to no Purpoſe, except that they traded for ſome Time as other Nations did, at *Canton*, and at *Ning-Po*, which is a very conſiderable Port in the Province of *Tche-Kiang*, and the firſt into which *Engliſh* Veſſels were admitted. But a late Writer, one Captain *Alexander Hamilton*, ſpeaking of this Place, which he calls *Limpoa*, inſtead of *Liampo*, by which I find it mentioned by other *European* Writers, gives us the following Story, which I believe to be true, and which therefore I ſhall relate in his own Words: "Here the *Portugueze* were once well ſettled, and had a numerous Colony, when "the *Chineſe* were Maſters of their own Country, and the *Portugueze* of the Seas. It is reported, that they had above one thouſand *Portugueze* Families ſettled in *Limpoa*, and were governed by their own Laws. Their Trade through *China* and *Japan*, which they carried in Shipping to *India* and *China*, made them prodigiouſly rich, which brought them into Luxury and Debauchery, and at laſt was the Cauſe of their Expulſion from "*Limpoa*. They began to be notorious Raviſhers of Women. They would go into the Country Villages, and carry off young Virgins by Violence, "from their Parents, and when they had abuſed them as long as they pleaſed, ſent them back to their Friends. Many Complaints had been made, "but no redreſs could be obtained. At length, when a Parcel of Virgin-Hunters had gone into the Country, upon an Expedition of that Nature, "the Peaſants fell on them, and killed them every Man. This Slaughter made the *Portugueze* very loud in their Complaints, and demanded Juſtice "to be done on the Peaſants. The Peaſants made ſolid Replications to the Complaints of the *Portugueze*, and deſired their Caſe might be laid before the Emperor, which was accordingly done, and the *Portugueze* were ordered to clear themſelves of the Crimes laid to their Charge, and they "not being able to do it, were baniſhed *Limpoa*, but had Liberty to carry off their Effects; and thus ended the moſt opulent Colony at that Time "in the World."

"Henceforward, ſo long as the Sun ſhall ſhine upon the "Earth, let not any Chriſtian be ſo hardy as to ſet his "Foot in *Japan*; and be it known to all the World, that if "King *Philip* in Perſon, the God of the Chriſtians, or the "great *Xaca*, one of the firſt Deities of *Japan*, ſhall preſume to break this Ordnance, he ſhall pay for it with his "Head." They then gave theſe poor People an old Ship to return in to *Macao*, which they choſe, rather than to be put on Board any of the five *Dutch* Ships that were then on the Coaſt, and offered to ſet them ſafe on Shore in that Port [g].

In the Year 1641, arrived at *Macao* from *Europe* Don *Antonio Ferreyra*, with the News of the Revolution in *Portugal*, and that Don *Juan*, Duke of *Bragança*, had mounted the Throne, and aſſumed the Title of *John the Fourth*, to whoſe Obedience they readily returned, and as a Mark of their Loyalty, preſented him with two hundred Braſs Cannon, and a vaſt Quantity of Ammunition. This Monarch, in the Year 1646, thought fit to make another Attempt in Favour of the City of *Macao*, and ſent Don *Gonzalo Sequeyra* as his Embaſſador to the Emperor of *Japan*, to inform him, that *Portugal* no longer continued ſubject to the Crown of *Spain*, which as it was the principal Occaſion of the Nation's being prohibited all Commerce with the *Japoneſe*, he hoped that a good Intelligence would now be reſtored between the Citizens of *Macao* and the Subjects of his Imperial Majeſty. The Embaſſador was very civilly received, and an Expreſs ſent to Court with the News of his Arrival. About a Month afterwards a Courier arrived with the Emperor's Anſwer, which was to this Effect; That his Requeſt could not be granted, but that he and all that belonged to him had free Liberty to depart.

In the Year 1685, another favourable Opportunity offered, which the *Portugueze*, with great Alacrity, embraced: A *Japoneſe* Veſſel being driven by a Storm from their own Coaſt, was forced to take Shelter in the Port of *Macao*, where thoſe who were on Board it met with a very kind Reception, and having been entertained at the publick Expence, till they were recovered from the Hardſhips they met with at Sea, and were then put on Board one of the beſt Veſſels belonging to the Port of *Macao*, and ſent back to their own Country. On their coming to an Anchor in the Road of *Nangazaqui*, and ſending the *Japoneſe* on Shore, they received a Meſſage from the Magiſtrates, importing, that they were obliged to them for this kind and generous Return, but that for the future they would adviſe them not to give themſelves the Trouble of ſending home any more of their People, ſince it would not anſwer their Ends. Since that Time the City of *Macao* has declined very much, and tho' it is at preſent in a better Condition than it has been, yet it is far from being ſo conſiderable as in the ſixteenth Century, as we have already ſhewn the Reader in another Place. But that it may poſſibly make a better Figure than it does, we ſhall hereafter render probable, when we come to ſpeak of the preſent State of the *Portugueze* Dominions in this Part of the World.

17. In the Year 1521, *Magellan* diſcovered the *Ladrone* Iſlands, near thoſe which he called the *Archipelago* of Saint *Lazarus*, becauſe he diſcovered them on the Feaſt of that Saint. The *Portugueze* arrogate to themſelves this Diſcovery, becauſe he was their Countryman, though in the Service of the Crown of *Spain*; and on the other hand, the *Spaniards* challenged the Diſcovery of the *Moluccas*, becauſe *Magellan* went to them from *America* in their Service; but without doubt this Title was wrong placed, ſince, as we have ſhewn, the *Portugueze* had diſcovered them long before. It cannot indeed be affirmed, on any good Authority, that the *Portugueze* had before this time viſited the *Ladrone* Iſlands; but it is very certain, they made ſeveral Voyages thither afterwards, and did not think them ſo deſpicable as they are now eſteemed; but on the contrary, drew from thence things of great Value; and the Reaſon I have mentioned them here is, that I might have an Opportunity of acquainting the Reader, that when this Nation firſt ſettled in the *Moluccas*, they were informed by the Inhabitants, that from theſe little Iſlands they were wont to receive conſiderable Sums in Silver, and the very fineſt Emeralds they had in Exchange for Spices.

The *Portugueze* were in hopes of finding, according to this Information, Mines of Silver and precious Stones amongſt them; but on the cloſeſt Search, could meet with neither, which was the true Reaſon they never made any Settlements there. But this Account affords us room to conjecture, that before the *Portugueze* penetrated thus far into the Eaſt, there had been ſome Commerce between theſe People and the *Americans*, from whom they might receive both Silver and Emeralds. This is a Point that deſerves mature Conſideration, becauſe, if there be any Truth in this Conjecture, it will give ſome Light into the Means of peopling *America*, which hitherto has perplexed the ableſt Enquirers into ſuch Subjects. It is true, that at firſt Sight there ſeems to be no great Authority for this Conjecture, ſince it is founded on the Report of the Inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, who were, according to the beſt Accounts we have of them, a rude and barbarous People. Yet let them be ever ſo rude and barbarous, they could not be miſtaken as to a Matter of Fact; they had Emeralds amongſt them, and as their Country did not produce them, they muſt know from whence they had them; and ſince this could be learned no other way but from theſe People, there ſeems to be no Reaſon why we ſhould not accept of their Account.

The Conjecture, however, does not reſt upon this alone, but upon another Fact, which cannot be diſputed; and it is this, that there are no Emeralds to be found in any of the Countries in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and yet they were ſo common there, when the *Portugueze* came firſt into thoſe Parts, that they brought conſiderable Quantities into *Europe*, from whence grew the Diſtinction of Oriental and Occidental Emeralds; whereas in Truth there never were any that could be ſtrictly and properly called Oriental, becauſe, as I obſerve, they are not the natural Produce of any Country in the Eaſt; and yet in another Senſe they might be very well ſo called, becauſe they came firſt to us from the Eaſt. I cannot help adding to this Obſervation another, which is, that there is ſome Reaſon to doubt, whether the Inhabitants of the *Ladrone* Iſlands were always ſo rude and barbarous as the *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* found them; and my Reaſon for advancing this is, becauſe I find the beſt *Portugueze* Writers agree, that the *Chineſe* had been Maſters of the *Moluccas*, and very probably of theſe Iſlands alſo, as they certainly were of ſome of the *Philippines*; and if ſo, then very probably they were more civilized, while under their Dominion, and grew rude and barbarous, by their being deſerted by them, and left to themſelves [h].

This will appear ſtill the more probable, if we conſider on the one hand what the *Chineſe* Writers tell us of their Emperors contracting their Dominions from Maxims of Policy; and on the other, what appears very clear to us from what we know with Certainty of their Hiſtory, which is, that their Empire had been ſubverted by the *Tartars*, and conſequently their Œconomy totally diſturbed before the *Portugueze* came into the *Indies* at all. What I would conclude from hence is, that poſſibly we may be miſtaken in our Notions of theſe Countries, and that therefore it may be worth while to enquire more narrowly into this Matter, which may poſſibly lead us to ſome kind of Evidence of an Intercourſe between the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, before either were known to us by the Paſſages now in uſe. But let us for the preſent return to the Diſcoveries of the *Portugueze*.

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[g] It ſeems a little extraordinary, that the Emperor of *Japan* ſhould treat theſe People with ſo much Severity, when it appears from this very Account, that Juſtice is as regularly adminiſtered in his Dominions as in any part of the World; but in all human probability, he was induced to uſe them in this manner by the Repreſentations of the *Dutch*, as to the Power of the King of *Spain*, and his Intentions of reducing both the *Indies*.

[h] This Fact, that no ſuch thing as a true and perfect Emerald is to be found in any of the Countries on the Continent, or in any of the Iſlands of the *Eaſt-Indies*, is maintained by the famous *M. Tavernier*, than whom I think a better Authority cannot be produced. He was indiſputably as well ſkilled in Jewels as any Man of his Time, and had travelled more in the *Indies* than almoſt any other Writer, ſo that to controvert his Authority on this Head, is to refuſe the beſt Evidence that can be produced, in order to conclude, without any Evidence at all, that the Thing is otherwiſe. It may, and indeed it has been ſaid, that to ſupport this Opinion, we ought to ſhew, that there has been ſuch a Commerce with *America*; but there is a Difference between proving a thing, and rendering it probable; and yet in the next Chapter, ſomething farther ſhall be ſaid in Defence of this Opinion, which will approach very near a Proof.

18. In the Year 1525, *Antonio Britto*, and *Garcias Henriquez*, being ſent from the *Moluccas*, diſcovered the great Iſland of *Celebes*. This *Antonio Britto* was the very Perſon that had taken one of *Magellan's* Ships, and put all the People that were in her to Death, which had gained him the Reputation of a bold and able Seaman; nor did he loſe it by this Expedition, ſince he actually diſcovered what he was ſent to look for. Other *Portugueze* Writers ſay, that he did not go himſelf, but fitted out Ships for that Diſcovery, and that they in their Return to the *Moluccas*, ſaw certain Iſlands, which they could not reach, to which they gave the Name of the Iſlands of *Mey*. But when *Antonio Galvano* was Governor of the *Moluccas*, he ſent over two of the Natives, who were baptized, into that Country, who converted ſeveral of the Princes thereof from Paganiſm to Chriſtianity [i], and eſtabliſhed a good Correſpondence between them and the Inhabitants of the *Portugueze* ſettled in the *Moluccas*.

This Iſland of *Celebes* is divided from *Borneo* by the Streights of *Macaſſar*, and lies at no great Diſtance from the *Moluccas*. *Argenſola* tells us, the Natives are of a white Complexion, and that they were formerly much given to Piracy. That Writer, and ſome others, give us an odd Account of the ancient Form of Government in this Country, and which ſeems to confirm what I have before ſuggeſted, that there had been great Revolutions in theſe Parts before they were diſcovered by the *Europeans*. What they ſay on this Subject, reduced into a narrow Compaſs, amounts to this; that there were originally ſeven Kingdoms, or Principalities in this Iſland, the Princes of which met together and choſe a Monarch, who had a limited Power over the whole Iſland, and whom, in caſe of Tyranny, they who elected him depoſed. This does not look like Rudeneſs or Barbarity, but ſeems to have been a very rational kind of Policy, inſtituted for the ſake of preſerving the Peace of the ſeveral Nations inhabiting that Country, and preventing thoſe Wars that muſt otherwiſe have kept them in continual Confuſion, and into which they actually relapſed, when by ſome Accident or other this ſalutary Form of Government fell into Diſuſe.

The Diſcovery of ſo conſiderable a Country was looked upon, by the *Portugueze*, as a Matter of great Conſequence and Meaſures were taken to ſecure the Affections of thoſe whom it was not found eaſy to conquer; but, on the other hand, capable of being obliged, or rendered uſeful, as their Allies, by good Uſage. The People were much braver, and withal had much better Senſe than moſt of the *Indians*; and, therefore, after a little Converſation with the *Europeans*, they began, in general, to diſcern that there was no Senſe or Meaning in their own Religion; and the few of them who had been made Chriſtians by the Care of Don *Antonio Galvano*, were not ſo thoroughly inſtructed themſelves as to be able to teach them a new Faith. The whole People in general, however, diſclaimed their old Superſtitions, and became Deiſts at once [k]; but, not ſatisfied with this, they determined to ſend, at the ſame time, to *Malacca* and to *Achin*, to deſire from the one, Chriſtian Prieſts; and from the other, Doctors of the *Mohammedan* Law; reſolving to embrace their Religion; the Teachers of which came firſt among them. The *Portugueze* have hitherto been eſteemed zealous enough for their Religion; but it ſeems that Don *Ruis Perera*, who was then Governor of *Malacca*, was a little deficient in his Concern for the Faith, ſince he made a great and very unneceſſary Delay, in ſending the Prieſts that were deſired.

On the other hand, the Queen of *Achin* being a furious *Mohammedan*, no ſooner received an Account of this Diſpoſition in the People of the Iſland of *Celebes*, than ſhe immediately diſpatched a Veſſel full of Doctors of the Law, who, in a ſhort Time, eſtabliſhed their Religion effectually among the Inhabitants. Some Time after came the Chriſtian Prieſts, and inveighed bitterly againſt the Law of *Mohammed*, but to no Purpoſe; the People of *Celebes* had made their Choice, and there was no Poſſibility of bringing them to alter it. One of the Kings of this Iſlands, indeed, who had before embraced Chriſtianity, perſiſted in the Faith, and moſt of his Subjects were converted to it; but ſtill, the Bulk of the People of *Celebes* continued *Mohammedans*, and are ſo to this Day, and the greateſt Zealots for their Religion of any in the *Indies*. This was one of the greateſt Errors in Policy that ever the *Portugueze* committed; for if all the Inhabitants of that Iſland had been made, as they very eaſily might have been, zealous Chriſtians, the *Dutch* had never became ſo abſolute in the *Indies* as they now are.

But this Difference in Religion did not hinder them from living in very good Terms with the *Portugueze*, who eſtabliſhed a better Trade here than in any other Part of the *Indies*; for, finding few rich Commodities, and no Opportunity of encroaching on the Liberties of the Nation, they were glad to treat them as a free People; and the Situation of the Country being extremely happy for that Purpoſe, made it very ſoon the Centre of Commerce. The great Iſland of *Borneo*, abounding in Gold, Diamonds, Pepper, and other rich Commodities, lay but one Day's Sail from them; *Amboyna* and the Spice-Iſlands, not above three or four; the Kingdoms of *Siam*, *Camboya*, *Cochinchina*, and *Tonquin*, the Empire of *China*, and the *Philippine* Iſlands, none of them above three hundred Leagues. We need not wonder, therefore, that the Port of *Jampodan*, the beſt in that Part of the World, ſhould be always full of Ships, and the great Towns on the Coaſt become Places of great Trade, when it was ſo much the Intereſt of the *Portugueze* to promote it. The People themſelves were very capable of managing it, being very induſtrious, and as well ſkilled in Navigation as any of their Neighbours; and though they had not any very rich Commodities, except Gold, and that in no great Quantities, yet they had wherewithal to purchaſe thoſe of the greateſt Value, ſince the Rice of this Country is eſteemed the beſt in the *Indies*, as their Cotton is held the fineſt; with thoſe they traded to the *Moluccas*, and from thence brought ſuch vaſt Quantities of Spices, that they drove a very conſiderable Trade in them with the *Europeans*.

The Reaſon that this Iſland is ſometimes called *Celebes*, and at others *Macaſſar* is, becauſe the former which lies in the North-weſt Part of the Iſland, and the latter which takes up all the South, were the principal Kingdoms of the Iſland, and eſpecially the laſt, the Monarchs of which were very powerful, and frequently made themſelves Maſters of the beſt Part of the whole Iſland. Their Subjects are allowed to be the boldeſt and braveſt of all *Indians*, and are likewiſe remarkable for having a conſummate Knowledge in all Sorts of Poiſons, which are ſome of them of ſo deadly a Nature, that the very Touch, or Smell of them, are inſtantly and infallibly mortal. The Men make uſe of them to tinge the Head of their Arrows, or rather Darts, which they blow through hollow Trunks, and that with ſuch Force and Dexterity, that they will hit a ſmall Mark at the Diſtance of fourſcore Yards. They likewiſe dip the Points of their Daggers in the ſame poiſonous Drugs, and the very Scratch of it, either Dart or Dagger, kills without Remedy[l]. The Women likewiſe make uſe of theſe Poiſons to gratify their Revenge; for as they are generally allowed to be extreamly conſtant themſelves, ſo they have very quick Reſentments in Caſes of Infidelity, eſpecially in regard to *Europeans*, who frequently cohabit with them, and ſometimes marry them.

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[i] As this Fact is unanimouſly related by the beſt Authors on this Subject, it may not be amiſs to ſet it in the cleareſt Light of which it is capable. Two Brothers, Subjects of the King of *Soppet*, going over to the Iſland of *Ternate*, ſaw there the Ceremonies of the Chriſtian Worſhip, according to the Rites of the Church of *Rome*. They were extremely pleaſed with the Shew, and deſired therefore to know more of the Subſtance, which induced them to apply to the Governor, in order to be informed as to the Notions the *Portugueze* had of God, the Reaſons why they were called Chriſtians, and how themſelves might be made ſo. He readily diſcourſed with them on theſe Heads, they were quickly convinced of the Truth of what he ſaid, and ſo were baptized by the Names of *Anthony* and *Michael*; which, it ſeems, the Governor made no Scruple of performing with his own Hands, there being, at that Time, no Prieſt in the *Moluccas*. It is eaſy to conceive, that theſe Men, returning into their own Country, might be able to ſhew the Folly and Abſurdity of their Idolatry, without being capable of demonſtrating the Truth of the Chriſtian Faith.

[k] The ancient Religion of this Country deſerves to be taken Notice of, becauſe we ſhall then evidently ſee that the People had good Reaſon to act as they did. Their Prieſts told them, that the Heavens were eternal, and the Sun and Moon a God and Goddeſs, from whoſe Influence all Things proceed; that they had once a Quarrel, and the Sun ſtriking the Moon, ſhe thereupon miſcarried of this World; with abundance of Stories of the like Nature. They taught them likewiſe the Tranſmigration of Souls; and that it was unlawful to kill any living Creature to eat, except Swine and Birds, becauſe the former was too naſty, and the latter too little for any human Soul to dwell in. But they adviſed them to ſacrifice their Cattle to the Sun and Moon; and, if they had none of theſe, they ſometimes made free with their Children. No wonder, therefore, that they were glad to get rid of ſuch a Religion, and of ſuch Practices.

As they were rather the Allies, than the Subjects of the *Portugueze*, ſo they were much more attached to that Nation than any other *Indians*, and gave a very hoſpitable Reception to ſuch of them, as on the Declenſion and Ruin of their Colonies, fled thither for Protection, which was one Reaſon that the *Dutch* made ſuch a Point of reducing the King of *Macaſſar*, which they did after a long War in 1667, and preſcribed to him very hard Terms, particularly theſe, that he ſhould deliver up to them the Harbour of *Jompadan*, as too good for any but the *Dutch* to be poſſeſſed of; next he was obliged to turn all the *Portugueze* out of his Dominions, which was the more reaſonable, becauſe it was intended, that he ſhould never trade with them, or any other *European* for the future; and laſtly, he was to renounce all Commerce with the *Spice Iſlands*, without which his Conquerors could not have monopolized them[m].

This fully proves what has been before obſerved, that if the *Portugueze* had taken Care to have converted theſe People to Chriſtianity, and had taught them the Sciences, they would have been of more uſe to the Crown of *Portugal*, than all the *Indian* Nations that were ſubjected to it; for they had very right Notions of the Conſequences of falling under the Dominion of the *Dutch*, and ſtruggled againſt their whole Power in the *Indies*, when at its greateſt Height, for many Years; and ſince their Country has been ſubdued, Multitudes of the *Macaſſars* have quitted it, and tranſported themſelves to other Places, where they are entertained as Soldiers, particularly at *Batavia*, where they are eſteemed by far the beſt *Indian* Troops in the Service of the States, and ſome of them likewiſe are in the Pay of the *Portugueze* Viceroy at *Goa*.

19. The *Sunda* Iſlands were now entirely open, and it is not eaſy to conceive, how the *Portugueze* could be ſo long traverſing thoſe Seas, without gaining a proper Knowledge of them; yet it does not appear, that before the Year 1527, they were acquainted with any thing more than the Name of the Iſland of *Borneo*, and with its Situation, by reaſon of their frequently paſſing by its Coaſts. About that Time, Captain *Edward Conil* had Orders to examine it more narrowly, and being once acquainted with the Worth of the Country, they made frequent Viſits thither. This Iſland, which is almoſt of a circular Figure, lies immediately under the Equator; it is about five hundred Leagues in Circumference, and abounds with the richeſt Commodities, the Hills well ſtored with Gold, and the fineſt Diamonds in *India* are found in its Rivers, waſhed down into them probably from the Hills, by the Torrents that pour into them.

All the Coaſts they found inhabited by *Malayan Moors*, who certainly had eſtabliſhed themſelves there by Conqueſt, but the original Inhabitants ſtill remain in the Mountains, and are ſtiled *Beajus*, which in the *Malayan* Tongue, ſignifies a wild Man, and the *Moors* uſe the very ſame Word for the largeſt Sort of Apes, that are likewiſe common in this Country, as if they meant to ſignify, that the one had as little of Humanity about them as the other, which however is far from being true. The *Moors* are governed by ſeveral Kings, the Chief of which are thoſe of *Manjar-Maſſen*, of *Succadon*, in one of whoſe Rivers there are excellent Diamonds found; of *Borneo*, and others. The *Beajuſes* have no Kings, but only Princes, and other Chiefs. Thoſe that are Subjects to the King of *Manjar*, or border upon him, pay a Tribute; but ſuch as live farther up in the Country, and in Places inacceſſable to the *Moors*, are abſolutely independent, and live according to their own Cuſtoms. The *Beajuſes* are generally very ſuperſtitious, being much addicted to Augury. They do not adore Idols, but their Sacrifices of Sweet-wood and Perfumes, are offered to one only God, who they believe rewards the Juſt in Heaven, and puniſhes the Wicked in Hell. They marry but one Wife, and look upon any Breach of conjugal Faith, either in the Man, or in the Woman, as ſo heinous an Offence, that every one contrives the Death of the Perſon tranſgreſſing, either by themſelves, or their Friends; and therefore the Women are very modeſt and reſerved, eſpecially the Maidens, who are not ſeen by their Huſbands till the Wedding-day, when the Women receive their Portion.

They are Enemies to Fraud and Theft, and grateful for Benefits received. Among themſelves, they live lovingly and friendly, and therefore, when every Man has gathered what he ſowed for his own Uſe, the reſt on the Mountains and Vallies, is in common, without any Diſtinction of particular Right. They are alſo well inclined in their Pleaſures, and ſeek Honour in Hunting, at which Sport they endeavour to get ſome ſharp Horns to poliſh, and wear them as an Ornament at their Girdle. This Girdle is no other than a long Slip of Linnen, which turns between their Thighs to cover their Privities, one End of which hangs down before, and the other behind. The Peaſants make a ſort of Cloth of the Barks of Trees, which being afterwards waſhed and beaten, are as ſoft as Cotton, and thoſe Trees being within the Dominions of the *Malay Moors*, they expoſe themſelves for the Bark to their Tyranny and Inſolence. Some of them go naked, and the reſt wear a ſmall Doublet made of the ſame Bark, which they dye of any Colour. On their Heads, to keep off the Heat of the Sun or Rain, they wear a Cap of the Palm-Tree Leaves, ſhaped above like a Sugar-Loaf, long, and with Flaps hanging down.

The Weapons they uſe are Knives, made like the Cangiers of the *Moors*, and Zampittes, that is, Trunks about ſix Spans long, out of which they ſhoot little wooden Darts, with an iron Head at the one End, and Cartouch, or hollow Paper at the other, blowing into which, they ſhoot it out with a vaſt Force, and ſometimes the Point being poiſoned, the Wound is mortal. They alſo ſhoot Birds with Pellets through them. The *Beajuſes*, as to their Perſons, are of a dark Complexion, well-countenanced and ſtrong. Such is the Account given of them by the *Portugueze* Writers, who, for any thing I know, are the only Authors that can be depended upon in this Particular. Their Countrymen carried on their Trade chiefly with the *Moors*, whom they could never ſubdue; nor have their Succeſſors, the *Dutch*, been able to do any thing conſiderable againſt them, as we have already ſhewn at large in another Place.

The noble Iſland of *Java* was ſooner viſited by the *Portugueze*, on account of the Trouble given them by the Pirates, or Privateers, fitted out from *Bantam*, or as they call it *Bintam*, and other Places in the ſame Iſland, which induced *Pedro Maſcarenhas* to attack *Bantam*, which he took, and plundered, though *George Albuquerque* had attempted it in vain. *Java Major* lies South-Eaſt from the *Peninſula* of *Malacca*, having *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, and *Celebes*, lying before it. Authors vary as to its Dominions; but the moſt moderate allow it nine hundred Miles in Circuit. The Air is generally eſteemed more wholſome than in any of the Iſles before mentioned, the Country exceedingly fruitful, and the Coaſt abounding with good Ports. It is not intended here to enter farther into the Deſcription of Places than to render what we have to ſay as to the Hiſtory of them, clear and intelligible.

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[l] When our Royal Society was firſt founded, they ſent ſome Queries to Sir *Philberto Varnatti*, who reſided at *Batavia*, the ſixteenth of which ran in theſe Words, " What Poiſon is it the King of *Macaſſar* in *Celebes* is ſaid to have particular to himſelf, which not only kills a Man immedi-
" ately, that hath received the ſlighteſt Wound by a Dart dipp'd therein, but alſo within half an Hour's Time makes the Fleſh touched therewith ſo
" rotten, that it will fall like Snivel from the Bones, and whoſe poiſonous Steam will ſoon fly up to a Wound made with an unpoiſoned Dart, if the
" Blood be only in the ſlighteſt Manner touched with a Dart infected with the Poiſon?" To which he gave the following Anſwer; " That there is
" ſuch a Poiſon in this King's Poſſeſſion, is moſt certain, but what it is no Chriſtian ever knew; ſome ſay it is the Gall of a venomous Fiſh, others
" ſay it is a Tree, which is ſo venemous, that thoſe who are condemned to die, fetch the Poiſon, but not one of an Hundred eſcapes Death. The
" Roots of this Tree are held an Antidote againſt the Poiſon; but our People, when we had War with *Maſſacar*, found no Antidote like to their
" own, or others Excrements, as ſoon as they felt themſelves wounded, they inſtantly took a Doſe of the ſame, which preſently provoked to vomit,
" and ſo by Repulſion (as I conceive) and Sweat, freed the nobler Parts from farther Infection."

[m] I ſhould not have advanced theſe Facts on the Hearſay or Report of any Writer whatever, but the Treaty dated the 18th of *November*, 1667, is before my Eyes, and the ſixth Article of it begins thus; " They, that is the Regents of *Macaſſar*, ſhall turn out the *Portugueze*, and all belong-
" ing to them, without Exception; and becauſe we are obliged to believe, that the *Engliſh* are great Miſchief-makers, and the Authors of the pre-
" ſent War, the ſaid Regents ſhall turn them out alſo, the firſt Opportunity, and ſhall never permit either of thoſe Nations, or their Creatures, to
" negotiate or trade in *Macaſſar* hereafter, &c."

The *Javaneſe* pretend, that they are deſcended from the pure and unmixed Race of the old Inhabitants of *China*, who retired thither when their Country was over-run by the *Tartars*; and on this they very much value themſelves; but before the *Portugueze* came there, they had not only mixed with other neighbouring Nations, but were alſo become *Mohammedans*. The whole Iſland at that Time was cantoned out among a Number of little Princes, ſome more, ſome leſs powerful; but moſt of them Maſters of ſome Force by Sea. All this corroborates what has been before ſo often obſerved, that theſe Nations did not grow better by their Commerce with the *Europeans*, but were actually declining from what they had been when firſt viſited by them, and have been ſinking lower and lower ever ſince.

The *Portugueze* Generals ſaw plainly enough, that they had not Force ſufficient to keep this Iſland, and therefore they contented themſelves with making a new King of *Bantam*, when they had taken it, and accepted from him an annual Tribute. *Panaruean*, a ſmall City, the Capital of a little Principality of the ſame Name, and withal a commodious Port, owed much to their Protection, and was raiſed to one of the principal Marts of the whole Country, where they not only dealt in Rice, Pepper, and other Commodities of the Iſland, but alſo in Gold, precious Stones, and Spices brought from other Places, and more eſpecially from the adjacent Iſlands. But ſince the *Dutch* became Maſters of *Batavia*, and the Emperor of *Materan*, and the King of *Bantam* have divided the Iſland between them, this Place is become a Fiſhing Village, and all its Trade is entirely loſt.

20. There is ſome Diſpute as to the Time, and even as to the Perſon who firſt viſited the Coaſt of *New Guinea*. Some ſay, that this Coaſt was firſt diſcovered by *Alvarez de Saavedra* in the Month of *May* 1529, as he was returning to *New Spain* from a Voyage he had made for Diſcoveries. He fell in with this Continent in the Latitude of two Degrees South, and ran Eaſt along by it above five hundred Leagues to the End of the Month of *Auguſt*. The Coaſt was clean, and of good Anchorage: The People black, with curled Hair, naked to the Waiſt, and covered from thence to their Feet. *Saavedra* having ſailed four or five Degrees to the South, returned again unto the Equinoctial, and having paſſed it, diſcovered towards the North an Iſland, on which he beſtowed the Name of *Iſla de los Pintados*, that is, *The Iſland of painted People*; for he found the Inhabitants white, and each of them marked in his Body with an Iron. They could not underſtand the Language they ſpoke, which was very guttural; but by the Signs they made, they apprehended that they came from *China*.

There came off a Boat full of theſe People in a hoſtile manner, threatening the *Spaniards*, and throwing Stones at them; but *Saavedra* would not ſuffer his People to fire upon them by any means. A little beyond this Iſland they diſcovered many others low and flat, covered with Palm-Trees and Graſs, ſo that they made a very pleaſant Appearance, and therefore *Saavedra* called them *Los Jardines*, or the Gardens; they were very full of People, who ſeemed to them by their Countenances, and the Manner of wearing their Hair, to be deſcended from the *Chineſe*; but by their long Continuance there, were become barbarous, and even brutiſh, living without Law, that they may live without Labour, cloathed only with a white kind of Stuff, which they make of Graſs. They eat Cocos inſtead of Bread, pulling them before they are ripe, and burying them in the Sand, from whence, after ſome Days, they take them out, and lay them in the Sun, where they open of themſelves. They likewiſe eat Fiſh, which they take in a kind of Boats, called *Paraos*, made of Pine-wood, which is driven on that Coaſt at certain times of the Year, they know not from whence, or how. The Tools with which they make theſe Boats are made of Shells. What appeared to *Saavedra* the moſt ſtrange was, that theſe People had never ſeen, nor had any Notion of Fire, till they came upon their Coaſt, and then they ſhewed the utmoſt Terror and Apprehenſion at the Sight. *Saavedra* would have returned from hence to *New Spain*, but met with ſo many Difficulties in his Paſſage, that worn out with Grief and Care, he died, and his People brought his Ship back to the *Moluccas*.

This gave an Opportunity to the Author we have taken this Account from to learn all thoſe Particulars; and this Writer deſerves the more Credit, as he was a Man of Diſtinction, and Governor of the *Spice-Iſlands* for the *Portugueze*. His Name was *Antonio Galvano*, the ſame who took ſo much Pains to introduce Chriſtianity into the Iſland of *Celebes*, and who has written an exact Account of all the Diſcoveries made by the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* both in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and in the *Weſt*. But we muſt not apprehend from his Account, that this Southern Continent was abſolutely unknown, till this Diſcovery of it by *Saavedra*, becauſe it is certain from his own Account, that the Inhabitants of the *Moluccas* were very well acquainted with it before the *Portugueze* came amongſt them, and carried on a conſiderable Trade thither; but this Part of the Coaſt on which *Saavedra* ſailed was unknown to the *Europeans* before. While this *Antonio Galvano* commanded at *Ternate*, there was a famous Pirate, who with a Squadron of *Paraos*, did a great deal of Miſchief on the Coaſt of the Land of *Papoas*, which is the Country ſince called *New-Guinea*, and at laſt began to threaten the Subjects of the *Portugueze* in the *Moluccas*. To repreſs the Violences committed by this Rover, *Galvano* fitted out ſome Barks that were ſent him by the King of *Tidor*, and having manned them with a few *Portugueze*, and with the Auxiliaries from the neighbouring Iſlands, he ſent them under the Command of *Ferdinand Vinagrez*, a Prieſt, in Queſt of this Pirate, with whom they came up, and after a ſmart Engagement, in which the Pirate and his Brother were both killed, deſtroyed ſome, and diſperſed the reſt of his Squadron.

After obtaining this Victory, he was ſent to the Country of *Papoas*, where he was kindly received by ſeveral Princes, and converted ſome of them and their Subjects to the Chriſtian Faith, which was ſo great a Satiſfaction to the worthy Governor, that he inſtituted a kind of Seminary, in which he bred up abundance of young Men brought from all theſe Countries, inſtructing them himſelf in the Chriſtian Religion, and in all ſorts of Literature that were at that Time ſtudied in *Portugal*.

It is obſerved by the *Portugueze* Hiſtorians, that while other Governors increaſed their Fortunes, this Man ſtudied only to increaſe his Reputation and the Number of his Maſter's Subjects, by his wiſe and gentle Government, which had ſo good an Effect, that Multitudes of Chriſtians expelled and baniſhed by *Mohammedan* Princes, throughout the *Indies*, repaired to him in the *Moluccas*, where he was ſo entirely beloved by all the Princes of thoſe Iſlands, that they joined together in a Repreſentation to the King of *Portugal*, ſetting forth the many Advantages that would accrue to the *Portugueze*, as well as themſelves, if *Antonino Galvano* was continued in this Government for Life; but before this Repreſentation was well framed, the Governor of the *Indies* ſent *George Caſtro* to ſucceed him, which, in the Space of a few Years, produced ſuch a Change in their Affairs on this Side, that *Maffeus*, and other of their Hiſtorians, have declined giving us an Account of them.

It was the removing this worthy Man, that hindered all the Southern Continent from being thoroughly known; for, by his Candour, Humanity, and wiſe Government, he eſtabliſhed a new Face in that Part of the World, of which the *Portugueze* never had any Idea, either before or ſince; and if he had remained there but a few Years, would have done more towards the Converſion of thoſe Nations by his own Virtue and Piety, than ever could be effected by an Army of Miſſionaries. But what he was not permitted to effect by his Actions, he has ſketched forth in his Writings; ſo that, from them we learn, this great Southern Continent was, in his Time, well inhabited; and though theſe Inhabitants might, in ſome Parts of it, be abſolute Barbarians; yet, in others, they were as much civilized as their Neighbours, and had, as we have before ſeen, not only the Uſe of Veſſels, but ſome kind of naval Force.

21. The Diſcovery of the *Philippine Iſlands*, as they are now called, was, undoubtedly, made by *Francis Magellan*, in the Year 1521; and the firſt Iſland in which he landed was *Hummunun*, which is now barren and uninhabited. He took Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Butuan*, by erecting a Croſs, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, on the *Wedneſday* in *Eaſter-Week*, in the ſame Year. But theſe Iſlands were not ſettled on the Behalf of the *Spaniards* till the Year 1565, by *Michael Lopez de Legaſpi*, a Native of *Mexico*, acting under a Commiſſion from King *Philip* II. in Honour of whom they were called *Philippines*. But with this Conqueſt and Settlement I have, at preſent, nothing to do, as intending to ſpeak only of the Diſcoveries made in theſe Parts by the *Portugueze*, on whoſe Behalf Don *Antonio de Galvano*, in the Year 1538, ſent *Francis de Caſtro* to the Iſland of *Mindanao*, where he perſuaded ſix of the petty Princes to receive Baptiſm, with all their Families. This Iſland of *Mindanao* is the moſt ſouthern of all the *Philippines*, and the largeſt of them all, except *Manila*; it extends from 6° of N. L. to 10° 30′, and is eſteemed three hundreed Leagues in compaſs. There are few Countries in the World better watered; for there are in it twenty navigable Rivers, and near two hundred Rivulets, beſides large Lakes, one of which is called *Mindanao*, and gives its Name to the whole Iſland.

The *Portugueze* found it inhabited by ſeveral different Nations, of which, the true original Lords of the Country poſſeſſed then, only the Hills and inacceſſible Places; being Negros, with criſp and curled Hair, like thoſe in *New Guinea*; and, by the way, thoſe were the original Inhabitants of all the *Philippines*. The *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* call them *Nigrillos*, a Nation who have ſacrificed all the Bleſſings of Life, and all the Advantages of human Nature, to an enthuſiaſtick Love of Liberty. Thoſe who inhabit one Mountain will have no Intercourſe with thoſe who inhabit the next; nay thoſe that inhabit the Middle of a Hill, will murder ſuch as live at the Top or the Bottom of it, if they find them in their Diſtrict. They have neither Lords nor Laws, but live like Brutes, for the ſole Satisfaction of being free. This ſilly Humour induced them to abandon the Sea-Coaſts on the firſt Appearance of Strangers, which have been ſince ſettled by ſeveral Nations, ſome *Mohammedans* from *Borneo*, others a whiter People, no Body can well ſay from whence, only the moſt civilized Inhabitants own, when the *Portugueze* came amongſt them firſt, that theſe Iſlands had formerly been under the Dominion of the *Chineſe*, and, upon their abandoning them, were left a Prey to any Nation that thought fit to ſettle in them, and were able to defend themſelves from the Blacks in the Mountains.

The Iſland *Xolo* lies South-Weſt from *Mindanao*, and is governed by a King of its own; it is far from being large, but its Situation between *Mindanao* and *Borneo* makes it the Mart of all the *Mooriſh* Kingdoms. I do not find that the *Portugueze* ever pretended to ſettle, much leſs to conquer theſe Iſlands; but they viſited them frequently for the ſake of Trade, and in thoſe Days there was a greater Commerce in theſe Parts than can be well imagined; for, while the Trade was open to *Japan*, there came annually two or three Ships laden with Silver, Amber, Silks, Cheſts, Cabinets, and other Curioſities, made of ſweet-ſcented Woods, with vaſt Quantities of Silks, Muſlins, Callicoes, Quilts, and Earthen-ware from *China*. For theſe the Merchants of *Golconda* exchanged their Diamonds; thoſe of *Ceylon* their Rubies, Topazes and Saphires; from *Java* and *Sumatra* came Pepper, and Cloves, and Nutmegs from the *Moluccas*.

The native Commodities of theſe Iſlands were as valuable as any of the reſt, ſince no Country in the World, *Peru* not excepted, abounds with more Gold. In the Mountains they dig but three Foot deep, before they meet with it in red Sand, and where they cannot come at the Mountains for the Blacks, they dig Trenches in the flat Country, and after the rainy Seaſon, they pick the Gold out of the Mud that is left in them. Cinnamon they have as good as any in *Ceylon*; but no body having any Property in the Trees, they tear and deſtroy the Bark at all Seaſons, which is the Reaſon the World is ſo little acquainted with the Cinnamon of *Mindanao*. In the Sea, between this Iſland and *Xolo*, there is a Pearl-Fiſhery, inferior to none in the *Indies*, either in point of Colour or Shape. Ambergreece they have in great Plenty and Perfection on their Coaſt; and Lumps are very often found of twenty or thirty Pounds Weight, nay, and ſometimes larger.

It was from their Commerce with *Mindanao*, and the Reſpect, or, as they call it, Homage, paid to the King of *Portugal* by ſome of the petty Monarchs of that Country, that the *Portugueze* pretended to maintain their Claim to theſe Iſland againſt the *Spaniards*, who aſſume to themſelves an excluſive Right over all the *Philippines*; becauſe *Luconia*, or *Manila*, which is the biggeſt of them, is in their Poſſeſſion; yet they have ſo managed their Affairs, that though they keep theſe Settlements merely for the ſake of Trade, their Government is ſo ordered, as to leſſen that Commerce, which thoſe Iſlands had before they became Maſters of them; and, at the ſame time, the Royal Revenue is ſo indifferently managed, as not to defray above Two-Thirds of the Expences of the Government; though the People are ſo much harraſſed, that they fly to all Parts of *India*, to avoid the Hardſhips impoſed on them at Home.

Father *Navarette*, who was himſelf a *Spaniard*, and who, in his Hiſtory of *China*, ſhews a manifeſt Partiality for his Country, confeſſes the Truth of this, and that he never was in any Country of the *Indies*, but he found *Manila Indians* either carried away, or run away from thence; and of this, he ſays, the *Spaniſh* Government complained, as being extremely detrimental to that Settlement: But he obſerves very juſtly, upon that Occaſion, that Complaints lie only againſt themſelves, and their own Conduct: Let them, ſays he, uſe the *Indians* well, and they will not run away; let them protect thoſe People as they ought, and no body will be able to ſteal them. The Negligence of the *Portugueze*, the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, and the encroaching Diſpoſition of the *Dutch*, hinder theſe Iſlands from being, what they otherwiſe muſt be, the Centre of Commerce between the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*; and if a free Trade were allowed in them, each of theſe Nations would get ten Times as much, and that too with ten Times the Eaſe with which they get what little they do get by their Commerce here at preſent.

22. There is not any Paſſage relating to the Diſcoveries made by the *Potugueze* in the Eaſt, more curious or more extraordinary, than what relates to the finding the Iſlands of *Japan*, which were diſcovered about the ſame Time by two different ſets of Adventurers, both, in all Appearance, the pure Effects of Chance. And though, in the Account we have received of both theſe Diſcoveries, very little Notice is taken of Dates; yet, from Compariſon of Facts, it is pretty evident, that the Perſons we ſhall firſt ſpeak of, arrived in that Country ſome Time in the Month of *May*, *A. D.* 1542. Of the firſt of theſe, we have a very large Account, written by *Mendez Pinto*, who was himſelf the Diſcoverer; but for many Reaſons, we have found it neceſſary to contract that Account into as few Words as poſſible, that we may have Room to give the Reader both the Diſcoveries, and thereby enable him to judge for himſelf, as to the Controverſy that has been raiſed concerning them.

Ferdinand Mendez Pinto tells us himſelf, that being in Company with two of his Countrymen, whoſe Names were *Diego Zeimoto*, and *Chriſtopher Borello*, at *Lampacao*, which is the ſame with *Macao*, they there endeavoured to get a Paſſage to ſome other Part in the *Indies*, and found it very difficult to do: At laſt a *Chineſe* Corſair offered his Service, promiſing to conduct them to the Iſlands of *Lequios* [a]; but when they were at Sea, the Weather proved ſo bad, and the *Chineſe* Captain's Ship ſo leeky, that there was an abſolute Neceſſity of putting into ſome Port to refit; and accordingly the Captain bore away for a certain Port in the Iſland of *Japan*, which our Author tells us was that of *Niaygima* in the Iſland of *Tanuximaa*, where they ſafely arrived. Before they entered the Port, two Barks came from the Shore to know who they were, and what they wanted? The Captain anſwered, that they were come from *China*, that his Ship was full of Goods, and that his Intention was to trade, if they might obtain Permiſſion; to which the principal Perſon in the Barks anſwered, that the Lord of the Iſland was called *Nautaquim*, and that if they paid the Port Duties, they might have Leave to Trade [o]. The *Chineſe* Captain inſtantly complied with this Demand; the Patron of the Barks uſed him thereupon with great Civility, and conducted him immediately into the Harbour.

About two Hours after the Lord of the Iſland came thither, accompanied by ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, and ſome Merchants. At the Sight of the three *Portugueze* he was very much aſtoniſhed, and demanded immediately who thoſe Strangers were, and of what Nation? The Captain anſwered, that they came from a great City called *Malacca*, and that they were of a certain Kingdom in *Europe* called *Portugal*. At theſe Words *Nautaquim* appeared more ſurprized than before, and at laſt, turning to thoſe who were about him, he ſaid, let me die, if I don't believe theſe are the *Chinchicogis*, of whom we read in our old Books that they fly upon the Waters, and make themſelves Maſters of every rich Country they hear of: We ſhall think ourſelves very happy, if they are content to be our Allies. He then called a Woman, who could ſpeak the *Chineſe* Language, in which he was but indifferently ſkilled, and deſired her to aſk the Captain with what View he brought theſe Strangers into *Japan*. The Captain anſwered very candidly, that he found them at *Macao* much diſtreſſed for a Paſſage to ſome Port in the *Indies*, and that he, from a Principal of Humanity, took them on Board his Veſſel, in hopes that Providence would raiſe him a like Friend, in caſe he ſhould fall into the ſame Diſtreſs. This ſatisfied *Nautaquim* perfectly, ſo that he made no Difficulty of going aboard the *Chineſe* Veſſel, with ſome of the principal Perſons about him, and aſked the *Portugueze* abundance of Queſtions, whom he alſo invited to viſit him on Shore, promiſing to entertain them kindly.

They went accordingly, and carried him a Preſent, which was very graciouſly received, and *Nautaquim* entered into a long Converſation with them about their Country, and particularly inſiſted on theſe three Points, which he ſaid he had been told by the *Chineſe* and *Lequians* in his Country. Firſt, that *Portugal* was bigger than *China*, and richer; the ſecond, that the King of *Portugal* had conquered the beſt Part of the World; and thirdly, that his *Portugueze* Majeſty had better than two thouſand Houſes full of Gold and Silver. *Pinto* ingeniouſly owns, that he did not ſtick exactly to Truth in his Anſwers, but contrived ſuch as were moſt likely to keep up the high Opinion that *Nautaquim* had conceived of their Monarch. All the Time they ſtayed here, they were treated with the utmoſt Civility and Reſpect, being permitted to ſee every thing they deſired, and to go where they would. *Zeimoto* had a very fine Gun, with which the *Japaneſe* were extreamly taken, inſomuch that they ſpoke of it to *Nautaquim*, who deſired to ſee it, and how it was uſed; which Requeſt of his being complied with, he thought himſelf ſo much obliged thereby, that he ſet the *Portugueze* upon one of his own Horſes, and obliged him to ride through the Town with a Crier before him, who proclaimed him *Nautaquim's* Couſin, and admoniſhed the People to conſider him as ſuch: At his Return he had an Apartment aſſigned him in the Palace; upon which he made a Preſent to *Nautaquim* of his Fowling-piece, in return for which, he ſent him in ready Money a thouſand Taels, which make in our Money three hundred and thirty-three Pounds [p].

The People imitated the Generoſity of their Prince, and bought all the Captain's Goods at ſuch round Rates, that for a Cargo which coſt him two thouſand five hundred Taels, they gave him to the Value of thirty thouſand. We need not doubt that People ſo well entertained, ſpent their Days there very agreeably, and were not in any great Hurry about their Departure. After a Month's Stay, however, the *Chineſe* Captain having refitted his Ship, prepared to put to Sea; but before he was ready an Accident happened, which changed the Face of their Affairs entirely. A Boat arrived in the Harbour, having on Board a Gentleman charged with a Letter from the King of *Bungo* to the Lord of the Iſland, ſignifying that he was informed that certain Strangers were come into his Dominions, by which it was apparent, that the World was much larger than they imagined, and that he deſired he would ſend at leaſt one of theſe Strangers to diſcourſe with him, the rather, becauſe at that Time he was very much indiſpoſed, and ſuffered by repeated Fits of black Melancholy, which oppreſſed him to the laſt Degree. The Lord of the Iſland ſent immediately for the *Portugueze*, and having informed them, that the King of *Bungo* was both his Uncle and his Father-in-Law, he moſt earneſtly deſired that they would gratify the Requeſt of that Prince. At the ſame time, however, he declared, that he could not part with his Couſin *Zeimoto*, but that the Embaſſador might take which of the other two he pleaſed; but after a little Recollection, he fixed upon *Pinto* as the moſt proper Perſon to go to his Uncle, becauſe he was of a briſk and lively Temper, and therefore the moſt likely to divert him; and at the ſame time made him a Preſent of two hundred Taels, as a Compenſation for the Trouble of this Journey.

Things being thus regulated, *Pinto* took his Leave of his Friends, and embarqued with the Embaſſador for the Kingdom of *Bungo*, which lies but at a very ſmall Diſtance from the Iſland of *Tacuxima*. They arrived, without meeting with any Accident, at the Fortreſs of *Oſqui*, where they remained two Days, and then they ſet out for the Capital, where they arrived the very ſame Day. The King had no ſooner Notice of their coming than he immediately ſent one of his Sons to complement them, to whom the Embaſſador delivered a Letter from *Nautiquam* for the King's Father, whoſe Name was *Origendo*, who, as ſoon as he received it, deſired the *Portugueze* to come to him, whom he received with all the Reſpect imaginable. The firſt Queſtion he aſked *Pinto* was, whether the Gout, with which he was dreadfully afflicted, was a Diſtemper known in any of the Countries through which he had paſſed, and if he had ever heard of any Remedy that would effectually cure it? *Pinto* told him honeſtly, that he was no Phyſician, but that he had brought with him from *China* a kind of Wood, which had a Quality of relieving the moſt violent Pains, let their Cauſe be what it would, but that he had left it in the Iſland where he firſt arrived; upon which the King immediately diſpatched a Meſſenger thither to fetch it. As ſoon as it arrived, *Pinto* cauſed it to be ſteeped in Water, which he gave the King to drink, and in the Space of a few Days, he found himſelf ſo well, that he was able to riſe and walk about, which he had not done for two Years.

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[a] Theſe Iſlands, of which it ſeems the *Portugueze* had already ſome Knowledge, paſs under different Names; and even at this Day we are not able to ſay much with any Certainty about them. Some Writers call them the Iſlands of *Liqueios*, others the Iſlands of *Rinku*. They lie between 26 and 30° of North Latitude, having the Iſland of *Formoſa* on the South-Weſt, the Continent of *China* on the Weſt, the Iſlands of *Japan* on the North, and the Ocean on the Eaſt; on which Side they ſeem to have no Land nearer to them than *America*. The *Japaneſe* report, that they are the moſt fertile Countries in the World, and that the Inhabitants are the eaſieſt, happieſt, and beſt conditioned of the Human Race. They are ſubject to the Prince of *Saxuma*, who is one of the principal Lords of the Empire of *Japan*. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the *Chineſe* were formerly Maſters of theſe Iſlands, and that at preſent there is ſome Commerce between them and the *Philippines*.

[o] This Iſland, which *Pinto* calls *Tanuximaa*, is, undoubtedly, *Tacuxima*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Firando*. It lies in the Latitude of 31° North, at a very ſmall Diſtance off the great Iſland of *Ximo*, which is the ſecond in Size of thoſe three Iſlands which are known in *Europe* under the common Name of *Japan*, which is not, as we generally apprehend it, the Name of a particular Country, but of a large Archipelago of Iſlands, the moſt conſiderable of which is *Niphon*. It is true, that later Authors ſpeak of no ſuch Port as *Pinto* mentions, but that is no juſt Objection to the Truth of his Relation, ſince it is on all Hands allowed, that prodigious Changes have been made in the Names of the principal Ports and Places in theſe Iſlands

[p] One of the moſt ſingular things in *Pinto's* Relation is this; that notwithſtanding the Aſtoniſhment of the People on their firſt beholding the Gun which his Companion brought over, they were, however, ſo ingenious as to comprehend the whole Mechaniſm of it in a very little time; ſo that before he was ſent for to *Bungo*, they had made ſeveral of them, and in the Space of a few Years they became very expert in the Trade; which Fact, though very extraordinary in itſelf, is, notwithſtanding, confirmed by later Writers.

It is eaſy to imagine what high Effects ſo extraordinary a Circumſtance as this muſt neceſſarily produce, and what Careſſes were naturally beſtowed on a Stranger, who had ſo ſuddenly and ſo unexpectedly performed ſo great a Cure. The King ordered all the Care imaginable to be taken of him, and the whole Court was employed in contriving how to entertain and divert him; but in the midſt of all this Joy and Satiſfaction, there happened an unlucky Accident, which had like to have been attended with very bad Conſequences. *Pinto* had with him his Gun, which was mightily admired by every Body that ſaw it, and the Operations of which filled them with Aſtoniſhment. The hereditary Prince was ſo taken with it, that he would needs try to ſhoot himſelf, to which *Pinto* would by no means conſent, telling him, it was an Inſtrument to be managed with great Caution, and might do unexpected Miſchief in the Hands of a Perſon who knew not how to manage it. This, inſtead of ſatiſfying the Prince, made him only the more eager, inſomuch that he complained to his Father, and deſired he would prevail upon the Stranger to truſt him with his Gun; to which the *Portugueze* yielded, and promiſed to go a ſhooting with him the next Day.

The young Man was ſo impatient, that he was up before it was light, and on the fifth of *Auguſt* was at *Pinto*'s Chamber-door before he was awake. He had too much Manners to diſturb him, but unluckily ſpying the Gun, took it out with him into the Court, and reſolved to make a Shot. He put in a double or treble Charge of Powder, to which giving Fire, the Gun burſt, cut his right Thumb ſo that it hung by a Thread, and at the ſame time a Piece of the Barrel ſtruck him ſo violently over the Ear, that he fell flat upon the Ground, and thoſe who were about him thought he was killed. The Noiſe of this Accident was very ſoon ſpread over the whole Town, where it was unanimouſly agreed, that the Stranger's inchanted Inſtrument had killed the Heir of the Crown. The Noiſe made round his Apartment awakened *Pinto* out of his Sleep, who coming down without knowing what was the Matter, went directly to the Place where the Accident had happened, and ſeeing the Prince lying on the Ground, whom he took to be dead, he threw himſelf on the Body in the utmoſt Agony. A Moment after came the King, the Queen, and the two Princeſſes, all of them in a diſtracted Condition, and as ſoon as they ſaw the Prince ſwimming in his Blood, and *Pinto* lying by him, they immediately concluded that the Stranger had killed the Prince; upon which two Soldiers advanced with their Swords drawn, in order to cut off his Head; but the King called out to them to forbear, ſince he was determined he would firſt extort from him the Reaſon that induced him to commit ſo vile a Fact.

The Reaſon of this Stay of Execution was, becauſe a little before a Conſpiracy had been diſcovered, for which ſeveral Perſons had been executed the Day before; and the King apprehended, without any Reaſon, that this Action might be an Effect to that Conſpiracy. It is not neceſſary for us to dwell upon all the little Circumſtances of this Affair; and therefore it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that when they were on the very Point of torturing *Pinto*, in order to make him confeſs why he committed this deteſtable Murder, and who were his Accomplices, the Prince very luckily came to himſelf, and ſeeing how things ſtood, declared, with great Concern, that he alone was in the Fault, and that the Stranger knew nothing of the Matter; wherefore he intreated that he might be ſet at Liberty, and have Leave to come to him, which his Father immediately granted. It was then propoſed, that they ſhould ſend for an old Bonze, who lived at ſeventy Leagues Diſtance, to dreſs the Prince's Wounds, and to try if he could ſave his Life. The young Man declared againſt this, and ſaid, he ſhould die before he came, and begged that he might be left in the Hands of the Stranger, who knew beſt how to deal with him. The King thereupon called for him, and aſked, if he would undertake his Son's Cure, which, if he performed, he ſhould think his Kingdom too ſmall a Reward. *Pinto* declared he could promiſe for nothing, but that he was willing to do all that lay in his Power, and that he had great Hopes of ſucceeding.

Upon this the Prince was left in his Hands, but not without a great Struggle on the Part of the Bonzes, who declared, that if the Stranger touched his Wounds, he would die that Night; and that the beſt thing the King could do was to offer up *Pinto* as a Sacrifice to the Gods, and to ſend an Expreſs immediately for the old Bonze before-mentioned. The Prince interpoſed, however, ſo warmly in Favour of the Stranger, and ſome of the oldeſt and wiſeſt Men about the Court thought the young Man's Deſire ſo reaſonable, that the King conſented to it, and the Prince being carried to *Pinto*'s Lodgings, he dreſſed him as he had ſeen the *European* Surgeons do, and in one Month's Time there was no other Sign of the Wounds than the Scars they had left, and a little Deadneſs in his Thumb. The King and the whole Court were quite raviſhed with Joy at his unexpected Recovery, and beſides a thouſand Bleſſings and Thanks, made the *Portugueze* abundance of magnificent Preſents, beſides fifteen hundred Taels in ready Money, which the King beſtowed upon him as ſoon as the Prince was able to go abroad.

While things were in this Situation, they had Advice that the *Chineſe* Ship was ready to ſail; upon which *Pinto* deſired Leave to be gone, to which the King very unwillingly conſented; but as the Stranger inſiſted upon it, he ordered a Veſſel to be equipped, in order to carry him back to the Iſland of *Tacuxima*, and ſent a Gentleman with him, furniſhing him alſo with all manner of Proviſions and Refreſhments. After his Return to that Iſland, our Traveller remained there a Fortnight waiting for a fair Wind, and then embarquing, arrived ſafely at *Liampo* on the Coaſt of *China*. This is, in few Words, the Account given us by *Pinto* himſelf: Let us now proceed to the other Diſcovery of this Country made by the *Portugueze*, according to our Promiſe.

In the ſame Year 1542, three of the ſame Nation came by pure Accident into this Country, their Names were, *Antonia Mota*, *Franciſco Zeimoto*, and *Antonio Pexota*, who in a Voyage from the Iſland of *Macaſſar* to *China*, were thrown upon the Coaſts of theſe Iſlands, and were exceedingly well received. Amongſt other Acquaintance, they entered into a cloſe Converſation with one *Angero*, a Man of a good Family, and conſiderable Fortune; but who was exceedingly troubled in Mind on account of ſome Irregularities committed in his Youth, who heard them with Pleaſure diſcourſe concerning the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion. About two Years after *Alvarez Vaz*, a *Portugueze* Merchant, came into the ſame Country, and became very intimate with the ſame Perſon whom he perſuaded to go to the *Portugueze* Settlements in *India*, in order to be converted and conſoled by the holy Diſcourſes of the famous *Francis Xavier*; to which at length he yielded, and having received Baptiſm at *Goa* in the Year 1548, he the next Year accompanied Father *Xavier* and two other Jeſuits in their Voyage to *Japan*, where they immediately entered upon their Miſſion; by the Progreſs of which, this Country was made ſo thoroughly known to the *Portugueze*, that if *Mendez Pinto* had not recorded his own Voyage thither, it is very poſſible we had never heard any thing of it at all; but that he afterwards viſited *Japan* in Company with Father *Xavier*, and after the Deceaſe of that induſtrious Jeſuit, whom the Papiſts eſteem the Apoſtle of the *Indies*, he went thither again as Embaſſador from the Viceroy of the *Indies* to the King of *Bungo* in 1556, ſo that there ſeems to be no juſt Grounds for calling any thing that he has written in Queſtion.

The Converſions made in this great Empire contributed not a little to ſupport and extend the *Portugueze* Trade, which was managed with much Facility, and to a vaſt Profit: For the *Portugueze* being eſtabliſhed in *China*, carried from thence vaſt Quantities of Silk into *Japan*, where as all Ranks of People affect to be cloathed in it. There followed a prodigious Conſumption, which enriched the *Portugueze* Merchants very ſoon to a high Degree, tho' it is ſcarce credible, that as ſome *Dutch* Writers report, they have ſometimes carried home in one ſmall Ship one hundred Tons of Gold. But this prodigious Succeſs proved the Cauſe of their being at laſt deprived of this lucrative Commerce.

It is not to be expected, that we ſhould enter here into a long and particular Relation of the ſeveral Facts which drew upon them, from the Government of *Japan*, that Prohibition of which we have ſpoken ſo largely in the Article of *Macao*, and therefore we ſhall only report in general Terms, and in as few Words as poſſible, the principal Cauſes of that Excluſion. The vaſt Wealth they had acquired corrupting the Manners of the *Portugueze*, made them leſs cautious than they ought to have been, in their Behaviour towards the *Japoneſe*, inſomuch, that inſtead of the Moderation, Sobriety, and exact Conduct which they at firſt purſued, they grew proud, inſolent and diſſolute. This prompted them to change the Places where they were wont to trade, and to prefer ſuch Ports as were in the Dominions of infidel Princes, to thoſe in the Territories of theſe *Japoneſe* Lords, that had embraced the Chriſtian Religion, that they might live as they thought fit, and without being under the Controul of the Miſſionaries, who took all the Pains they could to oblige their Countrymen to advance the Credit of the Chriſtian Religion by the Regularity of their Lives. Theſe Errors had two very bad Conſequences; for, firſt, they diſguſted ſuch Princes as had embraced the Faith; and, ſecondly, they hardened the Infidels in their Averſion to it.

But it was not only the Corruption of the *Portugueze* Merchants, Officers, and Seamen, that gave Offence to the People of this Empire, the Intrigues of the Miſſionaries themſelves contributed to it as much, or more, by exciting the Jealouſy of the Emperor; for where-ever they had converted any of the Princes of *Japan*, they were continually at Court, and inſtead of minding what was the proper Buſineſs of the Church, engaged at every Turn in Affairs of State, making the Direction of Conſciences much leſs their Care than the Direction of Councils, by which they became the Authors of many Troubles, and afforded a Handle to their Enemies of charging them with many more; ſo that the Emperor of *Japan* began at laſt to ſurmiſe, that there was more of Hypocriſy than Sanctity in their Hearts, and that they were endeavouring, under Colour of ſaving Mens Souls, to eſtabliſh a new Government in that Country.

Theſe Jealouſies, which certainly were not altogether without Foundation, were extreamly increaſed by two Circumſtances; the firſt was, the Haughtineſs and Ill-conduct of ſuch as were ſent Embaſſadors thither, eſpecially after the Union of the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; for thoſe Miniſters were wont to boaſt of the vaſt Power of the Catholick King, and of the mighty Extent of his Dominions, of which they affected to convince the *Japoneſe*, by ſhewing the Maps of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*; and the Imprudence of one of theſe Embaſſadors is ſaid to have carried him ſo far, as that on being aſked how his Maſter had acquired ſuch vaſt Territories at ſo great a Diſtance from his hereditary Dominions, he anſwered, by ſending Miſſionaries firſt to convert a Part of the Inhabitants to Chriſtianity, and then ſending Troops to aſſiſt the new Converts in ſhaking off the Yoke of infidel Princes.

The other Circumſtance was the coming of the *Dutch* Ships upon the Coaſt of *Japan*; for theſe People applying themſelves entirely to Commerce, and ſubmitting, for the ſake thereof, to whatever Terms were preſcribed by the *Japoneſe*, gained thereby ſuch a Degree of Confidence with their Princes, that it procured implicit Credit to their Repreſentations, as to the ambitious Deſigns of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*. Theſe Remarks will give the Reader ſo eaſy a Key to the political Contrivances for firſt reſtraining the *Portugueze* Trade to a particular Port, and then ſhutting them up as it were in a Priſon, during their Stay in that Empire, as in the firſt Chapter of this Work has been largely related, that we need not run here into any Repetitions, but content ourſelves with obſerving, that notwithſtanding the many previous Signs which the *Portugueze* had of the approaching Rupture with the *Japoneſe*, yet were they ſo far from taking ſuch Steps, as in common Prudence they ought to have done, for avoiding ſo great a Miſchief, that on the contrary, they behaved daily worſe and worſe, till the Storm came upon them with ſuch a Force, as was not to be reſiſted.

The particular Relation of the Subverſion of Chriſtianity in this Empire, will be found in the ſucceeding Volume, when we come to treat of the Deſcription of *Japan*; at preſent we have only to obſerve, that the *Portugueze* have been deprived of this rich Commerce ever ſince the Year 1639, and that all the Attempts they have hitherto made to recover it, have proved abſolutely ineffectual, nor is it probable, that any they may hereafter make, will be attended with any better Succeſs.

23. The Country, or Countries, lying beyond *Japan*, to the North-Eaſt, or North-Weſt, have been always regarded, at leaſt ſince Geography has been tolerably underſtood, as the very Confines of the World, and the Extremities of the Earth, which Countries the *Japoneſe* themſelves called *Jeſo*, or *Jeſſo*, the *Chineſe*, *Yeço*; from whence we have the Word *Yeſſo*, or *Yedzo*, by which, in the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Maps they are diſtinguiſhed. The firſt Accounts that were received of theſe Countries were from the *Japoneſe* themſelves, but according to their Skill in ſuch Sciences, extreamly dark and incorrect. They were not able to ſay abſolutely, whether their own Country was an Iſland or not; and as for the Land of *Yeſſo*, they profeſſed the utmoſt extent of their Knowledge to be, that it belonged to the Prince of *Matſumay*, who was dependant on, and a Tributary to the Emperor of *Japan*. In the Year 1613, Father *Conſtanzo*, who then preached the Chriſtian Religion in *Japan*, hearing that the Prince of *Matſumay* had ſent to *Japan* for a Phyſician, and that a Convert to Chriſtianity, a Man of good Senſe, and quick Parts, was pitched upon to go over in that Quality, he recommended to him the Care of inſtructing thoſe People, if a favourable Opportunity offered, in the Chriſtian Faith, which Commiſſion the Phyſician executed with ſo much Zeal and Fidelity, that he quickly gave Father *Conſtanzo* a good Account of his Miſſion, aſſuring him, that he had not only made many Converts, but that he found the People in general better inclined to the Chriſtian Religion, than could have been expected.

In 1620, Father *Angelis*, who was then at *Tzugara*, the moſt Northern Part of the Iſland of *Niphon*, to which many Chriſtians had been baniſhed, received Orders there, from his Superior, to go himſelf to *Matſumay*, in order to cultivate the Seeds of Converſion, which the *Japoneſe* Phyſician had ſown, and accordingly thither he went the ſame Year by Sea. He arrived very ſafely in the Port of *Tzugo*, and from thence travelled through very bad Roads to *Matſumay*, where he found a vaſt Number of *Japoneſe*, and amongſt them many Chriſtians. They had been ſettled there but a few Years, and had been drawn thither by the Diſcovery of very rich gold Mines in the Neighbourhood of this City, and Mines (if they may be ſo called) of a very ſingular Kind. There is a great River paſſes by the City of *Matſumay*, immenſely rich in Gold; thoſe who deſire to deal in that Commodity, purchaſe from the Prince ſuch a Part of the River, and then cut a ſemicircular Canal, well ſecured by ſtrong Banks, into which, by Sluices, the River is turned, leaving ſo much of its Channel as the Adventurers have agreed for dry; thence they take the Mud, and by frequently rincing it, obtain vaſt Quantities of Gold-duſt, and ſometimes Pieces of Gold of a conſiderable Bigneſs. When they have finiſhed their Work, and find there is no more Gold to be got, they fill up the Canal, and by that Means force the River back into its old Channel, and in the Space of a Year or two, it is found as rich in Gold as ever.

Father *Angelis* informs us, that the Natives of that Country, which we call *Yeſſo*, call it in their own Language, *Ainomoxori*, but were able to give but a very indifferent Account of its Extent or Situation. Theſe People were larger, ſtronger, and had much better Complexions than the *Japoneſe*, and wore Beards that reached to their Girdles. They were dreſſed in long Robes of Silk, Cotton, or Linnen, according to their Rank, which were ſet off with Abundance of little Ornaments. Their Arms were Bows, Arrows, Lances and ſhort Swords. In Point of Religion, their Notions were very obſcure and confuſed,

fuſed, but the great Objects of their Worſhip were the Sun and Moon. They talk'd likewiſe of an inviſible King of the Mountains, Foreſts, Seas and Rivers, but they did not worſhip him. Their Government was very regular and exact, and themſelves the beſt-natured and beſt-behaved People the Miſſionary had ever ſeen. Their Commerce conſiſted chiefly in dried Fiſh, and in a ſort of Sealſkins, which they exchanged for Rice, Cotton, Thread, and other Neceſſaries; for as for Gold and Silver, they made little account of them, but left the Trade in them to the *Japoneze*. On his firſt going over, Father *Angelis* was inclined to believe, that this Country was the ſouthern Part of *Tartary*; but after he had made a longer Stay there, he in ſome meaſure altered his Sentiments, as appears by the following Letter he wrote upon this Subject, which is very curious and entertaining, and is, withal, the utmoſt that can be ſaid on this Subject, from the Lights given us by the *Portugueze*.

"I am at preſent perſuaded, that the Opinion entertained as to the Country of *Yeſſo*'s being an Iſland, is not without Probability, and the Reaſons upon which I go, are theſe: In the firſt Place, it is very certain, that this Country is bounded on the Eaſt, and on the South, by the Sea. On the other Hand, the Land of *Teſſoi*, which is the weſtern Extremity of *Yeſſo*, is likewiſe bounded by the Sea, where the Currents are ſo violent, that tho' there is a Country on the other Side the Strait, within Sight, and where they are able to diſtinguiſh the Horſes feeding, yet hitherto none of the Inhabitants of *Yeſſo* have paſſed over thither, becauſe great Quantities of large Canes are driven with prodigious Violence by thoſe Currents, ſo that if they were to hazard themſelves in their ſmall Boats, they muſt run an apparent Hazard of being over-ſet and loſt. From hence I conclude, that according to all Appearance, *Yeſſo* hath a fourth Sea on the North, which conſequently ſeparates it from *Tartary*. From whence ſhould thoſe impetuous Currents come, but from a Sea to the North of *Yeſſo*, running Eaſt and Weſt, or from Weſt to Eaſt, and diſcharging itſelf to the South, through the Straits, on the Weſt of *Yeſſo*, with ſuch Rapidity, as renders them impaſſable to the People of the Country?"

"The ſecond Reaſon is, that the Inhabitants of *Yeſſo* are not under the Dominion of any one Prince, nor have they amongſt them any Chief that has a Tract of Country of any great Conſequence, that is ſubject to him; they are likewiſe far from acknowledging the Supremacy of any Khan of the *Tartars*, or ſeem to be acquainted with that Title, or with any thing of the like Import; but every Family, or at leaſt every little Village, has a Chief who governs it abſolutely, and without acknowledging any Superior, which appears to me a ſtrong Proof, that they are ſeparated by a Sea from all other Countries, ſince if it were otherwiſe, they would undoubtedly be governed as thoſe Countries are. I am ſenſible, that it may be objected againſt the firſt Proof I offer, that the Currents of which I am ſpeaking, may poſſibly be occaſioned by the Opening of ſome great River, which diſcharges itſelf into the Sea, ſomewhat farther to the North, and thereby occaſions ſuch an Acceſſion of Water, as in paſſing thro' thoſe Streights, form ſuch terrible Currents. But after all, I cannot help eſteeming it more reaſonable to believe, that this Country is bounded on that Side, as well as on the reſt, by an Arm of the Sea. At leaſt this is the moſt common Opinion, and I remember to have ſeen in *Sicily* an old Map of the World, in which the Land of *Yeſſo* is laid down as an Iſland. As to what the Inhabitants of the Country ſay, I have examined thoſe that came from the Eaſt, and others who came from the Weſt, but found 'em all alike ignorant of Geography."

Thus far this Miſſionary, who is the only *Portugueze* that has wrote ſenſibly upon this Matter. He does not, however, ſeem to have been acquainted with one thing, which he might have learned in *Japan*, and that is, that thoſe People diſtinguiſh between the Iſland of *Yeſſo* and *Oku Yeſſo*, that is, the higher or upper *Yeſſo*; from whence it is very plain, that there is both an Iſland and a Continent of *Yeſſo*; but we ſhall have occaſion to reſume this Subject, when we come to ſpeak of the Diſcoveries made by the *Dutch*, on this Side, who were both more capable of making ſuch Diſcoveries, and more induſtrious in making them than the *Portugueze*. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the *Japoneze* informed the Miſſionaries, that there lay North-Eaſt from their Country, and to the Eaſt of that of *Yeſſo*, two Iſlands, of which the ſmalleſt, and that at the greateſt Diſtance, they call *Yenſima*; that is, the ſilver Iſland, and that which is neareſt their Continent, *Kinſima*, or the golden Iſland; but as they have been always very cautious of explaining themſelves as to the Situation of theſe Countries, ſome Doubts have ariſen, whether there were really any ſuch Iſlands or not.

However, in the Year 1620, a Ship was ſent by Order of *Philip* II. of *Spain*, to diſcover them, but without Succeſs; and the *Dutch* have likewiſe made an Expedition, with the ſame View, to as little Purpoſe. This may ſeem to juſtify the Suppoſition of their being fabulous; but then on the other hand, there are two Circumſtances equally ſtrong, that ſeem to prove the contrary: The firſt is, that there is ſuch a Plenty of Gold and Silver in *Japan*, as cannot be accounted for from the Mines known to be wrought in that Country, the other, that tho' the Emperors of that Country have granted ſeveral Licenſes to *Europeans*, and particularly to our Countryman Captain *William Saris*, for making Diſcoveries to the Weſt and North, yet they have been always extreamly cautious of permitting any Strangers to examine their Coaſts on the Eaſt.

24. The new *Philippine* Iſlands are a late Diſcovery, of which we have an Account in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, in a Letter from a Miſſionary at *Manila*, who tells us, that being accidentally at the Town of *Guivam*, in the Iſland of *Samal*, he there found twenty-nine Palaos or Inhabitants of certain new diſcovered Iſlands, who were driven thither by the Eaſterly Winds, which blew in thoſe Seas from *December* to *May*. They had run before the Wind for ſeventy Days together, according to their own Relation, without being able to make any Land till they came in Sight of the Town of *Guivam*, an Inhabitant of which being on the Shore, perceived them, and judging from the Make and Size of their Veſſels, they were Strangers, and out of their Courſe, took a Piece of Cloth and made them a Signal of entering the Road he directed; to avoid the Shoals and Banks of Sand they would otherwiſe have run upon. Theſe poor People were ſo frightened at the Sight of this Stranger, that they began to put to Sea again; yet the Wind forced them back a ſecond time towards the Shore; when they came near, the *Guivanneſe* made the ſame Signal as before; but ſeeing they would not mind it, but would unavoidably be loſt, he threw himſelf into the Sea, and ſwam to one of the little Veſſels on purpoſe to bring them ſafe into Shore. He was no ſooner got to them, but the Women with their Children on their Backs, and all that were in that Veſſel, threw themſelves overboard, and ſwam to the other. He ſeeing himſelf alone in the Veſſel, reſolved to follow them, and getting aboard the ſecond, ſhewed them how to avoid the Shoals, and brought them ſafe to Land; in the mean time they ſtood immoveable, and reſigned themſelves up entirely to the Conduct of this Stranger, as ſo many Priſoners.

The Inhabitants of *Guivam* running to Shore, received them very kindly, and brought them Wine and other Proviſions, they eat Cocoas very freely, which are the Fruit of the Palm-trees of this Country. Their Pulp is ſomething like that of Cheſnuts, only that it is more oily, and it ſupplies them with a ſort of ſweet Water, very pleaſant to drink; they gave them Rice boiled in Water, which is eat there and all over *Aſia* as Bread is in *Europe*; they looked on it with Surprize, and taking up ſome Grains of it, threw them on the Ground, imagining them to be Worms; upon bringing them large Roots called *Palawan*, they eat greedily of them. In the mean time they brought them two Women that had formerly been driven on Shore on the Coaſt of *Guivam*, and who underſtood a little of the Language of this Country; one of the Women found among theſe Strangers one of her Relations, and, as ſoon as they knew each other, they fell a weeping. The Inhabitants of *Guiam* ſtrove with each other who ſhould entertain theſe Strangers at their Houſes, and furniſh them with Proviſions and Cloaths, and other Neceſſaries. Of thirty-five Perſons that embarqued there remained but thirty, five dying through Want of Proviſions and other Hardſhips, in ſo long a Voyage; and ſome time after their Arrival another died.

They related, that their Country conſiſted of thirty-two Iſlands, which cannot be far diſtant from the *Marianns*, as may be judged by the Smallneſs of their Veſſels, and the Form of their Sails, which are very like thoſe of the *Marianeſe*. It is likely, that theſe Iſlands may be in eleven or twelve Degrees of North Latitude, more Southerly than the *Marianns*, and under the ſame Degree of Longitude as *Guivam*; for, ſailing directly from Eaſt to Weſt, they came aſhore at this Town. It is likewiſe probable, that it was one of theſe Iſlands that was diſcovered ſome Years ago at a Diſtance, when a Ship belonging to the *Philippines* leaving the common Courſe, which is from Eaſt to Weſt, under the third Degree of Longitude, and running farther to the South-Eaſt, firſt perceived it. Some called this Iſland *Carolina* Iſland from *Charles* II. of *Spain*, and others the Iſland of Saint *Barnaby*, becauſe diſcovered on that Apoſtle's Day; and it was again ſeen 1695, by another Veſſel, that a Storm had driven out of its Courſe in going from hence to *Marianns*. Theſe Strangers added, that of the thirty-two Iſlands three of them were uninhabited, unleſs with Wild-fowl, but all the reſt were well peopled. Upon aſking them the Number of Inhabitants, they pointed to a Heap of Sand, to ſhew that their Number was very great. The Names of theſe Iſlands are *Pais Lamulututup*, *Saraon*, *Yaropie*, *Valayyay*, &c.

The three Iſlands that have nothing on them but Wild-fowl, are *Piculet*, *Hulatan*, *Pagian*. The moſt conſiderable of all theſe Iſlands is *Lamurec*, where the King of the Country keeps his Court, and to him the Governors of all the other Iſlands are ſubject. Among thoſe Strangers, there was one of the Governors and his Wife who was the King's Daughter; though they went half naked, yet their Carriage, and a peculiar Air of Greatneſs, ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed them from the reſt. The Huſband had his Body painted all over with certain Lines, in ſuch a manner, that they formed ſeveral Figures: The reſt of the People were alſo painted in like manner more or leſs. The Women and Children were not painted at all; there were nineteen Men and ten Women of different Ages; the Make and Colour of their Faces were much like that of the *Philippineſe*. The Men had no other ſort of Cloaths than a Saſh wrapped ſeveral times round their Bodies, and covering their Reins and Thighs; they wore on their Shoulders about an Ell and an half of coarſe Linnen Cloth, like a Cowl, tied before, and hanging looſe behind. Both Men and Women dreſſed much alike, only that the Women had a Piece of Cloth ſomewhat longer, that hung from their Waiſt down to their Knees. Their Language is different from that of the *Philippineſe* and *Marianeſe*; their Manner of pronouncing comes neareſt that of the *Arabs*, and ſome who underſtood the Language obſerved the Women that ſeemed the moſt conſiderable amongſt them, had ſeveral Rings and Necklaces of Tortoiſe-ſhells, called here *Carey*; and others made of a Subſtance much like Ambergreece, but not tranſparent. The Manner of their living at Sea, which was for ſeventy Days together, continually driven by the Wind, was thus: They caſt out a ſort of Net made of a great many Twigs of Trees tied together, with a large Mouth for the Fiſh to enter in at, and terminating in a Point, to prevent their getting out. The Fiſh they took after this manner was all the Nouriſhment they had, and Rain-Water ſaved in Cocoa-ſhells, which is the Fruit of the Palm-trees, and of the Figure and Size of a Human Skull.

They have no Cows in their Iſlands, and at the Sight of them they run away, as they did likewiſe at the Barking of a Dog; neither have they Cats, Stags, Horſes, nor, in general, any Quadruped, nor any Fowl, but Sea-fowl, excepting Hens, which they breed up, but never eat their Eggs. Notwithſtanding this their Want of every thing, they are very chearful, and contented with their Condition. Their Songs and Dances are exact and regular; when they ſing it is all in Concert, every one obſerving the ſame Humour and Geſtures, which makes it very agreeable. They were ſurprized at the Government, Politeneſs, and Manners of the *Europeans*. They admired not only the Solemnities and Ceremonies of the Church in celebrating the Divine Service, but alſo the Muſick, Inſtruments, Dances, and Arms of the *Spaniards*, and Gunpowder was what ſurprized them moſt. They wondered at the Whiteneſs of the *Europeans*, in reſpect of whom they were perfectly tawney, as well as the Inhabitants of this Country. It did not then appear, that they had any Knowledge either of a Deity, or that they worſhipped Idols. Their Life is perfectly ſavage, minding nothing but eating and drinking, in which they obſerve no ſet Time or Place, when hungry or dry, and when they can find any thing to ſatisfy Nature: Yet they eat but little at a Time, and never enough to ſatisfy for a whole Day. They ſhew much Reſpect and Deference for their King, and the Governors of Towns, and obey them very punctually. Their Civility and Reſpect conſiſts in taking hold of the Hand or Foot of the Perſon they would honour, and gently rubbing his Face.

Amongſt their Utenſils they had ſome Saws, not made of Iron, but of a large Shell, called here Toulobo, which they rub and whet upon a certain kind of Stone. They were ſurprized to ſee the Number of Carpenters Tools uſed in building a Merchant-Ship at *Guivam*. They have no Metals in their Country. The Father-Miſſionary made each of them a Preſent of a large Piece of Iron, which they received with as much Joy as if it had been ſo much Gold; and for fear it ſhould be ſtole from them, they laid it under their Heads, when they went to ſleep. They have no other Arms than Lances or Darts, made of human Bones, very well ſharpened, and fixed on. They are naturally very peaceable; but if any Quarrel happens amongſt them, it is decided with ſome fifty Cuffs on the Head, which yet very rarely happens; for when they would come to a cloſe Fight, they ſeparate them, and they are ſoon reconciled again. They are not dull and heavy, but, on the contrary, have a great deal of Livelineſs and Courage. They are not ſo luſty as the Inhabitants of the *Marianns*; yet they are well proportioned, and ſhaped much like thoſe of the *Philippines*: Both the Men and Women let their Hair grow long, and hang looſe on their Shoulders. When they underſtood that they were to be conducted to the Preſence of the Father-Miſſionary, they painted their Bodies all over with a yellow Colour, which is looked upon by them as a great Ornament.

The oldeſt of theſe Strangers was once before caſt on the Coaſt of *Caragan*. They are very expert at diving, and they ſaid, that in fiſhing they took two large Pearls in their Shells, but threw them into the Sea again, not knowing their Value. The New *Philippines* are eighty-ſeven in Number, and form one of the fineſt *Archipelago's* in the Eaſt, being encloſed on the North and South between the Line and the Tropic of *Cancer*; on the Eaſt and Weſt between the *Marianns* and *Philippines*. The Natives of the Iſlands never offer any Violence to each other: Murder and Homicide are unknown to them; and they have a Proverb amongſt them, *viz.* That one Man never kills another. It is probable, theſe Iſlands may abound in Gold, Amber, and Drugs, being ſituated nearly under the ſame Degree of Longitude as the *Moluccas*, whence we have Nutmegs, and other valuable Spices.

Though theſe People ſeem barbarous, yet they have amongſt them a ſort of Politeneſs and regular Government; every Iſland obeys his Chief, who is himſelf ſubject to the King of the Country. This Prince holds his Court in the Iſland of *Falu*, called likewiſe *Lamurec*. Though theſe Iſlands were never heard of in *Europe* till within theſe very few Years, it is a long Time ſince, from the high Mountains of *Samal*, thick Smoaks were diſcovered on that Coaſt, which commonly happen in Summer, when theſe Iſlanders ſet Fire to their Woods and Foreſts, to clear up the Ground: Theſe Smoaks the Fiſhermen of *Mindanao*, and other Iſlands, had alſo obſerved when far out at Sea.

There have been ſome Objections made to this Account by ſome of our Writers, who have reported it too ſuccinctly, and thereby embarraſſed themſelves by confounding their own Senſe of Things with that of their Authors. It has, for example, been queſtioned, whether there be not Inconſiſtencies in theſe Accounts of the *Indians?* It is ſuggeſted that, as no *European* ever was in that Country, ſo the Belief of ſuch an *Archipelago* of Iſlands cannot be eſtabliſhed on any rational Foundation; and that there is a viſible Abſurdity in the *Indians* being ſeventy Days in paſſing from a Country, the Smoak of which was ſeen from the Mountains of *Mindanao*. This Humour of Reaſoning away Facts, is ſo ſtrong at preſent, that though I have already taken up more Room than I intended, yet I cannot forbear adding another Relation, with reſpect to theſe Iſlands, of a much later Date, *viz.* in the Year 1710, becauſe I think it will put this Matter out of Diſpute, and becauſe, hitherto, it has never appeared in our Language.

“ The Veſſel in which we embarked, in order to proſecute the Diſcovery of the Iſlands of *Palaos*, was called the *Holy Trinity*, and her Crew conſiſted of eighty-ſix Perſons: She was commanded by Serjeant-Major, Don *Francis Padilla*, who carried with him the Reverend Fathers *Duberon* and *Cortil*, Jeſuits, accompanied by Brother *Stephen Baudin*, who were made Choice of to propagate the Faith among theſe Iſlanders. It was on the Fourteenth of *November*, in the Year 1710, that I ſailed from the *Philippine* Iſlands, in order to find the Iſlands of *Palaos*, ſuppoſing my Departure to be from the Lat. of 13° 9′, and from the Long. of 144° 22′, I navigated fifteen Days, as I have marked in my Chart; and, on the Thirtieth of *November*, we diſcovered Land to the North-Eaſt 3° towards the North, having obſerved 4 or 5° Variation to the Eaſt in this Courſe, the Land lying from us about three Leagues.

“ We made Sail again in order to approach nearer, when it appeared, that there were two Iſlands, which Father *Duberon* thought fit to call the Iſlands of *St. Andrew*, becauſe, on the Day that we diſcovered them, the Church celebrated the Feaſt of that great Apoſtle. When we were very near theſe Iſlands, we perceived a Boat coming to us, in which were ſome of the Inhabitants, who cried out, when they were within hearing, *Mapia, Mapia*, which is as much as to ſay, Good People. A *Palaos*, who had been baptized at *Manila*, and whom we carried with us, ſhewed himſelf then, and ſpoke to them: As ſoon as they came on Board, they informed us, that theſe Iſlands were called *Sonſorol*, and that they were Part of the *Archipelago* we ſought for. They expreſſed a great deal of Satiſfaction and Joy at the Sight of us, which they teſtified by kiſſing our Hands, and embracing us.

“ Theſe People are extremely well ſhaped, and of a very robuſt Conſtitution; they were naked, except that about their Middle they wore a Piece of Mat. Their Hair was curled; they had very little Beard, and, to defend themſelves from the Rain, they wore upon their Soulders a kind of Mantle, made of a thick ſort of Mat, and, on their Heads, Hats of the ſame ſort of Stuff, round which they ſtuck Birds Feathers upright. They were extremely ſurprized to ſee our People ſmoke Tobacco; and, of all things, ſeemed moſt to eſteem Iron; and when ever they ſaw it, they gazed on it in ſuch a manner as viſibly betrayed how much they coveted it: And in caſe we did not underſtand their dumb Signs, they made no Difficulty of earneſtly and frequently demanding it. In the Afternoon there came off two other Boats, in each of which there were eight Men; as ſoon as they came near us, they began to ſing, beating Time with their Hands upon their Thighs. When they were on Board, ſome of them began to meaſure the Length of the Ship, taking it for granted, that it was made of a ſingle Tree, while others counted our Number of Men. They brought us ſome Loaves, ſome Fiſh, and ſome Herbs.

“ Theſe Iſlands were all covered with Trees to the Sea-Shore. Their Boats appeared to us very neatly made, in which they made uſe of Smack-Sails, having a Lee-Board on the other Side the Boat, in order to preſerve it from going over. We deſired them to ſhew us which was the Courſe to the largeſt of their Iſlands, or *Panloque*, and they pointed to the N. N. E. They added, that to the S. S. W. and to the S. S. E. there lay two other Iſlands, one of which was called *Merieres*, and the other *Poulo*. When we were very near the Land, I ſent my under Pilot to ſound, that I might bring the Ships to an Anchor. The Shallop being arrived within a quarter of a League of the Iſland, there came off three Boats full of People, and ſome of them going on Board our Shallop, one of the *Indians* took notice there of a Sabre, which, after he had, for ſome time, conſidered attentively, he jumped into the Sea, and took it with him. My under Pilot reported, at his Return, that there was no fit Ground for Anchorage, inaſmuch as there was a great Depth of Water, and a rocky Bottom all along the Shore. I afterwards ſent another Man on the ſame Errand, who quickly returned with the ſame Anſwer.

“ All this Time I had made a ſhift, by keeping under Sail, to ſtem the Current which ran very ſtrongly to the South-Eaſt, but the Wind failing in the Evening, we began to drive at large; the *Indians* then got into their Boats to go aſhore. Our Miſſionaries laboured all they could to keep them on Board, but could not prevail upon them by any Means. They talked with them, however, ſome Time, on the firſt Principles of our Religion, and taught them to pronounce plainly the holy Names *Jeſus* and *Maria*. We aſked them ſeveral Queſtions as to the Bigneſs of the Iſland, and the Number of its Inhabitants. They anſwered, that the Iſland was about two Leagues and a half in Circumference, and that very probably there might be eight hundred People, who lived chiefly on Cocoa, Fiſh and Salads. I obſerved the Height of the Sun at Noon, and found, that we were in the Latitude of five Degrees ſixteen Minutes North, the Variation of the Compaſs at Sunriſe being about 5° to the N. E.

“ The Currents carrying us away to the South-Eaſt with great Violence, we were not able to recover the Land till the fourth, about Six in the Morning. We then found ourſelves at the Mouth of the Channel, betwixt the two Iſlands. I then ſent the Shallop once more to look for an Anchorage; it was to no Purpoſe, for about 4 in the Afternoon they returned with an Account, that the Coaſt was an entire Rock, and that it was to no Purpoſe to let go an Anchor. On the 5th, about 7 in the Morning, the two Fathers came to a Reſolution of going aſhore, and ſetting up a Croſs. Don *Padilla*, and myſelf, repreſented to them the Dangers to which they would be expoſed, and how much they had to fear from theſe Iſlanders, with whoſe Temper we were ſo little acquainted, and how much they might be embarraſſed, in caſe the Currents carried us to ſuch a Diſtance as might put it out of our Power to ſend a Boat to bring them off, or to afford them any Aſſiſtance. Their Zeal was ſo warm, that they made little Account of theſe Difficulties, but perſiſted firmly in their Reſolution, in ſpite of all we could ſay. At laſt, therefore, leaving Brother *Baudin* on Board the Ship, they went into the Shallop, taking with them the Quarter-Maſter of the Veſſel, and the Enſign of the Land Forces we had on Board: They likewiſe carried with them the *Palaos* I have before mentioned, together with his Wife and Children.

“ The two Miſſionaries being gone, we kept near the Iſland all Day, by the Favour of the Wind, notwithſtanding the Force of the Current; but towards the Evening, the Wind ſunk, and we were driven out to Sea. We put out Lights from the Time it was dark, on the Bolt-ſprit, and alſo on the Mizen-maſt, that they might ſee where we were. During the Night, we had ſome Guſts of Wind from the North-Eaſt, the North-Weſt, the Weſt and South-Eaſt, ſo that in the Morning at break of Day, we found the largeſt of the two Iſlands bore from us, N. N. W. diſtant about 8 Leagues. We endeavoured from that Time to the 9th at Noon, to get as near the Land as we could, but without Effect; nay, the Current drove us ſtill farther and farther, ſo that I found myſelf in the Latitude of 6° 28′ N.

“ We then held a Council of War, in order to conſider what Courſe we ſhould take. Don *Padilla*, the Lay-Jeſuit, my Sub-Pilot, and myſelf, were of Opinion, that the wiſeſt thing we could do was to ſteer for the Iſland of *Panloque*, the largeſt of theſe Iſles, and which was diſtant from that we had quitted about fifty Leagues. It was about nine o'Clock in the Morning of the 11th, that we diſcovered that Iſland; at Noon we were in the Latitude of 7° 14′ North, the Land being about a League off. At Four in the Afternoon came off four Boats, which kept at the Diſtance of about half a Cable's Length; and were ſoon after followed by two other Boats; at laſt ſome of the People jumped over-board into the Sea, and ſwam on Board of us, with Intent, as it appeared, to ſteal any thing they could lay their Hands on. One of them laid hold of an Iron Chain, and pulled at it, in hopes of breaking it; another catched hold of a Hammock that was hung out to dry, and a third was endeavouring to get in at a Port-hole. Don *Padilla* conſidering the Behaviour of theſe People, thought proper to put the Soldiers under Arms, there being at leaſt fourſcore Men in theſe ſix Boats, and at the ſame time made a Sign to the Iſlanders to keep at a Diſtance.

“ Upon this they began to row towards the Shore; but at their going off, let fly a Shower of Arrows, four of which fell on Board our Ship. Don *Padilla* then thought fit to order a general Diſcharge of our Fire-Arms; upon which the *Indians* jumped over-board, leaving their Veſſels, and ſwimming towards the Shore at a prodigious Rate; but when they found that we gave over firing, they returned to their Boats, reimbarqued, and made for the Land as faſt as they were able. Theſe *Indians* were all of them naked, and ſome had painted their Bodies of different Colours. Their Skin is generally of an Olive Colour; but ſome were darker ſkinned than others; they had nothing with them that we ſaw, but a few Cocoas. On the 12th we had little or no Wind, ſo that it was as much as we could do to continue in our Station, which we did all that Day without approaching near the Land. About four in the Afternoon there came off two Boats, who made Signs, and ſpoke to us; but, as we had no Interpreter, we were not able to learn what they ſaid. About Nine at Night the Wind blew South-South-Eaſt, and the Currents ſetting ſtrongly to the North, carried us away at a great Rate. I then thought the moſt prudent thing I could do was to ſail between two of theſe Iſlands, the Chanel being very open and fair, and about a League over. On the 13th, being to the Weſt of theſe two Iſlands, we held a Council, in order to conſider what Meaſures we were to take, and it was very ſoon reſolved to bear away for *Sonſorol*, in order to learn ſome News of our Miſſionaries, and of our Shallop. On the 18th, I found myſelf abreaſt of that Iſland. We lay there the whole Day without ſo much as ſeeing a Boat, though we were within Cannon-ſhot of the Shore. We coaſted round the Weſt Side of the Iſland till the 20th, when a high Guſt of Wind from the South-Eaſt drove us out to Sea.

“ On the 21ſt we again drew near the Coaſt, and by Two in the Afternoon were within three Quarters of a League of the Shore, without perceiving any Boat. In the Evening we were driven to Sea again by an Eaſt-North-Eaſt Wind, upon which we held another Council, in which, after mature Deliberation on the Circumſtances we were in, without a Shallop, in ſome want of Water, without knowing where to get any, it was reſolved to return to *Manila*, which we did with ſome Difficulty, being forced to make the Tour of *Mindanao*, carrying nothing back but the melancholy News of the Loſs of the two worthy Fathers we carried out.”

It appears clearly from this Relation, that it was penned by the Captain of the Veſſel, though he has not thought fit to inform us of his Name. Better Evidence than this of there being ſuch an Archipelago cannot be deſired, tho' at the ſame time it muſt be confeſſed, that this Account gives us a very different Notion of thoſe People from that ſuggeſted by the former Narratives. In 1711 another Attempt was made of this kind, which ended as unluckily, ſome of the Jeſuits intended for the Miſſion, dying at Sea, and others periſhing in theſe Iſlands, as very probably thoſe did that are mentioned in the foregoing Voyages.

25. It has been generally believed, that theſe Iſlands of *Palaos* are near the *Philippines*, and the ſame with thoſe which were diſcovered by a *Spaniſh* Captain in the Year 1686, and who in Honour of *Charles* the Second of *Spain*, called them the *Caroline* Iſlands; but I think theſe lay more to the South. On the 19th, and on the 21ſt of *June* 1720, there arrived in the Iſland of *Guam* the largeſt of the Archipelago called the *Marianne* Iſlands, two Boats full of *Indians*, who ſaid they embarqued from an Iſland called *Sareſslop*, in order to go to another at a ſmall Diſtance from it called *Uly*, and were driven thither by a Storm. A Veſſel was fitted out to carry them home, and from the Accounts given by thoſe who were on Board that Veſſel, it very clearly appeared, that the laſt named Iſland was one of thoſe called the *Caroline* Iſlands, lying in the Latitude of 6° North. It is ſaid, that theſe Iſlands belong to a large Archipelago divided like the *Maldives* into five Provinces; and inhabited by various Nations of very different Colours: Some Negroes, ſuppoſed to be of the ſame Race with the Inhabitants of *New Guinea*, others tawny, like the *Indians* in the *Philippines*, and a third ſort perfectly white, ſuppoſed to be the Deſcendants of certain *Spaniards*, who in the Year 1566 were ſet on Shore by their Commanders for Mutiny, in a Voyage from *New Spain* to the *Philippines*.

While theſe People were on Shore at *Guam*, they ſaw ſome Silver Plate, and after conſidering it attentively, declared that they had a great deal of that Metal in their Iſlands, which gave Occaſion for the fitting out ſome Ships from *Guam*, for the Diſcovery of thoſe Iſlands, in the Year 1722; but what the Fate of that Expedition was, is not come to our Knowledge. It is certain, that a very great Diſcovery might be made on this Side, becauſe, from what is already known, it is very clear, that there is a continued Chain of Iſlands in the Longitude of about 160°, from the Line, or rather from the Continent of *New Guinea*, which lies in the Latitude of 8° S. to the Iſlands, that make a Part of the Archiepelago of *Japan*, in the Latitude of 32° N. and as it is certain, that the Inhabitants of the laſt mentioned Archiepelago acknowledge they received great Quantities of Silver from an Iſland which lies to the Eaſt of them, it is not at all improbable, that many rich Metals might be found in ſome of the many Iſlands which form the Chain before mentioned.

But this, however, is not the Diſcovery that I mean, and therefore I ſhall explain myſelf a little farther. If a Settlement was made on any of theſe Iſlands, or in any Iſland to the Eaſt of them, it might afford an Opportunity of viſiting the great Continent, if in Truth there be any Continent between *America* and *Aſia*, or, perhaps, it might lead to the Diſcovery of ſome conſiderable Iſlands between *America* and *Aſia*, which, from their Situation, might well be expected to abound in rich Commodities, but particularly in ſilver Mines, ſince it is confeſſed, that the richeſt of thoſe hitherto diſcovered are in the Northern Parts of *Japan* and of *America*. If it ſhould be objected, that the rich ſilver Mines of *Potoſi* lie in *South America*, I anſwer to that, this makes rather for, than againſt my Opinion, becauſe they are very near the ſame Degree of South Latitude that the rich Mines of *New Mexico* are to the N. that is, a little within forty Degrees. But this is not all, for if any ſuch Iſlands could be diſcovered, they would afford us an Opportunity of ſearching with great Eaſe for a Paſſage either to the N. E. or N. W. which is a Point of very great Importance, and as ſuch, has been treated very judiciouſly by Mr. *Dobbs*, in ſome of his late Pieces, which, ſooner or later, may very probably produce ſome ſuch Diſcovery.

We have now gone through all that we propoſed with reſpect to this Part of our Subject, and the Lights given us by the Expeditions of the *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* on this Side. It next remains to ſhew how that prodigious Power which thoſe Nations had acquired in the Eaſt, crumbled, and broke to Pieces, notwithſtanding the many Advantages they had for preſerving it; and what ſtill remains in theſe *Indies* under the Dominions of the Crown of *Portugal*: Which, when we have performed, the Reader will have a much more compleat Hiſtory of the *Portugueze Indies*, and that too in a much narrower Compaſs than is any where elſe to be met with. In treating of this Subject, I have, to the utmoſt of my Power, laboured to draw together ſuch Circumſtances as were moſt likely to contribute to the Reader's Information, and to connect, with the greateſt Propriety, the ancient and modern Commerce in this Part of the World; and, at the ſame time, I have been very careful to omit nothing that might entertain or divert him. As to the particular Memoirs of the *Portugueze* Governors, their Diſputes with the *Indian* Princes, and with each other, they would have ſwelled this Section to an enormous Length to a very little Purpoſe; and beſides, the Reader will meet with enough on this head in other Places. I ſhall purſue the ſame Method in the ſubſequent Articles, and ſhall endeavour to point out briefly and truly the Cauſes of that ſtrange Revolution which has happened in the *Portugueze* Trade; the rather, becauſe I am convinced the ſame Cauſes will produce like Effects, in regard to the Trade of all other Nations.

26. The Care taken by the *Portugueze* to eſtabliſh themſelves firmly in all the principal Ports of the *Indies*, was of great Conſequence to them, conſidering the Circumſtances under which they began their Commerce in theſe Parts; for, at that Time, the *Indian* Princes were engaged in cruel Wars againſt each other; and the *Mohammedans* taking Advantage of this War, endeavouring to make themſelves Maſters of every Country in which they were permitted to trade; ſo that it muſt be admitted, the *Portugueze* had, at firſt, ſome Reaſon for making Uſe of Arms, and inſiſting on a Fortreſs where-ever they eſtabliſhed a Factory, becauſe the one was neceſſary for the Security of the other; but in this they were blameable, that they affected to govern with an abſolute and uncontroulable Power every Country into which they came, inſtead of cheriſhing and ſupporting the *Indians*, as they might have done, to their own great Profit, as well as that of thoſe unhappy People, who, from their own Diſſentions and ill Management, became the Prey of every new Invader.

If the *Portugueze* had taken this Step, they had, undoubtedly, ſecured this rich Commerce to themſelves; whereas, by their Tyranny they made the Inhabitants weary of them to the laſt degree, and ready, whenever an Opportunity offered, to change their Maſters. It muſt, however, be allowed, that the Method they purſued ſerved to gratify their Vanity exceedingly, inaſmuch as for above a Century they governed the *Indies* at their Will, and were the ſole Lords of that rich and extenſive Trade, none of the *Indian* Nations being allowed to carry on any Trade at all but by their Permiſſion, and under the Sanction of their Paſſports. They carried this Matter ſtill farther; for, with reſpect to the richeſt Commodities, they reſerved the Privilege of dealing in them to their own Subjects entirely, ſuch as in the Cinnamon of *Ceylon*, the Wild-Cinnamon of *Cochin*, Ginger, Iron, Steel, Lead, Tin, Copper, Planks, Timber for building, all ſorts of Arms, Honey, and Pepper. Theſe Regulations, both with reſpect to Paſſports and reſerved Commodities, together with a Power of viſiting ſuch Ships as put into any of the Ports under their immediate Dominion, continued in Force for a long Series of Time, and was not totally aboliſhed till the Year 1678, which was One hundred and fourſcore Years after their firſt Eſtabliſhment in thoſe Parts.

During the beſt Part of this Time, they diſpoſed, as the ſupreme Lords of *India*, of all the rich Commodities it afforded, ſending home annually fifteen or twenty large Ships, laden with the moſt precious Merchandize of the Eaſt, excluſive of the Profits they made of their Commerce in the *Indies* themſelves, and the adjacent Coaſts of *Africa*, viz. to *China*, *Japan*, *Perſia*, *Arabia*, *Melinda*, *Moſambique*, and *Sofala*. *Liſbon* became, by this Means, the greateſt Port for Trade in *Europe*, to which the Ships of all Nations reſorted for the Commodities and Manufactures of theſe diſtant Countries, the beſt Part of which were paid for in Gold and Silver, and, for the reſt, the moſt valuable Poducts of theſe Nations were exchanged; ſo that the whole of this Commerce was in the Hands of the *Portugueze*, who ſet whatever Price they thought fit upon what they imported, and ſold at exceſſive Rates to other *Europeans*, what they had purchaſed in the *Indies* for coarſe Stuffs, Needles, Knives, Glaſs-Ware and other Things of very little Value. In conſequence of which, they became, by far, the richeſt trading Nation, and, at the ſame time, the moſt potent maritime Power in this Part of the World; and ſo, for a long Time, they might have continued, if, from their own Miſtakes and the bad Uſe they made of their Power and Riches, they had not excited other Nations to a Reſolution of taking, at all Events, this rich Commerce out of their Hands; a Point that it will become every Nation to conſider, that finds itſelf in the like Circumſtances; for Trade is not to be conſtrained or monopolized: And tho' the contrary of this may, for ſome Time, appear true, yet, ſooner or later, every Nation that acts as the *Portugueze* did, will be ſenſible of the ſame Effects which happened to them in the *Indies*.

27. It was towards the latter End of the ſixteenth Century, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* began, as we have before ſhewn, to interfere with the *Portugueze* in theſe Parts, but they very ſoon, by the Aſſiſtance of the Natives, took from them the moſt conſiderable Places they poſſeſſed, and ſome of them they abandoned themſelves. It would take up a great deal of Room, and perhaps anſwer the Purpoſe but indifferently, if we ſhould attempt to give a large Hiſtory of the Manner in which theſe Places were reduced, and therefore we ſhall rather take them in the Courſe of their Situation, by which the Reader will clearly perceive how the Empire of this Nation in the Eaſt was broken and diſſolved [*].

We have already ſhewn how the *Portugueze* became Maſters of *Ormuz* on the Coaſt of *Perſia*, which Settlement they greatly improved, though the Iſland itſelf is one of the moſt uncomfortable Places in the World, the Country being without Water, and ſituated in a Climate where the Heats are in a manner intolerable: Yet in ſpite of all theſe Difficulties the *Portugueze* built there a very fine Town, in which the Streets were ſtrait and regular, their Houſes very high, finely adorned without, and within richly furniſhed, their Exchange rich and beautiful, their Churches ſplendid, and their Caſtle regular, well fortified, and excellently provided with Artillery. *Shah Abbas*, when Monarch of *Perſia*, had an earneſt Deſire to rid himſelf of thoſe ill Neighbours; but he wanted a maritime Force ſufficient to accompliſh his Deſign, and therefore he applied himſelf to the *Engliſh*, who had likewiſe ſuffered much by the Pride and Avarice of the *Portugueze*, and by their Aſſiſtance part of his Forces were tranſported into the Iſland of *Ormuz*, which was attacked both by Land and Sea on the 20th of *January* 1622. The Defendants behaved with great Bravery, and good Conduct, and made a noble Reſiſtance; but the *Engliſh* having deſtroyed their Fleet, which conſiſted of five Galleons, and twenty-five Frigates, and having alſo ſprung a Mine, which opened a fair Paſſage into the Caſtle, the Garriſon thought fit, about the Middle of *April*, to ſurrender, which ſet all the neighbouring Coaſts at Liberty, and deſtroyed the Power of the *Portugueze* on that Side.

The rich City of *Surat*, formerly a Place of the greateſt Trade in the *Indies*, ſuffered ſeverely from the *Portugueze*, who burnt it down to the Ground on purpoſe to favour the Commerce of their own City of *Diu*, which ſtands at the Entry of the Gulph of *Cambaya*, and which they had rendered one of the ſtrongeſt and fineſt Places in the Eaſt, keeping the Monarch of that Country in the moſt abſolute

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[*] If we had purſued a ſtrict chronological Method in relating the Loſs of the Settlements made by this Nation in the *Eaſt-Indies*, we muſt have ſtarted from one Part of this Country to another, which would have occaſioned great Confuſion, without yielding any conſiderable Advantage; whereas the Method we have now taken by proceeding from Weſt to Eaſt, will ſhew the Reader, as he goes along, how theſe Settlements were loſt in the very ſame Order in which we have before ſhown they were acquired.

Subjection. But notwithſtanding their Policy in this reſpect, and that they ſtill remained Maſters of *Diu*[r], yet the *Indian* Princes in the Neighbourhood trade freely with all *Europeans*, and *Surat*, which they took ſo much Pains to deſtroy in 1520, is now in as flouriſhing a Condition as ever, and the *Portugueze* are almoſt the only Nation that are not benefited by its Traffick. On this Coaſt they were poſſeſſed of ſeveral ſtrong Places down to *Goa*; of theſe *Daman* is ſtill in their Hands, and is a Place of pretty good Trade. *Baçaim* is lately fallen into the Hands of the *Indians*. *Bombay* they yielded to the *Engliſh* on the Marriage of Queen *Catherine* with King *Charles* II. and has continued in our Hands ever ſince. From *Goa* to Cape *Comorin* they had alſo very conſiderable Settlements, of moſt of which they have been diſpoſſeſſed by the *Dutch*, who in the Year 1663, becoming Maſter of *Cranganor*, *Cochin* and *Coulan*, ſoon after deprived them of *Cananor*, which was the firſt Place they had ſettled at; and thus we ſee the State of their Power greatly reduced on the Coaſt of *Malabar*. Doubling this famous Cape, and proceeding along the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, we meet firſt with the Port and Fortreſs of *Nagapatan*, which, when the *Portugueze* came firſt into the *Indies*, was no more than a Village; but they conſidering the Importance of the Place, fortified it with great Care, and rendered it in every reſpect very conſiderable. But after the *Dutch* had deprived them of the Iſland of *Ceylon*, they did not long let them reſt here, but by the Aſſiſtance of an *Indian* Prince, beſieged and became Maſters of that Place in 1658.

From thence all along the Coaſt, quite up to *Bengal*, the *Portugueze* have loſt all Power; and as for Settlements they had none of any great Conſequence to loſe, having in the Time of their greateſt Power contented themſelves with a ſmall Eſtabliſhment at *Meliapour*, or *St. Thomas*, reſtraining all the reſt of the Coaſt by their Squadrons, which were continually cruizing in the Bay of *Bengal*. On the oppoſite Side of the Gulph the *Portugueze* had once very great Power in the Kingdom of *Pegu*, in conſequence of their aſſiſting the Monarch of that Country againſt the King of *Siam*, who had invaded his Territories, and would very probably have made him his Tributary, if a Body of *Portugueze* had not come to his Aſſiſtance, by whom he was enabled not only to defend himſelf effectually againſt his Enemy, but even to purſue him into his own Country.

It is very eaſy to diſcern what mighty Advantages might have accrued to the *Portugueze* from this favourable Turn, if they had known how to improve it; but we learn from a late Author, that what might have turned ſo much to their Benefit, proved, by their own ill Management, the Cauſe of their Ruin, and that in a very ſhort Space of Time. The King of *Pegu*, it ſeems, was ſo ſenſible of the Service they had done him, in driving the King of *Siam* out of his Country, that in pure Gratitude, he made one Senhor *Thomas Pereyra*, who commanded the *Portugueze* in the War, Generaliſſimo of all his Forces, which Preferment made the *Portugueze* ſo inſolent, that in a few Years they became intolerable to all Ranks and Degrees of Perſons in *Pegu*. Both Kings grew tired of War, but both were too proud to make Advances towards Peace, ſo that for many Years they had Skirmiſhes with ſmall Parties, tho' not ſet Battles; and where-ever the *Portugueze* Arms went, they had Victory to accompany them. The King of *Pegu*, to have his Forces nearer the Borders of *Siam*, ſettled his Court at *Martavan*, and kept the *Portugueze* near him, to be ready upon all Occaſions, either to repel or aſſault the *Siam* Forces, as Opportunity ſerved; and *Thomas Pereyra* was the great Favourite at Court: He had his Elephants of State, and a Guard of his own Countrymen to attend him.

One Day, as he was coming from Court in State, on a large Elephant, towards his own Palace, he happened to hear Muſick in a Burgher's Houſe, whoſe Daughter being a very beautiful Virgin, had been married that Morning to a young Man of that Neighbourhood. The General went to the Houſe, wiſhed them Joy, and deſired to ſee the Bride. The Parents took the General's Viſit for a great Honour done them, and brought their Daughter to his Elephant's Side. He being ſmitten with her Beauty, ordered his Guard to ſeize her, and carry her to his Houſe. His Orders were but too readily obeyed, and the poor Bridegroom, not able to bear his Loſs, cut his own Throat; and the diſconſolate Parents rent their Cloaths, and went crying through the Streets towards the King's Palace, imploring their Countrymen to avenge them on the inſolent *Portugueze*, the common Oppreſſors of their Country. Crowds of People came from all Parts of the City to hear and ſee the Tragedy; their Numbers grew ſo great, that the Streets were hardly large enough for them, and their Noiſe ſo loud, that it reached the King's Ears, who ſent to know the Cauſe of their Uproar. The Meſſenger returning, acquainted the King with what had been tranſacted, and he, to appeaſe the Tumult, ſent them Word, that he would puniſh the Criminal, and accordingly ſent for his General: But he made an Excuſe, that he was ſo much out of Order, that he could not wait on his Majeſty till he was better; which Anſwer ſo provoked the King, that he ordered the whole Nation to take up Arms, and to make a general Maſſacre of the *Portugueze*, whereſoever they ſhould be found, in City or Country. The King's Orders were put in Execution ſo ſpeedily, that in a few Hours all the *Portugueze* were ſlaughtered, and the guilty Criminal was taken alive, and made faſt by the Heels to an Elephant's Feet, which dragged him thro' the Streets till there was no Skin nor Fleſh left to cover his Bones; which Spectacle appeaſed the enraged Populace. There were only three *Portugueze* ſaved, who were accidentally in the Suburbs, next the River, who hid themſelves, till Night favoured their Eſcape in a ſmall Boat, in which they coaſted along the Shore, feeding on what the Woods and Rocks afforded them, and at length arrived at *Malacca*, to give an Account of this melancholy Tranſaction.

The Kingdom, or as ſome called it, the Empire of *Siam*, lies next to *Pegu*, and is a Country of vaſt Extent, the Monarch of which was too powerful for the *Portugueze* to think of making any great Conqueſt in his Dominions, and therefore they choſe to live with him upon good Terms, for the ſake of the vaſt Trade carried on in his Dominions, which are extreamly well ſituated for Commerce, having on one Side the Kingdoms of *Laos*, *Camboya*, and *Cochinchina*, and on the other, the Countries bordering on the Gulph of *Bengal*. Beſides, there annually reſorted thither a Fleet of Merchant Ships from *China*, laden with all the rich Goods of that Empire. They continued to hold a fair Correſpondence with this Monarch, and his Subjects, as long as their Power ſubſiſted in the *Indies*; but by Degrees, the *Dutch* have in a great Meaſure excluded them from their Influence here, ſince 1630, when they erected their Factory here, and have ſince wrought themſelves ſo effectually into the Confidence of this Prince, that he has granted them an excluſive Privilege of purchaſing all the Tin in his Dominions, which is a Branch of Commerce of prodigious Importance; yet the *Portugueze* are not wholly ejected, though their Trade is much fallen from what it was[s]. There are ſeveral ſmall Principalities on the Iſthmus, before one comes to the Country of *Malacca*, which were all of them formerly under the Power of the *Portugueze*, as appears by their retaining ſtill a Mixture of that Language with their own. The chief of theſe Principalities are thoſe of *Ligor* on one Side, and *Quedah* on the other; but the People are ſo barbarous, and perfidious, that the *Europeans* carry on ſcarce any Trade on their Coaſts.

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[r] This City of *Diu* ſtands in the Latitude of 21° 20′, and is by many ſuppoſed to be the *Barigaza* of the Ancients. It ſtands upon an Iſland about a League in Length, and not a third Part of a League in Breadth: The Country about it abounds with all the Neceſſaries of Life, and the City itſelf is as well built, and as well fortified, as any in the *Indies*. It is very famous for the Siege it ſuſtained in 1538, of which we have before given ſome Account. At preſent it is in a worſe Condition than formerly, both with regard to Wealth and Strength; but to ballance this in ſome meaſure, it is in leſs Danger of being attacked.

[s] It is very remarkable, that the *Portugueze* are beſt reſpected in thoſe Countries where they had no Fortreſſes, which ſhews, that where the *Mehammedans* had not eſtabliſhed their Power, the *Europeans* were under no Neceſſity of building Forts, but might have carried on their Commerce as well without them. There are a great Number of *Portugueze*, or rather Deſcendants of *Portugueze*, ſettled in this Country, where they live but poorly, and are treated with great Indignity, both by the Natives, and by other *Europeans*, which can be attributed to nothing but their having lived ſo long in the *Indies*, as to have loſt all Spirit, and to become as degenerate as the *Siameſe* themſelves, who are as effeminate a People as any in the *Indies*.

The great Peninſula of *Malacca*, at the Time the *Portugueze* came thither, was ſubject to the King of *Johore*, and by what Means the Viceroys of the Crown of *Portugal* were led to attack, and make themſelves Maſters of that City, we have already ſhewn. After it came into their Hands, it changed its Condition entirely, and from being a Place of ſmall Account, in a ſhort Time became famous all over *India* and *Europe*, lying almoſt in the Centre of Trade, brought thither by ſhipping from the rich Kingdoms of *Japan*, *China*, *Formoſa*, *Luconia*, *Tonquin*, *Cochin-China*, *Cambodia*, and *Siam*, beſides what *Johore* produced, and *Sumatra*, *Java*, *Borneo*, *Macaſſar*, *Banda*, *Amboina*, and *Ternate*, Iſlands, that abound in valuable Commodities. After *Goa* and *Ormuz*, this was by very far the richeſt City in the *Indies*, and a great Market for all the different Commodities that theſe Countries produced. It was the Seat of a Biſhop, and the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* was extreamly fine. They had beſides, five other Pariſh-Churches, and a noble College for the Jeſuits, together with a Seminary, in which all new Converts to the Faith were inſtructed. The Whole was encompaſſed with a ſtrong ſtone Wall, regularly fortified with Baſtions, the Place extreamly well peopled, and the Garriſon numerous, and well ſupplied, becauſe the *Portugueze* conſidered it as the Eaſtern Frontier of their Dominions.

In 1605, the *Dutch*, who were then become very potent in the *Indies*, attacked and deſtroyed the Fleet of the *Portugueze* here, conſiſting of thirty-four Sail, on Board of which were three thouſand Men; but they were not able to take the Place. The next Year, the King of *Johore* inveſted it with an Army of ſixty-thouſand Men, in revenge of what the *Portugueze* had done againſt him three Years before, when they took and deſtroyed his Capital; but, however, he was obliged to raiſe the Siege with great Loſs. But the *Dutch*, well knowing the Importance of the Place, and the vaſt Advantages accruing to the *Portugueze* from its Situation and Commerce, the former affording them an Opportunity of levying 10 *per Cent.* upon all Veſſels paſſing thro' the Streights, and the latter producing annually a large Revenue, they attacked it in the Year 1640, ſo vigorouſly, that they became Maſters of it after a Siege of ſix Months. The Walls and Fortifications they preſerved, as alſo the Church of St. *Paul*; but moſt of the other Churches they have deſtroyed, and the great Hoſpital they have turned into a Warehouſe. The Language ſpoken here is eſteemed the moſt copious and polite in the *Indies*, and therefore ſerves as a kind of general Tongue through all the Iſlands and Provinces farther towards the Eaſt. In the Kingdom of *Cambodia*, or *Camboya*, the *Portugueze* have ſtill a conſiderable Trade, and they are likewiſe well received in *Tonquin*. As to their Settlements in the ſeveral Iſlands of the *Eaſt-Indies*, in *China*, and in the Empire of *Japan*, we have ſpoke of them ſufficiently already, under the Head of Diſcoveries, and there is therefore no need of our inſiſting farther upon them here, as our View, at preſent, is no more than to ſhew, how their principal Settlements were loſt, and to whom, which having done, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomewhat of the Wars carried on againſt them in theſe Parts, by the *Dutch*, and the Pretences they made uſe of for carrying them on.

28. The Troubles in the Low Countries, which produced a War between the Crown of *Spain* and the Republick of the United Provinces, began about 1570, and *England* interpoſing in Favour of the States, their Power increaſed to ſuch a Degree, that they were not only able to defend themſelves againſt *Spain* by Land, but to give that potent Monarchy inexpreſſible Trouble by Sea. But this War ſeems to have no Relation to *Portugal*, and we do not hear of their attacking any but the *Portugueze* Settlements in the *Eaſt-Indies*. In order to reſolve this Difficulty, we muſt remember that the Crown of *Portugal* was united to that of *Spain* in 1579, by which means *Philip* II. became Maſter of both the *Indies*, and conſequently the States of the united Provinces were as much at War with the *Portugueze*, who were Subjects to the King of *Spain*, as with any of the reſt of his Subjects; and conſequently this gave them a Right to attack the *Portugueze* Settlements both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, which they proſecuted with ſuch Vigour, that they bid fair for becoming Maſters of all that the *Portugueze* had poſſeſſed in either *Indies*.

We have ſeen what mighty Acquiſitions they made in the Eaſt; but it is neceſſary to our Subject to obſerve likewiſe, that their *Weſt-India* Company became in that Space of Time ſo powerful, as to make almoſt an entire Conqueſt of *Brazil*. It is very evident from hence, that nothing but the Union of the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal* could have afforded the *Dutch* either a Pretence for attacking, or an Opportunity of reducing theſe Countries, both of which in a ſingular Degree they from this Accident obtained. For as on the one hand, his Catholick Majeſty had enough to do in defending his hereditary Dominions before this Acceſſion of the Territories of *Portugal*, ſo he was tempted to apply the Revenues of that Crown to the immediate Wants of the *Spaniſh* Government, which we may conclude were very great, ſince on his Death-bed he owned, that the Wars of the Low-Countries had coſt him five hundred and ſixty-four Millions of Ducats, which is upwards of one hundred and twelve Millions of our Money; whence it is eaſy to perceive, that he could not ſpare as much as was requiſite for the Defence of the *Portugueze* Territories. On the other hand, the *Portugueze* themſelves, though they had been always diſtinguiſhed for their Loyalty to their natural Princes, were far enough from ſhewing ſo much Zeal in the Service of the King of *Spain*; and it is very natural, when the Minds of private Men are entirely deſpoiled of publick Spirit, for the Affairs of the State to fall into Confuſion.

But one would have imagined, that after the Separation of *Portugal* from *Spain*, which happened in the Year 1640, Things would have taken another Turn; becauſe, with King *John* IV. the *Dutch* had no Pretence of making War. To give the Reader a clear Idea of this Matter, we muſt remember, that the *Dutch* had taken *Brazil* from the King of *Spain*, or rather from the *Portugueze*, while they were his Subjects; but afterwards that Nation conſidering this as an Injury not to be born, attempted to drive the *Dutch* out, notwithſtanding the Treaty concluded between the States and the King of *Portugal* in 1641, which, to ſay the Truth, had been but indifferently obſerved on both Sides[*]; that is to ſay, the *Dutch* had encroached upon the *Portugueze* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and they, on the other hand, gave the *Dutch* little or no Reſpite in *Braſil*, out of which, in ten Years Time, they drove them entirely.

About this Time died King *John* IV. and left his Son *Alphonſo* VI. a Minor, which Advantage the *Dutch* took to declare War againſt the Crown of *Portugal*, from a Perſuaſion that this Opportunity of regaining what they had loſt in the Weſt, and proſecuting their Conqueſts in the *Eaſt-Indies*, was not to be loſt, the rather, becauſe *Portugal* was at that Time engaged in a dangerous War with *Spain*, and the *Dutch* had lately concluded a Peace with that Crown. It was in conſequence of this new War, that the *Dutch* attacked the *Portugueze* again in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and even endeavoured to deprive them of *Goa*; but in this they did not ſucceed: And, on the other hand, the *Portugueze* found Means to traverſe all the Attempts that the *Dutch* made to eſtabliſh a Trade in *China*, as alſo to raiſe ſuch a Storm as deprived them of the Iſland of *Formoſa*, which they had conquered, and which was of prodigious Conſequence to them.

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[*] At the Time the *Portugueze* delivered themſelves from the *Spaniſh* Yoke, the *Dutch* were employed, as we have already ſhewn, in reducing the Iſland of *Ceylon*, and made uſe of Abundance of Artifices, in order to proſecute the Advantages they had gained, notwithſtanding the Peace concluded between the States General and the Crown of *Portugal* in *Europe*; neither did they deſiſt from their Hoſtilities, even after the Peace was proclaimed in the *Indies*, but continued to give the *Portugueze* almoſt as much Trouble as while the War continued. This they did, under Pretence of being Allies, or Auxilliaries to ſuch *Indian* Princes as were at War with the *Portugueze*; and where this Pretence was wanting, they took Care by their Emiſſaries, to ſtir up new Wars, and under Pretence of reſtoring the *Indians* to their Freedom, contrived Things ſo as to engage them in long and bloody Wars, which had no other End, than to oblige them to change their Maſters, with this Difference only, that whereas the *Portugueze* endeavoured to keep large Countries, and to oblige the *Indian* Princes to pay Homage to the King of *Portugal*, the *Dutch* contented themſelves with the Sea-Coaſts, and forbidding thoſe Princes to trade with any other Nation; ſo that their Slavery was equally great, tho' not always equally apparent, which ever Side prevailed.

But, in the mean time, the great Fleets they ſent to the *Eaſt-Indies*, enabled them not only to extend their Conqueſts, but in the Year 1661, to defeat the whole naval Power of the *Portugueze* in two general Engagements. But while the Publick ſuffered exceſſively from the Conſequences of this fatal War, ſome private Merchants in *Liſbon* and in the *Eaſt-Indies* fitted out ſo many Privateers, and of ſuch Strength, that the *Dutch* ſuffered exceſſively in their Trade, and therefore both Nations began to be weary of the War, and inclined to a Negotiation. The Crown of *Great-Britain* interpoſed its Mediation, in conſequence of the Marriage between King *Charles* II. and the Infanta of *Portugal*, by which Peace was brought about in the Year 1661, and thereby the *Portugueze* were left in Poſſeſſion of *Braſil*, and the *Dutch* accepted a Sum of Money as a Satisfaction for their Pretenſions.

In the *Eaſt-Indies* Things were to remain as they then ſtood, and both Parties were to keep what, at the Concluſion of this Peace, ſhould be in their reſpective Poſſeſſions; but the *Dutch* kept this no better than they did the former Treaty; but, on the contrary, in 1663, attacked all the Places which the *Portugueze* held on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, particularly *Cochin*, which they had no ſooner taken, than they deſtroyed all the Wild or Baſtard-Cinnamon, which, after the Loſs of *Ceylon*, had proved an advantageous Branch of Commerce to the *Portugueze*. There were high Complaints made of this in *Europe* to the States-General, who were either deceived by the plauſible Accounts given them by their *Eaſt-India* Company, or pretended to be deceived, that they might, with a better Grace, protract the Negotiation relating to this Affair, till their Subjects in the *Eaſt-Indies* had ſo fortified the Places they had taken, as to put it entirely out of the Power of the *Portugueſe* to attempt the Recovery of them[u].

Theſe Proceedings gave the finiſhing Blow to the Ruin of the *Portugueze*, who have never ſince been able to undertake any thing of Conſequence; but, on the contrary, have exhauſted much of their remaining Strength in defending themſelves againſt their *Indian* Neighbours, who, encouraged by the Progreſs of the *Dutch*, and excited thereto by ſome of their Agents, have been ſince endeavouring to tear from them the ſmall Remains of their Poſſeſſions in *India*, and have often kept *Goa* itſelf blocked up for many Months together; in which, perhaps, they have as much miſtaken their own Intereſt as prejudiced that of this Nation, the Power of which has already ſo much broken, as not to afford any juſt Ground of Jealouſy either to *Indians* or *Europeans*.

29. We have already, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, pointed out many of the Cauſes of the Declenſion of that mighty Power which, in ſo ſhort a Space of Time, the Crown of *Portugal* acquired in the Eaſt; but as this is perhaps the moſt uſeful Part of the preſent Section, it may not be amiſs to add a few farther Obſervations on this Subject, the rather, becauſe the *Portugueze* Authors, who have treated ſo largely of the Conqueſts made by their Nation, have been, in a great meaſure, ſilent on the Means by which they were loſt. One great Cauſe of their Ruin was, the Circumſtances of their Government at home, where, for many Years together, they were engaged in a long, expenſive, and dangerous War againſt the Crown of *Spain*, in Defence of their Independency, which at once employed their whole Force, and exhauſted their whole Revenue. It is true indeed, that this was rather the Miſfortune than the Fault of the *Portugueze*, ſince it was what they could not avoid; but it was, nevertheleſs, the great Cauſe of their Loſſes in the *Indies*.

We may add to this their ſending over Men of too great Quality, as Viceroys to *Goa*, with a View rather to better their Fortunes than the publick Service, which is the Reaſon that, of late Years, we hear nothing more of the *Gamas*, the *Albuquerques*, the *Pereyras*, or the *Galvanos*, but are forced to ſearch for the Names of their Viceroys in the private Regiſters of the Palace, inſtead of the publick Records of Hiſtory: Beſides, as theſe Men have been, generally ſpeaking, too poor to mind any thing, ſo much as mending their own Eſtates; ſo they have been too well allied to be called to any Account on their Return for their Maladminiſtration in the *Indies*. When their Affairs began firſt to decline in this Part of the World, it was a common Thing for a Governor of *Moſambique*, which was eſteemed the firſt Poſt after the Viceroyſhip, and with all the other Governments in the Power of the Viceroy, to beſtow on whom he pleaſed. I ſay, it has been common for ſuch Viceroys to make, in the Space of three Years, Five hundred thouſand Crowns; from whence we may form ſome Notion of the Profits of the Viceroy. Now as it is impoſſible ſuch exorbitant Sums ſhould be made any other Way than by oppreſſing the *Indians*, and taking large Sums from the Merchants, we may eaſily perceive, that all theſe private Fortunes were made at the Expence of the publick Intereſt.

The bad Examples of the Governors had a very bad Effect on all the ſubordinate Officers, ſo that Pride, Vanity, Luxury, and a pompous Diſplay of Wealth, attained by illicit Means, took place of that generous Virtue, that laudable Ambition, that diſintereſted publick Spirit, which enabled their Anceſtors to lay the Foundation of ſo large an Empire, with a very inconſiderable Part of that Power, which was in the Poſſeſſion of thoſe who loſt it. The Clergy too, followed the Example of the Laity, and inſtead of promoting, as at the Beginning, the Converſion of the Natives to the Chriſtian Faith, from the religious View of ſaving their Souls, they now proſecuted that Work from the meaner Motive of making them ſubſervient to their own Purpoſes, and enabling them to acquire vaſt Riches. This Corruption proceeded ſo far by Degrees, that not only many of the Jeſuits at *Goa* engaged in Trade, contrary to the Rules of their Order, and their Duty as Miſſionaries, but even deſcended ſo low, as to diſguiſe themſelves in the Habits of Faquirs, or *Mohammedan* Monks, that they might have an Opportunity of viſiting the Diamond Mines, and purchaſing Stones there of extraordinary Value[w].

But what moſt of all contributed to corrupt the Inhabitants of the *Portugueze* Settlements, was the little Care taken to prevent their leaving all Things to the Care of their Negroes and other Slaves, and their inter-marrying with the People of the Country, Practices which have been, and ever will be fatal to all *European* Eſtabliſhments, becauſe it not only ſoftens and effeminates the Minds of ſuch as fall into this Way of Living, but alſo changes their Views, makes them loſe all regard for their Country, and inclines them to take ſuch Meaſures as are moſt likely to preſerve them in the Enjoyment of ſuch ſervile Pleaſures. The *Portugueze* at *Goa* have been for more than a Century paſt, ſo much addicted to this groſs and ſenſual kind of Life, that provided they might enjoy their fine Houſes in the City, and their Country Palaces in its Neighbourhood, they gave themſelves no Pain about what happened elſe where, or how great Progreſs the *Dutch* made in ſubduing their diſtant Settlements. The natural Conſequence of this was, that when ſuch Settlements were loſt, thoſe who were driven from their Habitations, inſtead of repairing to *Goa*, and taking Arms in the King's Service, for the Recovery of any Part of his Dominions, went into the Territories of ſome *Indian* Prince, and there, for a pitiful Subſiſtence, entered into his Pay, or accepted of ſome low Office in his Court; ſo that while the Fleets and Armies of *Portugal* grew thin and contemptible, for want of Soldiers and Seamen, there were many thouſands of that Nation ſcattered all over the *Indies*, diſgracing their Country by the manner in which they got their Bread, when by a proper Behaviour they might have reſtored the Affairs of their Prince, as well as their own Fortunes.

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[u] The *Dutch*, though their *Eaſt-India* Company gained ſufficiently by theſe Practices, ſuffered very ſeverely, as a State, from the Jealouſies they excited in their Neighbours. The *Engliſh* had ſome Experience of a like Diſpoſition towards them; and though the *French* had not, at that Time, any Grounds of Complaint in the *Indies*, yet they were far enough from being pleaſed with the Growth of the *Dutch* naval Power; and therefore readily joined in a War to humble them, as they phraſed it, which was that of 1672; and how far the Cauſes of that War were connected with the Conduct of the *Dutch* in the *Indies*, may appear from a Fact charged upon them by Mr. *Tavernier*, who, in his Travels, relates, that the *Dutch* Factory at *Gambron* in *Perſia* publickly burnt the Picture of King *Charles* II. in a Fire, partly made of Cinnamon; which was ſuch an Indignity as that Prince never forgot, and which gave a very bad Impreſſion of the *Dutch* to the *Perſians* who laboured all they could to hinder it.

[w] We owe this Circumſtance to the Hiſtory of *Holland*, by M. *De La Neuville*, who tells us, that the *Dutch* being extremely piqued at the Trouble the Jeſuits gave them in *China*, diſcovered this Practice to the Governor of the Diamond Mines at *Viſiapour*, who caught two of the Fathers, diſguiſed like Faquirs, with Stones about them to the Value of twenty-five thouſand Pounds, which he took from them, and after whipping them publickly for profaning the Habit of thoſe holy Men, took ſuch Meaſures as prevented their carrying on that Trade in this Shape ever after.

One may ſafely affirm, that all theſe Miſchiefs were at the Bottom owing to the Want of a right Adminiſtration in *Portugal*, where, if a Council for the *Indies* had been ſettled, compoſed of Men of real Abilities and competent Experience, who had been entruſted with the ſole Power of beſtowing Places in that Country, and had been charged to look carefully into the Conduct of ſuch as were employed by them, might, before things had gone too far, have reſtored Diſcipline in their Colonies, and recalled ſuch as from Diſcontent or Diffidence in their former Governors had taken Refuge in other Places. But their Attention to other things, and more eſpecially to their Settlements in *Braſil*, which have, indeed, accidentally compenſated in ſome meaſure their Loſſes on this Side, hindered them from thinking of their Affairs in the Eaſt, till they became paſt all Hopes, as well as paſt Recovery. In this diſtreſſed and dejected State they lie at preſent, which, however, muſt not excuſe us from giving the Reader a View of them even in this Condition, becauſe the *Portugueze* are ſtill conſidered as having ſome Intereſt in the *Indies*, though it be in a manner nothing in Compariſon of what it was, and is daily growing from bad to worſe, ſo that they really owe what little they ſtill enjoy, to the Want of any Inclination, at leaſt in *European* Nations, to take it from them, which they might otherwiſe do almoſt at Pleaſure.

30. The Dominions ſubject to the *Portugueze* Viceroy of the *Indies* are very eaſily deſcribed. The City of *Goa*, of which we have ſpoken before, is ſtill the Capital, the Seat of the Viceroy, the Archbiſhop, and the Inquiſition, which are heavy Burthens on ſo exhauſted an Eſtabliſhment. In the Neighbourhood of this City, they preſerve the Iſlands of *Salſette*, *Bardes*, *Augedive*, and ſome others of no great Conſequence, farther than that they ſupply the City of *Goa* plentifully with Proviſions, which is hard to ſay, whether it be an Advantage to that Place or not; and becauſe this may ſeem a kind of Paradox, I will explain it. As Rice comes in great Quantities, and very cheap, to *Goa*, it encourages the Citizens to keep a vaſt Number of Servants, eſpecially Negroes, who are content with one Diſh of this Food at Noon, and another at Night. If theſe were kept for any kind of Labour or Manufactures, there would be no great Objection to it; but almoſt every Houſekeeper has ſix, moſt of them twelve, ſome thirty or forty, that have no other Buſineſs than carrying their Maſter's Palankin, and Umbrella; ſo that in Reality they are not kept ſo much for Service as for State; and thus they rather exhauſt than increaſe the Riches of the Inhabitants.

Diu, which formerly belonged to the Kingdom of *Guzarat*, is the ſtrongeſt Place they have, and is indeed very well ſituated for Commerce. It has a very good Port, and while the *Portugueze* had any Fleets of Conſequence, they were generally laid up here; and at this City the *Moors* and other Traders in theſe Seas were obliged to take out their Paſſports before they proceeded any farther to the Eaſt. At preſent all the Trade, or at leaſt almoſt all the Trade which was carried on here, is removed to *Surat*, and what little ſtill remains at *Diu*, in the Hands of the *Portugueze*, is carried on under *Gentil* Colours; that is to ſay, the *Portugueze* think themſelves ſafer under them than under the Flag of *Portugal*, formerly ſo much reſpected in the *Indies*. The Port of *Daman*, on the Gulph of *Cambaya*, is yet in tolerable good Condition, though nothing in Compariſon of what it was, the old Town being in a manner deſerted, and the new not near ſo well peopled as might be expected from its Extent. There are, however, ſtill ſome Manufactures carried on here, particularly in Silk, with which they furniſh the Market of *Goa*, and thereby enable the Merchants ſettled there to carry on what ſmall Commerce they have left. *Chaoul* ſtands behind the Mountains on the ſame Coaſt, and has a very ſafe and good Port.

Theſe are all the Places that they have on the *Malabar* Coaſt, and in other Parts of the *Indies* they have few Factories, and no Eſtabliſhments at all, except it be in the Iſlands of *Timor* and *Solor*, not far from the *Moluccas*, which they poſſeſs jointly with the *Dutch*, and of which we have already given a large Account in the Hiſtory of Captain *Dampier*'s Expedition to the South. Once in two or three Years they ſend a Ship from *Goa* to theſe Iſlands, the chief Commodities of which are Sandal Wood, much eſteemed in *China*, very good Wax, and a ſort of Medicine called *Solor* Stones, which are very little, if at all, inferior to the beſt Bezoar. On the Coaſt of *China* they have the Iſland and Port of *Macao*, from whence they carry on a conſiderable Trade to *China* and the *Philippines*.

All that remains under the *Portugueze* Dominion from the *Cape of Good Hope* in *Africa* to the City of *Macao* in *China* is governed by a Viceroy, with the Title of Captain General, who reſides at *Goa*, as the Metropolis of *India*. There are ſix, and ſometimes eight Deſembargadores or Judges that attend the Government as a Sovereign Court or Council, who wear a Gown down to their Heels over a Caſſock of the ſame Length, the Gown with wide Sleeves down half way their Arms. They wear Golillas, and huge Perukes of the *French* Faſhion. The chief Court theſe Gown-men ſit in is called a Relacaon, which adminiſters Juſtice in civil and criminal Caſes, having Power over all Miniſters, and tries all Appeals brought from all Parts of their Dominions. The Viceroy ſits as Chief of this Court, under a Canopy. The Gown-men ſit on Benches placed on the plain Floor. The Council *De facada* is like the Court of *Exchequer*, where one of the Gown-men ſits as the Viceroy's Deputy. Thus the Pomp and Splendor of this Government is ſtill kept up, though the Extent of it is much leſſened, and the Power and Credit of it in a manner decayed. There are ſtill as many Governments as ever, that is, in Title; for otherwiſe they are of no great Conſequence, and thoſe on whom they are beſtowed, have the Characters of Generals. There is, for inſtance, a General of the Gulph of *Ormuz*, who has four Ships under his Command; a General of the North, who directs the ſmall Towns on the Coaſt of *Malabar*; a General of *Salſette*, who has a Territory of about fifteen Miles, a General of *China*, who is, properly ſpeaking, Governor of *Macao*, and an abſolute Vaſſal to the *Chineſe*. There is another General in the Iſlands of *Timor* and *Solor*, to whom even the *Potugueze* there ſcarce pay any Obedience, and who lives in a miſerable Fort, the Guns of which are in no Condition for Service. There is likewiſe a General of *Goa*, whoſe Buſineſs it is to take Care of the Channels between the Iſlands, and to reſtrain Smugglers [a].

But the beſt of all the Governments that ſtill belong to the *Indies*, is that of *Moſambique*, which is an Iſland ſituated near the Coaſt of *Africa*, in the Lat. of 15° South, within half a League of the Continent. They have a ſtrong Fort there, with four good Baſtions, which commands the Chanel, and in which there are ſeventy Pieces of Braſs-Cannon; and here there is always kept a good Garriſon, and in tolerable Order. The Governor is honoured with the Title of General of the River of *Senna*, where he has his Lieutenant, which Employments was worth to him ſeveral hundred thouſand Crowns a Year. There are but a few Houſes about the Fort, the Inhabitants keeping their Effects on the neighbouring Continent: But notwithſtanding the Narrowneſs of the Place, there are Monaſteries of Jeſuits, Dominicans of St. *John de Dios*; beſides the chief Church and that of the *Miſericordia*. The Merchandize brought to this Place by the Ships of the Company, are bought at a ſet Price by the Royal Factory, which afterwards ſend them to *Chelimani*, the Mouth of the River of *Senna* running three hundred Miles along the Coaſt, in Galliots and ſmall Veſſels, becauſe of the Flats from *Chelimani*; the Goods are ſent up the River, againſt the Stream, in Almandies or little Boats, which are ten Days going up, and about five coming down. It is very difficult going up for thoſe who are not well acquainted with the Shallows and Windings of the River. *Cafres*, or *Blacks*, reſort to this Port from Provinces and Kingdoms three or four Months Journey diſtant, to buy or take up Goods upon Truſt for ſo much Gold, which they never fail to bring punctually the next Year, unleſs Death prevents them. This Trade yields above *Cent. per Cent.* So that the *Portugueze* may be ſaid to have another *India* in *Africa*. *Senna* is a little Town on the Right-hand of the River, inhabited by fifty *Portugueze* Families, who make it populous enough, by the great Number of Blacks they keep. Theſe till the Ground, and dig in the Mines, and by that means maintain their Maſters inſtead of being kept by them.

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[a] There is a very wide Difference between theſe titular Preferments and the Governments formerly in the Gift of the Viceroy of *Goa*, which were five; the firſt was that of *Moſambique*, which is ſtill in their Hands, and the only one of the old Government that is ſo; the ſecond was that of *Maſcat*, on the *Arabian* Coaſt, which was of very great Importance, and brought in a large Revenue; the third was that of *Ormuz*, on the Coaſt of *Perſia*; the Captain-General of the Iſland of *Ceylon* was the fourth, and the Governor of the important Fortreſs of *Malacca* the fifth. Upon each of theſe General-Governments there depended many others of leſs Conſequence, of which theſe Generals had the abſolute Diſpoſal; but thoſe who held them were continued in them for no longer than three Years. And it was for this Reaſon they were guilty of ſo much Extortion, looking upon their Governments as Leaſes for ſo many Years, in which they were to make their Fortune.

About fifteen Days Journey from hence lies *Sofala*, where the *Portugueze* have likewiſe an Eſtabliſhment, ſubject however to the General of *Moſambique*; and here a prodigious Trade is driven on, of which the *Potugueze* are, or might be, Maſters. It conſiſts chiefly in Gold, of which there are greater Quantities here than in any other Country in the World, ſince the annual Produce of this Market is computed, by the beſt Judges, at Forty-ſix thouſand Ounces. There are vaſt Quantities of *Spaniſh* and *Canary* Wines, Oil, Silks, Linnens, Cottons, Coral, and other *European* Goods ſold here, which are carried by the Inhabitants of the little Kingdom of *Sofala*, through all the great Empire of *Monomotapa*, which the *Portugueze* ſtile the Empire of Gold, from the prodigious Quantities of that precious Metal which is brought to them from thence. There are, likewiſe, ſome other very rich Commodities brought hither by the Negroes, ſuch as the moſt excellent Ebony in the World; great Quantities of Ivory, abundance of fine Mats, which are much eſteemed in the *Indies*, and a great Number of Slaves; ſo that *Goa*, and all the reſt of the *Portugueze* Settlements, are furniſhed from hence. One may juſtly wonder that, conſidering the Value of this Settlement, and its convenient Situation, the *Dutch* had not made themſelves Maſters of it long ago, as well as of all the other Places belonging to the Crown of *Portugal* on this Coaſt.

In the Year 1605, they attempted *Moſambique* with very little Succeſs, which, however, did not diſcourage them; as it muſt be allowed, that where there is a Proſpect of Gain, the *Dutch* are not eaſily diſcouraged: And, therefore, in 1607, they attacked it a ſecond Time with greater Force, but with the ſame Ill-luck as before, except that they made themſelves Maſters of a rich *Portugueze* Fleet, which, in ſome meaſure, paid the Expence of the Expedition. This rich Trade, however, is much fallen off by the *Arabs* making themſelves Maſters of *Monbaza*, and other Places, which gives them an Opportunity of ſupplying the *Africans* with *European* Goods, which they purchaſe in different Parts of the *Indies*.

As for the Share which the *Portugueze* ſtill retain, the Gold obtained thereby is ſent to *Goa* and to *Diu*, where it is coined into ſmall Pieces, called *St. Thomas*'s, which are not worth above Half a Crown of our Money; and it is obſerved that this Coin is of a worſe Touch, that is, of a baſer Allay than any other in the *Indies*, which is another Sign of a declining Trade; for the Saraſins, which were formerly coined at *Ormuz*, when in the *Portugueze* Hands, were eſteemed the beſt Gold in the *Indies*; but they are now become extremely ſcarce; and the *St. Thomas*'s are ſaid to be coined in leſs Quantities every Year.

31. Theſe Poſſeſſions are ſaid to produce ſo little to the King of *Portugal*, that it has been more than once debated in the Council of that Prince, whether it would not be for the Intereſt of the Crown, to abandon them all together with drawing their Artillery and Effects, and we are likewiſe told, that it is not any political, but purely a religious Motive, that has hindered this Meaſure from being taken, the Prieſts having ſuggeſted that, in that caſe a Multitude of Souls would be loſt to the Church. We ſhall the leſs wonder at this, if we conſider, that ſuch as are beſt acquainted with the *Eaſt-India* Trade aſſures us, that a ſingle Merchant and a ſingle Ship of a reaſonable Burthen, may carry on as great a Commerce as what, at preſent, ſubſiſts between *Lisbon* and *Goa*. This Matter however deſerves ſome Explanation. There are yet a great many Ships employed from *Goa*, *Diu*, and *Daman*, to the Coaſts of *Perſia*, *Pegu*, *Manila*, and *China*, but they are moſtly on the Account of *Indian* Merchants, there being ſcarce a *Portugueze* Trader at *Goa* able to furniſh a Cargo of the Value of Ten thouſand Crowns; and it is very much doubted, whether, in the whole of their Trade, they employ above Two hundred thouſand Crowns; ſo that it is not at all ſtrange that, one Year with another, there are not above two Ships ſent directly from *Goa* to *Lisbon*, and thoſe not a fourth Part ſo rich as when they annually ſent twenty.

Yet there has been a late Regulation made at *Goa* for the Preſervation and promoting of Trade, which thoſe who underſtand that Subject beſt, agree compleated its Ruin. This is an excluſive Company, which has the ſole Right to the Commerce of *Moſambique* and *Macao*, which Company has taken upon itſelf the Payment of the Royal Officers, who are alſo Two-thirds concerned therein, which has given ſuch a Blow to the natural Commerce of *Goa*, that the beſt Part of the *Indian* Merchants that were left, are now retired from thence. To ſay the Truth, it was the great Share the Viceroys, Governors, and other Officers, always took in Commerce, without contributing any thing thereto, except protecting the Merchants from the Violence committed by themſelves on ſuch as did not admit them to a Share in their Trade, that firſt deſtroyed the extenſive Commerce they enjoyed. And, upon this Subject, the Wits of the *Indies* have framed a very pretty Allegory: They ſay, that when the *Portugueze* came firſt there, they had a Sword in one Hand, and a Crucifix in the other; but that they might fill their Pockets the faſter, they quickly diſpenſed with the firſt, and ſoon after laid down the laſt, by which they have loſt all. But though their Power and their Commerce are ſo much declined, their Pride is as great as ever, inſomuch that they refuſe the Natives of the Country, who are called *Canarins*, the Privilege of wearing Stockings, though they employ them as Phyſicians, Lawyers, and Merchants, by which many of them are ſo rich that they keep a Dozen or Fourteen Slaves, and are in much better Circumſtances than the *Portugueze* themſelves.

The Revenues of the Church have ſuffered very little by this ſurprizing Change in the State, there is hardly a Monaſtry that does not receive four or five thouſand Crowns out of the Treaſury, at the ſame time the Soldiers ſtarve and mutiny for want of Pay, which is ſo much the harder upon the Government, becauſe the Reverend Fathers know very well how to take care of themſelves, inſomuch that it is affirmed, the Jeſuits in *Goa* have a better Revenue than the Crown of *Portugal*. It is not eaſy to know what becomes of the Money theſe Churchmen raiſe; but it is very evident, that the Wealth they poſſeſs, together with the Eſtabliſhment of the Inquiſition at *Goa*, is ſuch a dead Weight on the Settlement, as muſt ſooner or later deſtroy it. The wiſeſt of the *Portugueze* in *Europe* underſtand this very well, and would be glad to ſee ſome proper Remedy applied, not from any Prejudice againſt the Church or Churchmen, which is far enough from being the Vice of that Nation, but out of pure Regard to the Crown, and to the Nation; and one would think, that the Clergy themſelves, inſtead of graſping at more, ought to be willing to part with ſome Proportion of what is already in their Hands, in order to render the State more able to protect them in the Poſſeſſion of the Remainder. Beſides, there is nothing clearer, than that the erecting of religious Houſes is directly oppoſite to the very Scheme of planting, and muſt always ruin the Settlements where it prevails, and conſequently the religious Houſes themſelves, which is certainly an Argument that ought to prevail even with Popiſh Princes to lay ſome Reſtraint on the Miſſionaries that are ſent abroad, unleſs they prefer the Reputation of Zeal among ſuch as are no competent Judges, not only to Maxims of Policy and good Government, but to the Principles of true Religion. For, if there be any Piety in converting Pagans to the Chriſtian Faith, it follows, that there is ſtill greater Piety in doing this effectually, and in maintaining for ever the Eſtabliſhments neceſſary to ſupport them, which Reaſon and Experience ſhews, the building Monaſteries, and maintaining Numbers of idle People in them, will not do, but on the contrary will bring on in time the Deſtruction of thoſe Colonies, in which this Humour is ſuffered to prevail.

The very laſt Advices from this Part of the World inform us, that ſeveral *Indian* Princes were driven from before *Goa*, which they had blocked up with a numerous Army, by the powerful Succours ſent by the preſent King of *Portugal*, and by the excellent Conduct of the late Viceroy, who was the Count *de Laurical*, and who, if I miſtake not, was twice in the *Indies*, and behaved there with great Reputation. Such Expeditions, however, are to be conſidered as Expedients only, which may for a time preſerve that Settlement, but can never reſtore it, or bring the Affairs of this Nation in theſe Parts into ſo good Order, as to make them worth the Attention of a Prince, who has the Honour of his Crown, and the Good of his People, at Heart. It may not therefore be amiſs, before we conclude this Section, to conſider what is like to be the future Fate of the *Portugueze* in the *Indies*, in which, if our Conjectures ſhould be juſtified by Events, they cannot but do Honour to this Performance.

32. It is morally certain, that the Eſtabliſhments which the Crown of *Portugal* ſtill has in the *Eaſt-Indies* might, in the Hands of an active and induſtrious Nation, turn to conſiderable Account; for it has been long ago obſerved by M. *Tavernier*, that the Port of *Diu* is as well ſituated for Trade, and as capable of Improvement, as any in that Part of the World, or more ſo; and if put under proper Regulations, that is, if made in ſome meaſure a free Port, it muſt neceſſarily come in for a large Share of that Commerce now carried on at *Surat*, and in all probability, retrieve much of the *Arabian* and *Perſian* Commerce that has been ſo long loſt to the *Portugueze*. On the other hand, as they have ſtill ſome Factories at *Biſnagar* and other Places on that Coaſt, it would be no difficult Matter to re-eſtabliſh their Commerce in the Heart of *India*, at the ſame time that the Port of *Macao* would furniſh them with the Means of ſupplying the *China* Market as cheap or cheaper than any other *European* Nation, becauſe their Colony at *Moſambique* is ſo ſituated, as to ſerve them for the ſame Purpoſes that the *Cape of Good Hope* does the *Dutch*, or the Iſland of *St. Helena* the *Engliſh*.

But all theſe Advantages ſignify nothing in the Hands of thoſe who are ſo far from poſſeſſing the Virtues requiſite to ſuch Improvements, that on the contrary, they are not only tainted with, but over-run by ſuch Vices, as muſt unqueſtionably overturn the beſt Eſtabliſhment in the World. It is neceſſary to ſupport a Charge of this Nature by Facts, that it may not appear to be the Effects of Fancy, Prejudice, or Miſinformation. I ſhall mention but one, which, as it is very ſingular in its kind, will at once anſwer my Purpoſe, and ſerve to enliven the Subject. The *Portugueze* had, in the Cloſe of the laſt Century, an Offer capable of doing much towards the Execution of ſuch a Plan as this, inaſmuch that he was a Man of great Prudence and Virtue; but withal, he had too high a Spirit, which led him to treat the Vices of his Countrymen with ſuch Aſperity as drew upon him a diſaſtrous Death, and thereby defeated all the Hopes that had been raiſed from the great Victories he obtained over the *Arabs* and *Moors*, and that noble Zeal he had upon all Occaſions ſhewn for the Welfare of his Country.

“His ſharp Tongue, ſays my Author, had gained him the Ill-will of almoſt all the Gentry of *Goa*, and along the Coaſt; but more particularly of the Family of *Melo*; which was powerful in Kindred, and great by Birth. His Affronts becoming inſupportable, they conſpired, to the Number of fifty, to murder him; and having agreed on the Time, Place, and Manner of executing their Deſign, they made ſeveral Loop-holes in the Houſes of the Quarter and Pariſh of *St. Peter*, that they might ſhoot him with more Safety. The General, or rather Admiral, perſuading himſelf, that Gentlemen could not harbour Thoughts of taking an ungenerous Revenge, tho’ warned to be upon his Guard, becauſe there were treacherous Practices againſt him, would never admit any Soldiers to attend him, and particularly two Captains that were willing to ſhare in his Dangers. Thus being carried in a Palankin alone, only with one Black that carried his Umbrella, a Shot was made at him from a Houſe, which giving him a ſlight Wound, he leaped out of the Palankin, and taking the Snuff he held between his Fingers, ſaid, *Who is it you aim at? Triſtan de Melo* at theſe Words coming out of his Houſe, anſwered, *at you*, and fired a Blunderbuſs at him. He, with an undaunted Courage, defended it with his Cloak, and bowing his Body; then drawing his Sword, and falling on his Enemy, he ſtruck him five times, but to no Purpoſe, becauſe he had on a Coat of Mail; whereupon he cleft his Head, and with a back Stroke cut him over the Face, which made him fall; then taking him by the Hair, he ſet his Feet upon him, and was going to run his Sword into his Breaſt, but *Triſtan* begging his Life, he generouſly granted it, ſaying, he would not embrue his Hands in ſuch baſe Blood. In the mean while out came *Triſtan*’s Son, and a Mulatto, (ſo they call all thoſe that are got between Blacks and Whites) and firing two Blunderbuſſes, lodged ſeveral Bullets in the Admiral’s Breaſt, breaking in Pieces the Croſs he wore as a Badge of Knighthood; but ſtill he ſtood and defended himſelf, when a Slave came up and run him into the Side with a Javelin; nor did he go unpuniſhed, for the General, with a Back-ſtroke, ripped open his Belly, whereof he died at Night. *Machado* being ready to expire, drew near to the Palankin, and ſetting his Peruke to rights the beſt he could, laid himſelf in it. The Murderers fearing he might yet live, one of them, who was a Prieſt, came with a Blunderbuſs in his Hand to make an end of him; but ſeeing him ready to breathe out his Soul, aſked, whether he would make his Confeſſion? The Admiral called him Jew, and bid him go about his Buſineſs: Afterwards a *Dominican* coming to him, he gave Signs of Repentance, and graſping his Hands, died with theſe Words: The Blood of Chriſt ſave me. They found in his Breaſt about thirty Bullets; whereupon People admiring his Valour, ſaid, he muſt needs have more vital Spirits than other Mortals, ſince there muſt go ſo much to the killing him [y].”

This Murder, foul and deteſtable as it was, could never be puniſhed, ſo powerful was the Family concerned in it, and ſo weak the Authority of the Viceroy, in Matters relating to Juſtice. It is true, this ſtrange Fact happened fifty Years ago, but things are far from being mended ſince. Aſſaſſinations are ſtill common in this Country, and ſuch as would not expoſe their own Lives for the Preſervation of the Colony are ready, on the ſlighteſt Provocation, to command their Slaves to take away the Life of another Man, let his Worth or Dignity be what it will, even at the Altar, and this without the leaſt Apprehenſion of Juſtice. We need no clearer Proof than this, that the Minds of theſe People are totally enervated and corrupted, and that as Cowards, they are cruel and revengeful, which wicked Diſpoſitions ariſe from a lazy and luxurious Life. We may therefore ſafely predict, that the Continuance even of that ſlender Power which the *Portugueze* have ſtill left, cannot continue long, and that for theſe two plain Reaſons: Firſt, becauſe it has been long, and is ſtill in a declining Condition, ſo that its Force being extreamly decayed, and at the ſame time continually employed in reſiſting the Efforts of its Enemies, it is impoſſible in the Nature of Things that it ſhould ſubſiſt for any Time: Secondly, the Manners of the People are entirely ruined, ſo that there is not the leaſt Probability that any ſuch Reformation will ever be effected, as might enable them to make ſuch Uſe of the convenient Ports of which they are ſtill poſſeſſed, as is neceſſary to revive and reſtore their Commerce in the *Indies*. I venture therefore to pronounce, that in the Compaſs of twenty or thirty Years, their Eſtabliſhments in theſe Parts will be quite loſt, and that in all likelihood, *Goa*, *Diu*, and *Daman*, will be loſt firſt, which will neceſſarily draw after them the Deſertion of *Macao*, which cannot long ſubſiſt by its own Force, and lies at much too great a Diſtance to receive any effectual Succour or Support from *Portugal* directly [*].

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[y] This gallant Man Don *Antonio Machado de Brito*, was general of the North, and afterwards Admiral of the Gulph of *Ormuz*, in which Character he gained immortal Reputation. In the Month of *April* 1694, he with three Ships only fought fourteen *Arabian* Veſſels of the ſame Size, in the Bay of *Surat*, for a whole Day; and when he might have retired ſafely into the Port of *Diu*, he anchored cloſe by them all Night, in order to have renewed the Fight next Morning; but the *Arabs* having had fighting enough the Day before, ſtole away in the Dark, and recovered their own Coaſt. Several Boats full of *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch* Merchants, went from *Surat* to ſee this Battle, and afterwards complemented the *Portugueze* Admiral on his Victory, little ſuſpecting, that before the End of that Year, a Man, who had done ſuch eminent Service to the Publick, would fall, as he did, a Victim to private Revenge.

It is indeed poſſible, that Accidents out of the Reach of human Foreſight, may prevent, at leaſt for a Time, the Completion of what I have predicted; but without the Intervention of ſome ſuch Accidents, it will certainly come to paſs, and when it does, perhaps it may not be much to the Diſadvantage of *Portugal*; for when Colonies contribute little to the Benefit of a State, and are of no Uſe in promoting its naval Power, the Loſs of them cannot be conſidered as very detrimental, except to ſuch as are ſettled in them, which is a Conſideration well worthy the Attention of every Colony, ſince it ſhews that the Relation between it, and its Mother-Country, is the ſole Source of the Welfare of both, and cannot therefore be taken away without hazarding the Deſtruction of the Colony.

33. The Hiſtory of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Declenſion of the *Portugueze* Commerce in the *Indies* was never written before, and therefore I hope will appear the more agreeable and entertaining now. We have here, in a very narrow Compaſs, preſented the whole of it to the View of the *Engliſh* reader, with all the Accuracy and Impartiality that lay within the Reach of our Power; and as we have, throughout the whole Section, intermixed our Remarks with the Matters of Fact, we ſhall be very ſhort in our Obſervations here. It may not, however, be amiſs, to ſuggeſt, by way of Concluſion, that though this, with reſpect to the Circumſtances attending Facts, is a particular Hiſtory, yet the intelligent and judicious Reader will very eaſily perceive, that, at the Bottom, it contains a general View of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Decay of all Commerce and naval Power, which are at firſt (at leaſt, generally ſpeaking) the Effects of private Virtues, or, in other Words, are produced by the extraordinary Abilities and unwearied Labours of particular Men in Seaſons proper for ſuch Undertakings, and with due Aſſiſtance from that State in which ſuch Genij appear.

The advantageous Conſequences that ariſe from ſuch Expeditions, beget in the Body of a People a Spirit of Induſtry and Commerce, which, by giving a new Turn to their Genius, and raiſing at the ſame a virtuous Emulation, in a ſhort Space, ſhorter indeed than can be well imagined, create a naval Force, and thereby eſtabliſhes a new maritime Power. But, on the one hand, the Wealth derived from Commerce, and that wonderful Flow of Succeſs which uſually attends a Nation powerful at Sea, very often produces Luxury and Inſolence, which naturally lead to the Ruin both of Trade and naval Power. I do not mean, by Luxury, the Poſſeſſion of all the Pleaſures and good Things of this Life, but the affecting nothing elſe. If it were otherwiſe, we ought not to deſire Commerce at all, becauſe it is the certain Source of Riches, and Affluence; but there is a great Difference between poſſeſſing and uſing good Things moderately, and being ſo bewitched with them as to dedicate our whole Time to to their Enjoyment; becauſe, if there were no other Argument to prove this wrong, the Thing proves itſelf, ſince it is impoſſible to preſerve Pleaſure, ſuppoſing Happineſs to conſiſt therein, if we do not ſpend a great Part of our Time in thinking of ſomewhat elſe.

It was for want of attending to this plain Truth, that the *Portugueze* deſpiſed and contemned the *Dutch* on their firſt Appearance in the *Indies*; they conſidered their own Force as ſo much ſuperior to that of their Enemies, that they never reflected on the Means by which that Force was raiſed; I mean the Valour, Induſtry, Patience, Prudence, and publick Spirit of the firſt Adventurers; all which Qualities being now on the Side of their Competitors, and wanting in themſelves, ought to have awakened them to a Senſe of their Condition, and to a Return to thoſe Virtues which originally procured, and were alone able to preſerve, their extenſive Poſſeſſions. But continuing as they did to provoke on one hand the Natives, and to neglect on the other the neceſſary Precautions againſt the *Dutch*, they did the Buſineſs of their Enemies, and drew upon themſelves that Deſtruction which could never otherwiſe have been brought upon them.

I have before obſerved, that like Cauſes will, in all Caſes, be attended with the like Effects, and therefore there will be no Occaſion to repeat theſe Remarks in the Progreſs of this Work; though it would have been a great Overſight to have omitted them here, inaſmuch as they contribute chiefly to render our Labour uſeful and important, which otherwiſe would be no more than an agreeable Amuſement. To relieve the Reader however from ſo ſerious a Courſe of Study, we have, in the next Section, given him the Travels at large, of a very curious Diſcoverer, and the only one who has given us a tolerable Account of that *Archipelago*, which is the Subject of his Performance.

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[*] It is very remarkable, that *Vaſquez de Gama*, whoſe Statue is over one of the Gates of *Goa*, was not only the Diſcoverer of the Paſſage to the *Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, but lived to ſee the Eſtabliſhments made by his Countrymen in thoſe Parts, carried to their greateſt Height; for at the Time of his Demiſe the *Portugueze* Empire in the Eaſt was in its moſt flouriſhing Condition. It is likewiſe remarkable, that the Son of the great Don *Alphonſo d'Albuquerque*, who was the Conqueror of *Goa*, lived to ſee the Declenſion of their Affairs in the *Indies*, and the prodigious Progreſs of the *Dutch* at their Expence. The whole Circle therefore of the Diſcoveries, Acquiſitions, and Loſſes of this Nation, take in no greater Compaſs than two hundred and fifty Years, which is very little in Compariſon to the Time this Trade was held by the *Tyrians*, or the *Romans*.

SECTION XXIV.

The Voyage of Francis Pirard de Laval *to the* East-Indies; *his Shipwreck amongſt the* Maldives, *and his copious Account of that* Archipelago.

Tranſlated from the Author's Original Voyage, publiſhed by himſelf in *French.*

1. *An Account of the Deſign of this Voyage, and the Author's Embarkation for the* East-Indies, May 18, 1601. 2. *The remarkable Accidents which happened in their Paſſage till their Arrival at the Iſland of* Anabon. 3. *They double the* Cape of Good Hope, *and arrive happily on the Coaſt of the Iſland of* Madagaſcar. 4. *They meet with a dreadful Storm there, and loſe a great many Men by the Scurvy and Surfeits.* 5. *Proceed from thence to the* Comorro-Iſlands *on the Coaſt of* Africa, *near* Moſambique, *where they refreſh and refit.* 6. *The Ship on board of which our Author was, wrecked amongſt the* Maldive-Iſlands, *and himſelf made Priſoner.* 7. *A general Deſcription of theſe Iſlands, their Product, and the People who inhabit them.* 8. *The Diviſion of theſe Iſlands into ſeveral Provinces, with an Account of the Sea that ſurrounds them.* 9. *Of the Original Inhabitants of this Country, their Complexions, Stature, Temper, and Manners.* 10. *The vaſt Fertility of the* Maldives, *and the Nature of the ſeveral kinds of Corn and Fruits produced there.* 11. *Of the Birds, Fowl, Fiſh, and other ſorts of Proviſions, and of their prodigious Plenty and exceſſive Cheapneſs.* 12. *A very ſingular Method in uſe among the Inhabitants for weighing whatever is loſt in the Sea.* 13. *Their Language, Religion, Temples, Prieſts, and Form of publick Worſhip, with occaſional Remarks on them.* 14. *Other Ceremonies of their Religion, together with their Feaſts and Faſts, and Diverſions at ſuch Seaſons.* 15. *A large Account of their Marriages, the Manner of their ſettling Jointures, and their frequent and voluntary Divorces.* 16. *Their funeral Ceremonies, Profits accruing thereby to the Prieſts, and other curious Particulars relating to that Subject.* 17. *A Deſcription of the Dreſs of Men and Women in thoſe Iſlands, and of the Laws in relation thereto, and other Circumſtances.* 18. *Their Cuſtoms in Eating and Drinking, Laws for prohibiting of Luxury, and generous Concern for the Poor.* 19. *Superſtitious Cuſtoms among them in relation to the Killing of Beaſts, Uſe of Baths, Sailing, and other Caſes.* 20. *An Account of the Diſeaſes which prevail among the Inhabitants; their Skill in Phyſick, and other Sciences.* 21. *The Virtues and Vices of the* Maldivans, *with ſome curious Particulars relating to their Women.* 22. *A large Account of the Nature of their Civil Government, Power of the King, his Privy Council, Judges,* &c. 23. *Criminal Puniſhments in Uſe amongſt them; together with the Eſtate of their Military Eſtabliſhments.* 24. *A Deſcription of the King's Palace, Habit, Manner of Living, and other Circumſtances relating to his Court.* 25. *His State when he appears in Publick, the Queen's Court, and the great Reſpect paid them by their Subjects.* 26. *The Particulars of the Royal Revenue, the Nature of the Coinage here, and of the Value of their Commerce.* 27. *The Manner of the Author's Eſcape out of this Country, after he had remained a Priſoner there for ſeveral Years.* 28. *The Author's Journey to* Bengal, *and Return out of the* Indies. 29. *Remarks and Obſervations on the foregoing Particulars.*

1. THERE are ſome Voyages and Diſcoveries which never loſe their Value, becauſe never ſuperſeded by any thing more excellent in their kind; and this we may truly affirm to be the Caſe of that Voyage which we now preſent to the View of the Reader. It contains a very curious, accurate, and circumſtantial Account of Countries and People, who, tho' they lie at the very Entrance of the *Indies*, were never deſcribed before, nor has any ſubſequent Account of them appeared capable of entering into any Degree of Compariſon with this which we have before us. Our Author appears to have been a Man of good Senſe, and great Obſervation. He was led to travel from a Humour common enough in Youth; I mean the Deſire of ſeeing new and ſtrange Things; but, at the ſame time, this Humour of his was regulated by a Diſpoſition not very common in young People, which was that of looking to the Bottom of whatever appeared worthy of Notice, and of labouring to acquire whatever Talents were neceſſary to make ſo thorough an Inquiſition. It was from theſe Principles that he derived that Conſtancy and Reſolution which are ſo conſpicuous in the following Relation.

He was, doubtleſs, in Hopes, when he undertook this Expedition, that all Things would have fallen out favourably, and that he ſhould have been entertained with the Sight of all the Curioſities in the *Indies*, with little Hazard, and ſome Gain to himſelf: But when it fell out otherwiſe, and he found all theſe Reſolutions over-turned by the unlucky Accident of a Shipwreck, he did not loſe either his Reaſon or his Spirits; but, on the contrary, determined to make Uſe of this Accident to further his Deſign of obtaining a diſtinct Knowledge of the Places and People whom it was his Fortune to viſit. It was in conſequence of theſe Notions, that he examined carefully, and recorded faithfully whatever came within the Compaſs of his Notice: And that he might enlarge the Circle of his Underſtanding, he applied himſelf with Diligence, firſt to learn the Tongue of the Country, and next to enter into a free Coverſation with regard to their own Affairs of every kind with the People themſelves; ſo that his Judgment always went along with his Curioſity; and we may reſt ſatisfied that he has not reported Things barely as they appeared, but as they were.

After this Account of our Author, it's requiſite we ſhould ſay ſomewhat of the Time and Manner in which this Voyage was undertaken, and afterwards we ſhall leave him to ſpeak for himſelf. The Fame of the *Eaſt-India* Commerce in the Beginning of the ſeventeenth Century, provoked ſome *French* Merchants of *St. Malo, Laval,* and *Vitre*, to think of ſending two Ships into that Part of the World, which Project they executed in the Spring of the Year 1601. The biggeſt of theſe Veſſels was of the Burthen of three hundred Tun, called the *Croiſſant*; the leſſer of two hundred Tun, called the *Corbin*: The former of theſe was under the Command of the Sieur *de Bardeliere*, the other under that of *Francis Grout*, Conſtable of *St. Malo*. They ſailed from the laſt-mentioned Port on the Eighteenth of *May*, 1601, and had not proceeded above ten Leagues out to Sea before their Mizzen-Maſt ſplit and broke in the Middle, which, ſays our Author, was the Beginning of our Misfortunes: And their Hiſtory he continues thus.

2. On the 21ſt we fell in with nine great *Dutch* Hoys, each of which ſaluted us with a Gun, but one of them being

ing loaded with Ball, beat the Sail of the *Corbin* to Pieces; upon which the Vice-Admiral fired two Guns on the Rigging of the Ship that had injured him; and the Admiral tacking to the Windward of the *Dutch* Admiral, ſpread all his Sails, and fired a Gun upon them; the *Dutch* Admiral preſently ſtruck, and, having informed himſelf that the Miſchance was occaſioned by the Overſight of a Gunner that was in Drink, delivered up the Gunner to the *French* Admiral, in order to condign Puniſhment, and begged he would pardon the Miſtake. Our Admiral finding how the Matter ſtood, ſaid, he deſired no further Satisfaction; and having returned the Gunner, entreated the *Dutch* to vouchſafe him a Pardon. How the *Dutch* treated him afterwards I know not; though I do not much doubt but they hanged him up immediately at the Yard-arm; for the *Dutch* obſerve an exact Diſcipline among their Ships, and ſuffer no Miſtakes to paſs with Impunity; and from thence it comes to paſs, that their Navigation is more ſucceſsful than the *French*.

June the 3d we deſcried the *Canary Iſlands* in 28, 29, and 30° N. Lat. The 12th and 13th we came within Sight of the Iſlands of *Cape Verd*, which run from 20 to 14° N. Lat. On the 29th we were in 5° Lat. and diſcovered the South-Star, called the *Croſs*; at the ſame time we ſaw a prodigious Quantity of Flying-Fiſh, with Wings like thoſe of Bats, which are very plentiful near the Equinoctial Line, whether on the North or South-ſide. On the 14th of *July* we diſcovered the unhealthy Coaſt of *Guinea*, being carried out of our Courſe in a Calm by the Strength of the Currents. *Auguſt* the 24th we croſſed the Equator, on both Sides of which, for the Extent of 7 or 8 Degrees, we had very unconſtant Weather; the greateſt Calms were commonly turned into Thundering and Lightenings (eſpecially when the Sun is near the Equinoxes) and with boiſterous Winds, which surpriſed us ſo ſuddenly, that we could ſcarce get our Sails down in time. The Heat was ſo great that it melted our Candles and Butter, corrupted our Water, and ſpoiled our Meat and Fiſh, though never ſo well ſalted.

We frequently ſaw great Whirl-Winds riſing at a Diſtance, called by the Seamen *Dragons*, which ſhatter and overturn any Ship that falls in their Way. When theſe appear the Sailors have a ſuperſtitious Cuſtom of repairing to the Prow, or the Side that lies next the Storm, and beating naked Swords againſt one another croſſwiſe, from a vain Apprehenſion of preventing their Approach by that Means. In this Climate the Rains are very dangerous, for if one is wet and does not immediately ſhift himſelf, his Body is ſoon covered over with Blotches, and his Cloaths with Worms. In the Time of a Calm Ships roll prodigiouſly in thoſe Seas, but when they run with a freſh Gale they are more ſteady.

3. *Auguſt* the 29th our Pilot, who was an *Engliſhman*, diſcovered Land ten Leagues off; for though we endeavoured to ſtand one hundred Leagues off to Sea, the Currents drove us towards the Shore. This we found to be the Iſle of *Anabon*, poſſeſſed by the *Portugueze*, where we took in freſh Water and Fruit, and the Inhabitants, after a Shew of Civility at firſt, treacherouſly ſlew one of our Men, and took five Priſoners. This Iſland is governed by a *Portugueſe* Lord, who had the Gift of it from the King of *Spain*, the other *Portugueze* who inhabit it being only his Factors and Commiſſaries. The Natives, who are all his Slaves, are Negroes, and go naked, covering their Privities with Cotton. Their Women carry their Children upon their Backs, and ſuckle them over their Shoulders, their Breaſts being very long. The Iſland is ſituated in 1° 20′ S. Lat. and is five or ſix Leagues in Circumference. It is high, mountainous, and always green. The Road is on the North-Weſt Side, and is very dangerous, by reaſon of Flats and Rocks. We lay there ſix or ſeven Weeks, and, during that Time, it rained every Day, more or leſs. The Country produces great Plenty of Fruit and Cotton, in which all the Revenues to the Lord are paid. Their Fiſh is extraordinary good and very plentiful. At the Diſtance of a League and a half from *Anabon*, there is a little ſcorched Iſland, which affords no Greens, but is ſo covered with Fowl called *Penguins*, that one cannot walk any where without treading upon their Eggs. This Fowl is no bigger than a Pidgeon, and the Fleſh is black, but eats admirably well.

On the 16th of *October* we put to Sea again, and *November* the 17th we made the Iſland of *St. Helens*, which lies in 16° S. Lat. at the Diſtance of ſix hundred Leagues from the *Cape of Good Hope*. Upon the Altar of a Chapel in this Iſland we found ſeveral Letters, adviſing that the *Dutch* had paſſed that Way. Here we thought to have fitted our Mizen-Maſt, but found no Wood fit for the Purpoſe. The Air, Fruit, Fleſh, and Water of that Place are ſo healthy, that our Men, who were much oppreſſed with the Scurvy, recovered in the Space of nine Days. On the 26th we ſet Sail, and ſtood for the *Cape of Good Hope*, and three Days after doubled *Abrollos*, which are a Bank of Shelves upon the Coaſt of *Brazil*, in 18° S. Lat. and ſeventy Leagues long. The doubling of theſe Sands is both difficult and dangerous, and in ſailing to the *Eaſt-Indies*, an expert Pilot ought to be very cautious in keeping to a juſt Diſtance from the *Guinea* Coaſt, which is very unhealthy, and incommoded with Calms and Currents, and, at the ſame time, ſtanding off from the *Abrollos*, for the doing of which there is Sea Room enough, ſince we reckon a thouſand Leagues from the Coaſt of *Africa* to that of *Brazil*. Having doubled this Cape, we continued our Courſe for the *Cape of Good Hope*, and in a few Days we knew that we approached it by the Appearance of the Reeds called Trombas, and white ſpeckled Fowls. Having weathered the *Cape of Good Hope*, we came in Sight of that of *Aguillas* or *Needles*, which ſhoots fifteen Leagues farther into the Sea, and lies in 35° S. L. This Cape derives its Name from the Obſervation, that when a Ship comes before it, the Needle of the Compaſs points directly northward, without declining to the Eaſt or Weſt.

We met *January* the 6th, 1602, with a violent Storm, in which one of our Seamen fell overboard, and his Companion would have jumped after him if we had not prevented him; though, after all, I took his Offer to be the Effect of Wine rather than true Affection; for there is but little Friendſhip among ſea-faring Men. Purſuing our Courſe, we ſteered by the Country of *Natal*, upon the Coaſt of *Ethiopia*, without any Storm, which was uncommon in thoſe Seas; for between the 33d and 28°, they are never, almoſt, without violent Storms. After that we miſtook our Courſe, thro' the Ignorance of the Pilot; and, on the 4th of *February*, finding ourſelves on the Land-ſide of *St. Lawrence*, tacked about, in order to make the other Side.

4. *February* the 7th, having paſſed that Iſland, according to our Wiſhes, we were ſurprized all on a ſudden by a violent Storm from the South-Weſt, being leſs acquainted with thoſe Seas than the *Portugueze*, who make timely Proviſions for ſuch Accidents. In the Storm it was ſo dark at Noon-Day, that we could not ſee the Heavens, or one another; our two Ships were ſeparated, and our Sails were tore to Rags, ſuch was the Force of the Rain and Wind, that they wounded our Faces like ſo many Laſhes of Whipcord. The Waves ſwelled ſo high, and waſhed in upon the Ship, that we could not ſtand upon the Deck. In this Place we continued four Days and four Nights, and ſome of the Men that were on Board applied themſelves to devout Exerciſes, while the Sailors redoubled their Oaths and Blaſphemies. Our ancienteſt Pilots and Seamen proteſted they never encountered ſuch a Tempeſt; but the Buſineſs was, they never had been in thoſe Seas, which ſwell higher than elſewhere.

On the 11th the Storm being over, we ſtood in for *St. Laurence*, being much diſabled. All our Men were in a manner half dead, and we had not a Man on Board, but a *Dutch* Gunner, that had ever been in the *Indies* before. When we came within thirty or forty Leagues of the Iſland, the Sea appeared yellowiſh and frothy, and was covered with Reeds and floating Herbs, which continued to appear on its Surface till the 19th, that we arrived and caſt Anchor in *St. Auguſtin's* Bay, in 23° 30′ South Latitude. This Bay is large, and very convenient, having an excellent Ground of Clay and Sand. The ſame Day the *Croiſſant* rejoined us, after twelve Days Separation, and was more diſabled than we.

The Seamen being ſcorbutick, we marked out a Place on the Shore for the Sick, and at the ſame time a *Dutch* Ship was forced into the ſame Harbour by Streſs of Weather, which had not one ſick Hand on Board. The Natives gave us Cattle, Fowls, Honey, and Fruit, in Exchange for Knives, Sciſſers, and Trinkets of little Value; but the Place was ſo unhealthy, that many of our Men died, partly by the Scurvy, and partly by a Phrenetick Fever. We lay directly under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, and the Sun-beams darted upon us almoſt in a perpendicular Line; ſome had their Legs ſcorched, and ulcerated through their Stockings; nay, the extream Heat would have incommoded us more, if it had not been for the Conveniency of a fine River to bathe in, and the Shades of a large Wood. We were poſted at the Foot of a great Mountain, which was covered with Infinity of large Lizards that offered no Hurt to any body. The Wood was repleniſhed with an innumerable Quantity of little Monkies and Apes, which entertained us with a continual Shew of dancing about, and ſkipping from Tree to Tree. Parrots are there very numerous, and make an agreeable Harmony, with their various and warbling Notes. Not to mention the Indiſcretion of our Men in over-feeding in ſo hot a Climate, and the pernicious Conſequences that attended it: I ſhall only take notice farther of the unſpeakable Uneaſineſs from the Flies by Day, and the Gnats that peſtered us by Night, in piercing the Fleſh till the Blood came, and an Inflammation iſſued. This Inconvenience was ſo cutting, that ſome crept into Sacks and Bags, leaving only a ſmall Hole to breath through, and all of us were forced to make Fires, and lie down in the midſt of the Smoak.

The Iſland of *St. Laurence* has ſeven hundred Leagues in Circumference. It lies between 26 and 14° South Latitude. It abounds in Cattle, eſpecially Sheep, which bring forth three or four Lambs at a time; the Cattle are not impropriated, but common to all that catch them; for the Inhabitants, and indeed moſt of the other *Indians*, chooſe rather to feed on Fiſh, Fowl, and Milk. 'Tis common there to ſee two or three hundred Bulls and Cows in one Herd, and when they come to croſs a broad deep River, the Cows raiſe their Heads upon the Bulls Rumps, and ſo get over. We anchored at the Mouth of a River that afforded great Plenty of Fiſh and Crocodiles, and when we killed a Crocodile, and took out its Entrails, we obſerved, that like Muſk they made a very agreeable Perfume in the Air. The Natives are of a tawny olive Colour, inclining to red; they are tall, ſtrait, well made, and not only of a ready Apprehenſion, but wiſe; their Hair is long, and wreathed into Treſſes. They are naked all over, excepting that their Privities are covered with Cotton Cloth. The Women wear one Piece of Cloth, that covers them from under their Breaſt to their Girdle, and another that reaches from thence to the Knees, their Heads being bare, and ſhaved. Their Arms are Darts and Javelins, called *Azagayes*, for the Noiſe of a Gun frights them exceedingly. 'Tis ſaid that this Iſland was formerly peopled by the *Chineſe*, upon the Occaſion of a Ship's being caſt away upon that Coaſt; and indeed they reſemble the *Chineſe* very much, bating that their Complexion is not near ſo white, which perhaps may proceed from their going naked, and living in the *Torrid Zone*. At preſent the Iſland is very populous, and governed by ſeveral Kings that wage War with one another; Some of the Inhabitants are *Mohammedans*, and circumciſed, and the reſt are *Pagans*. The inland Parts of the Iſland are in great Want of Water.

5. On the 15th of *May*, having refitted our Ships as well as we could, and provided ourſelves with Water, Wood, and Fleſh, which after all would not take Salt ſo well as what we have in *Europe*, we ſet ſail, and ſteered for the *Comorro* Iſlands, from the Conſideration that our Complement of Men was very ſhort and ſickly. The 23d made theſe Iſlands, which lie in 12° 30′ South Latitude between *St. Laurence* and the Continent of *Africa*, at the Diſtance of ſeventy Leagues from *Mozambique*. There are five of them, each of which has a peculiar King, and one of them called *Malaill*, being ſurrounded by the other four. We choſe to anchor in its Road; we ſaw ſeveral Villages aſhore, the Inhabitants of which uſed us kindly, and gave us Fruits in Exchange for Trinkets made of Iron. The Inhabitants of theſe Iſlands are *Mohammedans*, being a Medly of ſeveral Nations, *viz.* *Ethiopians*, *Caffres*, *Arabians*, and *Perſians*. They are true Friends to the *Portugueze*, and a cunning, ſharp ſort of People, that are not fit to be confided in.

When our Men offered to land at a little Village to take in Water, the Inhabitants roſe up in Arms, and oppoſed their Landing, till they ſent them five or ſix Crowns; after which they allowed them to take as much Water as they pleaſed. All theſe Iſlands are extream fertile in Oranges, Citrons, Cocoas, Honey, Betel, and Rice; which we bought up at the eaſy Purchaſe of a few Iron-Trinkets and *Flanders* Ware: Fleſh, indeed, is as dear there as here; though they have Plenty of Oxen, Cows, and Sheep. They have Barks made altogether out of the Body of one Tree, in which they ſend their Fruit to *Mozambick* to be exchanged for Cotton, Cloth, Gold, Ivory, *&c.* One Day we ſaw a monſtrous Fiſh riſe above the Water, which had the Form and Figure of a Man, with a ſort of Beard towards the Chin that ſeemed to be its Fins, and a long ſcaly Head, terminating in a Point: When we offered to come near him he plunged his Head under Water, and ſo diſcovered Part of his Back, which was ſcaly. We ſtaid a Fortnight in this Road, and the Goodneſs of the Fruit and the Air cured our Men of the Scurvy to a Miracle; and indeed I have always obſerved that Citrons, and Oranges, and their Juices, are of ſovereign Uſes in ſcorbutick Caſes.

6. *June* the 17th we ſet ſail, and the 24th repaſſed the Equinoctial Line, ſtanding to the Northward in the Lat. of 5°. We perceived ſome great Shelves ſurrounding little Iſlands, which were the *Maldives*, though moſt of our Maſters and Pilots miſtook them for the Iſlands called *de Diego des Roes*, which we had left eighty Leagues a-ſtern to the North-Weſt. Our Admiral deſigned to paſs to the North of the *Maldives*, between them and the Coaſt of *India*; but, on the contrary, we run directly upon them, whereas we ought to have ſtood an hundred Leagues off them, if we had a Mind to be ſafe. In fine, ſuch was our Misfortune, that the *Corbin* which ſailed a head, ſtruck thrice upon a Rock, at the Diſtance of five or ſix Leagues from the Coaſt of the *Maldives*. In this Diſaſter we ſaw a Bark belonging to the Iſlands, which would not come near us on account of a ſtrict Prohibition in that Country to approach any Ship in Diſtreſs without the King's Leave. In the mean time the Sailors eat and drank heartily, and treated their Commanders with Inſolence, inſulting all thoſe who ſhewed any Regard for Religion, and loudly proclaiming that, ſince Death was ſo certain, they were reſolved to render its Approaches eaſy and ſoft. This filled me with Horror, and convinced me that moſt Sailors leave their Souls and Conſciences aſhore. In fine, after continuing two Days in this deplorable and deſperate Condition, we made a ſhift to refit our Galleon, and haul it over the Flats, and, with infinite Labour and Difficulty, arrived on board of it at one of the Iſlands called *Pouladon*, which is not a League in Circumference. We had carried ſome Arms along with us, but the Inhabitants diſputed our Landing till we had given up our Arms, and ſurrendered ourſelves at Diſcretion. There were not above twenty or twenty-five Inhabitants in the Iſland, but they concerted their Meaſures ſo wiſely, that they ſent off our Boat and all their own, to the other Iſlands: To prevent any Inſurrection from us, they carried us to a Lodge in the Middle of the Iſland, where they entertained us with ſome Fruit, Cocoas, and Lemons, and rifled us of all we had, alledging that it belonged to their King, as being a Wreck. We had a Piece of Scarlet Cloth with us, which we pretended was deſigned for a Preſent to the King of the Iſlands, affirming at the ſame time, that the whole Cargoe of our Ship was for a Complement to him.

Upon this no body dared ſo much as touch the Scarlet; but, after all, we cut off a Piece of two or three Ells of it, and preſented it to the Governor of this little Iſland, in order to oblige him, and he, who was a very old Man, took it very kindly, conjuring us not to ſpeak of it. Soon after the Governor ſent the Maſter and two Sailors to the King, who reſided in the Capital Iſland called *Male*, and the Maſter preſented him with the Piece of Scarlet.

Immediately the King ſent for his Brother-in-law to ſave what was on Board our Ship, though the Flats were ſuch that no Boat could come near it; yet they found a Way of getting at it by the Means of a Rope faſtened at one End to the Ship, and at the other to the Rock; for tho' the Waves waſhed over them, they had faſt hold by the Rope, and ſo got to the Ship; nay, they are ſo ingenious, that they took out the very Cannon and the heavieſt Goods, and laughed at any Advice we could give them. When we left the Ship, we brought with us about a thouſand Crowns in ſeveral Girdles, and buried it aſhore for a common Reſerve, to ſupply our Neceſſities; but ſome of our Men being in want of Subſiſtence, digged up the Place, and offered the Natives Pieces of Money for Food, after which the Natives would never allow us Suſtenance without Pieces of Money; and in regard that the leaſt Piece in the Bank was worth Twenty-pence, their Proviſions were much over valued: Every Seaman hid from his Neighbour what he had got, and would not aſſiſt him even at the Point of ſtarving; nay, when any lay very ſick the reſt came and rifled him before he died.

As for my own Part, I and two more were tranſported to the Iſland of *Pandow*, the Natives of which being acquainted with what paſſed in the other Iſlands, and thinking we had Money about us, refuſed us Suſtenance, till we gave them Pieces of Silver; but, in reality, we had none of the Money, and were reduced to great Extremities. In the mean time, I made it my Buſineſs to learn their Language, and by being able to diſcourſe with them, inſinuated myſelf into the Favour of the Governor of the Iſland, who ſent me to *Male* with Recommendations to the King, and both the King and his Queens were ſo well pleaſed with my ſaluting them in their own Language, and according to the Cuſtom of the Country, and with the Account I gave them of the Things that were taken out of our Ship, the Manners of the *French* Ladies, *&c.* that they took particular Care of me in a Fit of Sickneſs that laſted for many Days: In a Word, I roſe, by the King's Favour and Bounty, to a Competency; and having, by Virtue of a long Stay in the Country, an Opportunity to inſpect their Conſtitution, Cuſtoms, Laws, *&c.* am now going to gratify the Publick with what I have learned upon that Subject.

7. The *Maldives* lie between one Degree N. Lat. and 4° S. Lat. being two hundred Leagues in Length, and thirty-five in Breadth. They are diſtant from *Spain*, according to the Courſe of ſailing 4500 Leagues. They are divided into thirteen Provinces, called *Attollons*, each of which comprehends a great many ſmall Iſlands, and is of a circular Form, containing about thirty-two Leagues in Circumference. Theſe Iſlands are ſurrounded with a great Ridge of Rocks, which breaks the Shocks of the Sea, and raiſes prodigious Surges. 'Tis ſaid the Number of Iſlands amount to 12000, a great Part of which are nothing but uninhabited Hillocks of Sand; but the Inhabitants informed me, that the daily Incurſions of the Sea-Sand impaired the Number both of the Iſlands and the Inhabitants, and that the Iſles of one *Attollon* were formerly one continued Track of Land. It is plain, that the Seas which divide the Iſles of one *Attollon* are ſo ſhallow, that, at Low-water one might eaſily wade over, were it not that the Bottom is rocky and ſharp, and apt to wound the Feet, and that thoſe Seas are peſtered with Fiſh called *Paimones*, which break Mens Legs and Arms, and devour 'em. Another great Inconvenience that attends the going into the Water, proceeds from a rough, ſharp, porous, hard and ponderous ſort of Subſtance, not unlike white Coral, which they call *Aquicy*, and make uſe of in boiling it with Cocoa Water, for 'tis that which forms their Sugar or Honey. A great Part of theſe Iſlands are uninhabited, and produce nothing but Trees and Graſs, others are only a moveable Sand, without any Green, and others again are overflowed at high Water.

The reſt are covered all over with great Crabs called *Cacouue*, and Cray-fiſh, or elſe with the Fowls called Penguins, inſomuch, that one cannot place a Foot in any part without treading upon their Eggs and young ones, or upon the old Birds themſelves, which do not fly far upon the Approach of a Man. This Fowl is as big as a Pidgeon, with black and white Feathers, and is an excellent Meat, tho' the Natives do not eat it. The uninhabited ſandy Iſlands appear at a Diſtance as if they were covered with Snow; for the Sand, which is as fine as that of an Hour-Glaſs, is extream white, and withal ſo very hot, as to hatch the Penguins Eggs. Theſe ſandy Iſlands afford little or no freſh Water, but the covered Iſlands, whether inhabited or not, enjoy that Benefit, abating for a very few, the Inhabitants of which are forced to have recourſe to the neighbouring Iſlands for Water, and make uſe of certain Inventions for the receiving of Rain-Water.

The Water of ſome Iſlands is better than that of others; their Well-Water is neither very ſweet, nor very wholſome, but it is very plentiful, and very freſh, even within four Paces of the Sea-Side; for they dig not above three or four Feet, and where the Sea makes frequent Inundations. This Water is very hot in the Night-Time, and extream cold in the Day, eſpecially about Noon. To return to the thirteen *Attollons*, the firſt beginning from the North, is called *Tilla Don Matis*, i. e. *the high Point*; in this lies the Head or Cape of the ſame Name, called by the *Portugueze*, *Cabexa des las il has*, ſituated in 8° N. L. The ſecond is called *Milla done Madone*, the third *Padypolo*, the fourth *Molaſmadon*, the fifth *Aratellon*, the ſixth *Male Attollon*, in which lies *Male*, the head Iſland of the *Maldives*; the ſeventh *Pouliſdows*, the eighth *Molucque*, the ninth *Nilandous*, the tenth *Collomadous*, the eleventh *Aloumatis*, the twelfth *Souadon*, the thirteenth *Addon* and *Polo Malubque*; theſe two being reckoned but one, by reaſon of their Smallneſs. Each *Attollon* is ſeparated from the adjacent Provinces by an Arm of the Sea, which is in ſome Places narrow, and in others broad. There are only four of theſe limiting Channels, that being much broader than the reſt, are navigable by great Ships, but not without Danger, eſpecially in the Night, by reaſon of their Flats and Rocks, which are marked very exactly in ſome Sea Charts, which I ſaw in that Country. The Natives have a wonderful Dexterity in avoiding theſe dangerous Places; I have ſeen them ſail ſo nicely, as to rub upon rocks on both Sides, without any Damage.

Both the Rich and the Poor are inured to the Sea from their Infancy, and fear not to encounter the moſt turbulent and foaming Seas, in little Boats and Barks, the Number of which is unaccountable; for the pooreſt Man that is has one, and the Rich have ſeveral. They never ſail by Night, or out of Sight of Land, unleſs it be when they undertake ſome great Voyage; and accordingly, the Proviſions they have on Board, are calculated only for one Day. The greateſt Part of the Iſlands comprehended in one *Attollon*, are ſurrounded with a common Flat or Bar, that is only paſſable at one or two narrow Places, which are not eaſily obſerved, and for that Reaſon it is neceſſary for them to be very expert in the Management of their Boats, or Barks, ſince the leaſt Slip is certainly followed with Shipwreck, and the Loſs of their Goods; as for their own Perſons, indeed, they have no great Reaſon to fear, for all of them ſwim admirably well. Notwithſtanding that wonderful Dexterity in Sailing, they frequently loſe their Barks, which is occaſioned by the Currents called *Oyvacous*, which run Eaſt and Weſt, ſix Months upon the Eaſt Coaſt, and ſix Months upon the Weſt; but with ſuch Uncertainty, that the Change happens ſooner or later, at one Time than another: Though their Winds are frequently fixed, as well in the Currents in the Eaſt and Weſt Quarter, yet they ſometimes ſhift to the North and Eaſt.

8. It is to be obſerved, that the *Attollons* lie all in a Line, the End of the one facing the End of the next adjacent, and that they have two Entrances or acceſſable Places on each Side, which is a wonderful Conveniency; for if there was only one Landing-place at each End, the Impetuoſity of the Eaſt and Weſt Currents would break their Communication with one another, or, at leaſt, it would be impoſſible to practiſe it at all Seaſons. The Neceſſity of four Landing-places in each *Attollon* will be evident, if we conſider the following Inſtance; ſuppoſe a Landing-place on the Eaſt Coaſt, almoſt directly oppoſite to the Entry of the other *Attollon*, and another on the Weſt, oppoſite to that of the adjacent *Attollon*, if the Current runs from Eaſt

to Weſt, we cannot croſs directly from Entrance to Entrance, but ſet out from the Eaſt Coaſt, which is then the Head of the Current, and taking it Sideway, ſteer for the Weſt Entry of the other *Attollon*. In order to return, we ſet out from the Eaſt Entrance, and over-thwarting the Current, make to the Weſt Entry of the other *Attollon*. When the Current changes its Courſe, we obſerved the ſame Contrivance in ſetting out from the Head of the Current, and entering the other *Attollon* at the Place which lies under the Current of theſe Entrances. Some are broad, and ſome narrow, but the wideſt is not above two hundred Paces over, and ſome of them are leſs than thirty; each Entrance hath an Iſland on each Side, and if Cannon were planted on theſe Iſlands, it would be eaſy to hinder any Ships to enter.

Of the Channels that part the *Attollons*, there are only four broad ones, which are navigable by great Ships, and frequently viſited by Strangers, when the Currents carry them in againſt their Will. To begin from the North Side, the firſt of the four waſhes the *Attollon* called *Malos Madou*, and it was in this that we were caſt away. The ſecond, called *Caridou*, has *Male*, the greateſt of all theſe Iſlands in the midſt of it. The third, called *Addou*, lies to the South of *Male*. The fourth, called *Souadon*, lies directly under the equinoctial Line, and in regard that it is the broadeſt of them all, being twenty Leagues over, the Natives don't ſail upon it without a Compaſs, though they never uſe any in the Channels. Beſides theſe, there is a narrow Channel, which ſeparates *Male* and *Pouliſtou*, in which the Sea appears as black as Ink, but the Water taken into a Veſſel, looks like other Water. That Sea boils like Water over a Fire. It ſwells into great black Surges, but is not moved from one Side to the other, which renders it very terrible. The *Maldives* lie ſo near the Equinoctial, on both Sides, that their Climate is extreamly hot. Their Day and Night are always equal, and their Nights are very cool and dewy, which renders the Heat of the Sun more tolerable, and nouriſhes exceedingly their Herbs and Trees. Their Winter commences in *April*, and continues till *October*, at which Time the Summer begins, and laſts likewiſe ſix Months. In Winter they have perpetual Rains, but no Froſt, and the weſterly Winds are very boiſterous. In Summer their Winds are eaſterly, with an exceſſive Heat and no Rain.

9. It is ſaid, that the *Maldives* were in former Times peopled by the *Cingala*, or Inhabitants of *Ceylon*; but it is obſervable, that the *Cingala* are black and ugly, whereas the Inhabitants of the *Maldives* are handſome, well made, and of an Olive Complexion; though after all, 'tis poſſible, that the Climate, and Length of Time may have altered the Complexion and Shape to their Advantage; beſides, that a great many Foreigners being caſt away on their Coaſt, are blended with them by Intermarriages, and by this Means it comes, that thoſe who live about *Male*, between it and the North Cape, where moſt Shipwrecks happen, are more poliſhed and civilized than thoſe on the South Coaſt, who are not only blacker, but much coarſer in their Language, Cuſtoms, and the Shape of the Body; nay, many of their Women, eſpecially ſuch as are poor, go naked, with only a ſmall Cover for their Privities. This North Side of the Iſland is not only richer, and more civilized, as being the common Paſſage for all Ships, but the Seat of all the Nobility and Men of Fortune, and when the King puniſhes a Criminal with Baniſhment, he only ſends him to the South Parts. The Soldiers are all raiſed in the North Parts; but after all this Difference, I muſt ſay, that the Inhabitants of the South Parts are naturally as lively and quick-witted as thoſe of the North. In general, the *Maldivans* are very ingenious, they apply themſelves with great Induſtry and Succeſs to all ſorts of Manufactures, and alſo to Letters and Sciences, after this Manner, eſpecially to Aſtrology, which they hold in great Eſteem. They are a very wiſe, cautious People, and very ſharp in their Merchandize and Way of Living; they are brave, and well ſkilled in Arms, and their Policy is very regular.

Their Women are very handſome, abating for their Olive Colour, and ſome of them as white as the *Europeans*. Their Hair is black, which is reckoned a great Ornament, and in order to turn it extremely black, ſeveral Women keep their Daughters Heads ſhaved till they are eight or nine Years old, leaving only a little Hair on the Forehead, to diſtinguiſh them from Boys, who have none at all: I have ſeen ſome Children have half flaxen Hair, which has turned very black by being ſhaved every eight Days. Both Sexes affect black Hair, but the Women take a Pride in having theirs thick and long, which they waſh and dreſs very frequently. They waſh their Head and Hair with Water and Lye made for that Purpoſe; after which their Hair hangs diſhevel'd in the Wind, till it dries, and then they rub and perfume it with an odoriferous Oil, which renders their Head always moiſt and oily. Both Sexes anoint their Bodies after waſhing; but tho' they waſh their Bodies more than once in a Day, their Hair is not waſhed above twice or thrice a Week. They may waſh their Hair when they pleaſe, but they are obliged to do it on *Fridays*, which is their Sabbath for the Women, and Feſtivals for the Men. After the Women have waſhed, rubbed and perfumed, they ſtretch all the Hair from before backwards, without leaving ſo much as one ſtraggling Hair, and tie it behind, in a great Tuft, or Knot, which they enlarge by a Perriwig of Man's Hair, made in the Form of a Horſe's Tail; nay, ſome of them have two ſuch Perriwigs, beſides which, they add odoriferous Flowers.

As for the Men, none but Gentlemen, and the King's Officers and Soldiers, are allowed to wear long Hair, and theſe, indeed, waſh, perfume, and dreſs their Hair after the ſame Manner with the Women, excepting that they make the Tuft not behind, but on the Crown of the Head, or on one Side, and they wear no Perriwigs. Their Hair grows much faſter than ours, by reaſon partly of the waſhing and perfuming, and partly of the exceſſive Heat which occaſions thick and ſtrong Hair, and for the ſame Reaſon their Hair is black. They have no Combs, but they have Sciſſers of caſt Copper, and copper Looking-Glaſſes, which they make uſe of in ſhaving themſelves, with ſteel Razors made after another Faſhion than ours. There are no Barbers in the Country, every one therefore ſhaves himſelf, excepting the King, and ſome Lords, who are ſerved by Perſons that are proud of that Honour, without any Proſpect of Gain; ſo that in all thoſe Iſlands both Men and Women are provided with Utenſils for ſhaving, and are very nice in taking off their Hair, when it begins to be uneaſy to them.

The Girls have their Heads ſhaved once a Week, from their Infancy to the eighth Year of their Age, at which Time their Hair is ſuffered to grow to its full Length and Dreſs, for then is the Seaſon here of looking out for Huſbands. Before that Age they have no Cloaths, but only a Cloth that hangs down from the Middle to the Knees; and the Occaſion of their being cloathed afterwards proceeds from the riſing of their Breaſts, before which, they are looked upon as Children, and 'tis not allowable to diſcourſe to them of Love Matters. The Cloth hangs down from their Middle to the Knees as ſoon as they begin to go, but the Boys have none till they are ſeven Years old and circumciſed. Their Beards are of two Sorts; Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and thoſe who have performed Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, wear long Beards, ſhaving under the Throat, and upon the upper and lower Lips, all round their Mouth. The other ſort of People have little Beards, without Muſtaches, being ſhaved round the Mouth, and under the Chin. They are very careful in ſaving the Parings of their Nails, and the Shavings of their Hair, which they wrap up in Cotton, and bury in their Church-Yards, with a little Water, from a Notion, that they being Parts of the Body, require Interment as well as the Whole, and for that Reaſon many of them choſe to be ſhaved in the Porch of the Temples, for they would not for any thing in the World either trample upon theſe Excrements, or ſee them thrown in the Fire.

10. In order to give a particular Deſcription of the *Maldives*, we ſhall begin with their Fertility. It produces great Plenty of *Millet*, called there *Pura*, and another little Grain called *Brinby*, which reſembles *Millet*, but is black like Rape-ſeed. Theſe two ſorts of Grain they ſow, and reap twice a Year; they make a ſort of Meal of them, of

which they make Pottage, with Milk, Cocoa, Honey, as well as Cakes and Fritters. The Country produces likewiſe ſeveral ſorts of Roots, which the Inhabitants feed upon, particularly one called *Nellpou*, which grows wild, being round, and as big as one's two Fiſts. They bruiſe it upon a rough Stone, and then expoſe it to the Sun, upon which it turns to a white ſort of Meal that eats admirably well in Pottage or Cakes, only it muſt be very freſh, or it is apt to lie heavy upon the Stomach. Another Root that grows there plentifully, and eats well, is called *Allas*, which muſt be ſown and cultivated, and is commonly as big as a Man's Thigh. Some of theſe ſorts of Roots are red, and others white; the Inhabitants boil them ſeveral Ways, and make them the moſt of their Food, keeping them for a whole Year, for they come to Maturity only once a Year, *viz.* in *September*. They have no Rice but what is exported from the Continent; however they have it pretty cheap, and uſe much thereof, either boiling it with Water or mix'd with Spices, boiled with Milk and Sugar of Cocoas, with Pullets, Fiſh, or turned into Meal after drying and bruiſing, and then made into Cakes and Fritters, with Eggs, Honey, Milk, and the Butter of Cocoas.

This Country is likewiſe furniſhed with Herbs and Trees, ſome of which bear Fruit, and others not; though the Natives eat their Leaves, they being ſweet and well taſted. As for Fruit, they have infinite Plenty of Citrons, Pomegranates, and Oranges of *Bananas*, called by the *Portugueze Indian* Figs, and by the *Maldives Quella*, which is a large, delicious, and nouriſhing Fruit, inſomuch that it ſerves their Children inſtead of Broth. The moſt profitable Fruit is the Cocoa, or *Indian* Fruit, called by them *Coal*, which is more plentiful in the *Maldives* than any other Part of the World; ſo that the Inhabitants know how to manage it better than others. This Tree alone might ſupply all the Neceſſaries of Life, for it affords Wine, Honey, Sugar, Milk, and Butter; beſides that its Kernel may be eat as Bread, of which they have none in that Country. Further, moſt of their Utenſils are made of the Wood, Bark, Leaves, and Nut-ſhells of this Tree. In fine, the whole Country is ſhaded, and refreſhed with Trees, many of which ſerve for no other Uſe but burning; ſo that there is no Occaſion to buy Fire-wood. Beſides that, there are whole Iſlands covered with Trees, from whence they fetch what Fire-wood they pleaſe.

11. It is very remarkable, that though all the thirteen *Attollons* are in the ſame Climate, and all very fertile, yet they produce ſuch different Commodities that one cannot live without another; for what is plentiful in one, is ſcarce in another, or, at leaſt, is not ſo good. This occaſions a Neceſſity of mutual Commerce; and the Inhabitants have likewiſe ſo divided themſelves, that one Province cannot live without another; for the Weavers repair all to one Iſland, the Goldſmiths to another, and ſo on. Now, to render the Communication eaſy, theſe Artificers have little Boats with Cheeks, where they work, ſleep, and eat, while they are ſailing from one Iſland to another to vend their Manufactures; and ſometimes they are a Year out before they return to their fixed Habitation. As for Animals, they have prodigious Numbers of wild Pullets, which are ſold for a Penny a Piece, and the ſame Price will fetch three Dozen of Eggs; next to Fiſh, this is the moſt of their Food. They have a great Plenty of Wild-Pidgeons, Ducks, Rayls, Birds reſembling Sparrow-Hawks, black and grey Muſkets, living not upon Prey, but upon Fruit, &c. As for domeſtick Fowl they have none. The Crows are here very troubleſome, for they are ſo numerous and ſo bold, as to take Things out of their very Houſes before the Peoples Faces. Their Bats are as big as Ravens, and their Gnats, or Muſketos, bite more ſeverely than in any other Part of the *Indies*.

But they are moſt incommoded by Rats, Dormice, Piſmires, and other ſorts of Vermin, which over-run all their Houſes, and ſpoil their Grain, Proviſions, Fruit, and periſhable Commodities. To obviate this Inconvenience, they build Granaries and Warehouſes on Piles, or Stakes in the Sea, at the Diſtance of two or three hundred Paces from the Land; and moſt of the King's Magazines are built after the ſame Manner. They have no poiſonous Animals, except Snakes, of which a very dangerous kind frequent the Sea. Cats, Pole-cats, and Ferrits, are likewiſe found there; but there are no great Beaſts, either wild or tame, ſave a few Sheep, and ſome three or four hundred Cows and Bulls in the Iſland of *Male*, which belong to the King, and of which they never eat but on Feſtival-Days, and ſolemn Occaſions, for theſe Kine are imported from the Continent. They have no Dogs, nay, they abhor them ſo much, that when the King of *Portugal* ſent two as a Preſent to the King, he ordered them to be drowned immediately. The Sea affords Plenty of all ſorts of Fiſh, eſpecially between the *Attollons*, where the Sea is ſhallow and calm; the Fiſhery is the moſt conſtant Exerciſe of the Natives, who feed moſtly upon Fiſh, when freſh, with Rice, or other Meat fried with the Oil of Cocoas, or boiled in Salt-water, and dried for keeping. They ſend every Day Ships loaded with Fiſh for *Sumatra*, *Achen*, and other Places. Many of the Fiſhermen have loſt Arms and Legs that have been bit off by a ſort of great Fiſh frequent in thoſe Seas. This great Plenty of all Neceſſaries cauſes an eaſy Purchaſe; four hundred Cocoas coſt but a *Larin*, which is Eight-pence; the ſame Price will purchaſe five hundred Bananas, a dozen of Fowls, or three hundred Weight of Roots, or a hundred large Fiſh, &c.

In fine, there is no Part of the *Indies* where a Stranger can get an Eſtate ſo ſoon as here, for it lies conveniently for Trade, and requires but an inconſiderable Charge for Maintenance. The Natives, it's true, don't grow rich, and that I take to proceed from their cheap and eaſy Living, which encourages them to Negligence and Idleneſs. *Male*, the principal Iſland, gives Name to all the reſt, *Dives* ſignifying a Cluſter of little Iſlands. This Iſland ſtands almoſt in the Middle, and is one League and a half in Circumference; it is the moſt fertile of them all, the Staple-port and Magazine of all the reſt, and the Reſidence of the King and the Court. By this Means it is better peopled, but, at the ſame time, it is not ſo healthy, for which the Natives give this Reaſon, *viz.* The King and the Court having reſided there Time out of Mind, and the Corps of all that died being interred a-part, the whole Surface of the Iſland becomes a continual Series of Graves, from whence the perpendicular Rays of the Sun extract pernicious Vapours; and accordingly the Water is here ſo bad, that the King and Perſons of great Quality ſend for Water to other Iſlands.

12. In all the Iſlands, even in *Male* itſelf, there is no ſuch Thing as encloſed Towns, but the Houſes lie ſcattered here and there, though not without ſome Order and Diſtinction of Streets. The Common-People's Houſes are built of Cocoa-wood, and covered with Cocoa-leaves ſewed double one within another. Perſons of Quality and Fortune have Houſes built of Stone taken out of, and from under the Flats and Rocks. This ſort of Stone is very ſmooth and white, and ſomewhat hard to cut, but when it is wet with Rain, or freſh Water, it loſes its Hardneſs, and, at laſt, becomes all over black. The Manner of taking them out of the Sea is very remarkable. There grows in that Country a ſort of Tree called *Candou*, which is as big as our Walnut-Tree, and reſembles the Aſpin in its ſhaking Leaves and Whiteneſs, but is extremely ſoft, and bears no Fruit, and is not proper for burning; when it is dry they ſaw it into Planks like our Fir-Deals. This Wood is lighter than Cork. This premiſed, we come to ſhew how they draw out the Stone: Being the experteſt Swimmers that can be, they dive under Water, and having pitched upon a Stone fit for their Purpoſe, faſten a great Cable to it, then they take a Piece of the Candou-wood, and having bored it, run it along the Cable quite up to the Stone; after this, they run on ſuch a Number of Pieces as they have Occaſion for, till the light and floating Wood drag up along with it a Stone of 100000 Pound Weight. It was by this Contrivance the Natives took up the Cannon and Anchors of our Ship that was caſt away; and I was Eye-witneſs to their clearing, by the ſame means, in the Space of fifteen Days, the Harbour of *Male*, which was choaked with great Rocks, inſomuch that no Ship could come in. When the Candou-wood is once ſoaked in Water, it muſt be dried in the Sun before it be uſed, otherwiſe it will not float.

Upon other Occaſions they take five or ſix large Pieces of Wood, and having ranged them all in a Line, raiſe Planks on them of the ſame Wood, to ſit upon, and ſo paſs from one Iſland to another: And it is by this Contrivance they generally manage their Fiſhery. In the Canals that run between the *Attollons* one Man can work theſe Inſtruments of Navigation, though they are not proper for the Sea; for they know how to trim their Dealſeats ſo well, that there is no fear of overſetting; and if that happens, their Plank will always ſwim: All the Danger lies in disjoining the Pieces; and this ſort of Float is called *Candou patis*, from the Wood of which it conſiſts. The Candou-tree has yet another ſtrange Property, namely, that when one Piece of it is ſtruck againſt another they will extract Fire; and this ſerves them in the Place of Tinder-boxes.

13. Our Method directs us, in the next Place, to ſpeak of their Language, which lies in two Channels; the firſt is the *Maldivan*, properly ſo called, which is very copious; the ſecond is the *Arabick*, of the ſame Uſe as *Latin* in a Popiſh Country, being the Language of their devout Addreſſes. I paſs over the *Cambaya*, *Guzaretta*, and *Portugueze* Tongues, which are derived from their Commerce, and ſhall only take Notice that, in the Southern Parts they ſpeak a coarſe unpolite Language, which, after all, is the common Tongue of theſe Iſlands. Their Religion and Ceremonies come next to be conſidered. All the Inhabitants are *Mohammedans*, and the greateſt Part of the Foreigners, *viz. Arabians*, *Malabars*, and *Sumatrans*, are the ſame. Their Temples, or Moſchs, are built of good Stone, well cemented, and have a thick Wall; They ſtand in the Middle of a ſquare walled Incloſure, where they bury their Dead, except thoſe who deſire a ſeparate Sepulchre. Their Temples are ſquare, and face the Weſt, as pointing to *Mohammed*'s Tomb. They have three Doors, each of which is faced by a broad Wall with Steps, the Bottom and Sides of which are lined with poliſhed and flat Stones, the Floor of the Temple being covered with Mats and Tapeſtry; whereas the Church-Yard is nothing but Sand. Their Temples are kept ſo clean, that if they want to ſpit or blow their Noſe, they muſt either do it in their Handkerchief or got out of Doors.

The Roof or Ceiling of the Temples is of Wood, admirably well poliſhed, and the Walls are wainſcoted, both of them being firmly joined without Nails, Pegs, or any other viſible Artifice. Upon the Walls of the Temples we met with large Tables of Stone, or of Wood, with *Arabick* Inſcriptions. They have a particular Place for the King and his Court, and Galleries for the Guards, and ſeparate Apartments for certain Dignities, Qualities, and Ages, inſomuch that any Perſon who takes up an improper Place, is fined accordingly. They conſtantly burn Lamps, for which End certain low Trees are conſecrated. Some of the Iſlands have nine or ten Temples; but that in which they ſolemnize a general Feſtival is built and ſupported at the common Charge, under the Name of *Ou coura Meſquite*: Each Moſche has its Prieſt called Moudin, and each Iſland that has forty Perſons above the 15th Year of their King's Age is dignified with a Catibe or Curate, who aſſiſts as Principal at all publick Exerciſes, and governs the inferior Prieſts. He pronounces the publick Prayers, and by Sermons and Exhortations explains and recommends the Law of *Mohammed*; under him the *Moudins* teach Children to read and write their Mother Tongue, and that of *Arabia*, for which Service their Parents give them a Reward. Every Day in the Week all above fifteen Years of Age repair, before Break of Day, to the Temple, and declare their Creed, *viz.* That the World is flat, and not round, that 'tis ſurrounded with a Wall of Braſs, which prevents it being drowned in the Waters that encompaſs it: That the Devil, the general Enemy of Mankind, endeavours every Night to break through and undermine this Wall, and that he is not much ſhort of compaſſing his End when the Day-light arrives. Upon this Belief they all join in Prayer, at the Break of Day, to prevent the Deſtruction of the World, which, as they believe, would otherwiſe enſue.

They repair to the Temple four Times a Day beſides, *viz.* at Noon, at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, at Sun-ſet, and at Ten o'Clock at Night, remaining each Time half an Hour. Thoſe that have no mind to go to Church may ſay their Prayers at home, or none at all if they pleaſe; but if it be known that any Perſon neglects their Duty of Prayer altogether, no body will eat or converſe with him; from whence it comes to paſs, that almoſt all of them, whether Tradeſmen or others, ſpend a great Part of their Time in publick Service. They make uſe of Beads as well as the Papiſts; but they have no Croſſes. Before they enter the Temple they waſh their Feet, Hands, Ears, Mouth and Eyes, obſerving at the ſame time certain Ceremonies, and pronouncing Prayers ſuitable to the Sin they repent of. They are ſo ſcrupulous, that no Temptation in the World can oblige them to forbear this ſolemn way of waſhing, upon the Apprehenſion that it certainly purges them of all Sin and Polution. The greateſt Indecency of their Worſhip is, that they waſh and bathe publickly and promiſcuouſly, and offer their penitential Prayers with a loud Voice, and ſo diſcover to all the World all the ſecret Tranſactions of their Lives. At this rate all the ſecret Adventures of Man and Wife are laid open to the World by the publick Prayers of both Parties; for the Women pray aloud as well as the Men, only they do it in their Houſes, in regard that they never go to Church.

14. The Male Children are circumciſed when they are ſeven Years of Age, and upon that Occaſion the Parents and Relations divert themſelves with Muſick and publick Feaſting fourteen Days. They have particular Operators for Circumciſions, who apply themſelves to nothing elſe, and the Ceremony is after this manner: For ſix or ſeven Hours before the Circumciſion the Child is bathed in the Sea, in order to make the Yard ſhrink, and to render the Skin ſoft and tender. When the Hour comes the Child is brought to a Lodge built on purpoſe, and held by two or three Moudins or Prieſts, who in the mean time chant Verſes and Prayers ſuitable to the Occaſion. Then the Operator having drawn over the Pepuce, and tied it with a String, cuts it with a Razor; after which he heals it in fifteen Days; before Circumciſion they alledge that the Child is innocent, and cannot ſin, and for the ſame Reaſon they do not cover the Privities of the uncircumciſed Children. As for the Girls, their Circumciſion conſiſts in drawing two or three Drops of Blood, when they are two Years of Age; but 'tis attended with no Solemnity. When the Children are grown up, they pay a profound Deference to the Operator that circumciſed them, and call him Maſter.

They celebrate ſeveral Feſtivals in the Courſe of the Year, particularly every *Friday* with them is a Day of Feaſting, at which all the Males above fifteen Years of Age are preſent, but no Females. On the preceding Eve they pray in their Houſes, ſome for their Health, others for the dead, and for that end ſend for the Prieſts to their Houſes, where an Entertainment is provided, and as the Prieſts have no Stomach for eating; they chooſe rather to abſent, for if they come they muſt eat, though againſt their Appetite. On *Friday* Morning the publick Crier goes round the Iſland, with a ſort of Bell in his Hand, and a Hammer of Wood to beat it withal: He is aſſiſted by three Trumpeters, who ſound often to give the People notice of their Duty. Upon this Warning the People throw aſide all Work for that Day, and after waſhing and bathing, and putting on their beſt Cloaths, repair to the Temple. In the mean time the King's Muſicians play before his Palace on divers Inſtruments, and ſoon after the King's four Prieſts, who are Men of Quality and Learning, and never aſſiſt but at publick Solemnities, aſcend an high Stone Edifice adjoining to the Temple, where they clap their Hands upon their Ears, and with a loud and fearful Voice cry thrice, *Alla*, *Alla*, *Aquebar!* i. e. Great God, and then they add ſomething of *Mohammed*. This done, they repair to the King's Palace, and pronounce the ſame Words after the ſame manner. Upon which, if the King has a Mind to be ſeen, as he commonly is, he ſends a Carpet of Silk to be ſpread on the Place where he means to ſit. Then the Moudins do the like at the Catibe's Houſe, and he comes and waits upon the King, who walks in great Magnificence to the Temple, his Head being covered with a white Veil above a great Turban, ſo that he cannot ſee, but is led by one of the Moudins. The King comes laſt to the Church, and immediately ſays his

Prayers; after which the Catibe being mounted on a raiſed Place at one end of the Temple, takes a naked Sword in his Hand with the Point downward, and flouriſhing it about, recites his Prayers. In the mean time the People pray without ceaſing, putting themſelves in various Poſtures, nd obſerving ſeveral apiſh Geſtures.

The Catibe has a new Prayer for every *Friday* in the Year, and when that Year is expired, makes uſe of the ſame Prayers for the next. He repeats all without Book, and if he happens to be out in one Word, Syllable, or Letter, the Moudins reprimand him publickly, and the Feaſt is thought to be ineffectual. This Service laſts about two Hours, and after it is over, the People ſaluting one another, and the King returning in great State to his Palace, entertains 'em at his own Expence. They obſerve the like Solemnity on the Day of every new Moon, and rejoice when they ſee it. Upon this Occaſion they clean their Houſes, Courts and Streets, garniſhing the Entries of the Churches, and the Gates of their Houſes with Cocoa Shells cut in the middle, and filled with white Sand, and burning Coals, upon which they burn almoſt all Night ſweet-ſcented Gums and Woods, at the ſame time the Inſides of their Houſes, their Beds, *&c.* are perfumed after the ſame manner.

Though the *Maldivans* celebrate every new Moon, yet they obſerve four beyond the reſt. Particularly in *December*, or thereabouts, they have a Faſt called *Ramedan*, which commences at the new Moon, and laſts till the next new Moon. They take their Meaſures not from the real Change, but from the Appearance of the new Moon; by which means it ſo falls out, that ſome Iſlands begin the Faſt ſooner than others. The firſt Night of the *Ramedan* Feaſt the Men and Women viſit one another apart, and divert themſelves with Feaſting, Dancing, *&c.* till 'tis near Day, having prepared themſelves for eating by faſting the preceding Day, in which Cuſtom they are ſo ſuperſtitious, that for that Day they will not only avoid the taſting of any, but even the waſhing of their Mouth, or putting their Fingers therein, or ſwallowing their Spittle.

The Prohibition of ſwallowing their Spittle puts them to a great Inconvenience when they are in the Church, becauſe it is not allowed to ſpit there, and ſo upon every Turn they are forced to run out of Doors. Nay, ſuch is their Superſtition upon the Feaſt-day, that the Men, who are allowed to bathe, are prohibited to plunge their Heads in the Water, leaſt ſome Drop of it ſhould enter their Mouth or Ears; and the Women are forbid to bathe at all. Half an Hour before Sun-ſet, all above fifteen Years of Age repair to the Temple, and in the Space of that half Hour cleanſe their Mouths, and pick their Teeth very nicely, being furniſhed by the Moudins with Pick-tooths, and other cleanſing Inſtruments made of Cocoa-wood. This done, the Moudin makes his Cry three times, and enters the Temple at the Head of the People, who then ſay their Prayers, the Women at the ſame time being employed in ſaying theirs at home. When that Service is over they feaſt and make merry with one another. During the Ramedan the King entertains all the People at ſeveral times, inviting only Perſons of the ſame Quality at a Time; for they are ſuch religious Obſervers of their Quality, that they will not eat with any Perſon of a different Rank. The Nobles, *&c.* entertain their Friends in like manner; and thus do the Men and Boys feaſt; but the Women, who are not allowed to go to theſe Feaſts, ſend only Preſents at Night one to another.

The Women bathe themſelves in the Evening, at which Time the Men are enjoined to avoid Bathing; during the whole Courſe of the Ramedan they faſt after the abovementioned manner in the Day-time, and avoid Sin and Polution as much as they can. If any one breaks any one of the Faſt-days, he is obliged to faſt as many more after the End of the Ramedan. In this Month no body will work be they ever ſo poor. The Pandiare preaches every Day at Three in the Afternoon in the King's Palace, or in the Church, or in his own Houſe. After the Sermon is over they divert themſelves with the Exerciſe of Arms, and ſeveral ſorts of Plays, particularly at Foot-ball. At the ſame time the Women and Girls viſit one another, and have particular ſorts of Plays and Diverſions ſuitable to their Sex. Intrigues run higher in this Month than in any other, and the Courtſhip conſiſts in ſending to one another Songs and Verſes, inſcribed with Bodkins on Cocoa Leaves, which are as white as Paper.

The Youths likewiſe preſent their Miſtreſſes with Garlands of ſweet-ſmelling Flowers, and receive in return Preſents of Betel nicely dreſſed. In fine, they take all poſſible Meaſures to heighten their Mirth and Diverſions. Three Days before it ends the Bellman and the Trumpeters go round the Iſland, requiring all the Inhabitants, whether Men or Boys, Women or Girls, to ſend their Names in Writing to the Naybo of their reſpective *Attollon*, and to pay an Offering of half a Larrin a Head, which the People pay very willingly as a Tribute to God and *Mohammed*: For they imagine that without the paying of that Tribute their Faſting would not avail them. In this Tax the Parents pay for the unmarried Children, and for their Servants and Slaves; and if any poor Perſon has not the Money to lay down, the King, or any rich Perſon, pays for them very willingly. The Money ariſing from this Tax is lodged in the Hands of four Receivers, one on the Behalf of the King, a ſecond for the Clergy, a third for the new Converts, and a fourth for the Poor. One-third of it goes to Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, another to the Proſelites, and the remaining third to the Poor. About *Auguſt* and *September* they have a Solemnity of two Days, in which they ſend about to one another boiled Wine, with Honey and Cocoa Milk. This Feſtival is ſaid to take its Riſe from a Miracle that *Mohammed* wrought on that Day.

15. There remains yet another very ſolemn Night-Feſtival called *Maulude*, which happens about the Month of *October*, being the Night on which *Mohammed* died. Upon this Occaſion they have a large Houſe, or Hall of Wood, in ſeveral Parts of the Iſland, which is hung within with the fineſt and richeſt Tapeſtry. The Floor of which is covered with white Sand, and Matts above it, and the Ceiling adorned with white Cotton Cloth, ſupported with black Strings, that run along it like Stripes. In this great Hall hang up ſo many Lamps, that 'tis as light as Day, and the Smell and Smoke of the Perfumes that they burn, fills the Air. In the midſt of the Hall there is a Table covered with ſeveral ſorts of Meat and mixed Liquors. The Women do not aſſiſt at this Solemnity, but the Men repair thither about eight o'Clock at Night, and ſit down in Order, according to their reſpective Stations, there being Officers appointed to rank them. All the Night long the Prieſts and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons ſing what they call the Pſalms of *David*. When Midnight approaches, the whole Aſſembly fall down flat upon the Ground, as in an Extaſy, and continue in that Poſture for ſome time; after which the Pandiare and the Catibes ſtart up of a ſudden, and all the reſt following their Examples, ſkip about, and leap upon each other as if they were mad.

The People are ſerved with Betel well dreſſed, and Drink, by fifty Perſons choſen into that Office, which is reckoned very honourable; when the Night is almoſt over the Prieſts give over ſinging, and ſay Prayers; after which they all go to the Middle of the Hall, where the Table ſtands, and every one takes a Plate of Meat, and ſome aromatick Liquors, which they carry home with them, and eſteem very much. After their religious Rites, it will be proper to ſubjoin the Ceremonies of Marriage and Funerals. Upon a Deſign of Marriage they addreſs themſelves to the Pandiare or Naybes, who, after being ſufficiently informed that things really are as they are repreſented, takes the Man by the Hand, and aſks him if he is willing to take ſuch a Woman on the Conditions propoſed, and the Woman always being abſent, he likewiſe queſtions her Parents as to their Conſent. If they all agree he marries them, and calls the By-ſtanders to witneſs their Conſent. Then the whole Company waits upon the Woman home, and ſeveral other Perſons viſit her. All the Viſitors being entertained with Feaſting, Muſick, Dancing, *&c.* the new-married Man makes Preſents to the King, and the Great Lords, and the Bride pays the like Complements to the Queen, and the other Ladies; both make Preſents likewiſe to their Relations; but when the King is married, he does not give, but receives Preſents from all his Subjects, *viz.* Cloths, Garments, Turbans, Victuals, Fruit, Flowers, *&c.* and all theſe Preſents, which ariſe to a great Value, belong to the new-married Queen. A Man may have three Wives if he can maintain them, but not more; and if all three live in one Iſland, he is obliged by Law to beſtow as many Nights upon one as upon the other. Tho' after all this Law is not obſerved, and indeed it is a hard Law in that Country, where the Women are ſo laſcivious.

The Bridegroom receives no Dowry with his Wife, and is obliged, not only to be at the Charge of the nuptial Solemnity, and to maintain her, but to ſettle upon her a Jointure equal to what her Mother and other Anceſtors had. They are ſo nice on this laſt Condition, that if the Prieſt apprehends the Huſband cannot afford ſuch a Jointure, he refuſes to marry them, notwithſtanding both Parties require it; but after all, the Bride may renounce either whole, or part of the Jointure, after Marriage, and indeed, that is frequently practiſed. Brothers and Siſters, firſt Couſins, and thoſe who by way of Friendſhip and Intimacy have uſed to call one another by the Names of Son or Daughter, Father or Mother, Brother or Siſter, theſe, I ſay, are prohibited to marry. The Males may marry when they will, but a female Orphan cannot marry till ſhe is fifteen Years of Age; indeed, if her Father be alive (for the Mother has no Power) he marries her at ten or eleven Years of Age, and that to the firſt Suitor, whether old or young, provided his Quality is in ſome Meaſure ſuitable to hers; for they reckon it a great Sin to keep the Daughters unmarried. A Man may turn away his Wife, but unleſs ſhe conſents to the Separation, ſhe may demand her Jointure: Tho' after all, that Demand is ſeldom made, as being reckoned a mean Action, and a Sign that the Woman fears that her Merit will never procure her another Huſband.

On the other Hand, the Woman cannot part from the Huſband without his Conſent. This ſort of Divorce, which is very frequent, muſt be atteſted by Witneſſes, or they cannot have the Benefit of a ſecond Marriage. The divorced Parties frequently repent of their Separation, and marry again a ſecond, third, or fourth Time; but after three Divorces, ſuch re-marriages are not allowed; tho' ſuch is the Levity of the People, that they frequently deſire them, and in order to elude the Law, they have a common Trick of getting ſome profligate Fellow to marry the divorced Woman, and lie with her one Night without touching her; after which he quits her before Witneſs, and ſo ſhe is married again to her former Huſband. Such is the Frequency of thoſe Divorces, that a Man ſhall have an hundred Wives, and the Woman look upon the Multitude of ſeparated Huſbands as a Point which entitles them to future Marriages. When a Woman is ſeparated from her Huſband by Death, ſhe muſt mourn four Months and ten Days before ſhe can marry again; and if the Separation is accompliſhed by Divorce, ſhe muſt remain three Months ſingle before ſhe offers to marry. This Caution is uſed for fear ſhe ſhould prove with Child by her former Huſband.

16. Their funeral Ceremonies are ſuperſtitious to a great Degree; in the firſt Place, the Corps is waſhed by Perſons of the ſame Sex, who buy that Office of the King, and are paid for their Service; then they are wrapped up in Cotton, and covered with fine white Cotton Cloth, which goes afterwards to the Prieſt, the Right-hand of the deceaſed Perſon being laid upon his Ear, and the Left upon his Thigh. This done, the Corps is laid upon the Right-ſide in a Coffin of *Candou* Wood, and carried to the Burying-place, by ſix Relations and Friends, attended by the Women-waſhers, who cry and howl moſt hideouſly. Every Man in his Life-time provides for himſelf a Burying-place, and all the other Neceſſaries; nay, they are ſo ſuperſtitious, that they will rather ſtarve than touch the Money they have laid up for that Purpoſe. Beſides the ſix principal Mourners, the other Relations and Neighbours are preſent without Invitation, and upon the March from the Houſe of the deceaſed Perſon to the Grave, they ſcatter Shells for the Benefit of the Poor, to whom they likewiſe diſtribute Sacks of Rice and Millet, at the ſame Time they give to the Prieſt Pieces of Gold and Silver, the Number of which is proportionable to the Eſtate of the deceaſed Perſon, and theſe Pieces are diſtributed by the Prieſt to thoſe who have aſſiſted in praying for the deceaſed Perſon. The Prieſts ſing continually during the whole Courſe of the Ceremony, and in the Proceſſion, a Perſon of Quality ſprinkles the Aſſiſtants with Water made of ſweet Flowers.

The Grave is covered with a large Piece of Silk, or Cotton, which, on the Interment, goes to the Prieſts of the Temple. When the Corps is laid in the Grave, they turn the Face of the deceaſed Perſon to the Quarter that faces *Mohammed*'s Tomb, and then fill up the Grave with fine white Sand, ſprinkling it with Water. When the Ceremony is over, the Relations entertain all the Company with Victuals, and the three following *Fridays* they pray over the Grave, where the Prieſts ſing, eat and pray every Day, till the third *Friday* paſſes, after which, a general Feaſt is prepared for the Relations, Friends, and Prieſts, who pretend, that the Soul of the deceaſed Perſon is then conveyed to Paradiſe. This Feaſt is prepared every Year, and on *All-Souls* Day they throw freſh white Sand on the Grave, and perfume it with burnt Incenſe: The Grave is ſurrounded with wooden Pails, for they reckon it a great Sin to walk over it. They never bury two Corps in the ſame Place; for they have ſuch a Reverence for the Bones of the Dead, that even the Prieſts dare not touch them. If a great Lord dies, the Prieſts ſing for him a whole Year, and are entertained every Day with Diſhes of Meat and Betel; but if a King or Queen dies, the Ceremony is continued to the Death of the next Succeſſor.

In this Country, the Mourners make no Alteration in their Habit, only they go bare-headed to the Grave, and continue ſo for a few Days after the Interment. Thoſe who die fighting with Perſons of a contrary Religion are buried upon the Spot where they fall, without any Ceremony; and in regard that they are accounted Holy and Happy, neither the Prieſts, nor their Friends, pray for them. They never tranſport Corps from one Iſland to another, and even the King himſelf is buried where he happens to die. If any Perſon dies at Sea, they waſh the Corps, and put them into a Coffin, which they place upon a Float of *Candou* Wood; within the Coffin they put Silver, in Proportion to his Circumſtances, and a written Paper, deſcribing his Religion, and withal, praying thoſe who meet with the Corps to take the Money, and bury it handſomely.

17. We come next to their Apparel: The Men tie about their Privities a great Swaith of Cloth, which comes round about, to prevent any Diſcovery in Working, or walking about; next that they have a Piece of blue, or red Cotton Cloth that reaches to their Knees, and then a larger Piece of Cotton, or Silk, reaching to their Ancles, and girded with a ſquare Handkerchief, embroidered with Gold and Silver, which is ſpread upon their Backs, and tied before. Above theſe they have a little Piece of Party-coloured Silk, which reaches only to the middle of their Thighs. At laſt they gird themſelves with a great fringed ſilk Girdle, the Ends of which hang down before; within this Girdle, on the Left-ſide, they keep their Money and Betel, and on the Right-ſide a Knife. Theſe Knives are made of excellent Steel, the Sheaths being of Wood, and the Shafts of Fiſh-bone, for the Bone of a Land-creature they will not wear. The richer Sort have both their Hafts and Sheaths of wrought Silver. Every one wears a Knife, and eſteems it much, as being his only Arms, for none but the King's Officers and Soldiers are allowed to wear any other. Theſe, indeed, have a wrought Dagger at their Side, and when they walk along the Streets, a drawn Sword in one Hand, with a Buckler, or Javelin, in the other. The *Maldivians* place their chief Ornaments in their ſilver Chains, which hang about their Girdle, and of which every Boy or Girl has more or leſs, in Proportion to their Means; but 'tis only Perſons of Quality and Fortune that ſhew them openly: In theſe they place their chief Treaſure, and commonly they appropriate them for the Charge of their Funeral.

The common People are naked from the Girdle upwards, except on the Feſtival-Days, on which they wear Cotton and ſilk Jerkins and Waiſtcoats with gilt copper Buttons, the Sleeves of theſe Coats reach only to their Elbow; for they alledge, that if their Wriſts were tied up like ours, they could not have the free Uſe of their Arms. Perſons of Quality commonly wear ſuch Coats; but ſome have a Cuſtom of covering their Skin from the Girdle upwards, with an odoriferous Paſte, made of the Powder of Camphire and Sanders, beaten upon a ſmooth Stone, and incorporated with the diſtilled Water of ſweet-ſcented Flowers. They make their Wives or Friends anoint their Backs, *&c.* with this Paint, and draw various Figures upon them; however, they muſt not appear with that Piece of Foppery before the King, or be ſeen in his Palace. The Men of this Country wear upon their Heads red or party-coloured Turbans, ſome of which are of Cotton, for the meaner ſort of People, and others of Silk, for the Perſons of Quality. The King's Officers and Soldiers have frequently embroidered Handkerchiefs on their Heads, which other Subjects are not allowed to wear. Their Feet are always naked, excepting that within Doors they uſe wooden Sandals, which they pull off when viſited by a Perſon of ſuperior Rank; often times their Legs are likewiſe naked.

The Women wear a Coat of Cotton, or Silk, which reaches from their Middle to their Ancles; above that they have a long Robe of Taffaty, or fine Cotton, reaching to their Feet, without any Slit beſides the Neck, where it is faſtened with two little gilded Buttons. This Robe they pull quite up to ſuckle their Children. Their Arms are loaded from their Wriſt to the Elbow with Bracelets of Silver, inſomuch that ſometimes they have three or four Pound of fine Silver upon them; though indeed the poor ſort alloy the Silver with Braſs. The Women of Quality have many Chains of Gold, or Strings with little Pieces of Gold about their Necks, and rich Pendants in their Ears. They have their Ears pierced when they are young, not only in the Cap, upon which there hangs an Ear-ring, but in twenty-four Places up the Griſtle, in which they put as many gilded Nails, with precious Stones or Pearls on the Heads of them. When the Women walk in the Streets they cover their Heads with a Veil, and are very cautious in ſhewing their Faces before Men, though in the Preſence of Women of ſuperior Rank, they take off their Veil. They are not allowed to wear Rings, Jewels, Bracelets, or Ear-rings, or Chains of Gold, till they aſk and obtain Leave of the Queen, as the Men do of the King, for the ſame Priviledge, which commonly coſts them Money.

The different Quality of the Women is diſtinguiſhed by the Nature of their Ornaments, for none but Queens and Princeſſes are allowed to wear Gold-Bracelets, or Gold-Rings on their Arms or Legs; beſides, the Queens put Rings on their Fore-fingers, the Princeſſes and Perſons of the firſt Quality upon their Middle-fingers; ſo that all other Women have their Rings upon the Ring-finger and Little-fingers, and the Men have theirs upon their Thumb only. If a Man's Wife begins to wear richer Ornaments than ſhe uſed to do in former Times, the Man's Taxes are raiſed, unleſs he be one of the King's Officers, or an Inhabitant of *Male*, for theſe are exempted from all Taxes on Apparel; Foreigners and their Wives are alſo free, for they may wear what they pleaſe, as well as the Clergy. The Women place a great Part of Beauty in painting red the Nails of their Fingers and Toes, which they effect with the Juice of a certain Tree. In a Word, they are very handſome, and are very careful in ſetting themſelves off with a genteel Habit, and with frequent waſhing and perfuming: Generally ſpeaking their Complexion is an Olive Colour, though ſome of them are brown, and others very fair.

18. The People of this Country have many peculiar Cuſtoms with reference to eating; they reckon it is very diſhonourable for a Perſon of ſuperior Rank to eat with his Inferior; and indeed they ſeldom regale one another, unleſs it be at ſolemn Feſtivals. If they mean to complement a Friend, they ſend a covered Table with ſeveral Diſhes of Meat to their Friend's Houſe, who is thereby much honoured; but, in their own Houſes they are cautious of eating in the Preſence of others; before and after eating, they ſay Prayers; and their Table is the Floor, covered with a fine Mat, upon which they ſit croſs-legged; they feed ſo nicely that they will not drop one Crumb, nay, not ſo much as a Drop of Water, though they waſh their Mouths before and after. Inſtead of Table-cloths and Napkins they uſe Banane-Leaves: Their Diſhes are made of Earth, or *China* Purcelane, which is very common in that Country, gold or ſilver Veſſels being prohibited by Law. They are all round like Boxes, with an earthen Cover, over which they put a Piece of Silk, for the Piſmires are there ſo numerous and troubleſome that it would be impoſſile to keep Meat without a Cover upon it; and the People are ſo nice, that they will not taſte any Meat that has been touched by a Fly, Piſmire, or any Inſect or unclean Thing, but give it to the Fowls. As for the Poor, whom they look upon as the Servants of God, they ſcorn to offer them what they will not eat themſelves, and entertain them with the beſt Victuals they have. If they ſpy the leaſt Crack in a Diſh, they eat no more out of it, holding it poluted.

All Spoon-meat they eat with their Fingers, but withal ſo nicely, that they let nothing fall, that being accounted a very natural Piece of Decency. If they have Occaſion to cough or ſpit at time of eating, they riſe from the Table, and walk out; they never feed themſelves with their Left-hand, becauſe they make uſe of it in Waſhing their Privites. They chooſe to begin their Meals with eating a Cocoa-nut half ripe, and drinking the Water of it, which they ſay looſens the Body. While they eat they are all ſilent, and make quick Diſpatch, for with them it is an unmannerly Thing to be long eating. They take it for a Piece of Rudeneſs and Incivility to drink before they have done eating, and even then they drink but once, either Water or Cocoa-wine freſh drawn. They drink out of Copper-cups well wrought, with Covers to them: After eating and waſhing, they ſerve up a Plate of Betel inſtead of Sweet-meats, for the Fruit is ſerved with the Meat. They have no ſet Meal-times, but eat when their Appetite provokes them; and Victuals is dreſſed only by the Women, for the Men deſpiſe the Character of a Cook, in ſuch a Manner that they will not converſe with a Man-cook, or admit him to a Share of their Exerciſes, he being doomed by his Trade to the Company of Women.

19. When they kill a Beaſt for Food, they turn their Faces towards *Mohammed*'s Sepulchre, and ſo cut its Throat in a particular Place; after which they ſuperſtitiouſly avoid the touching of it till it is quite dead. Their Butchers muſt be ancient, and the Fathers of Children. When they awake out of their Sleep they preſently waſh their Eyes and Faces, and rub them with Oil, and blacken their Eye-Lids and Eye-Brows, for before the Performance of that Duty, they muſt not ſpeak, or bid any one Good-morrow. They are very careful in waſhing and cleanſing their Teeth, to the end that the Betel and Areca may the more readily impreſs their red Colour upon them, which they are very fond of. They are always chewing Betel, which they continually carry about with them in the Plaits of their Gidle, and mutually preſent to each other upon occaſional Salutations. They bathe before they enter the Temple, and waſh with their Left-hand after natural Evacuations. When they bathe at home, they plunge their Head three Times under the Water; and in regard that they always bathe and pray in publick, and that the reſpective Crimes have peculiar Ceremonies, calculated for them; every Man's Crimes or Miſdemeanours are thus expoſed to the publick View: When they ſet out upon a Voyage, they avoid touching or meeting any body, for if any unlucky Accident befalls them, they impute it to the Perſon that touched them. When they go a fiſhing they muſt not ſalute any, or bid them Good-morrow. From Sun-ſet on *Thurſday*, till three or four a-Clock next Morning, they ſuffer nothing to be carried out of their Houſe, but receive all that is brought in.

If they fall out one with another, they never rail, for if they did all the World would fall upon them. When croſſed at Sea, they addreſs themſelves to the King of the Winds, (for they do not call him a God;) and in every Iſland there is a deſolate Bye-place, called *Siave*, where thoſe who have eſcaped Danger make Offerings of little Boats and Ships, made on purpoſe, and loaded with Gums, Perfumes, Flowers, and odoriferous Woods. They burn the Perfumes, and having ſet fire to the Boats and Ships, them a-drift, ſo that they float up and down till they are quite burnt; and this they take for a Sacrifice that is acceptable to the King of the Winds. But when they cannot eaſily ſet their Boats and Gallies afloat, they kill Hens and Cocks, and throw them into the Sea right afore the Ship they mean to ſail in. They likewiſe pay a ſuperſtitious Deference to the imaginary King of the Sea, and dare not ſpit to the Windward of the Ship, nor look behind them.

All their Boats and Ships are devoted to the Prince of the Winds and Seas, and they keep them as neat and clean as Temples. They place a wonderful Virtue in certain Characters called *Cavide*, which they wear under their Garments in little Boxes, and ſometimes under their Arms, Necks, Girdles, or Feet, according to the Seat of the Diſtemper; for, their imaginary Virtue is ſaid to conſiſt in curing or eaſing Diſeaſes, procuring Love, Hatred, Safety, or Danger, *&c.* Theſe they buy of the Magicians, who are their only Phyſicians. They impute Death, Sickneſs, and all Affliction to the Devil; and, in order to pacify him, make him Offerings of Flowers and Banquets in a certain Place, where they let them conſume, unleſs ſome poor body has the Senſe to take them. With the ſame View they offer him Cocks and Hens, which they kill with their Faces directed towards *Mohammed*'s Tomb.

20. To give a ſhort Account of their moſt common Diſtempers; the firſt is a Fever, which is dangerous to Strangers. An epidemical and contageous Diſeaſe called *Curiadin*, and not unlike the Small-pox, viſits them once in ten Years, and ſweeps off a great many. They are liable to Diſorders of the Eyes; many of them are quite blind, and moſt of them have little Eyes. When they have Occaſion to be long in the Sun, in the Height of the Day, they ſometimes loſe their Sight when the Sun goes down, and for a Cure of that Infirmity, they take the Liver of a Cock boiled, and after the writing of certain Words and Charms upon it, ſwallow it juſt before Sun-ſet; by this Remedy both I and my Companions received a conſiderable Benefit, though we omitted the magical Part. They are very ſubject to the Itch, which they heal with the Oil of Cocoas, and ſome of them are covered all over with incurable Tetters, which is owing to their feeding moſtly upon Salt-fiſh, and their pouring ſalt Water upon their ſalt Meat.

In the Winter, as they go barefoot, notwithſtanding that it rains continually, a ſort of Worm breeding in the Mud ſeizes upon the Soals of their Feet, and the Intervals of their Toes, where they raiſe Wheals that degenerate into Ulcers, ſo that they cannot walk; their whole Body is likewiſe infeſted with theſe Worms. Commonly their Spleens are large, and liable to Obſtructions, and their Bellies are apt to ſwell, and be hard, which they believe proceeds from their unhealthy Water. In all external Inflammations, or Aches, they apply Fire, which raiſes a Scar, and upon that they lay Cotton ſteeped in Cocoa-Oil, which proves very ſucceſsful; their Ulcers, which happen chiefly in their Legs, are perfectly cured by the Application of Plates of Copper. As for their Wounds, they cure them very dexterouſly, by the Application of Ointments, without any Bandages or Tents; they are ſometimes troubled with Catarrhs, Defluxions, and Pains in the Bones. Venereal Diſeaſes are frequent among them; however, they cure them with China-wood without Sweating, and thoſe Diſtempers are communicated to them from the *Europeans*. They are altogether unacquainted with the Tooth-ach, which they owe to continual chewing of Betel, for that fortifies the Gums. As ſoon as the Children come into the World they waſh them for a conſiderable Space of Time, ſix times a Day in cold Water, and then anoint them with Oil. When they void their Excrements they waſh their Privities with Water. All Mothers, even the Queens themſelves, ſuckle their own Children, and beſides the Breaſt-Milk, feed them with a ſort of Pap made of Millet bruiſed, and ſteeped in Water, and afterwards boiled in Milk and Sugar of Cocoas. Though they never ſwaddle their Children, yet I never ſaw any of them deformed; they rock them in Hammocks of Cord, or in little Chairs hung up in the Air, which they ſwing to and again. At the Age of nine Months the Children begin for to go, and when they are nine Years old they commence the Studies and Exerciſes of the Country.

Their Studies conſiſt in learning to read and write, to underſtand the *Alcoran*, and to know their Duty. They have three ſorts of Letters, *viz.* the *Arabick*, the *Maldivan*, and a third ſort, which is commonly made uſe of in moſt Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*. Their Leſſons are wrote down on white Tables of Wood, which they clean and whiten again after they have got their Leſſons by Heart; for durable Writings are on Paper made of the Leaf of a Tree called *Macare Queau*, that Leaf being a Fathom and a half long, and a Foot broad. To teach the Children to write, they make uſe of no Paper, but make Draughts of Letters with a Bodkin upon ſmooth, plain Boards of Wood, covered with fine white Sand. The Children have ſuch a profound Veneration for their Maſters, that they cannot marry them any more than their own Parents. Some of them, eſpecially the *Moudins*, *Nabeys*, and *Catines*, carry their Studies a great Length, and acquire great Skill in the *Alcoran*, and other Treatiſes of the Law. The Mathematicks are much eſteemed in this Country, and eſpecially that Part called Aſtrology; for they always conſult Aſtrologers, not only upon Nativities and Births, but upon all Undertakings whatſoever, as Travelling, Building, *&c.*

As for their Exerciſes, they have Schools for learning the right Uſe of a Sword and Buckler, of a Bow, of a Gun, and of a Pike; and the Maſters who teach them are much reſpected. They have no ſort of Diverſions but that of the Foot-ball, which they toſs very dexterouſly. Many of them apply themſelves to Manufactures, for Houſhold-Goods and other Commodities, which they make very ingeniouſly; but the moſt univerſal and the moſt conſiderable Exerciſe they have, is that of Fiſhing, which is ſo common an Exerciſe all over the *Maldives*, that there's no ſuch thing as a particular Trade of that Nature; for Gentlemen, and even their Kings, purſue Fiſhing as we do Hunting in this Part of the World. Every Man there enjoys the natural Liberty of Fiſhing where and for what he pleaſes. The Fiſh which are taken in the deep Sea about ſix or ſeven Leagues off the Bars of the *Attollons* are large, and of ſeven or eight ſorts, ſuch as *Bonitos*, *Albacores*, *Guiltheads*, &c. which are all much of the ſame Taſte, and have no more Scales than a Mackrel. The Inſtruments with which they catch them are a Line of a Fathom and an half of great Cotton Thread tied to a Cane, together with a Hook that in Form reſembles the Letter h. The Bait is not faſtened upon the Hook, but thrown about into the Sea; for they drag after their Boat a Quantity of ſmall Fiſh like our Roaches, which are very numerous among the Banks and Sands, and which are preſerved alive in Purſe-nets of Cocoa-thread; and when they come to the deep Sea they caſt theſe little Fiſhes about, and throw in their Line. Upon which the great Fiſhes perceiving an unwonted Quantity of little Fiſh crowd upon them in Shoals, greedily ſwallow the whitened Hook, taking it for one of the little Fiſh. The Fiſh that ſwallows the Hook falls off as ſoon as the Line is brought into the Boat, and ſo the Line is thrown in again. At this rate they will fill their Boat with Fiſh in three or four Hours Time, and, which is very ſtrange, the Boat is all along under Sail. The Fiſh thus taken are all black, from whence they are called *Cobolly Maſſe*, i. e. the *Black-fiſh*. They have another way of fiſhing in the Night-time upon the Banks that ſurround the *Attollons*. At every full and every new Moon they convey themſelves to the Banks upon Hurdles, and the Fiſhing laſts three Days every time. 'Tis performed by Lines of hard, coarſe Cotton Thread, ſome of which are fifty or ſixty Fathom long, and are blackened over with the Bark of a Tree that ſerves inſtead of Pitch, in order to preſerve it from Corruption. At the End of this Line they have a Hook with a Bait faſtened upon it, after the ſame manner as is uſual among us: By this means they catch a prodigious Quantity of large red Fiſh, ſuch as I never ſaw elſewhere, which eats moſt deliciouſly, and is by them called, *The King of the Sea.* In fine, they have ſuch Plenty of ſeveral ſorts of Fiſh, and different ways of taking them unknown to us, that 'tis impoſſible to diſtinguiſh them; for beſides the Lines above-mentioned, they have all ſorts of Nets of Cotton, Twine, Wheels, and other Inſtruments for Fiſh-like ours, they could not have the free Uſe of their Arms. Perſons of Quality commonly wear ſuch Coats; but ſome have a Cuſtom of covering their Skin from the Girdle upwards, with an odoriferous Paſte, made of the Powder of Camphire and Sanders, beaten upon a ſmooth Stone, and incorporated with the diſtilled Water of ſweet-ſcented Flowers. They make their Wives or Friends anoint their Backs, *&c.* with this Paint, and draw various Figures upon them; however, they muſt not appear with that Piece of Foppery before the King, or be ſeen in his Palace. The Men of this Country wear upon their Heads red or party-coloured Turbans, ſome of which are of Cotton, for the meaner ſort of People, and others of Silk, for the Perſons of Quality. The King's Officers and Soldiers have frequently embroidered Handkerchiefs on their Heads, which other Subjects are not allowed to wear. Their Feet are always naked, excepting that within Doors they uſe wooden Sandals, which they pull off when viſited by a Perſon of ſuperior Rank; often times their Legs are likewiſe naked.

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18. The People of this Country have many peculiar Cuſtoms with reference to eating; they reckon it is very diſhonourable for a Perſon of ſuperior Rank to eat with his Inferior; and indeed they ſeldom regale one another, unleſs it be at ſolemn Feſtivals. If they mean to complement a Friend, they ſend a covered Table with ſeveral Diſhes of Meat to their Friend's Houſe, who is thereby much honoured; but, in their own Houſes they are cautious of eating in the Preſence of others; before and after eating, they ſay Prayers; and their Table is the Floor, covered with a fine Mat, upon which they ſit croſs-legged; they feed ſo nicely that they will not drop one Crumb, nay, not ſo much as a Drop of Water, though they waſh their Mouths before and after. Inſtead of Table-cloths and Napkins they uſe Banane-Leaves: Their Diſhes are made of Earth, or *China* Purcelane, which is very common in that Country, gold or ſilver Veſſels being prohibited by Law. They are all round like Boxes, with an earthen Cover, over which they put a Piece of Silk, for the Piſmires are there ſo numerous and troubleſome that it would be impoſſile to keep Meat without a Cover upon it; and the People are ſo nice, that they will not taſte any Meat that has been touched by a Fly, Piſmire, or any Inſect or unclean Thing, but give it to the Fowls. As for the Poor, whom they look upon as the Servants of God, they ſcorn to offer them what they will not eat themſelves, and entertain them with the beſt Victuals they have. If they ſpy the leaſt Crack in a Diſh, they eat no more out of it, holding it poluted.

All Spoon-meat they eat with their Fingers, but withal ſo nicely, that they let nothing fall, that being accounted a very natural Piece of Decency. If they have Occaſion to cough or ſpit at time of eating, they riſe from the Table, and walk out; they never feed themſelves with their Left-hand, becauſe they make uſe of it in Waſhing their Privites. They chooſe to begin their Meals with eating a Cocoa-nut half ripe, and drinking the Water of it, which they ſay looſens the Body. While they eat they are all ſilent, and make quick Diſpatch, for with them it is an unmannerly Thing to be long eating. They take it for a Piece of Rudeneſs and Incivility to drink before they have done eating, and even then they drink but once, either Water or Cocoa-wine freſh drawn. They drink out of Copper-cups well wrought, with Covers to them: After eating and waſhing, they ſerve up a Plate of Betel inſtead of Sweet-meats, for the Fruit is ſerved with the Meat. They have no ſet Meal-times, but eat when their Appetite provokes them; and Victuals is dreſſed only by the Women, for the Men deſpiſe the Character of a Cook, in ſuch a Manner that they will not converſe with a Man-cook, or admit him to a Share of their Exerciſes, he being doomed by his Trade to the Company of Women.

19. When they kill a Beaſt for Food, they turn their Faces towards *Mohammed*'s Sepulchre, and ſo cut its Throat in a particular Place; after which they ſuperſtitiouſly avoid the touching of it till it is quite dead. Their Butchers muſt be ancient, and the Fathers of Children. When they awake out of their Sleep they preſently waſh their Eyes and Faces, and rub them with Oil, and blacken their Eye-Lids and Eye-Brows, for before the Performance of that Duty, they muſt not ſpeak, or bid any one Good-morrow. They are very careful in waſhing and cleanſing their Teeth, to the end that the Betel and Areca may the more readily impreſs their red Colour upon them, which they are very fond of. They are always chewing Betel, which they continually carry about with them in the Plaits of their Gidle, and mutually preſent to each other upon occaſional Salutations. They bathe before they enter the Temple, and waſh with their Left-hand after natural Evacuations. When they bathe at home, they plunge their Head three Times under the Water; and in regard that they always bathe and pray in publick, and that the reſpective Crimes have peculiar Ceremonies, calculated for them; every Man's Crimes or Miſdemeanours are thus expoſed to the publick View: When they ſet out upon a Voyage, they avoid touching or meeting any body, for if any unlucky Accident befalls them, they impute it to the Perſon that touched them. When they go a fiſhing they muſt not ſalute any, or bid them Good-morrow. From Sun-ſet on *Thurſday*, till three or four a-Clock next Morning, they ſuffer nothing to be carried out of their Houſe, but receive all that is brought in.

If they fall out one with another, they never rail, for if they did all the World would fall upon them. When croſſed at Sea, they addreſs themſelves to the King of the Winds, (for they do not call him a God;) and in every Iſland there is a deſolate Bye-place, called *Siave*, where thoſe who have eſcaped Danger make Offerings of little Boats and Ships, made on purpoſe, and loaded with Gums, Perfumes, Flowers, and odoriferous Woods. They burn the Perfumes, and having ſet fire to the Boats and Ships, them a-drift, ſo that they float up and down till they are quite burnt; and this they take for a Sacrifice that is acceptable to the King of the Winds. But when they cannot eaſily ſet their Boats and Gallies afloat, they kill Hens and Cocks, and throw them into the Sea right afore the Ship they mean to ſail in. They likewiſe pay a ſuperſtitious Deference to the imaginary King of the Sea, and dare not ſpit to the Windward of the Ship, nor look behind them.

All their Boats and Ships are devoted to the Prince of the Winds and Seas, and they keep them as neat and clean as Temples. They place a wonderful Virtue in certain Characters called *Cavide*, which they wear under their Garments in little Boxes, and ſometimes under their Arms, Necks, Girdles, or Feet, according to the Seat of the Diſtemper; for, their imaginary Virtue is ſaid to conſiſt in curing or eaſing Diſeaſes, procuring Love, Hatred, Safety, or Danger, *&c.* Theſe they buy of the Magicians, who are their only Phyſicians. They impute Death, Sickneſs, and all Affliction to the Devil; and, in order to pacify him, make him Offerings of Flowers and Banquets in a certain Place, where they let them conſume, unleſs ſome poor body has the Senſe to take them. With the ſame View they offer him Cocks and Hens, which they kill with their Faces directed towards *Mohammed*'s Tomb.

20. To give a ſhort Account of their moſt common Diſtempers; the firſt is a Fever, which is dangerous to Strangers. An epidemical and contagious Diſeaſe called *Curiadin*, and not unlike the Small-pox, viſits them once in ten Years, and ſweeps off a great many. They are liable to Diſorders of the Eyes; many of them are quite blind, and moſt of them have little Eyes. When they have Occaſion to be long in the Sun, in the Height of the Day, they ſometimes loſe their Sight when the Sun goes down, and for a Cure of that Infirmity, they take the Liver of a Cock boiled, and after the writing of certain Words and Charms upon it, ſwallow it juſt before Sun-ſet; by this Remedy both I and my Companions received a conſiderable Benefit, though we omitted the magical Part. They are very ſubject to the Itch, which they heal with the Oil of Cocoas, and ſome of them are covered all over with incurable Tetters, which is owing to their feeding moſtly upon Salt-fiſh, and their pouring ſalt Water upon their ſalt Meat.

In the Winter, as they go barefoot, notwithſtanding that it rains continually, a ſort of Worm breeding in the Mud ſeizes upon the Soals of their Feet, and the Intervals of their Toes, where they raiſe Wheals that degenerate into Ulcers, ſo that they cannot walk; their whole Body is likewiſe infeſted with theſe Worms. Commonly their Spleens are large, and liable to Obſtructions, and their Bellies are apt to ſwell, and be hard, which they believe proceeds from their unhealthy Water. In all external Inflammations, or Aches, they apply Fire, which raiſes a Scar, and upon that they lay Cotton ſteeped in Cocoa-Oil, which proves very ſucceſsful; their Ulcers, which happen chiefly in their Legs, are perfectly cured by the Application of Plates of Copper. As for their Wounds, they cure them very dexterouſly, by the Application of Ointments, without any Bandages or Tents; they are ſometimes troubled with Catarrhs, Defluxions, and Pains in the Bones. Venereal Diſeaſes are frequent among them; however, they cure them with China-wood without Sweating, and thoſe Diſtempers are communicated to them from the *Europeans*. They are altogether unacquainted with the Tooth-ach, which they owe to continual chewing of Betel, for that fortifies the Gums. As ſoon as the Children come into the World they waſh them for a conſiderable Space of Time, ſix times a Day in cold Water, and then anoint them with Oil. When they void their Excrements they waſh their Privities with Water. All Mothers, even the Queens themſelves, ſuckle their own Children, and beſides the Breaſt-Milk, feed them with a ſort of Pap made of Millet bruiſed, and ſteeped in Water, and afterwards boiled in Milk and Sugar of Cocoas. Though they never ſwaddle their Children, yet I never ſaw any of them deformed; they rock them in Hammocks of Cord, or in little Chairs hung up in the Air, which they ſwing to and again. At the Age of nine Months the Children begin for to go, and when they are nine Years old they commence the Studies and Exerciſes of the Country.

Their Studies conſiſt in learning to read and write, to underſtand the *Alcoran*, and to know their Duty. They have three ſorts of Letters, *viz.* the *Arabick*, the *Maldivan*, and a third ſort, which is commonly made uſe of in moſt Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*. Their Leſſons are wrote down on white Tables of Wood, which they clean and whiten again after they have got their Leſſons by Heart; for durable Writings are on Paper made of the Leaf of a Tree called *Macare Queau*, that Leaf being a Fathom and a half long, and a Foot broad. To teach the Children to write, they make uſe of no Paper, but make Draughts of Letters with a Bodkin upon ſmooth, plain Boards of Wood, covered with fine white Sand. The Children have ſuch a profound Veneration for their Maſters, that they cannot marry them any more than their own Parents. Some of them, eſpecially the *Moudins*, *Nabeys*, and *Catines*, carry their Studies a great Length, and acquire great Skill in the *Alcoran*, and other Treatiſes of the Law. The Mathematicks are much eſteemed in this Country, and eſpecially that Part called Aſtrology; for they always conſult Aſtrologers, not only upon Nativities and Births, but upon all Undertakings whatſoever, as Travelling, Building, *&c.*

As for their Exerciſes, they have Schools for learning the right Uſe of a Sword and Buckler, of a Bow, of a Gun, and of a Pike; and the Maſters who teach them are much reſpected. They have no ſort of Diverſions but that of the Foot-ball, which they toſs very dexterouſly. Many of them apply themſelves to Manufactures, for Houſhold-Goods and other Commodities, which they make very ingeniouſly; but the moſt univerſal and the moſt conſiderable Exerciſe they have, is that of Fiſhing, which is ſo common an Exerciſe all over the *Maldives*, that there's no ſuch thing as a particular Trade of that Nature; for Gentlemen, and even their Kings, purſue Fiſhing as we do Hunting in this Part of the World. Every Man there enjoys the natural Liberty of Fiſhing where and for what he pleaſes. The Fiſh which are taken in the deep Sea about ſix or ſeven Leagues off the Bars of the *Attollons* are large, and of ſeven or eight ſorts, ſuch as *Bonitos*, *Albacores*, *Guiltheads*, &c. which are all much of the ſame Taſte, and have no more Scales than a Mackrel. The Inſtruments with which they catch them are a Line of a Fathom and an half of great Cotton Thread tied to a Cane, together with a Hook that in Form reſembles the Letter h. The Bait is not faſtened upon the Hook, but thrown about into the Sea; for they drag after their Boat a Quantity of ſmall Fiſh like our Roaches, which are very numerous among the Banks and Sands, and which are preſerved alive in Purſenets of Cocoa-thread; and when they come to the deep Sea they caſt theſe little Fiſhes about, and throw in their Line. Upon which the great Fiſhes perceiving an unwonted Quantity of little Fiſh crowd upon them in Shoals, greedily ſwallow the whitened Hook, taking it for one of the little Fiſh. The Fiſh that ſwallows the Hook falls off as ſoon as the Line is brought into the Boat, and ſo the Line is thrown in again. At this rate they will fill their Boat with Fiſh in three or four Hours Time, and, which is very ſtrange, the Boat is all along under Sail. The Fiſh thus taken are all black, from whence they are called *Cobolly Maſſe*, i. e. the *Black-fiſh*. They have another way of fiſhing in the Night-time upon the Banks that ſurround the *Attollons*. At every full and every new Moon they convey themſelves to the Banks upon Hurdles, and the Fiſhing laſts three Days every time. 'Tis performed by Lines of hard, coarſe Cotton Thread, ſome of which are fifty or ſixty Fathom long, and are blackened over with the Bark of a Tree that ſerves inſtead of Pitch, in order to preſerve it from Corruption. At the End of this Line they have a Hook with a Bait faſtened upon it, after the ſame manner as is uſual among us: By this means they catch a prodigious Quantity of large red Fiſh, ſuch as I never ſaw elſewhere, which eats moſt deliciouſly, and is by them called, *The King of the Sea*. In fine, they have ſuch Plenty of ſeveral ſorts of Fiſh, and different ways of taking them unknown to us, that 'tis impoſſible to diſtinguiſh them; for beſides the Lines above-mentioned, they have all ſorts of Nets of Cotton, Twine, Wheels, and other Inſtruments for Fiſhing. Upon the Flats near the Shore they catch ſmall Fiſh like Pilchards with Caſting-nets.

At the two Equinoxes they have a general Fiſhing, which is very remarkable: At theſe two Periods of the Year, as the Tides flow beyond their wonted Bounds, ſo they ebb more than uſual, and diſcover ſeveral Rocks and Flats, which at other times continue under Water. Upon this Occaſion the *Maldivians* pitch upon ſeveral dry Corners, which they encompaſs with Stones raiſed like a Wall to a great Height, being forty Paces in Circumference, with a Door or Entrance left that is three Paces wide. This done, thirty or forty of them ſtretch out, all round the Flats, a large wide Circle of the great Cocoa-cords at each Fathom, of which they tie a Piece of Cocoa-ſhell dried, and that ſupplies the Place of Cork, making the Line float. Now the Fiſh incloſed within the Circle are ſo ſcared with the Shadow of the Floating-line, as if it had a Net underneath it, that inſtead of making their Eſcape by ſwimming, they fly from it, and, by the gradual Contraction of the Line, are brought into the Incloſure, the Entry of which is thereupon ſtopped with all Expedition with Faggots of the Boughs and Leaves of Cocoa compacted together of the Bigneſs of a Man; after all the Sea runs out, and leaves the Fiſh on the dry Land. This Fiſhery, which continues fifteen Days together, produces commonly ten or twelve thouſand Fiſh. To conclude, I know of no Place in all the *Eaſt-Indies* that can vie with the *Maldives* for a rich and plentiful Fiſhery.

21. After having thus diſpatched the Learning and Exerciſes of the *Maldivans*, it will now be proper to take a View of their Temper and Inclinations; they are a lively, briſk, and at the ſame time a ſober and wiſe People, and very diſcreet in moſt of their Actions. They love Arms and Exerciſe, and are not deſtitute of Courage. They diſplay a great deal of Induſtry in Arts and Manufactures, and are polite enough in their Manners. They are religious to a very high degree, and ſuperſtitious beyond meaſure, tho' at the ſame time they are extreamly given to Wantonneſs and Debauchery. Adultery, Inceſt, and Sodomy, are their common Actions. Notwithſtanding the Severity of their Laws, Fornication is accounted no Crime, and a young Woman ſuffers no Affront for obliging a Friend before Marriage. The Impudence of the Women is unparalleled, and the Men are as vicious as they, though indeed they cannot outdo them if they would. The Men bend all their Thoughts upon their ſupporting of Nature, and would give their whole Eſtates for a Receipt to corroborate drooping Luſt. Their amorous Feats engroſs all their Diſcourſes, and their Wives or Whores are their inſeparable Companions.

Though they are impudent to the laſt Degree, yet the Regard they have for their Parents and Relations ſtifles it in their Preſence; and if a Man talks a little jocularly to a Woman before any of her Relations, they will reſent it ſo far as to proſecute him at Law, and oblige him to own in Court, that he takes them for Perſons of Honour, unleſs he declares he did not know of their Affinity to the Lady. A Man muſt not enter where a Woman bathes, or is preſent without her Garment; tho' ſhe never takes off the Cloth that ſupplies the Place of a Petticoat. When a Man is in Company with a Woman, if another Man meets them, he muſt not aſk if ſhe be his Daughter, or Wife, but if ſhe be his Kinſwoman, and what Degree of Affinity or Conſanguinity ſhe ſtands in to him: For, if the Woman be really the Man's Daughter, and the other aſk if ſhe is his Wife, he will take the Queſtion for an Inſinuation of Inceſt.

As I intimated above, the Women ſeldom ſtir abroad in the Days, ſo that they make all their Viſits at Night, being accompanied with a Man who walks before, and when he ſees any one approaching, calls out thrice *Gas*, i. e. take care. Upon this Signal the Man betakes himſelf to the other Side of the Street, without ſeeming to ſee or know the Woman: Nay, if one Woman meets another, ſhe takes to the other Side of the Way, and does not ſalute her unleſs ſhe be very intimately acquainted with her, the outer Gate of the Houſes being always open till eleven o'Clock at Night, at which Time every body is at home. The Viſitors have no Occaſion to knock, and indeed the Gates have no Knockers. After entering the Outer-gate, and approaching to the Door of the Houſes, which is always open, and ſpread with Tapeſtry of Cotton Cloth, or ſome other Stuff, they cough once, upon which the People of the Houſe come out. In the Iſland of *Male* the King's Officers and Soldiers cough frequently, to give Notice to one another in the dark Streets, for fear of receiving mutual Wounds from their Arms, which are always naked in their Hands.

22. We ſhall in the next place take a View of their Government, which is an abſolute Monarchy, for the King is feared and revered by all, and every thing depends upon his Pleaſure under him. Each *Attollon* has a Naybe or Governor, who is a Prieſt, and Doctor of the Law. The Naybes govern the inferior Prieſts, and are intruſted with the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the Management of religious Concerns. The *Cantons* or *Attallons* being ſubdivided into many Iſlands, each of theſe Iſlands that contain above forty-one Men, is allotted a Doctor called Cantibe, who preſides there in religious Matters, and rules over the particular Prieſts of the Moſques. All the Prieſts are employed in inſtructing the People in the Law, and live upon a certain Portion of Fruits collected from every Inhabitant, and a Salary allowed them by the King, in proportion to their Dignity.

The Naybes indeed are likewiſe employed in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; nay, they are the only Judges both in civil and criminal Caſes; and it is for the ſake of Juſtice, as well as the promoting of Religion, that they make four Circuits in the Year, through all Parts within their Juriſdiction. When they go theſe Circuits they gather their Dues, and receive Preſents from an Infinity of Perſons, ſo that the Circuits furniſh by this means the beſt Part of their Incomes. The Naybes, or thirteen Judges, are under the Direction of a ſuperior called the Pandiare, and in *Arabick* the Cady, who reſides in the Iſle of *Male*, and is not only the ſupreme Judge in all Cauſes, but likewiſe the Head of the national Church. He receives Appeals from the Naybes, but does not paſs Sentence without taking the Advice of four or five Moncoris, *i. e.* Doctors learned in the Law, and divers other Sciences, who are univerſally honoured and reſpected, there being only fifteen in all the *Maldives*. The Judgment pronounced by the Pandiare may be reverſed by appealing to the King himſelf, who upon ſuch Occaſions orders Juſtice to be done by the principal Officers, of whom there are ſix Counſellors of State.

The Pandiares make a Circuit once a Year through the Iſle of *Male*, as every Naybe does in his reſpective *Attollon*, and condemns all to be whipped that cannot ſay their Creed and Prayers in the *Arabic* Tongue, and conſtrue them into the *Maldivan*. When he goes along the Street the Women muſt not ſhew themſelves; for if he ſpies any unveiled, he orders their Hair to be ſhaven. Each *Attallon* has, beſides the Naybes, a Collector of the King's Revenues. Juſtice is diſpenſed in the Houſe of the Naybe, or elſe at the Pandiare's Houſe in *Male*, and ſometimes, in Caſes of Moment, in the King's Palace. The Defendant is ſummoned by Serjeants called *Devaints* to come before the Naybe, by Virtue of a ſpecial Letter or Writ from the Naybe; but if he lives out of the Naybe's Juriſdiction, he is ſummoned by Letters from the Pandiare, which enjoins him to come from any Part of the Realm to the Iſland of *Male*.

The Pandiare's Writ is ſerved publickly upon the Defendant by the Calibe, or Superior of the Iſland, and if he does not appear at the Place appointed, he is not only excommunicated, and excluded from eating and drinking with his Neighbours, or coming to Church, but ſeized by a Party of Soldiers. If either Plaintiff or Defendant ſuſpects the Partiality of the Naybe, they have Recourſe to the King, who orders the Cauſe to be tried before impartial Judges. The contending Parties plead their own Cauſes; in the Buſineſs of Right or Title they are judged by the Law; and in Allegations of Matter of Fact the Plaintiff muſt have them atteſted by three Witneſſes, or elſe the Defendant's own Oath will bring him off. In adminiſtring an Oath the Judge holds up the Book of the Law, and the Evidence is obliged to touch it with his Hand, and that not ſuperficially, but ſo that every one may obſerve a real Contract. Whatever is adjudged to the Plaintiff, a twelfth Part of it goes to the Serjeant, but nothing to the Judges.

If Women are called as Witneſſes, three of them are equivalent to one Man. Slaves can neither witneſs, nor plead, and the meaneſt of them, called *Allo*, have but one Wife, whereas the reſt are allowed three. By Slaves they underſtand ſuch only as voluntarily ſell themſelves, or are imported as Slaves from foreign Places; for a Shipwreck'd Stranger, that was not a Slave before that Miſfortune, continues in the Enjoyment of his Liberty. The Puniſhment of beating a Slave, is half of what they inflict for beating a Freeman.

23. An inſolvent Debtor is obliged to become a Servant to his Creditor, but not a Slave, and he and his Children after him continue in the Service till the Debt is worked out. If he thinks himſelf ill uſed, he may turn himſelf over to another Maſter, provided he lays down the Money due to the former. If a Man be murdered, his Wife cannot proſecute the Malefactor, but the Judge obliges him to maintain her Children, and bring them up to a Trade, till they are of Age, at which Time they are qualified either to forgive, or proſecute the Murderer; for the State takes no Cognizance of perſonal Injuries unleſs the Party aggrieved complains of them. The ordinary Puniſhment for Criminals is Whipping, which, indeed, is very ſevere, and frequently mortal; but in ſome Caſes they are baniſhed to the ſouthern deſart Iſlands, and in others, they are doomed to the Loſs of a principal Member. The Whips are made of Thongs of thick Leather, which are a Fathom long, two Fingers thick, and four Fingers broad, five or ſix of them being faſtened together in a wooden Handle. Whipping is the Puniſhment for Sodomy, Inceſt, Adultery, Perjury, and Rapes; but over and above that Puniſhment, an Adultereſs has her Hair cut off; a perjured Criminal pays a pecuniary Mulct for the Benefit of the Poor, and a Raviſher is obliged to give a Dowry to the injured Woman.

The ſtealing of any thing of Value is puniſhed with the Loſs of a Hand, and the diſobeying of the Law, with publick Pennance; for they are of Opinion, they can never come into Paradiſe without ſatisfying the Demands of the Law. The Sentences pronounced by the Judge are executed by the Serjeants, for they have no Hangman or publick Executioner; tho' Death is by Law the Puniſhment of Homicide, they never condemn a Priſoner to die, unleſs the King expreſly requires it, which ſeldom happens; and when it does, the King ſends his own Soldiers to execute the Sentence, for he reſerves the Power of Life and Death to himſelf; whereas the inflicting other Puniſhments lies in the Hands of the Judges. Their Tenderneſs in not ſentencing Criminals to die, is grounded upon Pretence of not diſpeopling the Country, there being ſo great a Number of Criminals who juſtly deſerve Death. When the King is perſonally offended, he makes the Criminal lie upon the Ground, flat upon his Belly, his Arms and Legs being held by four Men, while his Back is ſoundly beat with a *Bengala* Cane, called *Ratan*, which takes off the Skin, and leaves a perpetual Mark.

Indictments, Depoſitions, or Sentences, are never put in Writing, being all very ſhort; nay, in civil Matters, the Allegations are never written, unleſs it be in a Suit for Land of Inheritance, or Cocoa Trees, which are reckoned immoveable; then, indeed, the Judges give Letters ſealed with Ink (Wax they do not uſe) for an Evidence of the Perſon's Right, to be tranſmitted to Poſterity. The Inhabitants of this Country are divided into four Claſſes, namely, the Royal Family, Perſons inveſted with Dignities and Offices, the Nobility and Gentry, and the common People. The third Rank is diſtinguiſhed from the fourth by their Birth, and the Diſtinction is ſo nicely kept up, that the latter dare not ſit in the Preſence of the former. If a Noble Woman marries a Plebeian, ſhe retains her Rank, and upon her Account, the Children are reckoned Noble; but a Woman of the loweſt Form cannot enoble herſelf by marrying a Nobleman.

Beſides the Nobles by Birth, there are ſome enobled by the King, who, upon ſuch Occaſions, gives them Letters, entitling them to that Priviledge, and ſends an Officer round the Iſland to make Publication of the Promotion. The firſt Rank comprehends the King, who is called *Roſquan*, the Queen is called *Renequellague*, the Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood are called *Callans* and *Camanaz*, and all who are deſcended of the King's Predeceſſors. The next Station is allotted to the great Officers of the Kingdom, particularly to the *Quillague*, or the King's Lieutenant-General, who commands in the King's Abſence; the *Endequerry*, who always attends the King's Perſon, as chief Counſellor; the *Velanas*, who takes Care of all Strangers, and takes the Rudder off all Ships that arrive, for fear they ſhould ſet ſail without taking Leave; the General of their Forces, called *Dorimenaz*; the *Manpas*, or Chancellor, who affixes to all Letters the King's Seal, *i. e.* the Impreſſion of his Name in *Arabick*, engraven on Silver; the Secretary, called *Carrans*, &c. Theſe Officers have, beſides the Rents of certain Iſlands allotted them, the King's Rice for their Proviſion (which is a great Honour, allowed likewiſe to the Soldiers) and the Toll of the Ships that trade to the *Maldives*. The Officers and Soldiers are ſo much eſteemed, that a Nobleman is not reſpected, unleſs he be an Officer, and a Gentleman will hardly paſs for ſuch, unleſs he be liſted into the King's Service.

The King's Guards conſiſt of ſix Companies, of one hundred Men each, commanded by the ſix Counſellors, called *Moſcoulis*; Beſides theſe, there are ten Battalions, commanded by ten of the Grandees of the Country, which ſerve the King not in Fighting, but in the Launching of Ships, building of Palaces, and ſuch other Work, being called together by the Sound of a Bell. In five of thoſe Companies none but Gentlemen are received, but the other five take in common People. Slaves are always excluded, as well as thoſe who work in a mechanical Way, as the dreſſing of Cocoa Trees, *&c.* and particularly ſuch as ſerve others, or cannot read or write. Whoever is liſted as a Soldier, pays twenty *Larins* to the King, and forty to be diſtributed among the Company, in which he is to ſerve. To conclude; all Offices are bought of the King, and much coveted, on account of the Honour and Power that attends them; but the Perſons inveſted with theſe Offices can neither ſell nor reſign them.

24. The Iſlanders have but one Name, ſuch as *Mohammed*, *Haly*, *Haſſam*, *Aſſan*, *Ibrahim*, and are diſtinguiſhed by their Stations as Noble, Prebeian, *&c.* added to their Name, and ſometimes by the Addition of the Iſland in which they live. The royal Palace is of Stone, one Story high, and has a great many fine Apartments, without the Ornaments of regular Architecture. It is ſurrounded with Gardens, in which there are great Fountains and Ciſterns of Water walled in, and paved with large ſmooth Stones, and guarded continually, to hinder People from waſhing in them, as being ſolely reſerved for the King and Queen's Uſe. The Palace is divided into ſeveral Courts, each of which has a Wall in the middle, paved with fair white Stones; and in one of theſe Courts the King has two Magazines, one for Ordnance, and the other for Ammunition. At the Palace-Gate there's a Guard, with many Pieces of Ordnance, and other Arms. The Portal is made like a ſquare Tower, and on Feſtival-Days, the Muſicians ſing and play upon the Top of it. Paſſing on from the Gate, you firſt come to a Hall, where the Soldiers wait, then to another great Hall, where the Noblemen and Gentlemen attend; for none but the Officers of the Houſhold, with the King and Queen's Slaves, or Servants, are allowed to go farther. The Floor of theſe Halls is raiſed three Feet high from the Ground, to avoid the Ants, being neatly boarded with Wood, and covered with a ſort of party-coloured Mats, which they make in theſe Iſlands, and which have ſeveral Characters, and other Figures wrought upon them.

The Walls are hung with ſilk Tapeſtry as well as the Ceiling, which has pretty Fringes hanging about it. The Noblemen ſit down croſs-legg'd on the Mats which cover the Floor of the Hall, obſerving punctually the Order of their Dignities. The Gentry of the Iſland of *Male*, and the ordinary Courtiers who are obliged to ſalute the King every Day after Noon, ſit in an outer Hall till his Majeſty comes forth. The Gentry of the other Iſlands come likewiſe to wait on the King in the ſame Manner, and always bring Preſents along with them, for no one ſalutes the

King without one. The Chambers and inner Apartments are hung with ſilk Tapeſtry, and enriched with gold Flowers and Branches of ſeveral Colours. The Beds of the Palaces, and thoſe of the great Men, are hung with Cords upon a Beam, ſupported by two Pillars, and ſo the Perſon is rocked to Sleep. It is uſual among the better Sort of People, to make the Servants rub and chaſe their Bodies when they lie down, and to give them little Slaps, or gentle Blows, with both their Hands, from an Apprehenſion, that it promotes Sleep, and expels the Spleen.

The King is generally cloathed in a fine white Robe, or Coat of Cotton, reaching to the Girdle, or a little lower with white and blue Edgings, and made faſt before with maſſy gold Buttons. Then he has a Piece of red embroidered Tapeſtry reaching from the Girdle to the Heels, and faſtned with a long large Girdle of Silk, fringed with Gold, and a great Chain of Gold before, upon which their hangs a large Jewel, as big as ones Fiſt, compoſed of the fineſt precious Stones; he wears likewiſe a Knife, made after the Faſhion of the Country, and it is richer than ordinary. Upon his Head he has a Cloth of Scarlet, that Cloth being ſo much eſteemed in that Country, that none but the King preſumes to wear it. This Cap is laced with Gold, and has on the Top of it a great gold Button, with a precious Stone. The Grandees and Soldiers wear their Hair long, but the King has his Head ſhaved every Week. His Legs are naked, after the Faſhion of the Country, and his Feet is covered with Slippers of gilt Copper, imported from *Arabia*, and made like Sandals, which none beſides are allowed to wear, but the Queen and the Princes of the Royal Blood.

25. When the King goes Abroad, the chief Mark of his Dignity is a white Umbrella, which none are allowed to uſe but Strangers, who may have what they will. Upon the ſame Occaſion he has three Pages near his Perſon, one carrying a Fan, another his Sword and Buckler, and a third a Box full of Betel and Arequa, which he chews every Hour. He is likewiſe attended by a Doctor of Law, who reads in his Preſence, and puts him in Mind of Religion. This King does not purſue the Diverſions of going Abroad, and Fiſhing, as his Predeceſſors were wont to do, but ſhuts himſelf up in his Palace, and ſpends his Time in careſſing his Queen, giving Audience to his Courtiers, and ſeeing a great many Mechanicks and Artificers work; for he keeps in his Palace Painters, Goldſmiths, Embroiderers, Cutlers, Joiners, Turners, Armourers, *&c.* and finds them Work; nay, he works frequently with his own Hands, and looks on it as a Sin to be idle. He is a Man of a lively quick Apprehenſion, and very curious to learn mechanick Trades. He encourages all Strangers that practiſe Arts unknown to his People, and makes Enquiry after thoſe that excel in their Way.

On a *Friday* he goes in great Pomp to the Temple, being attended by his Guards, conſiſting of an hundred Men, and his ordinary Officers, with a complete Band of Muſick of Drums, Flutes, and Trumpets. After Service is over, he returns with the ſame Retinue, the Soldiers leaping all the Way at the ſound of Muſick, and ſtriking their Swords on one another's Bucklers, and that in ſuch a ſucceſſive Manner as to avoid Confuſion. He is likewiſe attended, in his Return from Church, by all the People of the Iſland, and regales with a Dinner the Pandiare, Naybes, Catibes, Moudins, Gentlemen, and Soldiers. After Dinner he hears Cauſes, and adminiſters Juſtice. Theſe Iſlands afford neither Horſe nor Beaſt, and therefore the King walks abroad on Foot, unleſs he be carried in a Chair upon Slaves Shoulders, which happens but ſeldom, for he is a brawny ſtrong Man, and chooſes rather to go on Foot. In ſpeaking to the King, or Queen, or Princes of the Royal Blood, and in ſpeaking of them they have peculiar Expreſſions, that they dare not apply to others; as when they ſay of another Man, he is aſleep, in talking of the King, they ſay, he takes his Reſt.

The Queens wear the ſame ſorts of Habits with the other *Maldivan* Women, only their Cloaths are richer. The Noblemens Ladies and Daughters are obliged to wait upon them every Evening: And when the Queens go abroad (which happens but very ſeldom) all the Women in the Iſland run to meet them in their reſpective Diſtricts with Preſents of Flowers and Fruits, the She-Slaves giving Notice, at a great Diſtance before them, for all Men to get out of the Way upon that Occaſion. Four great Ladies carry over the Queen's Head a Veil of white Silk, reaching to the Ground, ſo that ſhe is not ſeen. The Queens bathe frequently in the Sea, as well as other Women, ſuch being the Cuſtom of the Country, which they reckon very conducive to Health. For this End they have an Incloſure in the Sea, covered with Cotton-Cloth, and upon the Shore a little Houſe, with a Freſh-water Bath, which they uſe as they come out of the Sea. Daylight is never ſeen in the Queen's Chambers, or thoſe of the Ladies of Quality, for their only Light is Lamps burning continually; and the Place of the Room where they uſually retire is blocked up with four or five Rows of Tapeſtry, the innermoſt of which neither Man or Woman dares to pull up without coughing or hemming firſt, and telling who they are. When they undreſs, they pull off only their Robe, for neither Men nor Women in the *Maldives* dare to throw off the Cloth that is tied round their Middle.

26. As for the King's Revenue, he has many Iſlands, which are Crown-Lands, beſides a fifth Part of all the Grain and Fruits of the Country, and a Tax on dried Fiſh, Shells called Bely, and Cords of Cocoas, which he lays upon them according to their Circumſtances, for he has no Taxes paid him in Money, abating what is paid as a Purchaſe for Titles and Offices, or for Licences to wear fine Apparel. He obliges his People to make him every Year as much Cotton-Cloth as cloaths his Soldiers, for he gives them Cloaths as well as Pay. This Revenue is further enlarged by his Claim to the Goods imported by Shipping, for a Ship no ſooner arrives, than the Owners repair to him, and give him an Account of their Cargo, out of which he takes what he pleaſes, at low Rates, and obliges his Subjects to take them of him again at what Price he pleaſes, by way of Exchange, for ſuch Things as he wants, and often fits out Ships laden with the Commodities of his own Country.

All Wrecks found on the Sea-Shore are immediately brought to the King, for no Subject dares keep them; that ſame is done with Ambergreece, called by the *Maldives* Gomen, which is more plentiful here than in any Part of the *Indies*, and which is ſo narrowly looked after, that whoever appropriates it to his own Uſe loſes a Hand. In a Word, whatever the Sea caſts upon the Shore is the King's, particularly a ſort of Sea-nuts, called Tanacarre, as big as a Man's Head, which they fancy to grow on Trees under Water. The *Portugueze* call them Cocoas of the *Maldives*. They are uſed in Phyſick, and very dear. Their Money is Silver only, and but of one ſort, called Larins; however, all Gold and Silver is current here by Weight, as it is all over the *Indies*. Before they take it, it is tried in the Fire, and every Man keeps Weights for that Purpoſe. There is a ſort of Metal called Cabin, reſembling Tin, much eſteemed in the *Indies*, but not current there. Iron-money paſſes no where in the *Indies* but in the Dominions of the Prince that coined it, having but one ſort of Coin; they are forced to cut it, by which they loſe a twelfth Part. Inſtead of ſmall Coins they uſe ſometimes Shells, 12000 of which make a Larin, and a Larin is worth about eight Sols, being long, like one's Finger, and folded; the King's Name is ſet upon thoſe Folds in *Arabick* Letters. Their Gold and Silver is all imported from abroad, but in their own Markets they often barter one Thing for another. The *Maldives* are well frequented with Merchants, and the Commodities they ſend abroad are chiefly the Cocoas, with which they load above one hundred Ships yearly. Of this the Cordage is made that ſerves all the Ships of *Arabia*, *Malabar*, and all the *Indies*. They make alſo Oil and Honey of that Tree, and by weaving the Leaves of the Tree make Sails. They vend alſo little Shells, that contain a Creature in them of the Bigneſs of the End of one's little Finger, white, very ſmooth, and glittering. They fiſh for them but twice a Month, three Days before and three Days after the new Moon, and ſo before and after the Full-Moon. The Women gather them in the Sands and Flats of the Sea, ſtanding

ing up to their Middle in Water. Theſe go only to *Bengal*, the Inhabitants of which eſteem them ſo much that I have ſeen thirty or forty Ships laden, without any other Commodity, bound thither. Though in *Bengal* they have enough of other Metals, yet theſe Shells paſs there as Money, and the King and Noblemen hoard up prodigious Quantities of them, accounting them their Treaſure. They give twenty Meaſures of Rice for a Fardel of Shells, each Fardel containing 12000. They have, beſides theſe, a ſort of Tortoiſe-ſhell, called Cambe, which is black and ſmooth, and has many natural Figures; it is found no where but there and in the *Philippines*, and goes off beſt in *Cambaya*. Here they make fine Reed-mats, and Cloths of Cotton and Silk; in Exchange the Merchants export ſome Cotton and Silk-Cloths, a ſort of Oil, Arac, Iron, Steel, Pieces of Porcelane, and, in ſhort, all the Neceſſaries of Life; yet every thing is cheap, becauſe of the Number and Frequency of Ships. They import all their Gold and Silver, which they never ſend out again, but lay it up among their Wives Jewels as their chief Treaſure.

27. After following our Author through his large Deſcription of the *Maldives*, we are next to recur to his perſonal Adventures, in order to acquaint the Reader how he recovered his Freedom, and eſcaped from thence to the Continent of *India*, from whence he returned to his native Country. The Fact, as he relates it, runs thus; He ſays, That in the Beginning of the Month of *February*, 1607, he dreamed that he was ſet at Liberty, and found a Paſſage home to *Europe*, which made a very great Impreſſion on his Mind, inſomuch that it induced him to make a Vow of going in Pilgrimage to the Shrine of *St. James* of *Galicia*, in order to return God Thanks, if this Dream ſhould prove true; at the ſame time, he was exceedingly perplexed in his Mind, and endeavoured to diſcover how this could be brought about. All his Conjectures proved vain and fruitleſs; but two Nights after the Thing diſcovered itſelf, by the unexpected News that the King of *Bengal* was preparing to invade the *Maldives* with a Fleet of ſixteen Sail of large Gallies. On the firſt receiving of this Intelligence, the King of *Male* iſſued his Orders for fitting out, with all imaginable Expedition, the large Ships, and all the Gallies, Barks, and Veſſels in his Dominions; but before this could be accompliſhed, the Enemy's Fleet appeared in Sight; upon which the King ſuddenly alter'd his Reſolution, and determined to fly to the Southern Iſlands, in Hopes of taking Shelter there, till ſuch Time as he could aſſemble a Force ſufficient to expel the Invaders. His beſt Goods were immediately embarked, as alſo his three Queens, each of whom was carried by a Gentleman in his Arms, as if they had been Children, covered with Veils of Taffety of different Colours; as ſoon as they were on Board the King followed them, leaving his Capital altogether defenceleſs, and the Streets full of Women crying and lamenting the Danger to which they were expoſed. The Enemy no ſooner arrived than they divided their Forces, ſending eight of their Gallies in Purſuit of the King, with whom the Wind failing, they very ſpeedily came up, engaged his ſmall Fleet, and having killed the unfortunate Monarch of the *Maldives*, who fought very bravely in his own Defence, made themſelves Maſters of his Ships, Wives and Treaſures. As ſoon as theſe People landed in *Male* our Author ſurrendered, and put himſelf into their Hands, declaring to them in what Manner he came thither, and how he had remained Priſoner there for ſeveral Years. They treated him very kindly as ſoon as they were ſatisfied that he was not a *Portugueze*; for had he been of that Nation they would, without any Ceremony, have put him to Death. The Conquerors remained about ten Days on the Iſland, in which Space they carried on Board their Veſſels all the Plunder of the King's Palace, with every thing of Value they could find, particularly one hundred and twenty Pieces of Cannon, and then prepared for their Departure, leaving every body at Liberty, excepting only the King's Brother-in-Law, whom they carried with them, and our Author, who went of his own Accord, and who with ſome Difficulty got to *Bengal*, where he had leiſure to contrive, the beſt he could, the Means of finding a Paſſage back to *Europe*. While he remained in *Bengal*, the *Mogul* declared War againſt that Prince, who immediately aſſembled a prodigious Army, in order to withſtand him, amounting, as our Author was informed, to ſeveral hundred thouſand Men, and ſome thouſands of armed Elephants; which military Preparations did not incline him to remain any longer than till he found an Opportunity of withdrawing himſelf, and this in a ſhort Time he obtained.

28. He retired from *Bengal* to the *Malabar* Coaſt, inhabited at that Time for the moſt Part by Pirates, from whence he proceeded to *Calicut*, where he remained eight Months, waiting for a *Dutch* Ship; but at laſt was perſuaded by the Jeſuits to go to *Cochin*, where, on his firſt Arrival, he was impriſoned as a Spy, and ſuffered great Hardſhips. At *Goa* alſo he was a Priſoner with thoſe who remained of ſeventeen *Engliſh* taken at the Bar of *Surat*. The Jeſuits had brought one Maſter *Richards* and four other *Engliſhmen* from the *Mogul*'s Court; ſome *Hollanders* alſo were there, and they all were Priſoners together; but the Jeſuits undertook for them, and procured their Liberty, *viz.* *Thomas Stevens* an *Engliſhman*, and Rector of *Margon* College in *Salſete*, *Nicholas Trigaut* a Walloon, *Stephen Croſs* a *Frenchman* of *Roan*, with *Gaſpar Almano* a *Spaniard*. This *Thomas Stevens* procured the Liberty of the *Engliſhmen* alſo, four of which became Catholicks, and two of them died there. Don *Louis Lorenço d'Eſtabla* arrived at *Goa* with the Title of Viceroy to the People's great Grief, with the more deſired Don *Andreo Furtado*: Ten Months after his coming four great Carracks arrived, each about two thouſand Tuns; five had departed from *Liſbon*, but they knew not what was become of the fifth, which was ſeparated by a Tempeſt at the *Cape*, in each were embarked a thouſand Perſons, Soldiers, Mariners, Jeſuits, and other Churchmen, with Merchants and Gentlemen; but when they arrived at *Goa*, there were not above three hundred in each, by reaſon of the Sickneſs and Miſeries they endured in eight Months at Sea without Sight of Land. Theſe brought an Edict from the King, forbidding the *Engliſh*, *French*, or *Dutch* Commerce in his Dominions; and if there were any ſuch there, to ſend them away, upon Peril of their Lives. On the 26th of *December* 1609, he embarked for *Liſbon*, and on the 15th of *March* 1610, they arrived at the Iſle of *Diego Rodriguz* in 20°, about forty Leagues Eaſt from *Saint Laurence*. After a cruel Storm there five Days together, they reached the Cape, *St. Helena*, *Braſil*, the *Açore*, the *Berlings*, and having paid his Vow to *St. James* in *Galicia*, he arrived at *Rochel* the 16th of *February* 1611. Thus we have brought this Voyage to a Concluſion without taking in the Author's Travels through the reſt of *India*, which would have ſwelled the Section to a great Extent, and would have contributed little to the Reader's Satisfaction, as containing nothing which may not be met with elſewhere, in as good, or in a better Dreſs, as the Reader will perceive in the next Section, wherein we ſhall give one of the exacteſt and beſt written Voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies* that is any where extant. But with regard to the *Maldives*, *Pirard*'s Account is beyond a Queſtion preferable to any for the Reaſons we have aſſigned at the Beginning of the Voyage. It may not, however, be amiſs, conſidering our Author went thither one hundred and forty Years ago, to conclude the preſent Section with ſome Remarks on the State thoſe Iſlands are now in, that we may give the Reader, as near as poſſible, a compleat View of the Subject at once, without fatiguing him with needleſs and impertinent Repetitions; for want of which Caution, moſt of our old Collections of Voyages ſwell to ſuch bulky Volumes, and at the ſame time are, in many material Points, extreamly defective.

29. One would imagine from the Account given us by this Writer, that in the Courſe of ſo many Years as have elapſed ſince his being ſhipwrecked on thoſe Iſlands, many of them muſt have been ſwallowed up entirely, and many more rendered uninhabitable and deſart, which, however, does not appear to be the Caſe. On the contrary, the Iſland of *Male*, according to the lateſt Accounts we have, is in a better Condition than ever, and the *Dutch* carry on there a very conſiderable Commerce, the Natives themſelves alſo trading in their own Veſſels to *Ceylon*, where they are well uſed by the *Dutch*, and make a very great Profit of thoſe little Shells which are called *Cauris*, *Coris*, and by our Seamen *Cowries*. Of theſe there are prodigious Quanti-

ties, not only on the Shore of the *Maldives*, waſhed thither by the Waves of the Sea, but alſo dug up in the very Heart of ſome of the Iſlands, as being very probably left there at the Time theſe Lands were deſerted by the Ocean. As the Meaſure of Things, which we call Money, is altogether arbitrary, and depends ſolely on an Agreement amongſt Men, that this or that ſhall ſtand for, and be regarded as a common Meaſure, ſo in many Countries, both of *Aſia* and *Africa*, theſe Shells, by a certain tacit Agreement, are fixed as ſuch a common Meaſure, and are conſequently eſteemed, and have the Currency of Money. It is that gives them a Value even with ſuch as deſpiſe thoſe who trade with and receive them as Money, without reflecting, that Shells are to the full as capable of being conſtituted Money as either Gold or Silver, and without remembering that they are compelled to practiſe what they themſelves ſo much condemn, and to take theſe paltry Shells for Money. At *Bengal* two thouſand four hundred Cowries were, in the Year 1740, valued at a Rupee, or about half a Crown of our Money.

But the great Uſe of them is on the Coaſts of *Africa*, and particularly on thoſe of *Guinea*, where the Negroes eſteem them to the full as much as Gold and Silver, and where they paſs under the Denomination of *Bougies*. We may gueſs at the vaſt Conſumption of this Commodity or Money, by the *French* Merchants in the Kingdom of *Fidah*; who give for a Piece of the common Cloth made by the Natives, commonly eighty Pound Weight of Cowries, and ſo in proportion for the richer Commodities of that Country, ſuch as Wax, Ivory, Gold, *&c.* The *Dutch* uſually furniſh other *European* Nations with this kind of Negroe Coin, if I may be allowed that Expreſſion, and the Reader will eaſily conceive from thence how beneficial that Trade is which they drive with the *Maldives*. It might be wondered how this Demand for theſe Shells is kept up upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*; but in order to account for this, we are to underſtand that, like Gold and Silver, theſe are not only the Meaſures of Commerce among the Negroes, but likewiſe the higheſt Mark of their Finery, ſince they wear them as Necklaces, Collars and Bracelets, ſtrung upon Hair, or Silk, either in ſingle or double Rows, which indeed make an odd, but at the ſame time no diſagreeable Figure on the Necks and Arms of the Natives, the ſnowy Whiteneſs of the Shell appearing to great Advantage, when compared with their jet-black Skins.

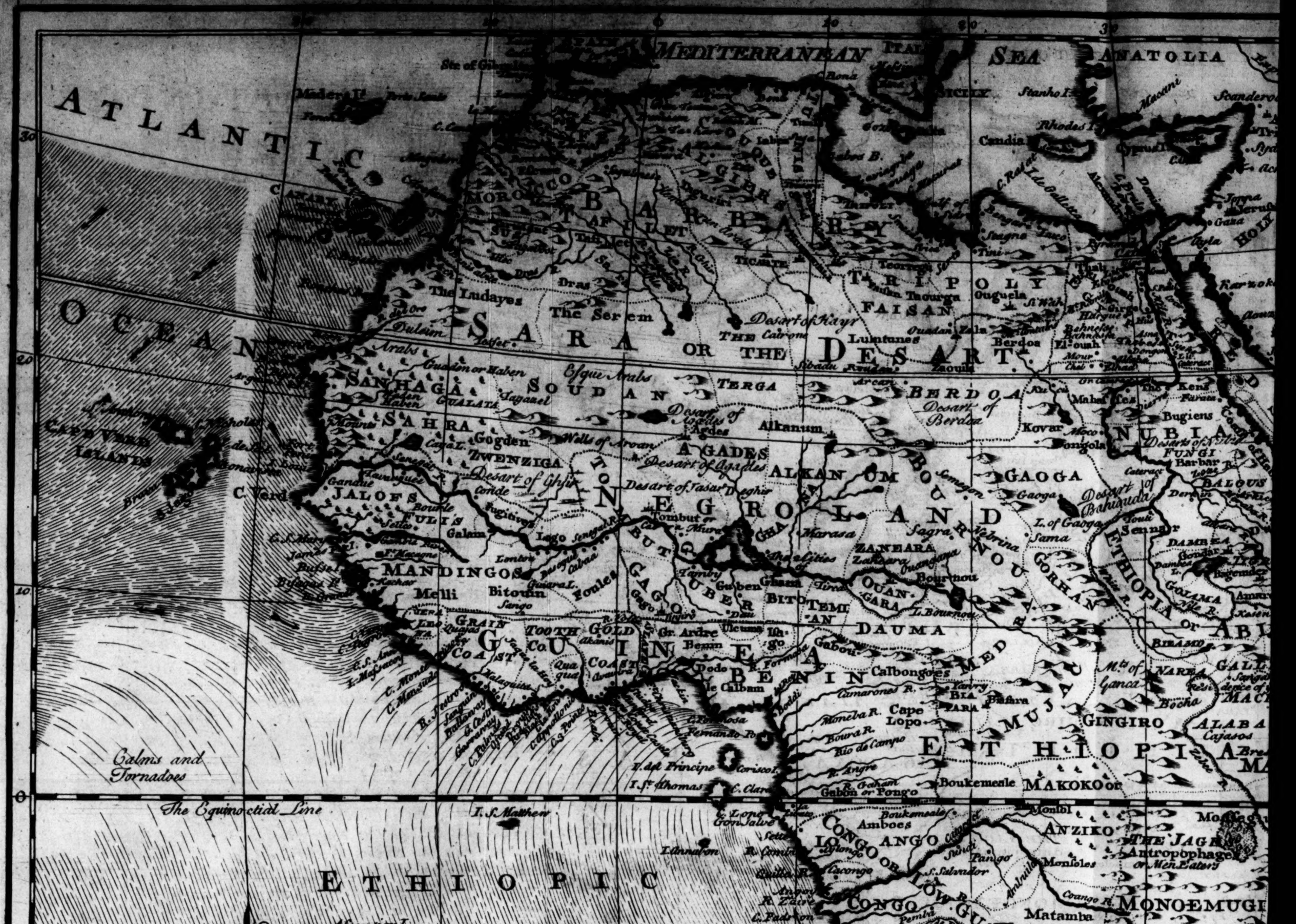
Heretofore about twelve thouſand Pound Weight of Cowries was ſufficient to purchaſe a Cargoe of five or ſix hundred Negroes; but at preſent the Market is raiſed, and the Proportion between Man's Fleſh and Baubles ſo altered, that a Ship Load of Slaves cannot be bought for leſs than twelve or fourteen Tun of Cowries. As there would be a great deal of Trouble in adjuſting Payments made in this kind of Money, the Negroes, though ſo ſtupid as to ſell themſelves for Shells, have invented a kind of Copper Baſon of ſuch Size and Shape as to hold about one hundred and eight Pounds of theſe Shells, which is a great Eaſe to the Merchants. We muſt not, however, imagine, that theſe Shells are not to be found any where elſe but in theſe Iſlands, ſince it is certain, that they are likewiſe met with on the Coaſt of the *Philippines*; but theſe are of an inferior Nature, and much below the Cowries of the *Maldives* in Whiteneſs and Luſtre. The principal Mart in *Europe* for theſe Shells is *Amſterdam*, where they have of them large Magazines, and where they are purchaſed both by *French* and *Engliſh* Merchants, for the Conveniency of exporting them to *Africa*.

But to return to the Trade of the *Maldives*, which is far from being ſo inconſiderable as ſome of our modern Writers would have us believe, and that for no better Reaſon than this, becauſe the *Europeans* have not ſettled amongſt them; whereas from this Account, it is moſt evident, that it is impoſſible for them to ſettle there for a Multitude of Reaſons, which muſt naturally occur to every judicious Reader. But there is notwithſtanding a great Trade carried on there, inſomuch that ſome hundred Sail of Ships are laden annually with the Product of their Cocoa Trees, that is, with the Oil, Honey, Cordage and Sails made from this kind of Palm-Tree, which grows no where either in ſuch abundance, or to ſuch Perfection, as on theſe Iſlands; neither do they want other valuable Commodities, particularly the fineſt Tortoiſe Shells in the World, ſtained naturally with very beautiful Figures, and wrought up by them in Cabinets, Combs, and other Curioſities. But what plainly proves the Riches and Induſtry of the People is, on the one hand, the Cheapneſs of Cotton, Silk, Oil, Iron, Steel, Spices, and *China*-ware, with other foreign Goods, which could not be brought about, if their own Manufactures did not enable them to balance the Account with the Foreigners, who import them; and, on the other hand, that Plenty of Gold and Silver which has been always viſible in thoſe Iſlands, and which muſt have been very ſoon carried away, if ever the Balance of Trade had been againſt them.

It ſeems alſo to be no ſmall Honour to the Country, that neither the Force of the *Portugueſe*, the Ambition of the *Engliſh* on their firſt coming into the *Indies*, or the Frauds of the *Dutch*, have deprived the Inhabitants of theſe Iſlands of their Liberty. It is true, that from the Account our Author has given, this does not appear to be a very difficult Matter, ſince the King of *Bengal* was able to make ſo great an Impreſſion with ſo ſmall a Force; but, at the ſame time, we ought to reflect, that this Conqueror thought fit to abandon the Iſland of *Male* as ſoon as he had reduced it, which appears to me a very plain Proof that he thought it impracticable to keep it; and, indeed, where a whole Nation are ſo much uſed to live at Sea, as well as on Shore, it will be always found a very difficult, if not impoſſible Matter, to reduce them. The great Policy of the Legiſlator of theſe Iſlands, whoever he was, very plainly appears in his adjuſting ſo nicely as he has done, the Nature of their Conſtitution to the Situation of their Country, and that Courſe of Life, which from thence they are obliged to follow. To this we may juſtly aſcribe the long Continuance of their Monarchy, the Force of which does not ſeem to be at all impaired by the Settlements made by the *Europeans* in thoſe Countries; but, on the contrary, the People have encreaſed their Riches, and the King has extended his Power, by falling into Trade with them, which is more than can be ſaid of any other Country in the *Indies*.

It muſt, however, be allowed, that very few Travellers or Voyage-Writers, have taken the Pains to deſcribe the *Maldives*; ſo that if we had not this Account of *Pirard's*, we ſhould ſcarce be able to ſay any thing about them, the Reaſon of which is very eaſily aſſigned; for theſe Iſlands have no Mines, either of rich Metals or precious Stones; nor do they abound with Spices, or any other highly valued Commodities; but it appears very clearly, that notwithſtanding the Want of theſe Advantages, they are much more populous, and enjoy, beyond compariſon, more Liberty than thoſe People do who are richer, and conſequently more eſteemed. But as theſe Iſlands lie only in the Entrance of the *Indies*, it muſt appear requiſite to furniſh ſome Deſcriptions of the principal Places mentioned in the foregoing Hiſtories, by ſuch as have viſited them in Perſon, and that too within ſuch Periods of Time as may afford the greateſt Lights to thoſe Hiſtories; from which Conſideration we have been led to make Choice rather of Voyages than Travels, becauſe the latter belongs ſtrictly and properly to the ſucceeding Volume, in which the moſt curious and beſt eſteemed to all Parts of the *Indies* ſhall be included: At preſent we ſhall give a general Voyage to the *Indies* by a *French* Officer and Commander in Chief, whoſe Work has been always eſteemed more accurate in its kind than any other written by that Officer himſelf, who, like our Sir *Francis Drake*, was capable of performing every Office in his Ship, and of whom his own Pilot declared, that he was at once the moſt ſkilful and the moſt careful Man in that Profeſſion, with whom he was ever acquainted. His Knowledge, however, was not bounded by his maritime Skill, but, on the contrary, was every Way as correct in other neceſſary Branches of Science, ſo that he was as capable of writing the Diſcription, or Hiſtory of the Countries he viſited, as of carrying his Veſſel to them.

Theſe ſingular Properties, and the Conſideration that we have not room for a Multitude of Voyages, led to the Choice of this, which may ſerve inſtead of many, and which


A NEW and CORRECT MAP of
AFRICA.
Drawn from the most Approved
Modern Maps and Charts,
and adjusted by
Astronomical Observations;
representing also the course
of the Trade Winds
Monsoons &c. By
Eman. Bowen
1748
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ANATOLIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ETHIOPIC OCEAN
SOUTHERN
BARBARY
TRIPOLY
SARA OR THE DESART
SOUDAN
NEGROLAND
BOURNOU
NUBIA
GAOGA
GUINEA
BENIN
ETHIOPIA
ABISSINIA
CONGO OR LOW GUINEA
ANGOLA
BENGUELA
EXTERIOR
MONOEMUGI
MONO MOTAPA
MATAMAN
CAFFRES
THE HOTTENTOTS
Cape of Good Hope
Cape Verd Islands
C. Verd
Canary I.
Madera I.
Calms and Tornadoes
The Equinoctial Line
Ascension I.
S. Helena I.
I. S. Matthew
I. S. Thomas
I. del Principe
Meridian of London
Longitude West from London
Longitude East from London
Zanguebar
Monomotapa
Sofala
Agullas Bank
Tasel Bay
C. de Algoa
GRAIN COAST
TOOTH COAST
GOLD COAST
MANDINGOS
JALOFS
SANHAGA
ZWENZIGA
GAGO
DAUMA
ANZIKO
THE JAGAS Antropophagi or Men Eaters
The Zimbas or Galles
MAKOKO
GINGIRO
ALABA
The Heusaquas
The Songuas
Kingbiri
The Chamouquas
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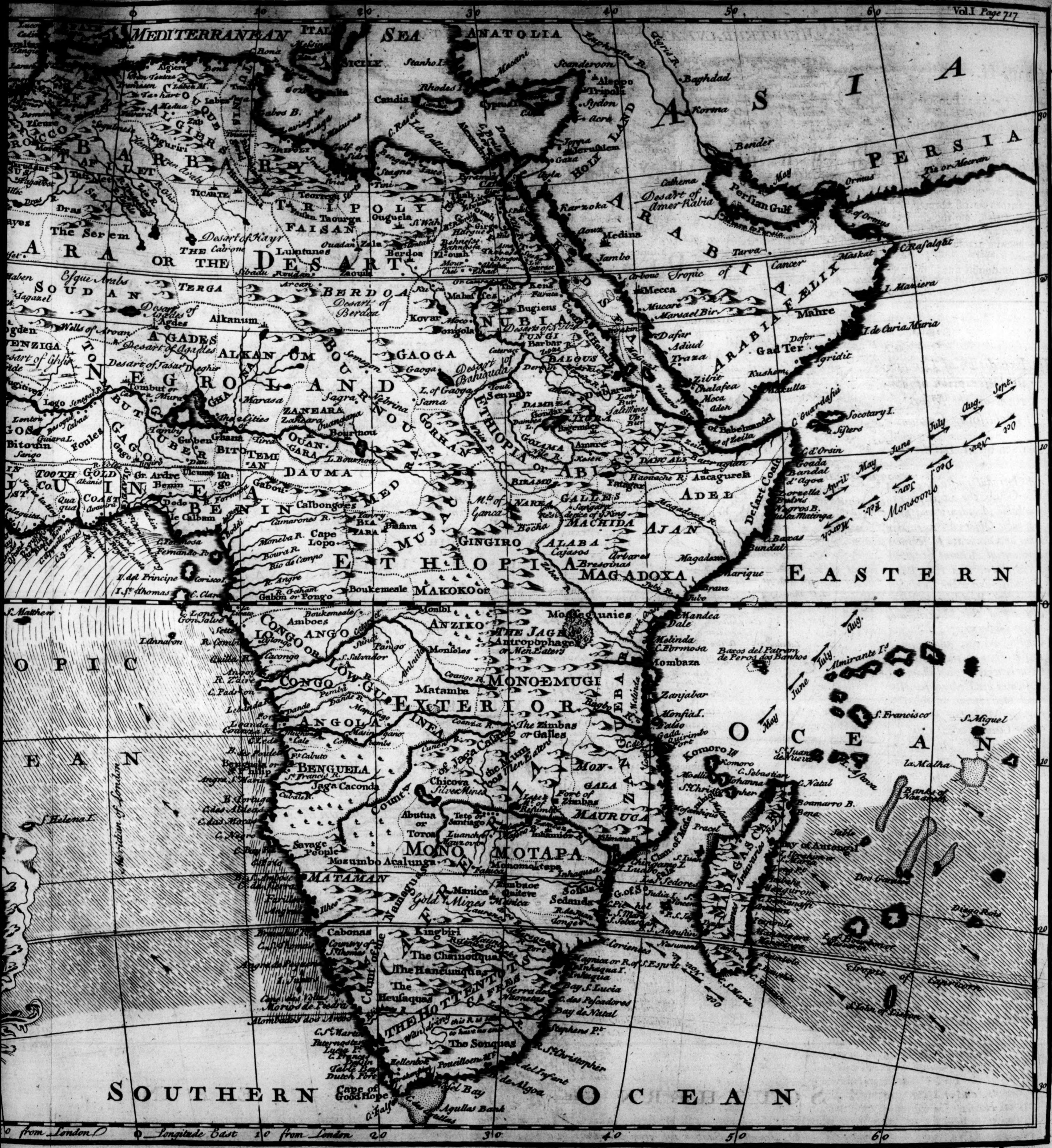
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ANATOLIA
SICILY
Candia I.
Rhodes I.
Cyprus I.
Scanderoon
Aleppo
Tripoli
Sydon
Acre
Baghdad
Korna
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
A S I A
HOLY LAND
Jerusalem
Gaza
Bender
PERSIA
Persian Gulf
Ormus
Tis or Mecran
Desart of Arabia
ARABIA
Medina
Jambo
Mecca
Tropic of Cancer
ARABIA FÆLIX
Maskat
C. Rasalgat
I. Maziera
Mahre
I. de Curia Muria
Dofor
Gad Ter
Kushem
Macculla
Aden
Moca
Zibit
Dafar
Aduud
Traza
Mucare
Mansael Bir
Str. of Babelmandel
C. Guardafui
Socotary I.
Sisters
ALGIERS
BARBARY
TAFILET
TRIPOLY
FAISAN
Teorregu
Taourga
Ouguela
Ticarte
The Serem
Desart of Kayr
Cabrone
ZAARA OR THE DESART
Lumtunes
Berdoa
Zaoula
Ouadan
Zala
SOUDAN
TERGA
Esque Arabs
BERDOA
Desart of Berdoa
Agades
Desart of Agades
Alkanum
Wells of Aroan
ZENZIGA
Desart of Ghir
Desart of Tasar
Deghir
ALKAN OM
GAOGA
L. of Gaoga
Desart of Bahiauda
NUBIA
Fungi
Dongola
Kovar
Barbar
Sennar
Balous
NEGROLAND
BOURNOU
Tombut
Ghana
Marasa
Zanfara
Sagra
Nebrina
Ouangara
Bournou
L. Bournou
GORHAN
ETHIOPIA
Dambea
Goyama
ABISSINIA
Amara
Dancali
Aucagurel
ADEL
Desart Coast
AJAN
Magadoxa
Brava
Jubo
Foules
Gago
Guber
Gaben
Bito
Temian
Dauma
Tooth Co.
Gold Coast
GUINEA
BENIN
Calbam
Calbongos
Fernando Po
I. del Principe
I. St. Thomas
Corisco I.
Cape Lopo
Gabon or Pongo
MUJAC
MED
Gingiro
Alaba
Cajasos
Machida
Bresoinai
Narea
Bocha
ETHIOPIA
MAKOKO
Boukemesle
EASTERN
Monoemugi
Anziko
Amboes
Ango
Loango
Congo
S. Salvador
Pango
Moutoles
THE JAGAS Antropophagi or Men Eaters
LOW GUINEA
EXTERIOR
Matamba
ANGOLA
Loanda
R. Zaire
C. Padron
Benguela
Jaga Caconda
Chicova Silver Mines
The Zimbas or Galles
MONGALA
Fort of Zimbas
MAURUCA
ZANGUEBAR
Mombaza
Melinda
Zanjabar
Monfia I.
Quiloa
Mozambique
Komoro I.
Mohilla
Johanna
S. Christopher
C. Natal
MADAGASCAR
Bay of Antongil
C. S. Maria
Almirante Is.
S. Francisco
S. Miguel
Baros del Patron
de Pero dos Banhos
Mascarenhas
OCEAN
Monsoons
Sept.
Aug.
July
June
May
April
March
Feb.
Jan.
Dec.
Nov.
Oct.
S. Helena I.
I. Annabon
S. Matthew
ETHIOPIC OCEAN
Meridian of London
MONOMOTAPA
Abutua or Toroa
Teto et Santiago
Mosumbo Acalunga
Savage People
MATAMAN
Manica
Gold Mines
Zimbaoe
Sofala
Sedanda
Cabonas
Kingbiri
Country of S. Thomas
Coast of the Namaquas
The Chamouquas
The Hancumquas
The Heusaquas
THE HOTTENTOTS
CAFRES
Terra de Natal
Bay S. Lucia
Stephens Pt.
R. S. Christopher
C. del Infant
B. de Algoa
The Sonquas
Cape of Good Hope
Table Bay
Dutch Fort
Zeldanha
Agullas Bank
C. Falso
Mosel Bay
Tropic of Capricorn
SOUTHERN OCEAN
from London
Longitude East
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which the original Publiſher, the celebrated Mr. *Thevenot*, declared, he made publick with no other View, than that it might ſerve as a Model to his Countrymen, not in Point of Science only, but of Method alſo, eſteeming the Author as conſiderable in that Character as in the Quality of a Commander. This Apology I thought neceſſary, that the Reader might not ſuſpect me of Partiality, and in the ſucceeding Sections we ſhall put that Point farther out of Diſpute, by doing the like Juſtice to *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and the eminent Sea-Officers of other Nations, who have not only benefited thoſe they ſerved, but have likewiſe tranſmitted Teſtimonies of their Skill to Poſterity.

I cannot diſmiſs this Subject without obſerving, that it is to be wiſhed our own Countrymen would be more careful in this Particular, ſince, as there are not better Seamen, or better Officers in the World, it is very hard their great Actions ſhould not be communicated to the Publick, with all the Advantages that may be derived from Method and Language; both which might be acquired with as little Labour as is requiſite to get over the Difficulties in keeping a Sea-Journal; and therefore we may well hope, that in an Age which diſcovers greater Curioſity in regard to theſe Subjects, than has been ſhewn in any other; Gentlemen will have that regard to their own, and their Officers Characters, as not to let them ſuffer for want of a candid Repreſentation.

SECTION XXV.

The Expedition of Commodore Beaulieu *to the* Eaſt-Indies; *containing a curious and accurate Deſcription of the Sea-Coaſts and Commerce; as alſo Abundance of curious Obſervations on the Manners of the People, the Nature of their Governments, and the Means of eſtabliſhing Colonies amongſt them.*

Written by M. *Beaulieu* himſelf, and publiſhed by M. *Thevenot*, in his large Collection of Voyages.

1. *An Introduction to the Voyage, with an hiſtorical Account of its Author and his Work.* 2. *Their Departure* Octob. *the 2d* 1619, *and Occurrences in their Voyage to Cape* Verd, *on the Coaſt of* Africa. 3. *Remarkable Accidents and Proceedings at Cape* Sierra Liona, *where they touched for Refreſhments.* 4. *Remarkable Obſervations in thoſe Seas, with the Sentiments of the Author concerning them.* 5. *A very curious and accurate Deſcription of* Table-Bay, *under the Cape of* Good-Hope. 6. *A very candid and circumſtantial Account of the* Hottentots, *their Cuſtoms,* &c. 7. *An Account of ſome remarkable Letters found there, and the Author's Reſolution on reading of them.* 8. *A Deſcription of ſeveral remarkable Animals, and other Curioſities met with here.* 9. *A very entertaining Relation of what paſſed between Commodore* Beaulieu *and the Negroes in the Bay of* S. Auguſtine, *during his Stay there.* 10. *A farther Account of this Matter, and of the Cloſe of his Tranſactions with thoſe People.* 11. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Government, Language, Manners,* &c. *of this* Negro *Nation.* 12. *The Author ſails along the Coaſt of* Africa, *and obſerves ſeveral notorious Errors in the Sea-Charts.* 13. *A large and curious Deſcription of the* Comorro *Iſlands, and their Inhabitants, with his Reception there.* 14. *Remarkable Occurrences at the Iſland of* Nangaſija, *and ſome Remarks on the* Arabian *Shipping.* 15. *The Author proſecutes his Voyage for the Cape of* Guardafu, *and meets with a great Storm in his Paſſage.* 16. *An exact Deſcription of this Coaſt, and of the Difficulties met with in procuring Refreſhments.* 17. *A very ſingular Method of obtaining freſh Water, which may be of great Uſe in long Voyages.* 18. *An Account of the Country about Cape* Guardafu, *and the Author's Reſolution to ſteer directly for the Coaſt of* Malabar. 19. *Their Arrival upon that Coaſt, and their taking a* Mooriſh *Ship richly laden.* 20. *They double Cape* Comorin, *and obtain a Pilot, who conducts them to* Ticow. 21. *Their Arrival there, and the News they received of their Vice-Admiral, and other Tranſactions.* 22. *A large Relation of what paſſed during their Stay in that Port, and of the Behaviour of the Inhabitants.* 23. *A Deſcription of the Country, its Product, and the Nature of the Commerce there, with other Obſervations.* 24. *The Author's Arrival at* Achen, *with a copious Deſcription of that Country and its Commerce.* 25. *The Author's Audience of the King of* Achen, *and of what paſſed upon that Occaſion.* 26. *A very curious and exact Account of the State of that Country, the Character of its King and his Subjects.* 27. *A farther Account of our Author's Proceeding there, and of the many Difficulties he met with.* 28. *Obtains a Licence to buy Pepper, and yet finds it extreamly difficult to procure his Lading.* 29. *Our Author obtains a Letter from the King of* Achen *to the King of* France, *in Anſwer to one he preſented.* 30. *Other Tranſactions during the Time of his Stay in that Country, and his Reſolution to ſail to* Queda. 31. *Occurrences in his Voyage thither, and his Proceeding there, in order to obtain a Lading of Pepper.* 32. *A Deſcription of the Iſland of* Pulo Lada, *or,* Pepper-Land, *on the* Malaca *Coaſt.* 33. *A very curious and exact Deſcription of the Manner of cultivating Pepper, and of the Value of that Commodity.* 34. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Revolutions of* Queda, *and of the Reduction of that Kingdom by the Monarch of* Achen. 35. *The Author's Return to that Country, and the Reception he met with there the ſecond Time.* 36. *A large Account of what happened to the Vice-Admiral, and of the Difficulties the* French *met with in eſtabliſhing a Trade in theſe Parts.* 37. *The Author preſents a rich Diamond to the King of* Achen, *and obtains from him a Licence to trade at* Ticow. 38. *A Deſcription of the Iſland of* Sumatra, *its Climate, Soil and Produce, with other Particulars.* 39. *The Iſlands upon the Coaſt of* Sumatra, *and their reſpective Products, together with an Account of the different Kingdoms in* Sumatra. 40. *The Character of the People of* Achen, *their Government, Cuſtoms, Laws,* &c. *as obſerved by the Author.* 41. *The military State of that Kingdom, and of the Forces and Power of the Monarch then on the Throne.* 42. *The Nature of his naval Eſtabliſhments, and of the Means made uſe of by him to ſupport them.* 43. *Of the Riches of the King of* Achen, *his Houſes, Slaves, Revenues, and ſeveral Methods of raiſing Money.* 44. *The ancient State of the Kingdom of* Achen *to the Acceſſion of the reigning King's Grandfather.* 45. *The civil Wars that hap-*

pened from that Time, and the dreadful Conſequences attending them. 46. *The Manner in which the then King of* Achen *mounted the Throne, and his Character.* 47. *The Author ſails for Europe, and meets with a pleaſant Paſſage as far as the Iſland of* St. Helena. 48. *A Deſcription of the Iſland of* Aſcenſion, *and a farther Account of the Voyage to their Arrival at* St. Vincent. 49. *An exact Deſcription of that Iſland, its Climates, Soil, Product, and other Particulars.* 50. *Continuation of the Voyage to the Author's ſafe Arrival at* Havre de Grace, Dec. *the* 1*ſt* 1622. 51. *Some farther Memoirs of Commodore* Beaulieu, *to the Time of his Deceaſe.*

1. THE following Voyage was not only undertaken, but written alſo by one of the beſt Officers that ever was in the *French* Service, of whoſe Character and Adventures we ſhall ſay ſomewhat at preſent, and ſupply the reſt at the Concluſion of the Section. *Auguſtin de Beaulieu* was deſcended of a good Family at *Rouen*, which has been always conſidered as one of the principal Ports in *France*. He addicted himſelf from his Youth to the Sea, and ſtudied with great Application all the Sciences neceſſary to make him an able Man in his Profeſſion, and more eſpecially Geography, Aſtronomy, and Navigation. His firſt Expedition was to the River *Gambia*, on the Coaſt of *Africa*, under the Command of the Chevalier *de Briſqueuille* of *Normandy* in 1612. The Deſign upon which they went was to erect a Fort, and eſtabliſh a Colony; but ſailing unluckily a little too late in the Year, they loſt the beſt Part of their Men before they were able to accompliſh any thing, and were therefore obliged to return Home, *re infecta*, after a vaſt Expence, to very little Purpoſe.

In this Expedition our Author commanded a Sloop, and tho' he got nothing by the Voyage in Point of Profit, yet he improved himſelf exceedingly, and eſtabliſhed a juſt Reputation for Courage, Diligence and Application. About the Year 1616, the *French* formed the firſt Notion of trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and ſome Merchants at *Paris* and *Rouen* agreed to furniſh a Joint-Stock for that Purpoſe. They fitted out two good Ships, the Command of the biggeſt of which the Title of General was given to Captain *de Nets*, who at that Time ſerved the King in the Marine. The leſſer Ship was beſtowed upon our Author, who had no other Recommendation than his Merit. The Voyage was in all reſpects fortunate, and well conducted, though in the End it did not turn to any great Account; for the *Dutch* Preſident in the *Indies* having publiſhed an Order, requiring all the Subjects of the States-General that were on Board thoſe Ships, to quit them immediately; which Order they obeyed: The two Captains found it thereby out of their Power to bring Home both the Veſſels, and therefore, that which had been commanded by Captain *Beaulieu* was ſold to a little Prince of the Iſland of *Java*, and all their Effects brought home on Board the largeſt; notwithſtanding which Misfortune, and the great Expence with which this Undertaking was attended, they managed ſo prudently, as to make a ſaving Voyage.

It was his Care and Diligence in this Expedition, that recommended him to that Command of which he has written the following Account. He was extremely careful in the Choice of his Men, that he might not run the riſque of failing in this, as he had done in his former Voyage; and that Poſterity might be the better for the Pains he was obliged to take, he provided, before he left *France*, all the neceſſary Inſtruments of Navigation in the higheſt Degree of Perfection, and conſtantly obſerved the Variation of the Needle every Morning and Evening, on four or five different Compaſſes, that he might be the leſs liable to Miſtakes. At his return Home, he not only tranſcribed his Sea-Journal, which is ſtill preſerved, but compoſed likewiſe the following Hiſtory of the Voyage from his Papers, with a Deſign to have committed them to the Preſs, but by ſome unforeſeen Accidents, and by his premature Death, of which more ſhall be ſaid hereafter, this was prevented, and theſe Papers remained for twenty Years afterwards in private Hands, till ſuch Time as the famous M. *Melchizedeck de Thevenot* formed his noble Deſign of publiſhing a curious Collection of the beſt Voyages, when theſe Memoirs were put into his Hands by M. *Dolu*, to whom they had been confided by the Relations of the Author.

That great Man was charmed with the Preſent, and no Wonder, ſince he ſeriouſly profeſſes it appeared to him as perfect a Performance as ever came to his Notice, notwithſtanding the Multitude of *Portugueze*, *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Memoirs that he had occaſion to ſee, while employed in making that curious and excellent Collection. The principal Reaſon of his valuing it ſo much, was the high Character the Author had born in Point of Integrity as well as Abilities; ſo that as he related every thing that was worth relating in the Courſe of his long Expedition, all he relates may be very ſafely depended upon, as being exactly agreeable to Truth, and to the Lights which he received. One may ſafely affirm, that the Work itſelf carries along with it enough to juſtify all that has been ſaid in its Favour, ſince there are ſo many viſible Marks of the Writer's Sincerity, in thoſe Paſſages which regard his own Conduct, that the moſt ſcrupulous Critick muſt be obliged to confeſs, there is not the leaſt Ground to ſuſpect he could entertain any Deſign of impoſing on his Reader. The Variety of Events, the curious Deſcriptions, the juſt and weighty Remarks with which it abounds, ſufficiently enhance the Value of this Performance, which, therefore, we have given the Reader in his own Words, and muſt at the ſame Time own, that it would be no eaſy Taſk to make Choice of better, ſince his Stile is exactly ſuited to his Subject; and he relates every thing with ſo much Modeſty and Freedom, that it is hard to determine whether his Memoirs are more inſtructive or entertaining.

2. I ſailed *Octob.* 2, 1619, from *Honfleur* Road with three Ships; the *Montmorancy* of 450 Tuns, carrying 162 Men, 22 Guns, and 20 Padereroes, the *Hope*, of 400 Tuns, 117 Men, 26 Guns, and 20 Padereroes, and the *Hermitage*, an Advice-Boat, of 75 Tuns, 30 Men, 8 Guns, and 8 Padereroes, all victualled for two Years and an half. The ſeventeenth we came in Sight of *Madera*, and at Night its weſtern Point lay about 7 Leagues off to the S. E. and a quarter Eaſt. The 18th we ſtood South with the Wind at Eaſt, expecting by that Courſe to deſcry the Iſland of *Palma*. *Madera* lies very high, but the Weather was, as it is commonly, ſo foggy, that we could ſcarce deſcry it. The Commodore's Ship being deep loaden, and embarraſſed with an unweildy Rudder, that two or three Men could ſcarce manage, we reſolved to make the beſt of our Way to Cape *Verd*, in order to have a new one made, or to put the old one to rights, which was encumbered with too much Wood.

On the firſt of *November* we made the Coaſt of *Africa*, between the River *Senegal* and Cape *Verd*, which lies very low, running N. E. and S. W. and is waſhed by a ſandy Sea. Next Day, about Eight in the Morning, we doubled Cape *Verd*, and coaſted along the Shore, in order to get into *Ruffiſque* Road; at which Place, in the Afternoon, we ſaw three *French* Ships at Anchor, and a ſmall Bark, which had Captain *Drowet*'s Equipage on Board, and lay off of that Place waiting for him. In the Evening I caſt Anchor within a Cannon-Shot of the three Ships, for the Wind being contrary, I could not come up with them, and the rainy Seaſon in that Country was ſcarce over.

The fifteenth, having reſolved to ſend the Advice-Boat to the Idol Iſlands, to buy up Proviſions, I furniſhed it with Kaſſade and Knives, which were proper Commodities for that Place, and reinforced its Complement with Captain *Soyer* and ſix Soldiers, ordering Captain *Ridel*, who commanded the Pinnace, not to treat with the Natives without Hoſtages, and withal, not to ſtay there above three Days at moſt, but to come with all poſſible Expedition to rejoin us at *Tagrin*. When ſhe parted from us, we were in the Lat. of 10° 30′. From the Time we paſſed Cape *Verd*, we had but little Wind, and the Tides run againſt us W. N. W.

The nineteenth about Noon, we deſcried the Idol Iſlands, about eight Leagues off to the E. N. E, and our own Pinnace making into the Shore. Theſe Iſlands lie in 9° 30′ N. L. They are covered with Wood, and bating *Tagrin*, are the higheſt Land between Cape *Verd* and Cape *Sierra Liona*. *Great Idol* being the largeſt and moſt ſouthern of thoſe Iſlands, affords Water, and ſeveral Sorts of Fruits and Fowls; but its Inhabitants, who are very numerous, are not to be dealt with without Hoſtages. The *Leſſer Idol* affords likewiſe Water: Beſides theſe two, there are other ſmaller Iſlands, which are ſo inconſiderable, that they are not diſtinguiſhed by any Name. The Names of theſe two are taken from a River ſo called in the Continent, the Mouth of which lies oppoſite to them about three or four Leagues off. The King of this Country reſides up that River; the Natives are Negroes, Idolaters, great Hunters, and Eaters of Elephants. They have no Commerce with the Continent, and it is hard to get aſhore upon them, becauſe their Coaſt lies very high: I believe they put off their Elephants Teeth in the River of *Tagrin*. At Night we loſt Sight of thoſe Iſlands, which are diſtant 25 Leagues from Cape *Sierra Liona*, or *Tagrin*. Next Day we ſaw, about a Quarter of a League off, ſeveral Spouts, or Guts of Wind, whirling about upon the Sea, and forcing up the Water with great Violence, two of which were very formidable. As ſoon as we perceived them, we furled all our Sails, for fear of any Miſchief from them.

3. We arrived *November* the 23d, at Cape *Sierra Liona*, and caſt Anchor at *Tagrin*, where ſeveral Negroes coming on Board, gave me to underſtand, that there was an *Engliſh* Veſſel about four Leagues off at *Saſana*, the Reſidence of the King of *Tagrin*. On the 28th I cauſed the Rudder to be taken off the Stern-poſt, and hauled aſhore, where having poſted a ſtrong Guard, and fortified the Place with felled Trees, I ſet the Carpenters to work. Having walked a little further into the Country, I found it very pleaſant. At the Bottom of the Creek there was a ſmall Brook of ſweet and clear Water, the Banks of which, towards the Sea, were decked with great Quantities of Citron Trees, Willows, and pretty thick Woods. I likewiſe found ſome Plains good for Paſture; but the Soil is nothing but Stone, or Iron-coloured Rock. Their Houſes are infinitely better than thoſe at Cape *Verd*. The Natives, who are Negroes, worſhip little horrible Images reſembling Devils, and ſmall Lumps of black Earth in the Form of Sugar Biſcuits, which I underſtood to be the Neſt of Ants. To theſe they offer Fruits, the Heads of Monkies, Baboons, and other Beaſts.

They call the Idols *Gigris*, which Name I take to be derived from the *French*; for they commonly ſalute one another in theſe Words, *Tout*, *Haut*; but when they ſalute a White, they cry *Tu*. As Men, they are a much better ſort of People than the other Negroes, though they begin now to improve their Cunning, by converſing with the People of ſeveral Nations that touch there. The Place where we lay being the third Creek from Cape *Sierra Liona*, is very convenient for taking in Water, Wood, Citrons, Oranges, and Hoops for Water-Caſks, which are all to be had for little or nothing. There we had very good Rice in Exchange for equal Quantities of Salt. It affords no Fleſh, unleſs Pullets, which are very ſcarce, and has little Accommodation for Hunting; but all its Creeks are well ſtored with ſeveral ſorts of Fiſh.

The Cape lies in 8° of North-Latitude, and the Needle varies there 2° 45′ North-Eaſt. One of our Trumpeters that could not ſwim was unfortunately drowned in a little River near this Place, which was nine or ten Foot deep. 'Tis preſumed he was deceived by the extream Clearneſs of the Water, which repreſented the Bottom of the River to be nearer the Surface than it was, and that thereupon going to waſh himſelf, but not meeting with the expected Ground, was ſo frightened with the Surprize, that he neglected taking hold of the Banks of the River, which was not above ten Foot broad. *December* the 3d two Negroes came on Board, one of whom was armed with a Bow, Arrows, Sword, and Knife; the other, who was the Interpreter, told me, that he who bore the Arms was ſent by the King to acquaint me that the *Portugueze* up the River had murdered the Captain and the whole Crew of a *St. Malo*'s Bark: That his Maſter was ſorry ſuch a thing ſhould happen near his Territories, and that if I had a mind to reſent it, he would furniſh me with Negroes to conduct me to the Place where the *Portugueze* had lodged the Bark. This I underſtood to be about ſeven or eight Leagues above the *Saſena*, whither the *St. Malo*'s Captain had gone to buy a ſort of Wood not unlike that of *St. Martha*, which in *France* might be worth eight or nine Livres a hundred Weight.

When I firſt heard the News, I ſuſpected that the *Portugueze*, underſtanding that my Rudder and many of my Men were aſhore, had contrived the Meſſage to induce me to ſend a Detachment out of the Land Guard, and ſo give them an Opportunity of poſſeſſing themſelves of the Rudder and Water-Caſks that were aſhore; but upon ſecond Thoughts, calling to mind the Humour of the *Portugueze* in that Country, and the Weakneſs of the *St. Malo*'s Ship, I concluded the Account not improbable, and withal ſaw that the ſlighting ſuch Intelligence might leſſen the Reputation of the *French* in that Country. At laſt, having reſolved to ſend out a Detachment, purſuant to the King's Meſſage, the Interpreter, with ſeveral other Negroes, offered to go along with my Men to the Place, ſaying, they would go any where to have an Opportunity of killing *Portugueze*. To carry on this Affair with more Security, I ordered the Rudder to be brought aboard, for the Carpenter's Work being then finiſhed, there wanted nothing but the Iron-work, which might be done on Board, by ſetting up a Forge in the Ship.

I reinforced the Land Guard with ten Men, ordering them to plant Barricades of Water-Caſks before the principal Avenues of the Place where they lay, and to ſuffer neither White nor Black to come near them in the Night-time, and got Captain *Pile* to accompany my Men in the Expedition. Accordingly, the next Day I ſent up the River our Sloop, with an Addition of ten Men to her Complement, together with Captain *Pile*'s Bark manned with his own Men, and the *Hope*'s Long-boat, with twenty Men and four Padereroes, all under the Command of Monſieur *Monteurier*. *December* the 8th, Captain *Datel* of *Dieppe* arrived in the Bay, and told me, that at the Iſle of *St. Vincent* he met a *Dutch* Ship of four hundred Tuns, manned with *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, bound for *Bantam*, in order to convey thither the News of the Agreement between thoſe two Nations. At Three of the Clock in the Afternoon M. *Monteurier* returned with the *Hope*'s Long-boat, and Captain *Pile*'s Bark, our Pinnace not being able to keep up with their Oars, and reported that he had been ten or twelve Leagues up the River, where, finding the River very narrow and rocky, inſomuch that the Bark ſtruck ſeveral times, and having no Commiſſion from me to venture the Loſs of the Bark, he returned back without meeting any *Portugueze*, or their Veſſels.

4. On the 31ſt we were in 3° 30′ North-Latitude; after our Departure from *Tagrin* the Weather was various, ſometimes ſtormy, and ſometimes very calm, as it uſes to be in thoſe Seas, and we found our Rudder much more ſerviceable than before. *January* 1ſt, 1620, at Sun-riſing we found the Needle 3° 30′ North-Eaſt, and the Latitude 3° 5′ North. The 6th we croſſed the Equinoctial Line, and celebrated the uſual Cuſtom of throwing Sea-Water upon thoſe who had never paſſed it. From the third of this Month we had the Wind at South-Eaſt and South-South-Eaſt, and ſailed cloſe to the Wind, in order to raiſe the South Pole, purſuant to the common Courſe of Navigation. The 24th we were under the Tropick of Capricorn, and the Needle varied 13° to the North-Eaſt from our paſſing the Line; we had the Wind at Eaſt and Eaſt-South-Eaſt. On the 1ſt of *February* we began to have the weſterly and other variable Winds, being then in 13° South Latitude, and the Needle varying 13° 30′ North-Eaſt.

The 3d, being becalmed, I obſerved at the Sun-riſing that the Needle was 13° N. E.; whereas at my laſt Obſervation, when I was almoſt a Degree farther from the antarctick Pole, it was 13° 30′; ſo that inſtead of increaſing it decreaſed, upon which I concluded its Variation to be irregular, and that it is not fixed on two Meridians cutting the World in four Parts, as the *Portugueze* and others imagined.

During this Calm we ſaw two great Fiſh with long Snouts, or Beaks, which ſeemed to be of that ſort that are known to pierce lined Ships. I could ſcarce have credited the Story of their penetrating through Ships, if the Governor of *Dieppe* had not ſhewed me a Piece of the Beak or Horn of ſuch a Fiſh found in the Side of a *Dieppe* Ship, when it was laid up to be caulked after an *Eaſt-India* Voyage; the Captain of which had found ſomething ſtrike againſt his Ship, as ſhe ſailed from the Coaſt of *Braſil* to the *Cape*, but did not know what it was till that Diſcovery happened. This Piece of Horn reſembled the Tooth of a Sea-Horſe, only it was ſtrait all along, and of the Colour of Ivory. Its Thickneſs was an Inch and half Diameter. It had run five Inches into the Wood, and was broke off, where the Lining joined the Wood, probably by the ſtruggling of the Fiſh, which could not recover it without breaking. Several Perſons have met with the like Adventure in their Voyages: But I ſhall only mention one more of a *Dieppe* Captain, who upon a Voyage to thoſe Parts had his Boat ſtaved to Pieces by a Blow from one of theſe Fiſhes; for the Fiſh endeavouring to withdraw its Horn, disjointed all the Planks. Thoſe which I ſaw on this Occaſion ſeemed to be of the ſmalleſt ſort, one of them that came juſt under me appeared to be ten Foot long, beſides its Beak. It was a fleſhy Fiſh, though not ſo big proportionably to its Length as a Porpoiſe. Its Colour was a dark blue, and its Fins and Tail, which were very large, repreſented a bright Azure in the Sea. It had a pretty high Lump upon its Back, reſembling that of a Rechien, or *Indian* Sea-Calf, which ſometimes riſes above Water. Its Head was not unlike a Porpoiſe, only it was longer, and inſtead of a Snout had this Horn, or Bill, which was very ſharp at the Point, and almoſt two Foot long, and as thick as a Boy's Wriſt. It is a very ſtiff and ſwift Fiſh, for I have ſeen it fly at Bonitoes, with which it wages continual War. I have often obſerved Bonitoes and Albacores wounded by this ſort of Fiſh, and the Sea tinctured with the Blood. I am certain there are ſome of this ſort much greater than thoſe I ſaw this Day, which attack the Whales, and probably 'tis their miſtaking a Ship for a Whale that occaſions their encountering with a Ship. However, I doubt not but a great Ship may be endangered by the ſplitting and gaſhing of its Planks, occaſioned by this Fiſh endeavouring to withdraw its Horn after it has ſtruck.

While the Calm and the exceſſive Heat continued, we ſaw a certain white thing about the Bigneſs of an Oſtrich-Egg floating upon the Water, which ſunk when the Ship came within fifty or ſixty Paces of it; our Pinnace's Crew ſaid they ſaw a great many of them. It reſembled a Man's Head without Hair, and ſome ſay they obſerved two black Eyes and a Mouth upon it: We likewiſe ſaw a ſtrange ſort of Fiſh, about as large as an ordinary Lamprey, and equally round, with a large Fin or Creſt, which ſeemed to be above a Foot high over its Head, and ſloped in a continued Series down to its Tail. It ſwims upon one Side, ſo that the Fin, together with the Body, repreſents a large Fiſh in a triangular Form, and it makes its Way by ſhifting from one Side to the other; but when it catches its Prey, the Fin is ſtraight, and appears above the Water to be of an aſhy Colour, though the Body of the Fiſh is as white and as round as a Tallow-candle.

5. On the Tenth we were in 31° 45′ S. Lat. the Needle varying 12° 20′ N. E. the Twentieth our Lat. was 24°, and the Variation 9° 30′. Here we ſaw a great deal of Wreck, or Sea-graſs, of a reddiſh Colour, which ſome ſay comes from the *Triſtan de Acuna-Iſlands.* The next Day there happened a violent Storm, the Wind at Weſt, which had almoſt broke down our Maſts, our Topmaſt-Sails being then out. Such Storms are common, and very violent in thoſe Seas in Winter; but it was then Summer there, and the Autumn was juſt approaching. On the 8th of *March* our Lat. was 34°, and the Variation no more than 20′, which I took for a certain Sign that we were not above ſeventy or ſeventy-ſix Leagues off of the *Cape of Good-Hope.*

The 11th we ſaw Trambs, or Sea-weeds, about three or four Fathoms long, Cormorants, Sea-Bears, and the Fowls called by the *Portugueze* Alcatras, which are white all over, only the Tips of their Wings are black; and all theſe were certain Signs of our approaching to the Land. We likewiſe ſaw innumerable Shoals of Porpoiſes, and a great many Whales; towards Night we diſcovered Land, and found the common Navigation to be very juſt, being then in 33° Lat. which is over-againſt the Bay of *de Soldaigna.* We reſolved to ſteer our Courſe to the *Table-Bay*, which lay from us about twenty Leagues S. E. a Quarter S. in order to take in Freſh-water; but the Wind being contrary, that is, S. and the Tides being N. N. W. we did not arrive at the *Table-Bay* till the 15th at Night, at which Time we caſt Anchor there, having loſt only one Boy in the Voyage. The next Day I ſent fifty Men on Shore with Sails to make Tents of; when the Boat returned, they told me they had found ſeveral Corpſe of dead Men and Cloaths ſcattered up and down, and a ſmall Fortification of Earth, which we gueſſed to be built by the *Danes*, for one of the Natives that ſpoke a ſort of Jargon of broken *Engliſh*, gave us to underſtand, though more by his Signs than his Language, that five Ships had ſailed from thence to the Eaſtward about three Months before.

The 19th it continued to be very ſtormy, with a North-Eaſt Wind. Some Muſquetteers, whom we had ſent in Queſt of a Soldier who had ſtraggled from us, reported, that they had paſſed along the South-Side of an Inland Mountain, joining to the *Table* Mountain, where they ſaw an Infinity of very large Baboons and Monkies; and from thence continued their Courſe along the declining Part of the Mountains that bound the Weſtern-Shore, till they deſcried the Sea about half a League off, which I took to be another Bay between this and the *Cape of Good-Hope*, that then they turned back, and when they were upon the Mountains, deſcried the Sea to the Southward, which muſt be that to the Eaſtward of the *Cape of Good Hope.* That they had a plain View of other Mountains, between which and theſe they were upon, there lay an open Plain about ten or twelve Leagues broad, the Soil of which was very good, and capable of producing ſeveral Fruits, the Plain terminating upon the Sea, without any Mountains between *Cape-Falſo* and the *Cape of Good-Hope.* That at the Foot of the Weſtern Mountains they met with Woods and large Trees, like Apple-trees, which bore no Fruit, but were very hard Wood; and in the ſame Place were very pleaſant Paſtures, and ſome Cattle, and excellent clear Water.

This Report inſpired me with a Curioſity to ſee the Country; accordingly, the next Day, I walked out by the Back of the *Table* Mountain, and when I was got three Leagues into the Country, obſerved very good Grounds, ſprinkled with Graſs and pleaſant Flowers, with a ſmall Rivulet of Freſh-water gliding along the Plain, and loſing itſelf in the Sea at the Foot of the Bay, at a Place where there is no great Confluence of Water, which we call the River. This Rivulet riſes out of the Mountains that lie between the Point of the Cape and this Bay, and ſerve for Boundaries to the Weſtern-Sea. I likewiſe obſerved that this Rivulet makes ſeveral Fens to the Northward, along the Downes or Banks of Sand, that terminate the Bay and to that Place which we call the River, where Barks of fifty or ſixty Tun may enter at High-water. I returned along the Mountain, and, at the Foot of the *Table* Mountain to the Southward, met with a great many Trees, ſome of which afford Planks a Foot broad, and eighteen or twenty Foot long, their Trunks being ſtraight like that of a Pear-tree, their Leaves whitiſh and ſmall; their Bark about two Inches thick and reddiſh; the Heart of the Wood white and hard, and the whole Tree full of Sap.

I likewiſe obſerved Herbs of the ſame Nature with thoſe in our Country, ſuch as Sorrel, Fern, Broom, *&c.* From this Mountain I ſaw *Cape-Falſo*, and the Sea that waſhes the Eaſt-ſide of the Cape, which forms a large Bay as far as the Cape, where a great many Rocks ſhoot out into the Sea, that muſt needs be dangerous to Ships on a Southern Wind. Upon the Side of the Mountains of *Cape-Falſo* there runs either a great River, or an Arm of the Sea, that ſhoals very far up; and I obſerved the like upon the Inland Side of the Mountains upon the *Cape of Good-Hope.* Upon all theſe Mountains there are great Quantities of Goats, Fallow-deer as big as Harts, Partridges, and all Sorts of Fowl; Baboons, Monkies, Lions, white Wolves, Foxes, Porcupines, Oſtriches, and other Animals, unknown to me. In this Day's Journey I ſaw one of the Natives, they having retired for fear of us.

6. Thoſe who lived towards the Point of the Cape, are the moſt miſerable Savages yet diſcovered, for they neither ſow nor cultivate the Ground; neither do they fiſh, or venture themſelves two Steps into the Sea. They are of a very low Stature, eſpecially their Women, and are ſo meagre that they always look as if they were dying for Hunger. Their common Food is ſome white Roots, about the Bigneſs of Cheſnuts, which have a Stalk like a Leek, only a little narrower, and not indented, that bear a white Flower. If they find any Cockle-fiſh, or Whales, or any other dead Fiſh upon the Shore, tho' never ſo much putrified, they throw them upon a Fire, and then feed heartily upon them; nay, when the very Skins, Heads, and Entrails of the Sea-Bears and Penguins, which our Men fed upon, were thrown out of the Tents, and had lain for ſeven or eight Days, till their Stench obliged our Men to remove their Tents, and ſcared the Wolves and other Wild-Beaſts from touching them: Even then, I ſay, the Savages would take them up, and after having put them under the Aſhes and ſqueezed them between two Stones, would eat up every Bit of them.

When they meet an *European*, the firſt Thing they do is, to ſhew their Stomach, which they throw into their Body, ſo that makes a Hollow, or great Pit upon their Breaſt. They have Wars one with another, probably upon account of their Cattle, which they do not eat, unleſs theſe are ready to die through Leanneſs, Age, or any other Accident. They cover their Privities with Sheeps Tails, and wear the Skin of a Sheep, or ſome other Animal, over one Shoulder, like a Scarf. The better ſort have dried Tripe about their Necks, upon which there hangs a little Knife ſhaped like a Launce, in a Wooden-ſheath; and this I take to be the Inſtrument with which they cut off one of their Teſticles at ten or twelve Years of Age, that being a Cuſtom among them, perhaps to qualify themſelves for running, in which Exerciſe they outdo all the Nations that ever I ſaw.

Some hang upon their Necks a Plate of Copper, as thin as a Teſtoon, and about a Hand long, and four or five Inches broad; others wear Bracelets, being Pieces of Copper or Iron, with a Hole in the Middle. Thoſe who ſeem to have ſome Command over the reſt, have commonly a Stick in their Hands, with a Fox's Tail at the End of it. I could not perceive any Religion among them. They marry indeed, and dance, and their common Salutation to us is dancing to a Song, which, from the Beginning to the End, is nothing elſe but *Hautitou*. Their Arms are an Aſſagay, with a weak Sort of a Bow and a Quiver, which they hide under ſome Buſhes when they come to our Tents. They are very apt to ſteal any thing of Iron or Copper, but Linnen or Cloaths they do not covet.

They are Negroes, and have frizzled Hair, as well as thoſe in *Guinea*, but they wear no Ornament upon it. They have no Cottages to live in that I could perceive; but in the Night-Time they ſhelter themſelves, with their Wives and Children, with Buſhes, and have ſome Skins, ſtretched like an Umbrella, upon two Sticks laid a-croſs, with one in the Middle to faſten it in the Ground, under which they lie buried in the Sand quite up to their Belly. They are altogether ignorant of Agriculture and the making of Canoos; whereas could they but tack ſome Pieces of Wood together to convey them to the Iſlands juſt by the Continent, they would find vaſt Quantities of Penguins and Sea-Bears (which to them are moſt delicious Food) not only for their own Suſtenance, but for Sale among their Neighbours.

This *Table-Bay* lies in 34° Lat. the Needle varying 1° 45′ N. W. Its Air is very wholeſome. Sometimes you may treat here with the Natives for Beef and Mutton, but that is very uncertain. It is a ſecure Road to anchor in, and has about ſix or eight Fathom Water: There is more Rain and Wind in the Bay than aſhore, for the high Mountains ſtop the Clouds and Vapours, which being driven by the Wind, break and fall down in Hurricanes upon the Bay. The Height of the *Table-Mountain*, from the Sea-Side to the Top, is 1350 Foot perpendicular.

7. Some of our Men going aſhore, happened to light upon a great Stone, with two little Packs of pitched Canvas, underneath which we afterwards found ſome *Dutch* Letters. When we opened them, we found, firſt, a Piece of pitched Canvas, then a Plate of Lead wrapped round the Packet, under that two Pieces of freſh Cloth, then a Piece of red Frize, all wrapped round a Bag of coarſe Linnen, in which were the Letters very ſafe and dry. They contained an Account of ſeveral Ships that had paſſed by that Way, particularly of an *Engliſh* Advice-Boat that was gone to *England* to acquaint the Company with the Injuries the *Dutch* had done them in the *Eaſt-Indies*. They alſo gave Notice to all Ships that paſſed that Way, to take care of the Natives who had murdered ſeveral of their Crew, and ſtole ſome of their Water-caſks. Farther, they contained Advice that the *Dutch* had beſieged *Bantam* with thirty-five Ships, and that the *Engliſh* were forced to abandon it for want of Proviſions; that the King of *Bantam* and the *Dutch* committed ſeveral Acts of Hoſtilities, and many other Things too long to be inſerted.

Having read this Letter, I was at a Loſs whether I ſhould go to *Bantam* or not, for I readily imagined that *Bantam* being blocked up by the *Dutch*, they would not ſuffer us to enter, and far leſs to traffick there, ſince they always endeavoured there to keep the Trade out of our Hands: Beſides, I was apprehenſive they might carry the Place, in regard that Prince *Mataran*, who called himſelf Emperor of all *Java*, and alledges, that the King of *Bantam* revolted from him, would readily join with the *Dutch* in reducing the Rebel King. Upon theſe Conſiderations I reſolved to ſteer my Courſe to the Coaſt of *Cormandel*, to put off ſome Goods that were proper for that Coaſt, and buy up others that ſhould be ſaleable at *Achen*, and upon the Coaſts of *Sumatra* and *Java*; and, after all, to take in at *Java* a Ship's Loading of Pepper; after which, if the Siege continued, to leave there a Factory with the Pinnace to trade up and down the Coaſt; but, if the Siege was raiſed, I deſigned not to ſettle any Factory at *Achen*, but to ſend one of the Ships back to *France*, and the other, together with the Pinnace to *Bantam*, where we might get two or thre hundred *per Cent.* upon the Coaſt-goods, and there to load the Ship, and leave a Factory, together with the Pinnace.

In the mean time I called to mind that the Directors intended I ſhould go ſtrait to *Bantam*, and ſend at leaſt one of their Ships back to *France* that Year, which I could not do if I touched upon the Coaſt of *Coromandel*: Beſides, if the Siege ſhould happen to be raiſed, I was apprehenſive the Company would blame me for not following their Orders; but even that Conſideration was counterpoiſed by this, that I could not at any rate ſend back one of their Ships that Year, ſince I could not reach the Coaſt of *Sunda* till *Auguſt*, nor get out from thence till *October* or *November*, by reaſon of contrary Winds, and upon that Score I ſhould be obliged to ſpend the whole Year without doing any thing, and eat up all my Proviſions, which in that Country are ſo ſcarce, that the *Engliſh* are forced to ſpread themſelves along the Coaſt to be ſupplied; not to mention that I ſhould be expoſed to the Diſcretion of the *Dutch*, who never meaned us well. Having maturely weighed all theſe Conſiderations, I aſked Advice of the principal Deputies, ſome of which ſaid they would ſubmit to my Judgment, and others told me, that ſince I had a poſitive Commiſſion for *Bantam*, and ſince *Bantam* was a Place of too great Importance to the *Dutch* to be long at Variance with the King, I had beſt ſteer my Courſe thither. Theſe different Opinions put me upon another Expedient of ſending the *Hope* to *Bantam*, and giving her Captain, Mr. *Grave*, an ample Commiſſion.

8. On the 3d of *April* we weighed Anchor, and being becalmed, about two Leagues off from the Bay, were driven by the great Waves coming from the South, and the Tides running North upon a little Iſland, and caſt Anchor within a League of it in twenty Fathom Water, the Ground being muddy Sand. The Iſle lay from us North one Quar-

ter North-Eaſt, and the Southerly Waves made us roll prodigiouſly, ſo that every thing in the Ship cracked. This Iſland is almoſt round, and about a large League in Circumference; within it affords nothing but Sand, and ſome Buſhes, under which the Penguins hatch their Eggs; a great many Rats and Adders live in it, as well as Chamæleons and Lizards. Upon its Rocks, by the Sea-Side, we ſaw a great many Sea-Bears, which bleat like Sheep, ſome of which are very large, and have a Skin as thick as a Wolf's, with very ſoft Hair. Both theſe and the Penguins taſte very rank of Oil, of which a great Quantity might be taken from them if one were at the Pains. They have two Paws before, and two Fins behind; they cannot ſtay long under Water without taking Air; they live upon Fiſh, and in the Night-time retire to the Rocks.

The Penguins are Fowls without Wings, which have two Fins, and two broad Paws, upon which they walk upright, and with which they dig the Ground to make their Neſts. They are a little bigger than a Cormorant, having a white Belly, a black Back, a very thick Head, and a Bill like a Raven. In the Morning they repair to the Sea, where they ſwim, and feed upon Fiſh, and at Night they return to their Neſts; they have nothing of the Taſte of Fleſh, and for my Part I take them to be feathered Fiſh. While I was aſhore there was ſuch a Storm from the South-Eaſt, that I could not reach the Ships, but was forced to ſtay upon the Iſland all Night, notwithſtanding that it was a perfect Calm where the Ships rode; on the 7th it thundered and lightened violently, and the next Day the Weſterly Winds began to ſwell, beſides that the Fog was ſo thick, that we could not ſee from one End of the Ship to the other: Upon which, having given a Signal for the other Ships to follow me, by the Sound of Trumpets and Drums, I returned ſounding all the way, and caſt Anchor in *Table Bay*. On the 12th we weighed Anchor again, and all that Day but little Wind, and that very variable: However, on the 14th we doubled the *Cape of Good-Hope*, and the 15th were in 36° Latitude.

The Day following we had a violent Storm from the North-Eaſt at full Moon, which we foreſaw the Night before; for at Sun-ſetting reddiſh Rays aſcended from the Sun, and underneath him was a Bank of the ſame Colour; towards the Wind there appeared, as it were, a Circle from the Centre, of which there proceeded great Rays; under the Wind there appeared a great blackiſh Cloud, and in the Middle of it we ſaw what the *Portugueze* call the Ox's Eye, which is generally taken notice of as the Forerunner of a great Storm. When the Moon came low, the Sea ſwelled mightily, and the Storm was indeed very great, notwithſtanding that the Air was ſo clear, that in the Night-time we ſaw the riſing and ſetting of the Stars. The Storm parted me from the other two Ships till the 17th, that the Wind abated, and became ſoutherly; after which I perceived our two Ships about a League before, and found, to my great Admiration, that none of them had ſuſtained any Harm: However, this wonderful Deliverance made me reſolve not to part with the *Hope*, but to go all in Company to *Bantam*, purſuant to my Orders; accordingly I dropped all my former Projects, and ſailed Eaſt and South-Eaſt directly for *Bantam*; but on the 12th of *April*, in 36° Latitude, and 12° North-Weſt Variation of the Needle, a violent Storm overtook us, and not only broke my Bow-ſprit, but damaged the Pinnace's Maſt; upon which I was obliged to take up my former Reſolution of ſending Captain *Grave* with the *Hope*, ſtrait to *Bantam*, deſigning to carry my own Ship and the Pinnace to *Madagaſcar*, in order to have them refitted.

9. On the 1ſt of *May* I parted with the *Hope* in 37° 30′ South Latitude, and 18° Longitude, reckoning the *Cape of Good-Hope* for the Meridian. The 17th in the Morning we deſcried *Tillac* about ten Leagues off, which is a running Coaſt that appears very high, and that Night had Sight of *Auguſtine*'s Bay.

The 17th we were oppoſite to the two little Iſlands of Sand, which lie about three Leagues from the Bay, which having no Trees upon them, lie very low; but in the Night-Time the contrary Winds carried us Weſt-North-Weſt, where finding none, and not being able to make the Bay, I reſolved to ſtand for the Iſlands of *Comorro*. During the light Quarter of the Moon, in theſe Seas the Surface is very plain and ſmooth, and the Air very clear. While we ſtood for theſe Iſlands the Wind turned North, upon which I tacked about for the Bay, and arrived there on the 21ſt, anchoring in ſeventeen Fathom Water upon a Clay about a Quarter of a League from Shore. On the 22d I went with two Long-boats, and fifteen Muſketeers, to obſerve the River: Upon our Approach to the Shore we obſerved nine or ten of the Natives upon a Point of Sand, who made a Signal to come to them: Upon this we went aſhore, and though we were armed, they joined and talked with us above an Hour, ſignifying by their Language and Signs that they were very well pleaſed with us, and would viſit us next Day on Board. They were very curious in obſerving what Things we had about us, and one of them, who ſeemed to be a leading Man, ſpying a Silver Whiſtle with a Chain to it that my Mate had about him, begged it very earneſtly. I ordered the Mate to ſhew it him, though I was ſorry for the Diſcovery, for fear they ſhould inſiſt upon having that, and no other Commodity, in Exchange for theirs, and for that Reaſon had cautioned all our Men to hide them. However, they all liked it mightily, and the chief Man among them promiſed to give for it an Ox, which might be worth twenty Crowns at leaſt: Upon which I made him underſtand that we could not ſell it, becauſe we had Uſe for it; but if any of them would come aboard, I would ſhew them things that they would like as well.

Without farther Deliberation, this principal Man and three others embarked with us, deſiring that ſo many of our Men might be left aſhore, which I agreed to. In the mean time, at one Caſt of a Sean, we drew up an infinite Number of little Fiſh, reſembling Herrings both in Form and Taſte; but I could not make any material Remarks upon the River, only that it was very great, and very rapid. The Natives of this Place are the handſomeſt Negroes that ever I ſaw; they are large, and well ſhaped, they feed well, and are neither flat noſed, nor thick lipped, neither do they ſtink like the *Guinea* Negroes. They are very curious in their Hair, which is long, frizzled, raiſed upwards, and made up in Wreaths at the Top. Their Teeth are very white, even, and ſmall, and they rub them every Minute with a ſmall Piece of Wood; their Garment is a Cotton Cloth all woven, of two or three Colours, with which they cover their Privities, the reſt of their Body being naked. As for their Ornaments, he whom we took to be the chief Man, had a large Plate, like a Piece of Bone or Ivory, perfectly white upon his Forehead, a large Ring of Copper at his Ears, about his Neck a Collar of Raſſade, beſides Glaſs Beads of ſeveral Colours, and a Necklace of fine yellow Amber, which he eſteemed very much; the reſt had Ornaments correſponding to all his, excepting the Trinkets on his Forehead. As ſoon as we came on Board of the Ship the Natives were ſurprized at its Size, and mightily taken with the Sound of the Trumpets and Drums: I preſented them with ſome enamelled Rings, and others of Pearl and falſe Amber, and entertained them with Diſcourſe till Supper was ready.

But in the mean time they were ſeized with the Sea-Sickneſs, inſomuch that they would needs go upon Deck, and lie upon a Sail. One of them who was not ſo ſick as the reſt, did nothing but jeer his Companions all Night, and imitated every Word that the Men upon the Watch ſaid to one another. In a word, theſe are very jolly Negroes, and have nothing in them that is brutiſh; they readily apprehend what is ſaid to them, and in my Opinion are much preferable to all other Negroes. Next Morning, by Break of Day, I went to look for my Gueſts, and found them upon their Legs, and much better than before: Then I ſhewed them ſeveral little things I thought they would like, ſuch as Coral, yellow Amber cut fine, Raſſades of all Colours, (they liked the blue, red and green, but not the white) Knives, Razors, Combs, Iron, Tin Veſſels, a Copper Baſon, and red Cloth, as well as Cloth of other Colours. They ſeemed to like every thing, and deſired the Gift of them.

But when I ſpoke of their Beeves, they always came back to the Silver Whiſtle and the Chain. Finding I could make nothing of them, I ſent them aſhore again, as well as ſome of our Men, with ſeveral of the above-mentioned Goods, to try what they could do with the other Natives. One of the Natives offered a fat large Ox, with Bunches upon his Shoulders (like to thoſe on Camels Backs) in Exchange for a Copper Baſon; but he that bore the Trinket on his Forehead ſpoke to him, upon which he gave back the Baſon, and aſked for a Silver Whiſtle with a Chain to it. In fine, I found they reſolved not to truck with me for any thing elſe but Silver Chains. The next Day, hearing that the Natives were come down to Shore with their Cattle, I ſent our Men aſhore with Chains of Steel, Lattin, Copper, Jet, and other things reſembling Pearl, ordering them to conceal the Silver Chain, and not exchange it till they had tried if any of the former would do; for I had no mind to make them acquainted with that Metal; but after all, they gave me to know, that they would deal in no other thing but the Silver Chain, and would give no more than one Cow for as much of it as would go round the Neck of the talleſt of them, and meet with two Ends at his Navel.

Being unwilling to part with the Silver Chain, and at the ſame time in great Want of their Cattle, becauſe we could not live upon Fiſh, I reſolved to have a Chain made of Pewter, by a Goldſmith that we had on Board, and for that End melted a Platter, hoping to do as much with a Pewter Chain as with a Silver one; for when I offered them Silver and Pewter Spoons in a Heap together, they choſe the Pewter ones, becauſe they were neweſt. In like manner, when I offered them a large Silver Baſon, and Silver Cups, and even a Chain of Gold, they would give me nothing for them, but ſtill wanted the Chain that was along with the Whiſtle. The next Day they came aboard without Hoſtages, and brought with them ſome Hens and Capons, a pretty deal of Milk, ſome Peaſe, and ſome Horn Spoons, made after their Faſhion. Theſe were very fond of our red Raſſade, but we had but very little of it; however, we exchanged what we had at a pretty good rate, for they gave us a large Capon, or ſome ſuch Poultry, for every String of it. Theſe Natives lodged all Night on Board of us, and were not ſick as the others were; they fed heartily, and eat a great deal of broiled Fiſh, and thrice as much Bread as any of our Men. The Peaſe they ſold us were white, and as large as a Muſket-Ball, and the beſt I ever ſaw; they eat them raw, and next to their Milk I believe they are their beſt Food.

10. On the 26th, I ſent ſome red Raſſade and the Tin Chain aſhore, but they quickly perceived that the Chain was not the right; they gave us Fowls for half a String of Raſſade a Piece, as well as a Weather for one String, and Aſſagays and Darts very well made for half a String apiece. Theſe Natives work very prettily in Iron and Copper, and to my Mind, their Iron, of which they have great Plenty, is as good as any in *Spain*. They ſold us a ſmall Quantity of Rice, which they valued very high. When our red Raſſade was all gone, I ſhewed them ſome red Coral, Chriſtal, and other pretty little things, but they did not like them. On the 27th they brought down as many Cattle as covered a Quarter of a League, and ſtill demanded the Silver Chain for an Ox, the red Raſſade for their Sheep and Pullets, and the Blue for their Milk, of which they brought great Quantities for the Silver Chain. I demanded three Oxen and a Sheep for two Strings of red Raſſade. In the mean time their King, or Governor, ſent me word to come aſhore (for I marketed in my Long-boat) and ſhew him the Chain, but I gave him to know that I could not come aſhore; but if he would be pleaſed to come on Board, he ſhould be very ſafe, and I would ſend ſome of my Men aſhore for Hoſtages.

After ſome Deliberation he came on Board, and I was ſorry I had no nice thing to preſent him with; however, having four Strings of red Raſſade in my Hand, though I thought them too mean a Preſent for him, yet finding he looked upon them with an agreeable Eye, I complemented him with them, which he accepted with Pleaſure, and gave me a Sheep for my Recompence. I had a great mind to have given him the half of the Silver Chain, which was five Foot and an half long, and weighed three Ounces and an half; but conſidering, if I was prodigal of the Chain, I ſhould have nothing to fetch Beeves, or elſe I ſhould be obliged to rob the Mates of their Silver Whiſtles, I put it off till the next Opportunity. But ſome time after the King reflecting upon the Chain, ſent one of the ſtatelieſt Oxen I ever ſaw, which we bought for half the Chain; but we had a great deal of Trouble in bringing it aboard; for though it received in its Head two Piſtol-Shot, one Harquebuſe, and one Muſket Shot, yet it was ſo ſtrong, that we were forced to ſtifle it under Water, and give it ſeveral Blows on the Head with an Axe before we could get it on Board: Such an Ox might be worth an hundred Livres in *France*. Theſe Oxen are neither high, nor ſo large as thoſe in our Country; but they are ſhort and thick, their Head is ſmall, their Neck ſhort, with a large Bump or Lump of Fat upon the joining of the Neck to the Shoulder, which at a Diſtance appears as if it were a Burthen tied upon that Part. Their Sheep reſemble thoſe of *Barbary* as to their Head and Wool; but their Ears hang down like a Hound's, and their Tail contains ten or twelve Pound of pure Fat, which does not diſturb the Stomach as the Fat of the Body does; their Fowls are large, fat, and well taſted. In a word, their Men are in ſo good a Caſe, and the Cattle ſo fat, that the Iſland muſt needs be a very good Country. As to their Fruit, I queſtion whether we were there in their Seaſon, at leaſt they brought us none but a little Rice, ſome Beans, and very large white Peaſe.

They have a great many Gourds and Bottles made of them, in which they put their Milk. The 28th I was to ſee a little Iſland in the Mouth of the River, and then returned to the Place of Barter, where the Natives waited for us with a great Number of Cattle. This Day I bargained to double the Advantage of what I did Yeſterday; but having allowed ſome of our Men to go aſhore and treat for themſelves, whether they ſpoiled the Market by being too prodigal of their Commodities, I cannot tell; but ſo it was, that the Natives all of a ſudden demanded four Strings of red Raſſade for a Sheep; whereas they had ſold me ſeveral for two apiece but juſt before; upon which I called all my Men into the Boat, for I always marketed in my Long-boat from the Commencement of the Treaty.

I had no ſooner recalled my Men, but the Governor of the Natives, whom they call *Aurea*, appeared in a Paſſion, and ordered all the Natives to retire. Leſt our mutual Friendſhip ſhould be thus broke, I made a Signal that I would ſpeak with the Governor, upon which he came down to the Shore Side, and I going aſhore, preſented him a Cutlaſs with a Silver Hilt, aſſuring him that I was his Friend, and earneſtly deſired that I and my Men ſhould live in perfect Amity with him and his People. This done, he expreſſed a great deal of Satisfaction, the Negroes made loud Acclamations of Joy, and I cauſing the Trumpets to ſound, and the Drums to beat, ordered a Party of our Men to come aſhore, who joined in and ſhook Hands with the Natives; in the mean time the Governor made me ſit down by him, and admiring the Trumpets and Drums, offered me an Ox for one of either; but I told him I could not part with them. After that we ſold the reſt of our Silver Chains for two Heifers, and a String of Coral Beads for an Ox, and then we returned on Board, giving the Natives to underſtand, that within four or five Days I ſhould be gone, which they heard with Grief. The next Day one of our Officers went on Shore and ſold four Ounces of a Silver Chain for ſix luſty Oxen, which I ordered to be ſalted.

11. On the 1ſt Day of *June* I went into our little Skiff with twelve Men, deſigning to reach the Mountains by a ſmall Creek, and from thence to deſcry the Vallies where the River runs; but finding the Creek very inacceſſible, and ſurrounded with Buſhes, ſteep Rocks, and alſo Plants, I left it, and rowed about half a League up an Arm of the River to the Southward, where I found a Landing-Place. Having walked up a third Part of the Mountain, I diſcovered that the other Arm of the River to the Northward was yet greater, for it appeared as broad as the *Seyne* a League below *Roan*. Upon the Sea-ſide, and for two Leagues up the River, there is nothing but thick and black Woods; but beyond that, there are very pleaſant Fields. This Bay is ſo covered with Flats to the North and South, that it is only acceſſible by the N. W. and W. N. W.

I do not believe the great Storms do ever reach it, for the Coaſt does not ſeem to be much beaten by the Waves; and all the fifteen Days I obſerved but one Cloud in the

Zenith; neither is the Heat exceſſive, being tempered by the Land Breezes, that never fail blowing from the Sun-ſetting to Ten or Eleven o'Clock in the Morning, and the Sea-gales that blow from that Time to Sun-ſetting. I found the Air of that Bay very healthy, for we had not one ſick aboard, to which the Abundance we had of freſh Meat and good Water contributed not a little. As for the adjacent Country, the Valley is very pleaſant, and affords excellent Paſturage, being watered with a large River, which would render the Ground very fertile, if it were cultivated. The Sea ſwells the Mouth of the River to ten or twelve Foot running Water, ſo that ordinary Ships might enter it. The Mountains are a dry Rock, the Surface of which looks as if it were burnt. The low Country is clad with an Infinity of Buſhes and Shrubs, and the greateſt Quantity of Tamarinds I ever ſaw, as well as with Ebony, and Aloe-Roots.

Their Tamarinds were not then ripe, but I met with another Fruit, almoſt ripe, that reſembled a large Walnut, having a green Rind, which, when I opened it, gave a fragrant Smell, and the Fruit within it was black, and full of little Stones, like *Caſſia Fiſtula*, and the Pulp being of the ſame Taſte and Colour, though not ſo thick, was, as I take it, of the ſame Qualities. This Fruit is called Tamborins, and ſaid to reſemble Poppy-Heads, but without any Reaſon. We ſaw, in the Hands of the Savages, ſome ſmall Cucumbers, which ſeemed to be better than ours, which they eat as we do Pears, a great many Gourds, ſome Beans, very good Peas, and a little Rice, and only one Citron. The Natives are jolly, proper, handſome Negroes, they are very friendly one to another, and obey one Sovereign, called *Aurea*, and he was only his Deputy, to whom I made a Preſent of the ſilver Cutlaſs, for they told me, with great Concern, that their Aurea had been ſtabbed. I could not perceive them guilty of any bruiſh or inhuman Action, for they dealt with us very friendly and honeſtly; they did not ſteal the leaſt odd Thing, or offer the ſmalleſt Injury to our Men.

One Day, when one of our Prieſts was ſaying Maſs, and had but very few Auditors, twenty-five or thirty of the Natives came about him, and being deſired to kneel did ſo, and behaved themſelves very reſpectfully till the Sermon was over. As for Religion, I could perceive none they had amongſt them: Indeed they are circumciſed, and though the Inſtitution came to them time out of mind, yet I believe they had it from the *Mohammedans* upon the Coaſt of *Ethiopia*, who have long had, and ſtill have, Traffick with that Country. Their Language ſounds pretty ſmooth, for they pronounce it very glibly. They do not reckon beyond Ten in Computations, and their ten Numbers are thus expreſſed in Order, *Iſſa*, *Rowa*, *Tello*, *Eſſad*, *Linne*, *Euning*, *Frutto*, *Virollo*, *Sinay*, *Foulo*. As for their Women, and their Houſes, I ſaw neither. Some of our Men told me, they left their Women about half a League off in the Woods, and that they ſaw three or four of them that were very handſome, being covered from their Breaſt to their Knees with a party-coloured Cloth of Cotton, and having their Ears pierced in many Places, with a great many Ear-rings and Bracelets hanging upon them.

Having refitted our Ships, and furniſhed ourſelves with freſh Proviſions, Wood, and Freſh-water, and rode fifteen Days in this Bay, which is a very proper Place for taking in freſh Proviſions, and ſheltering diſtreſſed Ships, and might be made as uſeful for thoſe who trade to the *Indies* as *Mozambique* is to the *Portugueze*. Having rode, I ſay, fifteen Days in this Bay, which lies in the Iſland of *Madagaſcar* or *St. Laurence*, under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, we weighed Anchor and ſtood North-Weſt to avoid the Flats; and, having ſailed all the Day with little Wind, at Night the Bay lay about ten Leagues off S. E. a Quarter E. at which Time we perceived another Bay about ſix Leagues off to the Eaſtward; the Coaſt runs N. and S. as far as we could ſee, and appears high, ſmooth, and all of a Piece, like the Coaſts of *Piccardy*, *Normandy*, and *Bretagne*.

12. *June* the 9th we came in Sight of the *Terra firma*, between *Sophala* and *Mozambique*, and, at Night, being in 9° 10′ Lat. and ſailing N. E. a Quarter E. were in Danger of being caſt away, becauſe our Sea-Charts are very defective in thoſe Parts, for the Pinnace being ordered to ſail a-head and ſound, and, if ſhe apprehended any Danger, to give us a Signal of three Guns; about an Hour and a half before Day, the Signal being given, we immediately tacked about and dropped an Anchor, and when Day came, perceived that if we had gone a little farther we had run our Ship a-ground, for, about a Quarter of a League off there lay a little Iſland, ſcarce a Mile in Circumference, covered with Buſhes and Greens, having two tall Trees together upon its Weſtern Point, and to the W. N.W. of this Iſland, which has a long Bar before it, there lies another of the ſame Bigneſs very low, and covered all over with Trees.

The Continent lay about four Leagues from the firſt Iſland to the S. W. We ſaw a high and ſandy Coaſt with a woody Country behind it, and to the Weſt we deſcried a low Land, with large Trees upon it, as if they had been planted in the Sea. I was ſurprized to ſee the Continent ſo near me, taking my Meaſure from the Sea-Charts; for over Night, when we ſaw the *Terra Firma*, and the Iſlands, we took them, according to the Latitude in the Charts, to be what the *Portugueze* call the *Primieras*, and reckoning theſe three Leagues to the Weſtward of us, the Courſe laid down in the Charts from theſe Iſlands to a large Flat, lying in 16° 30′ about twelve Leagues from the *Terra Firma*, being N. E. and S. W. and the laſt of the *Primieras-Iſlands* being placed in 17°, above ten Leagues from the *Terra Firma*, we reſolved to ſtand N. E. a Quart. E. thinking to ſail nearer to the Flat than the *Primieras-Iſlands*, but we were miſtaken, for the *Primieras-Iſlands* are not above two or three Leagues from the *Terra Firma*, from which the Coaſt runs away E. a Quart. N. E. Beſides, the Charts have no Flats or Iſlands along that Coaſt, unleſs it be thoſe of *Angoxa*, which are placed more to the Southward, *viz.* 16°; though after all, I ſaw that Morning a String of Iſlands diſtant one from another, and lying 16° 40′, which I took for them; ſo that the Charts miſplaced them alſo two thirds of a Degree. Being at a Loſs to know what little Iſlands theſe were, and finding the Chart ſo much out, I reſolved to ſtay there no longer; accordingly I weighed Anchor, and ſailed between the two Iſlands, the Pinnace ſounding a Head of me.

We ſailed cloſe by the Land-Side of the firſt Iſland, where we had ten or twelve Fathom Water, with a good Ground of muddy Sand, and no Banks, ſo that this Side, together with the Bar, affords a very good Road for Ships; then ſtanding E. S. E. with a freſh ſoutherly Gale, we got clear of the ſecond Iſland, between which and the Continent I doubt not but there is a good Paſſage, for I obſerved not any Banks or Shallows. Having paſſed this ſecond Iſland, we deſcribed a third of the ſame Bigneſs with the former, which convinced me that theſe were the Iſlands of *Angoxa*. The next Day it was as much as we could do to ſee the Land to the North-Weſt of us, being then about ſix Leagues off; but, according the Charts, we ſhould have been above twenty.

13. The thirteenth we deſcribed one of the Iſlands of *Comorro*, which is very high, and as conſpicuous as *Madera*. The next Day we perceived another not ſo high, which is called *Majotta*, and abounds with all ſorts of Proviſions and Fruits, lying about ten Leagues from the Iſland that is neareſt the *Terra firma* of *Mozambique*, the South Point of which we made the next Day, but could find no Conveniency of coming to an Anchor. Notwithſtanding it is inhabited all along the Shore, this laſt Iſland is very cool, moiſt, and full of Verdure, by reaſon of its Height, which gathers a great number of Clouds that break upon it. It has a great many Brooks of Water running down from the Top, which, in my Opinion, does not ſpring from the Rock, but are occaſioned by the continual Vapours and their Condenſation. The ſixteenth we made the North Cape, which is fifteen or ſixteen Leagues diſtant from the South. Having doubled the Cape, we perceived a ſandy Creek, which appeared like an old ruinous Caſtle, where two Ships may ride at Anchor, in ſix Fathom Water, upon a ſandy Ground: We thought to have rode there, but the Tide carried us by it.

Having doubled the Point of this Creek we came before an inhabited Place, furniſhed with Houſes like thoſe of our own Country, where we thought to come to an Anchor; but finding no Bottom but from fifty to thirty Fathom Water, upon a rocky Ground, we ſtood to Sea, deſpairing of Anchorage upon that Iſland. In the mean time the Tide carried us Weſtward along the Coaſt, to a Point where we came in Sight of a Ship, and having ſent out our long Boat with ten Muſketeers, we underſtood it to be a *Mecca* Ship of forty Tuns, that upon our Appearance upon that Coaſt, had run all their Goods on Shore, taking us to be *Dutch* Ships. The Captain ſhewed me two Letters, one from an *Engliſh* Captain called *Martin*, and another from Captain *Bannar*, intimating to all their Countrymen, that they had taken in ſeveral Refreſhments at that Place, eſpecially Fruits, but little Meat; that they had found no Water there; that linnen Cloth and Paper was a proper Commodity for that Place, and adviſing them to take Care of diſobliging the Iſlanders, who tho' they appeared friendly enough, were capable to do them a great deal of Injury.

Having aſked the *Arabian* Maſter where I could find the beſt Conveniency for coming to an Anchor, he told me, the Place of Anchorage lay to the Windward of their Ship, but withal, adviſed me to fetch a Pilot from the Shore, by reaſon that the Road is ſurrounded with Rocks and Banks, and the Inhabitants of the Iſland being great Sorcerers, and having the Wind at their Command, could, upon Occaſion, change it to our Diſadvantage. Purſuant to his Advice, I ſent my Boat aſhore along with him, and in the Afternoon he returned with two of the Inhabitants, who were Negroes, and brought our Ship ſafe to Anchor before Sun-ſet. In the mean time I ſent the *Arabian* Maſter back to his own Ship, with full Aſſurances of the Innocency of our Deſign, and the friendly Diſpoſition of the *French*, together with a Letter to the ſame Purpoſe, addreſſed in *Spaniſh* to the King.

On the ſeventeenth, the King ſent ſome of his chief Favourites to aſſure us of his Friendſhip, and Readineſs to ſupply us with the Product of his Country. I acknowledged my Obligations to the Prince, and ſent him a Preſent of a ſilver-hilted Hanger, a couple of very pretty Knives, a Ream of Paper, and a Looking-glaſs, which he received with Pleaſure, and returned me a Complement of a young Kid and ſome Fruit. At the ſame time I deſired the *Arabian* Captain, who was then aſhore, to buy ſome Proviſions for me, promiſing to ſend ſuch Commodities as were proper to be given in Exchange; but the Captain ſent me Word, that the Inhabitants of that Iſland were of ſuch a particular Humour, that they would not ſtrike a Bargain of half a Rial Value in a Day's Time, for that they would not buy half a Yard of Cloth without calling all their Relations and Neighbours to concert the Meaſures of the Bargain. I was likewiſe informed by a *Portugueze*, that a *Portugueze* Carrack had been loſt upon that Iſland about three Years before, and by that Means the Inhabitants were ſo over-ſtock'd with Rials, that they put no Eſteem upon that Coin.

Accordingly I found, that tho' they had vaſt Quantities of Fruits, they would not ſell them to our Men for Money, but only for Paper, white Cloth and Knives; in fine, I perceived, that it would coſt me a Fortnight's Attendance to make up two Pipes of Peaſe, which I wanted, tho' I did not deſign to ſtay above three or four Days. The eighteenth, having deſcried a couple of Ships of that Country, I brought the Cadtains a Board, who acquainted me, that they came from the Iſland of *Majotta*, were laden with Rice and dried Fleſh, and bound for *Monbaze*. Next Day they ſupplied me with as much Rice, Peaſe, and hung Beef, as would ſerve us for four Months, and I was glad of the Opportunity, for I could buy nothing from the Inhabitants without an infinite Loſs of Time; beſides, I began to ſuſpect the Honeſty of their Intentions, for the Day before, when we were ſounding for Anchorage, ſome of the Inhabitants gave us a Signal to come to a Place where we ſpied a long Ridge of Rocks, and had certainly been loſt, if we had anſwered the Signal; and upon that ſcore, I preſumed, that the Advantage they had made by the Shipwreck of the *Portugueze* Carrick tempted them to wiſh us the like Fate.

The twentieth I thought to have taken up ſome freſh Water on Shore, but finding it blackiſh, and hard to be put on Board, by reaſon of the great Waves, and obſerving withal, that the Ship road in the midſt of Shelves, I dropped that Deſign, and weighed Anchor on the twenty-firſt by break of Day. The *Arabian* Captain underſtanding that I deſigned to double Cape *Comorrin*, had adviſed me to ſtop at the Iſle of *Soccotora* for ſix Weeks, to avoid the uſual Storms upon the Coaſt of *Malabar*. I would gladly have taken one of their Pilots along with me, to ſhew me the Coaſting of that Iſland, but they pleaded the Difference of the Religion, and our Mens eating of Pork, for an Excuſe.

14. This Iſle of *Nangaſija* extends itſelf from North to South about fifteen or ſixteen Leagues, with about three or four Leagues in Breadth. We could obſerve no Anchorrage round it but that where our Ship rode, which lies upon the N. N. W. Point in 11° 80′ *S.* Lat. but the middle of the Iſland is in 12°. In that Place we rode at 25 or 30 Fathom Water, upon a Ground of Sand; but within a Piſtol Shot of us there lay Flats, which had not above two Feet Water at low Water, and rocky Ground all about. It is a very dangerous Road, and hard to be found by Strangers. Indeed, among many Inconveniencies, it has theſe Advantages, that the Tide always runs againſt the Wind, ſo that the Ships ride eaſy, and that cauſes a kind of perpetual Calm at Sea, becauſe the Wind then takes the Land. Beſides the Inconveniency of Anchorage, it is likewiſe a very improper Place to take in freſh Proviſions, for its Water is very bad, and the Inhabitants are ſo over cautious, that they will be two Hours in marketing to the Value of Five-pence; ſo that *Majotta* is upon that ſcore infinitely preferable to it.

The Iſland itſelf affords a pleaſant Proſpect, eſpecially to the Northward, for on that Side the Mountains riſe gradually, being covered with ſeveral ſorts of Trees, and below, upon a clear Creek of Sand, along the Sea-ſhore, there ſtand a great many Houſes, ſheltered with an infinite number of Cocoa, Orange and Citron Trees. Their Oranges are very ſmall, but very ſweet and delicious, reſembling both in Shape and Taſte thoſe of *China*. The Inhabitants are Negroes, and call their Iſland *Nangaſija*. They are all very zealous *Mohammedans*, and marked with a hot Iron, upon the Temples, and middle of their Forehead. They are neither ſo handſome, nor ſo well ſhaped as the Negroes of *St. Laurence*. The Iſland is governed by fifteen petty Kings, of whom the King of the Place where is the Anchorage, is the ſtrongeſt, and beſt allied. Theſe Kings war with one another, and ſell their Priſoners of War to the *Portugueze*, and other Nations.

Their Fighting conſiſts in throwing of Stones, beating one another with Sticks, burnt at the End, and flinging Sand in one anothers Eyes. We ſaw no Arms among them but what the King had, and thoſe were Fuzees and Piſtols, with which the *Engliſh* preſented him ſometime ago, which he valued mightily. They are reckoned great Sorcerers, but are civil and reſpectful enough to Strangers, unleſs it be when they ſee a Stranger ſtand upright and make Water, for then they ridicule him with a prodigious Shouting. The *Arabian* Ships, which they call *Pengays*, are ſtrangely built, for the Planks are neither nail'd nor caulk'd, but ſewed together with a ſort of Thread made of the Rind of Cocoa Tree, and tarred, or pitched above the Seams, ſo that they are very leaky, and there are always five or ſix Men employed to heave out the Water; beſides, that they always obſerve the Trade-Winds, ſo as to ſail right before the Wind, for they wont venture to ſet their Side to the Windward. They are undeck'd, and carry about fifty or ſixty Tuns. When we weighed Anchor in this Road, we ſtood N. N. E. and without the Points of the Land met with violent Tides, bearing to the Weſtward, *i. e.* S. S. W. At Night we deſcried another ſmall Iſland to the Sea-ward, which muſt be that called in the Maps *Juan de Caſtraval*, and lies fifteen Leagues N. E. and a Quarter N. from *Nangoſija*.

15. The twenty-eighth we croſſed the Equinoctial Line, and *July* the firſt, the Wind blowing very high, we ſailed fifty-five Leagues in twenty-four Hours, notwithſtanding that moſt of our Sails were furled, which gave me to underſtand, that upon that Coaſt the Tides ran rapidly before the Wind. Next Morning we diſcovered a clear and rocky Coaſt, with good Ground, a great Way from it, for at three Leagues Diſtance we had thirty Fathom Water, upon a fine white Sand. On the ſecond of *July* we ſtood againſt the Wind, hoping the Storm would abate upon the Change of the Moon; but by our Latitude found, that the Tide and Storm had carried us thirty-eight Leagues, tho' in the Night we ſtood to Sea, and by Day towards the Land, which ſeemed very wonderful.

The fourth we made Cape *Orpin*, which in the Maps is placed in ten Degrees Latitude, and dropped two Anchors, the Storm ſtill continuing. The eighth it blew ſo very hard, that a Man could not walk upon Deck. Upon which we tried all the Inventions imaginable of lowering our Topmaſt, running out above one hundred and eight Fathom Cable to every Anchor, *&c.* and our Pilots declared us loſt. At the ſame Time our Pinnace was drove from two Anchors, the Ropes being cut by the Rocks. The fourteenth, fifteenth, and ſixteenth, it blew ſtill harder, inſomuch that the Pinnace was obliged to quit the Coaſt, but the ſeventeenth ſhe returned, and caſt Anchor nearer the Shore, at ſix Fathom Water, upon very good Ground.

The high Winds continued without Intermiſſion till the third of *Auguſt*, during which Time we could neither ſend our Boats aſhore, nor hoiſt up a Sail. However, I reſolved to ſtand for Cape *Guardafu*, in order to conſider the State of our Tackling, as well as to take in freſh Water, and receive Directions from the Natives about our Coaſting on *Soccotora*, where none of us had ever been. With this View I fitted out our Long-boat with Proviſions for three Days, ordering the Men, by all Means, to make the Land, and know of the Natives where they might come at freſh Water.

16. They returned on the twelfth, and reported, that they had coaſted along the Shore to the Eaſtward of the Place, where we rode under ſteep Mountains, on the Tops of which they ſaw Perſons in mean *Arabian* Habits, who ſeemed to be Negroes, and threw ſo many Stones on them from the Tops of the Mountains, that they were obliged to ſheer off; for, notwithſtanding all the Signals they could make of Peace and Friendſhip, the Natives ſeemed to intimate by their Swords and Aſſagays, that if they came aſhore, they would cut their Throats. Upon which they ſteer'd to that Part of the Coaſt which was oppoſite to our Anchorage, where ſome of them got up the Precipice, by a Gap, and found an open champain Country, as far as they could ſee, without any Trees, except it was ſome withered Buſhes, and ſome Herbs, burnt up by the Sun: They ſaw likewiſe two or three of the Natives, who fled further into the Country.

Having lain that Night under the Precipice, they ſteered next Day two or three Leagues to the Weſtward, and ſaw ſome Natives along the Shore, who marched up Hill as ſoon as the Boat offered to come near them. After they had doubled the Cape, from which a Ridge of Rocks ſhoots above half a League into the Sea, and there found a large Bay, three Leagues broad, and ſhooting very far into the *Terra Firma*, but very ſhallow; for about two Leagues from the Mouth of it they found but three and four Feet Water, the Ground, Sand and thick Gravel, with a great deal of Wreck, and an Infinity of Fiſh. In this Bay they found two of the Natives a fiſhing, who fled as ſoon as they made up to them. Our Men went aſhore there, and met with a great many of the Inhabitants, who, notwithſtanding all the Signals they could make of a white Standard, ſtill fled from them, crying aloud, *Illa, Alla, Illa la Mohammed reſulala*, which is the *Mohammedan* Confeſſion of Faith.

Upon the Shore they found an *Arabian* Boat with nothing in it; a little further in the Country they met with a few ſmall Trees, and a little Lodge, with two or three very pretty Mats in it, which they did not touch. After they had re-embarked they ſaw the Natives peep out again, but could find no Opportunity of treating with them either by Friendſhip or Force. Upon this unfavourable Report, I reſolved to weigh Anchor as ſoon as the Storm abated. This Anchorage in which we encountered this Seaſon, and which is, indeed, the Winter of that Country, lies in 10° 30′ N. Lat. the Needle varying 17° 40′ N. W. and the Coaſt running E. and W. I would not adviſe any one to pitch upon that Place to lie in till the proper Seaſon of Coaſting upon *Malabar*, for not only the Land is deſert and inacceſſable, by reaſon of the continual Violence of the Wind, which never varies farther than from S. S. W. to S. W. but it affords no Water, either from Earth or Heaven, as being altogether deſtitute of Rain.

17. The Storm being abated, we weighed Anchor the ſeventeenth, and the eighteenth came within a League of Cape *Guardafu*. That Night we tacked about, and ſtood to the Seas, ſteering E. a Quarter S. E. and S. S. E. in order to make the Iſles of *Curia* and *Muria*, which lie between the Iſle of *Soccotara* and the Cape, and affords good Water. But miſſing of them, we returned next Morning, ſtanding for the Cape, and in the Afternoon came into an Anchor within Cape *Guardafu*, in nine Fathom Water, upon good Ground, within one-fourth of a League of the Iſland, that runs away N. W. a Quarter W. Next Morning I ſent one Boat's Crew in queſt of ſome Spring of freſh Water, falling from the Mountains into the Sea, on its S. Side, and another to coaſt along the Shore, N. W. three Quarters W. which extends to the Mouth of the Red-Sea, in order to find Water, or to ſpeak to ſome of the Inhabitants. At the ſame Time I ſent out the little Skiff, to try what Conveniency they could have for Fiſhing.

The Skiff brought back Word, that all along the Shore, for twenty or thirty Paces, the Ground was ſo rocky, that they durſt not venture to bend their Scan. Thoſe who went in Queſt of Water to the Southward returned, and gave me an Account that they had travelled four or five Leagues into the Country, which was extreamly deſart, dry, and unſufferably hot, the Sun being in the Zenith of the Horizon, and there being no Shade or Wind. The other Boat's Crew reported, that about three Leagues Weſt-North-Weſt from us they came to a Place which ſeemed to be pretty green in Compariſon of that dry Country, where they went aſhore, and meeting with ten or twelve Negroes, aſked them where they could have Water to drink? That one of the Negroes aſked a Piece of Cotton Cloth that one of the Seamen had, as a Reward for the Diſcovery, and upon having it, ſhewed him ſome Ditches and Wells dug out of the Ground, in which was abundance of Water; and that the ſaid Negroes aſked them, if they were *Engliſh*, and promiſed to give them Cattle in Exchange; upon this Report we weighed Anchor, and ſet Sail for that Place.

The 22d, about Noon, we came to an Anchor at ſix Fathom Water, bad Ground, about four Leagues from Cape *Guardefu*, over-againſt ſome Buſhes and Greens, which are not common upon that Coaſt. Having ſet thirty Men aſhore to dig for Water, I found that the Water, which came in great abundance, after they had digged but one Foot deep, was at firſt ſweet, but after we had filled a Barrel or two, the reſt came very ſalt, inſomuch that for twenty-two Tun of Water we were obliged to dig in above ſeventy Places, which we did in four Hours, the Soil being Sand; while we lay here it was inſufferably hot, without any Wind.

18. Cape *Guardafu* lies in 12° Degrees Latitude, the Needle varying 17° 45′ North-Weſt; 'tis the higheſt Land upon all this Coaſt, and riſes to a Precipice. All this Coaſt is wonderfully deſart, ſcorched by the Sun, inſomuch that I do not believe there is a hotter Place in the World. We ſaw no Appearance of Houſes, but there appeared to us ſome Negro Men wandering upon the Shore, who were ſo large, that we ſhould have taken them for Rocks, if we had not ſeen them move. I ſaw one of their Bows, which by its Largeneſs and Strength ſpoke the huge Stature of the Owner. I was mightily ſurprized to find no manner of Wind when we lay cloſe by this Cape; whereas it had blown very hard but a few Leagues off, in the Latitude of 16° 30.

The Reaſon I imagine to be this, the Point of Land lying in 10° 30′, being a Peninſula not above three or four Leagues broad, ſerves for a Shock to heighten and inflame the Wind, which runs along the Coaſt North-Eaſt and South-Weſt; whereas Cape *Guardafu* is very high, and the Wind paſſing over a long Tract of dry and hot Land, in Conjunction with the Rays of the Sun, does ſo heat its Surface, that the Wind is waſted above it. The 27th we weighed Anchor, and as we advanced found the Wind grow briſker; after we had ſailed about twelve Hours, we fell in with great Tides running out of the *Red-Sea*, and a few Hours after that found the Sea very much troubled, and ſtained with red Spots; ſome took it for Flats, but we could diſcover no ſuch thing by ſounding. My Senſe of the Matter was, that we then being in the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*, and that being the Day of the Moon's Conjunction, ſome great Floods joined to the Preſſure of the Sun and Moon, occaſioned this Violence of the Tides.

Next Day a Conſultation of the Pilots being called, it was reſolved that we ſhould run ſeven or eight Days to and again in the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*, for fear the Wind we then had ſhould waft us too ſoon upon the Coaſt of *Malabar*; purſuant to this Reſolution, we ſteered North towards the Coaſt of *Arabia*. *Auguſt* the 31ſt we came within two Leagues of the Coaſt of *Arabia*, we were then in 14° 20′ Latitude, over-againſt a Bay, in which, according to the vulgar Maps, there ſhould be ſome Iſlands called *Caramberumma*, and *Xael*, which produce great Quantities of Frankincenſe. I thought to have made *Caramberumma*, but the contrary Winds and Tides prevented me. I underſtood that there came to that Place every Year a great many *Mohammedan* Pilgrims, ſome of whom continued there a long time.

In the Entry of the *Red-Sea*, and along the Coaſt of the *Caſſines*, or *Guardeſines*, there is a prodigious Quantity of Fiſh, eſpecially Thornbacks, ſome of which are as long as a Boat, and proportionably thick; ſome of our Men ſtruck at them with a Grapple, but it pierced their Skin no more than if it had been Iron. This Coaſt of *Arabia* is ſandy, and in ſome Places low; but in the inland Parts there are very high Mountains, which were covered with Fogs all the Time we were there. The Calm obliging me to ſtay in the Mouth of the *Red-Sea* till *September* the 10th, I began to be apprehenſive we might come too late to double Cape *Comorin*, and for that Reaſon ſtood North-Eaſt with what Eaſt and Eaſt-South-Eaſt Wind we had, till we fell in with the South-Weſt Winds, and ſo ſteered our Courſe South.

Having called a Conſultation of the Pilots and other Officers, in order to determine what Courſe we ſhould ſteer to Cape *Comorin*, whether through the Channel of *Mammale*, or along the Coaſt of *Malabar*, it was alledged, that paſſing through the Straights of *Mammale* at that Seaſon, would abridge our Voyage; but on the other hand the Tides running South-Weſt, were againſt us, and to ſtand to South-Eaſt we ſhould be obliged to ſail cloſe by the Wind, ſo that the Ship would make but little Way; and for that Reaſon it was alledged, that we might ſooner make the Coaſt of *Malabar* than the Latitude of that Channel, and for my part, I was apprehenſive of being becalmed on that Coaſt, upon which we had a hundred and twenty Leagues to ſail before we could double Cape *Comorin*. It was likewiſe alledged, that we could not reach the Latitude of that Channel, which was 9°, without falling in upon the *Terra Firma*, by reaſon that ſtanding South-Eaſt would make more than an Eaſt Courſe; others again pleaded, that South-South-Eaſt would do our Buſineſs.

In this Difference of Opinions, I reſolved to put the Caſe to a Trial, by ſtanding South-South-Eaſt, and remarking from the Latitudes what Way we made: Accordingly we ſteered South-South-Eaſt till the next Day at Noon, and then having taken the Latitude, found that our Way was no better than Eaſt-South-Eaſt. After this I called together the Pilots again, the Majority of which agreed that we ſhould go directly in queſt of the Coaſt of *Malabar*, in the Latitude of 13° 20′. The chief Reaſon they inſiſted upon was, that the Channel of *Mammale* lying in 9° 30′, it would be a long Time before we ſhould reach it; beſides, that in that Courſe we ſhould be in Danger of falling in with the Flats to the Northward of the Channel. Though I was very apprehenſive of being becalmed on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, yet I yielded to the Plurality of Votes, and ſtood Eaſt-South-Eaſt.

19. The 26th we came in Sight of the Coaſt of *Malabar*, which is very high and mountainous; within the Country, the 27th, we deſcried Mount *Deli*, about eight Leagues off, which lies between *Cranganor* and *Mangolar*; and appears at that Diſtance like an Iſland. In that Place the Needle varied 15° 15′ North-Weſt; having ſpied a Galliot about a League off, and the Wind varying about to the North, we gave her Chace, but could not come up with her. The 28th, being becalmed, we ſaw a Ship two Leagues to the Windward of us, and I ſent Mr. *Monteurier* with twenty-three Men in the Long-boat; ordering them not to board the Ship, but to command the Captain to ſend his Pilots and Purſer aboard of us, and to acquaint him that I deſigned them no Harm, but only to know if it was not too late to double Cape *Comorin*; ſometime after I ſaw our Long-boat board the Ship, and ſome Muſkets fired, and after that a Boat came off from the Ship, and made towards us.

The Calm continuing, and the Boat advancing but ſlowly, I ſent our Skiff to know their News, which I was in Pain to hear: Upon its Return I underſtood that the People in the Boat were five of our Men, three of whom were dangerouſly wounded. When theſe came aboard they recounted a tragical Story, *viz.* that upon their Approach to the Ship, which was a large one, M. *Monteurier* gave them Notice to lower their Sails, that they not obeying, he fired upon them two Braſs Guns, and a Broad-ſide of Muſket Shot, that thereupon they ſtruck, and told him he might board them if he would; upon which our Men boarded them upon the Quarter-deck, and having killed all the Men abaft, thought themſelves entirely Maſters of the Ship, when of a ſudden ſixty or eighty Men ſtarted up in the Fore-caſtle, and with Shields and Hangers in their Hands, fell upon our Men with ſuch Fury, that they obliged them to retire to the Boat. But there happened an unlucky Miſchance, the Boat was ſo belayed that they could not diſengage her, ſo that moſt of our Men were killed with Pick-axes, Arrows, and Hand-Granades, which were thrown into the Boat, and the reſt being forced to leap into the Sea; one of them ſwam to the *Moor*'s Boat, and having cut the Cable, ſaved himſelf, and the other four Men, without ſtaying for the reſt, who in all probability were drowned.

Next Morning I made all the Sail I could to come up with the Ship, and having boarded it, found no body on Board but fifteen poor old Wretches with white Beards reaching to their Girdle, who with Tears and Lamentations threw themſelves at my Feet, and raiſed my Compaſſion more than Revenge; beſides that, the five Men who were ſaved, unanimouſly aſſured me, that they did not ſee them in the Engagement. The Account I had from theſe Men was, that the Ship having carried a Cargoe of Pepper to *Mecca*, was upon her Return to *Panama* near *Calicut*, to which Place ſhe belonged, that themſelves were poor People coming from *Mecca* to beg upon that Coaſt, that the Owners of the Ship, in Number eighty, had gone off the Night before in our Boat, with the Gold and Silver, and the Boat being almoſt over-laden, had left them behind.

Upon the whole, I conſidered that thoſe poor Men were innocent, and that the Ambition and Avarice of our Men was the Cauſe of their Death, ſince the *Moors* had ſtruck, and deſigned them no Harm, till our Men fell upon them; for theſe Reaſons I ſpared the poor old Men. I found aboard of the Ship a great Quantity of Salt, Dates, Wine, two Puncheons of Opium, ſome hundreds of Pounds of Coral, ſome Cotton Cloth of ſmall Value, Roſe-water, and Knives, and I underſtood from the old Men, that if our Men had not boarded the Ship, the Owners would have furniſhed me with forty thouſand Ducats of *Cairo*, which is a Golden Coin worth about four Livres apiece.

20. *October* the 2d we were off Cape *Comorin* in 7° 50′, the Needle varying 14° 20′, the Tides bearing to the South, having carried us farther off than we deſigned. After that, being adviſed by our Pilots to ſtand for *Ticow* rather than *Achen*, I ſteered South-Eaſt, and South-Eaſt a Quarter Eaſt. The 11th we had a violent Guſt of Wind, which

laſted for two Hours, and ſoon after had another, which broke our Fore-maſt, being then in 1° 20′ S. Lat. The 12th being in 1° 10′ S. Lat. we ſaw a few Land-Fowls, which made us hope to ſee the Land in a ſhort Time; and moſt of my Ship's Crew, as well as that of the Advice Boat, being then ſick, *November* the 11th we came in Sight of Land in 1° 40′ N. Lat. but the Frequentneſs of the Calms, and the Sickneſs of my Men, retarded me mightily, for the Pinnace had not above two or three Hands fit for Buſineſs; and, in our Ship, there were not eighteen that were able to work; beſides, both our Surgeons were dead. I deſcried ſeveral Ships of that Country under Sail, and put out a white Antient to make them ſteer towards us; at laſt, finding they would not come, I ſent out my Skiff to ſpeak with one that ſtood between us and the Shore, and tho' they endeavoured to run aſhore, yet the Skiff came up with them, and agreed to give thirty-five Pieces of Eight for a Pilot to conduct us to *Ticow*.

They were of *Prioman*, a Town about eight or ten Leagues to the Southward of *Ticow*, and told our Men that *Ticow* lay about ſeven or eight Leagues off, beyond ſome Iſlands a-head of us. Our Pilot carried us nearer the *Terra Firma* than we were; and when we came to be off of the above-mentioned Iſlands, made us put back to Sea. Having paſſed theſe Iſlands, we came in Sight of a high Promontory of the *Terra Firma*, which had two Banks, one about half a League before its outmoſt Point, and another about two Leagues to the S. E. of it; and we had certainly run foul of the laſt, if one of our Men had not given us Notice of it from the Main-Top-Maſt, for we could not ſpy it upon Deck, and our Pilot had told us nothing of the matter. Having weathered this dangerous Place, and ſtanding S. S. E. we ſaw another a-head of us, about the ſame Diſtance from the laſt. We ſteered between theſe two, which lie S. E. and N. W. ſounding all the Way, and had all along ſixteen Fathom Water, the Ground muddy, with a little Sand.

The Night overtaking us, we were obliged to drop an Anchor between them. This Shoal lies off of a Place called *Pageman*, juſt under the Equinoctial, which affords a great deal of Pepper, making a large Creek, the Bottom of which is a low Country, covered with Woods, but in the inland Parts there ſtands an high Mountain, pointed like a Pike, which is ſeen above twenty Leagues off, and runs S. E. a Quarter E. Having weathered the Point of this Creek, we deſcried the three Iſlands of *Ticow*, and, at laſt, having ſpent two Months upon a Voyage that is commonly performed in eight Days, landed at *Ticow* the 1ſt of *December*. Between that Time and the 2d of *October* I had loſt twenty-five Men, and if the Calm had continued but fifteen Days longer, I believe I had loſt all the Men in my Ship.

21. We caſt Anchor at *Ticow* between the greateſt of the Iſlands and the *Terra Firma*, at four Fathom Water, and the Ground muddy, and ſent our Skiff aſhore, which brought us one *Pedro*, who had been Interpreter to the *Engliſh* Factory in that Place. This Interpreter told me, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had been expelled by the King of *Achen* two Months before, and that there was a great deal of Pepper, but we could not buy it without a Licence from the King of *Achen*, who was Lord of all that Coaſt. He likewiſe acquainted me that the *Hope*, our ſecond Ship, had touched upon the Coaſt about twenty Leagues off, in the latter End of *July*, and had ſent their Long-Boat with fifteen Men to this Place, to take in freſh Proviſions, which they wanted mightily. That upon the Boat's Arrival, a *Dutch* Ship in the Road fired upon them, but, upon Complaint, excuſed themſelves, pleading that they took them to be *Engliſh*. That the fifteen Men having met with a kind Reception, and taken in what Proviſions they wanted, ſet out in ſearch of their own Ship, but could not meet with it; upon which they returned to this Place, where ſeven of them died in *October*; four went for *Achen* in a *Dutch* Ship, three for *Bantam* in another *Dutch* Ship, and one continued in the Country, and earned his Bread by gathering of Pepper.

I was infinitely grieved to hear that Captain *Grave* had been ſo inconſiderate as to ſend his Long-Boat ſo far from him, eſpecially when I was informed that, among the fifteen Men he had loſt, there were two principal Commiſſaries and a Pilot. Upon farther Enquiry, *Pedro* informed me that the Place where the *Hope* had caſt Anchor was a great Iſland, about twenty Leagues to the Weſtward of that Place; that he was aſſured they had not ſuffered Shipwreck, either upon that Iſland or along the Coaſt, ſince the Praws (ſo the Ships of that Country are called) going to and fro had never diſcovered any Wreck. That the two Commiſſaries, before they died, were of Opinion that the Ship had been drove from her Anchors by Storm, and not being able to make her former Station, made the beſt of her Way to *Bantam*, expecting that I would touch at this Place, according to my Promiſe, and take up her Men. As to the Affront offered them by the *Dutch*, he told me, that the *Dutch* knew them to be *French*, having ſpoken with them before they fired: That the News of the Peace between the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh* was arrived before this happened: That the *Dutch* had repreſented to the Governor and the Inhabitants of that Place, that the *French* were Robbers, and meaned only to obſerve the Landing-place, in order to ſack them: That they would not aſſiſt our two Commiſſaries any manner of way, whether in Health or Sickneſs, nor give the leaſt Relief to any of our Men, bating ſome few Sailors that they ſtood in Need of; and that the *Engliſh* had ſerved our Men to the utmoſt of their Power. He added, that the Governor was very ſenſible of the Malice of the *Dutch*, who meant only to engroſs the *Indies* to themſelves, and had but lately abuſed the King of *Jacatra*, and uſurped his Territories, for which Reaſon the King of *Achen* thought fit to diſlodge them from *Ticow*.

As to the Death of our Men, he ſaid, it had been a very ſickly Year in that Place as ever was ſeen; but, after all, the *Dutch* were ſuſpected to have ſhortened their Days, conſidering thoſe who died were the Perſons they hated moſt, and were not the firſt who had received Poiſon from their Hands, witneſs the Death of ſeveral *Engliſhmen*, occaſioned by that Means. I queſtioned him about the Injury done by the *Dutch* to the King of *Jacatra*, and whether they had laid Siege to *Bantam*; he aſſured me that it was ſtill beſieged, inſomuch that there was no Commerce nor Traffick with that City; that the *Dutch* had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Jacatra*, and expelled the King; that they had razed the ancient City, and built a ſtrong Fort and City after the Faſhion of their own Country, which they had peopled with all ſorts of Nations; and, in fine, that they were at that Time Maſters of the Straight of *Sunda*, where no body could ſail without their Paſport. Having maturely weighed all the Particulars of this Advice, I reſolved to ſend both to *Achen* and to *Bantam*, at any rate, to have ſome Account of Captain *Grave* and his Ship, for whoſe Condition I was greatly concerned.

22. *December* the 2d the King and Governor allowing me to come aſhore, I carried ſome Preſents along with me, without which one will ſcarce be made welcome in that Country. Upon my landing, the Governor and principal Officers gave me an honourable Reception, under a Roof, or, as they call it, Baly. Having told them my Country and Buſineſs, they informed me that I was free to buy up what Proviſions I wanted, provided I paid for them in Rials and Knives, and no other Commodity. But, as for Pepper, and the other Commodities of the Country, they could not diſpoſe of any without a Licence from the King; but if I would go to *Achen* and obtain Leave of the King to erect a Factory with them, they would be glad to deal with us. I aſked Leave to hire a Houſe in the City, to accommodate my ſick Men, and to remain aſhore to buy up Proviſions; but they replied, they could not anſwer for the Safety of my Men aſhore, there being ſo many Rogues about the Town; but, if I pleaſed, I might leave two Men to buy up Proviſions, and that only for the Space of a few Days.

The next Day I ſent a Letter to *Achen*, directed for Monſ. *Grave*, Captain of the *Hope*, if he was there, having obliged the Maſter of a Praw bound thither, by ſome Preſents and Promiſes of a Reward, to carry it to the Captain. I agreed with the Maſter of a Praw that lived at *Ticow*, to give him a hundred Rials to carry one of my

Men to *Bantam* or *Jacatra*, in queſt of the *Hope*, provided he returned in twenty Days. The Articles of Agreement were drawn up in Writing, and lodged in the Hands of *Pedro*, the *Engliſh* Interpreter; and both he and the Maſter of the Praw deſired that his Voyage might be concealed from the Governor and Inhabitants of *Ticow*. The Governor having ſent me a Buffalo and ſome Fruit, I went to return him Thanks; and, by Virtue of ſome Preſents I made him, obtained Leave to hire a Houſe, in which I lodged forty-three ſick Men, with three Surgeons, a Prieſt, and three more to attend on them. In the mean time, I had ſeveral Preſents made me of Fruit and young Kids, particularly from the Governor of *Priaman*, who preſſed me earneſtly to make him a Viſit: I returned him Thanks, together with ſome Preſents, and a Promiſe to wait upon him the firſt Opportunity.

The 8th an *Achen* Galliot arriving, aſſured me that no *French* Ship had touched at *Achen*; upon which I concluded that our Conſort muſt, of neceſſity, be either at *Bantam* or *Jacatra*. The 10th there arrived three Gallies, belonging to the King of *Achen*, with an Elephant and three hundred Men in each of them; and the Inhabitants of *Ticow* acquainted me, that they expected a further Re-inforcement of Elephants and Men, in order to carry on a War againſt a Prince that had revolted againſt the King of *Achen*. Upon this News, conſidering I had fifty Men at *Ticow*, and fifty more at the Iſland, with the Water-Caſks, beſides eight or ten that were always out with the Skiff; ſo that I had but few Men left on Board, tho', at the ſame time, I uſed to have eighty or a hundred of the Natives on Board, ſome by way of Viſit, and others to ſell their Eggs, Fruit, Pullets, Fiſh, and other Proviſions. Upon theſe Conſiderations I nailed down the Hatches, and run a Rail between the great Maſt and the Fore-Maſt, which was fortified by two great Padereroes mounted on Wheels, and five more upon the Bittacle, together with a Guard upon the Deck, and two Muſketeers, with as many Halberdiers ſtanding at a Door in the ſaid Rail, which I never ſuffered to be opened but when I received a Viſitant into my Cabbin; ſo that two hundred Men upon the Deck could do us no Injury, while our Men were upon their Guard.

The 13th I went aſhore, and found my Men recovering by degrees; being to wait upon the Governor to aſk Leave to ſtay fifteen Days longer, he granted my Requeſt, but withal entreated me to go to *Achen*, and obtain a Licence of the King for erecting a *French* Factory, which would be infinitely more acceptable to the Inhabitants than that of any other Nation. He likewiſe adviſed me not to be jealous of the Inhabitants, or fear any Injury from them, which it ſeemed I did, ſince I had made a Fortification in my Ship, and mounted more Guns than before.

I made anſwer, that my coming ſo careleſly aſhore, and leaving fifty ſick Perſons in their Hands, was a ſufficient Evidence of the Confidence I put in the Natives; that the Deſign of the Barrier in my Ship, was only to keep out thoſe I did not know from running into my Cabin, that ſo I might be capable of diſtinguiſhing an Orankay, or a noted Gentleman, from a Fiſherman; and that I had not mounted ſo many Pieces of Cannon, if I had not heard that two *Dutch* Ships were expected here, of whom I had Reaſon to be jealous. Upon this, he told me, that I had a great deal more Reaſon to miſtruſt the *Dutch* than them, and that, if I pleaſed, he would forbid the Natives to go on Board of me: But I aſſured him, they ſhould be at all times very welcome, and that I did not at all miſtruſt them. After that, I viſited the Captains of the three Gallies, who aſſured me a-freſh, that there had no *French* Ships come lately to *Achen*.

23. The nineteenth the King of *Ticow*'s eldeſt Son viſited me on Board, with a great Retinue, and I gave him the beſt Reception I could. That Night the Praw I had ſent to *Bantam* returned in eleven Days, and the Maſter made the following Reports. Four Days after they had put to Sea, they arrived at the Port of *Surabaya*, which lies on the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, in 4° S. Lat. there being a *Dutch* Ship in the Road. M. *Iſaac*, the Man whom I had ſent on Board the Praw, in queſt of the Vice-Admiral, would needs ſpeak with them, tho' he diſſuaded him. The *Dutch* Captain acquainted him, that *Bantam* was blocked up, ſo that no Ships of any Nation could get in; that the *Hope*, which was then at *Jacatra*, had been in great Diſtreſs upon that Coaſt, there being only four or five Men on Board, till a *Dutch* Veſſel reinforced her; and that the Streights of *Sonda* were infeſted with the *Java* Praws and *Caracaus*, they having, from the King of *Bantam*, a Sum of Money for every Head they kill'd, of what Nation ſoever.

Upon this Advice, M. *Iſaac* thought it not ſafe to go further in a Praw, but took the Opportunity of a Veſſel, the Maſter of which promiſed to land him in *Jacatra* in ſeven or eight Days. The Maſter of the Praw brought alſo a Letter from M. *Iſaac* concerning the foregoing Account. This News vexed me more than the former, for I had poſitively ordered *Iſaac* not to ſtop for any Ship, but to go ſtrait on. After mature Conſideration, we reſolved not to go to *Bantam*, where our Ship and Cargoe might be in Danger, in a Time of War; beſides, that we ſhould be obliged to ſpend *January* and *February* in going thither, and managing the Traffick of the Place, and *March* would be too late a Seaſon for returning along this Coaſt to *Achen*. At the ſame Time we diſpatched the Advice-Boat with a Reinforcement of twenty Men for *Jacatra*, in order to aſſiſt and ſupply Captain *Grave*, whom we ordered to return to *France*, if he could get his Lading at *Bantam*, or if he fail'd of it there, to return forthwith to *Achen*, where he would find us.

Ticow lies in twenty Minutes S. Lat. The inland Country is very high, but towards the Shore it falls very low, being covered with Woods, and watered with ſeveral little Rivers, which render it marſhy. It is chequered, with ſeveral pleaſant Meadows, well ſtored with Buffaloes and Oxen, which may be purchaſed for four or five Rials a-piece. It affords Plenty of Rice, Cattle, Poultry, Ducks, and ſeveral ſorts of Fruits, ſuch as Durions, Ananas, Potatoes, Mangoes, Pomegranates, Oranges, Citrons, Water-mellons, Cucumbers, *&c.* The Riches of the Country conſiſt in Pepper, which it produces plentifully, and which is much more eſteemed than that of *Bantam*; as for other Rarities, Drugs and Manufactures, it affords none. The City of *Ticow* is but a pitiful Place; it lies about half a League from the Sea-ſide, upon the Shore, oppoſite to the little Iſland where the Ships ride; there are ſome Houſes, but both the City and Suburbs do not contain eight hundred Houſes, which are built of Reeds, and are neither ſtrong nor convenient: However, the Country is very populous, eſpecially at the Foot of the Mountains, where the Pepper grows.

The King of *Ticow* is ſubject to the King of *Achen*, who puts in a new Governor every three Years, without whom the King of *Ticow* cannot do any thing of Importance. So the Foreigners have more Buſineſs with the Governor than with the King; nay, the very Inhabitants pay more Reſpect to him, calling him *Bangaran Lima*. The Inhabitants of the City are *Malayans*, and no other Language is ſpoken all along that Coaſt. The inland Parts are poſſeſſed by the Natives, who diſown the King of *Achen*'s Authority, having a peculiar Language and King of their own. Theſe are Idolaters, and eat humane Fleſh. They have rich gold Mines, but do not know how to manage them, for they only gather the Gold out of ſome little Ditches, which are not very deep, and out of the Caverns made by Floods. This Gold they exchange with the *Dutch*, or the Inhabitants near the Shore, for Pepper, Salt, Iron, Cotton, Cloth dyed red, and *Surat* Pearl, which they eſteem mightily; but among the *Malayans* Gold is as dear as in *France*, and in *Achen* it is dearer.

Theſe *Malayans* are all of them very ſuperſtitious *Mohammedans*, but withal, great Robbers, inſomuch that the People are not ſafe in their Houſes in the Night-time, and far leſs in the Fields. They are of an olive Colour. Their Women are all kept up, and not ſuffered to appear in the Streets. From *July* to *October* the Air is very unhealthy, being attended with Fevers that ſeldom admit of a Cure; inſomuch that if it were not for their Pepper, no body would venture to come near them. They gather

Pepper at all Times, but eſpecially in *December*, *January*, and *February*. No Trade can be carried on at this Place without a Licence from the King of *Achen*, which they call *Chappa*, or *Chop*, and if you have that, neither the Governor, nor the King, can diſturb you. For want of it, I could neither ſell any Commodities, nor buy any Pepper, excepting about 8000 Pounds that was brought by Night from *Priaman*, and ſold me at a reaſonable Price.

The *Surat* Commodities go off very well here, as well the *Maſſulipatan* Commodities. Rials are current enough, but the Money of *Achen* does not paſs. All their Money is ſome ſmall Pieces of Gold that come from the Mine, which they weigh with Scales; and ſell their Pepper by Bahars, a Weight containing 115 Pounds *Averdupois*, and the King of *Achen* has 15 *per Cent.* of all that is ſold, that is 7 and an half for the Export of the Pepper, and 7 and an half for the Import of the Rials, or Commodities given in Exchange for it; this Cuſtom is either paid in Commodities, or in Rials, ever valuing the prime Coſt. Beſide the above-mentioned Impoſt for every hundred Bahars, we pay twenty-five Rials to the King of *Ticow*, and a quarter Part to the Weigher, and ſome inconſiderable Allowance to ten or twelve Perſons more. But above all, one muſt make the Governor his Friend, and have a watchful Eye over all the *Malayans*, who are apt to wet the Pepper, or to put Sand and little Stones among it.

24. *January* the firſt 1621, having brought on Board my ſick Men, who began to recover apace, I weighed Anchor, and ſteered for *Achen*. The fourteenth we were off of *Barros*, one of the moſt conſiderable Places on that Coaſt belonging to the King of *Achen*, where no Perſon can traffick without the King's Leave. This Place is half Way between *Ticow* and *Achen*, and affords Plenty of Benjamin, which ſerves the Natives for Money. It is a pleaſant Country, abounding with all ſorts of Wines and Fruits, but bears no Pepper. It affords Plenty of Camphire, which is worth fourteen or fifteen Rials the Catti, or twenty-eight Ounces. Rials will ſcarce paſs there, but the *Surat*, or Coaſt Commodities, go off very well. Both the Inhabitants of the Coaſt, and the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, buy up their Camphire to carry it to *Surat*, and the Strait of *Sonda*. The twenty-third we deſcried the high Lands of *Achen*, and the Iſlands that lie to the Sea-ward of that Road. We ſtood directly for theſe Iſlands, but it was eight Days before we could make them, notwithſtanding that we were but four Leagues off; for, wanting a Pilot, we took the Channel that lies neareſt the Land, where the contrary S. E. Winds incommoded us very much; at laſt, with much ado, we weathered them about a League and a half from the Road, which lies oppoſite to the Mouth of a River, upon which there ſtands a Fort, very remarkable for its Moſque.

The thirtieth I came to an Anchor juſt by an *Engliſh* Ship of 600 Tuns, that rode there. Immediately a Boat came off from Shore with ſeveral of the King's Officers, and one of his Eunuch's, carrying a Chappe, as they call it, which is a Dagger with a gold Handle and Scabbard, belonging to the King, made uſe of for a Badge, or Sign, that the Perſon who bears it is commiſſioned by the King. After a profound Silence, he who carried the Chappe welcomed me in the King's Name, and ordered me to come forthwith aſhore. Accordingly I made myſelf ready, but before I could come off, I was obliged to pay the Officers Dues, which amounted to above eighty Rials, beſides a great Looking-glaſs for the *Eunuch*, and another for a Friend of his, and ſome ſmall ones for his principal Officers. This done, I came aſhore, where the Captain of the *Engliſh* Ship invited me very kindly to Dinner, and to lodge in his Houſe. I accepted his Invitation to Dinner, and was very handſomely entertained. After Dinner I went to look upon a Houſe, and offered forty Rials a Month for it, but could not have it under fifty-four. In the mean Time, the *Engliſh* Captain complained heavily of the King, that he would not let them have the Pepper under fifty-four Rials the Bahar, tho' thirty Rials was as much as it was worth. Finding that I could not ſpeak with the King that Day, and that the King had ſent his Chappe twice for an Emerald I wore on my Finger, and would not be ſatisfied with my Promiſe of bringing it the next Day, I went on Board again.

On the firſt of *February* I came aſhore again, and by the Way met ſome *Portugueze*, whom the King of *Achen* had laid in Irons, and who told me, that the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had a Deſign to poiſon me. I told them, I did not believe the *Engliſh* would do me any harm; however, I would be upon my Guard. They replied, that if I went to dine with the *Engliſh* Captain that Day, I would never return, and very affectionately begged me to avoid it, becauſe they had no Hopes of being delivered from their Captivity, but through my Means. But after all, purſuant to my Promiſe, I went and dined with the *Engliſh* Captain, Mr. *Roberts*, who treated me very kindly and handſomely, and gave me nothing to eat or drink but what he and the reſt of his Company took Part of. After Dinner the Kings Officers came for the Emerald, which I gave them, and told me, I could not ſpeak with the King till the Day after. Then conſidering that I was troubleſome to the *Engliſh* Captain, and that it was not my Intereſt to lodge with him, I agreed to give fifty Rials a Month for a Houſe.

On the ſecond I was taken with a violent Looſeneſs and Vomiting, and being apprehenſive of what the *Portugueze* had told me, took ſome *Maldiva* Cocoas, with Bezoar, which in that Country are reckoned a ſovereign Counter-poiſon. Next Day I went aſhore, where I met with bad News, *viz.* that the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had taken the *Hope* off of *Bantam*, and ſhared the Cargoe, and murdered moſt of the Men, and that they would do as much to me if they were able. This Diſcovery came from a *Dutchman*, who being diſobliged by his Countrymen, had taken Protection under us and lodged in one Apartment of the Houſe I had taken. I was unwilling to take this Man on Board, by reaſon that in a former Voyage I was challenged at *Bantam* for having *Dutchmen* on Board, and thoſe I had, who were the moſt uſeful and neceſſary Officers in my Ship, were taken from me; but after all, finding that the Fellow was ready to turn *Moor*, and that he ſpoke the Language of the Country naturally, and might be uſeful to me as an Interpreter, I told him, if he would lie cloſe, without giving any Notice to the *Dutch*, or *Engliſh*, till I was ready to ſail, I would do my utmoſt to convey him on Board; for *Pedro*, the *Engliſh* Interpreter whom I had brought from *Ticow*, had then left my Service, being checked and threatened by the *Engliſh* Factor for entering into it, and hated by the King's Officers, who upon my ſcrupling at firſt to pay the Duties, thought he had ſuggeſted to me ſomething to their Diſadvantage.

In the mean Time, one of our Men, that had been drinking with the *Engliſh* Seamen, pumped out of them, that their Ship, in Company with the *Dutch* Ship, had given Chaſe, in the Straight of *Sonda*, to a Veſſel which they took to be *French*, and the *Dutchmen* falling behind, was mad that he could not come up with her, but their Ship being the better Sailor, made up to them, and found it was an *Engliſh* Veſſel, upon which they left her; that before I came into the Road, they hearing I had not twenty ſound Men, had a Deſign to take me; but finding, upon my Arrival, that I was ſo ſtrong, they dropped their Deſign.

The *Engliſh* Captain told me, that the *Dutch* Admiral aſſumed the Authority of King of *Jacatra*, and ſhewed me a ſort of Money, half Silver, half Copper, that he had coined in that Country, bearing on one Side a Lion with a Hanger in one Hand, and Arrows in the other, and on the Reverſe *Trajectum*, in Roman Letters, with the Date of the Year underneath. The fourth I kept on Board, and received Advice from the Shore, that a Draught was a brewing for me in the *Engliſh* Ship. The ſixth I was invited to Dinner on Board the *Engliſh* Ship, where *Reiſembrant* the *Dutch* Factor was to be preſent. I returned Thanks for all their Civilities, and promiſed to wait upon them, if I was not obliged to go aſhore to an Interview of the King, or if I was, to ſend Captain *Riddle* to ſupply my Place; next Morning I went aſhore betimes, and ſent my Excuſe to the *Engliſh* by Captain *Riddle*, whom I acquainted with the Reaſon of my Abſence, and cautioned him to be upon his Guard.

25. As ſoon as I was aſhore, I cleaned and prepared the Preſent I deſigned for the King of *Achen*, and withal, meaning to oblige him as much as poſſible, took a blank Letter which I had by me, with the King's Seal affixed to it, and having addreſſed it, *To our deareſt Brother the King of* Achen, ſealed it with red Wax, bearing the Impreſſion of the Arms of *France*. That my Preſent might not be unworthy of my Prince, in whoſe Name I deſigned to preſent it, I ſet apart the following things for that Uſe; the compleat Armour of a Horſeman carved and gilded, a *German* Hanger, with a carved and gilt Hilt; upon which hung a Piſtol, ſix Muſkets, the Barrels of which were partly carved, and partly gilt, the But-ends enriched with Mother of Pearl, two Heads of Pikes enamelled and gilded, a very large Looking-Glaſs, which was broken; but I pretended I had received it entire, and that I durſt not but deliver it at any rate, having received the King's Orders to that Effect; two large Flaſks full of excellent Roſe-Water, and two Pieces of watered Camblet of a Crimſon Colour.

The Captain of the *Surat* Veſſel came to ſee it, and told me it was ſo magnificent a Preſent, that it was more fit for the Great Mogul his Maſter, than for the King of *Achen*. The King's Officers came alſo to our Houſe to take an Inventory of what I deſigned to preſent to their Maſter, and gave me to underſtand, that they feared the Preſent I deſigned was not conſiderable enough for their Prince, who was a great Sovereign, and had but few Equals in the *Indies*. I replied, that I was not unacquainted with the Grandeur of the King of *Achen*, and at the ſame time I knew the Value of the Preſent, which did not come from a private Man, but from a puiſſant Prince, and merited a Reception from any Potentate whatever; and withal, that my Maſter had given me nothing elſe to preſent. The 8th I was conducted to an Audience to the King by the Sabandar, and four of the principal Orankays, with two Elephants, and that with the following Ceremonies: Upon a great Elephant ſat one of the principal Orankays in a covered Pulpit, who ſent me a great Silver Diſh covered with a Cloth, embroidered with Gold and Silk of divers Colours, in which I put the Letter, and then gave it to him. By his Command one of the Orankays mounted the other Elephant, and after him the Sabandar, then I, and after me another, ſo that four of us rode upon one Elephant, and I ſat between two Perſons.

The other two Orankays rode upon *Arabian* Horſes before the Elephant that carried the Letter. Before them were fourteen or fifteen Men, each of them carrying a Piece of the Preſent covered with yellow Cloth, without which nothing could be preſented to the King; ſix Trumpets, ſix Drums, and ſix Hautboys led the Van, which ſounded till we arrived at the Caſtle, about a League off. In the Rear followed three Sebandars, and all the Officers of the Albandeque on Foot; when we arrived at the Caſtle, we alighted at a great Palace before it, and when we entered the outer Gate, all the Men were obliged to retire: Then we paſſed two other Gates; I was ordered to put off my Shoes, without which Ceremony I could not have Audience of the King; ſome time after the Royal Chappe was brought, and being firſt put into my Hands, then raiſed above my Head, and re-delivered to him that brought it, I was ordered to follow it, being accompanied by a Sabandar and an Orankaye.

We waited ſome time at the King's Chamber-Door, which was covered with Silver Plate: At laſt an Eunuch came out, who gave the Sabandar to underſtand, that tho' the King was more indiſpoſed that Day than uſually, yet, as I was ſo near, he ſhould bring me in; upon which I was led into the Chamber by two Men, one holding me by each Hand, and ſet upon a *Turky* Carpet with my Legs acroſs, according to the Cuſtom of that Country. Then the two Men retired, and I ſaluted the King in the uſual Form, *viz.* by joining my Hands, and lifting them up to my Forehead, bowing my Head a little. The Cuſtom does not oblige one to take off ones Hat, but I being unaccuſtomed to appear before People of that Quality with my Hat on my Head, choſe to put it off. The King ſat upon a Place about two Foot higher, and informed me by the Sabandar, that he was infinitely obliged to the King of *France* for the Preſent he had ſent him, which he eſteemed more than ten Bahars of Gold. Then he opened the Letter, and gave it to me to interpret to the Sabandar, who underſtood a little *Portugueze*: But his Knowledge of that Language was ſo very imperfect, and the Stile of the Letter ſo uncommon among them, that I could not make him underſtand it; for the very firſt Word, *viz. Moſt Illuſtrious* put him to a ſtand; upon which I turned it to *deareſt Brother*, which the King liked mightily, ſaying, that he knew very well Chriſtian Princes uſed to uſher in their Letters by ſuch Expreſſions.

At laſt, ſince I could not make the Sabandar underſtand every Word of the Letter, I repeated the Subſtance of it in ſhort, *viz.* That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty deſired his Mightineſs to grant me a free and undiſturbed Traffick in his Territories, and promiſed, in like manner, to protect his High Mightineſs's Subjects, if any of them ſhould happen to come into his Kingdom: That he deſired nothing more than that a Commerce between his Subjects and thoſe of *Achen* ſhould bring him to the Knowledge of ſo great a Prince, and that he had ſent him a Preſent of Arms, a Pattern of the Manufacture in which his Subjects excelled.

This done, the King acquainted me by the Sabandar, that I was both welcome and ſafe in his Territories; that as to the Buſineſs of Trade, the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* uſed heretofore to have Pepper in his Country at an eaſy rate; but now that they had ſhewn ſuch flaming Ingratitude, in making War upon the King of *Bantam*, who had formerly vouchſafed them a kind Reception, he had thereupon cauſed all the Pepper Plants to be cut down, for fear hereafter they ſhould prove the Occaſion of Trouble; that by this means the Price of Pepper was raiſed to ſixty-four Rials the Bahar, and that even at that Price he did not much care to let them have it, knowing them to be an ill ſort of People, that would rob and pillage, and do any thing in order to engroſs the Trade of the *Indies* to themſelves.

I replied, that the Inſolence of that Nation, in offering to dethrone Kings that have ſhewn them Civilities, would be a ſurprizing Piece of News in *France*; that for my part I was ſtruck with Amazement to find that a People, who pretended to nothing but fair Merchandize, and whom the King of *France* had long protected againſt the *Spaniards*, ſhould on this Side of the World ſlight us, and uſe all means to do us Injuries; and that in regard I had no Commiſſion to uſe any manner of Violence, or to fortify any Place, but only to ſell and buy in a fair Way, I ought not to be ranked with a Nation whoſe very Converſation I avoided. Upon this the King ordered ſome Sallad to be given me in a large Gold Veſſel, and a Suit of his Cloaths laid upon a Silver Platter, which he ordered me to put on. Having retired to the next Chamber, and put on his Cloaths above my own, I returned to his Majeſty, who told me, the Arms my Maſter had ſent him would be very ſerviceable to him in the Siege of *Malacca*, which he had in his View, and aſked me, if I would accompany him thither? I replied, I ſhould place my ſupream Happineſs in doing him any manner of Service: Then he put ſeveral Queſtions to me about the Age, Puiſſance, *&c.* of my Maſter, and when I told him that my Maſter was in Peace with all the World, particularly with the Grand Seignior, he ſaid he would enter into a ſtrict Alliance with the King of *France*: This done, I was mounted upon an Elephant, and conducted home.

One thing happened upon my firſt ſetting out, in order to an Audience of the King, that I muſt not omit; juſt as I was mounted upon the Elephant, the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Commiſſaries, with twenty or thirty of their Dependants, having hid themſelves in a Porch of the *Engliſh* Houſe that was juſt oppoſite to mine, ſeized upon the *Dutchman* I mentioned above, whom I deſigned to make uſe of as an Interpreter to the King. Being then upon the Elephant, I could not conveniently get down, but I repreſented to the Sabandar the Impudence of thoſe Men, in offering to lay Hands upon one that was carrying Preſents from his Majeſty of *France* to the King of *Achen*, and preſſed him to order the *Dutchman* to be releaſed. The Sabandar replied, he would take care of it, but could not ſtop at that Time. When I had Audience of the King, I importuned the Sabandar to let the King know my Reſentment of that Action, but he told me it was not a proper Time, and the

King perceiving I wanted to ſay ſomething, aſked the Sabandar what it was? who replied, he did not underſtand me.

Upon this I went next Day and viſited the Orankay *Laxemane*, a great Favourite of the King's, and made him a Preſent of two Arquebuzes, a Piece of watered Camblet, a gilded Head-piece, a Looking-glaſs, ſix Ear-pendants, and two Glaſs Chains. He received me very graciouſly, and after ſome Diſcourſe I mentioned to him the Story of the *Dutchman*, whom I pretended to have entertained, becauſe he ſaid he had been formerly under the Orankay's Protection; but the Orankay told me, that if the *Dutchman* ſaid any ſuch thing, he was a Cheat and a Villain. Next Day, to prevent all further Correſpondence with the *Engliſh*, I ſhut up the Gate of our Houſe that was oppoſite to theirs, for they haunted the Houſe perpetually, ſo that I could not do or ſay any thing without their Knowledge; beſides, they frequently viſited my Commiſſaries and Purſers, which made me ſuſpect that they deſigned either to do them an Injury, or to pump out of them an Account of my Deſigns.

26. On the 11th, being called to ſpeak with the King, he ſhewed me the two Pike-heads I had preſented him with, which above the carved Work were at firſt covered with an Enamel Colour, but the King having given them to one of his own Goldſmiths to be carved and gilded, the Paint went off as ſoon as the Goldſmith put them in the Fire, ſo the King wanted to know if I could think of any body that could put them to rights as they were. I told him I knew none; upon which he cauſed the poor Fellow's Hands to be cut off that had put them into the Fire.

Then the King told me, he heard I had a Goldſmith on Board, and deſired I would order him to enamel a large Gold Ring of his that weighed above an Ounce, which he delivered to me. This Prince was very curious in all Lapidary and Goldſmith's Wares, for he had above three hundred Goldſmiths that wrought daily for him, and he ſhewed me a great Number of Stones, ſome ſet, ſome not, which for the moſt part were bored at the Ends, ſeveral Necklaces and Chains of large Emeralds, Caſſacks or Garments after their Faſhion, embroidered with Jewels, great Veſſels of Gold, covered with Jewels, a great many Swords, Hangers, and Daggers, covered all with Jewels, both upon the Hilts and Scabbards, and a vaſt Number of Gold Claſps to put upon the Caſſacks, and told me that he had above three Bahras of Gold in Caſſacks and Claſps, and that ſix Days would not ſuffice for taking a View of all his Jewels and Stones.

Whether he ſaid this out of Oſtentation or not I cannot tell; but the greateſt Part of what I ſaw were rather Stones of Shew than Value: Tho' after all, I muſt own, he ſhewed me ſome that were very rich, particularly three Diamonds that might weigh from fifteen to twenty Carats apiece, two very large Rubies, and an Emerald that he got in the Conqueſt of *Pera*, which was one of the lovelieſt Stones I ever ſaw. After that I ſet our Goldſmith to work for the King, and was ſorry I had one on Board, being apprehenſive that if the King liked his Work, he would retard us to get his Jewels enamelled.

Having occaſion to build a Long-boat to ſupply that I had loſt, I went to the Orankay *Laxemane* to deſire he would obtain me a Licence for the cutting of Wood in the Iſlands oppoſite to the Road, and let me have his Boat, which carried about fifteen Tun, to bring the Wood aſhore. He granted my Requeſt, upon the Conſideration of paying him twenty Rials a Month for his Boat, which was indeed extravagantly dear; but I was obliged to give it, or elſe I had not had the King's Licence ſo eaſily.

The 19th the King ſent a Sabandar to invite me to Dinner; when I came, I found the King in a ſquare Hall, the Floor of which was covered with a *Turky* Carpet, upon which he made me ſit down; and after he had ordered ſome Sallad to be given me in a large golden Diſh, the Cover of which was ſet all over with Emeralds, and aſked ſome Queſtions concerning the Grandeur and Puiſſance of Chriſtian Princes, there came about thirty Women, each of which had a large ſilver Diſh in her Arms, which they ſet on the Ground on the Carpet; each Diſh was covered with a Cloth of Gold, or half Silk, half Gold, with Jewels, trailing upon the Ground. After theſe Women had ſtood for ſome Time, the King ordered them to ſet Dinner before me, upon which they uncovered the Diſhes, each of which was as big as a large Baſon, and together with the Lid were about two Foot and an half deep. Out of each of theſe Diſhes they drew ſix Plates of Gold, full of Comfitures, Meat, and Paſty, after their Faſhion; ſo that, in leſs than a Minute, I found myſelf ſurrounded with golden Diſhes, ſome containing Water, others Sauces, and one, which was very large, full of Rice, beſides two other Diſhes of *Temback*, which they eſteem more than Gold, containing Rice, (made uſe of for Bread all over the *Indies*) of which the King ordered me to eat, and I found it very good, for its Taſte reſembles our Marchpane.

After that, by the King's Order, an Eunuch brought me ſome Drink in a gold Cup, ſet in a large gold Baſon: I drank to his Highneſs's better Health, and thought to have drank it up, but the Liquor was ſo very ſtrong and fiery, that it quickly baulked my Tip, and put me into a great Sweat. The King told me, as I had drank to his Health, I ſhould drink it out; and that if he were to drink the King of *France*'s Health he would not leave a Drop of it: But, upon my Requeſt, they exchanged the Liquor for a weaker ſort. They preſſed me mightily to eat and drink; but, at laſt, being quite tired by ſitting with my Legs a-croſs, I prayed the Sabandar to preſs me to eat no more; upon which the King ordered all the Diſhes to be removed, and bid me drink his Health once more: This done, they brought a very fine Carpet, done upon a Ground of Gold, and laid between me and the King.

Then came fifteen or twenty Women, who ranged themſelves by the Wall Side, and each of them having little Drums in their Hands, ſung their King's Conqueſts, making their Voices anſwer the Drums; after that there came in at a little Door two little Girls, very oddly dreſſed, but very handſome, and whiter than any I ever ſaw in ſo hot a Country. Upon their Head they had a ſort of Hat, made of Spangles of Gold, which glittered mightily, together with a Plume about a Foot and an half high, made of the ſame Spangles. This Hat hung down upon one Ear. They had large Ear-Pendants of Spangles of Gold, hanging down to their Shoulders. Their Neck was covered with Necklaces of Gold, and, upon their Shoulders, was a ſort of Jacket of Gold, curiouſly engraven, under which was a Shift, or Waiſtcoat of Cloth of Gold, with red Silk, covering their Breaſt, and a very broad Girdle, made of gold Spangles. Their Girdle was tied above the Haunches, from which there hung a Cloth of Gold, with ſtraight Breeches underneath, which were likewiſe made of Cloth of Gold, and did not paſs the Knees, where ſeveral Bells of Gold hung upon them.

Their Arms and Legs were naked, but, from the Wriſt to the Elbow, were adorned with Bracelets of Gold and Jewels, as well as from the Ancle to the Calf of their Leg. At their Girdle each of them had a Sword the Hilts and Scabbards of which were covered with Jewels; and in their Hands a large Fan of Gold, with ſeveral little Bells about it. They advanced upon the Carpet with a profound Gravity, and, falling upon their Knees before the King, ſaluted him, by joining their Hands, and lifting them up to their Head; then they began to dance, with one Knee upon the Ground, making ſeveral Motions with their Body and Arms; after that they danced upright with a great deal of Agility and Cadence, ſometimes putting their Hands to their Swords, another Time making as if they ſhot a Bow, and ſometimes as if they had a Shield and Hanger in their Hands. This laſted about half an Hour; after which they kneeled before the King, and, in my Opinion, were pretty well tired, for each of them had above forty Pound Weight of Gold upon her. However, they danced with a very good Grace, and if our *French* Dancing-Maſters had ſeen them, they would have owned their Performance not to have been what we account barbarous.

At laſt it grew late, and, upon my Requeſt, the King ſuffered me to go, having firſt preſented me with two hundred Pieces of Gold of his Coin, which they call Mas, and are worth about Ten-pence a Piece; then the Sabandet conducted me home by Water, and aſſured me he never ſaw the King ſhew ſo much Reſpect to any Stranger, eſpecially in ſuffering his Women to dance before me; for, during the Entertainment, the whole Company ſhut their Eyes, it being a capital Crime to look upon the King's Women, though, indeed, I looked upon them very earneſtly all the while, preſuming that they were not brought thither to make me ſhut my Eyes. This Prince told me he had above a hundred Bahars of Gold, *i. e.* 18,000,000 of Livres, beſides his Silver, Jewels, and other Treaſures, but then he keeps it cloſe, and has no Occaſion to ſpend it. Beſides, the Royal Treaſure has been handed down from Father to Son; for *Achen* was never pillaged or ſacked by any Nation, and the King often boaſts that he fears no Prince but the Grand Seignior, who, according to antient Prophecy, handed down by Tradition, ſhall, one Day, conquer that Place.

On the nineteenth of *February* an Orankay and two Sabandars came aboard in the King's Name, to demand two Swords that I had, one of which I had promiſed him. Before they boarded me, they were in ſome Danger in the Mouth of the River, where there lies a very dangerous Bar, eſpecially towards the Evening, when the Sea-Breezes break the Water upon it. I gave them both my Swords, but withal, prayed them to acquaint his Majeſty, that I had no more; and it being an unwonted thing in *France* to go Abroad without a Sword, I hoped he would let me have one of them again. Next Day he returned one of them, with a Preſent of a Dagger made after the Faſhion of the Country. He who brought it ſaid, the King liked the one mightily, becauſe it did not bow when they offered to bend it, and that if this had not bowed, I had never ſeen it again. After that I went aſhore, and addreſſed the King, that he would pleaſe to order ſome of his Officers to make ſome Overtures about the Price of his Pepper, to the Merchants that were with me. He gave me no Anſwer to that Point, but aſked me what ſort of a Ship the *Hope* was, that I had ſent to *Bantam*, and what the Cargo might amount to. I anſwered him as near as I could; upon which he aſſured me, ſhe was taken by the *Dutch*, and that in a ſhort Time I ſhould have certain Intelligence of it.

He told me withal, that while I continued in his Road, he would ſecure me from receiving any Injury at their Hands, the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Factory being worth more than my Ship; but that without the Road he would not intereſt himſelf in the Quarrel. It ſeems the King had mentioned the taking of the *Hope* at my firſt Audience, but the Sabandar did not make me underſtand it; and indeed, I was at a great Loſs both in that and many other things, becauſe I could not make uſe of an Interpreter of my own, for without a particular Licence from the King it is not to be done. Beſides, no Interpreter is fond of appearing before the King, for if he makes but the leaſt Trip in his Diſcourſe, or ſays any thing that the King does not like, tho' ordered to ſpeak it, he is in Danger of being cut to Pieces.

An Inſtance of this we have in one *Pedro Lorenzo*, a Native of *Achen*, and deſcended of a very good Family, who being Interpreter for the *Dutch*, and having ſpoke ſomething by their Orders that diſpleaſed the King, was ordered by his Majeſty to be cut in two alive, and the Orders had certainly been put in Execution, if the *Engliſh* had not interceded very earneſtly by their Prayers and Preſents on his Behalf. All this while I could do nothing in the Pepper Concern, for no body durſt ſell a Grain till the King had ſold his, and it was not proper for me to preſs the King much upon it, becauſe he was out of Humour with ſome of his Grandees, having put three of them to Death for appropriating to their own Uſe ſome Jewels they had met with in the late Conqueſt of *Pera*, and condemned the Serjeant-Major for retaining ſome Booty in the War with *Queda*, who with much Interceſſion got off for 1200 Rials. Whenever the King was in theſe Humours, no body durſt ſpeak to him, upon any Subject, and the People of that Country imagine, that he is more ſubject to them about New Moon, than any other Time.

27. On the ſeventh of *March*, about an Hour before Sun-riſing, we had a great Earthquake at Full Moon, which the Natives ſaid, was predicted about four or five Days before by the Cady, or Biſhop of *Achen*, whom they believe to be the wiſeſt of Men. I am informed, there are commonly three or four Earthquakes in this Place every Year. On the ninth I waited upon the King with ſome Preſents, in order to obtain Leave to buy up Pepper from private Perſons, which he would not allow till his own was ſold off, which he always kept up half as dear again as the other. The next Time I waited upon him I found him at a Cock-fighting, and laying very high Wagers with his Orankays. Upon my Entrance, he preſented me with a Dagger, which had about five or ſix Livres of Gold about the Handle; but I found him ſo intent upon his Bets, that it was not proper to mention my Affair at that Time. I could not but take Notice of one Inſtance of the King's Avarice, and his Readineſs to ſacrifice all things to his covetous Temper. It was this; One of the Company pitched upon a middle-ſized Cock, offering to bet upon his Head againſt any other of what Size ſoever. Upon which an Orankay, that had ſome of the King's Cocks in keeping, preſented a very large Cock, and upon this the King betted very high; but the little Cock beat the great one, and ſo the King loſt his Money. Being fretted by the Loſs, he aſked the Orankay, how it came to paſs, that the little Cock had more Strength than the great one? The Orankay anſwering with all poſſible Humility, that he could not conceive how it was, the King replied, he could conceive it very eaſily, that it proceeded from the Cock's being ill fed, and that he had given the Cock's Rice to his Whores, or elſe eat it himſelf. This ſaid, he ordered his Right-hand to be cut off, which was immediately put in Execution.

Next Day the Sabandar came to my Houſe, and acquainted me, that the King aſked for his Pepper 64 Rials the Bahar: I told him, I could not buy it at that Rate. Then he aſked me what I was willing to give. I anſwered, I could not pretend to ſet a Price upon the King's Goods, but would gladly treat with his Subjects, if his Majeſty would give me Leave. Upon which he let me know, that could not be granted till the King had ſold his. At that Time the King kept up his Pepper at 64 Rials, the private People would have ſold it for eight Taels in Gold. The common Value of a Tael is four Rials, but ſince we arrived in this Place, the gold roſe, and the Rials fell; whereas we uſed to have ſixteen Mas for four Rials, now we cannot have above fourteen. This Alteration is occaſioned by the King's engroſſing all the Gold in his own Hands, coining lead Money to circulate among the People, who put it off at any Rate for Gold. Beſides, Rials would have no Circulation in that City, were it not for thoſe of *Surat*, and *Muſulipatan*, who ſupply this Place with Commodities, that they cannot be without, and export nothing but Rials, upon which they gain conſiderably. Now there being no *Surat* Ship there, at this Time, to take off the Rials, their Value ſunk apace, which was an infinite Loſs to me, who had nothing elſe but Rials, at a Time when the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had Gold enough in their Hands. To return to the Sabandar: He told me after all, that the King, out of his particular Affection to me, would perhaps let me have his Pepper at the ſame Price that the *Dutch* had offered, *viz.* forty-eight Rials the *Bahar*. I replied, that the King had given ſeveral Inſtances of his Affection to me, that I would take Care to report to the King of *France* the Reſpect that his Majeſty of *Achen* had ſhewn to his Letters, and that the Obligation I lay under to the King of *Achen*, would be much ſtrengthened, if he would allow me to take in my Lading at *Ticow*, ſince I could not do it at *Achen*, where the Pepper was ſo very dear, unleſs I had a Mind to return to *France* with half my Lading.

Then the Sabandar aſked me, what Preſent I would make to the King for that Favour, and what I would give him for procuring of it? I told him, I would conſider of the Matter, and acquaint him with my Reſolutions that Night. Having communicated the Motion to our Merchants, it was unanimouſly agreed, that *Ticow* would be a Place of more Profit for us, tho' it coſt us 3000 Rials for a Licence to trade there. Thereupon, I ſent one to ſound the Sabandar, in order to know what his Demands might be. The Sabandar told him, the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had offered the King two Ships laden with Goods, for the Priviledge of an eight Years Factory at *Ticow*, and that if I would give him four thouſand Rials, and make the King a Preſent of 20,000 Rials, he would procure me a Factory for two Years. Hearing this extravagant Demand, I perceived the Sabandar to be a Villain, and reſolved to make my Addreſs to Orankay *Laxemane*. Accordingly I gave him a Viſit, and repreſented to him, that I had been along Time there, without making any Progreſs in my Buſineſs; that the Pepper was ſo dear at *Achen*, that I could not buy it there without a conſiderable Loſs; that *Ticow* was the moſt proper Place for me within the King's Dominions. That foraſmuch as I could not Trade at *Ticow*, without the King's Licence, I thought it the ſafeſt Way to have recourſe to him, knowing, that if he favoured me, the King would certainly grant it, and that out of a grateful Senſe of ſuch Favours, I would make him a Preſent of 400 Rials, and another to the King, of four iron Guns, weighing 3500 *l.* each. Upon this he adviſed me not to deſire any ſuch thing of the King, who had a great Affection for me, and was deſirous of Lading my Ship with his own Pepper. I replied, that I was infinitely obliged to the King, but could not come up to the Price that the *Dutch* had offered him. Then he told me, that I did not know what the King would do on my Behalf, and that the Guns I mentioned were not a proper Preſent for the King, who had more already than he knew what to do with.

The twenty-third I interceded with the King for the Redemption of four *Portugueze* Chriſtians, that were his Captives at *Negapatan*. Their Ranſom came to 650 Rials, 128 of which I was forced to advance, retaining one of the Men for my Security, the reſt of the Money being gathered by a charitable Contribution from the People of *Negapatan*. There were five of thoſe Slaves for whoſe Redemption I interceded, but the King would needs detain one to bleed him, or any of his Family upon Occaſion; for all of them not only knew how to open a Vein, as indeed moſt of the *Portugueze* in the *Indies* do, but likewiſe practiſed ſome ſort of Surgery to earn their Bread in the Time of their Captivity. The Sabandar and an Eunuch came next Day to acquaint me, that the King wanted to ſpeak with me. In Obedience to his Commands I went, and found him very much out of Humour, and giving Orders for torturing five or ſix Women. To my great Mortification, I ſaw theſe poor Creatures tortured in his Preſence, to the laſt Degree, for three Hours, and the King's Wrath increaſing in Proportion to their Torment. After the torturing was over, he ordered their Hands and Legs to be cut off, and their Bodies to be thrown into the River. The Occaſion of this Execution was as follows:

On the preceeding Night there being five or ſix of his Women in a Room adjoining to his, one of them gave a hideous Shriek, upon which the King enquired into the Matter, and at firſt they all told him there was nothing in it: But after many Threats, ſhe that had cried out, confeſſed, that ſome body came in the Night-time, and pricked her in the Thigh with a Dagger, through the Reeds, upon which they lay. Upon which ſhe ſaid, ſhe cried out, and awaked the reſt; but the reſt did not agree in their Anſwers, ſome ſaying that they heard a Noiſe, and others that they heard nothing. However, the Dagger was found, but no body would own it. After all, the King having aſked them who it was that came with the Dagger, and why they did not tell him the Truth at firſt, and finding they would give him no Anſwer, was lead into the Suſpicion of a Deſign againſt his Life, carried on by his own Mother, who, as he imagined, had alarmed theſe Women, that their Outcry might induce the King to come out of his Chamber, which would have afforded a favourable Opportunity to the Aſſaſſins. Thinking to extort a whole Confeſſion of the Matter by Torture, he put all the Women upon the Rack; but their Reſolution, Courage and Conſtancy was invincible; for notwithſtanding the King's frequent Offers of Pardon, in caſe they would diſcover the Plot, and the repeated Intreaties of the Cady of *Achen*, and the whole Court, who begged of them to be kind to themſelves, yet they did not ſhrink or relent. One of them being very old, and ſwooning away from Time to Time, the King took Compaſſion upon her, and graciouſly ordered her to be put to Death. Upon which ſhe aſſumed a gay Countenance, and thanked the King for his Grace and Mercy, wiſhing him, in Recompence for his Favour, a long and happy Life of one thouſand Years. In a word, all of them ſtood out undaunted to the laſt Gaſp, and even after their Hands and Legs were cut off, one of them had the Courage to ſay, that for the Space of ten Years they had longed for this happy Hour, that delivered them from the Drudgery of the Caſtle. When the Execution was over, the King aſked me what I thought of it? Tho' the Spectacle was very mortifying to me, yet I diſſembled upon the Matter, and anſwered, that without the Execution of Juſtice no Kingdom could ſubſiſt.

Then the King told me in a long Diſcourſe, that if the laſt Night's Action had paſſed with Impunity, his very Life had been in Danger. That his Orankays were fooliſh and unthinking Men, who charged him with Cruelty, not conſidering that it was their Wickedneſs that drew upon them the Anger of God, who made uſe of him as an Inſtrument to puniſh their Impiety; that they had no Occaſion to complain of him, who ſuffered them to poſſeſs their Wives, their Children, and Slaves, and competent Eſtates to maintain them, who maintained their Religion, and preſerved them from the Captivity of neighbouring Kings, and the Robberies of Strangers: That in former times *Achen* was a Neſt of Murderers and Robbers, in which the weaker were oppreſſed by the ſtronger, and no Man was ſafe, all of them being obliged to keep off the Robbers with Arms by Day, and barracade themſelves in their Houſes by Night; whereas at preſent they had no Occaſion neither for Arms in the Day, or Doors to their Houſes at Night. That his Nobles hated him becauſe he ſuppreſſed Extortion, Maſſacres and Robberies; that they longed to ſet up Kings at Pleaſure, and murder them when diſobliged: That his Mother was in the ſame Intereſt, and wanted to make away with him, in order to prefer another that would give way to their Inſolence.

This he delivered with ſo much Vehemency and Paſſion in his Looks, that all his Courtiers threw themſelves upon the Ground, imploring his Mercy, and among them even the Cadey, a Man of above eighty Years of Age, for whom every body had a vaſt Veneration, and who could boaſt of the nobleſt Deſcent in *Achen*. In fine, the Cruelty of this Prince is unparalleled; notwithſtanding that all his Tortures could extort no Diſcovery, yet he impriſoned his own Mother, and put her upon the Rack, and put to Death five of the principal Lords of his Court, whom he ſuſpected of favouring his own Mother. He barbarouſly murdered his own Nephew the King of *Johor*'s Son, ſaying, his Mother meant to prefer that young Prince to the Throne. He put to Death the Son of the King of *Bantam*, as well as the Son of the King of *Pan*, who were both his Couſins.

He has not left one of the Royal Family but his own Son, who has been thrice baniſhed the Court, but now begins to return in favour, and is only ſafe for being more cruel than his Father, and by being hated by all the World. He has extirpated all the ancient Nobility, and raiſed a new Set of Orankayes, who, in my Opinion, would live much happier in a meaner Capacity. In fine, his Cruelty is without a Parallel; he takes Advice of no body, and never lived a Day, while I was at *Achen*, without the Execution of one, and ſometimes ſeveral of his People.

28. The 28th the King ſent for me to ſee two Elephants fight: After I came two Elephants were brought into a large Court, each of them having a Cable faſtened about their hind Feet; then came ſeveral Men with long Pikes, barbed at their Heads. The two Elephants fell upon one another with a prodigious Roaring; but all of a ſudden the King was taken ill, and the Fight was interrupted on account of that Accident. Having preſented the Orankay *Laxemane* with an enamelled Ring, which he again pre-

ſented to his Majeſty, I at laſt obtained leave to buy up Pepper in the City. Being ſenſible of this Favour, and meaning to oblige the King as much as I could, I profered to buy ſix hundred Bahars of his own Pepper; but he replied, he was my Friend, and would not put it upon me, ſince it was too dear, in regard he had made an Oath not to ſell it under ſixteen Taels the Bahar. Next Day I made a Publication of the King's Licence, that the Inhabitants might not ſcruple to ſell their Pepper; but at the ſame time the King was buying up Pepper for himſelf, and the Inhabitants feared, that if they ſold me any, he would alledge they had preferred my Cuſtom to his.

To ſtifle this Apprehenſion, I firſt bought ſome of the Sabandar, thinking his Example would expel their Fears; but by an unlucky Accident, before he had delivered me any, the King took him up, and laid him in Irons, for not having ſome enamelled Work ready, which he had committed to his Care to get done by our Goldſmith by a prefixed Day, at which Time he had promiſed it to a She Favourite; though after all, it was not the Sabandar's Negligence, but the Goldſmith's being taken ill, that occaſioned the Delay. After this, notwithſtanding I had the King's Licence, they would not ſell me one Bahar, ſome pretending they durſt not, while the King bought, others refuſing to take Rials, or any other Coin but Ænas, which is a Gold Coin current in the Country. In the mean time I ſent Don *Franciſco Carnero* a *Portugueze* to the Court of the Great Mogul, by the Way of *Muſilipatan*. His Errand at that Court was to obtain leave from the Great Mogul to ſettle a *French* Factory at *Surat*, the Sovereignty of which belonged to him.

The Deſign of that Factory was to render a Factory at *Achen* more uſeful to us; for there being no Acceſs to *Bantam*, there was a Neceſſity of having a Factory at *Achen*, ſince the Rials and *French* Commodities would not be put off at *Achen* without Loſs; whereas at *Surat* the Rials are pretty high, and ſome *French* Commodities may be put off at *Cent. per Cent.* Profit, ſo that it would be our Intereſt not to ſail directly from *France* to *Achen*, but to *Surat*, where we might put off our Commodities at a good rate, and buy up ſome Commodities at *Surat*, that the People of *Achen* can as little do without as the very Rice they eat; and this would fetch us the *Achen* Pepper at an eaſy rate. This *Carnero* was an everlaſting Gameſter, and won great Sums by the Help of ſome falſe Dice he had brought from *France* with him, particularly from the Sabandar, whoſe Loſſes at Gaming made him very hungry in his Demands upon me, and yet I could not take off the *Portugueze* from playing with him. One time when *Carnero* was playing, he happened, by beating his Hand againſt the Table, to break one of his falſe Dice, upon which there run ſome Quickſilver out of it, that quickly ſlipped thro' the Chinks of the Table; this put his Company into a horrid Conſternation, for *Carnero* quickly hid the Pieces of the broken Dice, and they imagined there was ſome Magick in the ſubtile Spirit that appeared and diſappeared ſo ſuddenly.

On the 15th of *April* I made a Diſcovery that the King had played me a Trick, and that no Recommendation or Preſents whatſoever would get the better of his avaricious Temper; for he only gave me the Licence to amuſe me, and keep me from leaving the Place, as I had threatened to do before. He knew very well, that his buying of Pepper at the ſame time would ſtifle my Market, and if any one had ſold me Pepper, he would certainly have puniſhed him under pretence of prefering my Cuſtom to his. Beſides, the true Reaſon of the Sabandar's Confinement was not the Buſineſs of the King's, but his miſunderſtanding the King's Deſign, in giving me the Licence; and the Sabandar ſent to intreat me to intercede with the King that he might not be diſgraced, for that he had expoſed his Life to Danger by doing me Service. Next Day I went to intercede with the King on the Sabandar's Behalf; but he interrupted me, by aſking, if I had bought any Pepper? I anſwered, that I had not endeavoured to buy any, nor would, till his Majeſty's Market was over. Then he laughed, contrary to his Cuſtom, and told me, he would ſell me ſome cheap. I ordered the Interpreter to offer him a Catti, or thirty-two Rials a Bahar: But the Interpreter durſt not mention the Sum, and pretended he did not underſtand me; upon which I told it myſelf in the *Malagas* Language. The King was ſilent for ſome time; after which he gave me to underſtand, that tho' he had ſwore that whoſoever offered him leſs than ſixty-four Rials for his Pepper ſhould loſe his Favour; yet he would overlook it in me, and that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had offered him forty-eight Rials, and at that Price I might have what I would. I made anſwer, that the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had a larger Purſe than I, and dealt in ſeveral Branches of Trade that compenſated the Dearth of the Pepper, and that in fine, I had not ſo much Money to give. However, being informed that unleſs I took ſome of his Pepper, they durſt not ſell me a Grain in the City, and conſidering withal that *Bantam* being blocked up, there was none to be had but in his Dominions. Upon theſe Conſiderations I offered to take four hundred Bahars at forty Rials; but the King would not abate any thing of his Price, ſaying, he had uſed me more kindly than the *Dutch*, ſince he would not let them have it at the ſame Price. Finding him reſolute, I offered to take three hundred Bahars at his Price, provided he would give me a Licence to buy three hundred more at *Ticow*; at laſt he agreed to it, and ordered the three hundred Bahars to be delivered. I preſſed him to ſign my Licence for *Ticow* out of hand, in regard he was about to take Phyſick for his Illneſs, ſo that I could not have Audience of him for ſome time; but he told me that would be over before I was ready to go.

Notwithſtanding the King's Orders, it was a long time before I could get the Pepper which the King had ordered me, by reaſon of the Avarice and Villany of his Officers, who always found out ſome Trick or other to put off thoſe they have to deal withal, till they are ſufficiently bribed. For, beſides that they have no Salary, they are obliged to make the King a rich Preſent once a Year. As for dealing with private Perſons, I found them all unwilling to take Rials, and for that Reaſon employed a Broker to make a Propoſal to the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* of giving them my Rials at the current Price, in Exchange for Gold; but the Broker acquainted me, that they were ſo far from liſtening to the Propoſal, that they had a great Hand in ſinking the Value of the Rials, in order to ſpoil my Market, and prevent my trading at all. Being diſappointed on that hand, I made my Addreſs to the Orankaye *Laxemane*, offering him the Rials at Ten *per Cent.* Diſcount. At firſt he agreed; but next Day when I came with the Rials, he retracted, and ſaid he would give but three Mas and an half for them; ſince they went for no more in the City, finding I could not mend myſelf, I condeſcended to let them go; but after all, when I came to deliver the Rials, he retracted again.

The notorious Perfidiouſneſs of this Nation made me think of leaving them in Time before the bad Seaſon was farther advanced. In the mean time the Officer of the *Alſandeque* ſtopped twenty-one Bahars of Pepper for the King's Duty. It was a great Surprize to me to hear that the King demanded Duty for the Pepper he had ſold me himſelf, eſpecially conſidering that before I made the Bargain, my Interpreter aſſured me he never did. But when I repreſented the Matter to the Orankay, and deſired Acceſs to the King, in order to complain of the Injury done me, he told me, that I was obliged to pay Cuſtom for it, that the *Dutch* had always paid it, and that ſuch a Complaint would be very diſagreeable to the King; and ſuſpecting that my Interpreter had miſinformed me upon the Matter, would have tied him to a Poſt, if I had not brought him off as one of my Domeſticks.

At laſt I found my Interpreter to be one of the Spies of the *Alſandeque*, and perceived he had diſcovered all my Intrigues to the King's Officers. Though this Fellow was born of Chriſtian Parents, and profeſſed Chriſtianity for forty Years when among Strangers, yet he inſtructed his Children in the *Mohammedan* Religion, a certain Evidence that he was worſe than a true *Mohammedan*, and had neither Religion nor Conſcience. The Duties upon the Pepper that I was obliged to pay were Seven *per Cent.* to the King, Ten *per Cent.* of the King's Duties to the Officers, and a Mas for every Bahar to the Weigher. When I paid this Duty to the Officers they ſeized upon the Interpreter, who had made me believe there was none due, and having tied him to a Poſt beat him ſoundly, and made him pay more than he had got in my Service to get clear.

On the 5th of *May* I could have had Pepper enough for eight Taels and a Quarter in Gold, which, as Rials went then, came to thirty-ſeven Rials and an half; ſo that the Loſs upon Rials was unſufferable. Another Miſchance that galled me mightily was, that their Mas, or Gold Coin, is often clipped by the *Chineſe*, and that there are a great many of a falſe Coin; for at *Achen* they are ſo nice, that that if the Edge be but any ways ſhrunk or broke, they will not meddle with it; ſo that in the Payment of any Sum they will return a third Part, or a half. However, I bargained with one Man for three hundred Bahars at thirty-eight Rials the Bahar. The Chapman I dealt with called himſelf *Xerif Nepuen* of *Jeſus Chriſt*; he was a *Mohammedan*, and a great Doctor in the Law of *Mohammed*: He bore the Character of a Prophet, and came to this Place to make ſome Remonſtrances to the King of *Achen*, who was ſo little moved with his Remonſtrances, that he ordered him to keep within Doors, and not to meddle with his Deportment, ſo that the Oracle was ſtruck dumb all of a ſudden.

When I came to have my Pepper weighed, the Prophet alledged that I bargained with him for thirty-nine Rials, and offered to appeal to the Broker; but I told him roundly, that I had promiſed no more than thirty-eight, and that my Word was as much to be taken as either his or his Broker's. After ſome wrangling he yielded; but when we had weighed about one thouſand two hundred Bahars, I began to perceive ſome black Sand among the Pepper, and returned it; he pleaded for his Excuſe, that ſome of his Domeſticks had mixed Sand with the Pepper without his Knowledge, and though I might have done him an Injury, in regard that the King of *Achen* cuts off their Hands and Feet, without any Mercy, who are found guilty of that Trick; yet conſidering his Credit upon the Place, I was willing to overlook it. After that we continued to weigh till I obſerved the Pepper wet; upon which I ſtopped, and would have no more, alledging only that his Houſe was faulty, and that ſome Rain had fallen upon the Pepper. What for a Doctor or Prophet this may be I cannot tell; but both he and moſt of his Followers ſeem to place their Goodneſs in cheating a Chriſtian, eſpecially about *Achen*.

29. On the 22d one of our Men waſhing himſelf by the Ship's Side, had all the fleſhy Part of his Leg, and both his Hands bit off by a great Fiſh, or Sea-Calf, which the *Potugueze* call Tiburou, and immediately expired. By this Time the Pepper was become very ſcarce; for not only the King continued to buy, contrary to his Promiſe, but an *Engliſh* Veſſel that lately arrived from *Surat*, laden with Cotton-Cloth, trucked their whole Cargoe for Pepper, not to mention the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* upon the Place, who having the Advantage of Gold and Commodities vendible in that Country, ſtill bought it up underhand.

June the 4th there happened a great Fire in the City, which, in an Hour's Time, conſumed two hundred and ſixty Houſes; and the King cauſed the Women in whoſe Houſe it began to be impaled alive. On the 10th I had Audience of the King, and repreſented, that ſince the Pepper was become very ſcarce and dear, I wanted to be gone, and prayed that he would allow me to buy three or four hundred Bahars at *Ticow*. The King replied, that I might have ſome more of his, which he had ſold me at a lower Rate than any Body elſe. I told him that his Pepper was ſo dear, and the Loſs upon it would be ſo great, that, if I offered to take it at his Rates, it would diſcourage the *French* from coming again to kiſs his Hands. His Majeſty replied, that the *French* might hereafter make a more profitable Voyage, by bringing Gold, or Commodities vendible in the Country, that being infinitely more valuable to him than Silver, which he eſteemed no more than Dirt. As for the Buſineſs of *Ticow* he made me no Anſwer, neither durſt the Interpreter remind him of it, becauſe he found he did not like the Motion. However, I repreſented to him, that ſince I had no more Buſineſs in that Place, I hoped he would give me Leave to be gone: Upon which he ſaid, he would firſt write a Leter to the King of *France*.

On the 15th we had a violent Storm of Wind and Rain from S. W. and W. S. W. commonly for three Days before and three Days after the New-Moon and Full-Moon. We had heavy Rains and Floods, that ſwelled the River mightily, together with violent Guſts of Wind called Samatra. The 19th one of my Merchants died of an uncommon ſort of a Diſtemper, who, in my Opinion, was poiſoned by the *Dutch*. In this Place we loſt fourteen Men, moſt of whom were ſeized with a violent Vomiting and the Bloody-Flux, which no Remedy could ſtop. In earneſt, this Climate is ſo much hotter than *France*, that one can ſcarce avoid Sickneſs at firſt: But a regular Diet goes a great Way, if not in preventing, at leaſt in abating the Sickneſs. For my part, I eat little or no Roaſt-meat, but moſtly Fiſh, and drank Cider, or, for want of that, fair Water firſt boiled and then cooled. But the unwary Sailors filled their Bellies with Beef, and drank a great deal of Arrack beſides other Liquors, and when they were out of Order, drank Water and ſlept with their Stomachs expoſed to the Air; by which means the Stomach being at once overcharged, Vomitings and Fluxes enſued. The Cure for this Diſtemper is to be let blood, and take ſome cooling Medicines, and to abſtain from Meat, Wine, and Arrack.

The 27th the King ſent his Letter for the King of *France* to our Houſe, with a great deal of Splendor, the Letter being carried upon a great Elephant by one of the principal Orankays, after which followed three of the principal Officers of the Houſe upon another Elephant, with all the Officers of the Afendague on Foot. Before the Elephant went four Drums, and four Trumpets, and four large Umbrellas ſurrounded it. But all this Splendor was to my Coſt; for I was obliged to ſatisfy not only the principal Orankay, who brought the Letter, but all thoſe who accompanied him. The Letter was carried in a ſilver Baſon in a red velvet Bag, with gold Strings, being written it the *Achen* Language in Letters of Gold, upon very ſmooth Paper, with ſeveral Gildings and Colourings round it. The Form of it was thus:

“ The Letter of the *Grand Siri Sultan*, Subduer
“ and Conqueror, by God's Aſſiſtance, of ſeveral King-
“ doms, King of *Achen*, and, by the Divine Favour, of
“ all the Countries that lie to the Eaſt and Weſt; to the
“ Eaſtward the Kingdom, Territories, and Sovereignties
“ of *Dehli*, the Kingdom of *Ichor*, with its Lordſhips
“ and Territories; the Kingdom of *Paham*, the King-
“ dom of *Queda*, and the Kingdom of *Pera*, with their
“ Lands and Seignories. To the Weſtward the King-
“ dom and Territory of *Priaman*, the Kingdom and Ter-
“ ritory of *Ticow*, the Kingdom and Territory of
“ *Paſſuruma*, to be delivered to the Great and Puiſſant
“ King of *France*. May the King of *France* know, that
“ the Letter he ſent me by Commodore *Beaulieu* was de-
“ livered, and that I have ſeen all that was written in it.
“ And foraſmuch as he recommended the ſaid Admiral,
“ I have done him a great deal of Honour, both in the
“ Matters of Traffick, and in allowing him the Quality
“ and Rank of my principal Gentlemen. As for the Of-
“ fer made me, in caſe I have any Buſineſs in *France*, I
“ ſend a Memorial by the ſaid Commodore, to ſhew how
“ much I eſteem it; ſaying, further, that if God bring
“ this Letter ſafe to hand, I expect an Anſwer by the
“ Ships that ſhall come to trade in this Place, which to
“ me will be a great Satisfaction. So I pray God pre-
“ ſerve the States of the King of *France*. And ſince God
“ hath made us Kings in this World, it ſeems reaſonable
“ we ſhould live in Friendſhip, and correſpond one with
“ another. For a Token of Friendſhip I ſend eight Ba-
“ hars of Pepper, which is the Product of this Country.
“ God preſerve the illuſtrious Perſon of the King of
“ *France*.” Given in the Month *Raab* (or *June*) in the
Year 1030.

On the 28th my Goldſmith aſked Leave to ſtay at *Achen*, promiſing to find another to ſupply his Place that would be more ſerviceable than himſelf; and though he could not find one according to his Promiſe, yet, conſidering that he was blinded by the Promiſes of the King and the Orankay *Laxamane*, who were mightily taken with his Work, and that he had a great Mind to ſtay, I left him in the *Engliſh* Houſe, wiſhing I had never brought him from *France*, or turned him off ſooner, for the King of *Achen* retarded my Affairs upon the Account of having more of his Work.

30. On the 1ſt of *July* the *Portugueze* Captives and ſome others, having adviſed me to go to an Iſle near *Queda*, upon the Coaſt of *Malacca*, about two hundred Leagues from hence, where I might have Pepper cheaper than any where elſe, *viz.* at ſixteen Rials the Bahar, I reſolved to follow their Advice, conſidering that I had no Proſpect of a Licence to trade at *Ticow*; that, here at *Achen*, the Dearth and Scarcity of Pepper, the Charge of keeping Houſe, and living on Shore, the coſtly Preſents and Bribes that the King and his Officers expect out of the Profit of the Trade, made it impracticable, that I had no Hopes of ſeeing our ſecond Ship or Advice-Boat there, the laſt being gone from me above ſeven Months, and there being no Poſſibility of hearing from *Bantam* or *Jacatra* till *October*, by reaſon of contrary Winds; that the preſent weſterly Winds ſtood fair for *Queda*, and in *October*, when they began to vere to the Eaſt, they would favour my Return. That tho' the King had lately conquered the Place I was bound for, and prohibits all Perſons to go there without his Conſent, yet I might manage it ſo as not to diſpleaſe him, by pretending to be forced in by the Winds which blow right upon it. Beſides, the *French* having no Factory in *Achen*, and he having uſed me unkindly, I had no great Reaſon to fear his Diſpleaſure.

Theſe Conſiderations induced me to reſolve upon a Voyage for that Iſland, where I might live more ſecurely till the weſterly Winds were over, as well as make a better Bargain for Pepper. To this End I reſolved to give two hundred and fifty Rials, by way of Ranſom, for two *Portugueze* Captives, one of whom having been in that Iſland, would ſerve for a Pilot, and the other had been a Merchant at *Pera*. The Number of my Men being reduced by Sickneſs and Detachments, to a ſmall Complement, I likewiſe redeemed ſeven more Chriſtian Slaves for three hundred and ſixty-one Rials, that had formerly ſerved the *Portugueze* at Sea. Some *Engliſhmen* offered to ſerve me, but, not having Leave of their Superiors, I rejected them.

The 15th I had Audience of the King, at which time the *Dabul* and *Surat* Captains preſented their Ladea, *i. e.* a Preſent of the Commodities of their Country, computed to be worth 1500 Rials. After theſe Captains had ſo done, the King aſked me if the King of *France* was ſubject to the King of *England*? I anſwered, that *France* was inferior to none of the Chriſtian Monarchies, having continued for 1300 Years under the Government of their own Kings, without ſubmitting to any foreign Power whatſoever. Upon which he told me he had ſeen a Letter from the King of *England*, in which he aſſumes the Title of King of *France*. But I ſhewed him how ſlender a Right he had to that Title, which proceeded from a Spite that one of our Kings had againſt his Succeſſor. After he had put ſeveral Queſtions about the Grandeur of Chriſtian Princes, I humbly requeſted he would ſuffer me to put into *Ticow* for one Month, in order to buy two hundred Bahars of Pepper, and to ſend a Praw from thence to *Bantam*, to enquire after my two Ships, adding, that ſuch a Favour would be a laſting Obligation upon the *French* Nation. He anſwered me very coldly, that I might diſcourſe that Subject with the Orankay *Laxemane*. This done, I took leave of his Majeſty, who wiſhed me a good Voyage.

After that I went to wait upon *Laxemane*, who told me that the King had ſworn never to ſuffer any Nation to trade at *Ticow* after the *Dutch*, and that it was a Sign he had no mind to give me a Licence, ſince he had put it off by ſending me to him: However, I preſſed him to ſpeak to the King about it, and let me have his Anſwer. After ſome Time he ſent me Word, that the King would allow me to put into *Ticow* for a Month, provided I gave him half a Bahar (*i. e.* 3200) of Rials. At laſt, being ſo much provoked by the inſatiable Avarice and Ingratitude of this Nation, that notwithſtanding all my Preſents, gave me ſuch Uſage, I reſolved to ſteer for *Ticow*, and if they would not deal with me in an amicable Way, to ſtop the Ships that were to come from thence, and take out of them what Pepper I wanted, allowing for it the Market-Price at *Ticow*: But if I could not weather the Point of *Ticow*, as it was probable I might not, by reaſon of the violent Winds and Tides from the Weſt, I deſigned to ſail for *Pulo Lancabuy*, or *Pulo Lada*, (ſo the Pepper-Iſland near *Queda* is called) notwithſtanding the King had ſent, about two Days before, three large Gallies, and thirty Sail of other Ships to *Pera*, with Orders to return by that Iſland, and to cut down all the Pepper-plants.

31. On the 24th having taken in ſeven hundred Bahars of Pepper at *Achen*, I ſet ſail for that Road, which lies in 5° 30′ N. Lat. the Needle varying 5° 30′ N. W. The 25th we weathered the Iſles of *Gomiſpola* and *Polloway*, which fence in this Road on the North Side. In this Seaſon the Trade-Winds blow S. W. with which I endeavoured to double the Cape of *Achen*, in order to reach *Ticow*, ſteering our Courſe W. N. W. but the Tides ſtill bringing me right before the Wind, I was obliged to ſteer directly for *Pulo Lancabuy*, though the Calms were ſo great that I could not make it till the Seventh of *Auguſt*, whereas it is commonly but four Days Sail with that Trade-Wind.

The next Day after my Arrival, the Pangoulow, or Governor of the Iſland, came on Board, and told me that he would not ſuffer me to trade with the Inhabitants without a Licence from the King of *Queda*, which, he doubted not, but I might have, eſpecially if I aſſiſted him with ſome Artillery. On the 12th the Governor, accompanied with two of my Men, (in lieu of whom he had left me his own Son, with one of the principal Men of the Iſland, for Hoſtages) went in Perſon to acquaint the King with my Arrival. At that Time the King of *Queda* had retired from *Queda* to *Perleys*, about three Days Journey farther into the Country, for fear of the King of *Achen*'s Army. The 20th I received a Letter from Sieur *d'Eſpine*, (one of our Company that went along with the Governor) acquainting me, that he underſtood the King of *Queda* had but little Pepper, and that this Iſland had not much. To my infinite Regret I found this Intelligence too true; for I found that we came too late for the laſt Year's Pepper, and too early for that of this Year's, which is not gathered till *December*. *September* the 2d Sieur *d'Eſpine* ſent me Word that he could not come to ſpeak to the King, who had retired into the Woods, under the Apprehenſion that we were employed by the King of *Achen* to do him an Injury; but, in the mean time, he had ordered all the Pepper that could be had to be gathered in, in order to buy ſome Cannon of me, if I would ſell them.

Upon this Advice I ſent poſitive Orders to Sieur *d'Eſpine* to inform himſelf particularly of what Quantity of Pepper might be expected in that Place; and if it was under a hundred Bahars, to return immediately, without troubling himſelf about it; or, if it was above that Number, to ſollicit the King to ſend a Commiſſioner with full Power to treat with me, and that without any Delay. The 9th Sieur *d'Eſpine* returned in Perſon, and reported that the King had but very little Pepper in *Queda*, but had a mighty Mind for my Cannon, offering, if I would ſtay till *December* (which is the Seaſon for gathering the Pepper) to give me twice as much Pepper for my Cannon as I had aſked; and farther, to furniſh me with a thouſand Bahars more if I had Occaſion for them; and if I had a Mind to eſtabliſh a Factory there, to furniſh it every Year with 2000 Bahars, and exclude all other Nations from trading in his Territories. The King ſent me a Letter, impowering me to trade freely with the Natives, and deſiring two of my Cannon for thirty Bahars of Pepper, which he ſaid was all he had. In the mean time they had detained my Purſer at *Perleys*, about ſeven or eight Leagues from this Iſland, thinking I would come and lie off of that Place to eſtabliſh a Factory in the ſame: But I underſtood that the Channel between this Iſland and that at *Perleys* was embarraſſed with Shelves and Flats; and at the ſame time obſerved that my Ship did not anſwer the Helm as it uſed to do; upon which I reſolved rather to continue where I was, threatning to ſet Sail with the Hoſtages I had on Board, if they would not return me my Man.

On the firſt of *October* the Purſer was returned, and I delivered them their two Hoſtages. He reported that the King had only twenty Bahars of Pepper, and deſired to pay the other ten in Rials, at the Rate of twenty Rials a Bahar. That the Country was very poor, and the Rice extreme dear. That upon the Arrival of every Praw the People fled into the Country, thinking them to be the Partizans of the King of *Achen*. That about eight or ten Days before, they had received Advice that ſeventy Sail had arrived at *Pera*, with the King of *Achen*'s Army on Board, and by yet freſher Intelligence that the King of *Achen* was dead. Upon this Report, though I had reſolved not to let them have any Cannon, becauſe I meant to return by the Way of *Achen*, yet I thought fit to amuſe them with fair Words, till I had taken in freſh Water; and with that View ſent back the Purſer to acquaint them that I was very much diſpoſed to deal with them.

That I could not bring my Ship to *Perleys*, becauſe my Rudder was out of Order; and that to ſhew my Willingneſs to oblige them, I was ready to ſend one of my Cannon on Shore, provided they gave me two Hoſtages to inſure the Delivery of twenty Bahars of Pepper within eight Days, or elſe deliver the Pepper itſelf. This Offer pleaſed them ſo well that they ſent me Word there were no Occaſion for giving Hoſtages, or putting a Cannon aſhore till the Pepper was got ready, which would be in ſix or ſeven Days. In this Place I did nothing to the Purpoſe, only I cauſed to be cut down for me a Main-Top-Maſt, a Mizen-Maſt, and Bolt-Sprit, which I could not have elſe where. If I could have ſtayed there till *January*, I could have loaded my Ship with Pepper at a quarter of the Price it coſt me at *Achen*, beſides that, at that Time the Trade-Winds came E. and ſo would have ſtood fair for returning directly to *France*, but the Men I had were ſo few, and were ſo diſcouraged, that I could not think of waiting.

32. This Iſland, called by the Inhabitants *Pulo Lanchobuy*, and by the Natives of *Achen*, *Pulo Lada*, i. e. the *Iſland of Pepper*, lies in 6° 15′ N. Lat. the Needle varying 2° 30′ N. W. It has about fifteen or twenty Leagues in Circumference, and is mountainous in ſome Places, eſpecially where it faces *Pulo Botton*, where it lies three Leagues off to the Weſtward. In the middle of the Country there is a high Mountain, divided into two by a very narrow Valley, which is not obſervable but on the South-ſide. The Pepper grows at the Foot of this Mountain as well as in the intervening Plain, which extends itſelf three or four Leagues in Length. The Pepper Plants are dreſſed after the ſame Manner as our tall Vines. Were this Iſland more cultivated, it would produce many more than it does, for there are not, at preſent, above a hundred Perſons in the Iſland, whereas formerly it was inhabited by above ſeven hundred.

The Soil of the above-mentioned Place is very convenient for all ſorts of Drugs, Fruit, Rice, and Cattle, being enriched with excellent Paſturage and plenty of Rivers and Springs. The reſt of the Iſland is covered with very thick Woods in which, eſpecially upon the Mountains, there are ſome Trees exactly ſtraight, of an incredible Height and proportionable Thickneſs. On the South-Side the Shore it is frequently interſected with Arms of the Sea, leaving little Iſlands and Rocks, covered with Woods. On the North there lies a large Iſland about a League off. On the Eaſt it has a Bay, covered with a little Iſland, in which Ships of two hundred Tuns may ride with Safety, and be ſheltered from all Winds. In a Word, there is a very ſafe Anchorage all round the Iſland, and any Part of it affords excellent freſh Water. From the Beginning of *July* to the End of *October*, the Winds are there weſterly, at which Time it rains very much, and the Climate is unhealthy, as it happens in all other Places of the ſame Latitude.

33. The Pepper ripens in *November*; its Harveſt is from the Middle of *December* to the End of *February*. At preſent this Iſland produces every Year 500,000 Pound Weight of excellent, large, and dry Pepper, which is preferable to that of any other Place in the *Indies*. This Iſland is ſubject to the King of *Queda*, without whoſe Permiſſion no Trade can be carried on there. The *Portuguese*, who reſide at *Malacca*, come there every Year to trade, and continue there from *December* to *February*. The Commodities they bring are Guzurat Pluſh, Salt, Rice, and a few Rials, which go all of them well off there, by reaſon of the Vicinity of the *Chineſe*, a good Number of whom are ſettled at *Patavi*, a Town ſituated on the oppoſite Coaſt.

They ſell their Pepper by Meaſure, and not by Weight, which is better for the Buyer, ſince, at that Rate, he cannot be ſo eaſily injured by wetting it, or deceived by the putting Stones or Sand into it, as they commonly do at *Achen*. They ſell it by the Nali, which contains ſixteen Gautals, each Gautal containing four Chuppas, fifteen Nali make a Bahar, which is four hundred and fifty Pound *Averdupois*; ſo that the Meaſure in this Iſland is greater by one quarter than in the King of *Achen*'s Territories. The common Price of a Bahar is ſixteen Rials. The Pepper-Plants grow in a fat free Soil. They are planted at the Root of every Tree, round which they creep and twiſt like Hops. The Way is to take a Shoot or Sprig of an old Pepper-Plant, and plant it under ſome Shrub, taking care to clean the Ground, and weed out all the Herbs about it; it will bear no Fruit till the third Year, after which it bears every year ſix or ſeven Pounds Weight of Pepper. Its firſt, ſecond, and third Years Crops are much at one, but the fourth, fifth, and ſixth decreaſe one third both in the Quantity and Size of the Pepper; and in the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth, the Pepper becomes very ſmall and ſcanty; ſo that after its twelfth Year it bears no more, and a new Shoot muſt be planted in its Room; for the firſt three Years the Ground about them muſt be kept very clean, or they will not bear, and even that requires a great deal of Pains, for the Climate is extreme moiſt, by reaſon partly of the Rains and partly of the Dew, which is ſo great, that if one walks among Trees or Graſs before the Sun-riſing, they will be as wet as if they waded through Water. When the Plant begins to bear, the Branches of the Tree, through which it creeps, muſt be lopped off, leſt they intercept the Rays of the Sun, which, above all Things that Plant ſtands moſt in need of. When the Clusters of this Fruit are formed, Care muſt be taken to ſupport them with Poles, leſt the Weight ſhould draw down the Plant, which of itſelf is tender enough. Care muſt likewiſe be taken that no Buffaloes, or Oxen, or large Animals get in amongſt them, leſt they ſhould be entangled among the Branches, and ſo break them.

They muſt be planted at a convenient Diſtance one from another, that one may get round them with a Ladder to prune them after their Fruit is gathered, for, otherwiſe, they would grow too high, and ſo bear leſs Fruit. Commonly this Plant has a white Flower in *April*; in *June* this knots, in *Auguſt* it is large, green, and ſtrong, and the Natives make uſe of it for Sallad, or make a rich Pickle of it, and other Fruits in Vinegar, which they call Achar, and which will keep for a Twelve-Month. In *October* it is red, in *November* it begins to grow black, in *December* it is all over black, and conſequently ripe. This is the moſt general Method, though, in ſome Places, it is ripe ſooner or later than in others. When the Fruit is ripe, they cut off the Cluſters and dry them in the Sun, till the Grain falls off from its Stalk, which it does not in leſs than fifteen Days, though the Sun is very hot; and during that Time they muſt be turned from Side to Side, and covered up in the Night-Time. There are ſome of the Grains that neither redden nor blacken, but continue white, which are made uſe of phyſically, and ſold for double the Price of the other. Of late Years the Inhabitants obſerving that Foreigners wanted theſe for the ſame Uſe, have found out a Way of whitening the black ones, by taking them when they are yet red, and waſhing off the red Skin with Water and Sand, ſo that nothing remains but the Heart of the Pepper, which is white.

By this Account we may perceive the Pepper does not grow ſo eaſily as many are apt to imagine, and that the Pepper-Plants require a great many Hands to dreſs them, which at preſent is mightily wanted in this Iſland, both it and the Country of *Queda* being laid deſolate by the King of *Achen* within theſe three or four Years, inſomuch that the King of *Queda* is now obliged to put himſelf under the Protection of the King of *Siam*. The Inhabitants are *Malayans*, but not ſo crafty and roguiſh as thoſe of *Achen*; their Habit is much the ſame, but not ſo rich. They are very zealous *Mohammedans*, and in their Cuſtoms and Way of Living differ but little from the Inhabitants of *Achen*. They have a ſort of Coin not unlike our *French* Sols, but of a little better Alloy, which they call Tras, and thirty-two of theſe make a Rial. They reckon by Taels, but one of their Taels make four of thoſe of *Achen*.

34. *Queda* is a good marſhy Soil, cut by ſeveral Brooks, taking Riſe from a large River, in which are many large and dangerous Crocodiles. In former times the Country was well peopled, and abounded with all ſorts of Proviſions, eſpecially Rice and Cattle, and *Queda* was reſorted to by all ſorts of Merchants from *Pegu*, *Aracan*, *Bengal*, *Jerſelin*, the Coaſts of *Coromandel* and *Surat*, beſides the *Portugueze* reſiding at *Malacca*, and even the Merchants of *Achen*. The Cuſtoms and Impoſts at this Place were very moderate, till the Father of the preſent King came to reign, who was a perfidious and cruel Tyrant, and by Divine Vengeance (as the Natives will have it) was carried off in Captivity by the King of *Achen* about three Years ago. This Place, to ſay the Truth, bears ſeveral Marks of Divine Wrath; for about four Years before it was ſubdued, two-thirds of the Inhabitants, amounting to above forty thouſand Souls, were carried off by a Plague. The next Year after that a Murrain ſeized upon the Cattle, and carried off all the King's Elephants, and ſeven-eights of their other Cattle. The third Year there was ſuch a Scarcity of Rice, and all manner of Fruit, that they underwent a terrible Famine.

The Year after that the King of *Achen*, who always lies in wait to pillage his Neighbours, laid Siege to *Queda*. The City held out three Months, and then the King with his Family and Retinue, conſiſting of a hundred and twenty Men, retired to his Palace, which he had fortified, and where he was reduced to the laſt Extremity of Want, till about two Months after that the King of *Achen*'s Officers perſuaded him to ſurrender, by alledging that the King admired him for his Valour, and would certainly reinſtate him in his Throne, if he truſted to his Clemency. This Siege was carried on by the *Achen* Army with a great deal of Vigour, inſomuch that they fought when up to the Middle in Water in Winter; for the King had ſent them word that he would cut them all in Pieces if they did not bring him the King of *Queda*; at laſt, having demoliſhed the City and the Caſtle, they carried the King and his Family, and about ſeven thouſand of the Inhabitants, to *Achen*.

The King of *Achen* gave the Captive King a tolerable Reception, till he had drained him and his Friends of all they had; after which he put to Death not only him and his Children, but the principal Men among the other Captives, confining the reſt to a remote Part of the City, where moſt of them were killed by Miſery and Want, and the ſorry Remainder, amounting to about five hundred Souls, work at preſent in little Huts one half of the Week, for their own Maintenance, ſuch as it is, and the other half in the building the King of *Achen*'s Houſes, and manuring his Grounds. The preſent King of *Queda*, the Son of this miſerable Predeceſſor, was ſhut up with his Father in the Caſtle of *Queda* before it was ſurrendered; but finding that his Father was inclinable to ſurrender, and carry all his Children and Treaſures to *Achen*, to procure a better Reception from the King; he made his Eſcape privately without his Father's Knowledge.

35. On the twelfth of *October* I weighed Anchor, and ſtood for the Road of *Achen*, in order to try if I could hear any thing of our Ships; ſoon after the Tides carried me upon the Iſles of *Pulo-Botton* about five Leagues off, where I was obliged to drop an Anchor to keep clear of a Rock. Theſe Iſlands are three in Number, but there are alſo a great many ſmall ones. They are inhabited and covered with Woods, in which there are ſome Trees fit for Maſts of Ships; they afford good Anchorage all round about, and the largeſt of them has good freſh Water upon a ſandy Creek. Next Day we came in Sight of *Sumatra*. The 27th we came within two Leagues of the Iſland of *Pooloway*, and I deſigned to double it, in order to caſt Anchor on the Weſt Side of the Road of *Achen*, where I might eaſily get off, in caſe the King of *Achen* ſhould uſe me otherwiſe than well.

But the Tides were ſo ſtrong, and the Winds blew ſo hard from Weſt and Weſt-North-Weſt, that I was drove above ſix Leagues before the Wind, and obliged to put into a ſmall Creek of Sand about half way between *Podor* and *Achen*. That Evening a Praw came up to me with a Commiſſion from the King of *Achen* to know who I was, whence I came, and whither I was going; for it ſeems the King had heard of a Ship cruizing upon his Coaſt fifteen Days before I came to an Anchor in this Place. By this Commiſſioner I underſtood that a ſmall *French* Ship had arrived in the Road of *Achen* about eight Days before. It happened that the King's Commiſſioner knew me to be the Perſon that had been at *Achen* before, and when he aſked me whence I came, I ordered my Interpreter to ſay, that when I went from *Achen* I was bound for *Bantam*, by the way of *Ticow*; but having loſt two of my Maſts by a Storm, I was forced to put into an Iſland to refit. I deſigned to conceal the Name of the Iſland, knowing that the King would be angry at my going thither without his Leave, and to pretend that I knew not the Iſland, and could meet with no Inhabitants upon it to inform me; but my Interpreter precipitately told him, I had been at the Iſland of *Pulo Lanchohuy*.

Next Day a Praw came on Board with an Achen-man in her that I knew, and he aſſured me there was a ſmall *French* Veſſel in the Road, and ſome *Frenchmen* that ſaid they belonged to me, adding withal as a Secret, that the King of *Achen* detained them there againſt their Will. In the mean time I ſent my Long-boat on Shore for ſome freſh Proviſions, but the People would ſell none, alledging that the King had prohibited them to ſell without his Command. Upon the whole, I was apprehenſive that the King of *Achen* might ſtop our Advice-Boat (for I took the *French* Ship in the Road of *Achen* to be it) to prevent their coming to an Interview with me, and thereupon I weighed Anchor, and ſtood for the Road of *Achen*; but the Wind being contrary, and very high, I was forced to come to an Anchor at the Point of a large Bay, and ſent by Land one of the Men I had redeemed at *Achen* in a *Moor*'s Habit, to carry a Letter to the People belonging to the *French* Veſſel in the Road of *Achen*, promiſing him his Freedom if he brought me an Anſwer in two Days; for we were then but four Leagues off *Achen*, and he knew the Way exactly well, for which Reaſon I ſent him aſhore in the Night-Time, ordering him to walk it before Day, leſt any body ſhould meet him, or enquire after his Buſineſs. The next Day a large Ship with *Engliſh* Colours made up to us, and when they came within a Quarter of a League, put out their Long-boat, which brought on Board of me M. *du Parr*, one of the Men belonging to our ſecond *the Hope*.

36. The State of poor Captain *Grave*'s Affairs, according to *du Parr*'s Report, was as follows: This great Ship was an *Engliſh* Ship of ſix hundred Tuns, and thirty-two Guns, and had on Board Captain *Grave*, the Captain of *the Hope*, who was very ſick, and not finding me at *Achen*, was going to *Jacatra* to find ſome Paſſage for *France*. After the *Hope* parted from me, they came to an Anchor at a long Iſland about twenty Leagues from *Ticow*, and ſent their Long-boat to *Ticow*. Twelve Days after the Departure of their Long-boat they ſtood for *Ticow* themſelves to put aſhore M. *Talier* the firſt Commiſſary, who was then ill; but the Winds and Tide being contrary, they not only loſt the Men in the Long-boat, but even thoſe they had on Board were all ſick, except the Captain and five or ſix more. In this diſaſtrous Condition they met with a *Dutch* Ship of one thouſand two hundred Tuns, called the *Leyden*, and commanded by *William Schovten*, and Captain *Grave* went on Board them to deſire their Aſſiſtance; he was no ſooner on Board, but the *Dutch* Captain ſent ſixty Men in two Long-boats to board our Ship, which accordingly they did without any Oppoſition, and not only plundered the Ship, but uſed our ſick Men moſt barbarouſly, turning them out of their Hammocks, and throwing them upon the Deck.

In the mean time the *Dutch* Captain having detained Captain *Grave*, told him both he and his Ship was a good

Prize, and if they met with me, they could ſerve me the ſame way. Some few Days after this they met another *Dutch* Ship that had a great many ſick aboard, and was going to put them on Shore on the Iſle of *Naſſau*. Captain *Grave* deſired his Men might likewiſe be ſet aſhore at the ſame Place for the Recovery of their Health, which indeed they did, but with ſo much Cruelty, that one would think that Nation had neither Humanity, Religion, or Conſcience; for they threw the ſick Men like ſo many Logs of Wood out of the Ship into the Boat, and ſome they dragged through the Water with a Rope faſtened to them, particularly one, who being ſo dragged, expired immediately upon the Rocks on the Shore. In the mean time the Commiſſary of the *Leyden* being ſenſible of his Crime, told Captain *Grave* they were miſtaken, and that upon a Review of his Commiſſion he found he had no Authority to take any *French* Ship, ſo that he was at liberty to return to his own Ship.

Captain *Grave* conſidering that he ſtood in need of their Aſſiſtance, anſwered with a great deal of Complaiſance, that the Commiſſary was not the firſt who had been miſtaken in Matters of as great Conſequence, and deſired he might have ſome of their Seamen to man his Ship; the Commiſſary granted his Requeſt, upon a Proviſo that the Captain ſhould forget what had paſſed, and give ſomething to that Effect under his Hand. Captain *Grave* receiving this Reinforcement, went on Board of his own Ship; but the *Dutch* Seamen threatened every Day to throw him and his Crew over-board, and he believed they had certainly done it, if the other *Dutch* Ship, called the *Horn*, had not been in Company: Sometime after they fell in with three *Dutch* Ships near *Selibar* upon the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, one of which having a Flag upon its Maſt like an Admiral Ship, Captain *Grave* went on Board of her; but as ſoon as Captain *Grave* was on Board, that Admiral's Ship fired upon his Ship, in order to make them take down their *French* Colours; upon which the Captain ſent back his Boat with Orders to take them down.

This done, they ſailed all together for *Jacatra*, where they arrived in *December*, and Captain *Grave* went to wait upon the *Dutch* Admiral, and deſired he would aſſiſt him with ſome Seamen to conduct his Ship to *Bantam*, purſuant to his Commiſſion. The Admiral promiſed to aſſiſt him, and to allow him to go to *Bantam*, provided he would there buy up all the Pepper he could get at a limited Price, *viz.* two Rials a Sack, and diſtribute two-thirds of it to the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* in that Road. The Captain conſidering his miſerable Condition, was forced to ſubmit, and ſign an Obligation of buying fifteen thouſand Sacks of Pepper, five thouſand of which ſhould be given to the *Dutch*, and five thouſand to the *Engliſh*. In the mean time the Pinnace I had ſent in queſt of him arrived at *Jacatra*, but the Bargain being ſtruck before its Arrival, Captain *Grave* was obliged to go to *Bantam*: Accordingly he went, and arrived there the End of *January*, where the King gave him a welcome Reception, but would ſell him no Pepper under four Rials a Bag.

In the mean Time, the *Dutch*, contrary to their Promiſe, ſent out armed Barks up and down *Bantam* Road, in Purſuit of the *Javaneſe*, within Cannon-Shot of their Walls, returned always on Board our Ship the *Hope*, in order to make thoſe of *Bantam* believe, that the *French* gave ſhelter to their mortal Enemies. However, the King of *Bantam* reſented it no otherwiſe than by keeping the Pepper at the firſt Price; upon which Captaain *Graves* reſolved to take it at the current Price, and when he had got his Lading, to return to *France*, he offered Part of what he had got to the *Dutch*, but they would not have it at that Price: The *Engliſh*, indeed, took 150 Bags of him, but never paid for it. The *Dutch* and *Engliſh* paying him no Money, he had not enough to pay the King of *Bantam* for the 15000 Bags he had bargained for, and therefore deſired he would let him have only 2000 Bags more; but the King refuſed to let him have any, unleſs he would take all that he had bargained for.

At laſt the Commiſſary of *St. Malo*'s Company at *Bantam* ſupplied him with as much as would compleat his Loading, taking the *Hermitage* Advice-Boat as a Pledge for 1500 Rials in Part of Payment. This done, he reſolved to return directly for *France*, but three Ships that lay juſt by him commanded him to go to *Jacatra*; accordingly he went, and was there ordered to unlade two Thirds of his Cargo, and notwithſtanding that he ſhewed Letters under the *Dutch* Preſident's Hand, importing, that they would not ſtand to the firſt Bargain, yet they arreſted the Captain on Shore, and made ſeven or eight of their Ships ride at Anchor round the *Hope*, and began to unload the Pepper themſelves, tho' none of Captain *Grave*'s Crew put their Hands to it. In the mean Time Captain *Grave* entered a Proteſt againſt the Injuſtice of the *Dutch*, declaring, that all Damages iſſuing from that Action ſhould be put to their Account. Soon after, in a very dark Night, a Praw was ſeen to come from the Place where the *Dutch* Ships lay at Anchor, and to make up to the Stern of the *Hope*, near which it continued for a little Time, and after that putting off, one of their Men cried out in the *Malayan* Language, that the *Hope* was on Fire; immediately the *Dutch* Ships were ſeen under Sail, having weighed Anchor before, which was a certain Proof that they knew of the Deſign; and when the Preſident of *Jacatra* received the firſt Advice that a Ship was on Fire in the Road, he replied, without any Concern, that he knew it was the *French* Ship. In the mean Time, the *French* Seamen finding the Fire too far advanced to be extinguiſhed, came off in the Long-Boat, and abandoned the Ship. Next Morning Captain *Grave* ſent ſix Praws to ſave ſomething in the Ship, but the *Dutch* kept them off, ſo that they ſaved all the Pepper and Artillery, and put them in their own Magazines, and ſold the Hulk of the Ship by Beat of Drum.

This done, Captain *Grave* hearing I was at *Achen*, ſet out for *Achen* in the *French* Commiſſary at *Bantam*'s Pinnace, and the reſt of the Men came in another Bark; but as ſoon as he arrived there, the Bark, and all that was in it, was ſtopped by the King of *Achen*, and Captain *Grave* being taken ill, and not meeting with me there, took the Opportunity of returning to *Jacatra* by the *Engliſh* Ships above-mentioned. Having heard this fatal Account of our Affairs, I ſent a Boat for Captain *Grave*, and received him on Board. *November* the fifteenth we weighed Anchor, and making the Road of *Achen*, came to an Anchor among five more Ships that were in that Road, in order to be in a Capacity to force the King of *Achen* to deliver up my Men, if he would not do it with good Will.

Immediately upon our Arrival, the King ſent an Eunuch on Board to welcome me, and deſire me to come aſhore. I made Anſwer, that I could not truſt myſelf aſhore, ſince the King had impriſoned my Men like Robbers, and ſeized upon the ſorry Remains of a burnt Ship, contrary to what might have been expected, after the Services offered him by the King of *France*, and by me in Particular. The Eunuch replied, that the King took them to be *Portugueze*, that had ravaged his Coaſts, and as ſoon as he was undeceived, had ſet them at Liberty, and returned them their Money. That it was true, he had hindered them from going on Board the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, for fear they ſhould come to any harm from their mortal Enemies, deſigning to put them into the Hands of the firſt *French* Captain that ſhould have arrived in that Place. To this I anſwered, that the *French* were eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the *Portugueze*, and that tho' I underſtood the King had returned them ſome Rials, yet he had not returned the Value of 2500 Rials he took from them, in Muſk, Jewels, Bezoar, Coral, and other things. The Eunuch told me, the King would certainly pay that.

But after all, I gave him to underſtand, I was firmly reſolved not to come aſhore till all my Men were on Board, after which, I would come and receive his Commands. Then they demanded the Duties of the King's Chappe, beſides 400 Rials of Anchorage for the King, and 200 for the Officers of the *Alfandegue*, a late Impoſition laid upon all Ships that ſhould come into that Road; but I told them, I did not come to traffick, and therefore would not pay a Farthing. Sometime after the Chappe returned, and brought all my Men on Board; upon which, purſuant to my Promiſe, I went aſhore, when I waited upon the King, who complained heavily that I did not come to ſee him ſooner, and told me, that the *Dutch* and

Engliſh had ſpread falſe Reports, in order to exclude the *French* from the Trade of *Achen*. That the Men he had impriſoned were repreſented to him as Robbers and Pirates, but as ſoon as he underſtood they belonged to me, he immediately ſet them at Liberty. That he was afraid the King of *France* might have taken it ill, if he had put his Subjects into the Hands of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who were their mortal Enemies, and that he only waited for the Arrival of a *French* Ship, in which he might ſend them Home. But after all, when I thanked him for ſending the Men on Board, he told me, he had only ſent them to viſit me, but not to ſtay with me, for that they being Ship-wreck'd and loſt Men, belonging to him, into whoſe Port they came.

This, as I took it, he ſaid to prevent me from aſking for what he had taken from them, the Value of which amounted to very near 2000 Rials. However, I reſolved to play him a Trick for it, and with that View deſired M. *Limmony* (ſo the firſt Commiſſary of the *St. Malo*'s Company at *Bantam* was called) who was now Proprietor in the Pinnace, to retire from *Achen* as ſoon as he could, to avoid the Danger he might incur through the Inſolence and Perfidiouſneſs of the King. But *Limmony* made Anſwer, that he had ſome Goods to put off, which would require ſome Time, and he being of another Company, I could not force him to act as I would have had him. Upon this Anſwer I reſolved to put in for a Licence for *Ticow*, and for that Purpoſe I offered Orankay *Laxemane* a Diamond if he would procure it me. The Orankay told me, it might be done, provided I made a Preſent of ſome fine Diamond to the King, who was then paſſionately fond of Diamonds.

I ſhewed him a rough Diamond weighing 12 Grains, which I deſigned for the King, and another cut of five Grains for himſelf. Next Day he acquainted me, that he had ſhewn the Diamonds to the King, but the *Engliſh* having very lately preſented him with large ones, he did not value mine; but after all, that if I could find any extraordinary Rarity, I might certainly obtain my Requeſt. Upon this Advice, I bought of *Periby* the *Portugueze*, who was lately returned from *Muſilipatan*, two Diamonds, one weighing 18 Grains, cut Lozengewiſe, and very prettily ſet, which coſt me 550 Rials, and another of nine Grains, cut Pointwiſe, which coſt me 120 Rials. I ſhewed them to *Laxemane*, who adviſed me to preſent them myſelf; upon which I deſired *Quylin* the Goldſmith, who was my Interpreter, and who uſed to ſpeak very boldly to the King, to acquaint him, that I had ſome Jewels to ſhew his Majeſty, without telling him whether I meant to ſell them or give them to him.

37. Accordingly, after ſome Time, the King ſent for me, and deſired a Sight of the Diamonds he heard I had. I ſhewed him the large one, which he looked upon, and when he aſked the Price of it, I told him, it was at his Service, if he would allow me to buy 300 Bahars of Pepper at *Ticow*. His Anſwer was, that if the *Dutch* ſhould offer him 30000 Rials for that Liberty he would not give it them; but to me he would give a Licence of ſtaying at *Ticow* twenty Days, provided I gave him another Diamond like that. I told him, I had none ſuch, nor could poſſibly find any. Then he deſired I would preſent him with a Cannon in the room of it, but I begged his Majeſty's Pardon. Upon which he ſaid, all other Nations had preſented him with Cannons, and I ought not to refuſe him. I prayed him to excuſe me, in regard I had ſo many Enemies, and that there were ſome Ships near *Ticow*. He replied, I need not fear the *Dutch* at *Ticow*, ſince they had a Factory at *Achen*, which was more valuable than my Ship. After all, finding he was ſo bent upon the Gun, I agreed to let him have it.

Upon which he called for the Orankay *Laxemane*, and ordered him to give me a Commiſſion to trade at *Ticow*. After that, he began to queſtion me very particularly concerning M. *Limmony*'s Circumſtances, the Force of his Ship, the Value of his Cargoe, and at laſt, adviſed me to carry him and his Pinnace along with me, and not leave him expoſed to the Diſcretion of the *Portugueze*, *Dutch*, *Engliſh*, and even the *Moors* themſelves, who would be eaſily tempted to fall upon ſo ſmall a Veſſel; repreſenting, that his Affection to the King of *France* moved him to give that Advice; and that tho' M. *Limmony* was not under my Command, yet out of Reſpect to my Countrymen and Acquaintance, I ought to reſcue them from the Danger they were in. *December* the 5th, having aſked *Laxemane* often for my Commiſſion, and finding he only ſhuffled and put me off, I complained of him to the King, who bid me give him a Diamond, as if that had been agreed to at firſt. To make ſhort of my Story, I very ſoon diſcovered that the Orankay *Laxemane* could do nothing; for that the King diſpatched all his Commiſſions himſelf, and that the Deſign of turning me over to him, was to worm out of me another Diamond for the King's own Uſe. On this Diſcovery, I gave him another Diamond that weighed about 6 Grains, and at laſt, after many Stops and Delays, I received out of the King's own Hand a Letter impowering me to traffick in *Ticow* for twenty Days, and ordering the King and Governor of that Place to aſſiſt me in carrying on the Trade of Pepper, for which I was to pay the uſual Duties.

At the ſame Time, the King ordered me to pay the Duty of ſome Goods that I had bought up in order to ſell at *Ticow*, which I thought to have been excuſed from, in regard I meant to put them off within the Territories of the King of *Achen*: However, I was forced to pay it. I had frequently deſired my Interpreter to deſire Reſtitution of the King for what he had taken from my Men, but the Interpreter would not venture to mention it, becauſe he found it was diſagreeable to the King.

After all, I preſſed Orankay *Laxemane* to repreſent my Requeſt to the King, which at laſt he did, and then gave me to underſtand it was in vain to expect it; that the King had a Title to all the Goods of thoſe who were ſhip-wreck'd upon his Coaſt, and that the King had been very favourable in delivering the Men themſelves. On the ſixteenth we weighed Anchor, and arrived in the Road of *Ticow*, the laſt Day of this Year. *January* the firſt 1622, I ſhewed the Inhabitants of the Iſland the King of *Achen*'s Letter, who received it with Pleaſure. In this Place I bought above four hundred Bahars of Pepper, which coſt me about 25 Rials the Bahar, including the Charges of my Commiſſion, and the Preſents I made at *Achen*. *February* the 1ſt we weighed Anchor in the Road of *Ticow*, in order to return Home, having on Board 75 Men, all in good Health, and Proviſions for nine Months. But before I proceed farther, I will give here a ſuccinct Deſcription of the Iſland of *Sumatra*.

38. The Iſland of *Sumatra* is larger than *Great Britain*. It extends 11 Degrees in Length, running S. E. and N. W. *i. e.* from the Point of *Achen*, which lies in 5° 30′ N. Lat. to the Straight of *Sunda*, the Lat. of which is 5° 30′, ſo that its Length may be computed 300 *French* Leagues. Its South End is broader than the North, but one with another its Breadth will make about 70 Leagues. The Coaſt for the moſt Part lies low, tho' there are very high Mountains within the Country. Its Vallies afford excellent Paſturage, and are fertile in Rice, and all other Fruits. It is watered with many noble Rivers, ſome of which are very great; for Inſtance, *Cinquel*, *Baaros*, *Daya*, *Achen*, *Pedir*, *Jambi*, and *Ripoura*, beſides ſeveral ſmall Rivers and Infinity of Brooks, by which Means it is rendered very moiſt, and in ſome Places marſhy; beſides, it is ſubject to frequent Rains, for the Equinoctial cuts it directly in the middle.

It bears very large Trees, which retain their Verdure all the Year round. The Air is unhealthy for Strangers, eſpecially near the Equinoctial Line, as in *Ticow*, *Poſſaman*, &c. nay, the very Inhabitants of *Achen* don't care to live in thoſe Places during the wet Seaſon, which laſts from *June* to *October*, and in which the weſterly Winds, mixed with Whirl-winds, Rains, Tempeſts, and ſudden Calms, blow upon the Coaſt. In theſe Calms, the Air being unmoved, and the Ground ſoaked with conſtant Rain, the Sun, by its perpendicular Rays, attracts very ſtinking Vapours, which occaſion peſtilential Fevers, that carry Strangers off in two or three Days, or at leaſt terminate in obſtinate Swellings, and Dropſies. The City of *Achen*, ſituate on the North Point, is more temperate. It ſtands upon a great River, about half a League from the Sea, in the midſt of a great Valley, that is ſix Leagues broad. The Soil is very proper for all ſorts of Grain and Fruit, but the Inhabitants ſow nothing but Rice, which is their principal Food, together with Cocoas, with which the Iſland abounds.

This Place is well ſtored with Fruit-Trees, which bear in their proper Seaſons, for there is not a Month in the Year without ſome ripe Fruit here. They ſow no Pulſe or Pot-Herbs, but they have excellent Paſturage, and Abundance of Buffaloes, which they employ in manuring the Ground, and in drawing, or carrying. They have Plenty of young Kids, and Horſes of a ſmall Breed, but their Sheep are good for nothing. The Peaſants breed up great Number of Hens and Ducks, in order to ſell their Eggs. Hunting is a Sport they are much accuſtomed to, for they have an infinite Number of wild Boars, tho' not ſo large and furious as they are in *France*, and their Stags and Does are larger than ours. They have but few Hares or Roebucks, but in the Woods, and at the Foot of great Mountains there are Numbers of wild Elephants. Upon the uninhabited Mountains and Hills there are great Numbers of Tygers, ſome Rinoceroes, Porcupines, wild Buffaloes, Civet Cats, wild Cats, Monkies, Adders, large Lizards, and in ſome Rivers poiſonous Crocodiles.

The better Half of this Iſland is poſſeſſed by the King of *Achen*. If you go along the Coaſt to the Eaſtward of *Achen*, about 12 Leagues from it you meet with *Pedir*, a large and populous City, and after that *Pacem* and *Dely*; about twelve Leagues to the Weſtward of *Achen* lies *Daya*, a conſiderable City, and then the King of *Achen*'s late Conqueſts, *viz. Labo*, *Cinquel*, *Barros*, *Batham*, *Paſſaman*, *Ticow*, *Priaman*, and *Padang*; the other half of the Iſland is poſſeſſed by five or ſix Kings, who tho' they are Lords of very good Countries, yet if you put them altogether, they are not ſo conſiderable as the King of *Achen*. Upon the Eaſt-ſide, near the Equinoctial, lies the little Kingdom of *Andrigri*, and beyond that *Jambi*, the richeſt of them all, and a little farther *Palimbac*. To the Weſtward of *Padang* lies the Kingdom of *Manimcabo*, and beyond that *Andripoura*. The reſt of the Coaſt extending to the Streights of *Sunda*, is woody and uninhabited; that Part of the Coaſt that faces thoſe Straights is ſubject to the King of *Bantam*.

Thus you have an Account of the whole Coaſt of *Sumatra*, the Inhabitants of which are *Malayans*, ſo that they all underſtand the *Malayan* Language. The inland Parts of this Iſland is inhabited by *Aborigenes* that ſpeak a different Language from the *Malayans*, and are under the Government of ſeveral petty Kings, of which the richeſt and moſt powerful is one that reſides between *Ticow* and *Manimcabo*, as being poſſeſſed of all the Places where the Gold of this Iſland lies.

It is very certain, there is a great deal of Gold to be found in this Iſland, but the Inhabitants are altogether ignorant of working of Mines, and what they gather, is only in Torrents and little Ditches, that they dig in the Places where the Floods diſcharge themſelves. This Gold the Natives truck with the Inhabitants of *Manimcabo* for Rice, Arms, and Cotton Cloth, and with thoſe of *Priaman* for Pepper, Salt, *Surat* Cloth, and *Muſilipatan* Steel. *Ticow*, and the other Kingdoms they have but little Commerce with. As for Strangers, they have no Dealings with them, but murder and eat them where-ever they catch them, as well as their Enemies; for when they are at War with one another, they never ranſom Priſoners, but eat their Fleſh raw with Pepper and Salt. Tho' they have no Religion, yet they have ſome Polity relating to Marriage, Juſtice, and their Duty to their King, which they obſerve with an inviolable Reſpect.

39. Upon the Weſt Coaſt of *Sumatra* there are a great many Iſles, ſome of them large, about eighteen or twenty Leagues off, and others but ſmall, about three or four Leagues from the Continent, which do not belong to any of the abovementioned Kings. Thoſe which are inhabited are poſſeſſed by the original Natives, whom the *Malayans* never expelled, becauſe theſe Iſlands were not for their Purpoſe. Upon the South Side of *Sumatra*, in the Latitude of 5° lies the Iſland of *Engane*, inhabited by barbarous Savages that ſpare no body, but maſſacre all that come upon their Shore, whether white or black. They go naked with long Hair, and have Canoes, in which they fiſh. Their Arms are Bows and Arrows. Upon the ſame Coaſt, in the Latitude of 3° 30′ lies a long Iſland called by the *Dutch*, *Naſſaw*, which may contain about fourteen or fifteen Leagues in Length, but is not inhabited; about four or five Leagues from this, near the Equinoctial, we meet with another uninhabited Iſland about ſeven or eight Leagues long; then we come to a great Iſland in the Latitude of 1° 30′, called *Montebey*, above twenty Leagues long, the Inhabitants of which are cloathed, and trade with thoſe of *Ticow*, though they ſpeak a different Language.

Under the Equinoctial there are twenty or twenty-five Iſlands, ſome great, ſome ſmall, ſome inhabited, ſome not. Having croſſed the Line, we met with the Iſland *Pulo Nyas* in 2° North Latitude, which is fifteen or ſixteen Leagues long, and inhabited by a good ſort of People that hurt no body unleſs they be injured, and traffick with the People of *Barros*, and Strangers, to whom they ſell their Children and Slaves. In 3° 30′ there are ſeveral other inhabited Iſlands, many of which are covered with Palm-trees that bear Cocoas, which the Inhabitants of the maritime Towns carry off in their Ships, and make Oil of; others are covered with very high Trees, and differ much from thoſe of *Europe*.

To return from the great Iſland of *Sumatra*, and take a circumſtantial View of what it produces, the Kingdom of *Andrigri* affords a conſiderable Quantity of Pepper, but very ſmall. Gold is cheaper there than in any other Country poſſeſſed by the *Malayans*.

The Kingdom of *Jamby* produces a great deal of Pepper, which is much better than that of *Andrigri*. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have a Factory in it, as well as the *Portugueze* of *Malacca*. The City, which is very unhealthy, lies fifty or ſixty Leagues up a River, which one muſt row up with a Boat. The Inhabitants drive a great Gold Trade, not only with thoſe of *Manimcabo*, but with the Natives of the Country. The Kingdom of *Polimban* abounds in Rice and Cattle, and affords but little Pepper; 'tis a pleaſant Country towards the Shore, and is poſſeſſed by the King of *Bantam*. *Andripoura* is ſeated on a rapid River in 3° 30′ South Latitude, and furniſhes every Year two or three Ships Loading of ſuch Pepper as we have in *Jamby*. The Inhabitants trade likewiſe in Gold with thoſe of *Manimcabo*. Next lies that Kingdom which ſhoots into the Country, but has ſome Harbours upon the Sea-ſide, particularly *Cartatinga*, where the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* come often; they have little Pepper, but a great deal of Gold, which is not above thirty or thirty-five *per Cent.* cheaper than in *France*, becauſe they deal with ſo many Countries in that Commodity; they ſell it by the Tael, of which one and a half makes barely two Ounces; it is in Duſt, and ſmall Pieces, for they make but few Bars of it.

As for the Dominions of the King of *Achen* the Territories of his principal City is not ſufficiently cultivated for maintaining the Inhabitants, ſo that a great Part of their Rice comes from abroad. In former times it produced a great deal of Pepper; but one of the Kings obſerving they minded nothing elſe, and neglected the manuring the Ground, cut down all the Pepper-Plants, ſo that at preſent it does not produce every Year above five hundred Bahars of Pepper, and that of the ſmalleſt ſort. Six Leagues from *Achen*, towards *Pedir*, there is a high Mountain that furniſhes great Quantities of Sulphur as well as the Iſle of *Pooloway* in the Road of *Achen*, which ſupplies in a manner all the *Indies* with Sulphur to make Gunpowder. The Territory of *Pedir* being very fertile in Rice, is called the Granary of *Achen*. This Place affords pretty large Quantities of yellow and hard ſort of Silk, part of which is by the Natives made into Stuffs that are eſteemed all over *Sumatra*, and the reſt they ſell to the Inhabitants of the Coaſt of *Coromandel*. At *Dely* there is a Fountain of Oil which is ſaid to be unextinguiſhable when once it is ſet on Fire, and with which the King of *Achen* burnt two *Portugueze* Galleons near *Malacca* about eight or ten Years ago.

Daya abounds in Rice and Cattle; *Cinquell* affords every Year a large Quantity of Camphire, which the Inhabitants of *Surat*, on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, buy up very eagerly for fifteen or ſixteen Rials the Catti, or twenty-eight Ounces. *Barros* is a pleaſant Place ſeated upon a pleaſant

River, in an open and well cultivated and champaign Country, about a League from the Shore. The Benjamin of this Iſland is much eſteemed, and ſerves the Inhabitants for a Meaſure in all their Bargains, for they have no other Money. This Place affords likewiſe Plenty of Camphire. The Camphire of *Batabam* is reckoned the beſt, but there is very little of it. *Paſſaman* ſtands at the Foot of a very high Mountain, that may be ſeen in a clear Day thirty Leagues off. It has excellent large Pepper, being the firſt Place on this Coaſt where we meet with Pepper-Plants. Seven Leagues from this Place ſtands *Ticow*, which is yet more fertile in Pepper. *Priaman* has not ſo much Pepper, but has a better Air, and very well peopled, and plentifully furniſhed with all ſorts of Proviſions, and drives a great Gold Trade with the Inhabitants of *Manimcabo*. The *Dutch* had a Factory there for a long time, but the laſt Year the King of *Achen* expelled them. *Padang* has little Pepper, but deals pretty much in Gold, and has the Conveniency of a fine River, where great Ships may come up and ride ſafely. All theſe Places are well peopled and cultivated, and ſome of the Inhabitants are rich, and live happy, by virtue of their Remoteneſs from the tyrannical Court of *Achen*.

40. The Inhabitants of *Achen* are a worſe ſort of People than thoſe of *Ticow* and *Priaman*, and the other Places along the Coaſt; they are proud, envious Men, of no Faith or Conſcience, eſpecially in their dealing with Chriſtians, treacherous, and given to robbing and poiſoning. They deſpiſe their Neighbours, and take all other Nations but themſelves to be brutal; they are very prodigal in their Cloaths, and would be the ſame in their Houſes, Slaves, and other things, if the King did not cramp them. They ſpeak well in their own Language, and ſome of them ſet up for Orators. They are very fond of Similes, and happy enough in applying them; but the Frequency with which they uſe them would be nauſeous and impertinent in any other Country. They compoſe ſome Poems and Songs, and apply themſelves to Writing, and the *Arabian* Arithmetick, which differs but little from ours. Some of them are very good Mechanicks, eſpecially for the building of Gallies, and they make all ſorts of Iron-work as well as any where elſe, though they do not work with the ſame Facility and Dexterity as the *Europeans*. They work very well in Copper and Wood, and ſome of them are ſkilled in caſting of Artillery.

The King entertains three hundred Goldſmiths in his Caſtle, beſides a great many other Artiſans. Since this King came to the Throne, the Subjects of *Achen* have got the Name of the beſt Soldiers in *India*; for they endure Fatigue wonderfully, and are excellent Pioneers, as appeared in the Sieges of *Queda* and *Dely*, the laſt being a Place of great Strength, fortified by the Aſſiſtance and Contrivance of the *Portugueze*, and defended by a Perſon of great Valour and Reputation, which nevertheleſs the King of *Achen* took in ſix Weeks Time by cutting Trenches, and gradually advancing them. They live very ſoberly, and for the moſt part upon Rice, to which the richer ſort may add a ſmall Matter of Fiſh, and a few Herbs; and he muſt be a great Lord indeed that in a Day's Time eats a Hen boiled or broiled upon the Coals. It is a common ſaying among them, that if there were two thouſand Chriſtians in that Country, all their Beef and Fowls would quickly be conſumed. They pretend to be very ſtrict *Mohammedans*, but are great Hypocrites and Diſſemblers, eſpecially in their Reſpect to the King, whom they would ſee hanged if they could. If they ſuſpect, though without Reaſon, that any one does not love them, to prevent his being in a Capacity to miſrepreſent them to the King, they'll form an Accuſation againſt him before the King, and it is the Frequency of theſe Accuſations that makes the King ſo cruel; foraſmuch as it perſuades him that there are more Conſpiracies againſt him than there are.

In fine, they are ſuch a wicked ſort of People, that it is a common thing among them for one Brother to accuſe another, or the Son the Father, and if you charge them with Inhumanity, and Want of Conſcience, upon that Score, they'll tell you that God is far from them; but the King of *Achen* is near at hand. Purſuant to the Law of *Mohammed*, they marry as many Women as they are able to maintain, one of which is entitled to a Preference before the reſt, her Children being reckoned the lawful Heirs. They ſuffer their Slaves and Concubines to go abroad, but not their Wives; if a Man marries a young Woman, he commonly pays ſome Money for her to her Relations, and allots her a Jointure upon his own Eſtate. If a Woman has any thing of her own, ſhe lodges it in the Hands of her Huſband, and takes from him a Note, entitling her to the Recovery of it in caſe of Separation, or bad Huſbandry; and if the Huſband dies firſt, this Note, together with the Jointure ſtipulated in the Contract of Marriage, muſt be firſt ſatisfied out of the Goods of the deceaſed, to the Prejudice of all Creditors; if the Woman dies firſt, the Huſband is entitled to all that ſhe brought him. Man and Wife may ſeparate when they will, provided they both agree to it; for the Conſent of one Party is not ſufficient. In *Achen* Uſury is prohibited, and the Intereſt of Money is limited to twelve *per Cent. per Annum* without Pledges, whereas in *Bantam* they will give five *per Cent.* a Month, and a Pawn beſides. If the Debtor refuſe to pay, he is cited before a Court of Juſtice, where, if the Debt be made appear, he is condemned to pay it in a little time, and if he does not pay it in the appointed Time, he is cited a ſecond time, and muſt either pay it in Court, or elſe have his Hands tied behind his Back with a Wyth, in which Poſture he continues (for no body dare to untie him) and is obliged to appear before the Court every Day that it ſits, till he ſatisfies the Debt. At laſt, if the Judge perceives that he appears every Day, and is not capable of ſatisfying the Debt, he delivers him up to the Creditor to ſerve him as a Slave, impowering the Creditor to carry him home, or ſell him, or to do with him as he pleaſes, ſo as he does not put him to Death.

This Court ſits every Morning, except *Friday*, under a great Bali near the great Moſk, and one of the greateſt and richeſt Orankays preſides in it. Under another Bali, by the Caſtle Gate, there ſits the Criminal Court, in which ſeveral of the principal Orankays preſide by Turns. Under the Cognizance of this Court are all Quarrels, Murders, Robberies, *&c.* committed in the City. Any Criminal may be ſtopped, or taken up, by a Girl or Child of four or five Years of Age; for whenever Hands are laid upon him, he dares not but ſtand like a Statue, and ſuffer his Hands to be tied, in order to be dragged before the Court, where Juſtice is immediately put in Execution. I have ſeen great lazy Scoundrels dragged in that Faſhion by little Children, and condemned to receive Laſhes of a Wyth upon the Shoulders, for ſtealing the Value of a Farthing. After the Execution is over, neither Criminal or Informer dare complain; nay, ſometimes they return together equally unconcerned. I ſaw a Man tried there for having peeped through a Hedge to ſee his Neighbour's Wife waſhing herſelf, and condemned to receive thirty Laſhes upon the Shoulders; but after the Sentence was pronounced, the Criminal capitulated publickly with the Executioner, and after ſome Words gave him twenty Maes in open Court, in Conſideration of being only whipped above his Cloaths.

It is a common Cuſtom in that Place to bargain with the Executioner for mitigating the Puniſhment; for there's never a Day but the King orders a Noſe, Eye, Ear, Hand, Foot, or Teſticle to be cut off from ſome Body or other; and upon theſe Occaſions the Executioner gets Money for doing his Buſineſs handſomely, and with little Pain; for if the Criminal does not come up to his Price, and pay him in ready Money upon the Spot, he will cut the Noſe, for inſtance, ſo deep, that the Brain may be ſeen through the Wound, or mangle a Foot or a Leg in two or three Pieces, *&c.* In all theſe cruel Mutilations, and even Gelding itſelf, ſcarce any one dies, though ſome of the Perſons thus maimed are above fifty or ſixty Years of Age; and the only Remedy they uſe is, to put the wounded Part immediately into Water, and after it has bled a little, waſh it and bind it up with Linnen Cloths. After a Criminal has thus ſuffered Juſtice, whether by the King's Command, or by the Judge's Sentence, all the Ignominy of his Crime is wiped off, and if any one upbraids him with it, he may kill him with Impunity.

There is another Court, in which the Cady or Biſhop preſides, that takes Cognizance of all Infringements upon their Religion. In the Alſandague likewiſe there is a Bali for determining Differences among Merchants, whether Natives or Foreigners, the Preſident of which is the Orankay *Laxemane*, who in a manner governs the whole City. In this Alſandague they keep an exact Account of all the Cuſtoms, Gifts, Fines, and Commodities belonging to the King, with a particular Liſt of all the Perſons Names that buy of the King, or pay the Duty, or make him Preſents, to the end they may be capable to give his Majeſty a ſatisfactory Account how every Thing is diſpoſed of; for if their Accounts be perplexed they can expect nothing but Death. Beſides theſe, there are four Officers called Pangoulow Cavalo, who take Cognizance of all Things done in the Night-Time, ſuch as running the Goods without paying the Duty, Robberies, *&c.* Each of theſe has a quarter of the City under his Juriſdiction. Farther, each of the Orankays hath a Province or Country-Diſtrict under his Juriſdiction, where he gives Orders, and adminiſters Juſtice to the Inhabitants.

Some of the principal Orankays reſiding near the City, are obliged to give Orders for a Watch of two hundred Horſe that patrolls every Night in the Country and along the Shore. As for the Caſtle, or King's Palace, the inner Part is filled with three thouſand Women, which he keeps partly for a Guard, and partly for other Uſes. Theſe Women come ſeldom out of the Caſtle. They have a Market-place of their own, and traffick with one another in ſuch Manufactures as they make. They are ranged under ſeveral Captains, and have their Civil-Judges, and Night-Officers as well as the City. None are allowed to enter into their Apartments but the King's Eunuchs, who are ſaid to be in Number about five hundred. Beſides theſe the King has a great many Wives and Concubines; and of theſe his Wives, twenty are the lawful Daughters of the King's whom he has pillaged. The laſt Wife that he had by ſuch Means was the Queen of *Pera*, who is ſaid to be very handſome, and from whom he contracted a Diſeaſe that is likely to carry him off, unleſs the Vigour of his Age, which is now in its Prime, be able to overcome it.

By all theſe Wives he has but one Son of eighteen Years of Age, who is yet more cruel than himſelf. This Prince has only the Quality of a ſimple Orankay, and is always confined to the Caſtle, except when he goes to the Moſque, and then he has a pompous Retinue. Some time ago his Father gave him the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Pedir*; but his Government was ſo cruel and licentious, that the King called him home and put him to ſtrange Torments; from which Time he hath ſtill kept him with himſelf. In the great Court, where the King's Apartments are, the Eunuchs keep guard; beſides which there are a Guard of an hundred and fifty Slaves at one Gate, and another of the like Number at the outer Gate of all. Theſe Slaves are moſtly Foreigners taken in young, and bred up in the Exerciſe of Arms and Shooting. They are confined within the Caſtle, and allowed to converſe with no body; ſo that the King makes uſe of them to over-awe his own Subjects, and fright them from treaſonable Deſigns. All the Puniſhments inflicted in the Caſtle are put in Execution by theſe Slaves.

To put the Orankays in the Cuſtody of thoſe Slaves, he ranges them in three Companies, one of which is obliged to keep Guard in the Caſtle Day and Night, without Arms, in a Court ſurrounded by Slaves; ſo that every third Night every Nobleman comes upon Guard; and if any ſuſpicious Plot ſhould be diſcovered, the King has always a third Part of his Nobility in his Hands. If any of the Orankays fail to obſerve the third Night, he undergoes the Loſs of his Life, together with the Confiſcation of his Goods, Wives, Children and Slaves. The Orankays dare not converſe familiarly, or have frequent Interviews one with another, for the King ſuſpects all Familiarity among them; ſo that they never converſe together, unleſs it be upon an accidental Rencounter that they ſalute each other with a great deal of Complaiſance. Whenever they, or any body elſe, enter the Caſtle, they are obliged to take off their Sword, and put it into the Hands of the Guard at the ſecond Gate.

41. The City of *Achen* is more like a Village than a City, being an open Place without Walls, and the Caſtle is no more fortified than any ordinary Gentleman's Houſe. It has about half a League in Circumference, of an oval Figure, ſurrounded with a Ditch of twenty-five or thirty Foot deep and broad, the Banks of which are almoſt inacceſſible, by reaſon of their Steepneſs and being covered by Thickets. Before the Caſtle the Earth is caſt up in Banks, which ſerves for a Wall. On the Top of this Bank there grows a great many large Reeds as tall as Aſh-trees, and planted ſo thick that one cannot ſee through them. It is preſent Death for any one to touch the leaſt Branch of theſe Reeds; for the King of *Achen*'s Embaſſador to *Holland*, upon his Return home, having forgot this Order, and unluckily pulling off a ſmall Twig, was immediately put to Death. Theſe Reeds enjoy a perpetual Verdure, and cannot be ſet on Fire. I could obſerve no Flanks or Baſtions round the Caſtle but upon the Side which faces the Moſque; I ſaw the Beginnings of ſeveral Ramparts, but nothing yet finiſhed. Before the Gates there are neither Ditches nor Draw-bridges, but on each Side of every Gate there is a Stone-wall about ten or twelve Foot high ſupporting a Terraſs, on which a Couple of fine Braſs-Guns are planted. The Gates are as high as the Wall, and are made of a ſtrong ſort of Wood, being ſhut on the Inſide with two great Croſs-bars fixed in the Wall, beſides other Bolts. Through the Middle of the Caſtle there paſſes a ſmall River, that deſcends from the Mountains, the Water of which is very cool, and agreeable. Upon the Banks of this River there are Steps for People to go down and waſh themſelves.

Before we come at the King's Apartments we paſs four Gates, from one of which there runs a high Wall, backed with a Terras, with ſeveral Braſs-Guns upon it, within which, as I take it, is the King's Arſenal. This Rampart incloſes Part of a very long Court fronting of the Houſes, in which I have ſeen three hundred Elephants at a time. The other Part of this Court is encloſed by four great Pavillions, and a ſort of a Stone-Rampart, which commands the Terras, being fortified with a Parapet. As for the inner Part of the Caſtle, I can give no Account of it, being denied Acceſs. To conclude, the Fortifications of this Place are inconſiderable, but its Avenues are very difficult, for the Country about it is full of Rivers, Marſhes, Trees, and very cloſe Thickets. Where the Rivers enter the Caſtle, there is a Stone-Fort, conſiſting of a large Baſtion, and two Courtines, with ſeveral Guns mounted upon them. Upon the Land-ſide theſe Courtines are joined by a Rampart made of Turf, in which there is a Gate, but without either Ditch or Draw-bridge, theſe being wanting to the whole Fort. The Walls both of the Baſtion and Courtines are eighteen Foot broad and twenty Foot high. Before this Fort the King has a Pleaſure-houſe, by which there are ſeveral Fiſh-ponds and pleaſant Walks, the whole being incloſed with an Intrenchment made of Turf, the Breaſt of which is ten or twelve Foot high, and moated about, where two or three thouſand Men may lie. Before this Intrenchment is a ſmall Fort, covered with Thickets, and ditched about, upon which there are ſeveral Pieces of Cannon.

The Country round all theſe Forts is ſo full of Marſhes, Ditches, and Trees that they call Nippiers, that it is almoſt impracticable to march through it. Paſſing Eaſtward from the Caſtle along the Shore, we met with ſeveral little Forts of Turf, ſurrounded with Thickets, and placed at a Muſket-ſhot Diſtance one from another; on each of which there are two or three Pieces of Cannon, but ſo covered with Buſhes that they are not viſible. In theſe Forts there is no Guard by Day, but in the Night-Time the Horſe-watch, as before-mentioned, patroll round them; the Weſtern-Shore is more acceſſible and deſtitute of Forts. About a Piſtol-ſhot from this Shore is a Canal above forty Foot broad, and very deep, that riſes out of the great River, and runs along the Shore to the Side of the Mountains. Having paſſed that, we met with a plain open Country, free from Ditches and Trenches.

It is computed that *Achen* and the adjacent Places in that Valley, are able to raiſe 40000 Men; but they have no Fire-Arms or Powder, for the King keeps thoſe up in the Caſtle, as well as his Artillery. That Prince has above two thouſand Braſs-Guns in his Gallies, Forts, and two Houſes, where they are heaped one above another. He is likewiſe well furniſhed with Firelocks, but they are ſhort, and ill mounted.

But his greateſt Strength he places in 900 Elephants, which are bred to tread Fire under their Feet, and to be unmoved at the Shot of a Cannon; and likewiſe to ſalute the King when they paſs by his Apartments, by bending their Knees and raiſing their Trunks three Times. The King gives a Name to each Elephant, and confers many Honours on ſuch of them as are moſt ſtout and docile, for he orders Umbrellas to be carried before them as they paſs the Streets, for ſome ſix, for others four, and for others two, in Proportion to their Merit. Now there is not a Man in *Achen* beſides the King, that is allowed the Privilege of an Umbrella. He matches the Male-Elephants with their Females, and to ſome that are deareſt to him, he allows ſeveral Concubines. The Elephants that the King commonly makes uſe of, have a great deal of Honour paid them, for as they paſs along every body ſtops and makes Way for them; for which Purpoſe a Boy goes before them with a copper Inſtrument in his Hand, with which he makes a Noiſe to give the People Notice. When the Oil drops from their Ears they are furious, and it is not ſafe to come near them; and at that Time the Boy runs above two hundred Paces before them, to give the People earlier Notice, for they will ſteal upon a Man ſtrangely; and notwithſtanding their huge Bulk, make no more Noiſe when they walk than a Rat; though, at the ſame time, upon that marſhy hollow Ground, the Trot of a Horſe makes the Earth in a manner tremble.

Sometimes the King is out of Humour with his Elephants, as well as with his Subjects, and ſhews his Diſpleaſure by robbing them of their Wives, Concubines, and other Honours, and inflicting corporal Puniſhments in the Preſence of the reſt; for exemplary Correction has the ſame Influence upon them as upon Men, as appears by the following Inſtance. The King having ordered the Embarkation of an hundred Elephants for the Siege of *Debly*, when the Elephants were brought down to the Shore, not one of them would enter the Ship. The King being acquainted with the Matter (which ſome took to be an ill Omen) came in Perſon to the Shore, and having checked and chid them with a great deal of Paſſion, and upbraiding them with the Breeding and Honour he had beſtowed upon them, cauſed one of the principal Elephants to be cut in two before their Eyes, threatening the reſt with the ſame Uſage if they did not embark immediately. This done, they embarked very peaceably, and were extreme tractable during the whole Voyage.

There never was a Prince in *Achen* that had ſuch a Dexterity in managing theſe Animals; he will ſtand upright upon their Backs while they run a full Speed: For my part, I had rather run ten Stages on Foot than ride four Leagues upon an Elephant, for it is a very uneaſy Poſture to thoſe who are not accuſtomed to it, eſpecially if one ſits behind, for the Forepart of the Shoulders is the ſofteſt. When the King was well, he uſed to hunt every other Day. In his Stables he has about two hundred Horſes, fifty of which might be worth five hundred Crowns apiece in *France*. All of them have rich and magnificent Trapping.

42. The King of *Achen* is ſtronger by Sea than any of his Neighbours, for he has about an hundred great Gallies, of which a third Part is much larger than any we build in Chriſtendom. I ſaw the Keel of an ordinary one that was an hundred and twenty Foot long, all in one Piece. They build their Gallies very prettily in that Country, but they are too heavy, for they are broader and higher than they ought to be; beſides, their Rigging is too weak for their Bulk. Their Oars have neither Length nor Weight ſufficient, being only Poles, with a Piece of Board at one End. They put but two Men to an Oar, who ſtand upright when they row. Their Sails are not made like Mizen-Sails, but ſquare, like thoſe of a Ship. The Sides or Planks of theſe Gallies are ſix Inches thick; ſo that conſidering their Dulneſs, one of our *European* Gallies might beat ten of them.

They have commonly three good Pieces of Cannon, of which that planted in the Bourſey is not leſs than a Battery-Gun; for ſome of them will carry a Bullet of forty Pound: Beſides theſe they have ſeveral Falconets, which they plant before and abaft. The largeſt Gallies have commonly ſix or eight hundred Men. Their Crew conſiſts not of Slaves, but of poor People, that row very well. The King's Wars are not very chargeable to him, for all his Subjects are obliged to march at his Command upon their own Charges, and carry Proviſion with them for three Months. The King gives them Arms, of which a Regiſter is kept, they being obliged to reſtore them at their Return. Their Wives, and Children, and their Parents, if they have any, are anſwerable for their Behaviour; for if they ſhrink, or give way before the Enemy, not only themſelves but theſe, their innocent Relations, ſuffer for it. By this means the King has brought them to be good Soldiers, and the Terror of their Neighbours. If they continue above three Months in the Field, the King is at the Charge of Rice to maintain them.

His Gallies coſt him as little as his Land Armies, for he divides them among his principal Orankays, obliging them to fit them out, take care of them when they return, and repair them at their own Charges, and orders a certain Number of People to be ready upon the Command of ſuch and ſuch an Orankay, to aſſiſt at theſe Services. The Orankays are very careful of the Gallies, for if theſe fail, they either loſe their Lives, or build new ones in their room. For that reaſon, when the Gallies come into the River to be laid up, they cleanſe the Dock very carefully, and then lay great Pieces of Wood acroſs it, which are ten Feet diſtant from one another, and lie upon an exact Level, leſt the Gallies ſhould bow when they lie upon them. When the Tide comes in the Elephants draw the Gallies up upon theſe Sommers, which lie above ten Feet from the Ground, that they may get underneath to view and caulk the Ship's Bottom. This done, they run a Dyke of Turf, Stone, and Planks between it and the River, and then fill the Dock with Water, to the upper Surface of the Sommers; this they do, that the Gallies my be refreſhed by the Water, but ſo as not to dip into it, leſt Sea-Worms ſhould breed in them. Having laid up the Sails and Rigging, they cover the Maſts very carefully with Palm-tree Leaves, ſo that neither Rain nor Sun can hurt them; beſides, they have a great Roof that they bring entirely over the Galley. After that, they put Water into it, to the Depth of four or five Feet, to keep the Planks freſh, and prevent their being ſplit by the Heat.

All this is done in five or ſix Days, and one cannot imagine how well they preſerve the Galley, and how readily they launch it again: For, the Dock being full of Water, there is no Occaſion for caulking, and the Rigging is at Hand, and the Roof is taken off in a Minute. The Water in the Galley being thrown out into the Dock, augments the Water there, which ſets the Sommers afloat, ſo that they are eaſily removed; upon which the Water ruſhing into the River, carries the Galley along with it. Every Morning and Evening, upon the opening and ſhutting of the Caſtle Gates, the King cauſes a Gun to be fired, and if any of the neighbouring Kings ſhould offer to do the like, he would declare War againſt him, alledging, that being the Inventor of that Cuſtom, he has a Right to engroſs it, as a Mark of his Grandeur: He prohibits the ſhooting of Muſkets, or Firelocks, in the City, on any other Days but *Mondays* and *Thurſdays*.

43. From what has been ſaid, it is manifeſt, that this King cannot but be very rich, for in War he is only at the Charge of Arms, Powder, Lead, and Rice, which is very inconſiderable, and in Peace he ſpends yet leſs; for as to the Maintainance of his Family, he has more Rice, Fleſh, Fiſh, Fowl, Oils, Sugar, and Herbs, paid him by his Subjects, than is conſumed in the Caſtle, and the Surplus is ſold in the Market for his Advantage; Beſides, he allows his Servants nothing but Rice; if they eat any thing elſe, they muſt purchaſe it by their own Labour and Induſtry. He amaſſes together great Quantities of Rice

every Year; for, having large hereditary Countries, he parcels them out among his Subjects to be manured, obliging them to furniſh him with a certain Quantity of Rice every Year, whether the Crop be good or bad, and he calculates the Product of his Land ſo very nicely, that the Farmers cannot be idle if they maintain themſelves, and pay the King, who never bates them a Grain. The Rice he puts into his Magazines, and keeps it up till the latter End of Autumn, at which Time it fetches a double Price, and drains all the poor People of their Money; if it be a plentiful Year in *Achen*, he ſends it to ſome neighbouring Country where Rice is ſcarce.

He has vaſt Herds of Cattle kept by his Slaves. His Elephants coſt him nothing, for he gives them no Rice, only the Trunks of *Banana* Trees, which being cut, a Sprout comes up next Year that bears Fruit. As for his Cocks, they coſt him nothing, for the Orankays take more Care of them than their own Children. He is at no Charge for his own or his Womens Cloaths, for one certain Day of the Year, all that have any Offices, or Places in *Achen*, are obliged to make him a Preſent of one or more Garments, according to the Incomes of their Places, or elſe of Stuffs for cloathing the Women, and every one ſtrives to out-do another in the Magnificence of his Preſent, in order either to procure a better Place, or to ſecure what he has. If he does not like the Garments, or Stuffs, he returns them back, and the Officer that gave them is ſure to be turned out of his Poſt, unleſs he quickly accommodates the Matter by a large Sum of Money; or if he be a Man of Riches, he ſhall be charged with ſome Male-Adminiſtration in his Office, and perhaps put to Death.

He cauſes a great many Houſes to be built of rough Stone, which coſt him but very little, tho' they would be very chargeable to another, becauſe he has ſuch large Numbers of Slaves. Tho' theſe Houſes are reckoned inimitable in that Country, yet they are infinitely ſhort of what we have in *Europe*. His Slaves indeed have a better Life than any Slaves I know, for he does not chain them, unleſs they endeavour to eſcape, or to rebel againſt their Maſters; and out of eight Days he allows them four to work at what Work they will for their own Livelihood; and thus the King pays nothing for their Maintenance. He employs them moſtly in cutting of Wood, making of Mortar, labouring in the Quarries and Buildings. There are three or four Overſeers of their Work, who are maintained by the Slaves; for thoſe who underſtand any Trade may live very handſomely, and be excuſed from working for the King, for Five-pence a Day, which is received by Commiſſaries appointed for that Purpoſe, and goes towards the Maintenance of the Overſeers, the buying of Iron, and all other Materials.

The King gives the Model of his Building himſelf, and very often, if a Window, or a Door, or any ſuch thing be not exactly to his Fancy, down goes the Houſe, and another muſt be built in its Place. He appoints them a certain Time in which the Work muſt be finiſhed, which is commonly but very ſhort; for in the ſix Months that I was at *Achen*, I ſaw more Buildings reared up and pulled down again, than I could have imagined to have been done in two Years. Theſe Slaves may redeem themſelves, but their Ranſom riſes according to their Quality. The King is Heir to all his Subjects that die without Male Iſſue, and if they leave any Daughters then unmarried, he puts them into the Caſtle, which occaſions his Women to be ſo numerous. In that Country, Daughters have no Titles to any Heritage; and not only the People of *Achen*, but even all the *Mohammedans* are ſo loath to part with their Money, and ſo buoyed up with the Hopes of having male Children by one of their many Wives, that they ſeldom or never give any thing to their Sons-in-Law in their Life-time, and after their Death they cannot have it; nay, even in their Life-time, if the King's Spies obſerve them, it may do them more Injury than Good.

The royal Treaſury is likewiſe conſiderably enlarged by the forfeited Eſtates of thoſe whom he puts to Death every Day; for to prevent their alienating their Eſtates, or Goods, he takes them at a Surprizal, and has their Wives, Children, Slaves, Cattle, Money, and all ſorts of Moveables lodged in the Caſtle before they know their Sentence. While I was there, I ſaw the Jewels, Gold, Silver, and all the moveable Goods belonging to his Mother, brought in upon the ſame Occaſion. The Perſons he thus puts to Death, are commonly the Orankays, or great Lords, and that for one of theſe two Reaſons, *viz.* either their Reputation and Intereſt among the People, or their Riches; the former giving him Occaſion of Jealouſy, and the latter awakening his covetous and avaricious Temper.

The King is Heir to all Foreigners that die within his Territories; for as ſoon as a Foreigner ſickens, the King's Officers preſently take Poſſeſſion of his Houſe, and upon his Death, remove his Effects to the Caſtle, and very often his Servants, Friends, and Slaves, are put upon the Rack, to diſcover where his Gold, Silver, and Jewels are, or where any thing is due to him; but the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* having Factories here, are exempted from this Law, as we were, while we ſtaid there, by the King's Conceſſion. The King has another bad Cuſtom of appropriating to his own Uſe all the Men and Goods of all Ships that ſuffer Shipwreck upon his Coaſt. No Foreigner can enter the Caſtle without making a Preſent to the King; it is true I went without any, being allowed the Quality and Priviledge of a principal Orankay, but at the ſame Time I never could have Audience upon my own Affairs but when I uſhered it in with a Preſent; nay, if either Foreigner or Native put in any Requeſt to the King, the former is not heard, and the latter is puniſhed; and after all, the Requeſt will not be granted, unleſs the Preſent be liked; for I have ſeen the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Preſents frequently returned, and in that Caſe they were obliged to make more valuable Gifts, ſuch as would pleaſe the King, before they obtained their Deſire. No Foreigner can enter the King's Chamber without the Chappe, for which he pays a Rial to the Officers that bear it.

When a Ship comes into the Road of *Achen*, none of their Crew muſt go aſhore till the Chappe comes, and till the Duty of that be paid, which amounts to fifty or ſixty Rials, according to the Bigneſs of the Ship, and upon their Departure from the Road, they are obliged to pay about half as much. The *Moors* pay nothing upon the Export of Goods, but upon the Import the Duty is very heavy; for they pay 10 *per Cent.* in Gold upon the Entry of all Goods which are appraiſed by the Officers of the *Alfandeque*, and commonly over-rated 50 *per Cent.* The *Dutch* and *Engliſh* pay as much, but then they pay it in the Commodity itſelf, and not in Gold. But the greateſt Damp upon the Trade in that Place is, that the King engroſſes it all into his own Hands; for what Commodities he buys, he muſt have them under a Market Price, and what he ſells riſes to 50 *per Cent.* above it; ſo that if he continues to carry on his Commerce at this Rate, the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* will be obliged to abandon this Place, and it is with that View, as I take it, that he does it; for at preſent, he is very jealous of their Strength. From what has been ſaid, we may ſafely infer, that the King of *Achen* is infinitely rich, eſpecially if we conſider, that over and above the before-mentioned Articles, he had an opulent Exchequer left him by his Father.

44. To underſtand how this preſent King of *Achen* came to the Crown, we muſt know, that before the Reign of his Grandfather, the Orankays being never oppreſſed by their Kings, nor pillaged by other Nations, were very rich in Lands and Houſes, beſides Gold and Silver, and gave a licentious Range to their inſolent and proud Tempers. In thoſe Days the City was ſix times greater than it is now, and ſo crowded with People, that one could ſcarce paſs along the Streets. No City in *India* had ſo flouriſhing a Trade. The *Alfandeque* required no Cuſtoms but that of the Chappe; Merchants might unload and load again in 15 Days-time.

The Orankays lived in large ſtately Houſes, with Cannon at their Gates, and great Numbers of Slaves, both to ſerve and guard them. They had magnificent Garments, and pompous Retinues, and were much reſpected by the People. This Grandeur and Authority of the Orankays not only leſſened the King's Authority, but was often fatal to his Perſon, inſomuch that it was a great Matter if a King enjoyed his Crown two Years, and if he did, it was with ſo much Trouble and Dependance upon the Orankays, that nothing but the Title of his Dignity was left him. Things continued at this rate till the Extinction of the ancient Royal Line, which happened about forty Years ago.

Upon that the Orankays met, in order to chuſe a King, but every one affecting the Dignity for himſelf, they could not agree upon the Matter, and reſolved to decide it by Force. In this Ferment the Cady, or Great Biſhop, by his Authority and Remonſtrances, perſuaded them to liſten to an Expedient that would remove all their Jealouſies; namely, to put the Crown upon the Head of a certain Orankay, who in all theſe Diviſions had not ſtirred or affected any thing for himſelf or his Family, but had lived in the Reputation of a wiſe, experienced Man, being then ſeventy Years of Age, and deſcended of one of the nobleſt Families in *Achen*. The Orankays accepted the Propoſal, in regard it did not ſink their reſpective Pretenſions, ſince they only entitled him to a Preference by reaſon of his Age and Prudence. But after all, the old Nobleman deſired to be excuſed, alledging that he had retired for ſome time from the Affairs of the World, and deſired to paſs the Remainder of his Life in Peace. Upon this the Orankays fell together by the Ears; but at laſt, finding that every thing run in Confuſion, they endeavoured to threaten the old Orankay into an Acceptance of the Crown; but both their Threats and Intreaties were equally ineffectual.

At laſt they came all in a Body to his Houſe, the Cady carrying the Crown, and one of the Orankays a naked Sword. There they repreſented to the old Gentleman that they could not poſſibly find any other Remedy for their preſent Calamity, but that of making him King: That as they had frequently importuned him to accept of the Crown, ſo they came now once more to make the laſt Offer, and that if he refuſed it, they were determined to cut him off immediately, to prevent their inſiſting any longer on an uſeleſs Expedient. The old Orankay finding himſelf in a Dilemma, told them, that tho' he had firmly reſolved to finiſh his Days without the Diſturbance of publick Affairs, yet ſince nothing but his mounting the Throne could prevent a pernicious War, he accepted their Offer with this Proviſo, that they ſhould reſpect him as a Father, and he ſhould treat them as his Children, and they ſhould receive his Correction as from the Hands of their own Father. This ſaid, they all thanked him, promiſing not only to honour him as their Father, but to reſpect him as their Sovereign Lord, and inveſted him inſtantly with the Royal Dignity.

45. After his Coronation he took Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, and invited all the Orankays to a Feaſt upon an appointed Day, and made ſuch vaſt Preparations for their Reception, that the Orankays were ſtruck with Admiration. The Orankays were drawn up in Order in a Court near the King's Apartment, and conducted by the Chappes into a Hall; but as every Man entered the Hall he was immediately ſeized, and dragged into another Court behind the Buildings, where the King had cauſed a deep Ditch to be dug, upon the Brink of which their Throats were cut, and then their Bodies were thrown into it. In the mean time the Muſick played, and nothing but Songs and Mirth was heard in the Hall; and the Matter was carried on ſo warmly, that one thouſand one hundred were cut off before thoſe in the Rear could perceive any thing of the Matter; at which Time the ſmall Remainder ſlipped ſoftly out of the Caſtle, without knowing diſtinctly the Occaſion of their Miſtruſt till the next Day that the principal Orankays were miſſing.

The King having thus cut off all he ſuſpected, and fortified himſelf with a good Body of Men in the Caſtle, he publiſhed a Declaration, ſetting forth, that this great Execution was neceſſary for the Safety of his own Perſon and the State; that as in former times the Orankays had made and dethroned many Kings at Pleaſure, and extinguiſhed the ancient Line, ſo when they were at the Point of cutting one another's Throats, they could find no other Remedy than that of making him King by Force, in order to uſe him as they did the former Kings upon Occaſion; that ſince he was King he would not be expoſed to the inconſtant Humours of the Orankays, who, after they had maſſacred him, would have relapſed into their former Animoſities, and made the People ſuffer by their Quarrels; and in fine, that all his Deſign was to preſerve the general Peace, to reign in Equity, and execute ſevere Juſtice upon Offenders.

After this Declaration, when he ſaw that no body ſtirred, and none came near him to pay him their wonted Reſpects in the Caſtle, he demoliſhed all the Houſes of the executed Orankays, and lodged their Cannon, Arms and Goods in the Caſtle. He prohibited any to build with Stone, or to have Cannon or Intrenchments about their Houſes; he ordered the Trenches that then were to be filled up, and the Stone Walls to be pulled down. He enjoined, that all their Houſes ſhould be but one Story high, and their Walls be made of Mats, as they are at this Day. He conferred the Quality of Orankays upon his Favourites and Abettors, allowing them part of the Lands of the executed Lords. He put to Death the ancient Orankays, and thoſe of the People that teſtified any Diſlike to his Conduct, inſomuch that in the firſt Year of his Reign he put to Death twenty thouſand Perſons, and in the ſecond ſome thouſands more.

This Prince reigned a long time, and reduced the City to the Condition that it is now in. He uſed the *Mooriſh* Merchants very unkindly, but was extream civil to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who ſettled there in his Time. He brought up this preſent King, who is the Son of his own Daughter, and for whom he had a particular Love. He died in the Year 1603, aged ninety-five Years, leaving behind him two Sons, who were already advanced in Years. To the eldeſt of theſe he left the Kingdom of *Achen*, and all his Territories along the Coaſt of *Sumatra* to the Weſtward, and to the other the Kingdom of *Pedir*, with the Territories upon the Eaſt Coaſt of *Sumatra*. The two Princes were of too meek and humble a Temper for their Subjects, ſo that Murders, Robberies, Oppreſſion, and an Infinity of Diſorders, reigned in *Achen* for want of a ſevere Execution of Juſtice. The King of *Achen* happening to give ſome ſlight Rebuke to his Nephew the preſent King, whom he entertained at his Court, the young Prince made his Eſcape out of the Caſtle, and fled to his Uncle the King of *Pedir*, who gave him a very kind Reception. The King of *Achen* deſired his Brother to ſend his Nephew to *Achen*; but his Brother made Anſwer, that he would not offer Violence to a young Prince whom their Father had recommended to their Care. Upon this the two Brethren declared War one againſt another, the Forces of *Pedir* being commanded by the Nephew, who is now King. In this War above ſixty thouſand Men were killed between them, and the Nephew had oftentimes the Advantage: But at laſt the Forces of *Achen* being more numerous, thoſe of *Pedir* refuſed to march. Upon which their King was obliged to deliver up his Nephew into the Hands of the King of *Achen*, who immediately put a ſtrong Guard upon him, and laid him in Irons.

Some time afterwards the *Portugueze* made a Deſcent upon *Achen*, and carried the firſt Turf Fort at the Entry of the River, but could not maſter the Stone one. In this Juncture the young Prince deſired his Uncle would let him go and fight againſt the *Portugueze*, remonſtrating that he had better die in Battle with the *Cafres* (ſo they call the Chriſtians) than lie in Chains to no Purpoſe. The King of *Achen* being at that Time in Conſternation, releaſed him, and ſuffered him to go upon that Deſign. The young Prince behaved himſelf with ſo much Bravery in two or three Engagements with the *Portugueze*, that he acquired a great Reputation among the People of *Achen*.

46. Upon this his Mother being an active ambitious Woman, formed a Deſign of making him King of *Achen*, and furniſhed him with large Sums of Money to be diſtributed among the principal Orankays; with the ſame View, the young Prince was very familiar in his Converſation, whatever he had was common to his Friends and Courtiers; he refuſed nothing that was aſked of him; in a Word, he ſhewed himſelf liberal to the Orankays, affable to the Rich, a Companion to thoſe that profeſſed Arms, and extream courteous to the common People. In the mean time the King of *Achen* died ſuddenly; at the Hour of his Death the young Prince gets into the Caſtle, bribes the Guards, makes vaſt Promiſes to the Officers, advances a large Sum of Money to the Governor of the Caſtle, diſtributes Money

among the principal Orankays, and threatens the Cady, who ſcrupled to crown him.

In fine, he managed the Intrigue ſo happily, that he was proclaimed King that very Night, to the great Joy of all the People who had conceived great Hopes of his Liberality, Courteſy and Familiarity, as well as his Valour. *Pedir* being twelve Miles from *Achen*, the King of that Place was quickly acquainted with his Brother's Death, and came the next Day to receive the Inveſtiture of his Patrimony; but as he approached the Caſtle with a ſmall Retinue, he fell into the Hands of his Nephew the King of *Achen*, who, forgetting his former Favours, kept him a Month Priſoner in the Caſtle, and then, pretending to ſend him to a more agreeable Retreat, at a Diſtance from the City cauſed his Throat to be cut by the Way. Thoſe who put the Crown upon his Head were not better uſed; for he began with the Maraja, or Governor of the Caſtle, who had taken moſt of his Money, and ended with thoſe that received the laſt. In a Year's Time they found a great Alteration; for inſtead of being humane, he was very cruel. Inſtead of Liberality, he diſplayed an extream Avarice, and his familiar, meek Temper, became auſtere and inexorable.

In fine, he has ſhed more Blood than his Grandfather did in his whole Reign. He has diſpeopled the whole Territory of *Achen*, and drained not only the Natives, but the Foreigners that reſide there, of all their Money. It is true, he endeavoured to re-people this City with his Conqueſts, or rather Ravages (properly ſpeaking) for having ruined the Kingdoms of *Jor*, *Debly*, *Pahan*, *Queda*, and *Pera*, he tranſported from thence to *Achen* about twenty-two thouſand Perſons; but at preſent there are ſcarce one thouſand five hundred of them left: So that this Policy ſerved rather for an Inſtance of his Cruelty, than any other thing; for the People being brought naked to *Achen*, and allowed not a Grain of Rice for their Maintenance, died of Hunger in the Streets. Hitherto this King hath been ſucceſsful in all his Enterprizes, inſomuch that ſome take him for a Sorcerer.

For my part I regard him as a Man of great Judgment, one that undertakes nothing raſhly, or unſeaſonably, but after a mature Deliberation, and upon very probable Conjunctures. He never aſſaulted one of his Neighbours but when they were reduced to ſome Extremity. All his Preparatory Meaſures are incomprehenſible, till the Deſign is put in Execution; for he never aſks or receives Advice of any, and being inveſted with an abſolute Authority, his Commands are immediately put in Execution; ſo that all this may be done without the Aſſiſtance of Devils. Beſides, I have often heard that Sorcerers are poor, ſorry Wretches; but I am certain that this King is by far greater and richer than any of his Neighbours.

47. *February* the 3d we were in Sight of the Iſland of *Montabay*, the 5th we came to an inhabited Iſle that lies between *Naſſaw* and *Montabay*; the 6th we paſſed between *Naſſaw* and another Iſland not marked in the Charts. This Channel is four or five Leagues broad; all theſe Iſlands lie very low, whereas the oppoſite Coaſt of *Sumatra* is very high and conſpicuous. I would adviſe all Sailors rather to put into *Sumatra*, than into any of theſe little Iſlands; for the former is peopled all along the Shore with Perſons acquainted with the Converſation of Strangers, whereas the Inhabitants of theſe are barbarous Savages, that have no Communication with any other People, and conſequently not to be truſted.

April the 20th, in 33° 30′ Latitude, the Needle varying 7° 45′ North-Weſt, we deſcried a ſmooth and uniform, but rocky Coaſt, upon which we ſtood to Sea, and next Day encountered a violent Storm, that laſted to the 23d of *May*; the 1ſt we perceived the Land between Cape *Auguilles* and Cape *Falſo*, and on the 5th we came to an Anchor in *Table-Bay*; our ſick Men did not recover at this Place as I expected, either by reaſon of that extream Cold, or becauſe I could not take in ſuch freſh Proviſions as I had a Mind to, there being ſome *Dutch* Ships in the Bay that I miſtruſted. I believe the Cold was the great Cauſe of it; for all the *Dutch* Sick died as well as mine. The Wind continued at Weſt-North-Weſt from my firſt Arrival in this Bay to the 24th, that I weighed Anchor, and paſſing by the North-Eaſt, was becalmed within Cannon Shot. The 30th we ſet Sail, the Wind at South-South-Eaſt.

On the 21ſt of *June* we deſcried *St. Helena*, about fifteen Leagues Weſt-North-Weſt of us: Next Day I came to an Anchor over-againſt it, and ſent our ſick Men on Shore, who were ſomething benefited by the Air. This is a very convenient Place for the refreſhing Men, not only in regard to the Temperance of the Air, but by reaſon of the Plenty of young Kids and Hogs, the Facility of coming at good Water, the Conveniency of Fiſhing in the Road, and upon the Shore, the Abundance of Oranges and Citrons, which are excellent Remedies againſt the Scurvy, beſides ſeveral good Herbs, ſuch as Purſlain, a ſort of Tarragon, in large Quantities, ſome Fenugreek, Tobacco, and the Herb Mayoe: Not to mention the Partridges, Pigeons, and, as ſome ſay, Oxen, that this Iſland abounds with; for though the Country be mountainous, and very ſteep, and the Graſs withered-like, yet on the Top there's a great deal of Moiſture, and there is not a Valley without a Brook or Rivulet, the greateſt of which runs in the large Valley, where a large Chapel is built, though it is not above a hundred and fifty Paces broad, and one thouſand long. At the End of this Valley there's a ragged Cleft Ridge of Rocks, upon which there falls down a Stream of Water from a very high Mountain, inſomuch that it is beat as ſmall as Rain before it falls. This Iſle lies in 16° South Latitude, the Needle varying 5° 45′ North-Eaſt, and always has the Wind South-Eaſt.

48. On the 16th of *July* we ſaw the Iſle of *Aſcenſion*, about twelve Leagues North-Eaſt of us. It is very high, and its Anchorage lies over-againſt a ſandy Creek. This Iſland has neither Wood, nor Freſh-Water, nor any Herbs, being nothing but a hard Rock; yet it affords ſome Hogs, and a great many Fowls, ſuch as can live without Freſh-Water, upon the Rocks, and in the Road it has abundance of Fiſh and Tortoiſe. Its Circumference may make about eight Leagues, which is as much as that of *St. Helena*'s. It lies in 8° S. Lat. After we had croſſed the Equinoctial, we had ſuch Calms and drizling Rains that moſt of our Men were ſeized with Dropſies and Tumours, upon which there enſued great Mortality in the Ship.

Auguſt the 6th the Calms and drizling Rains continuing, there came a ſudden Whirl-wind that laſted for two Minutes, and broke all our Sails, carrying the Main-Top-Sail quite off. The next Day we ſaw ſome Swallows and Butterflies, which ſignified that we were near Land. The 13th we ſaw an Iſland to the North, in 16° Lat. which we knew to be *Saint Nicholas*, one of the *Cape-Verd* Iſlands. The 16th we made the Iſle of *Saint Vincent*, and caſt Anchor at five Fathom Water. The 17th I ſent my ſick Men aſhore, who were very numerous, and in a ſorry Condition; but, when they came upon Land, they recovered a-pace.

49. The ordinary Anchorage of this Iſland lies in 17° 20′ Lat. the Needle varying 2° 15′ N. E. It affords at this Seaſon great Plenty of Tortoiſes, which they call Free-Tortoiſes, and are diſtinguiſhed from the others they call Cohouanes, by the Smoothneſs, Plainneſs, and green Colour of the Shell, the Largeneſs of their Body, and the Smallneſs of their Head, and the Form of their Snout, which reſembles the Teeth of a Saw. The Fleſh of theſe eat as well as that of a young Heifer, and ſome of them are ſo large that they weigh 300 Pound. They come out in the Night-Time, and lay their Eggs upon the Sand, which they bury a Foot deep. Thoſe who have a Mind to catch them watch them at that Time, and getting behind them turn them upon their Back; after which they cannot turn themſelves to get upon their Feet, and ſo lie there till the Morning. Moſt of them have 250 Eggs ſhelled, and as many unſhelled in their Bellies, which are very good.

In this Iſland we met with an Herb that in ſome meaſure reſembles Spinnage, but it is infinitely better; we uſed it both in Sallad and Soup, and both it and the Tortoiſe-fleſh kept our Bellies open, and cured our Men of great Dropſies, without any other Purgation in eight Days, which perhaps could not be cured in *France* in a

Month. It is alſo well ſtocked with young Kids, but you are not ſure of catching them, unleſs you have Dogs. We ſaw no Fruit in it but wild Figs, which were all ſpoiled with Worms. To the Eaſtward, under a high Mountain, there are vaſt Quantities of Purſlain. Commonly the Water of this Iſle is brackiſh; but upon the S. W. Part of the Bay, where the Anchorage is, there is a ſmall Spring, that if it was cleanſed and dug deep, would afford pretty good Water.

It is furniſhed with a conſiderable Quantity of wild Pines, which may ſerve for Firing; beſides which it has no Wood, except ſome Shrubs, that caſt forth a white milky Juice, that is very dangerous and painful to the Eyes if it touches them. There is very good Fiſhing along the Rocks, and eſpecially at a little Rock at the Entry of the Bay, about a quarter of a League from the Anchorage. In two Hours Time ſeven or eight may there catch Fiſh enough for two hundred Men. In fine, it is not inferior to *St. Helena* for a Place of Refreſhment, except that its Water is not ſo good. In Compenſation of which Defect, it is all over acceſſible, and furniſhed with pleaſant Walks; whereas the other is the moſt inacceſſible Country I ever ſaw. This Iſle is about nine Leagues in Circumference, and while we were there the Wind was at N. E. it has ſeveral pleaſant Bays; but that towards the Iſle of *St. Anthony* is the beſt Road for Ships that can be, for we rode at five Fathom Water, on an excellent ſandy Ground, and were ſheltered from all Winds. We ſaw neither Men nor Houſes, though we travelled over moſt Part of the Iſland.

50. After our Departure from *St. Vincent* (which happened *September* the 15th) we had ſeveral violent Storms. *October* the 12th we deſcried the *Azores-Iſlands*, but it was the 17th before we could weather them. The 19th we had a violent Storm from N. W. that broke our Mizen-Maſt, and obliged us to bring our Main-Top-Maſt upon the Deck. The 30th we were 55° Lat. and had ſeventy Fathom Water, upon which moſt of our Pilots agreed that the *Sorlingues-Iſlands* lay about twenty Leagues to the Weſt of us. *November* the 3d we deſcried the *Lizard-Point* in *England*; and *December* the 1ſt came ſafe to *Havre de Grace*, having been out thirty-eight Months.

51. The Difficulties our Author met with, and the Misfortune of loſing two of his Ships, did not hinder his making a ſaving Voyage even of this, which would have proved highly advantageous to his Owners, if the *Hope* had not been loſt, ſince it is computed that ſhe, at the Time of her being burnt, had on Board a Cargoe worth ſeventy-five or eighty thouſand Pound ſterling. There are few Pieces that let us more effectually into the Secret of Trade than this, which ſhews us perfectly the Methods made uſe of by the *Dutch*, to exclude all other Nations from the Commerce of the *Indies*, and very fully juſtifies what we have occaſionally delivered upon that Subject. It is really wonderful that the Subjects of the States-General ſhould venture, at that time of Day, to treat the *French* in ſuch a Manner, to whom they had not only conſiderable Obligations for the Countenance they had given them in the Infancy of their Commonwealth; but were alſo in great Danger from their Power in *Europe*. But however this might affect the States, the *Eaſt-India* Company, it ſeems, gave themſelves very little Concern about it; which ſhews how dangerous it is to leave the abſolute Adminiſtration of their Affairs in theſe diſtant Parts of the World to any Company, without having ſome Check upon them from the State, which muſt be anſwerable to other Powers for the Exceſſes committed by the Agents of ſuch a Company.

As for Commodore *Beaulieu*, after his Return to *France*, he was taken into the King's Service, and behaved extremely well in the Affair of the Iſland of *Rhe*, when the *Engliſh*, under the Command of the Duke of *Buckingham*, made a Deſcent upon that Iſland, and during the long War againſt the Proteſtants. This recommended him ſo effectually to the famous Cardinal *Richelieu*, that he intruſted him with the Command of one of the beſt Ships employed in the Squadron commanded by the Count *de Harcourt* againſt the Iſlands of *St. Margaret*, and *St. Honorat*, in which he likewiſe behaved with Reputation; as alſo in the Expedition againſt *Sardinia*, at his Return from which to the Port of *Toulon*, he was unfortunately ſeized with a burning Fever, which carried him off in the Month of *September*, 1637, at the Age of 48; ſo that he may be ſaid to have died in that Seaſon of Life when he was moſt capable of ſerving himſelf and his Country.

SECTION XXVI.

The Remarks and Obſervations made by John Albert de Mandelſloe, *in his Paſſage from the Kingdom of* Perſia *through ſeveral Countries of the* Indies.

Tranſlated from the Original, written by himſelf.

1. *An introductory Account of the Author, and of the Deſign of this Section.* 2. *His Departure from* Iſpahan, *in order to go to* Gambron, *or* Bandar Abaſſi. 3. *A curious Deſcription of the Ruins of the ancient* Perſepolis, *now called* Tchelminar. 4. *The Author continues his Journey to* Laar, *and from thence to* Gambron. 5. *His kind Reception, and generous Entertainment, by the* Engliſh *Merchants there.* 6. *A curious Deſcription of the City and Port of* Gambron, *with the Country adjacent.* 7. *A conciſe Hiſtory of the City and Kingdom of* Ormuz, *and of the Manner of its being annexed to the Empire of* Perſia. 8. *An Account of the Author's Paſſage from* Gambron *to* Surat, *with Remarks.* 9. *His Arrival at the laſt mentioned City, and the Reception he met with there.* 10. *A ſuccinct View of the Dominions of the Great Mogul, as they ſtood at that Time.* 11. *A Deſcription of the City of* Surat, *with a large Account of the Commerce carried on there.* 12. *The Author's Journey from thence to* Amadabat, *with his Adventures by the Way.* 13. *A View of that City, and of the Country adjacent, with various Remarks and Obſervations.* 14. *An Account of ſome memorable Tranſactions which happened during the Author's Stay there.* 15. *His Paſſage from thence to* Cambaya, *with a Deſcription of that City, and its Inhabitants.* 16. *His Journey to* Agra, *with a large Account of that Capital of the Mogul Empire.* 17. *A very full Relation of the Mogul's Court, and of the State of the Empire of* Indoſtan. 18. *The Author's Journey back from* Agra *to* Surat, *with many curious Particulars.* 19. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory and Deſcription of the Kingdom of* Guzurat, *and Provinces adjacent.* 20. *A compleat View of the Religion, Cuſtoms, Manners, &c. of the* Banjans, *or native* Indians. 21. *A Continuation of that Account, together with a Deſcription of the other Nations that now inhabit the* Indies. 22. *Of the Commodities, Manufactures and Commerce of thoſe Countries.* 23. *Of the great Plenty of all ſorts of Proviſions, and of the People's Manner of living.* 24. *Of their Ships, their Trade to the* Red-Sea, Perſian *Gulph, and Coaſt of* Malabar. 25. *Remarks upon the foregoing Section.*

1. THE Accounts afforded us in the foregoing Sections are excellent in their kind, ſo far as they go; but as it is neceſſary to our having a thorough Comprehenſion of the Affairs and Commerce of *India* that we ſhould proceed ſtill farther, and take a compleat View of the ſeveral Countries in which this Commerce is carried on, ſo of conſequence it becomes as neceſſary on parting with our old Guides to look out for new. He, with whom we are next to travel, has been allowed to have all the Qualities requiſite to ſuch a Guide, that is to ſay, Knowledge, Diligence, and Fidelity. He was born *A.D.* 1615. of a good Family in the Dutchy of *Mecklenberg*, in the *Lower Saxony*, and received from the Care of his Parents a liberal Education, having before received from Nature an happy and inquiſitive Genius. Theſe good Qualities recommended him to the Notice firſt, and then to the Confidence of the Duke of *Holſtein*, in whoſe Family he lived as a Domeſtick.

When that Prince formed a Deſign of ſending an Embaſſy into *Perſia*, in order to promote a Project he had formed of eſtabliſhing an *Eaſt-India* Company in his Dominions, our Author was choſen to accompany thoſe Embaſſadors in a very honourable Quality: But before his Departure, he repreſented to his Maſter, that though the Reaſons which determined him to ſend his Miniſters no farther than *Perſia* were in themſelves very juſt, and well founded, yet it would be extreamly requiſite to the Accompliſhment of his main Deſign, that a Perſon of their Retinue ſhould make the Tour of the *Indies*, which was what he was ſtrongly inclined to do, and therefore begged his Permiſſion to gratify that Deſire, by taking his Leave of the Embaſſadors when arrived at the *Perſian* Court, and purſuing his Travels as Occaſion offered.

The Duke's Leave thus obtained, he ſat out with the Embaſſadors, in the Year 1636, and accompanied them to *Iſpahan*, or, according to the *Perſian* Pronunciation, *Spahawn*, the Hiſtory of which Journey, and of their Negociation, was written at large by their Secretary, and is eſteemed one of the moſt perfect Works in its kind; for which Reaſon it will claim a Place in the ſecond Part of our Undertaking. At preſent we are concerned only with *Mandelſloe*'s Account of his Travels, after he left the Embaſſadors, and proſecuted his intended Deſign of viewing the Countries of *India*, which he executed very happily, and has no leſs faithfully recorded.

There have been few Travellers who have ſet out better furniſhed than our Author; for he had, previous to his Journey, taken great Pains to acquaint himſelf with all that had been written of thoſe Countries he was to viſit, by the beſt Authors ancient and modern, as manifeſtly appears by his excellent Performance. But though he was a Scholar, and a Gentleman, yet as the Deſign he went upon was the Improvement of Trade, he kept that Deſign conſtantly in View, and loſt no Opportunity of making ſuch Enquiries as might enable him to make a juſt and ſatisfactory Report at his Return to the Prince, by whom he was employed. It was with this View that he kept a regular and exact Journal of his Travels, and took Care, in every Place where he came, to make the niceſt Enquiries in his Power; and it is for this Reaſon that his Writings have been ſo much eſteemed, and have been always conſidered as the moſt curious and correct Accounts that had been publiſhed to his Time.

He began them, as the Reader will perceive, in the Month of *January* 1638, and having happily atchieved them, returned ſafely to the Court of *Gottorp*, and made his Report of what he had obſerved in them. At the Cloſe of the next Section we ſhall ſay ſomewhat as to the Conſequences of them, and of the Cauſes which hindered the Projects of the Duke of *Holſtein* his Maſter from taking Effect, notwithſtanding they were ſo wiſely laid, and ſo far as our Author had any Concern in them, happily executed. Thus much, however, may ſuffice by way of Introduction, the rather, becauſe the Author himſelf has been ſo clear and ſo methodical in his Relation, and has taken ſuch Care to avoid Obſcurity on the one hand, and Prolixity on the other, that there is no need of detaining the Reader any longer from his Performance, which we ſhall deliver in his own Words as near as may be.

2. The Embaſſadors of *Holſtein* having left *Iſpahan*, and being not long after followed by *Imanculi Eſchangaſi*, a Native of *Karabath*, who was ſent in Quality of Embaſſador from the King of *Perſia*, to the Duke of *Holſtein*; I, according to the Permiſſion I had obtained from the Duke my Maſter, prepared for my Journey into the *Indies*, and being on the 12th of *January* 1638, introduced to a particular Audience of the Shah, he permitted me, with much Kindneſs, to kiſs the Hem of his Garment. I ſet out from *Iſpahan* the 16th of the ſame Month, with a Retinue of four Perſons, *viz.* a Chirurgeon, a Footman, a Groom, and one *Perſian* Servant, being conducted out of Town by Mr. *Honywood*, the *Engliſh* Agent, and ſeveral *Engliſh* and *French* Merchants. I took my Leave of them a League from thence, and travelled eight more the ſame Day, to the Village of *Majar*, where I ſtayed the next Day, and continued my Journey to *Kamſcha*, the whole Road being one continued Walk of Trees made by the adjacent Gardens. The Caravanſera I lodged in, had nothing but bare Walls, but that wherein I was lodged the next Night, at the Village of *Machſud*, ſix Leagues from *Kamſcha*, had convenient Lodging-Rooms and Stables.

The 20th I came to the Village of *Hannabath*, ſeated upon the Deſcent of a very pleaſant Hill. The 21ſt I travelled ten Leagues, in very ſnowy and windy Weather, and lodged in a Caravanſera called *Jurgiſthan*. Between this Place and *Surma*, there being neither Village nor Caravanſera, I was forced to travel the 22d 12 Leagues, and the 23d was obliged to go 12 more, before I could reach the Village of *Guſti*, where we met with very indifferent Accommodation, ſcarce meeting with a Houſe we could put our Heads in, or preſerve our Horſes againſt the bad Weather. The next Day being the 24th proved rather worſe, for being forced to travel 12 Leagues through the Mountains covered with Snow, and that in very bad Weather, we, with much a-do, very late at Night, reached the large and famous Village of *Meſchid Maderre Suleiman*, ſo called from a Sepulchre which is within half a League of it.

This Sepulchre is to be ſeen within a little Chapel of white Marble, the Tomb itſelf being erected upon a high Square of Free-Stone, unto which you may go up by Steps on all Sides. The Air and Rain has penetrated through the Walls in ſeveral Places, and diverſe Pillars round the Structure are almoſt conſumed by Time. Upon the Walls of the Chapel, I found in *Arabian* Characters, theſe Words, *Mader Suleiman*. The general Opinion of the Inhabitants is, that this is the Sepulchre of *Solomon*'s Mother, but the *Carmelite* Friars at *Schiras* informed me, with much more Probability, that the Mother of Shah *Soliman*, the 14th King of the Poſterity of *Aly*, was interred here. *Elmacinus* gives her the Name of *Wallada*, and informs us, that ſhe was the Daughter of *Abbas Abbaſceam*. He tells us alſo, that this *Soliman* lived in the Year 715, and that being a very handſome Perſon, and viewing himſelf one Day in a Looking-Glaſs, he was ſo taken with his own Perſon, that he ſaid, he might with the ſame Right pretend to the Title of the King of Youth, as of the Kingdom of *Perſia*; which being over-heard by one of the Ladies of his Seraglio, ſhe anſwered, that provided it was in his Power to inſure to himſelf any Continuance of what by the Laws of Nature he might not be able to enjoy long, he might juſtly lay Claim to ſuch a Title. This ſtruck ſuch a Damp upon his Spirits, that he died within a few Days after. We met here with an *Armenian* Caravan.

3. I travelled on the 26th five Leagues to *Siwan*, and the 27th as many more to *Mardaſch*, one of the moſt famous Villages of thoſe Parts, on account of the Antiquities that are to be ſeen near it, which obliged me to take a full View of them. They are the Ruins of a very ancient Structure called *Tchilminar*, i. e. forty Pillars by the *Perſians*, who affirm, that this moſt magnificent Palace was built by *Szamſaid Padſcha*, Grandfather to *Alexander* the Great by the Mother-Side, tho' ſome among them make *Solomon*, others *Darius*, the laſt *Perſian* King, its Founder; but the *Carmalites* of *Schiras* aſſure me, that

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it was the general Opinion of the Learned, that this was the Place where the ancient *Perſepolis* had ſtood, and that theſe were the Ruins of that famous Palace built by *Cyrus*. The Foundation or Ground-Work on which this vaſt Structure was erected, is raiſed twenty-two Geometrical Feet, having at each of its four Corners a Pair of Stairs of white Marble of ninety-five Steps, ſo flat and broad, that twelve Horſes may go up together a-breaſt. Before you come to the main Body of the Structure itſelf, you paſs through a Square, where you ſee the Ruins of a Wall, and the Remainders of two great Gates, each of which have a Horſe garniſhed and ſaddled, after a very antique Manner, carved on one Side, and on the other two Creatures reſembling a Horſe, except that they have Wings on each Side, and the Head is crowned like that of a Lion.

On the one Side you ſee the Ruins of nineteen Pillars of white and black Marble, the leaſt of which are eight, and ſome ten Ells high, without the Baſes; but whether they had been intended for the Support of ſome large Hall, or were built in the open Air, is not to be diſtinguiſhed at this Time. The Inhabitants thereabouts told me, that not many Years before, there were forty of theſe Pillars ſtanding. As you go on further, you meet with the Ruins of two Rooms indifferently large, as may be judged by the Doors and Windows, but every thing is of the fineſt Marble. Several Figures of Men of an extraordinary Size are to be ſeen on both Sides the Doors, ſome in a ſitting, others in a ſtanding Poſture, their Hair falling down careleſly over their Shoulders, and their Garments reaching down to their Heels, with very wide Sleeves, and a Girdle round their Waiſts. They had very long Beards, and round Caps on their Heads. Not far from thence are two other Chambers much of the ſame Bigneſs with the former, but ſo ruined, that nothing but the Doors and Croſs-Bars of the Windows are left.

This Structure ſeems to have had this in common with moſt of the Buildings of a modern Date in *Perſia*, that it had many Doors, which is done here to give the more free Paſſage to the Wind to cool the Rooms. Hard by theſe two laſt Chambers, you find unknown Characters engraved upon a ſquare Pillar, which have no Reſemblance to the Greek, Hebrew, Arabick, or any other Language, being triangular, or rather pyramidal, not unlike Obiliſks. There are twelves Lines of them, ſo well proportioned, and nicely engraven, that they have not the ſmalleſt Sign in them of Barbariſm. Some believe them to be Teleſms, and to contain certain Myſteries; beſides theſe before-mentioned Rooms, there is, upon the ſame Ground-Work, a large Court of ninety Paces ſquare, with two Gates on each Side, ſome of which are ſix, others only three Paces wide. They are of the fineſt Marble; each of the Pieces are eight Feet long, and three in Breadth; you ſee alſo in another Court, very curious carved Work in Marble: Battles, Triumphs, Olympick Games, every thing in its due Proportion.

Upon each of the Gates you find a graceful Perſon carved ſitting with a Globe in the one, and a Scepter in the other Hand, tho' it is certain that the Kings of *Perſia* never ſat in that Poſture. My Curioſity led me to get up on high, where I ſaw a King repreſented paying his Devotions to the Sun, Fire, and a Serpent. As the Inhabitants at this Day carry from thence a great Quantity of Marble to carry on their private Buildings thereabouts, this, with the Length of Time, has ſo defaced, or rather ruined this noble Structure, that it is impoſſible to determine whether its Architecture was of the Ionick, Dorick, or Corinthian Order; notwithſtanding which, even its Ruins are ſo ſurprizing, that theſe would find Work for a very good Painter for above ſix Months.

If we trace the antient *Perſian* Hiſtory, we find, that according to *Ælian*, the Grand *Cyrus* laid himſelf the Foundation, and built a moſt magnificent Palace at *Perſepolis*, as *Darius* did at *Suſa*. Perhaps the Ruins belong to the famous Palace mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, being encompaſſed with three Walls of Marble, the firſt whereof was 16, the ſecond 32, and the third 60 Ells high; and all the Gates and Balconies of Braſs, all which, together with the ineſtimable Treaſure it contained, was in a few Hours reduced to Aſhes by *Alexander* the Great, at the Requeſt of a Harlot. Having ſpent a whole Day in viewing theſe Antiquities, I continued my Journey the 28th of *January*, and travelled that Day ten Leagues to the City of *Schiras*. Here I met with four *Carmelite* Friars, *Italians*, who were poſſeſſed of a goodly Monaſtery, and had the free Exerciſe of their Religion allowed them. Not many Years before, the *Portugueze* had here likewiſe a Convent of *Auſtin* Monks; but they were forced thence, as well as all the other *Portugueze*, after the taking of the City of *Ormuz* by the *Perſians*.

Schiras is the Capital City of the Province of *Fars*, ſituate at the Foot of a moſt pleaſant Mountain, upon the River *Sendomir* (heretofore called *Araxes*), which diſcharges itſelf into the *Perſian* Gulph. This City lies in 29° 36′. It contains about 10000 Houſes; but the Ruins of a great Wall, at two Miles diſtance from the City, ſhew its Extent to have been much larger than it is at this Time. It may be truly ſaid, that whatever Nature is able to produce, either for Conveniency or Pleaſure, is centred in this Place, and that in great Plenty; as Wheat, Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Almonds, Dates, Piſtachoes, *&c.* The Wine which grows hereabouts is the beſt in all *Perſia*; which being tranſported hence all over the Kingdom, and looked upon as the beſt Entertainment they can give to their Friends: This makes it to be ſold at a dear Rate at *Iſpahan*, where you cannot have a Pottle of good *Schiras* Wine under Half-a-Crown. Its Taſte is not unlike that of *Canary*, but is more ſprightly, and has a more pleaſant Flavour; this City being ſo much celebrated through all *Perſia* for Wine and Women.

The *Perſians* are wont to ſay, that if *Mohammed* had been ſenſible of the Pleaſures of *Schiras*, he would have begged of God Almighty to make him immortal there.

The Sheep hereabouts are of an aſh-grey Colour, with one white Eye, their Wool curled, and their Tails of ſuch a Bigneſs as to weigh ſometimes eighteen or twenty Pounds. The Woods hereabouts afford great Store of Maſtick, which is gathered in Diſhes faſtened to the Tree, and is green at firſt, but afterwards turns brown. After a Stay of eight Days at *Schiras*, I left it the fifth of *February*, and proceeded ten Leagues that Day to a Caravanſera; the ſixth I travelled ſeven Leagues, through very bad Roads; but the Proſpect I had of the many Villages, and a vaſt Number of Date-trees, made me ſome Amends for the Toil of the Day.

The 7th I travelled ten Leagues to the little City of *Sharim*, ſeated in the Middle of a Date-wood. The 8th we could make no more than five Leagues, the Ways betwixt the ſteep Rocks on the one Side, and the Precipices on the other Side being ſo rough and narrow that one cannot paſs them without great Danger, of which I had an Inſtance in my Paſſage, for my Horſe's Hoof (which I was leading by the Bridle) being filled with Snow, he ſlipped and tumbled upon me, which forcing me out of the Way, I had infallibly tumbled down the Precipice, had I not by good Luck catched hold of a wild Almond-tree which ſtood there. I was forced to take up my Quarters that Night at a Caravanſera, where there was not any Proviſion either for Man or Beaſt.

The 9th, after I had travelled three Leagues, I came to a Caravanſera, where we had the Opportunity of refreſhing our Horſes, and having gone five Leagues more in the Afternoon, I overtook the *Armenian* Caravan; and, in their Company, rode two Leagues farther to the Village of *Berry*, near which I lodged in one of the beſt Caravanſeras I met with in my whole Journey.

4. The 10th I travelled through very bad Ways, and came late at Night to the City of *Laar*, ſituate in a ſpacious Plain at the Foot of a Mountain. There is no Wine hereabouts, but Dates in abundance. The Air is very unwholſome here, and the Water very muddy, which breeds in them that drink it certain Worms, betwixt the Skin and Fleſh, of which we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak more at large hereafter. They ſay that this City owns for its Founder *Pilaes*, the Son of *Siroes*, whoſe Succeſſor was *Gorgion Melech*, the firſt King of *Laar*, and that the thirty-ſecond Succeſſor was one *Abraham Khan*, who was diveſted of the Kingdom in 1602, by Schah *Abas*, King of *Perſia*. It contains about 4000 Houſes, built of Brick baked

in the Sun, but is without any Walls or Gates. The Citadel, which is built by the *Perſians*, ſince their Conqueſt, and advantageouſly ſeated upon a ſteep Rock, is very well fortified with a Rampart of Free-ſtone, and commands the whole City.

The Garriſon at that Time conſiſted of no more than 100 Men, a ſufficient Number to defend it againſt any ſudden Attack. The Way which leads to it being cut out of a Rock, and ſo narrow, that ſcarce two Horſes can go a-breaſt; but they have a Magazine of Arms for 3000 Men; The worſt is, that the Water within the Fort being brackiſh, they muſt, in caſe of a Siege, live upon Rain-Water, which falls plentifully there at certain Seaſons, and is preſerved in Ciſterns. After a Stay of twenty-four Hours at *Laar*, I was going to leave it the twelfth, but was ſtopped by the Cuſtom-houſe Officers, who demanded half a Tumain, or forty-five Shillings for my Baggage; but having ſent my Letter of Recommendation from the Shah to the Governor of *Gambron*, or Commander in chief of the Citadel, he ordered my Departure without paying any thing; and I went that Day no leſs than fourteen Leagues, which great Day's Journey, together with the muddy Waters I had uſed, and the exceſſive Heat, put me into a violent Griping and Looſeneſs, which made me continue in this little Village, in hopes of getting a Litter; but no ſuch Thing being to be had, I was forced to get upon the Sumpter-Horſe, where I had a Conveniency made to reſt my Back, and ſo continued my Journey the 9th to a large Village within twelve Leagues of *Gambron*.

The ſame Evening we met here with two *Engliſh* Merchants, one of whom was to ſucceed the *Engliſh* Director at *Iſpahan*, who not only recruited my almoſt loſt Spirits with ſome *Spaniſh* Wine, and other Refreſhments, but alſo gave me Letters of Recommendation to an *Engliſh* Merchant at *Gambron*, deſiring him to receive me into the Houſe of their Company there, and to aſſiſt me in every Thing that might conduce towards the Proſecution of my Journey to *Surat*. They continued their Journey the ſame Evening, whereas my Indiſpoſition detained me till the 22d, when I proceeded ſix Leagues to a Caravanſera, where having reſted myſelf a little, till the Heat of the Day was ſomewhat abated, I travelled three Leagues farther to another Caravanſera, and found myſelf all that Night in a burning Fever; but there being no Stay for me here, I made the beſt of my Way to *Gambron*, where we arrived the 23d of *February*.

The *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch* there, took ſuch effectual Care of my Diſtemper, which was by this Time changed into a Blood-Flux, and accompanied by a violent Fever, that I was pretty well reſtored in four Days, and found myſelf in a Condition to pay a Viſit to the Governor, unto whom I had ſent Shah *Seſis* Letters of Recommendation immediately after my Arrival there. He no ſooner heard of my Recovery, but he invited me to Dinner, and entertained me very courteouſly, in Company of ſeveral *Dutch* Merchants. The ſame Evening arrived at *Gambron* a Veſſel from *Surat* of ſix hundred Tuns, belonging to the Governor of *Surat*, that brought hither a certain Dowager Queen, Mother to the King of *Golconda*, who falling in Love with her Daughter, his own Siſter, would have married her; but the Mother refuſing to conſent to ſuch an inceſtuous Match, had been baniſhed the Kingdom with her Daughter, who came along with her; and as it was reported, is to be married either to the King of *Perſia* himſelf, or one of the chief Princes of the Kingdom.

5. *March* the 11th, being the Nauruz, or New Year of the *Perſians*, the Governor invited me again to Dinner upon this ſolemn Occaſion, with ſeveral *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Merchants. The ſame Day returned to *Gambron* Mr. *Chapman*, whom I had met, with the *Engliſh* new Preſident near *Laar*; he brought along with him another *Engliſh* Merchant, with whom, having contracted a familiar Acquaintance before at *Iſpahan*, I was extreamly pleaſed to meet in this Place, becauſe the *Dutch*, though in outward Shew very obliging to me, had oppoſed our Negotiation at *Iſpahan*. *March* the 13th I was entreated by the *Engliſh* to take up my Lodgings at the Houſe belonging to their Company, which I did accordingly. The 21ſt, one Mr. *Hale*, an *Engliſh* Merchant, arrived at *Gambron* with two hundred and thirty-three Bales of Silk, valued at 150,000 Piſtoles, which he had received on Account of the Moiety of the Cuſtom at *Gambron* due to the *Engliſh*, of which I ſhall give a particular Account hereafter.

The ſame Day my Surgeon died of a Fever, the Loſs of whom was no ſmall Affliction to me, he having been a great Traveller, and attained the Knowledge of the *Spaniſh*, *Indian*, *Poliſh*, and ſome *Eaſt-India* Languages. As I was walking abroad one Day to amuſe myſelf a little with ſome *Engliſh*, I met with one of theſe Trees mentioned by *Q. Curtius*, the Branches of which ſpring out of the Trunk of the Tree, and bowing down to the Earth, had taken Root there, and growing up afreſh, had produced a new Tree fifteen or twenty Foot high, which caſting forth other Branches in the ſame manner as before, made rather a ſmall Foreſt than a Tree; that which I ſaw being two hundred and fourteen Paces in Circumference, capable of affording Shelter for two thouſand Perſons. The *Portugueze* call it *Arbo de Roys*, and it is generally known by the Name of the *Indian* Fig-tree, by reaſon of its Fruit, which in Bigneſs, and the Abundance of its Grains, reſembles that Fruit; but its Taſte is more unſavory, luſcious, and its Colour red; the Leaves of the Tree are like thoſe of Quince Trees.

Near the Head Trunk of this Tree we ſaw a ſmall Chapel, and within the Sepulchre of a certain *Banjan*, we found the Tomb ſtrewed all over with Beans of divers Colours, and ſeveral Lamps, which burn Night and Day, hanging over it under a Canopy. Theſe *Banjans* adhering to the Opinion of *Pythagoras*, that the Souls of the deceaſed retreat into Beans, which Opinion is generally received among the *Pagans* both in the *Indies* and in *China*. Of the Religion of theſe *Banjans* we ſhall have Occaſion to ſay more hereafter. The Guardian of the Sepulchre treated us with ſome Almonds, Nuts, and Dates. An Envoy from Shah *Seſi* being come to *Gambron* to aſſure the Governor of the Continuance of his Favour, I, in Company with ſeveral *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Merchants, invited for that Purpoſe by the Khan, ſaw him go unarmed a Mile out of the City, where meeting with the ſaid Envoy, he received the King's Letter, the Garment, and Turbant, with a great deal of Submiſſion.

6. The City of *Gambron*, or rather *Bandar Gambron*, i. e. the Port of *Gambron*, is by the *Perſians* and *Arabians* put at 25°, but erroneouſly; its true Latitude, according to the Computation of the *Hollanders*, whoſe Footſteps we follow in this Point being 27°, moſt of the Maps of *Perſia* being hitherto very defective, which proceeds from hence, that by placing the *Caſpian* Sea too high, they extend the Breadth of *Perſia* from North to South, beyond its true Bounds; for they put the City *Reſcb* at 41°, whereas it is in 37°; ſo that the whole Breadth of *Perſia* from *Gambron* to *Reſcb* is no more than ten Degrees, which plainly ſhews the Miſtake of *Boterus*, who makes the Extent of *Perſia* eight Degrees, whereas, if according to their own Computation, we ſhould grant *Ormuz* to be in 25°, the Breadth of *Perſia* could amount to more than 12 Degrees.

It is not many Years ſince this City was a mere Village, inhabited by a few Fiſhermen; but ſince the Reduction of *Ormuz*, the *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and *Indian* Ships have found out the Conveniency of this Harbour, and the Traders of *Iſpahan*, *Surat*, and *Laar*, bring thither their Silk, and other Manufactures, which they exchange for *European* and *Indian* Commodities. Its Situation is upon the *Perſian* Gulph. The Entrance of the *Haven*, in which Ships may ſafely ride at Anchor without the leaſt Danger, in five or ſix Fathom Water, being defended by two ſtrong Caſtles, and a ſquare Redoubt. The Caſtle is fortified with ſome old round Baſtions, but well provided with Artillery. The Houſes of *Gambron* are of Brick, made of a Mixture of ſtiff Clay, and chopped Straw, and Horſe-dung, whereof, having ſet one Layer, they cover it with a Layer of Straw, or Faggots, and ſo alternately, till they have raiſed it to ſix or ſeven Foot high; then they ſet it on Fire, and burn it to Brick. Their Mortar is a Compoſition of the ſame Ingredients, mixed with Salt-water, and ſome Lime, which very ſoon becomes as hard as the Brick itſelf. The Houſes of Note are the Sultan's Palace, and the Ware-houſes, where the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* are lodged, which are ſo near the Sea-ſide, that at High-Tide the Water comes up to the very Walls of them. The lower Rooms being employed for the laying up of their Merchandize, and the upper for Lodgings, being the moſt convenient for the free Paſſage of the Air. The poorer ſort cover their Houſes only with the Sprigs and Leaves of Date-Trees.

The Streets of this City are very narrow, irregular, and not kept clean, which, together with the exceſſive Heat of the Climate, and the Changeableneſs of the Winds, renders the Air very pernicious here: For, in the Morning they are ſufficiently ſenſible of a cold Eaſt Wind, which towards Noon changes to the other Extream, *viz.* a very hot South Wind. The waſte Wind, which blows towards Night from the Sides of *Arabia*, continues the Heat of the Day till Midnight, when a cold North Wind coming from the Mountains, introduces a ſudden Alteration. Beſides this, it rains ſo ſeldom here, that in 1632 they ordered a publick Thankſgiving for a plentiful Shower of Rain, after a continual Drought for three Years.

This is the Reaſon that all about the City you ſee no Graſs, or other Herbs, except what is produced with incredible Labour in ſome Gardens, where they have Garlick, Onions, Chibols, Radiſhes, and Cucumbers; but theſe muſt be watered twice or thrice a Day. It is the Iſle of *Kiſmiſch* which chiefly furniſhes this City with Pulſe and Fruits; it lies three Leagues from *Gambron*, being fifteen Leagues in Length, and three in Breadth. In *June*, and the reſt of the Summer Months, this Iſland produces Grapes, Damſins, Peaches, Mangoes, Quinces, Oranges, Lemons, and Pomegranates, both red and white: And in *October*, Melons, Citrons, Cucumbers, Radiſhes, Onions, Turnips, Almonds, Piſtachoes, Apples, Pears, and divers other Fruits, and that in ſuch Quantities, that they are ſold here at an eaſier rate than at any other Place in *Perſia*; whence it comes, that the Inhabitants feed for the moſt part on Pulſe, Fruits, and what Fiſh the neighbouring Sea furniſhes them with, the Meat hereabouts being, by reaſon of the exceſſive Heat, not very well taſted, and of little Nouriſhment, though otherwiſe they have ſufficient Store of Cattle, ſuch as Oxen, Cows, Sheep, but eſpecially of Goats, which are ſold at the rate of ſix or eight Shillings apiece. They have here alſo a kind of Rams with four Horns, but no wild Fowl. Amongſt other Fiſh, Pilchards, Smelts, Oyſters and Crabs are catched here in vaſt Quantities. Their ordinary Drink is fair Water, which being brought to the City two Leagues Diſtance, is very dear ſometimes; they drink alſo Arrack, or ſtrong Water, made of Rice or Dates.

Perſons of Note, and the beſt Merchants, have their Cloaths made after the *Perſian* Mode, but the common People take no more Care than to cover their Privities. The Women look upon it as their chief Ornament to have many Rings of Silver, Braſs, or Iron, according to their reſpective Abilities, about their Arms and Legs. To their Hair, which hangs down over their Foreheads, they faſten a kind of Bodkin of Silver, gilt, or Braſs, and wear in the left Noſtril of their Noſe a gold Ring, with a Turquoiſe, a Granate, or perhaps only a gold Knob enamelled or plain. Their Pendants are ſo weighty, as to draw their Ears down almoſt to their Shoulders. Their winter Seaſon being from *October* to *May*, when the Heats are leſs violent, this is their chief Time for trading, when the *Perſians*, *Arabians*, *Banjans*, *Armenians*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, come hither with the Caravans, which ſet out at certain Times from *Aleppo*, *Bagdat*, *Iſpahan*, *Shiras*, *Lahor*, *Herat*, and *Baſſora*, under the Convoy of certain Guards.

The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* commonly come hither by Sea, and beſides their ready Money, bring diverſe Commodities both out of *Europe* and the *Indies*, which they exchange for *Perſian* Tapeſtry, raw Silk, Cotton, Rhubarb, Saffron, and Roſe-water, which is made in vaſt Quantities about *Shiras*, either by Infuſion, which they call *Gullab*, and look upon it as the beſt, or by Diſtillation, and this they call *Areka-gull*, *i. e.* the Sweat of Roſes: Both Kinds are much uſed all over the *Indies*; where they mix it with perfumes, and they uſe it to ſweeten their Rooms with it. Here are alſo Abundance of Callicoes made in portable Looms, which the Weavers faſten to a Tree, or ſome other Place without the City, and having finiſhed their Day's Work, carry it Home again, without any Trouble, being compoſed only of Canes faſtened to the Woof of the Cloth.

They have here a certain copper Coin which they call *Beſorg*, ſix whereof make a *Pays*, ten *Pays* a *Chay*, which is equivalent to Five-pence *Engliſh*; two *Chays* make a *Mamoudy*, two whereof make an *Abas*, and three *Abas's* a *French* Crown; an hundred *Mamoudys* make a *Tumain*, which is worth five *French* Piſtoles; but *Spaniſh* Rials and Rix-dollars are prefered before all the other Coins in *Perſia*, by reaſon of the vaſt Advantage they make of them in melting them down. As to their Weights, a *Man* is ſix Pounds, a *Mancha* twelve, and the *Manſurats* thirty Pounds.

The Pearl Trade is alſo one of the greateſt in *Gambron*, and is carried on near the Iſle of *Bahram*, ſix Leagues from the City. The Fiſherman's Head is incloſed in a Bag of oiled Leather, which has a Pipe reaching up above the Water to fetch Breath through; he rakes together all the Shells he can meet with at the Bottom, and having filled his Bag, which hangs about his Neck, at a certain Signal given by him, he is drawn up into the Boat, which is waiting for that Purpoſe.

The Governor of *Gambron* has the Dignity of a *Sultan* annexed to his Office, and has under him a Vizir, or Secretary, and a Couteval, or Captain of his Guards; beſides theſe, there is a Sabandar, or a Receiver of the Cuſtoms; tho' the *Hollanders*, purſuant to a Priviledge granted them by Shah *Abas*, pay none, and the *Engliſh* are ſo far from paying any Duty here, that they ought to have a Moiety of all that is received, but are forced to be contented with about a tenth Part, the *Perſians* thinking it no Crime to defraud Strangers, eſpecially if they be Chriſtians, when their Prince's Intereſt is concerned. As the *Perſian* Horſe are incomparably better than the *Indians*, the *Engliſh*, as well as the *Dutch*, pay fifty Crowns Cuſtom for every Horſe they export. However, the *Engliſh* have the Priviledge of tranſporting twelve Horſes yearly, without paying any Cuſtom for them, an indifferent *Perſian* Horſe being worth 400 Crowns in the *Indies*. The Inhabitants of *Gambron* are, generally ſpeaking, *Perſians*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*, who all ſpeak the *Portugueze* Language, which was introduced into thoſe Parts whilſt the *Portugueze* were Maſters of *Ormuz*; tho' ever ſince the Conqueſt of it by the *Perſians*, they are not permitted to come to *Gambron*, which is open to all other Nations, *Chriſtians*, *Jews*, *Pagans*, and *Mohammedans*, being permitted to trade here, which is the Occaſion they live in open Hoſtility with the *Perſians*; take their Ships as Prizes, and frequently land in the neighbouring Iſlands: Unto one, which is about three Leagues off the Continent, the King of *Spain*'s Subjects are permitted to come and traffick, paying certain Duties to the Governor of the Caſtle that commands the Iſland.

7. The City of *Ormuz* was ſeated in an Iſland of the ſame Name, about two Leagues from the Continent, and ſix Leagues in Circumference, being compoſed of nothing but ſalt Rocks, not producing the leaſt freſh Water, but it was the Advantage and Goodneſs of its Harbour and Situation, which made it ſo famous for Commerce, that it was a Proverb among the *Arabians*, that if the World were a Ring, *Ormuz* ought to be conſidered as the Diamond. According to *Texira*, Shah *Abas*, a Native of *Arabia*, having in the tenth Century made himſelf Maſter of the Provinces bordering upon the *Arabian* Gulph, paſſed over into the Iſland, where he built the City of *Ormuz*. *Shahedin Mohammed*, of the Poſterity of *Mohammed* the 11th King of *Ormuz*, died 1228, and he who reigned in 1608, when it was conquered by the *Portugueze*, was named *Saffedin*, a Tributary to the King of *Perſia*.

For *Albuquerque* having been ſent to viſit the Coaſts of *Arabia*, being informed that the People of *Ormuz* lived in no good Underſtanding with their King, by reaſon of the Miſmanagement of his chief Miniſter, came the 25th of *September* before the City; and after having defeated their Fleet, obliged the King of *Ormuz* to acknowledge the King of *Portugal* for his Sovereign, to pay a certain Tribute, and permit *Albuquerque* to build a Citadel where he ſhould think it moſt proper, which was performed accordingly, and the Chapel called *Our Bleſſed Lady of Victory.* The *Moors*, ſoon after repenting of their Bargain, made ſeveral Efforts to rid their Hands of theſe unwelcome Gueſts; but they being conſtantly upon their Guard, not only fruſtrated all their Deſigns, but alſo engroſſed all the Commerce of thoſe Parts to themſelves, only permitting *Saffeddin* to live in the Iſle, at a good Diſtance from the Citadel. Shah *Abas* being provoked by their Inſolence, and eſpecially by their having given Protection to a certain *Italian*, named *Gabrieli*, who was fled out of *Perſia*, engaged the *Engliſh* to join with him in reducing this Place, which was attacked and carried in 1622, and put into the Hands of the *Perſians*; the Wall of the City being demoliſhed, and *Gambron* raiſed upon the Ruins of *Ormux*.

The *Engliſh*, as a Reward for their Service, had not only an Exemption from all Duties granted them at *Gambron*, but alſo a Moiety of all the Cuſtoms that ſhould be received there. By this Time an *Engliſh* Ship, called the *Swan*, Burthen 300 Tuns, carrying twenty-four Guns, being arrived in the Harbour of *Gambron*, bound for *Surat*, Mr. *Honywood*, the chief Agent for the *Engliſh* Company, recommended me to the Captain, to carry me, and defray all my Charges thither; but what proved very vexatious to me was, that out of eight Horſes which I had brought along with me, and could have ſold for an hundred and fifty Crowns a-piece at *Surat*, I could carry no more than two, being obliged to ſell the reſt at *Gambron* for half what they coſt me.

8. I embarked the 6th of *April* with Mr. *Manley* and Mr. *Hall*, two *Engliſh* Merchants, and went from *Gambron* to *Surat* in nineteen Days; during which Time I was very civily entertained by the Captain, who reſigned his own Bed to me, and being very plentifully provided with Fowl, Mutton, good Sack, *Engliſh* Beer, *French* Wine, and other Refreſhments: This with the Uſe of a Ptiſan made of Cinamon, and the Rhind of Pomegranates, and of a good Quantity of Tea, reſtored me to perfect Health. The Wind proving contrary that Day, we were obliged to lie at Anchor till the next, when we took our Courſe towards the Iſle of *Ormux*; but, being ſurprized by a Tempeſt from the Weſt, were forced to come to an Anchor in Sight of this Iſland. The 8th we endeavoured, by labouring with a Weſt-Wind, to paſs between the Iſles of *Ormuz* and *Kiſmiſch*, which are four Leagues diſtant from each other. The ſame Day one of our Seamen, who died of the Bloody-flux, being thrown over-board, and I being as yet afflicted with the ſame Diſtemper, the Sight of it cauſed very melancholy Speculations in me. The next Night having paſſed between the two Iſlands, we coaſted it along the Sea-Shore of *Arabia*, which is very ſafe thereabouts.

The 10th being in the open Sea, we diſcovered a Pirate, who ſometimes came pretty near us, but finding we endeavoured to get the Wind of him, he made towards the Iſle of *Socotora*, ſituate in 21° 40′, at the very Entrance of the Red-Sea. To the W. and N. E. it has *Melinda*, or *Ethiopia*, and to the S. the Continent of *Arabia*, from whence it is not above ſixteen Leagues diſtant. Its Length is about twenty-five Leagues, and the Breadth ten, having very good Harbours and ſafe Anchorage on all Sides. The Inhabitants, who are governed by a Sultan, under the Juriſdiction of a King of *Arabia*, are of a mean Stature, enclining to Leanneſs, of a black Complexion, but very hardy. They feed chiefly upon Fiſh and Fruits; they live very friendly with their Wives, who are chiefly *Arabians*, but do not permit them to be ſeen by Strangers. As they are very crafty in their Dealings, and adulterate thoſe few Commodities they have, ſo they are always miſtruſtful of others. They uſe the Paſte of Dates inſtead of Bread. The Iſland affords ſome Oranges, but none of the beſt; Tobacco and Citruls, as alſo ſome Cocoa-Trees, but the Fruit ſeldom comes to Maturity, by reaſon of the ſtony Grounds. Their chief Commodity is Aloes, the Juice of which is gathered in Bladders or Goat-ſkins dried in the Sun. They are alſo well ſtored with the Gum called Dragon's-Blood, and keep abundance of Civit-Cats; ſo that Civit may be bought there for three or four Crowns an Ounce; but the worſt is, that they adulterate it with Greaſe. They have no wild Fowl, and but very little tame; yet are not deſtitute of Cattle, ſuch as Camels, Aſſes, Oxen, Cows, Sheep and Goats, the Hair of which about the Thighs are curled as our Satyrs are painted.

The Reſidence of the Governor is called *Tamary*, being defended by a Fort not above a Cannon-ſhot from the Sea-ſide. They make uſe of Broad-ſwords with large Hilts, without a Guard. Their Poiniards, which they wear conſtantly on their Girdles, have Blades of near three Inches broad near the Hilts, but very ſharp towards the Points. They alſo underſtand the Management of Fire-arms, but don't keep them well; and are very expert in the Uſe of their ſmall Bucklers, wherewith they defend themſelves againſt their Enemies. They have no other Shipping than a few flat-bottomed Fiſhing-boats. The Torrents which fall down from the Mountains into the Sea, like a River, furniſh all the Ships that come into that Road with ſufficient Quantities of freſh Water. They eat no Swines Fleſh any more than other *Mohammedans*, but have no Moſques, or any other publick Places of Devotion, which conſiſts chiefly in adoring the Sun every Morning, and at the riſing and ſetting of the ſame, which they repeat three or four Times a Day, beſides muttering out certain Words as they make their Reverence.

The 14th of *April* we were in 23° 24′; the 15th at 22° 40′, and the 16th at 22° 40′; the 17th at 21° 55′, when our Captain fell ſick of a Fever. The 18th at 21° 8′; the 19th at 20° 42′; the 20th at 20° 50′; the 22d 20° 50′; the 23d at 20° 18′, and the 25th arrived ſafely in the Road of *Surat*, where we caſt Anchor within two Leagues of the Shore, becauſe the Captain not intending to ſtay here, would be ſure of the Conveniency of going away when he pleaſed; beſides, that from *May* to *September* there is no ſafe riding at Anchor in this Road, by reaſon of the frequent Tempeſts; whereas on the Eaſtern-Coaſts of the *Indies*, in the Gulph of *Bengal* the Seaſon is very fair and calm all that Time; for, it is to be obſerved, that the Year here has only three Seaſons. In the Months of *February*, *March*, *April*, and *May* it is exceſſive hot; in *June*, *July*, *Auguſt*, and *September*, there is nothing elſe but Rain, with Thunder and Lightening; and the Months *October*, *November*, *December*, and *January* are cold, as far as is conſiſtent with that Climate.

9. *April* the 26th the Captain having ſent Advice of his Arrival, the chief Director of the *Engliſh* Company at *Surat*, ſent two young Merchants on Board to deſire us to come to *Surat*; ſo that after having teſtified my Acknowledgements to him for his many Civilities by a ſmall Preſent, I left the Ship the 29th, and no ſooner entered the River *Tape* or *Tynde*, upon which *Surat* lies, but we had a very agreeable Proſpect to many pleaſant Gardens and Summer-houſes all white, and ſurrounded with green Trees. It is ſo ſhallow at the Entrance, that it will ſcarce carry a Bark of ſeventy or eighty Tun. We landed near the Sultan's Palace, and from thence went ſtrait away to the Cuſtom-houſe to have our Things ſearched, which is done with ſo much Rigour here, that they ſpare not your Cloaths or Pockets; and what is worſe, the Sultan, nay, and chief Cuſtom-houſe Officers have a Cuſtom to oblige Strangers to part with any thing they like beſt at ſuch a Price as they pleaſe; accordingly the Sultan having ſeen an Amber-bracelet and a Diamond among my Things, would needs cheapen them both; but I telling him that I was no Merchant, and intended not to ſell them, but to keep them for the Sake of thoſe who had preſented them to me, I ſaved my Diamond, but he would needs take the Bracelet, under Pretence that he would reſtore it to me whenever I ſhould honour him with a Viſit.

By this Time the *Engliſh* Governor, having ſent his Coach, drawn by two white Oxen, I went to the Houſe belonging to their Company; at the Entrance of which I was received by the Director himſelf and his Deputy, one Mr. *Fleming*: As the Director underſtood *Dutch* very well, he accoſted me in that Language, telling me, that in ſuch a Country as this, he thought all Chriſtians were obliged to give Aſſiſtance one to another; but that to me he was obliged to do it more particularly, in return for the Affection I had expreſſed to ſome of his Countrymen at *Iſpahan*. Having returned the Compliment, I was conducted into a Room where a Collation was ready for me;

we were no ſooner ſat down, but having underſtood my Intention was to return to *Germany* within twelve Months, he invited me very engagingly to ſtay with him five or ſix Months, becauſe no more Ships would come into that Road this Year, adviſing me to ſpend what Time I had in viewing the Country, and offering his Recommendation to the *Engliſh* Merchants living in thoſe Places thro' which I was to paſs.

His engaging Expreſſions obliged me to chooſe my Chamber in the ſame Houſe next to that of the Deputy's; in the Evening ſeveral Merchants came thither to conduct me to Supper in a ſpacious Hall, where I found the Miniſter and about twelve Merchants more. After Supper the Miniſter brought me into an open Gallery, where we found the Director and his Deputy taking the Benefit of the cool Breezes of the Sea-Air, which was our ordinary Rendezvouz after Supper. At Dinner we had commonly fifteen or ſixteen Diſhes, beſides the Deſart. Every thing was carried on in this Houſe with extraordinary good Order and Decorum. We had Prayers every Day twice, and three Times on *Sundays*. On *Fridays*, after Evening-Prayers, we had a certain Club, where we drank our Wives and Friends Healths beyond the Seas in Sack or Punch, being a Mixture of *Aqua Vitæ*, Roſe-water, Juice of Citrons and Sugar. At our ordinary Meeting we, as well as the *Dutch*, were entertained with Tea, inſtead of which the *Perſians* uſe Coffee.

The *Engliſh* have a very fair Garden without the City, where we uſed to take a Walk on *Sundays* after Sermon, and oftentimes on other Days. Our Exerciſe was Shooting at the Butt; and I made a ſhift to get near five Pounds Sterling a Week among them. We ſeldom went away without a good Collation, and often bathed ourſelves in a Ciſtern which had five Foot Water. My chief Affliction was, that not underſtanding the *Engliſh* Tongue, I could not converſe with any of them to my Satisfaction, except with the Preſident, who ſpoke *Dutch*. But before I proceed to give you any farther Account of what I obſerved at *Surat*, and in my Voyage, it will not be beyond my Scope to give you a ſhort View of the Mogul's Country.

10. The Country which properly challenges the Name of *India* (called *Indoſtan* by the *Perſians* and *Arabians*) begins on the Weſt-ſide from the River *Indus* or *Hindo*, and reaches to the River *Ganges*. It was known among the Ancients by the Name of *Carmania*, and it hath a Haven called *Guader* in 25°. The *Perſians* and *Indoſtans* themſelves have given the Name of *Pangab*, *i. e.* five Waters, to the River *Indus*, becauſe it is joined by ſo many Rivers before it diſcharges itſelf into the Sea. The firſt is the River *Bugal* or *Begal*, whoſe Source is near *Kabul*; the ſecond is called *Chanab*, which riſes in the Province of *Quéſmir* or *Caſſimer*, fifteen Days Journey to the North above *Labor*; the third is that of *Ravy* or *Ravee*, which riſes not far from *Labor*, and runs by it; the two others, *viz.* the Rivers *Via* and *Oſuid*, have their Sources at a vaſt Diſtance, their Confluence being near *Bakar*, which lies at an equal Diſtance betwixt *Labor* and the Sea. Some Authors have confounded this River with that of *Diul*, and placed it at 24°. The vaſt Empire of the Great Mogul borders to the Eaſt upon the Kingdom of *Mavy*, to the Weſt upon Part of *Perſia*, and the South-Sea; on the North-ſide; it is encloſed by Mount *Caucaſus* and *Great Tartary*; and to the South it has the Kingdom of *Decan*, and the Gulph of *Bengal*. It comprehends in all thirty-ſeven Provinces, which anciently were as many Kingdoms. The Province of *Candahar*, which has given its Name to the Capital City, borders upon *Perſia* as the Province of *Cabul* has received its Name from its Metropolis, and borders upon *Great Tartary*. Here riſes the River *Begal*, of which before.

The Province of *Multan*, with its chief City of the ſame Name, extends along the River *Indus* to the Eaſt, as the Province of *Haca-Chan*, or *Hangi-Chan*, has the ſame River to the Weſt. *Bachar*, or *Buchar*, lies on both Sides of the River *Indus*. The Province of *Tatta* is a Congeries of many Iſlands made by the ſame River. *Soret* is a ſmall Province extending from the Sea-ſide to the Eaſt, as far as the Province of *Guzarat*. The Province of *Iſelmere* is encloſed betwixt the Provinces of *Soret*, *Bachar*, and *Tatta*. The Province of *Attach* is ſeated upon the River *Nibal*, and is by it divided from the Province of *Haca-Chan*; that of *Pangab* is the Chief of all the Kingdom: Its capital City is *Labor*. The Province of *Chiſmer*, or *Quexmer*, lies upon the River *Bezat*, or *Badt*, which after it has made a vaſt Number of Iſlands in this Province, joins its Current with the River *Ganges*. The Province of *Bankiſch* borders to the Eaſt upon that of *Chiſmer*, and the Province of *Jengopar*, or *Jemipar*, lies between the Cities *Labor* and *Agra*. The hilly Province of *Jenba*, or *Jamba*, borders to the Weſt upon that of *Pangab*. The Province *Delly* lies between that of *Jenba* and *Agra* on the River of *Gemini*, which falls into the *Ganges*; the capital City bearing the ſame Name with the Province, was formerly the Metropolis of all *Indoſtan*. The Province of *Bando* lies on the Weſt-ſide of the City of *Agra*.

The Province of *Malway*, or *Malwa*, has for its capital City *Ratapore*, within half a League of the River *Cepra*, which falls into the Sea in the Gulph of *Cambaja*. The Province of *Chitor* borders to the Eaſt upon that of *Candiſch*, and to the South upon that of *Guzurat*. It was formerly a very flouriſhing Kingdom, its Metropolis bearing the ſame Name with the Province, being ſixty Leagues in Compaſs, which was laid deſolate by the Great Mogul *Achobar*, Great-grandfather of Shah *Chiram*. The Province of *Guzarat* (called *Cambaja* by the *Portugueze*, from its capital City) where they drive a conſiderable Trade, is one of the nobleſt and moſt powerful Provinces in all the Mogul's Country. The Province of *Candiſch*, the Metropolis whereof is *Burſampour*, or *Brampour*, is divided into the Country of the Prince of *Partapha*, a Vaſſal of the Great Mogul, by the River *Tabet*, or *Tapte*, which diſembogues in the Gulph of *Cambaja*. The Province of *Berar* extends to the South to *Guzerat*, and the Mountain of *Rana*.

The Province of *Gualor*, or *Guallar*, is famous for the Tower, or Caſtle, whither the Mogul commonly ſends his Priſoners of State, and lays up Part of his Treaſure. The Province of *Agra*, and its Metropolis, claims now the Precedency before all the reſt. The Province of *Sambel*, or *Sandel*, is divided by the River *Gemini*, which falls into the *Ganges* from that of *Narvar*. At the Confluence of theſe two Rivers, near the City of *Hallebas*, they make a kind of Iſle, which has given the Name of *Doab*, *i. e.* *inter aquas* to this Province. The Province of *Bakor* extends along the weſtern Bank of the *Ganges*, as that of *Navor* is divided by a very large River, which joins its Current with the *Ganges*. The Province of *Nagracut*, or *Nakarkut*, is one of the moſt northern Provinces in the Mogul's Dominions; its chief City bears the ſame Name, where, in a ſumptuous Chapel, the Floor covered with Plates of Gold, is kept the Figure of a Monſter called *Matta*, unto which the *Indians* who flock thither from all Parts, offer a little Snip which they cut out of their Tongues. Near the City of *Kalamaka*, belonging to the ſame Province, ariſes a certain Spring out of the Rocks, which caſts forth Flames, and for that reaſon is reverenced by the Pilgrims that come thither from all Parts. The Province of *Siba* is famous for the Source of the River *Ganges*. Both this and the Province of *Makarkut* are very mountainous, as well as that of *Kakares*, which is divided from great *Tartary* by the Mountain *Caucaſus*.

The Province of *Gar*, which is alſo very mountainous, gives its Riſe from the River *Derſelis*, which joins its Current with the *Ganges*, as does the River *Kanda*, which divides the Province of *Pitan*, or *Partan*, bordering upon the Weſt upon that of *Jamba*. The Province of *Kanduana*, which, together with that of *Gor*, are the moſt northern Provinces of the Mogul's Dominions, extends on both Sides of the River *Inderalis*, the Province of *Perena* being encloſed between the four Rivers of *Ganges*, *Perſolis*, *Gemini*, and *Kandach*, is very fruitful. That of *Jewal* is famous only for its City called *Rajapour*, or *Rajapor*. The Province of *Meuat*, a barren Country, extends from the *Ganges* to the Eaſt. That of *Voeſſa*, or *Vozea*, is the uttermoſt Province in the Eaſt. The Province of *Bengal*, which imparts its Name to the Gulph in which the *Ganges* exonerates its Waters, challenges the firſt Place among all the reſt under the Mogul's Juriſdiction,

tion. It is ſubdivided into ſeveral Provinces, the chiefeſt of which are *Pula*, and *Palan*, which have formerly been dignified with the Title of Kingdoms. *Texeira* mentions a certain Province called *Utrat*, but gives us no more than the bare Name; and what he ſays of the Kingdom of *Caeche*, *viz.* that it lies near *Cambaya* to the North, and is famous for the excellent Breed of Race-horſes it produces, can be underſtood of no other than the Province of *Candiſch*.

The whole Extent of the Mogul's Territories is from Eaſt to Weſt 600 *French* Leagues, and from North to South 700, its uttermoſt Frontiers to the South being at 20°, and to the North 43°. The Province of *Guzarat* lies Weſtward along the Sea-ſide, in the Form of a Peninſula, having on each Side a Gulph, or Bay; one whereof is eight Leagues broad at the Entrance, and grows narrower and narrower for forty Leagues. Thence it is bounded to the North by the Provinces of *Soret*, *Quiſmer*, and *Bando*, to the Eaſt by thoſe of *Chitor* and *Bando*, and to the South by the Kingdom of *Decan*; tho' its Extent was much larger formerly, yet does it comprehend above 20,000 Cities, Towns and Villages, the chiefeſt whereof lying near the Sea-ſide, are *Surat*, *Broitchia*, *Gandeer*, *Goga*, *Cambaya*, *Diu*, *Patapatan*, *Mangelor*, *Gondore*, *Naſſary*, *Gandivi*, and *Balſara*. It has three noted Rivers, *viz.* the *Nadabat*, which paſſes near *Broitſchia*, the *Tapta*, and the *Waſet*; two of the beſt Harbours of the *Indies*, *viz.* that of *Surat*, and of *Cambaya*. For Fertility this Province may alſo challenge the Precedency before any of the *Indies*, moſt of the adjacent Provinces being ſupplied thence with Fruits and Proviſions. Tho' the great Drought in 1640, and the enſuing Rains did almoſt lay this Province deſolate, which however it has ſufficiently recovered ſince; but it is Time to return to our Relation.

11. The *Perſian* Servant, whom I had brought along with me from *Iſpahan*, being born of Chriſtian *Georgian* Parents, had given me ſome hopes of returning to the Chriſtian Faith, which was the Reaſon that I treated him with more than ordinary Civility, and allowed him four Crowns Wages *per* Month; but I was much ſurprized to underſtand that the young Fellow, in hopes of getting better Preferment by the Aſſiſtance of an Uncle of his, who was Maſter of the Horſe to the Great Mogul, was gone to *Agra*, and could not but be perſuaded that his Intention of leaving me thus on a ſudden, was in part to betray me into the Hands of the *Indians*, he being not ignorant of what had happened betwixt them and our People at *Iſpahan*; but I had afterwards great Reaſon to admire God's Providence in ſending him, as it were, on purpoſe thither to ſave me; for without him I had certainly been loſt at *Agra*, as will appear by the Sequel of this Relation.

In *May* we received News that the Khan of *Candahar* had revolted, and ſurrendered the Place to the Mogul, who had ſent five hundred thouſand Crowns as a Reward for him and the Garriſon. *June* the 16th we went a Hunting with a *Dutch* Merchant, and another *Engliſhman*, croſs the River to a Place called *Reneal*, where the *Dutch* have a Warehouſe, and being nobly treated there that Night, went the next Day to a Village called *Bodick*, where we killed divers wild Ducks, and a Hern; we ſaw alſo a great Number of Deer with gray Skins, but chequered all over with white Spots. Their Horns were very fair, and had ſeveral Brow Antlers; ſome were enclining to a dark brown, checquered likewiſe with white Spots, with very fine Horns, and of the Bigneſs of our Roe-bucks; ſome are of Opinion, that they are of the kind which produce the Bezoar.

All the Fields have a ſmall Dike raiſed about them here to keep in the Water, the Rice requiring abundance of Moiſture. Here we alſo drank ſome Liquor they draw out of the Palm-tree, by making an Inciſion in the Bark on the Top of the Tree, unto which they faſten an Earthen Veſſel, into which the Liquor diſtils; it is very ſweet, but ſoon turns ſour.

The City of *Surat* lies in 21° 42′ upon the River *Tapta*, which ariſing near *Barampour*, falls into the Sea four Leagues below *Surat*, which is built four-ſquare upon the very Banks of the River. It has no Fortifications on the River Side, but is provided with a good Stone Rampart on the Land-ſide, and the Caſtle is all of Free-ſtone. It has three Gates, one leading to the Village of *Briou*, the ſecond to *Barampour*, and the third to *Naſſary*. All the Houſes are flat on the Top, and have generally good Gardens. The Caſtle has no more than one Gate, which looks into the Great Market-place; not far thence is the Governor's Palace, and the Cuſtom-houſe. The Governor of the Caſtle has not the leaſt Dependance on the Sultan, whoſe Buſineſs is the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and to look after the Cuſtoms. All Merchandizes exported or imported pay three and an half *per Cent.* here, except Silver coined or uncoined, which pays no more than Two *per Cent.* Both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have very fair Houſes called Lodges, well provided with Chambers, Halls, and Galleries.

The Harbour of *Surat* is about two Leagues from the City, near the Village of *Subaly*, where Ships are unladen, and Commodities brought thence to *Surat* by Land-Carriage. The Haven lies in 21° 50′ upon the Courſe of North-Eaſt and South-Weſt; the Entrance is narrow, and at high Water not above ſeven Fathom deep, at low but five: The Harbour itſelf being not above five hundred Paces broad, a ſandy Bottom, with ſharp and ſteep Banks, which are almoſt dry at low Water; it is, however, ſafe anchoring here, there being no Danger but from the South-Weſt Wind, except from *May* to *September*, when there is no ſtaying here by reaſon of the furious Tempeſts. Moſt of the Inhabitants of *Surat* are either *Banjans*, *Bramins*, or *Moguls*; the laſt are more reſpected than the reſt, as being *Mohammedans*, and becauſe they always apply themſelves to Arms, as on the contrary, the *Banjans* make Traffick their chief Buſineſs, and are much addicted to Religion, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſay more hereafter.

Beſides theſe, ſome *Arabians*, *Perſians*, *Armenians*, *Turks*, and *Jews*, are Inhabitants here, but the moſt conſiderable of all Foreigners here are the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who have their Settlements, Directors, Merchants, and Clerks; eſpecially the *Engliſh*, who have made this the chief Place of their Trade in the *Indies*. All the other Factories they have at *Agra*, *Iſpahan*, *Muſilipatan*, *Cambay*, *Amadabat*, *Brodra*, and *Broitſchia*, having a Dependance on that of *Surat*, and are obliged to be accountable to their chief Director reſiding in this City; and there is ſcarce an *Engliſh* Ship, which either going, or coming into theſe Parts, does not touch at *Surat*. The Country round about this City is very delightful, being adorned with a vaſt Number of Gardens and Fruit-trees, and among the reſt, I obſerved hereabouts one of thoſe Trees, the Branches of which take Root afreſh in the Ground mentioned in the Deſcription of *Gambron*. Among other things, I ſaw a large Ciſtern of Free-ſtone, eight ſquare, having at each Angle a Pair of Stairs, and in the midſt of it a moſt ſumptuous Sepulchre, in which the Founder is buried; this Ciſtern is ſo large, that it ſupplies the whole City with Water.

About the 12th of *September* then the Tempeſt began to ceaſe, two *Engliſh* Ships arrived in the Port of *Surat*, called the *Diſcovery*, and the *Mary*, the firſt 1600 Tuns Burthen, 28 Guns, and 190 Men; and the ſecond of 1200 Tuns, carrying 48 Guns. We were very generouſly entertained aboard them for eight Days together, our conſtant Employment being to go aſhore every Day a Hunting, and to return on Board at Night. The 24th of the ſame Month arrived two other Ships, one a *Dutchman* of 1400 Tuns, bound from *Batavia* to *Holland*, the other an *Engliſh* Veſſel called the *Swan*. We were likewiſe very generouſly entertained on Board them, the *Dutch* Veſſel being both the biggeſt and the beſt contrived of any Ship that ever came out of *Holland*; with theſe, and ſuch like Divertiſements, I paſſed my Time pleaſantly enough at *Surat*: But underſtanding it would be ſeveral Months before the *Engliſh* would be ready for their Departure, I reſolved to take the Opportunity of a certain Caravan, ſent by the *Engliſh* to *Amadabat*, under a Convoy of ſome *Engliſh* Soldiers, to take a View of the Great Mogul's Court.

12. Thinking myſelf thus ſufficiently guarded againſt the *Raſhpoots*, I left *Surat* the laſt of *September*, and joining with the Caravan, we took our Way towards *Broitſchia*, croſſing the River at the Village of *Briu*. Four Leagues thence, we paſſed by *Callodera*, and afterwards by *Entreliſſer*, where we killed abundance of wild Ducks,

and other Water Fowl, as alſo Roe-bucks, Deer, and wild Boars being in ſuch Plenty thereabouts, that one need not be long in want of Proviſions, eſpecially at this Time, when we had a good Cook along with us. Before we came to *Broitſchia* we croſſed a deep but narrow River, and were no ſooner arrived, but the *Engliſh* Secretary invited us to Dinner. The City of *Broitſchia* lies in 21° 56′ twelve Leagues from *Surat*, and eight from the Sea-ſide, upon a River, which coming out of the Mountains, is the common Boundary betwixt the Kingdom of *Decan* and that of *Baldagat*.

As it is ſituate upon a ſteep Hill, and provided with Walls of Free-ſtone, it is accounted one of the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes in the *Indies*. It has two large Gates to the Land-ſide, and as many leſſer ones upon the River. All Merchandizes that paſs through it pay two *per Cent*. It is very well peopled, but for the moſt Part with Callicoe Weavers, who make the beſt here of any in the whole Province. The Fields for ſix or ſeven Leagues round the City are very flat, which, as well as the Mountains beyond them to the South-Weſt, called *Pindaſche*, are fertile in Rice, Barley, and Cotton. Theſe Mountains produce Abundance of Agate, which is ſo celebrated in *Europe*. Four Leagues below the City the River divideth itſelf into two Branches, which after they have made an Iſland of two Miles in Circumference, fall into the Sea by two different Channels, eight Leagues beyond *Broitſchia*. Upon the Way leading to *Cambaya* is the Village of *Janbayſar*, or *Jambouſar*, famous for the great Quantity of Indigo it produces. And in the Way to *Amadabat*, is to be ſeen the Sepulchre of a certain *Mohammedan* Saint, whither they come in Pilgrimage with Padlocks on their Mouths, and Chains on their Arms, till they have performed their Vows.

We left *Broitſchia* in the Evening, and travelled all that Night, and Part of the next Day, till the exceſſive Heat obliged us to ſeek Refreſhment near a ſtanding Pool, where we paſſed the Remainder of that Day, and Part of the Night following. The 17th of *October* we came to *Brodra*, where the *Engliſh* Merchants that belonged to our Caravan, and myſelf, were lodged, and moſt nobly entertained in the *Engliſh* Houſe, and among the reſt, had the Diverſion of Women Dancers, who being very curious to ſee my Cloaths made after the *German* Faſhion, would fain have had me ſtripped myſelf naked, offering to do the ſame, which I refuſing to do, they went away diſcontented at it. The City of *Brodra* is ſeated in a large ſandy Plain, upon a ſmall River called *Waſſet*, about 15 Leagues from *Broitſchia*. It was built of late Years by *Rajab-gi*, deſcended from Sultan *Mohammed Bergeran*, the laſt King of *Guzarat*, out of the Ruins of the old *Brodra*. It is indifferently well fortified after the old Way, and has five Gates, one whereof is dammed up. The City, but eſpecially the weſtern Suburbs, are for the moſt Part inhabited by Callicoe Weavers, Dyers, and other Workmen belonging to that Manufacture, which are made ſomewhat narrower here, and the Pieces ſhorter than at *Broitſchia*. The Governor of *Brodra* has no leſs than 120 Villages under his Juriſdiction, ſixty-five of which are aſſigned for the Payment of the Garriſon, and the other 135 allotted for Penſions to certain Officers belonging to the Mogul's Court, and by theſe Aſſignments his Officers are maintained.

Among theſe there is a Village called *Sindickera*, which produces every Year 25,000 Pounds of Lacque: This Lacque is a red Gum, which comes from a Tree reſembling our Plumb-tree, which being dried and beaten to Powder, they give it what Colour they pleaſe, and make it into Sticks, to ſeal Letters with, or for lacquering of Cabinets, &c. This Country affords alſo Abundance of Indigo. I went the ſame Day to rejoin the Caravan, which I found at a Corner of a Grove of Cocoa Trees, without the City, and one of the *Engliſh* Merchants of *Brodra* would needs accompany us as far as *Waſſet*, an old ruined Caſtle, upon a very high Mountain, where is kept a Garriſon of 100 Horſe, who are maintained out of the Cuſtoms paid there; but we having a Paſs from the Mogul, and conſequently not thinking ourſelves obliged to pay it, this occaſioned a Conteſt between them and us, which was very likely to have ended in a bloody Engagement; for we forcing our Way, and having croſſed the River, where we ſtaid that Night, they would have attacked us, but a *Dutch* Caravan coming to our Aſſiſtance, after the Exchange of ſome ſmall Shot, the Matter was compoſed, and the Garriſon forced to be contented with a Preſent of three Crowns. Thence we paſſed two Leagues and a half further through the Village of *Ammenygil*, and three Leagues and a half further, through that of *Sejuntra*, and ſo to the ſmall City of *Niriad*, or *Niriaud*, nine Leagues from *Brodra*.

13. *October* the 12th, after we had travelled 5 Leagues, and paſſed in our Way by *Canis*, *Batova*, and *Jaſſampour*, got ſafe to *Amadu*; but we were met in a Garden within half a League from that City by Mr. *Benjamin Roberts*, the chief Merchant of the Factory there, who carried me in his Coach drawn, after the *Indian* Faſhion, by two white Oxen, which were as full of Mettle as the beſt Horſes, into the City, ordering the two *Engliſh* Merchants that were my Fellow-travellers to wait there for the coming up of the Caravan. The *Engliſh* Factory is a very fair Structure, in the very Heart of the City, fitted with very convenient Apartments, and ſeveral Courts for the Diſpoſal of Merchandize. Mr. *Roberts* gave me a Collation in his own Chamber, which looked into a Flower-Garden, and was very richly furniſhed. We ſupped in a ſpacious Hall, where the *Dutch* head Factor, with ſome of his Merchants, came to pay us a Viſit.

After he was gone, I was conducted by the whole Company into my Lodging-room, which I had choſen myſelf. Mr. *Roberts* kept me Company there till Midnight, and to give me all imaginable Diverſion, ſent for ſix Women Dancers of the Country, telling me, if I liked any thing in them beſides their Singing and Activity, I might command it; which Civility I refuſed with a Complement. They were mightily taken with my Cloaths, and Hair, and would ſcarce be perſuaded that I was not a Woman in Diſguiſe. Two Days after my noble Hoſt carried me in his Coach to view the City. The Market-place is called *Meydan-ſhah*, or the Royal-market; it is at leaſt 1600 Feet long, and above 800 broad, planted all round with Palm and Date-trees, intermixed with Orange and Citron-trees, of which there is great Plenty in the Streets, the Sight, Smell, and Shadow whereof are very deſirable and pleaſant. There are beſides theſe four *Baſars*, or publick Places for the Sale of Merchandizes. Not far from the *Meydan* we ſaw a Houſe built of Brick, which is the King's Palace, the Apartments whereof were ſumptuouſly furniſhed and adorned with many Pictures, more remarkable for their Diverſity of Colours, than any Exactneſs of Proportion, according to the *Indian* Way. Over the Gate of this Palace was a large Balcony for the Muſick, conſiſting of Violins, Hautboys, and Bagpipes, to play there three times a Day, *viz.* in the Morning, at Noon, and Night, a Cuſtom obſerved in moſt of the *Mohammedan* Countries.

The Walls of the City were tolerably well built, with twelve Gates, and many Towers; but the Ditch, which is 16 Fathom broad, was ruined and dry in ſeveral Places. We took alſo a View of the Caſtle, which is very large, and built altogether of Free-ſtone. The chief Temple of the *Banjans* is one of the fineſt Structures that ever I ſaw, it being but lately built, and ſtands in the Centre of a vaſt Court, ſurrounded with a very high Wall of Free-ſtone, about which is Piazzas, divided into Cells, in each of which ſtands a Statue, either white or black, repreſenting a naked Woman ſitting with her Legs under her, according to the Eaſtern Faſhion. Some of theſe Cells have three Statues, *viz.* a great one betwixt two little ones. As ſoon as you enter the Temple, you ſee two Elephants of black Marble, done to the Life, and upon one of them the Effigies of the Founder, a rich *Banjan* Merchant, whoſe Name is *Santides*.

The Temple is vaulted, and the Walls adorned with Figures of Men and other living Creatures. There was not the leaſt Thing to be ſeen within this Edifice, except three Chapels, which were very dark, and were divided only by wooden Rails, wherein were placed Statues of Marble, like thoſe in the Cells, the middlemoſt having a

Lamp hanging before it. We ſaw the Prieſt buſy in receiving from ſuch as were performing their Devotions, and who preſented him with Flowers, Oil, Wheat and Salt; with the firſt he adorned the Images, his Mouth and Noſe being covered with a Piece of Callicoe, for fear of prophaning the Myſtery by the Impurity of his Breath; the Oil was intended for the Lamps; and the Wheat and the Salt for the Sacrifice. He muttered out certain Prayers over the Lamp, and ever and anon put his Hands in the Smoak of the Flame, out of an Opinion they have that Fire having a greater Power of purifying than Water, they may, after this Cleanſing, without Offence, lift up their Hands to God.

Amadabat, the Capital City of the Province of *Guzurat*, is ſeated upon a ſmall River, which, not far from thence, joins its Current with the River *Indus* at 23° 32′, eighteen Leagues from *Cambaya*, and forty-five from *Surat*. It comprehends in its Circuit (including the Suburbs) near ſeven Leagues. Its Streets are very ſpacious, its private Buildings and Moſques very noble, eſpecially the Governor's Houſe. The Mogul keeps conſtantly a good Garriſon here to bridle the *Badures*, a ſort of People living not above twenty-five Leagues diſtant thence, who make frequent Incurſions into the Country. It may be ſafely ſaid, that there is ſcarce any Nation in the World, or any Commodity in *Aſia* but may be ſeen in this City, where there is alſo a vaſt Manufacture of Silk and Callicoes, as alſo of gold and Siver Brocades, but they are ſlight and dear, which is the Reaſon the Inhabitants conſume moſtly *China* Silks, which are both finer and cheaper. At the Time of my being here they had invented a new kind of Stuff of Silk and Cotton with gold Flowers, which was ſold at five Crowns *per* Ell. They alſo deal much here in Sattins and Velvets, Taffeties, Carpets, Sugar candied, or in Powder, Cummin, Honey, Lacque, Opium, Borax, Ginger, Myrobalans or *Indian* Plumbs dried and preſerved, Preſerves of all Sorts, Salt Petre, Sal Armoniac, and Indico. They alſo ſell Diamonds here, which are brought thither from *Viſiapour*, and Ambergreece and Muſk, which they have from *Pegu*, *Bengal*, *Moſambique* and *Cabo-Verde*, and is ſold here for eight Crowns *per* Ounce.

Some would have the Ambergreece to be the Seed of the Whale congealed, but without the leaſt Probability; others would make it the Product of certain natural Mines like the Naphte, but with as little Likelihood of Truth, it being certain it is found no where but by the Sea-Side, and grows like our Muſhrooms in the Bottom of the Sea, whence it is torn off and caſt aſhore. *Peter Van Brouk* aſſures us, that, in his Time, there was found a Piece of Ambergreeſe at *Cabo-Verde*, near the Mouth of the River *Gambi*, which weighed eighty Pounds, of which he bought a Piece. The Muſk is, by the joint Opinion of all Naturaliſts, the Product of a certain Protuberance or Swelling, riſing about the Navel of a certain Animal, which ſome make only of the Bigneſs of a Fox, others like a Roe-Buck. Some call this Creature a Gazel. But the greateſt Conveniency of Taffick at *Amadabat* is, that the *Banjans* have a general Correſpondence in all Parts of *Aſia*, even to *Conſtantinople* itſelf, which makes Trading by Way of Exchange, both very eaſy and very advantageous. Add to this the Exemption from all Cuſtoms of Merchandizes exported or imported, the King's Receiver having no more than Fifteen-pence by Way of Preſent for every Waggon, and the Liberty allowed to all Strangers to deal in what Commodities they pleaſe, except that of the Exportation of Lead and Salt-Petre, without the Governor's Licence, is forbidden, which, however, is obtained by a ſmall Preſent.

The City of *Amadabat* having under its Juriſdiction twenty-five large Towns and 2998 Villages, its yearly Revenue amounts to above ſix Millions of Crowns, which the Governor diſpoſes of in maintaining a certain Number of Soldiers for the King's Service, and for clearing the Highways, which are very unſafe hereabouts. The Cotteval, or his Deputy, commands under him, and has the Adminiſtration, as well of the Government as of the Courts of Juſtice, in Conjunction with the Kadi, or Judge of the Place. Among divers noted Sepulchres which are near the City, is that of a certain Kadi, built by a King of *Guzurat*, in the Village *Zirkees*, a League and an half from the City. The whole Structure is of Marble, being ſuſtained by an hundred and forty Pillars thirty Foot high, with in which are to be ſeen the Tombs of three Kings that were buried there: At the Entrance of it is a large Ciſtern full of Water, the Wall about it having ſeveral Windows on all Sides; and about a League thence there is a fair Garden and Houſe, the Work of the Mogul, built in Memory of a Victory obtained by him over the laſt King of *Guzarat*. About a League and a half on the other Side the City, we were ſhewed another Sepulchre, erected in Memory of a certain *Moor*, a rich Merchant, named *Hajam Majom*, who, being in love with his own Daughter, and having by fraudulent Means obtained the Kadi's Conſent, would have married his Daughter; but ſhe refuſing to comply, he raviſhed her, for which he had his Head cut off; whence it is called to this Day *Betti Chuit*, *i. e.* the Daughter's Shame diſcovered.

A little Way without the City of *Amadabat*, you may diſcover the vaſt Mountains of *Marva*, extending above ſeventy Leagues towards *Agra*, and above an hundred towards *Ouyou*, where the Rajah *Rana* had his Reſidence in the Caſtle of *Gurchitto* among the inacceſſible Rocks; ſo that the joint Forces of the Mogul and the King of *Pattan*, were ſcarce able to reduce it. The *Pagan Indians* retain ſtill a great Veneration for that Prince, who, as they ſay, was able to bring 120,000 Horſe into the Field. In the Mountain betwixt *Amadabat* and *Trappe* lives ſuch another Prince, who by reaſon of the Inacceſſableneſs of the Woods and Deſarts, maintains his Sovereignty againſt the Mogul; and the Rajah *Inder*, tho' he is his Vaſſal, yet oftentimes refuſes to execute his Commands. Among many noble Gardens which are about this City, that of *Shab-bag*, or the King's Gardens in the Suburbs, called *Bogampour*, claims the Precedency, being encloſed with a noble Wall, within which ſtands a moſt beautiful Summer-houſe richly furniſhed.

I paſſed thence over a very fine Stone-bridge, four hundred Paces in Length, into another Garden called *Nicoinabag*, *i. e.* the Jewel, which, they ſay, is the Work of a beautiful rich Lady. The Houſe, as well as the Garden, is not ſo remarkable for their Bigneſs, as the moſt admirabe Proſpect it has from the Deſcent on which it lies into a fine champaign Country. It has a very large Fiſh-pond, which, during the Winter-ſeaſon, is ſupplied with Water by the Rains; but, in the Summer, it is filled out of certain deep Wells, the Water of which is drawn up by Engines turned by Oxen. You can ſcarce ever come into this Garden but you will find ſome Ladies bathing themſelves there: They would not allow the *Indians* to ſee them, but gave us the Liberty to come in and talk with them. The whole Country round *Amadabat*, and the City itſelf, is ſo full of Gardens and Trees that, at a Diſtance, it reſembles a great Foreſt. There is among other remarkable Things here, a Walk planted with a double Row of Cocoa-trees on each Side, which reaches to a Village ſix Leagues from the City; but that which reaches from *Agra* to *Barampour* is an hundred and fifty Leagues in Length, and ſurpaſſes this beyond all Compariſon.

Theſe vaſt Numbers of Trees are the Receptacles of Multitudes of Apes, ſome of which are as big as Greyhounds, yet will rarely aſſault any body unleſs provoked. They are generally of a brown Colour, inclining to a green, having white long Beards and Eyebrows. They multiply beyond what can be imagined; becauſe the *Banjans*, who are more numerous than the *Mohammedans*, believing the Tranſmigration of the Soul, and looking upon theſe Creatures as having the greateſt Reſemblance in all Reſpects to Mankind, are ſo far from killing them that they cheriſh them. Hence it is that you ſhall ſee the Apes come in great Numbers into Peoples Houſes; for at one time I remember, I counted no leſs than fifty in the *Engliſh* Lodge, and I uſed to give ſome Almonds and Dates to two or three of them, which made them duly attend every Morning at my Chamber-door, in Expectation of their Breakfaſt, which they would take out of my Hand; ſometimes I uſed to catch hold of one, which made the reſt ſmarle till I had let go their Companion.

The Trees alſo harbour abundance of Wild-Fowl, and an incredible Number of Parrots of all Kinds, the biggeſt of which are called *Indian* Crows, being all white, or of a Cream-colour, with a Tuft of Feathers of a Carnation-colour on the Head: They are ſo common all over the *Indies* that they build their Neſts under the Eaves of the Houſes as our Swallows do: But the leſſer ſort of Parrots build their Neſts in the Woods on the Extremity of the Top-branches of the Trees; and though they do much Miſchief to the Fruits and Rice, the *Banjans* look upon it as a Crime to hinder them from eating it. They do the like as to the Wild-Ducks, Herons, and Cormorants, of which there are abundance in this River. Having had Occaſion to ſpeak of them before, I will only add in this Place, that they ſwallow Muſſels till they open through the Heat of the Stomach, and caſt them out again to eat the Fiſh. This Country likewiſe abounds in all kinds of Wild-Fowl and Veniſon, but Fallow-Deer, Roe-Bucks, Wild-Aſſes, Wild-Boars and Hares are in vaſt Plenty here. And as they are ſufficiently ſtored with tame Creatures, ſuch as Buffaloes, Oxen, Cows, and Sheep; and the River furniſhes them with Fiſh in abundance. I ſcarce know any Place in the World where a Man may indulge himſelf with more Eaſe than here.

The only Thing they want is Wine, inſtead of which they generally make uſe of the Liquor of the Cocoa-tree; and their Water is moſt excellent; beſides that, out of Rice, Sugar, and Dates, they make a kind of *Aqua Vitæ*, which exceeds that made in *Europe*. But as they are ſufficiently furniſhed with beneficial Creatures, ſo they have their Share of others that are as miſchievous. Crocodiles are found here in abundance, which often ſurprize Men in the River, where they lie lurking among the high Graſs. I am poſitive, that thoſe in the Ditches of *Pegu* were of above thirty Foot long; they did ſo much Miſchief, that ſcarce a Day paſſed but ſome or other were killed by them; notwithſtanding which, the *Banjans*, who believe that ſuch as are devoured by them go ſtraitway to Paradiſe, will not deſtroy them. The King having ordered one in particular, which did more Miſchief than all the reſt, to be killed, they found a Woman with all her Cloaths in his Belly. They lay about thirty Eggs, which they cover in the Sand, where being hatched, they kill moſt of their young ones, without which they would multiply infinitely.

Johnſton tells us, that near *Panama*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, are Crocodiles of an hundred Foot in Length; but I will ingeniouſly confeſs, I ſaw none that were above twelve or fifteen Foot long; the Scales on their Back being Muſket-Proof, they muſt be wounded in the Belly. This Country produces alſo abundance of Serpents and Snakes, and, among the reſt, ſome with two Heads, as they told me, though, I muſt confeſs, I never ſaw any of them, which has induced me to believe that this Error has been introduced by ſuch as have ſeen Serpents, that, contrary to the Nature of Reptiles, were as big towards the Tail as towards the Head. The Woods are likewiſe full of Lions, Leopards, Tigers, and Elephants; but the moſt troubleſome Creatures all over the *Indies*, are a certain kind of Bats, as big as our Crows, nay, ſome of our Hens, which oblige the Country-People to keep conſtant Watch in their Gardens.

The City of *Amadabat* is obliged to maintain out of its Revenues 1200 Horſe, and fifty Elephants, under the Command of their Sultan, who has the Quality of Rajah, or a Prince annexed to his Dignity. *Areb-Khan*, a Perſon of ſixty Years of Age, was Governor of this City at that Time, and, as I was credibly informed, had amaſſed a Treaſure equal in Value to fifty Millions of Crowns. Not long before my Arrival his Daughter was married to the Mogul's ſecond Son, when her Father, at her Departure, ſent her with an Equipage of twenty Elephants, and one thouſand Horſe to Court, beſides ſix thouſand Waggons laden with Riches. His Attendants conſiſted of five hundred Perſons, four hundred of which were his Slaves: The Expence of his Houſe-keeping amounted to five hundred Crowns a Month, not including his Stables, where he maintained conſtantly five hundred Horſes and fifty Elephants for his own Uſe. The chief of his Attendants were generally ſumptuouſly clad, though himſelf ſeldom wore any thing but Callicoe, except when he appeared in publick, when he was carried in a rich Chair of State upon an Elephant, being attended by a Guard of two hundred Men, with many *Perſian* Led-Horſes, and Standards, and Banners before him.

14. *October* the 18th I went with an *Engliſh* Merchant to pay a Viſit to the Khan, whom we found in a Tent looking into a Garden. Having underſtood from the Merchant that Curioſity only had led me into that Country, he aſked my Age, and I having told him, that I was twenty-four Years old, three of which I had already ſpent in travelling, he wondered at my going Abroad ſo young, as well as at my Habit, which I ſtill wore after the *German* Faſhion. After an Hour's Diſcourſe, I was entertained with a very noble Dinner, ſerved up after the *Perſian* Way, and at parting, he was pleaſed to tell me in the *Turkiſh* Language, which I had told him I underſtood pretty well, *Senni dabe kurim, i. e. We ſhall ſee you again.* Being encouraged by this obliging Invitation, we went the 20th a ſecond Time, when having changed my Cloaths to the Mode of the Country, I found him very well pleaſed with it. We found him in the ſame Place, buſy in diſpatching ſome Orders, and taking a View of certain Companies of Horſe and Foot, which made us take our Leave of him; but he would needs make us ſtay to Dinner with him.

His Diſcourſe ran much upon Shah *Sefi*, concerning whom he aſked me ſeveral Queſtions, and eſpecially whether he ſtill continued his Cruelties? Unto which I having anſwered, that his Age had moderated much of his youthful extravagant Temper, he replied, that Tyranny and Cruelty was an Inheritance, derived from his Grandfather *Abas*, and that was the only Reaſon why lately the Khan of *Candahar* had put himſelf under the Mogul's Protection. He then was for exaggerating the prodigious Wealth of the Mogul, in compariſon with that of *Perſia*, aſking my Sentiments upon that Score. Unto which I replied, that it muſt be confeſſed, that the Wealth I had ſeen in the Great Mogul's Country, was without Compariſon much greater than what could be expected in *Perſia*; but that on the other hand, it muſt be acknowledged, that *Perſia* had one thing which was to be valued above all the Riches of the World, *viz.* that great Number of brave *Kiſilbachs*, with whoſe Aſſiſtance he might be able to conquer all *Aſia*. Knowing the Khan to be a *Kiſilbach* by Deſcent, out of the Province of *Schirvan*, I ſaid this on Purpoſe to pleaſe his Fancy, which took ſo well with him, that he not only agreed to what I ſaid, but alſo told ſome of his Officers that ſtood hard by him, I believe this young Gentleman is brave, becauſe he ſpeaks ſo advantageouſly of thoſe that are ſo.

After Dinner we took our Leave of the Khan, who would have ſtaid us, and given us the Entertainment of the Women Dancers; but he being called aſide about earneſt Buſineſs, and we not very eager to ſee more of what we had ſeen ſo often before, we returned his Offers with a Complement. For the reſt, the Governor was a Perſon of extraordinary Judgment, but very rigorous in his Government. One Day, having invited the two chief Directors of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Factories to Dinner, and deſirous to give them the Diverſion of the Women Dancers, they came accordingly, who, according to the Cadence of the Hautboys and Timbrels, danced with great Activity through Hoops, with great variety of Poſtures; which done, he ſent for another Band, but theſe being employed elſewhere in the City, ſent an Excuſe, that being ſick they could not come; but the Khan not thus contented, ſent a ſecond time, ordering his Servants to bring them along with him, who returning without them, upon the ſame Pretence, he ordered them to be cudgelled immediately. Theſe poor Wretches finding themſelves in ſuch Danger, caſt themſelves at the Khan's Feet, acknowledging, that it was not any Sickneſs, but the Hopes of Lucre, that had made theſe Women refuſe to obey his Commands, at which he laughed; but inſtantly ſent ſome of his Guards to fetch them, who no ſooner had brought them into the Room, but he ordered their Heads to be cut off immediately, which was executed in an Inſtant. The Governor perceiving that the Strangers were ſtartled at his Severity, fell a laughing, and told them, that if he did not by ſuch Examples maintain his Authority, he ſhould not be long Governor of *Amadabat.*

15. *October* the 21ſt I left *Amadabat*, in the Company of a young *Engliſh* Merchant, and travelled that Day to the Garden of *Tſchirbag*. The 22d we made ſeven Leagues to the Village of *Surguntra*; and the 23d five Leagues further to *Cambaya*, where I was very well accommodated at the Houſe of a certain *Mohammedan*, the *Engliſh* Head Factor being from home. The City of *Cambaya* lies ſixteen Leagues from *Broitſchia*, upon ſandy Grounds near the River, which makes there a very great Bay, into which the River *May* diſcharges itſelf. The Haven is none of the beſt; for though at high Water there be ſeven Fathom Depth, yet at low Tide the Ships are almoſt ſwallowed up in Sand and Mud. It has a Wall of Free-ſtone, with twelve Gates, large Houſes, ſtrait and very broad Streets, and is ten Leagues in Compaſs. The Inhabitants are *Pagans*, *Banjans*, and *Raſhpoots*, the laſt of whom apply themſelves to the Exerciſe of Arms, as the *Banjans* do to Commerce. Their chief Trade is at *Achin*, *Diu*, *Goa*, *Mecca*, and into *Perſia.*

Taking a Walk out of the City, I ſaw there, among ſeveral other very curious Gardens, one, that for its Situation and Proſpect to the Sea, and into the faireſt champaign Country that could be to the Land-ſide, deſerves the Precedency of any that ever I ſaw before. It was ſurrounded by a very high Wall, which had within its Compaſs two very fine Structures, and in the midſt of the Garden was a Sepulchre of a *Mohammedan*, who was the Founder of it. Whilſt I was contemplating the Tomb, ſome *Engliſh* Merchants came in to reprove me for the Affront I had put upon them, as they interpreted it, of preferring a *Mohammedan* Houſe before theirs to lodge in; and as a Reparation, aſked me to go along with them the next Morning to a Place where an *Indian* Widow was to burn herſelf; her Huſband, who was a *Raſhpoot*, having been killed two hundred Leagues from thence.

We went accordingly to the Place of this voluntary Execution near the River-ſide, where we ſaw the Woman, who was ſcarce twenty Years of Age, coming up with ſo chearful Countenance as is ſcarce to be imagined. It is to be obſerved, that the Governor, who was a *Mohammedan*, and conſequently would willingly aboliſh this barbarous Cuſtom of the *Pagans*, had for a long Time oppoſed her Reſolution, under a Pretence that her Huſband's Death might be uncertain at ſo great a Diſtance, in hopes that Time might have changed her Reſolution; but finding her immoveable, he gave at laſt his Conſent. In the Front of the Proceſſion marched the Muſick, conſiſting of Hautboys and Timbrels; theſe were followed by a great Number of Maids and Women dancing and ſinging before the Widow, who was dreſſed in her beſt Apparel, and had many Rings and Bracelets on her Fingers, Arms and Legs: In the Rear came a confuſed Multitude of Men, Women, and Children. She had waſhed herſelf before in the River, and coming near the Funeral Pile, which was made of the Wood of Apricock-trees mixed with ſome Sanders and Cinamon, ſhe ſtopped a little, and looking over it with a great deal of Careleſſneſs, took her laſt Farewel of her Kindred and Friends. I was very near on Horſeback, and ſhe perceiving perhaps by my Countenance that I had Compaſſion of her, ſhe caſt me one of her Bracelets, which I keep to this Day, diſtributing the reſt among her Friends. So ſoon as ſhe had placed herſelf on the Pile, and perceiving that they had ſet Fire to it, ſhe poured a Veſſel full of perfumed Oil over her Head, which the Fire taking hold of, burnt her to Aſhes immediately, without ſhewing the leaſt Sign of Reluctancy, whilſt all there preſent filled the Air with their Shouts and Acclamations.

This Cuſtom, it ſeems, was firſt introduced into the *Indies*, to prevent the Jealouſy of the Women created by Poligamy, which had this diſmal Effect, that they uſed frequently to poiſon their Huſbands, it having been found by Experience, that in one Year there uſed to be four Men buried to one Woman; to prevent which, it was thought convenient, that a certain Law ſhould be introduced for all Women that would be accounted honeſt, to accompany their Huſbands at their Deaths, as the only Way to make them careful of their Lives; yet was no Puniſhment inflicted upon ſuch as did not think fit to comply with this rigorous Impoſition, except that they were looked upon as infamous ever after.

This Ceremony being over, I paid a Viſit to *Myrſabeg*, one of the chief *Mohammedan* Merchants in that City, unto whom I delivered the Letter of Recommendation from the Director of the *Engliſh* at *Amadabat*. As he underſtood that Language, ſo he complemented me with all imaginable Expreſſions of Civility, endeavouring to perſuade me to remain for ſome time at *Cambaya*, and proffering his Service in every thing that might tend to my Satisfaction. Whilſt I was returning his Civilities, came up to us the King's Lieutenant, or Deputy-Governor, who, with a very engaging Air, entreated me to make him a Viſit, which I promiſed to do. I went home, and had ſcarce eat my Dinner, when the before-mentioned Merchant ſent me two Sheep, twelve Capons and Pullets, beſides ſome Fruits, and a fine Veſſel of *Agat*. I ſent back the Bearer with a ſmall Preſent, telling him, that I would return my hearty Thanks to his Maſter the next Day; but I was ſcarce got out of my Bed, when he came and told me, that the Fear of parting with me without taking his Leave, had made him come ſo early. I thanked him, and as a Pledge of the good Will I bore him, preſented him with a very fine *Engliſh* Pocket Piſtol, which he at firſt refuſed to accept, excuſing himſelf, that it was not handſome to receive a Preſent from a Stranger, were it not that his Refuſal might be miſinterpreted by me to his Diſadvantage; upon which Score he could not forbear to accept of what I had been pleaſed to beſtow upon him with ſo much Kindneſs.

I thought fit to make particular mention in this Place of theſe Civilities, to convince the World that Barbariſm, which the *Indians* are ſo often branded with by ſome Authors, is not ſo deeply rooted among them, but that they underſtand and practiſe Civility as well as ſome other Nations, who challenge the Preference upon that Account before all others, but fall ſhort in that Sincerity which is natural to the *Indoſtans*, who are as good Friends to thoſe to whom they have promiſed their Friendſhip, as they are irreconcilable to their Enemies. I cauſed a Box of Beetle to be preſented to the Merchant, a Drug as commonly uſed in the *Indies*, as Snuff is in *Europe*, of which he having taken a little, took his Leave. Soon after, as I was going to call at the Deputy-Governor's Houſe, I met him in the Street in his Coach, and he no ſooner eſpied me, but he obliged me to go back with him to his Houſe, built in one of the moſt pleaſant Parts of the City; he treated me with ſome Beetle, and ſome Palm-Wine, and ſent one of his Servants to give Orders at the Gates to let me paſs unmoleſted, without paying any Cuſtoms.

I ſtaid not above half an Hour, and immediately proceeded on my Journey; but being pretty late before I could reach *Serguntra*, the *Banjans*, who burn no Lights for fear of hurting the Flies, or other Inſects, would not open the Shops to ſell us Forage for our Beaſts, being a certain Paſte of Sugar, Meal, and ſome Butter, which is uſed here for want of Oats and Hay; but at laſt were prevailed on to let us have ſome, becauſe we threatened to break open their Shops. We travelled five Leagues the next Day before Noon to a great Village, where having baited our Beaſts, we continued our Journey to the Garden of *Tſchirbag*.

This Garden, which we had occaſion to mention before, is looked upon as one of the moſt conſiderable of all the Empire, not only in reſpect of its noble Buildings, and the vaſt Quantity of excellent Fruits, but eſpecially for the Conqueſt of *Guzarat*, in Memory of which it was founded; and thence has got the Name of *Tſchirbag*, *i. e.* the Garden of Victory. The Walks of this Garden are planted with Fruit-trees, ſuch as Oranges, Citrons, Pomegranates, Dates, Almonds, and Mulberry-trees; beſides many of theſe that bear Mangoes, Cocoas, and ſome that were unknown to us. Having taken a ſhort View of it whilſt our Beaſts were baiting, we continued our Journey, and came that Night to *Amadabat*. We were not a little troubled in the Way by Apes, of whom I ſhot two with my Piſtol, which ſo incenſed the reſt, that about twenty of the largeſt

Size purſued us about half a League, and by their odd Looks gave us to underſtand that they were ready to do us any Miſchief, if they durſt approach us.

16. At *Amadabat* I met with a Caravan of *Engliſh* and *Banjan* Merchants bound for *Agra*, and being recommended to them by the Director of the *Engliſh* Factory of *Amadabat*, I ſet out with them the 28th of *October*. We met in five Days Journey with no more than one Village worth mentioning called *Paingot*, and came the 6th Day after our ſetting out of *Amadabat* to the ſmall City of *Heribath*, fifty Leagues thence; it is without Walls or Gates, which have been deſtroyed by the famous Conqueror *Tamerlane*, as well as the adjacent Caſtle, the Ruins of which are to be ſeen near a high Mountain.

Betwixt this City and that of *Damtiges*, which is fifty Leagues from *Heribath*, we met a Caravan of *Banjan* Merchants, who told us, that they had been ſet upon by two hundred *Raſhpoots*, who had forced them to pay a hundred Rupees; upon which we ordered our Waggons to be faſtened together, and diſpoſed our Guards in ſuch a manner as we thought might make them moſt ſerviceable; neither was it long before we got Sight of fifty of the ſame Gang that were ſent without Queſtion to view us; but finding us too well guarded, let us go unmoleſted. We travelled fifty Leagues farther before we came to the Village of *Suedeck*, which has a ſtrong old Caſtle. As we were travelling in a Bottom ten *Raſhpoots* ſurprized ſome of our Waggons that were got about ſix hundred Paces before the reſt, and wounded two *Banjans*; but two of our Guards being ſent to their Relief, the Robbers were forced to betake themſelves to their Heels, and to leave the Booty behind them.

After this Rencounter we met with no farther Diſaſter, and arrived ſafely at *Agra*, where I was received with the ſame Civility by the *Engliſh* as I had been in all other Places through which I had paſſed. The City of *Agra* is, without Compariſon, the nobleſt of all *Indoſtan*, and the ordinary Reſidence of the Great Mogul. It is ſeated in 28° on this Side of the Line, in the Province of *Indoſtan*, upon the River *Gemini*, which joins its Waters with the *Ganges*, above the Kingdom of *Bengal*. It being twice as big as *Iſpahan*, a Man can ſcarce ride round it on Horſeback in a whole Day. Its Fortifications are of red Free-ſtone, and the Ditch is above thirty Fathom broad; the Streets are fair and large, there being ſome vaulted, which are a Mile in Length, and are furniſhed with Shops of all ſorts of Trades, each of which have their peculiar Streets and Quarters aſſigned them. It contains fifteen Meydans and Baſars, the moſt ſpacious of which is before the Caſtle; in the midſt of it ſtands a high Pole, where the Mogul himſelf ſhoots ſometimes at a Wooden Parrot faſtened to the Top of it. Eighty Caravanſeras are appointed for the Reception of Foreign Merchants and their Merchandizes; they are provided with noble Apartments, and convenient Shops, Vaults, Stables, and other Conveniences.

As the Mogul and the chiefeſt of his Court are *Mohammedans*, ſo there are a vaſt Number of Moſques throughout the City, of which ſeventy are remarkable for their Bigneſs, and ſix of them appointed for their Devotions on Holy Days; theſe laſt they call *Matſchidadine*. In one of theſe they ſhew you the Sepulchre of a certain Saint named *Scander*, of the Poſterity of *Aly*, and in another the Tomb of a Giant Saint, being thirty Feet in Length, and fifteen in Breadth. This Tomb is ſurrounded on all Sides with little Banners, or Flags, as ſo many Tokens of his heroick Atchievements; whence it is, that his Sepulchre is frequented by a vaſt Number of Pilgrims, who bring thither daily their Offerings, out of which, and the ordinary Revenue belonging to it, are maintained ſuch a vaſt Number of Poor, that in thoſe Reſpects it is not inferior to the Sepulchre of Sheik *Sefi* at *Ardebil*.

Theſe Moſques, with their adjacent Courts, are ſo many Sanctuaries both in criminal and civil Caſes, the Mogul himſelf never preſuming to take any Criminal, tho' never ſo great an Offender, thence, out of a Veneration all the *Mohammedans* have for their Saints. In the City of *Agra* are above eight hundred publick Baths, which pay a conſiderable Sum yearly to the Mogul; for as Purification is one of the main Ingredients of the *Mohammedan* Religion, ſo theſe Baths are daily frequented by a vaſt Number of People. The great Lords of the Court, who bear the Title of Rajas, or Princes, have many of them, very fine magnificent Houſes both within and without the City, where the King alſo has many Gardens and Summer-houſes to retire to upon Occaſion, with the Women Dancers, who dance before him ſtark naked.

17. But his Palace, which ſtands upon the River *Gemini*, and is four Leagues in Compaſs, ſurpaſſes all that I ever ſaw of that kind before or ſince. It is ſurrounded with a Wall of Free-ſtone, and a broad Ditch, having a Draw-bridge at each Gate; the Gate at the Weſt Side leading to the *Baſar* is called *Ciſtei*; under this Gate is kept the Court of Judicature, and in an adjoining ſpacious Hall the Prime Vizier, or Lord-Chancellor, diſpatches all Matters relating to Civil Affairs, where the Original Records are kept. Immediately within this Gate you come into a very ſpacious Street, with Shops on both Sides, leading directly to the Mogul's Palace, the Gate of which is called *Achobarke Deſwage*, i. e. King *Achobar*'s Gate, through which all the great Lords of the Court, except the King's Sons, are obliged to go in on Foot; this being the Quarter where the dancing and ſinging Women are lodged.

There is another Gate leading to the River, where the Mogul every Morning pays his Devoirs to the Sun at his riſing. It is on that Side that great Men pay their Reſpects to the King from a certain Eminency, where the King can take particular Notice of them. The Commanders of Horſe alſo ſtand on that Side, but at a great Diſtance, at a Place where the Mogul ſees the Engagements every Day betwixt Lions, Elephants, Bulls, *&c.* except *Fridays*, a Day dedicated to their Devotions. There is alſo another Gate, which brings you into the Guard-Hall; through this Hall is a Paſſage into a paved Court, at the farther End of which you ſee a Row of Silver Pillars under a Piazza, where is kept another Guard to prevent the common People from entering. Here I met with my *Perſian* Servant who had left me at *Surat*, he offered me all the Service he was able to do me, and would fain have brought me within theſe Pillars, but that the Guards would not permit it; this being the ready Way to the Mogul's Apartment, where is a Row of Golden Pillars of a leſſer Size, and within them the Royal Throne of maſſy Gold, enriched with Diamonds, Pearls, and precious Stones; and above it a Gallery, where the Mogul appears every Day at a certain time to hear and determine the Complaints of his Subjects: But this Trial is ſo dangerous, that if you do not prove the Matter of Fact by undeniable Evidence, you run the Hazard of your Life.

None but the King's Sons, who fan him, and keep off the Flies, are admitted within the Compaſs of thoſe Golden Pillars; neither is any other Perſon admitted into the innermoſt Parts of the Mogul's Lodgings, except the Eunuchs, who being one thouſand two hundred in Number, wait on the Ladies of the Seraglio. There is another Apartment in the Caſtle very remarkable for its Tower, which is covered with Gold, and the Treaſure it contains, having eight large Vaults filled with Gold, Silver, precious Stones, the Value of which is ineſtimable. I had it from very knowing and very worthy Perſons, that Shah *Choram*, who reigned in my Time, had a Treaſure which amounted to one thouſand five hundred Millions of Crowns. I had from the ſame Hands an exact Inventory communicated to me of the Treaſure which was found at the Death of Shah *Achbbar* his Grandfather, which I will faithfully communicate to the Reader.

An Inventory of the Treaſure of Achobar *(See* Akbar *in the Hiſtory of the* Mogul Emperors) *at the Time of his Deceaſe.*

	Crowns.	Pence.
In certain ſorts of Money coined by the ſpecial Order of the ſaid *Achobar* - - - - -	148,790,000	
In another kind of Money, called from his Name, *Achobar Ropies*	50,000,000	
In another ſort of Money, called *Payſes*, ſixty whereof make a Crown - - -	383,333	10
In Diamonds, Rubies, Emeralds, Saphires, Pearls, and other precious Stones - - -	30,026,026	
In Statues of Gold of divers Creatures - - - -	9,503,370	30
In Houſhold-ſtuff, Gold-Plate, as Diſhes, Cups, *&c.* - -	5,866,895	5
In Braſs and Copper Utenſils - -	25,612	30
In Purcelain, or *China* Ware, and other Earthen-Veſſels, to the Value of - - - -	1,253,873	30
In Brocades, and other gold and ſilver Stuffs, and in Silk and Calicoes - - - -	7,654,989	30
In Woolen-Cloths - - -	251,626	
In Tents, Hangings, and Tapeſtry - - - -	4,962,772	30
Twenty-four thouſand Manuſcripts richly bound, valued at - -	3,231,865	30
In Artillery and Ammunition - -	4,287,985	30
His Magazine of Small-Arms, Swords, Bucklers, Pikes, Bows, Arrows, *&c.* - - -	3,777,752	30
In Saddles, Bridles, and other Gold and Silver Accoutrements to the Value of - - -	1,262,824	
In Covering-Cloths for Horſes and Elephants, embroidered with Gold, and Silver, and Pearls - - - -	2,500,000	
All which together amounts to	274,113,793	15

This, tho' in itſelf an immenſe Sum, yet falls very ſhort of fifteen hundred Millions, which is eſteemed the Amount of the Mogul's Treaſure at preſent. Neither is it at all improbable that it may be ſo; for though it may be true, that the ordinary Revenue of the Crown is not conſiderably encreaſed, yet by the rich Preſents made annually at ſtated Times by his Grandees, and his being Heir-general to all the Officers in his Service throughout his extenſive Empire, there is no Doubt that the groſs Amount of his Receipts muſt be exceedingly augmented ſince that Time.

As there is no Inheritance of Eſtates belonging to the Children of great Perſons, ſo they can claim no Share in their Fathers Dignity. The Title of Rajah being no more inheritable there than that of the Khan's in *Perſia*, the only Advantage they have is, that they are entruſted with leſſer Charges by the Mogul, till, by their Merits, they can raiſe themſelves to the higheſt Dignity. The chiefeſt Officers of the Court are the Vizir, or Prime Miniſter, the chief of the Eunuchs, or Lord High Steward of the Treaſury, Principal Secretary of State, General of the Elephants, and Surveyor of the Houſhold-Stuff, Tents, and Jewels. Theſe are conſtant Members of the Mogul's Privy Council, unto which is alſo ſometimes called the Couteval, who is both Chief Juſtice, and Commander in chief of the Mogul's Guards. The Council commonly ſits in the Night-time from ſeven till nine.

The Mogul appears every Morning at Sun-riſing, and the Lords come to pay their Veneration to him about Noon, when he comes to ſee the Fighting of the Wild-Beaſts, and about Evening when he appears at a certain Window to ſee the Sun-ſetting. According to the Roll of the Kingdom, the Provinces of *Candahar*, *Dehli*, *Bengal*, *Orixa*, and ſome others, bringing in a yearly Revenue of Eighty-ſeven Millions, two hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns, the Province of *Guzarat* is able to raiſe Ninety thouſand Horſe, *Cambaya* Twelve thouſand, and *Cabul* as many; *Orixa* Eighty thouſand, and *Dehli* One hundred and fifty thouſand; beſides thoſe of the other Provinces, of which I could learn no Certainty. His Militia is divided into certain Brigades of twelve or fifteen hundred Horſe, commanded either by the King's Sons, or the chiefeſt Lords in the Empire, ſome of whom have alſo under their Command certain Regiments of 2000, 3000, and 4000 Horſe. Certain it is, that then the preſent Mogul went in Perſon into the Field againſt *Khan-Kabaan* in 1630. His Army conſiſted of 144,500 Horſe, divided into four Brigades, beſides a vaſt Number of Elephants, Camels, Mules and Artillery-Horſes. The Arms uſed in their Camp were moſtly Bows and Arrows, a Javelin, which they dart with great Dexterity, a Cymitar, Poiniard and Buckler, which hang about their Necks. The Horſemen uſe no Fire-arms, but their Infantry uſe the Muſquet tolerably well; their Pike-men have Pikes of ten or twelve Foot long, which they dart at the Enemy, inſtead of oppoſing the Horſe with them as we do in *Europe*, ſome uſe Coats of Mail, reaching down to their Knees, but are without Head-pieces. They underſtand nothing of martial Exerciſes; the Van or Rear, Front and File, being Things never heard of among them; but fight without any Method or Order. Their chief Truſt lies in their Elephants, on the Backs of which are fixed certain wooden Towers, carrying three or four Harquebuſes, with as many Men to them, and the Elephants ſerve them inſtead of Bulwarks, to hinder the Enemy from breaking in upon them: But the worſt is, that theſe Beaſts being terrified by artificial Fire-works, or ſome other ſuch like Means, make a greater Havock among their own People than the Enemy. They commonly have a great Train of Artillery, and ſome very large Pieces. They alſo make Gun-powder, but not ſo good as ours. Their Copper-trumpets and Timbrels, make a Noiſe that is not unpleaſant in the Field. Their Armies never march above five Leagues in a Day. As in their Encampments they take up a vaſt Circumference of Ground, ſo they obſerve a very good Order in them, every thing being as well regulated there as in a City; and it is obſervable, that the Mogul and the General of the Army, always have their Tents pitched without the Reach of Muſquet-ſhot from the reſt.

His ordinary Guard is 12000 Men, beſides the 600 that have the Title of the Guard of his Body, and are always attending his Perſon. The Mogul ſometimes confers the Dignity of Rajah or Prince, upon his chief Vizir, who has the ſupreme Management of all civil and military Affairs throughout the Kingdom: He is not permitted to take the leaſt Preſent, but his Clerks are ſo little conſciencious in this Point, that for Money a Man may know every thing that paſſes through their Hands. The Rajahs and other great Men, pay a moſt profound Veneration to their Monarch; they never approach or ſpeak to him without many Bows and Reverences, and when they are going away they do it backwards, bowing their Heads down to the Ground, putting their Hands over their Eyes, and afterwards upon their Breaſts, to ſhew their Humility. The Mogul never ſtirs abroad out of the City or otherwiſe, without a Guard of ten thouſand Men, at the Head of which march one hundred Elephants covered with Scarlet, Velvet, and Brocades, each having two Men on his Back, *viz.* one who guides the Beaſt, the other carries a Banner of Silk; upon ſeven or eight of the foremoſt are mounted the Muſicians, who play upon the Timbrel. The Mogul is either mounted upon a fine *Perſian* Horſe, or is carried in a Coach drawn by two white Oxen, or carried in a Chair. The chief Men of the Court follow immediately after, and after them the Baggage. He commonly pitches his Tents in the Field, the better to enjoy the Conveniency of the cool Air in the Summer, and to chooſe the warmeſt Places in the Winter, which is the Reaſon he commonly leaves *Agra* in *April*, and paſſes the Months of *May*, *June*, *July* and *Auguſt*, at *Lahor*, or in ſome other northerly Province.

The City of *Agra* is ſo populous, that it is able to raiſe two hundred thouſand fighting Men. Moſt of the Inhabitants are *Mohammedans*, but there is ſcarce any Nation in the World but what trade thither, and all Commodities, whether imported or exported, pay 10 *per Cent.* Cuſtom. This City has under its Juriſdiction forty ſmall Cities, and three thouſand five hundred Villages, its Territories extending above ſixty Leagues about. The adjacent Country is very fertile in Indigo, Cotton, Salt-petre, and ſeveral other Commodities. The Feſtival of the Naurus, or New-year's-day, is celebrated in this City with a great deal of Ceremony. Before the King's Palace a Theatre, or Scaffold, richly adorned, is erected, ſurrounded with ſmall Pillars in the Nature of a Balcony, where the King is ſeated upon richly embroidered velvet Cuſhions, being attended by his ſeven Miniſters of State, the Empreſs being not far off in a Gallery where ſhe can ſee the whole Ceremony, but cannot be ſeen by any body. Near the King's Scaffold is another erected, painted and embelliſhed with Mother of Pearl, whither the principal Lords come out of their Tents, pitched and furniſhed with their moſt precious Moveables, in the outermoſt Court in the Palace, to pay their Veneration to the King; which done, he leaves the Theatre, and being ſeated on his Throne, he receives the Preſents of his Subjects, and this he continues for eighteen Days ſucceſſively. Towards the Concluſion of theſe eighteen Days, the King, in return of the Preſents the Lords and others have made him, beſtows upon them his Preſents, which are certain Employments and Honours proportionable to the Gifts he has received from their Hands.

The Mogul's Birth-day is alſo celebrated here after a peculiar Manner. The Day is begun with all manner of Divertiſements, which done, he ſhews himſelf to the Queen-Mother, if living, in her own Apartments, where the great Lords are obliged to appear, and to bring along with them conſiderable Preſents. After Dinner he puts on the richeſt Apparel that can be contrived, laden all over with Gold, and precious Stones. Thus he goes into a Tent, and in the Preſence of the chief Lords, weighs himſelf in a Pair of Scales of maſſy Gold, the Chains whereof being of the ſame Metal, are ſet with precious Stones. He is ſet in one of the Scales, and in the other are put ſeveral Bags of Silver, one of Gold, ſome precious Stones, certain Pieces of Silk, Stuffs, Callicoes, Pepper, Cloves, Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Wheat, Pulſe, and Herbs, and an exact Account is kept of the Difference of his Weight from one Year to the other. This done, the King gives the Money with his own Hands to the poor *Mohammedans*, and the reſt is diſtributed among certain *Banjans*. Then being ſeated on his Throne, he orders to be caſt among the Lords of his Court, Nuts, Piſtachoes, Almonds, and divers other ſorts of Fruit of Gold, but ſo ſlightly made, that one thouſand of them ſcarce weigh thirty Crowns, which tho' it may ſeem incredible, yet it is certain that it has been tried by Experience, that a whole large Baſon full of this kind of wrought things, have not amounted to above ten Crowns, and it is computed, that all this great Monarch beſtows upon this Occaſion, would not amount to above the Value of one hundred Crowns. The Day is concluded with a great Feaſt at Court, unto which are invited all the principal Lords in waiting, who paſs the Night with the Mogul in Drinking.

They alſo celebrate another Feſtival, which begins ten Days after the New-moon of the Month of *July*. This is obſerved to perpetuate the Memory of two Brothers named *Janze* and *Jawze*, who being holy Men or Saints, went on Pilgrimage to the Court of *Coromandel*, and were there killed by the *Bramans*, and other Pagans. They carry Coffins covered with Bows, Arrows, Turbants, Cymitars, and Garments of Silk, through the City, the People following in whole Troops with great Lamentation, ſome ſlaſhing their Arms till the Blood iſſues forth plentifully. In the Evening they make diverſe Figures of Straw repreſenting the Perſons who murdered them; at theſe they ſhoot their Arrows, and at laſt burn them to Aſhes. They perform this with ſo much Animoſity, that no Pagan dares to appear about that Time in the Streets. The *Indian Mohammedans* alſo celebrate the Feaſt of the Sacrifice of *Abraham*. It is held in *June*, when they kill a He-goat, which ſerves them to entertain their Friends with that Day. The Great Mogul deduces his Off-ſpring from the famous *Timur*, or *Tamerlane*, in a direct Line, the ſaid *Tamerlane* being deſcended from the Family of *Zingis-Khan* of *Tartary*. *Shah-Choram*, who reigned at the Time of my Travels into theſe Parts, uſurped the Crown from his Nephew Prince *Polagi*, whom, as we told you, we ſaw at *Gaſſonis*.

The Mogul was then about ſixty Years of Age. He had three Sons, the eldeſt was about twenty-five; but his Affections being moſt for the youngeſt, he intended to beſtow the Crown upon him, and to make the other two contented with the Government of certain Provinces. The Beginning of his Reign had ſavoured not a little of Cruelty, and even afterwards he could not but betray his Inclinations, by putting ſuch as were guilty of High Treaſon to unheard of Torments; for the reſt, he was of a pleaſant Humour enough, taking much delight in Muſick, and the Women Dancers dance naked before him. Of theſe I heard the *Engliſh* relate a pleaſant Story, that a certain Perſon of Note belonging to the Court, in whoſe Converſation the Mogul took particular Delight, being miſſing at Court, the Mogul aſked the Reaſon of his Abſence, and being anſwered, that he had taken Phyſick, the Mogul ordered his Women Dancers to go to his Houſe, to ſtrip themſelves naked, and to eaſe themſelves before him. The Gentleman hearing of their Coming, and having got ſome Scent of what their Errand was, aſked them immediately after their coming into the Room, what the King had commanded them to do, and being anſwered, that they were to eaſe themſelves there, he told them, that they might put the King's Commands in Execution as ſoon as they pleaſed; but aſking them at the ſame Time, whether they had any further Commands, they having anſwered no, he bid them have a ſpecial Care not to tranſgreſs the Orders laid upon them; for, ſaid he, if any of you piſs but one Drop, I will have you all ſoundly whipped, which put them into ſuch a Fright, that not daring to run the Hazard of the Laſh, they returned to the Mogul, who underſtanding by what Invention the Gentleman had diverted them from what they were ordered to do, laughed very heartily at his Ingenuity.

His daily Diverſions were to ſee the Lions, Elephants, Tigers, Leopards, and other wild Beaſts fight one with another. He alſo often delighted in ſeeing Men engage with thoſe ſavage Creatures, but never forced them againſt their Will, there being not wanting thoſe, who in Hopes of obtaining thereby the Mogul's Favour, would hazard their Lives upon that Score. I remember the Mogul on his Son's Birth-day being preſent at the Combat between a Lion and a Tiger, which were both very much hurt, he ordered Proclamation to be made upon the Spot, that whoever had ſo much Courage as to fight with one of thoſe Beaſts with Sword and Buckler only, ſhould be, if he vanquiſhed, honoured with the Title of *Khan*. It was not long before three *Indoſtans* appeared to accept the Challenge, and having laid by their Coats of Mail, one engaged with a furious Lion, and for ſome Time made his Party good very couragiouſly, but the Beaſt preſſing very hard upon his Left-hand, in which he held his Buckler, the Weight whereof at laſt forced the Buckler out of his Hand; ſo that ſeeing himſelf in unavoidable Danger of his Life, he thruſt a Dagger which he wore in his Girdle into the Lion's Jaws, who thereupon let go his Hold, and was marching off; but the *Indoſtan* followed him, and with a Blow croſs his Head, laid him dead upon the Ground. The Acclamations of the People were loud upon this Occaſion, but the Mogul was ſo far from being pleaſed with the Action, that on the contrary, being highly incenſed at his having made uſe of any other Arms except his Sword and Buckler, he commanded the Fellow's Belly to be riped up, and the Body to be expoſed to the View of the whole City. The ſecond *Indoſtan* made up with no leſs Courage than the former, to a Tyger brought in for that Purpoſe, but this fierce Creature was ſo dexterous and nimble, as to ſeize him by the Throat, and ſo killed him. The third *Indoſtan*, tho' a Perſon of a mean Stature, and worſe Aſpect, nothing diſmayed at the Misfortune of his

Comrade, engaged the ſame Tyger with unſpeakable Bravery, who was for playing the ſame Game with this, that he had done with the other: But as he was going to faſten on the *Indoſtan*'s Throat, he cut off both his Fore-paws at one Blow, and ſoon after diſpatched him; at which the Mogul was ſo well pleaſed, that he preſented this Man (whoſe Name was *Geily)* with a Garment of Brocade with his own Hands, and beſtowed the Dignity of a *Khan* upon him.

18. I ſhould not have left *Agra* ſo ſoon, had not an unhappy Accident made me alter my firſt Reſolution; for as I was talking one Day in the Streets with my *Perſian* Servant who left me at *Surat*, an *Indoſtan*, of a very goodly Aſpect, came up to me, aſking me what I had to do in thoſe Parts? to whom I made anſwer, that I was a Native of *Germany*, whom Curioſity had brought thither. He told me, that unleſs he was very much miſtaken, I was the Perſon that had killed his Kinſman in the Engagement at *Iſpahan*, betwixt the *Indoſtans* and *Germans*. As I was convinced in my Conſcience that he ſpoke Truth, ſo I was not a little amazed at it. But two *Engliſh* Merchants that were along with him, proteſting that I was lately come from *England* by Sea to *Surat*, made me perſiſt poſitively in it, that I had never ſet Foot in *Perſia*. This would, perhaps, however, have ſtood me but in little ſtead, had not the ſame Servant declared, and ſworn by his *Mohammed* and *Hoſſein*, that he knew me, and that I ſaid nothing but Truth: So that with much ado we got rid of the *Indoſtan* at that Time.

But as his Sight was not very agreeable to me, ſo I made it my Buſineſs to take the next Opportunity of leaving *Agra*, which I did accordingly, taking the Advantage of a Caravan that was going thence to *Labor*, 60 Leagues further into the Country, all which Way we travelled thro' one continued Viſto of Palm, Date, Cocoa, and other Fruit-trees, which, with the Company of two *Dutch* Merchants, and ſome *Banjans*, made this Journey very pleaſant, tho' theſe laſt were not very well pleaſed with the Diverſion I took in ſhooting at the Apes, Parrots, and ſome other Creatures, and among the reſt, at a Serpent, a thing much eſteemed by them. The City of *Labor* is ſeated upon the River *Ravy*, one of thoſe that with four more join their Waters with the *Indus*. It lies in 32° 30' having many fair Gardens on the River-ſide, and the Country about it being fertile in Fruits of all ſorts, but eſpecially in Wheat and Rice. The royal Palace, which lies in the middle of the City, is ſurrounded by a very high Wall, beſides that, it contains many other Palaces, belonging to ſuch Perſons of Note as generally attend the Mogul, where-ever he goes, and a great many Moſques and publick Baths. I had the Curioſity to go into one of theſe Baths, which I found to be exactly after the *Perſian* Faſhion, with ſeveral Partitions made half round, within narrow at the Entrance, and wide at the Bottom, each having its peculiar Door, and two Ciſterns for receiving the Water, which is let in by brazen Cocks, more or leſs, according as thoſe who bathe are pleaſed to order it. After bathing, I was deſired to lie down upon a Stone ſeven or eight Feet long, and four broad, where being ſoundly rubbed firſt upon my Belly, and afterwards all along the Back-bone, down towards the Side; the Fellow would have rubbed the Soles of my Feet alſo, with ſome Sand, which I not being able to endure, he aſked me immediately whether I was a Chriſtian, and I having told him that I was, he gave me the Hair-Cloth to rub them myſelf.

In this Journey to *Labor*, I rode upon four ſeveral Creatures, that is to ſay, a Camel, a Mule, an Elephant, and an Ox, which trotted ſo hard, that he carried me ſix or ſeven Leagues within four Hours. Having received Letters from *Agra*, that the *Engliſh* Director was preparing for his return from *Surat* for *England*, I took the Conveniency of a ſmall Caravan of *Indian* Merchants, that were going to *Amadabat*, where I was no ſooner arrived, but I underſtood that he expected only the coming of the Caravans of *Agra* and *Amadabat*, in order to his Voyage to *England*, deſiring me to make what haſte I could to *Surat*, being very deſirous I ſhould be preſent at the Reſignation of his Preſidentſhip, which was to be performed in a few Days. Whilſt I was at *Amadabat*, I ſaw the *Mohammedans* celebrate a Feaſt. All the Windows of the Houſes round the great Market-place were filled with Lamps, before which ſtood glaſs Veſſels full of Water, of all ſorts of Colours, which afforded a very delightful Proſpect at a Diſtance, and the Night was concluded with Feaſting and fine Fire-works, compoſed of Squibs, Crackers, and many ingenious Inventions of that kind; among the reſt, they had faſtened certain Lamps to Wheels, which being turned round with great Violence, made a pleaſant Shew.

The Caravan of *Agra* was no ſooner arrived at *Amadabat*, but I prepared to go along with them to *Surat*. The firſt Day we travell'd ſix Leagues to *Amadabat*, but the next Day the *Engliſh* Director and his Deputy, being deſirous to be at *Surat*, at the Reſignation of the chief Director there, myſelf and another left the Caravan, taking twenty-four Soldiers along with us for Guards. We croſſed the River *Waſſet* with our Banners, according to the *Indian* Cuſtom, where Perſons of any Note always have Banners, not unlike our Cornets, carried before them. At Night we took our Quarters in the Fort of *Saſalpour*, where meeting with the *Engliſh* Factor of *Brodra*, we ſtaid in that Place all the next Day, but continued our Journey in the Evening, and were lodged next Night in a Garden, whence we proceeded the next Day to a noted Ciſtern for freſh Water called *Sambord*, which being at that Time guarded by a Troop of Country People, who pretended to keep us from fetching the Water we had Occaſion for, a Diſpute aroſe betwixt them and ſome of our Soldiers, which at laſt came to Blows; for whilſt our People were drawing up their Water, the Country Fellows wounded five of them with their Arrows, which ſo exaſperated the reſt, that they killed three of the Country People.

But before next Day appeared, we met with another Encounter, which was likely to have proved fatal to ſome of us; for the *Dutch* Caravan (which we had overtaken on the Road) going away about Midnight, we followed ſoon after, but were not gone far before we heard one of thoſe Trumpeters, who in the *Indies* commonly march before the Caravans ſound his Inſtrument in an adjacent Wood; as we had been already forewarned of the *Raſbpoots*, who had committed ſeveral Robberies, and killed divers Perſons hereabouts the Day before, ſo we did not in the leaſt queſtion, that this was the Signal of our coming given to thoſe Rogues; neither was it long before we found our Gueſs verified by their coming out of the Wood with Pikes, Bucklers, Bows and Arrows; but the beſt was, that they had no Fire-Arms. We had ſcarce Time enough to put ourſelves in a Poſture of Defence; but the *Engliſh* Merchants and I getting on Horſeback, we beſtowed the four Firelocks we had among thoſe of our Company, who were in a Coach, reſerving three Caſe of Piſtols for our own Uſe on Horſeback. Our Agreement was not to fire till we were ſure of doing good Execution, and the *Raſbpoots* gave us a fair Opportunity to employ our Fire-arms to the beſt Advantage; for as they were coming towards us in a very cloſe Body, we diſcharged our Firelocks, which were charged with ſquare Pieces of Iron, among them, which made three drop at once; but truſting in their Number, they puſhed forward, killed two of our Soldiers, ſhot an Arrow into the Pummel of my Saddle, and another into the Turban of the *Engliſh* Merchant: Nay, they came ſo near us, that I received two Thruſts with their Half-pikes upon my Buff Collar, which I was beholden to for my Life at that Time. Nay, two of theſe *Raſbpoots* got hold of my Horſe's Bridle, and were juſt going to carry me off, when the *Engliſh* Merchant came in very ſeaſonably to my Relief, ſo that I made ſhift to kill one of them by a Piſtol Shot, and to get clear of the other. By this time ten Soldiers belonging to the *Dutch* Caravan came in to our Aſſiſtance, and the Caravan itſelf being not much behind, the *Raſbpoots* did not think it convenient to ſtay much longer, but made the beſt of their way to the Wood, leaving ſix of their Comrades killed upon the Spot, beſides ſeveral others deſperately wounded, whom they carried off. We had only two Foot Soldiers killed, and about eight wounded Perſons. We expected another Viſit from them, but we heard no more of them, and ſo arrived about Noon at *Broitſchia*, and travelled eight Leagues more the ſame Day to the Village of *Onclaſſer*, and the next Day, being the 26th of *December*, to *Surat*.

19. The Day after my Arrival at *Surat*, I was preſent at the Reſignation of Mr. *Merwald*, the then chief Director of the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company to Mr. *Fremling*, who had been his Deputy before; there were preſent at it five Conſuls, or Head Factors of that Nation in the *Indies*; three Miniſters, two Phyſicians, and twenty-five Merchants. After he had given them Thanks for their Fidelity to the Company, and for the Affection and Reſpect they had ſhewed to his Perſon, he begged of them to continue the ſame both to the Company and Mr. *Fremling*; and thus with a ſhort Complement he commiſſioned the ſaid Mr. *Fremling*; after which he gave us a very magnificent Entertainment, there being not any thing wanting that the Seaſon afforded; beſides that we had a good Share both of the *Engliſh* and *Indian* Muſick, as well as the Women Dancers. *December* the 28th the new Sultan or Governor of *Surat* made his publick Entry through that Place, having carried before him a certain Number of *Palanquins*, followed by one hundred and twenty Foot Soldiers, twenty of which carried Banners after the *Indian* Faſhion. His Name was *Myrſa Mohammed*, and was mounted on a moſt excellent *Perſian* Horſe. Almoſt all the Perſons of Note of the Province, and among the reſt the chief of the *Engliſh* Merchants, conducted him to his Palace. Immediately after the Eſtabliſhment of the new *Engliſh* Chief, the Factors and Merchants returned to their reſpective Places of Reſidence, and the two *Engliſh* Ships then in Harbour there, called the *Mary* and the *Swan*, were ordered to diſpoſe every thing for their Voyage, the latter being to ſail ten Days before the other, and to expect our coming at the *Cape of Good Hope*.

But before we take our laſt Farewel of *Surat*, it will be requiſite we ſhould diſcharge ourſelves of our Promiſe of giving you ſome Account of the Province of *Guzarat*, in which it lies. The Occaſion of the Kingdom of *Guzarat* being incorporated with the Mogul's Empire, happened thus: *Hamet Khan*, a Favourite of Sultan *Mohammed* King of *Guzarat*, who died 1545, and conſtituted Guardian to the young King his Son, who was then not above eleven Years of Age, finding himſelf uneaſy in this Station, by reaſon of the Jealouſy of the chief Lords of the Kingdom againſt him, craved the Aſſiſtance of *Achobar* the then Great Mogul, or Emperor of *Indoſtan*, to maintain him in his Dignity, offering the City of *Amadabat* to him as a Pledge for his Fidelity; the Mogul, willing to accept of ſo fair an Opportunity, not only poſſeſſed himſelf of *Amadabat*, but alſo of the whole Kingdom, carrying both the young King and his Guardian away into Captivity. The King being afterwards come to Age of Maturity, found means to make his Eſcape, and to repaſs ſome Part of his Dominions; but the Mogul was ſo cloſe upon his Heels, that in leſs than a Twelve-month's Time he chaſed him thence, and the King of *Guzarat*, finding himſelf a ſecond Time fallen into an Enemy's Hands, from whom he expected no good Treatment, cut his own Throat.

Ever ſince that time this Province is governed by a Sultan or Viceroy, who has an abſolute Authority here in managing both the publick Affairs of the Government, as well as all the Revenues thereunto belonging, which are very great, and formerly amounted to eighteen Millions of Gold, beſides the Cuſtoms of *Broitſchia* and *Brodra*, which produced eighteen hundred thouſand Crowns *per Annum*, the reſt ariſing for the moſt part out of the third Part of the Arable Lands which belong to the King's Revenues, which are aſſigned to the Governor for the Maintenance of a certain Body of Horſe and Foot, to bridle the Inſolence of certain petty Princes inhabiting the Mountains, and to clear the Highways from certain inſolent Robbers, who iſſue forth out of the Woods in Troops of three or four hundred, and make the Roads very unſafe. But as the Number of Troops that are kept thus falls very ſhort from what they ought to be, this, with the abſolute Diſpoſal of Juſtice, which the Governor is intruſted with, gives ſuch an Opportunity of amaſſing prodigious Wealth as is almoſt inconceivable. His ordinary Reſidence is at *Amadabat*, and his Court and Equipage ſo ſplendid when he appears in publick, that ſcarce any Court in *Chriſtendom* is to be compared with it; but as theſe Governors are merely depending on the Mogul's Pleaſure, ſo they are ſure to make the beſt Uſe they poſſibly can of their Time to enrich themſelves at any rate. Hence it is, that he who complains to them firſt, and knows how to back it with Money, ſhall ſeldom go off a loſer; neither is any Crime ſo great, but what may be bought off with Money.

The Couteval, or Governor's Deputy, has, however, the Privilege of giving Judgment in Affairs of leſs Moment, and it is he who directs the Brothel-houſes, and receives their Taxes; for as they look upon Murder and Adultery (eſpecially if committed with a Woman of Quality) as the greateſt Crimes, ſo they not only allow, but alſo protect Proſtitutes, and that with ſo much Circumſpection, that it is both without Danger and Blame that People frequent thoſe Houſes. Having given you before a ſhort Account of thoſe Cities we paſſed through in our Journey to and from *Agra*, we will here alſo ſay ſomething of the reſt of the Cities belonging to this Province. *Goga* is an open Place thirty Leagues from *Cambaya*, ſituated upon the Gulph, where it is ſo narrow, that it rather reſembles a River than an Inland Sea. It is chiefly inhabited by *Banjans*; the *Portugueze* Ships keep there their Rendezvous, in order to convey their Ships to *Goa*. *Pattepatan* and *Mangerol*, two large Towns, nine Leagues from *Goza*, are inhabited by Calico-Weavers; the City of *Diu* lies upon the Southern Frontiers of the Kingdom; the *Portugueze* have three conſiderable Forts there. The City of *Biſantagan* contains above twenty thouſand Houſes, and is conſequently one of the biggeſt of the whole Province. The Fertility of the adjacent Country in Rice, Wheat, Cotton, and Paſtures, and its Situation, which is in the Centre of the Province, has raiſed it of late to what it is, it being formerly but an inconſiderable Village. The City of *Pattan* was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable of thoſe Parts, having ſix Leagues in Circumference, and encompaſſed with a good Wall of Free-ſtone, which is now decayed in many Places.

Since the Trade of this Place has been deſtroyed by a certain kind of Thieves, which ſo infeſt the Roads thereabouts, that the Merchants durſt not venture their Perſons and Commodities thither. The Inhabitants live now, for the moſt part, by weaving Silk Stuffs, and Calicoes; but the laſt are very coarſe. The Governor has his Reſidence in a very noble Caſtle; and in the very Centre of the City is one of the moſt ſumptuous Moſques of all the Eaſt, the Roof being ſuſtained by one thouſand and fifty Pillars, moſt of Marble. *Cheytepour* is a ſmall City garriſoned only by a hundred and fifty Men for the Security of the Caravans, ſix Leagues from *Pattan*, and twenty-two from *Amadabat*, ſituate upon the Banks of a ſmall River. The Inhabitants are *Banjans*, who live on weaving of Calicoes, and making of Cotton-yarn. *Meſſana* is an open Place, but maintains two hundred Horſe Soldiers in an old ruined Caſtle, for the ſafe Paſſage of the Caravans. Some Calicoes are made here, the Country being very fertile in Cotton. The three ſmall Cities of *Vaſſari*, *Gaudin*, and *Balſara*, are under the Juriſdiction of *Surat*, the firſt lying ſix Leagues, the ſecond nine Leagues, and the third fourteen Leagues thence, and all three not above two Leagues Diſtance from the Sea. Their Trade is in coarſe Cottons, which are made in great Quantities here: The Country thereabouts alſo affords great Plenty of Timber for the building both of Houſes and Ships.

20. The Deſcendants from the ancient Inhabitants of this Province are ſtill *Pagans*, and are called *Hindou*, or *Indou*. The *Mohammedan* Religion was firſt introduced here by *Tamerlane*, and is ſince encreaſed by the great Concourſe of Strangers of the ſame Religion; this Country being inhabited by *Perſians*, *Arabians*, *Armenians*, and and ſeveral other Nations; but you ſeldom meet with any *Chineſe* or *Japoneſe* here. As moſt of the *Mohammedans* here profeſs the ſame Religion with the *Perſians*, ſo their Language is as current here as the *Indian*. The *Indian Mohammedans* indeed adhere to the Opinion of *Hembili* and *Maleki*, whereas the *Perſians* admit of no other Expoſitions of the Alchoran but thoſe of *Haly* and *Tzaferſaduck*, but they both, with the ſame Zeal, reject that of the *Turkiſh* Interpreter *Haniff*. They are generally of an

olive or yellowiſh Complexion, though thoſe to the North are not quite ſo dark as thoſe living more to the South. The Men are commonly ſtrong and well made, with large Faces and black Eyes. They ſhave their Heads and Beards, excepting only the *Muſtachoes*, like the *Perſians*; and the *Mohammedans*, are clad after the ſame Way, except that they pleat their Turbans in a different Faſhion; and the *Indoſtans* wear the Opening of their Garments under the Left-arm; whereas the *Perſians* wear it under the Right. The former tie their Girdle before with the Ends hanging down, and the latter wind it ſeveral Times round the Waiſt, and twiſt the Ends within it: To thoſe they faſten their Daggers, which are about a Foot long, broad towards the Handle, and very narrow towards the Point. Some Swords there are worn here, but the Soldiers generally wear Cymitars.

As the *Indian* Horſes are not very valuable, and yet very ſcarce, ſo their Oxen are frequently uſed inſtead of them, which are as ſwift as Horſes, I have ſeen whole Bodies of theſe Ox-Troopers. Their Women are ſhort, but well ſhaped; they wear their Hair hanging down over their Shoulders, and on their Heads a kind of a Cap of Lawn, interwoven with Gold, the Ends of which come down quite to their Knees. The richer ſort are very ſumptuous in their Apparel, have Pendants of Pearls and Diamonds in their Ears, and very fine Necklaces of Pearls, which make the fairer Show upon their Necks, which are of a brown Complexion. They ſometimes alſo wear Rings in their Noſtrils. Breeches and Drawers are common to both Sexes, and are generally made of Taffaty or Calicoe, and that of ſuch a Length as they would cover all the Body were it not for certain Strings that are faſtened to them, that they can draw them together in Pleats like Mens Boots, though above the Ham they lie cloſe to the Body without any Folds: Over theſe they wear their Shifts, which, however, reach ſcarce to the Navel; and over theſe again a Petticoat of Taffaty or Calicoe, but ſo thin that you may ſee thro' it. Their Shoes are flat-ſoaled and narrow towards the Toe, and commonly of red *Spaniſh* Leather. Their Breaſts and Arms, as far as their Elbows, are bare, but covered with Bracelets. Women that value their Reputation here, never appear abroad with their Faces uncovered; and thoſe of Quality ſcarce ever go out of Doors.

The Women of the *Banjans* are clad after a quite different Manner, for they, as they don't ſhave their Heads, ſo they don't wear their Hair very long; neither do they cover their Faces, but wear Pendants and very rich Jewels, eſpecially in their Ears. Black Teeth are a ſingular Ornament among them, which is the Reaſon they call us *Europeans*, in Deriſion, *Bondia*, *i. e.* Apes. They alſo wear no Breeches, but, inſtead of them, a Piece of Silk, reaching down to their Hams, over which they put their Smocks, and over them their upper Garments, which are faſtened round their Waiſt with a kind of Girdle: Some of them wear ſmall Waiſtcoats, the Sleeves of which come no farther than the Elbow, being naked from the Breaſt down to the Navel. During the Summer-ſeaſon their Shoes are made of Wood, only faſtened with Straps to their Feet; but in the Winter they have Shoes of Velvet, Brocade, or gilt Leather, the Quarters of which are very low, that they may put them off and on with more Conveniency; when they are going in, or coming out of a Room, the Floor of which is covered with Tapeſtry. Children of both Sexes are kept naked till they are five Years old. For the reſt, the *Banjans* live with a great deal of Circumſpection among the *Mohammedans*, who treat them contemptibly, and much after the ſame Manner as the *Jews* are looked upon with us, in thoſe Places where they are ſuffered to live. Notwithſtanding which they are more ingenious and crafty than the *Mohammedans*, which is the Reaſon both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* employ them as their Brokers, it being next to an Impoſſibility that any Stranger ſhould be able to find out all their Impoſtures without the Aſſiſtance of ſome of their own Gang.

Their Children, eſpecially their Daughters, they marry at ſeven, eight, nine, or ten Years of Age, it being very rare that they ſtay till the twelfth; for as the *Indians* arrive ſooner at Maturity than other Nations, they are of Opinion, that if a Maid ſtays any Time beyond that Age, ſhe muſt be ſubject to ſome Infirmity. The Day for the Conſummation of the Marriage being come, the Parents of both Parties ſit round a good Fire in a ſpacious Room, the Bride and Bridegroom take three Turns about them, whilſt the Braman gives them his Benediction. If a *Banjan* Bridegroom happens to die before he has taken his three Turns thus, the Bride may challenge the Privilege of marrying another, the Widows of the *Banjans* being not allowed a ſecond Marriage upon any Account, though their Huſbands ſhould chance to die before the Conſummation of the Marriage: So that thoſe who cannot diſpenſe with a ſingle Life, aſſociate themſelves to the Women-Dancers. The *Banjan* Women are not obliged to burn themſelves with their dead Huſbands (as the Wives of the *Bramans* and *Raſhpoots* are) unleſs they will do it voluntarily. The Men are permitted not only to marry a ſecond or third Time, but may have two or three Wives at at Time, provided the firſt or ſecond prove barren; but the firſt challenges, and retains the Precedency. The Sons only inherit the Father's Eſtates, but are to maintain the Mother, and are to provide Huſbands for the Siſters. As they uſe neither Baptiſm or Circumciſion, they muſt be numbered among the *Pagans*: And though they acknowledge one ſupreme Being, the Creator and Preſerver of all Things, yet they pay worſhip to the Devil, for this Reaſon, becauſe that God having conſtituted him to govern the World, he ought to be appeaſed by Offerings.

The Figure under which they adore him, is to be ſeen in all their Pagodas or Temples, ſome of Gold and Silver, ſome of Ivory, Ebony, and Marble, and others of Wood, or common Stone. The Head, which has four Horns, beſides a Triple-crown in the Shape of a Crown, or Mitre, with a grim Countenance, and two great Teeth coming out of the Mouth, like the Tuſks of a Wild-Boar, and a great rough Beard all over the Chin. The Arms hang down careleſly on both Sides, and the Breaſts are extended as low as the Navel, under which, betwixt his Thighs, you ſee another Head, with two Horns more deformed than the firſt, thruſting out of the Mouth a very ugly large Tongue: The Feet are like Paws of ravenous Creatures, and behind a Cow's Tail. This Statue is always fixed upon a Stone-table, which is the Altar where the Offerings are made to the Idol. On the Right-ſide of it ſtands a Ciſtern, in which thoſe that come to ſacrifice purify themſelves beforehand; and on the Left-hand a Cheſt, into which they put their Offerings, which are always made in Money. There is another Veſſel not far from the Ciſtern, out of which the Braman, or Prieſt, takes a certain yellow Mixture, made of Water and Sandal-wood, and therewith marks the Foreheads of ſuch as have performed their Devotions. The Braman's ordinary Place is at the Foot of the Altar, but he riſes from thence frequently to ſay his Prayers, and before he goes away, he is ſure to purify his Hands, by rubbing them over in the Flame of the Lamps, which are placed before and about the Altar, and furniſh their Pagodas with Light, and conſequently are kept continually burning, being the chiefeſt, if not the only Ornaments of theſe Temples, which look more like Caves and Holes of Darkneſs than Places of Devotion, there being nothing to be ſeen on the Walls of them but the Figures of Beaſts and Devils: Notwithſtanding which theſe poor Wretches pay their Devotions with more Reſpect and Zeal than is obſerved in moſt Chriſtian Churches.

They are like the *Mohammedans*, much addicted to corporal Purifications, which they ſeldom fail to uſe every Morning before Sun-riſing. The Bramans deduce their Original immediately from their God *Brama*, and ſay that they are the Product of his Head, whereas the reſt came out of his Thighs, Feet, and other more ignoble Parts. Mr. *Abraham Rogers*, who lived ten Years in the *Dutch* Service, on the Coaſt of *Corromandel*, ſays, that the *Bramans* acknowledged for their ſupreme God, one *Wiſnu*, or *Eſwara*, and that out of his Navel ſprung forth a Flower called *Tamara*, which produced *Brama*; the firſt of all Men who had Power given him, not only to create the World, but alſo to ſettle what Order and Government he thought beſt. They further ſay, that this *Brama*, being

God's Vicegerent, has diſtributed the Adminiſtration of the Univerſe among eight Lieutenants, the chief of whom they ſtile *Devendra*, and ſay he commands all the reſt of the Governors, who govern eight diſtinct Worlds, ſuch as ours are, all which they are of Opinion ſwim upon the Surface of the Water like ſo many Eggs.

They ſay farther, that there have been divers Worlds before that which is now in being, and others will be after it; though, they tell us, that the World we live in, is to continue a Million of Ages, ſince that in the Year 1693, there were no more than 4739 Years of the fourth Age of the World elapſed; and that the firſt Age had laſted 17290 Years. That in the firſt age of the World all Men were juſt and good to ſuch a Degree, that the Devil, who was then created, had no Power to injure them; that in the next following Age, the fourth Part of Mankind became depraved; that in the third there was an equal Mixture of good and bad; and that in this laſt Age of the World, the Number of the good amount only to one fourth of the whole. But let this ſuffice concerning the Theology of theſe *Pagans*; we will only add, here, that the *Bramans* have by their Auſterity of Life and Abſtinence, gained a great Aſcendant over the *Pagans*, who look upon their Expoſitions of the Myſteries of their Religion as ſo many ſacred Oracles; for which Reaſon alſo, generally, they entruſt them with the Education of their Children. They are diſtinguiſhed from the other *Banjans* by a peculiar kind of Linnen Coiffure; beſides that, they never cut their Hair, and wear three Strings of Packthread next their Skins coming from their Shoulders croſs their Breaſt to the Waiſt; and and as this is the Badge of their Order, ſo they never lay it aſide: They believe the Immortality of the Soul, and its Tranſmigration from the Bodies of Men into thoſe of Beaſts, before they can be capable of the Enjoyment of the Bleſſings of the other World; for which Reaſon it is that the *Banjans* will not allow the killing of any living Creatures, even down to the Inſects; and they are ſo careful in this Point, that they will not keep any Fire, or lighted Candles in the Night-time, for fear the Flies ſhould burn themſelves; and when they do at other Times, they make it in Pits under Ground. Their charitable Inclinations to all living Creatures are ſo great, that they redeem ſuch Birds as are catched by the *Mohammedans*, to be killed; nay, they have certain Hoſpitals appointed for ſick and wounded Birds.

Among the *Malabars* theſe *Bramans* are in ſuch Veneration, that they have the Firſt-fruits of all the Brides, and by the richer Sort are invited to perform this Taſk with very conſiderable Preſents; nay, there is ſcarce any body of Note there, when he is to be abſent from Home for any Time, but recommends his Family, eſpecially his Wife, to the Care of a *Braman*, to ſupply his Place.

The *Banjans* are accounted to have thirty-eight principal Caſts among them, not to ſpeak here of the leſſer ones, which are not to be numbered; they have four general Sects, under which all the reſt are included, *viz.* thoſe of *Courawath*, *Samarath*, *Biſnow*, and *Goegay*. Thoſe of the firſt Sect are very preciſe in the Preſervation of living Creatures, for which reaſon their *Bramans* have their Mouths covered with a Piece of Calicoe, for fear any Inſect ſhould get into and periſh in their Mouths; they for the ſame reaſon ſweep their Rooms continually, and will not ſit down before they have looked, for fear of ſitting upon them; neither do they keep any Fire or Candle in their Houſes. They are diſtinguiſhed from the others by a white Staff they carry in their Hands, and walk always bare-headed and bare-footed. Their Cloathing is only a Piece of Calicoe coming down from the Waiſt to the Knee, the upper Part of their Bodies being covered only with a woollen Cloth. They don't believe an infinite Being as the reſt do, but attribute the Events of all Things to Chance, and know of no other good Deeds but Faſting and Giving of Alms. In Conſequence of this Opinion, they acknowledge in the Sun, Moon, Stars, the Earth, in all Creatures, nay, in Trees, and in Metals, and all viſible Things, the inherent Cauſes of their Production. They allow two Suns, and as many Moons, which they ſay relieve each other alternately every Day. They believe nothing of Heaven, or any Manſion of the Bleſſed, tho' at the ſame Time, they acknowledge the Immortality of the Soul, and its Tranſmigration, which they ſay, does, after the Separation from the firſt Body, go into another, either of Man or Beaſt, according to the Behaviour of the Deceaſed in this World; they ſay it always makes Choice of a Female that it may return into the World, though in another Body. Their Temples are all four-ſquare, with flat Roofs open to the Eaſt-ſide, under which are the Chapels of their Pagods, or Idols, raiſed ten Feet from the Ground, in the Form of a Pyramid, with Stairs leading up to them, on which you ſee certain Figures of Wood, Stone, or Paper, repreſenting ſome Perſons among them who have rendered themſelves famous by their extraordinary good Fortune. The chiefeſt Time of their Devotion is in *Auguſt*, when they mortify themſelves, eſpecially by Abſtinence to ſuch a Degree as would paſs for fabulous, were it not that even their profeſſed Enemies in the *Indies* have unanimouſly born Teſtimony to the Truth of it, that ſome have been known for the Space of fifteen or twenty-one Days, nay, ſome for a Month, or ſix Weeks, not to take any other Nouriſhment than Water mix'd with the Shaving of a certain bitter Wood. In this Month they have their general Aſſemblies in their Temples, whither they reſort to hear the *Braman*, who ſits in the Center of them, and reads certain Legends of the Lives of their Saints. Immediately after they come into the Temple they put their Offerings of Money into a copper Baſon, placed there for that Purpoſe, in return of which the *Braman* beſtows upon them the yellow Mark, either on their Foreheads, or Cloaths: Whilſt they are hearkening to the *Braman* they are entertained with Muſick.

If any aged Perſon dies, they burn the Carcaſs, but Children which die before they come to three Years of Age are buried. Their Wives are not obliged to burn themſelves with their deceaſed Huſbands, but muſt live in perpetual Widowhood, and there is none belonging to this Sect, but what is capable of being received into Prieſthood, to reach which he has no more to do, than to change his Habit, vow Chaſtity, and follow the ſame Auſterity of Life preſcribed to their Order. Women are not even excluded from this Function, but they muſt be above twenty Years of Age, whereas Males may come in at ſeven, eight, or nine Years of Age; nay, if either of the married Couple embraces Prieſthood, the other is engaged to Celibacy for Life. Some of them make a Vow of Chaſtity in Marriage, but this is not ſo well kept as made. This Sect is an Abomination to the other *Banjans*, to ſuch a Degree, that they will not eat, drink, or converſe with them: Nay, if they happen to touch them, they are obliged to a very ſtrict Pennance.

The ſecond Sort among the *Banjans*, which conſiſts for the moſt Part in Lockſmiths, Farriers, Carpenters, Taylors, and moſt other ſorts of handicraft Men, as alſo ſome Soldiers, Officers, and Clerks, have ſcarce any thing in common with the firſt, except that they allow not the killing and eating of any living Creature, believing for the reſt, that the Univerſe owes its Origin to a firſt Cauſe, which alſo preſerves it by certain and unchangeable Rules. They give the Name of *Permiſeer* to this ſupreme ruling, and affirm, that it governs the World by three Deputies; the firſt they call *Brama*, and attribute to him the Management of Souls, according to the Direction of *Permiſeer*, in order to their Tranſmigration into the Body of Men, or Beaſts. The ſecond named *Buſſiuna*, is appointed to inſtruct the World in their Duty to God, and manages the Wheat, Herbs, and Pulſe, in the Fields and Gardens. The third called *Mais*, is the chief Manager of the Dead, being *Permiſeer*'s Secretary, who after having taking an Account of the good and bad Actions of the Deceaſed, makes a report of it to his Maſter, who, according to every one's Deſerts, ſends the Soul into the Bodies of certain Beaſts, where they muſt do more or leſs Pennance, before they can be purified from their Sins. In this kind they look upon the Cow as one of the beſt, having ſome thing divine in it above all the reſt. They burn the dead Bodies of their Friends, except thoſe of their Children under three Years of Age, whom they bury near ſome River, or Brook, none of the *Indian* Women accompanying their Huſbands with ſo much Chearfulneſs in their laſt Journey, as thoſe of the Sect of *Samarath*; for as they are perſuaded, that ſuch as die with their Huſbands ſhall live with them in the other World ſeven times as long, and enjoy with him ſeven times more Pleaſure there, they are ſo fond of ſo plentiful a Bleſſing, of which they have ſo ſlender a Share in this World, that they are ready to ſacrifice their Lives in order to attain it.

The Sect of *Biſnow* agrees with the two preceding in this Point, that they do not feed upon any thing that hath Life. They are alſo much addicted to Abſtinency, and keep their general Aſſemblies in their Temples in *Auguſt*, where they ſing and dance to a Conſort of Muſick, conſiſting of Drums, Pipes, and Copper Baſons, before their Pagod called *Ramram*, ſinging Hymns in his Praiſe. They repreſent him with his Wife in Statues, adorned on their Feſtivals with Gold Chains, and Collars of Pearl and precious Stones, with many Lamps, and lighted Wax Candles before them. This God acts without any Deputies; they feed upon nothing but Herbs, Pulſe, Freſh-Butter, Milk and Curds, and are great Admirers of a Pickle made of Ginger, Mangoes, Citrons, Garlick, and Muſtard-ſeed; and their Drink is Water. None but Women or Prieſts dreſs their Meats, and uſe Horſe-dung mixed with Straw, and made up into a kind of Turf inſtead of Wood, for fear ſome ſmall Worms, or other Inſects, ſhould be burnt with it. Moſt of this Sect are Merchants, Factors, or Brokers. They have this Cuſtom peculiar to themſelves, that they will not permit their Widows to burn themſelves with their deceaſed Huſbands, but oblige them to continue Widows. Not many Years ago the younger Brothers among them were obliged to marry their elder Brother's Widows, to raiſe up Seed to him; but this is now aboliſhed.

They commonly waſh themſelves every Morning in ſome Ciſtern, or a River, if any be near them, where they wallow and ſwim in it, whilſt the Braman, who ſtands hard by, mutters out certain Words, and imparts to them his Benediction, and at their coming out gives them the Mark in their Foreheads, or in ſome other Place; for which he is paid with Wheat, Rice, or Pulſe. Thoſe belonging to the Sect of *Gorephy* are a kind of Hermits, neglecting all publick or private Affairs, and dwelling in ſolitary Places, and ruined Houſes, or Woods, ſhun the Converſation of others; they worſhip a God whom they call *Bruin*, and his Servant *Mecis*; but have no particular Temples, or any other publick Aſſemblies, to perform their Devotions in. As they are forbidden to have any Poſſeſſions of their own, ſo they have nothing but a Piece of Calicoe to cover their Privities; they never ſpeak to any body, or will give an Anſwer to any, or aſk for any thing, though they were in the utmoſt Extremity, but will take what is given them; they rub their Bodies all over with Aſhes, and eſpecially their Hair, which makes them look very ſtrangely. They are in great Veneration among all the other *Banjans*, except the Sect of *Courawath*, who abhor them.

They believe that their God is the Creator of all things, which he preſerves by his own infinite Power, by which he is able to reduce all to nothing; that he is not to be deſcribed under any Shape, being a Light, which, as it is the Cauſe of the Sun, his Brightneſs is not to be ſeen by our Eyes. They differ from all the other *Banjans* in this; that they don't believe the Tranſmigration of Souls; but that they are immediately, after they have left their Bodies, transferred to God, and united to that infinite Light. They are ſo ſtrict Adherers to their Rules, that they admit no *Mohammedans* into their Sect, or re-admit ſuch of their own as have been Priſoners among the *Mohammedans* and *Chriſtians*, and have eaten Meat without a moſt ſevere Pennance, which is, to eat for ſix Months together Cow-dung mixed amongſt their Victuals. Nothing can be conceived more ſuperſtitious than the *Banjans* in general; they never ſtir out before they have paid their Devotions, and if in going out of their Houſes they meet with any thing which they look upon as ominous, they return, and undertake nothing further that Day.

The *Raſhpoots* are by ſome reckoned among the Number of *Banjans*, who allow them a Place with thoſe of the Sect of *Samarath*, as believing the Tranſmigration of the Souls; beſides ſeveral other things affirmed and maintained by that Sect, they are further of opinion, that the Souls of Men tranſmigrate particularly into Birds. Their Widows are obliged to burn themſelves, unleſs the contrary be provided for in the Marriage Contract; for the reſt, they are not of that reſerved Temper as moſt of the *Banjans* are, who abhor the Effuſion of Blood, even of that of irrational Creatures; whereas theſe live upon Rapine, eat Fleſh, and addict themſelves altogether to warlike Exerciſes; and as they are a daring Generation, ſo they are employed by the Mogul in his Armies. Some Compaſſion they have for Birds, which they will feed and cheriſh. They, like other *Banjans*, marry their Children very young, which, as I have mentioned before, proceeds from hence; that the *Indians* of both Sexes come ſooner to Perfection in this reſpect than any other Nation in the World. There is beſides theſe another ſort of *Pagans* in *Guzurat* called *Parſis*, deſcended from the *Perſians* of *Fars* and *Choraſan*, who left their native Countries in the ſeventh Century, to avoid the Perſecution of the *Mohammedans*. They dwell for the moſt part along the Sea Coaſt, and live upon planting of Tobacco, and making of Arrack or Aquavitæ out of Teddy; though many of them addict themſelves alſo to Trade. They believe one God, the Creator and Preſerver of the Univerſe, who acts by his own Power, but has committed the Adminiſtration thereof to his ſeven Servants, whom they repreſent thus: The firſt named *Hamaſda*, has the Government of Men; the ſecond called *Bahman*, the Sovereignty over all Beaſts and living Creatures; the third *Ardabaſh*, takes care of the Fire; the fourth named *Sarywar*, has the Charge of Metals; the fifth, whoſe Name is *Iſphander*, takes care of the Earth, as *Awwaerdath* the ſixth, doth of the Water; and the ſeventh called *Ammadath*, hath the Precedency over Fruit-trees, Herbs, and Pulſe, yet under God's Direction, unto whom they are accountable for their Tranſactions.

Beſides theſe ſeven Head Servants, God, ſay they, makes uſe of twenty-ſix others, each of which has his peculiar Function aſſigned him. The Buſineſs of the firſt is, to take Poſſeſſion of the Soul immediately after its Departure out of the Body, which he carries before two Judges called *Meer Reſus* and *Saros*, who taking care to have the good and evil Works put into two Scales, pronounce Sentence according to their Weight, and deliver the Soul up either to the good Angels to be carried into Paradiſe, or to the evil Spirits to drag them to Hell, where they are to be tormented to the End of the World, which, according to their Opinion, will be renewed in one thouſand Years. The fourth, called *Beram*, has the Adminiſtration of all military Affairs. The fifth, *Carraſada*, is the Sun. The ſixth, *Auva*, the Water. The ſeventh, *Ader*, manages the Fire. The eighth, *Moho*, is the Moon. The ninth, *Tiera*, or *Rain*. The tenth, named *Gas*, has the Management of Cattle. The eleventh, *Farwardy*, the Cuſtody of the Souls in Paradiſe. The twelth, *Aram*, imports Joy or Sadneſs to Mankind. The thirteenth, *Goada*, is the head Manager of the Winds. *Dien*, the fourteenth, is he who is to inſtruct and to infuſe into Mankind the Law of God. The fifteenth, *Apirſanich*, is the Giver of Riches, as *Aſtaſt*, the ſixteenth, has the Diſpoſal of Underſtanding and Memory. The ſeventeenth, called *Aſſamant*, is chief Preſident of Commerce; and *Gamigat*, the eighteenth, has the Government of the Earth. The nineteenth, called *Marriſpan*, is Goodneſs itſelf. And the twentieth, named *Amiera*, the Manager of ready Money. The twenty-firſt, called *Hoem*, has the Management of Generation of Men, Cattle and Fruits. The twenty-ſecond and twenty-third, called *Dima* and *Borſe*, are looked upon as two Genii appointed to watch all Men; and the three remaining, *viz.* *Depbader*, *Dephemer*, and *Depbaden*, are God's conſtant Attendants, who employs them in what Affairs he pleaſes, without Diſtinction. As the *Parſis* are of opinion, that God has left the Adminiſtration of the reſpective Affairs in relation to their Station to their Diſpoſals, they adore them in caſe of Neceſſity. Their Teachers are in much Veneration among them, ſome of whom engage themſelves in Traffick and other Employments.

They have no publick Places of Devotion, but perform the ſame in their Houſes, ſitting without any Motion of their Bodies. They have no peculiar Days ſet aſide for their religious Worſhip, except that they obſerve particu-

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larly the firſt and twentieth Day of the Moon. Each of their Months conſiſting of thirty Days, they add five Days to the laſt Month to make up the Year three hundred and ſixty-five Days. Their Teachers are not diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by their Habit, which they have in common with the *Parſi's*, and the other Inhabitants of the Country being known only by a certain twiſted Girdle of Wool, or Camel's Hair, which comes twice round the Waiſt, and ties with two Knots behind; this being the certain Badge of their Religion, and ſo eſſential to them, that he who loſes it muſt not either eat or drink, or ſtir from the Place where he is before he has bought another from the Prieſt. The Women alſo are allowed to wear them after the twelfth Year of Age. They live very meanly in little dark Houſes, poorly furniſhed, and affect much to live near one another. They have the Liberty of chooſing two of the moſt conſiderable Perſons of the Nation for their Judges. Fire is ſo ſacred a thing among them, that they would not extinguiſh it with Water, though the Houſe were in Flames, looking upon it as the moſt lively Repreſentation can be made of the Divine Light; for which Reaſon it is, that they will rather ſmother their Fire with Earth, nothing being more irkſome to them than to ſee their Fire extinguiſhed at any time. They early engage their Children in Wedlock; but the Marriage is ſeldom conſummated till the fifteenth or ſixteenth Years of their Age, and in the mean time they are committed to the Care of their reſpective Parents. As they look upon Adultery and Fornication as the moſt heinous Crimes in Nature, ſo they allow their Widows to marry a ſecond time to prevent them.

They are very particular in their Burials; for ſo ſoon as the Patient is given over, they lay him upon a little Bed of green Turf, where he yields up the Ghoſt, which no ſooner happens, than five or ſix Grave-makers come, take him from the Bank of Turfs, put a Shroud about him, and lay him upon an Iron Grate made like a Bier, and ſo carry him to their Burying-place, a League without the City, which is divided by a Wall into three Parts, *viz.* one for the Men, the ſecond for the Women, and the third for the Children. Over their Graves are laid Iron Bars like Grates, upon which they leave the Corps till the Birds have eaten all the Fleſh, and the Bones drop into the Grave underneath. The Friends accompany the Corps till they come within five hundred Paces of the Grave, where they ſtay, and make moſt doleful Cries, till the Grave-makers have laid it upon the Grate. A Month or ſix Weeks after the Burial they carry the Turfs upon which he died, as things poluted, to the Burying-place, and every Month entertain the neareſt Friends with a Collation, in Memory of the deceaſed.

If any one happens to touch a dead Carcaſs, or the Bones of a dead Beaſt, they are defiled, and muſt undergo a Pennance of nine Days. They reckon thoſe damned whoſe Bones happen to fall into the Water. They are forbidden to eat, of any living Creature; yet in Time of War, they will make now and then bold with a Sheep, Goat, ſome tame Fowl, or Fiſh, and eat it; but never kill any Camels, Elephants, Horſes, or Hares; and as to the Ox, and Cow, they are ſo far from killing them, that they have a Proverb, that they would rather feed upon the Fleſh of their Fathers and Mothers, than upon an Ox, or a Cow. Though they are not forbid the Uſe of Wine and Teddy, their Law enjoins them a ſevere Pennance for Drunkenneſs, and upon that Score, the drinking of *Aqua Vitæ*. They are but middle-ſized, but of a much clearer Complexion than the Natives of the Country, and eſpecially their Women, who, in this Point, much exceed the *Mohammedan Indoſtans*. The Men have great Beards, but ſomewhat round; ſome cut their Hair, others wear it without cutting; the firſt leave only a Lock of an Inch in Compaſs, on the Crowns of their Heads. They are very induſtrious, and an over-reaching Generation; and were it not for their avaritious Temper, would be much better natured than moſt of the *Mohammedans* are. They have two other ſorts of Pagans in *Guzarat*, *viz.* the *Hindoos* and *Jentives*; the firſt are deſcended from the Province of *Multhan*, and the Parts about *Aſſimcan*. They are ſo far from being *Banjans*, that they wont admit them to be preſent at their Meals, which they eat within a Ring, and they eat of all ſorts of Beaſts, except the Ox and Cow. They apply themſelves for the moſt Part to the Wars. The *Jentives* deduce their Origin out of the Kingdom of *Golconda*, being a ſort of poor ignorant Wretches, who pin their whole Faith upon the Sleeves of their Bramans. Their Belief is, that originally there was but one God; but as in Proceſs of Time Men deſerved well of him by their great Actions, he communicated to the beſt of them ſome Share of his Power: Theſe are their chief Saints whom they worſhip in their Temples.

There is another ſort of People here called *Theers*, being neither *Mohammedans* or *Pagans*, living without any Religion; their Employment being the cleanſing of Wells, Sinks, Common-ſewers, and the fleaing of dead Beaſts, whoſe Fleſh they eat. They are alſo frequently employed as Executioners, which is the reaſon they are avoided by all other *Indians*, for fear of being defiled by them, and are not permitted to live any where but in the Suburbs. As the Religion of the *Mohammedan Indoſtans*, ſome few Points excepted, approaches very near to that of the *Turks* and *Perſians*, we will not enlarge here upon that Head, but will proceed to give you ſome Account of the manner of Life of theſe *Mohammedan Indians*, foraſmuch as the ſame is very different both from the *Turks* and *Perſians*. To begin with their Marriage Ceremonies, they are performed thus; On the Day appointed for the Wedding, the Bridegroom mounted on a Horſe, whoſe Main and Crupper are adorned with Flowers, and a Net over his Head, rides from his Houſe accompanied by his Friends and Kindred, with a Concert of Muſick before him, and certain Fellows are appointed to caſt Squibs and Crackers to the Bride's Houſe, where having given her the Diverſion of Muſick, and Fire-works for half an Hour, he diſmounts, and ſits himſelf down in the Houſe upon Tapeſtry, laid upon the Floor for that Purpoſe; ſoon after the Bride, with her Friend the *Molla* and *Kadi*, or Judge of the Place, come in. The *Molla* having read certain Paſſages out of the Alchoran, and taken the Bridegroom's Oath, that in caſe of Divorce, he will make Proviſion for his Wife, he gives them his Bleſſing and departs. The reſt of the Company who ſtay behind, are entertained with Beetle and Pills of Amphion, or Opium, which they uſe inſtead of Wine, and produce very near the ſame Effect. If the Bride proves an undefiled Virgin by the Marks upon the Sheets, the Friends aſſemble for five or ſix, and ſometimes eight or ten Days after: But if the Paſſage be found not ſo well guarded as it ſhould be, the Bridegroom takes his Leave of her, and returns her to her Friends. On the other hand, if the Bridegroom finds her ſo ſtrait laced, as that he cannot enjoy her in three or four Days, and conſequently is ſuſpected of want of Ability, one of the neareſt Kinſwomen to the Bride ſends him a Diſtaff, with this Meſſage, that not being made for Man's Work, ſhe has thought fit to furniſh him with ſome Womens Buſineſs. The Marriages of the *Indian Mohammedans* are not ſo ſtrict as thoſe of the other *Mohammedans*, who can't be divorced unleſs both Parties be heard, and Sentence pronounced by a Judge. But here they may be divorced with leſs Ceremony, upon a bare Averſion, or Diſtaſte, with this Proviſo, however, that purſuant to what they promiſe at the Marriage, the Men are obliged to provide for the Suſtenance of their Wives, who, therefore have no other Dowries here, but as for the Jewels they bring along with them, they cannot reclaim any thing of that Nature. The Women of any Quality ſtir but ſeldom abroad, and that either in a cloſe Coach, or *Indian* Litter; and if they happen to ride on Horſeback, their Face is covered with a Scarf, none but the meaner ſort, or common Proſtitutes, being to be ſeen on Foot, and with their faces bare, in the Streets. The *Indian* Women have generally a very eaſy Deliverance, it being a great Rarity to hear of a Woman that is above two or three Hours in Labour.

Their Children they educate with extraordinary Care in Schools, where they are taught to read and write; and ſuch as are not able to do it, they ſend either into the Wars, or into the Service of great Perſons, where their Allowance is ſo ſlender, that they lead but an unhappy Life. It is generally obſerved, that the *Indian* Children have a very tender regard for their Parents, to ſuch a Degree, that they would ſtarve themſelves to preſerve them. Moſt Perſons of Note are very careful to build themſelves Houſes in very handſome Gardens, which ſerve them and their Families for Sepulchres; theſe Houſes have many ſmall Windows on all Sides. They uſe the following Ceremonies at their Burials; immediately after the Deceaſe of the Patient, the Kindred with great Lamentations come to aſk him what made him die; whether he wanted ſuch and ſuch Conveniencies, which they name to him. This done, whilſt the Corps is waſhed and put into a Coffin, the Friends divert their Sorrow by making good Cheer. Three or four *Mollas* remain conſtantly near the Body (which is wrapped in a perfumed Sheet) to pray for the Soul, till it be carried to the Burial-place, whither the Coffin with the Corps covered with Calicoe, Velvet, or ſome other precious Stuff, is carried by ten or twelve Men, the *Molas* ſinging all the while their Hymns, and the Kindred accompanying it to the Grave. Here the Body is laid down upon the Right-ſide, with the Face to the Weſt, the Feet to the South, and Head to the North, the Coffin being covered with a Board, for fear the Earth ſhould defile the Corps. It is let down ſmoothly into the Grave, whilſt the Kindred mutter out certain Prayers, and ſo return to the Houſe of the Deceaſed, where the ſame *Mollas* continue their Prayers for ſeveral Days after, during which Time, not a Spark of Fire muſt be ſeen in the Houſe. They ſtile themſelves *Muſſulmans*, or true Believers, looking upon all other Religions as Hereticks and damnable; but as they have a ſingular Averſion to Images, ſo they ſhew more Hatred to the *Roman Catholicks* than *Proteſtants*, on the ſcore of their Images.

They are generally of a good Stature, without any natural Defects. They have all lank black Hair, tho' thoſe they call *Mogollies* have a clearer Complexion than the reſt. They don't admire flaxen Hair, but hate red-haired People, out of an Opinion they have, that they are leprous, a Diſtemper very common here; one reaſon of which is, that the Pox being ſeldom cured as it ought to be, by Degrees affects the Blood afreſh, and turns to a Leproſy. The *Mollas* let their Beards grow, but all the reſt ſhave their Beards as well as their Heads, leaving only a Lock on the Crown, by which, they ſay, *Mohammed* is to pull them up to Heaven. There is no Diſtinction in the Dreſs of Men and Women. They make their Garments of Calicoe, Silk, or Brocade, according to the Abilities of thoſe that wear them. They lie cloſe to their Bodies above their Waiſt, like ours, but grow wider and wider downwards to the Small of their Leg, where abouts their Breeches, which reach to their Shoes, are gathered by a String into many Plaits. Their Shoes are of *Spaniſh* Leather, Silk, or Brocade, with very low Quarters, becauſe they have frequent Occaſion to pull them off when they go into Rooms, where the Floors are covered with rich Tapeſtry. Their Head-dreſs comes nearer to that of the *Turks* than the *Perſians*, being commonly of thin Calicoe, or Silk, interwoven with gold and ſilver Thread. They lay it by when they go to Bed. They have over their Garments a kind of Cloak to defend themſelves againſt the Injuries of the Seaſon. Their Garments are tied round their Waiſt with a ſilk Girdle wrought with Gold, and over this they have a kind of a Saſh of fine Calicoe. In theſe, Perſons of Quality wear their Daggers, the Handle and Sheath of which are generally of Gold, and ſet with precious Stones.

Their Houſes are but ſlightly built, the Walls being nothing but Plaiſter-work made of a Mixture of Free-ſtone powdered, ſome Lime, Gum and Sugar, which being very white and ſmooth, makes no diſagreeable Shew at a Diſtance. They are alſo indifferently furniſhed, eſpecially the Kitchens, where, beſides a few Diſhes and Stoves, you ſee very few other Utenſils; tho' for the reſt, the Houſes of Perſons of Quality are very large, and divided into convenient Halls, Apartments, Chambers and Cloſets; in the two laſt of which the Women take great Delight to ſet them out with their gold and ſilver Plate. When they are to receive Viſits, they place themſelves in the Hall, upon Pieces of Tapeſtry. They ſalute each other at their firſt coming in with their Salam, and an Inclination of the Head, and if the Perſon be of greater Quality, they put their Right-hand to their Heads, to ſhew their Readineſs to ſubmit to them. If they are of an equal Condition, no further Ceremony is obſerved, but a mutual Inclination with their Bodies. Sometimes they touch one another's Locks, adding theſe Words, *Grab ane meas*, be it to you according to the Prayers of the Poor. He who receives the Viſit, never ſtirs from his Place, the Viſitors being ſet on his Right and Left-hand. Their Viſits are made with a great deal of Reſervedneſs, no ſuch thing as the leaſt loud Diſcourſe being to be heard, or any Geſtures made with their Hands, or Heads. If they whiſper to any body, they are ſure to hold to their Mouths a Napkin, or ſome ſuch thing, for fear of offending with their Breath him to whom they ſpeak.

Their greateſt Expence is in Cloaths, Eating, and Women; for as by the *Mohammedan* Law, they are all allowed to purſue their ſenſual Pleaſures to the utmoſt, as far as may be done without Detriment to their Neighbours, they indulge themſelves in this Point to the Extent of their Power. They keep a numerous Retinue of Servants, each of which hath his Buſineſs aſſigned him. Their Footmen have great Plumes of Feathers on their Heads, and two little Bells on their Breaſts, and are ſo hardy, that they will travel fifteen or ſixteen Leagues a Day, without much Difficulty. They have all their board Wages, and ſome Vails, but both are ſo ſmall, that they can ſcarce keep themſelves from ſtarving. The many Women the *Mohammedans* marry, are very chargeable to them, together with their Eunuchs, for they are very extravagant in their Cloathing, Jewels, and Furniture; the chief Amends they have for this is, that each Woman endeavours by all imaginable Art to gain her Huſband's Affection and Enjoyment before the reſt, there being nothing to be contrived, but what they will make uſe of to excite him to Voluptuouſneſs. The common handicraft People are but in a very poor Condition here, for as every Piece of Work paſſes through ſeveral Hands before it is finiſhed, they can ſcarce get Six-pence a Day, and the worſt is, that the Children muſt be bound to no other Trade than that of their Fathers.

Hence it is that they are forced to live upon Bean-flour and a little Rice boiled in Water, in the Nature of a Haſty-pudding, into which they put a little melted Butter, and their poor Houſes are ſuitable to their Way of Living. Merchants live here in Plenty enough, and would be ſufficiently happy, were it not for the Danger they lie under of being fleeced by the covetous Governors of the Places in which they live, under ſome Pretence or other, as ſoon as they begin to diſcover their Wealth: So that the only Way to keep any thing, is to appear to have nothing.

21. Though all the *Mohammedans* in the *Indies* profeſs the ſame Religion, yet are they diſtinguiſhed into diverſe Sects, ſuch as the *Patans*, *Moguls*, and *Indoſtans*, beſides ſeveral others, which, as well as their ſeveral Tempers, ariſes more from the different Diſpoſitions of thoſe Countries from whence they came, than from any religious Account. Thus the *Patans*, or *Padars*, are a moſt daring, cruel, and barbarous Generation, who without any Conſideration, will thruſt themſelves into hazardous Enterprizes. The *Moguls*, or *Mogulies*, on the other Hand, deduce their Origin from the Natives of *Great Tartary*, are complaiſant and diſcreet, which gains them great Reſpect among the other *Mohammedans*. The *Indoſtans*, or *Induſtans*, are ſomewhat barbarous, and though covetous, yet are not crafty enough to deceive without being found out. They are the true ancient Inhabitants of *Guzarat*, and may be eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by their Complexion, which is much more inclining to black than the two former.

There is another ſort of People in the Province of *Haca-Khan*, who, as they are very hardy and bold, ſo they are employed chiefly in carrying Merchandizes; they are called *Blottions*, their chief Employment being to let out Camels, and to conduct the Caravans, which they do with ſo much Fidelity, that they would rather ſacrifice themſelves, than ſuffer any thing to be loſt. All over the Mogul's Country, as well as in this Province, no ſuch thing is to be ſeen as publick Inns, except that in the Cities, and ſome Villages, are erected certain publick Buildings out of

Charity for the Conveniency of Travellers, and theſe Caravanſeras have no other Accommodations but four bare Walls, and a Covering over Head. They travel with Camels, Horſes, Mules, and Oxen. They make uſe alſo of a certain kind of Coaches, drawn by Oxen, which will travel ten or twelve Leagues a Day; they are covered with Velvet on the upper Part, but thoſe for the Women are ſo covered on all Sides. Perſons of Quality travel for the moſt Part on Elephants, or are carried in Palanquines, or Litters, carried by two Men upon their Shoulders, with a Bar. They are very careful in breeding up their Elephants. Hawking and Hunting is their chief Sport. Their Greyhounds are leſs than ours, but they make uſe of tame Leopards, and Tygers in Hunting, which are the beſt in the World at ſurprizing a wild Beaſt, but never purſue it. They catch Water-fowl by the Skin of a wild Duck, filled with Hay, which being tied to the decoy Duck, they ſwim up the Water till they get inſenſibly among the reſt without frighting them. Their Bows are made of wild Ox Horns, and their Arrows of Cane, and they manage them with ſo much Dexterity, that they kill Birds flying. Their Games are Cheſs, and ſome at Cards. They are great Lovers of Muſick, though theirs be ſo rough; but judicial Aſtrology has got ſuch an Aſcendant among them, that nothing of Moment is to be undertaken here without firſt conſulting thoſe who profeſs it. They are not quite deſtitute of Books, *Ariſtotle*'s Works, or at leaſt moſt of them, are to be met with here, tranſlated into the *Arabian* Tongue; as likewiſe certain Treatiſes of *Avicenna*, who is in great Requeſt with them, as being born at *Samarcand*, under the Juriſdiction of *Timur*, or *Tamerlane*: Their Writings are not deſpicable, and have ſomething of Rhetorick in them; and their Annals are ſo well, and exactly kept, as to furniſh ſufficient Matter for a good Hiſtory.

Though their Language be divided into ſeveral Dialects, yet it is to be learnt without much Difficulty; they write from the left-hand to the right; the *Perſian* is the Court Language in *Indoſtan*, and ſome have likewiſe a Taſte of the *Arabick*, which is the learned Language. The Bloody-flux and Fevers are the moſt common Diſeaſes in the *Indies*, againſt which they uſe ſcarce any other Remedy but Abſtinence. They don't want Phyſicians, but have no Surgeons. Their Barbers let Blood, and apply Leeches, which is all the Operations they uſe. The Winter begins in *Guzarat* in *June*, and holds till *September*; but the Rains are not as at *Goa*. There are but two Winds which reign on this Coaſt, *viz.* the North and South Winds, which blow each for ſix Months without Interruption. Their greateſt Heat is in *April* and *May*, and the Beginning of *June*, but the Sultrineſs of the Seaſon is ſomewhat temperated by the frequent Breezes, which, however, brings this Inconveniency along with them, that they raiſe the Duſt to ſuch a Degree, as robs you of the very Sight of the Sun at Noon-day.

22. The chief Commodities at *Guzarat* are Calicoes, and ſilk Stuffs, as Sattins, Taffaties, Potolas, Comerbands, Orris of Gold and Silver, uſed for Veils for Women, Brocades, Tapeſtry, ſtriped Carpets, Quilts, Tents, Bedſteds, and Cabinets, lacque Beds, Chains, Buttons, and Rings, of Ivory, Amber, Rock Chryſtal, and Agat.

In a Village called *Cherchees*, near *Amadabat*, is the beſt Indigo made. The Herb is like that of a yellow Parſnip, but ſomewhat ſhorter and more bitter. It ſprouts forth into Branches like a Reed, and ſometimes riſes ſix or ſeven Feet high. Its Flower is like that of a Thiſtle, and its Seed reſembles Fenugreek; they ſow it in *June*, and cut it in *November* or *December*. It is ſown but once every three Years; the firſt Year they cut off the Leaves within a Foot of the Ground, and after they have clear'd them from the Stalk dry them in the Sun, and afterwards lay them a ſoaking in a ſtone trough, which has ſix or ſeven Feet Water in it, ſtirring it very frequently, till they think the Water has ſufficiently extracted all the Colour and Virtue of the Herb; then they draw that Water off into another Veſſel, which being well ſettled all Night, they take it off the next Day, and the Settlement in the Bottom is ſtrained through a coarſe Cloth, and dried in the Sun. This is the beſt Indigo, which is adulterated by the Inhabitants by the Mixture of a certain Earth of the ſame Colour, and ſome Oil, to make it ſwim upon the Water; the Goodneſs of this Drug being commonly judged by its Lightneſs.

The Stalks left the firſt Year produces Leaves the next; but theſe are not to be compared in Goodneſs to thoſe of the firſt, tho' they exceed thoſe of the wild Indigo. The ſecond Year is that which produces the Seed; the Product is never tranſported beyond the Seas, but kept by the Country People for their own Dying. The beſt Indigo, which they call *Anil*, is inclining to a Violet Colour, and has ſomewhat of that Smell if burnt. They always let the Ground lie fallow after the three Years are expired, for twelve Months.

There is alſo a great deal of Salt-petre vended at *Surat*, which is made at *Aſmer*, ſixty Leagues from *Agra*, out of the fatteſt Ground. After it has lain fallow for a conſiderable Time, they dig certain Trenches, which after they have filled with ſalt Earth, they let in as much Water as is ſufficient to reduce it to the Conſiſtency of thick Mud, and to ſoak it the better, they frequently tread it with their Feet. When they judge the Water has diſſolved all the ſaline Subſtance that was in the Earth, they draw up the Water into another Trench, where in ſome time it thickens, when they boil it like Salt, ſkumming it continually, and afterwards put it into earthen Pots, where the Dregs ſettle to the Bottom; they take it out again, and dry it to a hard Subſtance in the Sun. Borax, well known for its Uſefulneſs in refining of Gold and Silver, is found near a Mountain in the Province of *Purbet*, upon the Borders of *Great Tartary*, which Country alſo produces Spikenard, Quickſilver, Muſk, and Copper, and a certain Colour which dyes the moſt beautiful Brown in the World. The Borax grows like Coral, in the Bottom of the River *Jankenckar*, which coming down from the Mountain, joins its Stream with the River *Maſnoor*, which paſſes through the ſaid Province, and furniſhes it with this Drug. The *Indoſtans* call it *Jankenckar*, from the before-mentioned River, and keep it for its Preſervation in Bags, made of Sheep-ſkins, filled with Oil.

The greateſt Part of our Aſſafætida is brought from *Perſia*; but that which is brought from the Province of *Utrad*, in the *Indies*, is preferred before it. There are two kinds of this Plant; one grows like a Shrub, with ſmall Leaves like Rue, the other has Leaves as big as Turnips, and in Colour reſembling Fig-tree Leaves. It grows commonly in ſandy and ſtony Ground. Its Gum comes forth in the latter End of Summer, and is gathered in Autumn. The *Banjans* in *Guzarat* are ſuch Admirers of it, that they uſe it in their Sauces, and rub their eating and drinking Veſſels with it. There is abundance of Amphion, or Opium, brought from *Cayro* into *Europe*; that which comes from the Province of *Gualor* in *Indoſtan*, and is vended all over the *Indies*, is only the coagulated Juice of Poppy, which is gathered by making an Inciſion therein, when it begins to be ripe. All the Eaſtern Nations are ſo addicted to the Uſe of it, that thoſe who cannot come at the Juice, will make and uſe the Decoction of Poppy. The *Perſians* boaſt themſelves to be the firſt Inventors of it. They take every Day the Quantity of a ſmall Pea of it, made up into a little Pill, not ſo much with an Intention to make themſelves ſleep, as to raiſe Vigour in them, more eſpecially in the Exerciſe of venereal Acts, for which Purpoſe it is chiefly uſed by the *Indians*. They uſe themſelves to it by taking a little and a little by Degrees, without attending to which it is mortal. It draws this Inconvenience after it, that it quite ſtupifies the Senſes, unleſs they continue it for ever.

Of Lacque we have ſaid ſomething before, and ſhall ſay more hereafter. The Province of *Guzarat* produces abundance of Cummin, Ginger, and Mirobalans, which they preſerve with brown Sugar, beſides which they have ſeveral phyſical Drugs. Diamonds are likewiſe one of the chief Drugs of this Province, but not many, yet they have Abundance of Pearls, Emeralds, Garnets, Agats, Alabaſter, red Marble, and Jaſper-ſtone, which are better poliſhed here than any where elſe.

They uſe but one kind of Weight all over *Guzarat*, which is called *Maon*, and contains forty *Ceers*, in the whole thirty Pounds and an half, at the Rate of ſixteen Ounces in the Pound, a *Ceer* containing ten *Peyſes*, a kind of braſs Money weighing twelve Ounces. Their Ells are of two kinds, the leſſer amounts to no more than half a *French* Ell, and a ſixteenth Part, and nineteen of their large Ells make thirteen Ells and three Quarters of the ſame Meaſure. They have alſo no more than two ſorts of Money, *viz.* the *Mamoudies*, and *Roupees*; the *Mamoudies* being coined of Silver, of a baſe Allay, go no farther than *Surat*, *Brodra*, *Broitſchia*, *Cambaya*, and thoſe Parts, and are worth about one Shilling Sterling; but the *Roupees Chagam*, which are worth about a *French* Half-Crown, and made of very good Silver, paſs current all over the *Indies*. The *Peyſes* we ſpoke of are their Copper Money, twenty-ſix of which make a *Mamoudy*, and forty-five a *Roupee*. They count alſo with Almonds, thirty-ſix whereof make a *Peyſe*, and with certain Shells, found by the Sea-ſide, eighty whereof make a *Peyſe*. They account *Spaniſh* Pieces of Eight and Rixdollars equivalent to five *Mamoudies*, becauſe they make great Advantage of them in their Mints. The *Perſian Larri's*, which are very good Silver, are alſo much eſteemed here. They have a golden Coin called *Xeraphins*, worth about thirteen *Roupees*. The *Chequins* and *Venetian* Ducats are current here, and are reckoned to be worth eight and a half, or nine *Roupees*, according to the riſing or the falling of the Change.

As there is abundance of counterfeit Money here, and all over the *Indies*, ſo ſcarce any Sum is received but in the Shops of the Changers called *Xaraſſa's*, which are at the Corners of every Street. Theſe ſecure the Receipt of the Money for a ſmall Matter, and are ſo expert, that no counterfeit Money can eſcape their Hands undiſcovered. Their Way of computing Sums is by *Lacs*, which conſiſt of 100,000 *Roupees*, and two of theſe *Lacs* make a *Crore*, or *Caroa*, and ten *Caroa's* an *Arab*; a *Theil* of Silver makes eleven, twelve, or thirteen *Roupees*, one *Maſſas* and an half, a *Theil* of Silver, and ten of theſe a *Theil* of Gold. No Coin, whether Gold, Silver, or Braſs, muſt be exported out of the Kingdom, on pain of Death. Beſides what we have ſaid of the Products of *Guzarat*, it is very fertile in Wheat, Rice, Peaſe, Beans, Barley, Millet, *Turky* Wheat, Flax, Muſtard-ſeed, Oil, Butter and Cheeſe, the laſt of which is ſomewhat ſalt and dry. Their Wheat is larger than ours. They don't bake their Bread in Ovens, but upon iron Plates, and the *Banjans* in Frying-pans.

23. Their Beans and Peas are leſs, but much more delicate than ours, eſpecially their red Chiches, wherewith in many Places they feed their Horſes, Oxen, and Buffaloes, inſtead of Oats, a Grain not much uſed in the Eaſtern Parts. They ſow in *May*, and their Harveſt is in *September* and *November*: They cut no Graſs, but conſume it green. As the Mogul is the ſole Proprietor of all the Lands in his Empire, ſo the Peaſants, when Seeding-time appears, muſt make their Application to the Governor of the Province, and agree with him for ſo much Ground as he thinks he is able to ſow for that Year, for the Uſe of which he pays a third Part, and ſometimes an half, which is the Reaſon that moſt of the Gounds lie fallow, there being but few that think it worth their while to manure them at ſo an expenſive a Rate. Their Gardens are well ſtocked with Pot-herbs of all ſorts, as Lettice, Succory, Sorrel, Parſley, Radiſhes, Cabages, Cucumbers, Citruls, Garlick, Onions, Parſnips, and, above all, with the moſt delicious Melons in the World.

They don't value their Flowers here ſo much for their Scent as their Colour, the Roſe only excepted, the Scent of which is much admired. The Flowers called Mogaci and Scampe, have alſo a very agreeable Smell; notwithſtanding which they are admired by the Women for their Colour, the firſt being a delicious white, and the latter yellow: They hold all the Year round, as does the Graſs here, unleſs it be dried up by the exceſſive Heat of the Summer-ſeaſon. Beſides their Lemons, Citrons, Pomegranates, and other Trees ſufficiently known in *Europe*, they have thoſe called Anana, Bananees, Jaccas, Cecos, and *Indian* Fig-trees. They have alſo a kind of Vines about *Surat*, the Grapes of which are not ſo big as thoſe of *Perſia*, and are ſold at a dear Rate.

Their Foreſts in theſe Parts harbour, among other Creatures, a kind of Wild-dogs, called Jacalls, no body dare hurt them no more than any other Beaſts that are yellow or black, under pain of Death, they being reſerved for the King's Sport, or the Governor's of the Province. The *Indian* Horſes are in no wiſe comparable to thoſe of *Perſia* and *Arabia*, yet they are very careful in keeping them; they commonly feed them with thoſe Peaſe they call Chiches, which they bruiſe and boil every Morning and Evening, and give them a Paſte made of two Pound of Barley-meal, half a Pound of Butter, and as much Sugar.

Their Oxen are not different from ours in Shape, except that they have a large Bunch betwixt their Shoulders. The poorer ſort of *Mohammedans* eat abundance of Beef and Mutton; but the better ſort feed upon Kids, either roaſted with a Pudding of Rice, Almonds, and Raiſins in the Belly, or ſtew them with Butter and Pepper. They alſo have *Perſian* Sheep with fat Tails, but they are very rare and uſed ſeldom; but at great Entertainments they have Fowls, Capons, Geeſe, Wild-Ducks Peacocks, Teal, Partridges, Pidgeons, Sparrows, to which we might add, Eagles, Falcons, Hawks, and other Birds of Prey. They are not deſtitute of River-fiſh, ſuch as Carps, Eels, *&c.* but their Salt-fiſh is extraordinary good and cheap there, becauſe the *Mohammedans* prefer Fleſh before Fiſh, and the *Pagans* don't eat it at all: They have alſo Oiſters, Crabs, and Prawns. It is obſervable, that whereas in *Europe* all ſorts of Shell-fiſh are beſt at the Full-moon, here they are beſt at the New-moon, and empty at the Full-moon.

24. Their Veſſels are generally ſlightly built, and their great Guns kept above Deck. They ſeldom venture any farther than to *Java* and *Sumatra*, or to *Aden* and to *Mecca* upon the Red-Sea, whither they go with a vaſt Number of Pilgrims in the Beginning of *March*, and return not till the Middle of *September*, for fear of the Tempeſts, which from *June* till that Month are very violent in that Coaſt, whereas otherwiſe this Voyage might be performed in two Months. They carry to the Coaſt of *Aden* Calicoes, Indico, Camphire, Tobacco, Allum, Sulphur, Benjamin, Pepper, and many other Spices, Mirobalans, and many other Preſerves; in lieu of which they bring back Coral, Amber, a certain red Dye called Miſſet, Coffee-berries and Opium; but their beſt Returns are in ready Caſh.

Their Coaſting Veſſels, which go to *Cambaya* and *Broitſchaia*, and ſometimes to *Perſia*, go away in *January* and *February*, and return in *April* or *May*, and bring along with them Brocades, Silk, Stuffs, Velvets, Camblets, Pearls, Almonds, Raiſins, Nuts and Dates, but eſpecially Roſe-water. Their Ships that go to *Achen* in the Iſle of *Sumatra*, are of two or three hundred Tons Burthen, carrying thither the Products of their Country, in lieu of which they bring back Brimſtone, Benjamin, Camphire, Porcelain, Tin, and Pepper: They ſail in *May*, and return in *October*. The *Malabars* can alſo drive a great Trade at *Surat*, *Cambaya*, and *Broitſchaia*. They bring thither Bark of Cocoa-trees, which is uſed for making Cordage, the Pith of the ſame Tree, Arreca and Betle, a kind of Wood which dyes Red, called by them Patang and Harpus, which they uſe for caulking their Ships, beſides Rice and other Proviſions. Theſe they exchange for Opium, Saffron, Coral, Calicoes, and other Stuffs. They come to the Coaſt of *Surat* in *December*, and return in *April*. Formerly the *Portugueze* uſed to be the ſole Maſters of the Trade of *Guzurat*, by means of their Forts at *Daman*, *Diu*, and *Goa*; but ſince the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have made their Settlements in theſe Parts, they have been forced to confine their Trade to *Goa*.

25. Theſe Travels and Voyages will ſufficiently juſtify the Character we have given of them and of their Author, at the ſame time that they will fully anſwer our Intention in affording a clear, inſtructive, and entertaining Deſcription of one of the fineſt Countries in *India*, as well as of the ſeveral Nations that inhabit it. There is a Freedom and Plainneſs in our Author's Stile, that as they are inſeparable from, ſo they are the ſureſt and moſt inconteſtable Signs of Truth, which, in Works of this Nature, is of greater

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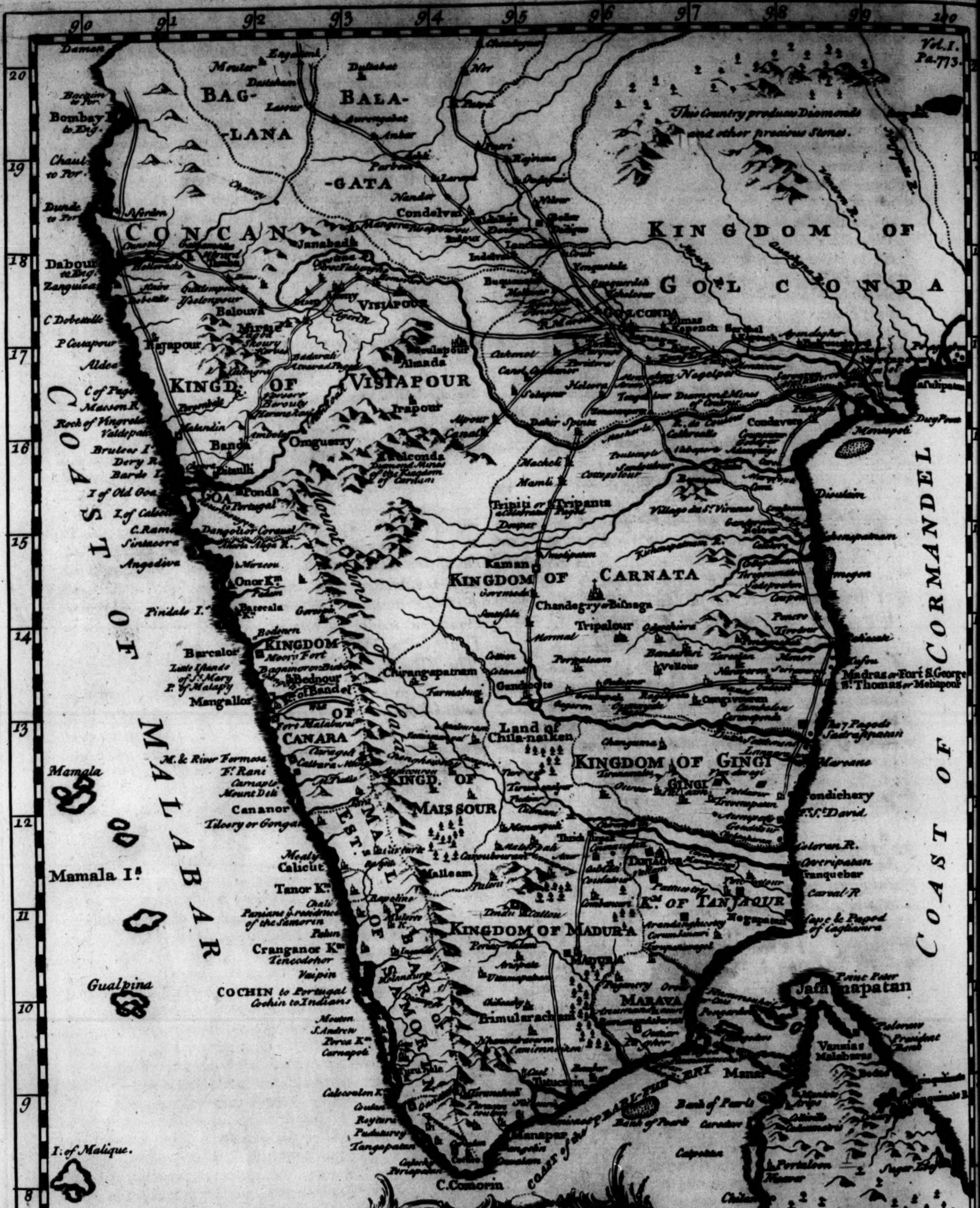

A MAP OF INDIA.
on the West Side of the GANGES, Comprehending the Coasts of MALABAR, CORMANDEL and the ISLAND CEYLON.

BAG-LANA
BALA-GATA
CONCAN
KINGDOM OF GOLCONDA
This Country produces Diamonds and other precious Stones.
KINGD. OF VISIAPOUR
GOLCONDA
VISIAPOUR
COAST OF MALABAR
COAST OF CORMANDEL
KINGDOM OF CARNATA
KINGDOM OF CANARA
KINGD. OF MAIS SOUR
Land of Chila-naiken
KINGDOM OF GINGI
Kdm. OF TANJAOUR
KINGDOM OF MADURA
MARAVA
ISLE OF CEYLON
CANDY
Jafnapatan
Bombay
Damon
Chaul
Dabour
GOA
Onor
Barcalor
Mangallor
Cananor
Calicut
Tanor
Cranganor
COCHIN to Portugal
C. Comorin
Madras or Fort S. George
S. Thomas or Meliapour
Pondichery
Fort S. David
Tranquebar
Negapatan
Masulipatan
Mamala
Mamala Is.
Gualpina
I. of Malique
Suelba
Tymor or Maloes
Pic Adam
Colombo
Point Gallo
Mount Gate
Coast of the Pearl Fishery
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Value than any other Quality whatever. As the Writer often refers to the ancient Hiſtory of *India*, and the Cuſtoms of the People before they were at all intermixed with Foreigners, the former Part of this Work will enable even the unlearned Reader to underſtand all theſe Things perfectly, and to reap a new Pleaſure from peruſing this Performance, as we have placed it, ſince he is already poſſeſſed of all the Lights that are neceſſary to illuſtrate it. By comparing the hiſtorical Paſſages that occur in relation to the Mogul Empire with the ſuccinct Hiſtory we have already given of that Government, theſe Travels will become a Supplement to that Reign in which the Author viſited *Indoſtan*.

We cannot have a better Account of the general Situation of Trade, or of the particular Circumſtances of the ſeveral *European* Nations concerned in the Commerce of the *Indies*, for the Time in which he wrote, than our Author has given; and, therefore, as his Work is elucidated by what is contained in the preceding Sections, ſo his Accounts will ſerve to throw Light upon the following Sections, and deliver the Reader from the Toil of running thro' a dry Diſcuſſion of Facts, which, though tedious in itſelf, would otherwiſe make a neceſſary Part of this Performance. As to the References that occur in theſe and in the ſubſequent Relation to our Author's Travels through *Perſia*, they will be cleared up by recurring to thoſe Travels in the ſubſequent Volumn. At preſent we ſhall proceed with his Voyages through and Remarks on the reſt of the *Indies*, which will be found no leſs curious and improving than thoſe we have already peruſed.

SECTION XXVII.

The remaining Voyages of John Albert de Mandelſloe *through the* Indies, *including, his Deſcriptions of Countries, hiſtorical Remarks upon ſeveral Nations, and his Obſervations on the Commerce of the* Portugueze, Engliſh, *and* Dutch *at that Time.*

Tranſlated from the Author's original Voyage, written by himſelf.

1. *An introductory Account of the Deſign of this Section.* 2. *The Author's Departure from* Surat *in the Year* 1639. 3. *He arrives in the Port of* Goa, *and gives us a particular Account of that City, and of the Reception he met with there.* 4. *A compleat View of the Government, Manners, Cuſtoms and Commerce of the* Portugueze. 5. *Continuation of his Voyage, including an Account of the* Malabar *Coaſt, and its Inhabitants.* 6. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Iſland of* Ceylon. 7. *A particular Deſcription of that Iſland, and the Commodities it produces.* 8. *The Informations he received from the* Portugueze Jeſuits *as to the Countries he did not viſit.* 9. *A very large and particular Deſcription of the Coaſt of* Coromandel, *together with the Kingdoms of* Pegu *and* Siam. 10. *The Kingdoms of* Cambodia, Malacca, Patapan, *and* Johore *deſcribed.* 11. *A View of the great* Iſland *of* Sumatra, *and its Inhabitants.* 12. *A diſtinct Account of the Iſland of* Java, *its ſeveral Principalities and their Inhabitants.* 13. *Of the* Iſlands *of* Celebes *and* Amboyna; *together with an Account of the Spice-Iſlands, and their Commerce.* 14. *An Account of the* Philippines, *and of the* Spaniſh *Government there.* 15. *The Hiſtory of* Japan, *and the adjacent Iſlands, as delivered to the Author by the Miſſionaries.* 16. *A very ſingular Deſcription of the Iſland of* Formoſa, *and its Inhabitants.* 17. *A ſuccinct Account of the mighty Empire of* China. 18. *The Author's Voyage to the* Cape of Good-Hope. 19. *Obſervations made there, and in his Paſſage to* Madagaſcar. 20. *A very full Relation of the Iſland of* Madagaſcar, *and its Inhabitants.* 21. *An Account of the* Portugueze *Settlement in the Iſland of* Moſambique. 22. *The Author proſecutes his Voyage to the Iſland of St.* Helena. 23. *The Author's Obſervations upon that Iſland, the Iſland of St.* Thomas, *and other adjacent Iſlands.* 24. *An hiſtorical Account, together with the Author's Remarks on the* Portugueze *Settlements in* Africa. 25. *That Subject continued, with a ſuccinct Deſcription of thoſe Colonies at that Time.* 26. *An Account of* Cape-Verd *and the adjacent Iſlands.* 27. *Remarks on the* Azores, Madera, *and* Canary-Iſlands. 28. *Occurrences in their Voyage from the* Azores *to the Port of* London. 29. *Obſervations made by the Author during his Stay in* England. 30. *His Return through* Holland *to* Holſtein. 31. *Remarks and Obſervations on the before-mentioned Voyages.*

1. THE great Kindneſs and many Civilities ſhewn to Mr. *Mandelſloe* by the chief Director of the *Engliſh* Commerce at *Surat*, naturally inclined him to lay hold of the Offer that Gentleman made him of returning to *Europe* in an *Engliſh* Ship, which he the more readily accepted, becauſe it put it in his Power to execute his Commiſſion fully of gaining the beſt Intelligence he could as to the Commerce of the Eaſt. The *Engliſh* Director was to make a trading Voyage, which particularly required his viſiting the *Portugueze* Ports, where he had many Affairs to ſettle; and this could not but be agreeable to a Man who travelled from ſuch Views as our Author had, inaſmuch as it gave him an Opportunity of ſeeing whatever he wiſhed to behold, and afforded at the ſame time the faireſt Occaſions for examining all he ſaw. We ſhall diſcern, from the ſubſequent Section, that he improved theſe Advantages to the utmoſt, and that he carried back with him to his Maſter the cleareſt and moſt circumſtantial Account of the *Indies* that had till that Time appeared in *Europe*.

I cannot but obſerve, with reſpect to this Detail of Facts, that he is, of all Writers, the moſt unſuſpected, and therefore the moſt worthy of Credit. An *Engliſh*, a *French*, or a *Dutch* Writer, can never diveſt himſelf entirely of the Prejudices imparted to him by his Country; but this Gentleman could have none of thoſe Prejudices, and therefore we may ſafely rely upon what he ſays of any, or of all theſe Nations. He had not only an Inclination, but an Intereſt alſo in purſuing Truth. It was this, and this only, that could recommend him to his Maſter, and therefore of this he never loſt Sight. The *German* Probity appears no where with greater Luſtre than in his Writings; and it was the ſingular Felicity of this great Traveller, that with a Capacity equal to his Undertaking, he joined a Candour altogether unblemiſhed. Let us then reſume the Thread of his Narration, and after travelling with him through *Indoſtan*, embark with him at *Surat* for the Voyage of the *Indies*.

2. The *Engliſh* chief Director having taken Leave of the Governor of *Surat*, the Firſt of *January*, 1639, who received him with extraordinary Civility, and preſented him with a Garment of Brocade, beſides many other Rarities; and having ſpent two Days more in taking our Leaves of our Friends, we went on Board the third in Company with the new Preſident, and all the other *Engliſh* Merchants, where we feaſted for three Days, and at

laſt ſailed the Fifth in the *Mary*, and came the ſame Night in Sight of the City of *Daman*, where we met with one of our Ships that had ſtaid for a *Portugueze* Veſſel that was to go with us to *Goa*. The Governor of the City ſent us a large Veſſel with Wine, and divers Refreſhments; for though the City was then beſieged by the King of *Decan*, yet the Harbour being open, they had ſufficient Supplies brought them by Sea. The Kingdom of *Decan*, or *Cuncam*, by ſome called *Viſiapour* from its capital City, extends all along that Coaſt from *Indediva*, which is within twelve Leagues of *Goa* to the South, as far as *Siſſardo*. The chief maritime Places belonging to it are *Gatapour*, *Roſſapour*, *Carrapatar*, and *Dabul*; but *Viſiapour* the capital City, lies eighty Leagues from *Dabul*, and eighty-four from *Goa*. This City is about eight Leagues in Circumference, being encompaſſed with a very high Wall of Freeſtone, and a broad Ditch, and many Out-works, provided with a thouſand Pieces of Iron and Braſs Cannon. The Royal Palace is in the very Centre of the City, three thouſand five hundred Paces in Compaſs, being divided from the Body of the City by two Walls, and as many Ditches. The City has no leſs than five Suburbs, where moſt of the Merchants live; and in the Suburb *Champour* moſt of the Jewellers have their Habitations. The Inhabitants are for the moſt part Natives of the Kingdom of *Decan*, the reſt are *Banjans*, *Moguls*, and *Gentives*.

The City of *Dabul* is ſeated on the River *Helewacko*, in 17° 40′ on this Side of the Line, being one of the moſt ancient Cities in the Kingdom of *Decan*; but is without either Gates or Walls, defended only on the River-ſide by two Batteries. As you enter the River, you ſee to the left Hand a Wood, and near it a Caſtle, as alſo a white Tower, which ſerves for a Pagod; but is a good Direction for Pilots. Its Entrance being none of the beſt by reaſon of a long Sand Bank at the very Mouth of it, which at low Water is quite dry; the only ſafe way to eſcape it is to keep to the South Side; there, at low Water, you have five or ſix Fathom Water, though at the very Mouth you have not above twelve or fourteen Foot; within a League before you come to the River is very ſafe riding for Ships, though the Road, in the Bay of *Zanquizara*, four Leagues thence is incomparably better. The Harbour of *Ceitapour*, the moſt excellent on all that Coaſt, lies twelve Leagues thence, the Veſſels being ſheltered here by an adjacent Iſland againſt all Winds. It lies in 17° 10′, and twenty Leagues from *Goa*. Three Leagues from the ſaid Harbour lies the City of *Roſſapour*, one of the beſt maritime Towns of the Kingdom of *Decan*; and nineteen Leagues thence is the Bay of *Wingurla*, a very convenient Haven. It lies three Leagues from the *Iſlas Quemadas*. We will now come to its Inhabitants, which are either *Banjans*, or *Mohammedans*.

The chief Trade of the City of *Dabul* is in Salt and Pepper brought thither from *Oranubammara*. They uſed formerly to drive a conſiderable Traffick to *Perſia*, and the *Red-Sea*; but they ſend but few Ships thither now. The ordinary Cuſtom paid here is *3 l. 10 s. per Cent.* but the *Engliſh* pay only one Moiety of it. Though the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Decan* or *Cuncam* are *Banjans*, yet are they not ſo averſe to Fleſh as the others in the *Indies*; for they will feed upon any Fleſh, except that of an Ox, Cow, Buffaloe, and Swine; for the laſt they have an abſolute Abomination, and the Ox and Cow are in great Veneration with them. In their Life and Converſation, Marriages, Purifications, and other Ceremonies, they follow the Footſteps of the other *Banjans*.

Their Habitations are only Cottages of Straw, the Doors being ſo low, that one can't go in without ſtooping. Their Furniture amounts to no more than a Mat to ſleep upon, and in the midſt of the Hut you ſee a Hole in the Ground, wherein they beat the Rice. They don't differ in their Habit from the other *Banjans*, except that they wear moſtly Wooden Shoes tied up over the Inſteps with Leather Straps; but their Children go naked, till they are ſeven or eight Years of Age. Their Arms are the ſame with the *Indoſtans*; moſt of them are Goldſmiths by Trade, though ſome alſo profeſs Phyſick and Surgery; they have alſo ſome Carpenters, Maſons, and Barbers among them.

The chief Commerce of the Kingdom of *Decan* conſiſts in Pepper and Proviſions. The firſt is tranſported thence into *Perſia*, *Surat*, and *Europe*, as alſo abundance of Calico; with the latter they furniſh the Provinces of *Indoſtan*, *Golconda*, and *Coromandel*, who fetch good Quantities of Stuffs there. In the Mountains of *Balogatta* much Lacque is made, but does not approach in Goodneſs to that of *Guzarat*. At *Viſiapour* are abundance of Jewellers that deal in Pearls; but they are not ſo cheap here as in ſome other Places. The *Portugueze* have a conſiderable Trade in this Kingdom, its Frontiers reaching within four Leagues of *Goa*. There are a ſort of People called *Veneſars* in *Decan*, whoſe chief Buſineſs is to buy up vaſt Quantities of Wheat and Rice here, and then carry it in great Caravans of one thouſand Beaſts at a time to *Indoſtan*, and other neighbouring Countries. They carry their Families along with them, their Wives being ſo expert in managing of the Bow, that they ſerved them for a Guard againſt the *Raſhpoots*, and other Robbers.

Two ſorts of Money are current in *Decan*, the *Larins*, or *Laris*, which come from *Perſia*, and the *Pagodas*; eight of the firſt make a *Pagod*, which is equivalent to ten *Laris* of *Dabul*; their Copper Coin is called *Barſarinques*, nine whereof go to a *Piece*, and eighteen of theſe to a *Laris*; beſides which, each City, nay, each Village of Note, has its peculiar Coin, which, together with the Counterfeit Coin, breeds no ſmall Confuſion. Their Weights are the ſame with thoſe of *Guzurat*, except that twenty *Maons* of *Surat* make twenty-ſeven in *Decan*, the ordinary *Maons* conſiſting of forty *Ceeres*, and one *Coppeyjes* make twenty-ſeven Pounds, each of which has two Marks; they have a particular Weight for Pepper called *Geomy*, weighing twelve *Maons*, four of which make an hundred Weight, and twenty a *Canday*.

The King of *Decan*, or *Viſiapour*, is tributary to the Great Mogul, though it be ſuppoſed he can raiſe two hundred thouſand Men; and theſe Kings have had conſiderable Wars with the *Portugueze*, from whom they took twice the City of *Goa* in 1586; but at laſt, finding the War deſtructive to their Commerce, came to a Compoſition with them, which laſted till 1638, when the *Portugueze* having ſeized ſome of the King of *Decan*'s Ships, which, contrary to their Agreement, were carrying Pepper to *Mecca* and *Perſia*, they came again to Hoſtilities. The King of *Decan* is famous for his great Artillery, of which he has more than any of the *Indian* Princes, and among the reſt one great Piece of Braſs Cannon, the Ball whereof weigheth eight hundred Weight, and requires five hundred and forty Pounds of fine Powder. The Engineer who caſt it was an *Italian*.

3. But to return to our Voyage, early in the Morning, *January* the 7th, we came before the City *Baccin* belonging to the *Portugueze*, where we ſtaid ſome Hours in Expectation of a certain Jeſuit we were to carry to *Goa*; but he not coming, we continued our Courſe, but were ſcarce got a League before we ſaw a *Portugueze* Frigate come after us; we back'd our Sails till ſhe came near us, and found her to be a Veſſel that came on purpoſe to go along with us under *Engliſh* Colours, for fear of being interrupted by the *Dutch*; ſhe brought us ſome Preſents, *viz.* three Oxen, ſome Sheep, Oranges, Citrons and Bread from the Governor. The 9th we ſailed with another Wind by the Iſles of *Bandera* and *Bombay*, which ſtretched along the Coaſt from *Baccim* to *Viſiapour*; the laſt has a good Road for Anchorage, and is of a pretty large Extent. On the 10th we ſailed by *Raſiſapour* within twenty-one Leagues of *Goa*, and in the Afternoon by the City of *Vingerla*, where the *Dutch* have a Settlement four Leagues from *Goa*, and in the Evening came in Sight of the Iſles about *Goa*, and of two Iſles that ſecure the Harbour. On the 11th we came to an Anchor under the Fort *de Guarda*, which lies not above a Mile from the City of *Goa*; we ſaw ſix Galleons and a Carrack in the Haven; ſoon after came aboard us a *Portugueze* Captain to complement the *Engliſh* Preſident in the Viceroy's Name, and immediately after the Commodore of the Galleons. The Harbour of *Goa* was then blocked up by twelve *Dutch* Ships, notwithſtanding which we ſaw coming in a Caravan, conſiſting of three hundred ſmall coaſting Veſſels laden with Pepper, Ginger, Cinnamon, Sugar, Rice, Fruits, and Preſerves, beſides abundance of Proviſions.

The *Engliſh* Preſident, whoſe Buſineſs here was chiefly with the Director of the *Exchequer*, went to pay him a Viſit, his Trumpets ſounding all the way as he went up the River, who received him with great Demonſtrations of Friendſhip, becauſe they had known one another long before; being carried thence to his Lodgings, he deſired, and had Audience given him immediately by the Viceroy. His Palace lying on the River-ſide, we found divers of his Gentlemen there to receive and conduct us into the Hall of Audience, in the Anti-chamber of which Palace we ſaw his Guards ſtanding in two Files. The Viceroy himſelf was dreſſed in black, and ſo were all his Courtiers, and at the coming in of the Preſident roſe out of his Chair till the other was ſat down: After ſome ſtay the Preſident was re-conducted to the Water-ſide by the ſame Gentleman that brought us thither; as we paſſed along we were ſhewn twelve of the Viceroy's Horſes, richly accoutered, and a Biggel, a Creature much about the Bigneſs and Colour of a Rain-deer. Its Head like an Horſe, its Main like an Aſs, with black cloven Feet, and two black Horns on his Head.

We had ſcarce dined when we were crowded with Viſitants, moſt of the Perſons of Quality among the *Portugueze*, and the Deputies of all the Monaſteries coming to complement us, the ten Days we ſtaid at *Goa* being ſpent in nothing but Feaſts and Viſits. The moſt magnificent Entertainment of all we received from a certain *Portugueze* Lord, who was then Governor of *Mozambique*; each Courſe conſiſted of four Diſhes, but we had ſo many of them, and ſuch Variety of Meats, Fruits, and Preſerves, that I ſcarce ever ſaw the like in my Life; and to add to the reſt, we were ſerved at the Table by four very handſome *Malacca* Maids. The 16th we were invited to the profeſſed Houſe of the Jeſuits; it conſiſted of an hundred and fifty Fathers, and as many Students; but the Structure, which was four Story high, and very ſpacious, could have contained a much greater Number. We paſſed through the Hall, where we found Tables ſet all along the Walls with Trenchers, Drinking-Cups, and Earthen Pots. In the midſt of the Hall we ſaw another ſquare Table, intended for ſuch of their Society as were bound over to pennance, upon the account of ſome Delinquency or other. Towards the Entry ſtood a Pillar, from whence iſſued out a Spout of Water for the Conveniency of waſhing their Hands; we were thence conducted into a noble Apartment, richly furniſhed, and adorned with Tapeſtry, where a Table ſtood ready prepared for us in the midſt of the Room, covered with Fruits and Bread in Porcelain Diſhes, which is here preferred before Silver.

The Father Provincial having placed the *Engliſh* Preſident on his right Hand, ſet down, and ſo did the reſt of the Company; ſo that betwixt every two ſat two Jeſuits to entertain us. The Meat was likewiſe ſerved up in Porcelain Veſſels, as well as the Deſert. After Dinner we were brought into ſeveral Chambers to take our Repoſe, according to the Cuſtom of the Country; after which we paſſed into another ſpacious Hall, where we had the Diverſion of Dancing, by certain *Indian* Children brought up in the Roman Catholick Religion; there were among other Shews an Entry made by fifteen Perſons, having in their Hands ſome Pieces of a broken Pillar, and divers Garlands of Flowers, wherewith they adorned the Pillar, after they had with exact Obſervance of the Cadence, each in their ſeveral Turning put it together; and ſoon after we ſaw at the Top of the Pillar came out a Tulip, which opening of itſelf by Doors, produced the Image of the Bleſſed Virgin, with our Saviour in her Arms; beſides which, the Pillar opened in ſeveral other Places, and caſt forth perfumed Waters; after which the Dancers took the Pillar to Pieces again, and carried it off dancing as they had brought it in. We had another Entry of twelve young Lads, each playing upon a peculiar Inſtrument, ſome Morris-dancers, and the Ball was concluded with another Entry of twelve Boys dreſſed like Apes, who imitated thoſe Creatures in their Leapings and Geſtures to the Life. They farther told us, that they uſed theſe Inticements to bring over the *Pagans* and *Mohammedans* to the Church, and to divert their Diſciples after their Studies.

January the 18th we dined with the Jeſuits at their College called *Bon Jeſus*. The firſt thing we obſerved in their Halls were the Pictures of many Princes and Perſons of Quality that had been of this Society, and the Hiſtory of their Martyrs; among whom we found thoſe of that Fraternity that were engaged in the Gunpowder Plot in *England*; upon which Account they made us an ample Relation of the Sufferings of their Brethren in *Japan*, and the unheard-of Cruelties exerciſed againſt them as well as the *Japaneſe* Chriſtians. Thence they brought us into their Church, which for its Greatneſs and Sumptuouſneſs may, without all Compariſon, challenge the Preference before any Church the Jeſuits are Maſters of in *Aſia*. The high Altar was one of the moſt magnificent that ever I beheld of that kind; but that which was dedicated to *Saint Francis Xavier*, whom they ſtile the Apoſtle of the *Indies*, exceeds the other in Riches.

Here we ſaw his Image drawn to the Life, upon Wood, and they were pleaſed to tell us, that his Body was yet to be ſeen in the ſame Church as intire as it was the firſt Minute after his Death; nay, they farther told us, that the Body of this Saint being hid in the Iſle of *Ceylon*, was diſcovered by its odoriferous Scent, which was perceived many Leagues at Sea; in which the good Fathers were not a little deceived, ſince the Scent, which is ſmelled at a great Diſtance from the Iſland of *Ceylon*, proceeds from the vaſt Number of Cinnamon Trees which are all over that Iſland. Beſides, that this Story does not agree with what *Maffæus*, one of their Authors, tells us concerning this Saint, *viz.* that having preached the Goſpel in the *Indies*, he came to *China*, where he died immediately after his landing; and that the Maſter of the Veſſel having put his Body into unſlacked Lime, in order to carry his Bones away, this corroding Matter did not exert its Virtue upon it, but the Body remained entire and uncorrupted, and had a very odoriferous Smell; whereupon it was reſolved to carry it to *Goa*, which was done accordingly. As we were going from the Church to the Refectory, they forgot not to entertain us with the Miracles of this Saint, of his raiſing the Dead, commanding the Sea and Winds, as well as the Sun, the laſt of which he brought back an Hour after Sun-ſet.

We ſaw in the Hall here Tables for above two hundred Perſons, but only the moſt conſiderable dined with us, the reſt waited: Our Entertainment was much the ſame as in the other College, but we had moſt excellent Canary given us; and though theſe Fathers have the Reputation of extraordinary Sobriety, yet out of Complaiſance to our Company, they were not backward in making the Cup go round when they perceived we liked the Wine. They alſo carried us up into the Steeple, whence we had a full View of all the City, the Sea, the River, and the adjacent Country, as far as the Mountains. The next Morning two of the Fathers came to our Lodgings to ſhew us the Hoſpital which is under the Inſpection of the Jeſuits. It is a very large and noble Structure, containing as many Chambers, Halls and Galleries, as will conveniently lodge and accommodate one thouſand ſick Perſons; each Bed is marked with a particular Number, and ſuch as are not taken up are diſtinguiſhed by a particular Mark. The Kitchen and Apothecary's Shop are well worth Obſervation. I found the chief Diſtempers of the Sick here to be the Bloody-flux and the Pox. They have this Cuſtom, that as ſoon as any Patient is paſt all Hopes of Recovery, he is ſhut up in a private Room with a Prieſt, that the reſt may not be diſturbed by the Groans of the dying Perſon.

Hence we went to the Convent of our Lady belonging to the *Auſtin-Friars*, which being built upon riſing Ground, makes a moſt glorious Shew at a Diſtance. I delivered to them the Letters of Recommendation I had received from their Brethren at *Iſphahan*, which made them treat me with more than ordinary Civilities, ſhewing me all the rich Copes and Veſtments belonging to the Monaſteries, and offering me all that lay in their Power for my Service. The Preſident having by this time received nine thouſand Pounds due, and a Promiſe of the Payment of the reſt to ſuch of the *Engliſh* Merchants as were to ſtay behind at *Goa*, he gave a ſplendid Entertainment to all ſuch as had ſhewed us any Civilities, and after having taken his Leave, the Governor and Commodore of the Galleons ſent him a Preſent of Cinnamon, Canary, Sheep, Fruits, and among the reſt a Bottle of Oil made of the Flowers of Cinnamon.

4. On the 20th we left *Goa*, and upon the River met with an hundred ſmall Veſſels which came from the Coaſt of *Malabar*; we were no ſooner got out of the River, but we made ſtrait to the *Portugueze* Fleet, and went aboard the Flag Galleon called *Bon Jeſus*, carrying ſixty-four Guns, and ſix hundred Men; ſhe was a very noble Ship, and we were entertained with extraordinary Civility by the Commodore, who ſhewed us likewiſe all the other Ships; at parting we had the uſual Salute from the whole *Portugueze* Fleet, as alſo from the Fort *de Guarda*. As ſoon as the Preſident was come on Board, he returned them twenty Guns, which the Commodore anſwered with as many, and ſo came to an Anchor in the Road betwixt the *Portugueze* and the *Dutch*.

But before we take our Leave of *Goa*, it will not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of what we found moſt remarkable in a Place, which is the Capital of all belonging to the *Portugueze* in the *Indies*. It lies in the Kingdom of *Decan*, 15° on this Side the Line, in an Iſland of the ſame Name, which is divided from the Continent only by a River. The *Portugueze* conquered it the 16th of *February* 1510, but loſt it again the 30th of *May* following, and regained it once more the 12th of *November* in the ſame Year, when they took it by Storm. It was at that Time a very conſiderable Place of Trade, though it has much increaſed ſince the *Portugueze* have been Maſters of it. On the South Side is the Iſland of *Salſette*, likewiſe divided from the Continent by a ſmall River, as is the Iſle of *Bardes* to the North, where there is ſafe Anchorage for Ships with all Winds. The Fort *de Guarda* is built at the Foot of a Rock, upon which is erected a Tower in Form of a Redoubt, which in the Night-time ſerves for a Beacon to Mariners; from the Mouth of the River to the Harbour is about two Leagues, but it has the ſame Breadth all along, though in ſome Places it is ſo ſhallow, that in a dry Seaſon there is not above two Foot Water.

The Iſland of *Goa* is ſo barren, that it produces nothing fit for the Suſtenance of Men or Beaſts, except a few Fruits in the Gardens, and a ſlender Share of Graſs for Lambs and Goats; notwithſtanding which, they are ſo plentifully furniſhed with Proviſions from the two before-mentioned Iſlands, and the Continent, that in ſpight of the Blockade of the *Dutch*, a Hog was then ſold for a Crown, ſix ſucking Pigs, ten Pullets, or eight Wild-ducks, for the ſame Price; but Beef and Mutton is a great Rarity here. There is a Fountain repreſenting *Lucretia*, out of whoſe Wound iſſues forth as much freſh Water as ſupplies the whole City. The Ships provide themſelves with freſh Water out of a Rivulet, which coming out of a Rock falls into the other River near the Caſtle. The City has no other Defence but the River, having neither Gates nor Walls; the Buildings are generally very handſome, and Perſons of Note ſhew a great deal of Magnificence here both in their Buildings and Furniture.

The Inhabitants are of two ſorts, either *Caſtizes*, or *Meſtizes*; the firſt are ſuch as are born here of *Portugueze* Father and Mother; the ſecond, thoſe who were begotten by a *Portugueze*, or an *Indian*. The laſt are inclining to an olive Colour, and in the third Generation becomes as black as the Natives of the Country, which is alſo obſervable in the fourth Generation of the *Meſtizes*, though there is not the leaſt Mixture among them. The *Portugueze* are diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral Ranks; *Tituladoes* are thoſe in publick Employments; *Fidalgos da caſa del Rey*, are Gentlemen in ordinary to the King's Houſhold; *Mocas Fidalgos* are the Sons of the *Tituladoes*, admitted to Gentility by the King, the *Cavaleros Fidalgos*, and *Eſcuderos Fidalgos* are ſimply Gentlemen; thoſe called *Mocas da Camra*, or Grooms of the King's Chamber, paſs alſo for Gentlemen. All the reſt are *Hombres*, *Honrados*, and *Soldados*; the firſt of which are Merchants, and appear as well as any Gentlemen, there being ſcarce any thing here, except Taylors and Shoemakers, but what are ſerved by Slaves; no Perſon of Quality ever goes on Foot, but either on Horſeback, in a Litter, or Gondola, one Slave among the reſt conſtantly attending him with an Umbrella.

The *Portugueze* have always had the Reputation of being a very proud Nation; but thoſe of *Goa* are ſo to ſuch an Exceſs both in their Geſtures and Actions, as is ſcarce to be expreſſed; however, they are very ceremonious to one another, to ſuch a Punctilio, that if for inſtance in a Viſit any thing ſhould be omitted that is judged cuſtomary, and belonging to the Perſon that requires it, ſuch a Stain could not be wiped off without a Cudgeling, or Blood-ſhed; with the firſt they are very liberal towards inferior Perſons, if they think them to have been wanting in Reſpect due to thoſe of a better Rank.

The South-weſt Winds, which begin to blow here towards the End of *June*, bring the Winter Seaſon along with them, which continues for four Months all along that Coaſt, from *Diu* as far as the Cape *Comorin*, at which Time the frequent Tempeſts make the Sea ſo turbulent, that there are but few Havens where Ships can ride with Safety. This is the more to be admired, inaſmuch as in the ſame Months the Coaſts of *Coromandel*, which extend along the ſame Peninſula on the other Side, and lies under the ſame Degree of Latitude, nay, in ſome Places are not above twenty Leagues diſtant from the Coaſt of *Malabar*, is bleſſed with the moſt pleaſant Seaſon of all the Year.

This is manifeſt to thoſe who travel from *Cochin* by Land to *St. Thomas*, when they muſt croſs the Mountain of *Balagatta*, which divides this *Demi-Iſle* (as the *Appenine* do *Italy*) and no ſooner come to the Top of the Mountain, but they ſee on one Side a moſt clear and temperate Air, and the Country on the other Side covered with Waters, by the continual Rains and Fogs. The Ships that go from *Ormuz* to the Cape of *Roſſalgate* have made the ſame Obſervation; for no ſooner have they paſſed the Cape, but the fair Weather that has attended them thither changes on a ſudden into dreadful Tempeſts, ſo that it is evident there are but two Seaſons in this Country, and the Eaſt and Weſt Winds rule alternately once a Day; for the Therentes, or Land-winds coming from the Eaſt, blow from Midnight to Mid-day, but don't reach above ten Leagues into the Sea; whereas the Sea Winds coming from the Weſt (called Viraſons) blow all the reſt of the Day.

This ſo ſudden Change of the Seaſon, as well as conſtant Variation of the Winds, prove the Occaſion of many Diſtempers, eſpecially that called Mordexin, which kills without Delay, beſides Fevers and Bloody-flux, the only Remedy againſt which here is Bleeding. The Plague is not ſo much as known in the *Indies*; but the Pox deſtroys a great Number, and above all among the *Portugueze*; for though the Country itſelf furniſhes them with Remedies againſt this Diſtemper, yet the Inclinations betwixt the Sexes are ſo ſtrong and violent here, that they wont afford themſelves a proper Time for the Cure of this Diſeaſe, which is thus propagated beyond all Bounds. As the Women in theſe Parts have an exceſſive Inclination to white Men, and are always kept under Conſtraint, they will venture very hard to encompaſs their Ends; and to purſue this End, frequently make uſe of the Herb Doutro, Doutry, or Datura (as it is called by the *Indians*) to ſtupify their Huſband's Senſes to get an Opportunity of enjoying what they ſo much delight in. This Herb, called by the *Turks* and *Perſians* Datula, is a kind of Stramonea, according to the *Garſias ab Horto*, and *Chriſtopher de Acoſta*, being ſomewhat like our Bears Foot, and grows in the *Indies* in ſhady Places; of this they extract the Juice, whilſt it is green, or only take the Seed beaten to Powder, and mix it either with Preſerves, or in the Drink of thoſe they intend to ſtupify, which it does effectually for twenty-four Hours after he has taken it, being deprived of all Senſe or Motion, though with his Eyes open, unleſs ſome cold Water be applied to the Souls of his Feet, which recovers him, as it were, out of a ſound Sleep.

Scarce any *Portugueze* or *Meſtize* Women are ſeen to walk in the Streets; but if they go abroad upon neceſſary Occaſions, they are carried in Palanquins, or Litters, and ſo cloſely guarded, that it is impoſſible to ſpeak to them. They appear abroad richly dreſſed, in Velvets, Silks, and Brocades, adorned with Jewels, though at the ſame time they go at home in their Hair only, with nothing over them but a Calicoe Smock, reaching down to the Navel, and a painted Calicoe Petticoat. Their Fare is not much better, being Rice ſoaked in Broth, Fiſh, Mangoes, and ſuch-like Food. They have certain black Earthen Drinking-Veſſels called Gorgollets, which have Pipes coming up as high as the Brim, by which they ſuck the Water out of the Bottles. As Chaſtity is a Virtue here among the Women, produced rather by Neceſſity than Inclination, ſo their Huſbands are extreamly jealous of them; notwithſtanding which, they will contrive all poſſible means to have their Satisfaction, in ſpite of the Danger that attends it. This muſt be in a great meaſure attributed to an idle Life, having nothing to do to ſpend their Time but in chewing of Beetle, Cloves, and Nutmegs. A remarkable Inſtance of this Affection is the Love the *Indian* Women bear to the Children begotten by an *European*, which is ſuch, that they would rather die than part with them.

The Soldiers at *Goa* live at a very odd rate, being not liſted under any certain Companies, or Officers, unleſs in Time of War; but in Time of Peace at Liberty to ſeek their Fortune where they can, as having no other Pay but what perhaps their former Officers allow them voluntarily towards their Subſiſtence, that they may keep them at hand upon all Occaſions. You ſhall ſee ten or twelve of them live in a Hut, having not above two or three Suits of Cloaths among them all, which they wear by Turns, when they go abroad a begging, or ſeeking their Livelihood where they can meet with it. The *Portugueze* ſhew a deal of Magnificence in their Marriages and Chriſtenings. The Bridegroom, accompanied by all his Friends and Relations, goes to Church on Horſeback, the Bride following him in a Litter; both have two Godfathers, who preſents them to the Prieſt, after the Benediction is given, they return in the ſame manner to the Houſe; but none are permitted to enter with the young Couple except the Godfathers, who go all together into a Balcony to give the Company Thanks for this Favour. Their Chriſtenings are performed with the ſame Pomp, ſave that they carry alſo an Ewer with a clean Napkin, a Saltſellar, a Silver Baſon, ſurrounded with Flowers, and a Wax-Candle, in which is put a Piece of Gold or Silver for the Prieſt; but the Godfather or Midwife are always carried in a Litter.

The *Portugueze* entertain a great number of Slaves of both Sexes. Theſe they employ both in their Retinue, and about all other Buſineſs: As for inſtance, in ſelling of Fruits and other things, when they will be ſure to pitch upon handſome Wenches, which draw ſooner the Cuſtomers to them, and conſequently ſell at a dearer Rate. All that the Slaves get belong to their Maſters, even their Children, whom they keep, or ſell like Cattle, unleſs the Fathers redeem them within eight or ten Days after they are born. They keep them at a very eaſy Rate, their Diet being miſerable, and their Cloathing being only a little coarſe Calicoe to cover their privy parts. The Inhabitants of the neighbouring Country are *Pagans*, and generally *Banjans*, who dwell in ſtraw Huts, with little Doors, which ſerve alſo for Windows. Their whole Furniture conſiſts of little Mats made of Ruſhes, which ſerve both for Beds and Tables, a Drinking-Cup and Pitcher made of Fig-leaves, their daily Food being Rice. They are ſo ſuperſtitious, that if after they have ſaid their Prayers, they go abroad and meet with a Crow, they return home, and ſtir no more abroad that Day. Upon the Roads they conſtantly pay their Devotions to the Pagods, which the *Portugueze* connive at, their Inquiſition going no farther than to Chriſtians, or ſuch as have been ſo.

Their Ceremonies and manner of Living are the ſame with thoſe of *Decan*. One thing is remarkable among them, that their Phyſicians are in ſo great Eſteem at *Goa*, that they are generally preferred before the *Portugueze* themſelves, and are permitted to have their Umbrella's carried along with them, a Priviledge allowed here to none but Perſons of Quality. They will not eat with any body except their own Sect, not even in a Journey, though they ſhould be driven to the greateſt Extremity. There lives at *Goa* many *Decanins* and *Canarins*, who keep Shops there, and exchange their Proviſions and other Commodities they bring, for Porcelain, Velvet, Damaſk, *China* Commodities, Silks and Calicoes. They have alſo many Jewellers, Goldſmiths, Gravers, and other Artizans of this kind at *Goa*, who exceed all the *Europeans* in that kind. The *Canarins* live either upon Huſbandry or Fiſhing. Some maintain themſelves by managing the Cocoa Trees, ſome by waſhing and whitening of Calicoes. The Huſbandmen furniſh the City with Fowl, Milk, Fruit and Eggs. Their Wives are ſo hardy, that they never make uſe of a Midwife, and are no ſooner delivered, but they waſh the Child themſelves, wrap it up in a few Fig-leaves, and go about their Buſineſs again as before; which makes them ſo ſtrong and healthy, that they frequently live to an hundred Years of Age. They are ſo excellent at Swimming, that nothing is more common than to ſee them overturn in their Boats, which hold no more than one Perſon, and ſwim aſhore without any harm or loſs of the Boat. They burn their Dead, but their Women are under no Obligation to burn themſelves with their Huſbands, but only make a Vow of Widowhood. Here are two ſorts of *Jews*, either born in the *Indies* both by Father and Mother-ſide, or that come hither from *Paleſtine*, the laſt of which commonly ſpeak good *Spaniſh*: They enjoy a perfect Liberty of Conſcience, and have their own Synagogues. The *Mohammedans* here deal moſt in Spices from the *Red-Sea*.

The *Portugueze* traffick to *Bengal*, *Pegu*, *Malacca*, *China*, and *Cambaya*, in *Guzarat*. From Seven o'Clock in the Morning till Nine, when the Heat begins to encreaſe, you ſee all Perſons of Quality and Gentry meet in the Market-place to divert themſelves, partly with hearing of News, or elſe to ſee what is to be bought and ſold there. Merchants and Tradeſmen have their peculiar Streets, or Stations aſſigned them, according to their different Profeſſions; but their greateſt Profit is in exchanging and buying or ſelling of Money, eſpecially the *Spaniſh* Rials, and *Perſian Lari's*; alſo their Coin is of diverſe Sorts. Their ſmalleſt Money is of Tin, having a Globe on one Side, and on the other two Arrows croſs-wiſe. Eight of theſe *Baſorinques* make a *Ventin*, five whereof make a *Tange*; five *Tanges* make a *Serafin* of Silver, which makes 300 *Reis*; ſix *Tanges* goes to a *Pardai*. The *Serafin* has on one Side *St. Sebaſtian*, and on the other a Quiver full of Arrows. There is alſo a *Serafin* of Gold, coin'd formerly at *Ormuz*, the Metal of which exceeds in Fineneſs any other Coin in the *Indies*. They have alſo *Santemes* of ſix *Tanges*, and *Pagods* of fourteen, fifteen and ſixteen *Tanges*. Foreigners are obliged to pay eight *per Cent.* on all Commodities exported or imported, but great Moderations are uſed in the Taxations; beſides, that if a Merchant happen to export the ſame Commodities for want of Sale, they are allowed to export them without paying any further Cuſtom. They have alſo a Way of entering the Commodities they buy at *Goa* under the Seller's Name, and ſo they paſs Cuſtom free.

The Viceroy who was there at our Time was one Don *Pedro de Silva*, who was of no great Aſpect, but was for the reſt ſerved in the ſame State as a King. This Office is never continued above three Years in one Perſon, which is ſufficient to enrich him even to a very high Degree; for he has the Management of the King's whole Revenue, is at the Charge of keeping his Court, and, in the Progreſs he makes once a Year, for ſixty or eighty Leagues round, he receives vaſt Preſents from the neighbouring Princes and Governors; for though he has his Council of State, and Courts of Law and Equity, yet is he the ſole Judge of all civil Cauſes, unleſs they be of very great Conſequence, when an Appeal lies to the King; but in criminal Cauſes no Appeal is admitted, if the Perſon be under the Degree of a Gentleman; for theſe muſt be ſent with the Information brought againſt them to *Portugal*. The Viceroy at his Arrival always lands firſt in the Iſle of *Bardes*, from whence he ſends his Deputies to his Predeceſſor, who thereupon quits the Place.

5. On the 22d the *Engliſh* Director having ſent away the two Ships that came along with us to *Surat*, to carry thither the Money he had received at *Goa*, we hoiſted ſail. In the Evening we ſaw the whole *Dutch* Fleet under Sail, whence we judged that the Admiral, whoſe Name was *Cenon*, would have come on Board us, as he had promiſed

he would, but we loſt ſight of them by Night. On the 23d we had ſight of them again, and ſuppoſed that they ſteered their Courſe towards *Ceylon*, to aſſiſt the King againſt the *Portugueze*. About Noon we found ourſelves out of ſight of the Land, in 13° Lat. We intended to ſteer for the Coaſt of *Malabar*, upon Information that an *Engliſh* Ship, richly laden, coming from *Bantam*, was taken by theſe, after a brave Defence, in which it had blown up above 1200 of the *Moors*, after they were entered the Ship. Our Intent was to redeem the Maſter and the Mate with fourteen Priſoners that were taken aboard her; but coming to an Anchor the ſame Night in the Harbour of *Cananor*, we found three *Engliſh* Ships, the *Dragon*, the *Catherine*, and the *Seymour*, commanded by Captain *Waddel*, a very experienced Sea Officer, who had ſerved at the taking of *Ormuz*, by whom being informed, that moſt of thoſe Priſoners were ſet at Liberty, we reſolved to leave the Coaſt of *Malabar*. The City of *Cananor* is inhabited by *Malabars*, a People that inhabit that Coaſt from the City of *Goa* as far as the Cape of *Comorin*, but the *Portugueze* have a good Fleet at *Cananor*.

All that Tract of Land is very fertile in Spices, but eſpecially in Pepper, which is eſteemed better even than that which is brought from *Sumatra* and *Java*. They go for the moſt part naked, except that they cover their privy Parts, have Holes in their Ears, and are like the *African Moors*, except that their Lips are not quite ſo thick. Their Hair they tie in a Knot upon the Crown of their Heads, and let the Beard grow without any trimming, which makes them appear more like Monſters than Men, neither is their internal Diſpoſition unanſwerable to their external Appearance, being in Effect a very uncivilized and barbarous Generation, and making for the moſt part Profeſſion either of Piracy or Soldiery. They are rather fierce than brave, handle their Bows and Arrows, and alſo their Swords and Bucklers, with ſufficient Dexterity. They have their particular King, who being of the Sect of the *Bramans*, is alſo their High-Prieſt, and ſtiles himſelf *Zamorin* or Emperor of *Cananor* and *Calicut*. The *Nayers* are the Gentlemen of the Country, who by their Bracelets and Rings are diſtinguiſhed from the *Polya's*, or vulgar ſort, theſe laſt being obliged to go out of their Way, and pay them a peculiar Reſpect as they paſs by. I was told, that at the Time of the firſt Settlement of the *Portugueze* in thoſe Parts, the *Nayers* pretended to have the ſame Honours from the *Portugueze* which theſe (who were no leſs proud than the other) refuſing to comply with, it was agreed, the Difference ſhould be decided by a ſingle Combat betwixt a *Portugueze* and a *Nayer*, in which the firſt having got the better, the *Nayers* ever ſince pay the ſame Reſpect to the *Portugueze* as the *Polya's* do to them.

They have among other Priviledges this, that they may freely enter the Houſes of their Comrades, and pleaſe themſelves with their Wives and Daughters, the Signal being to leave their Sword and Buckler at the Door; which done, no body, not even the Maſter of the Houſe, will enter to diſturb them; but a *Nayer* will never degrade himſelf ſo far, as to have any Commerce with the Wife of a *Polya*. The *Malabars* uſe Bodkins, with which they write upon the Bark of Cocoa-trees; their Characters being quite different from thoſe of the other *Indians*, are underſtood only by the *Bramans*. The King of *Calicut* never eats or drinks any thing but what has been preſented before to his Pagod, or Idol. The Inheritance to the Crown does not fall to the Son, but his Siſter's Son, ſince, as the *Bramans* here have the Firſt-fruits of the Bride's Virginity, the Children are ſuppoſed to be begotten by them. As to the City of *Cochin*, Notice muſt be taken, that there are two of that Name in the ſame Kingdom of *Cochin*, one whereof is inhabited by *Malabars*, and lies upon a great River; the laſt of which we now ſpeak, lies upon the Coaſt, and is under the Subjection of the *Portugueze*, having the Sea to the Weſt, and being ſurrounded on the Land-ſide with a Foreſt of certain black Trees, which the Inhabitants hollow out, and make Boats of, and will go with them as far as *Goa*.

The Entrance of the Harbour is rocky and dangerous. The Rains of the winter Seaſon which ſwells the neighbouring Brooks, forces ſo much Earth during that Time into the Mouth of the Harbour, that it is ſtopped up and quite unpaſſable, till the Wind, which changes with the Seaſon, carries the ſame into the Sea. The *Portugueze* buy the Pepper here from the King at a certain Rate, who is one of the moſt potent Princes of all thoſe Parts, being able to bring into the Field 100,000 Men, moſt *Nayers*, who are obliged to appear in Arms at their own Charge. His Subjects are ſomething more civilized than the other *Malabars*, but obſerve the ſame Rule in their Marriages concerning the *Bramins*, and conſequently in reſpect of their Succeſſion. The chief Trade of *Cochin* is in Pepper, Ginger and Cinnamon. The *Malabars* had formerly but one King, till *Sarama Perymal*, who alone commanded on all that Coaſt from *Goa* to *Comorin*, having embraced the *Mohammedan* Religion, and reſolved to ſpend his Days near the Sepulchre of the Prophet, divided his Dominions among his neareſt Friends, under Condition that the Kings of *Cananor*, *Cochin* and *Chaul*, ſhould pay Homage to the King of *Calicut*, upon whom for that reaſon he beſtowed the Title of *Zamorin*, or Emperor; but notwithſtanding this the King of *Cochin* is much more potent than he.

6. On the 26th we left *Cananor*, and the next Day diſcovered eighteen Sail of Ships, which, making up towards us, we began to ſuſpect them for Pirates, as indeed they proved. We had juſt Time enough to put ourſelves in a Poſture of Defence, when they began to come pretty near us, but did not think fit to attack us till Midnight, when the Moon ſhining very bright, they ſurrounded us on all Sides, but were ſo warmly received, that we ſunk two and diſabled three or four more, which made them think of retreating. We paſſed that Night in Sight of the Fort of *Cochin*, and the 28th ſaw no more than fourteen of theſe Pirates following us at a Diſtance; we continued our Courſe with a fair Gale in Sight of the Cape of *Comorin*, to the S. E. of us, being the moſt ſouthern Part of the *Indies* known among the Ancients by the Name of *India* on this Side the *Ganges*. The next Night the *Malabars* made a Shew as if they intended to venture the other Bruſh with us; but a Volley of Shot, though without Bullets, ſent them a going, ſo that we heard no more of them.

The 29th we came within Sight of the Iſland of *Ceylon*, at the very Point of which we were becalmed for three Weeks. This Iſle extends from the South-Eaſt to the North-Eaſt, between the two Capes of *Comorin* and *Negapatan*, about ten Leagues from the Continent; its Length being ſixty Leagues, and its Breadth forty; its Circumference two hundred and fifty; and, according to the Report of the Inhabitants, its Compaſs was much larger before the Violence of the Sea carried away a large Part of Land on the Side towards *Comorin*. It is the richeſt and moſt fertile of all the *Indian* Iſlands, which I ſuppoſe to be the *Taprobana* of the Ancients, though I am not ignorant that ſome of our modern Geographers make it the Iſle of *Sumatra*, of which more hereafter. I did not, without Reaſon, call the Iſle of *Ceylon* the richeſt and moſt fertile of all the *Indian* Iſlands, it being unqueſtionable that it has not only great Plenty of every thing that other Iſlands produce, but beſides this whole Foreſts of Orange, Lemon, and Cinnamon-trees, which diffuſe their fragrant Smell at a great Diſtance into the Sea. Beſides that, there is no precious Stone but what it affords, except Diamonds: Pearls they take there in abundance, but not altogether ſo fine as thoſe of *Babaram*; in recompence of which it affords the fineſt Ivory in the World. The firſt Diſcovery of it is owing to the *Portugueze* in 1506, when *Laurence*, Son of *Franceſco Almeida* made a Treaty with one of the Kings of the Iſland; ſince which Time they took Care to fortify themſelves in the Town of *Colombo*, but were chaſed thence, and conſequently from the whole Iſland, by the *Dutch*, in 1657.

The *Dutch* did not trade here till 1602, under the Reign of *Timala Derma Suriada*, King of *Candy*, the moſt potent, and in a manner the only Sovereign Prince of the whole Iſland, who aſcended the Throne in a very extraordinary manner; for the Throne of *Candy* being become vacant by the Death of *Derma*, who, from a Baſtard, was advanced to that high Dignity, the *Portugueze* took this Opportunity to eſtabliſh themſelves in *Ceylon*; but *Fimala Derma Suriada*, Son of one of the chief Men in the Kingdom, who had been educated among the *Portugueze* and baptized, and by their Intereſt advanced to the Dignity of High-Conſtable, diſliking the Encroachments of a Nation whom he knew would be in a little Time for graſping at all, had ſo gained the Affection of the Soldiery, that he prevailed with them to kill all the *Portugueze* in the Town of *Candy*, and to declare open War againſt them; which, being done, he was by the *Cingaleſe* declared King. The *Portugueze* had among them a certain Princeſs, the next Heir to the Crown, who was baptized, and named *Katharina*. *Pedro Lopez de Souſa* being the General of *Malacca* for the *Portugueze*, reſolving to enter the Country with a good Army, ſtrengthening his Intereſt, brought the ſaid *D. Katharina* along with him, and having cauſed her to be declared lawful Heireſs to the Kingdom of *Candy*, made himſelf Maſter of the capital City of the ſame Name; but being cloſely blocked up by *Fimala Derma*, who intercepted his Foragers, and cut off his Proviſions, found himſelf conſtrained to come to a Battle in 1590, in which he was put to the Rout, himſelf killed upon the Spot, and *D. Katharina* taken Priſoner by *Fimala*; who afterwards, to ſtrengthen his Title to the Crown, married her. Four Years after the *Portugueze* made a ſecond Attempt againſt *Candy*, but not with much better Succeſs; for though they were not abſolutely routed, yet were they ſo harraſſed that they did not think fit any longer to continue the War with him.

The *Dutch*, at their firſt Settlement, had not much better Fortune; for though the King received in the Year 1604 their Admiral with a great deal of Civility, yet in the next following Year, having commanded their Vice-Admiral with fifty of his Men to be put to Death, the *Dutch* laid aſide their Deſign of trading there, till having found an Opportunity of gaining the Fort of *Punto de Gallo* from the *Portugueze*, and fortifying the Harbour of *Negambo*, they began to eſtabliſh themſelves there, and at laſt accompliſhed it by taking of *Colombo* from the *Portugueze*. The King of *Candy* is the moſt potent and moſt abſolute of all the other Princes in the Iſle of *Ceylon*. He takes great Delight, as well in the *European* Way of Building, as in their Fortifications. The Kingdom is ſituated all along upon that River, upon which lies the City of *Vintain*, which ſerves for an Harbour to the King's Ships. The Inhabitants reſemble the *Malabars*, but that they are not quite ſo black. They generally go naked, except that ſome uſe *Portugueze* Doublets. They all wear Pendants in their Ears and Poiniards at their Sides. The Women likewiſe go with their Breaſts uncovered; but for the reſt, they are very modeſt both in their Cloathing and Converſation, dreſſing their Heads much like the *European* Women, with their Hair cloſe behind, and tied in Treſſes. They appear in gold and ſilver Garments, with Rings upon their Hands, Feet, and Legs, ſet with precious Stones. They live conveniently enough in their Houſes, their Wives being good Houſewives, and eſpecially well ſkilled in Cookery. The *Cingaleſe* are ſo much addicted to an idle Life and Effeminacy, that they are neither fit for War nor any thing elſe.

7. *Ceylon* is, as I ſaid before, beyond all Diſpute, the moſt plentiful Iſle of all the *Indies*; nothing can be named either of Proviſions or Fruits, but what is very cheap here; though they are *Pagans* they eat of every thing in general, even Pork (abſtaining only from the Fleſh of an Ox or Cow.) The *Mohammedans* enjoy a full Liberty among them; and the *Pagan* Inhabitants abſtain from Wine as well as they. They have a great Veneration for their Bramans; they marry their Maids at ten or twelve Years of Age, and burn their Dead. *Fimala Derma*, whom we ſpoke of before, had got as much Chriſtianity as could be expected among the *Indian Portugueze*, which he ſoon laid aſide; ſo that his Succeſſors continued in their Idolatry. Some of the Inhabitants worſhip the Head of an Elephant cut in Wood or Stone, who, they ſay, outdo Mankind in Judgment, and therefore pray for Wiſdom to them.

They lay up every Day a certain Share of their Proviſions in a Baſket kept for that Purpoſe for their Pagods, and hold it as a Point of Faith, that the World will not periſh as long as their grand Temples, which may be diſcovered at a great Diſtance at Sea betwixt *Punto de Gallo* and *Monte Callo*, ſhall remain ſtanding. They have another Opinion concerning a certain Mountain in this Iſland, named *Pico d'Adam*, where they ſay the firſt Man was created, and that the Spring on the Top of the Mountain aroſe from the Tears that *Eve* ſhed for *Abel*; and that the Iſle of *Ceylon* was the terreſtrial Paradiſe. This Tincture of Chriſtianity gives us ſufficient Hopes, that among a People, docile enough in themſelves, the Chriſtian Religion might be eſtabliſhed, if People were as forward in the Work of Salvation as to gain Riches. There is ſcarce any other King in the Iſle of *Ceylon*, except him of *Candy*, but what pays ſome ſmall Tribute by way of Acknowledgment to the *Portugueze*, of which the King of *Matecale* pays no more that fifty Ducats *per Annum*.

Ceylon affords very good Pepper, but their ſtaple Commodity is Cinnamon. The Kingdom of *Candy* hath certainly both Gold and Silver-Mines, but are not wrought by an expreſs Inhibition from the King; neither muſt their precious Stones be ſold to any but the King; but, as they have ſuch Plenty of them that they are found among the Gravel that is waſhed down from the adjacent Mountains, and carried along with the Current of the Water; ſo it is impoſſible to prevent their being ſold underhand to Strangers. This Iſle alſo furniſhes ſufficient Store of Timber and Stone for Building; of Corn, Oil, and Wine, if they would take the Pains to cultivate the Vines, Cotton, divers Roots for the Uſe of Dyers, Ginger, Cardamom, Mirabolanes, Corcoma, Nutmegs, and divers medicinal Drugs, and of Rice they have ſuch Store that they furniſh the whole Coaſt of *Coromandel* with that Commodity. The *Dutch* buy the Cinnamon here at the rate of an hundred and twenty-eight Livres the Hundred Weight.

8. While we were becalmed near this Iſle, I had the Opportunity of making an Enquiry of our Preſident and ſome Jeſuits, who were on Board us, and had ſpent moſt of their Days in the *Indies*, concerning thoſe Parts I had not ſeen, according to whoſe Relation I thought fit to inſert the following Account. Near the Cape of *Comorin*, along the Coaſt of *Malabar*, for a Tract of near an hundred and forty Leagues by Sea, extended the Iſles (by ſome accounted One thouſand, called *Maldives* by the *Portugueze*, having the Cape to the North, ſome of which being ſo very low that they are often ſubject to Inundations, are not inhabited, others are. The *Malabars* are of Opinion that they were torn from the Continent by the Violence of the tempeſtuous Waves of the Sea, which, in ſome Places, is at ſo ſlender a Diſtance from the Continent, that a briſk active Fellow might leap over it. The capital City which has given its Name of *Maldives* to all the Iſlands is built upon four ſmall Iſles, being the Reſidence of the King, who commands over all the reſt, and a Place of good Trade, though they produce naturally ſcarce any thing but Cocoas; but the Induſtry of the Inhabitants ſupplies, in ſome meaſure, the Defect of Nature here, there being not any Nation in the *Indies* more ingenious in making Garments of Silk and Thread than they. The Coaſt of *Coromandel* being in the moſt Eaſtern Part of the *Indies* this Side of the *Ganges*, is divided from the *Malabar* Coaſt by the Mountains of *Balagatta*, its Extent being one hundred Leagues along the Coaſt from *Cape Comorin*, or rather the Point of *Negapatan*, as far as the River *Nagund* and the Town of *Muſſlipatan*, which, as it has excellent Harbours, and the beſt Roads for Anchorage in the *Indies*, ſo it ſerves for a ſafe Retreat for ſuch Veſſels as are by the tempeſtuous Winter-ſeaſon forced from the Coaſt of *Guzurat* thither, where the Climate and Weather is very calm at that Time.

The *Portugueze* are Maſters of the Town of *St. Thomas*: On this Coaſt, they ſay, that when they firſt poſſeſſed themſelves of *Cochin* and *Cranganor*, the Inhabitants of this Coaſt, who were Chriſtians of the *Greek* Religion, implored the Protection of the King of *Portugal*. To back this Tradition, they affirm, that *St. Thomas*, one of the twelve Apoſtles, after he had taught the Goſpel in the Kingdom of *Narſinga*, petitioned the King to give him Leave to build a

Chapel for the performing of Devotion, which being ſtrongly oppoſed by the *Pagan* Prieſts, it happened that a prodigious Piece of Timber being lodged at the very Entrance of the Harbour of the City of *Maliapour*, which hindered the free Paſſage of all the Ships, a Trial was made by Elephants, and all other Ways, even by conſulting the Magicians themſelves, to remove it thence, but in vain; whereupon the King iſſued his Proclamation, by which he offered a conſiderable Reward to ſuch as would undertake to clear the Harbour. *St. Thomas* offered his Service, reſerving to himſelf no other Reward than the Piece of Timber. The Day appointed for this Purpoſe being come, and the Saint appearing without any other Inſtrument to effect it than his Girdle, which he faſtened to the Beam, all there preſent laughed at his Endeavours; but he no ſooner began to pull than that vaſt Piece of Timber, which could not be moved before by the Strength of of ſo many Elephants, followed without the leaſt Difficulty; at which the King being ſurprized to the higheſt Degree, permitted him to build the Chapel according to his Requeſt, which ſo incenſed the Bramans that they ſet certain People to murder him whilſt he was at his Devotions in the ſaid Chapel. *Maſſeus* ſays, that by the ſpecial Command of *John* King of *Portugal*, the Bones of this Saint was ſearched for, and found on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, and thence transferred to *Goa*, where a very fine Church was erected to his Memory.

On the other hand, both *Rufinus* and *Socrates* affirm, that *St. Thomas* ſuffered Martyrdom at *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, and that they uſed to go on Pilgrimage to his Sepulchre there. The Town of *St. Thomas*, though none of the biggeſt, yet is well built, moſt of the Houſes being of Stone. The Church has no Steeple; it contains about ſix or ſeven hundred Inhabitants, *Portugueze*, and *Meſtizes*, and ſome *Armenian* Merchants, the *Indians*, *Pagans*, and *Mohammedans*, living at a Place called *Maliapour*, ſeated upon a Rivulet two Leagues to the North of *St. Thomas*, which was formerly the capital City of the Kingdom, but is now reduced to a very indifferent Condition.

9. From *April* to *September*, whilſt the S. and S. W. Winds blow upon this Coaſt, the Road here is very ſafe, but all the remaining Part of the Year ſmall Veſſels are obliged to ſhelter themſelves within the River of *Paleacaſte*, and the greater in the Harbour of *Negapatan*; there is five Fathom Water within Cannon-ſhot of the Town, but makes a very ill Landing-place, by reaſon of the Roughneſs of the Sea. The *Dutch* have conſiderable Traffick on this Coaſt, but eſpecially at *Potlapouli*, or *Negapatan*, and at *Palecatte*, where they have the Fort *Gueldria*. This whole Country was formerly divided into three ſeparate Kingdoms, *i. e.* of *Coromandel*, *Narſinga*, and *Biſnagar*, which is now ſubject to one Prince, whoſe Reſidence is at *Biſnagar*, and ſometimes at *Narſinga*. The Kingdom of *Orixa* begins above the Town of *Muſilipatan*, extending from the River of the ſame Name to that of *Guenga*; the *Dutch* include this in the Coaſt of *Coromandel*. *Muſilipatan* and *Colconda* are its two chief Cities; the firſt is conſiderable for its Commerce, the laſt for being the ordinary Reſidence of its Kings. It produces abundance of Salt, and ſome Diamonds, among which all that weigh above five Carats belong to the King. To the North of *Orixa* lies the Kingdom of *Bengal*, whence the Gulph, known to the Ancients by the *Sinus Gangeticus*, has got its Name. Their Traffick is Rice, Sugar, Cottons, Calicoes, but eſpecially in Silk, which, for Goodneſs, exceeds all others in the *Indies*. Hence alſo are brought the fineſt Canes; and they have another ſort of Canes, out of which they make Drinking-veſſels, and being lacquered, will hold any Liquid as well as Cups of Metal. Here grows a certain Herb, the Stalk of which is of the Thickneſs of a Man's Thumb, having on the Top a large Button like a Taſſel; this is ſpun out and furniſhes Materials for an excellent kind of Stuff, much eſteemed by the *Portugueze*, who call this Shrub *Herba de Bengala*.

The Inhabitants are *Pagans*, leading a very barbarous kind of Life, Thieving and Adultery being their ordinary Vices, though ſeverely puniſhed. They worſhip the *Ganges*, out of an opinion, that its Water cleanſes them from all their Impurities, which is the Reaſon that the King of *Narſinga* ſends for the Water he waſhes himſelf with from that River. The Kingdom of *Pegu* borders to the Eaſt upon *Bengal*, owing its Name to its Metropolis; there the King keeps his conſtant Reſidence. *Gaſpar Balbi* tells us Wonders of this Kingdom, which I had not the Opportunity to ſee; and ſince others alſo have given us an Account of what they themſelves have obſerved well, I will only add, that the City is divided into two Parts, *viz.* the new and old City; the firſt of which is inhabited by Merchants, the ſecond is properly the Reſidence of the King and his Court, which is exactly four-ſquare, ſurrounded with a broad Moat, in which Crocodiles are kept for its better Security. The Palace Royal is ſaid to be as big as *Venice*, and ſeparated from the City by its peculiar Fortifications, which have no more than two Gates; he keeps above eight hundred Elephants within the Caſtle, among which thoſe for his own Uſe pay him Reverence, being trained to it.

If we may rely on *Balbi*'s Teſtimony, this King is next to the Emperor of *China* the moſt potent upon Earth, being able to bring 1,500,000 Men into the Field, and eight hundred Elephants, who are for the moſt part maintained at the Charge of his Lords. Among other Idols they have in their Temples, there is one of maſſy Gold in the Chapel within the Palace, with a Crown ſet with precious Stones on his Head, and one only of the Bigneſs of a Plumb on his Forehead, with Pendants of an ineſtimable Value in his Ears, a Scarf about the Waiſt, and a Croſs on the right Shoulder, and under the left Arm a Chain made all of Diamonds, and other precious Stones. The ſame Chapel has two Silver Idols of the ſame Shape, but two Foot higher than the former, with Crowns ſet with Gems, and a fourth, which exceeds all the reſt, beſides a fifth made of Copper and Braſs, valued at more than the other four. *Pegu* affords more Elephants than all the reſt of the *Indies*; they are taken by means of the Females, who entice them out of the Woods into the Stables, where they have Penns that hold but one of theſe Beaſts, where they are kept till they are tamed. The Arms of the *Peguans* are generally Half-pikes made of Canes, ſhort and Broad-Swords and Bucklers, and Helmets made of boiled Leather laid double, and gumed over with a certain Gum called Achiran. The People are *Pagans*, believe one ſupream God, who has a great many Vicegerents under him, whom they alſo acknowledge for Gods; and that they are the Authors of all Good that happens to Mankind, as on the other hand the Devil is the Author of all Evil, whom for that Reaſon they worſhip, to appeaſe his Wrath. The Day on which they hold their Devotions is *Monday*; they celebrate five Feaſts in a Year, called by them *Sapan*. The firſt, called *Sapan Giacchi*, is celebrated by a Pilgrimage, by the King and whole Court, twelve Leagues out of Town, with the utmoſt Magnificence. The ſecond, called *Sapan Carana*, is celebrated in Honour of the Statues in the Royal Chapel; as is alſo the third, called *Sapan Graioma Segianon*; the fourth, called *Sapan Daiche*, is celebrated by the King and Court, by caſting Roſe-water at one another; and the fifth, called *Sapan Donon*, is a kind of Race of Boats upon the River, in the Preſence of the King and Queen.

When the King dies they join two Boats together, and putting a Table in the Middle of one, they lay the Corps upon the Table, under which they make a Fire of Sandal Wood, Storax, Benjamin, and other ſweet-ſcented Woods and Gums, which being ſent down the Stream, the Prieſts attending, rejoice and ſing, till the Fleſh be burnt to Aſhes, which they mix with Milk into a Paſte, and ſo caſt it into the Sea at the Mouth of the River; but the Bones they preſerve and lay up in a Chapel built for that Purpoſe. The Prieſts carry an empty Bottle at their Girdle, are clad in red Veſtments, coming down to their Heels, with a Cloak reaching to their Hams, and wear a Hat to ſhelter themſelves againſt the Sun-beams, their Heads being ſhaved. They go bare-footed, live by Alms, like our Mendicant Friars, eat but once a Day, and ſleep in the Foreſts in hanging Mats faſtened to the Boughs of Trees. They lead a very exemplary Life, and on *Monday* Morning early go about to invite the People to their Devotions; and in their Sermons they exhort their Auditors to Morality. They have no Averſion to thoſe who turn Christians, but exclaim againſt the worſhipping the Devil, a Cuſtom ſo deeply rooted among the *Peguans*, that with all their Arguments they are not able to diſſuade them from it.

They are in great Veneration among the moſt ſenſible Men of the Nation. Their Corps are burnt like their Kings, with ſweet Woods, the Aſhes caſt into the River, and their Bones preſerved. *Pegu* has no other Corn but Rice, which it produces in ſuch Plenty, that great Part of it is ſent to the neighbouring Provinces: Sodomy was heretofore grown ſo general here, that one of the Queens of *Pegu*, to obviate this Vice, ordered a ſmall Pin to be faſtened betwixt the Skin and the Fleſh, by way of Inciſion; ſhe commanded alſo, that all the Boys, whilſt young, ſhould be painted of a blue Colour on their Poſteriors, thereby to create an Averſion to them, as on the other Side, the Women take all imaginable Pains to provoke the Men to Venery. Men and Women delight in black Teeth. The King is ſole Heir to all that leave no Children behind them, and even one-third Part of the Eſtates of thoſe that have Children belong to him. *Pegu* affords no other Spice but Ginger, and ſcarce any other Commodity is exported, except Rice and Silver, in Exchange for which they bring thither Stuffs and Calicoes, Pepper, Cinnamon, Nutmegs, Opium, and Sandal Wood. They will pledge their Children to borrow Money; but if the Creditor enjoys them carnally, they are free, and the Debt is paid.

Siam, one of the next conſiderable States in the *Indies*, confines to the North upon *Pegu* and *Ava*, to the Weſt upon *Bengal*, to the Eaſt upon *Patana*; whence the Coaſt, (in which I comprehend the Gulph of *Siam*) runs North to 13° 30′, and turning to the South to twelve Degrees, extends at a great Diſtance from the Sea, making a Semicircle of four hundred and fifty Leagues. The Country is both very woody and mountainous, except towards the Sea-ſide, where it is very fertile, and has ſeveral convenient Iſles and Harbours, beſides ſome Iſlands in the Gulphs. The River *Menam* may vie for Largeneſs with any other River of the *Indies*; for though its Breadth is not very great, its Length is ſuch, that hitherto its Source has remained undiſcovered. It runs from North to South thro' the Kingdoms of *Pegu* and *Ava*, and afterwards through *Siam*, where it falls by three ſeveral Channels into the Gulf of *Siam*: It yearly, like the *Nile*, overflows the adjacent Country for five Months, which renders the Rice-fields very fruitful. Its Eaſtern Channel, which lies in 13° 30′ eleven, is moſt proper for Navigation, were it not for a Shelf a League in Length, which lying juſt at the Entrance of it, has five or ſix Foot Water at low Tide; but at high Water, fifteen or ſixteen; and in *September*, *October*, and *November*, ſeventeen or eighteen Foot; for which Reaſon it is, that Veſſels of any Burthen anchor in the Road two Leagues from the Shelf; but ſuch as may venture over the Shelf with a high Tide, may go freely up the River as far as the Caſtle of *Banckock*, ſix Leagues from the Sea, and thence as far as the City of *Judda*, twenty-four Leagues from the Mouth of the River, except in the before-mentioned Months, when the River is unnavigable.

This Kingdom is very populous, eſpecially thoſe Provinces bordering upon the Seas. The moſt conſiderable Cities are *Judda*, or *Odya*, the Metropolis of the whole Kingdom; next *Cambaya*, *Campaa*, *Sincapura*, *Picelouck*, *Lygor*, *Bordalong*, and *Tanaſſerim*, where the *Portugueze* drive a conſiderable Trade; *Banckock*, *Pipry*, *Mergy*, &c. The City of *Judda* is built upon an Iſland in the River *Manam*. It is the ordinary Reſidence of the King of *Siam*, having ſeveral very fair Streets, with ſpacious Channels regularly cut.' The Suburbs are on both Sides of the River, which, as well as the City itſelf, are adorned with many Temples and Palaces; of the firſt of which there are above three hundred within the City, diſtinguiſhed by their gilt Steeples, or rather Pyramids, and afford a glorious Proſpect at a Diſtance. The Houſes are, as all over the *Indies*, but indifferently built, and covered with Tiles: The royal Palace is equal to a large City. *Ferdinando Mendez Pinto* makes the Number of Inhabitants of this City amount, improbably, to 400,000 Families. It is looked upon as impregnable, by reaſon of the over-flowing of the River at ſix Months End. The King of *Siam*, who takes amongſt his other Titles that of *Preeau Salſu*, *i. e.* ſacred Member of God, has this to boaſt of, that next to the Mogul, he can deduce his Deſcent from more Kings than any other in the *Indies*. He is abſolute, his Privy Counſellors, called *Mandarins*, being choſen and depoſed barely at his Pleaſure. When he appears in Publick, it is done with ſo much Pomp and Magnificence as is ſcarce to be imagined, which draws ſuch a Veneration to his Perſon from the common People, that even in the Streets, as he paſſes by, they give him god-like Titles and Worſhip. He marries no more than one Wife at a Time, but has an infinite number of Concubines. He feeds very high, but his Drink is Water only, the Uſe of ſtrong Liquors being ſeverely forbidden, by their Eccleſiaſtical Law, to Perſons of Quality in *Siam*. As the Thirds of all the Eſtates of the Kingdom fall to his Exchequer, ſo his Riches muſt be very great; but what makes them almoſt immenſe is, that he is the chief Merchant in the Kingdom, having his Factors in all Places of Trade, to ſell Rice, Copper, Lead, Saltpetre, *&c.* to Foreigners. *Mendez Pinto* makes his yearly Revenue riſe to twelve Millions of Ducats, the greateſt Part of which being laid up in his Treaſury, muſt needs ſwell to an Infinity in Proceſs of Time.

Each City has its peculiar Court of Juſtice, from whence an Appeal lies to the chief Court in the City of *Judda*, conſiſting of a Lord Chief Juſtice and twelve Judges, and ſometimes to the Privy Council itſelf, if the Parties will be at the Charge of it. They have their Counſellors, Attornies and Solicitors, and the Cauſes are pleaded in the Preſence of both Parties. In criminal Caſes they proceed much after the *French* Way; for upon an Information given, the Party accuſed is committed and examined afterwards, and for want of ſufficient Evidence put to the Rack, if there be very ſtrong Circumſtances; after which the Judges, either upon Confeſſion of the Fact, or ſufficient Evidence, give Sentence, which is confirmed by the King, unleſs he is pleaſed to pardon the Offender. Their Puniſhments are ſo ſevere, or rather cruel, that ſuch as are uſed among us are not ſo much as known here, for the ſlighteſt Crime is thought to deſerve Baniſhment. Theft is puniſhed with the Amputation of Hands or Feet. The common Way of executing Criminals, is to caſt them alive into boiling Oil.

They have three ſorts of Trials for want of ſufficient Evidence, by Fire, Water, and Oil. In the Water-trial both Parties are let down to the Bottom of the River, along a great Pole, and he who can ſtay longeſt under Water obtains thereby his Juſtification, as does he who can hold his Hand longeſt in boiling Oil, in the Trial of Oil. In the fiery Trial they are to make five or ſix Steps through a great Fire, very ſlowly, two Men leaning very hard upon their Shoulders. But that which they look upon as the moſt dreadful of all is, when, in order to their Juſtification, they take a Pill of Rice only, over which the Prieſt has pronounced a certain Maldiction: If the Culprit ſwallow it without ſpitting, he clears himſelf to all Intents and Purpoſes, and his Friends carry him off in Triumph.

The Forces of *Siam* conſiſt chiefly of the Militia of the Country, all Subjects being obliged to take Arms when called upon, ſo that as occaſion requires, he can ſummon the 100th, the 50th, the 20th, the 10th, or 5th Man, who, as well as the Noblemen with their Attendants, ſerve at their own Charge as long as the War laſts. The Infantry are pretty well diſciplined, but want the Uſe of Fire-Arms, being provided only with Bows, Arrows, Swords, Pikes, and Bucklers; their Horſe are alſo but indifferently mounted. Their chief Strength conſiſts in their Elephants, which are very well trained to the Wars, and carry each three armed Men. They are not deſtitute of Cannon, but have but little Skill to manage them to the beſt Advantage. They have alſo great numbers of Frigates and Gallies, well provided with Guns, but the Gunners and Marines are ſo unexpert in the Management of them, that they cannot encounter any *European* Fleet with the leaſt Hopes of Advantage; for which reaſon, ſince of late Years the *Siameſes* have lived in continual Enmity with the *Portugueze*, they have highly courted the Friendſhip of the

the *Dutch*, who were always ready to give them Aſſiſtance againſt their Enemies. The King of *Siam* knowing that his chief Strength conſiſts in his Elephants, keeps a greater Number than any other *Indian* Prince, the Elephants of *Siam* being both for their Strength and Quickneſs of Apprehenſion eſteemed above all the reſt. They take them after the ſame Manner as they do in *Pegu*, by ſending divers Females into the Foreſts, who decoy them into the Stables, where they are tamed, either by putting them into Pens exactly fitted to the Bulks of their Bodies, or by tying their Legs to three or four tame Elephants.

It is to be obſerved, that ſometimes they meet with white Elephants in *Siam*, but they are ſo rare, and ſo much admired in thoſe Parts, that in 1568, the King of *Pegu* being informed that the King of *Siam* had two white Elephants, he ſent an Ambaſſador to deſire he might have one of them, at what Price he would be pleaſed to ſet upon it; which the King of *Siam* refuſing to accept, the King of *Pegu* entered *Siam* with a vaſt Army, and conquered it, making the King his Tributary, tho' with the Loſs of no leſs than 500,000 Men. The *Siameſe* call the white ones the Kings of the Elephants, and attribute to them ſomething of Divinity; for which reaſon alſo the King of *Siam*, when he meets with one, cauſes him to be ſerved in Veſſels of Gold, allows him a good Attendance, and a Canopy to be born over his Body. The King and his Subjects are *Pagans*, and have an infinite Number of Idols, of Gold, Silver, Stone, Wood, and other Materials, ſome twenty, ſome thirty, and others forty Feet high. Their Temples have gilt Towers, or Pyramids. Their Eccleſiaſticks are compoſed of a kind of Hierarchy, under the Direction of a High-Prieſt, reſiding in the City of *Judda*, where are at leaſt 30,000 Eccleſiaſticks, that wear Garments of yellow Calicoe, and have their Crowns ſhaved. The moſt learned among them are choſen for Prieſts to preach in their Temples, and to ſacrifice. They are under a Vow of Chaſtity, upon Pain of Death, but may change their Profeſſions, and marry whenever they think fit. Each Temple has a kind of a Convent to it, for the Entertainment of a certain Number of Prieſts who attend the Service every Day Morning and Evening.

They live for the moſt Part upon Alms, like our Mendicant Friars. They have alſo a kind of religious old Women, but theſe are not bound by any particular Diſcipline. They believe one Creator of the Univerſe, who governs the World by diverſe inferior Gods. They ſay that the Soul is immortal, and after it is purified by paſſing through ſeveral Bodies, is either condemned to eternal Torments, or enjoys Beatitude. They tell you, that this has been tranſmitted to them by Tradition, Time out of Mind; for the reſt, they hold that good Deeds, and eſpecially Charity, are the chief Means to attain Salvation, which is the reaſon they extend their Charity even to the Beaſts, ſuch as Birds and Fiſh, which they buy to ſet them at Liberty, as believing the Tranſmigration of the Soul. This is the Reaſon why they never condemn any other Religion, or diſpute with them: But their Eccleſiaſticks preach without Intermiſſion againſt the old Cuſtom of invoking the Devil, which is ſtill retained among the vulgar ſort. They have abundance of Lamps hanging before their Idols in the Time of Service. Theſe they ſet out with Garlands of Flowers, and in ſome of them they have certain Days, each Quarters of the Moon, appointed for their general Devotions, and a Lent of three Months.

Their dead Corps they ſhave, waſh and perfume, and afterwards burn them near a Temple, where the Aſhes are buried under a Tomb, or Pyramid. The Relations mourn for their Friends by ſhaving themſelves, by giving Alms and Benevolences to the Prieſts, to pray for them at their Obſequies. The Corps is attended with Muſick and Fireworks. The *Siameſe* are ſtrong limbed, and well proportioned, but their Courage is not anſwerable to it, which makes them uſe their Victims with a great deal of Inſolence. They are baſe, and very crafty in their Dealings. They are ſo much addicted to Idleneſs, that they leave all Toils to their Wives and Slaves. They wear a painted Piece of Calicoe from the Middle down to the Knees, tho' the Men have alſo Shirts with Sleeves hanging down to the Elbows. The Women cover their Breaſts with a Piece of Calicoe faſtened about their Necks; there is ſo little Difference in the cloathing of the People of Quality and thoſe of the inferior Rank, that they are not to be diſtinguiſhed but by their Train of Slaves. Their Houſes are built either of Timber, or Canes, covered with the Leaves of Cocoa-tree, and raiſed three or four Foot from the Ground; each Apartment has ſeveral Windows for the more commodious Paſſage of the Air; they know of no other Furniture but what is abſolutely neceſſary for their Conveniency in the Chambers and Kitchen.

They feed commonly upon Rice, Fiſh, and Pulſe; their ordinary Drink is Water; but they don't refuſe ſtrong Liquors, if they are invited to them. Perſons of any Faſhion here make no uſe of Prieſts for the Confirmation of their Marriages, which, after the Parents Conſent is obtained, and Agreement made, they conſummate and live together as long as they like one another; and in caſe of Separation, all the Goods and Children are divided betwixt them, and both Parties are at liberty to marry again; but the Concubines are tied to the Pleaſure of their Maſters, who conſider them no otherwiſe than as Slaves, their Children having but a ſlender Share of their Father's Eſtates, which, after their Death, is divided into three Parts; one goes to the King, the ſecond to the Prieſts, who are to bear the Funeral Charges, which are very great, and the third to the Children, who have an equal Share, except that the eldeſt is allowed ſome ſmall Advantage. People of an inferior Rank purchaſe their Wives, notwithſtanding which both Parties are at liberty to be divorced. They don't take the leaſt Care for the Education of their Children till they are ſix Years old, when they put them to their Eccleſiaſticks to be inſtructed in Reading and Writing, afterward breed them either to manual Arts, Commerce, or the Court.

The Peaſants lead a miſerable Life, by reaſon that Proviſions are ſo cheap here, that they can't gain any thing by their Labour. The chief Trade of the City of *Judda* lies in Stuffs brought thither from *Surat*, and the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, in all ſorts of China Commodities, Precious Stones, Gold, Benjamin, Wax, Copper, Lead, Indigo, Calamba-Wood, Braſil-Wood, Cotton, and Deer-Skins, of which they export fifty thouſand every Year to *Japan*; and their Rice is tranſported in vaſt Quantities to all the neighbouring Countries. The King himſelf is a Merchant here, and has his Factors at *Pegu*, *Ava*, *Jangoma*, on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, and in *China* itſelf. The Money is very good, being of three different ſorts, *viz.* *Ticals*, *Maſes*, and *Toanges*; two *Toanges* make a *Maſe*, and four *Maſes* a *Tical*, which is equivalent to a *French* Half-Crown; four of theſe *Ticals* go to a *Tael*, twenty of which make a *Catta* in Silver. Their ſmalleſt Silver Money is the *Toang*; but Proviſions being ſo very cheap here, they make uſe of certain Shells brought thither from *Manilas*, eight or nine hundred of which go to a *Toang*.

The *Portugueze* being ſufficiently ſenſible what prodigious Advantage they were able to reap from this Kingdom for ſupporting their Traffick to the *Molucca's* and *Philippine* Iſles, the Viceroys of *Goa* were always very careful to cultivate a good Correſpondence with the King of *Siam*, who in return granted them many Privileges, till ſuch time that the *Dutch* got Footing there at the Beginning of this Age. The *Portugueze* were ſo alarmed thereat, that they not only obſtructed the Trade of the *Siameſe* to *St. Thomas* and *Negapatan*, but alſo attacked a *Dutch* Veſſel in the River *Menam*, which, with ſome other Outrages, ſerved only to incenſe the King of *Siam* againſt them, who ever after encouraged the *Dutch* in their Settlement and Commerce, which is very advantageous to them in reſpect of the Iſles of *Java* and *Sumatra*, of which they are now in Poſſeſſion.

10. The Kingdom of *Cambodia* borders to the North-Weſt upon the Kingdom of *Siam*, being incloſed by the Sea on the other Side; the capital City is ſeated upon a River ſixty Leagues from the Sea-ſhore, which riſes out of a Lake, as do all the other Rivers of this Kingdom. That which runs by *Cambodia* overflows every Year like the *Nile*; its firſt Riſe is in the Beginning of *June*, increaſing by degrees to ten or twelve Foot, and in *July* or *Auguſt* it overflows the Country to that degree, that it is quite unnavigable; for which reaſon it is that the City of *Cam-*

bodia is built upon a riſing Ground, having but one large Street. The Trade of the *Portugueze* here conſiſts chiefly in *Malacca* Stuffs, which they exchange for Benjamin, Lacque, Wax, Rice, Braſs Veſſels, and Bars of *China* Iron.

The King of *Cambodia* is only a Vaſſal of the King of *Siam*, being not able to bring above thirty-five thouſand Men into the Field. The Nobility or Officers of the Court are divided into four ſeveral Ranks, *viz.* into *Ockinas*, *Ternimas*, *Tenimnas*, and *Nampres*; the firſt of which are the only Men of Conſideration, they being admitted into the King's Preſence, and he confers with them concerning the Management of publick Affairs. The *Portugueze* are ſo firmly ſettled here, that the *Dutch* have never been able to get any Footing. Proviſions of all ſorts, Veniſon, Beef, Pork, Goats, Kids, Hares, Cranes, Herons, and in ſhort, all manner of Poultry; as likewiſe Oranges, Citrons, Mangoes, and Cocoas, are ſold exceſſively cheap; there being ſuch Plenty here of every thing, and eſpecially of Rice, that thoſe of *Quinam* alone export yearly two thouſand Copangs of Rice, five of which make eight Tons, at ſeventeen or eighteen *Tayls* the Copang.

That Neck of Land which extends in the Form of a Demi-Iſland, from the Kingdom of *Siam* to the S. E. to the N. W. of the Equinoctial Line, betwixt the Gulph of *Bengal* and *Siam*, is called the Iſthmus of *Malacca*, and contains the Kingdoms of *Johore* and *Patapan*. This Country was firſt diſcovered by the *Portugueze* in 1511, who eſtabliſhed themſelves there to that degree that no body hath been able hitherto to diſlodge them. The City of *Malacca* is ſituated upon the Strait, which ſeparates the Iſle of *Sumatra* from the Continent, at two Degrees thirty Minutes on this Side of the Line, at the Foot of a Mountain, which is wholly taken up by the Town, and is about 1800 Paces in Compaſs, 600 whereof extend along the Sea-Coaſt, fortified with a good Wall, as likewiſe to the River-ſide, which incloſes another third Part of the Town, being ſtrengthened to the Land-ſide by four regular Baſtions; that of *St. Domingo* on the Point of the River-ſide, that of *St. Jago* on the Sea-ſhore, and thoſe called *Madre de Dios*, and of *Eleven thouſand Virgins*. Betwixt thoſe two the *Jeſuits* College, called *St. Paul*'s, ſtands upon the Hill, and upon riſing Ground, in the Plain without the City, a Convent of *Jacobins*. The River runs N. W. is very broad and brackiſh at High-water, but freſh at Low-Tide; there is a Bridge over it.

It rains conſtantly here two or three Times a Week, except in the Months of *January*, *February* and *March*; the Shore is ſo muddy that there is no landing at Low-water. The two Iſles called *Ilha de Naos*, and *Ilha de Pedra* lie not much above a Cannon-ſhot from the City, the Chanel betwixt theſe two Iſlands affording as ſafe Harbour for the Galleons and bigger Veſſels, as that betwixt the City and the *Ilha de Naos* for the Veſſels of a middle Size; but ſmall Barks may enter the River. In the City of *Malacca*, its Suburbs, and adjacent Towns, under the Juriſdiction of the *Portugueze*, are computed to be about 1200 Inhabitants, and, among them, not above 300 fighting Men, and ſcarce 200 *Portugueze*, the reſt being either *Meſtizes* or *Malayans*. The *Portugueze* are in Poſſeſſion only of the City of *Malacca*, and its Suburbs to the Town of *Noſtra Senbera de Guadalupe*, five Leagues thence upon the ſame River, the Territories of the King of *Jabor* beginning half a League thence. This City being ſo commodiouſly ſituated for the Trade of *China* and the *Moluccas*, the *Portugueze* had, in all Probability, made this one of the chief trading Places in the *Indies*, if the *Dutch*, who beſieged it in 1606, and laid great Part of it deſolate, had not prevented them; and being by their Settlements in *Ceylon* and *Java*, become Maſters of theſe Seas, quite ruined the Commerce of the *Portugueze* to *China* and the *Moluccas*.

The Kingdom of *Patapan* is not of ſo large an Extent, but much more populous than that of *Johore*, the King of *Patapan* being, according to the Computation of the *Hollanders*, able to raiſe 180,000 Men; the capital City bearing the ſame Name, is ſeated upon the Sea-ſide, though its Harbour be above 2000 Paces thence. The Houſes are handſome enough, being built of Timber and Canes. The Royal Palace is fortified only with Paliſadoes, their great Temples are of Brick. The City is able to raiſe 10000 fighting Men. The Inhabitants are rather inclining to a brown than olive Colour, generally well ſhaped, and proud in their outward Deportment, but obliging enough in their Converſation with their Friends. The Natives are, for the moſt part, employed in Huſbandry and Fiſhing, and drink nothing but Water; Wine, and ſtrong Liquors, being odious to them. The only Pleaſure they delight in is that of Women; ſo that each Man, beſides four or five Wives, maintains as many Concubines as he is able: As they look upon Fornication as a ſlender Treſpaſs, ſo they puniſh Adultery with the utmoſt Severity, though nothing be more common among them than this Crime.

Their chief Wealth conſiſts in their Slaves, whom they feed at a ſmall Charge upon Rice and Fiſh. The Foreigners are the only People here who apply themſelves to Traffick and Navigation. The Air of *Patapan*, though exceeding hot, as lying near the Equinoctial, yet is not unwholſome. They have but three Months Winter, *viz.* *November*, *December*, and *January*, when it rains without Intermiſſion: The reſt, from *February* to *October*, is their Summer. They ſow nothing but Rice, and till the Ground with Buffaloes. Fruits are here in ſuch Plenty that every Month produces a new kind. Hens lay twice a-day; and Proviſions are in ſuch Quantities as cannot be imagined, as Rice, Oxen, Goats, Deer, Geeſe, Ducks, Hens, Capons, Peacocks, Hares, and all ſorts of Veniſon. Hogs they breed none; but the Foreſts are full of Wild-Boars, and though they eat them not, they kill them, becauſe they are ſo pernicious to the Rice. The Tigers, and great Apes, which are in the Foreſts here, do alſo conſiderable Miſchief; but the Wild-Elephants do no Damage at all; they hunt them with Tame-Elephants, and whilſt they are engaged with them, find Means to tie their hinder Feet together, and afterwards tame them by Hunger.

The King of *Patapan* is a Vaſſal to the King of *Siam*. *Johore* is the utmoſt Point of Land of that Peninſula, called by the Ancients *Aurea Cherſoneſus*, reaching to the Streights of *Sincopura*. Its chief Towns are *Linga*, *Bintam*, and *Carymon*, and its Metropolis is named *Batuſabar*, which is however divided into two Cities, ſituate upon the River *Johore*, ſix Leagues from the Sea, the firſt of which is called *Batuſabar*; the ſecond *Cottaſabrang*; one having about 1300 Paces, the other 500 in Compaſs. As the Houſes are all built of Free-ſtone along the River-ſide, and raiſed on Piles eight or ten Foot from the Ground, they make a glorious Proſpect as you come up the River; for this City contains at leaſt 4000 Inhabitants fit for Service in the Army. The King of *Johore* is Proprietor of all the Grounds which he beſtows on any that deſire them, to be manured: But though the Grounds are extremely fertile, ſuch is the Slothfulneſs of the *Malayans*, that they ſeldom cultivate them. The *Malacca*, or *Malayan* Language, as it is the moſt elegant of any in the *Indies*, ſo it has gained as much Reputation there, and is as generally uſed as the *French* is in *Europe*; and having no Inflections in either Nouns or Verbs, it is not very difficult to learn.

11. We will now look over the Continent to the Iſle of *Sumatra*, ten Leagues diſtant from the *Malacca* Shore; it extends from about 5° on this Side to 6° beyond the Line, containing 165 Leagues in Length, and about 60 in Breadth; ſo that thoſe who inhabit the Middle of the Iſland have the Equinoctial Line directly over their Heads; whence it may be eaſily conjectured, that the Heats are exceſſive here, which together with the vaſt Multitude of Lakes, makes the Air very unwholſome: This Defect is recompenſed by its vaſt Riches in Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, and Braſs, (whereof they make as good Artillery here as in any Part of *Europe*) beſides Rice, Millet, and Fruits in prodigious Quantities, even in the very Foreſts. Add to this its Wealth in Diamonds and other precious Stones, and its Product of Silk, Spices, Wax, Honey, Cotton, Camphire, Caſſia, and divers other medicinal Drugs. Of white Sandal they have whole Woods, and in the Centre of the Iſle is a Burning-mountain, like that of *Veſuvius*, which they ſay is conſtantly ſupplied by a River of Pitch.

The whole Iſland is divided into ten Kingdoms, of which thoſe of *Achen*, *Peder*, *Pacem*, *Camparam*, *Zande* and *Manambe*, lying on the Sea-ſide on this Side the Line, are only known to foreigners. Thoſe who have travelled thither, more for Profit than Curioſity, having made but little Search into its inland Provinces, of which the *Portugueze* give us an Account only of two, *viz.* that of *Andigidan* and *Arunan*. The *Dutch* have alſo diſcovered the Kingdom of *Polymbam* beyond the Line, where they have ſettled themſelves at preſent. The Kings of *Achen* are alſo Maſters of *Peder* and *Pacem*, which includes all the Northern Coaſts of the Iſle. The City of *Achen* is ſeated in a ſpacious Plain, upon a broad, but ſhallow River, being ſcarce paſſable by ſmall Boats. It has neither Fortification nor Gates; their Houſes are built upon Piles, and covered with the Leaves of Cocoa-trees. The Royal Palace ſtands in the Centre of the City, which being well paliſadoed and flanked, commands the whole Town, and has ſeven Gates. The Natives are of an olive Colour, and very flat faced; their Garments are only a Calicoe Gown, a ſilk Shirt, and a Turban on their Heads of the ſame Stuff. The King is ſerved by Women and Eunuchs, and is a *Mohammedan*, as well as all the reſt of the Inhabitants near the Coaſt of *Sumatra*. They begin their *Lent* at the New-moon in the twelfth Month, which ends at the ſame Time in the next. They have no Corn, but Rice in great Plenty, as alſo Beves, Buffaloes, Goats, and Sheep; the laſt of which no body has the Privilege to breed except the King. They abound alſo in Oranges, Lemons, Bonanas, Tamarinds, Batalas, Radiſhes, Spinage, and Lettices. Their ordinary Drink is Water, but they make a kind of *Aqua Vitæ*, or Arrack of Cocoas.

The Iſle of *Sumatra* produces a peculiar Tree called *Singadi* by the *Malayans*, and *Arbor triſte de Dio* by the *Portugueze*. It is full of Branches with Knots, and ſprouts forth two Leaves like Plumb-leaves, except that they are ſmall like Sage, and are covered with a whitiſh Down: Each of theſe Leaves hath its Bud, which thruſts forth ſmall Heads, having four round Leaves; each Head produces five Flowers in a Cluſter, the fifth being exactly in the Middle; they are as white as Snow, of the Bigneſs of an Orange-flower, and blow in the Twinkling of an Eye, as ſoon as the Sun is ſet; and when it riſes again the next Morning, the Flowers, which have continued all Night, drop in an Inſtant. Thus the Tree continues till Sun-ſet again, when it opens, and produces the Flowers in the ſame manner as before, and caſts them again at the firſt Appearance of that Planet, which invigorates all other Vegetables. The Cocoas, of which there are four kinds, are very common in this Iſland. The Tree which bears the Cocoa-Nuts grows very high, but not above a Foot Diameter in Bulk. It has not a Branch but at the Top, where it ſpreads like a Date-tree, and theſe don't produce the Fruits, which grow ten or twelve in a Cluſter out of the Body of the Tree. The Flower reſembles that of a Cheſnut. This Tree is of univerſal Uſe in the *Indies*. In the *Maldives* Iſlands they build whole Ships without any thing but what is furniſhed by the Cocoa-tree. The outward Rind affording them a kind of Hemp for their Cordage and Cables, and the Leaves with Materials for Sails, and the Covering of their Houſes; beſides that, they uſe them for the making of Umbrella's, Fans, Tents, Mats and Hats. The Fruit is of the Bigneſs of an Oſtrich's Egg, and the outward Rind, which reſembles that of our Walnuts when dried, affords the Hemp we ſpoke of before. If they gather it before the Nut is come to full Maturity, it affords about a Quart of very pleaſant Liquor, which if kept in the Shell, by degrees turns to a kind of a Kernel, which becomes yellow, and is of a very good Taſte, and exceeding wholeſome.

Their Toddy, or Palm Wine, they draw from the Tree, whilſt it is in Bloſſom, and pulling off the Flower, they faſten it to an Earthen Veſſel well ſtopped, into which runs a Liquor, reſembling in Taſte and Colour our Whey: This when boiled is called Toddy, and ſet in the Sun, turns to Vinegar immediately; and if diſtilled, makes a kind of *Aqua Vitæ*. The Pith of the Tree, as it is very white, furniſhes the *Indians* with Paper. The ſecond kind is called by the *Portugueze Arrequeiro*, from the *Araca* it produces. The Bananas, or *Indian* Fig-tree, is alſo very common in this Iſle; it may rather be called a Shrub than a Tree, as having no Body, but grows to a Man's Height. It brings forth Leaves before it comes to a Foot high, but theſe wither and fall, and others ſprout forth in their ſtead, till ſuch time the Plant arrives at its full Growth, and the Fruit to its Maturity, which is in Shape and Colour like our Figs, being of a yellow green, which being gathered, and hung on a Nail, will ripen in four or five Days. In the Middle of the Leaves comes a Flower of a Violet Colour, of the Bigneſs of an Oſtrich's Egg, whence ſprouts forth a kind of a Branch not unlike a Cabbage-Stalk, loaden with a Bunch of Figs: One Stalk produces no more than one Bunch (but of near an hundred Figs) at a Time; but being cut cloſe to the Ground, another ſprings out, and bears Fruit in one Month, and continues to do ſo through the whole Year. The Leaves of the Tree are ſix Foot long, and a Foot and half broad, and the Fruit ſeven or eight Inches long, and as big as a good Cucumber; the Figs are incloſed in Huſks, which are very nouriſhing, and eat inſtead of Bread.

The Pepper of *Sumatra* is next to that of *Cochin*, the beſt of all the *Indies*; it is commonly planted at the Root of Trees, or propped up with Canes as we do our Hops; the Leaves are not unlike that of the Orange-tree, but ſomewhat leſs. The Fruit grows in little Bunches like Juniper-berries. It is green whilſt upon the Tree, but grows black after it is dried, which is done in *December* and *January*. The white Pepper does not grow in ſuch abundance here, and *Bengal* is the only Country that produces long Pepper. It is certain, there is more Pepper conſumed in the *Indies* than in *Europe*, becauſe the *Indians* put Handfuls of it in their Sauces, but not beaten or ground.

12. The Iſland of *Java Major* is divided from *Sumatra* to the South-Eaſt only by the narrow Streight of *Sunda*: Its Length is fifty Leagues, and ſome fancied it part of the Continent, which extends to the Streights of *Magellan*, commonly called *Terra Auſtralis*. *Julius Scaliger* was not in the Wrong of it when he called it the Epitome of the World; it being certain, that there is no Animal, Fruit, Metal, or Drug, but what is found here in greater Plenty than in any Part of the Univerſe.

The Inhabitants deduce their Origin from the *Chineſe*; and, to ſpeak truth, their large Foreheads and Brows, and little Eyes, reſemble much that Nation. Each Town of Note in *Java* has its peculiar Prince, and now they are all Sovereigns independant one of another. The Kings of *Bantam* and *Pallambuam* are at preſent the moſt potent, the laſt of which has given the Name to the Streight that divides the Iſle of *Java* and *Bala*. Ten Leagues to the North is the City of *Panarucan*, near which is a burning Mountain. The King of *Panarucan* and *Palambuam* are *Pagans*; but the King of the City of *Paſſaracan*, ſix Leagues from *Panarucan*, is a *Mohammedan*. Ten Leagues to the Weſt is the City of *Joartam*, noted for its convenient Harbour upon a River, where the Ships going from the *Moluccas* to *Bantam* commonly touch, to take in freſh Water and Proviſions. Upon the ſame River lies the City of *Gorici*. The City of *Surabaca* has its proper King, under whoſe Juriſdiction is alſo the City of *Brandam*, ſix Leagues thence to the Weſt. He keeps his Court at *Sidaya*, which is well fortified, but deſtitute of a ſafe Harbour. Ten Leagues more to the Weſt lies the City of *Taboan*, next to *Bantam* the moſt conſiderable of the Iſle, and five Leagues farther to the North-Weſt the City of *Cajam*. *Mandalicam* is inhabited only by Fiſhermen. Five Leagues farther to the Weſt is the City of *Japara*, upon a Neck of Land, which runs out three Leagues into the Sea. Twenty-five Leagues hence, and forty-five from *Bantam*, lies *Matram*, or *Matavam*, a great City, and the Reſidence of a powerful King, who once pretended to the Sovereignty over all the reſt of the Iſland, and ſtill ſtiles himſelf Emperor of *Java*.

Five Leagues to the Weſt of *Japara* lies the City of *Pata*, and three Leagues farther that of *Dauma*, both under the Juriſdiction of the King of *Matram*, as well as that of *Tagal* in the ſame Bay. The next is the fair and ſtrong City of *Charabaon*, ſeated upon a River, by which you paſs to the Cities of *Daunago* and *Monucadon*, and ſo thro' the

Village of *Garon* to the City of *Jacatra*, and thence to *Bantam*, the moſt conſiderable in the whole Iſland, ſeated at the Foot of a Mountain about twenty-five Leagues from the oppoſite Coaſt of the Iſland of *Sumatra*. Three Rivers riſe out of this Mountain, two ſurrounding its Walls, and the third paſſing through the Middle of it. The Houſes are miſerably built, and the Walls very wretched, as well as the Gates, though at every hundred Paces provided with a great Piece of Cannon, which are of little Uſe in a Place where the Curtains are not defenſible, and have, inſtead of Towers, only Scaffolds. The whole City has only three principal Streets which are not paved, but ſandy, the Channels which run through them being very ſtinking and foul, which ſend forth a very nauſeous Smell all over the City. At each Corner of the Streets ſtand Guards, as alſo at the Priſon Gate near the Palace, and each Perſon of Note keeps a Guard of ten or twelve, for his own Security, in his Houſe. Their Houſes are meanly built, upon Piles; they are commonly of Reeds and Canes, and the Partitions all of Bamboes, or Canes ſlit very thin. All the Foreigners here live without the City, and the Merchants meet daily in one or other of the three great Market-places belonging to this City.

The *Bazar*, or Exchange, is chiefly frequented by Foreigners, who meet there at Break of Day, and continue till nine of the Clock. The ſecond Market-place faces the Grand Moſque, where the Women buy and ſell Pepper, Beetle, Areca, Bananas, Melons, Chiches, *&c.* and white and yellow Sandal Wood. The Armourers, who ſell Arms, Guns, Piſtols, Swords, *&c.* ſtanding higher up to the Right; and to the Left, the Confectioners with their Sweetmeats: Near them is the Place where they ſell all ſorts of Beans; and next to that the Onion Market, where the Cloth-ſellers and Uſurers have their Meeting. Hard by this you ſee the Poulterers, who deal in Geeſe, Kids, Pidgeons, Parrots, and all ſorts of tame Fowl. Thence you ſee three ſeveral Ways, one leading to the *Chineſe* Shops, the ſecond to the Herb-market, the third to the Shambles. Among the *Chineſe*, to the Right, the Jewellers, who deal in precious Stones, have their Station; and the *Bengalians* with their Toy-ſhops, on the Left. The Sale of all theſe things laſts only till Nine o'Clock, when the Markets for all ſorts of Proviſions are opened before the Palace, and about Noon the *Chineſe* Market begins. The City of *Tuban*, or *Tubaon*, challenges the next Place after *Bantam* in the Iſle of *Java*, being ſtronger than all the reſt, and tho' not ſo large, yet better built than *Bantam*. Its Palace is very ſpacious, and remarkable for the many Apartments made here for divers ſorts of Beaſts that are kept with more than ordinary Care; ſuch as Elephants, Fighting-cocks, and Parrots, the laſt of which are much more beautiful than thoſe tranſported into *Europe*, becauſe they are too tender to endure the Fatigues of ſo long a Voyage. Their chief Traffick lies in Pepper, which they exchange in the Iſle of *Baly* for Calicoe, Cotton, and Silk, and carry thoſe Commodities to *Banda*, *Ternate*, and the *Philippine* Iſles, to truck for Cloves, Mace, and Nutmegs.

The Natives live moſtly upon Fiſh. They have no other Garments but a Piece of Calicoe wrapped round their Loins, except that the better Sort wear a kind of looſe Camblet Coats, reaching only to their Thighs. They are great Lovers of Horſes, their Saddles being made like our great Saddles. The Natives inhabiting the inland Countries of *Java* are all *Pagans*, and believing the Tranſmigration of the Soul, eat neither Fiſh nor Fleſh. To the South there are a few *Mohammedans* of the *Turkiſh* Sect. They have two great Faſts, the Chief of which is upon the 5th of *Auguſt*. There are few among the *Javans* but what have three or four, nay, ſometimes ten or twelve Wives, beſides their Concubines, who are obliged to wait upon the Wives, tho' their Children have the ſame Prerogative as the legitimate Off-ſpring. Their Children go naked, the Girls having only a Plate of Silver or Gold to cover their Privities. They marry at eight, nine, or ten Years of Age. In their Marriages they uſe but few Ceremonies; certain Poles are ſtuck on the Wedding-Day before the Houſe of the Bride and Bridegroom, with Taſſels of white and red Cotton, and after Dinner the Bridegroom goes on Horſeback through the Town, where the Slaves, who are Part of his Dowry, go to meet him, and bring him ſome Preſents.

Women of Faſhion are kept under ſuch Reſtraint, that they are not permitted ſo much as to ſee their own Sons in their Chambers; neither does a Man ſpeak, or approach a Woman of Rank when ſhe goes abroad, but every body gives her Way, even the King himſelf. They are known only by their Retinue, being for the reſt clad after the common Faſhion, *viz.* in a kind of Calicoe or ſilk Petticoat, reaching down from the Breaſt to the middle of the Leg. They wear neither Stockings nor Head Ornaments, but tie their Hair upon the Crown, except it be at Weddings, or any other Solemnity, when they have Coronets on their Heads, and Rings and Bracelets upon their Fingers, and about their Arms. They are ſo much addicted to Cleanlineſs, that they never do any thing without waſhing and bathing themſelves, which is one of their chief Employments, and which they look upon as a proper Means to intice their Huſbands to Venery, in which they ſtrive to outvie one another.

In their Courts of Judicature, the Plaintiff and Defendant are obliged to plead both their own Cauſes. Their Puniſhment of Criminals is to tie them to a Poſt, and ſtab them with a Dagger. Foreigners have this Advantage, that provided they can make their Peace with the Party complaining, they may redeem themſelves from Death, except in the Caſe of premeditated Murder. The King's Council, which conſiſts ſometimes of five hundred Perſons, meet by Moon-light, under a great Tree, where they continue till the Moon ſets. The King, when preſent, ſits in the Middle. The Natives of *Java* are a proud, perfidious, and cruel Generation, and ſo ſtubborn, that ſuch as know they have deſerved Death, will rather be killed than taken. Their Hair, which is very long, is generally of a Cheſnut Colour. They have broad flat Faces, and large Jaw-bones and Eye-brows, little Eyes and thin Beards, are for the reſt middle-ſized, but very ſtrong Limbs. They ſeem not to want Courage, were they bred up to all the Advantages of our modern Arms; but they are contented with their Pike, Battle-ax, Broadſwords, and a Dagger. Their Bucklers are of Wood, and ſometimes of boil'd Leather. They wear alſo Armour, the Pieces of which are joined together with iron Rings. Their Soldiers receive no Pay in Time of Peace. They have a Way of blowing ſmall poiſoned Arrows through Trunks, by which the Wound is made incurable.

But thoſe inhabiting upon the Strait of *Sunda*, being tranſplanted thither from *Paſſarvaſe*, and living under their own King, are much more honeſt and open hearted. The Grounds of *Java* are either farmed out by the King, or Lords, to certain free People, or cultivated by Slaves, and produce Rice, Pepper, and Cocoa. Some Slaves here take their Maſters Trees, and other Commodities, at a certain Rate, which they ſell to the beſt Advantage they can; others work abroad for their Maſter's Profit, at a ſet Rate *per Diem*. Others maintain themſelves, and work alternately, ſix Days for their Maſters, and as many for themſelves. They commonly adulterate their Pepper with black Gravel, as they do all other Commodities they ſell to Strangers, being very crafty in their Commerce; tho' very few rich Merchants venture their Perſons on any long Voyage, but traffick, like our *European* Merchants, by the Aſſiſtance of Factors. Bonds and other Securities are written upon the Bark of Trees, the Characters being engraven with a ſort of Bodkin, which is either rolled up afterwards, or laid together four-ſquare, betwixt two Boards, which they have a Way to tie neatly together with Packthread; ſometimes they uſe *Chineſe* Paper.

They have a Language peculiar to themſelves, but the *Malayan* is moſt in uſe here, and the *Arabian* uſed by the *Mohammedans*. The Traffick of the *Perſians* that live here is precious Stones, Stuffs, and Drugs, and the *Arabibians* and *Banjans* exchange their Commodities chiefly for *China* Ware. Thoſe of *Guzarat* live for the moſt Part upon Fiſhing; all thoſe Foreigners are clad after the ſame Faſhion, in a Calicoe Garment, with a Turban of the ſame Stuff. At their Arrival they purchaſe a Woman, who is to ſerve for all Uſes. At their Departure, they diſpoſe of her again, but muſt make Proviſion for the Children, if they leave any behind. But the *Chineſe* are of all Foreigners here the moſt induſtrious in their Trading, being looked upon in the ſame Light as the *Jews* in *Europe*. Their main Buſineſs is to foreſtal and buy up the Pepper in the Country, againſt the coming of their Fleet to *Bantam* (which conſiſts commonly in ten Ships of 50 Tuns each) in *January*. Theſe bring in a ſort of wretched Money called *Pity* by the *Javaneſe*, and *Cas* in the *Malayan* Language, being a Mixture of Lead and Braſs, ſo brittle, that if they fall upon the Ground they certainly break. They are made in the City of *Chincoa* in *China*, having each a four-ſquare Hole in the middle, through which they ſtring them upon Straw. It paſſed at firſt very current in *Java*, but ſince this Baſeneſs has been diſcovered, it goes at a very low Rate. The *Chineſe* ſell their Porcelain here at cheap Rates, and bring alſo Silk, Sattin, and Damaſks of their own Manufactory, which they exchange for Pepper, Lacque, Indigo, Sandal Wood, Nutmegs, Cloves, Tortoiſhels, and Ivory. They have neither Temples nor Prieſts at *Bantam*, but they have both at *Panarucan*.

Java abounds both in wild and tame Beaſts. The Foreſts are filled with Elephants, Rhinoceroſes, Leopards, and Tygers, which make them very unſafe, and is the reaſon why Frankincenſe, Maſtick, Myrrh, and Benjamin (which is better here than in any other Place) are not gathered in ſo great Quantities, the before-mentioned Beaſts, as well as the Serpents, Lizards, and Salamanders, making the Foreſts ſo very dangerous to paſs. The Hogs here are without Briſtles, but their Bellies hang down to the Ground. The Rivers are very well ſtocked with Fiſh, there having been Oyſters ſeen in thoſe Parts that weighed 300 Pounds, which would ſeem incredible, if there were not to be ſeen to this Day, two Oyſter-ſhells in the Duke of *Holſtein-Gotterp*'s Cabinet, which *Olearius*, in 1657, bought of a Sea-Captain's Wife at *Enchuyſen*, and weighed 462 Pounds. Deer, wild Goats, and Boars, are likewiſe here in vaſt Plenty, but are not eaſily to be taken, by reaſon of the Unpaſſableneſs of the Woods, and the Unſkilfulneſs of the *Javaneſe* in the Uſe of Fire-arms. The Rivers feed alſo abundance of Crocrodiles; the *Chineſe* tame, fat, and eat them for a peculiar Dainty. Their Civet is not ſo white, nor well ſcented, as that of *Guinea*. They have two ſorts of tame Fowls, one like thoſe of *Europe*, the other of the *Indian* Breed, wild and furious; ſome have black Fleſh, but notwithſtanding this they are very good Food: The Rhinoceros is in the ſame Eſteem with them now-a-days, as the Unicorn was with the Ancients, his Fleſh, Horn, Blood, and Teeth, nay, even his Dung, being applied to medicinal Uſes.

They have alſo Ants here of a much larger Size than ours, they ſpoil every thing they come at. They have a certain kind of theſe Creatures reddiſh, and of the Length of a Man's Finger; but theſe live in the Fields upon the Barks of Trees. Among the Fruit-trees of *Java* the *Arrequeco*, which bears the *Areca*, is none of the worſt; it is a Species of the Cocoa, but leſs in Bulk, and with narrower Leaves. The Fruit reſembles a Date incloſed in a Huſk, which falls off when it ripens; it is without Taſte, but taints the Lips and Teeth of a black Colour. The *Indians*, after they have mixed it with a little Lime, wrap it up in a Beetle Leaf, and ſo chew it, looking upon it as a good Remedy againſt the Scurvy. It will cauſe in ſuch as are not uſed to it, a Dizzineſs in the Head, but it ſoon paſſes over. The *Mango* is a Fruit growing upon a Tree not unlike our Walnut-trees; it is ſomething like our Peaches in Bigneſs and Colour, being of a red and green. The Shell incloſes an Almond, which is of a grateful Taſte when roaſted in the Aſhes: They pickle them whilſt green, and they are accounted a good Remedy againſt the Worms, and Looſeneſs; the wild ones are rank Poiſon, which kill without a preſent Antidote.

The *Ananas* grow on a Shrub with Leaves like a *Sempervivum*; is green at firſt, but when ripe, turns to the Orange Colour. Its Shape is like a Pine-apple, yellow within, but they are dangerous if uſed in Exceſs, tho' the Taſte is very pleaſant; they are not much larger than a good Lemmon. The Stalk is like a Thiſtle, every one bearing but one at the Top; it is very apt to over-heat, and occaſion Fevers. The Fruit called *Samata* is alſo of the Bigneſs of a Citron; juicy and tart, with black Kernels; the Leaves, which are like to, but ſomething leſs than the Lemmon-trees, pickled with Salt and Sugar, are accounted a good Remedy in Fevers and Inflammations, as we do our Tamarinds, which alſo grow in great Plenty here. The *Tabaxir*, *i. e.* a white frozen Liquor, is found in the Knots of certain Canes, of the Bigneſs of a Poplar, with ſtrait Branches and Leaves not unlike thoſe of the Olive-tree, but ſomewhat longer; it is like Starch, and in ſuch Eſteem with the *Perſians* and *Arabians* for the Virtues they attribute to it in the Cure of Fevers and Bloody-fluxes, that they buy it at a very dear Rate. Theſe Canes are ſo big, that the *Indians* cleave them aſunder, and make Boats of them, leaving a Knot on each End. The Iſle of *Java* produces alſo another Fruit called *Durions*, not to be met with any where except here and in the *Moluccas*.

The Tree called *Batan* is of the Size of our Apple-trees; the Bloſſom of a pale yellow Colour, the Leaves half a Foot long, and three Inches broad, of a very lively green on the Inſide. The Fruit, both for its Colour, Bigneſs, and outward Diviſion, reſembles our Melons, but within is divided into four Partitions, which being again ſubdivided into two or three leſſer Cells, contain the Fruit, which is as big as a Pullet's Egg, and of the moſt luſcious Taſte in the World. It has a Stone rough, and as big as that of a Peach. It will not keep, and therefore muſt be uſed as ſoon as the outward Huſk opens. One thing is very obſervable, that if you lay but a few Beetle Leaves near a whole Room full of *Durions*, they will all rot immediately; and if you have ſurfeited yourſelf with the exceſſive eating of this Fruit, two or three Beetle Leaves applied to your Breaſt, or one of the ſame Leaves eaten, will give you Eaſe, and you may digeſt them without any farther Danger. A *Lantor* Tree, another Species of Cocoas, has Leaves five or ſix Feet long, and ſo ſmooth, that the *Javaneſe* uſe them inſtead of Paper. *Cubebs* are found no where in the *Indies*, but in the Iſle of *Java*. They grow upon a Tree not unlike the Pepper, and in Bunches. The *Javaneſe* hold them in ſuch Eſteem, that they will not ſell them unboil'd, nor will allow ſo much as one Plant to be tranſported into other Places. The *Magoſtan* is much of the Taſte of our Sloes, and grows wild in the Highways of *Java*; and the Herb *Talaſſe*, bearing neither Flower nor Fruit, is uſed green in Sauces, its Virtue being to fortify the Stomach: The Fruit *Jaca*, is of the Bigneſs of a *Citrul*, having a rough Rind, within which are certain Nuts, the Kernels thereof being roaſted, are a preſent Remedy againſt a Looſeneſs. It is obſervable, that this Fruit often changes its Taſte; ſometimes it reſembles a Melon, ſometimes a Peach, and at other times a ſweet Lemmon. The Nut is as big as a Date, but is not to be uſed raw, becauſe it occaſions Vomiting and griping in the Guts; but roaſted, it is both pleaſant and good, and reckoned a great Reſtorative.

On the Side of the Iſland towards the Strait of *Sunda*, you meet with abundance of wild Cinnamon, but it is never tranſported into foreign Parts. The *Carcapuli* are a kind of *Indian* Cherries, white, dark, red, and of a Carnation Colour; the Trees and Fruit are like thoſe in *Europe*. The *Coſtus Indicus*, called *Pucho* by the *Malayans*, reſembles in every reſpect, both in Height and Flower, the *European* Elder-tree, wherewith the *Perſians* and *Arabians* drive a conſiderable Trade, as they do alſo with the *Calamus Aromaticus*. There is a yellow and ſpungy Matter in its Stalk, which ſome Women make uſe of to appeaſe Fits. The *Zerumbet*, called *Canlor* by the *Malayans*, is like Ginger, except that it has ſomewhat larger Leaves; it is preſerved, or dried like Ginger, but valued above it. Of *Galanga* there are two kinds, the leſſer is brought from *China*, and is preferable to that of *Java*. The Herb grows wild, about two Feet high, with a white Flower, and pointed Leaves; the *Javaneſe* uſe both the Root and Herb in their Sallads; the firſt are knotted like Canes, and of a biting Taſte, and good Scent. *Benjamin* is a Gum of a Tree reſembling a Lemmon-tree; whilſt they are young, the Gum is white, but as they grow old, it changes black. It is by the *Moors* called *Lovan Javy*, *i. e.* the

Juice of *Java.* This Iſle produces abundance of Sandal-trees, which are of the Bigneſs of our Walnut-trees, their Fruit reſembling our Black-cherries, but is inſipid; but the white and yellow Sandal, which are much preferred before the red, grow in the Iſles of *Timor*, and *Solar*; of this the *Indians* make a Decoction wherewith they rub their Bodies, looking upon it as a great Reſtorative. Ginger they have alſo in abundance here, which they eat, either green, or preſerved, but never dried. Anacardium is uſed by the *Javaneſe* as an approved Remedy againſt the Aſthma and Worms; they boil it in Milk, or pickle it like Olives. The Wood called *Pala de Cuebra* by the *Portugueze*, of a pale yellow Colour, is uſed by the *Indians* in Wine and Water, againſt Fevers and Stings of Serpents.

That by the *Indians* called Calamba, and by us Lignum Aloes, grows not only in *Java*, but alſo in *Malacca*, *Sumatra*, *Cambaya*, and other Places. It is not unlike to, but ſomewhat bigger than an Olive-tree, and whilſt green, has no Scent; but as ſoon as it dries, its Scent is perceived. Its Goodneſs is known by its Weight and Colour, which muſt be brown, from whence iſſues an Oil, if held to the Fire; the wild Calamba is uſed chiefly in Funerals, for the burning of the dead Corps of the *Indian* Prieſts and Princes. Abundance of Lacque is ſold at *Bantam*; but the choiceſt comes from *Pegu*. There certain winged Ants ſuck the Gum of the Trees, which they afterwards caſt upon the Boughs, as the Bees do the Honey and Wax; theſe are cut off, and ſet in the Sun to dry till the Lacque falls off, to which they give what Colour they pleaſe, and is uſed in Sealing-wax, and Lacque Works of China and Japan. The other Drugs of *Java* are Pody, which they uſe againſt Winds and Rheums. Flors, a Root they dye their Calicoes with. Canjuapi is another Root with which they rub their Bodies. Samparantam is another Root ſtronger than Ginger, but bitter. Pantibu is accounted a ſovereign Remedy againſt Fevers, and upon that Score ſold at a dear rate. Gotogamber is a Fruit reſembling Olives, good againſt the Tooth-ach. Ganti is altogether like Ginger, but much dearer; they uſe it to rub their Bodies with. Saſam is the Name they give Muſtard-ſeed. Doringi is given to the Children as ſoon as they are born. The Root Gallam, growing in watery Places, is a great Cooler. The Fruit Tianco is taken at all Times whenever they find themſelves indiſpoſed. Maidian, Maya, and Coroſſani, are uſed in their Liquors, as having an intoxicating Quality. Spodium is the Aſhes of a Tree, wherewith they rub their Bodies. They do the ſame likewiſe with the Flower called Sary, and the Roots of Targary, Surahan, and Sedowaya, are appropriated to the ſame Uſe. Sambaya is a Fruit of the Bigneſs of an Acorn, which being accounted a moſt ſovereign Remedy againſt Poiſon, and eſpecially that of venomous Beaſts, is ſold at a very high Price. Jalava is of the ſame Uſe as Sambaya. The Herb Paravas is cooling, but ſcarce and dear. Tomonpute is a Root uſed againſt the Inflammations of the Spleen. The Conduri are poiſonous Berries, but are uſed to weigh Gold and Silver.

The *Javaneſe* being exaſperated by the ill Uſage they often received from the *Portugueze*, would not for a long time permit any Strangers to have any Settlements there, till at laſt the Hopes of Gain engaged the Kings of *Bantam* and *Jacatra* to let the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſet up their Factories there under certain Conditions; which being but ill obſerved by the *Indians*, the *Dutch* took this Opportunity of fortifying their Settlements at *Jacatra*, and that with ſo much Expedition, that the *Indians*, finding themſelves not in a Condition to force them thence, engaged with the *Engliſh* to aſſiſt them in the Expulſion of theſe bold Strangers. In the firſt Sea Engagement, *January* the 2d, 1619, near *Bantam*, the *Dutch* had the worſt; upon which the King of *Jacatra*, in Conjunction with the *Engliſh*, beſieged and attacked their Forts for ſix Months, till the *Dutch* Fleet being reinforced, obliged the *Engliſh* to quit both the Fort and the Streights of *Sunda*, and landing their Men, took the City of *Jacatra* by Storm, and put all to the Sword: The next thing they had to do was to compleat their Fortifications, which they did ſo effectually, that in a little Time they made them very regular, with four Baſtions of Free-ſtone well intrenched and palliſadoed, and defended by a proportionable Number of Half-moons, Redoubts, &c.

The King of *Matram* laid Siege to it twice ſince, *viz.* in 1628 and 1629, but was forced to raiſe it as often; ſince which Time the *Dutch* remain in the quiet Poſſeſſion of their Traffick here with the *Chineſe*, *Japaneſe*, and *Siameſe*, and other neighbouring Nations, and receive Ten *per Cent.* Cuſtom upon all Commodities imported or exported, each Stranger inhabiting in the City of *Batavia* being obliged to pay a certain Monthly Tax proportionable to what Profits they make, which is very great, and conſequently the Tax not in the leaſt burthenſome; for a Porter, who perhaps gets two Rials a Day, does not pay above one and a half in the Month. The City of *Batavia* being for its convenient Situation in a Bay, which is ſheltered by many Iſlands from the Violence of the Winds, one of the beſt Roads in all the *Indies*, and the chief Place of Commerce belonging to the *Dutch* in thoſe Parts.

To the North-Weſt from *Java*, betwixt that and the Iſle of *Borneo*, lies the Iſland of *Madura*, ſubject to its own Prince, whoſe Reſidence is in the City of *Araſſabaya*; as by reaſon of its Barrenneſs, it is a Place of no Trade, they live upon Piracy, eſpecially upon the Coaſt of *Pegu*. The Iſle of *Baly* lying to the Eaſt of *Java*, has not above twelve Leagues in Circuit; but to the South jets out a Cape a great way into the Sea. The King reſides in the City, bearing the ſame Name with the Iſle; the Inhabitants are *Pagans*, and ſo ſuperſtitious, that they worſhip the firſt thing they meet with in the Morning; they are very black, with curled Hair, but wear no Beards, any more than the reſt of the Iſlanders in thoſe Parts, and wear the ſame Garments; for their Women, who have an Averſion to Beards, oblige them to pull out the Hair by the Roots. They have each ſeveral Wives, whence this Iſle is ſo populous, that above ſix hundred thouſand living Souls are accounted within its Compaſs, though abundance of Slaves are ſold from thence every Year.

They live for the moſt part upon Huſbandry and Weaving, becauſe they abound both in Cotton and Rice, but allow none to be tranſported; they are alſo ſufficiently provided with Oxen, Buffaloes, Goats and Hogs, and ſome Horſes, but very ſmall ones. They have whole Foreſts of Oranges, Lemons, and Citron Trees, which furniſh them with vaſt Stores of Pheaſants, Partridges, Peacocks and Turtles, as their Marſhes do with Ducks, and other wild Fowl. It produces no other Spice but Ginger; but they have ſeveral other Drugs, and a certain Fruit growing in a Shell like a Cheſnut, white, and of a delicious Taſte; and is beſides this an approved Remedy againſt the Scurvy. All along the Coaſt the Seas furniſh them with incredible Plenty of Fiſh, which, next to Rice, is their main Subſiſtance. They have but little Commerce with Strangers, except that they ſend now and then ſome of their Calicoes in ſmall Veſſels to the Iſle of *Java*. In this Road moſt Ships bound for the *Moluccas* take in freſh Water and Proviſions, which are to be bought here at a very low rate. They have Iron, Copper, and Gold Mines; but the laſt are not broke up or wrought, for fear the Fame of their Riches ſhould draw thither ſome Foreign Nation or other that would without Queſtion reap the Fruits of their Labour. Their King, whoſe Title is *Quillor*, i. e. High-Conſtable, is in great Veneration among his Subjects, and governs his Dominions by certain Governors appointed for each Province. They perſiſt very obſtinately in Paganiſm, as alſo in that diabolical Cuſtom of Women burning themſelves with their Huſbands.

The Iſle of *Borneo* lies farther North than *Java*, one of the largeſt in thoſe Seas, extending ſix Degrees to the North, though its greateſt Part lies on this Side of the Equinoctial Line. Some make it four hundred Leagues in Compaſs; but the *Dutch* with more probability aſſign it no more than two hundred and fifty Leagues in Circumference; its chief Places are *Borneo*, *Succidava*, *Lanoa*, *Sambas*, and *Bangbemiſſin*. The City of *Borneo* is like *Venice*, built upon divers ſmall Iſlands, interſected with Channels, there being no Paſſage there but by Boats, according to the Account the *Dutch* have given of it; it contains about two thouſand Houſes. This Iſle produces the beſt Camphire, as alſo

Gold, and Bezoar, which Stone breeds in the Maw of a Sheep, or Goat, within the Subſtance of which is alſo found a Tuft of Graſs. It is ſmooth, inclining to a greeniſh Colour, its Goodneſs being to be tried by its Weight. In the Country of *Pan*, near *Malacca*, is a certain ſmooth and ſlippery Stone found in the Gall of certain Hogs, of a reddiſh Colour, and bitteriſh Taſte, which being ſteeped only in cold Water, affords a moſt effectual Remedy againſt all Poiſon, and infectious Diſtempers. The Iſle of *Borneo* furniſhes alſo Diamonds, Sapan-wood, uſed by the Dyers, Braſil-wood, Wax, Pepper, Frankincenſe, Maſtick, and divers other Gums. The Iſle is not deſtitute of good Harbours, among which that of *Borneo*, at the Mouth of a very good River, is the largeſt and moſt commodious. Their Cities are not very populous, and their wooden Houſes ſo ſlightly built, that they remove them at Pleaſure. They are accounted very ingenious, but will rather live by Piracy than Induſtry, unto which they are ſo much addicted, that their Veſſels are ſeen upon the Coaſt of *Pegu* four hundred Leagues thence. They uſe Swords, Bucklers, Lances, Darts, and Pikes. The King and moſt of the Inhabitants near the Sea-ſide are *Mohammedans*; but deeper in the Iſland they are *Pagans*. They are black, and well ſet, wear Calicoe wrapped about their Loins, like moſt of the other *Indians*, and Turbans on their Heads.

13. The Iſle of *Celebes* lies betwixt that of *Borneo* and *Moluccas*, under the Equinoctial Line. *Mercator* would have it to be one of theſe Iſlands called *Sindas* by *Ptolemy*. Its capital City is called *Macaſſar*, which lies in the moſt Southern Part of the whole Iſle, 5° 17′ beyond the Line. The Inhabitants are ſo induſtrious, that they leave not an Inch of Ground unmanured, and ſow with Rice what they ſtand not in need of for their Cattle and Cocoa-trees. It is not long ſince they embraced *Mohammediſm*. They much reſemble the *Siameſe* and thoſe of *Pegu*, eſpecially in their Faces, and are of a comely Stature. The Women dreſs their Heads like thoſe of *Malacca*, and in the Street have their Breaſts open, and Breeches reaching down to their Knees. The North-weſt Winds, which blow here from *November* to *March*, make the Shore very unſafe during that Time, and the continual Rains overflow the flat Country, which is the Reaſon that moſt of their Houſes are built upon Piles, nine or ten Foot above the Ground. There are two Kings more, *viz.* one of *Telbo*, and the other of *Battergoa*, in this Iſland.

The Iſle of *Gilolo*, by the *Portugueze* called *Bato China de Moro*, produces Plenty of Rice, and *Sagu*, Tortoiſes, *&c.* The Inhabitants are very well limbed, but barbarous, and not many Years ago were Canibals. The Iſland of *Amboyna* is ſo near the *Moluccas*, that ſome have accounted it among their Number; its Circuit is twenty-four Leagues. The chief City has to the North-weſt of it a very fair Bay of ſix Leagues, where there is ſafe Anchorage, and good Shelter for Ships againſt the Wind; the Bay enters ſo deep into the Country, and the Sea on the oppoſite Side cuts ſo deep within the Land, that the Iſle is very near divided into two, there being only a ſmall Iſthmus of a hundred and twenty Fathom left, by which it is joined together. The leſſer Part of the Iſle wherein is the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, contains about a hundred and twenty ſmall Towns, and the greater but four Towns, and about ſeven Villages. The Inhabitants were heretofore Savages and Canibals, and applied themſelves to no kind of Agriculture, which made the Country appear a Wilderneſs; but of late Years they have applied themſelves to cultivating the Ground, which being very fertile, produces great Plenty of Oranges, Lemmons, Cocoas, Bananas, Sugar-Canes, beſides Cloves. They continue ſtill to be ignorant People, the only Skill they ſhew being in the Management of a Dart, with ſo much Dexterity, that at ſixty Paces Diſtance they will hit a Crown-piece. They are famed for their Cakes made of Rice, Almonds, and Sugar, which the Inhabitants of the adjacent Iſlands take againſt the Bloody-flux; for their Rice-Bread, made in the Shape of our Sugar-Loaves; and for their ſmall Gallies, which in Swiftneſs exceed any in *Europe*.

It was firſt diſcovered by the *Portugueze* in the Year 1515; but the *Dutch* having afterwards alſo got Footing there, the *Portugueze* being reſolved to ſpoil their Commerce, ſet upon five *Dutch* Veſſels in the Port of *Banda*; but being repulſed with Loſs, revenged their Diſgrace upon the *Amboynians*, who were ſuſpected to favour the *Dutch* in thoſe Parts. *Stephen Verhagen*, two Years after, *viz.* on the 21ſt of *February* 1603, landed a certain Number of Soldiers near *Amboyna*, in order to attack the Caſtle; but whilſt he was landing his Artillery, the *Portugueze* Governor, not daring to ſtand the Shock, ſurrendered the Place without a Cannon being ſhot, though the Garriſon conſiſted of ſix hundred Men. Before *Mohammediſm* was introduced in the Iſles of *Java*, *Amboyna*, and the *Moluccas*, by the *Perſians* and *Arabians* trading hither, they were all *Pagans*, ſome of them continue ſo ſtill; others, though circumciſed, yet perſevere in their *Pagan* Superſtitions.

Nothing is more frequent here than to worſhip the Devil, though they are not able to tell you what he is. They affirm him to be an Aereal Demon; whence they give him the Name of *Lanithe*, i. e. Air, yet make him ſubordinate to another called *Lanthila*, as well as to him they call *Tautay*, who is a Degree lower than *Lanthila*. They give them one general Name, *viz. Tito*, i. e. Evil Spirits, and ſay that they appear to them in human Shape, when they are to produce their Oracles, and reveal unknown things to them. To do this twenty or thirty of them aſſemble, and by the Help of a ſmall Drum called *Tifa*, ſome Wax-Candles, and certain Conjurations, as alſo a Sacrifice of Meat and Drink, make them appear before them. As they are of opinion, that what Ill befalls them comes from the Devil, they are very careful not to neglect his Worſhip; for which Purpoſes they have Wax-candles lighted in their Houſes, where they ſacrifice Meat and Drink to theſe phantaſtick Beings.

Their Circumciſion is alſo different from that of the *Jews* or *Mohammedans*; for inſtead of cutting off the Prepuce, they only ſlit it, and that not till they are twelve or thirteen Years of Age. Their Marriages are ſoon made, and as ſoon diſſolved; for every thing being agreed upon, they uſe no farther Ceremonies, except that the Bridegroom's Father gives a ſmall Preſent to the Bride, in lieu of which her Father makes the Wedding Feaſt, where they have their Muſick and Dancing. If a Wife have a mind to part from her Huſband, ſhe has no more to do than to reſtore the Preſent; which done, ſhe pours Water on her Huſband's Feet, to intimate, that thereby they are both cleanſed from all Impurities they have contracted during their Marriage, which is thereby diſſolved, and either Party at liberty to provide themſelves another Spouſe as ſoon as they pleaſe. When they are to take a ſolemn Oath, Water is put into a Diſh, into which having caſt Gold, Earth, and a Leaden Bullet, they dip into it the Extremity of a Muſket-Barrel, the Point of a Halbert, Sword, Knife, or ſome other Weapon, and ſo give the Diſh with Water unto him who is to take the Oaths, to put him in mind, that all what has been caſt, or dipped into the Water, will be inſtrumental to his Deſtruction, if he forſwear himſelf. They have among them a certain Gang, who under pretence of Witchcraft, do Miſchief to their Neighbours, either by Poiſon, or other Means; they are called *Zevangi*; but whenever they are found out, they are ſure to meet with very ſevere Puniſhment.

The Natives of *Amboyna* are naturally ſtupid, timorous, and void of Underſtanding; they commonly bury their Riches for fear of being robbed; and ſuch is their Simplicity, that they are not to be brought up to any Trade. They are ſo far from any Knowledge, that they have not ſo much as any Characters among them. All they apply themſelves to is Fiſhing, and cultivating their Gardens, upon the Fruit of which they live very miſerably, though it is obſervable that they are generally ſtrong, and well proportioned. The *Dutch* have three Forts in this Iſle, *viz.* the Fort *Cambella*, or *Victoria*, and thoſe of *Hiten* and *Laura*.

The Iſle of *Banda*, which is three Leagues in Length, and one in Breadth, lies twenty-four Leagues from *Amboyna*, extending from North to South. It has ſome few Towns, the chief of which is *Nera*. The Inhabitants are very zealous *Mohammedans*; as they are always at War with ſome of their Neighbours, ſo they keep a conſtant Guard along their Coaſts. Their Arms are a Cymitar and wooden Buckler, four Foot long, in the managing of which they are very expert, as being trained up to it in their Infancy.

They make uſe alſo ſometimes of Fire-arms, but what they put their chief Truſt in is the Lance, being eight or ten Foot long, which they caſt with ſuch Dexterity and Strength, that they will run a Man through with it: Of theſe they commonly have two, which, after they have caſt, they betake themſelves to their Swords. They make uſe of a kind of light Gallies, having on each Side, juſt above the Surface of the Water, two Seats like Wings, where the Slaves are ſet to row. There are two allotted for each Seat every one with his Oar, which being made like a hollow wooden Shovel, they thruſt it as far as they can into the Sea, and in drawing it back, turn it about their Heads with ſuch a Slight and Swiftneſs, that there are but few Ships that can overtake them with all the Sail they can make.

The Natives of *Banda* live very often to one hundred and twenty Years of Age. When they inter their Corps they are carried by twelve Perſons upon a Bier or Coffin, covered with Calicoe, the Men firſt, and the Women following it; after it is buried, they return to the Houſe of the deceaſed, where they feaſt together, order Incence to be burnt over the Grave for twenty-four Hours, and ſet up a burning Lamp at Night in a Hut made for that Purpoſe. The Men lead a very idle Life, leaving all Buſineſs to the Management of the Women, who are employed in breaking the Nutmeg-ſhells, and drying the Nut and Mace, the chief Thing they rely on for their Maintenance. As far as ever I could learn, the moſt excellent Spice grows no where but in the Iſle of *Banda*, and the ſix following adjacent Iſlands, which make up the Archipelago called *Banda*, by the Inhabitants, *viz.* *Gunaxi*, *Pera*, and *Lanter*, (which is the beſt Road for Veſſels) *Puloway*, *Pulaim*, and *Bayſingin*.

It is next to a Paradox to believe that theſe ſix ſmall Iſlands ſhould be able to produce ſuch prodigious Quantities of Nutmegs as are ſufficient for the whole World, unleſs it be conſidered, that beſides a few Durions, Bananas, Oranges, and Cocoa-trees, the Iſlands are covered all over with them like one continued Foreſt, the Trees of which are loaded with Flowers and Fruits, which is gathered three times a Year, *viz.* in *April*, *Auguſt*, and *December*; but the beſt is gathered in *April*. The Tree itſelf reſembles our Peach-tree, the Leaves whereof are ſomewhat leſs and round. The Fruit is encloſed within a Huſk as thick as that of our Wallnuts, which, being opened, you ſee a Leaf very thin upon a hard Shell, which may be diſcovered through it. This Leaf is the Flower of Nutmeg or Mace; and to come to the Fruit, you muſt break the Shell. While the Nut is green, the Flower is of a Carnation Colour, which, after it is parted from the Shell, turns to an Orange Colour. It makes a moſt excellent Preſerve, if done with Salt and Sugar. The Inhabitants make a good ſtomatick Ointment of Nutmegs or Mace, powdered and mixed with the Oil of Roſes. The Inhabitants don't amount to above 12000 in all, amongſt them not above 500 fit to bear Arms; yet are they ſo mutinous and ſtubborn, that to bridle them the *Dutch* have two Forts here, called *Naſſau* and *Belgica*, where Veſſels may anchor at nine or ten Fathom Water within Muſket-ſhot, and that without the leaſt Danger.

The *Moluccas*, properly ſo called, are no more than five in Number, *viz.* the Iſles of *Ternate*, *Tidor*, *Motiel*, *Machiam*, and *Bachiam*, known to the antient *Pagans* by the Names of *Cupe*, *Douco*, *Montil*, *Maca*, and *Saque*, and ſituated all together within the Space of 25 Leagues. The Sun-beams are ſo penetrating here that they render the Earth as dry as a Pumice-ſtone, which not only ſucks in all the Rains that fall, but alſo ſwallows the very Torrents near their Sources; but as they are not able to penetrate through the thick Foreſts, ſo the Ground here produces both Trees and Herbs; whence it is that thoſe Iſlands are ſufficiently ſtored with Bananas, Cocoas, Lemons, Oranges, Sandal, and Callamba, beſides Spices of all ſorts; but they produce neither Rice, nor any other ſort of Grain; the Defect of which is ſupplied by the Tree, called by the Natives *Laudan*, and *Segucira* by the *Portugueze*, the Pith of which furniſhes them with a kind of Meal for Bread, as the Leaves, when come to their full Growth, ſerve them for the Covering of their Houſes, and the bigger Veins for Rafters, as the leſſer make good Cordage: While theſe Leaves are young, they are covered with a kind of wooly Subſtance, which affords Materials for Stuffs. They are not unlike the Cocoa-leaves, the Tree which bears them being commonly twenty Foot high, and the Trunk a Fathom in Compaſs; but being compoſed only of the Bark and Pith, is eaſily cut down, the firſt not exceeding one Inch in Thickneſs. The Pith is very white, and may be eaten without any farther Preparation, after the Strings of the Wood, which are mixed with it, are removed; but if they intend to make Meal of it, they beat the Pith to Powder, put it in a Sieve, made of the Bark of the ſame Tree, over a Tub, made of its Leaves, and by pouring a ſufficient Quantity of Water upon it, ſeparate the Strings from the mealy Part, which ſettles to the Bottom of the Tub, and being ſeparated from the Water and dried, affords the Meal they call *Sagu*. This they bake in certain Moulds of Earth, made red-hot, with incredible Diſpatch. This Tree, which grows alſo in *Amboyna* and ſome other Places, affords alſo a certain Liquor called Thorack, which taſtes like Wine.

The Iſlanders, though not deſtitute of Cattle, yet live, for the moſt part, upon Fiſh. They have no Gold, Silver, or any other Mines, being furniſhed with Iron from the Iſland of *Amboyna*. They are generally black, though the Women not ſo black as the Men, with black ſhining Hair, large Eyes and Eyebrows, and ſtrong Limbs. They ſoon become grey, yet live to a great Age; are active rather than laborious, and very ſociable in Converſation, but ſomewhat inclining to Boldneſs and Inſolence, and in their Dealings crafty and deceitful: The Men wear generally Turbans, like the *Turks*, covered with Plumes. The King is diſtinguiſhed from his Subjects by a kind of Mitre, clad in Drawers only of blue, red, green, or yellow Sattin. Some of theſe Iſlanders make uſe of a cloſe-bodied Coat, faſtened round the Shoulders, and cut below like the military Garment of the ancient *Romans*. The Women wear no Head-dreſſes, but lay their Hair ſmooth over their Heads, which they tie behind, and cover it with Plumes, or Flowers. Their Garments are of *China* Silk; but their chief Ornaments are their Bracelets, Rings, and Necklaces of Pearls, Diamonds, Rubies, and Emeralds. The *Chineſe* were the firſt that made themſelves Maſters of thoſe Iſlands, and after, the *Perſians* and *Arabians*, who introduced *Mohammediſm* here. Their ancient Cuſtoms are their only Law: They allow Poligamy, yet don't puniſh Adultery; but ſtealing is a capital Crime.

At Break of Day certain Perſons who are appointed for that Purpoſe, beat the Drum about the Streets to excite the People to the Performance of their matrimonial Duty. They uſe generally the *Malayan* Language, though every one of theſe Iſlands has its peculiar Tongue, which ſhews them to be deſcended from divers Nations. The Iſle of *Ternate*, the biggeſt of the *Moluccas*, is ſituated in 48° 28 Leagues from the Iſle of *Banda*. Its Compaſs is about eight Leagues. It affords but little Proviſions, except Goats and ſome Poultry; but the Almonds here are moſt excellent, the Shell being ſo hard that the Smiths uſe them inſtead of Coal. It produces alſo ſome Tobacco, but much inferior in Goodneſs to that brought from the *Weſt-Indies*. The Town of *Gamma Lamma*, the Capital of the whole Iſland, conſiſts only of one Street, 2500 Paces long, built along the Sea-ſide, the Houſes being all of Cane or Timber; the Road is not fit for Anchorage, the Bottom being all rocky, which makes the *Dutch* Veſſels always lie at Anchor near the Village of *Tellingamma*, within two Miles of *Malay*, betwixt the Iſlands of *Ternate* and *Tidor*.

But the chief Product of theſe Iſlands is the Clove, called *Clavas* by the modern *Spaniards*, by reaſon of its Reſemblance to an ordinary Nail. The Tree that bears it is by thoſe of the *Moluccas* called *Sigar*, the Leaf *Vacaqua*, and the Fruit itſelf *Champue*. The Tree reſembles the Laurel, its Leaves being however ſomewhat narrower, like thoſe of the Almond-trees, ſhooting forth its Branches at the Top, not unlike the Mirtle. The Fruit is white at firſt, grows green by degrees, and brown when it comes to Maturity, but does not turn black till it be dried in the Sun, which is done in two or three Days. The Tree grows naturally without planting or cultivating, bears

Fruit the eighth Year, and laſts one hundred Years. The Fruit of it is gathered but once every other Year, becauſe the Inhabitants break off the Buds the firſt, that they may have a more plentiful Crop the ſecond Year. The Fruit is ripe from *Auguſt* to *January*. This Tree affords no Gum, by reaſon of its exceſſive Heat, the Fruit being ſo dry that the Inhabitants, to encreaſe its Weight, put a Pitcher with Water, within ten Foot of their Clove-Bags, which is ſucked up within two or three Days time. The *Chineſe* do the ſame with their raw Silk.

As the *Moluccas* yield more Cloves than any other Iſlands hereabouts, this has miſled ſome to affirm that they grow only here, it being certain they yield yearly Six thouſand Barrels of Cloves, allowing Five hundred and an half to a Barrel; though, at the ſame time, the Iſles of *Ires*, *Meytarna*, *Cavaly*, *Sabugo*, *Marigoron*, *Gamoconora*, *Amboyna*, but eſpecially the Iſle of *Varanula*, produce conſiderable Quantities, but not ſo good as thoſe of the *Moluccas*. In the Midſt of the Iſland of *Ternate*, is a very high Mountain, full of Palms and other Trees, which has a moſt miraculous Well on the Top, which is ſo deep that 500 Fathom of Rope did not reach the Bottom, but to a very fair Spring, the Water of which no body hitherto has ventured to taſte, by reaſon of the ſulphurous Exhalations, which, eſpecially about the Equinoxes, iſſue from the Mountain, and ſometimes caſt red Stones at twenty Leagues diſtance. This Mountain is covered with Wood near half its Heighth, but afterwards is exceſſive cold, having on the Top a very cold Spring, and a Lake of freſh Water, ſurrounded by Trees. They know not of any certain Difference of Seaſon in theſe Iſlands, except that it generally rains more with the North than with the South-wind.

Serpents they have of thirty Foot long, but not venomous, living for the moſt part upon Fiſh. This Iſland has alſo a peculiar Creature, called by the Inhabitants *Cuſes*, which, as it feeds on Fruits, ſo it is always ſeen upon the Trees, its Tail being of ſuch Strength, that it will hang by it to a Branch of the Tree, the better to come at the Fruit; it is in Shape not unlike our Rabbets; its Colour betwixt a Grey and a Red, with thick, curling, and ſoft Hair, round and fierce Eyes, and very ſmall Feet. As they have ſcarce any domeſtick Bird except the Parrot, ſo their Foreſts are full of wild ones. The *Moluccas* produce a certain Wood which burns, ſparkles, and flames like common Wood, but conſumes not, though you may rub it to Powder with your Fingers. Not far from the Fort of *Ternate* grows a certain Shrub, called *Catopa* by the Inhabitants, from which falls a Leaf, which, by degrees, is ſuppoſed to turn to a Butterfly. The Iſle of *Tidor* is at leaſt as large and fruitful as *Ternate*, the Inhabitans here being ſo induſtrious as to improve the Fruit of the Clove-tree, by pruning and watering it, which, by this means, becomes both fairer and larger than the reſt. Here they have alſo the beſt white Sandal-wood, and thoſe Birds called *Paxeras del Cielo* by the *Spaniards*, and by us Birds of *Paradiſe*. After they have catched them, they cut off their Feet cloſe to the Body, ſo that when the Fleſh dries the Skin and Feathers join inſenſibly together, ſo that many have been of Opinion theſe Birds are without Feet.

The *Dutch* are Maſters of *Malaya*, a well fortified Town in *Ternate*, as alſo of the Fort of *Taluco*, and that of *Marieco* and *Tidor*, of the Fort *Barnevild* in *Bachiam*, and three more in the Iſle of *Machiam*, at *Taffaco*, *Tabicalo*, and *Goffiquia*; they have alſo a Stone-Fort in *Motir*. The Kingdom of *Machiam*, which is governed by its own Sovereign, being ſo well ſtocked with Sago that the Inhabitants have ſufficient wherewith to ſubſiſt without Labour, has made them ſo idle and careleſs that they are ſcarce able to raiſe 500 fighting Men. The Iſle of *Machiam*, which is ſubject to the King of *Ternate*, is about ſeven Leagues in Circumference; the *Dutch* made themſelves Maſters of it in 1601, ſince which Time they have erected three Forts, the firſt at *Gueſſiqui*, ſituate upon an Eminence, and ſtrengthened by four Baſtions of Stone; as is alſo the Fort of *Taſſaſo* built likewiſe upon an Aſcent at an hundred and ſixty Paces from the Sea-ſhore; it is bigger than the firſt. The Fort of *Tobillala* has only two Baſtions. Beſides theſe five Iſlands, properly called the *Moluccas*, there are about ſeventy-two more ſubject to the King of *Ternate*, from *Mindanao* on the North Side, and *Bina* and *Corca* on the South, and between the Continent of *New-Guinea* to the Eaſt.

14. The *Philippine* Iſlands, which lie to the North of the *Moluccas*, were diſcovered by *Ferdinand Megallanus* in 1520, but no Eſtabliſhment was made there till 1565, when they got the Name of *Philippines* from *Philip* II. then King of *Spain*. The firſt Settlement of the *Spaniards* was made in the Iſle of *Zebu*, and about ſix Years after that in the Iſle of *Lucon*, now called *Manilla*, from its chief City, which is ſituate in an Iſle made by an Arm of the Sea, in the moſt Southern Part of the Iſle, the whole Compaſs of which is three hundred and fifty Leagues; it is ſeventy Leagues from *China* to the North, and two hundred and ſeventy Leagues to the North-Eaſt from *Japan* to the Eaſt; it is encompaſſed by the Ocean, and to the South by the great *Archipelago*, which is divided into five Seas, and ſtocked with a vaſt Number of Iſlands. The Fertility of the Soil, joined to the Induſtry of its Inhabitants, makes this Iſland abound in Corn, Rice, Fruits of all ſorts, and Drugs; as likewiſe in Beef, Buffaloes, Deer, Goats, and Hogs. Their Cocoa Wine they keep till it becomes as ſtrong as *Spaniſh* Wine; their Lemons, Oranges, Figs, and Pears, are the beſt in the World, and they abound both in Domeſtick, and Wild-fowl, and Birds. They have a peculiar Way here of killing the Crocodiles, of which they have great Numbers; he who is to engage with this Creature, gantlets his left Arm to his Elbow, having in the ſame Hand a Truncheon of a Foot long, piked at both Ends, with a Dagger in the other: Thus armed, he goes into the Water up to the Waiſt, and while the Crocodile is making at him with his Jaws open, he thruſts his left Hand down his Throat, ſo as to keep them from ſhutting, and in the mean while ſtabs him with the Dagger in the Throat, till he drops down dead.

The *Philippine* Iſlands produce more Tygers, Lions, Bears, and ſuch-like wild Beaſts, than *Africk* itſelf, and abounds in Algalias, which are the Creatures that produce Muſk, and Civet Cats. The *Chineſe* drive a vaſt Trade in this Country with the *Spaniards*, who buy their Calicoes, Silks, Porcelain, Gun-powder, Sulphur, Iron, Quickſilver, Copper, Meal, Nuts, *&c.* and carry them to the *Weſt-Indies*, where theſe things are ſold at a very dear rate. In the City of *Manilla* reſides a *Spaniſh* Archbiſhop, who has three Biſhops under his Juriſdiction, for the ſpiritual Government of the *Philippine* Iſlands; and ſuch is the Influence they have over theſe ignorant Wretches, that they keep them in Subjection without any ſtanding Forces. The Archbiſhop is alſo Viceroy of thoſe Iſlands, and has the Management of all publick Affairs, in Conjunction with the King's Council appointed in that City, which is very large, and its Houſes built of Stone, after the modern Way. Within and about it live above fifteen thouſand *Chineſe*, and vaſt Numbers of the ſame Nation reſort thither every Year for the Conveniency of Traffick. So that from *December* to *April* you may ſee in the Harbour (which is defended by two wooden Forts) near five hundred *Chineſe* Junks. This Place is alſo much frequented by the *Japaneſe*, but not in near ſo great Numbers as by the *Chineſe*: Notwithſtanding which, the *Spaniards* are much more jealous of the firſt than the laſt.

15. *Japan* is compoſed of many Iſlands, divided by ſeveral Arms of the Sea, extended from 31 to 39°, being in ſome Places ſcarce ten, in others thirty Leagues in Breadth. On the Eaſt Side it hath *New-Spain*, to the North *Tartary*; on the Weſt *China*, and the Sea to the South, with Part of the *Terra Auſtralis*. The whole Empire conſiſts of ſixty-ſix leſſer Kingdoms or Provinces, fifty-three whereof are comprehended within the two great Kingdoms of *Meaco* and *Amagunce*, nine others within the great Kingdom of *Ximo*, and the remaining four in that called *Xicoum*. According to the *Japaneſe*, they are to this Day uncertain, whether the whole Empire be an Iſland, or annexed to the Continent; foraſmuch as from the Province of *Quanto* to the Borders of the Province of *Txugaa*, is twenty-ſeven Days Journey to the Eaſt-North-Eaſt, and then they croſs an Arm of the Sea of eleven Leagues broad, which brings them into the Province of *Jeſſo*, ſo incloſed

by inacceſſible Mountains, that no body hitherto has been able to diſcover the Extent of them. The whole Empire of *Japan* being divided into many Provinces, the ſame are committed to the Government of many Princes and Lords, who have their Secretaries aſſigned them by the Emperor himſelf, whoſe Buſineſs it is to have a watchful Eye over them, and to give an Account of their Tranſactions, and eſpecially concerning their Revenues, which are very great, and according to the Computation of the *Japaneſe*, amount yearly to eighteen Millions four hundred thouſand Kockins (each of which make four *French* Crowns) out of which they are obliged to maintain a certain Number of Forces, both Horſe and Foot, for the Emperor's Service, in proportion to their Revenues, which conſiſt chiefly in Lordſhips and Demeſnes. They have Mines of all ſorts, *&c.* ſo that he who has a thouſand Kockins *per Annum* is obliged to maintain twenty Foot, and two Horſemen; by which means the Emperor is able to raiſe an Army of three hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand Foot, and thirty-eight thouſand eight hundred Horſe; beſides the hundred thouſand Foot, and twenty thouſand Horſe, he keeps up as a ſtanding Force, which is ſo much the leſs to be admired at, ſince ſome of theſe Lords have ſuch vaſt annual Revenues, that, according to the before-mentioned Proportion, they are obliged to furniſh one thouſand two hundred Foot, and a hundred and twenty Horſe.

All the great Lords of *Japan* have three Names, *viz.* their proper Name that of the Family, and a Surname, which they commonly take from the Province, City, or Caſtle they govern. They have alſo a Cuſtom of changing their Names thrice in their Life-time, the firſt, given them in their Infancy, being altered at the Age of twenty-ſix, and that again at fifty or ſixty Years of Age. They have another Cuſtom in *Japan* for the Slaves to offer themſelves a voluntary Sacrifice to their Maſters whenever they die, which is done by a ſolemn Engagement, and confirmed by a Bottle of Wine. As this is chiefly done by thoſe Slaves, to put an End to the Miſeries they endure in their Life-time, ſo there have been ſome who have deſired of their Maſters to bury them under the Foundation they were going to lay for ſome conſiderable Edifice. Their Pagods or Temples are of Wood, about ſeven or eight Fathom ſquare, and raiſed three or four Foot from the Ground. They have ſmall Turrets, with Lights in them on all Sides, and within certain Statues, unto whom they addreſs their Prayers. The King and great Lords have many fair Caſtles belonging to them, among which thoſe that are fortified are garriſoned by the Emperor; but their Cities are generally without any Fortifications, and if ſome few of them have any, they are only ſingle Walls. Their Cities are built after the ſame manner, each Street having two Gates, which are ſhut up, and guarded in the Night-time. They have no Revenues belonging to them, neither pay they any Impoſitions, except a very inconſiderable Rent for their Dwellings to the Governor, for whoſe Uſe they are alſo obliged to keep a Man at work at certain Times; but this does not happen very often. The Governors having certain Demeſnes allotted them for their Revenues, and among others the Advantage of Fiſhing, eſpecially of the Whale, of which there are taken yearly near three hundred upon the Coaſt of *Japan*; but they are neither ſo big, nor ſo fat as thoſe in the Northern Parts.

Every *Japaneſe*, of what Condition ſoever, is abſolute Maſter of the Life of his Slave. They are ſo cruel in their Puniſhments, that the leaſt Treſpaſs is puniſhed with Death. Gaming for Money, or killing any Perſon, though in his own Defence, is capital, and ſo is Theft, though it were but for a Penny; and in Offences of a more heinous Nature, the Fathers, Brethren, and Children, are put to Death for the Crime of a ſingle Perſon; nay, the Wives and Daughters, though ever ſo innocent, are alſo involved in the ſame Misfortune; for they are made Slaves, and their whole Subſtance is confiſcated. Thieves are faſtened with a Rope of Straw to a Croſs, and then the Executioner runs a Pike into the right Side up to the left Shoulder, and again from the left Side up to the right Shoulder; other Malefactors are faſtened only to a Poſt, with their Hands ſtretched out, and held up by two Perſons, and ſo the Executioner runs them with a Pike through the Neck into the Heart. Thoſe Crimes which involve the whole Family in the ſame Puniſhment, are Extortion, Coining, Firing of Houſes, wilful Murder, and Raviſhing of Women, and are puniſhed by crucifying with the Head downwards, by boiling in Oil or Water, tearing them to Pieces by four Horſes, *&c.* Lying is alſo capital here, eſpecially if told before a Judge.

Their Princes and great Lords, if guilty of any Crimes, are baniſhed into the Iſle of *Taitſen Sima*, lying fourteen Leagues from the Province of *Jedo*. It is all Rocks, without any Road or Harbour, producing nothing but Mulberry-trees and Silk-worms, which furniſh thoſe miſerable Priſoners with Materials for the making of Stuffs, in which they employ their Lives, and are relieved from Time to Time with moſt miſerable Food. It is computed that the Expence the Emperor of *Japan* is at yearly in his Court, amounts to four Millions of Kockins, and five Millions more for his Governors and military Officers. His ordinary Reſidence is in the Caſtle of *Jedo*, which is two Leagues in Circumference, and ſtrengthened with a triple Wall, and as many Mounts all of Free-ſtone. The Gates are covered with ſtrong Iron Bars, and Lodges over them, which contain three hundred Soldiers, for a Guard to each Gate, his own Palace, with the Apartments for the Women; ſtand in the Centre, and round about it the Houſes of the Princes, and other great Lords, all richly gilt, and ſumptuouſly furniſhed, their chief Emulation being to outvie one another in this kind of Magnificence, which is amongſt them looked upon as the greateſt Mark of Reſpect they can pay the Emperor, who never ſtirs abroad but in the Company of a great Number of thoſe Lords, and their young Kindred, who are the Guard of his Body; and by applying themſelves to Muſick, Phyſick, Writing, Painting, or the Management of publick Affairs, render themſelves qualified for higher Employments. They are all clad in black, and as they march along the Streets, don't ſo much as utter a Word.

As the Revenues of the Emperor of *Japan* are ſo great, that the ordinary Income of two Months is ſufficient to defray his whole Year's Expence, his Treaſure muſt be immenſe, moſt of which conſiſting in Gold and Silver, is laid up in vaſt Cheſts, incloſed in ſeveral Towers belonging to the Caſtle, beſides what is diſpoſed of in the Country. Their Horſe are armed with Croſelets, Fire-locks, not much longer than our Piſtols, with Pikes, Bows, Arrows, and Cymitars. The Foot have only Head-pieces, two Cymitars, each a Muſket, Pike, Half-pike, and broad Knife: Each Company conſiſts of fifty Soldiers, a Captain, a Lieutenant, and ten Corporals; five of theſe Companies make a Batalion, commanded by a peculiar Officer, and ten Batalions a Brigade.

The Emperor of *Japan* has a numerous Council, tho' only four are charged with the Management of all important Affairs, and are to attend daily at Court: Some of theſe have two Millions of Crowns, others three or four hundred thouſand Crowns, others four or five hundred thouſand Crowns yearly Revenue; but their Expences are proportionable to their Revenues, being obliged to live at leaſt half the Year at Court in vaſt Splendor, maintaining perhaps a Retinue of three hundred Perſons, and above a thouſand in their Families, and that in a Place where Proviſions are exceſſive dear; not to mention the vaſt Expences they are at in their Buildings, and the Entertainments they are obliged to give the Emperor whenever he is pleaſed to honour them with a Preſent, perhaps of a Crane, which he has taken in Hunting. As great Perſons are not to marry any Wife but what is preſented to them by the Emperor himſelf, ſo they are put to vaſt Charge in giving them all the magnificent Entertainment, and all the Enjoyments they can, except their Liberty, which they muſt reſign to their Huſbands, and are not permitted to go abroad above once a Year to viſit their neareſt Relations; notwithſtanding the Wives in *Japan* have the Reputation of great Reſervedneſs, and being, beyond all others, faithful to their Huſbands, of which many Inſtances might be alledged, which for Brevity's ſake I omit. There are, however, thoſe who aſcribe this Reſervedneſs rather to the Severity of their Laws, than their Inclinations, it being certain, that even the leaſt Suſpicion of Diſhoneſty after Marriage, is puniſhed here with the utmoſt Cruelty; ſo that if a Huſband finds his Wife locked up in a Room with another Man, he may, without any farther Enquiry, kill them both. The better to allay the Heat of Youth, and the Danger ariſing from thence in reſpect of Adultery, they have in the Cities, nay, even in moſt of the Inns upon the Road, certain Proſtitutes, who are moſt of them Slaves, and expoſe themſelves to Travellers for Money; and if a Man is to ſtay for any Time in a Place, he may hire one of theſe Concubines from their Maſters at a certain eaſy rate, and keep her for his own Uſe.

As for their Devotion, it may be ſaid, that they have ſcarce any at all, the moſt devout among them ſeldom praying in publick above once a Month before their Idols, which ſtand in their Temples; near them are their Sepulchres covered with great Tomb-ſtones two or three Foot high, and thoſe of Perſons of Quality have a little Pillar erected near them, containing their Names, and certain other Inſcriptions, in the Nature of an Epitaph. The Eccleſiaſticks are divided into twelve different Sects, eleven of which abſtain from living Creatures, and from Women. If they break their Vow they are puniſhed with Death. Thoſe of the twelfth Sect are allowed to marry, and eat all ſorts of Proviſions; the chief of this Sect is the Head of all their Clergy, and their Temples are endowed with many Privileges, and ſettled Revenues; whereas thoſe of the other Sects are maintained only by Alms. Some among the *Japaneſe* believe the Immortality of the Soul, and the Rewards and Puniſhments of another Life for ever; but the moſt have ſo little Senſe of Religion, that they meet in their Temples to drink, and commit other Debaucheries; whence it is alſo, that never any ſuch thing is heard of as Controverſy about Religion, though they are ſuch irreconcileable Enemies to the *Chriſtians*, that finding Death not to be ſufficient to ſhake their Conſtancy, they invented many cruel Methods to make them renounce their Faith, which, however, at laſt they were not ſatisfied with, unleſs they could diſcover another *Chriſtian* to releaſe them from their Torments, which are ſo various, as would almoſt fill a Volume.

Their Houſes are ſlightly built, and ſeldom above one Story high, becauſe the Country is much ſubject to Earthquakes; they are raiſed three or four Foot from the Ground, and convenient enough within, being divided into ſeveral Apartments, ſome of which are for the Men, the reſt only for the Uſe of the Women, where the beſt Part of the Furniture is beſtowed; they are alſo very nice in their Gardens and Orchards; they are very obliging in their Converſation, eſpecially in their Viſits, when they preſent their Gueſts with Tobacco, Tiſſue, or Tea, and with Wine, the laſt of which they will take a very plentiful Share; but are ſure never to quarrel over their Liquors. Except at the Inns, for the Conveniency of Travellers, no Drinking-houſes are allowed of in *Japan*; nay, not ſo much as a publick Cook's Shop, it being their Cuſtom to make their good Cheer in their Houſes, where, among other things, they entertain one another with their Muſick, the chief of which is a kind of Lute, with four ſilk Strings, which they ſtrike with a Peg of Ivory. Their Wine, or rather Hidromell, is made of Rice, Sugar, and Honey, and is as ſtrong as any Wine whatever. Their Marriages are contracted in conſequence of the Agreement of the Relations. The Bride and Bridegroom being not permitted to ſee one another till it is to be conſummated, thoſe of a common Rank may ſoon be divorced, and if they diſlike the Wife, ſend her back to her Relations; but People of Quality, notwithſtanding any Diſagreement, maintain them in their Houſes.

Their Children they educate with all imaginable Mildneſs, without any beating, as well at home as at School, whither they are not ſent till they be ſeven or eight Years of Age, and when they come to Man's Eſtate, the Father aſſigns to his Son a certain Part of the Houſe, and of his Employment, nay, perhaps the whole, reſerving only a certain Allowance for his Subſiſtence to himſelf; but their Daughters have neither Dowry, nor the leaſt Share in their Father's Eſtates. They are ſo nice in Point of Honour, that they will rather die than recede an Inch from it; and a *Japaneſe* will rather run the Hazard of the Ruin of his Family, than break his Promiſe to his Friends, which is the Reaſon moſt of their Delinquents will rather endure the moſt exquiſite Tortures than diſcover their Accomplices. The *Japaneſe* having ſuch vaſt Quantities of all things, ſeldom deal in any Foreign Commodities, but leave that Commerce to Strangers, eſpecially to the *Chineſe*, who bring thither the Product and Manufactures of their Country; though ever ſince the ancient good Correſpondence between thoſe two Empires has been interrupted, the *Chineſe* are forbidden by their Kings to ſend Goods into *Japan*, and therefore are obliged to carry on this Commerce, under pretence of tranſporting their Commodities to ſome other Parts of the *Indies*, unto which they are the more encouraged by the vaſt Hopes of Gain. All Commodities, either imported or exported out of *Japan*, paſſing free, without paying the leaſt Duty or Cuſtom.

The whole Empire of *Japan* uſes but one and the ſame Language, which is quite different from the *Chineſe*, as well as their Characters; as they always uſe but few Words, they write every thing with Pencils in certain Short-hand Notes in a very little time; their Accounts they keep by the means of certain ſmall Beads, which they thread upon little Sticks like a ſquare Board. They are not deſtitute of Books nor Libraries, the *Dairo* (who formerly was the ſovereign of the Country, and ſtill retains the Supremacy over the Clergy) keeps the publick Accounts, and writes the Chronicles of the Country; neither are any other Perſons, except the Gentlemen of his Houſe, and ſuch Lords and Ladies as are deſcended from his Family, allowed to write Books, which makes them conſtantly apply themſelves to Learning. They have but one kind of Meaſure; their Gold is of the beſt kind, but their Silver none of the fineſt: Of Gold Coin they have three ſorts, one whereof is valued at forty-eight Taals, each of which being worth five Crowns Sterling, amount to twelve Pounds Sterling. The ſecond ſort are worth each one Taal, and a fifth Part, and the third one Taal, and a ſixth Part. Their Silver Coin goes by Weight, being in the Form of Ingots, ſo divided, that each Piece commonly amounts to fifty Taals. They have alſo a leſſer Silver Coin made in the Shape of a *French* Bean, which goes likewiſe by Weight.

The *Japoneſe* don't geld any Creature, ſo that they are well ſtored with all ſorts of Cattle, as well as Fowl, and ſmall Birds. They alſo abound in mineral and hot Waters: There is a certain hot Spring here which ſpouts forth its Waters duly twice every twenty-four Hours, with ſuch Violence, that though the Water riſes amidſt the Stones, which are laid on the Top of the Hole to the Height of twenty or twenty-four Foot, it is ſo hot that it exceeds the Heat of boiling Water, and burns every thing it touches at its firſt coming out; but being conveyed by certain Pipes into the adjacent Houſes, it is reduced to ſuch a Degree of Heat, that it is convenient for Bathing. Theſe Mineral-waters are ſufficent Proofs that *Japan* is full of good Mines of all ſorts, and Experience confirms it; for they have Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Iron, and Lead of their own, as well as Cotton, Flax, Hemp, Silks, and all manner of Proviſions in great Plenty. Their Phyſicians have ſingular Reputation as to their Ability, but Chirurgery is uncommon among them as yet. They make frequent uſe of *China* Root and Rhubarb, which, as well as moſt of their other Medicines, they make into Pills. The *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* found it no hard Matter to ſettle themſelves in *Japan*, and their religious Ceremonies took ſo well with the Inhabitants, that they were permitted to build divers Churches in the Kingdom; but the *Spaniards* not being able to contain themſelves within the Bounds of Modeſty, their domineering Temper created ſuch a Jealouſy and Averſion in the *Japoneſe*, that they ſet upon them, burnt their Ships, and, in 1636, totally baniſhed them the Iſland, under Pain of Death. The *Dutch* began to trade there in 1611. Some of their Relations affirm the City of *Meaco* to be twenty-one Leagues in Compaſs, and that the City of *Oſſack* and *Bungo* are for their Wealth not inferior to any of the *Indies*.

The Air of *Japan* is very moderate and healthy, but inclinining rather to Cold than Heat. They ſow in *May*, but do not reap till *September*. They have neither Oil nor Butter, and have an Averſion to Milk, which they conſider as Part of the Blood and the Receptacle of the Souls of Beaſts. They will not feed upon the Fleſh of tame Beaſts, but are great Lovers of all ſorts of Wild-Fowl and Veniſon. Their Cedars are ſo big here that they make Maſts of them for Ships. The Complexion of the Natives is inclining to browniſh; and for the reſt, they are luſty and ſtrong-limb'd, hardy, and patient to undergo any Labour, as well as the Injury of the Seaſons, never changing their Cloaths either Winter or Summer; and very moderate in their Diet. The *Japoneſe* are diſtinguiſhed into five ſeveral Ranks; the firſt is that of the Prince, Lords, and chief Officers, both Civil and Military; the ſecond of the Clergy; the third of the Gentlemen and Merchants; the fourth of Tradeſmen and Seamen; and the fifth of Labourers. Once in five Years the Emperor of *Japan* has an Interview with the Dairo at *Meaco*, which is very remarkable for its Magnificence, and the great Preſents made to the Dairo, an ample Account of which being to be found in the *Dutch* Relation of the Director of the ſaid Company in *Japan*, we will paſs by the Particulars of it here, our Intention being only to give the Reader a ſhort Relation of what we have received from very good Hands, and leaving the reſt to be compleated by thoſe who have ſince had the Opportunity of taking a View in Perſon of that Country.

16. After the Baniſhment of the *Japoneſe* out of *China*, the *Chineſe*, to avoid the Penalties inflicted on ſuch as ſhould trade with them, made Uſe of the Iſle of *Tayovang*, whither they carried their Commodities, in order to continue their Commerce with thoſe of *Japan*. The *Dutch* being excluded from the Commerce of *China*, followed their Foot-ſteps, and, in 1632, ſettled themſelves in the ſaid Iſland, as the moſt convenient Place in all the *Indies* for carrying on Trade both with *China* and *Japan*, there being a free Paſſage here all the Year, without being obliged to ſtay for the Monſons, which, in moſt other Places, laſt for ſix Months. The *Dutch*, I ſay, being ſenſible of this Conveniency, built immediately a Stone-Fort of four Baſtions on the Downs, within half a League of the great Iſle of *Formoſa*, which is divided from this Iſle by a Channel only, which, though not very deep, yet affords a ſafe Harbour for Ships againſt any Winds.

For the better Defence of the Entrance of this Channel, the *Dutch* have built a ſtrong Redoubt called *Zealand*. The Iſle of *Formoſa* itſelf is about thirty-two Leagues diſtant from the River of *Chincheu*, and the *Chineſe* Iſland called *Quemoy*, extending from S. W. to the N. E. in Compaſs an hundred and thirty Leagues. It is full of Villages and Inhabitants, which are not governed by any ſingle Perſon, but ſuch as they chooſe themſelves for their Magiſtrates. It has many Rivers full of the beſt Fiſh; their Foreſts are well ſtocked with Wild-Fowl and Veniſon, and their Meadows with Cattle, beſides Deer, Wild-Goats, Hares and Rabbits. Their Foreſts produce a kind of Horſes, with Hams like a Deer, called *Olavang* in their Language, the Fleſh of which is a great Dainty; as alſo another Creature, not unlike our Bears, but of a very large Size, the Skin of which is much eſteemed in thoſe Parts. Their Grounds are very fertile, but lie neglected, which makes Fruit very ſcarce, and, what they have, not very grateful to the Palate. It produces alſo ſome Ginger and Cinnamon, and, as the *Chineſe* relate, Gold and Silver; but the *Dutch* have hitherto found none of theſe Mines worth looking after. The Places in which the *Dutch* have their Settlements are, for the moſt part, along the Sea-ſide.

Its Inhabitants appear like Savages, being of a more than ordinary Size, black and hairy all over their Bodies, but in their Converſation obliging, honeſt, and good-natured; their Women are not ſo ſtrong and big, but inclining to Fatneſs, and yet not ill ſhaped. They wear a ſort of Garment round the Middle; but when they bathe themſelves (which they commonly do twice a-day in warm Water) they, as well as the Men, ſtrip themſelves ſtark naked, and make no great Account whether they are ſeen by one another or not; for the reſt, they are very conſtant Friends, and religiouſly obſerve the Agreements that they make with Strangers, Treachery being a Thing abominated among them. They neither want Ingenuity or Memory, being very docile in any thing they apply themſelves to. Though their Grounds be very fertile, and able to produce much more than they do, they are contented to live upon their ſmall Quantity of Rice, which is raiſed by the Induſtry of their Wives, who, inſtead of Ploughs, cultivate and dig the Ground with Spades, tranſplant and cut the Rice; and after having dried as much of it every Night in the Chimney-Corner as will ſuffice the Family the next Day, beat it early in the Morning in a Mortar; the Mens Minds being wholly taken up with hunting, eſpecially till they are forty Years of Age, before which Time they ſeldom mind any thing relating to Agriculture.

They ſow alſo three ſorts of Fruits, called by them *Pingh*, *Quach*, and *Taraun*, not unlike Millet; and a certain ſort of Pulſe, reſembling our French-bean; ſome Roots they have likewiſe, which might ſerve them inſtead of Bread, if they were not furniſhed ſufficiently in that reſpect with Rice. Beſides this, they have Ginger, Cinnamon, Sugar-canes, Bananas, Lemons, and a great Store of Areca, not to mention ſeveral ſorts of Fruits and Pulſe, not known in *Europe*. Inſtead of Cocoa-Wine, of which they are deſtitute, they make a certain Mixture of Rice, which, being ſoaked in warm Water, they beat it in a Mortar till reduced to a Paſte; this they mix with Rice-meal chewed inſtead of Leaven; and having put it into an earthen Veſſel, fill it up with Water, which, after it has fermented and ſtood two Months, affords a very pleaſant Liquor, which is ſtronger or weaker, according as it is kept, and the older the ſweeter it is, and may be kept good thirty or thirty-five Years. When they go abroad a hunting, they make uſe of Snares, ſmall Pikes, Bows, and Arrows; their Nets they ſpread in the open Fields, or croſs the Highways, and then drive the Wild-Beaſts into them.

Sometimes the Inhabitants of ſeveral Villages make a Hunting-Match, and dividing themſelves into divers Parties, armed with Half-pikes and Lances, ſend their Dogs into the Woods; by which means having forced the Wild-Beaſts into the Fields, they encompaſs them on all Sides, ſometimes for a whole League, and ſo with their Pikes kill all thoſe that come within the Ring. Theſe Lances, or rather Darts, are of Cane, ſix or ſeven Foot long, with ſeveral Hooks, which, being faſtened into the Fleſh of the Beaſts, are not to pulled out; but as the Iron is not well faſtened to the Wood, but that with the running of the Beaſts through the Buſhes it comes off, a Cord is tied to both, and a little Bell to the Iron, ſo that the Lance annoys the Beaſt, and the Bell diſcovers its Paſſage wherever it runs. By this Means they catch vaſt Numbers of Deer, the Skins of which they exchange with the *Chineſe* for their Commodities, they ſeldom reſerving any thing for their own Uſe but the Umbles and the Entrails, which they ſalt and eat half corrupted, being not cleanſed of the Filth before they were ſalted.

When one Village happens to be at War with another, they firſt declare it openly againſt one another, which being the Signal to be upon their Guard, they don't attack by open Force, but dividing themſelves into ſmall Troops, perhaps of twenty-five or thirty Men, lie in Ambuſh near the Village they intend to attack till Night, when they ſet upon the Huts, which lie diſperſed in the open Country, till perhaps they can light upon an aged Man: They kill him, cut off his Head, Hands and Feet; nay, if they have Time enough, cut the whole Body into ſmall Pieces, that every one of them may take home a Piece of it along with him, as a Mark of his Bravery; but if the next Village happens to take the Alarm, they are glad to be contented with the Head alone, or perhaps a good Lock of the Hair, which they carry home in Triumph, as an undoubted Sign of their Victory; when they intend to make a very bold Attack, they enter the Village by Night, force open a Houſe, kill all they meet with, and ſo betake themſelves to their Heels, for fear of being purſued. When they engage in the open Field, their chief Aim is to draw one another into an Ambuſh; but the Death of one Man commonly decides the Quarrel, that Side which has loſt him retiring immediately. Their Arms are Pikes, but without Hooks; their Bucklers are ſo large, that they ſhelter their whole Body; but their Swords ſhort and broad. Beſides which, they alſo make uſe of Knives, or Bayonets, like those of the *Japaneſe*. Sometimes certain Villages enter into a Confederacy againſt divers other Villages, in which caſe they don't chooſe a General, or any Commander in chief, but ſuch among them as have acquired ſome Reputation of Courage, by having cut off ſome of their Enemies Heads, are followed by a certain Number of Volunteers, who go abroad in Parties, and ſurpriſe their Enemies.

They commonly engage in War againſt the Iſland of *Tagin*; the Inhabitants thereof are ſo ſuſpicious, that they will not let a Foreigner or others ſet a Foot on Shore, not the *Chineſe* themſelves, who come thither to trade with them, but are forced to remain on Board their Veſſels, whither theſe Iſlanders come to exchange Commodities with them. If they are ſo happy as to carry off an Enemy's Head, or perhaps only a Lock of his Hair, or a Pike, they carry it in Triumph, as a Sign of their Victory, appoint a publick Thankſgiving-day, ſing Hymns, and offer Sacrifices to their Gods. He who has done the Exploit, is looked upon ever after as an extraordinary Man, has particular Reverence paid him by all the reſt, and he preſerves the Head, or Pike of his Enemy, as a moſt precious Relick in his Family, which they value beyond any Gold or Silver. No body here claims any Preference above another, more than what is allowed to Age. Each Village being governed by twelve Senators, choſen every two Years out of the moſt aged Perſons, who are not inveſted with any other Power, or Authority, than that of calling together the whole Village in one of their Temples, and propoſing to them what they think neceſſary to be done, making uſe of all their Eloquence (of which they have ſufficient Share beſtowed upon them by Nature) to perſuade the Chief of the Families there preſent, to a Compliance with what has been propoſed to them, which they are at Liberty to accept of, or reject, according as they think fit.

The only Power thoſe Senators are inveſted with, conſiſts in this, that they ſee the Commands of their female Prieſts put in Execution, take care that Satisfaction may be given to ſuch as are injured, not by any corporal Puniſhments, but by enjoining them to give a Piece of Cloth, Deer-ſkin, ſome Rice, or perhaps a Pot of ſtrong Liquor, as an Attonement to their Adverſaries; for thoſe Magiſtrates have no Power to puniſh Murder, Theft, or Adultery. In the firſt caſe the Matter is commonly compoſed by the Mediation of the Relations on both Sides. If any one be robbed, he goes, accompanied by his friends, to the Houſe of him who has ſtolen his Goods, and with their Aſſiſtance forces him to make an immediate Reparation; and what is agreed upon betwixt them, he carries away with him to his own Houſe. In caſe of Adultery, the injured Huſband goes, without any farther Ceremony, to the Dwelling-place of his Wife's Gallant, takes from him two or three pigs, in Satisfaction of the Affront put upon him. We told you before, that there is no Difference of Condition among them, which is ſo abſolutely true, that the very Names of Maſters and Servants are not ſo much as known among them. All the Reſpect they pay one to another is in regard to old Age, which is in ſo high Eſteem among them, that a young Man meeting an old one, goes out of his Way, and turns his Back to him, till he is paſſed; nay, ſuch is the Reſpect the young People ſhew to aged Perſons, that they will not refuſe them eaſily any thing they deſire, tho' it ſhould be to go three or four Leagues upon their Buſineſs. Men are forbid to marry till they are at leaſt twenty Years of Age. They don't let their Hair grow below their Ears till after Seventeen, and inſtead of Sciſſars, or Razors, make uſe of a Chopping-knife, with which they cut it upon a Piece of Wood: The Hair of their Beards they draw out with braſs Pincers.

Maids always let their Hair grow, and may marry as ſoon as they can. The Courtſhip is performed by the young Man's female Relations, whom he ſends to the young Woman's Relations, or Friends, to ſhew them what he intends to beſtow upon his Miſtreſs, which if it be accepted of, the Match is made, and he may conſummate the Marriage the next Day if he pleaſes. The Preſents commonly offered to the Bride conſiſt in ſome Silk or Callicoe Scarfs the Women wear round the Waſte; ſome Waiſtcoats, Bracelets of Cane, ten or twelves Rings of Deers Horn, four or five coarſe Cloth Girdles, ſome little Veſtments made of Dog's Hair, ſome coarſe Garments, a Bag of Dog's Hair, and four or five Pair of Stockings of Deer-ſkin, amounting perhaps in all to about 140 Crowns; the poorer ſort are content with a Preſent of a few Bracelets, and two or three Garments, not amounting to above three or four Crowns. When the Marriage is to be conſummated, the Bridegroom gets into his Miſtreſs's Father's Houſe by ſtealth, at Night, and without being ſeen by any body, and ſo creeps into her Bed. He continues thus for many Years after, always coming into the Houſe at Night, and going thence in the Morning before Day-light, the Wife living all this while in the Father's Houſe, till her Huſband be forty Years of Age, and never ſee one another by Day, unleſs ſhe happen to be at Home alone, or elſe in the Field. The Women are obliged not to bring any Children into the World till they are thirty-five, or thirty-ſix Years of Age, but deſtroy all their Children in the Womb, by cauſing one of their Prieſteſſes to kneel upon their Bellies till they cauſe an Abortion.

As their Marriages are ſoon made, ſo they are as ſoon diſſolved; for if they grow weary of one another, they may divorce; which Liberty is equally allowed to both Parties, with this Difference only, that if the Huſband ſends away his Wife without any Cauſe, ſhe keeps the Preſents he has given her before Marriage; but if for Adultery, or any other Affront offered to him, ſhe is obliged to make Reſtitution. No Marriages are contracted among them within the fourth Degree of Conſanguinity, or Affinity. Their Houſes are generally large, and better built than is common in the *Indies*, with four Doors to each Quarter of the Heavens: Some have two Doors on a Side; they are commonly raiſed five or ſix Feet from the Ground, and three or four Stories high. Their Furniture conſiſts in ſome wild Boars and Deers Heads, or ſome other Relicks, taken from their Enemies, are their chief Ornaments; the reſt conſiſts in Deer-ſkins, which they uſe inſtead of Feather-beds, certain Stuffs with which they cover themſelves, a Spade, Pike, Bow, Arrows, a wooden Trough inſtead of our Diſhes, or earthen Drinking-Cup, and a Pot to boil their Rice in, which is their ordinary Food, and this is all. Though they have no certain Days appointed for Devotion, yet they meet at ſet Times to make good Chear, eſpecially every Quarter, in their Temples, where the Women alſo appear in a very odd Dreſs made of Dog's Hair; for here, inſtead of Wool, they cut off the Dog's Hair once a Year, and after they have dyed them red, make certain Stuffs of them, which they value as much as we do our crimſon Velvets.

Their Ceremonies uſed after the Death of their Friends, are ſcarce to be paralleled in Hiſtory; for no ſooner is any one dead, but by Beat of Drum, made of the Trunk of a great Tree, they give Notice thereof to the Village; upon which all the People repair immediately to the Houſe of the deceaſed, and among the reſt the Women, after they have plentifully drank of Arrack, fall to Dancing very ſlowly, upon great empty Cheſts, which make a doleful Noiſe, to expreſs their Sorrow at the Departure of their deceaſed Friend. Eight or ten Women having thus danced for ſome Time, with their Backs turned to one another, they give Way to others, who continue the ſame Exerciſe, which laſts in all two Hours. The next Day Preparation is made for the funeral Rites, which are performed, not by burying, or burning the Corps, as other Nations do, but by drying it in the following Manner. They raiſe a kind of a Scaffold of Canes, five or ſix Feet high, to which they faſten the Body by the Hands and Feet, and ſo dry it, by making a good Fire round about it, which laſts nine whole Days; during which Time they ſacrifice ſeveral Hogs, and feaſt upon the Fleſh, waſhing the Body every Day. After the Expiration of the nine Days, they place it upon another Scaffold, wrapped in a Mat, and ſeveral Garments, where it remains till the third Year; then they take out the Bones, and bury them in the ſame Houſe, in the Preſence of their Friends, who make merry again with Feaſting and Dancing.

They have ſcarce any Religion; for as they can neither write nor read, whatever they have of this kind is founded merely upon Tradition; hence it is that they believe the Eternity of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul, which they affirm ſhall find Good or Evil in the other Life, according to their Merits in this. What Actions are accounted amongſt us the moſt criminal, are taken for ſlender Treſpaſſes among them, viz. Murder, Theft, and Adultery; for as for Fornication, it is not ſo much as looked upon as a Sin; and if a young Man can get a Favour of his Neighbour's Wife, it is conſidered but as a very ſlight Offence, becauſe they are not permitted to marry till they are twenty, or twenty-one Years of Age. The greateſt Crimes among them, and of which the Magiſtrates take Notice, are to cover their privy Parts, at certain Times of the Year, when they ſhould not; to wear at certain Times ſilk Garments, when only Calicoe are allowed them, and not to deſtroy the Fruit in the Mother's Womb, before ſhe arrives to the Age of thirty-five. Among ſeveral Deities, they have two that have the Preheminency over the reſt, *viz.* one *Tamigaſanbach*, and the other called *Sariahſingh*. The firſt, whoſe Reſidence they place in the South, is the Giver of all good and profitable things to Mankind; the other, unto whom they aſſign the North, they ſay, deſtroys all what the former is pleaſed to beſtow on Man; for which Reaſon they worſhip both, one for doing them Good, the other, that he may do them no Harm.

They have amongſt others two Gods named *Talaſulas* and *Tapuliape*, who, as they are accounted the Patrons of Warriors, are adored only by thoſe Men. They have this Peculiar, that their religious Ceremonies are performed by Women, which they call *Juibs*. Their Worſhip conſiſts in Prayers and Sacrifices of Hogs, Areca, Deer and Wild-Boars Heads, as alſo ſome of their Liquors. After they have feaſted very well, the Prieſteſſes riſe, and muttering certain Prayers, turn up their Eyes, and at laſt fall to the Ground, with dreadful Cries. Sometime after they lie immoveable, like one in a Trance, for an Hour; during which Time they ſay, they have an Interview with their Gods. This being over, they climb up to the Top of the Temple, walk from one End to the other, and after they have ſaid their Prayers again, ſtrip themſelves ſtark-naked, expoſe their naked Bodies, and waſh them in the Preſence of all the Standers-by, of both Sexes, tho' but few Men aſſiſt at this kind of Devotion, and the Women have generally taken ſo much ſtrong Liquor, that they ſcarce perceive what paſſes. Theſe *Juibs* alſo pretend to foretel things to come, and to baniſh the evil Spirits. For the reſt, each Houſe has a peculiar Place for the private Devotions of the Family, which are performed for the moſt Part by Women, who make Offerings to their Gods of what is ſpent every Day in the Houſe, as they do upon certain Altars, erected for that Purpoſe upon the great Roads.

17. The *Chineſe* Empire being of ſo vaſt an Extent, that a moderate Account of it would take up a large Volume, we will content ourſelves to give only a Scheme of it here, leaving a more ample Deſcription to thoſe who of late Years have had the Opportunity of taking a full View of it. It is certain, that this vaſt Kingdom of *China* (called *Cathay* by the *Tartars*, and *Chinghou*, or *Chunque*, *i. e.* middle Kingdom, by the *Chineſe*) is the utmoſt Province of all *Aſia* to the Eaſt, having beyond it no other Borders but the Sea, for this Reaſon called by the *Chineſe Tung*, *i. e.* of the Eaſt. To the North its Frontiers extend all along the *Great Tartary*, from which it is divided by a Ridge of great Mountains; and where that fails, by the famous *Chineſe* Wall, which begins upon the Confines of the Province of *Leautung*, and extends to the yellow River upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Tibet*, 200 *German* Leagues in Length to the Weſt. It borders upon the Kingdoms of *Kiang* and *Bengal*, and to the S. and S. W. upon *Cochin-china*, and the Sea, comprehending in its Length all the ſouthern Parts betwixt the 130° and the 160°, making 1800 *Spaniſh* Leagues in Length, and three thouſand in Compaſs.

It is divided into fifteen great Provinces, among which, ſix, *viz.* thoſe of *Peking*, *Xantung*, *Kiangnan*, or *Nanking*, *Chekian*, *Fokien*, and *Quangtung*, extend along the Sea-ſide, the other nine being inland Provinces, five of which, *viz.* thoſe of *Quangſi*, *Kiangſi*, *Huquang*, *Honan*, lie to the Eaſt, *Xenſi*, *Suchuen*, *Quechen*, and *Junnan*, to the Weſt. The Provinces of *Leaotung* and *Corea*, which are on the Eaſt-ſide, don't properly belong to *China*; all which contain one hundred and forty-five great Cities, and 1263 others, which would paſs for conſiderable Cities elſewhere. Their Cities are for the moſt Part built after the ſame Faſhion, ſquare, with two large Streets, dividing the whole into four Quarters, like a perfect Croſs; ſo that from the Centre of each Place you may view the four Gates of it. They are fortified with broad brick Walls, and flanked with Towers, after the ancient *Roman* Faſhion, plaiſtered over with the ſame Earth they make their Porcelain of, which in Time grows as hard as Stone, and preſerves the Walls againſt the Injury of the Air. It has been computed, that ſome of them have ſtood 2000 Years, without any conſiderable Change. Their Houſes are very neatly and conveniently built, with Gardens, Orchards, Groves, Fountains, and all other Conveniencies and Ornaments, their Architecture exceeding that of the beſt Maſters of *Europe*. They are of all Nations of the World the moſt careful in Paving, and keeping their Highways, and providing all Neceſſaries for the Accommodation of Travellers throughout.

The whole Empire, is of ſo vaſt an Extent, that the Inhabitants of the Province of *Quangtung* lying on the torrid Zone, are as black as the *African Moors*, whereas thoſe of the Province of *Poking*, which is moſt northerly, are as white as the *Germans*; which Difference is alſo obſervable in their Fruits, the ſouthern Provinces producing all ſuch Fruits as the *Indies* afford, whereas the more northerly Parts have plenty of *European* Fruits. Beſides this, *China* abounds in Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Muſk, Silk, Salt, rich Gums, and Drugs, Rice, and Corn, for moſt of which they are beholden to Nature; yet muſt it be withal confeſſed, that the Induſtry of the Inhabitants, and the eaſy Government they live under, is a vaſt Addition to what they are obliged to Nature for, there being not a Fen, Marſh, nay, not a Mountain, but what is planted, cultivated, or put to ſome uſe or other, no Crime being more heinous in *China* than Idleneſs. The Country of *China* does not only produce all ſorts of living Creatures, but alſo all the Fruits and Simples we have in *Europe*, but much better, and in greater Plenty, and are conſequently ſold at a very cheap Rate; nay, even Spices are ſo cheap here, that you may buy four hundred Nutmegs for a Crown, and two Pounds of Cloves for Half-a-Crown; and the vaſt Quantities of Silk it produces, may be gueſſed at from what is exported thence into foreign Countries. As the Country is full of Rivers, ſo they abound in Fiſh, which they catch by the Help of Cormorants, of which they have vaſt Numbers here. They tie a String round their Necks, above their Stomachs, ſo that after they have filled their Bags, which hang under their Throats, with Fiſh, they are forced to diſgorge what they have taken, into the Boat, unto which they are faſtened.

They have alſo a peculiar Way of breeding Ducks, in prodigious Quantities; of theſe they keep three or four thouſand in Cages of Canes, ſet at the Sterns of great Boats, and let them out every Day to go aſhore, and pick the Weeds from amongſt the Rice, and towards Evening, call them to their Cages by a Whiſtle, the Sound of which brings them back to the very Boat unto which they belong. Their Duck Eggs they hatch in Dung, and afterwards put the young ones under the Wings of the old Duck in the Cages: This Way of Breeding makes them ſo cheap, that they ſell five or ſix for Two Pence.

The *Chineſe* Women are generally well-ſhaped, and of a good Size; but the Men are flat-noſed, with large Faces, ſmall Eyes, and very little or no Beard. They cut not either their Hair, or their Nails, on the left Side. Their Cloathing is altogether of the ſame Faſhion, with this Difference only, that in the northern Provinces they uſe Furs, whereas in the ſouthern Parts they commonly whole Body; but their Swords ſhort and broad. Beſides which, they alſo make uſe of Knives, or Bayonets, like thoſe of the *Japanneſe*. Sometimes certain Villages enter into a Confederacy againſt divers other Villages; in which caſe they don't chooſe a General, or any Commander in chief, but ſuch among them as have acquired ſome Reputation of Courage, by having cut off ſome of their Enemies Heads, are followed by a certain Number of Volunteers, who go abroad in Parties, and ſurprize their Enemies.

They commonly engage in War againſt the Iſland of *Tugin*; the Inhabitants thereof are ſo ſuſpicious, that they will not let a Foreigner or others ſet a Foot on Shore, not the *Chineſe* themſelves, who come thither to trade with them, but are forced to remain on Board their Veſſels, whither theſe Iſlanders come to exchange Commodities with them. If they are ſo happy as to carry off an Enemy's Head, or perhaps only a Lock of his Hair, or a Pike, they carry it in Triumph, as a Sign of their Victory, appoint a publick Thankſgiving-day, ſing Hymns, and offer Sacrifices to their Gods. He who has done the Exploit, is looked upon ever after as an extraordinary Man, has particular Reverence paid him by all the reſt, and he preſerves the Head, or Pike of his Enemy, as a moſt precious Relick in his Family, which they value beyond any Gold or Silver. No body here claims any Preference above another, more than what is allowed to Age. Each Village being governed by twelve Senators, choſen every two Years out of the moſt aged Perſons, who are not inveſted with any other Power, or Authority, than that of calling together the whole Village in one of their Temples, and propoſing to them what they think neceſſary to be done, making uſe of all their Eloquence (of which they have ſufficient Share beſtowed upon them by Nature) to perſuade the Chief of the Families there preſent, to a Compliance with what has been propoſed to them, which they are at Liberty to accept of, or reject, according as they think fit.

The only Power thoſe Senators are inveſted with, conſiſts in this, that they ſee the Commands of their female Prieſts put in Execution, take care that Satisfaction may be given to ſuch as are injured, not by any corporal Puniſhments, but by enjoining them to give a Piece of Cloth, Deer-ſkin, ſome Rice, or perhaps a Pot of ſtrong Liquor, as an Attonement to their Adverſaries; for thoſe Magiſtrates have no Power to puniſh Murder, Theft, or Adultery. In the firſt caſe the Matter is commonly compoſed by the Mediation of the Relations on both Sides. If any one be robbed, he goes, accompanied by his friends, to the Houſe of him who has ſtolen his Goods, and with their Aſſiſtance forces him to make an immediate Reparation; and what is agreed upon betwixt them, he carries away with him to his own Houſe. In caſe of Adultery, the injured Huſband goes, without any farther Ceremony, to the Dwelling-place of his Wife's Gallant, takes from him two or three pigs, in Satisfaction of the Affront put upon him. We told you before, that there is no Difference of Condition among them, which is ſo abſolutely true, that the very Names of Maſters and Servants are not ſo much as known among them. All the Reſpect they pay one to another is in regard to old Age, which is in ſo high Eſteem among them, that a young Man meeting an old one, goes out of his Way, and turns his Back to him, till he is paſſed; nay, ſuch is the Reſpect the young People ſhew to aged Perſons, that they will not refuſe them eaſily any thing they deſire, tho' it ſhould be to go three or four Leagues upon their Buſineſs. Men are forbid to marry till they are at leaſt twenty Years of Age. They don't let their Hair grow below their Ears till after Seventeen, and inſtead of Sciſſars, or Razors, make uſe of a Chopping-knife, with which they cut it upon a Piece of Wood: The Hair of their Beards they draw out with braſs Pincers.

Maids always let their Hair grow, and may marry as ſoon as they can. The Courtſhip is performed by the young Man's female Relations, whom he ſends to the young Woman's Relations, or Friends, to ſhew them what he intends to beſtow upon his Miſtreſs, which if it be accepted of, the Match is made, and he may conſummate the Marriage the next Day if he pleaſes. The Preſents commonly offered to the Bride conſiſt in ſome Silk or Calicoe Scarfs the Women wear round the Waſte; ſome Waiſtcoats, Bracelets of Cane, ten or twelves Rings of Deers Horn, four or five coarſe Cloth Girdles, ſome little Veſtments made of Dog's Hair; ſome *Chineſe* Garments, a Bag of Dog's Hair, and four or five Pair of Stockings of Deer-ſkin, amounting perhaps in all to about 140 Crowns; the poorer ſort are content with a Preſent of a few Bracelets, and two or three Garments, not amounting to above three or four Crowns. When the Marriage is to be conſummated, the Bridegroom gets into his Miſtreſs's Father's Houſe by ſtealth, at Night, and without being ſeen by any body, and ſo creeps into her Bed. He continues thus for many Years after, always coming into the Houſe at Night, and going thence in the Morning before Day-light, the Wife living all this while in the Father's Houſe, till her Huſband be forty Years of Age, and never ſee one another by Day, unleſs ſhe happen to be at Home alone, or elſe in the Field. The Women are obliged not to bring any Children into the World till they are thirty-five, or thirty-ſix Years of Age, but deſtroy all their Children in the Womb, by cauſing one of their Prieſteſſes to kneel upon their Bellies till they cauſe an Abortion.

As their Marriages are ſoon made, ſo they are as ſoon diſſolved; for if they grow weary of one another, they may divorce; which Liberty is equally allowed to both Parties, with this Difference only, that if the Huſband ſends away his Wife without any Cauſe, ſhe keeps the Preſents he has given her before Marriage; but if for Adultery, or any other Affront offered to him, ſhe is obliged to make Reſtitution. No Marriages are contracted among them within the fourth Degree of Conſanguinity, or Affinity. Their Houſes are generally large, and better built than is common in the *Indies*, with four Doors to each Quarter of the Heavens: Some have two Doors on a Side; they are commonly raiſed five or ſix Feet from the Ground, and three or four Stories high. Their Furniture conſiſts in ſome wild Boars and Deers Heads, or ſome other Relicks, taken from their Enemies, are their chief Ornaments; the reſt conſiſts in Deer-ſkins, which they uſe inſtead of Feather-beds, certain Stuffs with which they cover themſelves, a Spade, Pike, Bow, Arrows, a wooden Trough inſtead of our Diſhes, or earthen Drinking-Cup, and a Pot to boil their Rice in, which is their ordinary Food, and this is all. Though they have no certain Days appointed for Devotion, yet they meet at ſet Times to make good Chear, eſpecially every Quarter, in their Temples, where the Women alſo appear in a very odd Dreſs made of Dog's Hair; for here, inſtead of Wool, they cut off the Dog's Hair once a Year, and after they have dyed them red, make certain Stuffs of them, which they value as much as we do our crimſon Velvets.

Their Ceremonies uſed after the Death of their Friends, are ſcarce to be paralleled in Hiſtory; for no ſooner is any one dead, but by Beat of Drum, made of the Trunk of a great Tree, they give Notice thereof to the Village; upon which all the People repair immediately to the Houſe of the deceaſed, and among the reſt the Women, after they have plentifully drank of Arrack, fall to Dancing very ſlowly, upon great empty Cheſts, which make a doleful Noiſe, to expreſs their Sorrow at the Departure of their deceaſed Friend. Eight or ten Women having thus danced for ſome Time, with their Backs turned to one another, they give Way to others, who continue the ſame Exerciſe, which laſts in all two Hours. The next Day Preparation is made for the funeral Rites, which are performed, not by burying, or burning the Corps, as other Nations do, but by drying it in the following Manner. They raiſe a kind of a Scaffold of Canes, five or ſix Feet high, to which they faſten the Body by the Hands and Feet, and ſo dry it, by making a good Fire round about it, which laſts nine whole Days; during which Time they ſacrifice ſeveral Hogs, and feaſt upon the Fleſh, waſhing the Body every Day. After the Expiration of the nine Days, they place it upon another Scaffold, wrapped in a Mat, and ſeveral Garments, where it remains till the third Year; then they take out the Bones, and bury them in the ſame Houſe, in the Preſence of their Friends, who make merry again with Feaſting and Dancing.

They have ſcarce any Religion; for as they can neither write nor read, whatever they have of this kind is founded merely upon Tradition; hence it is that they believe the Eternity of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul, which they affirm ſhall find Good or Evil in the other Life, according to their Merits in this. What Actions are accounted amongſt us the moſt criminal, are taken for ſlender Treſpaſſes among them, *viz.* Murder, Theft, and Adultery; for as for Fornication, it is not ſo much as looked upon as a Sin; and if a young Man can get a Favour of his Neighbour's Wife, it is conſidered but as a very ſlight Offence, becauſe they are not permitted to marry till they are twenty, or twenty-one Years of Age. The greateſt Crimes among them, and of which the Magiſtrates take Notice, are to cover their privy Parts, at certain Times of the Year, when they ſhould not; to wear at certain Times ſilk Garments, when only Calicoe are allowed them, and not to deſtroy the Fruit in the Mother's Womb, before ſhe arrives to the Age of thirty-five. Among ſeveral Deities, they have two that have the Preheminency over the reſt, *viz.* one *Tamigaſanbach*, and the other called *Sariahſingh*. The firſt, whoſe Reſidence they place in the South, is the Giver of all good and profitable things to Mankind; the other, unto whom they aſſign the North, they ſay, deſtroys all what the former is pleaſed to beſtow on Man; for which Reaſon they worſhip both, one for doing them Good, the other, that he may do them no Harm.

They have amongſt others two Gods named *Talaſulas* and *Tapuliape*, who, as they are accounted the Patrons of Warriors, are adored only by thoſe Men. They have this Peculiar, that their religious Ceremonies are performed by Women, which they call *Juibs*. Their Worſhip conſiſts in Prayers and Sacrifices of Hogs, Areca, Deer and Wild-Boars Heads, as alſo ſome of their Liquors. After they have feaſted very well, the Prieſteſſes riſe, and muttering certain Prayers, turn up their Eyes, and at laſt fall to the Ground, with dreadful Cries. Sometime after they lie immoveable, like one in a Trance, for an Hour; during which Time they ſay, they have an Interview with their Gods. This being over, they climb up to the Top of the Temple, walk from one End to the other, and after they have ſaid their Prayers again, ſtrip themſelves ſtark-naked, expoſe their naked Bodies, and waſh them in the Preſence of all the Standers-by, of both Sexes, tho' but few Men aſſiſt at this kind of Devotion, and the Women have generally taken ſo much ſtrong Liquor, that they ſcarce perceive what paſſes. Theſe *Juibs* alſo pretend to foretel things to come, and to baniſh the evil Spirits. For the reſt, each Houſe has a peculiar Place for the private Devotions of the Family, which are performed for the moſt Part by Women, who make Offerings to their Gods of what is ſpent every Day in the Houſe, as they do upon certain Altars, erected for that Purpoſe upon the great Roads.

17. The *Chineſe* Empire being of ſo vaſt an Extent, that a moderate Account of it would take up a large Volume, we will content ourſelves to give only a Scheme of it here, leaving a more ample Deſcription to thoſe who of late Years have had the Opportunity of taking a full View of it. It is certain, that this vaſt Kingdom of *China* (called *Cathay* by the *Tartars*, and *Chinghau*, or *Chunque*, *i. e.* middle Kingdom, by the *Chineſe*) is the utmoſt Province of all *Aſia* to the Eaſt, having beyond it no other Borders but the Sea, for this Reaſon called by the *Chineſe Tung*, *i. e.* of the Eaſt. To the North its Frontiers extend all along the *Great Tartary*, from which it is divided by a Ridge of great Mountains; and where that fails, by the famous *Chineſe* Wall, which begins upon the Confines of the Province of *Leautung*, and extends to the yellow River upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Tibet*, 200 *German* Leagues in Length to the Weſt. It borders upon the Kingdoms of *Kiang* and *Bengal*, and to the S. and S. W. upon *Cochin-china*, and the Sea, comprehending in its Length all the ſouthern Parts betwixt the 130° and the 160°, making 1800 *Spaniſh* Leagues in Length, and three thouſand in Compaſs.

It is divided into fifteen great Provinces, among which, ſix, *viz.* thoſe of *Peking*, *Xantung*, *Kiangnan*, or *Nanking*, *Chekian*, *Fokien*, and *Quangtung*, extend along the Sea-ſide, the other nine being inland Provinces, five of which, *viz.* thoſe of *Quangſi*, *Kiangſi*, *Huquang*, *Henan*, lie to the Eaſt; *Xanſi*, *Suchuan*, *Quechan*, and *Junnan*, to the Weſt. The Provinces of *Leatung*, and *Corea*, which are on the Eaſt-ſide, don't properly belong to *China*; all which contain one hundred and forty-five great Cities, and 1263 others, which would paſs for conſiderable Cities elſewhere. Their Cities are for the moſt Part built after the ſame Faſhion, ſquare, with two large Streets, dividing the whole into four Quarters, like a perfect Croſs; ſo that from the Centre of each Place you may view the four Gates of it. They are fortified with broad brick Walls, and flanked with Towers, after the ancient *Roman* Faſhion, plaiſtered over with the ſame Earth they make their Porcelain of, which in Time grows as hard as Stone, and preſerves the Walls againſt the Injury of the Air. It has been computed, that ſome of them have ſtood 2000 Years, without any conſiderable Change. Their Houſes are very neatly and conveniently built, with Gardens, Orchards, Groves, Fountains, and all other Conveniencies and Ornaments, their Architecture exceeding that of the beſt Maſters of *Europe*. They are of all Nations of the World the moſt careful in Paving, and keeping their Highways, and providing all Neceſſaries for the Accommodation of Travellers throughout.

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As there are Books extant in *China*, which have been printed above ſeven hundred Years ago, it is certain that they invented the Myſtery of Printing before us, ſince it was not diſcovered in *Europe* till 1450. Their Characters are rather Figures, ſignifying certain Words than Letters, which they write from the Top downwards, not with Pens, but with Pencils, and that on one Side only, their Paper, which they make of the Bark of *Bamboe* Canes, being very thin. The Emperor maintains at his own Charge many Schools and Academies, the over-ſight of which is committed to Viſitors, who, at certain Times, not only examine the Profeſſors and Scholars, and expel ſuch as are not qualified for Studies, but alſo promote ſuch as have made a ſufficient Progreſs in Learning, to the Degree of a *Latia*, a Dignity like our Doctors. They are very ceremonious and obliging in their Converſation, in which Point they are ſo nice, that the firſt Rudiments of Learning given to their Youths, are certain Books of Compliments. Their Entertainments are very magnificent, in which they have this peculiar, that they ſet as many Tables as they have Gueſts. Their Meats are ſerved up either in Plates, or Porcelain. They have ſmall Cups, becauſe they drink often, but no Napkins, and they frequently ſend Home to their Gueſts what Meats are left untouched upon the Tables, and are eſpecially careful in entertaining Ambaſſadors with more than ordinary Reſpect.

They allow Poligamy, but puniſh ſeverely Inceſt, which is forbidden in a direct Line to Infinity, and in the Collateral Line to Siſters and Nieces. The firſt, however, is the only lawful Wife, whoſe eldeſt Son inherits half of the Eſtate of his Father; but on his Demiſe, the eldeſt Son of the next Wife has the ſame Pre-eminency. Adultery, though it be a capital Crime here, yet is ſeldom heard of, partly by reaſon of the great Reſtraint the Women are kept under, partly becauſe the *Chineſe* are ſo wiſe, as rather to make the beſt of ſuch an Accident, by an advantageous Agreement, than to expoſe themſelves, by publiſhing their own Diſgrace. Though the Government of *China* be not only monarchical, but alſo deſpotical, yet it is obſerved, that even in thoſe Nations which enjoy the greateſt Degree of Liberty in *Europe*, are much more burthened with Taxes than the *Chineſe*, which chiefly proceeds from this fundamental Maxim imprinted in their Kings, that as War is deſtructive, and the chief means to impoveriſh a Nation, they ought not to enter upon it, in order to extend the Limits, or make any Conqueſts; for which Reaſon it is, that, to avoid all Occaſion of Conteſt with Foreigners, the *Chineſe* are forbidden to go out of the Kingdom without Licence from the Emperor, or the Governor of the Province where they dwell.

The eldeſt Son always ſucceeds the Father in the Throne, the youngeſt Sons having only certain Apenages, with the Titles of Kings allowed them; but have not the leaſt Share in the Adminiſtration of the Government, being under the Juriſdiction, or rather Inſpection of the Governor of the Province where they reſide, who pays them their Allowance quarterly. The chief Council of State conſiſts of twelve Counſellors, and a Preſident; beſides which, there are in moſt of the great Cities ſix Commiſſioners. The firſt for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; the ſecond for the Revenues; the third for the Ceremonies; the fourth for martial Affairs; the fifth for ſurveying the publick Structures; and the ſixth for Criminal Caſes. To prevent the Miſmanagement of the Governors, and the Corruption of Judges and other Officers, the King ſends every three Years certain Viſitors into the Provinces, who, after having taken an Account of their Tranſactions, make a faithful Report to the King, who changes the Officers of the Province every three Years, with this Circumſpection, that ſo as never any Officer of Note is ſent but into a Province remote from the Place of his Birth. Debtors are puniſhed by moſt cruel Drubbings, which makes them rather chooſe to ſell themſelves to their Creditors, than to undergo this kind of Puniſhment.

The Priſons, wherewith all the great Cities are provided, are very ſtrictly kept; but at the ſame time want not any Conveniencies, ſuch as Courts, Gardens, Ponds, Walks, *&c.* for the Divertiſement of the Priſoners, and Drinking-houſes, and Cooks Shops, for their Conveniencies. No Sentence of Death is executed without a Warrant from the Emperor, and this muſt be done in the Preſence of the Judge, who are ſo nice in this Point, that they allow a very conſiderable Time betwixt the Condemnation and Execution, make divers Viſits to the Priſoners, and examine them whether they have any thing to alledge in their Behalf; by which Delays it happens, that more Malefactors die in Priſon than are executed. Their ordinary Puniſhments are Hanging, Impaling, and Burning alive; but the laſt is only in Caſes of High-Treaſon. Thieves they lay upon their Bellies with their Hands tied back, and ſo the Executioners beat them with Canes moiſtened with Water upon the Calf of their Legs, with ſuch Violence, that they frequently expire under their Hands.

The *Chineſe* are *Pagans*, though ſome Authors have taken a great deal of Pains to perſuade the World that they found ſome Remnants of Chriſtianity among them, which they ſay we introduced there by the Apoſtle *St. Thomas*. They acknowledge the Heavens for the Creator and chief Governor of the Univerſe, which is managed by a Vicegerent called *Layocan Tzantey*, unto whom they pay the greateſt Veneration next to the Sun. The next Divinity is called *Canſay*, unto whom they attribute the Government of all ſublunary Things. They allot to theſe three Divinities as many great Miniſters, *viz. Tanquam*, who preſides over the Air; *Teiquam*, whoſe Buſineſs is to look after the Generation of Men, and all living Creatures, as well as the Products of the Earth, and *Tzinquam*, the chief Patron of the Sea. They have alſo three famous Saints; the firſt called *Sicbia*, Founder of all the religious Orders of both Sexes, of which there are great Numbers in *China*; the other two are Females, called *Quanina* and *Neoma*. The *Chineſe* are alſo much addicted to Incantation, and adore the Devil. They believe the Immortality of the Soul, which is communicated to it by Heaven, and that it ſhall either enjoy eternal Felicity or Torments, according to the good or bad Actions done in this World; for which Reaſon it is that they aſſign a certain Place of Abode not unlike Purgatory to the Soul, after its Departure from the Body: There it is purged from its Sins, and, by the Interceſſion of its Relations and Friends, may be eaſed in its Sufferings. Many of them alſo adhere to the Opinion of the Tranſmigration of the Soul, which they derive from the *Indians*.

Their Orders of religious Men have one General reſiding in the City of *Xuntion*, who has under him ſeveral Provincials, and theſe under them the Superiors and Guardians of their reſpective Monaſteries. They make uſe of Beads, and keep to their conſtant Mattins and Offices, not unlike the Monks in *Europe*. The eldeſt Sons amongſt the *Chineſe* are not permitted to enter into religious Orders, and ſuch as have, may quit them at Pleaſure, and marry, as may all the reſt, who have embraced a monaſtick Life. As to their Funeral Rites, the *Chineſe* waſh the dead Bodies, put them in a Coffin of ſweet Wood well cloſed, and ſo keep them upon a Table fifteen Days; during which Time the Prieſts, who come there to ſing and pray over the Dead, are feaſted with Wine and Fruit; their Buſineſs it is to inter them after the Expiration of theſe fifteen Days, which is commonly done in the Country, near a Pine-tree, and if that be not to be found, they plant one on purpoſe. Their Mourning is very cloſe, in coarſe Cloth, and Hats, with a Cord tied about their Middle: Sons continue this for two Years, and the other Relations proportionably.

The firſt time the *Tartars* broke through the *Chineſe* Wall was in 1206, when they made themſelves Maſters of all the Country, and remained in Poſſeſſion of it till 1368, when they were not only forced from thence, but alſo obliged to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Emperor of *China*. About the Year 1600, ſeven powerful Colonies of the *Tartars* were joined into one Kingdom under the Name of *Niuche*, whoſe King entered *China*, in 1616, with a powerful Army. Many bloody Engagements happened among the *Chineſe* and *Tartars*, eſpecially in 1618, 1619, 1620, 1625, 1627, till at laſt in 1630, the *Tartars* were once more forced to quit the Poſſeſſion of *China*, and to content themſelves with making Incurſions, as they found Opportunity. But in 1641 no leſs than eight Armies of Robbers appearing at once in the *Chineſe* Empire, and the Grandees being divided into Factions, ſome of them called in the *Tartars* to their Aid, and at laſt betrayed the capital City and the Emperor to them, who was ſtrangled in 1644. Upon which the *Tartars*, having ſpent ſome Years in reducing other Provinces, they made themſelves abſolute Maſters of the whole Empire by the Conqueſt of the City of *Quangcheu*, in the Province of *Quangſi*, *Nov.* 14, 1650. But it is now Time to proceed with our Voyage regularly and circumſtantially.

18. We told you how we were becalmed in the Sight of the Iſle of *Ceylon*, where we continued till the 20th of *February*, when the North-Weſt Wind obliged us to ſteer our Courſe to the South-Eaſt. We found ourſelves then 2° beyond the Equinoctial Line. I took this Opportunity to aſk the Maſter of the Ship, whether (according to the vulgar Opinion) I might diſcover both the Poles here; but he ſufficiently convinced me, that the Arctick Pole was not to be ſeen till about ſix Degrees, and the Antartick not till eight beyond the Line, and that when you come to 8 or 10° the North-Weſt Wind reigns there conſtantly for ſix Months, as the South-Eaſt does the other Months of the Year. We ſaw abundance of Birds, ſome white like Pigeons, others like Wild-ducks, and vaſt Quantities of certain Birds, called by the *Portugueze*, *Garayos*, being black and white, but larger than our Magpies. Their Tails are divided like a Pair of Taylor's Sheers: All theſe live upon the flying Fiſh, who, to avoid the Purſuit of the *Albicores*, *Bonitos*, and *Dorados*, betake themſelves to the Air. The *Albicores* are white, and without Scales, and ſo are the *Bonitos*; but the firſt exceed the others in Bigneſs, and have but one Bone from the Head to the Tail, but are not extraordinary Meat. The *Dorado* is like a Salmon, but more luſcious, and has ſmaller Scales. We alſo took a Sea-Hog (ſo called from its Snout, which is like that of a Pig) which is ſeen in great Shoals near the Veſſel, are looked upon by the Seamen as the Forerunners of a Storm, which may naturally be accounted for.

The *Dutch*, in their firſt Voyage into thoſe Parts, opened one of theſe Fiſh, and found a great deal of Fat, and a young Pig in the Belly of it. There is another great Fiſh in thoſe Seas called *Hayes* by the *Dutch*, and Shark by the *Engliſh*; their Teeth are very cloſe and ſharp, and as they delight in Man's Fleſh, it often happens, that they ſnatch a Limb of any unwary Seaman. Their Mouth being below their Heads, they lie upon their Backs when they are to catch a Prey. That we took had the Heart in the Head, and lived a good while after it was taken. Their Fleſh is not fit to be eaten. There are alſo abundance of that ſort of Fiſh hereabouts, called by the *Portugueze Paſupuarco*, becauſe they make a Noiſe like Pigs, and are of the Bigneſs of a Bream. Tortoiſes (the Meat of which are as fine as Veal) are in ſuch Plenty here, that the Seamen draw them, at Pleaſure, into the Ship with Hooks. *February* the 21ſt we found ourſelves in 1° 20′ of the Line, with very rainy and unconſtant Weather, which is common hereabouts. On the 23d one of our Seamen died of the Pox; the 25th we were becalmed; but the next Night there aroſe a Tempeſt, which made us continually upon our Guard, for fear of the Travados, or Whirl-winds, which are ſo ſudden here, that the Seamen have ſcarce leiſure to furl their Sails. We could not make any Obſervation by the Sun till the 5th of *March*, when we were in 8° 6′ Latitude, and on the 10th in 10° 14′, the Wind at Weſt.

The 12th and 13th it blew a great Storm, with Thunder and Lightening; but what moſt ſurprized us was, that though we were in 13°, we found not the leaſt Effects of the Monſoon, or ordinary Wind of the Seaſon, which is commonly perceived at 8 or 9°, the South Wind blowing ſo hard, that we were in fear of being forced back to the *Indian* Coaſt. It was not till *March* the 15th, that we found the Wind changed to the South, when putting out all our Sail, we made two Leagues in an Hour, and took ſeveral Dolphins that ſwam near our Ship. On the 20th we were becalmed in 16°, where we found the Compaſs decline 30′ to the Weſt, and ſo it continued till the 24th; but as ſoon as the *Cape of Good-Hope* is doubled, the Loadſtone draws towards the Eaſt. As we were floating thus up and down the 21ſt of *March*, our Ship took Fire, by the Careleſsneſs of the Butler, who ſet Fire to a Barrel of *Aqua Vitæ*, as he was removing it. Our freſh Water beginning to be ſcarce, we made uſe of an Engine to draw freſh Water out of the Sea; but its Taſte being ſomewhat nauſeous, it ſerved only for the dreſſing of Meat.

On the 22d we made, by the Help of the Monſoon Winds, two Leagues an Hour, which continued the 23d, 24th, and 25th. On the 26th the Wind held ſtill fair; but, for fear of a Change, and Want of freſh Water, was reſolved to direct our Courſe to *Maurice* Iſland, to take in Refreſhments there. We diſcovered the ſame Night the Iſle of *Diego Rodriguez* in 20° 48′, which lies ſixty Leagues from the ſaid Iſland of *Maurice*, ſo called by the *Dutch* from the Prince of *Orange*, who was Admiral of the United Provinces at the Time of their firſt Voyage to the *Inaies*. Its Harbour is very ſpacious, being able to contain fifty large Veſſels, and commodious, by reaſon of its Depth, which is a hundred Fathom at the Entrance. The high Mountains, which are covered with Trees, may be ſeen at a great Diſtance at Sea. The Vallies produce ſome Fruit, and abundance of other Trees, ſome of which are thoſe that afford the beſt Ebony in the World, black, red, and yellow; but the two laſt are in the greateſt Eſteem, and the Sea abounds in Fiſh. The *Dutch* in their Relations ſpeak of a Thornback they catched near this Iſle, which found two good Meals for the whole Ship, and Tortoiſes of ſuch a Bigneſs, that ten Men might ſit on one Shell. The Iſle was quite deſtitute of Inhabitants at that Time; but ſince 1640, the *Dutch* have erected a Fort there. It abounds in Birds; but is deſtitute of four-footed Beaſts; but as for Fruits and Water, it affords ſufficient Refreſhment to Ships that are paſſing that Way.

The Wind continuing fair when we came within Sight of this Iſland, a Council was called, in which it was agreed not to loſe any Time by putting into this Iſland, but to continue our Voyage, with all poſſible Speed, to the *Cape of Good-Hope*, to avoid the Danger of being obliged to winter in the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*. Accordingly we loſt Sight of this Iſle the ſame Day, and paſſed the Tropick of Capricorn *March* the 30th, ſteering our Courſe Weſt-South-Weſt. *April* the 1ſt we found ourſelves in 26° 3′, and after having made forty Leagues, were becalmed before Night. We ſaw the next Day divers Whales, and the Weather becoming very ſtormy, carried us to the Weſt-South-Weſt, our Buſineſs being to ſteer to the South, and conſequently to the *Cape of Good-Hope*. On the 5th the Compaſs ſtill varying, we held our Courſe ſtill to the Weſt, and though we had not much Wind, made ſeventy-three Leagues in theſe two Days from the 9th, (when we were about three hundred Leagues from the *Cape*) we advanced tolerably well, but the 15th it blew very hard, and thoſe Birds, called by the *Portugueze Pintados*, which keep within forty Leagues of the Land, and ſeveral other Birds, came near our Ship. On the ſixteenth theſe Signs perſuaded our Seamen that we were not far from the Shore; the 17th we continued our Voyage with a freſh Gale; but the 18th and 19th we had ſcarce any Wind, thro' the Roughneſs of the Sea, which proved an infallible Omen of the Tempeſt that overtook us the ſame Night from the South-Weſt in 35° Latitude. As theſe Storms are unavoidable about the *Cape of Good-Hope*, we took in our Sails.

On the 20th, perceiving the Water ſomewhat more inclinable to white than before, and a great many Sea-mews, called *Mangas de Valudo* by the *Portugueze*, round our Ships, we concluded that there was Ground within an hundred, or an hundred and fifty Fathom, and, upon Trial, found it at eighty Fathom. We ſaw alſo the ſame Day abundance of Black-Birds, with a ſmall Spot of white on their Breaſts: Theſe, according to the Opinion of the *Engliſh* Seamen, always forebode a Tempeſt, which proved true; for, before Night, a Storm aroſe from the W. N. W. with a very rough Sea, which took our Carpenter from the Deck, but he was ſaved by Means of a Rope. The Ground, which ſtuck to the Plummet, being black at eight Fathom Depth, we concluded we were not far from the Cape *d'Aguilas*, which is ſixty Leagues diſtant from that of *Good-Hope*. The 25th the Tempeſt encreaſing in 36° 20′ beyond the Line, we were in great Danger of being loſt, being forced by the Currents towards the Shore; but the Tempeſt being ſomewhat allayed, we eſcaped the Danger, but were ſoon after threatened by another, occaſioned by a Lamp in the Preſident's Room, which had ſet Fire to the Wainſcot. The 26th the Storm continued till two in the Afternoon, when the Peſcepuereos coming in great Numbers about our Ships, were the Forerunners of fair Weather, and the N. W. Wind which enſued. On the 27th, in the Morning, it was calm; but, in the Afternoon, we made two Leagues an Hour with a N. W. Wind, taking our Courſe to the N. N. W. As we ſaw that Day abundance of Trombas, or a kind of Canes, three or four Foot long, and of the Bigneſs of a Man's Arm, which float upon the Water, and are met with no where but near this Cape we concluded that we were not far from the Cape of *Good-Hope*; and the 28th diſcovering the Coaſt from N. to W. ſome thought it had been the Cape; but finding Ground at forty Fathom, and in 34° 40′, we were ſoon convinced it muſt be the Cape *d'Aguilas*.

The 29th the Wind turning S. E. we ſteered our Courſe N. W. along the Coaſt, and the Wind turning to the N. W. we could advance but a little: We then found ourſelves in 34° 27′, and conſequently twenty-four Leagues from Cape *d'Aguilas*. On the 30th the Wind continued againſt us; but the next Day the Wind turning to the N. E. by E. we ſailed along the Coaſt, and, at laſt diſcovered the high Shore, known by the Name of *Cabo Falſo* (becauſe it reſembles a Promontory) within ſeven Leagues of the Cape of *Good-Hope*. *May* the 2d the N. E. Wind continued, we got Sight of the Cape of *Good-Hope*; but ſoon after turning about to the N. W. we could not get into the Bay, ſo were forced to ſtand out to Sea, ſteering our Courſe to the South. The 3d the Wind ſtill at N. W. brought along with it a moſt furious Tempeſt; notwithſtanding which we made the beſt of our Way to the Coaſt; the 4th doubled one of the Points of the Cape of *Good-Hope*. Ten Leagues diſtant from the Bay we diſcovered the Mountain, called by the *Dutch* the *Table-Mountain*, from it Flatneſs and ſquare Figure, in 34° 4′, within fifteen Leagues of the Cape. Our Intention was to have got in there, but the Wind proving contrary, we kept along the Coaſt as well as we could: But the 5th, at Sun-riſing, we were out of Sight of the Shore, which made us change our Courſe to the N. E. ſo that we diſcovered Land again about Noon, and in two Hours after, by paſſing the Iſle of *St. Elizabeth*, got into the Bay by Night, where we caſt Anchor at ſeven Fathom Water.

19. This Cape of the Continent of *Africa*, extending to the South into the Sea, in 36° beyond the Line, received the Name of *Cabo de Bona Eſperanza* in 1493, from *John* II. King of *Portugal*, when the *Portugueze* firſt went in Queſt of the Paſſage by Sea to the *Indies*, lying as it were at a nearer Diſtance of about 2500 Leagues, betwixt *Europe* and the moſt Eaſtern Coaſts of the *Indies*; ever ſince which Time this has been the Place where Ships bound to thoſe Parts, take in their Refreſhments, Water being very excellent here, and Cattle very cheap, their Oxen being very large, with Bunches on their Backs like thoſe of the *Indies*, and their Sheep very good, with long hanging Ears, and Tails as big and weighty as a good Quarter of Mutton: Neither do they want Wild-Fowl, Deer, Wild-Boars, Partridge, Quails, and, among the reſt, a kind of Geeſe, with Stumps inſtead of Wings, but their Fleſh is not eatable. They have alſo Dogs, or rather Sea-Bears, Camels, Tigers, Lions and Lynxes. The *Dutch* are uſed to leave Letters here under a certain Stone near the Harbour, acquainting their Countrymen that come after them, with all the remarkable Paſſages in their Voyages, and what Courſe they intended to ſteer.

The Inhabitants are ſavage, uncouth, and ill-ſhaped: They greaſe their Bodies with Train-Oil, and eat their Fleſh raw; nay, they ſeldom kill any Beaſt, but feed upon them when they die of any Diſeaſe. Both Men and Women go naked, covering their privy Parts only with a Piece of Skin faſtened round their Waiſt with a Leather-Girdle; ſome wrap a Lion's Skin, or Ox Hide, round their Buttocks, drawing their Tail between their Legs: Some wear them over their Shoulders down to their Waiſt only, expoſing all the reſt to publick View, and disfiguring their Arms, Thighs, and Legs, by making Characters in them by way of Inciſion. The Women adorn their Arms and Legs with broad Rings of Iron or Braſs. Thoſe living farther up in the Country are no leſs ſavage than the reſt, with this Difference only, that they live a little better; thoſe near the Sea-ſide living upon Oiſters, Fiſh, and eſpecially Whales; for they know not what Huſbandry is, though their Grounds are excellent. They live in the ſame Huts with their Cattle, and ſcarce ever come to the Seaſhore, except when upon the Arrival of foreign Ships, they are to truck their Commodities, which are Ox-hides, Lions, Leopards, Tigers Skins, and Oſtriches Feathers, for Knives, Looking-Glaſſes, Nails, Hammers, and Pieces of Iron. They know not what Religion is, both God and the Devil being equally beyond their Comprehenſion.

On the 10th we were ready to ſet ſail again out of the Bay; but the Wind proving contrary, we did not get to Sea till the 12th, with a N. E. Wind, ſteering our Courſe to the Weſt; but the Wind varying that Day through moſt of the Points of the Compaſs, we could not get out of Sight of the Coaſt, and at Night were ſurprized by a Tempeſt, which continued till the 17th with ſuch Violence that our Ship had much ado to reſiſt it. The 18th the Sky began to clear up, and the Fury of the Wind being allayed, we found ourſelves in 34° 40′; whence we conjectured that the Tempeſt had forced us back 25 or 30 Leagues, between *Cabo Falſo*, and the Cape of *Good-Hope*. The Night following, there aroſe ſuch a dreadful Hurricane that we gave ourſelves over for loſt, being by the contrary Winds forced to Sea. The 19th were not much better; and the 20th we found but little Alteration, though we hoped for ſome from the Change of the Moon, which happened that Day; but the Storm continued till the 22d, when the Rains having ſomewhat abated the Fury of the Winds, we made uſe of our Sails, ſteering our Courſe to the Weſt, as well as we could. On the 23d we were becalmed in Sight of the Coaſt to the N. E. of us, and finding ourſelves in 37° 6′, we ſuppoſed ourſelves on the Coaſt between *Cabo Falſo* and that of *Aguilas*; but another Tempeſt ariſing the ſame Evening from the W. N. W. we were forced out again to Sea.

The 24th the Wind held ſtill contrary, which grew tempeſtuous at Night. The 25th in 36° Lat. we ſteered our Courſe with a W. Wind to the S. The 26th the Wind blowing N. E. we made all the Sail we could to the W. but in the Evening the Wind turning to the N. W. brought along with it a moſt violent Storm, which continued the 28th and 29th; ſo on the 30th it was reſolved, that ſeeing our Ships were not in a Condition to proſecute the Voyage to *England* without manifeſt Danger, to put into the Iſle of *Madagaſcar*: Purſuant to this Reſolution, we tacked about at two in the Afternoon, in ſtormy Weather, and a very rough Sea, which continued the next Day till about Noon. *June* the 1ſt we made forty Leagues in twenty-four Hours, with a Weſt-Wind, ſteering our Courſe to the Eaſt. The 2d, about eleven at Night, the Wind veering about to the S. S. E. the beſt Wind we could wiſh for the Proſecution of our Voyage to *England*, we reſolved to return to the Cape of *Good-Hope*, and to take in freſh Water at the Iſle of *St. Helens*. The third we got with the ſame Wind to 35° 8′. On the 4th the abundance of Birds, called *Mangas de Valudos*, and the Trombas or Canes, floating upon the Sea, gave us great Hopes that we were not far from the Cape of *Good-Hope*.

The 6th we were becalmed at forty-three, forty-eight, fifty-four, and ſixty-three Fathom Water, and in the Evening the Wind was N. W. but turned the 7th to the W. which, by Night, turned to a violent Storm, and continued the 8th till Midnight, when coming about to the N. we took our Courſe to the N. W. The 9th the

Winds being much abated, we found ourſelves in 35° 30' eleven; but in the Afternoon, we were ſurprized by another Tempeſt, which putting us in imminent Danger of running upon the Shore, the Maſter of the Ship, who hitherto had been the chief Inſtrument of our turning this Way, ſeeing him under the Neceſſity of changing his Reſolution, declared, that there was no other Way left to ſave the Ship, than to endeavour to put in at *Madagaſcar*; accordingly we changed our Courſe the 11th with fair Weather; but, about Midnight, were overtaken by another dreadful Storm, which laſted the 12th, 13th, and 14th. It ceaſed the 15th, and the Wind being W. N. W. we ſailed 33 Leagues in 24 Hours, to the N. E. The 23d at Break of Day, we deſcried an *Engliſh* Veſſel, bound to the *Eaſt-Indies*, Captain *Hall* Commander, Burthen 500 Tuns, and it was reſolved that we ſhould make jointly all the Sail we could for *Madagaſcar*, Captain *Hall*'s Ship being much leſs than ours, with a S. E. Wind.

The firſt of *July* he was got out of Sight, and the ſame Evening we diſcovered the Coaſt of *Madagaſcar*, ſo that we were forced to keep continual Watch all the Night, for fear we might come too near the Coaſt, which is very rocky and dangerous, eſpecially on the Point of the Iſle, or might go beyond it, it being almoſt impoſſible to make the Bay, if you paſs beyond the true Altitude. The ſecond we arrived in the Bay of *St. Auſtin*, where there is no Bottom till within a Mile of the Shore, where we caſt Anchor at twenty-five Fathom Water. The Day after our Arrival, having eſcaped ſo many Dangers, our joy was redoubled by meeting here, beſides Captain *Hall*'s Ship, an *Engliſh Eaſt-Indiaman*, called the *London*, Burthen 1400 Tuns, commanded by Captain *Willes*, bound for *England*. The third the Captains of theſe Ships came on Board ours, to conſult the beſt Methods to prevent the being impoſed upon by the Inhabitants, in the trucking of what Commodities they had, for their Cattle; accordingly, theſe Commodities being produced by joint Conſent, and committed to the Management of the three Supercargoes, they bought, or rather exchanged every Day four Oxen for forty Pair of braſs Bracelets, a Sheep for two, and a Calf for three Pair; and for a braſs Ring of ten or twelve Inches about, a fat Ox, worth ſix or ſeven Pounds in *England*. The fourth the Preſident and the two Captains went up the River to diſcover what Cattle was coming down towards the Bay. The ſixth the Preſident treated the two Captains and all the Officers of the three Ships aboard ours, and Captain *Willes* did the ſame, ſome Days after. The 14th Captain *Hall* proſecuted his Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, as Captain *Willes* did two Days after for *England*, having ſupplied us with what we ſtood in need of for the Proſecution of our Voyage.

The twenty-firſt a certain Tent with Huts being ſet up for the Preſident and Soldiers near the Sea-ſide, he took up his Lodgings there. About four Leagues from the Harbour, lived a certain Lord, who had three Sons, the Eldeſt of whom was named *Maſſar*: They came all three to pay us a Viſit, with a Retinue of one hundred Perſons, well armed with Javelins, bringing along with them three hundred Oxen, beſides ſome Sheep, Goats, Poultry, Citrons, and Oranges, in order to exchange them for ſome of our Toys. After having made a little Halt, the eldeſt of the three Brothers preſented the Preſident with twelve Goats, and his two Wives, each with a fat Capon; in return of which, the Preſident made a Preſent of three Strings of glaſs Coral to himſelf, two to each Brother, and a Bracelet to each of his Wives, which they ſeemed to value at a great Rate. After having fixed a great Pole in the Ground, as a Token of the Amity they intended to preſerve with us, which they deſired us to maintain alſo on our Side, they ſold us, or rather trucked with us for ten fat Oxen, ſome Sheep, and Poultry; and, amongſt the reſt, we had a fat Sheep, the Tail of which weighed twenty, or twenty-four Pounds, for ſeven or eight Grains of Coral, or Agat, and a Capon for three or four Grains of counterfeit Coral. We ſtaid here ſix Weeks, which was ſpent for the moſt Part in ſhooting at Buts, and Fiſhing with Angle-rods. We had great Store of Fiſh, and among the reſt Oyſters, as large and delicious as any in *England*. From the fifth to the eighth of *Auguſt* we ſaw ſuch prodigious Numbers of Graſhoppers as darkened the Skies, but one ſmall Shower of Rain diſperſed them all.

The Inhabitants eat them. The Iſle of *Madagaſcar*, called the Iſle of *St. Laurence* by the *French*, lies in the torrid Zone, extending from North to South from the 10° to the 26°. Its Length being one hundred and fifty, and Breadth one hundred and eighty Leagues, and conſequently one of the greateſt Iſlands in the World. It has the Conveniency of diverſe good Harbours, ſuch as the Bay of *St. Auſtin*, where we lay at Anchor, *St. Jago*, *Anton*, *Gil*, *Antipera*, *St. Julian's*, *St. Mary's*, *St. Sebaſtin*, *St. Romanus*, and *Manatenga*. Moſt of their Mountains are covered with Orange and Citron Trees, and the Rocks themſelves are a pure white Marble, from whence ſpring the cleareſt Fountains in the known World. They have alſo Ebony, and Date Trees, and a certain kind not unlike the *Braſil* Wood, of which they make their Darts and Lances. Theſe Trees ſhelter vaſt Numbers of Apes and Birds, and among the reſt, a kind of Poultry, reſembling our Turkeys, being black all over the Bodies, with little white Spots. Their Heads are of a Mixture of blue and red, with yellow Horns on their Foreheads. They feed by Hundreds together in the Woods. Here you meet alſo with that Gum called Dragon's-blood, which they draw out of the Flower of a Tree no bigger than our common Pear-trees, but more Branchy, and not ſo full of Leaves, which are longer, but not ſo broad as thoſe of the Laurel.

This Iſle alſo produces ſome Aloes, but not ſo good as that of the Iſland of *Socotra*. They have alſo Cotton, and ſome Indigo, but they underſtand not reducing it into Paſte, as the *Indoſtans* and *Indians* do. As they don't apply themſelves to Tillage, except it be for a little Rice, Beans, Pompions, and Melons, ſo they abound in moſt excellent Paſture, and conſequently in Cattle, in which their chief Riches conſiſt. They have alſo Citron and Orange-trees, which bear Fruit twice a Year, Date-trees, Cocoa-trees, and Banana's; and there is ſcarce a Houſe but has it owns Bee-hives; for tho' they are ignorant as yet of the Advantages of making Honey and Wax, they make a certain Drink of it, with the Addition of Rice, which ſerves them inſtead of Wine. It yields alſo a Salt, and Salt-petre, and near the Sea-ſide Ambergreece. Some will have it to be rich in gold and ſilver Mines, but as the Inhabitants value Tin beyond thoſe Metals, they neglect to ſearch after them.

The Iſle is very full of Inhabitants, who are well-ſhaped, for the moſt Part Negroes; they wear no other Garments but a Piece of printed Calicoe, which they wrap about their Middle, ſo that one Piece of it hangs down before to the Knee, the other to the Ham, except the little Houſes of their Princes, which are of Wood. Their Huts are only made of the Branches of Trees, wherein they have no other Beds or Quilts, but ſome few Mats to lie upon. They uſed to make their Fires round about them, to diſperſe the Vapours which are very pernicious here. Their chief Ornaments are certain Strings of Glaſs-beads of different Colours round the Waſte, and Bracelets of the ſame about their Necks, Arms, and Legs. Both Sexes have Holes in their Ears, in which they put large copper, or braſs Rings. They have all black Hair, ſome very much curled, others not, but it is ſeldom very long; notwithſtanding which they tie it up in ſeveral Treſſes. There is no conſiderable Difference betwixt the Cloathing of the Men and Women; the laſt wear ſometimes a ſleeveleſs Coat, and the Calicoe which covers their middle Parts is ſomewhat longer than thoſe of the Men.

The Women are very famous for their Fidelity to their Huſbands, who place ſo great a value upon them, that they will ſcarce undertake any thing of Moment without their Advice. They have two Wives at leaſt, each of which hath her peculiar Hut, and tho' the Huſband is very compliant with both, the eldeſt of the two always claims the Preference. They purchaſe their Wives from their Parents, or Relations, for ſome Oxen, Pikes, Darts, or other Arms. Adultery and Fornication are capital; but as there is no Familiarity ſo great, which is able to raiſe a Jealouſy in them, thoſe things are ſcarce ever heard of. Some of their young Women came very frankly into to our Tent, unto one of whom the Preſident preſented one of my Shirts, deſiring her to wear it for my Sake. She made not the leaſt Difficulty to receive it, and wore it two Days, after which, ſhe tore it to Pieces, for ſome other uſe. Their Men are brave, addicted to martial Exerciſes, and very dextrous in the Management of their Lances, Darts, and Pikes, which always lie near them, even when they are at work in the Field, being trained up to the uſe of Arms in their Infancy: Perſons of Note ſeldom ſtir abroad without having twenty-five or thirty Darts, or ſmall Pikes, carried after them, tied up in a Bundle. Their Bows are four or five Feet long, and the Strings looſe. They have a ſlight of Shooting with great Strength and Activity, and as to their Javelins, they dart them with ſo miraculous a Dexterity, that they will hit a Bird at forty Paces Diſtance.

They are divided into ſeveral Tribes, or Clans of one hundred, two hundred, or three hundred, each under his own Lord, whom they call *Tſebick.* Two of theſe had their Reſidence in a Wood not far from our Tent. Their Wars among themſelves are commonly occaſioned by the want of Paſturage for their Cattle, and the Prince *Maſſar* told us, that he had joined with two neighbouring Lords, and that they intended to attack ſome on the other Side the Mountains with five hundred Men, to drive them from their Paſture Grounds, which they ſtood in need of for their Cattle. This Dignity is not Hereditary, but they govern, whilſt they are in the Poſſeſſion of it, with an abſolute Authority. It is not eaſily determined what Religion they profeſs. As far as I was able to learn, they believe one God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, who will reward their good, and puniſh their bad Actions. I remember I ſaw one among them, whom I ſuppoſed to be their Prieſt, getting up on a Tree, and making his Oration to the People; but as I had not the leaſt Knowledge of their Language, I could not be ſatisfied of what he ſaid, neither what Difference there was in the outward Appearance of their Prieſts and Laicks, except that I obſerved ſome of them to carry a Piece of a Cow's Tail at the End of a Cane; and I ſaw one whoſe Nails on the two Fore-fingers of his Righthand, were as long as the Talons of an Eagle. Each Tribe has its own Prieſt, who pretends alſo to Incantations.

21. The Iſle of *Mozambique* is not above half a League from the Continent of *Africa*, and remain in the Poſſeſſion of the *Portugueze*. This ſmall Iſland is ſo beneficial to the Governor thereof, that what with the Trade to *Madagaſcar*, and that of *Soffola*, he commonly amaſſes a Treaſure of 150,000 Pounds Sterling during his three Years Government. This Iſland was firſt diſcovered by the *Portugueze* in 1506, when a whole Boat of Negroes coming on Board the *Portugueze* Veſſels, they were very civilly entertained by the Captain, who alſo gave them diverſe little Preſents, but they requited his Kindneſs with a Shower of Arrows, as ſoon as they were got into their Boat, till the Captain, by a Volley of ſmall Shot, and ſome Cannon Ball, made them ſoon give over that Sport. Another *Portugueze* Captain, named *Rodriguez Perera*, being in the ſame Year driven upon that Coaſt by Diſtreſs of Weather, ſent a certain *African* Negroe, who had ſome Knowledge of their Language, to ſignify unto them, that he was come thither to ſettle a good Correſpondence and Commerce with them. They ſeemed to approve of this Propoſal, but were no ſooner got at ſome Diſtance from the *Portugueze*, than they fell upon the *Moor*, with Intention to kill him, which they had certainly done, if the *Portugueze* had not diſcharged their Fire-Arms upon them, which obliged them to leave the Negroe, and to betake themſelves to their Heels, leaving ſeveral of their Companions dead upon the Spot.

Perera ſail'd thence to another Place upon the ſame Coaſt, where having ſurprized one of their Princes, he carried him on Board, and gave him ſuch kind Entertainment, that in requital for his Courteſy, he offered to ſhew him a very good Harbour; accordingly he conducted them to a great Bay, at the Entrance of which was a ſmall, but populous Iſland; but the Inhabitants being terrified at the Sight of theſe Foreigners, fled into another adjacent Iſland; ſo that the *Portugueze*, being become Maſters of the ſmall Iſle without the leaſt Oppoſition, they ſent to the Inhabitants, deſiring them to return to their Habitations, the Occaſion of their coming thither being to ſettle a good Correſpondence with them. Upon this, moſt of them returned, and as a Mark of their Good-will, preſented *Perera* with fifty Oxen, and twenty Goats; but being nevertheleſs willing to be rid of the Strangers, they tempted the Captain with the Hopes of great Riches, which they ſaid he might meet with in the Port of *Matatana*; which was ſo well approved by him, that he was preparing to go thither, but one of his Ships being ſoon after forced upon the Coaſt of the Iſle, he retired with the other to *Mozambique*; Another Ship of the ſame Fleet being driven by tempeſtuous Weather into the Port of *Matatana*, a Boat of the Country came immediately aboard them, in which the Captain ſent the Maſter of the Veſſel, who was well verſed in the *African* Language.

The *Moor* making more than ordinary Haſte to get aſhore with the Maſter, and the *Portugueze* conceiving ſome Jealouſy at their Behaviour, they purſued them with eighty Men, in their Shallop, but too late, the Negroes having reached the Shore before them. However, after they were landed, they got Sight again of the Maſter, who told them, he had been treated with much Kindneſs by their Prince, who was deſirous to ſee the Captain himſelf, in order to enter into a ſtrict Correſpondence with him; which the Captain not unwilling to comply with, went accordingly aſhore, where he was kindly received, and magnificently treated by the Prince, according to the Faſhion of that Country; but, in the Evening, being ready to return aboard in the Shallop, there aroſe a violent Tempeſt, that he durſt not venture to commit himſelf to the mercileſs Waves in ſo ſmall a Boat, which continued for four Days ſucceſſively, and there being no Poſſibility to get on Board, his Ship's Crew imagining that he had been maſſacred by theſe Barbarians, thought it moſt adviſeable to ſave themſelves, and to return to *Mozambique*, which they did accordingly. The Captain finding the Ship gone was ſo diſcontented, that he died not long after, as did eight others of his Retinue. The reſt thinking it better to run the riſque of the Sea, than to periſh without the leaſt Hopes of Relief, embarqued in the Shallop, and having by good Fortune met with a *Portugueze* Veſſel, commanded by *John Tonſeca*, he carried them to the next *Portugueze* Port in *Africa*. The firſt Time of the landing of the *Dutch* in the Iſle of *Madagaſcar* happened rather by Chance than any Deſign, for their Seamen being miſerably infeſted with the Scurvy, ſo that they were no longer able to manage the Ship, they were forced to ſeek for Refreſhment in this Iſland, but loſt ſeventy Men out of the four Veſſels, of which their Fleet conſiſted, before they could get at any. Theſe Men were buried in a ſmall Iſland, which to this Day is called the *Dutch* Church-yard. Some will have the *Madagaſcarians* to be *Mohammedans*; but certain it is, that in their outward Demeanour they don't ſhew the leaſt Sign of it.

22. The Winter Seaſon being pretty well over, we began to think of our Voyage; for which purpoſe having bought, *Auguſt* the 19th, of Prince *Maſſar*, and ſome other neighbouring Lords, twenty-five Oxen, and a hundred Sheep, we embarqued our Baggage the 20th, and the the 21ſt ſet Sail out of the Bay of *Saint Auguſtine* with a South-weſt Wind, which proving favourable all that Night, we ſoon loſt Sight of *Madagaſcar*.

The 22d, being rejoined by the Monſoon, or Wind of the Seaſon, which happened ſooner than ordinary, we briſkly purſued our Courſe to Weſt-South-Weſt, and the 23d the Wind blowing a briſk Gale from the Eaſt in our Stern, we ſailed briſkly a little more to the South, with an Intention to avoid the *Cape of Good-Hope*. The 24th and 25th the Wind was not ſo briſk, but being ſeconded by a freſh Gale, the 26th we advanced bravely, and found ourſelves that Day in 27° 27′ Latitude, and on the 28th in 28° 12′. The 29th we were ſurprized by the Travados, or Whirl-winds, in 31° 15′; but they did not continue long. The 30th it blew aſtern; notwithſtanding which we made the beſt of our way, and the laſt of *Auguſt* found ourſelves in 33° 34′. On the 1ſt of *September* we made fifty Leagues in twenty-four Hours, tho' the Wind blew very hard; and the 2d we got thirty Leagues farther, with a South-weſt Wind. The 3d being becalmed, we killed a Cow we bought at *Madagaſcar*, and a Goat. In the Belly of the firſt we found three Calves, and in the laſt four Kids, from which a Judgment may be made of the Fruitfulneſs of this Country. On the 6th we were terribly ſhaken by a moſt dreadful Tempeſt, ſo that our Ship beginning to be leaky, we were forced to pump without Intermiſſion. We found ourſelves in 35° Latitude. On the 7th the Wind being tolerably fair, we ſteered our Courſe to the Weſt-North-Weſt; though the Sea continued very rough. The 8th and 9th, we had abundance of Rain with a South-Weſt Wind, with which we made four Leagues with a moderate Gale, and ſeeing many of the Birds called *Mangas de Valudo*, concluded that we were not far from the *Cape of de Aguilas*.

The 11th the Eaſt Wind hindered us from making any conſiderable Progreſs, and finding a ſandy Bottom at twelve Fathom of Water, we were more and more perſuaded that we were near the *Cape of Aguilas*. The 12th we were forced to make the beſt of our way ſometimes with a North-North-Weſt, ſometimes with a South-Weſt Wind, which continuing in the Afternoon, we continued our Courſe to the Weſt-North-Weſt, and in the Evening found a yellow Sand at a hundred and ninety Fathom Water. The 13th the Wind being at South-Eaſt, we continued our Courſe to the Weſt-North-Weſt, and finding a Whale floating upon the Water in the Latitude of 35°, we believed ourſelves to be in the Height of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, where abundance of Whales are commonly ſeen. The 14th, at Sun-riſing, finding the Declination of the Needle 4° 50′, we concluded that we had compaſſed the *Cape of Good-Hope*; the 15th we had a fair Wind and Weather, and found the Declination of the Compaſs to be 1° 5′, and preſently after the Declination of it, near the *Cape of Good-Hope*, is 4°, though ſometimes it does not decline ſo much; and as ſoon as you have paſſed the *Cape*, you find the Compaſs to vary to the Eaſt. At 33° 15′ eleven lies the Iſle of *St. Elizabeth*, not above twenty Leagues on this Side of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, being not above two Leagues from the *African* Coaſt, on which Side it has a very good Harbour at ſixteen Fathom Water.

The whole Coaſt is but one continued Rock; but the Country is ſo fertile in ſeveral ſorts of the beſt Herbs, that there is ſufficient Reaſon to believe, that if it were cultivated, it would not in its Products be behind the Iſle of *St. Helens*, or any other in thoſe Parts. The worſt is, that it wants freſh Water, except what is ſupplied by the Skies when it rains, which makes this Iſle not to be much frequented; though they have ſuch vaſt Numbers of Sea-Wolves here, that in a few Days they may catch as many, that the Fat would freight a Veſſel of ſix hundred Tuns. They call theſe Creatures Sea-Wolves, though both in Colour and Shape of their Heads they rather reſemble our Bears, except that their Snout is not ſo ſharp. They have only two Paws beneath the Breaſt, by which means they draw the other Part of their Body after them, and that with ſo much Swiftneſs, that the nimbleſt Man can ſcarce overtake them. This Beaſt is very fierce, its Teeth being ſo cloſe and ſtrong, that it will bite through the Handle of a Partizan. This Iſle alſo produces a kind of Badger, the Fleſh whereof is very delicious. The 16th we made the beſt of our Way with a ſmall Wind at 32°, and the 17th and 18th made ſixty-four Leagues with a North-North-Weſt and a South-Weſt Wind, and came the 19th into 29° 16′, when with a South-South-Weſt Wind we made forty Leagues to the North-Weſt, and in the Evening found ourſelves in 28° Latitude. The 6th of *October* a South-Eaſt Wind carried us fifteen Leagues farther to the Iſle of *St. Helens*.

23. The Situation of this Iſland, called *St. Helens* by the *Portugueze*, is in 16° 12′. It is diſtant from the Cape of *Angola* 350 Leagues; from that of *Good-Hope* 550, from *Brazil* 510. It being very ſurprizing, that an Iſland of no more than ſeven Leagues in Compaſs ſhould be found at ſo great a Diſtance from the Continent. It is ſo plentiful in moſt excellent Fruits and all ſorts of Creatures, that it ſurpaſſes moſt of the Provinces of *Europe*. Some were of Opinion, that there were neither to be ſeen when the *Portugueze* firſt diſcovered it, and that thoſe few Trees and Cattle they brought thither, have received ſuch vaſt Improvements from the natural good Conſtitutions of the Ground, that, at preſent, it is able to ſupply whole Fleets with Refreſhments. Figs, Pomegranates, Citrons, Oranges, Goats, Hogs, *Barbary* Hens, Pheaſants, Partridges, Quails, Peacocks and Pidgeons being to be had here at all the Seaſons of the Year; not to mention the Fiſh which are found here in vaſt Quantities, and Salt ſufficient for the Curing them. The Ground naturally produces ſo many wholſome Herbs that the *Portugueze* frequently leave there their ſick Men, which are ſure to recover againſt their coming back again that Way the next Year.

The Mountains of this Iſle are ſo high that they are diſcovered fourteen Leagues off at Sea. The *Portugueze* thought it a Piece of Prudence not to make any Eſtabliſhment in this Iſland, conſidering the Jealouſy which its Poſſeſſion might raiſe in other Nations trading into theſe Parts, which its vaſt Diſtance from the Continent would make it very difficult to keep; whereas, its being free, would afford a certain Retreat to all Veſſels; and thoſe Refreſhments, eſpecially of freſh Water, which they would be obliged to ſeek for as far as the Coaſt of *Guinea*, where they muſt be forced to ſtay for the Rains, to the great Inconvenience of the Seamen, many of whom muſt in the mean while periſh for want of it. The Fertility of the Iſle ought chiefly to be attributed to the daily Showers of Rain which fall there, which, being animated by the Sun-Beams, ſhining preſently after by Intervals, incredibly advances the Maturity of Things in a Climate like this. It has alſo three Places where Ships may provide themſelves with freſh Water, *viz.* where the three Rivers, which have their Sources among the Mountains, diſcharge themſelves into the Sea. Theſe produce abundance of Snakes, which are eaten by the *Dutch*, who prefer them to Eels. At 190 Leagues to the N. W. of the Iſland of *St. Helens*, you ſee the Iſland of *Aſcenſion*, ſo called from its being diſcovered upon *Aſcenſion-Day* by the *Portugueze*, lying 8° 30′ S. of the Line. It is a very mountainous Iſland, affording neither freſh Water, nor any other Proviſions, except Fiſh, of which there is great Store on that Coaſt. *October* the 17th, the ſame Wind carried us forty Leagues forward; and the 18th forty-two to the 5°.

The Heats were almoſt inſupportable this Day, and we ſaw Millions of Flying-fiſh, and great Numbers of the Birds called *Mangas de Valudo*. The 19th the Wind blowing from the S. E. we made 40 Leagues to 3° 19′ Lat. and the 20th the ſame Wind continued us 40 Leagues farther to 1° 18′ Lat. The ſame Wind carried us the 21ſt 35 Leagues, when we paſſed the Equinoctial Line. At 1° beyond the Line, we diſcovered the Cape *de Lopez Gonzales*, upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*, which has a ſafe Harbour for Ships, which ſometimes provide themſelves with Proviſions here. The Iſle of *St. Thomas* is ſituate under the Line, the Air of which is ſo unwholſome, and the Heats ſo exceſſive, that few *Europeans* live there to fifty Years of Age, tho' ſome of the Natives arrive to an hundred. Here is a conſtant Equality of Day and Night throughout the whole Year, and it never rains except in *March* and *September*; the Defect of which is ſupplied by the Dew, which falls conſtantly every Night, moiſtens the Ground, and renders them very fruitful. When it was firſt diſcovered, a certain kind of Tree was found here, the Branches whereof were exactly ſtrait. And, formerly, this Iſle produced ſuch vaſt Quantities of Sugar, that above four Ship Loads might be tranſported thence every Year; but the Worm being got among the Canes, has ever ſince made ſuch Havock among them, that it ſcarce affords now Loading for ſix Ships. Beſides which, this Iſland produces Wheat, Wine, Millet, Rye, Barley, Mellons, Cucumbers, Figs, Ginger, red Parſnips, Cabages, Navews, Lettice, Parſley, and all ſorts of Roots, Pulſe, and Pot-herbs; and amongſt the reſt, a certain kind of Muſhrooms, the Rind whereof is black, but the Meat white, and ſhoot forth divers Branches below. The Inhabitants look upon it as a great Dainty, and, when baked in the Embers, eat them as we do Cheſnuts, but they have a better Flavour. The *Spaniards* have planted ſome Olive, Peach, and Almond-trees here: They thrive well enough, but bear no Fruit.

This Iſle alſo affords a ſort of Land-Crabs, which live under Ground, and work like Moles; Partridges, Quails, Black-birds, Parrots, and other Birds in abundance. The Sea produces vaſt Quantities of moſt excellent Fiſh, and, among the reſt, Whales of a vaſt Bulk. In the very Centre of the Iſle is a Mountain, covered on the Top with a Cloud, which furniſhes Water ſufficient for the conſtant watering the Sugar-Canes; and what is moſt obſervable is, that the higher the Sun comes above the Horizon, the more Water falls from the Cloud. The Natives are Negroes, but ſuch Foreigners as ſettle there continue their natural Colour to the third and fourth Generation. They affirm, that Lice and Fleas, wherewith the Negroes are much peſtered, never afflict any Stranger. At thirty-five Leagues Diſtance from the Iſland of *St. Thomas* to the South, you ſee another Iſland, called *Rolles* Iſle by the *Portugueze*. It produces ſuch Plenty of Oranges, Citrons, Bananas, Ananas, Ginger, Poultry, Hogs, and other freſh Proviſions, that it is one of the moſt convenient Places for Ships to refreſh themſelves in; its Haven, being very commodious, at ten Fathom Water.

The Iſle of *Cariſco* lies cloſe to the Continent, and affords nothing but freſh Water. The 25th a S. E. Wind advanced us thirty-two Leagues on our Courſe to the N. N. W. It was very rainy, and we were frequently troubled with the Travados, or Whirlwinds, which are ſo often met with on the Coaſt of *Guinea*, from whence we might be an hundred and fifty Leagues diſtant. The 26th the Wind continued the ſame, and we made twenty-five Leagues to the 7° Lat. N. We obſerved here the Heats to be more intenſe than we had felt them on the other Side of the Equinoctial, notwithſtanding the Sun was 10° farther from our Hemiſphere; the Reaſon of which I conceived to be, that the Sun-beams, which had ſo lately warmed the Septentrional Hemiſphere, had not had ſufficient Time to produce the ſame Effect in the Meridional. The 27th the Wind changing to the N. and by E. we were alſo obliged to alter our Courſe, and made only thirteen Leagues that Day. About Noon we found ourſelves at 7° 50′ Latitude, and it was obſervable, that the further we ſteered from the Coaſt of *Guinea*, the leſs we were troubled with bad Weather, which had ſufficiently afflicted us for ſome Days paſt. The 28th the Wind turned to the N. E. which is the ordinary Wind between the 10 and 20°, which afterwards changes, as it does in our Seas. We made thirty Leagues that Day; and on the 29th thirty Leagues more with the ſame Wind, in 10° Lat. about Noon. On the 30th we made twenty-eight Leagues with the ſame Wind and Courſe to 11° 13′ Lat. and the 31ſt twenty-three Leagues with the ſame Wind, and rainy Weather.

On the 1ſt of *November* the Wind continued the ſame, and carried us twenty-ſix Leagues forward; the 2d we made twenty-four Leagues with the ſame Wind, ſteering our Courſe to the N. W. The 3d we continued our Courſe with the ſame Wind, which brought us about Noon into 14° 41′, and conſequently near the Cape *Verde*, being a Point of Land ſtretching out into the Sea from the *African* Continent between the Rivers of *Gambia* and *Senaga*: *Ptolemy* calls it *Promontorium Arſinarium*. The Inhabitants here are *Moors*, large ſized, and not ill ſhaped, but very miſchievous and treacherous. They are *Pagans*, worſhiping the Moon and the Devil; ſome among them call themſelves *Mohammedans*; but ſetting aſide Circumciſion, they have no Marks of that Religion, or any other. They are embroiled in continual Wars with their Neighbours, and very good Horſemen, their Horſes, which are very ſwift, being brought thither from *Barbary*. Their Arms are only Bows and Arrows, and a kind of Lance or Pike, which they manage with marvellous Dexterity. The Privy-parts of their Enemies are the Trophies they moſt eſteem; thoſe they preſent to their Wives, who make Necklaces of them, and wear them as the greateſt Ornament. They allow Polygamy, and their Wives are forc'd to do all their Work, both at home and abroad.

Whilſt the Huſband is in his Hut he is attended by his Wives, and then goes a hunting, or about ſome other Sport, at his own Pleaſure. Their Women are very hardy; they are no ſooner delivered, but they waſh their Children themſelves in the Sea or near Rivers. The Men are generally addicted to Drunkenneſs to ſuch a Degree, that ſome of them will take off a whole Quart of *Aqua Vitæ* at a Draught. Their chief Times of Merriment are at the Funerals of their Friends and Relations, where they drink and howl by Turns, and that for four or five Days together, to the Sound of the Drum and Pipe. They believe the Reſurrection of the Dead, and ſay they ſhall then be white, like the *Europeans*. They have a conſiderable Trade with the *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Dutch*, in Ox-Hides, Buffaloes, Elks, Elephants Teeth, Wax, Rice, and Ambergreece, which is to be found in its Perfection; for here one Mr. *Peter Van Brouck*, a *Dutch* Merchant, bought 1606 Pieces of Ambergreece of eighty Pound Weight.

The Diſcovery of this Coaſt is likewiſe owing to the *Portugueze* in the Year 1417; but this firſt Voyage meeting but with indifferent Succeſs, *Anthony Gonſales*, in 1441, having diſcovered the Cape *del Cavellero*, carried off certain Negroes, who being ſent by the Infant of *Portugal* to Pope *Martin* V. he was willing enough, under the ſpecious Pretence of planting Chriſtianity in thoſe Parts, to grant him all what he ſhould diſcover on the *African* Coaſt, under Condition, that after his Death, it ſhould be annexed to the Crown of *Portugal*. The Infant having already diſcovered the whole Coaſt betwixt *Cabo de Noam*, and 100 Leagues beyond the *Cabo Verde*, happened to die in 1453; but King *Alphonſo*, in 1457, granted all thoſe Conqueſts to D. *Ferand*, Duke of *Viſco*, Heir apparent of the Infant, and in 1461, ordered a Fort to be built in the Iſle of *Argoin*, for the Security of Commerce. It was in the ſame Year farmed out to one *Ferdinand Gomez*, under Condition that he ſhould be obliged to diſcover every Year one hundred Leagues on this Coaſt; by which means the *Portugueze* had in 1497 diſcovered the Iſles of *Fernando del Po*, *St. Thomas*, *Anno Beuno*, thoſe of *del Principe*, and the *Cape of St. Katharine's*. King *John* II. was no ſooner come to the Crown, but he ſent, in 1481, *Diego d'Azambuja*, who on the 19th of *January* 1482, made the firſt Diſcovery of *Mina*, caſting Anchor near a Place called *Aldea de dos Partes*, then under the Command of a certain Prince named *Coramanſa*.

This Place, unto which the *Portugueze* gave the Name of *Mina*, from the great Quantity of Gold found there, is ſituate upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*, in 5° 40′ S. of the Equinoctial Line, between the two Kingdoms of *Achen* and *Cara*, bordering to the N. W. upon *Camana*, and to the N. E. upon *Aſuto*, ſmall Countries under the Juriſdiction of thoſe of *Abarambues*. Hereabouts too, *viz.* within the Compaſs of fifty Leagues, is managed the chief Trade of all this Coaſt. They have built a Fort here, upon an Aſcent, on a Point of Land which jets out into the Sea, like a Demi-Iſle, having on one Side, *viz.* to the North, the *Ethiopian* Sea, and to the South a ſmall River. The Town, which is ſituate juſt below the Foot of the Fort, has about 800 Inhabitants, and its Situation is ſuch, that 1500 Men may maintain it againſt a conſiderable Force, being fenny all about, and withal ſo barren, that the Inhabitants are forced to be ſupplied with Proviſions from *Camana*, and *Aſuto*. The Natives here are ingenious enough, and much more pliable than the Negroes, but are extreamly ignorant in Matters of Religion, for they adore every thing they ſee, that is the leaſt ſurprizing to them. At that Time they offered their daily Sacrifices of Water and Meat by their Prieſts, to a certain Tree, of an extraordinary Bigneſs, encloſed for that Purpoſe with a high Wall. They adored the Bones of a Whale, and paid Divine Worſhip to a certain Rock, becauſe it exceeded all the reſt in Height. They are extreamly addicted to Divination, and therefore ſet very high an Eſteem upon thoſe who profeſs themſelves Sorcerers, but in Effect are nothing elſe but Cheats, who improve the Weakneſs of thoſe ignorant Wretches to their Advantage. They are the moſt religious People in the World in the Obſervance of their Oaths, it being their Opinion, that ſuch as violate them, will be ſnatched away by a ſudden Death. And hence it is, that their Law-Suits are determined in a few Hours, upon a ſolemn Affirmation, or Denial of either of the Parties.

ties. All Crimes, even capital ones, may be commuted with Money, unleſs the ſame be reiterated ſeveral times by the ſame Perſon. They have no other Cloathing but a Piece of Cloth, or an Ape's Skin, wherewith they cover their privy Parts, all the reſt of their Bodies being naked. For Ornament ſake they wear Bracelets of Gold about their Arms and Legs, and twiſt their Hair and Beards with golden Chains. They conſtantly rub their Bodies with Oil, or Fat, to make them ſhine. Their Wars are no more than confuſed Skirmiſhes, without the leaſt Order, or Diſcipline. They make uſe of Darts, and ſhort Lances; and for their Defence, cover themſelves with the Skins of Tygers, Lions, or Leopards. Their *Hidalgo's*, or chief Men, are attended by two Pages when they are going to the Wars, and one carries the Buckler, the other a Stool for his Maſter to reſt himſelf upon, as Occaſion ſerves. They marry as many Wives as they are able to buy and maintain, the Purchaſe of a Wife being commonly ten Rials, which paid, the Marriage is conſummated without any further Ceremony, except that they get heartily drunk. The *Dutch* have erected a Fort called *Bourio*, within four Leagues of *Mina*, beſides which they have their Factories at *Cara*, *Caramantin*, and *Aldea del Puerto*, whence they return vaſt Quantities of Gold yearly, having much undermined the *Portugueze* Traffick with the *Ethiopians*, by their mild Way of Dealing, and being contented with a much leſs Profit than the other.

25. King *John* the IId of *Portugal* having refuſed the Offer made him by *Chriſtopher Columbus*, of diſcovering the *Weſt-Indies*, bent all his Thoughts upon the Conqueſts of the *Eaſt*; for which Purpoſe he ſent *Diego Can*, and *Juan Alonſo de Avero*, into thoſe Parts. The firſt directing his Courſe towards *Mina*, came to the *Cape Lopez Gonſales*, and having afterwards doubled the *Cape of St. Catherine*, entered the River *Zaire*, in 7° S. of the Line into the Kingdom of *Congo*, this Kingdom extending from the *Cape of St. Catherine* to the South of the *Cape de Ledo*, is encloſed on the Weſt Side by the *Ethiopian* Sea, to the South by the Mountains of the Moon, and the *Capes*, as it is to the Eaſt by *Mantabas*, and borders to the North upon the Kingdom of *Beny*, reaching in Length from 20° 30′ to the 13° beyond the Line, and conſequently near 160 Leagues. It is divided into ſix great Provinces, *viz.* *Bamba*, *Soango*, *Sunda*, *Pango*, *Botta*, and *Pamba*. The Province of *Bamba* extends along the Sea-ſhore betwixt the two Rivers of *Ambriſi* and *Coanſo*, its chief City bearing the ſame Name of the Province, lying twenty Leagues from the Sea-ſide, betwixt the Rivers of *Loſa* and *Ambriſi*. The Province of *Soango* is incloſed betwixt the two Rivers of *Zaire* and *Soango*, reaching from the River *Ambriſi* to the Foot of the Mountains, which ſeparates it from the Kingdom of *Soango*.

The Province of *Sunda* is only eight Leagues in Compaſs, comprehending all the Country about the City of *Congo*, named *St. Salvador* by the *Portugueze*, to the River *Zaire*. Its Metropolis has given its Name to the Province. The Province of *Pango*, formerly under the Juriſdiction of its own Kings, borders to the North upon the Iſland of *Sunda*, and to the South upon that of *Batta*; to the Weſt it has the City of *Congo*, and on the Eaſt-ſide is ſurrounded by the Mountain of the Sun. The Province of *Batta* lies to the North-Eaſt, betwixt that of *Pango* and the River *Barbella*, extending to the burnt Mountains. The Province of *Pambo* has for its Metropolis the City of *Congo*, which is built upon a Mountain, at leaſt fifty Leagues from the Sea-ſide. Another Mountain belonging to this Province, which is above ſix Leagues in length, is ſo well ſtocked with Villages, that its Inhabitants are computed to amount to near one hundred thouſand Perſons. *Duarte Lopez*, who lived ſeveral Years in thoſe Parts, declares, that the Climate here is as agreeable in Winter, as it is in *Italy* in *October*; and that the greateſt Inconveniency they are ſubject to here, are the hot Rains which fall every Day two Hours before, and as many Hours in the Afternoon, during the Months of *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, being their Winter, which begins the 15th of *March*, and ends the 15th of *September*. The Days and Nights here are of a Length, both Winter and Summer.

The River *Zaire* ariſes out of the ſame Lake whence the *Nile* derives its Riſe: It is beyond all Queſtion the largeſt River in all *Africk*; for being joined with the Rivers *Vambo* and *Barbella*, as it paſſes through the Country, it is at the Mouth, where it diſembogues into the Sea at leaſt twenty-eight Leagues broad. The River *Coanza* is the common Boundary betwixt the two Kingdoms of *Congo* and *Angola*, and the River *Lelunda* abounds in Crocodiles and Sea-horſes. This Creature is of a duſkiſh Colour, with very little Hair, its Head is without Ears, broad Noſtrils, and in his Jaw two Teeth like the Tuſks of a wild Boar; its Hoof has the Shape of a three-leaved Graſs, it neighs like a Horſe, and will run a great Pace. The hot Rains which fall in the wet Seaſon rendering the Grounds very fertile, they produce Herbs, Corn, and Fruit, in prodigious Quantities. The Province of *Pamba* has divers Gold Mines. All the Foreſts are full of Elephants of an extraordinary Size, the Teeth having been found to weigh two hundred Pound Weight. They produce alſo a peculiar Creature called *Zebra*, in Shape not unlike a Mule, but is capable of engendering: It is marked with three Liſts round the Back, reaching down to the Belly, of about three Fingers Breadth; of which one is black, the other white, and the third yellow. This Beaſt is famous for its marvellous Swiftneſs. They have alſo a kind of Oxen called *Empalenges*, but ſomewhat leſs than ours. Wolves, Foxes, Wild-Buffaloes, Wild-Goats, Deer, and Rabbets, being never ſought after here, they are ſeen in prodigious Quantities, the only thing they hunt being the Civet-Cat, by reaſon of the great Advantages it affords to the Owners. They abound alſo with Birds, ſuch as Pheaſants, Partridges, Hens, Turkeys, Ducks, Geeſe, Turtles, Pigeons, Hawks of all ſorts, and Eagles. Serpents they have of fifteen Foot long, which will ſwallow a Sheep at once; and ſome amphibious Creatures, the Fleſh of which is eaten by the Inhabitants; whereas ſome others are ſo venomous, that ſuch as are bitten by them infallibly die within twenty-four Hours.

The Mountains of *Pemba* are abundantly productive of Citrons, Oranges, Bananas, and divers other Fruits, as plentifully as in moſt Parts of the *Indies*; and the Vallies produce a kind of Wheat called *Seuto*, not much bigger than Muſtard-ſeed, which make better Bread than any common Wheat, is reſerved for the Uſe of the better ſort, the Poor being here fed with Rice, and *Turky* Wheat. Of Cocoa-Trees they have two ſorts; ſome are Date-Trees, the other produce Cocoas, and a certain Juice, which is accounted an extraordinary Clearer of the Reins, and conſequently a ſovereign Remedy againſt the Gravel. Their Fruits, as well as Pulſe and Herbs, are, without Compariſon, more excellent here than in other Countries. Their Mountains, which for the moſt part are covered with Fruit-trees, are green all the Year round; and the Rocks produce white Marble, Alabaſter, Jaſper, Porphiry, and ſometimes Hyacinths.

The Inhabitants are black; but the Women are not ſo dark as the Men; they have neither ſuch thick Lips, nor flat Noſes, as commonly the Negroes have, and their Hair curls naturally. Thoſe of *Bombay* are famous for their Strength. As every Man here is his own Architect and Phyſician, ſo their Houſes are ſmall, low, and ſlightly built; they cure Fevers with Powder of Sandal Wood, and Head-ach by Bleeding; and when they are to procure an Evacuation by purging, they do it with a certain Bark of a Tree beat to Powder; they generally appear bare-headed; but ſuch as do not, wear a kind of Hats made of the Barks of Trees, or Nut-ſhells. Some have a Way of faſtening with Pack-thread Plumes to their Hair, and both Sexes have Holes in their Ears, in which hang very weighty Rings of Gold ſet with Stones. About their Arms and Legs they wear Rings, or rather Plates of Iron, Tin, or Braſs; but the better ſort are clad after the *Portugueze* Faſhion. They ſleep and eat upon Matts ſpread upon the Ground. Beſides the vaſt Wealth in Gold, Silver, Copper, Cryſtal, Iron, and other Metals this Country produces; a great Traffick is carried on here in Ivory, Civet, and Slaves, whom the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* employ in their Mines and Sugar-Mills of *Braſil*. They uſe certain Shells, which they fiſh out of the Sea near the Iſle of

Lunda inſtead of Money, there being a particular Governor appointed there for that Purpoſe, who has the Overſight of it.

The King of *Congo* governs with an arbitrary and uncontrollable Power, both the Lives and Eſtates of his Subjects being at his own Diſpoſal; the Provinces are under the Juriſdiction of certain Governors, among whom the Batta is the Head and conſtant chief Miniſter of State, being of the Blood-Royal, which is the Reaſon he ſometimes eats at the King's Table, (a thing not allowed even to the King's Sons) but never ſits down, but ſtands all the Time. He has alone the Privilege of having the ſame Pipers and Muſicians the King has, and of the Uſe of the Fire-arms for his Guard, of whom he keeps a good Number, to bridle the Inſolence of a certain People living upon the *Nile*, called *Giaquer*, who make frequent Inroads into the Territories, of which Notice is given into the Country by the diſcharging of a Muſket. The Province of *Bombay*, however, is accounted the Bulwark of this Kingdom; for though the Province of *Batta* is able to raiſe above ſeventy-thouſand fighting Men, whereas that of *Bombay* is only able to raiſe 40,000, yet are the firſt not to be compared to the laſt. They uſe great broad Swords like the *Swiſs*, and handle them with as much Activity as we do our Rapiers. They make uſe alſo of Darts, and Bucklers, the laſt of which are made of the Barks of Trees. They have no Cavalry; their Armies, which are divided into Brigades, conſiſt only of Foot, who engage all at a Time. The General keeps in the Centre, and by the Help of their warlike Inſtruments, called *Manigio*, gives the Signals to the Commanders when to attack, to retreat, to cloſe, or to open. Their Trumpets are of Wood, and make a moſt dreadful Noiſe. Their Drums are made of the Barks of Trees, and are covered with Skin, and are beat with great Ivory Sticks; beſides theſe, they have another kind of Inſtrument, being only an iron Plate of a triangular Form, which they beat with Sticks; they have alſo a Way of hollowing the Elephant's Teeth, and then blow them as we do our Bugle Horns; with thoſe Inſtruments the Commanders of the Army anſwer the Signal given them by the General.

The *Portugueze* were the firſt who introduced the Chriſtian Religion here, under the Reign of *John* II. the King, who, as we told you, ſent *Diego Can* and *John Alonſo d'Avero*, into thoſe Parts. It was about that Time that *Caramanſo* King of *Congo* ſent *Caſula* his Ambaſſador to the King of *Portugal*, who being baptized there, was ſent back with three *Portugueze* Ships, commanded by *Gonſalo de Sonſo*; but in touching at *Cape de Verd*, both died there of the Plague. *Ruy de Souſa*, who ſucceeded in the Command, being forced into the Port of *Finda*, in the Province of *Songo*, the Governor of the Place, who was Uncle to the King of *Congo*, was baptized with all his Family, whoſe Footſteps were followed by the King and Queen, being named *John* and *Eleanor*. *Emanuel* King of *Portugal* ſent another Squadron thither in 1504; but, ſoon after the Diſcovery of the *Indies*, and Proſpect of greater Advantages to be reaped from thence, occaſioned the Diſcontinuance of thoſe Voyages to the *African* Coaſt; the Foundations of Religion were alſo neglected by the *Portugueze*, which the *Dutch* improving to their Advantage, introduced their Traffick, and with it the Proteſtant Religion.

We told you before, that *Diego Can* diſcovered *Congo*; let us now ſee what became of his Comrade *John Alonſo d'Avero*. He, about the ſame Time, made a Diſcovery of the Kingdom of *Beny*, betwixt *Mina* and *Congo*. Its Length is eighty Leagues, and its Breadth forty. The City of *Angatoe* is at twelve Leagues Diſtance from the Sea, and ſomewhat further in the Country, upon the River called *Rio Formoſo* by the *Portugueze*, its capital City bearing the ſame Name with the Kingdom. The King of *Beny* having engaged in a Treaty with *Alonſo*, was alſo baptized; but this Converſion being not founded upon any real Knowledge of the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, was of no longer Continuance than the Traffick of the *Portugueze* in thoſe Parts, which was neglected as ſoon as they had made a Diſcovery of the Paſſage by Sea to the *Indies*.

26. *Cape de Verde* is by *Ptolomy* called *Promontorium Arſinarium*, and put in 20° and on this Side of the Line, whereas, by our own Obſervation, we can poſitively affirm it to be in 14° 30', beſides the two Rivers of *Senaga* and *Gambea*, or *Gambia*, called by *Ptolomy Daragus*, and *Stachiris*, and which, according to his Opinion, are very ſmall ones, the Sources of which are unknown, whereas it is beyond all Queſtion, that they ariſe out of two Lakes, one of which is by the ſaid *Ptolomy* called *Palus Chelonides*, now the Lake of *Gonga*, and the other that of *Naba*, tho' ſome of the Inhabitants are of Opinion, that they have their Riſe from the *Nile*. It is called the *Cape de Verde*, from the many Trees near it, and their conſtant Verdure. *Ptolomy* alſo mentions nothing of theſe two Rivers falling into the Sea, whereas it has been found ſince, that the River *Gambia*, after being joined by the Waters of diverſe other Rivers, in the Province of *Mandiga*, diſembogues into the Ocean in 13° 30', and that the River *Senaga* running directly from Eaſt to Weſt falls in 15° 30', into the River *Geny*, which has imparted its Name to that Country we call *Guinea*. As it is certain, that *Ptolomy* had no Knowledge of the Inhabitants betwixt thoſe two Rivers, ſo we muſt rely entirely upon the Credit of thoſe moderns Authors who have given us their Relations concerning them.

They tell us, that a certain People called the *Budumays*, inhabit the Eaſtern Part of it as far as the *Cape de Verde*. The *Foules* and *Berbecibes* they place deeper in the Country, upon the River *Banaga* to the North of the *Jaloſes*, ſome of which are ſubject to the *Foules*, others to the *Budumays*. It is a plain Country, producing Abundance of Cattle, Wine, Cotton, Wild-Fowl, Ivory, and Horſes, Gold, and Silver; they have none but Iron in vaſt Quantities: The Air is accounted very wholſome, and the Inhabitants near the *Cape de Verde* good Horſemen. They are *Pagans*, and very famous for adminiſtring Juſtice, in publick Affairs, with a great deal of Equity, Prudence, and Secrecy, thoſe that are admitted into their Council, or Courts of Judicature, being generally choſen by their Age and Experience. Tho' they are ignorant of what belongs to martial Diſcipline, ſuch as is practiſed in *Europe*, yet is their Manner of diſpoſing and ordering their Forces not to be paſſed by in Silence; for all ſuch as are able to bear Arms, being divided into certain Regiments under their reſpective Commanders, have alſo their particular Diviſions or Quarters allotted them; ſo that in caſe of Neceſſity, their Orders for appearing together in a Body being diſpatched from one Diviſion to another, the Army is ready in a little Time to be at the Rendezvous appointed, without the Trouble of any new Levies, the Sons ſucceeding conſtantly in their Father's Places, if they happen to die, ſo that their Number is always compleat. They are not altogether ignorant of the Degrees of Nobility and Peaſantry; for their Grandees they call *Thubala's*, unto whom they pay more than ordinary Reverence, their King being always choſen out of their Number, but he muſt be thirty Years of Age at leaſt.

Not long after the Diſcovery of the Country of the *Jaloſes* by the *Portugueze*, one *Bomi* reigned in thoſe Parts; but being got into the Throne by ſiniſter Means, and forſaken by moſt of his Subjects, ſought for Aid by *John* II. King of *Portugal*, who had him inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, and baptized, and ſent him back with a good Squadron of Ships, under the Command of *Pedro Vaz de Cogna*, who had poſitive Orders to erect a Fort at the Entrance of the River *Senaga*, to facilitate their Penetration deeper into the Country. A Fort was built accordingly, but was by the ſaid *Vaz*. (but for what Reaſon is unknown) demoliſhed again, and being ſeverely upbraided upon this Account by King *Boomi*, he killed him with his own Hands, and ſo returned to *Portugal*, where he was never called to an Account for his treacherous Proceedings.

Thoſe Iſlands which the *Portugueze* call *Ilhas Verde*, and the *Dutch*, Salt Iſlands, lie directly oppoſite to *Cape de Verde*, yet ſo that the neareſt of them is ſeventy, and the moſt remote one hundred and ſixty Leagues diſtant from the Continent, which makes me imagine, that thoſe who would have them to be *Gorgonides* of *Ptolomy*, are under a Miſtake, ſince it is not very probable, that he, who has left us ſo confuſed an Account of the *African* Coaſt, ſhould have any Knowledge of thoſe Iſles, at ſo great a Diſtance. They are in all ten, extending from the 15° to the 19° of N. L. The *Portugueze* have given them the Name of Green Iſlands, either from the *Cape*, or elſe from a certain green Weed, called by them *Sargaſſo*, which is like our Water-Creſſes; of this you ſee ſuch prodigious Quantities, floating upon the Surface of the Sea, from the 20° to the 24°, that without a ſtrong Gale, Ships are ſometimes ſtopped in their Paſſage; but what is moſt ſurprizing is, that the Sea having no Bottom here, and this Herb not being ſeen in any other Part of the Sea, at leaſt not within 150 Leagues of the *African* Shore, how ſhould this Verdure come to this particular Tract! Some alledge, that it is waſhed from the Rocks in the *Weſt-Indies*, and forced thither by the Winds; but as the N. E. Winds reign here all the Year round, there is but little Probability in this Opinion.

When theſe Iſlands were firſt diſcovered by the *Portugueze*, they were without Inhabitants, but now produce Rice, Millet, *Turkey* Wheat, Oranges, Citrons, Banana's, Anana's, Potatoes, Melons, Citruls, Cucumbers, Figs, and Raiſins, twice a Year. And the three Iſlands of *Mayo*, *de Sal*, and *Boa Viſta*, have ſuch plenty of Cattle, that the *Portugueze* ſend whole Ships Loads of them thence to the *Braſils*. The conſiderable Quantity of Salt theſe Iſlands produce, has made the *Dutch* give them the Name of the Salt Iſlands. The *Portugueze* have alſo taken care to ſtock theſe Iſlands with all ſorts of tame and wild Fowl, which are multiplied at ſuch a Rate, that they may be had almoſt for nothing. They have a peculiar kind of Bird here called *Flamenco* by the *Portugueze*. They are as big, and white all over their Bodies, as our Swans, but their Wings are of a bright Red. Rabbits are here in vaſt Numbers, and the Sea furniſhes them with incredible Store of Fiſh, which is the Reaſon you ſee here at all Times a conſiderable Number of *Portugueze* Fiſher-Boats who carry what they catch to *Braſil*. Theſe Iſlands are extreamly commodious for ſuch Ships as trade to the *Indies*, inaſmuch as going thither they take in Refreſhments, at a very eaſy Rate, in the Iſle of *Mayo*, and, in their Return, at that of *St. Anthony*, the *Portugueze* Inhabitants being not in a Condition to prevent it. The Iſle of *Jago*, as it is the Chief, ſo there the Governor and Archbiſhop keep their ordinary Reſidence: The ſpiritual Juriſdiction of the laſt extends not only over theſe Iſlands, but alſo over all the *African* Coaſts, as far as it is in the Poſſeſſion of the *Portugueze*.

27. *November* the 4th we continued our Voyage for twenty-four Leagues with a N. E. Wind, ſteering our Courſe to the N. N. W. and found ourſelves at 16° 1′ Lat. The 8th the Wind coming to the E. N. E. we ſailed thirty-two Leagues to 22° 35′. Here we were much peſtered with the *Sargoſſa*, or Green Weed which we mentioned before, which, upon Examination, I found very like our Water-Creſſes, only theſe were of a paler Green, and had a ſmall Seed like thoſe of green Gooſe-berries. The 11th the Wind turning in the Morning to E. S. E. and ſoon after to the South, we made but eight Leagues, and were becalmed before Night, the Wind at N. W. Our Courſe was to the W. at 26° 40′ Lat. We took that Day a Hay, as the *Dutch* call it (a Shark) which is accounted a Rarity in thoſe Seas, tho' they are frequent in the *Indies*. The 22d the Wind being at W. S. W. we ſteered our Courſe for forty Leagues to the N. N. E. in 35° 20′ Lat. The 23d a S. W. Wind carried us thirty-four Leagues to the E. N. E. And the 24th thirty-five Leagues further. The 25th we had a N. E. Wind, ſo ſteering our Courſe to the N. E. we made thirty-three Leagues in 38° Lat. The 26th being becalmed, we got but ten Leagues, and the 27th but twelve more, taking our Courſe E. N. E. in 38° 40′ Lat. The 28th the Wind turning to the S. S. E. we took our Courſe to the E. S. E. for 27 Leagues. And the 29th the ſame Wind continuing, we made twenty-four Leagues, taking the ſame Courſe, and at Noon in 33° 30′, got Sight of the Iſlands of *Corvo* and *Flores*, which ſome but erroneouſly number among the Iſlands called by the *Spaniards Azores*, from the many Hawks found here.

Theſe are generally called by the *Dutch Flemiſh* Iſlands, becauſe the firſt Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Fayal* (one of the *Azores*) were Natives of the *Low-Countries*, who ſettled themſelves on that little River called by the *Portugueze Ribera dos Flamencos*, and their Poſterity live to this Day here, according to the Cuſtoms of their own Country. The ſeven Iſles known by the Name of *Azores*, are *Tercera*, *St. Michael*, *Santa Maria*, *San. Georges*, *Gratioſa*, *Pico*, and *Fayal Tercera*, being fifteen or ſixteen Leagues in Compaſs, is the biggeſt amongſt them, being a Congeries of Mountains, which make it almoſt inacceſſible, there being no ſafe Road or Harbour here, except at the City of *Angra*, being the Metropolis of this, as well as the other ſix Iſlands, and the ordinary Reſidence of the Governors of thoſe Iſles, and of the Biſhops themſelves. This Road is not ſo ſafe at all Times, tho' the Port is incloſed like a Creſcent by two Mountains advancing very deep into the Sea. They call theſe Mountains *Breſil*, and may be ſeen thirteen or fourteen Leagues off at Sea. About three Leagues from the City of *Angra*, is a Town called *Villa de Praya*, the Houſes whereof are very well built; but as it is a Place of no Trade, ſo it is not very populous. The City of *Angra* has obtained its Name from its Situation, in the Form of a Creſcent, this Word being uſed by the *Portugueze* to expreſs the Figure of the New-moon. It is defended by two Forts, one of which is built upon the Aſcent of the Mountain, the other upon one of the Points of Land which cover the Haven, and conſequently for the Defence of its Entrance, the oppoſite Point having too high Towers, whence by a certain Signal they give Notice to the Inhabitants, what Veſſels they ſpy at Sea, and whether they come from *Europe*, or *Braſil* Side.

All thoſe Iſles are ſubject to the Crown of *Portugal* now, though the *Caſtilian* Governor, *Don Alvero de Vizaros*, defended himſelf very bravely in the two Forts of the City of *Angra*, after the Revolution in *Portugal*, and did not ſurrender the Caſtle upon the Mountain till *May* the 6th 1642, after he was reduced to the laſt Extremity by Famine. It is almoſt ſurprizing to behold, that the bare Rocks here, which are not ſo much as covered with Earth, ſhould produce good ſtore of Vines, which thrive better there than in the Vallies, tho' it muſt be confeſſed, that their Wine does not come near in Goodneſs to thoſe of the *Maderas*, and the *Canaries*. Theſe Iſlands produce every thing that is either neceſſary or convenient for human Life (except Oil or Salt) for they have Wheat in Plenty, Pears, Apples, Citrons, Oranges, and Peaches, in great Plenty, beſides Cherries, Plumbs, Walnuts, Cheſnuts, and Pot-Herbs of all ſorts. They have alſo Potatoes, but theſe are more eſteemed in *Portugal* than in the Iſlands; and a peculiar Shrub, which growing up to the Height of five or ſix Feet, ſpreads its Roots by an infinite Number of Branches, as ſmall as the Hair of a Man's Head, of a yellowiſh Colour. They are uſed chiefly for their Quilts and Beds inſtead of Feathers, tho' there is not the leaſt Queſtion, but if they were ſpun into Thread, they would afford Materials for a very good Stuff. Cattle, and all ſorts of tame Fowl, as well as ſmall Birds, multiply here beyond what can be imagined; but they have neither Wild-Fowl nor Veniſon.

Their Wheat is exceeding good, but will not keep, unleſs it be put under Ground; for which Reaſon, each Family has its peculiar Vault, the Entrance whereof is no bigger than is ſufficient for one Man; thence they carry it, after *Chriſtmas*, to their Houſes, where they keep it in Cheſts of Bull-ruſhes, the remaining Part of the Year, without ever ſtirring it. The Oxen of the Iſle of *Tercera* are the biggeſt and faireſt of all *Europe*, and very remarkable for the exceſſive Bigneſs of their Horns; they are as tame as our Dogs, and will go and come as they are bid. The Noiſe that is perceived when People go over the Rocks here, ſufficiently demonſtrates their Hollowneſs within; whence ariſes the Earthquakes which are ſo frequent in this, as well as the other *Azore* Iſlands; Thus on the 24th of *May* 1614, eleven Churches and nine Chapels, beſides private Houſes, were ruined by an Earthquake; the City of *Angra*, and the City of *Praya*, were almoſt laid deſolate at the ſame Time, and the whole Iſle of *St. Michael* was ſo terribly ſhaken by an Earthquake, on the 16th of *June* 1628, that at ſome ſmall Diſtance from the Shore, the Sea opened in a Place where was 150 Fathom Water, and thence thruſt forth a ſmall Iſle of a League and an half in Length, at leaſt 60 Fathom above the Water. Theſe two Iſlands have alſo certain hot Springs, whence, and at ſome Diſtance from them, ariſe ſulphurous Vapours. About three Leagues from *Angra*, is a Spring which turns Wood to Stone, as is evidently to be ſeen by a certain Tree, the Root whereof, as far as it hath been under Water, is abſolutely petrified, whereas the Trunk, and all the reſt, are not the leaſt changed. The Iſle of *Pico* has a peculiar ſort of Wood as hard as Iron, red as Scarlet, in which, when cut, appear certain Veins like the watering of a Camblet, of which are made very fine Cabinets, which are highly eſteemed in *Portugal*. Cedar is ſo common among them, that they do not only uſe it for their ordinary houſhold Stuffs, but alſo for Fuel; nay, they make whole Waggons and Boats of it. They have ſcarce any Commodities except Proviſions, which they ſell to the Ships that touch here to take in Refreſhments, as they are going to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

The Iſle of *St. Michael* is about 20 Leagues long, lying 28 Leagues S. E. from that of *Tercera*. Its capital City is called *Punta Delgada*, its Soil very fruitful, producing more Wheat than they are able to conſume. The worſt is, that they have no ſafe Road for Ships to ride in. The Iſle of *St. Mary* being not above twelve Leagues in Compaſs, lies twelve Leagues South from that of *St. Michael*; its Products are Proviſions, and Potters Earth. The Iſle of *Gratioſa* lies ſeven or eight Leagues N. E. from that of *Tercera*, its Compaſs being not above five or ſix Leagues. It has got its Name from its Pleaſantneſs, and vaſt Plenty of all ſorts of Fruits. The Iſle of *St. George*, which is twelve Leagues long and broad, lies eight or nine Leagues to the N. W. from that of *Tercera*. It is well ſtocked with Proviſions, though it be full of Mountains, which furniſh them with vaſt Store of Cedar, which they ſell to thoſe of *Tercera*, where it is made into Joiners and Cabinet-makers Works, and tranſported thence to other Places.

The Iſle of *Fayal* being at leaſt ſeventeen or eighteen Leagues in Circumference, lies ſeven Leagues to the S. W. off of that of *St. George*, being the beſt of all the *Azores* next to thoſe of *Tercera* and *St. Michael*. Its capital City is called *Villa-Deſta*, inhabited chiefly by the Poſterity of the *Flemmings* we had Occaſion to mention before. They ſend hence abundance of Proviſions, but eſpecially Fiſh to the other Iſlands. The Iſle of *Pico* has its Name from the high Peak or Mountain within it called *Pico*, ſuppoſed to be as high as the Peak of the great *Canary Iſland*, of which I ſhall hereafter ſpeak. It lies encloſed betwixt the Iſles of *Fayal*, whence it is diſtant three Leagues to the S. E. of *St. George* and *Tercera*, from the firſt of which it lies four Leagues to the S. W. and from the latter twelve Leagues to the W. S. W. Their Lands are accounted more fertile here than thoſe of any of the other Iſles.

The Iſle of *Flores*, as we told you, we got Sight of the 29th of *November*, being ſeventy Leagues to the Weſt of *Tercera*. *Flores* is twenty Leagues in Circumference, and the Iſle of *Corvo* is no more than two Leagues Diſtance to the North: They are both under the *Portugueze*; but their Diſtance from the *Azores* ſhews them not to be of their Number. As the *Azores* lie very convenient for the Refreſhment of the *Portugueze* Ships bound to the *Eaſt-Indies* and *Braſil*, they are very careful of their Preſervation; whence it is they will allow no Foreigners to view the Coaſt of the Iſle of *Tercera*, for fear they ſhould, by its Weakneſs, be invited to land and ſettle there. The Air is very clear and wholeſome, but withal very ſharp, ſo that it corrodes Iron, and conſumes Stones in a few Years, which is the Reaſon they uſe Flint Stones in their Buildings, which having lain for a conſiderable Time under Water near the Sea-Side, are better qualified than other Stones to reſiſt the Sharpneſs of the Air.

But before we leave the *African* Coaſt, it will not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of the *Canary Iſlands* which lie upon the Coaſt oppoſite to *Gibraltar*. The Wholſomneſs of the Air, and the Fertility of the Soil, procured them the Name of the *Inſulæ Fortunatæ* among the Ancients, though one of them is alſo called *Canaria*, by *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Ptolomy*, which contradicts the Opinion of thoſe who affirm, that thoſe who diſcovered them in the Year 1342, gave them the Name of *Canaries* from the many Canes found there. They are ſeven in Number, *viz.* *Lanzarotta*, *Fortuventura*, the great Canary, *Teneriffa*, *Gomara*, and *Palma*, extending from Eaſt to Weſt, in a manner in a direct Line. *Lewis* Count *Clermont* having in 1348, got a Grant from the Pope of theſe Iſlands, ſet out a Fleet to endeavour the Conqueſt of them, which was perfected accordingly under the Protection of the King of *Arragon*; but the ſame being afterwards relinquiſhed by *D. Lewis de la Cerda*, the *Biſcayans* and *Andaluſians* having ſent out ſome Veſſels, ſurprized the Iſle of *Lanzarotta*, whence they brought back ſo much Wealth, that the King of *Caſtile* then reſolved upon the Conqueſt of theſe Iſlands, which, doubtleſs, he would have effected, had not the more preſſing Wars he was engaged in with his Neighbours, diverted him from that Purpoſe.

Not many Years after, a *French* Gentleman, named *John de Bethancourt*, having obtained a Commiſſion from *Henry* III. then King of *Spain*, to conquer theſe Iſlands, under the Condition that he and his Poſterity ſhould acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Crown of *Caſtile*, he was ſo fortunate as to make himſelf ſoon Maſter of the five leſſer Iſlands, but could not bring the two great ones under Subjection. However, the King of *Caſtile*, as Sovereign, having ſent thither a Biſhop, this occaſioned ſuch a Difference between him and *Bethancourt*'s Nephew, who had ſucceeded his Uncle, that the King of *Caſtile* was forced to ſend thither one *Pedro Barba*, who having forced the *Frenchmen* thence, gave the Iſlands, as a Dowry, with his Daughter, to one *Perera*, who aſſuming the Name of King of the *Canaries*, left no Stone unturned to make himſelf Maſter of them all by the Conqueſt of the remaining Iſlands; but finding his Endeavours to prove fruitleſs, he ſold four of theſe Iſlands to *Ferdinand*, ſurnamed the Catholick King of *Arragon*, reſerving to himſelf only that of *Gomara*, with the Quality of an Earl. King *Ferdinand* had the good Fortune to reduce the two great Iſlands alſo, which ever ſince, as well as the reſt, have remained under the *Spaniſh* Juriſdiction.

The great *Canary* Iſle is computed to contain above nine thouſand Inhabitants, being alſo the Reſidence of the Biſhop, Inquiſitor, and Great Council, which manage the publick Affairs of all the other Iſles. Beſides that excellent Wine ſo well known and eſteemed in *Europe*, it produces Wheat, Barley, Honey, Wax, and Sugar-Canes, and the Plenty they have of Cattle, makes them trade much in Leather with the *Spaniards*, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and *Hamburghers*; the firſt in their Voyages to the *Weſt-Indies*, take moſt of their freſh Proviſions in here. The Iſle of *Teneriff* is famous for its Mountain called *El Pico*, being accounted the higheſt in the World, ſo that it may be diſcovered above ſixty Leagues at Sea; and on the Top a Man may ſee all the other *Canary Iſlands*, though ſome of them are fifty Leagues diſtant from this; but it requires three Days Time to get up, which muſt be either in *July*, or *Auguſt*, it being covered with Snow all the reſt of the Year, though there falls none in any of thoſe Iſlands.

The Iſle of *Fierro* claims the next Place to that of *Teneriff*, among the Canary Iſlands; it has got its Name from the Drought of the Ground, which being without Water, ſeems to be of Iron: For, except a few Springs near the Seaſhore, this whole Iſland is without a Rivulet, Brook, Well, or Spring, againſt which Default provident Nature has bleſſed this Iſland with a certain Tree, which has no Reſemblance to any other I ever ſaw, either in *Europe* or the *Indies*, and ſtands in the very Centre of the Iſle. Its Leaves are very long, but narrow, and never ceaſe to be green, neither in Winter or Summer. Betwixt the Branches hang Clouds, which are never diſpelled, but are conſtantly diſſolved in a liquid Subſtance, which hanging to the Leaves, fall from thence as clear as Water into the Ciſterns that are made under the Tree on purpoſe to receive it, and that in ſuch great Quantities, that they are never empty, but provide ſufficient Quantities to ſupply both Men and Beaſts.

It is the Opinion of the Inhabitants, and thoſe that have frequently ſailed in theſe Parts, that a hundred Leagues Weſt of the *Canaries* there has been ſeen a certain Iſland called *St. Borondon*, very pleaſant and fruitful, and inhabited by Chriſtians; but are not able to tell you how it came to be peopled, and what Language is in Uſe there. The *Spaniards* inhabiting the *Canaries*, have made ſeveral Attempts to find it out; but whether the thick Fogs, which ſurround it, or the Current of the Sea, which keeps Ships from the Shore, is the Occaſion that it has not been diſcovered; certain it is, that no body hitherto has been able to give a ſatisfactory Account of it.

28. But to return to our Voyage, the Wind turning to the South the 29th of *November*, we took our Courſe to the North, leaving the Iſle of *Flores* to the Eaſt of us, and ſoon loſt Sight of that as well as of the Iſle of *Corvo*. The 30th of *November* we made thirty-one Leagues to the North with a South-South-weſt Wind, and at Noon found ourſelves in 40° 32′ Latitude. *December* the 3d we made thirty-four Leagues with the ſame Wind and Courſe; and the 4th, a North-eaſt Wind advanced us twenty-ſeven Leagues to Eaſt-North-eaſt. The 5th the Wind coming to the South-weſt, we continued the ſame Courſe, and got thirty-ſeven Leagues. It was this Day exactly eleven Months ſince we had been toſſed up and down the Sea, tho' our Voyage had been tolerable enough ever ſince our Departure from *Madagaſcar*. The 6th it blew a Storm out of the Eaſt, but the Wind being for us, we advanced fifty Leagues. It is obſervable, that as ſoon as you are paſſed the *Azores* Iſlands, you may aſſure yourſelf of a Weſt Wind, let it be what Seaſon of the Year it will, till you come to the Coaſt of *England*, it being very ſeldom known, that it turns either directly to the South or North, tho' perhaps it may change a few Points of the Compaſs.

The 7th the Wind turning to the Weſt, we ſailed thirty-nine Leagues to the Eaſt-North-eaſt. The 8th we made forty-ſeven Leagues, with a very briſk Gale, to the South-eaſt, keeping the ſame Courſe; and the 9th, with a South-South-weſt Wind made thirty-one Leagues to the North-North-eaſt. We found ourſelves in 49° 13′, the Weather being very cold, and a ſandy white Bottom at ſixty-eight Fathom, and in the Evening ſounding again, found but fifty-three Fathom, the Sand not ſo white as in the Morning. The Wind chopping about to the North-Eaſt in the Night, was directly in our Teeth till the 10th about Noon, when coming to the South-weſt, we made twenty-two Leagues. The 11th, we eſpied, at Break of Day, two *Engliſh* Ships, and in a few Hours after, that Point of *Cornwall* called the *Land's-End*; we endeavoured to double the Point, the Wind being contrary, and with much ado made ſixteen Leagues. The 12th, the Wind being full againſt us, we continued lowering, and at a Diſtance we ſaw another *Engliſh* Veſſel, but could not come near it. The 13th the Wind being at South-weſt and South-South-weſt, we ſteered our Courſe to the Eaſt-South-eaſt, and to the Eaſt, with a Point to the South. We made ſixty-four Leagues to 49° Latitude the 14th, after having changed our Courſe to the Eaſt-North-eaſt, in order to make the Channel, which divides *England* from *France*.

We ſaw two *Dutch* Veſſels and a *Dunkirker* not far from us; but the Roaring of the Sea prevented our hearing one another. The fifteenth we ſteered the ſame Courſe, and met with three *Dutch* Ships bound for *Braſil*, not far from the *Iſle of Wight*, which lies in 50° 26′ Latitude, and 19° 4′ Longitude. The 16th, by Ten in the Morning, we paſſed in Sight of *Dover* Caſtle, and about Noon came to an Anchor in the *Downs*, and this compleated our Voyage in the 12th Month, after our Departure from *Surat*. We ſaw there near a hundred Ships riding at Anchor, in Expectation of fair Weather, it being ſo boiſterous, that for two Days after we could not ſtir out of our Ship. The *Engliſh* Admiral, who was then with ſome Men of War in the *Downs*, invited the 19th (when the Wind was ſomewhat laid) the Preſident to Dinner, who taking me along with him, I had my Share in the Entertainment, which was ſo magnificent both for Meat, and the great Quantity of Plate, that the King's Table could ſcarce have been better ſerved in *London*.

As we were extreamly well pleaſed with our Entertainment, ſo it was near Night before we got into our Boat. Our Ship lay not above a Muſket Shot from the Admiral; but no ſooner were we got into it, than a ſudden Storm forced us to Sea; the Waves continually coming over our Boat, ſo that we were obliged to make the beſt Shift we could to caſt out the Water, without Intermiſſion, with our Hats. We now began to reflect, how, that after we had ſurmounted ſo many Dangers during this tedious Voyage, we ſhould at laſt be ſhipwreck'd in Sight of our dear Country, and in that very Part whither we were come with ſo much Danger to ſeek for Safety; but, to be ſhort, we were for four Hours thus betwixt Hope and Deſpair, when at laſt we got Sight of a ſmall Veſſel, but ſo miſerably torn by the Tempeſt, that it had loſt all its Anchors but one, which was not ſtrong enough to keep from being forced out to Sea. However, we betook ourſelves to our Oars, ſitting up to our Waiſts in Water, and with much ado reached the Veſſel, in which in effect we were not much ſafer than in our Boat, as being in danger to be ſtaved againſt a dangerous Sand-bank, which was not far off; but the Cold we had endured in the Ship had ſo diſabled us in all Reſpects, that we were not apprehenſive of our Condition, being in a manner half dead the next Day, when we were brought to our Veſſel, where they had given us over for loſt, and bewailed our Death.

On the 24th another Tempeſt aroſe, which was ſo violent that twenty-four Ships were forced to cut their Maſts, among the Number of which was alſo our Veſſel, not ſo much by the Tempeſt, as for two Men of War being forced from their Anchors, which would elſe have run foul upon us. The 26th we got at laſt to the ſo long wiſhed for *Engliſh* Shore, and lay the ſame Night at *Canterbury*, the Cathedral of which claims the Preference before any other in *England*, and is not inferior to ſome of the beſt Structures in the World. The 27th we came to *Graveſend*, and the 28th to *London*, being met in our Way by certain Directors of the *Eaſt-India* Company, who ſtaid for the Preſident's coming at *Blackwall*, with eight Coaches.

29. On the 30th I viewed the *Eaſt-India* Houſe, and took that Opportunity to return Thanks to the Directors for the many Civilities I had received at the Preſident's Hands; and they having made a ſplendid Entertainment for him that Day, I was alſo invited. The 31ſt, and the 1ſt of *January* we were ſplendidly treated by ſome *Engliſh* Merchants, and the 2d by Sir *Edmund Wright*, the then Lord-Mayor of *London*. As he was much delighted in the Relation of the many Adventures that had befallen us during our Voyage, ſo he would needs invite the Preſident and me again the next Day, our Diſcourſe running upon the many Dangers we had eſcaped.

The Lord-Mayor, to ſhew us that Sea-faring People were ſubject to ſuch, and often eſcaped much greater Danger, related to us a Story of a certain *Dutch* Seaman, who, being for ſome Crimes condemned to Death, his Puniſhment was changed into that of Baniſhment into the Iſle of *St. Helens*, near which they were, which was done accordingly. This poor Wretch, thinking this Solitude inſupportable to him, reſolved rather to hazard his Life at any Rate, than to endure it; and, having met with a Coffin, in which a Sea Officer had been interred the Day before, he, without more ado, took out the dead Corps; and having cut out the upper Board of the Coffin, made a kind of Rudder, put himſelf into it, and ſo went out to Sea: As good Chance would have it, the Ship unto which he had belonged, was becalmed at a League and an half Diſtance from the Shore; and the Ship's Crew obſerving ſo odd a kind of a Veſſel floating on the Surface of the Water, thought it had been an Apparition, till, coming nearer and nearer the Ship, they ſtood amazed at this unaccountable Boldneſs of the Man, who had ventured ſo far in two or three Pieces of Boards, without being aſſured whether he ſhould be received or not. It being put to the Queſtion, it was at laſt reſolved he ſhould be taken on Board; which was done accordingly; and he returned to *Holland*, where he lived afterwards in the Town of *Horn*.

He gave us another Inſtance of this kind, of an *Engliſhman*, who, being taken by a *French* Privateer in the Pacquet-Boat going from *England* to *Dublin*, was freed from the Privateer by a ſudden Storm, which parted them, but ſoon after ſplit the Pacquet-Boat againſt a Rock on the Coaſt of *Scotland*, oppoſite to that of *Ireland*. The *Engliſhman*, with another of the Crew, happened to be caſt away upon the Rocks, where they made a ſhift to erect a Hut out of ſome Boards belonging to their Ship. They lived upon the Sea-mews they catched, which they dried in the Sun, and ſo eat them raw; as alſo upon certain Eggs they found in the Crevices of the Rocks, which kept them from ſtarving: But their greateſt Want was freſh Water, of which they had none but what the Rain helped them to. They continued in this Condition ſix Weeks; at the Expiration of which the *Engliſhman*, waking in the Morning, miſſed his Companion (whom he ſuppoſed to be fallen from the Rock through Careleſſneſs) the only Comfort of his Life. In this Solitude, which almoſt threw him into Deſpair, eſpecially when the approaching Winter made every thing appear with a more doleful Aſpect than before, his Hut being covered with Snow, he made the hardeſt Shift in the World to ſuſtain himſelf, till after a miſerable Life of eleven Months, ſome Seamen belonging to a *Flemiſh* Ship, commanded by Captain *Peckman*, famous for his Art in getting out the great Guns of the *Spaniſh Armada*, forced upon the Coaſt of *Scotland* and *Ireland* in 1588, by Tempeſt, as they were looking for Eggs, diſcovered this poor Wretch, whom, at laſt, with many Entreaties, they took into their Veſſel, being all black, hairy, and meager, more like a Spectre than a Man; and having given him what Refreſhments the Ship afforded, ſet him aſhore at *Derry* in *Ireland*, from whence he afterwards returned into *England*.

A third Relation he was pleaſed to give us of a moſt ſurpriſing Reſolution of four Seamen, who, being taken by the *Algerines*, and one of them being a Carpenter, they reſolved to make a ſmall Boat, and venture in it in the open Sea, in order to their Deliverance; accordingly, having ſecretly made what Pereparation they could for the Execution of this Deſign, they took off five Boards from the Store-Room, two whereof were employed for the Bottom of the Boat, two more for the Sides, and the fifth for the Prow and Poop, their Quilt ſerving for Towe. The Boat being well pitched, and the appointed Time come, they found that their Boat was ſo little as not to contain above two, ſo that two of the Confederates were obliged to ſtay behind; the other two, being an *Engliſhman* and a *Dutchman*, perſiſting in their Reſolution to go forward, let it coſt what it would; accordingly, having found Means to provide a Pair of Oars, a Piece of a Sail, and a ſlender Portion of Bread and freſh Water, they boldly put to Sea, having neither Compaſs nor Aſtrolabe; ſo that being overtaken by a Storm, they were forced to go where the Wind would carry them, their chief Buſineſs being to caſt out the Water which continually came into the Boat, and ſoon ſpoiled what little Bread they had; which together with the want of Reſt, had brought them ſo low, that they were ſcarce able to ſtand on their Legs. In this miſerable Condition Chance brought them to the Coaſt of *Barbary*, where, lighting on ſome Wood that ſerved them to refit and enlarge their Boat, which they had no ſooner done, but being in manifeſt Danger of being killed by the Inhabitants, were forced to chuſe the main Sea a ſecond Time, and, at laſt, after being toſſed up and down in the Sea for ten Days, were caſt upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſts near the Cape of *St. Martin*, between *Alicant* and *Valentia*, where, being civilly entertained by the Inhabitants, they after came into *England*.

30. On the 6th I ſaw the King of *England* touch many Perſons that were afflicted with the *Evil*, and the Ceremony being over, my Lord *Strafford* did me the Honour to introduce me to his Majeſty to kiſs his Hand, and afterwards to the Queen, both their Majeſties, at ſeveral Times after, being pleaſed to beſtow ſome Time in hearing my Relations of my Travels, eſpecially of thoſe into *Perſia* and *Muſcovy*. During my Stay of three Months in *England*, I ſpent Part of my Time at Court, and the reſt in taking a View of what was moſt worthy of Obſervation in *London*, and the adjacent Places, ſuch as *White-Hall*, *St. James's*, *Hampton-Court*, *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and the *Abby*, *Greenwich*, the *Tower*, &c. And having by this Time ſufficiently recovered myſelf of the Fatigue of ſo tedious a Voyage, and received the Money I expected from my native Country, I left *London* on the 20th of *March*, and taking Water for *Graveſend*, thence for *Rocheſter*, and coming the 24th to *Dover*, embarked the 25th for *Dunkirk*, where I arrived the ſame Day. The 26th I continued my Journey thence to *Newport*, where I ſtayed that Night, and came the next Day to *Bruges*, and the 29th to *Ghent*, where I ſtayed only to the 21ſt of *April*, when I proſecuted my Journey to *Bruſſels*, the capital City of the Province of *Brabant*. After a Stay of two Days at *Bruſſels*, I came the 5th to *Louvain*, and travelled the ſame Day four Leagues farther to *Mechlin*; thence I proſecuted my Journey the 6th to *Antwerp*, where I ſtayed two Days, and the 9th and 10th travelled to *Breda*, where, having ſpent the Remainder of that Day, I made five Leagues the next Day to *Bois-le-duc*, or *Bolduc*.

The 12th I ſet forward again for *Gertrudenburg*, whence I took Boat the ſame Day for *Rotterdam*, where I arrived the 13th, and continued my Journey the ſame Day for *Delft*, and ſo farther through the *Hague*, by the Way of *Leyden* to *Harlem*. This City, which is the biggeſt next to *Amſterdam*, in the Province of *Holland*, challengeth the Glory of the Invention of the Myſtery of Printing by one of its Inhabitants, named *Laurence Coſtar*, who, in the Year 1420, firſt made the Characters of Beech-wood, and afterwards having alſo found out the Ink, that to this Day is uſed by Printers, he changed the wooden Characters into leaden ones; and having at laſt made them of Tin, he brought the whole to Perfection in 1440; in Memory of which the Senate of *Harlem* have cauſed the following Inſcription to be ſet over the Houſe he lived in.

Memoriæ Sacrum, Typographia, Ars Artium omnium conſervatrix, nunc primum inventa circa Annum 1440.

Leaving *Harlem* in the Evening, I came the ſame Night to *Amſterdam*, of which Place having heard ſo much in the *Indies*, I reſolved to ſpend ſome Time in taking a View of it. The firſt Thing that ſurprized me the next Morning was, that vaſt Numbers of People which ſo crouded the Streets, that a Man could very hardly paſs; but when I came to the Port, I ſtood amazed at the prodigious Number of Ships, which appeared at a Diſtance no otherwiſe than one continued Foreſt, eſpecially when I was informed how many Ships were abroad at that Time, bound to all Parts of the World; and that I ſaw every Day a conſiderable Number go to their own, and other adjacent Coaſts. The vaſt Stores brought thither even from all the moſt remote-Parts of the World, eſpecially in the Houſe of the *Eaſt-India* Company, made me imagine no otherwiſe than that all I had ſeen in my Travels thro' ſo great a Part of the Globe, was centered in this Place, there being ſuch prodigious Quantities of Spices, Silk, and Porcelain here, that *China*, and all the reſt of the *Indies*, ſeemed to have exhauſted their Store-houſes, to lay them up in this City.

It was in the Year 1595, that the *Dutch*, by the Encouragement of a certain Merchant, whoſe Name was *Cornelius Houtman*, and who had lived a conſiderable Time in *Portugal*, undertook the firſt Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies* along the *African* Coaſt; their Deſign of finding out the Northern Paſſage having proved abortive. The firſt Voyage did not anſwer the Expectation of the Merchants, notwithſtanding which they ſent eight Ships more thither. In 1598 and 1599, they ſent another Squadron, but by different Owners, ſo that for fear of deſtroying this ſo powerful a Trade, a Charter was granted to all the Perſons concerned in 1602, for twenty Years, and ſix Chambers erected, *viz.* at *Amſterdam*, conſiſting of twenty Directors, *Middleborough* for *Zealand*, twelve Directors; at *Delft*, and *Rotterdam* for the *Meuſe*; at *Horn*, and *Enkhuiſen* for *Weſt-Friezland*; theſe four laſt conſiſting each of ſeven Directors. According to the ſame Charter the City of *Amſterdam* was to defray one-half of all the Charges, and to ſend eight Deputies to their general Meetings, and thoſe of the *Meuſe* and *Weſt-Friezland* one half-Quarter each, and to ſend two Deputies each.

Their original Stock amounted to 6,600,000 *French* Livres, which was improved to that Degree, that in the Year 1609, the Perſons concerned had gained two hundred and fifty upon the hundred, and the next Year the Profits were more conſiderable. The Regularity of the

Streets and Water-channels, and the Neatneſs and Splendor of the Bridges and Houſes of *Amſterdam* is not to be imagined, except by thoſe who have been Eye-witneſſes of it, eſpecially thoſe in the new Town, and many of which ought rather to be called Palaces than the Houſes of private Perſons. Among the publick Structures the old and new Churches are worth Obſervation, and if the Town-houſe be compleated, according to the Draught I ſaw of it, it will, beyond Queſtion, vie with any of the nobleſt Structures in the World, and the *Exchange of Amſterdam* ſurpaſſes that of *London*, in the Number of People that daily reſort thither, as it does that of *Antwerp* in Magnificence; not to mention here the Gates of the City, and its three Sluices, which cannot be matched in the World, the publick School, Colledge, Arſenal, a Play-houſe, Anatomy-hall, and other publick Edifices, which deſerve the Travellers peculiar Obſervation. But to come to a Concluſion of my Voyage; after a Stay of eight Days at *Amſterdam*, I took Shipping for *Hamburgh* the 23d of *April*, where I arrived ſafely the 28th, and after I had reſted myſelf there for one Day and Night, continued my Journey to *Gottorp*, which I reached the 1ſt of *May*, and had the Honour to be admitted to their Highneſſes the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Holſtein*, unto whom I gave a ſhort Account of the Succeſs of my long and toilſome Travels.

31. The Obſervations publiſhed by our Author are of a mixed Nature, part of them from his own known Knowledge, and part from Information. It may be neceſſary therefore to ſay ſomewhat as to the Reaſons which induced us to prefer theſe Obſervations to thoſe of other Men, who might be Eye-witneſſes of all they wrote. In the firſt place, let it be conſidered, that it is neceſſary to give the Reader the moſt Matter poſſible in the leaſt Room, and therefore one extenſive and well-wrote Voyage anſwers this End better than ſeveral, and at the ſame time avoids uſeleſs and tedious Repetitions. The Merit of the Writer was another great Conſideration. It is manifeſt from the Commiſſion with which he was intruſted, that he was a Man of Abilities, or otherwiſe he would not have been choſen. It appears from the foregoing Part of his Travels, that his Conduct juſtified their Choice, and that he made it his Buſineſs to bring back into *Germany* the cleareſt and beſt Intelligence that could be had, with regard to the Deſign which his Maſter had then in View, and that was the Opening a new Channel of Trade between *Europe* and the *Indies*. The ſame Reaſons therefore that recommended him to, and procured him the Approbation of his Maſter, gave his Works a Title to a Place in this Collection, notwithſtanding the Objections to which they may ſeem liable at the firſt Sight. But farther ſtill, he was not only a Man of great Judgment himſelf, but of great Experience alſo; and as he was very capable of diſtinguiſhing upon Information what was fit for him to report, and what not, ſo he was no leſs careful in ſeeking his Information from ſuch as had it moſt in their Power to inſtruct, and at the ſame time were leaſt likely to impoſe upon him. The Advantage he had of conſulting the *Engliſh* Preſident upon what he was told by the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* muſt have been of infinite Service, by enabling him to correct and explain whatever he received from them; therefore taking all theſe Advantages together, we may very ſafely conclude, that there hardly ever was a Voyage Writer better qualified to deliver what was fit for the Publick to ſee, than our Author.

It remains to give ſome Account of that Prince, by whoſe Direction theſe Voyages were undertaken, the Views he had in cauſing them to be undertaken, and the Conſequences of ſuch extraordinary and hazardous Undertakings ſo well and happily performed. *Frederick* the third, Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*, was the Son of *John Frederick*, Soveraign of that Country, and the Princeſs *Auguſta*, Daughter to *Frederick* the ſecond, King of *Denmark*. He ſucceeded his Father in his Dominions in the Year 1616, and having ſpent a great Part of his Time in improving his Country, ſettling new Manufactures there, and opening a free Commerce to *Sweden*, *Poland*, and *Ruſſia*, he began about the Year 1630 to think of putting in Execution a Project which had long employed his Thoughts, by which he hoped throughly to people, and greatly to enrich, his new City of *Frederickſtadt*. He was led to this by the Incitement of ſome Merchants, whom he had drawn to ſettle in his Country by the great Encouragements he gave them, and who ſuggeſted the Poſſibility of bringing into, and ſettling the Silk Trade in his Dominions. At firſt Sight this muſt appear a very ſtrange, and almoſt impracticable Project; but when attentively conſidered, it will appear in quite another Light.

We muſt in the firſt place conſider, that the Northern Countries of *Europe* were at that Time entirely ſupplied with all kinds of Silk Manufactures from the Southern Countries, and theſe at the greateſt Diſtance from them, which was attended with many and great Inconveniencies; beſides the capital Miſchief of ſending annually vaſt Sums of Money in return for thoſe Manufactures. The only Remedy that could be applied to theſe Miſchiefs was the eſtabliſhing this Commodity in the North, by breeding and managing Silk-worms there, which was indeed a tedious, hazardous, and in all human Appearance, impracticable Undertaking, or elſe to ſink a Step lower, and be content to import the Silk in the moſt reaſonable Method, and at the loweſt Price, ſo that the manufacturing it might prove ſufficiently profitable to the People engaged therein. This Deſign too, though leſs difficult than the other, ſeemed hard enough to compaſs, ſince a Voyage from the *Baltick* to the *Mediteranean*, which was the only means whereby either *French*, *Spaniſh*, or *Italian* Silks could be brought to *Holſtein*, muſt have been neceſſarily attended with ſuch an Expence, and the Silks imported would have come at ſo dear a rate, that it would have been impoſſible, for many Years at leaſt, to have manufactured them to any Advantage. The Commerce of the *Levant*, and the importing Silk from *Aleppo*, or *Smyrna*, muſt have been attended with ſtill greater Difficulties and Expence, ſo that on this Side there ſeemed to be no Hopes of compaſſing ſuch a Deſign.

But *Philip Cruſius*, who firſt engaged the Duke to think of this Scheme, immediately obviated theſe Objections, by ſhewing that the *Perſian* Silks might be had ſooner, and at a cheaper rate in *Holſtein* than in any of the Countries where they were then manufactured. The Way he propoſed was through *Muſcovy*, the Frontiers of which are divided from thoſe of *Perſia* by the *Caſpian* Sea, the Silk Provinces of *Perſia* lying on the Coaſts of that Sea, ſo that the tranſporting them croſs the *Ruſſian* Empire could ſcarce be eſteemed a more laborious or difficult Undertaking than the conveying them by Caravans from *Perſia* through the *Turkiſh* Empire to *Smyrna*, or *Aleppo*; and conſequently, if this Scheme could be executed, the Ports of *Ruſſia*, which were very near, would ſerve as effectually for the Silk Manufacture in *Holſtein*, as the Ports of the *Levant* for the Southern Parts of *Europe*. Theſe were the Principles upon which *Cruſius* went, and on which the Embaſſy, which Duke *Frederick* ſent into *Perſia*, was undertaken. Our Author's Journey from *Perſia* into the *Indies* was, as we have before repreſented it, an additional Project to this, of eſtabliſhing a Silk Manufacture, and the Grounds upon which the Duke went in this were likewiſe very juſt and reaſonable, as in a very few Words we ſhall be able to ſhew. He was informed that a great Trade was carried on between *Perſia* and *India* by Land, and therefore he very rightly conceived, that if his firſt Scheme took place, it might be very practicable to bring the *Indian* Commodities and Manufactures from *Perſia* to the Coaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea, and conſequently, together with the Silk through *Ruſſia* into his own Dominions.

This, I ſay, was that Prince's Deſign, and I thought it the more neceſſary to inſiſt upon it at large, becauſe there is not a Word dropp'd about it by our Author. On the contrary, his Obſervations look all another Way, and he ſeems to have employed himſelf chiefly in remarking on the *Portugueze*, *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Commerce in the *Indies*, which Obſervations, as they were fitteſt to be publiſhed to the World, were likewiſe beſt ſuited to conceal the true Deſign of his Voyages. I muſt take this Opportunity of remarking, that all the Civilities ſhewn him by Strangers in thoſe Parts of the World, may be accounted for from hence, I mean from their being morally certain, that the better he was acquainted, and the more thoroughly he was informed of the Nature of their Trade, the more impracticable his Maſter's Deſign would appear of interfering therein, by a direct Navigation to the *Indies*, which they all along apprehended to be the Duke of *Holſtein*'s Deſign, and therefore thought, and very juſtly too, that a better Method than this could not be deviſed to defeat it. This likewiſe accounts for the rendering the Embaſſador's and our Author's Accounts publick, in which, though all the Tranſactions are in themſelves equally curious and entertaining, yet they make known little or nothing that relates to the Duke's real Projects, and are therefore conſidered in this Light nothing more than political Amuſements.

It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that all theſe fine Schemes, though built upon juſt Principles, and purſued with great Wiſdom and Prudence, proved in the End abſolutely ineffectual, which was owing to the Wars and other Confuſions that fell out ſoon after, both in *Germany* and *Ruſſia*; in the firſt of which the Duke of *Holſtein* himſelf had his Share, ſo that the Event ought not in the leaſt to prejudice our Opinion againſt the Duke's Deſign, which has been ſince revived by other great Princes, and will be ſome Time or other effectually executed, and thereby a new Turn given to the Commerce of the *Indies*. The Czar *Alexis Michael*, in the Year 1668, revived this Project, which was then diſappointed by the Rebellion of the *Coſſacks*, who made themſelves Maſters of the City of *Aſtracan*, and thereby cut off for a Time the Correſpondence between *Ruſſia* and *Perſia*. It was with this View alſo, that the late Czar *Peter the Great*, who underſtood all thoſe Points better than any of his Predeceſſors, and perhaps better than any other Prince of his Time in *Europe*, made himſelf Maſter of all the Provinces bordering on his Side the *Caſpian* Sea, and thereby bid very fair for engroſſing the whole Silk Trade, that is, ſo far as it depends upon *Perſia*.

I might there put the Reader in mind, that we too have very lately proceeded upon this Plan, and have very happily begun to eſtabliſh, by the Means of our *Ruſſian* Company, this very Commerce with *Perſia* through the *Muſcovite* Empire, which is more than ſufficient to ſhew, that the Duke of *Holſtein*'s Scheme, though it actually failed by unforeſeen and unavoidable Accidents, was in its Nature perfectly juſt, and well founded, ſince, if it can be rendered uſeful and practicable to us, it muſt not only have been more uſeful, and more practicable to him, who was ſo near a Neighbour to *Ruſſia*, but all Circumſtances conſidered, the wiſeſt and beſt laid Scheme for the Improvement of his Dominions, that perhaps it was within the Compaſs of the human Underſtanding to invent or contrive. Thus I have done all that lies in my Power to render theſe Voyages intelligible to the *Engliſh* Reader in their utmoſt Extent, by explaining many things that have hitherto ſlept in Obſcurity, and might poſſibly have been buried therein for ever, if theſe Voyages had not been made a Part of this Collection.

SECTION XXVIII.

A Supplemental Account of the Commodities, Manufactures, and Produce of the ſeveral Countries of the Indies, *together with Remarks on the Nature and Value of that Trade in reſpect to* Europe.

From the Works of *John Baptiſt Tavernier*.

1. *An Introductory Account of the Contents of the Section.* 2. *A ſuccinct View of the Silk, Cotton, Indigo, Spice and Drug Trade in the* Indies. 3. *The Nature of the Diamond Mines, the Manner of their working them, and the Value of their Produce.* 4. *The Mines in the Iſland of* Borneo, *the Nature of the Stones found there, and an Account of the largeſt Diamonds in the World.* 5. *Of coloured Stones, ſuch as Rubies, Opals, Saphires, Turquoiſes, and Emeralds.* 6. *Of the Pearl Fiſheries in the* Eaſt *and* Weſt-Indies, *and of the Difference in point of Size, Shape and Colour of thoſe Jewels.* 7. *Of Coral Fiſheries, and of the Value of this Commodity in the* Indies. 8. *Of Amber, Ambergreece, Muſk, and other Perfumes.* 9. *Of the Bezoar in Cows, Goats, and Apes, their different Virtues and Values, and of the Porcupine and Serpent Stones.* 10. *Of the Gold, Silver, and Tin Mines of the* Indies. 11. *A Deſcription of the Kingdom of* Kachemire, *called the Paradiſe of the* Indies, *and its Produce.* 12. *Of the Provinces of* Multan, Candahar, Cabuliſtan, *and* Lahor. 13. *Of the Provinces of* Haoud *and* Varad, *and of the Fruits and Commodities which they produce.* 14. *Of other Provinces of the Mogul Empire, and of what is moſt remarkable in each of them.* 15. *A Deſcription of the Country of* Bengal, *one of the pleaſanteſt and moſt fruitful Countries of the* Indies. 16. *Of the rich Kingdom of* Boutan, *its Inhabitants, Commodities, and Manufactures.* 17. *Of the Power, Splendor, and Magnificence of the Monarch of that Country.* 18. *Of the Kingdom of* Tipra, *and of the Gold and Silk Trade carried on there.* 19. *Of the noble Kingdom of* Aſem, *and of the rich Mines in that Country; as alſo of Gum Lac, and other valuable Commodities which it produces.* 20. *Of* Tonquin, *and its Products.* 21. *A conciſe Hiſtory of that famous Kingdom.*

1. AS we have in the foregoing Sections given great Lights into the Commerce of the *Indies* from Authors beſt acquainted with them, and of the higheſt Reputation, ſo, by way of Supplement to theſe, we ſhall add ſuch Chapters of Mr. *Tavernier*'s Travels as are fitteſt to compleat that Deſign, reſerving the reſt of his Work for the ſucceeding Volume, to which it properly belongs. His Character is ſo well known and eſtabliſhed in the World, that it may ſeem very unneceſſary to ſay any thing of it in this Place, and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with a very few Obſervations that ſeem more immediately requiſite, in order to connect what we have taken from him with what we have given before on the ſame Subject from others. He was not only a Traveller, but a Merchant alſo, and therefore ſpoke from a perfect Knowledge and Experience in the Matters of which he writes, and more particularly with regard to the Commodities and Manufactures of theſe Countries, in which he dealt for many Years with great Succeſs.

He is more copious, and at the ſame time no leſs exact, than any of the Authors who have attempted to point out the Advantages derived from our Commerce in the Eaſt, by which I mean in general the Commerce of the *Europeans*. We diſcover in his Writings a greater Compaſs of Thought, and a more maſterly Turn in his Obſervations, than in almoſt any other Book of the kind, which is owing to his having conſidered theſe things over and over, in conſequence of the ſeveral Voyages he had made to the *Indies*, and the Pains he had taken to make himſelf Maſter of every thing that had any Relation to the Diſpoſition of *Indian* Commodities after they were brought to *Europe*. It muſt be allowed, that this ſometimes tempts him to digreſs a little from his Subject, and to run into a general Repreſentation of the State of the ſame ſort of Commerce in other

Parts of the World; but ſtill this proves ſo far from being tedious and unpleaſant, that we may ſafely affirm, there are no Paſſages in his Writings, either more curious, or more inſtructive. It was for this Reaſon that we judge it requiſite to give them entire, without venturing to caſtrate, or interpolate them, which would only diſtract the Author's Senſe, without anſwering any good Purpoſe. After an accurate Account of the State of *Moguliſtan*, at the Time he travelled through it, he proceeds thus:

2. *Kaſembaſar*, a Village in the Kingdom of *Bengal*, ſends abroad every Year twenty-two thouſand Bales of Silk, every Bale being a hundred Weight, which are bought up, either by the *Dutch*, or Merchants of *Tartary* and *Moguliſtan*, to make up their Carpets; ſome all Silk, and others mixed with Silver and Gold, which being for the moſt part made in the Province of *Guzurat*, are ſold either at *Amadabat*, or *Surat*. The Worſted Carpets are made at *Vettapour*, twelve Leagues from *Agra*; Sattins, ſome plain, others ſtreaked with Gold; Taffaties of the ſame Faſhion; Patoles, a very thin Silk Stuff, painted with all ſorts of Flowers. The raw Silk of *Kaſembaſar* is yellowiſh, as that of *Sicily* and that of *Perſia* is; but they can whiten it with a Lye made of the Aſhes of a Tree called *Adam's* Fig-tree, that it ſhall be like that of *Paleſtine*. In the Kingdom of *Golconda* are made the painted Calicoes, (Calicuts) called Chinces by the Merchants, but Calmender by the Natives, becauſe they are painted with a Pencil.

There are Chinces made in *Moguliſtan*, but they are all printed, and nothing ſo fine or beautiful as the former. Theſe ſerve for Coverlets of Beds, Table-cloths, Pillow-biers, Handkerchiefs, but eſpecially for Waiſtcoats both for Men and Women. The fine Calicut Chinces made at *Brampour* are uſed all over *Aſia* for Ormis, or Womens Veils; the Baſta's, or Calicuts, painted red, blue, and black, are carried white to *Agra* and *Amadabat* to be dyed; ſome they dye like watered Camblets, which increaſe their Price. The white Calicuts are woven in ſeveral Places in *Bengal* and *Moguliſtan*, and are carried to *Raioxſary* and *Baroche* to be whitened, becauſe of the large Meadows and Plenty of Lemons that grow thereabouts, for they are never ſo white as they ſhould be, till they are dipp'd in Lemon-Water: They are of two ſorts, wide and narrow, but of various Lengths; ſome Calicuts are made ſo fine, you can hardly feel them in your Hand, and the Thread when ſpun, is ſcarce diſcernable. Cotton twiſted and untwiſted comes from the Provinces of *Brampour* and *Guzurat*; but the latter is ſeldom exported, unleſs it be to *Ormuz*, *Balſora*, or the *Philippine* Iſles.

Indigo comes from ſeveral Parts of the Mogul's Country, but differs in Quality; the beſt comes from the Territories of *Biaria*, *Indocea*, and *Corſa*, a Day or two's Journey from *Agra*: That which is made flat of this ſort comes from *Sarqueſſe*, a Day's Journey from *Surat*: The Indigo which is made in *Golconda* is inferior in Goodneſs; as alſo that which is made up at *Baroche* and *Agra*, tho' this laſt is moſt ſought for, becauſe it is made up in half Balls. The worſt ſort is that made at *Bengal*, *Brampour*, and *Amadabat*. It is made of an Herb much like our Hemp, which is ſown every Year after the Rains. They cut it three Times every Year; but the firſt Cutting makes the beſt Indigo, and the ſecond better than the third: 'Tis known by the Briſkneſs of the Colour. When they have cut it, they caſt it into Pits half full of Water, which they raiſe to the Brim, with the Herb put into it, and then pound it about till it becomes as thick as Mud; then they let it ſettle for ſome Days, and afterwards drain the Water out of it, which done, they take it up in Baſkets, and making it up flat at the Bottom, and ſharp at the Top like an Egg, ſet it in the Sun to dry. Great Quantities of Saltpetre comes from *Agra* to *Patna*; but that which is refined is three Times the Value of that which is not.

Cardamum, which is the moſt excellent of all Spices, grows in the Territories of *Viſapour*, and becauſe there is no great Store of it where it grows, it is only made uſe of in *Aſia*, at the Tables of the greateſt Princes. Ginger grows in the Dominions of the Great Mogul, and is brought in great Quantities from *Amadabat*, where it grows more than in any other Part of *Aſia*, and it is hardly to be imagined how much is tranſported candied into other Parts. Pepper is of two Sorts, the ſmall and the great; the ſmall comes from *Bantam*, *Achen*, and ſome other Parts of the Eaſt, it is ſeldom or ever carried out of *Aſia*, where it is ſpent in great Quantities, eſpecially among the *Mohammedans*; for there is double the Grain of this ſmall Pepper in one Pound to what is in the great; beſides, 'tis not ſo hot in the Mouth. The great Pepper comes from the Coaſt of *Malabar*, and ſome from *Viſapour*. Nutmegs come from the *Molucca* Iſlands, as alſo from the Iſlands of *Banda*; but the biggeſt grow in the Iſland of *Damme*. It is obſervable of the Nutmeg-tree, 'tis never planted; but, when the Nutmegs are ripe, certain Creatures come from the Iſlands towards the South, and devour them whole, but are forced to throw them up again before they be digeſted; the Nutmeg then beſmeared with a viſcious Matter falling to the Ground, takes Root, and produces a Tree, which would never thrive if planted. Cloves grow at *Amboyna*, *Ellias*, *Sarem*, and *Bouro*. Cinnamon comes at preſent from the Iſland of *Ceylon*; the Tree that bears it is like a Willow, and has three Barks; the two outermoſt may be taken off, and is the beſt Cinnamon; the third muſt not be meddled with, becauſe then the Tree will die, and therefore great Art muſt be uſed to take off the two uppermoſt, leſt the third ſhould be hurt with the Knife. The *Hollanders* are at a vaſt Expence at *Ceylon* to gather their Cinnamon, becauſe the King ſends his Forces upon them when they are gathering to ſurprize them, and take it from them; ſo that they are forced to have a Guard upon their Workmen of ſeven or eight hundred Men; and this makes Cinnamon dearer, and ſo much the more becauſe the *Dutch* have ſpoiled the Trade for it from the Countries of the *Rajahs* about *Cochin*.

The Drugs brought to *Surat* from all Parts of the *Indies* are Sal-Armoniac, Borax, Gum-Lac, Gum-Lac waſhed, Gum-Lac in Sticks of Wax, Saffron, Cummin, white and black, Arlet, Frankincenſe, Myrrh, Gilet, and Bolti; Caſſia, Sugar-Candy, Aſſutinat, Anni-ſeed both groſs and ſmall, Oupelot, Cointre, Auzorout, Aloes-Succotrine, Lignum-Aloes, ſome in great, and others in ſmall Pieces; Liquorice, Vez Cabouli, out of Gum-Lac, the Natives extract that lively Scarlet-Colour with which they paint their Calicoes; and for that end it is carried into *Perſia*. That which remains after the Colour is drawn out, is fit only to make Sealing-wax of; and the Women of *Surat* get their Living by cleanſing and colouring it for that Uſe. Powdered Sugar is brought in great Quantities from the Kingdom of *Bengal*, and there is a great Trade for it at *Ougeli*, *Patna*, *Daca*, and other Places. The People of *Bengal* ſay, that there is no Poiſon more dangerous than Sugar kept thirty Years. Loaf-Sugar is made at *Amadabat*, where they have the perfect Art of refining it. Opium comes from *Brampour*, where Tobacco alſo grows in great Quantities, ſo that the Inhabitants having no Vent for it, let it rot upon the Ground.

3. Diamonds, which are the moſt precious of all Stones, are found partly in Mines, partly in Rivers. At *Raolconda*, a Town five Leagues diſtant from *Golconda*, and eight or nine from *Viſſapour*, in the Province of *Camatica*, is a Diamond-Mine, diſcovered not above two hundred Years ago: In it are found the cleaneſt Stones, with the whiteſt Water; but being forced to fetch them out of the Rocks with a great Iron-leaver and many Blows, they often flaw the Diamonds, and make them look like Cryſtal: And this is the Reaſon there are ſo many ſoft Stones found in this Mine, though they make a great Shew. If a Stone be clean, they give it only a Turn or two upon the Wheel, that it may loſe as little as poſſible of the Weight; but if it has any Flaws, Points, or black Specks, they cut it into Faſſets, and work the Flaw into a Ridge to hide it. The Trade at the Mines is free and juſt, and tranſacted without any talking on either Side, the Buyer and Seller expreſſing themſelves by taking each other by the Hands; and ſo, in the ſame Place where there are many People, a Parcel of Goods ſhall be ſold ſeven or eight Times, and no Man know it. At *Gani*, or *Colour*, ſeven Days Journey from *Golconda* Eaſtwards, is another Diamond-Mine: It

lies between the Town and a Mountain, and the nearer they dig to the Mountain, the larger Stones they find; but there is none on the Top.

This Mine was found not above an hundred Years ago by a Countryman, who digging his Ground to ſow Millet, found a large Diamond twenty-five Carrats Weight: Upon this, the rich Men in the Town fell to digging in the Place, and found, as they do ſtill, bigger Stones than in any other Mines, *viz.* ſome above forty Carrats, and one of 900, which *Margimola* preſented to *Aureng-Zeb*: But the Miſchief of theſe Stones is, they partake of the Quality of the Soil, and are few of them clean; but ſome are black, and others red, and others green and yellow. Near *Soumelpour*, in the Kingdom of *Bengal*, is a River called *Gouel*, where there are Diamonds found mixed with the Sand. The Way from *Agra* to this Town, lies thro' *Halabas*, *Banarous*, and *Saſſaron*, from whence you paſs to the Iſland of *Rhodas*, which is one of the ſtrongeſt Places in all *Aſia*, being ſeated upon a Mountain, fortified with ſix Baſtions, twenty-five Pieces of Cannon, and three Motes full of Water, in which are good Fiſh, to *Soumelpour*, which is a great Town, but the Houſes are built of Earth, covered with Branches of Cocoa-trees. The Road from the Fort lies through dangerous Woods, becauſe much peſtered with Robbers. The Rajah, in whoſe Juriſdiction it is, lives half a League from the Town in Tents ſet upon a riſing Ground, at the Foot whereof runs the River *Gouel*, where Diamonds are found. This River deſcends from the Southern Mountains, and being filled with the great Rains, brings down, in *December*, vaſt Quantities of Sand, which the People in great Multitudes ſearch for fifty Leagues together, and find all thoſe Points which are called natural Points in it, but ſeldom find any large Stone.

4. In the Iſland of *Borneo*, which is the largeſt Iſland in the World, is another River, called *Succadan*, in the Sand whereof they find Diamonds, as hard as any in the other Mines; but the Queen of the Mine will permit none to be carried out of it; ſo that all that come from thence are conveyed out by Stealth. In this Iſland it is remakable that the Queen, and not the King, has the Sovereign Command; as have alſo the inferior Women the Rule over the Men; for the People are ſo curious always to have a lawful Heir upon the Throne, that the Huſband not being certain that the Children ſhe bears are his own, they rather chuſe to be governed by a Woman, to whom they give the Title of Queen, her Huſband being only her Subject, and having no Power but what ſhe permits him.

At the Mine of *Rocolconda* they weigh by *Mangelins*, which are each a Carrat and three Quarters, and pay in new Pagods; as they do alſo at *Colour*. At the Mine of *Soumalpour*, in *Bengal*, they weigh by *Rabs*, which are each Seven Eighths of a Carrat, and pay in *Roupees*. The Roads to the Mines, though ſome fabulous Relations had made them very dangerous, full of Tygers, Lions, and cruel People, are not only free from all Wild-Beaſts, but the People are very loving and courteous. The Price of Diamonds are thus to be known: If it be a thick Stone, well ſquared, and have all its Corners, and the Water be white and lively, without Specks or Flaw, ſuch a Stone is worth an hundred and fifty Livres, or ten Pounds fifteen Shillings Sterling; or of the ſame Value if it is cut in Facets, which they call a Roſe-Diamond, if it be a fair Breadth, and of the ſame Perfection; and if a Stone weighs more Carrats it is raiſed in Price. Imperfect Diamonds are not above half the Value as perfect. The two biggeſt Diamonds in the World for cut Stones, belong, the one to the Mogul, which weighs Two hundred and ſeventy-nine Carrats, and nine ſixteenths of a Carrat; and the other to the Duke of *Tuſcany*, which weighs an hundred and thirty-nine Carrats, both clean and well ſhaped. The Miners call a Diamond *Iri*, and the *Turks*, *Perſians*, and *Arabians*, *Almas*.

5. There are but two Places in all the Eaſt where coloured Stones are found, and they are in the Kingdom of *Pegu*, and Iſland of *Ceylon*; the firſt is a Mountain twelve Days Journey or thereabouts, from *Sireri*, towards the N. E. it is called *Capelan*. In this Mine are found great Quantities of Rubies and Eſpinels, or Mothers of Rubies, yellow Topazes, blue and white Saphires, Jacinths, Amethyſts, and other Stones of different Colours. Among thoſe Stones which are hard, other Stones are found of different Colours, but being ſoft they are of no Eſteem. All theſe ſorts of Stones the Natives call Rubies, and they are the only Commodity of the Country, which makes it very poor. From *Ava*, which is the chief Fort of *Pegu*, you muſt go by Water to *Sireri*, becauſe the Roads by Land are almoſt impaſſable, by reaſon of the Tygers, Lions and Elephants, which abound in the adjacent Woods.

The King of *Pegu* keeps all his choice Stones for himſelf and Subjects, and ſuffers few of them more than of three Carrats Weight, that are clean, to be expoſed. Rubies are ſold by *Rabs*, and the Payment is made for them in *Pagods*. A Ruby of above ſix *Rabs* Weight, is almoſt invaluable. There are ſome Rubies, but moſt of them are Ballies Rubies, and abundance of Baſtard-Rubies, Saphires, and Topazes, found in the Mountains, that run from *Pegu* to the Kingdom of *Camboya*. The other Place where Rubies are found, are in a River in the Iſland of *Ceylon*, which deſcends from certain high Mountains in the Middle of the Iſland; it ſwells very high when the Rains fall, and when it becomes low again the People make it their Buſineſs to ſearch among the Sands for Rubies, Saphires, and Topazes. All the Stones that are found in this River are generally fairer and clearer than thoſe in *Pegu*. In *Hungary* is a Mine of Opals, a Stone no where to be found in the whole World but there. Turquoiſes are of two ſorts, *viz.* the old Rock and the new, and are only found in *Perſia*. The old Rock lies near a great Town called *Miſabourg*, and is reſerved only for the King's Uſe, to adorn Hilts of Swords, Knives, and Daggers, inſtead of enamelling. The new Rock is of a pale Blue, inclining to white, and little eſteemed. Emeralds, though ſaid to be Oriental, are not found in any Part of the Eaſtern Countries, but are brought from *Peru* to the *Philippine* Iſlands, and ſo tranſported into *Europe*.

6. The Fiſhery for Pearls is in divers Places, as in the *Perſian* Gulph, round about the Iſland of *Bachran*: It belongs to the King of *Perſia*, who has a Fort there, and in it a Garriſon of three hundred Men. Every one that fiſhes here pays to the King five *Abaſſis*, whether he gets any thing or no; and the Merchants pay at a certain Rate for every thouſand of Oiſters. There is a Pearl-Fiſhery likewiſe upon the Coaſt of *Arabia-Felix*, right againſt *Bachran*, near the City of *Catifa*, which, together with all the Country, is under the Juriſdiction of an *Arabian* Prince. The Pearls that are taken here, are ſold to the *Indians*, who will give a good Price for all, as well the uneven as round ones. All over *Aſia* they chuſe ſuch as are of a yellowiſh Water, inclining to white before the pure white; becauſe, they ſay, they will never change the Colour as the white will, both by Time and conſtant Wearing. There is a wondrous Pearl in the Poſſeſſion of *Iman-Keli*, Prince of *Maſcate*, which is the beſt in the World, not ſo much for its Bigneſs, for it weighs not above twelve Carrats and one ſixteenth, nor for its perfect Roundneſs, but for its tranſparent Clearneſs, for you may ſee almoſt through it. The Great Mogul, by a *Banjan*, offered forty thouſand Crowns for it, but it was not accepted. There is another Fiſhery for Pearls in the Sea that waſhes the Walls of *Manar*, in the Iſland of *Ceylon*; for their Roundneſs and Water they are the faireſt that are found, but rarely weigh above three or four Carrats. There are excellent Pearls of a very good Water, and large, found on the Coaſt of *Japan*, but are rarely fiſhed for, becauſe Jewels are of no Eſteem among the Inhabitants.

In the *Weſt-Indies* there are ſeveral Places for Pearl-fiſhing, *viz.* all along the Iſland of *Cubagua*; but the Pearls are ſmall, ſeldom weighing above five Carrats. In the Iſland of *Margarita*, a League from *Cubagua*, but a larger Iſland, the Pearls are not found here ſo plentifully, but are of an excellent Water and very big, ſome weighing fifty-five Carrats. *Comogotta*, near the Continent, *Rio de la Hacha*, and *St. Martha*, produce weighty Pearls, but ill-ſhaped, and inclining to a Lead Colour. *Scotch* Pearl and *Bavarian*, though a Necklace of them is of Value, yet they [illegible] to be [illegible] Weſt [illegible] Pearls. Theſe [illegible] growing in Oyſter, like Eggs in the Belly of a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] April, and the ſecond [illegible] and the Pearls are kept [illegible] they fiſh in any Place they [illegible] it will turn to any Account, by ſending ſeven or eight Barks, which are to bring them each a thouſand of Oyſters, which they open, and if the Oyſters one thouſand yield [illegible] or above, as ſome will yield [illegible] the Fiſhing will turn to an Account. They fiſh in twelve fathom Water; and five or ſix Leagues off at Sea. They are guarded by ſome ſmall Men of War, to defend them from the *Malabars*, to which every Diver pays eight Piaſters for their Attendance. The more Rains fall the more profitable the Fiſhery generally happens to be.

7. Coral, though of little Eſteem in *Europe*, yet is much valued in the other three Parts of the World. There are three Places where they fiſh for it upon the Coaſt of *Sardinia*, viz. *Arguerel*, *Bosa*, and the Iſle of *St. Peter*. On the Coaſts of *Africa* alſo they fiſh for it near the Baſtion of *France*, and *Tabarque*, and on the Coaſts of *Sicily*, near *Trapano*, but the Coral is ſmall, and ill-coloured. Near Cape *de Quires*, on the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, the Coral is large, and of an excellent Colour, but the Branches are ſhort. At *Majorca* and *Corſica* there is a Fiſhery for it. Theſe Places are all in the Mediterranean-Sea, for there is none at all in the Main-Ocean. Some think that Coral is ſoft in the Sea, but it is really hard; though it is true, that in certain Months in the Year there is a milky Subſtance iſſues from it, and if it falls upon any thing, produces Coral; and there are certain Worms in the Sea, that eat it.

They fiſh for Coral from the Beginning of *April* to the End of *July*, but never above forty Miles from Land, and that in ſuch ſwift Barks, that no Gallies can overtake them. In *Japan* they value nothing ſo much as a good Grain of Coral, wherewith they pull the String that ſhuts their Purſes; and in this they ſeek to excel one another; ſo that a Piece of Coral as big as an Egg, fair and clean, without any Flaw, will produce as much as a Man can, in reaſon, aſk for it. The *Portugueze* have ſold ſuch Pieces for 20000 Crowns. All over *Aſia*, and eſpecially all over the Northern Parts of the Mogul's Dominions, and all along the Mountains, as you go to the Kingdoms of *Aſem* and *Boutan*, the meaner ſort of People wear it for Bracelets and Necklaces.

8. Yellow Amber is only found upon the Coaſt of *Pruſſia* in the Baltick-Sea, for the Sea throws it upon the Sand, when certain Winds blow. The Elector of *Brandenburg* farms it out for 20, and ſometimes for 22000 Crowns a Year; and the Farmers keep a continual Guard on both Sides of the Sea, that it be not ſtole. It is nothing elſe but a certain Congelation made in the Sea like Gum; for ſometimes Flies and Gnats are congealed in it. In *China* it is a Cuſtom for the great Lords, at their Feaſts, for Grandour and Magnificence, to ſet three or four different ſorts of Perfuming-Pots on the Table, and to throw into every one of them a vaſt Quantity of Amber, and the bigger the Pieces the more magnificent is the Entertainment accounted. This Waſte of Amber makes it the beſt Commodity that can be carried into *China*; but the *Hollanders* have engroſſed it.

As for Ambergreece, no Man knows what it is, or where, or how it is produced. It is moſt probable that it muſt be in the Eaſtern Sea, though ſome have been found on the Coaſts of *England*, and other Regions of *Europe*. The greateſt Quantity of it is found upon the Coaſt of *Melinda*, at the Mouth of the *Rio de Sena*. A *Portugueze* ſailing from *Goa* to *Macao*, after he had paſſed the Streights of *Malacca*, found a Piece of thirty-three Pound weight; and a *Middleburgher* a Piece of forty-two Pound upon the Coaſt of the Iſland of *St. Maurice*. [illegible] Quantity of Muſk comes [illegible] and from thence it is [illegible] City of [illegible] where the [illegible] with the Merchants for Coral, Yellow Amber, and other Commodities, rather than Gold or Silver. It grows in a Bladder in the Belly of a certain Creature, [illegible] which the People who [illegible] it cut it off after it is killed. It looks like clotted Blood when it is new cut off. None of theſe Creatures have above one Bladder, which is no bigger than an Hen's Egg, and will not yield above half an Ounce of Muſk; and ſometimes [illegible] will not yield an Ounce. The Scent of the Bladder is ſo ſtrong, that it makes one's Head ach to come near it. Theſe Creatures muſt be certainly very numerous, conſidering the great Quantity of Muſk that is to be ſold.

9. Bezoar comes from a Province of *Golconda*, towards the N. E. It is found in the Paunch of a Wild-Goat, which brouzes upon a certain Shrub; and having eaten the Buds or Tops of the Boughs, the Bezoar is produced by them in the Maw of the Goat, and is of divers Shapes, according to the Form of the Bud. The Natives, by feeling on the Belly of the Goat, know how many Stones he has within him. The Excellency of the Bezoar is in the Bigneſs, although the ſmall have the ſame Vertue with the larger; for if five or ſix Stones weigh an Ounce, they are worth no more than ſeventeen or eighteen *Franks*; but if one Stone weighs an Ounce, it is worth an hundred *Franks*; and one of four Ounces and an half was ſold for two hundred Livres. In what Part of the Body the Bezoar is bred, none can tell. As well in the *Eaſt* as *Weſt-Indies*, there are great Quantities of Bezoars that breed in Cows, and of a great Bigneſs, *viz.* ſeventeen or eighteen Ounces, but they are little eſteemed, ſix Grains of the former working more powerfully than thirty of this.

The Bezoar that breeds in Apes is ſo ſtrong that two Grains will work as powerfully as ſix Grains of Goat's Bezoar, but it is very ſcarce, as being found only in the Apes of the Iſland of *Macaſſar*. The Scarcity as well as Strength, makes it dear, ſo that a Piece as big as a Nut is worth a hundred Crowns.

The Porcupine-Stone, which is bred in the Head of that Creature, is more precious than Bezoar againſt Poiſon: If it be ſteeped in Water a Quarter of an Hour, it makes the Water as bitter as poſſible. There is another Stone taken out of the Belly of the ſame Creature, as good as the other; but being ſteeped in Water it loſes nothing of its Weight or Bulk, as the other does.

The Serpent-Stone, which is about the Bigneſs of a Pidgeon's Egg, is almoſt Oval, thick in the Middle, and thin about the Sides. The *Indians* ſay it is bred in the Head of certain Serpents; but it is more probably a Compoſition of certain Drugs, becauſe they are to be had of the *Bramins* only: But, however it be, it is of excellent Virtue to drive away Venom from ſuch as are bitten with venomous Beaſts; for, being laid to the Wound, it will not come off till it has drawn out all the Poiſon; and being ſteeped in Womens or Cows Milk, it recovers its former Virtue, making the Milk like Corruption. There is another Stone, called the Serpent's-Stone with the Hood, becauſe that kind of Serpent has an Hood hanging down behind the Head, in which this Stone is found. It is often found as big as a Pullet's Egg; but it is not found in any leſs Serpent than of two Foot Length: This Stone being rubbed againſt another Stone, yields a Slime, which, being drank in Water by the Perſon that is poiſoned, powerfully expels the Venom. Theſe Serpents are found only on the Coaſts of *Melinda*: But the Stones are bought of the *Portugueze* Mariners and Soldiers that come from *Mozambique*.

10. Gold is found in the greateſt Quantities in the Iſlands of *Japan*, which lie Eaſtward of *China*; though ſome think it is brought from *Formoſa* thither. The *Chineſe* alſo exchange a ſort of Gold, produced in their Country, for Silver, Weight for Weight, becauſe, they having no Silver-Mines, prefer it before Gold; but it is the [illegible] of all the Gold. In *Aſia*, in the Iſland of *Celebes*, or *Macaſſar*, there is found Gold among the Sand of their Rivers. In *Achem*, or *Sumatra*, after the rainy Seaſon, when the Torrents are waſted, they find Flints waſhed down from the Mountains with Veins of Gold in them; and the Inhabitants of the Weſt-ſide of the ſame Iſle,

bring the *Dutch*, when they lade their Pepper, great Store of Gold, but as bad, if not worse, than their *China* Gold. Towards *Thibet*, which is the ancient *Caucaſus* in the Territories of a Rajah, beyond the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, there are three Mountains cloſe by each other, one of which produces excellent Gold, the other Granats, and the third *Lapis Lazuli*. There is alſo Gold which comes from *Tipra*, but is as coarſe as the *Chineſe* Gold; and theſe are all the Places in *Aſia* that yield Gold. In *Africa* Gold is more plentiful than in *Aſia*. Out of the Empire of *Monomotapa*, which extends itſelf as far as *Preſbyter John*'s Country, comes the pureſt Gold in all *Africa*, where they dig it with Eaſe out of the Earth, not being conſtrained to dig above two or three Foot deep, and in ſome Places not inhabited for want of Water. The People find Lumps of Gold upon the Surface of the Earth of an Ounce Weight or more.

The King of the *Abyſſins* ſent the Mogul a natural Tree all of Gold, two Foot four Inches high, and ſix Inches about in the Stock, with ten or twelve Branches, ſome half a Foot long, and an Inch about, and ſome ſmaller: In ſome Branches appeared Bunches like Buds, and the Roots were thick and ſhort. The Province where the River *Sena* has its Head, called *Monkaran*, has a King of its own, and is very healthy: There the People find great Plenty of Gold-duſt in the Rivers that fall into the *Sena*, but is much coarſer than the other. The Cafres alſo of the other Provinces bring great Store of Gold yearly to *Sofala* and *Cheapon Goura*, which are under the *Portugueze*, to buy ſuch Commodities as they want, when the Ships come. Some Years there are Cafres that come from the *Cape of Good-Hope* to *Sofala*, which is four Months Journey, and bring very fine Gold in Pieces, like that of *Monomotapa*, which, they ſay, they find in the Mountains by digging ten or twelve Foot deep.

They alſo bring great Quantities of Elephants Teeth; for they abound ſo in Elephants, that the Palliſadoes of their Fortreſs and Pales of their Parks, are all made of Elephants Teeth. Their uſual Diet is Elephants Fleſh. In the Kingdom of *Beroe* grows a Root of a yellow Colour, very bitter, and about an Inch thick, which cures all ſorts of Fevers by vomiting. There are no Silver-Mines in *Aſia*, unleſs it be in *Japan*. But a few Years ſince there have been diſcovered plentiful Mines of Tin at *Delegora*, *Sangora*, *Bordelen*, and *Bata*, which have ſpoiled the Trade of the *Engliſh* thither for that Commodity.

11. The great Extent of the vaſt Empire of the Mogul, as well as the various Temperature and Productions of the Soil and Climate, makes as much Difference between one Province and another, as if they were ſeveral Kingdoms; and therefore there can be no way to give an exact Account of all Things remarkable: But, conſidering the ſeveral Provinces diſtinctly, and what's peculiarly obſervable in them. We will begin with the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, commonly called the *Paradiſe of Indoſtan*; a Country, tho' mountainous, yet ſo fruitful, that you would take it for an ever-green Garden, being full of Trees, and Paſtures with all ſorts of Cattle, as Cows, Goats, Sheep, Horſes, Partridges, Hares, Gazels, and the Muſk-Animals. There are Abundance of Bees, but no Serpents, Tygers, Bears and Lions. The Fields produce Rice, Corn, Pulſe of divers ſorts, Hemp, and Saffron, being inter-ſected with Ditches, Lakes, and Rivulets, to advance their Plenty. Up and down every where alſo are ſeen ſome of our *European* Trees, Flowers, and all ſorts of Plants, as Apples, Pears, Prunes, Apricots, Nuts, and Vines; and their Gardens are full of Melons, Water-Melons, Skerrets, Beets, Radiſhes, and all ſorts of our Pot-herbs, and ſome that we have not: But their Fruits are not ſo many, nor ſo good as ours.

The People are very induſtrious as well as intelligent, and make Pallekies, Trunks, Bedſteads, Standiſhes, Boxes, and Spoons, with many other Pieces of handſome Workmanſhip, ſending them all over the reſt of the *Indies*; and to ſome of theſe they give ſuch a Varniſh, with counterfeit Veins, and Gold Streaks, that nothing is finer. They make alſo a kind of a Stuff an Ell and an half long, and about an Ell long called *Chales*, and embroidered at each End, for about a Foot, ſo ſoft and fine, as is inimitable, though it is attempted at *Patna*, *Agra*, and *Lahor*. The *Moguls* and *Indians*, both Men and Women, wear of them in Winter upon their Heads, and bring them over their Shoulders like a Mantle: They are made of their own Wool, which is finer than *Spaniſh*, or of the Hair taken from the Breaſt of a wild Goat in *Great Tibet*, called *Touz*: Some of theſe are ſold for a hundred and fifty Rupees to the great Omrahs.

The People are of a fair Complexion, and eſpecially the Women, are very beautiful, and of as fair Faces as in *Europe*. Between *Bimber* and *Kachemire* are ſome Mountains that ſeem to part two Worlds rather than two Provinces; for on the one Side it was ſcorching and hot, as in the *Torid Zone*, and full of *Indian* Plants proper to it; on the other Side it enjoys a temperate freſh Air, and the Soil produced Hyſſop, Thyme, Marjoram, and Roſemary, Oaks, Elms, Pines, and Plane Trees. Between thoſe Rocks are admirable Caſkades of Water, and among others one not to be paralleled, which running in a Channel between the Trees, on a ſudden precipitates itſelf into the Bottom of a ſteep Rock, with a Noiſe able to make one deaf like a Cataract. In the Month of *May* here is a Fountain that for fifteen Days regularly flows, and ſtops thrice a Day, *viz.* at Break of Day, Noon, and Night: Its flowing fills a Square ten or twelve Foot broad, and as many deep, and then it ſlacks by Degrees till about the End of the Month, and then quite ſtops for the reſt of the Year. By it the *Gentiles* have a Temple of the Idol *Brara*, and from thence the Fountain is called *Send Brari*, i. e. the Water of *Brara*, and hither many Pilgrims come to bathe and ſanctify themſelves.

In the Royal Garden at *Achavel* in this Province is a Pond, where are Fiſhes that will come when they are called, and when you caſt Bread to them. The biggeſt of which have alſo Rings in their Noſes, with Inſcriptions on them. At *Baramoulay* is a Moſk, in which is a Tomb of one of their Friars or Saints, where 'tis ſaid the Sick are cured every Day which flock thither, and eleven Moolahs, with one Finger each, lift a huge Stone, which the ſtrongeſt Man can hardly raiſe eaſily: But theſe things are miraculous only to the credulous and careleſs; but the bubbling Fountain, which riſes gently, and with ſome little Force, making ſome ſmall Bubbles, and bringing up Sand with it, which goes away with it again, and the Water becomes ſtill, and ſo remains awhile without Bubbles, and then riſes again, is certain. In the Mountains near this Fountain is a Lake that hath Ice in Summer, and looks like an Icy Sea; and a little farther is a Place, where making a great Noiſe, will preſently cauſe a Shower of Rain. Among theſe Mountains live a People which eat no Fleſh, counting it unclean, yet they have no Religion.

The City of *Azemer* is famous for the Tomb of *Cogia Mandy*, who was in great Reputation for his Sanctity, and therefore they come from all Places in Pilgrimage to it. It is a fair Building, with three Courts, paved with Marble, and hath in it a Reſervatory of Water, walled about; and in the Province adjoining there is a Beaſt like a Fox in the Snout, but no bigger than a Hare, of the Colour of a Stag, and Teeth like a Dog: It yields moſt excellent Muſk; for at the Belly is a Bladder full of Matter, like corrupt Blood, which is the Muſk. They cut off the Bladder for it, but the Beaſt never lives long after it. There are alſo Pullets, whoſe Skin is all over black, as are alſo their Bones; but the Fleſh is white, and their Feathers of another Colour. The Women of this Country are marriageable at eight or nine Years old, and bear Children at ten; the Children go naked, only with a Bit of Cloth to cover their Privities. The People are rude and uncivil, and the Men great Clowns, and impudent; when they quarrel they make a great bawling, but never come to Blows. There are venomous Scorpions in this Country, and the People have ſeveral Remedies to cure the Stinging; but the beſt of all is Fire; for by applying a burning Coal to it, they draw the Venom out, and perfectly cure it.

The Roads thro' this Country being very ſtony, they ſhoe their Oxen, and bridle and ſaddle them like Horſes; and if they be but a little ſpurred, they go as faſt as a good Horſe; with them alſo they draw their Carts and Coaches, for their white Oxen are extraordinary dear. The chief Trade of this Province is Saltpetre, for the Soil being black, affords it plentifully. When it is made they carry it to Surat to ſell it to the *Europeans* and others, who buy it to ballaſt their Ships, and ſell elſewhere.

12. In the Province of *Sinde*, which was anciently the Kingdom of *Diu*, the Inhabitants are wonderfully ingenious in all kinds of Arts, and make abundance of Curioſities, for which they have a great Trade; the fineſt Pallanquins in *India* are made at *Tata* in this Province, and there is nothing neater, nor more convenient, than the Carriages made here; but their Waggon Wheels are one Piece of ſolid Timber, like a Mill-ſtone.

The Province of *Multan* yields Plenty of Cotton, Sugar, Opium, Brimſtone, Galls, Store of Camels, which are tranſported into *Perſia*, and other Parts of the *Indies*. It furniſhes alſo all *India* with the fineſt Bows that are to be ſeen in it, and nimbleſt Dancers; the chief Town of it, of the ſame Name, is the Rendezvous of the *Banjans*, becauſe of the great Trade managed there, which cannot be carried on without them; for though it is known that they make their Profit of every thing, yet moſt Merchants chuſe rather to uſe them, than do their Buſineſs themſelves, becauſe they will buy their Goods much cheaper, and they refuſe no Service, be it ever ſo baſe or vile. The Country of *Gandahar* produces abundantly all ſorts of Proviſions that are neceſſary for human Life, unleſs it be on the Side next *Perſia*, where it is barren. The Inhabitants are great Lovers of Wine, though they are prohibited to drink it; and if any be found drunk, or doing any ſcandalous Action in Drinking, they are ſet upon an Aſs, with their Face to the Tail, and led about the Town, and attended by the Officer of the Controul, who beats a little Drum, and all the Children follow him, hooping and hollowing. There are many *Perſians* in this Province, but they are poor, and employed by the *Mohammedans* in the meaneſt Offices. The King of *Perſia* will not allow the *Gentile's* Wives to burn themſelves in that Part of his Dominions.

In the Mountains of *Caboulistan* grow Mirabolans, and many other ſorts of Drugs. The Country alſo is full of Aromatick Trees, which turn to a good Account to the Inhabitants; as do alſo the Mines of a certain ſort of Iron fit for all Uſes. Out of this Province come moſt of thoſe large Canes, of which are made Halberds and Lances, for they have many Grounds planted with them. They reckon their Months by Moons, and with great Devotion celebrate a Feaſt called *Houli*, which laſts two Days, firſt in praying, and making Oblations, and then in dancing in the Streets in Companies to the Sound of Trumpets, making Bonfires, and deſtroying the Figure of a Giant. Their Charity conſiſts chiefly in digging Wells, and building little Houſes on the Roads for Travellers, and by them is a Place for ſuch as are heavy laden, to put off and take up their Burdens without any Body's Help. This Country ſupplies the whole *Indies* with Phyſicians, which are all *Banjans*, and ſome of them very ſkilful in Medicines, and among other Remedies make great Uſe of Burning.

In the City of *Lahor* the Great Mogul has a Palace, on one Gate of which is a Crucifix, and on the other the Picture of the Virgin *Mary*. Some have thought them Marks of Chriſtianity, which was anciently profeſſed in theſe Countries; but it is really nothing but a Piece of Flattery and Hypocriſy of the King *Iehan Guire* to oblige the *Portugueze* to be his Friends. There are many *Gentiles* in this City, who have ſeveral Pagods all raiſed ſeven or eight Steps from the Ground, and ſome of them are well adorned. This is one of the largeſt and moſt fruitful Provinces in the *Indies*, the five Rivers, which make up the River *Indus*, from whence the Moguls call it *Pangeab*, making it very fruitful; for it yields all ſorts of Proviſions neceſſary for Life, as Rice, Corn, and ſeveral ſorts of Fruits. The Wines made here are pretty good, and in the Towns are not only all ſorts of painted Cloths wrought, but all the other Manufactures uſually made in the *Indies*.

13. In the Province of *Abud*, or *Hound*, and *Varad*, or *Varada*, there are many Rajahs that own not the Authority of the Mogul. At *Hagenvat* in this Province is the Pagod of the Idol *Matta*, to which the *Gentiles* that come to pay their Devotions to her, are ſaid to ſacrifice always ſome part of their own Bodies. At *Calamai*, where the *Gentiles* have alſo another famous Pagod, there is a Spring of very cold Water, which iſſues out of a Rock that continually belches out Flames, and the *Bramins* make great Advantage of the People who come to ſee the Miracle. In the Province of *Oulisser* is the famous Temple of *Jarganate*, where one of the *Faquirs* undertook to meaſure the whole Kingdom of the Mogul with his own Body, and being about to perform it, was loaded with Charity, and had much Reſpect given him.

The People of this Country, as well *Mohammedans* as *Gentiles*, are extraordinary voluptuous, have a captious and ſubtil Wit, and are much addicted to ſtealing. The Women are very bold and laſcivious, and uſe all Arts to corrupt and debauch young Men, eſpecially Strangers, whom they eaſily trapan, becauſe they are handſome, and well dreſſed. In this Province are above twenty thouſand Chriſtians, who lived in great Unity under potent Kings; but the Mogul becoming Maſter of it, and bringing in *Mohammedism*, a general Diſorder, and Corruption of Manners, invaded them.

The Country is full of Torents, and the People live in much Eaſe, becauſe it is very fruitful, producing Corn, Rice, Sugar, Ginger, Long-pepper, Cotton, and Silk, with ſeveral other Commodities; as alſo Fruits, eſpecially Anana's as big as Melons, and pleaſant to the Taſte, having ſomething of the Flavour of the Apricot. In this Province the Mogul hath a Caſtle, whither he ſends ſuch Traitors as are condemned to perpetual Impriſonment, and to that End 'tis always ſtrictly guarded.

14. In the Province of *Malva* are the Territories of *Raja-Rana*, who deduces his Pedigree from *Porus*, tho' he is now tributary to the Mogul. *Ratiſpore* is the capital City of it, and a Place of great Trade; it ſtands upon a Mountain, and hath a Caſtle belonging to it, to which the Grand Mogul ſends ſuch Traitors as are condemned to die. They are kept Priſoners for ſome time, and always ſome body is preſent with them, and the Day they are to die they make them drink a great Quantity of Milk, and then throw them down from the Top of the Caſtle upon the declining Side of the Hill, which is full of ſharp-pointed craggy Stones, that tear the Bodies of the Wretches to Pieces before they can reach the Bottom of the Precipice.

At *Chitor*, once a famous Town, but now almoſt ruined, are the Remains of an hundred Temples, or Pagods, and many antique Statues, to be ſeen. In this Country are two kinds of Bats, one like ours in *Europe*, but the other is much different: It is eight Inches long, and the Body is covered with yellowiſh Hair. The Body round, and as big as a Duck's, the Head and Eyes like a Cat's, a ſharp Snout like a Rat, pricked black Ears, without Hair, no Tail, two Teats as big as the End of ones little Finger; under the Wings four Legs, Wings almoſt two Foot long, and ſeven or eight Inches broad, of a black Skin, like wet Parchment; the two Fore-Legs end in five Talons, like a Man's Hand, and black, and without Hair; but it has Claws inſtead of Nails, with which it hangs upon the Branches of the Trees. They fly high, and are ſaid to be good Meat.

The Province of *Candiſh* is the moſt plentiful for Cotton of any Part of *Indoſtan*, and of it the People make abundance of Cloth. They paint ſome, but the white are moſt valued for the lovely Mixture of Gold and Silver that is in them; for the Rich make their Veils, Scarfs, Handkerchiefs and Coverings of them, but they are dear. Here is alſo Plenty of Rice and Indigo growing. In the Country of *Balagate* are a great many Warrs, Manguiers, Bahova, Quiſau, Caboul, and other ſorts of rare Trees. Here are vaſt Numbers of Antilopes, Hares, Partridges, and towards the Mountains are Merons, or wild Cows. Towards *Naoponia* grows the beſt Rice in all the *Indies*; for it has an odoriferous Taſte, which that of other Countries has not. Cotton abounds here alſo, and in many Places they have Sugar Canes, with Mills and Furnaces to make the Sugar. The Ways here are always ſafely guarded. The Pagods of *Alora* in this Province are ſo numerous, and ſo full of Pillars and Pillaſters, and have ſo many thouſand Figures all cut out of the natural Rock, that they may be ſaid to be Works almoſt ſurpaſſing human Force.

In the Province of *Daltabat* are bred the moſt active Tumblers in the World, who do all the Tricks of ours in *Europe*, and many more; they are as ſupple as an Eel, and will turn their whole Body into a Bowl, which others may roll about with their Hands; but the moſt active are Girls, in the Province of *Chitanagar*, which is diverſified with Hills and Plains. The Hills afford Iron, of which, at the Town of *Indelvar* chiefly, the People make a great many Swords, Daggers, and Lances, which are vended all over the *Indies*. All the Plains are good Ground, ſome ſowed with Rice, and the reſt planted with Cotton-Trees, Tamarinds, Warrs, Cadjours, Manguires, Quieſan, and others, and all watered with ſeveral Rivers, which turn and wind every Way with fair Tanques, out of which they draw the Water with Oxen; but thoſe Parts are much troubled with Thunder, Lightning, Whirl-winds, Rain, and Hail-ſtones, as big as Pullets Eggs.

In the Province of *Telenga*, as there are many *Gentiles*, ſo there are none more ſuperſtitious than they. They have abundance of Pagods, with Figures of Monſters, which can excite nothing but Horror inſtead of Devotion, unleſs in ſuch deluded Souls. They uſe frequent Waſhings; for Men, Women, and Children, as ſoon as they are out of their Beds in the Morning, go to the River to waſh, and the Rich have Water brought them, and ſo again as often as they eat. Women, who have loſt their Huſbands, are conducted to the River by their Friends that comfort them, to waſh, and ſo are Women as ſoon as they were brought to Bed; for in no Country are Women ſo eaſily delivered as here. They will eat nothing but what is dreſſed by themſelves, or their own Caſt or Tribe, and buy all their Food of the *Banjans*. They drink nothing but Water, wherein they put Tea or Coffee, nor uſe any Diſhes, but Leaves of Trees, for fear any Perſon of another Religion ſhould have eaten out of it. They eat no Fleſh, except it be on a certain Day of the Year, and that very privately; but the *Raſhpoots* eat any Fiſh, or Fleſh, except the Cow; they uſe Faſting very much, their ordinary Faſt is twenty-four Hours; and there are a great many that will faſt, eſpecially Women, ſix or ſeven Days, and ſome will faſt a Month, eating no more than a Handful of Rice a Day, and others will eat nothing at all, only drink Water, in which the Root of Criata has been boiled, which is good for many Diſtempers, and ſtrengthens the Stomach. When the Faſt is at an End, the Bramin goes with a Drum to the Houſe of the Penitent, and gives him or her Leave to eat. Laſtly, in the Province of *Baglana*, and alſo the People on the Sea-Coaſt, who are much given to Sea-faring; the *Gentiles* offer many Sacrifices to the Sea, eſpecially when any of their Relations are abroad upon a Voyage. The manner of ſacrificing is thus: They make a Veſſel of Straw about three Foot long, and cover it with a Veil, and carry it down to the Shore, with a Baſket or two of Meat and Fruits, there they throw it into the Sea, and having made ſome Prayers, leave the Baſket on Shore, that the Poor and others may come and eat what it contains.

At the End alſo of *September*, when the Sea, after the tempeſtuous Seaſon from *May* becomes again navigable, they offer another Sacrifice, but with no great Ceremonies; for they only throw Cocoa-nuts into the Sea, and every one throws one, the Boys plunging themſelves into the Sea to catch them, and ſhewing many Tricks in the Water, which are pleaſant to behold. In this Province the *Indians* marry their Children very young, and make them cohabit ſooner than in any other Part of the *Indies*; they marry them at four, five, and ſix Years old, and ſuffer them to bed together when the Boy is ten, and the Girl eight; but they leave bearing by thirty, and grow extreamly full of Wrinkles; and therefore in ſome Parts of the *Indies* they do not marry till fourteen Years of Age. The Women are very fruitful, becauſe they live very frugally, as well as their Huſbands, and their Children are brought up very eaſily. They go naked till they are about ſeven Years old, and when they are about two or three Months old they let them crawl about till they are able to go, and when they are dirty, they waſh them, and ſo they come to be as ſtrait as ours, without the Torture of ſwaddling Bands, or Stays.

15. *Bengal* is one of the moſt fruitful Countries in the World, ſuperior even to *Egypt* itſelf. It bears Rice in ſuch abundance, that it not only furniſhes its Neighbours, but very remote Countries, ſuch as *Ceylon*, and the *Maldives*; it abounds ſo in Sugar, that it ſupplies the Kingdom of *Golconda* with it, as alſo *Arabia* and *Meſopotamia*, by the Way of *Mocha* and *Baſſora*, and *Perſia* itſelf, by *Bandorabaſſi*. The *Portugueze* make excellent Sweet-meats here, with which they drive a great Trade, and the People preſerve and candy Pome-Citrons, a Root which is long, like Sarſaparilla, very delicate Ambaſs, Anana's, Mirobalans, Lemons and Ginger, great Quantities of which are ſent to us in *Europe*. It is true, it does not produce much Corn, becauſe the People feed ſo much upon Rice; but it produces ſufficient for their Uſe, and to accommodate the Ships of *Europe* with excellent Biſcuits very cheap; three or four ſorts of Pulſe, which, together with Rice and Butter, are the uſual Food of the poor People, are there to be had almoſt for nothing; for a Rupee, which is about half a Crown, you may buy twenty good Pullets, and more, and Geeſe, and Ducks, in Proportion. Kids and Sheep are very plentiful; and there is ſuch Store of Pork, that the *Portugueze* live on nothing elſe almoſt, and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* victual their Ships with it. There is alſo Plenty of all ſorts of Fiſh, both in the freſh and ſalt Water, and Want of nothing; for this Reaſon, together with the Liberty that all Men enjoy for the Exerciſe of their Religion there, all the Chriſtians are fled thither from all Ports taken by the *Dutch*; ſo that in *Agouli*, 'tis ſaid, there are eight or nine thouſand Chriſtians, and in other Parts of the Kingdom above twenty-five thouſand more; it is the general Magazine for Cotton Cloths, and Silks, not only for *Indoſtan*, but all the neighbouring Kingdoms, and *Europe* itſelf.

The *Hollanders* tranſport vaſt Quantities of both, ſome fine, and others coarſe, both dyed and white into *Japan*, *Europe*, and other Places, beſides what the *Portugueze*, *Engliſh*, and other Merchants ſell elſewhere: 'Tis true, the Silks are not ſo fine as thoſe of *Perſia*, *Syria*, *Said*, and *Bampt*; but then they are cheaper, and very good of their Price. Saltpetre is found in ſuch Quantities in this Country, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* load whole Ships full to carry it to many Places of the *Indies*, and into *Europe*. From *Bengal* alſo there comes Lac, Opium, Wax, Civet, and Long-Pepper; and even their Butter is tranſported into other Places. The Air, indeed, is not over healthy, eſpecially near the Sea for Strangers, ſo that of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* many of them died at their firſt coming there; but now by reſtraining their Intemperances, and uſing a little *Bourdeaux* Wine, Canary, or Shiras, they preſerve themſelves tollerably healthy among them. The whole Country is well watered by Channels cut out of the River *Ganges*, which contributes as much to their Commerce as Plenty; it is well peopled, and has abundance of Villages full of *Gentiles*, and the Fields produce, beſides Sugar, Rice, Corn, and Pulſe abovementioned, Seſamum for Oil, ſmall Mulberries to feed Silk-worms, Anana's, and other Fruit-bearing Trees. In the *Ganges* alſo are many other fruitful Iſles covered with continual Verdure; but towards the Mouth ſome of them are abandoned, becauſe they were much infeſted by the *Corſairs* and the *Franks* of *Racon*, ſo that they have no other Inhabitants but Tygers, Gazala's, Hogs, and Poultry. Nature in this Country produces Miracles, as they ſeem to us far diſtant. It is not uncommon in rainy Seaſons to ſee Rainbows of the Moon in the Night, when the Moon is at the full, and in ſome calm Seaſons the Buſhes will be covered ſo thick with little ſtinging Flies, that they ſeem all on Fire, and there ariſe frightful Flames in great Globes, which the ignorant look upon as Devils.

16. The Kingdom of *Boutan* is of a large Extent, and it is hard to come to a perfect Knowledge of it, the Merchants that trade from thence into the *Indies* being able to give but a very imperfect Account of it. The Caravan is three Months travelling to *Patana*, ſetting out at the End of *December*, and in eight Days arriving at *Gorrochepour*, which is the laſt Town in the Great Mogul's Dominions; and there is a heavy Cuſtom of 25 *l. per Cent.* impoſed

upon all Merchandize; but the Merchants uſually bargain with the Cuſtomer before they proceed, for they bring it down to ſeven or eight in the Way from *Garrochepour*. For eight or nine Days Journey the Caravan ſuffers much Hardſhip, for the Country is nothing but Foreſts, and full of wild Elephants; ſo that the Merchants, inſtead of taking their reſt, are forced to watch, keep Fires, and ſhoot off their Muſkets all the Night long; for the Elephants, who make no Noiſe in treading, will otherwiſe come upon them unawares; not that they will do any Miſchief to the Men, but will plunder the Caravan of their Victuals. Five or ſix Leagues thence you enter into the Territories of the Rajah of *Nupal*, which extends to the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Boutan*; he is a tributary to the Great Mogul, and is to pay him every Year an Elephant for his Homage. The Metropolis where he reſides is of the ſame Name; but there is little either of Trade or Money in this Country, becauſe it is all Wood and Foreſts. Having paſſed his Territories, you come to certain Mountains, which are upon the Confines of *Boutan*: All this Road you may travel in Palleki's; but generally the Travellers ride upon Oxen, Camels, or Horſes, bred up in the Country, which, though very ſmall and dear, yet are ſtrong, and will travel twenty Leagues without baiting; and indeed you can uſe no other ſort of Carriage croſs theſe Mountains, becauſe of the Narrowneſs and Ruggedneſs of the Paſſes.

When the Caravan arrives at the Foot of the Mountains called *Naugrocot*, abundance of People come from all Parts of them; but the greateſt Part of them are Women and Girls, who agree with the Merchants to carry them their Goods and Proviſions over the Mountains, which is eight Days Journey. Theſe Women carry upon each Shoulder a Woollen Roll, to which is faſtened a large Cuſhion, that hangs down upon their Backs, upon which they carry Seats. There are three Women to carry one Man, relieving one another by Turns; and for their Luggage and Proviſions, they lay them upon Goats that will carry a hundred and fifty Pound Weight apiece: Thoſe that will ride, are forced to have their Horſes hoiſted up with Cords. The Women that carry the Men get for their eight Days Travel two Rupees apiece, and as much for every Burthen that the Goats carry, and for every Horſe which they load. Having paſſed over thoſe Mountains, you may go the reſt of the Journey to *Boutan*, upon Oxen, Camels, Horſes, or Palleki's. The Country is good, abounding in Rice, Corn, Pulſe, and Store of Wine. All the People, both Men and Women, are clad in the Summer with a large Piece of Fuſtian, or Hempen Cloth, and in the Winter with a thick Cloth almoſt like Felt. Both Men and Women wear upon their Heads a kind of Bonnet much like Drinking-Cans, which they adorn with Boars Teeth, and with round and ſquare Pieces of Tortoiſe-ſhell; the richer ſort mix with them Pieces of Coral and Amber Beads, of which their Women make themſelves Necklaces. The Men, as well as the Women, wear Bracelets upon their left Hands only from the Wriſt to the Elbow. The Women wear them ſtrait, and the Men looſe. About their Necks they wear a Silver Twiſt, at the End whereof hangs a Bead of yellow Amber, or Coral, or a Boar's Tooth, which dangles upon their Breaſt. Upon their left Sides their Girdles are buckled with Beads of the ſame. Though they be Idolaters, yet they feed upon all ſorts of Food, except the Fleſh of the Cow, which they adore, as the common Nurſe of all Men. They are great Lovers of ſtrong Waters. They obſerve alſo ſome Ceremonies from the *Chineſe*, burning Amber at the Cloſe of their Feaſts, though they do not worſhip Fire, as the *Chineſe* do.

Upon theſe Accounts Amber and Coral are good Commodities at *Boutan*; a Piece of yellow Amber as big as a Nut, bright and clear, is worth forty-five Rupees, and a Piece of nine Ounces two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Rupees. Coral rough, or wrought into Beads, yields a proportionable Advantage; but they had rather have it rough, to ſhape it into what Figure they pleaſe themſelves. The Women and Maids are generally the Artiſts among them, as to their Toys. The moſt excellent Rhubarb comes from this Country of *Boutan*. It is a Root which they cut in Pieces, and ſtringing them by ten or twelve together, hang them up a drying; being dried, the Merchants muſt carry them carefully, for if it takes wet, it is utterly ſpoiled, and they had need to carry it the moſt ſpeedy Way, for it is liable to corrupt, or if not, it is apt to eat out its own Virtue. This Kingdom alſo produces ſome Muſk, and Plenty of Furs. They have good Store of Martins in their Country, whcth yield a very rich Fur; but not having the Skill that the *Muſcovites* have to take them, they loſe the Profit of that Commodity, which the *Muſcovitas* have; for no ſooner does that Creature peep out of its Hole, but the *Muſcovites*, who lie upon the Watch, have them preſently, ſhooting them, either in the Noſe or Eyes; for ſhould they hit them in the Body, the Blood would quite ſpoil the Skin: From hence alſo is brought the Seed, which is accounted ſo good againſt Worms, called therefore Worm-ſeed. It is the Seed of a certain Plant which grows in the Fields, but muſt not be gathered till the Plant is dead, which is the Reaſon that the Wind ſcatters the greateſt Part of it before it can be gathered, which makes it ſcarce. When they gather the Seed, they take two little Hampers, and as they go along the Fields, they move them backward and forward, as if they were mowing the Herb, and ſo bowing it at the Top, the Seed falls into the Hampers.

17. The King and all his People are Idolaters, and worſhip Monſters, as the other Heathen *Indians* do. There is no King in the World more feared and reſpected by his Subjects than the King of *Boutan*, being in a manner adored by them. When he ſits to do Juſtice, or give Audience, all that appear in his Preſence hold their Hands cloſe together above their Forheads, and, at a Diſtance from the Throne, proſtrate themſelves upon the Ground, not daring to lift up their Heads. In this humble Poſture they preſent all their Petitions to the King, and when they retire they go backwards, till they are quite out of Sight. It is affirmed, then when the King does the Deeds of Nature, ſuch as are about him preſerve it, and dry and powder it, like Sneezing-powder, and ſell it to the Merchants and Farmers, who buy it as a great Rarity, and at their Feaſts ſtrew it upon their Meat. This King has conſtantly about him ſeven or eight thouſand Men for his Guard. Their Weapons for the moſt part are Bows and Arrows, but ſome of them carry Battle-Axes and Bucklers. They have had the Uſe of Muſkets and Cannon a long Time: The Grain of their Gun-powder is long, but of an extraordinary Force; and their Cannon have Letters and Figures upon them, by which it appears that ſome of them are above five hundred Years old.

No Man may ſtir out of the Kingdom without the Governor's Leave; nor is any allowed to carry a Muſket along with him, unleſs their next Kindred will undertake for them that they ſhall bring them back. Their Guns are poliſhed within as ſmooth as a Looking-glaſs, and garniſhed without with emboſſed Wires, and Flowers of Gold and Silver inlaid, and carry large Bullets. There are always fifty Elephants, and twenty-five Camels, with each a Piece of Artillery mounted upon his Back, which carry half a Pound Ball; behind it ſits a Cannoneer to manage and level it as he pleaſes. The Natives of *Boutan* are ſtrong, and well proportioned, but their Noſes are ſomewhat flat. The Women are bigger, and more vigorous than the Men, but are troubled with Swellings in the Throat more than the Men are, for few of them eſcape that Diſeaſe. They know not what War is, having no Enemy to fear but the Mogul; and from him they are fenced with high, ſteep, craggy and ſnowy Mountains, which he never thought worth his Trouble to paſs. Northward there are nothing but vaſt Foreſts and Snows; Eaſt and Weſt no Water but what is bitter. And as for the Rajahs near them, they are Princes of ſmall Force. They have a Silver-Mine in the Kingdom of *Boutan*, for the King coins much Silver in Pieces of the Value of a *Roupee*; but they have a little Gold, and what they have is by the Merchants brought them out of the Eaſtern Countries.

18. The Kingdom of *Tipra* lies on the N. W. of the Kingdom of *Aragan*, twelwe Days Journey from *Daca*: It is about fifteen Days Journey a-croſs. They ride upon Oxen and Horſes, which are very low, but very hardy. The King and Nobility ride in Palleki's or upon Elephants

of War. The People are as ſubject to Wens on their Throats as thoſe of *Boutan*, inſomuch that ſome of their Women have them hanging down to their Breaſts, which proceed from the Badneſs of the Waters. There is nothing in *Tipra* which is fit for Strangers.]

There is a Mine of Gold, but the Metal is very coarſe; and there is a ſort of coarſe Silk, which is all the Revenue the King has, for he exacts no Subſidies from his Subjects. Only they who are not of the prime Nobility work ſix Days in the Year in the Mine or Silk-Works. He ſends his Gold and Silk into *China*, and for them they bring him back Silver, which he coins into Pieces of the Value of eighteen *Sous*, and others of twenty-two *Sous*. In the Language of this Country he is called *Dieu-Aragari*, which is ſtamped upon one Side of the Money, and on the other *Chattermani Rey de Tipoura*; he alſo makes thin Pieces of Gold, like the *Aſpers* of *Turky*, of which he has two Sorts, four of one making a Crown, and two of the other.

19. The Kingdom of *Aſem* is one of the beſt Countries in all *Aſia*, for it produces all Things neceſſary for human Subſiſtence, without any Need of foreign Supply. There are in it Mines of Gold, Silver, Steel, Lead, Iron, and great Store of Silk, but coarſe. There is a Sort of Silk found under the Trees, which is ſpun by a Creature like our Silk-worms, but rounder, and which lives all the Year long under the Trees. The Stuffs that are made of this Silk gliſter very much, but they fret preſently. This Country alſo produces all ſorts of Gum-Lac, of which there are two ſorts; one grows under the Trees of a red Colour, with which they paint their Linnen and Stuffs; and when they have drawn out the red Juice, the remaining Subſtance ſerves to varniſh Cabinets, and make Wax, being the beſt Lac in *Aſia* for thoſe Uſes. As for the Gold, they never ſuffer it to be tranſported out of the Kingdom; nor do they make any Money of it, but preſerve it in Ingots, which paſs in Trade among the Inhabitants; but the Silver the King coins into Money of three Drams four Grains Weight, which make twenty-three *Sous*. Tho' their Country is very plentiful in all Things, yet there is no Fleſh they eſteem ſo much as Dogs-Fleſh, which is the greateſt Delicacy at their Feaſts, and is ſold every Month in every City of the Kingdom upon their Market-Days. They have alſo great Store of Vines and very good Grapes, but they never make any Wine, but dry the Grapes to make *Aqua Vitæ*.

They have no Salt but what is artificial, which is made two Ways; firſt, they raiſe great Heaps of that green Stuff that ſwims on the Top of the ſtanding Waters, which the Ducks and Frogs eat; this they dry and burn, and the Aſhes thereof being boiled in a Cloth in Water, become very good Salt: But the moſt uſual Way is to take the Leaves of *Adam's* Fig-tree, which, being burnt, the Aſhes thereof make a Salt ſo tart that it is impoſſible to eat it till the Strength be taken away, which they do by putting the Aſhes into the Water, and ſtirring them up and down ten or twelve Days together, and then they ſtrain the Subſtance through a Cloth and boil it; for, as the Water boils away, the Bottom thickens, and when the Water is all boiled away, they find at the Bottom very good and white Salt. Of the Aſhes of the Fig-Leaves they alſo make a Lye with which they waſh their Silks, which makes them as white as Snow; but they have not Leaves enough to whiten half the Silk that grows in their Country.

In the City of *Kemmeroof* the King of *Aſem* keeps his Court. This King requires no Subſidies of his People, for all the Mines in the Kingdom are his own; and, for his Subjects Eaſe, he has none but Slaves that work in them; ſo that all the Natives of *Aſem* live at their Eaſe; and every one has his Houſe to himſelf, and in the Midſt of his Ground a Fountain incompaſſed with Trees, and moſt commonly every one an Elephant to carry their Wives, for they have four Wives; and when they marry them, they ſay to them, *I take thee to ſerve me in ſuch a Thing*, and to another, *I take thee to do ſuch a Buſineſs*: So that every one of their Wives knowing what ſhe has to do in the Houſe, there is no Difference among them. The Men and Women are generally well complexioned, only thoſe that live more ſoutherly are ſwarthy, and ſubject to Wens in their Throats; nor are they ſo well featured, and the Women are ſomething flat noſed. In the Southern Parts the People go ſtark naked, only covering their Privy-Parts, with a Bonnet upon their Heads like a blue Cap, hung about with Swines Teeth.

They make large Holes in their Ears, that you may run your Thumb in, and hang in them Pieces of Gold and Silver; Bracelets alſo of Tortoiſe-Shells and Sea-Shells, as long as an Egg, which they ſaw into Circles; are in great Eſteem among the meaner ſort, as Bracelets of Coral and yellow Amber are among the richer. When they bury a Man, all his Friends and Relations muſt come to the Burial, and when they lay the Body in the Ground, they all take off their Bracelets from their Arms and Legs, and bury them with the Corps. In the City of *Azoo* are the Tombs of the Kings of *Aſem* and all the Royal Family; for though they are Idolaters, they never burn their dead Bodies, but bury them. They believe that the Dead go all of them into another World, and that they that have lived well in this have Plenty of all Things; but they who have been ill Livers, ſuffer the Want of all Things, being in a more eſpecial manner afflicted with Hunger and Drought; and that therefore 'tis good to bury ſomething with them to ſerve them in their Neceſſity. For this Reaſon their Kings build themſelves, in their Life-times, Chapels in the great Pagods to be buried in, wherein they ſtore up great Sums of Gold and Silver, and other Moveables of Value: Beſides, when they bury any of their Kings, they bury with him likewiſe whatever he eſteemed moſt precious in his Life-time, whether it be an Idol of Gold or Silver, or whatever elſe, that being needful in this, is alſo as they think neceſſary in the Life to come.

But that which ſavours moſt of Barbariſm is this; that when any King dies, all his beſt-beloved Wives, and the principal Officers of his Houſe, poiſon themſelves to be buried with him, and to wait upon him in the other World: And they alſo bury one Elephant, twelve Camels, ſix Horſes, and a good Number of Hounds, believing that all theſe Creatures riſe again to ſerve the King. 'Tis thought theſe were the People that firſt invented Guns, and Powder, and that the Invention ſpreading itſelf into *Pegu*, and then into *China*, it from thence became known in the World, and ſo the *Chineſe* were thought to be the Inventors of them. Their Powder is very ſmall and round, like ours in *Europe*, and very ſtrong. As for the Kingdom of *Siam*, and that of *Macaſſar*, the Accounts already given of them, diſpenſe us from the Neceſſity of inſerting what this Author has written about them. But with regard to that of the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, or *Tonquin*, it is at once ſo conciſe and ſo curious, that it would be unjuſt to conceal it from the Reader's Notice; and, therefore, with this Deſcription we ſhall conclude this Part of the Travels of Mr. *Tavernier*.

20. The Kingdom of *Tonquin* is bounded on the Eaſt by *Canton*, a Province of *China*, on the Weſt by the Kingdom of *Brama*, on the North by *Junan* and *Quainſi*, two other Provinces of *China*, and on the South by *Cochin-China*. The Air is mild and temperate, though it lies in the Torrid Zone, and the Ground ſo fertile that there is a continual Spring: Froſt and Snow are never ſeen here, and the Gout, Stone, and Peſtilence are Strangers in it. The North and South Winds, which continually blow, and divide the Year between them equally, ſo moderate the Heats that they are not troubleſome; yet, once in ſeven Years, they have hideous and terrible Tempeſts, which make ſtrange Deſolations, pulling up Trees, and blowing down Houſes. Theſe Exhalations are thought, by their Aſtologers, to proceed from the Mines, as is alſo believed, in *Japan*.

The whole Kingdom is divided into ſeveral Provinces, which together contain, as it is ſaid, 20000 Cities and Towns, though many Families, with their Cattle, live always upon the Water in Boats, after the Manner of the *Cochin-Chineſe*. The Country is for the moſt part level, ſave that in the North there are ſome Hills. It is watered with ſeveral Rivers, ſome of which carry Veſſels of a good Burthen, and ſo are commodious for Trade. In all this Country grow neither Corn nor Vines, becauſe they never have any Rain but in *June* and *July*; but Rice is produced in vaſt Quantities, which ſupplies the People both with Meat and Drink: They have alſo good *Aqua Vitæ*, or Strong-Waters. Their Fruits are excellent, but all different from ours. Their Palms bear larger Nuts than in any Part of *Aſia*; they are as big as a Man's Hand, and ſhaped like a Cocoa, the Pulp is as white as Snow, and taſtes like our Almonds, and every one yields a conſiderable Quantity of Liquor very pleaſing to the Palate. The Gogovier, which reſembles our Laurel, is of two ſorts, the one bears a Plumb, green without and red within, but the other a yellower Fruit, which is much more eſteemed. The Papager bears a Fruit like a ſmall Melon, and the Taſte is very delicious. The Arraga, which grows upright and tall, like the Maſt of a Ship, bears Branches only at the Top, and the Fruit is like a Nutmeg; they bruiſe it with Beetle and Chalk, which they chew to make their Teeth white, Lips vermilion, and Breath ſweet.

They have Figs of two ſorts, the one like ours, the others like thoſe called *Adam*'s Figs, as long as a Man's Finger. They have a Tree like our Willow, called the Powder-tree, becauſe of the Wood burnt into Charcoal, they make Gun-powder. The Janbagels grow very high, and bear a Fruit reſembling a Citrul-Cucumber, which has a Pulp like a Pomegranate, and is very pleaſant in the hot Seaſons. Their High-ways are planted with Warr-trees, which are a great Convenience for Travellers; for ſome of them are ſo big that two or three thouſand Men might ſhelter themſelves under them; ſome of their Branches being three hundred Paces long, and ſupported at every twelve Foot with under Branches, which, having taken Root, ſupport them like ſo many Pillars: The Nuts of them, which are no bigger than a Walnut, have a Kernel like Millet, which ſerves only for Food for the Rere-Mice, which make their Neſts there. They have Bodies as big as a Pullet, and the *Portugueze* prefer them before it. They have a certain ſort of Birds-neſts, as big as a Swallow's, which they diſſolve in Water for Sauces to all their Delicacies; they give a Flavour above all the Spices of the *Eaſt-Indies* put together; they are found only in the four Iſlands belonging to *Cochin-China*. The *Tunquineſe* alſo catch abundance of Tortoiſes in their Seas, which they not only eſteem excellent Food, and think they cannot treat their Friends as they ought to do without them, but pickle them up, and ſend them abroad, which cauſes a Trade among them. *Tunquin* affords a mighty Store of Ananas, and Orange-trees, which are of two ſorts, the one no bigger than Apricots, the other bigger than *Portugal* Oranges, both well taſted alike, and plentiful for ſix Months. Their Citrons, which are both green and yellow, are too tart to be eaten, but the Juice is made uſe of to cleanſe Copper, Tin, and Iron, for gilding, as alſo to ſcour Silk, whiten Linnen, and take out Spots.

In *Moguliſtan* they will make their Calicuts ſo white with the Juice of theſe Citrons, as to dazzle your Eyes. Great Quantities of Silk are made in this Country, of which both Rich and Poor make their Garments; and the *Hollanders* tranſport many into *China*. They have but one ſweet-ſmelling Flower, called the Bague, which grows like a Noſegay. They have abundance of Sugar, and eat very much after their Meals for Digeſtion, but they eat it out of the Cane, not having the true Art to refine it. In this whole Kingdom there are neither Lions, Aſſes, nor Sheep, but their Foreſts are full of Tygers, Harts, and Apes, and their Fields of Oxen, Cows, and Hogs, Hens, Ducks, and Turtles, which are the general Proviſions of their Feaſts, are numberleſs. Their Horſes are well ſhaped, and the King always keeps five or ſix hundred of them in his Stables. Their Elephants are of a prodigious Bigneſs; there are none ſo tall and nimble in all *Aſia*. The King keeps five or ſix hundred of them for his Service in his Palace, and Wars. They have no Cats, but their Dogs deſtroy their Rats and Mice, which are very large and miſchievous. They have very few Birds, but ſuch Multitudes of Gnats, that they are very troubleſome at Nights, as well by their Noiſe as Stinging; they drive them away by the Smoak of Rice-Chaff: But the greateſt Inconvenience of the Country are the white Emmets, whoſe Biting riſes Bliſters on the Skin; for their Teeth are ſo ſharp, that they will gnaw a Poſt in two in a little Time, and eat a Bale of Silk in twenty-four Hours, as if it were cut in two.

They have no Mines of Gold or Silver in *Tunquin*, neither do they coin any Money. The chief Commodities of this Country are, beſides the Silk above-mentioned, Lignum-Aloes, of which there are ſome worth a thouſand Crowns the Pound, being oily and good: All the *Mohammedans* uſe it to perfume their Boards and Rooms at Viſits, and therefore the *Portugueze* of *Goa* ſent, as a rare Preſent to the Emperor of *Japan*, a Piece of Lignum-Aloes ſix Foot long and round, worth 54000 Livres. The *Tunquineſe* are very faithful in their Dealings, very unlike their Neighbours the *Chineſe*, who will cheat you if they can; and if they are at any Time over-reached, will pay in light Money, for they are blunt and plain. Having no Money, they make uſe in Trade of Ingots of Gold, and Bars of Silver, which they have from *China* and *Japan* for their Silks. They are worth from three to ſix hundred Livres, and therefore in ſmall Payments they either cut them in Pieces, or pay in *Spaniſh* Reals.

The Forces of this King for War is prodigious; his uſual Army is 12000 Horſe, 2000 Elephants, as well to carry the King's and Nobilities Tents and Baggage as for the Service of the Wars 300,000 Foot and 300 Gallies, and ſometimes the amount is 500,000 Men. The Condition of the Soldiers is very toilſome and laborious; they are always upon the Guard, or attending their Captains in looking after the King's Elephants, and ſo breeding them that they need not be afraid of Fire, or in building Places of Shelter for the King's Gallies in Winter; yet their Wages are ſo ſmall that they cannot maintain their Wives and Families, but their Wives are forced to follow ſome Trade to ſupport them. Their Companies conſiſt of an hundred, or an hundred and thirty Men, and the Soldiers are obliged to keep all their Arms very neat and bright. The People of *Tunquin* are naturally mild and peaceable, ſubmitting eaſily to Reaſon, and condemning the Tranſports of Anger, and other Paſſions.

They eſteem the Manufactures of other Countries more than their own, yet love to live at home, and honour the Memories of their Anceſtors: Their Speech is ſoft, and pleaſing, they have good Memories, and are fluent in their Diſcourſe. They have good Poets among them, and their People generally love Learning; both Men and Women are well proportioned, but of an olive Complexion, and therefore much admire the Whiteneſs of the *Europeans*. Their Hair is black, and they wear it very long, and well combed and tied upon the Crown of their Heads, or about their Necks, to keep it from fluttering into their Eyes. The blackeſt Teeth, and longeſt Nails, they accounted the moſt beautiful. Their Habit is grave and modeſt, being a long Robe; for both Sexes girt about with a ſilken Girdle, mixed with Gold and Silver. The Soldiers wear an upper Garment, which reaches no farther than the Knees, and Breeches that go down to the Middle; but have neither Hoſe, nor Shoes.

The common People, except where the King's Court is, work three Months at the King's Palace, and two Months for the Madarns, or great Lords, the reſt of the Year is left to work for themſelves and Families. One Day in the Year they are obliged to lop Trees to feed the Elephants. Their Rivers are free from Crocodiles, and other dangerous Animals, which haunt the Waters of the *Nile* and *Ganges*; but yet once a Year they overflow their Banks, after the Rains, with that terrible Violence, that they carry away whole Towns and Villages along with them.

The *Tunquineſe* cannot marry without the Conſent of their Parents; and if they be dead, the Permiſſion of their neareſt Kindred, and the Allowance of the Governor of the Place where the Marriage is made; for which the Man muſt pay a certain Sum limited by Law. The People are very induſtrious here, and all the Money the Maids get before Marriage is to buy them two or three handſome Garments, a Necklace of Coral, or yellow Amber, and Beads to garniſh their Locks, and for their Portions. There is no Wedding without a great Feaſt, the poorer ſort for three Days at leaſt, if they are able, and others for nine. The

Laws of the Land permit the Man to divorce his Wife whenever he pleaſes, which they many times do for ſlight Cauſes; but the Woman has not the ſame Privilege; and if ſhe deſires it, obtains it with Difficulty; but the Man is bound to reſtore the Woman what ſhe brought with her, and keep the Children begotten between them; but now Divorces are not half ſo frequent as formerly. Adultereſſes are puniſhed here very ſeverely, the Offender being caſt to an Elephant bred up for that Purpoſe, who throws them up into the Air, and then tramples them under Feet, till they are dead.

Of all the Eaſtern People the *Tunquineſe* are the moſt ſociable, and moſt frequently viſit each other; generally they make their Viſits about Noon, with a Train ſuitable to their Condition; the Princes and Mandarins ride on Elephants, or are carried in Pallenkies, and their Train is of fifty or ſixty Perſons; the ordinary Gentry, and Officers of the Court, ride on Horſeback, and are not allowed above ſeven or eight Servants to attend them. They chew Beetle continually, where it is to be had, and at their Viſits always preſent their Friends with ſome at taking Leave; and the richer the Box is, the greater the Preſent is eſteemed. Among the *Tunquineſe*, it is a great Diſhonour to have the Head bare, for they ſhave all Criminals, and if any Perſon be found without Hair, they apprehend him, and carry him to the Governor, who cauſes him to be nailed to a Croſs immediately. They ſit croſs-legged, as the reſt of the *Aſiatics*; but inſtead of Carpets, they uſe Mats made of Reeds, as fine as Thread, and as ſoft as Velvet, which they lay upon Beds, not on the Ground, as the *Perſians* and other *Indians* do. They are not curious in their Diet, but very neat in dreſſing it.

The common People are contented with Rice boiled in Water, dry Fiſh and Eggs (for they eat Fleſh only at their Feſtivals) but the great Lords are ſerved every Day with Fleſh and Fiſh; but they know not how to bake any thing. All their Meat is cut in little Pieces, and ſerved up in little lackered Plates leſs than our Trenchers. They uſe no Napkins, or Table-cloths, Knives, Forks, or Spoons; but only two Sticks to take up their Meat; for they never touch it with their Hands. They waſh their Hands, Mouths, and Faces, before they ſit down to Meat; but never after their Meals. They are uſually ſilent at Table; but if they have a Mind to diſcourſe, the eldeſt begins firſt; for they pay much Honour to Age. When they would know whether any Perſon has eaten ſufficiently, they aſk him whether he has eaten his Rice, meaning thereby the whole Repaſt, as the Scripture does by Bread. They never aſk any Man how he does, but how he eat his Dinner; for the more a Man eats, the better they ſuppoſe him to be in Health. They take much Delight in Comedies, which are uſually acted upon the new Moon, and laſt all Night.

They ſet up their Theatres in great Halls, and adorn their Stages with beautiful Machines and Scenes. They have ſeldom more Actors than eight, either Men or Women, and they are very magnificently clad; they act their Parts perfectly well, and obſerve an exact Time in their Dancing. Their ordinary Paſtimes, and eſpecially for the Lords and Mandarins, are Fiſhing and Hunting: In the former they take the greater Pleaſure, becauſe their Rivers are full of Fiſh; but they never follow their Sport but upon certain Days, when they may be ſpared from their Buſineſs. The *Tunquineſe* are Lovers of Learning, and apply themſelves to their Studies with Diligence. Their Learning conſiſts in the Knowledge of the Laws of their Country, Mathematicks, and Aſtronomy. They are Admirers of Poetry and Muſick, and are accounted the greateſt Artiſts in them of all the People of the Eaſt.

To acquire Nobility by Learning, they ſtudy hard for eight Years in the Office of a Notary, Proctor, or Advocate; and if upon a ſtrict Examination they are found to underſtand their Office ſo well as to anſwer all Queſtions about it, their Names are preſented to the King, who grants them a Title of the Synde. Having arrived at this Degree, they are ordered to ſtudy Muſick, Aſtrology, Poetry, and Mathematicks, five Years; and if upon a ſecond Examination they anſwer all Queſtions put to them in thoſe Sciences, they are raiſed to the Dignity of Doucan; after this they muſt ſpend four Years more to write and read the *Chineſe* Characters to ſuch Number of Words; for to know or write it fully is almoſt impoſſible, it is ſo copious, and to underſtand the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Chineſe*; and after a ſtrict Examination by all the Mandarins of Learning, and Tanſi's, or Noblemen, for eight Days, if they anſwer well, they arrive at the Degree of a Tanſi, and are received into the Rank of the Nobility, and the King gives them certain Towns to take the Rents; but to ſome more, and others leſs, according to their Merit, or the Prince's Favour; and the King gives them a Veſt of Sattin.

Then they go to viſit their Towns given them by the King, where they are received in a gilded Branguar, with Muſick, and they ſtay three Months for their Recreation, and then they return to Court to inſtruct themſelves in the Affairs of the Kingdom and Palace, and arrive at the Dignity of Mandarin. In the mean time their Names being written under large Tables, are ſet upon the Gate of the King's Palace eight Days, that all the People may know who are received into the Rank of the Nobility.

The Phyſicians of *Tunquin* ſtudy Books but little, but ſpend their Youth in ſearching into the Virtues of Roots and Simples, and how to apply them to every Diſtemper, which they judge of by the beating of the Pulſe, and its Diverſity of Meaſure, as by the Pulſe of the right Hand they gueſs at the Condition of the Lungs, and by that of the Arm of the Diſtemper of the Stomach and Kidneys; by the Pulſe of the left Hand they judge of the Condition of the Heart; and by that of the Arm of the State of the Liver; and by the Pulſe of the Temples, both right and left, they give a moſt exquiſite Judgment of the Kidneys. They carefully count how many times the Pulſe of a ſick Perſon beats in the Space of one Breathing, and according to theſe ſeveral Pulſes they will tell you which Part of the Body is particularly diſtempered, whether the Heart, Liver, or Lungs, or whether it proceeds from any outward Cauſe. They generally give Decoctions of Herbs and Roots, with a little Ginger. They uſe *China* Ink to ſtop a Dyſentery, and for the Cure of Wounds, and give Powder of Crabs in Dyſenteries and Fevers, often in Water, ſometimes in Brandy.

They preſcribe Tea, which comes to them from *China* and *Japan*, as an excellent Remedy againſt the Head-ach and Gravel, and with a little Ginger for the Griping of the Guts. That is accounted the beſt Tea which colours the Water greeneſt; for that which colours it red is little accounted of. Againſt the Afflictions which proceed from bad Airs, and cold Wines, they uſe a Counter-poiſon mixed with *Aqua Vitæ*, in which alſo they dip a Cloth, and rub the Patient well; but in this they boil a little Ginger, and for a more ſpeedy Cure they ſweat the Patient in a Cloud of Frankincenſe; they never uſe Blood-letting, and in the Purple Fever they uſe Fire, and ſometimes pricking every Spot. The Spot being burnt will give a Whiff like a Squib, which is an infallible Sign that the Venom is gone out of the Body; but the Phyſician muſt take care that it does not enter his own, for then Death certainly follows. If the Spot be pricked to let out the peſtilential Blood, they burn it, and then rub it with Ginger, not permitting the Patient to take the Air in twenty Days, or eat any Fleſh, or Butter. Theſe Remedies are effectual to a Wonder, and cure in a ſhort Time.

The Kingdom of *Tunquin* was anciently a Part of *China*, but has been for ſix hundred Years governed by its own Kings. The firſt that aſſumed the Title of King was a Robber, whoſe Name was *Din*, who heading a great Number of Malecontents, gained many bloody Battles over the *Chineſe*, and ſeized the Province for his Kingdom. The People did not permit him to reign long in Peace; but riſing againſt him, ſlew him; though he left two Sons, yet they reigned but a few Years ſucceſſively, and died without Iſſue. The Kingdom after their Death was mightily diſtracted with Civil Wars, till the *Chineſe* being called in to aſſiſt the weaker Party, brought things to a Settlement, and a Mandarin, of the Family of *Lelequell*, was advanced to the Throne.

He being a valiant and prudent Prince, reſtored Peace and Order to the Kingdom; and after he was eſtabliſhed, built an admirable Palace of Marble of divers Colours, and very large; he left one Daughter to ſucceed him, and ſhe, to ſecure herſelf, married a powerful Mandarin, of the Houſe of *Tran*; but ſhe being depoſed, and ſlain by her rebellious Subjects, the *Chineſe* again ſeized the Government, and held it twenty Years. They ſet Governors over every Province, and laid heavy Tributes upon the People, ſo that being weary of the Oppreſſion, they joined under a valiant Captain of the Houſe of *Lee*, and vanquiſhed the *Chineſe* in three Battles, ſeated him on the Throne, and in his Family the Government continued above eighty Years, the laſt of this Race having given an Affront to a great Lord of the Houſe of *Marr*, which had formerly enjoyed the Scepter, he being aſſiſted by a great Number of Malecontents, ſought to regain the Kingdom, and in one bloody Battle became Maſter of it.

But he enjoyed it not above two Years, being depoſed by one of the Family of *Trin*, who refuſing to aſcend the Throne, reſtored it to the Family of *Lee*, yet reſerving to himſelf and Family the whole Command of the Army, and Diſpoſal of all the Revenues of the State, and all publick Affairs; ſo that the King, whom they call *Boua*, has the Name, Title, and State; but the General, whom they call *Choua*, has the Power. The King hears Cauſes almoſt every Day, but makes no publick Edict, which is of any Effect, till it is ſigned by the *Choua*: He lives ſhut up in his Palace, and ſtirs not out but upon certain Days; he has generally two thouſand Soldiers for his Guard, and keeps ſometimes twenty thouſand quartered upon his Frontiers, eſpecially towards *Cochin-China*, and with them fifty Elephants upon the Rivers alſo of the Kingdom, where any Enemy can endanger him; he keeps uſually one hundred great Gallies, with a vaſt Company of ſmall Galliots.

The eldeſt Sons here do not always ſucceed their Fathers in the Throne, but by the Influence of the *Choua* and Counſellors, his Creatures, he is obliged to name which of his Sons he will have to reign after him, if he has many, and him they promiſe to eſtabliſh, ſhutting up all the reſt in the Palace, as in a Priſon, and not ſuffering them to meddle with Affairs of State; yet four times a Year they are allowed to go out under an Officer appointed by the *Choua*, and have Leave to ſtay out ſix Days. On the firſt they are to viſit the Temples and Prieſts, and give them large Alms, the next two Days they hunt, and the three laſt fiſh.

The Kingdom of *Tunquin* is divided into eight large Provinces, every one of which has its Governor and Magiſtrates; but there lies an Appeal from their Sentence to the King, his thirty-two Counſellors, and one hundred Aſſiſtants. Their Nobility attain that Degree by Merit only, *viz.* by their Valour in the Wars, and Learning; and as theſe latter go through a long Courſe of Studies, and ſtrict Examinations, as is before ſhewn, ſo the former are inſtructed in warlike Exerciſes betimes, *viz.* to handle their Swords, to aim with their Bows, to fire a Muſket, to ride the great Horſe, to ſhoot running, to manage their Zagays, which are long Staves checked with Iron like a Half-pike, and make all ſorts of artificial Fire-works, which they uſe againſt Elephants in War; for though ſome Elephants may be taught not to regard them, though they go off under their Noſes or Bellies, yet one in ten cannot be brought to it; ſo that unleſs their Governors take great Care, inſtead of running upon the Enemy, they will turn upon their Friends, and put a whole Army into a diſmal Confuſion, if not deſtroy it, as they did *Aurengzebe*'s at the Siege of *Daman*.

21. The Kingdom of *Tunquin* paid a Tribute to the *Chineſe* till the Year 1667, when the *Tartars* invaded their Country, and then they concluded a Peace, on condition that they ſhould ſend every Year an Embaſſador to *Pequin* to do Homage to the Emperor of *China*. They obſerve an exact Order in adminiſtering Juſtice, and regulating Affairs all over the Kingdom; they are very exact in puniſhing Murder, and none can eſcape, but ſuch as have killed one that has no Relations to revenge his Death; for the King can pardon no Man for this Crime, and all the Favour he can ſhew, is to leave him to the Kindred of the Slain.

They take great Care for the publick Good, to repair Bridges and Highways, and every Quarter of a League there is Water and Fire provided for thoſe Travellers who may want them. Though the King has not much Power in his Kingdom, yet he is highly honoured by his Subjects, and keeps a very ſplendid Court the firſt and fifteenth Day of every Month: All the Mandarins, except the General, who is allowed to ſend his Deputy, come in their *Chineſe* Habits to kiſs the King's Hand, as the inferior Mandarins, who are Governors of Provinces, Juſtices, and military Officers, do the *Choua's* on the firſt Day of the Year. All that deſire to ſee the King, are obliged to put on violet Robes, both themſelves and their Servants, and if they beg any Favour, muſt carry a Preſent. On the firſt Day of every new Year the King diſtributes ſeveral Largeſſes and Gifts to his Courtiers, and the Children of ſuch as have done him any important Services, which are Panes of Gold worth ſix hundred Livres each, and Bars of Silver, which are worth forty-ſix Livres each: He alſo releaſes all Priſoners, both Criminals and Debtors, provided their Crimes do not deſerve Death, and the Debts do not exceed two Bars of Silver.

The three laſt Days of the Year the four Mandarins, who are the chief Counſellors of the State, take Oaths of all the Lords and Officers of the Court, and their Wives, to be faithful to the King, and diſcover any Treaſon againſt his Perſon and Government, and the Governors of Cities and Countries, do the ſame to the Lords, Gentlemen, Citizens, and Inhabitants of their Juriſdictions, and every one that diſcovers any Treaſon, never fails of a Reward, according to his Quality; and mean People are gratified with a Reward of fifty Panes of Gold, and five hundred Bars of Silver, which amounts to 53,000 Livres; but they eſteem Nobility above Money. They have a Muſter of the Youth every Year, and all ſuch as are found not to be of the Nobility, or not to have learnt a Trade, are immediately enrolled for the King's Service, to be of his Guards, or defend his Frontiers. Some will endeavour to get off by Money; but if they are diſcovered, both Officers and Soldiers are puniſhed without Mercy; for they hang a little Bell about their Necks, and fetter their Arms, and ſend them to the General, who preſently orders their Heads to be ſtricken off, or upon Interceſſion of Friends, they are to be hanged, becauſe they are very averſe to Bloodſhed, and believe the Death moſt honourable that is free from it. When the King goes at any time out of his Palace to take his Pleaſure, he is ſeated upon a moſt magnificent Pallanquin, carried by eight Men, where he is ſeen by all the People, the Lords and Officers of the Court attending on Foot, if he goes no farther than the City; but if he goes in the Country, he rides on an Elephant, and the Lords attend him on Horſeback. When the Queen-Mother, or his firſt Wife goes abroad, they are likewiſe carried upon a cloſe Pallanquin, with Lettice Windows, that they may ſee, and not be ſeen, and the Maids of Honour follow it on Foot.

The Mandarins, and great Princes, ſolemnize their Birth-days every Year with great Feaſting, Paſtimes, Comedies, and Fire-works, and at the ſame time give large Alms, eſpecially to poor Widows and Priſoners. When the King dies, and leaves ſeveral Sons, he is ſet up whom the King has appointed his Succeſſor; and on the third Day of his Deceaſe the General, with all the military Mandarins, Lords of the Council, and Governors of Provinces, repair to the Prince's Apartment, where they preſent him with a *Chineſe* Habit, and mounting him on an Elephant, bring him into one of the great Courts of the Palace, which is covered with Cloth of Gold and Silver as a Tent, and place him upon a magnificent Throne, where being ſeated, all the Mandarins proſtrate themſelves to him upon the Earth with their Heads downward; in which Poſture, having lain ſome time, they riſe, and cloſing their Hands together, with their Arms and Eyes lifted up towards Heaven, they ſwear to be faithful to him till Death.

The new King, to requite this Loyalty, orders four Panes of Gold, and ſix Bars of Silver, to be given to every one; but to the Conſtable, or General, he gives two Panes of Gold, and forty Bars of Silver; and to the Preſident of the Council half as many: After theſe Preſents are given, ſeveral Pieces of Artillery are fired about the Palace, with ſome Vollies of ſmall Shot, by the Soldiers then in Arms, which are 30,000 Horſe and Foot, the King ſet upon a magnificent Pallanquin, carried by eight military Mandarins, and eight of the Council, the Conſtable and chief of the Council riding before upon very fine Horſes, is carried to the Apartments of the deceaſed King, when the Lords are retired, the Princeſſes, Ladies of the Court, and chief

Wives of the Mandarins, come to kiſs the King's Hand, and congratulate him upon his Advancement to the Throne; which done, the Lords return to a noble Feaſt prepared for them after the Manner of the Country. Colt's Fleſh, and Dogs, are in moſt Eſteem with them; and the Bird's Neſts, which gives their Meat a Taſte of almoſt all ſorts of Spices, is their chief Sauce. The Feſtival is concluded with Comedies, and Fire-works, which laſt all Night.

The next Day the 30,000 Soldiers are drawn up in the Field, and the King appearing on his War Elephant, in the midſt of his Troops, takes an Oath of Fidelity of all the Officers, and then beſtows his Gifts upon them, *viz.* to every Colonel two Panes of Gold, and forty Bars of Silver; to every Captain half as much, and to every Soldier a Month's Pay, which being received, the whole Army diſcharge three Vollies, and then they retreat to their Huts, where they have a Feaſt prepared, as the King has alſo, in a wooden Palace erected for the ſame Purpoſe; and ſo they ſpend the Night in Feaſting, Dancing, and letting off Fire-works. This Ceremony being ended, they ſet on Fire the Palace and Huts, and the King returning to his Palace, beſtows his Liberality on the Comedians and Dancers; then he gives Acceſs to all his People by their Commiſſioners, *viz.* to the Merchants and Traders, People of *Checo*, who aſſure him that their City acknowledge him for their King, and will be faithful to him unto Death; and he gives fifty Panes of Gold, and three hundred Bars of Silver, to the Tradeſmen, and then to the Commonalty of the whole Kingdom, whom he diſcharges from Taxes a whole Year, if they have never taken up Arms againſt their King, and but ſix Months, if they have; all Priſoners for Debt, after they have compounded with the Creditors for half, he freely paying the reſt.

'Tis ſaid, that the King upon this Occaſion ſends above 100,000 Beaſts to the Temples of the falſe Gods to be ſacrificed for him, beſides the Value of one Million of Panes of Gold in Tiſſues and Silks to adorn the Idols, orange-coloured Calicuts for the Bonzes, and blue Calicuts for the Poor that are kept in the Pagods, as Hoſpitals. Sometimes after the Ceremony is over, the King, at the New of the Moon, goes to give his Deities Thanks for his coming to the Crown, and remains for a Week with the Bonzes, living in common with them, viſiting the Hoſpitals, to ſee how the Poor, and eſpecially the Antient, are uſed; and to them he gives new Alms, and orders the building of a new Pagod in ſome fair Situation, which he dedicates to ſome Idol. The ſecond Part of the Moon is ſpent in ſeeing the Gallies row one againſt another, the King and Court having Houſes built on the Plains by the River for that Purpoſe; which Diverſions being over, the Captains come aſhore to kiſs the King's Hand, and they that have behaved moſt ſtoutly and nimbly, receive the Marks of his Bounty, and he gives all the Soldiers two Months Pay extraordinary. During ſeven Days, there are ſuch vaſt Numbers of Fire-works thrown about, that you would think the Air and Water all on Fire. Then the King returns to his Palace, and ſpends the other half of the Month with his Princeſſes, diverting himſelf and his Ladies with Fire-works, Comedies, and Mummeries.

When the King of *Tunquin* dies, he is preſently embalmed, and laid in State ſixty-five Days; all which Time his Table is ſerved as if he were alive; and when the Meat is taken from before the Body, half is given to the Bonzes, and the other half given to the Poor. So ſoon as the King has breathed out his laſt Gaſp, the Conſtable gives Notice to the Governors of Provinces, and orders them how long they ſhall mourn. The military Mandarins mourn generally three Years; the King's Houſhold nine Months; the Nobility ſix; and meaner ſort three; and all the three Years there is a Ceſſation from Divertiſements, except thoſe that are uſed at the King's Elevation to the Throne. All the Meats that are ſerved up to the new King, are varniſhed with black, and his Train is cut off, and his Head covered with a Straw Bonnet, as are alſo the Heads of all his Princes and Counſellors of State; nor do they leave this Habit till the deceaſed King's Body is put into the Galley to be carried to the Interment, and the three Bells, which hang in one of the Towers of the Palace, never ceaſe tolling all that Time. The third Day after his Deceaſe all the Mandarins repair to Court, to teſtify their Sorrow for the deceaſed King; and ten Days after all the People are allowed to ſee the Body lie in State, till it be put into the Galley. During the ſixty-five Days which the King's Body lies in State, the Conſtable prepares for the Funeral, which is thus performed: The King and all the Court march on Foot to the Gallies, which they make ſeventeen Days March, though it is not really above two Days Journey, and all the Way is ſpread with Violet-coloured Calicuts, which is the King's Colour. The Order of their March is thus: Firſt go the two Uſhers of the King's Bed-chamber, with Maces of Arms, the Heads of them being full of Fire-works; theſe proclaim the Name of the deceaſed King; next go twelve Officers of the Gallies drawing a Tomb, whereon the King's Name is written; then proceeded twelve Elephants, of which four carry the King's Standards; four ſix-armed Men apiece in Turrets; and four of thoſe the King rode on in his Wars: After theſe rides the Maſter of the Horſe, with two Pages after him on Horſeback; then are led twelve Horſes richly harneſſed, with Bits, Bridles and Saddles; after follows the Mouſoleum, or Hearſe, drawn by eight Stags, trained up for that Service, every one of them being led by a Captain of the Guard; then goes the new King with his Brothers, if he have any, and the Princes of the Blood, all clad in white Satten, which is their Mourning Colour; they are attended by Muſicians, who play upon Hautboys, and other Inſtruments: After them go ſix Princeſſes in white Satten, carrying Meat and Drink for the deceaſed King; theſe are attended by as many Ladies of Honour in purple Garments; then go eight Princes of the Royal Blood in purple Garments, with Straw Hats; next proceeded four Governors of the chief Provinces of the Kingdom, carrying on their Shoulders certain Bags full of Gold, and Perfumes hung on Sticks, which are Preſents made by their Provinces to be buried with their King's Body, for his Uſe in the other World; then follow two Chariots drawn by eight Horſes apiece, led by a Groom each, in which are two Coffers full of Panes of Gold, Bars of Silver, rich Tiſſues, and other Riches, to be buried with the King's Body, for his Uſe in the other Life: Laſtly, come a great Croud of the King's Officers, and other Nobility, ſome on Foot, others on Horſeback, according to their Offices and Qualities. When the deceaſed King's Body is put into the Galley, the new King and the Company return home, and the Calicut being taken up, is given to the Bonzes.

The Galley, wherein is the King's Body, is committed to ſix of the chief Eunuchs, who are ſworn never to reveal the Place where the King is buried. It is attended by three other Gallies; one carries the Lords, and another the Ladies, who are to be buried alive with the King to attend him into the other World; and the third carries the Treaſure that is to be buried with the King, for his Uſe. The King is buried in inacceſſible Mountains and Deſarts. As for the ordinary Funerals of the *Tunquineſe*, they are more or leſs pompous, according to the Quality of the Perſon deceaſed. At their Interments they uſe great Store of artificial Fire-works, which they uſe alſo in their Times of Joy, as well as Grief. They alſo ſet upon the Tomb good Store of Victuals, and Sweet-meats, believing that the Dead are better for them; and the Prieſts, who train them up in the Error, diſpoſe of them before the next Morning. The *Dutch* Soldiers at *Batavia* robbed the Prieſts of theſe Dainties ſeveral times, but at length paid dear for their Liquoriceneſs; for the Prieſts finding no Redreſs by complaining to the Governor, poiſoned the Meat and Drink, and ſo deſtroyed many of them.

The Religion of the *Tunquineſe* is divided into three Sects; the firſt is derived from an ancient Philoſopher, called *Confutius*, whoſe Memory is famous over all *China* and the neighbouring Countries. Their Doctrine is, that Men are compoſed of two Parts, one fine and ſubtle, and the other material and groſs. When a Man dies, the ſubtle Part vaniſheth into the Air, and the groſs returns to Earth. They uſe Sacrifices, and worſhip the ſeven Planets. Their chief Idols are *Rouma*, *Betolo*, *Ramonu*, and *Brama*. The Women chiefly worſhip the Goddeſs *Sotiſbana*; and the King, Mandarins, and learned Men, adore the Heavens. The ſecond Sect was founded by one *Cha-*

calbut, an Hermit, and the moſt of the common People are of this Sect. He taught his Followers the Tranſmigration of Souls, and enjoined theſe ten Commands, *viz.* 1. That they ſhould not kill. 2. That they ſhould not ſteal. 3. That they ſhould not defile their Bodies. 4. That they ſhould not lye. 5. That they ſhould not be unfaithful to their Words. 6. That they ſhould reſtrain their inordinate Deſires. 7. That they ſhould do no Injury to any Man. 8. That they ſhould not be great Talkers. 9. That they ſhould not give Way to their Anger. 10. That they ſhould labour to their utmoſt to acquire Knowledge.

As for ſuch as deſign to lead a religious Life, they muſt renounce the Delights of this Life, be charitable to the Poor, overcome their Paſſions, and give themſelves up to Meditation. He taught alſo, that, after this Life, there were ten diſtinct Places of Joy and Torment, and that the Contemners of his Law ſhould feel Torments proportionable to their Offences, without any End. That if they endeavoured to fulfil his Law, and failed in any Point, they ſhould wander in divers Bodies for 3000 Years, before they entered into Happineſs; but ſuch as had perfectly fulfilled his Law, ſhould be rewarded without ſuffering any Change of Body. He ſays of himſelf, that he was born ten Times before he came to Bliſs, becauſe, in his Youth, he, for want of Knowledge, had ſinned. This Impoſtor's Opinions are ſpread all over the Kingdom of *Siam*, ſeveral Provinces of *Japan*, and all *Tunquin*, where he died. The third Sect is that of *Lanthu*, a great Magician: He gave out, that his Mother carried him in her Womb ſeventy Years without loſing her Virginity. That by this Miracle, he might gain Credit to his Impoſtures, he taught moſt of *Chacabaut*'s Doctrine; and, to gain the Peoples Hearts, enjoined the Grandees to build Hoſpitals in all Cities where there were none before to look after the Sick in them. The *Tunquineſe* adore three Things in their Houſes, *viz.* the Hearth of their Chimneys, made of three Stones. 2. The Idol *Ticuſa*, who is the Patroneſs of all Handicrafts-Men; and to her they ſacrifice when they put a Child to any Trade, that ſhe may infuſe an Aptneſs to learn it. 3. The Idol *Buabin*, to which they pray, and ſacrifice when they build an Houſe, that he may not ſuffer any Misfortune to befal the Houſe they are going to build; but they ſend for the Bonzes, and they ſtay to offer it, for whom they make great Preparations.

There are ſome among them that adore the Heavens, others the Moon, and others the Stars. Some adore the Earth in five Parts, and that in five ſeveral Colours, *viz.* the Northern in black, the Southern in red, the Eaſtern in green, the Weſt in white, and Middle in yellow; and others ſacrifice to Trees, Elephants, Horſes, Cows, and almoſt all other ſorts of Animals. They that ſtudy the *Chineſe* Characters, ſacrifice every five Months to the Souls of the Dead that were never buried, believing that their Underſtanding ſhall be more enlightned to apprehend Things. At the Beginning of every Year they have a great Solemnity in Honour of the Dead, who were in their Lives renowned for their noble Actions and Valour, reckoning Rebels among them. They ſet up ſeveral Altars, ſome for Sacrifices, others for the Names of the Perſons they deſign to honour; and the King, Princes, and Mandarins, are preſent at them, and make three profound Reverences to the Altars when the Sacrifices are finiſhed; but the King ſhoots five Times againſt the Altars where the Rebels Names are; then the great Guns are let off, and the Soldiers give Vollies of ſmall Shot, to put the Souls to Flight. The Altars and Papers made uſe of at the Sacrifices are burnt, and the Bonzes and Sages go to eat the Meat made uſe of at the Sacrifice.

The firſt and fifteenth Days of every Month, are more eſpecially Holy-days for the Worſhip of their Gods, and the Bonzes and Sages redouble their Prayers, and repeat a kind of Charm ſix Times. The People on theſe Days bring Meat and Drink to the Sepulchres of their Kindred, to ſacrifice for the Good of their Souls to eat. The Bonzes, when they have paid their Worſhip, fall to, and what they cannot eat give the Poor; for this Greedineſs the King and Mandarins make no Account of the Bonzes and Sages, though they lead auſtere Lives, and ſo they are in Credit only with the common People. In *Tunquin* the great Cities have ſeveral Pagods, and every Village and Town almoſt have one: Every Pagod has, at leaſt, two Bonzes and two Says; but ſome maintain forty Pagods, and as many Says, or Sages, who live in common under a Superior, and keep to the Doctrine of *Chacobout*, and a Goat is the Idol which they adore. They wear about their Necks a Necklace of an hundred great Beads made of Wood: They beg for their Living with great Modeſty and Humility, taking no more than is needful; and if they have any thing to ſpare, they give it to the poor Widows and Orphans that cannot get their Living. Their Orders permit them to marry, but then they muſt leave their Monaſtery. They aſſiſt at the Funerals of great Men, where they make a kind of Oration, ſounding their Trumpets and Cornets, while the Bells at their Pagods go at the ſame time. They have a great Veneration for two Magicians and one Witch.

The firſt Magician is called *Tay-bow*, who pretends to know the Events of all Things to come; ſo that when any is about to marry their Children, build an Houſe, buy Land, or undertake any Buſineſs of Conſequence, they conſult him, who, inſpecting his Book, makes them believe what he pleaſes. The other is *Thay-Pou-Thouy*, to whom they have Recourſe in their Sickneſs: When he is conſulted, after ſeveral apiſh Tricks which he acts before the ſick Perſon, to amuſe him, he ſometimes affirms that the Diſtemper comes from the Devil, and then he himſelf and the ſick Perſon, and his Friends that brought him, do Homage to the Devil; but, if he does not recover, all the Friends and Kindred of the ſick Party, with as many Soldiers as they can get, ſurround the ſick Perſon's Houſe, and ſhoot off their Muſkets three Times to drive the Devil away. If the ſick Perſon be a Water-man, or other Perſon belonging to the Water, then he tells them it is the God of the Waters that is the Cauſe of the Diſtemper, and then he orders him to ſpread Carpets, and furniſh Tables in Huts, with all ſorts of Meat, on the Banks of the next River, to invite him to his Habitation.

If theſe Things fail, he ſends him to *They-bou*, the chief Magician, to enquire if the Souls of the Dead have cauſed the Diſtemper, and if he anſwers Yes, then the Magician employs his Tricks to get the miſchievous Soul into a Bottle, where he keeps it till the Party is cured. The Magicianeſs is called *Baceti*; ſhe keeps a great Correſpondence with the Devil, and, to oblige him, offers her own Daughter, if ſhe has one, as ſoon as ſhe is born. Mothers who have loſt their Children, and deſire to know the Condition of the Soul, conſult her, and thereupon ſhe, by beating of a Drum, pretends to ſummon the Soul before her, and cauſes it to tell her the Condition of it. She generally tells them, that the Soul is happy, and bids them be of good Cheer. They have innumerable Superſtitions, but the moſt remarkable are theſe: The more ſtudious People foretel Things that are to come, by looking in a Mirrour. Others ſprinkle the Aſhes of their dead Anceſtors with *Aqua Vitæ*, and beg of them Health, Honour, and Riches. Others, upon their New-Year's Day, make divers Figures upon their Steps and Threſholds of their Doors to drive away evil Spirits. Others, in travelling, if they ſneeze but once will return back, and if they ſneeze twice, purſue their Journey without Fear of Danger. Some, if at going out of their Houſes they meet a Woman, retire again for two or three Hours; but, if a Man, it is a good Omen. The firſt Fruit which they gather in the Beginning of the Year, is the Araguer, and they poiſon one, and give it to a Child, believing, that in taking away the Child's Life, they ſhall thrive the better all the Year after.

When the Moon is eclipſed, they ſay a certain Dragon endeavours to devour her, and, therefore, to aſſiſt the Moon, and put the Dragon to Flight, they diſcharge their Muſkets, ring their Bells, beat all their Drums, and make a prodigious Noiſe till the Eclipſe be over, and then they think they have reſcued the Moon, and rejoice as much as if they had obtained a great Victory. They divide the natural Day into twelve Hours, and give them the Name of ſome Beaſt, as a Tyger, Lion, Bear, Horſe, *&c.* and ſo the Months and Days have their particular Names. When a

Wives of the Mandarins, come to kiſs the King's Hand, and congratulate him upon his Advancement to the Throne; which done, the Lords return to a noble Feaſt prepared for them after the Manner of the Country. Colt's Fleſh, and Dogs, are in moſt Eſteem with them; and the Bird's Neſts, which gives their Meat a Taſte of almoſt all ſorts of Spices, is their chief Sauce. The Feſtival is concluded with Comedies, and Fire-works, which laſt all Night.

The next Day the 30,000 Soldiers are drawn up in the Field, and the King appearing on his War Elephant, in the midſt of his Troops, takes an Oath of Fidelity of all the Officers, and then beſtows his Gifts upon them, *viz.* to every Colonel two Panes of Gold, and forty Bars of Silver; to every Captain half as much, and to every Soldier a Month's Pay, which being received, the whole Army diſcharge three Vollies, and then they retreat to their Huts, where they have a Feaſt prepared, as the King has alſo, in a wooden Palace erected for the ſame Purpoſe; and ſo they ſpend the Night in Feaſting, Dancing, and letting off Fire-works. This Ceremony being ended, they ſet on Fire the Palace and Huts, and the King returning to his Palace, beſtows his Liberality on the Comedians and Dancers; then he gives Acceſs to all his People by their Commiſſioners, *viz.* to the Merchants and Traders, People of *Checo*, who aſſure him that their City acknowledge him for their King, and will be faithful to him unto Death; and he gives fifty Panes of Gold, and three hundred Bars of Silver, to the Tradeſmen, and then to the Commonalty of the whole Kingdom, whom he diſcharges from Taxes a whole Year, if they have never taken up Arms againſt their King, and but ſix Months, if they have; all Priſoners for Debt, after they have compounded with the Creditors for half, he freely paying the reſt.

'Tis ſaid, that the King upon this Occaſion ſends above 100,000 Beaſts to the Temples of the falſe Gods to be ſacrificed for him, beſides the Value of one Million of Panes of Gold in Tiſſues and Silks to adorn the Idols, orange-coloured Calicuts for the Bonzes, and blue Calicuts for the Poor that are kept in the Pagods, as Hoſpitals. Sometimes after the Ceremony is over, the King, at the New of the Moon, goes to give his Deities Thanks for his coming to the Crown, and remains for a Week with the Bonzes, living in common with them, viſiting the Hoſpitals, to ſee how the Poor, and eſpecially the Antient, are uſed; and to them he gives new Alms, and orders the building of a new Pagod in ſome fair Situation, which he dedicates to ſome Idol. The ſecond Part of the Moon is ſpent in ſeeing the Gallies row one againſt another, the King and Court having Houſes built on the Plains by the River for that Purpoſe; which Diverſions being over, the Captains come aſhore to kiſs the King's Hand, and they that have behaved moſt ſtoutly and nimbly, receive the Marks of his Bounty, and he gives all the Soldiers two Months Pay extraordinary. During ſeven Days, there are ſuch vaſt Numbers of Fire-works thrown about, that you would think the Air and Water all on Fire. Then the King returns to his Palace, and ſpends the other half of the Month with his Princeſſes, diverting himſelf and his Ladies with Fire-works, Comedies, and Mummeries.

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cabout, an Hermit, and the moſt of the common People are of this Sect. He taught his Followers the Tranſmigration of Souls, and enjoined theſe ten Commands, *viz.* 1. That they ſhould not kill. 2. That they ſhould not ſteal. 3. That they ſhould not defile their Bodies. 4. That they ſhould not lye. 5. That they ſhould not be unfaithful to their Words. 6. That they ſhould reſtrain their inordinate Deſires. 7. That they ſhould do no Injury to any Man. 8. That they ſhould not be great Talkers. 9. That they ſhould not give Way to their Anger. 10. That they ſhould labour to their utmoſt to acquire Knowledge.

As for ſuch as deſign to lead a religious Life, they muſt renounce the Delights of this Life, be charitable to the Poor, overcome their Paſſions, and give themſelves up to Meditation. He taught alſo, that, after this Life, there were ten diſtinct Places of Joy and Torment, and that the Contemners of his Law ſhould feel Torments proportionable to their Offences, without any End. That if they endeavoured to fulfil his Law, and failed in any Point, they ſhould wander in divers Bodies for 3000 Years, before they entered into Happineſs; but ſuch as had perfectly fulfilled his Law, ſhould be rewarded without ſuffering any Change of Body. He ſays of himſelf, that he was born ten Times before he came to Bliſs, becauſe, in his Youth, he, for want of Knowledge, had ſinned. This Impoſtor's Opinions are ſpread all over the Kingdom of *Siam*, ſeveral Provinces of *Japan*, and all *Tunquin*, where he died. The third Sect is that of *Lanthu*, a great Magician: He gave out, that his Mother carried him in her Womb ſeventy Years without loſing her Virginity. That by this Miracle, he might gain Credit to his Impoſtures, he taught moſt of *Chacabaut*'s Doctrine; and, to gain the Peoples Hearts, enjoined the Grandees to build Hoſpitals in all Cities where there were none before to look after the Sick in them. The *Tunquineſe* adore three Things in their Houſes, *viz.* the Hearth of their Chimneys, made of three Stones. 2. The Idol *Ticuſa*, who is the Patroneſs of all Handicrafts-Men; and to her they ſacrifice when they put a Child to any Trade, that ſhe may infuſe an Aptneſs to learn it. 3. The Idol *Buabin*, to which they pray, and ſacrifice when they build an Houſe, that he may not ſuffer any Misfortune to befal the Houſe they are going to build; but they ſend for the Bonzes, and they ſtay to offer it, for whom they make great Preparations.

There are ſome among them that adore the Heavens, others the Moon, and others the Stars. Some adore the Earth in five Parts, and that in five ſeveral Colours, *viz.* the Northern in black, the Southern in red, the Eaſtern in green, the Weſt in white, and Middle in yellow; and others ſacrifice to Trees, Elephants, Horſes, Cows, and almoſt all other ſorts of Animals. They that ſtudy the *Chineſe* Characters, ſacrifice every five Months to the Souls of the Dead that were never buried, believing that their Underſtanding ſhall be more enlightned to apprehend Things. At the Beginning of every Year they have a great Solemnity in Honour of the Dead, who were in their Lives renowned for their noble Actions and Valour, reckoning Rebels among them. They ſet up ſeveral Altars, ſome for Sacrifices, others for the Names of the Perſons they deſign to honour; and the King, Princes, and Mandarins, are preſent at them, and make three profound Reverences to the Altars when the Sacrifices are finiſhed; but the King ſhoots five Times againſt the Altars where the Rebels Names are; then the great Guns are let off, and the Soldiers give Vollies of ſmall Shot, to put the Souls to Flight. The Altars and Papers made uſe of at the Sacrifices are burnt, and the Bonzes and Sages go to eat the Meat made uſe of at the Sacrifice.

The firſt and fifteenth Days of every Month, are more eſpecially Holy-days for the Worſhip of their Gods, and the Bonzes and Sages redouble their Prayers, and repeat a kind of Charm ſix Times. The People on theſe Days bring Meat and Drink to the Sepulchres of their Kindred, to ſacrifice for the Good of their Souls to eat. The Bonzes, when they have paid their Worſhip, fall to, and what they cannot eat give the Poor; for this Greedineſs the King and Mandarins make no Account of the Bonzes and Sages, though they lead auſtere Lives, and ſo they are in Credit only with the common People. In *Tunquin* the great Cities have ſeveral Pagods, and every Village and Town almoſt have one: Every Pagod has, at leaſt, two Bonzes and two Says; but ſome maintain forty Pagods, and as many Says, or Sages, who live in common under a Superior, and keep to the Doctrine of *Chacobout*, and a Goat is the Idol which they adore. They wear about their Necks a Necklace of an hundred great Beads made of Wood: They beg for their Living with great Modeſty and Humility, taking no more than is needful; and if they have any thing to ſpare, they give it to the poor Widows and Orphans that cannot get their Living. Their Orders permit them to marry, but then they muſt leave their Monaſtery. They aſſiſt at the Funerals of great Men, where they make a kind of Oration, ſounding their Trumpets and Cornets, while the Bells at their Pagods go at the ſame time. They have a great Veneration for two Magicians and one Witch.

The firſt Magician is called *Tay-bow*, who pretends to know the Events of all Things to come; ſo that when any is about to marry their Children, build an Houſe, buy Land, or undertake any Buſineſs of Conſequence, they conſult him, who, inſpecting his Book, makes them believe what he pleaſes. The other is *Thay-Pou-Thouy*, to whom they have Recourſe in their Sickneſs: When he is conſulted, after ſeveral apiſh Tricks which he acts before the ſick Perſon, to amuſe him, he ſometimes affirms that the Diſtemper comes from the Devil, and then he himſelf and the ſick Perſon, and his Friends that brought him, do Homage to the Devil; but, if he does not recover, all the Friends and Kindred of the ſick Party, with as many Soldiers as they can get, ſurround the ſick Perſon's Houſe, and ſhoot off their Muſkets three Times to drive the Devil away. If the ſick Perſon be a Water-man, or other Perſon belonging to the Water, then he tells them it is the God of the Waters that is the Cauſe of the Diſtemper, and then he orders him to ſpread Carpets, and furniſh Tables in Huts, with all ſorts of Meat, on the Banks of the next River, to invite him to his Habitation.

If theſe Things fail, he ſends him to *They-bou*, the chief Magician, to enquire if the Souls of the Dead have cauſed the Diſtemper, and if he anſwers Yes, then the Magician employs his Tricks to get the miſchievous Soul into a Bottle, where he keeps it till the Party is cured. The Magicianeſs is called *Baceti*; ſhe keeps a great Correſpondence with the Devil, and, to oblige him, offers her own Daughter, if ſhe has one, as ſoon as ſhe is born. Mothers who have loſt their Children, and deſire to know the Condition of the Soul, conſult her, and thereupon ſhe, by beating of a Drum, pretends to ſummon the Soul before her, and cauſes it to tell her the Condition of it. She generally tells them, that the Soul is happy, and bids them be of good Cheer. They have innumerable Superſtitions, but the moſt remarkable are theſe: The more ſtudious People foretel Things that are to come, by looking in a Mirrour. Others ſprinkle the Aſhes of their dead Anceſtors with *Aqua Vitæ*, and beg of them Health, Honour, and Riches. Others, upon their New-Year's Day, make divers Figures upon their Steps and Threſholds of their Doors to drive away evil Spirits. Others, in travelling, if they ſneeze but once will return back, and if they ſneeze twice, purſue their Journey without Fear of Danger. Some, if at going out of their Houſes they meet a Woman, retire again for two or three Hours; but, if a Man, it is a good Omen. The firſt Fruit which they gather in the Beginning of the Year, is the Araguer, and they poiſon one, and give it to a Child, believing, that in taking away the Child's Life, they ſhall thrive the better all the Year after.

When the Moon is eclipſed, they ſay a certain Dragon endeavours to devour her, and, therefore, to aſſiſt the Moon, and put the Dragon to Flight, they diſcharge their Muſkets, ring their Bells, beat all their Drums, and make a prodigious Noiſe till the Eclipſe be over, and then they think they have reſcued the Moon, and rejoice as much as if they had obtained a great Victory. They divide the natural Day into twelve Hours, and give them the Name of ſome Beaſt, as a Tyger, Lion, Bear, Horſe, &c. and ſo the Months and Days have their particular Names. When a

Child is born, preſently the Father and Kindred go to ſee the Name of the Beaſt by which the Hour was called when the Child was born, believing that Animal will prove fatal to it. The preſent King of *Tunquin* was born in the Hour of the Horſe, and he would never give Audience, nor ſtir out of the Houſe, for fear ſome Miſchief ſhould befal him at that Time. And the ſame Prince having a Child that died in the fifth Month, which is called by the Name of the Horſe, would not ſuffer him to be buried, but cauſed him to be burnt, and ſcattered his Aſhes in the Air.

Thus far our Author, whoſe conſummate Knowledge of the Country, People, and Commerce of the *Indies*, enabled him to enter more thoroughly into theſe Points than it was in the Power of any other Writer to do. His Travels through *Perſia*, his ſeveral Journies by Land through the beſt Part of *Aſia*, are no leſs excellent in themſelves, but are reſerved to furniſh another Part of this Work.

But there remains however a Portion of his Labours, which, indiſputably, claim our Notice here, inaſmuch as they contain whatever is neceſſary towards underſtanding the Oeconomy of all the Nations that inhabit *India*, their Manner of Living among themſelves, and, with reſpect to others, the Nature of their Manufactures, the Method of the carrying on domeſtick Commerce, and, above all, that Relation which the Trades of *India* have to each other; the Routs from their great Cities, the Nature of their Carriages and Caravans; and, in a Word, the Detail of that Induſtry, which, if I may be allowed the Expreſſion, originally eſtabliſhed, and has ſtill preſerved the Trade of the *Indies*. I know the Phraſe is hard, but I know too that it is not in my Power to explain it better; for it is not the natural Wealth alone of theſe Countries that have rendered them famous, that have in all Ages attracted the Trade of the whole World to them, and thereby made the Commerce of the *Indies* the great Commerce of the Univerſe.

It is not, I ſay, the Wealth alone of theſe Countries, but the Induſtry, the Labour, and Addreſs of the Inhabitants, by which we muſt underſtand the native Inhabitants, now called *Banjans*; for, as to the *Turks*, and *Tartars*, they have been ſo far from contributing thereto, that, in fact, they ſeem to have made it their Buſineſs to oppreſs and cramp this Spirit, by their tyranical Government. But, it ſeems, this Spirit of Induſtry has been too hard, even for their Cruelty, and ſtill ſubſiſts to ſuch a Degree, as to excite the Wonder of the beſt Judges, as well as to outdo every thing of the ſame kind in other Parts of the World, *China* only excepted. This will manifeſtly appear from the ſubſequent Section, from which we may ſufficiently gather, what a mighty Figure the *Indians* muſt have made in ancient Times, before the People were under the Oppreſſion of a foreign Yoke, before their Spirits were broken by the Tyranny of their cruel Maſters, and before their Manners were corrupted by the Slavery under which they groan at preſent.

It is from hence that we are able to diſtinguiſh how different a Figure they muſt have made in thoſe early Times, when their Religion was pure, when their Government, the moſt exact, and beſt contrived that ever was eſtabliſhed in any Country, was in its full Vigour; when their Laws had their free Courſe, and the People were made happy, by a conſtant Obedience, to an excellent Conſtitution; when every Monarch conſidered himſelf as the Father of his Subjects, and when Subjects obeyed as Children, from a perfect Senſe of their own Happineſs, flowing from this Obedience; when, in ſhort, every Principality was no other than one large Family well regulated; and when even the minuteſt Matters fell under the Notice of the Laws, and under the Care of the Magiſtrates.

For, if even now, when all theſe Advantages are loſt, the Induſtry of the Inhabitants is ſo great, their Manufactures ſo many, and carried on with ſuch Spirit and Diligence, their Trade ſo extenſive and well managed, as not only to employ and enrich themſelves, but to draw likewiſe the Attention of other Nations, and a Concourſe of Merchants from the moſt diſtant Corners of the World, what muſt it have been in its former flouriſhing Condition? What muſt it have been in the Times before deſcribed, when they wrought for themſelves, and when their Induſtry procured Happineſs; whereas now it purchaſes a bare Subſiſtence? This will ſufficiently demonſtrate to the intelligent Reader, the Truth of an Obſervation we have ſo often made, that however Things may have gone in the reſt of the World, and how much ſoever Mankind may have improved elſewhere, they muſt have neceſſarily declined here, and the modern *Indies* muſt, in the Nature of Things, fall as far ſhort of the *Indies* in the ancient and primitive State, as from the vaſt Advantages which they enjoy above other Countries, they ſeem ſtill to excel the reſt of the World.

We may from hence gather, what ſolid, what mighty Benefits are derived from a wiſe and well-ſettled Conſtitution, ſince even the Relicks and Remains of it are able to produce ſuch mighty Effects, as we ſee amongſt the *Indians*; and from thence we may be taught that all Dangers ought to be dared, all Hardſhips undergone, all Fatigues patiently endured to prevent the Ruin, and avert the Fall of ſuch a Conſtitution. It is true, theſe Leſſons may be learned nearer home, and there is no Neceſſity to travel to the *Indies*, in order to acquire this uſeful Knowledge; but, in the mean time, ſince we have a natural Propenſity to travel, ſince Books of Voyages are ſo much read, and ſo juſtly eſteemed, it is ſurely right, to make them as uſeful as poſſible, by inculcating theſe Leſſons, which ought to be perpetually in our Minds, becauſe, on our Attention to them, depends our Freedom and Felicity. To what Ends do our Merchants viſit the moſt diſtant Countries, expoſe themſelves to ſuch a Variety of Dangers, and chearfully undergo ſuch innumerable Fatigues, but that they may bring back ſufficient Wealth to live at home in Peace? And, if they act reaſonably in this Way, why ſhould we not read to the ſame Purpoſe? Why ſhould we not gain, by Experience and Reflection, the true Principles of Patriotiſm, and a ſettled Reſolution to profit by other Peoples Miſfortunes, and avoid, by a timely Conſideration of their Miſeries, what muſt, ſome time or other, make their Caſe our own. We have, what the *Indians* once had, an excellent Conſtitution, equally capable of beſtowing Freedom and Felicity: It is to this we owe whatever diſtinguiſhes us from other Nations, our Liberty, our Induſtry, our Manufactures at home, our Commerce abroad, and, in ſhort, whatever can render Life deſirable, or this World valuable. I cannot help thinking, therefore, that every Opportunity ſhould be ſought, or, at leaſt, every Occaſion taken for ſetting theſe important Points in their proper Light, and thereby recommending, in the ſtrongeſt manner poſſible, inviolable Duty to this our beneficent Conſtitution.

SECTION XXIX.

An Account of the different Routs to all the great Cities and chief Marts in the Indies; *the Manner in which the Domeſtick Commerce of that Country is carried on; the State of its Manufactures, and other curious Particulars.*

Taken from the Works of Mr. *Tavernier.*

1. *The End and Deſign of this Section explained.* 2. *A Deſcription of the City and Port of* Surat, *with a large Account of its Commerce.* 3. *That Subject continued and concluded.* 4. *Of the ſeveral Methods of travelling in the* Eaſt-Indies, *of Land-Carriage for Merchandize, and the Expences of both.* 5. *Of the Road from* Surat *to* Agra, *by the City of* Brampour, *with a Deſcription of the laſt-mentioned City.* 6. *Of ſeveral remarkable Curioſities that lie in the Way.* 7. *Of the Road from* Surat *to* Agra *by* Amadabat, *and of what is worth Notice on that Road.* 8. *A compleat Deſcription of* Amadabat, *and of the Trade carried on there.* 9. *Of the Road from* Candahar *to* Agra, *and of the Jew-Brokers in the* Indies. 10. *Of the City of* Caboul, *and the Trade of the Provinces depending thereupon.* 11. *Of the Royal City of* Dehli, *and of the Road from thence to* Agra. 12. *A Deſcription of the laſt-mentioned City, and of the Trade carried on there.* 13. *Of the Road from thence to* Halabas, *once eſteemed the Capital of* India, *including a Deſcription of the River* Ganges. 14. *The Road from* Halabas *to* Patna *and* Daca *in the Kingdom of* Bengal, *with a Deſcription of thoſe Cities.* 15. *Of the Paſſage from* Surat *to* Goa, *with ſome Remarks upon the laſt-mentioned City.* 16. *Of the noble City of* Viſiapour, *and the Principality of which it is the Capital.* 17. *A large Account of the Royal City of* Bagnagar, *and of the Country round it.* 18. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Kingdom of* Golconda. 19. *The Road from thence to the Port of* Maſlipatan, *with ſome Remarks on the Trade carried on there.* 20. *A View of the Country from thence to* Madreſpatan, *now known by the Name of* Fort St. George. 21. *A Digreſſion concerning Elephants, which contains many curious Circumſtances.* 22. *A Deſcription of the Kingdom of* Carnate, *and of the principal Places therein.* 23. *Remarks upon the foregoing Section.*

1. THERE is no Occaſion for a long Introduction to this Section, the Subject of it has been already pointed out, and therefore it is only requiſite to ſay, that the Deſign of the Author therein, was to explain the interior State of the *Indies*, to ſhew where Manufactures were ſettled, how carried on; and after what Manner the domeſtick and inland Commerce of this Country is managed. In treating of this Subject, every Paragraph preſents us with ſomething new, and ſomething uſeful. This Diſcourſe tranſports us, as it were into the very Country itſelf; and, when we have read it, we can no longer conſider ourſelves as Strangers in the *Indies*. It would be very happy if we had as clear and as diſtinct Accounts of every Country in *Europe*, we ſhould know much more of them then, than we do now; we ſhould enter into all the Particulars of their Condition, and underſtand perfectly, whatever Relations came from thence. It was for this Reaſon that I judged it proper, before I proceeded to the laſt Part of this Chapter, the Hiſtory of *Eaſt-India* Companies, to cloſe with this the Series of Voyages and Travels unto, and through this Part of the World, and, it is hoped, this Method will be approved.

2. Notwithſtanding the *Indies* ſtretch themſelves beyond the Coaſt of *Perſia* for the Space of above four hundred Leagues together, from the Ocean to *Mount-Caucaſus*, or *Taurus*, yet there are not ſo many Ways into the *Indies* out of *Perſia*, as there are of travelling into *Perſia* out of *Turky*, becauſe, that between *Perſia* and the *Indies*, are nothing but vaſt Sands and Deſerts, where there is no Water to be found; ſo that you have but two Roads to chuſe in going between *Iſpahan* to *Agra*, the one by Land through *Candahar*, and the other partly by Land and partly by Sea, taking Ship at *Bander*, *Abaſſi*, or *Ormuz*. Both theſe I have deſcribed as far as the Limits of *Perſia* reach, and ſhall only add concerning this latter, that Sailing is not ſafe at all Times upon the *Indian*, as it upon the *European* Coaſts; you muſt obſerve the proper Seaſons, which, being paſt, there is no venturing. The Months of *November*, *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*, are the only Times in the Year to embark for *Surat* from *Ormuz*; but from *Surat* you muſt not ſtir after the End of *February*; for then the Weſtern Winds that bring Rain along with them into *India*, begin to blow; but during theſe four Months, there blows a N. E. Wind, which carries the Ships from *Surat* to *Ormuz* in fifteen or twenty Days; and this Wind veering a little to the North, ſerves alſo for thoſe that are bound for *Surat*; but it takes them up thirty, or thirty-five Days, for which they are made Amends in *March* and the Beginning of *April*; for then, the Weſtern Winds blowing full in their Stern, carry them thither in fourteen or fifteen Days.

The Veſſels that ſail to *Surat*, which is the only Port in the Empire of the Great Mogul, paſs within Sight of *Diu*, and the Point of *St. John*, and come to an Anchor in the Road of *Souali*, which is four Leagues from the Town, and two from the Mouth of the River called the *Bar of Surat*; for the greater Veſſels cannot get into the River of *Surat* till they have unladen, by reaſon of the Sands that choak it up; and the Wares ſo unladen, are carried to the Town, either by Waggons or Boats, becauſe the Cuſtoms were often ſtolen when the Ships unladed generally at *Souali*; therefore there is now a Prohibition, that none ſhall come to anchor there but the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who, indeed, lay many Goods Cuſtom free; yet it is made up by the Veſſels that come to the Bar from *Perſia*, *Arabia-Felix*, and all Parts of the *Indies*. When the Commodities are unladen at *Surat*, you muſt carry them to the Cuſtom-houſe, adjoining to the Fort, where the Merchants pay for all ſorts of Wares from 4 to 5 *per Cent.* unleſs it be the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who indeed pay leſs, but are forced to make it up in Preſents to the Court and Deputations; and leſt any valuable Goods ſhould be concealed, they ſearch every Perſon in the Ship exactly. Gold and Silver pays but Two in the Hundred, and when it is brought into the Cuſtom-houſe, the Maſter of the Mint comes and takes it and coins it into the Money of the Country, which, tho' it be to the Loſs of the Merchant, yet can't be avoided as to the Silver; but the Merchants have ſo many Ways to hide their Gold, that it ſeldom comes to the Knowledge of the Cuſtomers.

If they bring any Money ready coined, out of other Countries, as *Piaſters*, or *Abiſſi's*, out of *Perſia*, they are melted down and refined, to make *Rupees*, becauſe the Silver-Money of the Great Mogul is finer than any other. The *Indian* Money is the Silver *Rupee*, the half Quarter, the eighteenth, and ſixteenth Part. The *Rupee* is as big as the *Baſſi* of *Perſia*, but much thicker; it paſſes commonly for thirty *French Sols*, or 2 *s.* 3 *d.* Sterling. This Money is coined every Year, and the new ones, during the

Year they are coined in, are valued at a *Pecha* more than thoſe of the foregoing Year, becauſe the Coiners pretend that the Silver wears daily. They have alſo another Silver Coin called *Mahmoudi*, which is ten, or about ten Sols and an half, or eight-pence Halfpenny Sterling; but it goes no where but in *Surat*, and in the Province of *Guzurat*. A *Baſſis* brought out of *Perſia* goes alſo in the *Indies*, but for leſs than in their own Country, *viz.* at nineteen *Pecha's*, or ſixteen *French Sols*, which is one Shilling and Two-pence. The *Pecha* (of which they have half, double, and four-fold) is a Piece of Copper Money as big and thick as a *Rupee*, but in Value about half a *Sous*, or ſomething leſs than half a Penny *Engliſh*. A *Rupee* is worth more or leſs of thoſe *Pecha's*, according as you are nearer or farther from the Copper Mines. At *Agra* and *Gehanabat* they are worth fifty-five or ſixty-five *Pecha's*, and at *Surat* ſometimes but forty-ſix, and ſometimes fifty, becauſe it is at a ſmall Diſtance from the Copper Mines.

Inſtead of ſmall Money, they uſe certain Shells, which they call *Coris*, brought from the *Maldives*, of which they give fifty or more for a *Pecha*, or if they are near the Sea-ſhore, where they are brought in, ſixty. In the Province of *Guzurat*, and the chief Cities whereof *Guzurat*, *Cambaya*, *Boudra*, and *Amadabat*, *Mahmoudi's*, half *Mahmoudi's*, and *Almonds*, are accounted current Money: A *Mahmoudi* is about nine Sous, three Derniers, or Eight-pence *Engliſh* in Value. The Almonds, which they call *Baden*, are brought from *Ormuz*, and grow in the Deſarts of the Kingdom of *Lar*. They give ſixty-eight Almonds for a *Pecha*, and twenty *Pecha's* for a *Mahmoudi*. There is no fear that the Children ſhould crack theſe Almonds, and ſo deſtroy their Money, for they are as bitter as Colloquintida. Some Years the Almond-trees don't bear, and then their Price is much raiſed; for then you will not have above forty or forty-four for a *Pecha*. The *Rupee* of Gold is valued in the Country at fourteen *Rupees* of Silver, and the half and Quarter *Rupee* proportionably. Great Sums of Money are reckoned by *Lecks*, *Crores*, or *Courors*, *Padans*, and *Nils*; 100,000 *Rupees* make a *Leck*, 100,000 *Leks* a *Courors*, 100,00 *Courors* a *Padan*, 100,000 *Padans* a *Nil*. If you bring Gold into the *Indies* in Ingots, or *European* Ducats, you ſhall always have ſeven and an half Profit, if you can eſcape paying the Cuſtoms; but if you pay them, your Gain is loſt.

3. The City of *Surat* lies in twenty-one Degrees, and a few Minutes Northern Latitude, and is watered by the River *Tapty*. It is inhabited by three Nations, as they diſtinguiſh themſelves, *viz.* *Moors*, under which Name they comprehend all *Mohammedans*, though they differ in their Opinions, being ſome *Sunnis*, and others *Chiais*, viz. *Moguls*, *Perſians*, *Arabians*, and *Turks*; 2. *Heathens*, who adore Idols, of whom there are ſeveral ſorts; 3. *Perſes*, who are alſo called *Gaurs*, or *Atoch-pereſt*, i. e. Adorers of the Fire, which was the Worſhip of the ancient *Perſians*. Theſe Men retreated into the *Indies*, when the Khaliff *Omar* reduced the Kingdom of *Perſia* under the Power of *Mohammedans*: Among theſe, indeed, there are ſome *Franks*, and other *Chriſtians*, but they are not accounted among the Inhabitants, becauſe their Number is inconſiderable, in Compariſon of the other Parts. There are ſome Merchants in *Surat* vaſtly rich.

One *Vergivora*, a *Banjan*, was reckoned worth at leaſt eight Millions. The City is but of an indifferent Bigneſs, and 'tis hard to know the Number of the Inhabitants, becauſe the Seaſons render it unequal. There are a great many all the Year round; but in the Time of the Monſoon, *i. e.* the Seaſons for ſailing, *viz.* in *January*, *February*, and *March*, it is ſo full of People, that Lodgings can hardly be had, either in the City, or the Suburbs. The Generality of the Houſes are built of Reeds plaiſtered over with Cow-dung; for in all *Surat* there is not above nine or ten good Houſes, of which the Cha-bender, or chief of the Merchants, has two or three, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* alſo have ſome of them, and the reſt belong to the *Mohammedan* Merchants; but the *Franks* are only allowed to hire Houſes, leſt if they ſhould have any of their own, they ſhould make it a Fortreſs.

The *Capuchin* Friars have built them a very convenient Convent, according to the Model of the Houſes in *Europe*, and a fair Church by it; but they purchaſed the Ground in the Name of one *Chelebie*, a *Maronite* Merchant of *Aleppo*. The Walls of the Town were formerly of Earth, and that very ruinous; but of late they have built them of Brick, a Fathom and an half thick, and fortified them better, to ſecure it from the Irruptions of the neighbouring Rajah. The Caſtle is built upon the Side of the River, at the South End of the Town, and is ſo placed, that you muſt paſs by it at your entering into the Town, whether you go by Land or Water; it is a Fort of a reaſonable Bigneſs, ſquare, and flanked at each Corner with a large Tower. The Ditches on three Sides are filled with Sea-water, and the fourth is waſhed by the River. There are ſeveral Pieces of Cannon; but becauſe there are no Platforms on each Wall, they are planted upon wooden Scaffolds. The Governor of it can only command his Soldiers within the Fort; for he has no Power in the City, which has a diſtinct Governor, who receives the King's Cuſtoms, and his Revenues in his Province; but he lays them up in the Caſtle, till they are ſent for by expreſs Orders from Court.

The Streets of *Surat* are large, and even, but not paved; and there is no conſiderable Building in it. The *Chriſtians* and *Mohammedans* there commonly eat Cow Beef, not only becauſe it is better, but becauſe it is more plentiful than Ox Beef, their Oxen being almoſt all employed in Plowing, and carrying Burthens. They have alſo pretty good Store of Mutton, and Abundance of Pullets, Chickens, Pigeons, Pigs, and all ſorts of Wild-fowl. They uſe two ſorts of Oil with their Food, *viz.* of Crocus, Sylveſtris, or wild Saffron, and Seſſamum. This laſt is more common, but the firſt much the beſt. They eat Grapes from the Beginning of *February* to the End of *April*; but they have no good Taſte, and the Wine made of them is ſour. They have ſeveral ſorts of ſtrong Waters, which they draw from Jagery, and the Bark of the Tree Baborel ſteeped in Water. They have two ſorts from Palm-trees, the one called Cadigour, and the other the Cocoa-tree, Rice, and Dates; but they are none of them ſo good as Brandy. Their Vinegar is made of Jagery, and decayed Raiſins, and to their beſt they put in a little Tari, which is the Juice of the Palm-trees abovementioned.

At *Surat* are ſold all ſorts of Stuffs and Cottons that are made in the *Indies*: All the Commodities alſo of *Europe* and *China*, as Porcelain, Cabinets, and Cheſts adorned with Torquoiſes, Agats, Cornelians, Ivory, and other Embelliſhments. Here are alſo ſold Diamonds, Rubies, Pearls, and all other precious Stones, which are found in the Eaſt; as alſo Muſk, Amber, Myrrh, Incenſe, Manna, Sal Armoniack, Lack, Quickſilver, Indigo, and the Root Rænas, for dying red. All ſorts of Spices, Fruits, and Drugs, which are produced in the *Indies*, and the *Levant*, and are bought up by Foreign Merchants to tranſport into all Parts of the World. There are ſeveral great Officers at *Surat*, *viz.* a Mufti, who inſpects and rules all manner of Religion among the *Mohammedans*, and a Cadi, to judge of all civil Matters, a *Vaca Nevis*, or Secretary of State, who keeps a Regiſter of all that happens to his Province, and gives the Great Mogul Notice of all things that happen of Importance, two Governors, or Nabads, who command one the City, the other the Caſtle, and have no Dependance upon each other, nor incroach upon one another's Offices, or Duties.

The Governor of the Town judges in civil Matters, and commonly renders ſpeedy Juſtice; but he meddles not with Criminal Cauſes, for they belong to an Officer appointed on purpoſe, called *Cotoual*, who is much the ſame with the *Soubaſſa* in *Turkey*, and *Doroga* in *Perſia*. He orders Criminals to be puniſhed in his Preſence, by Whipping or Cudgelling; and this he doth, either in his own Houſe, or in the Street, near the Place where the Fact was done. When he goes abroad, he rides on Horſeback, and has ſeveral Officers who attend him, carrying Batoons, Whips, Lances, *&c.* before him; but neither of theſe Judges can put any Man to Death. The King reſerves that Power to himſelf; and therefore when any Man deſerves Death, a Courier is diſpatched to know his Pleaſure, and they fail not to put his Orders in Execution, ſo ſoon as the Courier is returned. The *Cotoual* goes his Rounds in the Night to prevent all Diſorders, and if he finds any Man abroad at unſeaſonable Times, he commits him to priſon, and rarely diſmiſſes him without being baſtonadoed, or whipped. This Officer is to anſwer for all the Robberies committed in the Town; but by their Cunning they uſually evade it. When any one is robbed, this Officer apprehends all the People of the Houſe, both young and old, where the Robbery has been committed, and cauſes them to be beaten ſeverely. They are ſtretched out upon their Bellies, and and two Men laſh the Patient with long Whips, till he has received two or three hundred Laſhes, and is all in a Gore Blood. If at firſt he confeſſes not the Fact, they whip him the next Day, and ſo for ſeveral Days, till he confeſſes all, or the Thing ſtolen be recovered again; but he never ſearches the Houſes, or Goods of Robbers.

There is alſo a *Tourſedar*, or *Provoſt*, who is bound to ſecure the Country round about the Town, and to anſwer for all the Robberies committed there. The Burying-places of *Surat* are without the Town, about forty-three Paces from the *Baroch* Gate. The Catholicks have theirs apart, and ſo have the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, as well as ſome religious *Indians*. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* adorn their Graves with Pyramids of Brick, whitened over with Lime. The religious *Gentiles* make their Tombs ſquare, and of Plaiſter, covered, ſome with a Dome, and others with a Pyramid, a little more than three Foot high. The *Banjans* burn their dead Bodies by the River Side, and leave the Aſhes there to be waſhed away by it, becauſe they account it ſacred. They believe that it contributes much to the Soul's Eaſe of the deceaſed, to burn his Body immediately after his Death, becauſe they ſay his Soul ſuffers after the Separation from the Body, unleſs it be burnt; but they burn not the Bodies of Children under two Years old, becauſe they hold them innocent; nor of the Vartia's, or Jogies, who are a kind of Derviſes, becauſe they follow the Right of *Madeo*, who is one of their great Saints, and who ordered their Bodies to be interred.

The Things moſt obſervable about *Surat* are a large Wall built by a *Banjan*, with divers thin Arches over it, to which they go down by certain Stairs; on the Outſide is a Figure of a red Face, but the Features are not diſcernable. The *Gentiles* ſay, 'tis the Pagod of *Madeo*, and pay a great Devotion to it. Towards *Daman-Gate* begins the lovelieſt Walk in all the Country, and by it is a great Reſervatory of Water called the *Tank*. It has ſix Angles, and every one of them an hundred Paces long, and it is at leaſt a Muſket-ſhot in Diameter. The Bottom is paved with large Free-ſtone, and there are Steps all round it in Form of an Amphitheatre, from the Brim to the Bottom, of lovely Free-ſtone, admirably wrought, brought from *Cambaya*. It was made at the Charge of a rich *Banjan*, whoſe Name was *Copy*, to catch the Rain-water to ſupply the Town, and is certainly a Work worthy of a King, being equal to the beſt of the *Roman* Aquæducts made for publick Uſe.

About a Quarter of a League from the Reſervatory is the Princeſs's Garden, ſo called, becauſe it belongs to the Great Mogul's Siſter. It is a large Plantation of Trees of ſeveral kinds, as Manguires, Palms, Mirobalans, Warrs, Maſiatrees, and many other Plants and Shrubs, ſome of them are ſet in a direct Line, and it is cut into many long and very fair Walks. In the midſt is a Building, with four Fronts, having each of them a Divan, and a ſquare Baſon full of Water before it, from whence run ſeveral little Brooks through the Walks, which make it delightful, but much ſhort of the Royal Gardens in *Europe*.

About a hundred and fifty Paces from the Garden is a Warr, or Tree, which the *Portugueze* call the Tree of Roots; it is very large, and high, being eighty Paces in Diameter; the Branches which have taken Root are ſo ſkilfully cut, that one may walk every-where under it. The *Indians* account it ſacred, and the *Banjans* have planted Banners on the Top, and higher Branches of it; by it is a Pagod, dedicated to an Idol called *Mameva*, which is thought to be *Eve*. The Soil about *Surat* is brown, and ſo rich, that they never dung it, but ſow their Corn after the Rains in *September*, and reap it in *February*. It bears alſo Sugar-Canes, Rice, Manguiers, Palm-trees, and many other ſorts of Trees, which yield great Profit. They water their Gardens, but the great Dews yield ſufficient Moiſture for their Corn-Land. The River *Tapty* is always brackiſh at *Surat*, ſo that they uſe it only for waſhing their Bodies, which they do every Morning, from a Principle of Religion.

4. In travelling up and down *India*, there are divers ſorts of Carriages both for Merchandize and Travellers, and when you leave *Surat*, you muſt make uſe of theſe. For Goods, they make uſe of Oxen, Camels, or Waggons; upon their Oxen they will lay three hundred, or three hundred and fifty Pounds Weight; and 'tis no wonderful thing to ſee ten or twelve thouſand Oxen at a time laden with Rice, Corn, and Salt, carrying the Rice to the Place where Corn grows, and Corn where the Rice is, and Salt to Places where there are none. Theſe numerous Caravans are very inconvenient to Travellers, becauſe when they meet them, they are forced to ſtay two or three Days, till they paſs by. This is the moſt ſpeedy Carriage for Merchants Goods, and they commonly make uſe of it when they are in haſte to ſhip them off at *Surat*. They that drive thoſe Oxen follow no other Calling, nor have any Houſes, but carry their Wives and Children along with them.

Some of them have an hundred Oxen of their own, and they have a Captain of the Caravan, who wears a Chain of Pearls about his Neck, and takes as much State upon him as a Prince. All that follow this Trade of Carrying, are divided into four Tribes, called *Manari's*, and conſiſt each of them of an hundred thouſand Souls. They live always in Tents, and are maintained by tranſporting of Merchandize from Country to Country. The firſt of them carries nothing but Corn; the ſecond Rice; the third Pulſe; and the fourth Salt; and they are diſtinguiſhed by certain Marks made by the Prieſts in the Face of every one of three of the Tribes, by a different coloured Gum, and ſome Grains of the thing they carry pourtrayed in it; the fourth carries a Bag of Salt about their Necks, of eight or ten Pounds, and with it they thump their Breaſts every Morning before they ſay their Prayers, in Token of Repentance. They love their Oxen and Cattle as tenderly as Children, eſpecially if they have none.

Their Women wear only a Piece of Calicut painted, or white, five or ſix times double, from their Waiſt downward, and upwards they cut their Bodies into ſeveral Forms of Flowers, which they paint in various Colours with Grapes. They have Prieſts that go along with them, who every Morning ſets up an Image of a Serpent in Wreaths upon a Pole ſix or ſeven Foot high, and when every one has paid his Adoration to it, their Women going three times about it, they load it upon an Ox appointed for that Purpoſe for carrying it, and accompany the Caravan; they uſe Camels ſometimes, but very rarely, they being appointed to carry Luggage of great Perſons. The Caravan, or Waggon, ſeldom exceeds two hundred, and is moſt commonly not above an hundred. Every Waggon is drawn by ten or twelve Oxen, and attended by four Soldiers, which the Perſon that owns the Merchandize is obliged to pay; two of them march on each Side of the Waggon, over which there is two Ropes thrown acroſs, the Ends whereof they hold in their Hands, that if the Waggon leans too much to either Side in the bad Way, thoſe on the contrary Side may keep it from overturning, by pulling the Ropes with all their Strength. The Manner of travelling in *India* is upon Oxen inſtead of Horſes, ſo that if any Merchant carries an Horſe out of *Perſia*, 'tis only for Shew, or to walk in his Hand, or to ſell to ſome *Indian* Prince. Some of thoſe Oxen will pace as eaſy as our Nags.

They manage them as Horſes; but inſtead of a Bit, they have a Rope drawn through the muſcelly Part of the Noſe, only that in riding them you muſt take care that the Horns be not above a Foot long; for if they be longer, when the Flies begin to ſting, he will chaſe, and toſs back his Horns, and ſometimes ſtick them into the Stomach of his Rider. They never ſhoe them but in rough Places, where the Stones and Heat are apt to waſte and chop the Hoofs. They uſe alſo little Coaches for travelling, which will hold two Perſons; but generally they ride but one in them, when they carry their neceſſary Cloak-Bag and Proviſion, for which there is a proper Place under the Coach;

they are drawn by two Oxen, and ſome of them are ſo ſtrong, that they will travel upon the Trot twelve or fifteen Leagues a Day, for ſixty Days together. When they have got half their Day's Journey, they give them two or three Balls, as big as one of our Twopenny Loaves, of Wheat Flour, kneaded up with Butter, and black Sugar.

The Hire of one of theſe Coaches is a *Rupee* a Day, or a little more; for from *Surat* to *Agra* is forty Days Journey, and you pay for the whole not above forty-five *Rupees*. They, who have more to ſpend, may make uſe of a Palanquin for their Eaſe, wherein they travel very commodiouſly; 'tis a little ſort of a Coach, ſix or ſeven Foot long, and three broad, with Balliſters round about it. It has a kind of Covering over it, of Sattin, or Cloth of Gold, and when the Sun lies upon either Side, there is a Slave goes by the Side to pull down the Covering, and another carries a Targot of Oſiers, covered with ſome genteel Stuff, to keep the Traveller from the Heat of the Sun. Three Men, for the moſt part, apply themſelves to each of the Ends, to carry the Palanquin upon their Shoulders, and they go ſwifter than our Sedan-men, and with more Eaſe, becauſe they practiſe it from their Youth: You give to every one four *Rupees* a Month, but if the Journey exceeds ſixty Days, they will have five.

Whether it be in a Coach, or a Palanquin, he that will travel honourably in the *Indies*, muſt take along with him twenty or thirty armed Men, ſome with Bows and Arrows, others with Muſkets, who have every one the ſame Pay as thoſe that carry the Palanquin. Sometimes, for more Magnificence, they carry a Banner, as the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* do, for the Honour of their Companies. Theſe Soldiers watch and keep Centinel for your Defence, and are mighty careful to give Content, that they may deſerve the good Word of the Chief of the Town where you take them; for he is reſponſible for their Fidelity, and has two *Rupees* apiece of them for his Recommendation. In the Villages where a *Mohammedan* commands, you may have Mutton, Pullets, or Pigeons; but where there are only *Banjans*, there is nothing to be had but Flour, Rice, Herbs, and Milk Meats. In the *Indies*, where the Heats are exceſſive, 'tis more commodious to travel by Night than Day; and therefore, when you come into any fortified Town, you muſt be gone before the Sun be ſet, if you intend to travel the Night following; for the Gates being ſhut, the Commander of the Place is to anſwer for all the Robberies committed within his Juriſdiction, and will ſuffer none to go out, telling them, it is the King's Order, to which he muſt be obedient. The Meaſure of Diſtances in *India* is by Coſts, which is a League, and Gos, which is four of our common Leagues.

5. In travelling from *Surat* to *Agra* there are two Roads, one through *Brampour* and *Seconge*, and the other through *Amadabat*. In the firſt of theſe you go through *Barnoly*, a great Borough Town, where you ford a great River; this firſt Day's Journey lies through a Country ſomething woody, yet having many Fields of Rice and Wheat. From *Barnoly* you travel altogether through Woods to *Babor*, a large Village upon a Lake, about a League in Compaſs. Three Quarters of a League before you come at this Town, you muſt ford a ſmall River, but with great Difficulty, becauſe it is full of Rocks and Stones, which are ready to overturn the Coach.

From *Babor* the next Stage is through a woody Country to the Inn, *Kerkoa*, or *de la Begum*, becauſe it was built by the Charity of *Begum-Sakeb*, the Daughter of the Shah *Jehan*, for the Eaſe of Travellers, who before were forced to travel to *Navapoura*, which, beſides that it was too great a Journey, being upon the Frontiers of thoſe Rajahs, who often revolt from the Great Mogul. The Caravans were generally abuſed. This Inn, or Caravanſera, is large, and very commodious. In the Road from hence to *Navapoura* you ford two Rivers.

Navapoura is a great Town, full of Weavers; but Rice is the greateſt Commodity there; for not only the River that runs through the Country makes it very fruitful in that Grain, which requires Moiſture, but the Rice that grows there has a peculiar Excellency, for which it is much eſteemed. It is, indeed, leſs by half than the Grain of the common Rice; but when it is boiled new, Snow is not whiter, and it ſmells like Muſk. This Property makes the *Indian* Grandees ſo fond of it, that they will eat no other; and when they would make an acceptable Preſent to any one in *Perſia*, they ſend them a Sack of this Rice. From *Navapoura* you paſs through *Naſſarbar*, *Dolmedan*, and *Senguera*, to *Tollener*: Here you paſs the River that runs through *Barock*, where it grows very large, and empties itſelf into the Gulph of *Cambaya*.

From *Tollener* your Way lies by *Choupre*, *Senqualis* and *Nabir* to *Badelpoura*; here the loaded Waggons pay the Duties of *Brampour*, but the Waggons that carry nothing but Paſſengers pay nothing: And, when this is done, you go on to *Brampour*, which was a great City, but is now very much ruined, and moſt of the Houſes are thatched with Straw. In the Midſt of it is the Caſtle, where the Governour lives. The Government of this Province is a very conſiderable Command, and is only conferred upon the King's Son, or Uncle; but, ſince they have underſtood the Strength of the Province of *Bengal*, which was formerly a Kingdom, that Province is thought the moſt conſiderable in all the Mogul's Country at this Day. There is great Trade in this City, as well as in the Provinces adjoining, in Calicuts, of which there are prodigious Quantities made here, clear and white, which are tranſported into *Perſia*, *Turky*, *Muſcovy*, *Poland*, *Arabia*, *Grand-Cairo*, and other Places. Some of them are painted with Flowers of various Colours, and the Women make Veils and Scarfs of them, and of ſome Coverlets for Beds, and Handkerchiefs. They make another ſort of Linnen, which they never dye, and hath a Stripe of Gold or Silver quite through the whole Piece, and at each End from the Breadth of one Inch to twelve or fifteen, they fix a Tiſſue of Gold, Silver, and Silk, intermixed with Flowers; both Sides are alike. Some of theſe Linnens are made on Purpoſe for Saſhes, and are called Ormi, and contain from fifteen to twenty Ells: Some are of two Ells only, and ſerve the Ladies of Quality for Veils and Scarfs; and vaſt Quantities of theſe Goods are vended into *Perſia* and *Turky*. They make alſo other ſorts of Cotton Cloths at *Brampour*, becauſe there is no other Province in all the *Indies* which has greater Quantities of Cotton.

Leaving this City, there is a ſmall River, which, when ſhallow, is forded, and, if ſwelled by the Rains, there are always Boats attending to take over Travellers: And then you come to *Pevinbeſera*, which is an Incloſure of Walls and Hedges, in which are fifty or ſixty Huts covered with Straw, where live certain Men and Women that ſell Rice, Flour, Butter, and Herbs, and make it their Buſineſs to bake Bread, and boil Rice to ſell to the Travellers; and theſe Perſons cleanſe the Hut, they take up and put into it a Bedſtead, with Girths to lay a Mattreſs or Quilt upon, which the Travellers uſually carry along with them: This is ſignified by the Word *Sara*, which is added to ſuch Places. If any Traveller have a Mind to a Fowl, or a Piece of Mutton, any *Mohommedan* in the Place will go to the City and buy it for him. From hence you go forward through *Pander*, *Balkiſera*, *Conſembar*, *Chenipow*, *Charava*, and *Bichola* to *Andy*, where you paſs a River that falls into the *Ganges*, between *Banazon* and *Potna*, and ſo take the Way by *Onguenas*, *Tiquery*, *Tool-medan*, *Nova-ſera*, *Jehavour*, *Signor*, *Chekaipour*, *Douray*, *Aſſorkair*, *Teler*, and *Sankaira* to *Seconge*.

This City is large, and moſt of its Inhabitants are *Banjan* Merchants and Handicrafts, the Trade paſſing from Father to Son; and, for that Reaſon, there are ſeveral Houſes of Stone and Brick. Here is alſo a great Trade for painted Calicuts, called Chintes, of which the Cloathing of all the meaner ſort of People in *Perſia* and *Turky* are made: And the ſame are uſed in other Countries for Coverlets for Beds and Table-Napkins. The ſame ſorts of Calicuts are made in other Countries, but the Colours are neither ſo lively nor laſting, but wear out with often waſhing; whereas thoſe made at *Seconge*, grow the fairer the more you waſh them. This ariſes from a peculiar Virtue of the River that runs by the City when the Rains fall; for the Workmen having made ſuch Prints upon their Cottons as the foreign Merchants give them, by ſevereal Patterns, dip them into the River often, and that ſo fixes the Colours, that they will always hold. There is alſo made at *Seconge* a ſort of Calicut, ſo fine, that when a Man puts it on, his Skin ſhall appear as plainly thro' it as if he was quite naked; but the Merchants are not permitted to tranſport it, for the Governor is obliged to ſend it all to the Great Mogul's Seraglio, and the principal Lords of the Court, to make the Sultaneſſes and Noblemens Wives Shifts and Garments for the hot Weather; and the King and the Lords take great Pleaſure to behold them in theſe Shifts, and ſee them dance with nothing elſe upon them. From *Seconge* you go to *Madalki-ſera*, and paſſing thro' *Paulki-ſera* and *Chaldolki-ſera*, you come to *Callabas*.

6. There is a great Town, which was the Reſidence of a Rajah formerly, who paid Tribute to the Mogul; but the laſt Emperor *Aurengzeb*, when he came to the Crown, not only cut off his Head, but the Heads of many of his Subjects, which he cauſed to be ſet up in ſo many Holes dug in the Ground, about the two Towers which ſtand upon the High-way near the Town. From hence the Way lies to *Ackmate*, and from thence to *Colleſar*, whoſe Inhabitants are all Idolaters. Without the Town, upon the Highway, grows a vaſt Number of great Trees, which they call Mangues, and in many Places near the Trees, are many Pagods, with every one an Idol at the Door: They belong to the *Banjans*. From this Town you travel through *Sanſell* and *Dongry* to *Gate*. This is a ſtrait Paſſage of a Quarter of a League long between the Mountains, and is unavoidable by all that come from the South, as *Surat*, *Goa*, *Viſapour*, *Golconda*, *Maſlepatan*, and other Places, to *Agra*; for there is no other Road but this. At the Entry of it are the Ruins of two or three old Caſtles, and the Paſſage is ſo narrow that two Waggons can hardly go a-breaſt: Formerly there was a Gate at each End of the Strait, and, at the End, next *Agra*, there are five or ſix Shops of *Banjans* that ſell Flour, Butter, Rice, Herbs, and Pulſe. Not far from thence is a Magazine of Rice and Corn, kept by Serpents of thirteen or fourteen Foot long, and of a proportionable Bigneſs.

The People hereabouts get their Living by Paſſengers, from whom they extort as much as they can, for ſhewing them the Way, there being none but them that know it, becauſe it lies through intricate Rocks, till they come at the River, which, being forded, the Road leads to *Nadar*, which is a great City upon the Deſcent of a Mountain, upon whoſe Top there is a Fortreſs, and all the Mountain is encompaſſed with Walls. The greateſt Part of the Houſes, as in all other Cities of *India*, are thatched with Straw, one Story high; but the rich Mens Houſes are two Stories high, and tarraſſed. Round about the City are ſeveral Ponds to be ſeen, which were formerly encompaſſed with hewn Stone, but now are decay'd for want of looking after; but there are ſtill very fair Monuments about them. The River which you paſs before you come at this City, encompaſſes the Mountain like a Peninſula, and, after a long winding Courſe, falls into the *Ganges*. At *Nadar* are made a great Number of quilted Coverlets, ſome white, others embroidered with Flowers of Gold, Silk, and Sattin. From *Nadar* you go to *Barqui-ſera*, and ſo by *Trie* to *Goualeor*. This is a great City, but ill built, as all the other *Indian* Cities are. It is built on the Side of a Mountain that lies on the Weſt-ſide of it, and at the Top is encompaſſed with Walls and and a Tower. In the Incloſure are ſeveral Ponds, made by the Rains, with which they water their Grounds, ſown with Rice, and ſo raiſe Corn enough to maintain their Garriſon; and, upon that Account, it is eſteemed the beſt in the *Indies*. Upon the Deſcent of this Hill, which looks towards the North-Eaſt, *Cha-Iehan* built an Houſe of Pleaſure, from which there is a delightful Proſpect all over the City: It is ſo contrived that it may ſerve for a Garriſon. Beneath the Houſe are to be ſeen ſeveral Idols, cut out of the Rocks, repreſenting the Shapes of their Gods; and one of them is of an extraordinary Height.

The *Mohammedan* Princes make this Fortreſs of *Goualeor* a Priſon for their great Princes and Noblemen that offend them. *Cha-Iehan*, who came to the Crown by foul-play, impriſoned all the Princes and Lords he ſuſpected to be Male-contents, in this Caſtle, but ſuffered them all to enjoy their Eſtates. But *Aureng-Zeb* his Son, takes contrary Meaſures; for, when he impriſons any great Lords, he orders them to be poiſoned within ten or twelve Days after; that he may be rid of his Enemies, and yet not be thought a cruel Prince for his bloody Executions. Leaving *Goualeor*, you ford a River called *Lanke*, and come to *Paterki-ſera*, where, paſſing over a Bridge, containing ſix wide Arches, and which carries you over the River *Quarinado*, you arrive at *Quarraqui-ſera*, and ſo to *Dolpoura*, where there is a River, called *Chamel-nadi*, to which there belongs a Ferry-boat. The River falls into the *Gemena*, between *Agra* and *Hallebas*. From hence you paſs to *Minaſqui-ſera*, where there is a River, called *Jagounagi*, but you do not paſs it till you come eight Leagues farther, and then there is a long Bridge built with Stone, called *Quaoulcapoul*. Not far from this Bridge, they view the Merchants Goods, that when they come to *Agra* they may not be cheated of their Duties; and more particularly obſerve whether there be any Flaſks of Wine among the Caſks of pickled Fruits. From this Bridge you come to *Agra*, which, from *Surat*, is 339 Leagues, *viz.* from *Surat* to *Brampour* 132 Leagues, from thence to *Seconge* 101 Leagues, and from thence to *Agra* 106 Leagues. In theſe two laſt Stages the Country is full of fine Fields of Corn and Rice, being a lovely Champain, where you meet with very little Wood, and the Villages ſo thick that you may reſt when you pleaſe.

7. The other Road from *Surat* to *Agra*, through *Amanadabad*, lies, firſt, through a Country full of Corn, Rice, Millet, and Sugar-Canes; where, having ferried over the River which runs to *Camboya* and falls into the Gulph, you come to *Baroche*, which is a great City, and has a Fortreſs belonging to it, but there is no Uſe made of it at preſent. This City is very famous for Trade, on Account of the River, which has a peculiar Quality to whiten their Cottons, and which are therefore brought from all Parts of the Mogul's Territories thither for that End; beſides, here are made great Quantities of Baffa's, or long and large Pieces of Cotton, very fine and cloſe woven; the Price of them is from four to an hundred *Rupees*. You muſt pay Cuſtom at *Baroche* for all Goods carried in and out. The *Engliſh* Preſident has a very fair Houſe in this City.

In this City are a ſort of Mountebanks, who do ſtrange Tricks, *viz.* They will heat a Chain red-hot, and wind it about their naked Bodies ſeveral Times, and though they make as if they felt a great deal of Pain, yet, in truth, they receive no Harm at all: But, what is more miraculous, they will thruſt a dry Stick into the Ground, and, in leſs than half an Hour's Time, make it a Tree of four or five Foot high, bearing Leaves and Flowers as in the Spring-Time. An *Engliſh* Miniſter ſeeing this Witchcraft, declared it unlawful to be a Spectator of ſuch Deluſions, and proteſted he would not give the Communion to any that ſhould hereafter do it. Theſe Mountebanks wander up and down the Country to ſhew theſe Tricks, with their Wives and Children, and get a Livelihood by it.

Thoſe who are curious to ſee *Cambaya*, leave the direct Road, which goes to *Broudra*, and paſs through that City, which is not above four or five Leagues out of the Way, and is the ſafer Road. *Cambaya* is a great City at the Bottom of the Gulph, on the South of it; it lies in the Province of *Guzerat*, and though it be not ſo popular as *Surat*, it is as big again. It has very fair Walls about it four Fathoms high, and Towers ſtanding at a certain Diſtance. The Streets of it are large, and have all Gates at each End, which are ſhut every Night. The Houſes are very high, and built of Bricks, dried in the Sun, and were once furniſhed very richly after the *Portugueſe* Manner, but now many of them fall to Decay. Here it is that they ſhape thoſe fair Agates, that come from *India*, into Cups, Hafts of Knives, Beads, and other Workmanſhip. Theſe Agates are fetched out of a Quarry, by a Village called *Minodra*, four Leagues from *Cambaya*, in Pieces as big as a Man's Fiſt. The Shops here are ſtored with aromatick Perfumes, Spices, Silken, and other Stuffs. Moſt Part of the Inhabitants are *Banjans* and *Raſhpouts*. The Caſtle, where the Governor reſides, is large, but not very beautiful. There are ſo many Monkeys in the Town that ſometimes the Houſes are covered with them, and they often do Miſchief in the Streets, by throwing down ſuch Things as they find upon the Roofs. The Out-ſides of the Town are beautified by a great many fair publick Gardens. Here is a marble Sepulchre, raiſed by a King of *Guzurat*, in Honour of a Governor of this City, but it is decay'd : It contains three Courts, and, in one of them are ſeveral Porphyry Pillars.

Anciently, in this City, there was an Hoſpital for ſick Beaſts, but there are only Ruins of it now. The Suburbs are almoſt as big as the Town, and in them they make Indigo of the ſame Nature as that of *Sarqueſſe*. It was famous for Traffick when the *Portugueze* flouriſhed in *India*, but now the Trade is almoſt loſt, becauſe the Sea that once came up ſo near the Town, that little Veſſels could anchor by it, is now become half a League diſtant from it, and near the Coaſt is ſo ſhallow, that great Ships can come no nearer than three or four Leagues. There are great Numbers of Peacocks in the *Indies*, eſpecially in the Territories of *Baroche*, *Cambaya*, and *Broudra*; and in the Day-time they walk about the Fields, but at Night rooſt upon the Trees: The Fleſh of the young ones are white, and well-taſted. In thoſe Parts where the *Mohammedans* govern, you may catch them without Difficulty; but in thoſe Places where there are Idolatrous Rajahs Maſters, it is very dangerous to kill them, or any other Bird or Animal; for the *Banjans* count it Sacrilege, and will ſeverely puniſh any they can ſeize: They whipp'd a *Perſian* Merchant to Death, and took all his Money, to the Value of 300,000 *Rupees*, for ſhooting a Peacock.

From *Cambaya* you go through a little Village, where there is a Pagod, where the *Indian* Courtizans make their Offerings; and among divers naked Images, there is one that reſembles *Apollo*, with his Privy-parts uncovered. The young Girls, who are trained up to this wicked Art by the old Courtizans, when they are eleven or twelve Years old, ſurrender themſelves up to this Idol, believing that it will bring them good Fortune. And about ſix Leagues farther you come to *Chidabad*, which is one of the faireſt Houſes of the Great Mogul, being in a wide Incloſure, wherein he has vaſt Gardens and large Ponds, with all the Pleaſures and Curioſities whereof the Genius of the *Indians* was capable. And from this Place you travel to *Amadabat*, to which City you come from *Broudra* by *Neriade*.

8. *Amadabat*, which is probably the *Amadariſtis* of *Arrian*, is eighty-two Leagues from *Surat*, and lies in 23 Degrees and ſome Minutes of N. Lat. It is built in a lovely Plain, watered by a little River, called *Sabrametty*, which is not very deep, but ſwells prodigiouſly by the Rains. Without the Town are many large Gardens incloſed with Brick-walls, and every one of them have a kind of Pavillion at the Entry : By them there is a Reſervatory of Water, which has in the Midſt of it a lovely Garden, eighty Paces ſquare, into which one enters over a Bridge four hundred Paces long; and at the End of the Garden are pretty convenient Lodgings. Near theſe you ſee many Houſes, which make a kind of large Village, and a great many Tombs, indifferently well built. From hence you paſs through a Street, which leads you into into the Town, which is incloſed with Stone and Brick-walls, which, at certain Diſtances, are flanked with great round Towers and Battlements all over : It hath twelve Gates, and is about a League and an half in Length, if you take in the Suburbs.

All the Streets are wide, and the Meidan is four hundred Paces in Breadth, and ſeven hundred in Length, with Trees planted on all Sides. The Gate of the Caſtle is on the Weſt-ſide, and there are ſix or ſeven Pieces of Cannon mounted. In the Market-place are the Tribunals for the Couteval, or criminal Judge; and in the Midſt is a very high Tree, which has a Ball fixed on the Top of it, for thoſe to hit who exerciſe themſelves by ſhooting with Bows and Arrows. This Caſtle is walled about with good Walls, of Free-ſtone, and is as ſpacious as a little Town. Near the Meidan is a large Palace belonging to the King, which has over the Gate a large Balcony for the Muſicians, who play there every ſix Hours. The Apartments are adorned with Gold Paintings. The *Engliſh* Factory is in the Middle of the Town, it is well ſeated, and hath very fair Courts. Their Warehouſes are commonly full of Cloths from *Labor* and *Debly*, with which they drive a great Trade.

But the Trade of the City is in Silk Stuffs, Hangings of Gold, Silver, and Silk; but with woollen Grounds, Saltpetre, Ginger candied and raw; Lac, Cummin, Opium, Tamarinds, Mirabolans, and flat Indigo : There are many Moſques great and ſmall in it, but that which is called Juma-meſgid, or *Fridays* Moſque, becauſe all the devout People of the Town flock together on that Day, is the chiefeſt and faireſt. It hath a large ſquare Cloiſter, two fine Gates, with high Steeples, from whence the Muezims, or Beadles of the Moſques, call the People to Prayers. It hath ſeveral Domes, and two Minarets, and 'tis paved with Marble, ſo that all together 'tis a pleaſant Sight. It is inhabited by many Heathens, as well as *Mohammedans*, who have their Pagods, or Idol Temples there.

The Pagod of *Santidas* was the chief before *Aurengzeb* converted it into a Moſque. It hath three Courts, paved with Marble, and encompaſſed with Galleries; and into the third none muſt enter, till they have pulled off their Shoes; the Inſide is adorned with *Moſaick* Work, and Agates of divers Colours. In it are ſeveral Sepulchres of the ancient idolatrous Kings, of *Moſaick* Work, which look like little Chapels; but the Tomb of *Chaalom*, whom the *Indians* report to have been a Magician, but the *Mohammedans* believe him to have been a great Saint, is moſt honoured, being daily viſited by a great many out of Devotion. The *Banjans* have a great Veneration for Apes, and there are ſome that breed them up in their Pagods to worſhip, and if any one kill any of them, complain of it as a great Injuſtice. There are three or four Hoſpitals for Cows, Oxen, Camels, Apes, and Birds, and other ſick and maimed Beaſts, where they are looked after, and well fed. They buy them from *Chriſtians* and *Moors*, to deliver them, as they ſay, from the Cruelty of Infidels, and if they are incurable, they keep them there as long as they live; but if they recover, they ſell them to *Gentiles*, and none elſe. This is alſo very remarkable, that every *Tueſday* and *Friday*, all the Apes in the Country adjoining, come into the City, and lie upon the Tops of Houſes, during the exceſſive Heats. Upon theſe Days the People never fail to ſet ready in their Terraſſes, Rice, Millet, Sugar-canes, and ſuch-like things; for if they do not find Proviſions, they will break their Tiles, and do a great deal of Miſchief.

About *Amadabat* are a great many Foreſts, where they catch Panthers, which they tame, and ſend to the King for his hunting. From hence you go to *Panſar*, and ſo by *Maſſana* to *Chitpour*, a very good Town, ſo called from a ſort of painted Calicuts, called Chintzes, made and ſold here. They have an Art here of taming Lions, by tying them in a large Plain, and making them a Sport to the People. Hereabouts it is common to meet the Companies of *Faquirs*, or *Mohammedan* Dervices. They have a Superior, and ſome Aſſiſtants, who have ſome Cloaths better than the reſt, *viz.* ſome Ells of Calicut about their Middles, to cover their privy Parts, and a Tyger's Skin about their Shoulders; but the reſt have only a Cord for their Girdle, and a little Bit of Calicut faſtened to it to cover their Privities. Their Hair is tied about their Head like a Turbant, and they are armed with Bows, Arrows, and Muſkets, Half-pikes, *&c.* When they travel, they carry their Luggage, which is ſome Houſhold-ſtuff, and a pretty many *Arabian* and *Perſian* Books on Oxen. When they come to any Place, the Superior ſends ſome of his Crew a begging into the Towns and Villages, and what Alms they get is preſently diſtributed equally among them, every one of them taking Care to boil his own Rice, and what is over and above, they give to the Poor in the Evening; for they reſerve nothing for next Day. From *Chitpour* you paſs through *Balamphur*, and ſo through *Dantivar* and *Bargant*.

This Town is in the Territories of a Rajah, to whom you muſt pay ſome Duties, and all the Way through theſe Countries are dangerous to be travelled, becauſe the Rajahs live altogether upon Robberies, and therefore unleſs you hire many People for a Guard, you will go near to have your Throat cut; for there is no Likelihood of eſcaping theſe Free-booters. From thence the Way lies through *Bimal* and *Modra* to *Chalaour*, an ancient Town upon a Mountain, encompaſſed with Walls, and very difficult to come to. There is a Lake upon the Top of the Mountain, and another below, and between them lies the Road to the Town. From *Chalaour* you paſs on to *Cantap*, *Setlana*, *Palavaſaney*, and *Pipas*, to *Dantiver*, from whence to *Mirda*, is three Days Journey, being a mountainous Country, and belongs to Rajahs, or petty Princes, who pay Tribute to the Great Mogul; but in Recompence of it, the Great Mogul gives them Commands in his Army, which affords them large Appointments. *Mirda* is a great City, but ill built.

This City having offended the King's Siſter, *Begum* the Wife of *Cha-Eſt-Kan*, in not waiting on her, and making her a Preſent on her Journey through that Place, when ſhe went to marry her Daughter to Sultan *Sujah*, ſhe let looſe two hundred Elephants, who tore down their Trees, and did them incredible Miſchief. From *Mirda* the Road lies through *Borondo*, *Coëtchiel*, *Bandor*, *Sonnery*, *Ladona*, *Chaſou*, *Nouali*, and *Hindoo*, to *Baniana*. Theſe two laſt Towns are famous for Indigoe Cake, which is round, and being the beſt of all the Indigoes, is double the Price. *Vettapour*, a Town famous for weaving Woollen Hangings, is the next Town, and from thence you go directly to *Agra*, to which from *Surat* is four hundred and fifteen Leagues, and thirty-three Days Journey, if they could be equally divided; but becauſe you ſtay in ſome Places, it uſually takes up thirty-five or forty Days.

From *Candahar* there are two Ways to *Agra*, either through *Caboul*, or *Multan*; the latter is the ſhorter by ten Days Journey; but the Caravan never goes that Way, becauſe it lies almoſt all through the Deſarts, where there is no Water to be met with for three or four Days together, ſo that their moſt ordinary and beaten Road is through *Caboul*. Now from *Candahar* to *Caboul* is twenty-four Days Journey, and from thence to *Lahor* twenty-two; from *Lahor* to *Dehly*, or *Gehanabat*, eighteen, and from thence to *Agra* ſix, which with the ſixty Days Journey from *Iſpahan* to *Errata*, and twenty from *Errata* to *Candahar*, makes in all from *Iſpahan* to *Agra* one hundred and fifty Days Journey; but the Merchants that are in haſte ride three or four in a Company upon Horſes, and finiſh it in ſixty or ſixty-four Days at moſt.

Multan lies in 29° 40′ North Latitude, and is the capital Town of the Province of the ſame Name, tho' ſome Geographers place it in the Province of *Sinde*. It hath many Towns dependant upon it, as *Cazdar*, or *Cordar*, *Coudavil*, *Saudur*, and others. In this City are made a vaſt Quantity of Linnen Calicuts, for which heretofore there was a very great Trade, becauſe it not being far from the River *Indus*, they could eaſily tranſport them to *Tata*, where the Merchants of ſeveral Countries bought them up; but becauſe of late the Channel of the River is ſpoiled in ſome Places, and the Mouth is quite ſtopped up with Sands, they are forced to ſend all their Goods to *Agra*, and ſo to *Surat*, which ſo inhances the Price by the Carriage, that the Merchants do not care to deal in them; by which means the Trade is much leſſened there, and the Workmen have deſerted the City, ſo that the King's Revenues are much leſſened in thoſe Provinces: Yet there is a ſmall Trade for Sugar, Opium, Brimſtone, Galls, and Camels, which are tranſported into *Perſia*, *Gazna*, *Candahar*, and the *Indies*, by *Lahor*. It furniſhes *Indoſtan* with the fineſt Bows that are to be ſeen in it; and here are bred the great Number of Dancers of both Sexes that ſpread themſelves all over *Perſia*.

The Commander and Officers of this Town are *Mohammedans*, and conſequently it may be ſuppoſed that moſt Parts of the Inhabitants are of the ſame Religion; yet there are a great many *Banjans*, who come to trade, and exerciſe their Arts, and Brokage, and Uſury, in which they much outdo the *Jews*; for they are ſo watchful and cunning, that no Opportunity of Gain ſlips them; and they have ſo wound themſelves in all Buſineſs, that hardly any body can be without them. They take Commiſſions of all kinds, and though it be known that they make a Profit of every thing, yet the Merchants chuſe to make uſe of them, rather than do their Buſineſs themſelves; for they will buy cheaper and better than any Man can for himſelf. They are of a pleaſant Humour, and refuſe no Service, whether honourable or baſe, and are always ready to ſatisfy thoſe that employ them; and therefore every one has his *Banjan* in the *Indies*, and ſome Perſons of Quality entruſt them with all they have, though they are not ignorant of their Hypocriſy and Avarice. The richeſt Merchants of the *Indies* are of this Claſs, or Tribe. They are commonly very jealous of their Wives; who are fairer than the Men; though of a brown Complexion, and love to paint. They have a particular Law amongſt them, which permits them to eat Fowl upon certain Days of the Year; and to have one Wife among two or three Brothers; and the eldeſt of them is accounted the Father of the Children begotten among them.

9. From *Candahar* you travel to *Chariſafar*, and then through *Zealate*, *Betazy*, *Mezour*, and *Carabat*, to *Chakenicouze*, which is a frontier Town of the *Indies*, and the Country about it under the Command of ſeveral Princes that acknowledge the *Perſian* Emperor. From this City to *Caboul* is forty Leagues, and in the whole Journey there is but three pitiful Villages, where you can rarely get Bread and Barley for your Horſes, and therefore you muſt carry Proviſions for yourſelf.

In the Months of *July* and *Auguſt* there blows an hot Wind in theſe Parts, that takes away a Man's Breath, and kills him upon the Place. It is the ſame with that which blows about *Babylon* and *Mouſſul* at certain Seaſons. In this Road dwells a certain People called *Augans*, towards the Mountains of *Balch*; they are a ſturdy ſort of People, and great Robbers in the Night-time. Theſe People, as the reſt of the *Indians*, have a Cuſtom to cleanſe and ſcrape their Tongues every Morning with a crooked Piece of a Root, which cauſes them to void a great Quantity of Phlegm and Rheum, but not to vomit, as it doth the other *Indians*; nevertheleſs, when they come to eat, as ſoon as they have ſwallowed two or three Bits, their Lungs begin to ſwell, and they are conſtrained to go forth and vomit; after which they return again to their Victuals with a very good Appetite; ſhould they not do ſo, they would not live above thirty Years, and beſides, would be troubled with a Dropſy.

Caboul is a large City, the Metropolis of the Province of *Cabouliſtan*, or *Caboul*, and hath two Caſtles well fortified; and becauſe ſeveral Kings have held their Courts there, and many Princes have had it ſucceſſively for their Portion, there are a great many Palaces in it. It lies in 33° of North-Latitude, the Mountains about it produce Plenty of Mirabolans, which from thence the Eaſtern People called *Cabuly*, ſeveral ſorts of Drugs, and ſome Spices, with which the Iron Mines in them yield a great Profit to the Inhabitants. In this Town they maintain a great Trade with *Tartary*, the Country of the *Uſbecks*, and the *Indies*. The *Uſbecks* alone ſell yearly in this Town above ſixty thouſand Horſes, and the *Perſians* bring hither great Numbers of Sheep, and other Cattle, by which means they are much enriched. Wine is to be had, and Proviſions are cheap, though the Country about it is but cold and barren, unleſs in ſome Places, which are ſheltered by the Mountains, being rendered a little more fruitful, by the two Rivers that water it, and which have their Source in the Mountains.

From this Province eſpecially come the large Canes, of which they make Halberds and Lances, and they have many Grounds planted with them. The Inhabitants of the City and Province are moſt of them Heathens, and therefore in all Towns and Villages are many Pagods. They reckon the Months by the Moons, and with great Devotion celebrate the Feaſt called *Houly*, which laſts two Days, at the full Moon in *February*. At this Feaſt, they are all cloathed in a dark red, and after they have prayed in the Temple, and made Oblations, they ſpend the reſt of the Time in Dancing, by Companies, in the Streets, to the Sound of Trumpets, viſiting their Friends, and eating together, every Tribe by itſelf. The Great Mogul's Revenue from this Country, is four or five Millions yearly.

From *Caboul* the Road lies through *Bariabe*, *Nimela*, *Aliboua*, *Taka*, *Kiamri*, *Chaour*, and *Novechaar*, to *Atech*, a City ſituate upon a Point of Land, where two Rivers meet together. It is one of the beſt and ſtrongeſt Garriſons the Great Mogul has, and no Stranger is permitted to enter into it without a Paſsport from the King. From hence you paſs to *Calapane*, and ſo to *Roupate*, *Toulapeca*, *Keralay*, *Zerabad*, and *Imiabad*, to *Lahor*. This City is the Metropolis of a Kingdom, built upon the River *Rava*, which is one of the five Rivers, which deſcending from the Mountains, ſwell the River *Indus*, and give the Name of *Peniab*, or *Five Rivers*, to all the Region they run through.

It lies in 31° 50′; the River having a very flat Channel, is fallen off from the Town above a League, and being ſubject to overflow, does a great deal of Miſchief in the Country. The City is large, and extends itſelf above a League in Length. It was a very pretty Place when the Kings kept their Courts there, having many Moſques, publick Baths, Caravanſera's, Squares, Tanques, Palaces and Gardens; but all theſe, with the greateſt Part of the Houſes, are fallen to Ruin, by reaſon of the exceſſive Rains, which have waſhed down many of them. The Caſtle remains ſtill, for it is ſtrongly built. It hath twelve Gates, three towards the City, and nine towards the Country, and the Palace which is within it, has not yet loſt its Beauty. There are a great many Pictures upon the Walls, repreſenting the Actions of the Great Mogul, and his Forefathers, all promiſcuouſly painted; and on one Gate is the Picture of a Crucifix, and on another the Virgin *Mary*, not out of any Kindneſs to the Chriſtian Religion, but to flatter the *Portugueze*.

The Inhabitants are moſt of them *Gentiles*, and ſo there are many Pagods in the Town, of which ſome are adorned well, and all are raiſed ſeven or eight Steps from the Ground. The Province about it is one of the largeſt and moſt plentiful in the *Indies*, the Rivers that run through it rendering it moſt fertile in Rice, Corn, and Fruits. The Wine alſo is pretty good, and the Sugars the beſt of all *Indoſtan*. All ſorts of painted Cloths, and other *Indian* Manufactures, are wrought here, and it is ſaid that this Province yields the Mogul a Revenue of thirty-ſeven Millions yearly, which is a Proof of its great Trade and Fruitfulneſs. From *Lahor* to *Agra* there is one continued Walk of Trees, called Achy Trees, which have long and thick Branches, which cover the whole Way, though theſe Cities be one hundred and fifty Leagues diſtant one from the other. It was planted by King *Gehanguis*, but is not kept up.

At *Tanaſſar*, a Town in this Province, is a Convent of *Gentiles*, who are called *Nartias*; they have a General, Provincial, and other Superiors, and ſay, that it is above two thouſand Years ſince they were founded; they vow Obedience, Chaſtity, and Poverty. They obey the leaſt Signal of their Superiors, and will not look a Maid or Woman in the Face. They live on Alms, which is begged for them every Day at the Houſes of the *Gentiles* of their Tribes, and will leave nothing till the Morrow. They make but one Meal a Day, and that is about Noon; and though they are never ſo thirſty, or hungry, muſt not eat nor drink till the ſame time the next Day.

They wear nothing on their Bodies, but a Cloth to cover their privy Parts, which they bring up over their Heads, like a Woman's Coif. The main Point of their Inſtitution is, not to do to others what they would not have others to do to them; and they obſerve it even to the Beaſts, which they will never kill. If any body beat them, they do not reſiſt, and if they are reviled, they make no Anſwer. They employ themſelves wholly in Prayers, and Reading; but conclude the Day with the Sun-ſet; for they never light a Candle. If any break their Orders, he is ſeverely puniſhed; and if they break their Vow of Chaſtity, they are expelled. They have above ten thouſand Monaſteries in the *Indies*. Some of them think it ſufficient to worſhip God in Spirit, and have no Idols, or Pagods. There are alſo religious Nuns of the ſame Order, who live very exemplary.

10. From *Lahor* the Way lies by *Menat-kan*, *Tay-abad*, *Sera-dakan*, *Sera-balour*, *Sera-dourai*, *Serinde*, *Sera-Mogoul*, *Sera-Chabas*, *Dirauriel*, *Sera-Crindal*, and *Guemaour*, to *Dehly*, or *Gehanabad*. This City is a large Place, and ſtands near the River *Gemma*, which runs on both Sides of it; and after it has paſſed *Agra* and *Kadione*, empties itſelf into the *Ganges*. It is divided into three Parts, or Towns. The firſt is almoſt intirely deſtroyed. The *Indians* ſay it is very ancient, and that it was the capital City of the States of King *Porus*, who oppoſed *Alexander the Great*. The *Indians* ſay it had fifty-two Gates; and there are ſtill remaining a long Stone Bridge, and a Way, with lovely Trees leading to the ſecond Town, by the Sepulchre of *Cha-Humayen*. The ſecond Town was at the Conqueſt of it, beautified with many ſtately Sepulchres of the *Patan* Kings, and other Monuments, which rendered it a very lovely Place; but *Cha-Jehan*, the Father of *Aurengzeb* the preſent King, demoliſhed it, and left nothing but a Pyramid, or Obeliſk of Stone, which, by its unknown Characters, ſhews a great Antiquity.

The third Town is joined to the Ruins of the ſecond, and was built by *Cha-Jehan* out of the Ruins of it, and from him it had its Name of *Gehan-Abad*. This City lies in an open Champain, upon the Bank of the River *Gemma*, and is encompaſſed with a ſingle Wall. All the Houſes even of private Men conſiſt of great Encloſures, in the midſt of which is a Place for Lodgings. The greateſt Part of the Lords have their Houſes without the City, for the Conveniency of Water; for the King chuſeth to keep his Court here rather than at *Agra*, for the ſame Conveniency. As you enter into *Gehanadad* from *Dehly*, you come into a long and broad Street, which has Vaults on each Side, where the Merchants keep their Shops. This Street ends in the great Piazza, where the King's Palace ſtands. There is another Street which leads up to the King's Palace, where the Merchants live, who keep no Shops: The Fortreſs of it is half a League in Circuit, and has good Walls, with round Towers in them, and Ditches about them full of Water. The King's Palace, where are all the Enſigns of Royalty, is in this Fort. There is a Place by the Water-ſide for the fighting of Elephants, and other Exerciſes. The King's Palace is encompaſſed with Walls of fair red-cut Stone, with Battlements.

The Gate and firſt Court have nothing of Magnificence, for the great Lords may enter into it with their Elephants. Out of this Court you go through a long and large Paſſage, with fair Portico's on both Sides, into a great Court, where the Omrahs, *i. e.* the great Lords of the Kingdom, keep Guard in Perſon, having their Lodgings round about the Court, and their Horſes tied at the Doors. From this ſecond Court you paſs into a third, through a great Portal, where on the one Side is the Mogul's Wardrobe, out of which he beſtows the Calaat, or whole Habit of a Man, which he gives to any Stranger, or Subject, in Honour to them. The next is the Place where the Drums, Trumpets, and Hautboys are laid, which are ſounded when the King goes upon the Judgment Seat, and right forward is the Divan, where the King gives Audience and Sentence. In the Middle of the Hall is the Throne, where the King ſits, erected upon a kind of a Theatre. It has a little Bed, with four Columns, a Canopy, Back-piece, Bolſter, and Counterpoint, all embroidered with Diamonds, and covered with a Cloth of Gold when the King ſits on it. Below the Throne is a Place twenty-four Foot ſquare, encompaſſed with Baluſters, ſometimes of Silver, and at other Times Gold Plates. At the four Corners of it ſit the four Secretaries of State, who are the only Advocates in all Cauſes.

Many Lords ſtand by the Baluſtrade, and ſome of the greateſt, with his Children, ſtand by the Throne. While the King is on his Throne, none may ſtir out of the Palace, nor any that have Buſineſs come nearer than the Chancel in the Middle of the Court, till they are called; no, not Embaſſadors themſelves. From the Divan the King paſſes over a Terraſs, where the River is to be ſeen, into the *Haram*. Upon the left Hand of the Court ſtands a little Moſque neatly built, with a Cupolo covered with Lead, perfectly gilt. Hither the King goes every Day to hear Prayers, except *Fridays*, when he goes to the great Moſque, which is a very fair one, and raiſed above the Houſes of the City. On the right Side of the Court are the King's Stables, which are full of ſtately Horſes, the worſt of which ſtands the King in three thouſand Crowns, and ſome coſt ten thouſand. On the River the King has ſeveral ſmall Brigantines to take his Pleaſure in.

From *Debly* you travel to *Badelpoura*, and ſo by *Pelvel-ki-ſera* and *Catki-ſara*, where is one of the greateſt Pagods of the *Indians*, together with an Hoſpital for Apes, as well for thoſe that are bred thereabout, as for thoſe that come from the neighbouring Parts, which the *Banjans* are very careful to feed. The Pagod is called *Matura*. It was formerly in greater Veneration than now it is, and the Reaſon is this, becauſe the River waſhing the Walls thereof, was convenient for the waſhing the *Banjans* before they went to their Devotions; but ſince the River has left it above a League, many have deſerted; but ſtill it wants not ſome Reſort of the *Indians*, who always bring with them ſome Food for the Apes.

12. Between this Place and *Goodkiſera* is but five Leagues, and then you come to *Agra*. This City lies in 27° 31′ of Latitude, and in a ſandy Soil, which cauſes extream Heat. It is the biggeſt City in *India*, and was formerly the Reſidence of their Kings, till *Cha-Jehan* fearing the great Heats, uſually ſought a more temperate Air, and ſo removed to *Gehanabad*. The Houſes of great Perſons are fair, and well built; but the Houſes of the meaner ſort are as plain as in other Cities of *India*, being low and thatched. It is not very populous, unleſs it be when the Court is there; but at that Time it is thronged, the King being attended with an Army for his Guards, and a great Number of Rajahs, Omrahs, Manſapdars, and other Nobles, with their Retinues, beſides Merchants and Tradeſmen that follow the Court for Trade. The People are moſt of them *Mohammedans*, and theſe have all the Power in their Hands, though there are a conſiderable Number of *Chriſtians*, ſome few *Heathens* and *Perſees*.

The *Dutch* have a Factory here, but the *Engliſh* have left theirs, becauſe it did not turn to Account. The moſt remarkable things in *Agra* are the King's Palace, and ſome Monuments near, and about the City. The King's Palace is in the Caſtle, which is begirt with a Wall of Stone and Brick, terraſſed in ſeveral Places, which is twenty Cubits high. Between the Caſtle and the River is a large Place left on purpoſe for the fighting of Elephants for the King's Diverſion. It is near the Water, to allay the Fury of the conquering Elephant, who preſently comes to his Temper, if he be but two or three Foot deep in the Water. Before the Palace is a wide Piazza, it contains three Courts, adorned with Porches and Galleries, that are painted and gilt; nay, ſome things are covered with Plates of Gold. Under the Galleries of the firſt Court are the Lodgings for the King's Guards; in the ſecond is the Officer's Lodgings; and in the third the ſtately Apartments for the King and his Ladies: Out of theſe the King goes commonly to a lovely Divan, which looks to the River, to pleaſe himſelf in ſeeing Elephants fight. His Troops exerciſe and play upon the Water, or in the open Place. By this Palace ſtands twenty-five or thirty very large ones, in a direct Line, which belongs to the Princes, and other great Lords of the Court, and all together afford a moſt delightful Proſpect to thoſe who are on the other Side of the River. Beſides theſe Palaces, the Beauty of *Agra* conſiſts in the Caravanſeras, which are about ſixty in Number, and ſome of them have ſix large Courts, with their Portico's, which lead to very commodious Apartments, where the Merchants Strangers have their Lodgings.

There are above eight hundred Baths in the Town, and a great Number of Moſques, ſome of which are Sanctuaries. There are many magnificent and ſtately Monuments in and about *Agra* for ſeveral great Men, and eſpecially the rich Eunuchs, belonging the King's Haram, are ambitious to build their own in their Life-time, and to erect Monuments to the Memories of their Fore-fathers; and this the great Mogul encourages them in, that he may keep his Money in his own Kingdom, and divert them from going to *Mecca*, whither their blind Devotions often leads them to ſpend it. The two moſt eminent Monuments are that which King *Gehanguir* cauſed to be built for *Ecbar* his Father upon an Eminence in the Town. It ſurpaſſes the Magnificence of all thoſe of the Grand Seigniors; but the faireſt of all is that which *Cha-Jehan* erected in Honour of one of his Wives called *Tagé-Mehal*, whom he tenderly loved, and whoſe Death had almoſt coſt him his Life. It was built by the moſt able Architects of the *Indies*, whom the King called together in a Council to contrive it, and having ſettled Salleries upon them, ordered them to ſpare no Coſt to make it the fineſt Mouſolæum in the World, if they could.

The *Indians* ſay it was twenty Years in building, that twenty thouſand Men were always employed about it, and it was finiſhed at length to Satisfaction. It ſtands on the Eaſt Side of the City, by the River Side. It is a kind of a Garden, with Compartments, like our Garden Plots; but the Walks, inſtead of Gravel, are black and white Marble: You enter into it through a large Portal, and on the left Hand is a fair Gallery, which looks towards *Mecca*, and in which are three or four Niches, wherein the Mufti comes at certain Hours to pray. About the Middle of the Garden are three great Platforms, one raiſed above another, with four Towers at the Corners of each. On the Top is a Cupolo covered within, and without with black Marble; under it is an empty Tomb (for the Sultaneſs is buried under the loweſt Platform) adorned with Tapeſtries, Candles, and other Ornaments, where there are always Moullahs attending to pray. The Sepulchres of the Eunuchs have only one Platform, with four little Chambers at the four Corners.

The *Indians* are pretty uniform in their Apparel, only the *Mohammedans* and the *Moors* diſtinguiſh themſelves by a particular kind of Coif, or Head Attire; but in all things elſe they are cloathed as the reſt. Their Breeches are commonly of Cotton Cloth, and ſometimes of Silk, and come down to the Leg or Ancle. Their Shirts hang over their Breeches, as the Faſhion is all over the *Levant*, and open before. In cold Weather they wear over their Shirts an Arcalick, or Waiſtcoat, of painted Stuff, quilted with Cotton, and pinked; and over that a Caba of white Cotton Cloth, for Lightneſs and Neatneſs; but if it be hot, they lay aſide their Arcalick. They uſe but one Girdle, and that is of white Cotton Cloth. None uſe the lovely Girdles of *Perſia* but the moſt wealthy Perſons of Quality; in cold Weather they wear a Veſt called Cadeby, lined with Sables. At all times, when they go abroad, they wear a Chal, which is like a Scarf, of ſeveral Colours. Their Turban is commonly little, and the *Mohammedans* wear it always white. The Rich have them of ſo fine Cloth, that twenty-five or thirty Ells of it, put into a Turban, will not weigh four Ounces. They are made at *Bengal*, and are dear. They wear their Hair for Ornament, contrary to other *Mohammedans*, who all ſhave their Heads. They uſe no Stockings, and on their naked Feet, which are of *Morocco*, or *Turky* Leather, like Slippers, only the *Banjans* wear Heels to their Shoes, that they may ſtir more freely about their Buſineſs.

The rich *Banjans* cover theirs with Velvet, embroidered with Silk Flowers; but the Poor are ſatisfied with red Leather. The Mogul Women are cloathed almoſt like the Men, but the Sleeves of their Smocks reach no lower than the Elbow, that they may have Room to adorn their Arms with Carkanets, and Bracelets of Gold, Silver, and Ivory, or ſet with precious Stones, as they do alſo the Small of their Legs. The Smocks of the *Indian* idolatrous Women reach down only to the Middle, as doth the Waiſtcoat of Sattin, or Cloth, which they wear over it, becauſe from the Waiſt downward they wrap themſelves up in a Piece of Cloth, or Stuff, that covers them to the Feet like a Petticoat: For Shoes they have high Pattens; they wear little flat Rings of Gold or Silver in their Ears, with Engraving upon them, and adorn their Noſes with Rings put through their Noſtrils. They wear alſo Rings on their Fingers for Ornaments, and have generally one with a Looking-glaſs ſet in it an Inch Diameter, to ſee themſelves. If the *Indian* Women are idolaters, they go bare-faced; if *Mohammedans*, they are vailed.

In ſome Countries both Men and Women go naked to the Waiſt, and cover themſelves from thence to the Knees. At *Agra* they are curious in breeding up Beaſts to fight for Pleaſure, *viz.* He-goats, Weathers, Rams, Cocks, Quails, Stags, and Antilopes; for ſuch as cannot reach Lions and Elephants, are dextrous Fowlers and Hunters. Pictures alſo in this City are drawn with Art; but being for the moſt part laſcivious, are rarely bought up by *Europeans.* They have a Way in this Town of working in Gold, upon Agat, Cryſtal, and other baſe Metals, which our Goldſmiths and Lapidaries have not.

13. In your Journey from *Agra* to *Bengal* you come firſt to *Beruzabad*, then to *Sarail-Haimal* and *Sarail-Sokandria* to *Sauqual*: A League from thence you paſs over the River *Sangeur* upon a Stone-bridge, where thoſe that are paſſing from *Bengal* to *Surat* may leave the Road to *Agra*, and ferrying over the *Gemma*, ſhorten their Journey en Days: But, ſince ſome of that Way is very ſtony, Travellers generally chuſe to go by the Way of *Agra*. From this Bridge you go on by the *Cheourabad* and the Town *Serail*, *Chajeada*, and *Serail*, leaning to *Aureng-abad*. This is a great Town, the Capital of a Province, but it has no Walls. The Governor, who is a Prince, has his Reſidence there; and *Aurengzeb* commanded there, as he did at *Candich* in the Reign of His Father: his firſt Wife, whom he loved dearly, died in this Town, and as a Monument to her, he erected a lovely Moſque, covered with a Dome, and beautified it with four Minerets, or Steeples. It is built of white poliſhed Stone, which looks almoſt like Marble.

It hath ſeveral pretty Moſques, Inns, and Baths. The Buildings are, for the moſt part, of Free-ſtone, and pretty high: Before the Doors grow a great many Trees in the Streets, and the Gardens are well cultivated and pleaſant, affording the Refreſhments of the Fruits, Grapes, and Graſs-plats. They have Sheep without Horns, that are ſo ſtrong, that being bridled and ſaddled, they will carry Children of ten or twelve Years of Age. It is a good trading Town, and well peopled, with excellent Ground about it. It took its Name, by which it is now called, from the preſent Monarch *Aureng-Zeb*, who overcame Sultan *Sujah*, his Brother, who was Governor of all the Provinces of *Bengal*, in that Place. From thence you paſs to *Alinchan*, and two Leagues farther paſs the *Ganges*, which, though famous in Hiſtory, is ſo ſhallow from *March* to *June* or *July*, when the Rains fall, that it will not bear a Boat.

The Water being drank cauſeth the Gripes, and therefore the *Hollanders* that live upon the Banks of it, never drink thereof till they have boiled it; but the Natives are ſo accuſtomed to it, that the King and Court drink no other, becauſe they account it lighter than any other Water. The Heathen *Indians* account the Water of this River to be ſacred, and have many Pagods by it, the faireſt in the *Indies*; ſo that it may be ſaid, that here Idolatry is moſt triumphant. The two chief Pagods are at the Towns of *Jagarnat* and *Benevrou*: Nothing can be more magnificent than they are, by reaſon of the great Quantity of Gold and many Jewels with which they are adorned. In theſe Pagods they keep their Feſtivals many Days together, and many People repair thither from all Parts of the *Indies*, where they carry their Idols in Triumph, and act all manner of Superſtitions by the Encouragement of the Bramins, who are numerous thereabouts, and draw much Profit by it. The *Ganges* is full of pleaſant Iſlands, covered with lovely Trees, ſo that it is moſt delicious Sailing upon it. In theſe Iſlands, and ſome other Places of *Bengal* is a Bird called *Meina*, whoſe Colour is like a Blackbird, but as big as a Raven; it will ſpeak like a Starling, and imitates the Neighing of a Horſe exactly. This River has received an infinite Number of Brooks and Rivers from the N. E. and W. into it, and diſcharges itſelf by ſeveral Mouths into the Gulph of *Bengal*, which is eight hundred Miles over, and reaches from the 18 to the 22° of Latitude.

14. Having paſſed *Ganges*, you arrive at *Hallabas*, a great City, built upon the Point of Land where *Ganges* and *Gemma* meet; it is the chief Town of a Province that bears the ſame Name. It was, for a long Time, one of the Bulwarks of the Kingdom of *Patans*, and is the ſame Town which *Pliny* calls *Chryſobacra*. It was ſubdued to the Kingdom of the Mogul by King *Ecbar*, who built a ſtrong Citadel in it ſtrengthened with three Walls, of which the outermoſt is of a very hard red Stone. It is adorned with a very ancient Obeliſk, above fixty Foot high, that has many Inſcriptions, but the Letters are not legible. The Mogul has a fair Palace here, and under it are certain arched Palaces, where the Pagods of *Adam* and *Eve* are kept, whoſe Religion they pretend to follow. Hither, at certain Times, come an incredible Number of Pilgrims from all Parts of the *Indies* to viſit thoſe Pagods, becauſe they ſay, *Adam* and *Eve* were created here; but, before they approach the Place, which they eſteem holy, they all waſh themſelves in the *Ganges*. The Province of *Hallabas* pays the Mogul yearly fourteen Millions.

At *Hallabas* there are uſually Troops of *Faquirs*, who call themſelves a religious Order among the *Indians*, and many of them practiſe the Life of Penitents, forbearing to eat many Days, ſtanding conſtantly upon a Stone for ſeveral Weeks or Months, holding their Arms a-croſs over their Heads as long as they live, or bury themſelves in a Pit for a certain Time; but others wander up and down the Country like Gipſies, committing Robberies and all ſorts of Rogueries; ſome of them will threaten to kill themſelves, and ſome of them have done it, unleſs the *Banjans* would give them what they demand, and ſo obtain conſiderable Sums of them; for the *Banjans* abhor Murder, and will give any thing to prevent it. The Penitents are extremely honoured by the *Gentiles*; and the rich think they draw down Bleſſings upon themſelves when they give to them.

From *Hallabas* you paſs over a River, where ſtands a Deroga on each Side, to take notice of what Goods are tranſported, there being due for every Waggon-load, four *Rupees*, and every Coach one, and ſtop all that travel without a Paſs; and then go through *Yake-del-ſera*, *Sadan*, *Sarael*, and *Bourabi-ſera* to *Benarou*. This is a large City and handſomely built, moſt of the Houſes being of Brick or Stone, and higher than in any other *Indian* City, but the Streets are narrow. There are many Inns in the Town, and among the reſt one very large and handſomely built. In the Midſt of the Court are two Galleries, where are to be ſold Calicuts, Silk, and other Merchandize, and under them are Cellars where the Workmen live. All the Goods are ſtamped with the King's Seal, before they are expoſed to Sale.

The *Ganges* runs by the Walls on the South-ſide, and in it is one of the principal Pagods of the Idolaters. About five hundred Paces from the City northward, there is a Moſque, where are many *Mohammedan* Sepulchres, encloſed with a Garden, but there are Holes through the Walls half a Foot ſquare, for Travellers to look into them. The moſt conſiderable is ſaid to be that of one of the Kings of *Boutan*. It is a four-ſquare Pedeſtal, forty Paces wide, and, in the Midſt of it, a Pyramid thirty-two, or thirty-five Foot high, with a great Ball at the Top. All the Fronts are full of the Figures of Animals cut in Stone. It was once very high, but within fifty Years it is ſunk above thirty Foot into the Earth. From *Banarou* you paſs on to *Baterpour*, and ſo by *Satraguy-ſera* to *Maniachy-ſera*; in the Road from thence you ford two Rivers called *Carnaſa-ſou* and *Saod-ſou*, and come to *Gourmabad*, which ſtands upon the River *Gouderſa-ſou*. The City ſtands at the Foot of certain Mountains, near which is a great Lake, and in the Midſt of it a ſmall Iſland, with a fair Moſque built upon it, wherein is the Sepulchre of a *Nabador* Governor, called *Seleim-Khan*, who built it for himſelf when he was Governor of the Province. There is a fair Free-ſtone Bridge to croſs over into the Iſland; and on the Side of the Lake is a great Garden, in the Middle of which is a fair Sepulchre of the Governor's Son, who ſucceded his Father in the Government of that Province. Leaving *Sancerou* you ferry over the River *Son-ſou*, which deſcends from the northern Mountains: Here all Merchandize pays certain Toll; and ſo you go on to *Daud*, *Nargar-ſera*, and ſo by *Palva-ſera* and *Aga-ſera* to *Patna*. This is one of the biggeſt Cities of *India*, being two Leagues long, and ſtanding on the Banks of *Ganges* weſtward; but the Houſes are no better than in the greateſt Part of the other Cities, being covered with Bamboo's, or Straw. The *Dutch* Company have an Houſe there becauſe of their Trade in Salt-petre, which they buy up here and refine at *Choupar*, a great Town upon the *Ganges*, ten Leagues diſtant from *Patna*.

The People of this Town having a *Mim Cachi*, or Colonel of a thouſand Foot ſlain for Sodomy, by his Boy, whom he had forced, he juſtified the Fact againſt the Governor, ſo that he durſt not puniſh him for the Murder, but diſmiſſed him after ſix Months impriſonment. From *Patna* you ſail down the River to *Decu*, paſſing by ſeveral Towns where you lodge at Night; *viz. Sera-Boconcour*, which is beyond the River *Pomponſou*, which comes from the South, falls into the *Ganges*, *Sera-Enjah*, between which and the City *Monger* four Rivers, *viz.* the *Raoa*, *Chanan*, *Erguga*, and *Aquera*, fall into the *Ganges* on both Sides. Leaving *Monger*, you ſail by the Mouth of the *Ganges* at a large River, and arrive at *Zangira*, beyond which the *Ronova*, *Tea*, and *Chanon*, empty themſelves into the *Ganges*. And after you arrive at *Baquelapour*, and paſſing by the River *Catare*, you come to *Pongangol*, which lies at the Foot of certain Mountains which come down to the *Ganges*. Beyond this Place you meet with the River *Mart-Nardi*, and by it ſail to *Rage-Mehale*, a City upon the Right-hand of *Ganges*; if you go by Land to it, the High-way is paved with Brick for a League or two before the Town. Formerly the Governor of *Bengal* reſided here, partly becauſe it was a Place of great Trade, and partly becauſe it is an excellent Country for hunting, as well as to keep the King of *Aracan* in Awe, and ſuppreſs the *Portugueze* Banditti, who have retired to the Mouths of *Ganges*, and make Excurſions as far as *Decu* itſelf.

But the River having left the City above half a League, the Governor and Merchants are removed to *Decu*, which, at preſent is a large City and full of Trade. From this Town, you come firſt by Water to *Donapour*, then to *Tautipour*, where there are abundance of Crocodiles in the River; as alſo at *Acerat*, which is in the Way. The vulgar Report is, that a Muſket-Shot will not pierce the Skins of the Crocodiles; but, upon Trial, it is found falſe. Then you ſail to *Douloudia*, and paſſing the Mouth of the River *Chativer*, you come to *Dampour*, and ſo to *Jatrapour*, near which the *Ganges* divides itſelf into three Arms, and then by *Baga*, *Maca*, and *Kaſiata*; having paſſed the Mouth of the River *Lapicio* two Leagues, you arrive at *Decu*. This Town runs altogether in Length; beſides, every one ſtrives to have his Dwelling by the Side of the *Ganges*. It is two Leagues long, but the Houſes are but ſorry Huts, made of Bamboos, and daubed over with Earth. The Governor's Palace is a Place encloſed with high Walls, in the Midſt of which is a pitiful Houſe, built of Wood: He generally lodges in Tents, which he cauſes to be ſet up in a great Court of that Incloſure. The *Hollanders* have here a very fair Houſe, which they have built for the Safety of their Goods, and the *Engliſh* have another, but not ſo handſome. The Church of the *Auguſtin*-Friars is alſo of Brick, and is a very ſtately Pile.

15. There are ſeveral Roads from *Surat* to *Golconda*: As by Sea, by *Goa*, and *Viſapour*, and by *Agra*. Theſe two Roads by Land meet at *Dultabat*, and therefore I will ſpeak firſt of the Road from *Surat*, as the moſt common, and then of that by *Goa* and *Viſapour*. From *Surat* you travel by *Cambari*, *Barnoli*, *Beara*, *Navepour*, *Rinkula*, *Pipelner*, *Nainpour*, *Patane*, *Secoura*, *Bequola*, and *Diſcon* to *Dultabat*. This Town is one of the beſt Fortreſſes in the Dominions of the Great Mogul, being ſeated upon a Mountain every Way ſteep, the only Way being ſo narrow, that but one Horſe, or one Camel, can go at a Time. This Town ſtands at the Foot of the Mountain, very well walled, with a natural ſmooth Rock, and has Battlements and Towers mounted with Cannon; but it is the Citadel on the Top of the Hill that is accounted the main Strength of it; for in it are a great many excellent Pieces of Cannon, and the Cannoneers are generally *Engliſh* or *Hollanders*.

From *Dultabat* you go to *Aurenabat*, before deſcribed, and ſo through *Pipoli*, *Aubar*, *Guiſernner*, *Aſtin*, *Sarver*, and *Leſona*, to *Nadour*. Here you croſs a River, which runs into the *Ganges*, and muſt pay for every Waggon-load of Goods four *Rupees*, and have a Paſs from the Governor. From *Nadour* you travel to *Patonta*, and ſo by *Kaberi*, *Satapour*, *Satanag*, or *Satanagar*, where you begin to enter upon the Territories of the King of *Golconda*. The other Road through *Goa* and *Viſapour* to *Golconda*, lies thus; you may go from *Surat* to *Goa*, partly by Land and partly by Sea; but the Road being very bad by Land, Travellers generally go by Sea, and hiring an Almadire, which is a Bark with Oars, ſail by the Shore to *Goa*, and ſo they paſs by theſe Towns, which are convenient to lodge in, or victual at, *viz. Daman*, *Baſſain*, *Chacul*, *Daboul*, *Rejapour*, and *Mingrela* to *Goa*. From *Surat* to *Goa* is two hundred and forty Leagues. The great Danger in this coaſting Voyage is, falling into the Hands of the *Malabars*, or *Indian* Pirates, who are furious *Mohammedans*, and very cruel to the Chriſtians, whom they put to barbarous Tortures if they take them, to make them ſeek their Ranſom the ſooner. The *Malabars* ſometimes carry two hundred, and ſometimes two hundred and forty Men, and ſail together in Squadrons of ten or fifteen Barks to attack a great Ship, for they care not a Ruſh for the great Guns: They come on Board of a ſudden, and caſt ſuch a great Quantity of Pots of artificial Fire upon the Decks, that if there be not a ſpeedy Remedy applied, they do a world of Miſchief. Our Seamen generally knowing the Cuſtom of theſe Pirates, when they come within Sight, ſhut up the Skuttles, and fill the Deck with Water, to hinder the Fire-pots from doing Execution.

Goa lies in an Iſland ſix or ſeven Leagues about, upon the River *Mandoua*, ten Leagues from the Mouth of the River. This Iſland abounds in Corn, Rice, and ſeveral ſorts of Fruit, as Mangas, Ananas, *Adam*'s Figs, and Cocoas, but all of them are inferior to a Pippin. The Port of *Goa* is very commodious, the City is very large, and the Walls are of good Stone; the Houſes for the moſt part are very magnificently built, eſpecially the Viceroy's Palace; but being cloſely environed with Hills, the Air is made unwholſome, and ſo exceſſively hot, that the Inhabitants are not ſo many as otherwiſe they would be. Beef and Pork are the ordinary Diet, and they have Plenty of Poultry and Pigeons; but Fiſh is ſcarce, though they are near the Sea: They have abundance of all ſorts of Sweet-meats, and great Plenty of good Water. Before the *Dutch* brought down the Power of the *Portugueze* in *India*, there was nothing to be ſeen at *Goa* but Magnificence and Riches: They made vaſt Profits without any Loſs, and every Man was a Trader except the Governor. But now the *Dutch* having got the Trade every where out of their Hands, tho' they are ſtill Maſters of *Goa*; they have loſt their Mines of Silver and Gold, and are fallen from their Splendor. The Natives of the Country, whom they call *Canarins*, or *Blacks*, are not permitted to bear any Offices among the *Portugueze*, but only in reference to the Law, *viz.* As Advocates, Sollicitors, and Scriveners, and they keep them very much under. If one of them happen to ſtrike a white Man, or *European*, there is no Pardon for him, but his Head muſt be cut off. The *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* make uſe of them to tranſact their Buſineſs, and receive their Money; and many of them by that means are grown very rich, and have many Slaves to attend them in good Habits; but they all, both Maſters and Servants, go barefoot; for the *Portugueze*, though they have been offered great Sums to ſuffer them to wear Hoſe and Shoes, yet will not allow it. They are very couragious, and good Soldiers, and quick and ingenious at learning of Sciences, but they are Idolaters, and worſhip ſereral ſorts of Idols, which, they ſay, are the Reſemblance of ſeveral that have done good Works, to whom they give Honour by adoring their Portrait.

There are ſome of theſe Idolaters that worſhip Apes, and have built Pagods to thoſe Beaſts. In the Iſland of *Salſet* there was a Pagod, where the Idolaters keep in a Cheſt, the Bones and Nails of an Ape that had been ſerviceable to their Anceſtors, by bringing Intelligence when any Prince their Enemy ſought their Ruin. The *Indians* came in Proceſſion from ſeveral Places to this Pagod, and made Offerings to it; and when the Clergy of *Goa* took away the Tomb, they offered a great Sum of Money for their Relicks; but the Clergy not thinking ſuch groſs Idolatry ſufferable, cauſed it to be thrown into the Depth of the Sea. The River of *Mandoua* alſo is had in as great Veneration by the *Bramins* and the other *Gentiles* as the *Ganges*, and at certain times, and upon certain Feſtivals, they flock thither from their ſeveral Parts to perform their Purifications. The

Town hath good Walls, with Towers, and great Guns, and the Iſle is walled round with Gates towards the Land, to hinder the Slaves from running away. The *Portugueze* have a Viceroy reſiding here, with an Archbiſhop, Inquiſitor General, and Abundance of Clergymen, as Dominicans, Auſtin-Friars, Franciſcans, bare-foot Carmelites, Jeſuits, and Capuchins. The Carmelites are ſeated in a fine Air, and healthy Ground; the Jeſuits have a College, which being dedicated to St. *Paul*, gives them the Name of *Pauliſts*, with a Seminary, Profeſſor's Houſe, *Noviciate*, and an Houſe called the *Good Jeſus*, where they paint admirably. There are alſo many fair Churches, and beautiful Palaces.

In this City lies buried *F. Alberquerque*, who conquered it for the *Portugueze*, and Saint *Francis Xavier*, the famous *Indian* Miſſionary. The Hoſpital of *Goa* was formerly the moſt famous in all *India*, both in regard that the Revenues were very great, and the ſick Perſons were very carefully looked after; but ſince the Change of Government, there is but very bad Accommodations, and ſeveral *Europeans*, who have been put in, have never come out but in their Coffins; but of late they have found out a Way to ſave ſome, by frequent Blood-letting, ſpare Diet, and drinking Cow's Piſs.

16. From *Goa* you go to *Bicholly*, which is upon the Continent, and ſo to *Viſiapour*. This City is the Metropolis of a Kingdom of the ſame Name, whoſe King is the moſt potent of all the Kings of *Decan*, and is therefore called King of *Decan*, having under him the two Naiques of *Madura*, whoſe Territories reach to Cape *Comurio* and *Tanjahar*, who has ſeveral Towns on the Coaſts of *Coromandel* tributary to him. It is a great ſcambling City, above five Leagues in Circumference, fortified with a double Wall, and a great many Cannons mounted, and a flat-bottomed Ditch. The King's Palace is very large, but ill built, and the Acceſs to it is very dangerous, in regard there are an Abundance of Crocodiles in the Ditch, with which it is encompaſſed; but in the City itſelf there is nothing remarkable as to the publick Edifices or Trade, tho' in the Suburbs, which are large, there are ſeveral Goldſmiths and Jewellers. The King of *Viſiapour* hath three good Ports in his Dominions, *Rajapour*, *Daboult*, and *Carapatan*. This laſt is the beſt, having fourteen or fifteen Fathom Water near the Land, and upon the Top of the Mountain adjoining a Fort with a Spring of Water in it.

It lies about five Days Journey to the North of *Goa*. The Kings of *Viſiapour* and *Golconda* were formerly tributary to the Great Mogul, but now they are abſolute of themſelves. The preſent King of *Viſiapour*, was only the adopted Child of the former King, who died without Children, he ſucceeded in his Minority under the Regency of the Queen; but being diſturbed by the Revolt of Rajah *Sevagi*, the Son of the late King's Captain of his Guards, he was forced to come to a Compoſition with him to eſtabliſh himſelf, and ſo loſt all the Coaſts of *Malabar*.

The great Market, where the King of *Viſiapour* ſells his Pepper, is at *Rebeque*. In the Territories of *Viſiapour* is *Mingrela*, a large Town, extended half a League in Length upon the Sea-coaſt; it is one of the beſt Roads in all *India*, where all the Veſſels that come from *Batavia*, *Japan*, *Bengal*, *Ceilon*, and thoſe that are bound for *Surat*, *Ormuz*, the *Red-Sea*, *Balſara*, &c. both coming and going, anchor and take in Proviſions, becauſe there is both excellent Water and Rice. This Town alſo is very famous for Cardamums, which the Eaſtern People eſteem above all Spices; but not being to be had in any other Country, are very ſcarce and dear. There is alſo made great Store of coarſe Calicuts that are ſpent in the Country, and great Quantities of coarſe Matting, which ſerves for packing up of Goods. The *Dutch* have a Factory for Trade and Proviſions here, to victual their Ships when they block up *Goa*, which is eight Months in the Year.

17. From *Viſiapour* you paſs to *Golconda*, which is four hundred Leagues croſs the Promontory. The moſt powerful of the Kings of *Decan* next to the King of *Viſiapour*, is the King of *Golconda*; his Kingdom is bounded on the Eaſt by the Sea of *Bengal*, on the Weſt by the Mountains of *Orixa*, on the South by *Biſnagar* and *Nariſingue*, which belongs to the King of *Viſiapour*, and on the Weſt by the Empire of the Great Mogul. This whole Kingdom, take it in general, is a good Country, abounding in Corn, Rice, Cattle, Sheep, Poultry, and other Neceſſaries for human Life, and becauſe there are many Lakes. There are alſo many Fiſh, and among others a ſort of Smelts, which has but one Bone in the Middle, which is moſt delicious Food, the Lakes being cauſed by Nature, and lying in Places ſomewhat raiſed, contribute much to the Fertility of the Country, becauſe after the rainy Seaſons they let them down by Sluices into the adjacent Fields. The capital City of the Kingdom is *Banagar*; the *Perſians* call it *Aider-abad*; but the moſt common Name is *Golconda*. It is about fourteen or fifteen Leagues from *Viſiapour*, ſituated in 17° 18 Latitude, in a very long Plain, hemmed in with little Hills at ſome Diſtance from it. The Air is very wholeſome, and a great River waſhes the Wall of it on the South-weſt Side, which, near to *Maſulipatan*, falls into the Gulph of *Bengal*.

The City is well built, and full of Windows. In entering into it, you muſt firſt paſs through a large Suburb, but the Houſes are only built of Earth, and thatched with Straw, ſo low, and ill contrived, that they can be reckoned little better than Huts. It is at leaſt a League in Length, and in it dwell all the Merchants, Brokers, Handicrafts-men, and all meaner ſort of People. Theſe Men are allowed to go into the City from ten or eleven in the Morning till four or five o'Clock in the Afternoon with the Foreign Merchants, and then they return to their Houſes. In thoſe Suburbs are two or three fair Moſques, which ſerve for Inns for Travellers, and ſeveral Pagods in the Neighbourhood. The Way to the Fortreſs of *Golconda* lies through thoſe Suburbs; out of them you go into the City over a moſt beautiful Stone Bridge, and enter into a large Street that leads to the King's Palace. On the right Hand are ſome Houſes of the Lords of the Court, and four or five Inns two Stories high, with fair Halls, and large Chambers to let in the freſh Air.

At the End of this Street is a large Piazza on which the Palace fronts, and in the Middle of the Building is the Balcony, wherein the King ſits when he pleaſeth to give Audience to the People. The Gate of the Palace ſtands not upon this Piazza, but upon another near adjoining. Through it you enter into a large Court, ſurrounded with Portico's, under which lie the King's Guards. Out of this Court you paſs into another, built after the ſame manner, and ſurrounded with ſeveral Apartments, with terraſſed Roofs, on which are very fair Gardens, and Trees in them, of a great Bigneſs. The whole Palace is three hundred and eighty Paces in Length, and ends in a very lofty Pavillion. The Walls are built of great Stones, and have at certain Diſtances half Towers. It is very pleaſant within, and the Water riſes up to the higheſt Apartments. No Man enters into the Palace without an expreſs Order from the King, who grants it very ſeldom; ſo that ſcarce any body comes near it.

At the End of the Palace is a Building, called the Four Towers, which has the moſt lovely Outſide of any thing in the Town, being adorned with Roſes and Feſtons pretty well cut. In each Tower is four Galleries, which ſerve to make the Water mount into a Reſervatory on the Top, from whence it is conveyed into the higheſt Apartments of the King's Palace through Pipes. There are ſeveral Meidans in the Town, but the faireſt is that before the King's Palace. It hath two Divans, which ſerve for the Cotoual, who has his Priſons under them. The Palace is on the North of it, and there is a Portico over-againſt it, where the Muſicians play ſeveral times a Day, while the King is in the Town in the Middle of it; and in Sight of the Palace is a Space for the fighting of Elephants. The City for the moſt part is inhabited by Perſons of Quality, Officers of the King's Court of Juſtice, and of the Army, and their Houſes are pretty enough. Three Miles from the City ſtands a very fair Moſque, wherein are the Tombs of the Kings of *Golconda*, and about four o'Clock in the Afternoon there is a Dole of Bread and Rice given to all the Poor that come. Upon Feſtival Days all the Tombs are hung with rich Tapeſtry, and then they are a moſt glorious Sight. There are many fair Gardens in the Town, and near it; but their Beauty conſiſts not in Flowers, or Water-works, but in long Walks, lovely Fruit-trees, and large Baſons of Water.

When a Stranger comes to the Gates, a Soldier ſearches him, to ſee whether he has any Salt and Tobacco about him, that the King may not be defrauded of the Duties, and then ſends to the Deroga about his Admiſſion, which cauſes a Delay of a Day or two. Sometimes when the King ſits to do Juſtice, all that have Buſineſs ſtand below, juſt againſt the Balcony; but the People are kept back, with a Row of Poles about the Height of a Half-pike. Every *Monday* the Nobility mount Guard, and continue eight Days, ſome of them have five or ſix thouſand Men under their Command, with ten or twelve Elephants, and thirty or forty Camels. The Soldiers have no Cloaths, but three or four Ells of Calicut, with which they cover their Bodies half Way behind and before. They wear their Hair long, and tie it on a Knot on the Crown, as the Women do. They wear Broad-ſwords like the *Switzers*, which ſerve as well for a Thruſt, as a Blow, and hang them in a Girdle. Their Muſket Barrels are neater and better than ours, becauſe their Iron is better. Their Cavalry carry Bows and Arrows, a Buckler, and a Battle-Ax, and a Head-piece, and Jacket of Mail, which hangs down from their Head-piece to their Shoulders. There are twenty thouſand common Women allowed by the Deroga; they pay no Tax, but are a Means of ſpending much Tari, which is a ſweet Drink, on which the King lays a ſevere Impoſt. They are encouraged in their Practices. They are to dance every *Friday* before the King's Balcony, if the King be preſent; if not, an Eunuch diſmiſſes them. They ſtand well dreſſed at their Doors in the Day-time, and ſet up a Candle or Lamp for a Signal in the Night, to draw in Men who are not expoſed to Scandal, by converſing with them.

The common People give their Wives great Liberty, being obliged by Promiſe, at their Marriage, to let them walk in the Streets, viſit their Neighbours, and drink Tari, a Liquor which the *Indians* love very much. When any one is found guilty of Theft, he is puniſhed by cutting off both his Hands, which is a Puniſhment uſed almoſt all over the *Indies*. The Tradeſmen of the Town, and Huſbandmen that cultivate the Lands, are Natives; but the Trade is chiefly maintained by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Factories, who buy up for the Companies Chints, and other Cloths, which they vend in other Parts of the *Indies*. They bring alſo from *Maſlipatan*, upon Oxen, Cloves, Pepper, Cinnamon, Silver, Copper, Tin, Lead, and other Goods, which they know to be moſt marketable. All the Men and Women at *Golconda* are well proportioned, and of comely Stature, and fair enough in their Countenances; but the Country People are ſwarthy. The moſt current Monies of this Kingdom are the Pagods, Rupees, and Pechas, of the Mogul: The Pagods are Pieces of Gold, of which there are two ſorts, the old and the new; the old are worth five Rupees, and the new not above four.

The Rupees and Pechas are alſo worth more at *Golconda* than in *Moguliſtan*. The greateſt Plenty of Diamonds is in this Kingdom, and therefore it may be called the Country of Diamonds. The Caſtle of *Golconda* is two Leagues from the City; it is of a large Compaſs, and the Walls of it are built of Stones, three Foot in Length, and as much in Breadth; and it is ſurrounded with deep Ditches, divided into Tanquies, which are filled with fair and good Water. All the Strength it has conſiſts in five round Towers, which have a great many Cannon mounted upon them for their Defence. It has ſeveral Gates, but two only are opened, and theſe are guarded by *Indians*. No Strangers may go in without a Permiſſion from the Governor, unleſs he be acquainted with ſome Officer of the Court. The King has a large Palace in it, and well ſituated for a good Air, and lovely Proſpect, and moſt Part of the Lords have Houſes near it. There are ſeveral Bazars in it, where all things neceſſary for Life may be had.

18. The King of *Golconda*, who now reigns, is a Shias by Religion, and bears the Name of *Abdoul-Coutou-Sbab*. He was the Son of a *Bramin* Lady, and ſucceeded his Father, though not the eldeſt Son, becauſe he was more loved by the Queen, who cauſed his Brothers to be impriſoned, and at laſt poiſoned. He keeps five hundred thouſand Soldiers in Pay, yet is tributary to the Great Mogul. He hath only three Daughters, the eldeſt of which is married to one of the Kinſmen of the Grand Chiek of *Mecca*, the ſecond to Sultan *Mohammed*, eldeſt Son of *Aurengzeb*, and the third to *Mirza-abdul-Coſſing*, the King's Couſin, who has Male Children by her. The King of *Golconda* has vaſt Revenues, for he is Proprietor of all the Lands of his Kingdom, which he leaſes out to thoſe that offer the moſt, except ſuch as he gives to his Favourites for a certain Time. The Cuſtoms that Merchants Goods that paſs through his Country, and of the Ports of *Meſlipatan* and *Madraſpatan*, yield him much, and there is hardly any ſort of Proviſions in his Kingdom, from which he hath not ſome conſiderable Duties by Way of Exciſe.

The Diamond Mines raiſe him a great Revenue, and all ſuch as he allows to dig in them. Theſe that are toward *Maſlipatan* pay him a Pagod every Hour they work there, whether they find any Diamonds or not; but his chief Mines are in divers Places in *Carnate* towards *Viſiapour*, where he has ſix thouſand Men continually at work, who daily find near three Pounds Weight, and no body digs there but for the King. This Prince wears upon the Crown of his Head a Jewel almoſt a Foot long, which is ſaid to be of ineſtimable Value. It is a Roſe of great Diamonds, three or four Inches Diameter, on the Top of which there is a little Crown, and out of it iſſues a Branch faſhioned like that of a Palm-tree; but it is round, and the Palm Branch, which is crooked at the Top, is a good Inch in Diameter, and about half a Foot long. It is made up of Sprigs, which are, as it were, the Leaves of it, and each of them have at the End a lovely long Pearl, ſhaped like a Pear. At the Foot of this Poſey there are two Bands of Gold in the Faſhion of Table Bracelets, in which are inchaſed large Diamonds, ſet round with Rubies, which, with great Pearls that hang dangling on all Sides, make an exceeding fair Show; and theſe Bands have Claſps of Diamonds to faſten the Jewels to the Head. Beſides this Jewel, he hath other conſiderable Pieces, and ſuch Numbers of precious Stones, that if there were Merchants who could give him the Worth of them, he would have prodigious Sums of Money, and be the richeſt King in the *Indies*.

The Omrahs are the great Lords of the Kingdom, who are *Perſians*, and all rich; for they have not only great Pay of the King yearly, but large Gifts of Lands and Villages from him, beſides the Advantages of the Soldiery; for they do not liſt half the Number they have Pay to maintain. They generally make a very handſome Figure; for when they go through the Town, an Elephant or two goes before them, on which three Men, carrying Banners, are mounted; fifty or ſixty Troopers, well mounted and accoutered, follow them; and after theſe Trumpeters and others playing on Fifes on Horſeback; after theſe comes the Omrah on Horſeback, with thirty or forty Footmen about him, and his Palankin carried by four Men, with other Porters for Change; and all this Pomp is brought up with a Camel or two, with Men beating on Timbrels on their Backs. Sometimes the Omrah will take his Palanquin, and then his Horſe is led.

The Palanquins are ſometimes covered with Silver, and the Bamboos are tipped with Silver at both Ends. They lie at Eaſe in them, ſmoaking Tobacco, or chewing Beetle, or Areca, according to the Cuſtom of the *Indians*, who hold them to be excellent for the Stomach, and the Sweetneſs of the Breath. The leſſer Omrahs have not ſo great an Equipage, but all have a Train proportionable to their Revenue. The Winter in *Golconda* begins in *June* with Rains, and ſome Thunder and great Winds, and laſts to the End of *October*, in which time the Air is cold only in the Night and Morning. The Days are as warm as 'tis in *May* in *France*; but the Rains cauſe prodigious Floods, which beat down the Houſes, and deſtroy many People. The hot Seaſon begins in *February*. The Rains make the Land very fertile; they have abundance of Fruits and Vines, and two Crops of Rice and other Grains every Year. The Wines they make are uſually white.

19. From *Golconda* there are two Roads to *Maſlipatan*, one more direct, which the Merchants uſually take, and the other by the Diamond-Minds, called *Coulour*, or *Gani*, which ſuch Merchants generally travel, whoſe Curioſity or Buſineſs leads them thither, though it be the fartheſt Way

by twelve Leagues. In the more direct Road you meet with not above four Towns, beſides fifteen or ſixteen Villages, *viz. Elmas-kepentch*, *Panguel*, *Sarchel*, and *Penguet-chepoul*. You paſs alſo ſeveral Rivers, the moſt conſiderable of which are *Kachna* and *Mouchy*. All the Country as you paſs this Way is always green and pleaſant to the Eye, though the Road be bad, and there grow all kinds of Trees that are in the *Indies*, even Caſſia-trees, though they be ſcarce in other Countries: This Way you come to *Maſlipatan* in ten Days. The other Way, by the Diamond-Mines, lies, firſt, to *Tenara*, where the King has a ſtately Palace, conſiſting of four large Piles of Stone-Building, to every one of which belong a large Garden. One of them, on the Left-hand, along the Highway, is much more beautiful than the other three; it is built of Free-ſtone, two Story high, and has in it ſeveral fair Galleries, Halls, Parlours, and Lodging-rooms, which are the Royal Apartments. Before this Building is a large ſquare Piazza; and in the other three Fronts is a great Portal, with a fair large Platform, raiſed four or five Foot high, and well arched, where Travellers of Fortune are lodged, and over each Portal is a ſtrong Baluſter, and a little Chamber for the Ladies.

One of theſe Buildings belongs entirely to the Queen, and though no body may lodge in it in the Queen's Abſence, yet any one may ſee it, and walk in the Garden, which is a lovely Place, and well ſupply'd with Water. The whole Piazza is encompaſſed with ſeveral Chambers for the Lodgings of poor Travellers, who, every Day, towards Evening, have an Alms beſtowed upon them of Rice and Pulſe ready boiled; and for this there are alienable Rents ſettled: But for the Idolaters, who will eat nothing that is powdered by other Hands, they give them Flour to make Bread, and a little Butter to dip it in when it is baked, like a thin Bread-Cake. From *Tenara* the Road lies through *Jatenager*, *Patengi*, *Pengual*, *Nagelpar*, and *Lakabaran*, to *Coulour*, or *Gani*. This laſt Part of the Way is very rocky, and among theſe Rocks, where there is any good Earth, you find the Caſſia-trees, that bear the beſt, and moſt laxative Caſſia of any in the *Indies*. By *Coulour* runs a River, which falls into the Gulph of *Bengal*, near *Maſlipatan*. From hence the Road lies through *Kab-Kaly*, *Bazour*, where you paſs the River of *Coulour*, *Vochir*, *Nilimor*, where they muſt croſs a great River upon a flat Boat of Timber, and ſo by *Nilmol* to *Maſlipatan*. This is a great City on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, lying in 16° 30′ North Lat. It ſtands upon the Gulph of *Bengal* E. S. E. from *Golconda*; and though it be but ſmall, yet it is well peopled. The Streets are narrow, and it is intolerable hot there from *March* till *July*. The Houſes are built of Wood, and all ſeparated one from another, and the Water is brackiſh, becauſe the Tide comes up to it. There is great Trading in Chints, becauſe, beſides thoſe that are made there, a great many are brought from *St. Thomas*, which are much finer, and better Colours than thoſe from other Parts of *India*. The Coaſt is excellent, and the Road for Ships is the beſt in all the Gulph of *Bengal*, and therefore Ships come thither from all Nations, and go from thence to *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Aracon*, *Bengal*, *Cochin-China*, *Mecca* and *Ormuz*, and for the Inlands of *Madagaſcar*, *Sumatra*, and the *Manillas*. This Country of *Maſlipatan*, as well as the Coaſts, is full of Idolaters; and the Pagods are ſo full of lacivious Figures of Monſters, that one cannot go into them without Horror. It is exceeding fruitful, and Proviſions are very cheap there: A Sheep is bought for Twelve-pence, a Partridge for a Half-penny, and a Fowl for Two-pence; and it is the ſame almoſt every where upon the Coaſts of *Cormandel*. From *Maſlipatan* to *Gandicut* the Way lies thus; you paſs *Nilmol*, *Wochir*, and *Patemet*, three ſmall Villages, and the laſt of them a very pitiful one, to *Bezouart*, a great Town, where all the Inhabitants, except the Governor, and ſome of his Domeſticks, are Idolaters.

In this Town is a very large Pagod without Walls, conſiſting of fifty-two Pillars of twenty Foot high, which uphold a flat Roof of Free-ſtone. They are adorned with ſeveral emboſſed Figures of very ugly Devils, and ſeveral ſorts of Creatures, ſome with four Horns, others with many Legs and Tails, others lolling out their Tongues, and others in ſeveral other ridiculous Poſtures: And between the Pillars ſtand the Statues of their Gods upon Pedeſtals. The Pagod is build in the Middle of a Court, encompaſſed with Walls, adorned within and without, with the ſame Figures as the Pagod, and a Gallery, ſuſtain'd by ſixty Pillars, runs round the Wall. You enter into this Court through a Portal, with Nitches one above another, ſupported with Pillars, which have certain *Indian* Characters upon them; but the Prieſts themſelves hardly know the Meaning. By this Town is another Pagod, built upon an Hill, to which there is an Aſcent of 193 Steps, every one a Foot high: It is four-ſquare, with a Cupolo at the Top, adorned with Figures, as that at *Bezourat*. In the Middle is an Idol ſitting croſs-legg'd, after the Manner of the Country; and in that Poſture, about four Foot high; upon the Head, is a triple Crown, from which four Horns extend themſelves, and it has the Face of a Man turned towards the Eaſt. The Pilgrims that come out of Devotion to theſe Pagods, when they enter, claſp their Hands together, and raiſe them up to their Forheads, and then, advancing to the Idol, cry out, *Ram*, *Ram*, i. e. *God*, *God*: Then having anointed it with Oil, or beſmeared the Face with Paintings, they ring a little Bell that hangs upon the Idol; after which they make their Offerings of Sugar, Oil, and other Eatables, the richer ſort adding Pieces of Silver.

Theſe Offerings, though the People are made to believe the Idol takes them, yet maintain the Prieſts, their Wives, and Children, except that they relieve the poor Pilgrims with them. There is a great Feaſt made in this Pagod in *October*, for three Days together, at which Time there is a great Concourſe of People from all Parts. Leaving *Bezourat*, you croſs the River that runs to *Gani*, and three Leagues farther come to a Pagod, built upon a large Plat-form, with an Aſcent of fifteen or twenty Steps; in it is the Figure of a Cow of black Marble, and ſeveral other deformed Idols four or five Foot high, ſome with many Heads, and others with many Hands and Legs; and the moſt ugly are moſt adored, and receive the moſt Offerings.

20. The next Town in the Road is *Kab-Kabi*, near to which is a ſmall Pagod, wherein are five or ſix Idols, well made. And, having paſſed that, you come to *Candevar*, a great City, cloſed in with ſtrong Walls, with a Ditch, and a Moat, paved at the Bottom with Free-ſtone. Eaſtward it ſtretches out to a Mountain about a League in Compaſs, and ſurrounded with Walls with Half-moons: Within them are three Fortreſſes. From hence you travel to *Capanour*, and ſo to *Adanquige*, a very fair Town, where there is a very large Pagod, with abundance of Chambers for the Prieſts, and ſeveral Idols, but they are fallen to Decay, yet are ſuperſtitiouſly adored by the People. You go on to *Noſdrepar*, and ſo over a large River, which is dry in Summer, to *Condicour*, *Dakije*, *Nelour*, where there are many Pagods; and ſo croſſing a River to *Gandron*, *Screple*, *Ponte*, and *Senepgond*, to *Palicate*, to which the Way lies for a League through the Sea.

It is a Fort that belongs to the *Dutch*, that live upon the Coaſt of *Caromondel*, and within it are uſually two hundred Soldiers. It is the chief Factory they have in the *Indies*, where lives the Superintendent of all the reſt which are in the Territories of the King of *Golconda*. The Trade managed there by the *Dutch* is in Cotton-Cloth, of which they have large Warehouſes. Here alſo they refine their Salt-petre, which they bring from *Bengal*, and make Gunpowder, with which they furniſh their other Factories. The Fort of *Palicate*, called *Gueldria*, is at a good Diſtance from the Town, that it may not be annoyed by Shot from thence. The Baſtions are well ſtored with good Guns, and the Sea comes up to the Walls of it. The Governor has fifty Crowns a Month for his Pay, and as many for his Table and Cloths. The current Money here are *Rupees*, and *Pagods*, which laſt are four Times the Value of the former, *Fanons*, which are half Gold and half Silver, with the ſame Stamp as the *Pagods*, but the ſeventh Part of a *Rupee* in Value, and *Gazars*, which are Pieces of Copper as big as *Fanon*, but forty of them are but the Worth of it. The *Dutch* coin this Money. The Water of this Town is fetched out of

Holes dug in the Sand, when the Sea is quite out, and it is tolerably freſh.

From hence you go to *Madreſpatan*, or Fort *St. George*, which belongs to the *Engliſh*, (here is a Convent of Capuchins) and ſo to *Melipour*, or *St. Thomas's* Town, (where, they ſay, *St. Thomas* was martyr'd; and the *Auſtin* Friars here, pretend to have the Iron Lance which killed him, the Jeſuits alſo have a Church there) *Serraveron*, and then to *Oudicut*. The Way between thoſe two Towns is through a flat, ſandy Country, and on both Sides of it are Copſes of Bamboo's very high and thick, which breed prodigious Numbers of Apes. Thoſe on one Side are inveterate Enemies to thoſe on the other; and it is very good Sport to Travellers to ſet ſome Baſkets of Rice between them, with Cudgels by them, to make them fight for it, and batter one another with the Cudgels. The Road holds the ſame to *Naravacon* and *Gazzal*. Hereabouts there are Gates and ſtrong Guards at them at every two or three Leagues, who examine all Paſſengers, whence they come, and whither they go; ſo that Men may travel there with their Money in their Hands.

21. The next Place you arrive at is *Courva*, a celebrated Pagod, where there is little to be had for Man or Beaſt; but the Country about it being full of Elephants, the King's Officers come hither often to take them. The Manner of hunting them is thus; they cut ſeveral Allies or Walks in the Woods where they are, and having digged them full of Pits, which they cover with Hurdles and Earth, ſcare them by hollowing, beating of Drums, and purſuing them with Pikes, with Wild-fire tied to the Ends, into thoſe Walks, where, being tumbled into the Holes, the Hunters bind their Feet and Trunks with Ropes and Chains, and ſo take them; yet ſome will eſcape the Snare, and are ever after ſo miſtruſtful, that with a Bough they will examine every Step they take, whether there is not an Hole in the Way; and it is almoſt impoſſible to take them again. Such as they catch, they couple to two tame ones on each Side, and ſet ſix Men about them with lighted Torches at the End of an Half-pike, to talk to them, and give them Meat, which is brown Sugar, boiled Rice and Hay.

If the wild Elephant will not eat, the Men order the tame ones to beat them with their Trunks, and ſo conſtrain him to learn Obedience. After an Elephant is tamed, he never meddles with the Female, yet is ſometimes taken with a luſtful Rage, which never ends but with ſome Miſchief, as the Death of his Rider, or ſome body elſe. Though the Elephant's Skin be very hard while he is alive, it is all like melted Glue when he is dead. There are Elephants in ſeveral Parts of the *Indies*, as in the Iſlands of *Ceylon* and *Sumatra*, the Kingdoms of *Cochin*, *Siam*, and *Bantam*, on the Frontiers near the *Great Tartary*; but they are ſaid to be in the greateſt Numbers on the Coaſt of *Melinda*, Eaſtward of *Africa*, where the *Blacks* of the Countries hunt them to eat the Fleſh, but are obliged to give the Lord of the Place the Teeth, inſomuch that there are ſeveral Parks impailed with Elephants Teeth a League round.

It is obſervable of the female Elephant, when ſhe grows hot, that ſhe makes herſelf a great Bed of Herbs and Weeds, four or five Foot high from the Ground, on which, contrary to the Cuſtom of all other Creatures, ſhe lies upon her Back, in Expectation of the Male, whom ſhe calls to her by a peculiar Cry: And thus they take the Male in *Ceylon*, by a tame Female. This is alſo peculiar to the Elephants in *Ceylon*, which, though the ſmalleſt is the moſt couragious, yet only the firſt Elephant which the Female produces has any Tuſks. And it is alſo obſervable, that the Ivory from *Achen*, when it is wrought, never grows yellow, as that does which comes out of the Continent and the *Eaſt-Indies*, which makes it more eſteemed than any other. It is hard to find how long an Elephant will live; nor can the Keepers or Governors of them tell you more than that ſuch an Elephant was their Great-Grandfather's; ſo that it may be conjectured that they have lived an hundred and twenty, or an hundred and thirty Years. The Great Mogul keeps five hundred for his Houſhold, to carry his Women, their Tents, and Luggage, and about eighty or ninety for his Wars; and to the chief of them he allows five hundred *Rupees* a Month; but, to the reſt, from fifty to twenty. The chief have Men to attend them, and fan them, and they are maintained out of it.

22. From *Courva* you paſs through *Ragia-Peta*, a large Town, and *Ondecour* to *Outemela*, where there is one of the greateſt Pagods in *India*. It is built of large Freeſtone, and has three Towers, where there are ſeveral deformed Figures of emboſſed Work. It is encompaſſed with many little Chambers for the Prieſts Lodgings. Hard by it is a wide Lake, upon the Banks of which are built ſeveral Pagods, eight or ten Foot ſquare, and in every one of them an Idol, repreſenting ſome Devil, with a Bramin, who takes Care that no Stranger that is not of their Superſtition, ſhall come to waſh in, or take any Water out of the Lake: But if any Stranger deſires Water, they give it him in an earthen Pot; but if it touches the Stranger's Veſſel, they break it; and ſay, if a Stranger ſhould waſh in it, it muſt be drained. They are very charitable, and will give any thing they have to eat or drink to Perſons in Neceſſity. There are ſeveral Women among them, who, having made a Vow to do acts of Charity for ſeven or eight Years, more or leſs, ſit upon the Road continually for that End, with Fire, Tobacco, Rice boiled with Quicken, a ſort of Grain like Hempſeed, and Beans, and to every Traveller they give ſome of their Beans, Rice-water, an Handful of Rice, Tobacco, if they have none, and Fire. Other Women live continually on the Highways and Fields, having made a Vow to eat nothing but what they find undigeſted in the Dung of Oxen, Cows, and Horſes, which they feed with an hard ſort of crooked Peaſe; and theſe feed the Cattle with Graſs all the Day.

From *Outemela* you travel through *Goulupale* and *Gogeron* to *Gandicut*. This Place is one of the ſtrongeſt Cities in the Kingdom of *Carnate*, being ſituate upon the Top of an high Mountain or Rock, to which there is but one Aſcent, not above twenty-five or thirty Foot broad at moſt, and in ſome Places not above ſeven or eight Foot wide at the moſt. At the Right-hand of it there is a moſt hideous Precipice, and at the Bottom of it runs a vaſt River. Upon the Top of the Mountain is a ſmall Plain, but a Quarter of a League broad, and about half a League long. This is ſowed with Rice and Millet, and watered with many little Springs.

The City ſtands on the South-ſide of this Plain, and is ſo encompaſſed with Precipices, at the Bottom of which runs two Rivers, that it has but one Gate to the Plain-ſide, and that too fortified with two good Walls of Freeſtone. Here is a Pagod, which is ſaid to be the faireſt in all *India*, wherein are ſeveral Idols, ſome of Gold, others Silver, and ſix very large ones of Braſs, of which three are ſet upon their Heels, and three ſtood, and yet were ten Foot high a-piece. Theſe Statues, when the Nahab of the King of *Golconda* took the Cities from its own Rajah, he took out of the Pagod to make him ſome Cannon; but with all the Art the Artificer had, who was a *Frenchman*, he could not melt them, and ſo he was forced to leave his Work unfiniſhed. 'Tis a Cuſtom in this City never to put any Man in Priſon, but as ſoon as the Offender is taken, he is examined, and Sentence is pronounced upon him according to his Crime, which is immediately executed, and, if he be innocent, he is as ſoon acquitted and diſcharged.

The Puniſhment is generally inflicted at the Diſcretion of the Nahab, or Governor: One that had broken into an Houſe, and killed the Mother and three Children, was condemned upon the Spot to have his Hands and Feet cut off, and to be caſt into the Highway, there to end his Days in Miſery; another, who had robbed upon the Highway, had his Belly ripped up, and was ordered to be caſt upon the Dunghill. In theſe Parts of *India* they have a very quick Way of ſending Letters by Foot Poſts, which are more ſpeedy than Horſemen; and the Reaſon is, becauſe at the End of every two Leagues, there are little Huts, where there are Men always ready to run as ſoon as any Letter comes.

The Highways are planted with Trees like Walks, and where there are no Trees, there are Heaps of Stones white-waſhed, that theſe Poſts may not miſtake their Way in dark and rainy Nights. From *Gandicot* to *Golconda* the Way lies firſt to *Colepalt*, and then to *Coteeri*; here you muſt ferry over a River. The Boats are like wicker Flaſkets, covered on the Outſide with Ox-hides, and filled with Faggots in the Inſide, over which they ſpread ſome Tapeſtry, to ſecure the Goods from wet. Horſes and Oxen they ſwim over, and Coaches and Waggons. Their Oars are broad Pieces of Wood like Shovels. Being paſt the River, you muſt go to *Morimal*, *Santifela*, and *Gonmeda*, and ſo to *Kaman*, a Frontier Town of the Kingdom of *Goncolda*, till the Conqueſt of *Carnatica*, by *Mirgimola*, and from thence you travel to *Emilapata*. Between theſe two laſt Places paſs the Pilgrims, who go from *Brampour* to viſit the great Ram, *i.e.* the chief God which ſtands in the Kingdom of *Carnatica*. They go four thouſand Perſons, Men and Women, in a Company, and in Pallakies covered with Velvet or Sattin, purfled with Gold, and hung with Gold and Silver Fringe, in which they carry their Idols. On each Side of every Pallakie went a Man, with a large Fan made of Oſtriches and Peacocks Feathers of various Colours, and the Handle overlaid with Gold and Silver, with which they keep the Flies from the Idol's Face; and on the ſame Side there goes one with a Fan like a Target, which is adorned with Feathers like the former, but has little Bells of Gold and Silver round the Edges. This is to keep off the Sun from the Idol, and ſometimes they ſhake it, to pleaſe the Idol, as they imagine, with the Sound of the Bells.

This Multitude of Pilgrims, 'tis ſaid, being on their Way, were ſo ſtopped by ſudden Rains, that they were reduced to great Straits for Food, eſpecially for their Children, which cauſed great Lamentation among them. In this Extremity, the chief of their Prieſts ſat down in the midſt of them, and covering himſelf with a Sheet, called ſuch as deſired Victuals to him, and aſked them what they would have, and for how many? and when they had anſwered, he gave them with a great Ladle what they wanted from under the Sheet, and ſo the whole Multitude of four thouſand Souls were fully ſatisfied. The next Town in the Road is *Doupar*, and then *Tripante*, where there is a great Pagod upon a Hill, to which there is a circular Aſcent of Free-ſtone every Way, the leaſt Stone being fourteen Foot long, and three broad. In the Pagod are the Figures of ſeveral Demons, and amongſt others there is a Statue of *Venus* ſtanding upright, with ſeveral laſcivious Figures about her, all cut out of one Piece of Marble; but the Graving is very ordinary. From *Tripante* you travel to *Mainlo*, then to *Macheli*; after which you paſs over a River in Boats like Panniers, where you muſt give the Watermen ſuch Money as will pleaſe them, or they will not carry you over, nor your Goods. They generally burn all the Money they take to try it, and if it turns black in the leaſt, they will refuſe it, and then you arrive at *Dobarpinta*, and ſo go by *Halcora* and *Pondera* to *Atenara*, which is an Houſe of Pleaſure built by the King's Mother, with a large Piazza, and many Chambers for Strangers.

In the Kingdoms of *Carnate*, *Golconda*, and *Viſiapour*, there are no Phyſicians but ſuch as attend Kings and Princes, and therefore the common People, after the Rains are fallen, go out every Morning into the Fields to gather Herbs proper for ſuch Diſeaſes as are common in their Families; and in great Towns, ſuch as have ſome common Receipts, ſit in certain known Places of it, to give them to ſuch as enquire after them, all *gratis*. From *Atenara* you come to *Golconda*; here, beſides what has been before obſerved, in the Deſcription of this City, the Way of waſhing the King's and great Mens Elephants is not to be paſſed over. The Elephants go up to the Belly in the Water, and lying down on one Side, throw the Water ſeveral times, with their Trunks, upon that Side that lies out of the Water; and when he has ſoaked himſelf ſufficiently, the Maſter comes with a kind of Pumice Stone, and rubbing the Elephant's Skin, cleanſeth it from all the Filth that clings to it, and when he has cleanſed that Side well, he commands the Elephant to turn the other, which the Beaſt immediately does, contrary to the vulgar Opinion, that an Elephant, if he lies down, can't get up again. When both Sides are well waſhed, he comes out of the River, and ſtays awhile upright upon the Bank-ſide to dry himſelf; then the Maſter, with ſome red, or yellow Colour, ſtreaks the Beaſt on the Forehead, and about the Eyes, upon the Breaſt, and all behind, rubbing him with Oil of Cocoas, to ſtrengthen his Nerves; and ſometimes when all this is done, faſtens a gilt Plate upon their Foreheads. The Road from *Golconda* by *Amadabat* to *Surat* is above deſcribed.

All over this Country there ſeems to be a Contraſt between the Tyranny of the great, and the Submiſſion and Labour of the lower ſort. It may not be amiſs to add, that the common People in general, through the *Indies*, are from a Mixture of various Nations, with their natural Stock from the Oppreſſion of foreign Maſters, and from ſeveral other Cauſes that need not be particularly mentioned, become the moſt over-reaching, tricking, and deceitful People upon Earth, ſo that in all things that paſs through their Fingers, they cannot help giving a Caſt of their Office, and ſome Way or other hooking a Part to themſelves beyond what was intended for them. Of theſe Arts I ſhall give a few Inſtances.

Plain Silk-wares may be altered in Length, Breadth, and Quality; the Quality ſhews itſelf when they are of an even Thread, when the Weight is equal, and when there is no Cotton Thread in the Waft. The *Indians*, not having the Art of gilding Silver, put into their ſtriped Wares Threads of pure Gold, ſo that you muſt count the Quantity of Gold Threads to ſee whether the Silk have its due Number; and this alſo you muſt obſerve in your Silks, or even with Silver. As for Taffaties, you are only to mind whether the Pieces be all of a Fineneſs, and to ſee, by unfolding ſome of them, that there be nothing within to augment the Weight, and then, weighing all the Pieces by themſelves, to ſee that they all agree. The Colours of thoſe Carpets which are made in *India* do not laſt ſo long as thoſe that are made in *Perſia*; but for the Workmanſhip, it is very lovely; the Eye of the Broker is to judge of the Largeneſs, Beauty, and Fineneſs of thoſe Carpets which are wrought with Gold and Silver, and whether they be fine and rich; but whether they be Carpets, or other Stuffs mixed with Gold, it behoves the Buyer to pull out ſome of the Gold and Silver Threads, to ſee whether they be of the right Value or no. The Deceits uſually put upon Calicuts are in Fineneſs, Length, and Breadth; every Bale may contain two hundred Pieces, among which they will juggle in five, or ſix, or ten, leſs fine, or leſs white, ſhorter, or narrower, than according to the ſcantling of the Bale, which cannot be found out, but by examining them Piece by Piece. The Fineneſs is diſcerned by the Eye, the Length and Breadth by Meaſure.

But the *Indians* practiſe a more cunning way, which is to count the Number of Threads which ought to be in the Breadth, according to the Fineneſs of the Scantling; when the Number fails, it is either more tranſparent, more narrow, or more coarſe; the Difference is ſometimes ſo difficult to be perceived, that there is no Way to count it out but by Threads, and yet this Difference in a great Quantity comes to a great deal; for it is nothing to couzen a Crown or two Crowns in a Piece, that comes but to fifteen or twenty Crowns. Thoſe that whiten theſe Calicuts, to ſave Charges of a few Lemons, will knock the Calicuts exceſſively upon a Stone, which does fine Calicuts a great deal of Injury, and lowers the Price. As for their dyed Calicuts, blue or black, you muſt take care that the Workmen do not knock them after they are folded to make them look ſleek; for many times when they come to be unfolded, you ſhall find Holes in the Creaſes. As for their painted and printed Calicuts, which are printed as they come out of the Loom, the Merchant muſt take care, that what he beſpeaks be finiſhed before the End of the Rains; for the thicker the Water is, where they are waſhed, the more lively will the printed and painted Colours appear.

It is eaſy to diſtinguiſh between the printed and the painted Calicuts, and between the Neatneſs of the Work; but for the Fineneſs, and other Qualities, they are not ſo eaſily diſcerned, and therefore the Broker muſt be more careful. The Cheat in the Weight is two-fold; the firſt, by laying them in a moiſt Place, and thruſting in the

Middle of every Skain ſomething to add to the Weight; the ſecond is, by not giving good Weight, when the Broker receives it from the Workmen, or Merchant that delivers it. There is but one Cheat in the Quality; that is, by putting three or four Skains of a cheaper Commodity than that which is uppermoſt, into one Mein, which in a great Quantity, mounts high, for there are ſome Cottons that are worth an hundred Crowns the Mein. Theſe two Cheats being often uſed by the *Dutch* Company, there is no Way but to weigh your Commodity in the Preſence of the *Dutch* Commander, and his Council, and to examine every Mein Skain by Skain; when this is done, they who are ordered to be at this Examination, are obliged to fix to every Bail a Ticket of the Weight and Quality; for if there be a Failure, they who fix the Ticket are obliged to make good what is wanting. I have told you, that when the Workmen have made up the Indigo Paſte into Lumps, with their Fingers dipped in Oil, they lay them in the Sun a drying. Now thoſe that have a Deſign to cheat the Merchants, dry them in the Sand, to the End, that the Sand ſticking to the Indigo, may increaſe the Weight. Sometimes they lay up their Paſte in moiſt Places, which makes it give, and conſequently renders it more heavy; but if the Governor of the Place diſcovers the Cheat, he makes them ſeverely pay for it; and the beſt way of Diſcovery is, to burn ſome Pieces of Indigo, for the Sand will remain.

The Brokers are, as it were, the Maſters of the *Indian* Families, for they have all Goods at their Diſpoſal. The Workmen chuſe the moſt aged, and moſt experienced, who are to endeavour equal Advantages for the whole Tribe they undertake for; every Evening that they return from their Buſineſs, and that, according to the Cuſtom of the *Indians*, who make no Suppers, they have eaten ſome little Pieces of Sweet-meats, and drank a Glaſs of Water, the eldeſt of the Tribe meet at the Broker's Houſe, who gives them an Account of what he has done that Day, and then they conſult what he is to do next. Above all things they caution him to look to his Hits, and to cheat, rather than be cheated.

We will cloſe this Section with a remarkable Paſſage relating to our Author's perſonal Hiſtory, which is very worthy the Reader's Notice, though it does not immediately relate to Trade, the rather, becauſe the Tranſlation that has been publiſhed of his Travels, gives us but a very indifferent Account of it, notwithſtanding the Author has taken great Pains to relate it very circumſtantially, as he thought it would give a true Picture of the Nation it concerns. In the Month of *April* 1665, he embarked at *Gambron* in *Perſia*, for *Surat* in the *Indies*, on Board a *Dutch* Packet Boat; which Opportunity the *Engliſh* Agent took to charge him with a large Packet of Letters for the *Engliſh* Preſident at *Surat*, in which alſo were included ſuch as belonged to private Perſons in that Factory, and in other Places of the *Indies*. This Circumſtance was taken Notice of by one Mr. *Caſembrot*, a *Dutchman*, who had travelled through *Perſia* by Land, and was to go in the ſame Veſſel with our Author to *Surat*, and he communicated this Piece of Intelligence to Mr. *Henry Van-Wuck*, who was then the *Dutch* Chief at *Gambron*, and he immediately formed a Project for ſtealing this Packet, in order to diſcover the State of the *Engliſh* Affairs; but in the firſt place went on Board the Ship, and enquired of our Author, if he had any ſuch Packet, who very innocently told him the Truth. After having thus opened the Matter, and obſerved that the *Dutch* Captain and Pilot were in the Secret, we ſhall purſue the Account in the Author's own Words: Mr. *Caſembrot*, ſays he, having ſeen the Size of the Packet, gave *Van-Wuck* a Deſcription of it, and ſo both together they contrived another of the ſame Form and Bigneſs, as near as they could. When I came on Board I took the *Engliſh* Packet, and locked it up in my Boucha, which is the ſort of Cloak-bag that is uſed in that Country, and laid it behind my Bolſter. There were two Shallops ſent on Board us, wherein there were ſixty Bags of Silver, containing ſome fifty, ſome an hundred Tomans apiece. Theſe Bags they unladed very leiſurely to gain Time, watching when I ſhould be gone to Bed; but when they ſaw that I did not go to reſt, the *Dutch* conſulted together, and agreed to let fall a Bag of Tomans into the Sea, and ſo came all aboard, ſending away a Shallop to *Gambron* for a Diver. When I found that the Veſſel would not ſet ſail, till two or three Hours after Day-light, I went to reſt, my Boucha lying in the ſame Place half out, and half withinſide of my Bolſter; but when my Servants were gone, and I alone, and aſleep in the Cabin, they cunningly ſtole my Boucha, took out the *Engliſh* Packet, and left the other, which they had counterfeited, in the Place, being only ſo many Letters of blank Paper. Coming to *Surat* the 6th of *May* following, I gave the Packet, as I thought, which I had received from the *Engliſh* Agent at *Gambron*, to two *Capuchin* Friars, to deliver to the Preſident at *Surat*; but when the Preſident came to open the Packet before ſeveral of the Company, there was nothing but white Paper made up in the Form of Letters, which when I heard, too much to my Sorrow, I underſtood the villanous Trick that *Van-Wuck* had put upon me.

I wrote a ſmart Letter of Complaint to the *Dutch* General in *Batavia*, but finding no Redreſs, I was forced to undergo the hard Cenſure of the *Engliſh*, who would not permit me to juſtify myſelf. However, as it is rare to ſee Treachery go unpuniſhed, the Complotters all died miſerably, *Van-Wuck* fell into a violent Fever, and being charged with the Theft, thinking to defend himſelf with an Equivocation, ſaid, that if he took the Cloak-bag, he wiſhed he might die without ſpeaking a Word. In three Days ended his Life, juſt in the ſame manner, and at the ſame time that he had imprecated upon himſelf; *Bozan*, his Lieutenant, after a great Debauch, going to ſleep upon the Terraſs of the Cabin, where he lay for Coolneſs (there being no Baluſters) rolling and tumbling in his Sleep, fell down, and the next Day was found dead in the Sea. The Captain, four or five Days after his Arrival at *Surat*, being met in the Streets by a *Mohammedan*, who was jealous of his Wife, and being miſtaken by him for one among ſeveral *Franks* that had parted them, and kept him from correcting his Wife ſome few Days before, was ſtabbed by him in three or four Places with a Dagger, which killed him outright; and this was the End of theſe treacherous People.

23. We may gather from this remarkable Paſſage the Reaſon why our Author had always a ſtrong Diſlike to the *Dutch*; for it is not probable, that after ſuch a Tranſaction, they could either forget him, or he them; but it ſeems not a little ſtrange, that this Account ſhould be ſo much ſoftened in the *Engliſh* Tranſlation, and no Notice taken that the Perſon who did him this Injury was the *Dutch* Chief at *Gambron*, to whom he was particularly recommended, and a long Letter likewiſe omitted, which he wrote to the *Dutch* Governor at *Batavia*. In a Work like this, where we profeſs to make a Collection of Voyages and Travels, ſuch Pieces ought to be left out, as refer only to particular Men; but the Rule is certainly otherwiſe, in Reference to Books that are given to the World as expreſs Tranſlations; for which Reaſon I am inclined to think, that there is ſomething myſterious in this Omiſſion, and that the Author of the *Engliſh* Tranſlation was a better Friend to the *Dutch* than M. *Tavernier*, and therefore did not think fit to truſt ſuch an unlucky Story as this with an *Engliſh* Reader, eſpecially at that Juncture; for this Verſion of our Author's Travels was publiſhed in the Reign of King *Charles* II. not long after the Cloſe of the laſt *Dutch* War.

I am the rather inclined to think this, becauſe, at the End of the fifth Book of M. *Tavernier*'s Travels, there is a very curious Relation of a groſs Affront offered to King *Charles* II. by the *Dutch* Factory at *Gambron*, who burnt his Picture in the moſt ignominious Manner, which is alſo left out in the *Engliſh* Tranſlation, and of which the Reader ſhall, God willing, have an exact Verſion in the ſucceeding Volume of this Work. At preſent, it is ſufficient that we mention theſe things, becauſe they will ſerve to explain ſeveral Paſſages in the ſucceeding Section, which contains the Remainder of our Author's *Indian* Obſervations, together with an Account of his Return by *Batavia* in a *Dutch* Ship to *Europe*, in which occur a Multitude of curious Circumſtances, and many remarkable Paſſages, in reſpect to the Hiſtory and Trade of the *Indies*, that are no where elſe to be found.

SECTION XXX.

The Concluſion of the Remarks and Obſervations of Mr. J. Baptiſt Tavernier *in his Travels through the* Indies, *together with his Account of the* Dutch *Settlements, and of his Voyage on Board a* Dutch *Ship from* Batavia *to* Europe.

Written by himſelf ſoon after his Return.

1. *An Account of the Kingdom of* Macaſſar, *in the Iſland of* Celebes. 2. *The Grounds of the Quarrel between the King of* Macaſſar, *and the* Dutch. 3. *The Means by which the King was converted to the* Mohammedan *Religion.* 4. *The Author's Voyage from* Mingrela *to the Iſland of* Ceylon, *interſperſed with various Remarks.* 5. *The Author's Departure from* Ceylon, *and his Arrival at* Batavia. 6. *The ill Uſage the* French *meet with from the* Dutch *in the* Eaſt-Indies. 7. *An Inſtance of their Reſpect likewiſe for the* Engliſh. 8. *The Author goes to viſit the King of* Bantam, *in order to ſell him ſome Diamonds.* 9. *A Deſcription of that Monarch's Palace, and of the Reception our Author met with there.* 10. *His Return to* Batavia, *and his Obſervations in that City.* 11. *His narrow Eſcape in his ſecond Journey to* Bantam *from a* Mohammedan *Monk that intended to aſſaſſinate him.* 12. *A diſtinct and impartial Account of the Grounds of the long War between the* Dutch *and the Emperor of* Java. 13. *Our Author meets with new Troubles at* Batavia. 14. *He embarks there on Board a* Dutch *Veſſel, in order to return to* Europe. 15. *Arrival at, and our Author's Obſervations on the Country near the* Cape of Good-Hope. 16. *His Remarks upon the Iſland of* St. Helena, *which they touched at in their Paſſage.* 17. *Return to* Holland, *and baſe Uſage by the* Dutch.

1. WE have before given a large Account of our Author's Obſervations on the Kingdoms in the *Eaſt-Indies* to the very Frontiers of *China*, of which Empire, it ſeems, he had likewiſe collected ſome very curious Memoirs, though his Modeſty would not ſuffer him to publiſh them, becauſe there were already ſeveral general Hiſtories of that Country written by ſuch as had reſided there for many Years, and were therefore likely to be better acquainted with it than he. In order, however, to preſerve the beſt Method poſſible in his Relations, he paſſes from the Kingdom of *Siam*, on the Continent, to the great Iſland of *Celebes*, of which he has given us a very copious and very curious Account, much ſuperior to any thing we meet with in the general Hiſtories of the *Indies* by *Portugueze* Writers, and therefore it comes in here very properly, as a Supplement to what we have before tranſcribed from thoſe Writers in the former Sections, and at the ſame time ſerves for an Introduction to what the Author ſays of the Reduction of that Iſland, or at leaſt of the principal Kingdom therein by the *Dutch*, who are ſtill Maſters thereof, and derive from thence very great Advantages. We may reckon amongſt theſe their excluding all other Nations from any Commerce here. But to proceed now to our Author's Narration, in his own Words.

The Kingdom of *Macaſſar*, which is in the Iſle of *Celebes*, begins at the 15° of Southern Latitude; the Heats are exceſſive all the Day, but the Nights are temperate enough; and for the Soil, it is very fertile; but the People have not the Art of Building. The capital City bears the Name of the Kingdom, and is ſituated upon the Sea. The Port is free; for the Veſſels that bring great Quantities of Goods from the adjacent Iſlands pay no Cuſtoms. The Iſlanders have a Cuſtom to poiſon their Arrows; and the moſt dangerous Poiſon which they uſe is the Juice of certain Trees, in the Iſland of *Borneo*, which they will temper ſo as to work ſwift or ſlow, as they pleaſe. They hold, that the King has only the ſecret Receipt to take away the Force of it, who boaſts that he has the moſt effectual Poiſon in the World, which there is no Remedy can prevent.

One Day an *Engliſhman*, in the Heat of Blood, had killed one of the King of *Macaſſar*'s Subjects, and though the King had pardoned him, yet both *Engliſh*, *Hollanders*, and *Portugueze* feared, if the *Engliſhman* ſhould go unpuniſhed, leſt the Iſlanders ſhould revenge themſelves upon ſome of them, beſought the King to put him to Death, which with much ado being conſented to, the King, unwilling to put him to a lingering Death, and deſirous to ſhew the Effect of his Poiſons, reſolved to ſhoot the Criminal himſelf; whereupon he took a long Trunk and ſhot him exactly into the great Toe of the right Foot, the Place particularly aimed at. Two Surgeons, one an *Engliſhman*, and the other a *Dutchman*, provided on purpoſe, immediately cut off the Member; but for all that the Poiſon had diſperſed itſelf ſo ſpeedily, that the *Engliſhman* died at the ſame time. All the Kings and Princes of the Eaſt are very diligent in their Enquiry after ſtrong Poiſons; and I remember, that the Chief of the *Dutch* Factory and I tried ſeveral poiſoned Arrows, with which the King of *Achen* had preſented him, by ſhooting at Squirrels, who fell down dead as ſoon as ever they were touched.

The King of *Macaſſar* is a *Mohammedan*, and will not ſuffer his Subjects to embrace Chriſtianity; yet, in the Year 1656, the Chriſtians found a Way to get Leave to build a fair Church in *Macaſſar*; but the next Year the King cauſed it to be pulled down, as alſo that of the *Dominican* Friars, which the *Portugueze* made uſe of. The Pariſh-Church, which was under the Government of the Secular Prieſts, ſtood ſtill till the *Dutch* attacked *Macaſſar*, and compelled him to turn all the *Portugueze* out of his Dominions. The ill Conduct of that Prince was, in part, the Occaſion of that War to which the *Dutch* were moved to revenge themſelves upon the *Portugueze* Jeſuits, who had croſſed their Embaſſy to *China*: Beſides that, they offered great Affronts to the *Dutch* at *Macaſſar*, eſpecially when they trod under Foot the Hat of one of the *Dutch* Envoys, who was ſent to treat with the King in Behalf of the Company. Thereupon the *Dutch* reſolved to unite their Forces with the *Macaſſarians* that were in Rebellion againſt their Sovereign, and ſo revenge themſelves at any Rate.

2. Now, as to the Buſineſs of *China*, it happened thus; towards the End of the Year 1658, the General of *Batavia* and his Council, ſent one of the Chief of the *Dutch* Company with Preſents to the King of *China*, who, arriving at Court, laboured to obtain the Friendſhip of the Mandarins, who are the Nobility of the Kingdom; but the Jeſuits, by reaſon of their long Abode in the Country, underſtood the Language, and were acquainted with the Lords of the Court, leſt the *Dutch* Company ſhould get Footing to the Prejudice of the *Portugueze*, repreſented ſeveral Things to the King's Council, to the Detriment of the *Dutch*, more eſpecially charging them with Breach of Faith in all the Places where they came.

Upon this, the *Dutch* Agent was diſmiſſed, and departed out of *China* without doing any Good. Afterwards, coming to underſtand what a Trick the *Portugueze* Jeſuits had put upon him, he made Report thereof to the Governor and his Council at *Batavia*, which ſo incenſed them, that they reſolved to be revenged; for, by the Deputy's Account, the Embaſſay had coſt them above fifty thouſand Crowns; for which they conſulted how to make the *Portugueze* pay double. Underſtanding therefore the

Trade which the Jeſuits drove in *Macao* and to the Kingdom of *Macaſſar*, whither, upon their own Account, they ſent ſeveral Veſſels, laden with all ſorts of Commodities, as well of *India* as *China*. They took this Opportunity, and on the 7th of *June*, 1660, appeared with a Fleet of thirty Sail before the Port of *Macaſſar*.

The King, thinking himſelf obliged to make Defence againſt ſo potent an Enemy, endeavoured to ſuſtain the Brunt of the *Dutch*, with the *Portugueze* Ships in the Road; but the *Dutch* dividing their Fleet, Part of them fought the *Portugueze*, the other battered the Royal Fortreſs ſo furiouſly, that they carried it in a ſhort Time, which ſo terrified the King, that he commanded the *Portugueze* not to fire any more for fear of farther provoking his Enemies. The Prince *Patinſalva* was ſlain in the Fight, which was a great Loſs to the King of *Macaſſar*, who was become formidable to his Neighbours, by the good Conduct of that Miniſter. As for the *Dutch*, they took, burnt, and ſunk all the *Portugueze* Veſſels, and ſufficiently reimburſed themſelves for their *Chineſe* Expences. The Thirteenth of *June* the King of *Macaſſar*, whoſe Name was *Sumbow*, hung out a white Flag from another Tower, whence he beheld the Fight, environed by his Wives. During the Truce, he ſent one of the Grandees of his Court to the *Dutch* Admiral, to deſire Peace; which was granted, upon Condition, he ſhould ſend an Embaſſador to *Batavia*, expel the *Portugueze*, out of the Iſland, and not to permit his Subjects to have any more to do with them.

Thereupon the King of *Macaſſar* ſent eleven of the greateſt Lords of his Court, with a Train of ſeven hundred Men; the Chief of the Embaſſy being the Prince of *Pitiſaloa*. The firſt Thing they did, was to pay two hundred Loves of Gold to redeem the Royal Fortreſs again, and the next, ſubmitting to the Conditions which the *Dutch* Admiral had propoſed. The General of *Batavia* ſigned the Articles, which were punctually obſerved; for the *Portugueze* immediately quitted the Country, ſome departing for *Siam* and *Cambaya*, others for *Macao* and *Goa*. *Macao*, formerly one of the moſt famous and richeſt Cities of the Orient, was the principal Motive that inclined the *Dutch* to ſend an Embaſſador into *China*; for, being the beſt Station which the *Portugueze* had in all theſe Parts, the *Dutch* had a Deſign to win it wholly now. This City lying in 22° of N. Lat. in a ſmall Iſland, next to the Province of *Canton*, which is a Part of *China*, has very much loſt its former Luſtre.

3. But this was not all which the Jeſuits and *Portugueze* Merchants ſuffered. The Chief of the *Dutch* Factory at *Mingrela*, which is but eight Leagues from this City, underſtanding the bad Succeſs of the *Dutch* in *China*, had a Contrivance by himſelf to be revenged: He heard that the Jeſuits of *Goa*, and other Places, drove a great Trade in rough Diamonds, which they ſent into *Europe*, or elſe carried along with them when they returned; and that for the more private carrying on of their Trade, they were wont to ſend one or two of their Order, that knew the Language, in the Habit of *Faquirs*, which conſiſts of a Tyger's Skin, to cover their back Parts, and a Goat's Skin to cover their Breaſt, reaching down to the Knees. Thereupon the Chief of the Factory of *Mingrela*, taking this Opportunity, and having Notice that two of the ſuppoſed *Farquirs* were gone to the Mines, to lay out 400,000 Pardos in Diamonds, gave Orders to two Men, which he had bribed for that Purpoſe, that as ſoon as the Fathers had made their Purchaſe, he ſhould give Notice to the Officer of the Cuſtom-houſe at *Bicholi*, which is a great Town on the Frontiers of thoſe Lands that part the Kingdom of *Viſiapour* from the Territories of the *Portugueze*, there being no other Way to paſs the River which encompaſſes the Iſland where the City of *Goa* is built. The Fathers believing that the Cuſtomer knew nothing of their Purchaſe, went into the Boat to go over the River; but, as ſoon as they were in, they were ſtrictly ſearched, and all the Diamonds confiſcated.

To return to the King of *Macaſſar*. You muſt know that the Jeſuits once offered to convert him, and perhaps they might have brought it to paſs, had they not neglected one Propoſal which he made them; for, at the ſame time the Jeſuits laboured to bring him to Chriſtianity, the *Mohammedans* uſed all their Endeavours to oblige him to take up with their Law: The King, willing to leave his Idolatry, yet, not knowing what Part to take, commanded the *Mohammedans* to ſend for two or three of their moſt able Moullas, or Doctors, from *Mecca*; and the Jeſuits he ordered to ſend as many of the moſt Learned among them, that he might be inſtructed in both Religions, which they both promiſed to do: But the *Mohammedans* were more diligent than the Chriſtians; for in eight Months, they fetched from *Mecca* two learned Moullas; whereupon, the King ſeeing that the Jeſuits ſent no body to him, embraced the *Mohammedan* Law. True it is, that three Years after, there came three *Portugueze* Jeſuits, but then it was too late. The King of *Macaſſar* being thus become a *Mohammedan*, the Prince, his Brother, was ſo mad at it, that when the Moſque, which the King had cauſed to be built, was finiſhed, he got into it one Night, and cauſing the Throats of two Pigs to be cut, he all beſmeared the Walls of the new Moſques, and the Place which was appointed for the Moulla to perform divine Service, with the Blood; ſo that the King was forced to pull down that, and build another. After which the Prince, with ſome idolatrous Lords, ſtole out of the Iſland, and never ſince appeared at Court.

4. I departed from *Mingrela*, a great Town in the Kingdom of *Viſiapour*, eight Leagues from *Goa*, the 14th of *April*, 1648, and embarked in a *Dutch* Veſſel bound for *Batavia*. The Ship had Orders to touch at *Bokanour*, to take in Rice; whereupon I went aſhore with the Captain, to obtain Leave of the King to buy Rice: We found him upon the Shore, where he had about a Dozen Huts to ſet up, which were covered with Palm-Leaves. In his own Hut there was a Piece of Tapeſtry ſpread under him; and there we ſaw five or ſix Women, ſome fanning him with Peacock-Feathers, others giving him Beetel, others filling him his Pipes with Tobacco.

The moſt conſiderable Perſons in the Country were in the other Huts; and we counted about two hundred Men that were upon the Guard, armed only with Bows and Arrows: They had alſo two Elephants among them. 'Tis very probable that his Palace was not far off, and that he only came thither to take the freſh Air. There we were preſented with Tari, or Palm-wine, but very new, and not boiled: It cauſed the Head-ach in all that drank it, inſomuch that we were two Days before we could recover it. I aſked the Reaſon why the Wine came to do us ſo much Prejudice; to which they anſwered me, that it was planting Pepper about the Palm-trees that gave ſuch a Strength to the Wine.

We were no ſooner got aboard, but a mighty Tempeſt aroſe, wherein the Ship, Men, and Goods, had all like to have been caſt away, being near the Shore; but, at length, the Wind changing, we found ourſelves, by the Break of Day, three or four Leagues at Sea, having loſt all our Anchors; and, at length, came ſafe to Port in the Haven of *Ponté de Gallé*, the Twelfth of *May*. I found nothing remarkable in that City, there being nothing but the Ruins made by the Underminings and Cannon-Shot, when the *Dutch* beſieged it, and chaſed the *Portugueze* from thence. The Company allowed Ground to build upon, to them that would inhabit there, and Land to till; and had then raiſed two Bulwarks, which commanded the Port. If they have finiſhed their Deſign which they undrtook, the Place cannot but be very conſiderable. The *Dutch* had made an Agreement with the King of *Candy*, that he ſhould be always ready, with twenty thouſand Men, to keep the Paſſages that hinder the *Portugueze* from bringing any Succours from *Colombo*, *Negombo*, *Manar*, or any other Places, which they poſſeſſed upon the Coaſt: In Conſideration whereof, the *Dutch*, when they had taken *Ponté de Gallé*, was to reſtore it to the King of *Candy*; which, they not performing, the King ſent to know why they did not give him Poſſeſſion of the Town; to which they returned Anſwer, that they were ready to do it, provided he could defray the Expences of the War.

But they knew, that if he had three Kingdoms more, ſuch as his own, he could never have paid ſo great a Sum. I muſt confeſs, indeed, the Country is very poor, for, I do not believe that the King ever ſaw fifty thouſand Crowns together in his Life, his Trade being all in

Cinnamon and Elephants. As for his Cinnamon, he has no Profit ſince the *Portugueze* coming into the *Eaſt-Indies*; and for his Elephants, he makes but little of them, for they take not above five or ſix in a Year; but they are more eſteemed than any other Country Elephants, as being the moſt couragious in War. One thing I will tell you hardly to be believed, but that which is a certain Truth, which is, that when any other King or Rajah has one of theſe Elephants of *Ceylon*, if they bring them among any other Breed in any other Place whatever, ſo ſoon as the other Elephants behold the *Ceylon* Elephants, by an Inſtinct of Nature, they do them Reverence, by laying their Trunks upon the Ground, and raiſing them up again.

The King of *Achen*, with whom the *Dutch* alſo broke their Word, had more Opportunity to be revenged upon them than the King of *Candy*; for he denied them the Tranſportation of Pepper out of his Country, without which their Trade was worth little; his Pepper being that which is moſt coveted thro' the Eaſt, ſo that they were forced to make a Compoſition with him. The King of *Achen*'s Embaſſador coming to *Batavia*, was ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee Women ſitting at a Table; but much more, when after a Health drank to the Queen of *Achen*; the General of *Batavia* commanded his Wife to go and kiſs the Embaſſador. Nor was the King behind-hand with the *Dutch* Embaſſador another Way, whom the King beholding in a languiſhing Diſtemper, aſked him, whether he had never any Familiarity with any of the Natives? Yes, replied the Embaſſador; however, I left her to marry in my own Country: Upon that the King commanded three of his Phyſicians to cure him in fifteen Days, upon the Forfeiture of their Lives. Thereupon they gave him a certain Potion every Morning, and a little Pill at Night; and at the End of nine Days he took a great Vomit; every body thought he would have died with the working of it; but at length it brought up a Stopple of coarſe Hair as big as a Nut, after which he preſently recovered. At his Departure the King gave him a Flint, about the Bigneſs of a Gooſe-Egg, with Veins of Gold in it, like the Veins of a Man's Hand, as the Gold grows in that Country.

5. On the 25th of *May* we ſet ſail from *Ponte Galle*. The ſecond of *June* we paſſed the Line. The ſixth we ſaw the Iſland called *Nazacas*. The 17th we diſcovered the Coaſt of *Sumatra*. The eighteenth the Iſland of *Ingamina*; and the nineteenth the Iſland *Fortuna*. The twentieth we were in ken of certain little Iſlands on the Coaſt of *Java*, among which Iſlands there are three called the Iſlands of the Prince. The twenty-firſt we diſcovered *Bantam*; and the twenty-ſecond we anchored in the Road of *Batavia*. There are two Councils in *Batavia*, the Council of the Court, where the General preſides, and where all the Affairs of the Company are managed: The other, which is held in a Houſe in the City, and relates to Civil Government, and decides the petty Differences among the Citizens. All the Kindneſs I had ſhewn me here, was to be proſecuted by the City Council, for being ſuſpected to have bought a Parcel of Diamonds for Monſieur *Conſtant*, my very good Friend, and Preſident of the *Dutch* Factory at *Gambron*; but when they could make nothing of it, they ceaſed their Suit, aſhamed of what they had done.

6. Being ſo ill treated at *Batavia*, I reſolved to viſit the King of *Bantam*; to which purpoſe I took my own Brother along with me, becauſe he ſpoke the *Malayan* Language, which in the Eaſt is as univerſal as *Latin* among us. Being arrived at *Bantam*, in a ſmall Bark, which we hired for ourſelves, we went firſt and viſited the *Engliſh* Preſident, who kindly entertained and lodged us. The next Day I ſent my Brother to the Palace, to know when it would be ſeaſonable for me to kiſs the King's Hands. When the King ſaw him (for he was well known unto him) he would not ſuffer him to return, but ſent Orders to fetch me, and to tell me withal, that if I had any rare Jewels, I ſhould do him a Kindneſs to bring them along with me.

When I ſaw my Brother returned not with the Perſons which the King ſent, I was almoſt in the mind not to have gone, remembering how the King of *Achen* had ſerved the Sieur *Renaud*; for the *French* having ſet up an *Eaſt-India* Company, ſent away four Veſſels, three great ones, and one of eight Guns, for the Service of the Company. Their Voyage was the ſhorteſt that ever was heard of, arriving at *Bantam* in leſs than four Months. The King alſo courteouſly received them, and let them have as much Pepper as they deſired, and cheaper by twenty in a hundred than he ſold it to the *Dutch*; but the *French* not coming only for Pepper, ſent away the ſmall Ship, with the greateſt Part of their Money to *Macaſſar*, to try the Market for Cloves, Nutmegs, and Mace. The *French* being ſo ſoon diſpatched at *Bantam*, had not Patience to ſtay till the Return of the ſmall Veſſel which they had ſent to *Macaſſar*; but to paſs the Time, muſt needs run over to *Batavia*, being not above fourteen Leagues off; ſo that you may be at *Batavia* from *Bantam* in a Tide, with a good Wind.

When they came to an Anchor, the General of the *French* Fleet ſent to complement the General of *Batavia*, who failed not to anſwer his Civility, and invited the Admiral aſhore. Moreover, he ſent to thoſe that ſtayed aboard great Store of excellent Cheer, and a good Quantity of *Spaniſh* and *Rheniſh* Wine, with a particular Order to them that carried it, to make the *French* drunk. His Order was ſo well followed, that it was eaſy to ſet the Ships on Fire. According to the private Inſtructions which they had, ſo ſoon as the Flame was diſcovered from the General's Window, which overlooked all the Road, there was a wonderful pretended Aſtoniſhment amongſt the *Dutch*; but the *French* Admiral, too truly conjecturing the Ground and Authors of the Treachery, beholding the Company with an undaunted Courage, Come, come, cried he, lets drink on; they that ſet the Ships on Fire ſhall pay for them. However, the *French* Ships were all burnt, though the Men were all ſaved in Boats, which were ſent forthwith to their Relief. After that the General of *Batavia* made them great Offers, which they refuſed, and returned to *Batavia*, in Expectation of their ſmall Veſſel. When it returned, they could find out no better Way than to ſell Ship, Goods and all, to the *Engliſh*, and to ſhare the Money among themſelves, every one according to their Condition.

7. But the Trick which they put upon the *Engliſh* was far more bloody. The *Engliſh* were the firſt that found out the Danger of ſailing from *Surat*, *Maſlipatan*, or any other diſtant Parts to *Japan*, without touching by the Way: Whereupon they thought it convenient to build a Fort in the Iſland of *Formoſa*, which not only ſaved the Loſs of ſeveral Veſſels, but alſo brought them in great Gain. The *Dutch*, mad that the *Engliſh* were poſſeſſed of ſuch an advantagious Situation, being the only Place in all the Iſland where Veſſels could ride with Safety, and finding they could not carry it by Force, bethought them of a Stratagem, to which Purpoſe they ſent away two Ships, wherein they ſtored the beſt of their Soldiers, who pretending they had been in a Storm at Sea, put into the Harbour of *Formoſa*, with ſome of their Maſts by the Board, their Sails ſcattered, and their Seamen ſeemingly ſick.

The *Engliſh*, compaſſionating their Miſeries, which was only in outward Appearance, invited the chief of them to come on Shore to refreſh themſelves, which they were ready to do, carrying as many Men as poſſible they could, under Pretence of Sickneſs. While the chief of them were at Dinner with the chief of the *Engliſh*, they all plied their Cups, and when the cruel *Dutch* ſaw that the *Engliſh* had drank hard enough, taking their Opportunity, they picked a Quarrel with the Commander of the Fort, and drawing their Swords, which they had hidden under their Coats for that Purpoſe, they eaſily ſurprized, and cut the Throats of all the Soldiers in the Garriſon; and being thus Maſters of the Fort, they kept it from that Time, till they were routed out by the *Chineſe*.

8. Now for the Trick that the King of *Achen* ſerved the Sieur *Renaud*, he having got a good Eſtate by Jewels, arrived at length at *Achen*, and as it is the Cuſtom for the Merchants to ſhew the King what Jewels they have, the King had no ſooner caſt his Eye upon four Rings which the Sieur *Renaud* ſhewed him, but he bid him fifteen thouſand Crowns for them, but *Renaud* would not bate of eighteen thouſand. Now, becauſe they could not agree, the Sieur *Renaud* carried them away with him, which very much diſpleaſed the King; however, he ſent for him the next Day, whereupon *Renaud* returning to him, the King paid him his eighteen thouſand Crowns; but he was never

ſeen after that, and it is thought he was ſecretly murdered in the Palace. This Story came to my Remembrance, when I found my Brother did not come along with them that were ſent to fetch me. However, I reſolved to go, taking with me twelve or thirteen thouſand Rupees Worth of Jewels, the greateſt Part being in Roſe Diamond Rings, ſome conſiſting of ſeven, ſome of nine, and ſome of eleven Stones, with ſome ſmall Bracelets of Diamonds and Rubies. I found the King with three of his Captains, and my Brother, ſitting together, after the Manner of the Eaſt, with five great Plates of Rice before them of different Colours.

For their Drink they had *Spaniſh* Wine, ſtrong Waters, and ſeveral ſorts of Sherbets. After I had complimented the King, and preſented him with a Diamond Ring, a blue Saphire Ring, and a little Bracelet of Diamonds, Rubies, and blue Saphires, he commanded me to ſit down, and ordered me a Glaſs of ſtrong Water, to whet my Appetite. The Glaſs held a Quarter of a Pint, and therefore I refuſed it, which the King very much wondered at; but being told, by my Brother, that I never drank any ſtrong Water, he ordered me a Glaſs of Sack. After that he roſe up and ſeated himſelf in a Chair, the Elbows of which were gilded; his Feet and Legs were bare, having a *Perſian* Carpet of Gold and Silk to tread upon. He was clad with a Piece of Calicut, part whereof covered his Body from his Waiſt to his Knees, the reſt being wound about his Back and Shoulders like a Scarf. Inſtead of Shoes he had a Pair of Sandals that ſtood by the Chair-ſide, the Straps whereof were embroidered with Gold, and ſmall Pearl. About his Head he had a thing like a Handkerchief, with three Corners, bound about his Head like a Fillet. His Hair alſo, which was very long, was twiſted, and tied together over his Head; two Perſons ſtood behind him with Fans of long Peacock Feathers, the Handles of which were five or ſix Foot in Length. Upon his right Hand ſtood an old black Woman, holding in her Hand a little Mortar and Peſtle of Gold to beat his Beetle in, wherewith he mixed the Kernel of the Nut of Araqui, and Seed of Pearl diſſolved. When it was all beaten together, the old Woman gave it the King over his Shoulders, who, opening his Mouth, the old Woman fed him, as our Women feed their Children; for the King had chewed ſo much Beetle, and taken ſo much Tobacco, that his Teeth were all fallen out of his Head.

9. The King of *Bantam*'s Palace was never built by any curious Architect: It is a ſquare Place, encompaſſed with a great many Pillars, varniſhed over with ſeveral ſorts of Colours, againſt which the King leans when he ſits down. At the four Corners there are four great Pillars ſet in the Earth, at forty Foot Diſtance one from another, lined with a Mat made of the certain Rind of a Tree, ſo thin, that it looks like a Piece of Linnen, which neither Fleas nor Punes will come near. The Roof was covered with Cocoa Branches. Not far off, under another Roof, ſupported by four great Pillars, he hath ſixteen Elephants, the nobleſt of all thoſe that are in the King's Service; for he has a far greater Number trained up for War, that are not afraid of Wild-fire. For his Guard he might not have above two thouſand Men that were drawn up in Companies under the Shade of the next Trees. They are good Soldiers, as well by Sea as by Land, ſtrict *Mohammedans*, and ſtand not at all in Fear of Death. His Haram, or the Womens Apartment, was certainly a very ſmall Place; for when he had viewed what I brought him, he ſent for two old Women, to whom he gave ſome of the Jewels to go and ſhew them to his Wives. The two Women returned back through a little pitiful Door, the Encloſure being nothing but a kind of a Wall made up of Earth and Cow-dung mixed together. Whatever he ſent to the Women, they never returned any thing again, which made me believe they would bear a good Price; and indeed, whatever I ſold to him, I ſold to good Profit, and had my Money well paid me.

After this we took our Leaves; but the King obliged us to come next Day in the Evening, becauſe he had a Deſire to ſhew us a *Turky* Dagger, the Haft whereof being thin of Diamonds, he had a mind to enrich with more Stones. Coming to the *Engliſh* Houſe with our Money, they wondered that the King had laid out twenty thouſand Rupees, telling me, they believed it was the beſt Part of his Treaſure. The next Day my Brother and I went to wait upon him at the appointed Hour, and we found him ſitting in the ſame Place where he ſat before. There was a Moulla then read to him, who ſeemed to interpret to him ſomething of the *Alcoran* in the *Arabic* Language.

The Lecture being ended, they both roſe and went to Prayers, which being concluded, the King ſent for the the Dagger, and the Haft, which was of Gold; the Top of Handle was already ſet with Diamonds, and the upper Part of the Croſs-bar was cut in Facets, which could not be leſs worth than fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Crowns. They told me it was preſented to him by the Queen of *Borneo*, and that it was cut at *Goa*, but that he put a far higher Value upon it than I eſteemed it to be worth. The Dagger, as well as the Sheath, was full of Beazells or Collects, and therefore deſired me to help him to ſome that might come at an eaſy rate. I told him it was impoſſible to find Stones that would fit the Beazells, and therefore it was better, when he had got Stones enough, to fix other Beazells according to the Proportion of the Stones; to which Purpoſe he muſt be forced to range all his Stones in Wax, and I ſhewed him how to do it at the ſame time; but that was above his Skill, and therefore do what I could to excuſe myſelf from the Truſt, he would needs oblige me to carry the Dagger to *Batavia*; whereupon I took my Leave of the King, and departed.

10. About eleven o'Clock at Night we embarked for *Batavia*, for the Night Winds blowing from the Land, are the only Winds to ſerve our Turn, ſo that we were at *Batavia* between ten and eleven the next Morning. There I ſtayed twenty Days for the King of *Bantam*'s ſake, to make him believe I had ſought for that which I knew was impoſſible to be found. I had nothing to do all the while, for in *Batavia* there is no other Recreation but Gaming and Drinking, which was none of my Buſineſs; at that Time the Sieur *Cam* died, one of the *Indian* Counſellors, who was ſumptuouſly buried for his good Services done to the Company; but the People complained heavily of the Injuſtice which he had done, as well to the Soldiers, as the Mariners.

Having ſtayed twenty Days at *Batavia*, I reſolved to go and return the King of *Bantam* his Dagger again, for that it was impoſſible to meet with Stones to fit his Beazells. However, I took along with me ſome other Stones, which he had not ſeen. Coming to *Bantam*, the King cauſed us to be lodged in one of his own Houſes in the City, which was made of Bamboos; thither, in leſs than a Quarter of an Hour, the King ſent us ſome Pateches, or ſweet Water Melons, red within like Scarlet. We had alſo Mangoes, and a certain large Fruit called Pompone, red alſo within, the Meat of it being ſoft and ſpungy, but of an excellent Taſte. Having ſtayed our Stomachs, we went to wait upon the King, whom we found in the ſame Place with his old Mortar-beater, who every Minute fed him with Beetle with her Fingers. There were ſitting about the Hall five or ſix of his Captains, viewing a certain Piece of Fireworks, as Granadoes, Rockets, and other Devices, to run upon the Water, which the *Chineſe* had brought, who are the moſt exquiſite at theſe Works of any People in the World. When the King was at leiſure, I returned him his Dagger, telling him, *Batavia* was no Place to meet with Stones, and that ſuch as were to be found were valued at double the Price they were worth; and that there was no Place where he could fit himſelf, but at *Golconda*, or *Goa*, or the Diamond Mines. Thereupon the old Woman took the Dagger, and carried it into his Haram; nor did the King ſpeak a Word more about it, after that I had ſhewed him what other Stones I had brought, a Parcel whereof I ſold him for good Profit.

The King ordered us to come the next Day for Payment. The next Day, about ſix in the Morning, my Brother, and I, and a *Dutch* Chirurgion, were going along a narrow Way between a River on the one Hand, and the Pales of a great Garden on the other. Behind the Pales a raſcally *Bantamois* had hid himſelf, one of thoſe that was newly come from *Mecca*, and was upon the Deſign of *Mecca*, that is, in their Language, when the Raſcallity of the *Mohammedans* return from *Mecca*, they preſently take their Cris in their Hands, which is a kind of Poniard, the Blade whereof is half poiſoned, with which they run through the Streets, and kill all thoſe that are not of the *Mohammedan* Law, till they are killed themſelves.

Theſe Furies think, in ſo doing, they do God and *Mohammed* good Service, and ſhall be ſaved thereby. If any of theſe Madmen be killed, the Rabble of *Mohammedans* bury them as Saints, and every one contributes towards making them a fair Tomb. Sometimes you ſhall have an idle Rogue, in the Habit of a Dervich, that will build him a Hut near the Tomb, which he undertakes to look to, and ſtrews with Flowers; and, as his Alms increaſe, he adds ſome other Ornament to it; for the fairer and better ſet out the Tomb is, the more devoutly it is worſhipped, and the more Alms it brings in.

I remember in the Year 1642, that at *Saualli*, which is the Port of *Surat*, it happened, that a Veſſel of the great Mogul's returned from *Mecca* with a great Number of Faquirs or Derviches; for every Year the King ſends two Veſſels to carry and bring back the Pilgrims, who have their Paſſage free, and when theſe Veſſels are to go, the Faquirs come from all Parts of *India* to embark. Theſe Veſſels are laden with very good Commodities, which are ſold at *Mecca*, and the Profit is diſtributed among the poor Pilgrims; but the Principal is brought back for the next Year, amounting to ſix hundred thouſand Rupees at leaſt. 'Tis an ill Market when they do not gain thirty or forty *per Cent.* by their Commodities; nay, there are ſome that produce *Cent. per Cent.* beſides that the principal Perſons of the Mogul's Haram, and other particular Perſons, ſend very large Gifts to *Mecca*.

11. One of theſe Faquirs returning from *Mecca* in the Year 1642, and being landed at *Souali*, had no ſooner ſaid his Prayers, but he took his Dagger, and ran among ſeveral *Dutch* Mariners that were unlading Goods upon the Shore, and before they were aware, this mad Faquir had wounded ſeventeen of them, of which thirteen died. The Canjare, which he had in his Hand, was a kind of Dagger, the Blade whereof, towards the Handle, was three Fingers broad, and is a very dangerous Weapon. At length the Centinel that ſtood at the End of the Tent, where the Governor and the Merchants were, ſhot him through the Body, ſo that he fell down dead. Immediately all the other Faquirs and *Mohammedans* that were upon the Place took up the Body, and buried it, and at the End of fifteen Days they put him up a fair Monument. Every Year the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* pull it down; but when they are gone the Faquirs ſet it up again, and plant Banners over it: Nay, ſome there are that perform their Devotions to it. But to return to the *Bantam* Faquir, that Villain lying, as I ſaid, behind the Pales, as my Brother, and I, and the *Dutch* Chirurgeon, came towards him, all three a-breaſt, he thruſt his Pike between the Pales, thinking to have ſtabbed it into one of our Breaſts. The *Dutchman* being next the River, and ſomewhat before the reſt, the Head of his Pike ran into his Breeches; whereupon we both laid hold of the Staff, but my Brother being next the Pales, preſently leaped over, and ran the Faquir through.

Whereupon ſeveral *Chineſe*, and other Idolaters, came and gave my Brother Thanks for killing him; after that we waited upon the King, and told him what my Brother had done, who was ſo far from being diſpleaſed, that he gave my Brother a Girdle: For, the King and his Governors are glad when theſe Rogues are killed, knowing them to be Deſperadoes, not fit to live. The next Day coming to take my Leave of the *Engliſh* Preſident, he ſhewed me two Strings of Diamonds, and two Services of Silver, which came from *England*; he would have ſold them, but I only bought one of the Strings of Diamonds, the other being foul; and for the Silver I would have bought it, had they coined Silver in *Batavia*, as they were wont to do. Formerly the *Dutch* coined Reals, Half-Reals, and Quarter-Reals, bearing on the one Side the Stamp of a Ship, on the other V. O. C. like a Character, ſignifying in *Dutch*, for the *Eaſt-India* Company, which they did for the ſake of the *Chineſe*, who loving Silver better than Gold, carried away all the Silver that was coined at *Batavia* at good Rates; but at length they left it off, finding ſo few People that made uſe of Silver.

12. Having taken my Leave of the *Engliſh* Preſident, I returned to *Batavia*, where, having little to do, I reſolved to give a Viſit to the King of *Japara*, otherwiſe called the Emperor of *Java*. This King was formerly the King of all the Iſland, till the King of *Bantam*, who was only Governour of a Province, rebelled againſt him, the *Dutch* being made by the Diviſion of thoſe two Princes; for when the King of *Japara* beſieged *Batavia*, the King of *Bantam* relieved the *Dutch*; and when they were attacked by the King of *Bantam*, the King of *Japara* came to their Aſſiſtance; and when thoſe two Kings were together by the Ears, the *Dutch* always aided the weakeſt. The King of *Japara* keeps his Court in a City of the ſame Name, diſtant from *Batavia* about thirty Leagues. You may coaſt along the Shore to it by Sea; but the City ſtands above eight Leagues up the Land. From the City there is a fine Walk to the Sea, where there is a handſome Port, and fairer Houſes than any in the City; and the King would live there if he thought it ſafe.

The Day before I departed, I went to take my Leave of one of the *Indian* Couſellors, and telling him that I was going to wait upon the King of *Japara*, he ſtood amazed, in regard the King and the *Dutch* were mortal Enemies, of which he gave me this Account. The deceaſed King, Father to the King that now reigns, ſince the *Dutch* built their Fort of *Batavia*, would never have any Peace with them; and though that, during the War, the *Dutch* took ten of his Subjects for one of theirs, and offered ten for one in Exchange, yet he would never exchange one upon any Conſideration whatſoever, and charged his Son, upon his Death Bed, never to releaſe one. This Obſtinacy very much troubled the *Dutch* General, and all the reſt in *Batavia*, and obliged them how to conſult Means to right themſelves. Now it is the Cuſtom when the *Mohammedan* King dies, that his Succeſſor ſends certain great Lords of his Court to *Mecca*, with Preſents, as well to engage them to pray for the Soul of the deceaſed, as alſo to give Thanks to God and *Mohammed* for the coming of a new King to the Throne, without any Impediment, and to pray for the Bleſſing of Victory over all his Enemies. But the new King and his Council were at a Loſs how to accompliſh this Voyage; for, firſt, the King had none but little Veſſels, that were wont only to ſail along by the Shore, by reaſon of the Inexperience of his Seamen; and, in the next Place, the *Dutch* were always plying to and fro about the Mouths of his Havens, to ſurprize his Subjects, if they ſtirred out. For the Safety therefore of his Pilgrims, the King, at laſt, concludes upon making an Agreement with the *Engliſh*; for which Reaſon he diſpatched away an Envoy to *Bantam* to the *Engliſh* Preſident and his Council, who promiſed to lend him the biggeſt Veſſel, and the beſt mounted which the Company had in the *Indies*; in lieu whereof the *Engliſh* were to pay but half Cuſtoms for all Commodities exported or imported out of his Country; which Treaty being ratified, the *Engliſh* furniſhed him with three ſtout Veſſels mann'd and armed beyond an ordinary Rate.

Thereupon nine of the principal Lords of the Court, and moſt of the Blood Royal, with a Train of one hundred Perſons, embarked themſelves in the great Veſſel. But all theſe Preparations could not be carried on ſo private- but that the *Dutch* had Intelligence of it by their Spies. Thereupon the General of the *Dutch* makes ready three Ships, and lying juſt in the Strait of *Bantam*'s Mouth, ſo ſoon as the *Engliſh* came up (for they had no other Way) let fly at them ſo roundly, that the *Engliſh*, fearing leſt their Veſſels ſhould be ſunk, ſtruck ſail; which the *Java* Lords ſeeing, called them *Engliſh* Traitors, and, drawing their poiſoned Darts, cried *a Mocca* upon the *Engliſh*, killing a great Number of them before they had Time to put themſelves into a Poſture of Defence; and perhaps there would not have one of them eſcaped, had not the *Dutch* come on board as they did: Some of the *Java* Lords, and about twenty of their Attendants, would take no Quarter, ſo that the *Dutch* were forced to fight for it, and, at laſt, they got the better, with the Loſs of ſeven or eight Men.

The *Engliſh* Veſſel being carried into *Batavia*, the General very civilly ſent both the Priſoners and the Veſſel home again, withal giving Notice to the King, that he was ready to make an Exchange of Priſoners with him; but the King would not ſo much as hearken to any ſuch Propoſition, returning for Anſwer, that though the *Dutch* had three Times as many of his Subjects, he would not ſo much as releaſe one of the *Dutch*; ſo that the poor *Dutch* were kept Slaves in *Java*, and the *Javaneſe* died miſerable in *Batavia*. As to the *Javaneſe*, they are good Soldiers; and, it is reported, that while *Batavia* was beſieged by the King of *Bantam* in the Year 1659, a *Dutch* Soldier lying in Ambuſcade in a March, a *Javaneſe*, little dreaming that any Body had been there, came to this ſame Place to diſcover the Enemy, and was by the *Dutchman* thruſt with his Pike into the Body; upon which the *Javaneſe* finding himſelf wounded, did not ſtrive to pull the Pike out of the Body, but thruſt himſelf farther upon it, to the End he might come at his Enemy, whom he ſtabbed to the Heart as ſoon as he came within his Reach.

13. Whilſt I ſtayed at *Batavia*, my Brother died, and it was pretty to conſider what the *Dutch* made me pay for his Funeral. The firſt Expence is for the Fees of thoſe that beg Leave for the Corps to be buried, of whom the more there are, the more honourable the Funeral is eſteemed; I ſent ſix, and, to my Wonder, paid for that ſeventy-two Crowns. The Fee for the Poor is a Right belonging to the Poor, for which I paid two Crowns. There was a Veſſel of *Spaniſh* Wine drank out that coſt me two hundred Piaſters: I gave twenty-ſix more for three *Weſtphalia* Hams and Neats-tongues, and twenty-two for baked Meats; to the Bearers, I gave twenty Crowns and ſixteen for a Place in the Church-Yard, for they aſked me an hundred to bury him in the Church. And all theſe are Fees demanded; ſo that my Brother's Funeral coſt me twelve hundred and twenty-three Livres of *French* Money. Being thus put by the two Voyages which I intended to *Japara*, and *Sumatra*, I was adviſed to lay out my Money in Reckonings, or Debentures, of the Servants of the *Dutch* Company, which they that have no Mind to return into their own Country, as being ſettled in the *Indies*, will ſell at an eaſy Rate, inſomuch that for ſixty or ſeventy, you may buy an hundred Piaſters, the Act and Acquittance of the Seller being made and regiſtered by the publick Notary.

Thereupon I bought of one of the publick Notaries, who had Bills in his Hands to the Value of about eleven hundred Guilders, at fourſcore and two for the hundred. After that I bought, by means of the Advocate of the Treaſury, ſix thouſand Guilders more at ſeventy-nine for the hundred. But ſome few Days after, meeting with the ſame Advocate again, he paſſed a Compliment upon me, and told me he was very much troubled for thoſe that had bought Debentures, in regard that the General and the Council had commanded him to recal all Debentures that had been ſold; for they had conſidered how ſad a Thing it would be for the poor Men to loſe ſo much of their Salaries; I anſwered him, that, for my Part, I was willing to return mine, provided I might have my Money again.

About ſix or ſeven Hours after, I was ſent for by the General and the Council; when I came there they aſked me why I had not returned my Debentures which I had to the Advocate, who had demanded them by their Order? I anſwered them, that they were at *Bantam*, whither I had ſent them in order to my Paſſage home, in regard that the *Engliſh* Preſident had offered me a Convenience to go along with him. The Council anſwered me, that the *Dutch* Ships were as good as the *Engliſh*, and very certainly aſſured me, that they would give Orders for a Cabin to myſelf in the Vice-Admiral; but withal told me, I muſt deliver up my Debentures before I ſtirred, aſſuring me they would give me a Bill to be reimburſed my Money in *Holland*. I thought it very hard, not knowing how to truſt them, but ſeeing the Merchants, Commanders, and all other Perſons, clapp'd up, and their Papers taken from them by Force that had bought Debentures, I thought it the beſt Way to deliver mine, and ſtand to their Courteſy. I often preſſed the General and the Council for my Bill; but, after many Days, the General aſcertained me, that my Bill ſhould be in *Holland* as ſoon as I. Thereupon deſiring the Vice-Admiral, and ſome others, to be my Witneſſes of what the General promiſed, I took my Leave of him, very much repenting my going to *Batavia*.

14. The next Day I went on board the Vice-Admiral; and, the third Day after, we ſet ſail; and as ſoon as we were out of the Streights, we diſcovered the Iſland of the *Prince*, from thence, being in the Altitude of the Cocoa Iſlands, we beat about two Days to diſcover them, but all to no Purpoſe; thereupon we made directly for the *Cape of Good-Hope*. The forty-fifth Day after we departed from *Batavia*, our Vice-Admiral neglected to put out his Lights, believing all the Fleet had been before at the Cape; ſo that it happened one of the Fleet being behind, and not carrying any Lights out neither, it being a dark Night, fell foul upon us, which put every Man to his Prayers, all the People believing the Veſſel had been loſt; and indeed had ſhe not been a ſound ſtanch Ship (as ſhe was eſteemed to be) ſhe could never have endured ſo terrible a Shock. At length we cleared ourſelves by cutting off the Yard of the Maeſtricht that hung in our Cordage. The fifty-fifth Day we came within Sight of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, but were forced to keep the Sea, becauſe the Waves rolled ſo that we were not able to come to an Anchor; not that the Wind was extream high, but becauſe the South-wind, which had blown, had forced the Water to that Part; when the Sea grew calm we came to an Anchor.

But of all the People that ever I ſaw in all my Travels, I never met with any ſo hideous, nor ſo brutiſh, as the *Comoucks*, of which I have ſpoken in my *Perſian* Travels, and thoſe of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, whom they call *Cafres*, or *Hotentots*. When they ſpeak, they make a Noiſe with their Tongues like the Breaking of Wind backwards; and though they hardly ſpeak articulately, yet they eaſily underſtand one another. They cover themſelves with the Skins of wild Beaſts, which they kill in the Woods in the Winter, wearing the hairy Part innermoſt, and in the Summer outermoſt: But there are none but the beſt ſort among them who are thus clad; the reſt wear nothing but a naſty Rag about their Privy-parts. The Men and the Women are lean and ſhort, and when they bring forth a male Child, their Mothers cut out the Right-ſtone, and preſently give him Water to drink, and Tobacco to eat. They cut out the Right-teſticle, becauſe, they ſay, it makes them ſwifter to run. There are ſome of them that will catch a Roe-buck running. They neither know what belongs to Gold nor Silver; and, for Religion, they have none among them.

15. So ſoon as we caſt Anchor, four Women came on board of us, and brought four young Oſtriches, which were boiled for ſome ſick People we had aboard us; after that they brought great Store of Tortoiſe-ſhells, and Oſtriches-Eggs, and other Eggs as big as Gooſe-Eggs, which, tho' they had no Yolk, taſted very well. The Birds that lay theſe Eggs are a ſort of Geeſe, and ſo fat that they are hardly to be eaten, taſting rather like Fiſh than Fleſh. The Women ſeeing our Cook throw away the Guts of two or three Fowls, which he was dreſſing, took them up, and, ſqueezing out the Ordure, eat them as they were, being highly pleaſed with the *Aqua Vitæ* which the Captain gave them. Neither Men nor Women are aſhamed to ſhew their Nakedneſs; for, indeed, they are but a ſort of two-legg'd Beaſts.

So ſoon as a Ship arrives, they bring their Beevers to the Shore, with what other Commodities they have, to barter for Strong-water, and Tobacco, Cryſtal, or Agat, Beads, or any ſort of old Iron-work. If they are not ſatisfied with what you offer them, away they fly, and then giving a Whiſtle, all their Cattle follow them; nor ſhall you ever ſee them again. Some, when they ſaw them fly would ſhoot and kill their Cattle; but, after that, for many Years, they would not bring any more. It's a very great Convenience for the Veſſels that touch there, to take in freſh Victuals, and the *Dutch* did well to build a Fort there. It is now a good handſome Town, inhabited by all ſorts of People that live with the *Dutch*; and all ſorts of Grain which are brought out of *Europe*, or *Aſia*, and ſowed there, come to greater Perfection than in other Parts. The Country lies in 35° and ſome few Minutes over; ſo that it cannot be ſaid that either the Heat, or the Situation of the Climate, make theſe *Cafres* ſo black. Being deſirous to know the Reaſon, and why they ſtunk ſo terribly, I learnt it from a Girl, that was bred up in the Fort, who was taken from her Mother as ſoon as ſhe was born, and was white, like our Women in *Europe*: She told me, that the Reaſon was, becauſe the *Cafres* rub themſelves with a Greaſe, or Ointment, compoſed of ſeveral ſorts of Drugs, wherewith ſhould they not anoint themſelves very often, and ſo ſoon as they were born, they would become hydropſical, as the *Blacks* of *Africa* and the *Ambyſſinians* are, or like the People of *Saba*, that never live above forty Years, and are always troubled with one Leg twice as big as the other. Theſe *Cafres*, as bruitiſh as they are, have yet ſome Knowledge of Simples, which they know how to apply to ſeveral Diſeaſes, which the *Dutch* have ſeveral Times experienced. Of nineteen ſick Perſons that we had in our Ship, fifteen were committed to the *Cafres*, being troubled with Ulcers in their Legs, and old Wounds which they had received in the Wars; and, in leſs than fifteen Days, they were perfectly cured. Every one of theſe had two *Cafres* to look after him, and according to the Condition of the Wound or Ulcer, they went and fetched Simples, which they bruiſed between two Stones, and applied to the Sore. As for the other four, they were ſo far gone with the Pox, that they would not truſt the *Cafres* with them, having been given over at *Batavia*, and ſo they all died between the Cape and *Saint Hellens*.

In the Year 1661, a Gentleman of *Britanny*, being at *Batavia*, was ſo bit by the Gnats in the Night, that his Leg exulcerated preſently, in ſuch a Manner as to puzzle all the Art and Skill of the Chirurgeons of that Town. When he came to the *Cape of Good-Hope*, the Captain of the Ship ſending him on Shore, the *Cafres* came about him, and after they had beheld him, they told him, if he would truſt to them, they would cure him; the Captain therefore committed him to their Care, who cured him, and made him a ſound Man in leſs than fifteen Days. When a Ship comes to an Anchor in the Cape, it is the Cuſtom for him that commands the Ship, to give Leave to ſome Part of the Mariners and Soldiers to go aſhore to refreſh themſelves. The ſickly have firſt Leave by Turns, and go to the Town, where they are dieted and lodged for ſeven or eight Sous a Day, and are very well uſed. It is the Cuſtom of the *Dutch*, when they ſtay here, to ſend out Parties of Soldiers upon the Diſcovery of the up-land Country, and they that go fartheſt, are beſt rewarded. With this Deſign a Party of Soldiers, under the Command of a Serjeant, far advanced in the Country, and Night coming on, they made a great Fire, as well to keep themſelves from the Lions, as to warm themſelves, and ſo lay down to ſleep round about it; being aſleep, a Lion ſeized one of the Soldier's Arms, which the Serjeant perceiving, immediately ſhot the Lion with his Carbine; but, when he was dead, they had much ado to open the Lion's Mouth to get out the Soldier's Arm.

Thus it appears a vulgar Error, to think that Lions will not come near the Fire. As for the Soldier, the *Cafres* cured him in twelve Days. There are in the Fort abundance of Lions and Tygers Skins; among the reſt, there was the Skin of a Horſe which the *Cafres* had killed; it was white, croſſed with black Streaks, ſpotted like a Leopard, without a Tail. Two or three Leagues from the *Dutch* Fort, there was a Lion found dead, with four Porcupine Quills in his Body, the third Part whereof had pierced his Fleſh; ſo that it was judged that the Porcupine had killed the Lion. The Skin, with the Quills in it, are kept at the Fort. A League from this Fort is a fair Town, that grows bigger every Day.

When the *Dutch* Company arrive there with their Ships, if any Soldier or Mariner will live there, they are glad of it. They have as much Ground as they can manage, where they have all ſorts of Herbs, and Pulſe, and as much Rice, and as many Grapes, as they can deſire. They have alſo young Oſtriches, Beef, Sea-fiſh, and ſweet Water to catch the Oſtriches when they pleaſe; they get their Neſts when they are young, and driving a Stake in the Ground, tie the Birds by one Leg to the Stake, and when they are old enough, they come and take them out of the Neſt, from whence it is impoſſible to fly away. When the *Dutch* began to inhabit the *Cape*, they took a young Girl from her Mother as ſoon as ſhe was born; ſhe is white, only her Noſe is a little flat. A *Frenchman* got her with Child, and would have married her; but the Company were ſo far from permitting him, that they took away above one hundred Livres of the Maid's Wages from her, to puniſh her for the Miſdemeanor, which was ſomewhat hard.

There are great Numbers of Lions and Tygers, which the *Dutch* have a pretty Invention to take; they faſten a Carbine to a Stake driven into the Earth, and lay Meat round about the Gun, which Meat is faſtened with a String to the Trigger, ſo that when the Beaſt ſnatches the Meat, the String pulls the Trigger, and the Gun goes off, hits the Lion either in the Throat or Breaſt. The *Cafres* feed upon a Root like our Carrots, which they roaſt, and make Bread of. Sometimes they grind it into Flour, and then it taſtes like a Walnut; for their Food they eat the ſame Root raw, with raw Fleſh, and with the Entrails of Beaſts, out of which they only ſqueeze the Ordure. As for the Bowels of the wild Beaſts, the Women wear them dried about their Legs, eſpecially the Bowels of thoſe Beaſts their Huſbands kill, which they look upon as a kind of Ornament.

They alſo feed upon Tortoiſes, when they have ſo far heated them at the Fire, as to make the Shells come off. They are very expert in darting their Azagayas, and thoſe that have none make uſe of painted Sticks, which they will launce a great way; with theſe they go down to the Seaſide, and as ſoon as ever they ſpy a Fiſh near the Top of the Water, they will not fail to ſtrike him. As for their Birds, which are like our Ducks, whoſe Eggs are without any Yolk, they breed in ſuch great Quantities in the Country, that in a Bay, about eighteen Leagues from the *Cape*, you may knock them on the Head with a Stick. The *Dutch* once carried a young *Cafre* to the General at *Batavia*, who bred him carefully up, teaching him to underſtand the *Dutch* and *Portugueze* Languages perfectly well. At length, being deſirous to return to his own Country, the General gave him very good Cloaths, and good Linnen, hoping that he would have lived among the *Dutch*, and have been ſerviceable to them in the Diſcovery of the Country; but ſo ſoon as he got home, he flung his Cloaths into the Sea, and returned wild among his fellow Natives, eating raw Fleſh as he did before, and quite forgetting his Benefactors.

When the *Cafres* go a Hunting, they go in great Numbers together, and make ſuch a prodigious howling and yelling, that they fright the very Beaſts themſelves, and in that Affright with Eaſe deſtroy them; and I have been aſſured, that their Cries terrify the Lions themſelves. The Women are of ſo hot a Conſtitution of Body, that if at the Times their Monthly Cuſtoms are upon them, they happen to make Water, and that an *European* chances to ſet his Feet upon it, it cauſes an immediate Head-ach and Fever, which many times turns to the Plague.

16. Having ſtayed twenty-two Days at the *Cape of Good Hope*, ſeeing that the Wind was favourable, we weighed Anchor, and ſteered for *St. Hellens*; when we were under Sail, the Mariners cried out, they would ſleep till they came into *St. Hellen*'s Road; for the Wind is very conſtant, and carries you in ſixteen or eighteen Days to the Road of the Iſland. All the Trouble that our Mariners had was, that in fourteen Days after our Departure from the *Cape*, they were often forced to the Top-maſt Head, upon Diſcovery of the Iſland; for as ſoon as you diſcover the Iſland, the Pilot muſt take care to ſteer to the North-ſide of the Iſland, becauſe there is no caſting Anchor but on that Side of the Iſland, and that very near the Shore too, by reaſon of the Deepneſs of the Water; for if the Anchors come not to take hold, the Current of the Water and the Wind carries the Ship quite out of the Road, which there is no recovering again, becauſe the Wind never changes.

So ſoon as the Ship came to an Anchor, part of the Seamen were ſent on Shore to get wild Hogs, of which there are great Plenty, and to gather Sorrel, which grows in great abundance; and indeed they not only ſent the Seamen, but all the Pigs, Sheep, Geeſe, Ducks, and Pullets aboard, to feed upon this Sorrel, which purged them in ſuch a manner, that in a few Days they become ſo fat, that by that Time we came to *Holland* they were hardly to be eaten. That Sorrel has the ſame Operation upon the Men, who boiling their wild Swines-Fleſh, Rice and Sorrel together, make thereof a kind of Pottage, ſo excellent, that it keeps their Bodies open, by an inſenſible Purgation. There are two Places upon the Coaſt of *St. Hellens* where Ships may come to an Anchor; but the beſt is that where we lay, by reaſon the Ground is very good, and becauſe the Water that falls from the Mountains is the beſt in the Iſland. In this Part of the Iſland there is no Plain, for the Mountain deſcends to the very Shore of the Sea. It is not ſo good anchoring in the other Road; but there is a very handſome Plain, where you may ſow or reap whatever you pleaſe. There are great Store of Citrons, and ſome Oranges, which the *Portugueze* had formerly planted there; for that Nation have that Virtue, that wherever they come they make the Place the better for thoſe that come after them, whereas the *Dutch* endeavour to deſtroy all things whereever they ſet Footing. I confeſs the Commanders are not of that Humour; but the Seamen and Soldiers are, who cry one to another, we ſhall never come here any more, and, out of Greedineſs, will cut down a whole Tree inſtead of gathering the Fruit.

Some Days after their Arrival, came in a *Portugueze* Veſſel from *Guinea*, full of Slaves, who were bound for the Mines of *Peru*, ſome of the *Dutch* that underſtood the Language of the Negroes, told them how miſerably they would be uſed, and thereupon the next Night two hundred and fifty of them threw themſelves into the Sea; and indeed, it is a miſerable Slavery; for ſometimes after they have undermined ſome Places for ſome Days together, the Earth being looſe, falls down, and kills four or five hundred at a time; beſides that, when they have been mining a-while, their Faces, their Eyes, and their Skins change Colour, which proceeds from the Vapours that ariſe from thoſe Concavities; nor could they ſubſiſt in thoſe Places, but from the Quantity of ſtrong Water which they give both to the Men and Women. There are ſome that are made free by their Maſters, who labour, however, for their Living; but between *Saturday* Night and *Monday* Morning, they ſpend all their Wages in ſtrong Water, which is very dear, ſo that they always live miſerably.

Being ready to depart the Iſland of *St. Hellens*, the Admiral called a Council, to adviſe which Way to ſteer; the greateſt Part were for ſteering more to the Weſt than to the South, becauſe the Seaſon for ſailing was far ſpent; and for that, if we ſteered towards the *Weſt*, we ſhould find the Wind more proper to carry us into *Holland*; but we had no ſooner paſſed the Line, but we found the Wind quite contrary to what the Mariners expected, ſo that we were forced to ſteer to the ſixty-fourth Degree of Altitude with the Iſland, and ſo return by the North into *Holland*.

17. The next Day after the Admiral had called a Council, we weighed Anchor, and ſet Sail about ten o'Clock at Night. Three Days after our Departure from *St. Hellens*, the Seamen were called very duly to Prayers Morning and Evening, though all the Time we ſtayed in the Road they never minded any ſuch Matter, which made me wonder to find they ſhould be more devout when they were out of Danger than when they were in Jeopardy. After ſeveral Days ſailing, we diſcovered the Coaſt of *Iceland*, and then the Iſland of *Terella*, where we joined with the *Dutch* Fleet that ſtayed for us. Here it is that the Commander in chief calls to an Account all the Mariners for their Miſdemeanors during the whole Voyage. Our Ship was bound for *Zealand*, but we were forced to lie out to Sea ſeven Days before we could get into *Fluſhing*, before the Sand had changed its Place.

Coming to an Anchor before *Fluſhing*, two of the Directors of the Company came a-board to welcome us home, and to adviſe us to lock our Cheſts, and put our Marks upon them; for all Cheſts are carried into the *Eaſt-India* Houſe, where, when the Owners come for them, they are ordered to open them, leſt they ſhould have any contraband Goods therein; thereupon I ſet a Mark upon my Cheſts, and went aſhore, after I had given a good Character of the Captain, and his Civility to me all the Voyage, and thence proceeded by Land to *Middleburgh*.

Four Days after I came to *Middleburgh* I went to fetch my Cheſts, and finding the two Directors there, one a *Zealander*, the other of *Horn*, who came firſt a-board us, I produced my Keys, and offered the Cheſts to be opened; but the *Zealander*, more civil than the *Horner*, delivered me my Keys again, and taking my Word, told me, I was free to take away my Goods; and indeed, I have ever obſerved that the Northern People are always more rude and ungenteel than the Southern. As for the ſeventeen thouſand five hundred Florins which the General of *Batavia* promiſed me ſhould be paid me upon my Arrival in *Holland*, I received ſo many Delays and put-off's, that I was at length forced to commence a Suit that laſted two Years; nor could I get a publick Notary, either at *Amſterdam*, or the *Hague*, that would make me out a Proteſt, every one fearing the Directors, who were both Judges and Parties. At length, after five Years wrangling and jangling, the Director wrote to my Brother at *Batavia* (for I was then again returned to the *Indies*) that if I would accept of ten thouſand Livres, he might receive it for me, which he did, and I was forced to give an Acquittance for the whole.

This is the Return which I made from the *Indies* in the Year 1649, and the only time that ever I returned by Sea, having performed all the reſt of my Travels by Land, not counting my ſhort Voyages through the *Mediterranean* for any thing; and as for my firſt Travels, I performed them all by Land from *Paris* through *Germany* and *Hungary*, as far as *Conſtantinople*, whither I returned again in the Year 1669. From *Conſtantinople* I went to *Smyrna*, thence I ſailed for *Leghorn*; from *Leghorn*, I travelled by Land to *Genoa*, thence to *Turin*, and ſo to *Paris*.

The perfect Acquaintance which our Author had with all the Cuſtoms of the *Indians*, expoſed him to a great Number of Enquiries on his return home; and he was very often preſſed, not only by the moſt conſiderable of the *French* Miniſters, but even by the King himſelf, to put the Anſwers he gave to thoſe Enquiries into Writing; and theſe were afterwards reduced under ſeveral Heads, and now make the ſeveral Chapters in his Travels; and this Account of them may ſerve to reconcile the Reader to the ſeeming Incoherency of thoſe Diſcourſes. Among theſe there is one more remarkably curious in relation to the Cuſtom that ſtill prevails in the *Indies*, of Women burning themſelves on the Demiſe of their Huſbands, and alſo of Men's ſubmitting voluntarily to Death, upon extraordinary Occaſions. This Diſſertation, as I judged it, could not but be very agreeable to the Reader, and at the ſame time inſtructive. I thought it not amiſs to add here at the End of his Travels, the rather, becauſe it has no ſort of Connection with any Part of his Relation, but is, as I obſerved before, a ſeparate Diſcourſe upon that particular Subject, in which he has related what occurred to him thereon during his long Stay in the *Indies*, which renders it more perfect in its kind than any thing I have ever met with on the Subject; and therefore I have given it at large, and entirely in the Words of our Author, which are as follows.

It has been a Cuſtom Time immemorial, among the *Indians*, that a Woman ſhould only marry one Huſband, and in caſe of his Deceaſe, continue a Widow to the Time of her Death. As ſoon, therefore, as the Maſter of a Family is dead, his Wife retires to bewail her Huſband ſome Days; after which they ſhave her Head, and ſhe lays aſide all the Ornaments which ſhe had worn during the Time of her Marriage, taking off at the ſame time from her Arms and Legs the Bracelets which her Huſband put on when he eſpouſed her, in token of her Submiſſion, and her being chained to him, and all the reſt of her Life ſhe lives ſlighted and deſpiſed, and in a worſe Condition than a Slave, in the very Houſe where ſhe was Miſtreſs before. This unfortunate Condition cauſes them to hate Life, ſo that they rather chuſe to be buried alive with the Body of their deceaſed Huſband, than to live the Scorn and Contempt of all the World; beſides that, the *Bramins* make them believe, that in dying after that manner, they ſhall revive again with him in another World, with more Honour and more Advantages than they enjoyed before.

Theſe are the Motives that cauſe the Women to burn with their Huſbands; beſides that, the Prieſts flatter them with Hopes, that while they are in the midſt of the Flame, before they expire, *Ram* will appear, and reveal wonderful Viſions to them; and that after their Souls have tranſmigrated into various Bodies, they ſhall at length obtain a high Degree of Honour to Eternity. However, there is no Woman that can burn with her Huſband's Body, till ſhe has the Leave of the Governor of the Place where ſhe inhabits, who being a *Mohammedan*, and abhorring the execrable Crime of Self-murder, is very ſhy to permit them. Beſides, there are none but Widows that have no Children that lie under the Reproach that forces them to violent Deaths: For, as for the Widows that have Children, they are by no means permitted to burn themſelves, but quite the contrary. They are commanded to live for the Education of the Children. Theſe Women, whom the Governor will not permit to burn themſelves, ſpend the reſt of their Lives in doing Pennance, and performing Works of Charity. Some make it their Buſineſs to ſit upon the Road to boil certain Pulſe in Water, and to give the Liquor to Travellers to drink; others ſit with Fire always ready for them to light their Tobacco; others make Vows to eat nothing but the undigeſted Grains which they find in Cow-dung.

The Governor, finding no Perſuaſion will alter the Womens Reſolution, but more eſpecially, perceiving by the Sign which his Secretary makes him, that he has received the Coin, in a ſurly manner gives the Woman Leave, bidding the Devil take her and all her Kindred. When they have got this Leave, their Muſick begins to ſtrike up, and away they march to the Houſe of the Deceaſed, with Drums beating, and Flutes playing before them, and in that manner they accompany the Perſon that is to be burnt to the Place appointed. All the Kindred and Friends of the Widow that is to die come to her and congratulate her on the Happineſs ſhe is to enjoy in the other World, and for the Honour which the Caſt ſhe is of receives by her generous Reſolution. She dreſſes herſelf as if ſhe were going to be married, and ſhe is conducted in Triumph to the Place of Execution; for the Noiſe is loud of muſical Inſtruments, and Womens Voices, that follow her, ſinging Songs in Honour of the miſerable Creature that is going to die. The Bramins alſo accompany her, to give publick Teſtimonies of her Conſtancy and Courage, and many of our *Europeans*, are of Opinion, that to take away the Fears of Death, which naturally terrify Humanity, the Prieſts give her a certain Beveridge to ſtupify and diſorder the Senſes, which takes from her all Apprehenſions of her approaching Death. 'Tis for the Bramin's Intereſt that the poor miſerable Creatures ſhould continue in their Reſolutions; for all their Bracelets, as well about their Legs as their Arms, the Pendants in their Ears, ſometimes of Gold, ſometimes of Silver (for the Poor wear only of Copper and Tin) all theſe belong to the Bramins, who rake for them among the Aſhes when the Party is burned.

I have ſeen Women burned after three different Manners, according to the Difference of the Country. In the Kingdom of *Guzurat*, as far as *Agra* and *Dehli*, they ſet up a little Hut, about twelve Feet ſquare, upon the Bank of a Pond or River; it is made of Reeds and all ſorts of ſmall Wood, with which they mingle certain Pots of Oil, and other Drugs, to make it burn more vehemently. The Woman is placed in the Middle of the Hut, in a half-lying-down-poſture, leaning her Head upon a kind of a wooden Bolſter, and reſting her Back againſt a Pillar, to which the Bramin ties her about the Middle, for fear ſhe ſhould run away when ſhe feels the Fire. In this Poſture ſhe holds the Body of her deceaſed Huſband upon her Knees, chewing Beetel all the while; and when ſhe has continued in this Poſture about half an Hour, the Bramin goes out, and the Woman bids them ſet Fire to the Hut, which is immediately done by the Bramins, and the Kindred and Friends of the Woman, who caſt alſo ſeveral Pots of Oil and Ointment into the Fire, to put the Woman the ſooner out of her Pain. After the Woman is burnt, the Bramins ſearch the Aſhes for the Bracelets, Pendants, and Rings, whether Gold, Silver, Copper, or Tin, which is all free Booty to themſelves.

In *Bengal* they burn the Women after another Faſhion. In that Country a Woman muſt be very poor, that does not accompany the Body of her deceaſed Huſband to the *Ganges*, to waſh his Body, and to be waſhed herſelf before ſhe is burnt. I have ſeen dead Carcaſſes brought to the *Ganges* above twenty Days Journey off from the Place, and ſmelt them to boot; for the Scent of them has been intolerable noiſom. There was one that came from the northern Mountains, near the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Boutan*, with the Body of her Huſband carried in a Waggon. She travelled twenty Days on Foot, and never eat nor drank for fifteen or ſixteen Days together, till ſhe came to the *Ganges*, where, after ſhe had waſhed the Body that ſtank abominably, and had afterwards waſhed herſelf, ſhe was burnt with him with admirable Conſtancy.

Before the Woman that is to be burnt goes the Muſick, conſiſting of Drums, Flutes, and Hautboys, whom the Woman, in her beſt Accoutrements, follows, dancing up to the very funeral Pile, upon which ſhe gets, and places herſelf as if ſhe were ſitting up in her Bed; and then they lay a-croſs her the Body of her Huſband; and, when this is done, her Kindred and Friends, ſome bring her a Letter, ſome Pieces of Callicut, and others Pieces of Silver and Copper, and deſire her to deliver them to their Mother, or Brother, or ſome other Kinſman, or Friend. When the Woman ſees they have all done, ſhe asks the Standers by, three Times, if they have nothing more of Services to command her; if they make no Anſwer, ſhe ties up all ſhe has got in a Piece of Taffety, which ſhe puts between her own Belly and the Body of her Huſband, bidding them ſet Fire to the Pile, which is preſently done by the Bramins and her Kindred. I have obſerved, becauſe there is Scarcity of Wood in *Bengal*, that when thoſe poor Creatures are half grilled, they caſt their Bodies into the *Ganges*, where the Remains are devoured by the Crocodiles. I muſt not forget a wicked Cuſtom practiſed by the Idolaters of *Bengal*.

When a Woman is brought to Bed, and the Child will not take to the Teat, they carry it out of the Village, and putting it into a Linnen-cloth, which they faſten by the four Corners to the Boughs of a Tree, there leave it from Morning till Evening; by this Means the poor Infant is expoſed to be tormented by the Crows, inſomuch that there are ſome who have their Eyes picked out of their Heads; which is the Reaſon, that, in *Bengal*, you ſhall ſee many of thoſe Idolaters that have but one Eye, and ſome that have loſt both. In the Evening they fetch the Child away, to try whether he will ſuck the next Night, and, if he ſtill refuſes the Teat, they then carry him again to the ſame Place the next Morning, which they do for three Days together. After which, if the Infant ſtill refuſes to ſuck, they believe him to be a Devil, and throw him into the *Ganges*, or any the next Pond or River. In the Places where the Apes breed, theſe poor Infants are not ſo expoſed to the Crows; for where the Apes diſcover a Neſt of theſe Birds, ſhe climbs the Tree, and throws the Neſt one Way, and the Eggs another. Some charitable People among the *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and *Portugueze*, compaſſionating the Misfortune of thoſe Children, will take them away from the Tree, and give them good Education.

All along the Coaſt of *Corromandel*, when the Women are to be burnt with their Huſbands, they make a great Hole in the Ground nine or ten Foot deep, and twenty-five or thirty Foot ſquare, into which they throw a great Quantity of Wood and Drugs, to make the Fire burn more fiercely; when the Fire is kindled, they ſet the Body of the Man upon the Brink, and then, preſently up comes the Woman dancing, and chewing Beetel, accompanied by her Friends and Kindred, with Drums beating, and Flutes ſounding; then the Woman takes three Turns round the Hole, and every Time ſhe has gone the Round, ſhe kiſſes her Friends and Kindred; after the third Time the Bramins caſt on the Carcaſe of her Huſband, the Woman ſtanding with her Back to the Fire, is puſhed in by the Bramins alſo, and tumbles backward; then her Kindred and Friends caſt Oil, and other combuſtible Drugs, upon the Fire, to make it burn more vehemently, that the Bodies may be the ſooner conſumed. In moſt Places upon the Coaſt of *Corramandel*, the Women are not burnt with their deceaſed Huſbands, but they are buried alive with them, in Holes which the Bramins make a Foot deeper than the talleſt of them, Man or Woman.

Uſually they chuſe a ſandy Place; ſo that when the Man and Woman are both let down together, all the Company, with Baſkets of Sand, fill up the Hole above half a Foot higher than the Surface of the Ground; after which they jump and dance upon it till they believe the Woman to be ſtifled. When ſome of the Idolaters upon the Coaſt of *Corramandel*, are upon the Point of Death, their Friends do not carry them to the Side of a River, or Lake, to cleanſe their Souls, but they carry them to the fatteſt Cow they can find, and laying the ſick Party juſt behind the Cow, they lift up her Tail, and provoke her to piſs; if ſhe piſſes ſo that it falls upon the Face of the diſeaſed Perſon, all the Company are over-joyed, ſaying, that his Soul is happy; but if the Cow does not piſs to waſh the ſick Party's Face, they burn him with a great deal of Sadneſs. If a Cow be ſick, the Owner muſt be careful to lead her to a Pond, or River, for, ſhould ſhe die at his Houſe, the Bramins would fine him.

The Rajah of *Valou* having loſt this City, and his Life, through the Loſs of a Battle gained againſt him by the King of *Viſiapour*'s General, he was extremely lamented at Court; eleven of his Wives alſo were no leſs concerned for his Death, and reſolved to burn themſelves when he was burned. The General of *Viſiapour*'s Army underſtanding their Reſolution, thought at firſt to divert them by promiſing them all kind Uſage; but finding Perſuation would not prevail, he ordered them to be ſhut up in a Room. He who had the Order, going to put it in Execution, the Women, in a Rage, told him, that it was to no Purpoſe to keep them Priſoners; for, if they might not have Leave to do what they had reſolved, in three Hours there would not be one of them alive. The Perſon entruſted, laughed at their Threats: But the Keeper of thoſe Women, opening the Door at the End of the three Houſes, found them all ſtretched out dead upon the Place, without any Mark in the World to be ſeen that they had any Way haſtened their own Deaths.

Two of the moſt potent Rajahs of *India* came to *Agra* in the Year 1642, to do Homage to *Shah-Jehan*, who then reigned; who, not having acquitted themſelves as they ought to have done in the Judgment of the Grand-Maſter of the King's Houſhold, he told one of the Rajahs one Day, in the Preſence of the King, that they had not done well to behave themſelves in ſuch a manner towards ſo great a Monarch as was the King his Maſter. The Rajah, looking upon himſelf to be a great King, and a great Prince, he and his Brother having brought along with them a Train of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Horſe, was nettled at the bold Reproof which the grand Maſter gave him, and drawing out his dagger, ſlew him upon the Place, in the Preſence of the King; the Grand Maſter falling at the Feet of his Brother, who ſtood cloſe by him, he was going about to revenge his Death, but was prevented by the Rajah's Brother, who ſtabbed him, and laid him athwart his Brother's Body. The King, who beheld theſe two Murders, one on the Neck of another, retired into his Haram for fear; but preſently the Omrahs, and other People, fell upon the Rajahs, and cut them to Pieces.

The King, incenſed at ſuch an Attempt committed in his Houſe, and in his Preſence, commanded the Rajahs Bodies to be thrown into the River, which their Troops that they had left about *Agra* underſtanding, threatened to enter the City, and pillage it; ſo that, rather than hazard the City, the King was adviſed to deliver them the Bodies of their Princes. When they were to be burned, thirteen Women belonging to the two Rajahs Houſes came dancing and leaping, and preſently got upon the funeral Pile, holding one another by the Hands, and being preſently after ſtifled by the Smoak, fell together into the Fire; preſently the Bramins threw great Heaps of Wood, Pots of Oil, and other combuſtible Matter upon them, to diſpatch them the ſooner.

I obſerved a ſtrange Paſſage at *Patna*, being then with the Governor, a young Gentleman about twenty-four Years of Age, in his own Houſe. While I was with him, in came a young Woman, very handſome, and not above twenty-two Years old, who deſired Leave of the Governour to be burnt with the Body of her deceaſed Huſband. The Governour, compaſſionating her Youth and Beauty, endeavoured to divert her from her Reſolution; but, finding he could not prevail, with a ſurly Countenance he aſked her, whether ſhe underſtood what the Torment of Fire was, and whether ſhe had ever burnt her Fingers? No, no, anſwered ſhe more ſtoutly than before, I do not fear Fire; and to let you know as much, ſend for a lighted Torch hither: The Governor abominating her Anſwer, in a great Paſſion, bid her go to the Devil. Some young Lords that were with the Governor, deſired him to try the Woman, and entreated him to call for a Torch, which, with much ado, he did; and a lighted Torch was brought: So ſoon as the Woman ſaw the lighted Torch a coming, ſhe ran to meet it, and held her Hand in the Flame, not altering her Countenance in the leaſt, ſtill ſearing her Arm along quite up to the Elbow, till her Fleſh looked as if it had been broiled; whereupon the Governor commanded her out of his Sight.

A Bramin coming to *Patna*, and aſſembling all his Tribe together, told them, that they muſt give him two thouſand *Rupees*, and twenty-ſeven Ells of Callicut, to which the Chief among them anſwered, that they were poor, and could not poſſibly raiſe ſuch a Sum; however, he perſiſted in his Demand, poſitively affirming unto them, that he would ſtay there without eating or drinking, till they brought him the Money and the Cloth. With this Reſolution, he climbed a Tree, and ſetting in the Fork between the Boughs, remained there without eating or drinking for ſeveral Days. The Noiſe of this Extravagance coming to the Ears of the *Dutch* Houſe, where we lay, we ſet Sentinels to watch whether it was true, that a Man could ſit ſo long without Victuals, which he did for thirty Days together. The thirty-firſt Day of this ſo extraordinary Faſt, the Idolaters fearing to kill one of their Prieſts for Want of granting him his Demand, clubbed together, and brought him his twenty-ſeven Ells of Callicut, and two thouſand *Rupees*. So ſoon as the Bramin ſaw the Money and Cloth, he came down from the Tree, and after he had upbraided thoſe of his Tribe for Want of Charity, he diſtributed all the *Rupees* among the Poor, reſerving only five for ſix for himſelf. The Cloth he cut into little Pieces, and gave away, keeping only to himſelf as much as would juſt cover his Nakedneſs; and having made his Diſtribution, he diſappeared on a ſudden, and no body knows what became of him, though diligent Search was made after him.

When a *Chineſe* lies at the Point of Death, all his Kindred and Friends gather about him, and aſk him whether he intends to go? They tell him alſo, that if he wants any thing, he need but aſk and have, let it be Gold, Silver, or a Woman. When they are dead, they perform many Ceremonies at their Funerals, which conſiſt chiefly in artificial Fires, wherein the *Chineſe* are the moſt expert in all the World; ſo that he muſt be a very poor Man that has no Fire-works at his Funeral. Beſides that, they put Money in a little Box, and bury it by the Deceaſed, and leave good Store of Victuals upon the Grave, out of an Opinion that they riſe and eat; which the Soldiers of *Batavia* obſerving, uſed to fill their Bellies at theſe Graves every Time they marched their Rounds. But when the *Chineſe* perceived it, they poiſoned the Victuals, to ſpoil the *Dutchmens* Feaſting. The Townſmen of *Batavia* taking the Soldiers Part, accuſed the *Chineſe* of poiſoning ſeveral of the *Dutch*; but the *Chineſe* pleaded, that if the Soldiers had over-eat themſelves, or ſurfeited themſelves upon what was left for the Dead to eat, it was none of their Fault; for that they did not leave this Victuals for their Soldiers: And beſides that, among all the Multitudes that they had buried, they never had heard the leaſt Complaint before of any one that ever came to any Harm by eating their Food. Thus the Buſineſs was huſhed up, nor did the Soldiers dare to pilfer any more.

Theſe are certainly very ſurprizing and entertaining Paſſages, which carry in them ſtrong Marks of that Enthuſiaſm, which is the Characteriſtick of the Eaſtern Genius; and which, however wild and extravagant it may appear to us in this Part of the World, has in it, nevertheleſs, ſomething ſo ſtriking to ſuch as behold it, even tho' *Europeans*, that they fall into it by Degrees, and are content to adopt the Humour of the *Indians*, under another Name, and for many pretended Reaſons. As a Proof of this, we need only remark, that the *Mohammedan* Lords of the Mogul's Court, not only allow, but encourage their Women to die with them, as a Mark of Affection. It is true, that they don't do this publickly, and in the Sight of the Sun, as the *Indians* do; but when a *Mohammedan* Lord dies, his Women, the Night after they have paid their Duty at the Funeral of the Deceaſed, aſſemble together in ſome private Part of his Palace at a Diſtance from the reſt of the Building, and out of the Hearing, as much as may be, of the Servants; and there they ſet Fire to the Room, having firſt ſecured the Doors, and ſo periſh in the Flames. In all Probability, this Cuſtom has been introduced amongſt the *Mohammedans* from a Principle of Vanity, flowing from a Deſire to ſhew that they are not leſs beloved by their *Indian* Wives, than the *Indians* themſelves, of which, indeed, it is not eaſy for them to obtain a ſtronger Proof than this.

It is likewiſe indiſputably clear, from our Author's Diſcourſe, that the high Spirit and invincible Courage of the *Indians*, both Men and Women, is far enough from being extinguiſhed; but then we ought to make a right Judgment of the Motive from whence this proceeds. In the Men it ſtill riſes from Principle and from the Dictates of Reaſon, whether well or ill employed, I ſhall not pretend to ſay: But, in the Women, it is, in ſome meaſure, the Effect of Habit, and, in ſome meaſure, the Conſequence of Deſpair. They ſee frequent Examples of Women who end their Lives in this Manner, and are highly applauded for it. This draws them on to merit the ſame Praiſes, by ſhewing the ſame Intrepidity. On the other hand, they ſee Numbers of their Sex, who decline this dreadful Trial, reduced to Want and Infamy, and they ſee no Road open for them to eſcape both; which, as it were, drives them to this deſperate Reſolution of deſtroying themſelves; ſince they ſeem thereby, of two great Evils to chuſe the leaſt, which is a glorious Death, rather than a Life of Miſery and Contempt. We may from hence fairly conclude, that if the true and genuine Doctrine of the Chriſtian Faith were inſtilled into the Minds of theſe People, they might be brought to make as great a Figure in the World as ever their Anceſtors did; and how great that was, we have in the preceding Sections, from the Momorials left us in ſeveral Languages, very fully ſhewn.

SECTION XXXI.

Obſervations and Remarks made during his Reſidence on the Iſland of Chuſan, *on the Coaſt of* China, *by Doctor* James Cunningham, *Phyſician to the* Engliſh *Factory at that Place.*

From his own Accounts.

1. *An introductory Account of the Author, and of the Opportunities he had to come to a true Knowledge of the Facts he mentions.* 2. *An Account of the Voyage to, and a diſtinct Deſcription of the Iſland of* Chuſan. 3. *Of the ancient and modern State of the Country, and the coming of the* Engliſh *to reſide there.* 4. *Of their Manner of cultivating Tea in that Iſland, and of ſeveral Miſtakes made by* F. le Compte, *and* F. Martini. 5. *Of the* Chineſe *Agriculture, and the Manner in which the Inhabitants make Salt in* Chuſan. 6. *Of the famous medicinal Root* Hu-chu-u, *which prolongs Life, and retards old Age.* 7. Dr. Cunningham's *Removal to* Pulo Condore, *with the Riſe, Progreſs, and Ruin of that Factory.* 8. *Occaſion of eſtabliſhing a new Factory at* Pulolout, *of which* Dr. Cunningham *became Chief.* 9. *The Cauſes of the total Overthrow of that Factory, and the* Engliſh *Trade to* Borneo.

1. IN the Accounts we have hitherto given of the Diſcovery, of the paſt, and preſent Situation of the *Indies*, we have made Uſe chiefly of foreign Writers, not that we prefer them to our own Countrymen, who have travelled into thoſe Parts; but becauſe, in a Collection of this Nature, it ſeemed reaſonable to include the Works of ſuch Authors as were leaſt known to the Bulk of our Readers. But, to avoid all Suſpicion of Partiality, and that, at the ſame time, we may ſhew that we have not been at all negligent in conſulting either the old Travellers or the new, of ſuch of the *Britiſh* Nation as have viſited theſe diſtant Climates, we will add a few Inſtances of their Care and Diligence, in obſerving and recording what appeared to them moſt worthy of Notice in the Countries into which they were led, either to ſatisfy their Curioſity, or in Purſuit of Buſineſs.

We will begin with the Remarks made by Doctor *James Cunningham*, Fellow of the *Royal Society*, and Phyſician to the *Engliſh* Factory ſettled at *Chuſan* in *China*. He was a Man diſtinguiſhed both by his natural Parts, and by the Accompliſhments he had acquired, being equally well verſed in ancient and modern Learning; and, at the ſame time, a Perſon, who, from his own Diligence, had obtained all the Lights that are afforded by Experience. Of theſe great Qualities he has left us ſufficient Teſtimony in two Letters of his writing during his Employment in the Service of the *Eaſt-India* Company; and which are ſo much the more valuable, as they plainly manifeſt an Intention not to copy what others had written, or reported, but to ſet down his own Obſervations, and thereby deſcribe Things as they appeared to him; nay, and not only ſo, but to examine and correct the Miſtakes of others, which he was the more capable of doing, for two Reaſons; firſt, becauſe he confined himſelf entirely to what fell under his immediate Inſpection: And, next, becauſe he writes on ſuch Subjects only as belonged to his Profeſſion, in which he muſt, of Neceſſity, be a better Judge than another Man, however learned or intelligent, who had not made thoſe Things his Study. In this reſpect, indeed, I muſt affirm, that the Writers of our own Country are very much to be preferred to thoſe of other Nations, becauſe, if their Relations be leſs extenſive, and poſſibly alſo leſs entertaining; yet they are written with greater Care and Circumſpection, as well as a more than ordinary Regard to Truth. This I ſay in general only, and not with any View to injure or raiſe the Credit of particular Perſons. But, to come to the Point; the firſt of theſe Letters was written in the Month of *September*, 1701, to a Member of the *Royal Society*, and follows in the Author's own Words.

2. My laſt to you was from the Iſland of *Borneo*, in which I gave you an Account of our Arrival there the 17th of *July*, where we ſtayed but two Days, the Seaſon of the Year being ſo far paſt; and from thence made the beſt of our Way through the Straits of *Banca*, with favourable Winds and Weather, till we came on the Coaſt

of *China* the 13th of *Auguſt*, then we had variable Winds which carried us a-breaſt of *Emoy*, the 19th following, at which Time the North-eaſt Wind ſetting in freſh, put us in great Fears of loſing our Paſſage; whereupon we were forced to turn it up againſt Wind and Current all the Way, the Weather ſo favouring us that we were never but by our Top-ſails, elſe we ſhould have loſt more Ground in one Day than we could have gained in eight. The laſt of *Auguſt* we came to an Anchor under the *Crocodile Iſlands*, both to ſhelter us from the bad Weather (which is generally expected on this Coaſt at New and Full-Moon, and has been fatal to a great many Ships) and alſo to look for Freſh-water, which was now grown ſcarce with us, not having recruited ſince we came from the *Cape of Good-Hope*. Theſe are three ſmall Iſlands, lying in the Lat. of 26° about ſix Leagues from the River of *Hockien*, on two whereof we found very good Freſh-water, with a convenient watering Place on the S. W. Side of the innermoſt of the three; and by the Aſſiſtance of a few *Chineſe* Fiſhermen, we procured ſome freſh Proviſions from the Main-Land, becauſe we did not think it ſafe to adventure ourſelves thither, leſt we ſhould have been brought into Trouble by the Government there.

While we lay here, on the 5th of *September*, we had a ſudden ſhort Shift of the Monſoon to the S. W. the Fury whereof others felt coming upon the Coaſt of *China*, at the ſame time. The 18th of *September* we put to Sea again, turning to windward Night and Day without all the Iſlands, which are very numerous along this Coaſt, to which we were altogether Strangers beyond *Emoy*; and the Hidrography thereof, is hitherto ſo imperfect, that there was no truſting to our Drafts, which made our Navigation ſomewhat more dangerous: However, on the 1ſt of *October* we got into 30°, where we came to an Anchor near the Land, until we found the Way by Boat to *Chuſan*, about twelve Leagues within the Iſlands, rom whence we had a Pilot, who carried us ſafe thither on the Eleventh. Upon this Iſland the *Chineſe* have granted us a Settlement and Liberty of Trade, but not to *Ning-po*, which is ſix or eight Hours Sail to the weſtward, all the Way among Iſlands; this being the largeſt, s eight or nine Leagues from Eaſt to Weſt, and four or ive Leagues in Breadth.

About three Leagues from that Point of the Main-and, called *Cape-Liampo* by the *Portugueze*, but *Khi-tu* by the *Chineſe*, at the Weſt-end of this Iſland, is the Harbour, very ſafe and convenient, where the Ships ride within Call of the Factory, which is built cloſe by the Shore, on a low plain Valley, with near two hundred Houſes about it, for the Benefit of Trade, inhabited by Men whoſe Jealouſy has not, as yet, permitted them to let their Wives dwell here; for the Town where they are is three Quarters of a Mile farther from the Shore, environed with a fine Stone-wall, about three Miles in Circumference, defended by twenty-two ſquare Baſtions, placed at irregular Diſtances, beſides four great Gates, on which are planted a few old iron Guns, ſeldom or never uſed: The Houſes within are very meanly built. Here the Chumpeen, or Governor of the Iſland lives, and betwixt three and four thouſand beggarly Inhabitants, moſt part Soldiers and Fiſhermen; for the Trade of this Place being newly granted, has not, as yet, brought any conſiderable Merchants hither. The Iſland in general abounds with all ſorts of Proviſions, ſuch as Cows, Buffaloes, Goats, Deer, Hogs, wild and tame Geeſe, Ducks, and Hens, Rice, Wheat, Calavances, Cole-worts, Turnips, Potatoes, Carrots, Beetach, and Spinage; but, for Merchandize, there is none, except what comes from *Nigo-po*, *Stang-chew*, *Nankin*, and the inland Towns, ſome of which I hope to ſee when I have acquired a little of the *Chineſe* Language.

Here alſo the Tea grows in great Plenty, on the Tops of the Hills, but it is not in ſuch Eſteem as that which grows on more mountainous Iſlands. Although this Iſland is pretty well ſtored with People, yet it is far from what it was in *F. Martinius*'s Time, where he deſcribes *Cheuxan*. And this puts me in mind, that the ſuperſtitious Pilgrimages there mentioned by him, muſt be meant of the Iſland *Pou-to*, which lies nine Leagues from hence: And three Miles to the Eaſtward of this Iſland, whither, they ſay, the Emperor deſigns, in the Month of *May* next (being his Birth-day, and the fortieth Year of his Age) to come to worſhip in an ancient Pagod there, famous for Sanctity, having ſent one of his Bonzes already thither to get all Things in Order. The ſecond Letter, ſomewhat more copious, and no leſs curious than the firſt, our Author wrote to the ſame Perſon from *Chuſan*, dated *November* 22, 1701, according to his Promiſe, and to ſupply the Defects of the firſt.

3. I formerly told you that the Emperor deſigned to have come to the Iſland of *Pou-to* (a Place of great Devotion) to worſhip in the Month of *May* laſt, being the fortieth Year of his Age, I ſhould have ſaid of his Reign. But all Things being prepared there for his Reception, he was diſſuaded from his Purpoſe by ſome of his Mandarines, who made him believe that the Thunder there was very dangerous. This *Pou-to* is a ſmall Iſland, about five Leagues round. At the Eaſt-End of this Iſland, famous for the ſuperſtitious Pilgrimages made thither for the Space of eleven hundred Years, it is inhabited only by Bonzes, to the Number of three thouſand, all of the Sect called *Heſhang*, or unmarried Bonzes, who live a *Pythagorean* Life; and there they have built four hundred Pagods, two whereof are conſiderable for their Greatneſs and Finery, being lately covered with green and yellow Tiles, brought from the Emperor's Palace at *Nankin*, and inwardly adorned with ſtately Idols, finely carved and gilded, and the chief whereof is the Idol *Quonem*. To theſe two great Pagods belong two chief Prieſts, who govern all the reſt. They have ſeveral Ways and Avenues cut through the Iſland, ſome whereof are paved with Flag-ſtones, and over-ſhaded with Trees planted on each Side.

Their Dwelling are the beſt I have ſeen in theſe Parts, all which are maintained by charitable Devotions; and their Junks, which go from *Ning-po* and this Place to *Japan*, touch here both going and coming, to make their Offerings for their good Succeſs. There is another Iſland called *Kim-Tong*, five Leagues hence, in the Way to *Ning-po*, whither, they ſay, a great many Mandarins retire to live a quiet Life, after they have given over their Employments. On that Iſland alſo are ſaid to be Silver-mines, but prohibited to be opened.

The reſt of the circumjacent Iſlands are either deſert, or meanly inhabited by a few People, but all of them ſtored with abundance of Deer; for it is not long ſince this Iſland of *Chuſan* began to be peopled. 'Tis true, in *Martini*'s Days, about fifty Years ago, it was very populous for the Space of three or four Years; at which Time the Fury of the *Tartarian* Conqueſt was ſo great, that they left it deſolate, not ſparing ſo much as the Mulberry-trees (for then they made a great deal of Raw-Silk here.) And in this Condition it continued till about eighteen Years ago; that the Walls of the Fort, or Town, which now is, were built by the Governor of *Ting-hai* for a Garriſon to expel ſome Pirates, who had taken Shelter there.

About fourteen Years ago, the Iſland beginning to be peopled, there was a Chumpeen, or Governor, ſent to govern it for three Years, to whom ſucceeded the late Chumpeen (who procured the opening of this Port to Strangers) whoſe Government continued till *April* laſt, being tranſlated to be Chumpeen of *Tien-ching-wei*, near to *Pekin*, and was ſucceeded by the preſent Chumpeen, who is Son to the old Chumpeen of *Emoy*. They have no Arts, or Manufactures here but lackered Ware, a particular Account whereof I cannot, as yet, ſend you. They begin to plant Mulberry-trees to breed up Worms for the Production of Raw-Silk; and they make ſome Tea, but chiefly for their own Uſe.

4. The three Sorts of Tea commonly carried to *England*, are all from the ſame Plant, only the Seaſon of the Year and the Soil make the Difference. The Bohea (or *Voüi*, ſo called of ſome Mountains in the Province of *Token*, where it is chiefly made) is the very Bud gathered

in the Beginning of *March*, and dried in the Shade. The *Bing* Tea is the ſecond Growth in *April*, and *Singlo* the laſt in *May* and *June*, both dried a little in Taches or Pans over the Fire. The Tea Shrub being an Ever-green, is in Flower from *October* to *January*, and the Seed is ripe in *September* and *October* following, ſo that one may gather both Flower and Seed at the ſame time; but for one freſh and full Seed, there are one hundred nought. Theſe make up the two ſorts of Fruit in *Le Compte*'s Deſcription of Tea; as for his other ſort, which he calls *Slymic* Peaſe, they were nothing but the young Buds of the Flowers not yet open. Its Seed Veſſels are really tricapſular, each Capſula containing one Nut or Seed; and although two or one Capſula only comes to Perfection, yet the Veſtiges of the reſt may be diſcerned. It grows in a dry gravelly Soil on the Sides of Hills, in ſeveral Places of this Iſland, without any Cultivation.

Le Compte is miſtaken in ſaying that the *Chineſe* are wholly Strangers to the Art of Grafting, for I have ſeen a great many of his paradoxical Tallow Trees ingrafted here, beſides ſome other Trees. When they ingraft, they do not ſlit the Stock, as we do, but cut a ſmall Slice off the Outſide of the Stock, to which they apply the Graft (being cut ſloping on one Side agreeable to the Slice cut from the Stock) bringing the Bark of the Slice up on the Outſide of the Graft, they tie all together, covering with Straw and Mud as we do. The Commentator, on *Magalhen*, ſeems doubtful in the Length of the *Chineſe* Che or Cubits. Here they have two ſorts, one of thirteen Inches, and ſeven-tenths of an *Engliſh* Inch, which the Merchants commonly uſe; the other is of the eleven Inches uſed by Carpenters, and alſo in Geographical Meaſures. Though *F. Martini* is cenſured by *F. Magalhen* for ſpelling a great many *Chineſe* Words with *ng*, which the *Portugueze* and others have done with *in*, yet his Way is more agreeable to *Engliſh* Pronunciation, only in ſome Words, the *g* may be left out, as in *Pekin*, *Nankin*, &c.

Having made Enquiry about *Martini*'s Account of Sowing their Fields at *Van-cheu* with Oyſter Shells, to make new ones grow, I was told, that after they have taken out the Oyſter, they ſprinkle the Shell with Urine, then putting them into the Water again, there grows new Oyſters on the foreſaid Shells. *Martini* ſays, he could never find a *Latin* Name for the *Tula Mogorin* of the *Portugueze*; I am ſure its the ſame with the *Syrenga Arabica flore pleno Albo* in *Parkinſone*. He ſays alſo, that the *Kieu-yeu*, or Tallow-tree, bears a white Flower like a Cherry-tree; but all that I have ſeen here, bears a Spike of ſmall yellow Flowers, like the Julus of a Salix. The Bean, or Mandarin Broth, ſo frequently mentioned in the *Dutch* Embaſſy, and other Authors, is only an Emulſion made of the Seed of Saſamum and hot Water.

Their chief Employments here are Fiſhing and Agriculture. In Fiſhing they uſe ſeveral ſorts of Nets and Lines, as we do; but becauſe they have large Banks of Mud in ſome Places, the Fiſhermen, to go more eaſily thereon, have contrived a ſmall Frame, about three or four Feet long, not much larger than a Hen-trough, elevated a little at each End, in which he reſts upon one Knee, leaning his arms on a croſs Stick, raiſed ſo high as his Breaſt, and putting out the other Foot often upon the Mud, he puſhes forward his Frame thereon, and ſo carries himſelf along in it.

As to their Agriculture, all their Fields (where any thing is planted) whether high or low, are made into ſuch Plots, as may retain the Water over them when they pleaſe, They plow up their Ground with one Buffaloe, or Cow. Where they are to ſow Rice, they prepare the Fields very well, by clearing it of all manner of Weeds, moiſtening to a Pulp, and ſmoothing it with a Frame drawn acroſs, on which they ſow the Rice, very thick, and cover it only with Water, for two or three Inches high; and when it has grown ſix or eight Inches long, they pull it up by the Roots and tranſplant it (by Tufts in a ſtrait Line) to Fields over-flown with Water; and where a Field is ſubject to Weeds, when the Water grows up, they prevent the Growth, by over-turning the Mud with their Hands, in the Interſtices, where the Rice is planted. When they ſow Wheat, Barley, Pulſe and other Grains, they grub up ſome ſuperficial Earth, Graſs and Roots, and with ſome Straw, they burn all together; this Earth being ſifted fine, they mix with the Seed, which they ſow in Holes, made with a ſtrait Line, and ſo grows up in Tufts, as the Rice does, the Field being divided into Beds, and harrowed over both before and after the Seed is ſown; this makes them ſomewhat reſemble Gardens. Altho' they meliorate their Fields, where they ſow Rice only, by letting the Water on them, yet for other Grains, where Grounds require it, they make uſe of Dung, humane Excrements, Aſhes, *&c.* In watering their Fields here, they uſe the ſame Inſtrument mentioned by *Martini*, in the Preface to his *Atlas*, being all Wood, and the Contrivances the ſame with that of a Chain-pump.

Their Method of making Salt is this; all the Shores here being Mud inſtead of Sand, in the Summer Seaſon, they pare off the ſuperficial Earth, which has been over-flown with the Salt-water, and lay it up in Heeps for uſe. When they are to uſe it, they dry it in the Sun, rubbing it ſmall, then digging a Pit, they cover the Bottom of it with Straw, at which, through the Side of the Pit, they paſs a hollow Cane that leads into a Jar, that ſtands below the Level of the Pit's Bottom. They fill the Pit almoſt full of the foreſaid Earth, and pour Salt-water on, until it be covered two or three Inches with Water, which drains through into the foreſaid Jar, and is afterwards boil'd into a Salt.

6. If I had not found Notice taken in a printed News-Paper laſt Year, of a ſingular Root brought from *China* by Father *Fontaney*, I ſhould not have told you, that I have ſeen this Root ſince I came here, and which is called by the *Chineſe Hu-chu-u*, to which they aſcribe wonderful Virtues, ſuch as prolonging Life, and turning gray Hair black by the Uſe of its Tea, or an Infuſion made of it, which occaſions its being ſold at a very high Price, inſomuch that they ſay, tha[illegible] it is to be had from ten Tael to one thouſand or two thouſand a ſingle Root; for the larger it is, the more is its Value and Efficacy, which is too muc Money here to try the Experiment. You have it mentioned in *Cleyer's Medicina Sinica*, Number LXXXIV under the Name of *He-xcu-u*, according to the *Portuguez* ſpelling. It is likewiſe painted in the 27th Table of thoſ Plants Mr. *Pettiver* had of me. If you will have the Stor of its Diſcovery, which I will not warrant for Goſpel, i runs thus:

Upon a time a certain Perſon going a Simpling amon the Mountains, fell by Accident into ſuch a ſteep Vale, tha he could by no means get out of it again, whereupon looking about for ſomething to ſuſtain his Life, in this melancholy Condition, he eſpied this Root, of which he mad Tryal, and found that in eating thereof, it ſerved him bot for Proviſion and Cloathing, by keeping his Body in ſuc a Temperature, that the Injuries of the Weather had n Influence upon him during his Stay there, which was ſom hundreds of Years; till at laſt an Earthquake happened i that Place, whereby the Mountains were rent, and he found a Paſſage out to his Houſe, from whence he had been ſo long abſent: But the many Alterations that came to paſs there in ſuch a Space of Time would not permit them to give Credit to his Story, till conſulting the Annals of his Family, which gave an Account of one of them loſt at that Time, they were confirmed as to the Truth of this Relation. With the Leave of our Author, this is no more Goſpel with the *Chineſe* than with him. It is a Fable, invented for the ſake of giving ſuch an Account of the Virtues of this Root, as may make them dwell on the Memory, and that is all.

7. It will be very natural for the Reader to enquire how it came to paſs, that from ſo intelligent and induſtrious a Perſon as this Doctor *Cunningham* appears to have been, we have received nothing farther than what has been already ſet down in relation to the Affairs of *China*; and as I have it in my Power to anſwer that Queſtion very fully, I think it will not be amiſs to add ſome very curious Circumſtances relating to ſo worthy a Man at the Cloſe of this Section, the rather, becauſe if they be not added here, it is very poſſible they may be for ever loſt. We are therefore to obſerve, that the Factory eſtabliſhed at *Chuſan* was broke up in the Year 1702, and therefore the Doctor had not

much Time to compleat the Obſervations he was inclined to make. He removed afterwards to another new Settlement at *Pulo-condore*, which is a ſmall Cluſter of Iſlands, four or five in Number, lying about fifteen Leagues South of the Weſt Channel of the River of *Cambodia*, what Advantages were propoſed from this Factory I cannot ſay; but the Memoirs I have very poſitively affirm, that the Place, in which it was ſeated, was very ill choſen.

The Perſon who had the Direction of the *Eaſt-India* Company's Affairs in thoſe Parts was one Mr. *Katchpole*, and he, according to the uſual Cuſtom of the *Indies*, took a certain Number of *Maccaſſars*, or Soldiers, Natives of that Country, into his Service, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he quickly built a little Fort for the Protection of his People, and procured the Neceſſaries of Life, ſuch as Wood, Water, and Fiſh, which, as far as I could ever learn, is all that theſe Iſlands ever afforded. The *Maccaſſars* are a brave, induſtrious, and faithful People, to ſuch as deal well by them; and for theſe Reaſons they are highly eſteemed in the Eaſt, more eſpecially by the *Dutch*. It muſt, however, be allowed, that they are daring, cruel, and revengeful, if once they are provoked. Mr. *Katchpole* had contracted with them for three Years, at the End of which Term they were, if they pleaſed, to receive their Wages and depart. This Agreement, though ſtrictly performed on their Side, was broke by our Director, who kept them beyond their Time, and againſt their Wills. As this was a great Breach in Morality, he added to it as great an Error in Politicks; for after provoking theſe People in ſuch a manner, he continued to truſt them with the Guard of his own Perſon, and the Cuſtody of the Factory, which gave them an Opportunity of revenging the ill Uſage they had endured with that Severity, which is natural to barbarous Minds. In ſhort, they roſe in the Night, and cut the Throats of the Director, and all that were with him in the Factory, not one eſcaping.

But ſome who lodged without, hearing the Cries of thoſe who were murdered within, fled out of their Beds to the Sea-ſhore, where, by a very ſingular Providence, they met with a Bark compleatly equipped, in which, tho' half naked themſelves, they put to Sea, and in ſo good Time, that they eſcaped the Rage of the *Maccaſſars*, who came in Search of them to the Shore juſt as they weighed Anchor. Their Navigation was extreamly difficult, inaſmuch as they were expoſed at once to incredible Fatigue, and which was harder ſtill to the utmoſt Extremities of Hunger and Thirſt; but with much ado they compleated their tedious Courſe of one hundred Leagues in this wretched Condition, and came at laſt into a ſmall Creek in the King of *Johore*'s Dominions, where they were civilly received, and kindly treated.

8. A Year or two after the *Eaſt-India* Company thought fit to ſettle another new Factory on the Coaſt of the great Iſland of *Borneo*. On the South End of this Iſland lies another ſmaller one called *Pulolout*, which has an excellent Harbour. The Country, however, is but very thinly peopled, as yielding nothing but Rice; but lying at the Mouth of the Rivers, coming out of the Pepper Countries, it is extreamly well ſeated for Trade. There is a Channel of the Sea between this Iſland and that of *Borneo*, about two Miles broad in moſt Places, in ſome narrower, and in ſome wider, having from ſeven to five Fathom Water all the Way; and on the Shore there are ſeveral riſing Grounds fit to build on, which made it in the propereſt Places in this Part of the World for a Factory; and therefore it is to be preſumed, ſuch as had the Direction of the Company's Affairs made Choice of it.

One Captain *Barry*, a very ingenious Gentleman, had the Care of ſettling this little Colony, in which he acted with much Skill and Prudence; but before the Work was compleated, he died, and the Direction of the Factory fell to Dr. *Cunningham*, who, after the Ruin of the Factory of *Pulo-condore*, came thither. He is ſaid to have minded his Studies ſo entirely, that he left the Care of the Company's Concerns too much to thoſe that were under him, and it fell out very unluckily both for the Company and himſelf, that they happened to be People altogether unequal to ſuch a Truſt, which proved the Ruin of him, and of the Factory too, which fell out in the following manner.

9. Before the Fort which they were erecting was half finiſhed, they began to inſult the People of the Country, as they paſſed up and down the River, and among many other Acts of Folly and Weakneſs, they very imprudently took it into their Heads to ſearch one of the King's Boats, which was carrying a Lady of Quality down the River, which ſo provoked the *Indian* Monarch, that he vowed the utter Deſtruction of the *Engliſh*; and to effect it, gathered all his Forces, and embarked them on board his Fleet of *Praws*. The Company had then two Ships in the River, and there were beſides two Merchantmen of inconſiderable Force; but, however, this was all they had to truſt to, and therefore the People of the Factory receiving Advice of the King's Deſign, and the Preparations he had made, left their Factory, and went on Board their Shipping, thinking themſelves more ſecure there than aſhore.

When all things were in Readineſs, the Army came in the Night with above an hundred *Praws*, and no leſs than three thouſand deſperate Fellows; ſome landed and burnt the Factory and Fortifications, while others attacked the Ships which were prepared to receive them. The *Engliſh* had made faſt Nettings from the Mizen to the Fore-Shrouds, about two Fathoms high above the Gunnel, that they might not be ſo ſuddenly boarded by the Enemy, and to have the Opportunity of uſing their Blunderbuſſes and Lances before the Enemy could get on their Decks. As ſoon as they in the Ships ſaw the Fleet approaching them, they plied their Guns with double Round and Partridge, and made a great Carnage; but all did not deter the Aſſailants from boarding, who, when they got as high as the Gun Wall, or Gunnel, were at a Loſs how to get over the Netting, and ſo were killed with great Eaſe. Some got in at one of the head Doors of one of the Ships, and killed ſome *Engliſh* in the Fore-caſtle; but they were ſoon deſtroyed. The two great Ships, though in Danger, beat off the Enemy with ſmall Loſs; but the little Ships were both burnt, with moſt of their Men, and one *Dutch* Gentleman, who was obliged to fly from *Batavia* on one of the ſmall Veſſels was alſo burnt in her. His Name was *Hoogh Camber*, and had been the Embaſſador of the King of *Perſia*.

Some ſay, who were there at the Time of the Engagement, that the *Engliſh* killed (in two Hours that the Action was hot) above one thouſand five hundred, beſides many wounded and maimed; but the *Engliſh* were forced to be gone from their Settlement. The King thought his Revenge had gone far enough, in driving them from their Settlement; and finding the Loſs of the *Engliſh* Trade affected his Revenue, he let all *Engliſh*, who traded to *Johore*, and other circumjacent Nations, know, that he would ſtill continue a free Trade with the *Engliſh* on the old Footing, but would never ſuffer them, or any other Nation, to build Forts in his Country. Several *Engliſh* have been there ſince, and loaded Pepper, and have been civilly treated; and the *Dutch* ſent a Ship from *Batavia* in *Anno* 1712, to trade with them; but the Natives refuſed Commerce with them.

SECTION XXXII.

A ſuccinct Account of the Adventures of Mr. William Adams, *an* Engliſhman, *who reſided many Years in the Empire of* Japan, *and was the Perſon who introduced both the* Engliſh *and* Dutch *to trade thither.*

Collected, as well from his own Letters, as *Portugueze* and *Dutch* Writers.

1. *An Introduction, in which is contained a View of the Trade to* Japan *before Mr.* Adams *went thither.* 2. *He is entertained as a Pilot on Board a* Dutch *Fleet intended for the* Eaſt-Indies, *through the Streights of* Magellan. 3. *His Paſſage through thoſe Streights into the* South-Seas. 4. *The great Miſeries endured by their Seamen on the Coaſts of* Chili *and* Peru, *and their Reſolution to bear away for* Japan. 5. *The many and great Difficulties they met with in their Paſſage.* 6. *Arrival on the North Coaſt of* Japan, *and the Uſage they met with from the Reports ſpread concerning them by the* Portugueze. 7. *Mr.* Adams *ſent for, and introduced to the Emperor, who examined him as to his Voyage, and the Deſign of it.* 8. *He grows into great Favour with the Emperor, and is very happily eſtabliſhed in that Country.* 9. *He builds a Ship for the Emperor, and becomes a kind of Miniſter of State in his Court.* 10. *The Account given by him of the Climate, Soil, Produce, People,* &c. *of* Japan. 11. *Obſervations upon this Account, including farther Remarks.* 12. *The Hiſtory of Mr.* Adams, *continued from Foreign Authors.* 13. *Inſtances of his great Power and admirable Conduct during his Reſidence at the Court of* Japan. 14. *The Turn given thro' his Management to the commercial Affairs of that Empire.* 15. *Concluſion of this Hiſtory, with ſome Obſervations and Remarks tending to explain the Obſcurities in this Account, and to ſet the Authorities which ſupport it in their proper Light, for the Honour of this Man in particular, and of our Nation in general.*

1. IT is neceſſary, at our firſt Entrance on this Section, to put the Reader in mind of the Method we have purſued through the Courſe of this Chapter, which has been to ſpeak, as Occaſion offered, of thoſe Parts of the *Indies* which were neareſt to us firſt, and ſo to proceed gradually to the moſt diſtant. In regard to Time, it is with me only a ſecondary Conſideration; and this is ſufficient to account for what might otherwiſe paſs for a Miſtake, which is the placing here this Hiſtory of Mr. *Adams*'s Proceedings, tho' in Point of Time, before that of the Gentlemen laſt mentioned, near one hundred Years. Now, as it was impoſſible to report both theſe Accounts without treſpaſſing on the natural Order, either of Time or Place, we choſe to diſpenſe with the former rather than the latter, and that for this plain Reaſon, becauſe it occaſions but one Alteration, whereas had we took the other Method, it would have produced many. We have already, in ſpeaking of the Diſcoveries made by the *Portugueze*, mentioned their firſt coming to *Japan*, and have likewiſe taken notice of the great Pains they took to prevent other Nations from having a Share in the rich Commerce of that new found Country; which, though viſited by them ſo early as *Anno Domini* 1542, yet had they preſerved it entirely in their own Hands, till after the Arrival of the Perſon, whoſe Memoirs we propoſe to give in this Section, and who ought therefore to be conſidered as the Diſcoverer of *Japan* to all the reſt of *Europe*, as we ſhall ſhew at large at the Cloſe of this Section.

At preſent it is our Buſineſs to obſerve, that there was nothing the *Dutch* coveted ſo much as an Opportunity of viſiting the Iſlands of *Japan*, which from the Reports they had received from *Portugal* in *Spain*, as well as from their own Settlements, appeared to them a kind of *Indies* in the *Indies*. There are ſome *Dutch* Memoirs ſtill extant, which ſay, that the Perſons employed by their *Eaſt-India* Company, obtained an exact Account of the Profits of the Trade from *Macao* to *Japan*, from the Year 1580 to 1600, from which Memoirs it appeared, that they cleared one Year with another one hundred Tuns of Gold, which was ſufficient to put the *Dutch* upon endeavouring by all means to gain a Share in ſo lucrative a Commerce. It may not be amiſs, however, to prevent Miſtakes, to explain this Term of a Tun of Gold, which I take to be entirely *Dutch*, and therefore, when literally tranſlated into *Engliſh*, is in danger of remaining as much *Dutch* as it was before. In the firſt place, a Tun of Gold is not reſtrained at all to that Metal, for if it had, it would not have been uſed here, moſt of the Returns from *Japan* to *Macao* being made in Silver; neither has it any Reference to the Value of a Tun of Gold, which amounts to ten times the Value of what is meant by this Expreſſion; for by a Tun of Gold the *Dutch* Merchants mean one hundred thouſand Guilders, and conſequently the annual Value of the Trade to *Japan* might be ten Millions of Guilders, or, to keep ſtill to round Numbers, one Million Sterling, a vaſt Sum indeed, and yet ſaid to be much ſhort of the Advantages drawn from thence in the firſt forty Years, after the *Portugueze* ſettled in that Country.

But, though the Trade of *Japan* was a thing ſo deſireable of itſelf, yet the acquiring any Share thereof appeared even to the *Dutch* themſelves, though they were in thoſe Days equally enterprizing, and indefatigable, a Deſign thwarted by almoſt inſuperable Difficulties. In the firſt place, the Navigation was difficult and dangerous to the laſt Degree, of which they were made ſenſible, not only by repeated Accounts from the *Indies*, which repreſented the Commerce with *Japan* as a thing almoſt impracticable on that Account only, but were in a manner convinced of it from Experience, ſince they had ſent a Ship thither *Anno Domini* 1584, with little or no Succeſs. They were in hopes, however, of getting the better of this Evil, by making uſe of *Portugueze* Pilots, and accordingly in 1586, they ſent another Ship, which was entruſted to the Care of one *Franciſco Pais*, a Native of *Portugal*, who had not, however, much better Fortune, which diſcouraged them very much, and was probably the Reaſon that they made no farther Attempts for ten Years afterwards.

But this was far from being all; for they very well knew, that when this Difficulty was got over, there were many others, and ſome of them ſtill greater, that were yet to be ſurmounted. As for example, they knew that the *Japoneſe* were a very powerful and a very brave People, the former from Report, but the latter from Experience. For at the Time they beſieged *Malacca*, then in the Hands of the *Portugueze*, there was in the Place a ſmall Corps of *Japoneſe*, who came thither to trade, and who, when the Place was inveſted, finding it impoſſible to return home, aſſiſted their Friends in the Defence of it, and that ſo effectually, that it was chiefly by the bold Sallies they made, that the *Dutch* were at that Time compelled to raiſe the Siege, which they did with great Loſs. They likewiſe knew, that the *Spaniards*, who were at this Time Maſters of *Portugal*, and conſequently the ſole Poſſeſſors of the *Japan* Trade, had prejudiced the Inhabitants of that Country againſt them to the laſt Degree, by repreſenting them not only as Rebels to that Crown, but as Pirates and Enemies to Mankind in general; and, indeed, their Behaviour in the *Indies* had been ſuch as gave but too much Colour to that Report. Add to this, that a very great Part of the

Japoneſe

Japaneſe Nation were become Converts to the Popiſh Religion, and conſequently hated them no leſs as Hereticks, than if they had been Infidels.

Taking theſe Circumſtances therefore together, we need not much wonder that the *Dutch* in ſome meaſure deſpaired of ever carrying their Point, and eſtabliſhing themſelves as a trading Nation in *Japan*; yet ſo frail and feeble a thing is human Policy, and ſo little Certainty there is in the Foreſight even of the wiſeſt Man, that notwithſtanding all theſe Obſtacles, and contrary to all Appearance, they not only carried the Point, but after contributing as much as in their Power lay, to the Ruin of their Competitors the *Portugueze*; they have ſecured the whole of this rich Trade to themſelves, and that too in ſuch a manner, as that it is not very likely it ſhould be ever taken out of their Hands. All this we may ſafely affirm, on the Credit of the *Dutch* Writers themſelves, is intirely owing, and was abſolutely brought about by the Intereſt and Conduct of one poor *Engliſhman*, this very *William Adams*, whoſe Memoirs of this Country, collected from his own Writings, we are now to give the Reader.

The Thing in itſelf is indeed wonderful, and if it was not ſupported by the moſt authentick Evidence, would, to the preſent Age at leaſt, appear incredible; but as it is ſupported, it cannot be denied, or even diſputed, and therefore it ought to convince us, that there is nothing of this Nature impoſſible, or impracticable, if Men once ſet heartily about it; ſo that we have no Reaſon to doubt, that if the ſame Spirit of extending Commerce, which prevailed in this Man's Days, ſhould revive in ours, it would produce like Effects, and diſcover to us ſuch new Routs, ſuch unexpected and unlooked for Means of employing our induſtrious Poor at home, by procuring a Vent for their Manufactures abroad, as would raiſe this Age as high in the Opinion of Poſterity, as the laſt Age appears, or ought to appear, in ours. But it is now Time to return to our Author, and to attend to thoſe Accounts of *Japan* which have been left us by ſo able and ſo experienced a Perſon, than which there are not perhaps any better to be met with in any Language whatever.

2. In this Buſineſs, as we have ſeen, he was not the Servant of his own native Country, but of *Holland*, being an able Pilot, and very ſkilful in all Points of marine Knowledge. He was hired by that People to go to Sea with them; his Poſt was that of Maſter Pilot, the Management of the whole Fleet (which conſiſted of five Sail) being left principally to his Care and Prudence. They ſet Sail from the *Texel June* the 24th, and made it the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, by that Time they reached *St. Jago*, one of the *Cape de Verd* Iſles. Here they ſtayed almoſt a Month; ſo long, that a good Part of the Fleet was ſick with the unhealthy Air of that Place, and they found it too true by Experience (which before the *Dutch* would not believe) that it was a very barren Place as to any manner of good Refreſhment. *September* the 15th they paſſed the Line, though with Trouble, becauſe of the contrary ſoutherly Winds that then diſtreſſed them, and this was the Effect of having loitered away too much Time before they came to attempt it.

They were now carried away to the Coaſt of *Guinea*, and coming up with *Cape de Lopez Gonſalves*, they landed their ſick Company there; but this Place denied Relief, as well as the former, and the ſick Men were forced to carry their ſeveral Wants and Diſtempers aboard with them again. At the Iſle of *Annobon* they met with a little better Entertainment. Here were Beeves, Oranges, and other Fruits; but the Plague of having an unhealthy Climate embittered the Comforts of this Refreſhment, and the bad Air made them ſick, as faſt as the good Proviſions made them well. The *Dutch* landed a Party of Men, and took the Town, a ſmall thing conſiſting of eighty Houſes, and like to be of as little Profit to the Conquerors, as it was Honour to them. 'Twas towards the Middle of *November* before they got away from thence, ſo hard is it to leave a good baiting Place, eſpecially when the next is ſo very uncertain, as it is in the Caſe of Seamen between *Annobon* and 4° S. L. they had the Winds perpetually at S. by E. and S. S. E. but about that Parallel they came up by S. E. and E. S. E. and E.

Their Courſe was now for the *Magellanick Streights*, and they made it five Months ſailing between them and the Iſland of *Annobon*; but the Miſeries they endured by Hunger in that Time were extream, and in the higheſt Degrees dreadful: According to Mr. *Adams*'s Relation, for a good while they had each Man but a Quarter of a Pound of Bread a Day, with a proportionally ſmall Quantity of Wine and Water; but it came at laſt to that paſs, that they eat the very Skins that covered the Ropes of the Ships, and by this unnatural ſort of Diet brought on ſtrange Diſorders and Feebleneſs of Body upon themſelves; through all theſe Difficulties, they made a Shift at laſt to reach the *Magellanick Streights*, coming into the firſt Narrow of that Paſſage, *April* the 6th; but this was but ſtill out of one Difficulty into another; 'twas only altering the Scene of their Misfortunes, and coming to be miſerable in another Place; for the Winter was coming on here apace, the Cold began to be ſevere and pinching, and the great Snows began too. To make their Circumſtances more compleatly diſmal, many a time would the Wind have ſerved to have carried them through the *Streights*, but the obſtinate General would not embrace the Opportunity, at the Advice of thoſe that perſuaded it, and ſo was the Occaſion of the miſerable Confinement of the Fleet all the Winter Seaſon.

Here was Firing, indeed, enough for them all about the *Streights*, every Place abounding with Wood; but there was a worſe Neceſſity amongſt them, which this would never ſupply, and the Cravings of the Belly were to be ſatisfied by another ſort of Proviſion. Here they continued conflicting with Hunger, Diſtempers, and bad Weather, till *September*, ſo that they ſtood the Shock of the whole Winter at this Place, and endured the Extremities of all the very worſt Months of the Year. Abundance of their Men died, being downright ſtarved, and the reſt were as near it as they could well be; and now the General, having had enough of the Winter Pleaſures of the *Magellanick Streights*, very politickly concluded, 'twas time to go away. His Men were half dead, and the Remainder were almoſt famiſhed; the diſmal Winter ſpent and gone, and the chearful Spring coming on, with the returning Sun, he thought it high time to put out to Sea again before the Comfort of the approaching Seaſon forſook them.

3. So the latter End of *September* they ſet ſail out of the *Streights*, and being got into the *South-Sea*, were wretchedly toſſed and beaten about in that turbulent Ocean: In ſhort, a furious Storm ſcattered the whole Fleet, and drove them to ſeek their Fortunes, every one by themſelves; they had agreed before, in caſe of any ſuch Diſaſter, that they would ſtay for one another at ſome Place upon the Coaſt of *Chili*, in the Latitude of 46°, and if the reſt came not in a Month, then thoſe that were there ſhould go on. Hither Mr. *Adams*'s Ship came, according to the Agreement, and ſtayed the appointed Time. The Natives were civil and friendly to them at firſt, and bartered Sheep and Potatoes for little Toys, which they gave them; but at laſt they fell off, removed up into the Country, and came no more to them. Their Company not coming, they went away, touching, as they paſſed, at the Bay of *Baldivia*, and the Iſle of *Mocha*; but not coming to Anchor any where, till they did at the Cape *Santa Maria*, which is about twenty Leagues from the Iſland of that Name to the Southward.

Here they found a convenient Bay, and good Ground for anchoring; there were conſiderable Numbers of People that appeared upon the Shore, but their Temper and Diſpoſitions, as they were unknown, ſo they were now to be tried; but they proved very croſs and untoward; for at their firſt Attempt to land the *Indians* looking upon them as Invaders of the Country, ſet themſelves to oppoſe them, and poured in a Shower of Darts and Arrows upon the Boats that came up to the Shore; but they being under the Pinch of Hunger, and driven by an abſolute Neceſſity to endeavour ſome Means for the getting a Refreſhment, broke through the Weapons of the *Barbarians*, and landed their Men. Now they made Signs of Peace on both Sides, and a Ceſſation of Arms being, as it were, agreed on, they came to a Parly in that Language of Signs, and the *Indians* underſtanding what they meant, brought them Wine and Fruits for the little Commodities the others ſhewed them, and then ſignified to them, that they ſhould now return aboard again; and if they came aſhore again the next Day, they ſhould have a farther Supply of Victuals.

Accordingly, the next Day the Captain landed, with a Score or more of Muſketeers, and they had not marched far before a Party of *Indians*, to the Number of a thouſand, that lay cunningly intrenched, fell upon them, and cut them all off.

4. This was a terrible Misfortune upon all Accounts, particularly in that this Execution had ſcarce left them Men enough to do the neceſſary Office of the Ships. With this Loſs they went away from the inhoſpitable Cape, and came to the Iſle of *Saint Mary* itſelf; here they found their Admirals, but in much the ſame diſtreſſed Condition as themſelves, the Natives of the Iſland of *Mocha* having given them the ſame rude Treatment that thoſe at the Cape had given the others, only of the two the Admiral had the worſt on it, for they had loſt more Men by the Darts of the *Indians*, and over and above that, their General himſelf. Now, to get ſome Refreſhment at this Place was the great Difficulty; 'twas hard to lie ſtill, and famiſh on Shipboard, and 'twas as hard to venture on Shore, becauſe they had not Men for it. In ſhort, theſe two Wants were ſo great, and ſo unhappily complicated in their preſent Circumſtance, that for all that appears, if an Accident had not relieved them, they muſt have concluded upon dying here without any more ado.

But a Couple of *Spaniards* that had a Deſign to betray them, came aboard (in a ſeeming friendly manner) for that Purpoſe, and were ſo wiſe as to do it without Pledges, or making any Proviſion for their ſafe Return. So when they had ſeen the Ship, and would have gone back again, they told them no, they were ſenſible of their ill Deſign, and would keep them Priſoners (eſpecially ſince they came of their own Heads too) unleſs they would promiſe to furniſh the Ship with ſo much Proviſions. One may eaſily imagine the *Spaniards* were out of Humour upon it, to find themſelves taken in ſuch a Trap; but 'twas all one, 'twas to no Purpoſe to be in a Paſſion there, and they were forced to ſubmit to thoſe Terms of Deliverance, and glad to eſcape ſo too. The *Spaniards* brought in their Proviſions according to the Agreement, and now they were once more reprieved from a miſerable Death.

After this the two Ships ſet ſail in Company for *Japan*, the reſt of the Fleet were given over for loſt, and one of them they afterwards heard fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards* at *St. Jago*. Beſides this, the King of *Spain*'s Fleet waited for them upon the Coaſt of *Peru*, and had they lighted on them, 'tis very probable they had both followed their Companion in her Fate, ſince they were in ſo very weak and ſhattered a Condition.

5. It was *November* the 29th that they left the Iſland of *Saint Mary* upon the Coaſt of *Chili*, and having paſſed the Line, had a good Wind, and fair Weather for a good while, without any Interruption by Storms and Tempeſts. In the Latitude of fifteen or ſixteen Degrees North, they fell in with ſome Iſlands of Canibals, or Men-eaters, as Mr. *Adams* calls them, without any Scruple, ſince eight or nine of their Men he believes were devoured by them. Theſe Fellows, it ſeems, being weary of ſo long a Voyage, and willing to take up at the next reſting Place, put themſelves into the Pinnace, and ſo ran away; but which Way ſoever the Canibals diſpoſed of them, 'tis certain, they never came aboard more. In the Latitude of 27 and 28° the Weather began to change upon them, the Winds that had lain ſtill and quiet ſo long rouſed, and blew with a prodigious Fury. They had ſuch a Storm of Wind and Rain, that equalled or exceeded the moſt violent any Mariner among them had ſeen.

In this horrible Confuſion they loſt one another, and the Admiral never came up to them more; but they followed on their Courſe for *Japan* alone, being ſtill in hopes to meet her in one Part or other of that Iſland. Certainly, hardly ever any Man performed a Voyage in more Diſtreſs. Our Pilot tells us, that they had of all their Number but nine or ten left, that were able to ſtand, or creep upon their Knees. As for the Captain, and all the reſt, they were all at their laſt Gaſp, as it were, and expected to die every Hour: And this was a very diſmal Caſe; for Storms will make the poor Seamen beſtir and work themſelves to the Purpoſe. But how ſhall Nature be ſupported in the mean time, and where ſhall Men have Strength to do theſe toilſome Works, that have not Food to keep Life and Soul together?

6. It was *April* the 19th before they had Sight of the Coaſt of *Japan*, and by that Time there was but five of their Company that could go, Providence ordering the Matter ſo for them, that they had then a Proſpect of Relief; when Things were run up to the higheſt Extremity, 'twas near to *Bungo* that they ſaw this firſt Iſland, and were then in about 35° 30'; but Mr. *Adams*, by the way, aſſures us, that that Coaſt of *Japan* is falſly placed in all our Maps, Charts, and Globes; for he ſays, it lies in 35° 30', which makes a conſiderable Difference from the common Account given by them of its Poſition. At *Bungo* ſeveral Boats of the Natives came up to them, and aboard them too, as they had a mind themſelves, and it could be no otherwiſe, for there was no body to make any Reſiſtance.

The Sailors were all quite ſpent, and if the *Japoneſe* would have plundered them, or knocked them on the Head, they might have done it without any Trouble; yet they did them no manner of Harm, as to any Violence, or any ſort of Affront; but they pilfered and ſtole all that they could lay Hands on; for which ſome of them payed very dear afterwards. The Vice-King of the Place proved very kind to them, took them into his Protection, and ſent a Guard (as ſoon as they were come to an Anchor in the Port) to ſee that none of the Merchants Goods were ſtolen. This would have done very well had it come in good Time; but the Thieves were there before them. However, here they had good Store of Proviſions ſent them, and a Houſe provided on purpoſe for them, and, in ſhort, were made very much of, and began in ſome meaſure to enjoy themſelves, after all the Dangers and Fatigues of the Sea.

But 'twas their ill Luck to meet with *Portugueze* and Jeſuits here; they were forced to make uſe of them for Interpreters indeed; but they had far better been without any, and choſe rather to have made uſe of the ſilent Language of Geſtures and Signs, than have made uſe of ſuch Interpreters as they were: For, theſe Men gave the Character of them, that they commonly give of their *European* Neighbours (in all Parts of the World where they meet them) that they were Spies or Pirates, and not trading Men, as they themſelves pretended; and this ſet the *Japoneſe* againſt them, that Mr. *Adams* tells us he was apprehenſive at one time that they ſhould have had the Fate of Pirates in that Country, which is to be ſet up upon Croſſes.

Now, when a Company of poor Seamen came to throw themſelves upon their Mercy, as it were, in a ſtrange Country, where they were not able to ſpeak for themſelves, and where their Liberties and Lives depended entirely upon the Peoples good Opinion of them, to go and ſerve them at that rate, was an unpardonable Piece of Villany, and an Action ſo very inhuman and baſe, as was only fit for *Portugueze* and Jeſuits to be guilty of; but it was not long before the Emperor, hearing of this Ship, ſent for Mr. *Adams*, being the Pilot, to come to him. The Court was then at *Oſaka*, which is about eighteen Leagues from *Bungo*. Hither came our *Engliſhman*, not knowing whether 'twas for Life or Death, to Priſon and Puniſhment, or for their Favour and Enlargement.

7. The Emperor viewed him, he ſays, with a wonderful deal of Attention; but yet with his mild and favourable Countenance, took off, in a great Meaſure, from the Dread his Countenance might otherwiſe have impreſſed. He aſked, by his Interpreters, a World of Queſtions about the Country Mr. *Adams* came from, the People, their Manners, their Affairs both as to War and Peace, and Products of it in Beaſts, Fiſh, and Fowl, the Trade and Buſineſs, and Laws and Government; and, in ſhort, the whole natural and civil Hiſtory of it. More than this he purged him as to his Religion too, and would needs examine his Faith, aſking him what 'twas he believed in? a Queſtion, that if a Man had not known the Emperor's Religion, would almoſt have made him afraid; the Jeſuits had ſet up an Inquiſition here, and that he was one of the Tribunal.

But Mr. *Adams* puzzled him ten times worſe, when he ſhewed him the *Magellanick Streights* in his Chart, thro' which he ſailed to *Japan*. The Emperor perhaps had a pretty good Opinion of him before, but now he thought him a downright Lyar, the Myſtery of ſuch a Voyage was ſo incomprehenſible, that he had no Faith to beſtow upon it; yet ſince Mr. *Adams* affirmed it, and he could not confute him, he entertained it as a Man does all Points of pure Myſtery, with ſilent Admiration, and humble Submiſſion of their Reaſon to the Difficulty, though cramped and tortured with it at the ſame time. Though his Underſtanding was affronted by it, yet his good Nature was not, and he was very good Friends with Mr. *Adams* afterwards, as appeared by his holding him in talk till Midnight: He had ſeveral other Conferences with the Emperor after this, but was for a conſiderable Time notwithſtanding, kept in Priſon, though he had all Neceſſaries allowed him, and nothing like a Puniſhment, but a large Confinement. The *Portugueze* made all the Intereſt at Court they could poſſibly againſt him, and, by their Agents, were continually infuſing ſome ſcandalous Reports of him and his Country in the Emperor's Ears; but all would not do, and the Prince was ſo juſt and generous as to tell them, that the *Engliſh*, having done him no Miſchief, it would not be fair for him to ſee them ſuffer from any in his Country, and that it would be contrary to all the Laws of Juſtice and Reaſon, for him to ſuffer an innocent Man to be executed, merely becauſe his Country and theirs were at War.

8. Mr. *Adams*'s Circumſtances now began to mend, and grew more favourable; his Enemies were quite diſheartened, and the Emperor expreſſed every Day more and more good liking to him. In the firſt place, he freed him from his Impriſonment, and gave him leave to ſee his old Ship's Company, who were ſurprized with no ſmall Joy at this, having heard ('tis probable from the *Portugueze*, who intended it ſhould be ſo) that he had been executed ſome time before: But here he found the Ship abſolutely plundered, and all his Goods and Inſtruments gone, and all the reſt had loſt what they had as well as he; for being all ſick and weak aſhore, the Goods lay ready for a Prey to thoſe that could be unjuſt enough to ſeize them.

When this came to the Emperor's Ear, a Search was made, in order to the Recovery of them; but being gone too far out of Reach, he commanded fifty thouſand Rials of Eight to be given them in part of Satisfaction; and to make ſure that this Money ſhould not be either fraudulently detained by his Treaſurers, or converted to any other Uſe, he ſaw the Payment of it himſelf into the Hands of one who was appointed to have the Management of their Affairs, and to give it out to them in Parcels as they wanted. After this the Court removed to *Eddo*, about a hundred and twenty-two Leagues from *Oſacca*.

The Emperor ordered Mr. *Adams* to move thitherwards with his Ship, and here they took the Liberty to petition him, that they might be perfectly free, and purſue the Deſign of their Voyage, in going to trade in ſome other Parts; but this would not take, and the Emperor was not diſpoſed to part with them yet; ſo they got the Money into their own Hands, and divided it amongſt themſelves, every Man his Share, and then they diſperſed themſelves about the Country, chuſing thoſe Places to ſettle in that beſt pleaſed their Fancies; but the Emperor ordered them, beſides an Allowance of Rice, two Pound a Day for every Man, and over and above, ſo much yearly as came to eleven or twelve Ducats: There was no Diſtinction made between Captains, Pilots, and common Sailors; but they all fared alike.

9. Thus four or five Years went over their Heads, and they followed every Man his Buſineſs in the Country for a Livelihood, ſince 'twas determined that there they muſt live and die; but when the Term of Years was expired, the Emperor ſent for Mr. *Adams* to Court, and the Buſineſs was to make him a Ship. This was not his Trade, as he told the Emperor, and though he knew how to guide a Ship at Sea, yet he was not uſed to the making of them; but he was ſo very urgent and preſſing to have it done, that Mr. *Adams* undertook the Work, and built him a Ship of about eighty Tun.

When he came aboard it he expreſſed a wonderful deal of Pleaſure in it, and 'twas a Piece of Service he valued ſo much, that the Maker of it roſe mightily in his Favour, by this very Means; beſides ſeveral very good Preſents, his Penſion was encreaſed too, being made ſuch as came to 70 Ducats *per Annum*, over and above the former Allowance of Rice; and theſe well managed, were a tolerable Livelihood for a ſingle Perſon in the Country: But that which recommended him moſt effectually to the Emperor's Eſteem was his Skill in Mathematical Learning; Mr. *Adams* had a good Share of Knowledge in the practical Parts, and was now honoured with having ſo great a Prince for his Scholar. He inſtructed him in ſeveral Points of theſe uſeful Arts, and made him capable of ſolving to himſelf that myſterious Problem of ſailing to *Japan* by the *Magellanick Streights*. He could pleaſe him at any time with deſcribing Geometrical Figures.

The Emperor was plunged in the Study, charmed and conjured within the Circles Mr. *Adams* drew him. This latter uſed his Geometry to ſuch good Purpoſe, that he diſcovered the true Method of managing his Royal Pupil by it, and got, as he ſays, the exact Length of his Foot. His Word was all in all in any Point of Diſpute and Controverſy, and which Side ſoever Mr. *Adams* took, the Emperor was always of the ſame. He had ſo great a Stroke now at Court, that even the Jeſuits themſelves were willing to make uſe of his Intereſt there, and courted him to be their Patron; and he declares, that by his means both *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* received ſeveral Favours from the Emperor, which they were otherwiſe in no likely Way of obtaining. Being in thoſe Circumſtances, he thought it not impoſſible to win upon the Emperor, ſo far as to return into his own Country, and for that Purpoſe renewed his old Requeſt, promiſing to do his utmoſt for the bringing both an *Engliſh* and a *Dutch* Trade to *Japan*, if he might be ſuffered to go home.

But the Emperor was too much pleaſed with his Company to hearken to any Propoſal about the loſing of it. Mr. *Adams* ſhould have concealed his Skill in Mathematicks, kept his Geometry and Navigation to himſelf, if he had intended to have ſeen his own Country again; he was too uſeful a Man to be parted with, and there was no Hopes of his Liberty, till he had quite loſt the Knowledge of all thoſe Arts that had ſo charmed the Emperor. In ſhort, there was no going from him, and his Wife and Children muſt be contented without him; yet he procured Leave for the Captain of the *Dutch* Ship he came in to go, and, to make his Life as eaſy and pleaſant as might be, the Emperor ſettled a Lordſhip upon him, in which he had a Compaſs of Land to manage, and a Parcel of Slaves, to the Number of eighty or ninety, appointed to do his Country Work; and this was the Courſe of our *Engliſhman*'s Fortune in that Part of the World, as he himſelf has deſcribed them.

10. As to the State of the Country, and its Affairs, he does not tell us much; he commends the *Japaneſe* largely for their Courteſy and good Humour, Valour in War, Juſtice in their civil Concerns, and the happy Conſtitution of the Government. He believes no People to be Maſters of better Politicks than they in their civil Government, nor have more Superſtition in their Religion. They have various Sects and Opinions amongſt them, and ſome of them had embraced Chriſtianity at the Time the Friars and Jeſuits were very diligently at work to propagate it in ſeveral Parts of the Iſland. So far they had gone in Mr. *Adams*'s Time, as to have ſome Churches, and Proſpect of a conſiderable Number of Convents.

The Character he gives of Trade is, that Silks and Cloths are very vendable Commodities, and that for ready Money; and, according to his Relation, the *Japaneſe* have wherewithal to be very good Pay-maſters, and can afford to give the beſt Rates for a Commodity, having Gold and Silver enough in their own Country, a very happy People ſurely, in the common Acceptation of Things, ſince they live in a pleaſant Country, enjoy the Benefit of a rich Soil, and have beſides Mines, which yield them vaſt Quantities of Gold and Silver. If any thing could have contented this Man out of the Limits of his own Country, and without the Enjoyment of the Converſation of his Family and Friends, he might aſſuredly have met with it in *Japan*, where the King of *Surunga*, whom he called Emperor, treated him with extraordinary Kindneſs, and rewarded the Pains taken in his Service with a Magnificence truly royal.

He employed Mr. *Adams* to ſail in the Veſſel he had built for him as far as *Eddo*, which our Author tells us was as far as from *London* to the *Lizard*, or Land's End. As he ſucceeded happily in this, as well as in other Affairs; he was directed to build a larger Veſſel after the *European* manner, which accordingly he did, with the Aſſiſtance of ſuch as were under him, and who, following his Inſtructions, finiſhed a very good Ship, of the Burden of one hundred Tuns, and that ſhe was in every reſpect a very compleat Veſſel, appears from the Uſe that was afterwards made of her; for it ſo fell out, *Anno Domini* 1609, that the *Spaniſh* Governor of the *Manillas*, going in a large Galleon of one thouſand Tun to *New Spain*, was driven out of his Courſe by a violent Storm, which threw him upon the Coaſt of *Japan*, where arriving in the Night, the Crew, through Ignorance, ran the Veſſel on Shore in the Latitude of 35° 50′ North, by which unfortunate Accident one hundred and thirty-ſix Men were drowned; but the Governor with three hundred and fifty more eſcaped, and applied themſelves to the Emperor, beſeeching him to have Compaſſion upon them in their Diſtreſs, and to aſſiſt them in their Deſign of proceeding to *New Spain*.

As the *Japaneſe*, from the Maxims of their Government, were never very deſirous of having many Strangers in their Dominions, this Requeſt of the *Spaniſh* Governor was very readily complied with, and as ſoon as Proviſions and other Neceſſaries could be got together, the Governor and his Men were embarked on Board the Ship which Mr. *Adams* laſt built, in which they ſafely proceeded to *Acapulco*. In Gratitude for this Favour, this Governor, in the Year 1611, ſent another Ship in Exchange, with a great Preſent, and an Embaſſador on Board, who had Inſtructions to thank the Emperor for his Civility, and alſo to make him a large Preſent.

It was in this Year alſo that our Author had an Opportunity, by the Arrival of a *Dutch* Ship, to give his Countrymen in *England* ſome Account of his Adventures, and of the Condition he was then in. This Letter he addreſſed to his unknown Friends and Countrymen, deſiring it might be carried either to *Limehouſe* near *London*, or to *Gillingham* in *Kent*; and in the Beginning of it he takes notice, that he was born at that Town; that at twelve Years old he was bound Apprentice to Mr. *Nicholas Diggines*, whom he ſerved twelve Years, and was afterwards in her Majeſty's Queen *Elizabeth*'s Service, and then ſpent eleven or twelve Years in ſerving the Merchants who traded to *Barbary*, till being deſirous of viſiting the *Eaſt-Indies*, he went over to *Holland*, and there entered into the Service of the *Dutch*.

The Concluſion of his Letter is extreamly curious, and therefore I ſhall give it my Readers in his own Words, that they may better judge of the Genius and Capacity of this Man, who made ſuch a Change in the Affairs of *Japan*, and procured that Settlement for the *Dutch*, which without his Aſſiſtance, it is very probable they had never attained.

“ Now, whether I ſhall come out of this Land I know
“ not; until this preſent there hath been no Means, but
“ now through the Trade of the *Hollanders* there is Means.
“ In the Year of our Lord 1609, two *Holland* Ships came
“ to *Japan*, their Intention was to take the Carrack that
“ yearly came from *Macao*, and being ſome five or ſix
“ Days too late, nevertheleſs they came to *Firando*, and
“ came to the Court to the Emperor, where they were in
“ great Friendſhip received, conditioning with the Empe-
“ ror yearly to ſend a Ship or two, and ſo they departed,
“ with the Emperor's Paſs. Now, this Year 1611, there
“ is a ſmall Ship arrived with Cloth, Lead, Elephants
“ Teeth, Damaſk, and black Taffaties, raw Silk, Pepper,
“ and other Commodities, and they have ſhewed Cauſe
“ why they miſſed the former Year 1610, according to
“ Promiſe yearly to come.

“ This Ship is well received, and with great Kindneſs
“ entertained: You ſhall underſtand, that the *Hollanders*
“ have here an *Indies* of Money, for they need not to bring
“ Silver out of *Holland* to the *Eaſt-Indies*; for in *Japan*
“ there is much Silver and Gold to ſerve their Turns in
“ other Places, where Need requireth in the *Eaſt-Indies*;
“ but the Merchandize, which is here vendible for ready
“ Money, is raw Silk, Damaſk, black Taffaties, black
“ and red Cloth of the beſt, Lead, and ſuch-like Goods.
“ So now underſtanding by this *Holland* Ship lately arrived
“ here, there is a ſettled Trade driven by my Countrymen
“ in the *Eaſt-Indies*, I preſume ſome amongſt them, either
“ Merchants, Maſters, or Mariners, muſt needs know
“ me. Therefore I have emboldened myſelf to write
“ theſe few Lines, in ſhort, being deſirous not to be over
“ tedious to the Reader.

“ This Iſland of *Japan* is a great Land, and lieth to
“ the Northward in 48°, and the ſouthermoſt Part of it
“ in 35°, and the Length of it E. by N. and W. by S.
“ (for ſo it lies) is two hundred and twenty-eight Leagues.
“ The Breadth South and North of it, thirteen Degrees,
“ twenty Leagues to the Degree, is two hundred ſixty
“ Leagues, and is almoſt ſquare. The People of this
“ Iſland of *Japan* are Good of Nature, courteous above
“ Meaſure, and Valiant in War. Their Juſtice is ſevere-
“ ly executed, without any Partiality, upon Tranſgreſſors
“ of the Law. They are governed in great Civility, I
“ think no Land better governed in the World by civil
“ Policy. The People are very ſuperſtitious in their Re-
“ ligion, and are of diverſe Opinions. There are many
“ Jeſuits and *Franciſcan* Friars in this Land, and they
“ converted many to be Chriſtians, and have many
“ Churches in the Iſland.

“ Thus, in ſhort, I am conſtrained to write, hoping
“ by one Means or other, in Proceſs of Time, I ſhall
“ hear of my Wife and Children, and ſo with Patience I
“ wait the good Will of God Almighty, deſiring all thoſe
“ to whom this my Letter ſhall come, to uſe the Means,
“ to acquaint my good Friends with it, that ſo my Wife
“ and Children may hear of me; by which Means there
“ may be Hope that I may hear of my Wife and Chil-
“ dren before my Death. The which the Lord grant to
“ his Glory and my Comfort. *Amen*. Dated in *Japan*
“ the twenty-ſecond of *October*, 1611.”

11. As ſhort as our Author's Deſcription of *Japan* may appear, it deſerves ſome Notice and Explication. There is no doubt, that he extends the Latitude of this Country too high, when he tells us, it reaches to forty-eight Degrees; but perhaps he took what he wrote from the Information of the Inhabitants, and might, by his Enquiries, as to the Diſtance they had ſailed and travelled North, be led to take the Land of *Yedzo* into his Computation; and if ſo, we may very eaſily account for his extending the Bounds of *Japan* into ſo high a Latitude; neither is he to be blamed; for ſuppoſing that Country a Part of the Continent, and of the Empire of *Japan*, ſince the Natives were at that Time perſuaded of both, and conſequently in his Circumſtances he was not likely to obtain any better Information. The reſt of his Account is exact enough, and the whole of it is apparently calculated to invite the *Engliſh* thither, by affording them a Proſpect of an advantageous Commerce. It is plain likewiſe, that Mr. *Adams* meant by this all the Service poſſible to his Country, and if it ſhould be enquired why he introduced the *Dutch* there firſt, the Anſwer is very clear, and very evident, becauſe he had no Means of writing to, or correſponding with the *Engliſh*, how much ſoever he deſired it.

It is alſo very evident, that by his Introduction of the *Dutch*, he meant to find out ſome Means of correſponding with his own Countrymen; and indeed, it was a very natural Method, ſince he came to *Japan* in the *Dutch* Service, and had no other Way of working his own Deliverance, but by their Means. Another natural and juſt Obſervation upon his Letter is, that he ſpeaks very briefly of Facts, and without mentioning any thing to his own Praiſe; in which, without doubt, he acted very prudently, and this for two Reaſons. In the firſt Place, if he had given a large and full Account of the *Dutch* Settlement, and of the Pains it coſt him to eſtabliſh it, it would certainly have hindered his Letter from coming at all to the Hands of his Countrymen, by raiſing the Jealouſy of the *Dutch*, who were extremely tender of having their Affairs known. This is the more certain, ſince the latter Part of a Letter which he wrote to his Wife, and which contained a larger and more full Account of the Affairs of *Japan*, was actually torn off, and deſtroyed by thoſe who were entruſted with it. In the ſecond Place, ſuppoſing his Epiſtle had been more fortunate, and had come directly to the Hands of the *Engliſh*, it would not have recommended him to them, had he inſiſted on the Pains and Trouble he had taken in procuring the *Dutch* a Settlement in that Country, and therefore the longer, and the more attentively we conſider his Manner of Proceeding, the more certain we may be, that he acted in this Reſpect with all the Care and Precaution, and at the ſame Time, with all the Uprightneſs and publick Spirit that it was poſſible.

It is from a juſt Senſe of this, and becauſe I find nothing ſaid of him by any of our Hiſtorians, or Collectors of Voyages, beſides what they have taken out of his own Works, that I judged it reaſonable in itſelf, and a thing that could not but be agreeable to the judicious and intelligent Reader, to purſue the Thread of this Man's Hiſtory, by the Help of Foreign Writers, for *Dutch*, *Portugueze*, and *Spaniſh* Authors have thought the Actions of this Man worthy of being recorded, though there is ſo little ſaid of them by our own; and indeed, the Affairs in which he was engaged were of ſuch a Nature, and his Conduct ſo extraordinary, that we need not wonder at their taking ſo much Pains, the rather, if we conſider, that in their Turns they all felt the Effects of his Management, and of the Credit he required at the Imperial Court.

12. In order to ſet this Hiſtory in a clear Light, it is requiſite to go back a little, in order to ſhew the Reader what Mr. *Adams* has concealed, which is, that it was by his means that *Dutch* Ships were brought thither in the Year 1609, and the Thing happened thus: When he found there was no Hopes of procuring his own Liberty, he not only applied, as he tells us, for the Diſcharge of his Captain, but of another *Dutch* Officer, ſuppoſing that two Lives were better than one, in which he judged very right, for his Captain was ſoon afterwards killed, and it was the other Officer who carried the News of Mr. *Adams*'s Eſtabliſhment in *Japan* to the *Dutch* Settlements in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

It was in Conſequence of this, that a Yacht, called the *Lion*, was ſent in the Spring of the Year 1609, from the River of *Johore* to *Japan*. This Veſſel arrived on the Coaſt of *Firando* on the firſt of *July*, and two Commiſſioners being ſent to the Emperor's Court, they, by the Intereſt of Mr. *Adams*, procured all they could deſire; and having free Liberty given them to trade, ſailed on the 3d of *October*, arrived at *Bantam* on the laſt of *November*, and from thence continuing their Voyage home, arrived ſafely in the *Texel* on the 20th of *July* 1610. It was on the Report they made, that another ſmall Yacht was ſent, which arrived at *Firando* on the 1ſt of *July* 1611.

The firſt thing they did was to have Recourſe to Mr. *Adams*; for at their Arrival they found all things went very untowardly, at leaſt in their Opinion, who were not at all uſed to that ſort of Behaviour which was practiſed by the *Japaneſe*; and therefore they abſolutely refuſed to comply with what was demanded of them, in giving a Liſt of the Merchandize which they brought to the Royal Factor. On the other hand, the *Japaneſe* were but indifferently ſatiſfied with them; for, whereas they expected an annual Ship ſhould have been ſent, as there was, from *Macao*, there was now two Years elapſed, and but a very ſmall Veſſel, and a Cargo of very moderate Value ſent at laſt, which did not at all agree with the Humours of the *Japoneſe*, who, like moſt of the Eaſtern Nations, are exceedingly caught by Pomp and Shew.

To heal theſe Breaches, the principal Perſons on board the Ship went to make Mr. *Adams* a Viſit, reſolving to be wholly guided by his Inſtructions, becauſe, as the *Dutch* Writer of this Voyage informs us, they were very well ſatisfied he had as much or more Intereſt with the Emperor than any of his Miniſters or Nobility; and it was purely out of reſpect to him, that after their firſt Differences with the Officer at the Court, they had obtained Licence to make their Application to the Emperor. On their coming to Court, Mr. *Adams* obſerved to them, that though their Cargo was ſmall, it would be requiſite to make conſiderable Preſents, ſince it depended upon their Behaviour on this Occaſion, whether the Licence which he had procured for them to trade, ſhould be continued, or ſuppreſſed. The Inſight he gave them into the Commodities and Manufactures of the Country, and the vaſt Profits that might be made, by eſtabliſhing themſelves there, operated ſo powerfully on their Minds, that they came immediately into all that he propoſed, and very wiſely reſolved not to heed the Loſs they might ſuſtain by their firſt Cargo, provided they might ſecure thereby a ſecond Licence to ſend an annual Ship thither.

On the other hand, Mr. *Adams* had ſuch an Intereſt with the principal Perſons, and great Miniſters at the Court of *Japan*, that he ſoon brought them to conſider the *Dutch* in that Light in which it was moſt for their Intereſt that they ſhould be conſidered. There was at that Time a *Spaniſh* Embaſſador at the Court of *Japan*, who had a great Train, made a ſplendid Appearance, and took great State upon him; for which Reaſon the *Dutch* Supercargoes were very apprehenſive that he would get the better of them in their Negotiation; but Mr. *Adams* having taken the Affair entirely into his own Hands, turned this very Incident to their Advantage. He repreſented to the *Japoneſe* Miniſters, that this *Spaniſh* Embaſſador treated them with an Air of Haughtineſs and Superiority, and rather dictated to them his Demands, than applied to them for their Favour; whereas the *Dutch* were abſolutely a trading People, no way formidable to them in any reſpect, who deſired to have the Honour of furniſhing the Emperor and his Subjects with ſuch Foreign Commodities as they wanted, and were ready to ſubmit to ſuch Regulations, and to carry on their Trade under ſuch Reſtrictions, as for the Safety and Welfare of the Empire they, in their great Wiſdom, ſhould think fit to preſcribe.

By this means, as the *Dutch* Writers themſelves confeſs, Mr. *Adams* wrought ſo effectually in their Favour, that they were every where received, not only with Civility and Kindneſs, but with the greateſt Candor and Complaiſance, while the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, notwithſtanding the great Figure he made, was not only very coldly treated, and made little Progreſs in his Negotiation, but was likewiſe expoſed to Civilities and Affronts.

The *Portugueze* Writers attribute alſo to our Countryman *Adams* the evil Impreſſions that about this Time the Emperor began to entertain of their Nation, and particularly of the Miſſionaries, of which, however, we find not the leaſt Footſtep in either *Dutch* or *Engliſh* Author: But, to ſay the Truth, it is probable enough, and what they report is very conſiſtent with the Notions that are aſcribed to Mr. *Adams* by the *Dutch* Writers. In ſhort, he did expreſs ſome Diſlike to the Jeſuits, and when aſked concerning them by the Emperor, he ſaid very freely, that they were the Authors of all the Diſturbances in *Europe*, and that they had been expelled not only *Great-Britain*, but *France*, for this Reaſon. It is highly probable, that the Emperor might from hence take a Reſolution of treating them in the ſame manner, for the Security of his own Dominions, but then it muſt be allowed, he would not have thought of taking this Meaſure, if he had not found their Behaviour in *Japan* juſtify the Character which Mr. *Adams* had given him of them: But the *Portugueze* Writers ſay not a Word of the Calumnies ſpread by their Prieſts, and the *Japoneſe* Nobility in their Intereſt, againſt the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, repreſenting both Nations as a ſort of Pirates and Free-booters, which might not only provoke Mr. *Adams* to make ſuch Returns, but likewiſe lay him under a kind of Neceſſity of clearing up theſe Points to the Emperor's Satisfaction. But to return to our Subject:

About the latter End of *Auguſt* 1611, the *Dutch*, thro' Mr. *Adams*'s Intereſt ſolely, obtained a Licence to trade in *Japan* under the Emperor's Seal, in which, however, that Clauſe was wanting which chiefly induced them to make this long Journey to Court, and that was an Exemption from being viſited by the Inſpector of Commerce, by whom they had been greatly aggrieved. This Officer, tho' a very bad Man, had a very great Intereſt at Court, his Siſter being one of the Emperor's Wives; and the *Dutch* found, upon Application to the prime Miniſter, that he was ſo much afraid of offending her, that he durſt not ſo much as propoſe that Clauſe to the Emperor, which gave them great Concern, ſince without obtaining it, they were not much inclined to make uſe of the Licence.

To obviate this Difficulty, the prime Miniſter propoſed, that Mr. *Adams* ſhould draw up a Petition for inſerting of this Clauſe, with ſuch Reaſons as he thought proper, and ſhould take an Opportunity of preſenting it to the Emperor when he was in a good Humour, promiſing that he would do all in his Power to ſupport it; and aſſuring him at the ſame time, that he had written ſuch a Letter to the Inſpector, as would prevent their meeting with any Difficulties for the preſent, adviſing them to leave the whole Affair to the Management of Mr. *Adams*, for whoſe Succeſs he would be anſwerable; but all he could ſay had no Effect upon the *Dutch*, they were reſolved to truſt no body, and not to ſtir from Court, till they had this Clauſe inſerted in their Licence.

To ſatisfy them therefore, if it was poſſible, Mr. *Adams* drew up a proper Petition, and the very next Day preſented it to the Emperor himſelf, whoſe Conſent and Seal he procured; ſo that by his Intereſt the *Dutch* obtained, on their firſt Application, what the *Portugueze* were never able to obtain in the Courſe of ſo many Years as they had been ſettled in *Japon*, which is ſuch a Proof of Mr. *Adams*'s Intereſt at that Court, as if it was not reported by the *Dutch* Writers themſelves, would ſcarce deſerve Credit; but, as it is, I think there can be no ſort of doubt raiſed about it. All Things being thus ſettled to their Satisfaction, and every thing done for them that they could deſire, they returned to *Firando*, and having landed their Goods, and ſettled a Factory there, they ſailed from thence on the 28th of *September* 1611.

14. It is of this *Dutch* Ship, and her Reception, that our Author ſpeaks, at the Cloſe of his Letter, in Terms which ſeem particularly deſigned to ſhew his Countrymen how eaſy a matter it would be for them to eſtabliſh a Factory likewiſe in that Empire. I have taken all the Pains I could to diſcover how the Letters of Mr. *Adams* were conveyed to the *Engliſh*, but to very little Purpoſe; for all that I can ſay upon this Subject is, that they were brought to *Bantam* in the Iſland of *Java*, in the Month of *October* the next Year; that is, *Anno Domini* 1612. There was then there a conſiderable Number of *Engliſh* Ships and Merchants, to whom theſe Letters were read, and it was preſently agreed, that ſuch an Opportunity was not to be loſt; whereupon Captain *John Saris*, whom the *Portugueze* are pleaſed to call Sir *William Saris*, was ordered to ſail in the *Clove*, a large *Eaſt-Indiaman*, from thence for *Japan*.

He had on Board him ſeventy-four *Engliſh*, one *Spaniard*, one *Japoneſe*, and five *Indians*; and on the 14th of *January* 1613, he proceeded on his Voyage. On the laſt of that Month he had Sight of the great Iſland of *Celebes*, paſſed happily through the *Streights* of *Bouton*, and towards the End of the Month of *February* reached the *Moluccas*: He made ſome Stay there, though he was but indifferently treated by the *Dutch*. On the 24th of *April*, he obſerved an extraordinary Eclipſe of the Moon, about Seven in the Morning, which, he ſays, laſted three Hours and an half. On the firſt of *June* he paſſed the Tropick of *Cancer*, and on the ninth of the ſame Month had Sight of the Iſland of *Ximo*, which is one of the Iſlands of *Japan*. On the eleventh he arrived at *Firando*, and was very well received; but found it, however, impoſſible to do any thing, till the King had ſent to acquaint Mr. *Adams* with his Arrival, who was then at *Eddo*, three hundred Leagues from thence. The Meſſenger, it ſeems, did not make ſo much Haſte as he ought to have done, and therefore the King, upon his Return, ſent him into Baniſhment.

On the 29th of *July* Mr. *Adams* arrived, and Captain *Saris* conferred with him about the Means of ſettling a Trade, and the Proſpect there was of making it worth their while. He was told upon this Subject, that the Commerce of *Japan*, like that of the reſt of the World, was ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs profitable; but that, however, it would be always found worth the ſeeking, and worth the keeping too. Here I cannot but obſerve, that in Captain *Saris*'s Opinion, Mr. *Adams* had acquired a great Affection for that Country, in which he had now ſpent near twelve Years, This was a Remark natural enough to make, for one who was not acquainted, either with him, or with the Country; but the *Dutch* and *Portugueze* Writers, who, for what Reaſon I know not, always ſtile him Sir *William Adams*, report him to have been a Perſon of great Probity, and unblemiſhed Character, and one, whoſe Candour and Sincerity made him highly eſteemed, even by ſuch as conſidered him as their Enemy: But Captain *Saris* ſeems to have looked upon him as a mere *Engliſh* Pilot, and therefore much his Inferior, without conſidering that his Circumſtances were now very much changed, and that therefore he ought to have been looked upon as a kind of Miniſter to the Emperor of *Japan*.

He took his Advice, however, and agreed to go with him to the Emperor's Court, to which he was the more readily induced, by the King of *Firando*'s offering him all kind of Conveniencies for his Journey. He carried with him Preſents for the Emperor, the Emperor's Son, their prime Miniſters, for the Judge at *Meaco*, for the Admiral, and for the Treaſurer; all of which amounted together to the Value of one hundred and eighty Pounds, which was no mighty Sum to expend for procuring the Privileges which he expected; but it will be more agreeable to the Deſign of this Work, and at the ſame time will afford more Entertainment to the Reader, to give the Hiſtory of this Journey as near as may be, in Captain *Saris*'s own Words, which I the more readily do, becauſe he has been always conſidered, and, I think with good Reaſon, as one of the moſt ſenſible of our old Writers, and in whoſe Travels we find the feweſt Miſtakes. Thus then he relates the Story of his Journey.

We ſet Sail from *Firando*, and paſſed by ſeveral Iſlands, the moſt Part are very well inhabited, and had fair Towns upon them, but the firſt of Note that we put in at was *Fuecate*, a very large and conſiderable Place, not much leſs than *London*; within the Walls very well built, and ſo even and uniform, that one might ſee from one End of a Street to another. It has a ſtrong Stone Caſtle, a good Ditch, and a Draw-bridge, all kept in very good Repair; but no Soldiers, or Ordnance. As for Ordnance, indeed, I did not ſo much wonder to find none, ſince there was no ſuch thing at *Firando*; and 'tis a ſort of military Furniture that the *Japoneſe* are wholly without. All along this Coaſt, and ſo up to *Oſaca*, we found Women that lived with their whole Families upon the Water, getting their Livelihood by Fiſhing, at which they were very great Artiſts; but they had two Strings to their Bow, and 'twas next to impoſſible for the Fiſh to eſcape them; for what they miſſed with their Lines and Nets, they would dive for, and catch that Way without fail; and this they would do with Eaſe, to the Depth of eight Fathom. Theſe Women are very eaſy to be known from all others, for by continual diving, their Eyes were ſtrangely altered, and looked as red as Blood; and by this Token the diving Women are diſtinguiſhed in *Japan*.

When we paſſed the Streights of *Xemina-ſoque*, the next Town of note we came to was *Oſaca*, nothing inferior to the former in Compaſs and Dimenſions, and one of the principal Sea-ports of the Empire. There's a River comes up to it as wide as the *Thames*, and ſeveral very fine Timber-bridges laid over it. It has a Caſtle very extraordinary for Bigneſs and Strength, with very deep Trenches about it, and ſeveral Draw-bridges artificially made, and Grates ſo ſtrongly plated with Iron, as may ſeem to bid defiance to any Battery in the World. The whole Building of the Caſtle is of Free-ſtone, and the Walls are of the ſame; but a matter of ſeven Yards thick, and put together without any Mortar, or Cement; the Stones being ſo nicely cut, as to lie perfectly cloſe together, and needs no other binding; only if there happens to be a void Space any where, they throw a little Earth to fill up the Crevice; and that's all they do. It is regularly contrived, ſtrengthned with Bulwarks, and Battlements, with good Store of Loop-holes for ſmall Shot and Arrows; and various Paſſages for the throwing out of Stones upon thoſe that ſhould come to attempt it; and one would eaſily believe it to be a mighty ſtrong and ſecure Building, without having a particular Account of it, when one hears what uſe the Emperor puts it to, and with what Importance the Jewel is here kept in ſafe Cuſtody.

In ſhort, here lives (lock'd up in the Caſtle) the true and genuine Heir of *Japon*; here, I ſay, he lives, but ſo happy as to be ignorant of his real Quality, Rights, and juſt Pretenſions; though, at the ſame time, ſo unfortunate as to be excluded from them all. The truth of the matter is, the preſent Emperor is an Uſurper, and ſtepped into the Throne, in a way not only contrary to the

Law of that Kingdom, but the more ſecret ones of eternal Juſtice and Reaſon. The old Emperor, when he died, left this Son, then an Infant, under the Care and Tuition of four principal Noblemen; whereof *Ogoſhoſamma*, the preſent Emperor, was one, and the chief. The other three Governors, Men of Intrigue and ill Principles, and fonder by far of flattering their own Pride, and Ambition, than diſcharging their Duties of a ſacred Truſt committed to them, made Pretenſions to the Sovereignty, and put in for the Crown themſelves.

In Oppoſition to whom, as alſo to aſſert the Rights of the royal Pupil, *Ogoſhoſamma* took up Arms; and having intirely routed the other Pretenders, had the ſupreme Power, ſuddenly clapped all into his own hands; and now the charming Opportunity told him, he had as good be Emperor himſelf. All his Competitors were removed out of the Way. The true Heir was incapable of underſtanding and redreſſing his Caſe. All the Power was his own; and he wanted only the Name of an Emperor, which was ſo very ſmall a thing, that he reſolved not to be without that any longer. The young Prince he kept always about him, and in perfect Ignorance of himſelf, and his Relation to the Crown, ſuffering him to know no other, but that he was his Son; all that are about him being ſuch as the preſent Emperor has brought up from their Cradles, and ſo not able to give him any better Information. And to make all ſure, when he was grown to Years, he married him to his own Daughter, and ſo confined them to the Caſtle of *Oſaca*, where they live like the Children of an Emperor, as to all Points of State and Grandeur, only Liberty; that ſweetens all the reſt; civil Policy is pleaſed to deny them.

Over againſt *Oſaca*, on the other ſide of the River, lies another great Town, called *Sacay*, a Place of very great Trade for all the Iſles thereabouts. At *Fuſhimi*, to which we came next, we found a Garriſon of three thouſand Soldiers, appointed for the keeping ſome of theſe Parts in good Order. This Garriſon is ſhifted every three Years; and the Change happening when we came thither, we had the Advantage of ſeeing ſomething of the Rules of their military Diſcipline: they generally march no more than five a-breaſt, and to every ten Files there's an Officer deputed, who regulates the March, and keeps all in perfect Order. Their Diſpoſition, according to the Quality of their Arms, is thus. First of all march their Shot, that is, Callievers, for Muſkets they have none, neither will they uſe any; then follow Pikes, then Cattans and Targets, Bows and Arrows, Waggadaſhes or Hooks, and laſtly Callievers again cloſe the March: and among all theſe they have no Colours, Drums, Trumpets, nor any ſort of warlike Muſick.

The *Japoneſe* Horſes are not large, or high, but of the Size of our middling Horſes, ſmall headed, and extremely full of Mettle; and, in my Opinion, far beyond *Spaniſh* Gennets, both in ſtately Carriage and Spirit. Their Soldiers obſerve very good Order upon the Road, and are ſo exactly governed, that they are as welcome at the publick Houſes as any Gueſts whatever; no Man is in the leaſt diſturbed or incommoded by them; they take what they find, as other People do, and pay for it without any quarreling: The Roads are very well furniſhed with Houſes of Entertainment; and when there are Soldiers upon the March, they provide Victuals for them; ſo that they have, at an Inſtant's Warning, what they want, and at very cheap Rates; a Dinner of good, wholeſome Food, and enough of it, from two Shillings downward, to one Penny.

The Diet generally uſed through the Country is Rice of ſeveral Sorts, the white being counted the beſt; Fiſh, freſh and ſalted, Herbs, Radiſhes, Beans, Duck, Teal, Pheaſant, Partridge, Quail, and Fowls: Of Beaſts they have all ſorts; of Deer, wild Boars, Goats, and black Cattle; Cheeſe alſo in great Plenty; but Butter they make none; neither will they eat any Milk, becauſe they eſteem it the Blood of the Animal; and, for what Reaſon I know not, they will not touch a Bit of any tame Beaſts, tho' they have them in abundance. Their Wheat ought not to be forgotten, which is as plump, and as good as any, but all of the red Colour. We did in our travels buy Rice at a Half-penny *per* Pound; Hens and Pheaſants, the beſt and fatteſt, for three Pence a-piece; Pigs, very large, for a Shilling; a fat Hog for five Shillings; a good Ox for ſixteen Shillings; and a Goat at three Shillings. The Drinks in requeſt in this Country are only the Spirits diſtilled from the Rice, very ſtrong, and of the Colour of Canary, and common Water, which is the common Drink of the poorer ſort of People, that can't reach to the Price of other Liquor. They always drink their Water warm, and ſay that 'tis good to kill the Worms in the Maw.

Our Motions being directed to *Suranga*, where the Emperor then kept his Court, by the latter End of this Month we had gone as far as our Way lay by Water; and now being to finiſh the Remainder of our Journey by Land, we were furniſhed with Horſes, and all Conveniences for that purpoſe, at the Emperor's Charge. I had alſo a Palankin or one of their Sedans provided for me, and a freſh Supply of Men drawn out of every Place for the carrying me therein, when I was tired of my Horſe; and, for the greater State, a Slave appointed to run with a Pike before the Palakin. The King's Harbingers alſo went before, and took up our Lodging upon the Road. This Part of the Journey was very pleaſant and eaſy; the Way, for the moſt part, is exceeding even and plain; and wherever there was any rugged, mountainous Ground, a ſmooth level Paſſage was cut through it. This road is all along good Sand and Gravel; 'tis divided into Leagues for the Benefit of Travellers; and at every League's End are two ſmall Hills raiſed, on either ſide one, and upon each a fair Pine-Tree planted. The Deſign of which Mark is to make Travellers competent Judges of the Length of their own Journies, that they may not be abuſed by the Hackney-men, and thoſe that let out Horſes, and ſo pay for a greater Number of Miles than they have rode.

All along the Road you meet with Multitudes of People paſſing and repaſſing, and Towns, and pleaſant Villages, Farms and Country-houſes; and ſometimes Temples, ſtanding at a little Diſtance, in ſhady Groves, with the Habitations of the Prieſts round about them. The moſt unpleaſant Sight we had, was the Sight of the Malefactors, faſtened upon Croſſes, near all the great Towns where thoſe Executions had been performed. Crucifying is a very common Puniſhment among them at *Japon*; and, as they manage it, 'tis ſome ſort of Puniſhment to Travellers too, to paſs by a Multitude of noiſome, putrifying Carcaſſes and Bodies; beſides the Horror of the Sight, to have the Diſturbance of the Smell thoſe Bodies yield: And we had the worſt Trial of all when we came to *Suranga*; there were Croſſes, Scaffolds, and Gibbets, Heads, Carcaſſes, and Limbs, hanging about in ſo many Places without the City, that our Pleaſure in going along was greatly leſſened. *Suranga* ſeems to be as big as *London*, even taking in the whole Compaſs of the Suburbs: The outer Parts of it we found entirely taken up by Mechanicks and Artificers of all ſorts, who are placed there for the Eaſe and Quiet of the genteeler People, and don't care to be diſturbed with the Noiſe and Buſtle the others make in their Trades.

After a Repoſe of a Day or two, I went, with all my Company in a Body, to the Caſtle, to have Audience of the Emperor, and to deliver the Preſents intended for that Court; I was introduced by two of the greateſt Men then in Attendance, the Emperor's Secretary and his Admiral. Theſe led me firſt into a very fine matted Room, where we ſat down for ſome time, according to their Cuſtom, upon Mats; then they brought me into a Chamber of Preſence, where ſtood an empty Chair of State, to which I was obliged to do Reverence. After ſome ſhort time, word was brought, that the Emperor was come into the Room of Audience, to the Door of which theſe Courtiers brought me, but durſt not preſume to look in themſelves. The Cuſtom is, for all the Preſents that are brought to be placed in order upon the Mats of that Room into which the Emperor comes; and accordingly, when I came in, I found them all in a very orderly manner laid before him. He received his Majeſty's Letter with the Civility of that Country, lifting it up towards his Forehead, and then, by his Interpreter, bid me welcome: He deſired me to go and ſee the King his Son at *Eddo*, (with all the Neceſſaries, for which Journey he would take care to furniſh me) and by that time I returned, his Letters ſhould be ready for our King.

The Articles relating to Trade and Privilege, which we requeſted his Majeſty's Confirmation of, were all eaſily granted by him, one only excepted, reſpecting the *Chineſe*: It was to this Purpoſe, That whereas the *Chineſe* had refuſed all Trade and Commerce with the *Engliſh*, if we could take any of them abroad at Sea, it might be lawful for us to bring them into *Japon*, and make ſale of the Goods, ſo taken, in his Majeſty's Dominions. This the Emperor granted at firſt; but his Mind was altered afterwards by a Conference with the Ambaſſador of *China*, and he refuſed to allow it. The reſt all paſſed under his Great Seal, which is not of Wax, like ours, but ſtamped like a Print, and coloured red. The Secretary would take no Preſent, nor any thing like a Gratuity from us; the Emperor, it ſeems, had commanded the contrary, and 'twas as much as his Life was worth to do it.

Having ſeen this Buſineſs done, we ſet out from *Suranga* for the great City of *Eddo*, where the Emperor's Son, the young King, keeps his Court: The Country is well inhabited between theſe two Cities; the Towns and Villages lie thick, and the Totoques, or Temples, ſcattering up and down in good Numbers too. There's one mighty Image, (which they call *Dabis*) that ſtands in this Road, at which all the *Japoneſe* ſtop to pay their Devotions, when they go this way. It is made of Copper, all hollow within, tho' very thick: 'Tis in the Shape of a Man kneeling on the Ground, with his Buttocks reſting on his Heels, and his Arms extended: He is repreſented wearing a Gown, and notwithſtanding that bending Poſture, is twenty-two Foot from the Level of the Ground, and all the Body proportionally large. Some of our Men went into the Body of it, and then fell a hollowing and hooping; the Noiſe of which, out of the wide Mouth of the Image, was much ſuch agreeable ſort of Muſick as, I believe, was made by *Phalaris*'s brazen Bull. It ſtands conveniently to entertain the Devotion of Pilgrims in their Paſſage to the celebrated Temple of *Tencheday*; for they always make a pauſe at *Dabis*, but this is but a ſlight Ceremony.

It is at *Tencheday*'s Temple the great Work is to be done, and the Pilgrims expect to receive the Reward of their Travel. And here one may meet all ſorts of People, rich and poor, ſound and diſtempered, continually coming and going thither, and that by Night, as well as by Day, and all the Year round. About the Middle of this Month we came to *Eddo*, a City much larger than *Suranga*, nobler in its Buildings, and every way more glorious in its Appearance. The very Tiles of the Houſes are gilded, and the Poſts of the Doors ſet off with ſhining Varniſh. They have no Glaſs-windows, but all of Board, which open in Leaves, and are very delicately painted: There's a Cauſeway runs thro' the chief Street in the City; which Street is as broad as any in *England*; and a fine River paſſes along by, or rather underneath the Cauſeway; at every fifty Paces there's a Well-head ſubſtantially fitted up of Free-Stone, and provided with Buckets for the People, in caſe of any Danger by Fire. The Caſtle of this City is a much ſtronger and nobler Edifice than that of *Suranga*; and the young King lives in much greater State, and has a more pompous Attendance than the Emperor his Father.

He received us in a very obliging Manner, taking the King's Letters and Preſents with a wonderful Satisfaction and Content, and giving us all the Welcome imaginable. He gave us Letters for our King, and a Preſent of two intire Suits of *Japon* Armour, finely varniſhed, and a long Sword for myſelf: 'Tis to be noted, that the Cattans are a common wear; but the Talahes, or long Swords, are worn only by great Soldiers, and Perſons of the beſt Account. It is ſaid to be no leſs than twenty-two Days Journey, on Horſeback, from this City of *Eddo* to the moſt northern Part of *Japon*, which makes it a Country of a vaſt Extent. Our Buſineſs here being no more than the paying a Complement; which, being done, we had no further Occaſion of ſtaying; and having got this Prince's Letters and Preſents for the King of *England*, we went back to *Suranga*, where we arrived again at the End of this Month.

We were not obliged to wait long in this City, for our Diſpatches, the Emperor's Letter, and the Inſtrument, containing our Privileges, and the Terms upon which we were to eſtabliſh a Factory in *Japon*, being, thro' the Care, Induſtry, and Intereſt of Mr. *Adams*, both ſpeedily and effectually diſpatched; ſo that we had no reaſon to complain either of the Delays or Diſappointments that are uſually met with at Courts; and of which we underſtood by Report, that of *Japon* is not more free than others, if one has not a good Agent, as luckily for us we had.

A Tranſlation of the Emperor's Letter, and of the Inſtrument, containing our Privileges is, for the Satisfaction of the Reader, annexed, and will ſufficiently ſhew how wiſe and well regulated a Government that is, by which they were granted. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that tho' this Verſion is not literal, yet it is very ſtrict, and expreſſes the Meaning of the Original very exactly, ſo that the Senſe and Spirit of theſe *Japoneſe* Papers may be clearly apprehended thereby.

To the KING *of* GREAT-BRITAIN.

“ YOUR Majeſty's kind Letter ſent me by your Servant
“ Captain *John Saris* (who is the firſt that I
“ have known to arrive in any Part of my Dominions) I
“ heartily embrace, being not a little glad to underſtand
“ of your great Wiſdom and Power, as having three plentiful
“ and mighty Kingdoms under your powerful Command,
“ I acknowledge your Majeſty's great Bounty, in
“ ſending me ſo undeſerved a Preſent of many rare things,
“ ſuch as my Land affordeth not; neither have I ever before
“ ſeen, which I receive not as from a Stranger, but as from
“ your Majeſty, whom I eſteem as myſelf, deſiring the
“ Continuance of Friendſhip with your Highneſs; and that
“ it may ſtand with your good liking to ſend your Subjects
“ to any Part or Port of my Dominions, where they
“ ſhall be moſt heartily welcome, applauding much their
“ Worthineſs in the Admiral's Knowledge of Navigation,
“ having with much Facility diſcovered a Country ſo remote;
“ being no whit amazed with the Diſtance of ſo
“ mighty a Gulph, nor Greatneſs of ſuch infinite Clouds
“ and Storms from proſecuting honourable Enterprizes of
“ Diſcoveries and Merchandizing, wherein they ſhall find
“ me to further them, according to their Deſires. I return
“ unto your Majeſty a ſmall Token of my Love (by your
“ ſaid Subject) deſiring you to accept thereof, as from
“ him that much rejoiceth in your Friendſhip. And
“ whereas your Majeſty's Subjects have deſired certain
“ Privileges for Trade, and ſettling of a Factory in my
“ Dominions, I have not only granted what they demanded,
“ but have confirmed the ſame unto them, under
“ my Broad Seal, for better eſtabliſhing thereof. From
“ my Caſtle in *Suranga*, this fourth Day of the ninth
“ Month, in the eighteenth Year of our Dary, according
“ to our Computation. Reſting your Majeſty's Friend,
“ the higheſt Commander in this Kingdom of *Japon*.
“ Subſcribed *Minna Mouttono. Yei Ye Yeas.*”

Privileges granted by Ogoſhoſamma, *Emperor of* Japon, *unto the Right Worſhipful Sir* Thomas Smith, *Knight, Governor, and others, the Honourable and Worſhipful Adventurers to the* Eaſt-Indies.

“ I. *Imprimis.* We give free Licence to the Subjects
“ to the King of *Great Britain*, *viz.* Sir *Thomas Smith*,
“ Governor and Company of the *Eaſt-Indian* Merchants
“ and Adventurers, for ever, ſafely to come into any of
“ the Ports of our Empire of *Japon*, with their Ships
“ and Merchandizes, without any Hindrance to them, or
“ their Goods; and to abide, buy, ſell, and barter, according
“ to their own Manner with all other Nations;
“ to tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart
“ at their Pleaſures.

“ II. *Item.* We grant unto them Freedom of Cuſtom
“ for all ſuch Merchandizes, as either now they have
“ brought, or hereafter ſhall bring into our Kingdoms, or
“ ſhall

“ ſhall from hence tranſport to any foreign Part; and do
“ authorize thoſe Ships that hereafter ſhall arrive and come
“ from *England*, to proceed to preſent Sale of their Com-
“ modies, without coming or ſending up to our Court.

“ III. *Item.* If any of their Ships ſhall happen to be in
“ danger of Shipwreck, we will our Subjects, not only to
“ aſſiſt them, but that ſuch Part of Ship and Goods, as ſhall
“ be ſaved, be returned to their Captain, or Cape-Merchant,
“ or their Aſſigns; and that they ſhall, or may build one
“ Houſe, or more, for themſelves, in any Part of our
“ Empire, where they ſhall think fitteſt; and at their
“ Departure make Sale thereof at their Pleaſure.

“ IV. *Item.* If any of the *Engliſh* Merchants, or other,
“ ſhall depart this Life within our Dominions, the Goods
“ of the Deceaſed ſhall remain at the Diſpoſal of the
“ Cape-Merchant; and that all Offences committed by
“ them ſhall be puniſhed by the ſaid Cape-Merchant, ac-
“ cording to his Diſcretion, and our Law, to take no
“ hold of their Perſons or Goods.

“ V. *Item.* We will, that ye our Subjects trading with
“ them for any of their Commodities, pay them for the
“ ſame, according to Agreement, without Delay, or Re-
“ turn of their Wares again unto them.

“ VI. *Item.* For ſuch Commodities as they have now
“ brought, or ſhall hereafter bring, fitting for our Service
“ and proper Uſe, we will, that no Arreſt be made there-
“ of, but that the Price be made with the Cape-Merchant,
“ according as they may ſell to others, and preſent Pay-
“ ment upon the Delivery of the Goods.

“ VII. *Item.* If in Diſcovery of other Countries for
“ Trade, or Return of their Ships, they ſhall need Men
“ or Victuals, we will, that ye our Subjects furniſh them,
“ for their Money, as their Need ſhall require.

“ VIII. *Item.* And that without other Paſſport, they
“ ſhall, and may, ſet out upon the Diſcovery of *Yedzo*,
“ or any other Part in or about our Empire.

“ From our Caſtle in *Suranga*, this firſt Day of the
“ ninth Month, and in the eighteenth Year of our Dary,
“ according to our Computation. Sealed with our Broad
“ Seal, *&c.* Underwritten

“ *Minna Mouttono Yei Ye Yeas.*”

The *Japoneſe* Language ſeems to agree with the *Chineſe* in this, that they expreſs whole Words compendiouſly, by their ſeveral proper Characters, not compounding them of diſtinct Letters and Syllables, as 'tis in other Languages. The Character is very different from that of the *Chineſe*; and they read, beginning at the right-hand, ſo downwards, perpendicular-wiſe in the ſeveral Lines. They take abundance of care to ſpeak and write in the ſhorteſt and conciſeſt manner that can be; they are not given to flouriſh and enlarge upon a Subject, but deliver their Minds in very pertinent, exact, and comprehenſive Terms, contracting a great deal of Senſe into a little Compaſs: The Letters, and the Inſtrument, were both written in it, very fair, after their Manner; and the firſt Rarities of that kind, that our Nation, I believe, ever had.

Thus was all our Buſineſs at *Suranga* finiſhed too. Upon which we took Leave of the Emperor and Court, and ſet out for *Firando*. Our Way lay by Land as far as *Oſaca*; and in paſſing thither, we took *Meaco* in our Way. This is abſolutely the greateſt City in *Japon*, and a Place of mighty Trade. All the Tradeſmen dwell in a Part of this City by themſelves; and all of ſuch an Employment in ſuch a Street by themſelves. The *Japoneſe* think it very unſeemly and irregular, to have Men of ſo many Profeſſions and Buſineſſes mixed and huddled together in ſuch a confuſed manner, as they are in other Places. They are for making all of the ſame Trade (who are fitteſt to converſe together) Neighbours to one another; Birds of the ſame Feather to be all in a diſtinct Flock by themſelves, that a Man that looks may know where to find them. And the plain Truth on't is, this Order is not without its Beauty and Conveniency; and it added, methought, a peculiar Grace to the City, which all its other Advantages could not have given it.

The moſt magnificent Temple of the whole Country is here at *Meaco*, built of Free-Stone, and as long as St. *Paul's* in *London* from the Quire, arched, adorn'd with mighty Pillars, and as lofty as that. It has one peculiar Altar, at which they make their Offerings of Rice, and ſmall Money (called Cundries, twenty of which make a Shilling) for the Maintenance of the Bonzees belonging to it: And by this Altar ſtands the great Idol *Mannada*, made of Copper, and of the ſame Form with *Dabis* before mentioned, but much higher, reaching up to the very Arch. The Temple ſtands advantageouſly upon the Top of a very high Hill, and upon each Side the Aſcent you have a long Row of Columns, of Free-ſtone, about fifty in each Series, ten Paces diſtant one from another, and upon the Top of every Pillar is a Lanthorn, the Lamps in which are lighted every Night, and make a very glaring Shew. There are ſeveral other Temples beſides, but this vaſtly exceeds all the reſt in all Points of Beauty and Grandeur. It was juſt finiſhed at our being there, the Foundation being laid by the famed *Taicoſania*, whoſe Horſe was kept in an Apartment hard by, and is to be maintained here in a Life of perfect Eaſe and Reſt, as long as Nature will allow him to hold it out.

The *Portugueſe* Jeſuits have a ſtately College in this City, very well furniſhed with Men of that Society. They breed up abundance of *Japoneſe* Youths, reading Philoſophy, and the Popiſh Divinity to them, making many of them Preachers, and, I ſuppoſe, Jeſuits too. There's no doubt but they endeavour to make them as good as they can; and, amongſt other Arts, teach ſome of thoſe that are peculiar to their Order. They have the New Teſtament tranſlated into the *Japoneſe* Tongue; and beſides this hopeful Fry breeding up in the College, there are reckoned five or ſix thouſand that profeſs Chriſtanity in *Meaco*.

While we ſtayed here we received the Emperor's Preſents for our King, which were ſent after us, *viz.* ten Beobs, or large Pictures, to hang a Room of State with. From hence we travelled to *Oſaca*, where the Gally that ſet us down before was attending our Return, to tranſport us to *Firando*, and this at the Charge of the brave and generous King of that Place. This Prince was extremely glad at our Return to his Iſland, as alſo of the Succeſs of our Affairs at Court, and had carried it with that ſteady and even Hand of Kindneſs to our Company left there, as he did to all of us, when together; but yet the Trade amounted to little or nothing. In our Abſence the *Japoneſe* had been no good Cuſtomers, tho' we had come from the other End of the World to take their Money. One Reaſon of this was, becauſe it was not yet certain that we were to be allowed in the Country; and till the Trade has its publick Warrant from the Emperor, as no Stranger may offer to ſell, ſo no Native may dare to buy. But another thing was this, the moſt Part of our Commodities we intended for theſe Parts, were broad Cloths, (which had not long before been ſold here for twenty Rials of Eight *per* Mat, which is two Yards) a ſort of Ware the *Japoneſe* were now almoſt out of Conceit with, becauſe we did not take care to recommend the Goodneſs of it by our own Wearing. You, ſay they, cry up your broad Cloths to us, and, at the ſame time hardly wear a Rag of it yourſelves; but are all for your Silks and Stuffs, and any thing in the World, except juſt what you would have us buy of you. And the truth on it is, the *Japoneſe* were in the right, and their Objections not eaſy to be anſwered. We ought to be more fond of our own Country Commodities, and tell other Nations they are valuable, by the Uſe of them we make ourſelves. Foreigners won't be ſo ready to believe us, if they ſee we don't order our Faſhions ſo as to give a Reputation to what we recommend abroad in the World; and, for ought I know, other Nations may tell us, as well as the *Japoneſe*, of not wearing our own broad Cloth; may reproach us with the Neglect of our own Commodities, and deſpiſe them till they ſee us do otherwiſe ourſelves.

This *Firando* is a very good Place for our Ships to put in at, with reſpect to the Point of Victualing, and all that; but it is not ſo proper for Trade, becauſe it lies off from the main Iſland of *Japon*, where are not only moſt, but the moſt conſiderable People, capable of giving Encouragement to Trade, which, in thoſe little bye Iſlands, is not to be expected. We might, I don't queſtion, be welcome at any of them all; and the Kings of two of theſe petty Iſlands gave us a formal Invitation. But there's few of them can afford Buſineſs that will turn to account, and defray the Charges of a Settlement: Therefore my Advice is, that our Ships that come to trade here, would not ſail to *Firando*, but to *Oringgaco*, upon the main Iſland, and about fifteen Leagues diſtant from *Eddo*, where they will find very good Riding, and a much greater Proſpect of Advantage. This Place indeed is not capable of affording ſo good an Entertainment as may be deſired: Proviſions are not altogether ſo plentiful there as at *Firando*; but that Want may be ſupplied by a Correſpondence with the circumjacent Country.

Chriſtianity makes no conſiderable Progreſs comparatively any where in this Empire, but at *Meaco* and *Langeſaique*, a Town ſituated upon the Sea-coaſt, about eight Leagues from *Firando*. It had, it's true, gotten footing in *Eddo*; but the Emperor, upon ſome Pique taken againſt the Chriſtians, baniſhed them all from thence, and confined them to *Langeſaique*; and as a Prevention of its creeping into the Court, and rooting itſelf any where near him, he made it Death to any who ſhould offer to build a Church, or ſing Maſs, within ten Leagues of the Place where he reſided. This Change was but a very little before our going to *Eddo*; notwithſtanding which, the Chriſtian Religion is otherwiſe indulged. The Chriſtian *Japoneſe* at preſent have, as far as I ſee, the ſame Protection and Privilege with others; and the Jeſuits ſeem to enjoy an unreſtrained Liberty in the making of Proſelytes. The Foundation of a Factory being now firmly laid in the Emperor's full Grant to that Purpoſe, we proceeded to build upon it, being the rather encouraged to it, in that we were now aſſured that *Engliſh* Factories were actually ſettled at *Siam* and *Patana*; as alſo, that the *Dutch* made ſomething of their Buſineſs here; and we had reaſon to believe we had not a leſs Share in the Good-will and Eſteem of this Country than they. We therefore appointed ſome of our Company to reſide here upon this Affair, with Inſtructions alſo to make what Diſcoveries they could upon the Coaſt of *Corea*, *Tuſhmay*, and other Parts adjoining, againſt the next Return of the Ships. By exact Obſervations we made, during our Stay here, we determine the Latitude of *Firando* to be 33° 14′ N. and the varying of the Compaſs 2° 50′ Eaſterly.

Thus far we have followed exactly the Memoirs of Captain *Saris*, who farther reports abundance of Civilities received from the King of *Firando*; together with a Letter, written by that Prince, to our King *James*, expreſſing a very earneſt Deſire to render all the Service in his Power to the *Engliſh* Nation; and highly commending their Deſign of eſtabliſhing a Correſpondence between their own Country and the *Japoneſe*; for the promoting of which, he profeſſes himſelf ready to do whatever lay in his Power. Captain *Saris* proſecuted his Voyage to *Bantam*, in the Iſland of *Java*, without any remarkable Accident; and he commends *Linſchoten*'s Voyages as very ſincere, and his Charts as very exact. He arrived at *Bantam* on the firſt of *January* 1614, and found things there in a very indifferent Condition, owing, as he conceived, to their having too many Factories; however, he got his Lading, and in the latter End of the Month of *May* proceeded for *England*, and arrived ſafely on the 27th of *September* following at *Plymouth*. He does not appear to have been very ſanguine in the Affair of ſettling a Factory in *Japon*, but ſeems to have been obliged thereto by his Inſtructions; yet as he was a Man of great Obſervation and Reflection, he took all imaginable Pains to have a diſtinct Account of what Goods were to be ſent there, and what might be expected in return. I apprehend, that the true Reaſon of his Diffidence was, our not having, at that time, an open Trade with *China*, the greateſt Profit reſulting from the *Japon* Trade, being made on *Chineſe* Goods; but however, Time and Patience might have overcome all theſe Difficulties, and have eſtabliſhed us as effectually as the *Dutch*. But the truth of the Matter was, that our People were leſs under Command, and conſequently leſs fit for living in that Country, and eſtabliſhing a Trade there.

As a Proof of Captain *Saris*'s great Merit in examining every thing carefully, and recording from time to time what Notices he received, I think it may not be amiſs to annex to this Account of his Voyage the Report he received concerning the Land of *Jeſſo*, or *Yedzo*, which was then, and ſtill is, a Place very imperfectly known, and on the abſolute Diſcovery of which, hang many Points of Importance, but more particularly the Deciſion of the great Point, whether there be, or be not a Paſſage into theſe Seas by the North-Eaſt. I the rather inſert this Account, becauſe, for any thing I can perceive, it is as likely to be true as any we have yet received, only I ſuſpect, that either our *Japoneſe* Traveller was miſtaken in calling this Country an Iſland, or elſe there is both an Iſland and a Continent of the ſame Name, which is indeed agreeable to what we find relating to this Country in the freſheſt Accounts we have received from *Japon*. I muſt likewiſe beg leave to add, that if we reflect on the Stature and Complexions of the Northern *Tartars*, the *Laplanders* and *Samoeides*, we ſhall have the leſs Cauſe to ſuſpect this Writer, either of Credulity or Fiction.

Intelligence concerning Yedzo, *received at the City of* Eddo *in* Japon, *from a* Japoneſe *that had been twice there.*

“ This ingenious Traveller ſays, that *Yedzo* is an
“ Iſland lying on the North-weſt ſide of *Japon*, and about
“ ſome ten Leagues diſtant from it. That the People are
“ of fair Complexion, good-natured enough, far more
“ humane in their Temper and Conditions than their out-
“ ward Aſpect and Appearance, being all over rough and
“ hairy, almoſt like Monkies; yet their Skin (as before
“ hinted) white and clear. The Weapons uſed among
“ them are Bows and poiſoned Arrows.

“ Thoſe in the Southern Parts are very underſtanding
“ People, and fit for Commerce, having the Knowledge
“ of Weights and Meaſures, which in the middle Parts
“ of the Iſland they are entirely ignorant of. Thoſe in
“ the Northern Parts are a People which ſeem to be dif-
“ ferent from the reſt of the Iſland, and of quite another
“ Race, being ſo extreamly ſhort, that they may be called
“ Dwarfs in a ſtrict and proper Senſe; whereas the
“ *Yedzoes* are commonly of the Stature of the *Japoneſe*.

“ They have none of them any ſort of Apparel but
“ what is brought from *Japon*, and ſo the moſt Part of
“ their Rice (if not all they are ſupplied with) is brought
“ from thence too; but then they have that amongſt
“ them which will make other People think it very well
“ worth their while to come and bring them thoſe Neceſ-
“ ſaries, *viz.* a great deal of Silver, and a ſort of ſandy
“ Gold, in which they make all their Payments to the
“ *Japoneſe* for what they take of them.

“ The Commodities moſtly tranſported hither are Rice,
“ Cotton, Cloth, Iron, and Lead; but all things ne-
“ ceſſary for the Back and Belly, are the moſt welcome
“ and acceptable to theſe People; particularly Rice car-
“ ried from *Japon* to *Yedzo* has yielded four hundred *per*
“ *Cent.*

“ The chief Town where the *Japoneſe* reſide for Trade
“ is called *Matzuma*, where they have alſo a Fort, and
“ at leaſt five hundred Families of that Nation conſtantly
“ dwelling there. In *September* the Natives come down
“ in vaſt Numbers to buy and lay in their Winter Stores;
“ and in *March* they bring Salmon, and ſeveral ſorts of
“ dried Fiſh, beſides other Wares, which they barter
“ with the *Japoneſe*. This *Matzuma* is the chief Town
“ for Buſineſs known to the *Japoneſe* upon the whole
“ Iſland, and they have no manner of Concern or Settle-
“ ment any where but here.”

14. When I firſt entered upon this Subject, I muſt confeſs it was not my Intention to have proſecuted it ſo largely, but upon mature Reflection, that I could never have a more proper Occaſion to inſert the Hiſtory of our Acceſs to, and Retreat from *Japon*, which is in itſelf a very curious Subject, and hath this farther to recommend it, that it was never handled before, I thought I could not do better, than to throw all I have been able to learn upon this Head into this Section; by which means it would be

better underſtood, and afford a clear Solution to a Queſtion never yet anſwered, *viz.* How being once poſſeſſed of ſuch a Commerce, we came to loſe it? But that we may proceed regularly, I ſhall give the Reader next the Subſtance of a Letter written to Captain *John Saris* by Mr. *Cocks*, who was chiefly intruſted in the new Factory ſettled at *Firando*. This Letter is dated the 10th of *December* 1614, and contains abundance of curious Circumſtances that are not to be found in any other Piece that I have been able to meet with.

As to the Affairs of *Japon*, the Writer of this Letter gives us an Account, that they were at that time in a very diſmal Condition, a civil War being ready to commence, that threatened great Calamities to the whole Country. We have heard before, that the right Heir of this mighty Empire was ſhut up in the ſtrong Caſtle of *Oſaca*, where ’twas deſigned he ſhould live in perpetual Ignorance of himſelf, and his juſt Title to the Crown; or, at leaſt, if he ſhould by any means come to the Knowledge of his true Quality, ſhould by that cloſe Confinement be deprived of all Opportunities of giving any Diſturbance to the preſent Poſſeſſor; but the uſurping Emperor’s Plot did not take the deſired Effect: The young Prince came to know himſelf ſome way or other, and accordingly took up Arms to aſſert and maintain his Right. He converted his Priſon into a ſtrong Garriſon, and inſtead of other Keepers got quickly about him an Army of one hundred thouſand Men, bold, reſolute, hardy Soldiers, moſt of them Out-laws, Exiles, and Malecontents, who flocked in to him from all Parts of the Empire, and will ſpend their Blood to ſet him in the Throne. Beſides this Force of Men, he had laid in as good a Strength of Proviſion, having furniſhed the invincible Caſtle of *Oſaca* with Victuals for three Years.

This was the Alarm which the Emperor ever dreaded: Nothing could look with a more threatening, malignant Aſpect upon his State and Power than a black Cloud gathering about the Caſtle of *Oſaca*. However, to maintain his own Pretenſions, he marched in Perſon with an Army of three hundred thouſand Men towards the Prince, and ſome little Bickerings had paſſed between Parties of both Armies at the Time of the writing of this; but now the whole Empire expected the Reſult of a pitched Battle, in which that Controverſy ſhould be ſolemnly decided, which of theſe two Pretenders ſhould finally wear the Imperial Crown of *Japon*.

It was not long before this that the Emperor declared himſelf a publick Enemy to the Chriſtians, giving Orders for the baniſhing all Jeſuits, Friars, Nuns, and their Adherents, out of *Japon*, pulling down their Churches and Monaſteries, and to make ſure Work with them, not only ordering their Baniſhment, but actually ſhipping them away himſelf, ſome for *China*, and others for the *Manillas*: And in a ſhort Space after this Perſecution, a very great Confuſion happened at *Eddo* (one of the largeſt Cities of the Empire) occaſioned by a moſt dreadful Tuffon that raged there. The City was almoſt demoliſhed by it, a great Part of the Buildings being broke down, and the Sea breaking in at the ſame time, threatened to ſwallow up all the reſt, ſo that the Inhabitants were forced to quit the Place, and run up into the Mountains for Shelter. The *Pagan* and the *Chriſtian Japoneſe* are very contrary one to another in their Opinions and Aſſertions concerning the Cauſe of this horrible Commotion. The latter ſay, ’tis a Judgment from God upon the Nation for the Affronts offered to the Chriſtian Religion, particularly for the Emperor’s baniſhing it with all the pious Jeſuits that preached it, as he lately did, ſo that the Circumſtance of the Calamity with reſpect to that Place, clearly (as they ſay) expounds the Cauſe of it. On the other hand, the *Pagans* ſay ’tis Witchcraft, and that the Jeſuits, upon their Baniſhment, fell to conjuring, and raiſed that Storm to plague the Country, in Revenge.

At the Time of Captain *Saris*’s being in *Japon*, it was thought, that if any other *Engliſh* Ship came into thoſe Parts the Goods might immediately be ſold off, without the Formality of carrying another Preſent to the Emperor; but ’twas afterwards found to be otherwiſe, and every Ship that came in was under a Neceſſity of doing it, paying its Cuſtom that Way; more than this, they could not have Liberty ſo much as to ſet out a Junk, without the Emperor’s Licence was annually procured; for ’twas made Death for any *Japoneſe* Mariner to ſtir out of the Country without Leave, only their own Ships might go in and out freely whenever they had Occaſion.

A good Project was ſet on Foot for beginning a Trade upon the Coaſt of *China*, at a Town near *Languin*, to which Place a Ship might ſail from *Firando* with a good Wind in three or four Days Time. This was firſt propoſed and undertaken by ſome conſiderable *Chineſe* then in *Japon*, who laboured very hard in the Matter, and made no Queſtion of accompliſhing it ſo far, that three *Engliſh* Ships ſhould have a Vent for their Commodities every Year at that Place. The Endeavours of the *Engliſh* Factory (ſettled at *Firando*) towards a Trade from *Tuſhma* to *Corea* proved ineffectual, very little to any Purpoſe being to be done there. There was no Vent for any Commodities, but Pepper only, and not much of that, though ſold at ſomething a better Rate. By all Circumſtances, it ſeems to appear, that the *Coreans* are not at all diſpoſed to a Correſpondence with them of *Tuſhma*, ſince they’ll allow them but to come into one little Town, and forbid them to go without the Walls of that upon Pain of Death, nor ſo little a Way up into the Country, and that the King of *Tuſhma* is no Subject to the Emperor of *Japon*; ſo that there was no Danger of this latter Prince’s getting any Footing amongſt them, by the opening a Correſpondence with the former.

Yet the *Coreans* are poſſeſſed with ſuch Jealouſies and Fears of the *Japoneſe*, as not to indulge any of their Neighbourhood in any manner of Liberties, by which it may be poſſible to faſten any hold upon them: And the truth is, they are not fearful and miſtruſtful without Cauſe, if, at leaſt, former Attempts upon their Liberty may be a Reaſon why an Adverſary that made them ſhould be diſtruſted for the future; for *Tico-ſam*, the Emperor before this, did actually make an Irruption into *Corea*, intending to carry on his Conqueſts to the very Gates of *Peking*, and ſurprize the *Chineſe* Emperor in his Palace: But he was, in the midſt of that Career of Fortune prevented, by a *Corean* Nobleman, who, to ſerve his Prince and Country in that Extremity, gave the Conqueror his Death in a Cup of Poiſon, dying himſelf with him at the ſame time. By this means the *Japoneſe* loſt all they had gotten in *Corea*, and left *China* to the After-Conqueſt of the *Tartars*, which was very like, at this time, to have fallen to their own Share.

Now ’tis very probable, that this is the Reaſon of the horrid and inveterate Prejudices theſe two People entertain one againſt the other. The *Japoneſe* were the Invaders of the *Coreans*, and the *Coreans* robbed the *Japoneſe* of a glorious and fortunate Prince. But yet that Prince, how dear ſoever to the *Japoneſe*, was an Invader of the juſt Rights and Liberties of the *Coreans*; and they had no Reaſon tamely to give away to a foreign Power, that pretended to enſlave and trample upon them, if they could find any Means, either by Force or Policy, to put a ſtop to it. However, it is certain, that the *Japoneſe* mortally hate the *Coreans*, and can never be poſſeſſed with Sentiments of Friendſhip for them as long as the World ſtands, unleſs the Humour of the Nation ſtrangely alters. They cannot, with any Patience, bear the Sight of a *Corean*; and thoſe People they take for ſuch cannot walk the Streets without a whole Rabble at their Heels, flouting and pelting them with Dirt and Stones.

Thus it was with Captain *Saris* in ſeveral Towns in *Japon*, where the People did not know what the *Engliſh* were; there was hardly any paſſing along, the Mob being ſo very rude and clamorous: Nay, the very Children had it in their Mouths, as well as the reſt, *Core, Core, Cocore Ware*. You *Coreans* with falſe Hearts. The *Japoneſe* are the civileſt, and moſt well-bred People in the World, only they cannot be civil to a *Corean*, or any body they think to be ſo. It is ſaid, that there are very large Cities in this Province of *Corea*; and alſo towards the Sea a great many Bogs, impaſſable by Horſe or Foot almoſt, ſo that they uſe the Sailing-Waggons, which are furniſhed with Wheels, as other Waggons are, but much broader and flatter, that they may not cut deep into the Mire, and have alſo Sails like a Ship; by which Contrivance, obſerving proper Winds, they paſs all theſe Bogs eaſily. The Country affords Damaſk, Sattins, Taffaties, and other Silks, as *China* does; but they carry moſt of their Goods up and down in theſe Sailing-Waggons.

We have likewiſe ſome other Letters of a later Date from the ſame Factory, but very immaterial, and containing ſcarce any Circumſtances worthy of Notice, except that the *Japoneſe* were very importunate in demanding a Promiſe, that the *Engliſh* would bring no Padres, that is, Prieſts, among them; for the Perſecution being, at this time, very hot, the common People did not care to run any Hazards, as not knowing how to diſtinguiſh between one ſort of Chriſtian Prieſts and another. But the *Engliſh* did not give them any trouble upon that head, but, on the contrary, ſeemed to bend all their Endeavours towards the adding the Trade of *China* to that of *Japon*; in which, perhaps, they went too far, and might have done for themſelves, and their Country more, if they had ſtudied this Point leſs; for the *Japoneſe*, who are a very ſenſible People, conſidered this extending their Commerce in a bad Light; and, as they were naturally ſuſpicious of Strangers, could not help fearing they would at laſt employ Force, in caſe fair means did not ſucceed. In theſe Notions they were confirmed, by the News they received, from time to time, of the great Diſputes between the *Portugueſe*, the *Engliſh*, and *Dutch*, in the *Eaſt-Indies*; meaſuring their Force at home, by their Actions abroad, and ſuppoſing that they wanted nothing but a ſpecious Pretence to attack the two great Empires of *China* and *Japon*. The laſt Letter we have is dated from *Firando March* the 10th 1619, and in that there are ſome Particulars worthy the Attention of the Reader.

The Perſecution in this Country, which before proceeded no farther than Baniſhment, and Loſs of civil and religious Liberties, has ſince (as this Letter tells us) run up to all the Severities of corporal Puniſhment. The Chriſtians ſuffered as many ſorts of Deaths and Torments as thoſe in the primitive Perſecutions, and ſuch was their Conſtancy, that their Adverſaries were ſooner weary of inflicting Puniſhments, than they of enduring the Effects of their Rage: Very few, if any at all, renounced their Profeſſion. The moſt hideous Forms, in which Death appeared, by the Contrivance of their Adverſaries, would not ſcare them, nor all the Terrors of a ſolemn Execution over-power that Strength of Mind with which they ſeemed to go through their Sufferings. They made their very Children Martyrs with them, and carried them in their Arms to the Stake, chuſing rather to reſign them to the Flames, than leave them to the Bonzees to be educated in the *Pagan* Religion. All the Churches which the laſt Storm left ſtanding, this had entirely blown down, and demoliſhed, and Heathen Pagods were erected upon their Ruins.

The Dead were perſecuted too, as well as the Living, and the Graves were torn open, and the Bodies there incloſed thrown out into ſome baſer Receptacle; ſo that now, if ever Chriſtianity flouriſhes again in *Japan*, it muſt be upon a ſecond Plantation, the firſt Stock ſeeming at this time to be compleatly pulled up by the Roots. There were other Troubles and Stirs beſides theſe in *Japon*; at this Time another dangerous Rebellion was riſing at *Fruſhma*, but the Prince of that Place happening to be at that Time in the Court, the Emperor commanded him, either to write to his Subjects to lay down Arms, or immediately to rip open his own Belly: He choſe rather to do the former, and ſo the Tumult was at an End; but he was turned out of that Government, and ſent into a Corner of the Northern Part of *Japon*, and the great Caſtle of *Fruſhma* (bigger, by Report, than the City of *Rocheſter*) levelled with the Ground, all the Stones being carried away to *Oſaca* to rebuild that noble Piece which the laſt Emperor *Ogoſhoſam* deſtroyed after his routing the Army of the Prince *Fidaia*; for it muſt be noted (though our Author does not expreſly tell us of it) that the Emperor ſpoken of in this Letter was not *Ogoſhoſam*, but ſome other his Succeſſor, of whom we have no other Account than theſe Actions of his given us. It is ſaid alſo, that this Prince *Fidaia* was gotten ſafe out of the great Battle, and lay *incognito* ſome where about *Meaco*; but this our Author hardly credits, it having been often reported ſo before.

Laſtly, he gives us an Account of the horrid, barbarous, and cruel Deportment of the *Dutch* towards the *Engliſh* then reſiding in *Firando*; without any manner of Provocation they openly declared War againſt them, declared they would burn their Ships and Effects, and deſtroy their Perſons where-ever they could meet them; and this they did ſolemnly by Sound of Trumpet both aſhore and aboard all their Ships; and to be as good as their Word, they broke into the *Engliſh* Houſe with all their Force, and had actually ſacrificed every Perſon there, if the *Japoneſe* had not come in and fought vigorouſly in their Defence; for the Odds were vaſtly great, and one *Engliſhman* had at leaſt one hundred *Dutch* to deal with. All this, and much more of this kind, they did; but for what Reaſon it cannot be imagined, unleſs becauſe they would be Maſters every-where, and have the whole World to themſelves. One Paſſage only, which ſhews their Modeſty in thoſe Parts of the World, is not to be forgotten; and the rather, becauſe it was in the Preſence of the great Emperor of *Japon* himſelf, and all his Court. Our Author being there to do his Duty to the Emperor, upon the coming of the *Engliſh* Ships, found in the Preſence a certain boaſting *Dutchman*, that told the Emperor ſtrange Stories of his own Country, and extolled his King of *Holland* to the Skies, as the greateſt and moſt potent Prince in all that Part of the World, together with a vaſt deal of ſuch Stuff as that.

But he, who underſtood the *Japon* Language, tho' the *Dutchman* thought he had not, told him before the Emperor, he need not have told his Majeſty ſo loud a Lye as that, ſince all the World knew they had no King in *Holland*, but only a Stadt-holder, who did not ſo much govern the People, as the People govern him; and whereas he had the Forehead to ſay, that his King, as he called him, held all other Princes in Chriſtendom in Subjection. It was well known, the King of *England* had been his Country's Protector, or they had never been in a Condition to come and make a Noiſe abroad in the World. The *Dutchman* was, it ſeems, pretty much confounded to loſe his King ſo all of a ſudden; but there was no Help for it, and the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* that were there at the ſame time, well knew the Truth of what was ſaid. Upon the whole, our Author adds, that the Company were extreamly diverted with this Paſſage, and that there was old laughing, eſpecially among the *Europeans*, to ſee the *Dutchman* ſo bewildered to find out this King, which they very well knew he could never do.

All theſe Tranſactions happened during the Life-time of Mr. *Adams*, who ſpent the Remainder of his Days with Honour in *Japon*, where he deceaſed in 1631; but with reſpect to any of the ſubſequent Actions of his Life, they are not recorded in any of the Writers I have met with; but though there be ſomething very ſingular in this, yet I think it much more ſtrange, that we have no diſtinct Account of the Time that the *Engliſh* withdrew themſelves from this Country, or of the Reaſons which induced them to take that Step; but, I think it is pretty clear, that they were reduced thereto, either by the Frauds, or by the Power of the *Dutch*; for it is clear enough from the Letters which the Reader has already ſeen, but eſpecially from the laſt, that theſe two Nations began to differ with each other as ſoon as they found that they were become too ſtrong for the *Portugueze*. It was after the Expulſion of this laſt mentioned Nation, that the *Dutch* found themſelves not a little hurt by their own Politicks; for having taught the *Japoneſe* how to be on their Guard againſt all Foreign Nations, this drew upon them thoſe Hardſhips which they have laboured under ever ſince, though they have not ſpared any Pains to free themſelves from ſuch diſagreeable Marks of ſlaviſh Submiſſion; but as we have already inſiſted ſufficiently upon this Point in another Place, we ſhall not dwell upon it any longer here.

Before we conclude this Section, however, it will be proper to take notice of a Tranſaction which is not commonly known, and that is, of an Attempt made by us to recover the Commerce of *Japon* in the Year 1673. It ſeems to have been undertaken by the *Eaſt-India* Company, for the Ship ſent for that Purpoſe ſailed from the *Engliſh*

Factory at *Bantam*, and arrived before the Haven of *Nangasaqui*, which is the only one the *Dutch* are permitted to reſort to, on the 20th of *June*. As ſoon as the Ship appeared in Sight of the Port, there came off two Veſſels, one carrying a *Japoneſe*, and the other a *Dutch* Flag; but on their coming up to the *Engliſh* Ship, they haled them in *Portugueze*, and demanded whence they came? The Captain anſwered in *Engliſh*, and in *Dutch*, that he came from *England*; upon which the *Japoneſe* Officer directed him to let go his Anchor, to forbid his Trumpet to play, and to forbear firing his Guns; to all which Demands he readily ſubmitted.

After remaining at Anchor about two Hours, there came off two Boats, in one of which was the Governor, and his Secretary, accompanied by an Interpreter, who ſpoke *Portugueze*; and in the other Boat there were four Interpreters, who all of them ſpoke *Dutch*. As ſoon as they came on Board, the Captain conducted them to his Cabin, and when all had taken their proper Places, the Governor aſked him very gravely, if he was an *Engliſhman*, and what his Buſineſs was there? He anſwered, that he was an *Engliſhman*, that he was charged with a Commiſſion from the King his Maſter to re-eſtabliſh the Trade ſettled by his Subjects fifty Years before in *Japon*. He added, that he was charged with a Letter from his *Britannick* Majeſty, and another from the *Eaſt-India* Company, addreſſed to the Emperor of *Japon*; and at the ſame time that he ſaid this, he produced a Copy of the Privileges granted to the *Engliſh* by the Emperor, written in *Japoneſe* Characters, which the Governor having read, was very importunate for the Original under the Emperor's Seal. The *Engliſh* Captain, however, told him ingenuouſly, it was not in his Power to produce that, becauſe the Emperor had demanded it ſhould be delivered up at the Time the *Engliſh* quitted *Japon*, with which they could not refuſe to comply. The Governor then put up the Copy of the Privileges, but promiſed the *Engliſh* Captain, that as ſoon as an Anſwer came from Court to his Requeſt, he would deliver it up.

After a ſhort Silence, the Governor aſked him, if *England* was at Peace with *Spain* and *Portugal*? What Religion the *Engliſh* were of? If it was a long time ſince King *Charles* had married the Daughter of the King of *Portugal*? and how many Children he had by her? This very plainly ſhewed, that the *Japoneſe* were very inquiſitive, and at the ſame time very well informed as to the Affairs of *Europe*. The Captain anſwered, without Heſitation, that the *Engliſh* were at Peace with all the World, that it was true King *Charles* had married the Daughter of the King of *Portugal*, but that he had no Children by his Queen; and that as to Religion, the *Engliſh* were ſuch ſort of Chriſtians as the *Dutch*, and not ſuch ſort of Chriſtians as the *Portugueze*, or *Spaniards*; that the Cuſtom of *Europe* required Kings to marry Perſons of like Rank with themſelves, and never the Daughters of their Subjects. To all this he added farther, that he had Preſents of great Value for his Imperial Majeſty; at which the Governor ſeemed to be very much pleaſed, and ſoon after retired. In about two Hours Time he returned again, and then told the Captain, that if the *Engliſh* would be ſatisfied with ſuch a Trade as the *Dutch* enjoyed, very poſſibly they might obtain it; but then, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, it would be fit for them to ſend their Cannon and their Ammunition aſhore; after which he would inform the Emperor of every thing, and that after receiving his Imperial Majeſty's Anſwer, if it proved favourable, he was willing to furniſh them with a Houſe. The Captain took all this in good Part; he delivered up his Arms and Ammunition, and ſuffered the Governor, who brought with him a great Number of armed Boats, to ſtation them as he thought fit; which he did, by ranging ſome a-head, ſome a-ſtern, and cauſing a double Line to anchor on each Side of the Veſſel, and all within half Cannon Shot.

This being done, the Governor came aboard again, attended by his Interpreter, who was a *Dutchman*, and in whom he had a great Confidence, and examined every one of the Ship's Company, particularly firſt as to his Country, whether he was an *Engliſhman*, and not a *Portugueze*? whether he had ever been in *Portugal*, or could ſpeak the Language of that Country? and whether he was a Chriſtian after the *Dutch* Form, or the *Portugueze*? Theſe Queſtions being all anſwered, they proceeded next to take an exact Account of all the Bales of Merchandize on board the Ship, and drew up a kind of Bill of Lading with great Exactneſs. After this the Governor aſked, if other Ships did not ſail with them from *England*? what was become of them? how long they ſtayed at *Bantam*? and what other Places they had been at in the *Eaſt-Indies*? Theſe Queſtions being anſwered to his Satisfaction, the Governor retired for good and all, and carried away with him what had been delivered up to him. On the 30th of the ſame Month he came on board again, attended by his Secretary and Interpreters. He was received with all imaginable Civility and Ceremony by the Captain, and after they were ſeated together in his Cabbin, he proceeded to make a kind of Diſcourſe to this Effect: That it was true, there had been formerly an *Engliſh* Factory in *Japon*, that thoſe who compoſed it had been very well treated, and never had expreſſed any ſort of Diſſatisfaction; notwithſtanding which, it was now forty-nine Years ſince any *Engliſh* Ship had entered their Ports, and therefore he would be glad to know the Cauſe of ſo long an Abſence, as alſo the Cauſe of their coming thither again. If we depend upon this Governor's Calculation, it would fix the Time of withdrawing the *Engliſh* Factory to the Year 1624, and then it would appear, that Mr. *Adams* ſurvived that Event near ſeven Years; but if that were the Caſe, it may ſeem ſomewhat difficult to account for the *Engliſh* knowing when his Deceaſe happened, unleſs we ſuppoſe that they received the News from the *Dutch*, which, as it is very probable they might, we may look upon this as a Point ſettled.

But to return to the Captain, who in anſwer to the Speech made him by the *Japoneſe* Governor, told him, that as to the Cauſe why the Factory broke up, he could ſay nothing to it at all, as being totally unacquainted therewith. That as to their long Abſence, he conceived it might be produced by that Confuſion into which his Country had been thrown by the Civil Wars that happened not long after; that ſince that Time they had been likewiſe engaged in two very long and bloody Wars with the *Dutch*, and that after ſo long an Intermiſſion, it was a thing extreamly difficult to find a Pilot capable of conducting a Ship to their Coaſt, which in *Europe* was repreſented as a very difficult and perilous Voyage. The Governor heard him with great Attention, and aſked him, when he had done ſpeaking, whether he had not on Board his Veſſel ſome Perſon who had made that Voyage before? the Captain anſwered, that he had not: Why then, replied the Governor, How came you hither? the Captain anſwered him, that they had ſome old Charts, which were exact enough for that Purpoſe, as they had found by Experience.

The Governor ſeemed mighty well ſatisfied with ſo fair and ſo diſtinct an Account, and when he returned to the Town, left his Secretary on Board to receive all the reſt of the Arms and Ammunition they had, in which he was ſo exact, that he took away with him ſome double barrelled Fowling-pieces, that were part of the Preſent intended for the Emperor; but he made a very curious and exact Inventory of every thing that he got into his Hands, and gave a Copy of it, ſigned by way of Security, to the Captain. After all was over, they parted very good Friends, and the Secretary told him, that ſo far as depended upon him, nothing ſhould be wanting that might procure him a favourable Anſwer from his Court; for which the Captain thanked him, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that his Nation had an intire Confidence in the *Japoneſe*.

On the firſt of *July* the Governor and his Interpreters came on Board again, and aſked ſeveral Queſtions; and upon this Occaſion there happened a Diſpute between the Captain and the *Dutch* Interpreter, who confidently aſſerted, that the Captain had told him ſeveral things which that Gentleman affirmed never entered into his Head. The Governor upon this took a freſh Account of every Man that was aboard, ſetting down his Name, his Age, his Employment; and when he had done this, he deſired the Captain to prepare an exact Liſt of what Commodities every Man had to diſpoſe of, as alſo of what belonged to the Company; and then took the Dimenſions of the Ship, of the Maſts, Yards, *&c.* At his Departure, he charged the Captain, if he wanted any thing, to make certain Signals, which he mentioned ; and at the ſame time told him, that in caſe any of his People died, he ſhould make two Signals, and ſhould not throw the Body over till they came and examined it. The Day following the Interpreters, and ſome Gentlemen of the Emperor's Court, came on Board in the Morning, and aſked abundance of Queſtions, to all which the Captain gave ſuch clear and diſtinct Anſwers, that they ſeemed perfectly ſatisfied.

They returned again after Dinner, and brought a great Quantity of Refreſhments, which had been bought by the Captain of the *Dutch* Ships, and at a very high Price, which, however, the *Engliſh* Captain received with much Complaiſance, and teſtified his Thanks for them, as if it had been a great Favour ; and at the ſame time deſired leave to hoiſt his Flag, and to ſound his Trumpets, which Demands were granted. The following Days were ſpent much in the ſame manner ; that is to ſay, the ſame Perſons came on Board, and ſtill aſked abundance of Queſtions, which turned chiefly upon Religion, and the Difference between the Faith profeſſed by the *Portugueze* and *Spaniards*, and that held by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, which, it may be eaſily ſuppoſed, gave them a good deal of Trouble on both Sides.

At laſt, on the 28th of *July*, about Ten in the Morning, the principal Secretaries, with abundance of Interpreters, and a large Train of Attendance, came on Board the Ship, in order to inform the Captain that they had received an Anſwer from Court, and that it was by no means favourable. It amounted, in ſhort, to this, that his Imperial Majeſty had declared he could not permit any Commerce in his Dominions to the Subjects of a Prince who had eſpouſed the Daughter of the King of *Portugal*, the principal Enemy of him and his Empire, and that therefore he was to prepare himſelf for ſailing as ſoon as it was poſſible.

The Captain repreſented upon this, that the Seaſon of the Year conſidered, it was ſimply impoſſible for him to ſtir, and therefore he hoped they would allow him to ſtay till the proper Seaſon, and the Return of the Trade-Winds, gave him an Opportunity of proceeding thence with Safety. To which reaſonable Demand they, without any great Difficulty, conſented : The Captain from this took occaſion to propoſe another thing, which, he believed, would have been as readily granted, from the Sorrow and Concern which theſe good People expreſſed. In ſhort, the ſecond Favour he aſked was this, that ſince he had ſpent two Years in his Voyage, and ſince it was not probable they ſhould ever have an Opportunity of purchaſing *Engliſh* Commodities again, he might have Leave given him to diſpoſe of his preſent Cargo : But the Reception given to this Propoſition was very different from what he expected ; he was told, that none in the Empire durſt either adventure to purchaſe any of the Goods he had on Board, nor ſo much as to requeſt a Licence for that Purpoſe from Court, where, when once a Reſolution was taken, it was abſolutely final, and there was no getting it either reverſed or reviewed. To teſtify, however, their own good Will to the Captain, and to ſhew him how ready they were to do any thing they could to oblige him, they conſented that he ſhould purchaſe Proviſions, and whatever other Neceſſaries he wanted, with Merchandize, and not with Money.

If in the whole Courſe of theſe Proceedings the Captain met with many things that ſurprized him, there was one fell out more ſtrange than all the reſt, and it was this, that the *Japoneſe* Governor acquainted him with more of the Affairs of *Europe* than he was Maſter of ; for diſcourſing of the *Dutch* Wars, he enquired how long the *Engliſh* had been at Peace with that Nation ? and upon the Captain's giving him a clear Anſwer, and mentioning alſo the Time of his own Departure from *England*, the Governor replied, then you know nothing of the Attempt made to conquer the *Dutch* by your Maſter, in Confederacy with the King of *France*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*, and that they are already Maſters of three of the ſeven Provinces ? The Captain aſſured him, that he did not, and that the News very much ſurprized him. However, he very eaſily underſtood from thence, that he was very little obliged to the *Dutch* for their good Offices in this Negotiation.

Before his Departure, he reſolved to make another Trial as to what might be done hereafter ; and with this View, he enquired of the Governor, whether, after the Death of the Queen of *England*, it might not be poſſible for his Majeſty's Subjects to obtain Leave to trade in *Japan* ? To which the *Japoneſe* Officer made him this remarkable Anſwer, that he would not adviſe the *Engliſh* to make ſuch an Attempt ; for that as the Sweat once expelled, never found an Entrance again into the human Body, ſo the Orders of the Emperor once iſſued, the Matters which occaſioned them never more found admittance into his Mind. All the Time they remained in the Port, the Governor, his Secretary, and other Officers, made them frequent Viſits, and fatigued them with an infinite Number of intricate, and ſome of them very impertinent Queſtions, which gave them a great deal of Trouble ; but if we except this, they were in all other things uſed with as much Kindneſs and Civility as it was poſſible. When the Seaſon came that they might depart with Safety, the Governor came on Board, and brought with him all that he had taken from them, except their Powder, which he declared it was not in his Power to put on Board till they were ready to ſail ; but at the ſame time he told the Captain, that he would take care none of the *Dutch* Ships ſhould ſtir out of Port, till he had time to get ſafe to *Bantam*, becauſe, as he was informed, there was a War broke out between the two Nations.

On the 28th of *Auguſt* 1673, the Wind being fair, the Captain received poſitive Orders to ſail without Delay, which accordingly he did, fully perſuaded in himſelf, that if it had not been for the Intrigues of the *Dutch*, he might have ſucceeded in his Deſign, and have raiſed his Reputation by the effectual Execution of his Commiſſion. This is certainly the laſt Attempt made in our Favour, and in all probability, it is the laſt that will be ever made, unleſs a more enterprizing Spirit ſhould riſe in ſucceeding Generations than ſeems to actuate the preſent Race of *Britons*. In the ſucceeding Volume we ſhall inſert ſome farther Accounts of this Country ; but before we diſmiſs this Subject, it cannot but be agreeable to the Reader to ſee the great Maxim of the *Japoneſe*, upon which our Excluſion is plainly built, viz. *The Reſolution of admitting no Strangers into their Country on any Terms*, explained, and ſet in a clear Light, the rather, becauſe the Examination of this Point will naturally lead us to explain ſome others that will render the Connection of this Diſcourſe more eaſy and obvious than it would otherwiſe be.

The original Government of *Japon* was by an abſolute Monarch, in whoſe Perſon were united all thoſe Characters that naturally give a Luſtre to a Man in the Eyes of his own Species. He had beſides the Regal Dignity, that of head Prieſt, ſupream Legiſlator and Director of the Forces of the Empire all inveſted in him ; but as here and elſewhere Ability is not always annexed to Blood, ſo it fell out, that ſome of theſe ſupream Monarchs, who in their own Language are ſtiled *Dairy*, which ſignifies elevated Lord, were in ſome meaſure governed by thoſe to whom they intruſted the Command of their Forces ; and this prime Miniſter, and General in chief, had the Title of *Cubo-Sama*, which has very near the ſame Signification with the *Turkiſh* Title of *Vizir-Azem*, that is, *moſt illuſtrious*, or *moſt reſplendent Lord* ; and at length the *Cubo-Sama* became in Fact the Maſter of the Empire, and the *Dairy* had the Title only, or at the moſt an empty Shadow of Authority, or rather of Sovereignty.

This Uſurpation in the *Cubo-Sama's* began about the twelfth Century, and occaſioned great Wars and Diſturbances in *Japon*, from whence aroſe that Multitude of little Kingdoms and Principalities into which this Country was divided, when firſt it was viſited by the *Europeans*. For when the Governors of Provinces ſaw that the *Cubo-Sama's* had made ſo free with their Lords and Maſters the *Dairy's*, who were, and ſtill are, treated with divine Honours, they thought there might be leſs Crime in reſiſting theſe lawleſs Miniſters, and ſo ſet themſelves up for Kings and Princes. *Taico-Sama*, which is another Title of Honour, tho' uſed by moſt Writers, and particularly by ſuch as I have tranſcribed in this Section as a proper Name, was the firſt who formed a Deſign of making the *Cubo-Sama* as abſolute as ever the *Deity* had been; but he ſuffered himſelf to be diverted from this Scheme by the Invaſion of *Corea*.

His Son, whoſe Name, according to the *Japoneſe* Chronicles, was *Fide-Jori*, ſucceeded him, and is the young Prince mentioned by Captain *Saris*, whoſe Tutors rebelled againſt him, and who was at laſt deprived of his Empire by that Monarch, who granted the Privilege of ſettling in *Japon* to the *Engliſh*, and whoſe Name, according to the Chronicles before-mentioned, was *Jeſi-Jaſi*, which explains the ſigning of his Letter, and of the Articles; for as to the Title at the Head of them (*Ogoſhoſama*) it is a Corruption of the Words *Cubo-Sama*. After the Defeat of the young Prince, who in the Letters herein cited is called *Fidai*, he reigned without any farther Diſpute; and all the ſucceeding *Cubo-Sama's*, whom our modern Writers call Emperors of *Japon*, are his direct Deſcendants. He was the greateſt Polititian that ever this Country produced, and his Maxims have been ſteadily followed by all his Succeſſors.

These Maxims were to reduce all the little Kingdoms into Provinces of his Empire, which he effected, to extirpate the Chriſtian Religion from a Principle of Policy, that the People might not be induced to take up Arms againſt their Emperors from a Notion of Religion; and upon the ſame Principle his Succeſſors expelled all Foreigners, and reſtrained the *Japoneſe* from going out of their own Country: For, it was the ſettled Opinion of this new Legiſlator, that the only Way for him and his Family to reign in Peace, was to exclude all Thoughts of Novelties, and to keep the People cloſely to their old Laws and Cuſtoms, which he thought were beſt adapted to the Maintenance of the Imperial Dignity, and to their own Happineſs. If, in Exception to this general Rule, the *Chineſe*, the *Siameſe*, and the *Dutch*, are allowed ſome kind of Commerce in this Empire, yet it is againſt the Grain, and contrary to the Maxims of their Policy, as appears plainly by the ſevere Reſtrictions under which theſe Nations are allowed to carry on their Commerce. It is no leſs certain, that the *Japoneſe* hate and deſpiſe thoſe very Nations with whom they trade, for ſubmitting to theſe Regulations, which were no leſs intended to exerciſe, and even to wear out their Patience, who were to be ſubjected to them, than for their Security and Preſervation, by whom, and for whoſe ſakes, they were impoſed.

For it is to be obſerved, that the Inhabitants of this Empire, conſidered freely, and without Prejudice, are as wiſe, as quick-witted, as ſenſible, as generous, and as well bred a People as there are upon the Face of the Earth. They love Freedom, and underſtand it much better than all other Nations; they conſider their Laws as Fences to that Freedom, and therefore never repine at the Severity with which they are executed; but call that Tyranny, which exceeds the Meaſure of thoſe Laws, becauſe this proceeds from the Prince himſelf; whereas Severity, in the Execution of Juſtice, proceeds from the common Depravity of a Nation. In one thing their Law is very remarkable; they have Attainders as well as we; but if a Man expiates his Offence by voluntary Death, his Family ſuffers nothing in Honour, Perſon, or Property. This paſſionate Love of Freedom, joined to their natural Boldneſs and Contempt of Death, made them love the *Engliſh* extreamly, of which I can give the Reader a very ſingular Proof, which at the ſame time will reſolve a Difficulty, that I muſt confeſs, when I firſt entered upon this Section, I thought abſolutely beyond the Reach of Solution.

They have amongſt them a Title of Honour, which they call Cami, which the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueze* Writers thought equivalent to Knighthood; and the *French*, who only tranſcribe thoſe Authors, render it by the Word Chevalier. This Honour they conferred upon our Countrymen *Adams* and Captain *Saris*; and from hence, beyond Queſtion, they came to be ſtiled the Chevaliers *Adams* and *Saris*; and, I conceive, that it was a Diſtinction no other Foreigners ever attained. It likewiſe appears by the Queſtions put to the laſt *Engliſh* Captain that was there, that theſe People were not a little chagrined at the Loſs of the *Engliſh* Factory, for which they could never account; but probably underſtood it to have riſen from their Affection to their Enemies the *Portugueze*, in which Error they were, without doubt, confirmed by the *Dutch*, who have left no Method untried; and, indeed, who can blame them for it, to keep this profitable Commerce entirely to themſelves.

Theſe Obſervations and Remarks have coſt me a great deal of Pains and Trouble; but if they prove entertaining and ſatisfactory to thoſe judicious Perſons, who have hitherto expreſſed a Regard for this Work, I ſhall think they are fully repaid; and it is from the Hopes of this that I ſhall adventure to cloſe this Section with ſome Thoughts on the Means of recovering this long loſt Trade. As we are excluded at preſent from *Japon*, upon a Principle of Policy only, and not from any actual Miſdemeanour, as was the Caſe of the *Portugueze*, who, under Colour of propagating the Chriſtian Religion, interfered with the civil Concerns of that Nation, and gave their Government a great deal of Trouble, ſo, I conceive, that the only way to obtain Admiſſion again into *Japon*, is to remove the Prejudices that have been conceived againſt us.

This too, I apprehend, might be very eaſily done, if the Government of that Country were apprized of the Change that has happened in our Conſtitution, by which it is become impoſſible that any of our Princes ſhould ally themſelves by Marriage, either to the Crowns of *France*, *Spain*, or any other Popiſh Power. I do not pretend to ſay, that this would afford them any real Security, or that they would be at all in leſs Danger from us now than they were before; but then, if it be conſidered, that they were in no Danger then, and are in no Danger now, but that their Apprehenſions flow entirely from an ill-grounded Prejudice, the removing that Prejudice, however ill-grounded, may be of Uſe to us. In the next place, if the *Dutch* have a great Commerce with the *Chineſe* at *Batavia*, and are thereby enabled to furniſh a proper Cargo for *Japon*, we have a direct Trade to *China*, and conſequently lie under no Impediment that Way, as we did at the Time our former Factory was ſettled there. But it will be ſaid, How ſhall the *Japoneſe* be informed of this? Can it be expected that the *Dutch* will acquaint them? and if they will not, how are they to be informed? Why, truly, that is the very Queſtion; for, I conceive, that if they were once ſatisfied in that Point, the reſt would very eaſily follow.

The Means therefore that I would propoſe, ſhould be the landing in the Northern Part of the great Iſland of *Niphon*, two or three Perſons properly inſtructed, who, under pretence of Shipwreck, might deſire and obtain a Paſſage to the *Dutch* Port; and as this is the biggeſt of the three Iſlands that compoſe the Empire of *Japon*, I conceive, that in their Paſſage acroſs it, they might have many Opportunities, eſpecially if they took Pains to learn the Language, to inform a People ſo inquiſitive as theſe are, of the Particulars which it concerns us moſt that they ſhould know; and if at a proper Seaſon a Ship ſhould be ſent from the Coaſt of *China* to the Port of *Nangazaqui*, to enquire after theſe People, it might afford us an Opportunity of feeling the Pulſes at leaſt of the *Japoneſe* once more.

I foreſee a Multitude of Objections that may be made to this Scheme, ſuch as, that it will be found extreamly hard, if not impoſſible, to meet with Perſons, either capable, or willing to undertake it. But I have conſidered theſe Objections, and I do not think they have much Weight. There are ſo many People, who at this Juncture, ſhip themſelves for the *Eaſt-Indies* in the moſt low and laborious Stations, in hopes of bettering their Fortunes, that I am perſuaded, if a Reward of three thouſand Pounds, or ſome ſuch Sum, was promiſed to be paid immediately on their coming back, there would not want ſome who would offer themſelves for this Service; and then as to their Capacities, they might be tried, and even improved, before they were ſent; and they might have ſuch Inſtructions given them, though not in Writing, for that might hazard all by being found upon them, as might enable them to execute this Commiſſion with great Probability of Succeſs.

That they ſhould at once obtain a Privilege and ſettled Trade there, is what I am not ſanguine enough to expect, nor is it what I mean by the Probability of executing their Commiſſion with Succeſs; but that they might be able to learn ſome News of the *Japoneſe*, and carry them ſome News of us, which in Time, and with proper Helps, might come to ſomewhat, is what I cannot help thinking very probable; at leaſt it is apparent, that if ſome Attempt of this kind be not made, we can never hope for any thing; and to deſpair in a Matter of Trade, is incompatible with the true Spirit of a trading Nation, and with ours more eſpecially. For after all, what is there in this more extraordinary than what was actually performed by Mr. *Adams*? He came to *Japon* helpleſs, and without Friends; his own Merit recommended him, and made him Friends, ſuch Friends as enabled him to do the great Things that he did, Things to the full as great or greater than thoſe we expect from the Perſons that ſhould be now ſent; and therefore, whoever will have this Method ſet aſide, for want of Probability, is bound to offer a Method more probable, and in that Caſe I ſhall moſt readily ſubmit.

But if, while we conſider all Attempts of this ſort as chimerical or impracticable, any other Nation ſhould ſtep in, and either expel the *Dutch*, or ſhare with them in that Commerce, it will be a very high Reflection upon us, who may pretend to it with at leaſt as great, if not greater Hopes than any other. That this Conjecture of ſome other Nation's making an Attempt of this Nature is not abſolutely wild or groundleſs, may appear from the Endeavours of the *Ruſſians*, who have actually reached in their Diſcoveries ſome Iſlands, the Inhabitants of which make uſe of Money ſtamped with *Japoneſe* Characters; from whence it is with great Probability conjectured, that they are Vaſſals at leaſt, if not Subjects, to that Empire. There are other Nations too, as will appear by the ſucceeding Sections, which have found their Way to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the Coaſts of *China*, though it was thought they laboured under inſuparable Difficulties, and why they ſhould not be able to extend their Commerce farther, and even reach *Japon*, is what no good Reaſon can be aſſigned to prove, any more than I apprehend any ſolid Cauſe can be ſhewn why we ſhould not endeavour to be before-hand with them in a Point of ſuch Conſequence.

But, perhaps, ſome Critick may demand, how do you know it is of ſuch Conſequence? How can you take upon you to aſſert ſo confidently things relating to a Place and People at ſuch a Diſtance? How can you tell that all theſe Points have not been long ago conſidered by better Judges than yourſelf, and ſuch Projects as you propoſe upon ſubſtantial Motives rejected? or what Reaſon is there that you ſhould expect the Schemes you form in your Cloſet ſhould ſerve for Rules to ſuch as are better acquainted with theſe Matters than yourſelf? I am very ſenſible, that there are a Race of ill-natured People in the World very capable of throwing out ſuch Reflections as theſe, and I know too, that many of them do it againſt the Conviction of their own Minds, and merely from a Spirit of Envy. But, however, as ſuch Queſtions may have a bad Effect on the Minds of a better ſort of People, by which I mean Perſons of honeſter Diſpoſitions, and who really wiſh well to the Publick, and yet are led away by ſuch trite Animadverſions, for want of a due Meaſure of Attention, I think it may not be amiſs, for their ſakes, to examine ſuch Notions once for all, and to ſhew, that however ſpecious they may appear at firſt Sight, they have in reality no Foundation.

In the firſt Place I muſt obſerve, that the Theory of Trade may be as well acquired from Books and Enquiries, as from being actually concerned in it, and that Experience ſhews us the moſt extenſive Projects; and ſuch as have been attended with the greateſt Succeſs have been formed by ſpeculative Men, who, by reaſoning upon Facts, have been able to form much better Judgments, with reſpect to Commerce, than thoſe from whom they received the Facts upon which they argued. But, to come cloſer to the Point, and by anſwering theſe Queſtions, ſo far as they regard this Subject, to put an End to this Diſpute, ſince the ſame Anſwers will ſerve with equal Truth and Certainty on any other Occaſion. If we know the Situation and Extent of a Country, its Climate, Soil, Product, and Manufactures, we can very eaſily, and with the utmoſt Certainty determine, whether it be a Country worth viſiting, and what kind of Commodities are like to have vent there. In this there is nothing ſtrange or wonderful, nothing that requires a very extraordinary Degree of Penetration or Sagacity. For, in whatever Climate Men live, they muſt have Food and Raiment, and in proportion, as they are civilized, they will not only deſire the Neceſſaries, but aſpire alſo to the Conveniencies of Life, and what we call the Inſtruments of Luxury, which may alſo be ſuited to their Humours, if we have a tolerable Account of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the People.

We know very well what Commodities and Manufactures of ours are taken off in *Spain*, *Portugal*, and Part of *France*; and therefore, when we know that the beſt Part of the Empire of *Japon* lies in pretty near the ſame Situation, we cannot be much at a Loſs for the Goods the Inhabitants of that Country are like to take off our Hands, in caſe we had an open Trade with them; but, to be more certain in this Caſe, we have it in our Power to learn what the *Dutch* carry thither; and upon Enquiry, we ſhall find, that they are chiefly Scarlet, and other fine Cloths, Camblets, Serges, and our own Kerſeys, together with ſome Silk Manufactures, ſuch as rich Damaſks, Brocades, fine Night-Gowns, and in general, a great Variety of Linnen, Woollen, and Cotton Cloths, together with Glaſs and Stone-Wares, Coral, and many other things. We may therefore with great Confidence pronounce, that if the Way were once opened to us, we might be able to vend a vaſt Quantity of the natural Commodities and Manufactures of our Country there.

Beſides, ſince the Diſcoveries made by the *Ruſſians*, it is very certain, that the Countries to the North of *Japon*, particularly the great Peninſula of *Kamtſchatka*, which perhaps is the Continent of *Yedzo*, is very throughly peopled by Inhabitants that are much inclined to Trade, and who, from the Coldneſs of their Climate, muſt neceſſarily ſtand in need of our coarſer Cloths, and other Manufactures of the like kind.

If the vaſt Diſtance between us and them be objected, let us conſider how the *Dutch* carry on this Trade, who are not at all nearer them than we; for if they can manage it with Eaſe, the ſame Method ſurely will render it practicable for us. They fit out their Ships from their Settlements in the *Indies*, *viz.* *Batavia* and *Malacca*; and as we have Settlements in the *Indies* too, our Ships may be fitted out from thence; and if even theſe Settlements are at too great a Diſtance, this is no invincible Objection, ſince there ſeems to be no Cauſe why we ſhould not attempt at leaſt to open this Trade from the Coaſt of *China*, where we had formerly a Factory in the Iſland of *Chuſan*, of which I have given ſome Account, and there is no doubt, but that we might either obtain that, or another more convenient again, if we apply for it.

As to the Sentiments of People who have viſited the *Eaſt-Indies*, and reſided a conſiderable Time in them, there is no Reaſon, ſuppoſe their Notions contrary to mine (which however is not the Fact) to yield implicitly to them. They may have other Motives for their Opinions, than thoſe which they think fit to diſcover; and if after all, there ſhould be ever ſo good Reaſons advanced why the *Eaſt-India* Company ſhould not endeavour to acquire this Trade; yet I cannot apprehend, that what I have offered, ought to be at all affected thereby, ſince it is certain, that if the Commodities and Manufactures of this Country are exported, that Exportation muſt turn to the general Benefit of the Nation. This was the Sentiment of the great *De Wit*, with reſpect to the *Eaſt-India* Company in *Holland*. He made no Difficulty in declaring, that how uſeful ſoever that Company might be to the Republick in its Infancy, there might nevertheleſs come a Time, when the Intereſts of the Company might claſh with thoſe of the State; and if this might be the Caſe in *Holland*, it may be ſo elſewhere.

It is very eaſy to conceive there may be good Reaſons to induce even the greateſt Companies to limit their Commerce, becauſe this will put it in their Power to manage it the better, and to render it more advantageous, but there never can be any Reaſon aſſigned for reſtraining the Commerce of any Nation. The more of her Commodities and Manufactures a Nation can ſend Abroad, the more People ſhe muſt neceſſarily employ at Home, and the more her Shipping muſt increaſe; neither is there any Fear that this ſhould exhauſt their People; for while her Trade flouriſhes, it will never fail to invite Strangers, and therefore Experience ſhews us, that tho' in poor Countries the People are generally ſpeaking more prolifick; yet it does not follow, that they are more populous, becauſe their Wants drive them Abroad, and that too under ſuch Circumſtances, as that they ſeldom return Home.

But to ſum up all, the *Dutch* Witers themſelves inform us, that of late Years, among other Reſtraints impoſed upon them by the *Japoneſe*, the very Quantity of Goods they are to ſend into the Country is limited, and this to about the Value of one hundred thouſand Pounds of our Money; notwithſtanding which, the ſame Writers own, that the Profits on this Trade amount, one Year with another, to near four Times that Sum; and thus, I think, I have effectually ſhewn, that there is nothing wild, chimerical, or abſurd, in propoſing to recover our Trade to *Japon*, if it be poſſible; to which I beg Leave to add, that while the Price of Wool is ſo low, the Number of our Poor ſo great, our Taxes ſo many, and ſo high, and the Complaints of the lower ſort of People, for want of Employment, ſo loud and general, a Man muſt be of a very timorous Diſpoſition, who can be afraid of Cenſure, for endeavouring to point out the only Way by which theſe Evils can be effectually cured, and the Wants and Diſtreſſes of the Multitude prevented from either driving them abroad, or rendering them mutinous and troubleſome at home, with which Remark I ſhall conclude this Section.

SECTION XXXIII.

An hiſtorical Account of the Intercourſe between the Inhabitants of Great-Britain, *and the People in the* Eaſt-Indies: *Containing likewiſe a compleat Hiſtory of the* Eaſt-India *Company, from its Erection under Queen* Elizabeth *of glorious Memory, and of the ſeveral Alterations that have been made therein down to the preſent Reign.*

1. *An Account of the Voyage of* Sighelmus, *Biſhop of* Shireburn, *his Voyage to the* Eaſt-Indies *in the Reign of King* Alfred, *and of ſome other ancient Travellers.* 2. *Of the Manner in which the* Venetians *imported* Indian *Commodities into this Kingdom, to the Time of Queen* Elizabeth. 3. *Of ſeveral Matters previous to the erecting the* Eaſt-India *Company in her Reign, with a large Account of her Charter to that Company.* 4. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the ſeveral Voyages undertaken under that Charter, in the Reigns of Queen* Elizabeth *and King* James. 5. *Of the Tranſactions of the* Engliſh Eaſt-India *Company, from their obtaining a new Charter from King* James I. *to the Time of the unfortunate Buſineſs at* Amboyna. 6. *The Account publiſhed of that Tragedy by the* Engliſh Eaſt-India *Company.* 7. *The* Dutch *Relation of the ſame bloody Buſineſs.* 8. *Remarks made by Order of the* Eaſt-India *Company upon this Account of the* Dutch. 9. *The Hiſtory of the* Eaſt-India *Company, continued to the End of the Reign of* Charles I. 10. *The Proſecution of the ſame Subject to the Cloſe of the Civil Wars.* 11. *An Account of the new Charter granted to the Company by King* Charles II. *and of the Progreſs of their Affairs during his Reign.* 12. *Of the Charter granted by King* James II. *and of what followed to the Time of his Excluſion.* 13. *A brief View of the State of the two* Eaſt-India *Companies, and the Diſputes between them under the Reign of King* William III. 14. *The Concluſion of thoſe Diſputes, and the Settlement of the preſent* Eaſt-India *Company.* 15. *The Affairs of the Company, from the Time of this new Settlement to the Cloſe of the Reign of Queen* Anne. 16. *The ſame Hiſtory purſued down to the preſent Time.* 17. *A clear Proſpect of the preſent State of the Affairs of the* Engliſh *in the* Eaſt-Indies.

1. AS we have now paſſed through the greateſt Part of thoſe Subjects, which it was propoſed ſhould be handled in this Chapter, we come regularly, and in that Order which was originally laid down, to ſpeak of the ſeveral Companies that have been formed in *Europe*, for the Management of the Commerce of the *Eaſt-Indies*; which Method, as I conceive, ſooner or later, has been followed by every Nation, that ſince the Diſcovery of the Paſſage by the *Cape of Good-Hope*, hath been concerned therein. We will begin with the *Engliſh*, and with all the Accuracy that is in our Power, trace the Hiſtory of their Commerce into theſe diſtant Parts from the earlieſt Accounts we have of them down to the preſent times. But it will be requiſite firſt of all to obſerve, that there is good Reaſon to believe our firſt Knowledge of theſe Countries was derived to us from the *Romans*, at ſuch Time as this Iſland made a Part of their extenſive Empire; but I do not find any Evidence to prove, or indeed ſo much as a Hint to ſuggeſt, that any Commerce was attempted with that Country from hence before the Cloſe of the ninth Century.

At that Time there ſat upon the *Engliſh* Throne (as it is a Truth, I hope I may ſpeak it without Offence) the greateſt and wiſeſt Prince that was ever placed thereon; I mean the famous *Alfred*, the Glory of whoſe Reign, even the Confuſion of ſucceeding Times, and the Obſcurity of our ancient Hiſtories, have not buried in Oblivion. He, *Anno Domini* 883, as the *Saxon* Chronicle informs us, ſent one of his favourite Eccleſiaſticks, whoſe Name was *Sighelmus*, to carry his Alms to the poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians of *Saint Thomas* and *Saint Bartholomew* in the *Indies*. The Fact is, indeed, pretty extraordinary; and if we had not as clear and diſtinct Evidence to ſupport it, as any one Point in our ancient Hiſtory, I ſhould not have mentioned it; but as the *Saxon* Annals, which have been always allowed to contain as fair and as authentick an Account of Facts as any Hiſtory whatever, ſets down this as a Paſſage, which certainly fell out in that Year; and as this *Sighelmus* did not only perform that Voyage, according to the Inſtructions of his Royal Maſter, but afterwards returned home, and became Biſhop of *Shireburn*, or *Sherburn*, in *Dorſetſhire*, and left in the Treaſury of his Church, as *William* of *Malmſbury* hath recorded, both Spices and Jewels, which he brought back with him out of that Country; I ſee no Reaſon at all to doubt or queſtion a Fact for which we have all the Evidence that the moſt ſcrupulous Critick can deſire.

But it muſt, however, be confeſſed, that though this Intercourſe was ſo early begun, yet the moſt diligent Enquirers into Subjects of this Nature, ſuch as *Eden* and *Hakluyt*, have been able to find no Footſteps of Continuance, ſince they immediately deſcend to much later Times, and ſpeak particularly of the Travels of an *Engliſhman*, whoſe Name is not mentioned through the Country of the *Tartars*, and of Sir *John Mandeville*. But, however, though no ſuch Footſteps appear as to the Voyages or Travels of particular Perſons, yet beyond a Queſtion, there was not in thoſe Days an entire Stop put to the Commerce between the Weſt and Eaſt Parts of the World, or the *Engliſh* Nation entirely deprived of *Indian* Commodities.

2. If it be enquired how any Certainty can be had of this, or by what Channel ſuch a Trade could be carried on, I muſt take leave to remind them, that when the *Goths* and *Vandals* overturned the *Roman* Empire, that Commerce

through the *Red-Sea* by *Alexandria* ceaſed, and was afterwards carried on by the Way of *Trebezon*, *Damaſcus*, and *Aleppo*, which encreaſed the Trade of the free Cities or States of *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Piſa*, &c. And thoſe Goods were not only vended in all the Countries bordering upon the *Mediterranean*, but were ſent to *England*, *Germany*, and the *Netherlands*, and all over the *Baltick*, which gave Encouragement to the Traffick of *Bruges*, where the Commodities of the North, as Corn, Naval Stores, *&c.* were lodged in the Summer, and where thoſe Ships took in the Commodities from the *Levant* back again to the *Hans-Towns*; and thoſe Ships that came from the *Levant*, tranſported the Northern Goods from *Bruges* into the *Mediterranean*.

Such was the Courſe of the Trade then, and it is very clear from our old Writers, that Spices and other *Indian* Commodities were never totally Strangers in this Iſland, nor indeed could they, ſince we had an annual Veſſel, and ſometimes more from *Venice*, well ſupplied with ſuch rich Goods; and by this means, though ſuch Commodities might be dear, ſince it was in the Power of the State of *Venice* to raiſe them almoſt to what Prices ſhe would, yet we had them regularly, and in conſiderable Plenty, by this Method, down to the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the laſt great Carack, which came from that Country, was loſt upon our Coaſt, of which Sir *William Monſon* was an Eye-witneſs; and has given of it, as he does of all things, a moſt clear, entertaining, and inſtructive Account, which for the Reader's Information, and my own Juſtification, I ſhall tranſcribe, as it gives a clearer, fuller, and more authentick Account of theſe Points, than is any where elſe to be met with.

“ The *Venetians* engroſſed the whole Trade upon thoſe Seas, and furniſhed us with the rich Merchandize of *Turky*, *Perſia*, and *India*, at what Rate they pleaſed themſelves; and yet this was not all, for they laboured to make us Strangers to the Great *Turk*, the *Egyptians*, and bordering Countries, and brought them to that Ignorance of our Nation, that they thought *England* to be a Town in the Kingdom of *London*. The *Venetians* ſent yearly their *Argoſſers* to *Southampton*, which Town enjoyed a Charter from the Kings of this Land, which was wreſted out of their Hands by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to the utter Decay of that Town; and the *Argoſſers* ſince then have become Strangers in *England*, the laſt whereof took her leave with an unfortunate End, which my Eyes were Witneſſes to in the Month of *October* 1587.

“ This goodly Ship of one thouſand one hundred Tuns, being richly laden with the accuſtomed Commodities they uſed to ſerve the Kingdom with, and being come in the Channel, as high as the *Iſle of Wight*, which Land the *Engliſh* Pilot viſibly made; this Pilot, called *Forſter*, who for his excellent Skill, was not long before redeemed out of the *Turkiſh* Captivity, by the *Venetians*, to ſerve in this Voyage. Upon this good Land-fall the Pilot put the Paſſengers, in hopes, many of them being of great Account and Eſteem, the next Morning to harbour them; for Night growing on, he would not hazard to put in with the Shore that Evening; but the Gentlemen being impatient of Delays, and the Land appearing unto them, they thought themſelves free from all Danger, which is the common Ignorance of many that know not the Seas.

“ But to be ſhort, they compelled the Pilot by Force to put in at the *Needles*, the weſtermoſt Part of the *Iſle of Wight*. When the poor Man, neither with Perſuaſions, nor Tears, could prevail, he did his beſt to enter the Channel of the *Needles*; but ſuch was the Greatneſs of the Waves, and the Unweildineſs of the Ship, not anſwering her Helm, that ſhe ſtruck upon the Shingles, where ſhe, her Goods and Company, except ſeven poor Creatures, periſhed. The Sea betwixt the Iſland and the main Land was enriched, by her Loſs, with ſeveral ſorts of Merchandize. What was ſaved was not worth ſpeaking of. I had the Fortune to light on two Butts of Muſkedine floating on the Sea, for then was I riding at *Cowes*.

“ In the firſt Ship I ever went Captain of, I found theſe two Butts of Muſkedine, a great Help to us in our Voyage, when we were reduced to Extremity for want of Victuals. About this Time our Merchants of *London* began to take into Conſideration theſe great and ineſtimable Riches brought into the Land by the *Venetians* and *French*, who abſolutely enjoyed the Trade of *Turky*, and a great Part of the Wealth which came out of *Perſia* and *India* was retailed from them to us. They deviſed how ſuch Commodities might come to our Hands by a more direct Way than to be ſerved as we were at ſecond hand, and therefore reſolved to make an Overture by Favour of the Queen, and her Letters to the Great *Turk*, for an immediate Traffick from *England* to *Turky*, and his Dominions, and ſo home again, with Ships of her Subjects, without being beholden to others.

“ Theſe Letters were ſent by her Majeſty, and received with great Humanity and Courteſy by the Grand Seignor, as appears by his Letters yet extant. He could not give more Reſpect and Honour to her Majeſty, than by ſhewing a Willingneſs to embrace her gracious Propoſitions of Trade; and in Concluſion, Articles were agreed upon, and a Grant of great Privileges and Immunities to her Majeſty's Subjects, which have ſince continued, and been peaceably enjoyed. We may reckon from this Time the Decay of State in Matters of the *Venetian* Trade: For *Argoſſes*, which were wont to viſit us, are now unknown to us, and we poſſeſs the Wealth they were wont to reap. The Commodities of *Perſia*, and the *Eaſt-Indies*, are brought by ourſelves in our own Veſſels directly out of *Turky*, where we have obtained as great a Freedom as we can deſire. Such Places as the *Venetians* were wont to take Freight in their Ships to tranſport from Port to Port now we abſolutely enjoy that Privilege; for all Strangers are more deſirous to put their Goods into *Engliſh* Bottoms than theirs.”

Thus from the Concluſion of this Trade, we may eaſily conceive both the Nature and the Importance of it, and the prodigious Change it made, as well in the Affairs of the *Venetians*, as in our own, when it came to be carried on by the Subjects of *Great-Britain*: Yet here it will be neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between this and the true Commerce of the *Indies*; for, though we found a Way to free ourſelves from this Dependance upon the *Venetians*, yet it was by breaking in upon their *Levant* Trade at firſt, and not by ſailing directly to theſe Eaſtern Parts, which was a Work of great Time and Labour, and brought about by a great Variety of Accidents, with the Relation of which the *Engliſh* Reader cannot but be extreamly well pleaſed, ſince it will ſhew him the great and ſpeedy Progreſs of our Maritime Strength and Power at Sea.

3. The firſt Perſon, ſo far as I have been able to learn, that ever propoſed the eſtabliſhing the *Eaſt-India* Trade in *England*, was one Mr. *Robert Thorne*, a Merchant of *London*, who ſettled at *Seville* in *Spain*, and reſiding there many Years, gained a perfect Knowledge of the Manner in which both the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies* were diſcovered. This very judicious Gentleman, who from his Writings yet extant, appears to have drawn his Knowledge, in an equal Degree, from Books and Experience, applied himſelf about the Year 1527, to his Majeſty King *Henry* VIII. to whom he repreſented very fully, yet in few Words, the vaſt Advantages that would accrue to his Subjects by a direct Commerce to the *Eaſt-Indies*; and to ſuit his Propoſal to the great Genius and high Spirit of that Prince, he adviſed him not only to encourage this new Navigation, but to attempt it by a new Rout; for as the *Portugueze* had puſhed their Diſcoveries to the Eaſt, and the *Spaniards* to the Weſt, ſo he was ambitious that the *Engliſh* Nation ſhould find a Way to the *Indies* of their own, and that by the North.

But it is worthy of Obſervation, that this Gentleman was ſo early aware of the inſuperable Difficulties that have been found in ſearching for a Paſſage to the North-Eaſt, and therefore propoſed very ſenſibly, and for good Reaſons, ſailing directly North, or at leaſt very near it; from which he thought many Advantages might be gained, and many Inconveniencies avoided. As for inſtance, he conceived that this might be undertaken at ſuch a Seaſon of the Year, as to enjoy the Benefit of the half Years Day in that Climate; and he thought it abſurd and ridiculous to ſuppoſe, that the Seas were frozen under the North Pole, at a time when the Sun, from its long Continuance on the Horizon, muſt have ſuch prodigious Force. He likewiſe judged, that whatever Difficulties might occur in the Beginning of ſuch a Paſſage, they muſt be quickly and certainly got over, and be fully recompenſed, by coming ſoon on the Coaſt of *Tartary* and *Japon*, and ſo to *China* and the *Manillas*. To ſay the Truth, if we conſider the Time when this Proconſul was made, the Sagacity and Penetration of this Gentleman can ſcarce be enough commended or admired, ſince it is very certain, that if ever any Diſcovery is made on this Side, it muſt be made by this Method.

But, how wiſe or how practicable ſoever Mr. *Thorn*'s Scheme might be, I do not find that it was ever conſidered in any other Light, than as a Project too bold to be put in Execution; and to ſay the Truth, the firſt Perſon that gave us any Light into this Navigation was Sir *Francis Drake*, in the Year 1578. The very next Year Mr. *Stevens* went from *Liſbon* to *Goa* by the *Cape of Good-Hope*, and wrote a large Account of his Voyage while he reſided at *Goa*. *A. D.* 1586, the famous *Candiſhe* made his Voyage round the World, which having clearly opened a Paſſage to theſe Parts, Captain *George Raymond*, in a Ship of his own, called the *Penelope*, accompanied by two others, called the *Merchant-Royal*, and the *Edward-Bonaventure*, ſailed in the Year 1591 for the *Eaſt-Indies*, not with a View to trade, but to cruize upon the *Portugueze*. This Voyage was extreamly unfortunate; for Captain *Raymond* found himſelf obliged, at the *Cape of Good-Hope*, to ſend home the *Merchant-Royal*, with the ſick Men they had in the three Ships. Having doubled that Cape, and ſailed about ſixty Leagues, he was loſt in the *Penelope*; ſo that Captain *James Lancaſter*, in the *Edward-Bonaventure*, was the only one that performed this Voyage, and that too with very indifferent Fortune; for after a diſaſtrous Voyage to the *Eaſt*, he was obliged to paſs from thence to the *Weſt-Indies*, where having loſt his Ship, he with much Difficulty, by the Aſſiſtance of a *French* Privateer he met with in thoſe Parts, returned home.

But in this Space of Time, though no *Engliſh* Ships had been ſent to the *Indies* for Commerce, abundance of *Engliſhmen* had been there in different Services, and on their return home, gave ſuch an Account of thoſe Countries, and of the Eaſe with which the *Engliſh* might ſettle Factories, and eſtabliſh a regular Trade thither, that many great Men, and rich Merchants, began to entertain a Deſire of eſtabliſhing ſuch a Commerce; and that they might do this effectually, they applied themſelves to Queen *Elizabeth* for a Charter, and ſhe accordingly granted them one, which was dated the 31ſt of *December* 1600, in the forty-third Year of her Reign. By this Charter ſhe created them a Body Corporate, by the Stile of the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*; granted them a common Seal, appointed *Thomas Smyth*, Eſq; Alderman of *London*, their firſt Governor, and eſtabliſhed a Court of twenty Directors to be choſen annually on the firſt of *July*, or within ſix Days after. She likewiſe granted them Authority to make Bye-laws, allowed them to export Goods Cuſtom-free for four Years, permitted them to export thirty thouſand Pounds in Foreign Coin, with Licence to do the ſame in every Voyage, provided they brought that Sum by their Trade out of Foreign Countries into this Kingdom. This Charter was excluſive, and the Queen bound herſelf not to grant any Charter to other Merchants for the Space of fifteen Years; but with this Proviſo, that if within that Space this Charter ſhould appear to be in any reſpect detrimental to the Publick, it ſhould, upon two Years Warning, under the Privy-Seal become void; but if from Experience it ſhould appear, that this new Corporation was a publick Benefit, then ſhe promiſed to renew their Charter, with ſuch additional Clauſes in their Favour, as ſhould appear requiſite.

I have been the more particular with reſpect to this Point, becauſe I look upon it that there never was any publick Act of this Nature better conſidered, or drawn with greater Wiſdom and Foreſight, both for the Benefit of the Adventurers, and the publick Good; by which I mean the Intereſt of the whole Nation, Circumſtances which ought to be equally conſidered in all ſuch Caſes, ſince whatever the Deſign may be of the Perſons concerned in ſuch Adventures, it ought to be the Care of the Government, that even theſe excluſive Companies ſhould be calculated for the common Advantage, and be ſo guarded, as that Perſons concerned therein may never have it in their Power to ſacrifice the general Intereſt of a People to their particular Profit, and private Advantage.

4. It was in Conſequence of this Charter, that the Company immediately began to raiſe a joint Stock for carrying their Project into Execution; and this with ſuch Induſtry, that in a very ſhort Space their Treaſurer had in his Hands ſeventy-two thouſand Pounds; upon which it was reſolved to fit out five able Ships to begin their Correſpondence in that Part of the World. Theſe were the *Dragon* of ſix hundred Tuns, Admiral of the Squadron: The *Hector*, Vice-Admiral, of three hundred Tuns: The *Suſannah*, of two hundred Tuns: The *Aſcenſion*, of the ſame Burthen: The *Gueſt*, a Store Ship, of a hundred and thirty Tuns. The Complement of Men in all their Ships were four hundred and eighty, and the Expence of equipping them amounted to forty-five thouſand Pounds, and their Cargo took up the other twenty-ſeven thouſand Pounds. On the 2d of *May* 1601, they ſailed from *Torbay*, and without any conſiderable Accident continued their Voyage to the *Indies*, where Captain *James Lancaſter*, who commanded with the Title of Admiral, made a Treaty with the King of *Achen*, ſent a Pinnace to the *Moluccas*, and erected a Factory in the Iſland of *Java*; after which the Admiral returned ſafely, and with good Profit, into *England*.

This was the only Voyage that was undertaken by the Company in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; but upon her Demiſe, they found a very kind Maſter, as well as powerful Protector in her Succeſſor King *James*, who from his Acceſſion to the Throne, ſhewed them all the Countenance, and afforded them all the Aſſiſtance that they could deſire, which, with the Profits of their firſt Voyage, engaged them to undertake a ſecond in the Year 1604, Sir *Henry Middleton*, in the *Red Dragon*, having the Title of Admiral, the *Hector* Vice-Admiral, the *Aſcenſion*, and the *Suſannah*. Theſe Ships viſited the *Moluccas*, and the Iſland of *Java*, were well received by all the *Indian* Princes, but met with very indifferent Uſage from the *Dutch*, who began already to loſe all Senſe of Gratitude to the Nation that had preſerved them, endeavoured all that in them lay to miſrepreſent the *Engliſh* to the *Indians*, as a cruel, unjuſt, and ambitious People, who meant not to trade with them fairly for their Commodities, but to ſeize their Country, and to take them by Force. That this Diſpoſition in the *Dutch* did not take Riſe, either from their Hatred or Contempt of King *James*, but was bred in them by their own Self-love, and Averſion to all other Nations, appears moſt clearly from the Letter of the King of *Ternate* to King *James* by Sir *Henry Middleton*, in which he expreſsly aſſerts, that the *Dutch* had uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to root out the good Opinion which himſelf and his Subjects entertained of the *Engliſh* from the Time that Sir *Francis Drake* had viſited their Iſland; and thus thoſe Diſputes began, of which we ſhall have ſo much to ſay in the Courſe of this Section.

When Sir *Henry Middleton* ſailed from *Bantam*, he received from the King a Letter for his *Britannick* Majeſty, and a Preſent of Bezoar Stones. In their Paſſage home they met with the *Hector* beating off of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, with only ten Men left alive, by whom they were informed of the Loſs of the *Suſannah*, and in Company with this Ship they arrived ſafely in the *Downs*, *May* 6, 1606. The very next Year the Company undertook a third Voyage, in which three Ships only were employed, *viz.* the *Dragon*, the *Hector*, and the *Conſent*, under the Command of Captain *William Keeling*. Their Voyage was very ſucceſsful, eſpecially in the *Moluccas*, where they were, notwithſtanding, extreamly ill uſed by the *Dutch*. This did not hinder them, however, from bringing home a very valuable Cargo of all ſorts of Spice, with which they arrived in the *Downs*, *May* 10, 1610, with this extraordinary Mark of good Fortune, that in their whole Voyage out and home, they loſt not ſo much as a ſingle Man. With this Captain *Keeling* went out Captain, *William Hawkins*, with the Title of the King's Embaſſador to the Great Mogul, by whom he was very kindly received, and by his prudent Management a good Correſpondence was eſtabliſhed between the two Courts.

In the Spring of the Year 1607, the Company ſent the *Aſcenſion* and the *Union* to the *Red-Sea*, and the Coaſt of *Arabia*, which, however, proved but indifferent in their Succeſs. In *April* 1609, Captain *David Middleton*, in the *Expedition*, was ſent by the Company to the *Moluccas*, where the *Dutch* now began to act as Maſters, and had a Deſign of ſeizing the Captain's Ship, which by his good Management he prevented, and brought home with him a hundred and thirty-nine Tuns of Nutmegs, and the like Quantity of Mace, beſides Pepper and other valuable Goods, which I conceive to have been the moſt proſperous Voyage that had been undertaken by the Company.

5. The *Eaſt-India* Company now began to make a great Figure, to employ a vaſt Number of Men, and to export large Quantities of *Engliſh* Goods and Manufactures, ſo that they conceived, that though their former Charter was not expired, yet upon due Application his Majeſty might be prevailed upon to fulfil the Promiſe of his Royal Predeceſſor, inaſmuch as they had already fulfilled the Terms upon which that Promiſe was made, and had rendered it manifeſt, that the continuing this Corporation would be for the common Benefit of the whole *Engliſh* Nation. Upon a Repreſentation to this Purpoſe, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed, in the Month of *May* 1609, to enlarge their firſt Charter, in the Manner they deſired, and to make it perpetual; upon which the Company began to build a very large fine Ship, of the Burthen of one thouſand two hundred Tuns, which is taken Notice of even by our general Hiſtorians, becauſe this was the firſt great Ship that had been built in this Kingdom, the Cuſtom having hitherto been to buy them ready built in ſome of the *Hanſe-Towns*; and it is farther obſerved both by *John Stowe* and Sir *William Monſon*, that the *Jeſus* of *Lubeck*, which Sir *John Hawkins* loſt in the *Weſt-Indies*, was the laſt great Ship which was either builded or bought beyond the Seas. They likewiſe built a new Pinnace of two hundred and fifty Tuns to attend the great Ship; and when both were ready to be launched, the King, the Prince of *Wales*, and a great Number of the principal Nobility of the Kingdom, went down to *Deptford*, where they dined on Board the great Ship, and were all entertained in *China*; the Diſhes and Plates, after the Dinner was over, though then great Curioſities, and of high Price, were left to be taken away by the Servants, or whoever elſe had a Mind to them.

His Majeſty, at the Time of launching the Ship, called it the *Trade's Increaſe*, and gave the Pinnace the Name of the *Pepper-corn*. In the ſucceeding Spring the Company fitted out for their ſixth Voyage this new Ship and Pinnace, together with two others, under the Command of Sir *Henry Middleton*, Knight, at the Expence of eighty thouſand Pounds. In 1610, they ſent a ſingle Ship, and the ſucceeding Spring three Ships, under the Command of Captain *John Saris*, at the Expence of threeſcore thouſand Pounds.

The *Portugueze* at this Time endeavoured to hinder the *Engliſh* from trading on the Coaſt of *India*, which obliged the Company to be at more than uſual Pains and Expence in equipping out their next Squadron, which ſailed in the Year 1611, and conſiſted of four large Ships, of which the biggeſt was the *Dragon*, commanded by Captain *Thomas Beſt*, who arrived ſafely at *Surat* in ſix Months, and ſettled a Factory there, which he had hardly done before the Viceroy at *Goa* fitted out a large Fleet to deſtroy him. It conſiſted of four great Galleons, and twenty-ſix Gallies, in which were five thouſand Men, and one hundred and thirty Pieces of Cannon; but Captain *Beſt*, though he had with him only a ſmall Pinnace, reſolved to maintain his Factory, and in Defence of it, engaged and defeated this *Portugueze Armada*, in which Action they loſt twelve hundred Men. After this the *Portugueze* never more diſturbed the *Engliſh* upon that Coaſt; and as for Captain *Beſt*, when he had ſettled every thing to his good liking at *Surat*, he ſailed to *Java*, and having taken a valuable Cargo on Board there, returned ſafely to *London* in the Month of *July* 1614.

In this Year Captain *Saris* alſo returned with a very rich Lading, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, Governor of the *Eaſt-India* Company, having repreſented to the King, that they had left Mr. *Paul Canning*, as their Agent, at the Court of the Great Mogul; but that they conceived it would be for the Benefit of the Company, and for the Honour of the Nation, if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſend a Perſon of Diſtinction, with the Title of his Embaſſador, to that great Prince; to this his Majeſty conſented, and appointed Sir *Thomas Roe*, Knight, his Embaſſador. The Company alſo, to ſhew their Gratitude, fitted out a fine Squadron of four large Ships, under the Command of Captain *Keeling*, who carried Sir *Thomas Roe* ſafe to *India*, where he proſecuted his Affairs with great Succeſs. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Companies in the *Indies* were now grown ſo powerful, that they began to extend the Sovereignty of their reſpective Countries over ſeveral Places in the *Indies*, and the *Engliſh* particularly procured from the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Banda* a Surrender of themſelves to the Crown of *England*, which they did by a formal Inſtrument, which, however, did not hinder the *Dutch*, who alledged, that they had prior Claims upon thoſe Countries, from endeavouring to make themſelves Maſters of them. The *Engliſh* on the other hand proceeded in extending their Dominions in the *Eaſt-Indies*, without conſidering that they wanted a Force to maintain them, and procured likewiſe the Surrender of *Lantore* by another ſolemn Inſtrument, under the Hands of the Natives, dated the 24th of *November* 1620.

It is very certain that all this was very well deſigned, and that the *Engliſh* Company, if they had been ſtrong enough, would by this means have procured to themſelves a very large Share of the Spice Trade; but as it was, they only opened a Way to their own Deſtruction. While this was doing in the *Indies*, there was a Treaty carried on in *Europe* for the ſettling all the Differences between the two Companies, of which, as there is nothing ſaid in any of our general Hiſtories, it is requiſite that we ſhould give a diſtinct Account here.

There had been two Commiſſions iſſued by King *James* for Treaties, for the Regulation of theſe Differences, the one in the Year 1613, when the Conferences were held at *London*, the ſecond in 1615, when the Negotiation was carried on at the *Hague*; but both theſe proved ineffectual, and therefore a new Treaty was had in the Year 1619, between Commiſſioners appointed by each of the *Eaſt-India* Companies, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, under the Inſpection and Direction of Miniſters Plenipotentiaries from the King of *Great-Britain*, and the States General. The Treaty between the two Companies was concluded on the ſeventh of *July*, by which it was agreed, that all paſt Offences on either Side ſhould be buried in Oblivion, that both Companies ſhould trade freely upon their own Stock, for their own Benefit, but with a mutual Regard to each others Intereſt; that the Price of Pepper, and other Spices, ſhould be amicably ſettled between them; that the *Molucca* Iſlands, together with thoſe of *Banda* and *Amboyna*, ſhould belong to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*; but in ſuch a manner, that the *Engliſh* ſhould have but one-third of the Trade, and the *Dutch* two-thirds.

That the Expence of the Fortifications in thoſe Iſlands ſhould be defrayed by a Duty or Impoſition on the Spices exported from them; that a Council of Defence ſhould be erected, compoſed of Members of both Companies, who ſhould provide ſuch Ships of War as are mentioned in the Treaty, for the joint Defence of both Companies; that the Fortreſſes erected in thoſe Parts ſhould remain in the Hands of thoſe who are poſſeſſed of them; and that ſuch as had been acquired by both Companies, ſhould remain to, and be poſſeſſed by them both, and be garriſoned by *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Troops, according as this Matter ſhould be ſettled and adjuſted by the Council of Defence before mentioned; that for the future the whole Trade of the *Indies* ſhould be free to both Nations, and that neither ſhould attempt to ſhut out the other by Fortifications, or Contracts, with the Natives; that to render this Treaty more effectual, his *Britannick* Majeſty, and the States General, ſhould be moſt humbly deſired not to erect any other Companies during the Time fixed for the Continuance of this Treaty.

That if in any of the Factories of the *Indies* belonging either to the *Engliſh* or *Dutch*, it ſhould fall out by Death or other Accidents, that none ſhould be left to take Care of the Effects in the Factory, that then they ſhould be preſerved by, and juſtly accounted for by the Members of the other Factory; that this Treaty ſhall endure for twenty Years, and in caſe any Diſputes ſhall ariſe notwithſtanding thereof, which cannot be either decided or accommodated by the Councils of the ſaid Companies, his *Britanick* Majeſty, and the States-General, are humbly deſired to take the ſame under their Cognizance, and finally, to adjuſt and determine them. All thoſe Articles were to be faithfully and inviolably obſerved on both Sides, according to the Intention of the ſaid Treaty, and the ſame to be ratified by his Majeſty in one Month. This Treaty was accordingly ratified by King *James*, on the 16th of *July* 1619, under his own Hand, and ſealed with his Broad-Seal: In this Ratification his Majeſty promiſed not to grant any Charter or Powers to any other Company during the Continuance of this Treaty.

One would have imagined that all Things muſt now have gone on harmoniouſly and peaceably, and that an End had been put to all the Diſputes between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Companies for twenty Years at leaſt: But it fell out quite otherwiſe; for the *Dutch* General of the *Eaſt-India* Company having a Fleet of large Ships under his Command, attacked *Lantore*, and having defeated the Natives, fired the Town, plundered the *Engliſh* Factory, took away the Cloth, Money, and Bullion, belonging to the *Eaſt-India* Company, together with twenty-three thouſand Pounds Weight of Mace, and one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds of Nutmegs. The *Engliſh* Factors that were ſettled there, were ſtripp'd naked, bound, beaten, thrown over the Town-Wall, and afterwards dragged through the Streets in Chains. The Factory of *Poolaroon* had the ſame Fate; and thus all things were in a worſe State after this Treaty than they were before in the *Indies*. What ſeems to be moſt extraordinary and aſtoniſhing is, that the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company publiſhed in *Holland* a Defence or Vindication of theſe Proceedings, in which they alledge, that having a prior Right to theſe Iſlands, this could not be taken away by any ſubſequent Act of the Inhabitants, who were no longer their own Maſters; that this War was proſecuted againſt the Natives as Principals, and againſt the *Engliſh* as Auxiliaries only. To this the *Engliſh* publiſhed an Anſwer, in which they abſolutely denied, that the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Banda* ever ſubmitted themſelves to the *Dutch*, and inſiſted on their legal Title to that Country.

But it does not appear, that the Government ever interfered properly in this Affair, or demanded juſt Satisfaction from the States of *Holland*, which might perhaps be owing to the perplexed Circumſtances of our Adminiſtration, and the Differences that had ariſen between King *James* and his Parliament. But if this ill Uſage was hard to be born, there followed ſoon after much worſe, when, to take from the *Engliſh* the ſmall Remains of the Spice Trade, and to monopolize entirely a Commerce of ſuch Importance into their own Hands, the *Dutch* were guilty of ſuch unheard of Barbarities in *Amboyna*, as tho' they may be forgiven, yet ought never to be forgot; and yet we find them very ſlightly paſſed over, even in thoſe Works where we might reaſonably expect the fulleſt Accounts of them, which is probably owing to the Inclination ſome Writers have to hide the Faults of their Neighbours, and to publiſh the Exceſſes of no Government but their own.

Yet as at the very Time it happened, the *Eaſt-India* Company here took Care to give a full and large Account of the whole Tranſaction, from ſuch Authorities as cannot be queſtioned, it ſeems but reaſonable that for the ſake of Truth, and the perpetual Preſervation of ſo authentick and curious a Piece, which otherwiſe as a Pamphlet may be in Danger of being loſt, as well as for other Reaſons which ſhall be expreſſed hereafter, we ſhould inſert it intire. It is indeed of ſome Length, and delivered in an uncouth and antiquated Stile; but however, it is better it ſhould ſtand ſo, than that we ſhould run any Riſque of altering the Facts, by endeavouring to amend the Language in which they are expreſſed.

6. *Amboyna* is an Iſland lying near *Seran*, of the Compaſs of forty Leagues, and giveth Name alſo to ſome other ſmall Iſlands adjacent. It beareth Cloves; for gathering and buying in whereof, the *Engliſh* Company, for their part, had planted five ſeveral Factories: The Head and Rendezvous of all at the Town of *Amboyna*, and therein firſt Maſter *George Muſchamp*, and afterward Maſter *Gabriel Towerſon*, their Agents, with Directions over the ſmaller Factories at *Hitto* and *Larica* upon the ſame Iſland, and at *Lobo* and *Cambello* upon a Point of their neighbouring Iſland of *Seran*. Upon theſe Iſlands of *Amboyna*, and the Point of *Seran*, the *Dutch* have four Forts; the chief of all is at the ſaid Town of *Amboyna*, and is very ſtrong, having four Points, or Bullwarks, with their Curtains; and upon each of theſe Points ſix great Pieces of Ordnance mounted, moſt of them of Braſs. The one Side of this Caſtle is waſhed by the Sea, and the other is divided by the Land, with a Ditch of four or five Fathom broad, very deep, and filled with the Sea. The Garriſon of this City conſiſteth of about two hundred *Dutch* Soldiers, and a Company of free Burghers. Beſides theſe, there is always a matter of three or four hundred Mardikers in the Town, ready to ſerve the Caſtle at an Hour's warning. There lie alſo in the Road, diverſe good Ships belonging to the *Dutch*, as well for the Guard of the Place by Sea, as for the Occaſion of Traffick, this being the chief Rendezvous as well for the Iſland of *Banda*, as for the reſt of *Amboyna*. Here the *Engliſh* lived not in the Caſtle, but under Protection thereof, in a Houſe of their own, in the Town, holding themſelves ſafe, as well in reſpect of the ancient Bonds of Amity between both Nations, as of the ſtrict Conjunction made by the late Treaty before mentioned.

They continued here two Years converſing and trading together, with the *Dutch*, by virtue of the ſaid Treaty, in which Time there fell out ſeveral Differences and Debates between them; the *Engliſh* complaining, that the *Dutch* did not only laviſh away much Money in Building and unneceſſary Expences upon the Forts, and otherwiſe, and bring large and unreaſonable Reckonings thereof to the common Account, but alſo did, for their Part, pay the Garriſon with Victuals and Cloth of *Coromandel*, which they put off to the Soldiers at three or four Times the Value it coſt them, yet would not allow of the *Engliſh* Company's Part of the ſame Charge, but only in ready Money, thereby drawing from the *Engliſh* more than two Thirds of the whole true Charge. Hereupon, and upon the like Occaſions, grew ſome Diſcontents and Diſputes, and the Complaints were ſent to *Jaccatra*, in the Iſland of *Java Major*, to the Council of Defence of both Nations there reſiding, who alſo not agreeing upon the Points in Difference, ſent the ſame hither over into *Europe*, to be decided by both Companies here, or, in Default of their Agreement, by the King's Majeſty, and the Lords the States-General, according to an Article of the Treaty of the Year 1619 on this Behalf. In the mean Time, the Diſcontent between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch* about theſe and other Differences continued, and daily increaſed, until at laſt there was a Sword found to cut in ſunder that Knot at once which the tedious Diſputes of *Amboyna* and *Jaccatra* could not untie; and this was uſed in the Manner as followeth.

About the 11th of *February* 1622, O. S. a *Japoneſe* Soldier of the *Dutch* in their Caſtle of *Amboyna*, walking in the Night upon the Wall, came to the Centinel, and there, among other Talk, aſked him ſome Queſtions touching the Strength of the Caſtle, and the People that were therein. It is here to be obſerved, that thoſe *Japoneſe* did for the moſt Part ſerve the *Dutch* as Soldiers, yet were not of their truſty Bands always lodged in the Caſtle, but upon Occaſion called out of the Town to aſſiſt the Watch. This *Japoneſe* aforeſaid, was, for his ſaid Conference with the Centinel, apprehended upon Suſpicion of Treaſon, and put to the Torture; thereby he was brought to confeſs himſelf and ſundry others of his Countrymen there, to have contrived the taking of the Caſtle. Hereupon other *Japoneſe* were examined and tortured, as alſo a *Portugueze*, the Guardian of the Slaves under the *Dutch*.

During this Examination, which continued three or four Days, ſome of the *Engliſhmen* went to and from the Caſtle, upon their Buſineſs, ſaw the Priſoners, heard of their Tortures, and of the Crime laid to their Charge, but all this while ſuſpected not that this Matter did any whit concern themſelves, having never had any Converſation with the *Japoneſe*, nor with the *Portugueze* aforeſaid.

At the ſame Time, there was one *Abel Price*, Chirurgeon to the *Engliſh*, Priſoner in the Caſtle, for offering, in his Drunkenneſs, to ſet a *Dutchman*'s Houſe on Fire. This Fellow the *Dutch* took, and ſhewed him ſome of the *Japoneſe*, whom they had firſt moſt grievouſly tortured, and told him, they had confeſſed the *Engliſh* to have been of their Confederacy for the taking of the Caſtle, and that if he would not confeſs the ſame, they would uſe him even as they had done the *Japoneſe*, and worſe alſo. Having given him the Torture, they ſoon made him confeſs whatever they aſked him. This was on the 15th of *February* 1622, O. S. Forthwith, about Nine of the Clock the ſame Morning, they ſent for Captain *Towerſon*, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* that were in the Town, to come to ſpeak with the Governor in the Caſtle. They all went, ſave one that was left to keep the Houſe. Being come to the Governor, he told Captain *Towerſon*, that himſelf and others of his Nation, were accuſed of a Conſpiracy to ſurprize the Caſtle, and therefore, until further Trial, were to remain Priſoners. Inſtantly alſo they attacked him that was left at home in the Houſe, took the Merchandize of the *Engliſh* Company there into their own Cuſtody, by an Inventory, and ſeized all the Cheſts, Boxes, Books, Writings and other things in the *Engliſh* Houſe.

Captain *Towerſon* was committed to his Chamber, with a Guard of *Dutch* Soldiers. *Emanuel Thomſon* was kept Priſoner in the Caſtle; the reſt, *viz.* *John Beamont*, *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, *Timothy Johnſon*, *John Fardo*, and *Robert Brown*, were ſent aboard the *Dutch* Ships then riding in Harbour; ſome to one Ship, and ſome to another, and all made faſt in Irons. The ſame Day alſo the Governor ſent to the two other Factories in the ſame Iſland, to apprehend the reſt of the *Engliſh* there; ſo that *Samuel Colſon*, *John Clark*, *George Sharroch*, that were found in the Factory at *Hitto*, and *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, and *John Sadler*, at *Larica*, were all brought Priſoners to *Amboyna*, the 16th of *February*; upon which Day alſo *John Pocol*, *John Wetheral*, and *Thomas Ladbrook*, were apprehended at *Cambella*, and *John Beamont*, *William Griggs*, and *Ephraim Ramſey* at *Lobo*, and brought in Irons to *Amboyna*, the 20th of the ſame Month. In the mean Time, the Governor and Fiſcal went to work with the Priſoners that were already here; and firſt, they ſent for *John Beamont* and *Timothy Johnſon*, from on Board the Unicorn, who being come into the Caſtle, *Beamont* was left with a Guard in the Hall, and *Johnſon* went into another Room, where, by and by, *Beamont* heard him cry out very pitifully, then to be quiet a little while, and then loud again.

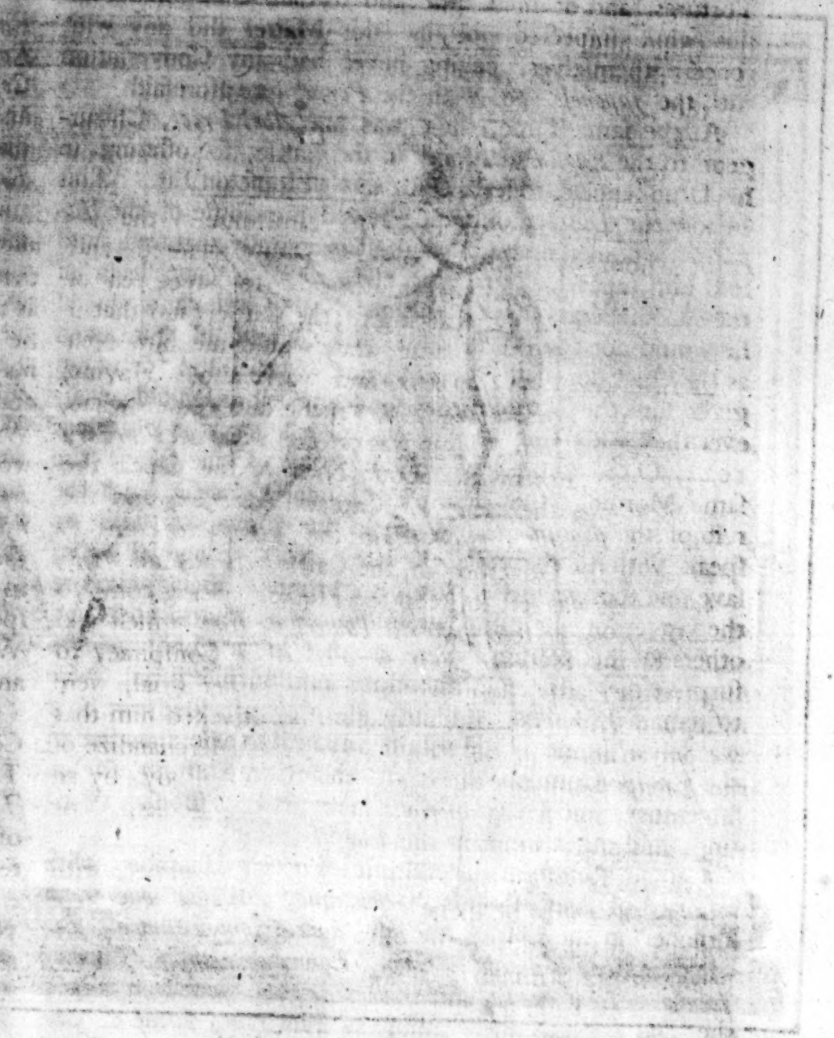
After Taſte of the Torture, then *Abel Price* the Chirurgeon that firſt was examined and tortured, was brought in to confront and accuſe him: But *Johnſon* not yet confeſſing any thing, *Price* was quickly carried out, and *Johnſon* brought again to the Torture, where *Beamont* heard him ſometimes cry aloud, then quiet again, then roar afreſh. At laſt, after he had been about an Hour in this ſecond Examination, he was brought forth wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in diverſe Parts of his Body, and ſo laid aſide, in a Bye-place in the Hall, with a Soldier to watch him, that he ſhould ſpeak to nobody. Then was *Emanuel Thomſon* brought to Examination, not in the Room where *Johnſon* had been, but in another ſomewhat farther from the Hall; yet *Beamont* being in the Hall, heard him roar moſt lamentably, and many Times: At laſt, after an Hour an half ſpent in torturing him, he was carried away into another Room another Way, ſo that he came not by *Beamont* thro' the Hall. Next was *Beamont* called in, and being demanded many things, all which he denied with deep Oaths and Proteſtations, was made faſt to be tortured, a Cloth tied about his Neck, and two Men ready with their Jars of Water to be poured on his Head; but yet for this Time the Governor bad looſe him, he would ſpare him a Day or two, becauſe he was an old Man; this was all *Saturday*'s Work, the 15th of *February* aforeſaid.

On the 16th *William Webber*, *Edward Collins*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, and *Robert Brown*, were fetched from aboard the *Rotterdam* to be examined: At the ſame time came *Samuel Colſon*, *William Griggs*, and *John Clark*, *George Sharrock*, and *John Sadler*, from *Hitto* and *Larica*, and were immediately upon their Arrival, brought into the Caſtle-Hall. *Robert Brown*, Taylor, was firſt called in, and being tormented with Water, confeſſed all in order as the Fiſcal aſked him. Then was *Edward Collins* called in, and told that thoſe that were formerly examined had confeſſed him as acceſſary to the Plot of taking the Caſtle, which, when he denied with great Oaths and Execrations they made his Hands and his Feet faſt to the Rack, bound a Cloth about his Throat ready to be put to the Torture of the Water. Thus prepared he prayed to be reſpited, and he would confeſs all. Being let down, he again vowed and proteſted his Innocency; yet ſaid, that becauſe he knew they would, by Torture, make him confeſs any thing, though never ſo falſe, they would do him a great Favour to tell him what they would have him ſay, and he would ſpeak it, to avoid the Torture. The Fiſcal hereupon ſaid, What, do you mock us? And bad up with him again, and ſo gave him the Torment of Water, which he not able long to endure, deſired to be let down again to his Confeſſion: Then he deviſed with himſelf and told them, That about two Months and a half ago, himſelf, *Thompſon*, *Johnſon*, *Brown*, and *Fardo*, had plotted, with the Help of the *Japoneſe*, to ſurprize the Caſtle. Here he was interrupted by the Fiſcal, and aſked whether Captain *Towerſon* were not of that Conſpiracy? He anſwered, No; you lye, ſaid the Fiſcal, did not he call you all to him, and tell you, that thoſe daily Abuſes of the *Dutch* had cauſed him to think of a Plot, and that he wanted nothing but your Conſent and Secrecy? Then ſaid a *Dutch* Merchant, one *John Igoſt*, that ſtood by, Did not you all ſwear upon a Bible to be ſecret to him? *Collins* anſwered with great Oaths, that he knew nothing of any ſuch Matter: Then they bade made him faſt again; whereupon he then ſaid, all was true that they had ſpoken. Then the Fiſcal aſked him whether the *Engliſh* in the reſt of the Factories were not conſenting to this Plot? He anſwered, No; the Fiſcal then aſked him whether the Preſident of the *Engliſh* at *Jaccatra*, or Maſter *Welden*, Agent in *Banda*, were not Plotters, or privy to this Buſineſs? Again he anſwered No: Then the Fiſcal aſked him by what Means the *Japoneſe* ſhould have executed their Purpoſe? Whereat, when *Collins* ſtood ſtaggering and deviſing of ſome probable Fiction, the Fiſcal helped him, and ſaid, Should not two *Japoneſe* have gone to each Point of the Caſtle, and two to the Governor's Chamber-door; and when the Hurlyburly had been without, and the Governor coming to ſee what was the Matter, the *Japoneſe* to have killed him? Here one that ſtood by ſaid to the Fiſcal, Do not tell him what he ſhould ſay, but let him ſpeak of himſelf; whereupon the Fiſcal, without attending the Anſwer to his former Queſtion, aſked what the *Japoneſe* were to have had for their Reward? *Collins* anſwered 1000 Rials a-piece. Laſtly, he aſked him when this Plot ſhould have been effected? Whereupon, although he anſwered him nothing, not knowing what to deviſe upon the ſudden, yet he was diſmiſſed, and very glad to come clear off the Torture, though with certain Belief that he ſhould die for this his Confeſſion.

Next was *Samuel Colſon* brought in, being newly arrived from *Hitto*, as is before touched, and was the ſame Day brought to the Torture, who, for fear of the Pain wherewith he ſaw *Collins* come out, in ſuch a Caſe, that his Eyes were almoſt blown out of his Head with the Torment of Water, choſe rather to confeſs all they aſked him, and ſo was quickly diſmiſſed, coming out weeping, lamenting, proteſting his Innocency. Then was *John Clark*, that came with *Colſon* from *Hitto* fetched in, and a little after was heard to cry out amain. They tortured him with Water and with Fire, by the Space of two Hours. The Manner of his Torture, which was likewiſe that of *Johnſon*'s and *Thomſon*'s, was as followeth: Firſt, they hoiſted

him

[illegible]



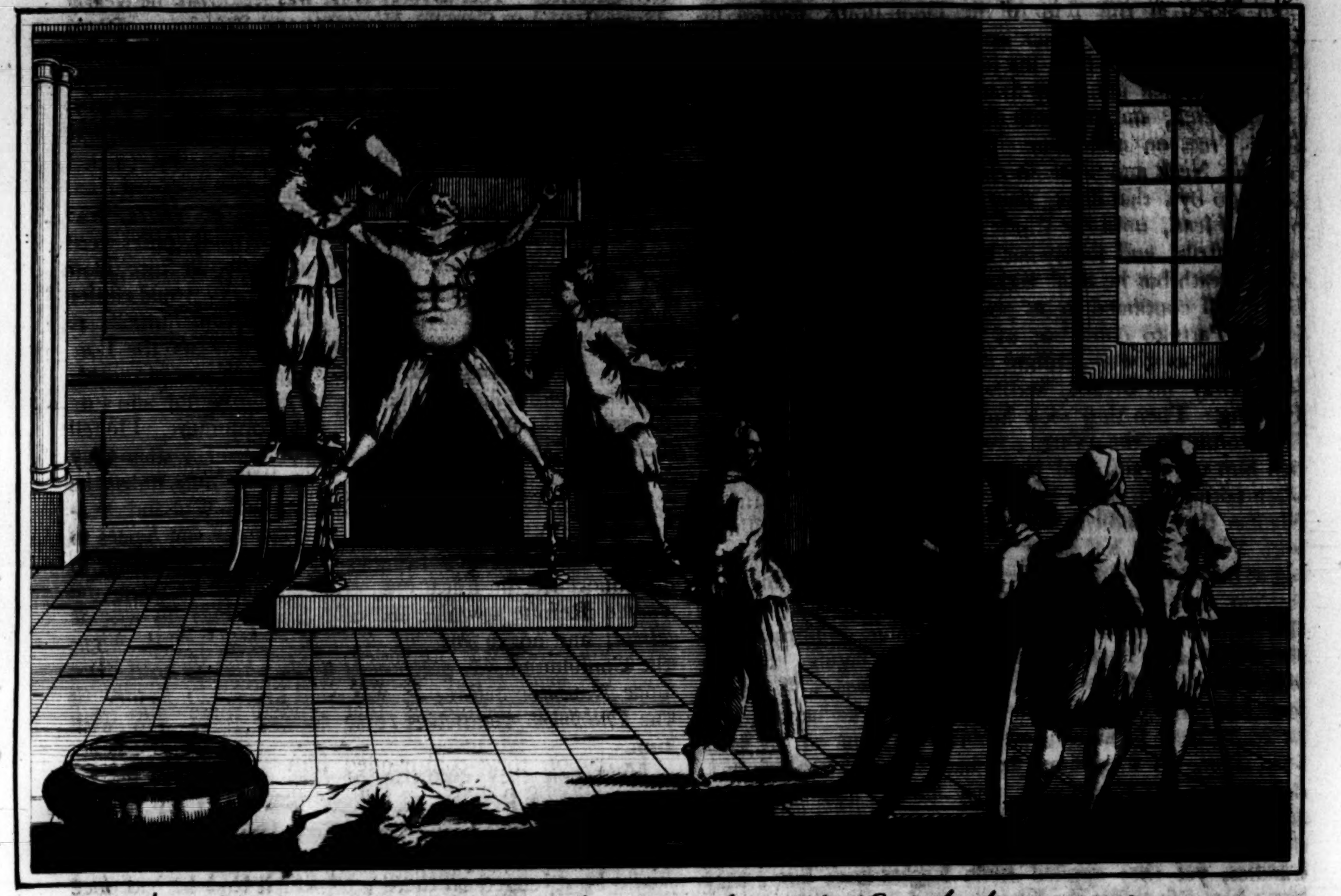
[illegible]

[illegible] or Corry to the Soldiers? Again, he ask'd him [illegible] by what Means the Japoneses should have executed the Purpose? Whereas, when Collins stood staggering and devising of some probable [illegible] the Fiscal help'd him, and said, should not two Japoneses have gone to each Point of the Castle, and two to the Governor's Chamber-door; and when the Tumult had been without, and the Governor coming to see what was the Matter, the Japoneses to have killed him? Here one that stood by [illegible] the Fiscal, Do not tell him what he should say, but let him speak of himself; whereupon the Fiscal, without attending [illegible] to his former Question, asked what the Japoneses were to have had for their Reward? Collins answered 1000 Rials a-piece. Lastly, he asked him [illegible] this Plot should have been effected? Whereupon, although he answered him nothing, not knowing what [illegible] yet he was [illegible] and very glad to come clear off, [illegible] himself with certain Belief that he should die for this [illegible]

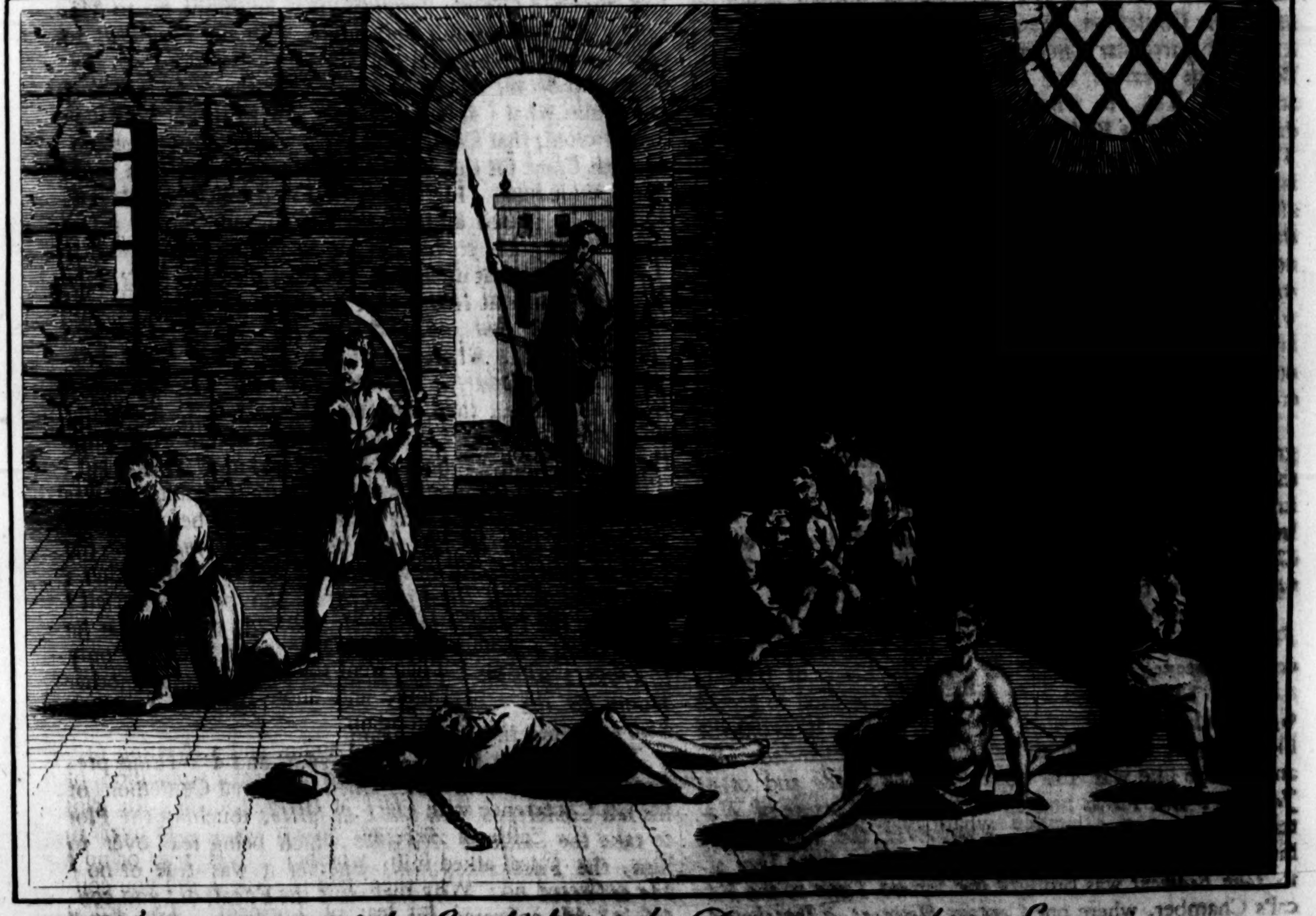
Then was Samuel Colson brought in, [illegible] newly arrived [illegible] being touched [illegible] brought to the Torturing-Room, [illegible] for fear of the Pain [illegible] that his Eyes [illegible] with the Torment of Water [illegible] to confess [illegible] asked him, and so [illegible] came out weeping, lamenting [illegible] protesting his Innocency. [illegible] was John Clark that [illegible] were taken from Hitto [illegible] and a little after was heard to cry [illegible] They tortured him with Water and with Fire, by the Space of two Hours. The Manner of his Torture, which was likewise that of Johnson and Thomson, was as follows. First, they hoist [illegible]

[illegible] Price the Chirurgeon [illegible] was tortured, was brought [illegible] the Japonese not yet con[illegible] carried out; and John [illegible] where Beamont heard him [illegible] tortured again, then [illegible] an Hour in this second [illegible] brought forth, wailing and lamenting [illegible] into the Hall, with a [illegible] he should speak [illegible] [illegible] Rack or Frame [illegible] his Neck, and two Men [illegible] be poured on his Head [illegible] had been [illegible]

Face p. 849.



The Torments inflicted by the Dutch on the English in Amboyna.



The condition of the English in the Dungean & their Execution.

him up by the Hands with a Cord, on a large Door, where they made him faſt, upon two Staples of Iron fixed on both Sides, at the Top of the Door-Poſts, halling his Hands one from the other as wide as they could ſtretch. Being thus made ſo faſt, his Feet hung two Foot from the Ground, which alſo they ſtretched aſunder as far as they could ſtretch, and ſo made them faſt beneath, under the Door-Trees on each Side. Then they bound a Cloth about his Neck and Face ſo cloſe, that little or no Water could go by; that done, they poured the Water ſoftly upon his Head, until the Cloth was full up to the Mouth and Noſtrils, and ſomewhat higher, ſo that he could not draw Breath but he muſt withal ſuck in the Water; which being ſtill continued to be poured in ſoftly, forced all his inward Parts to come out of his Noſe, Ears, and Eyes, and often, as it were, ſtifling or choaking him; at length took away his Breath, and brought him to a Swoon, or Fainting: Then they took him quickly down, and made him vomit up the Water; being a little recovered, they tied him up again, and poured in the Water as before, often taking him down as he ſeemed to be ſtifled. In this Manner they handled him three or four ſeveral Times with Water, till his Body was ſwoln twice or thrice as big as before; his Cheeks like great Bladders, and his Eyes ſtarting and ſtrutting out beyond his Forehead; yet all this he bore without confeſſing any thing, inſomuch that the Fiſcal and Tormentors reviled him, ſaying, that he was a Devil, and no Man, or ſurely he was a Witch, at leaſt had ſome Charm about him, or was inchanted, that he could bear ſo much; wherefore they cut off his Hair very ſhort, as ſuppoſing he had ſome Witcheaſt hidden therein. Afterwards they hoiſted him up again, as before, and then burnt him with lighted Candles in the Bottom of his Feet until the Fat dropped out on the Candles, yet they applied freſh Lights unto him; they burnt him alſo under the Elbows, and in the Palms of his Hands, likewiſe under the Arm-pits, until his Inwards might evidently be ſeen.

At laſt, when they ſaw he could of himſelf make no handſome Confeſſion, then they led him along with Queſtions of particular Circumſtances by themſelves framed. Being thus wearied and overcome by the Torment, he anſwered, Yea, to whatever they aſked, whereby they drew from him a Body of Confeſſion to this Effect; to wit, That Captain *Towerſon* had, upon *New-Year's-Day* then laſt paſt, ſworn all the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna* to be ſecret and aſſiſtant in a Plot that he had projected, with the Help of the *Japoneſe*, to ſurpriſe the Caſtle, and to put the Governor and the reſt of the *Dutch* to Death. Having thus martyred this poor Man, they ſent him out by four Blacks, who carried him between them to a Dungeon, where he lay five or ſix Days, without any Chirurgeon to dreſs him, until his Fleſh being putrified, great Maggots dropped and crept from it in a moſt loathſome and noiſome Manner. Thus they finiſhed their Sabbath-day's Work; and it growing now dark, ſent the reſt of the *Engliſh* that came that Day from *Hitto*, and 'till then attended in the Hall, firſt, to the Smith's Shop, where they were loaded with Irons, and then to the ſame loathſome Dungeon, where *Clark* and the reſt were accompanied with the poor *Japoneſe*, lying in the Putrefaction of their Tortures.

The next Morning, being *Monday*, the Seventeenth of *February*, O. S. *William Griggs* and *John Fardo*, with certain *Japoneſe*, were brought into the Place of Examination. The *Japoneſe* were firſt cruelly tortured to accuſe *Grigg*, which, at laſt, they did; and *Grigg*, to avoid the like Torture, confeſſed all that the Fiſcal demanded. By and by the like was alſo done by *John Fardo* and other *Japoneſe*: But *Fardo* himſelf endured the Torture of Water, and, at laſt confeſſed whatſoever the Fiſcal aſked him, and ſo was ſent back to Priſon. The ſame Day alſo *John Beamont* was brought the ſecond Time to the Fiſcal's Chamber, where one Captain *Newport*, a *Dutchman*'s Son, born in *England*, was uſed as an Interpreter; *William Griggs* was alſo brought in to accuſe him, who ſaid, That when the Conſulation was held for taking the Caſtle, he the ſaid *Beamont* was then preſent; *Beamont* denied it with great Earneſtneſs, and deep Oaths; at laſt, being ſtretched up, and drenched with Water till his Inwards were ready to crack, he anſwered affirmatively to all the Fiſcal's Interrogatories. Yet, as ſoon as he was let down, he clearly demonſtrated to Captain *Newport*, and *Johnſon*, a *Dutch* Merchant, then alſo preſent, that theſe Things could not be ſo; nevertheleſs, he was forced to put his Hand to the Confeſſion, or elſe he muſt to the Torture again, which, to avoid, he ſubſcribed, and ſo had a great Iron-bolt, and two Shackles rivited to his Legs, and then was carried back to Priſon.

After this *George Sharrock*, Aſſiſtant at *Hitto*, was called in Queſtion, who ſeeing how grievouſly others were martyr'd, made his earneſt Prayer to GOD, as ſince upon his Oath he hath acknowledged, that he would ſuffer him to make ſome ſuch probable Lies againſt himſelf, as the *Dutch* might believe, and ſo he might eſcape the Torment. Being brought to the Rack, the Water provided, and the Candles lighted, he was by the Governor and Fiſcal examined, and charged with the Conſpiracy. He fell upon his Knees, and proteſted his Innocence; then they commanded him to the Rack, and told him, unleſs he would confeſs he ſhould be tormented with Fire and Water to Death, and then ſhould be drawn by the Knees to the Gallows, and there hanged up. He ſtill perſiſting in his Innocence, the Fiſcal bid him be hoiſted up; then he craved Reſpite a while, and told them, that he was at *Hitto*, and not in *Amboyna* upon *New-Year's-Day*, when the Conſultation was pretended, neither had he been there ſince *November* before, as was well known to ſundry of the *Dutchmen* themſelves that reſided there alſo with him.

Hereupon they commanded him again to the Rack; but he craving Reſpite, as before, now told them that he had many Times heard *John Clark* ſay, that the *Dutch* had done them many unſufferable Wrongs, and that he would be revenged on them; to which End he had once broken with Captain *Towerſon* a brave Plot; at which Word the Fiſcal and the reſt were attentive, encouraging him to proceed; ſo he went on, ſaying, that *John Clark* had entreated Captain *Towerſon*, that he might go to *Macaſſar*, there to conſult and adviſe with the *Spaniards* to come with Gallies, and rob the ſmall Factories of *Amboyna* and *Secan*, when no Ships were there. Here they aſked him what Captain *Towerſon* ſaid to this? To which he anſwered, that Captain *Towerſon* was very much offended with *Clark* for the Motion, and from thenceforth could never abide him. Hereupon the Fiſcal called him Rogue, and ſaid he prated all from the Matter, and ſhould go to the Torture: He craved Favour again, and began another Tale, to wit, That upon *Twelfth-Day*, then laſt paſt, *John Clark* told him at *Hitto*, that there was a Practice to take the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, and aſked him whether he would conſent thereto; whereupon he demanded of *Clark* whether Captain *Towerſon* knew of any ſuch Matter, which *Clark* affirming; then the ſaid *Sharrock* ſaid, he would do as the reſt did. Then the Fiſcal aſked him what Time the Conſultation was held? He anſwered in *November* laſt: The Fiſcal ſaid that could not be, for the Conſultation was on *New-Year's-Day*. The Priſoner ſaid as before in the Beginning, that he had not been in *Amboyna* ſince the Firſt of *December* till now, that he was brought thither; why then, quoth the Fiſcal, have you belied yourſelf? Whereto the Priſoner reſolutely anſwered, that all that he had ſpoken touching Treaſon was falſe, and feigned only to avoid Torment. Then went the Fiſcal out into another Room to the Governour, and anon returned and ſent *Sharrock* unto the Priſon again.

The next Day he was called again, and a Writing preſented him, wherein was framed a formal Confeſſion of his laſt Conference with *Clark* at *Hitto*, touching the Plot to take the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, which being read over to him, the Fiſcal aſked him, whether it was true or no? He anſwered no: Why then, ſaid the Fiſcal, did you confeſs it? He anſwered, for fear of Torment. The Fiſcal and the reſt, in a great Rage, told him he lyed, his Mouth had ſpoken it; and it was true, and therefore he ſhould ſubſcribe it, which, as ſoon as he had done, he fell preſently into a great Paſſion, charging them bitterly to be guilty of the innocent Blood of himſelf and the reſt, which they ſhould look to anſwer for at the Day of Judgment;

ment; withal he grappled with the Fiſcal, and would have ſtopped him from carrying in the Confeſſion to the Governor, with whom he alſo craved to ſpeak, but was inſtantly laid hold on, and carried away to Priſon. *William Webber* being next examined, was told by the Fiſcal, that *John Clark* had confeſſed him to have been at *Amboyna* on *New-Year's-Day*, and ſworn to Captain *Towerſon*'s Plot, *&c.* all which he denied, alledging he was that Day at *Larica*; yet, being brought to the Torture, he then confeſſed he had been at the Conſultation at *Amboyna* upon *New-Year's-Day*, with all the reſt of the Circumſtances in order as he was aſked.

He alſo further told them, he had received a Letter from *John Clark*, after which was a Poſtſcript, excuſing his brief Writing at that Time, for that there was then great Buſineſs in hand. But one *Kender*, a *Dutch* Merchant, then ſtanding by, told the Governor, that upon *New-Year's-Day*, the Time of this pretended Conſultation, *Webber* and he were merry at *Larica*; ſo the Governor left him and went out: But the Fiſcal held out upon the other Point, touching the Poſtſcript of *Clark*'s Letter, urging him to ſhew the ſame, which, when he could not do, though often terrified with the Torture, he gave him Reſpite, promiſing to ſave his Life, if he would produce the Letter. Then was Captain *Towerſon* brought to the Examination, and ſhewed what others had confeſſed of him; he deeply proteſted his Innocency. *Samuel Colſon* was brought to confront him, who being told, that unleſs he would now make good his former Confeſſion againſt Captain *Towerſon*, he ſhould go to the Torture, coldly reaffirmed the ſame, and ſo was ſent away. They alſo brought *William Griggs* and *John Fardo* to juſtify their former Confeſſions to his Face. Captain *Towerſon* ſeriouſly charged, that as they would anſwer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment, they ſhould ſpeak nothing but the Truth: Both of them inſtantly fell down upon their Knees before him, praying him, for God's Sake, to forgive them; and ſaying further openly, before them all, that whatſoever they had formerly confeſſed, was moſt falſe, and ſpoken only to avoid Torment. With that the Fiſcal and the reſt ordered them again to the Torture, which they would not endure, but then affirmed their former Confeſſions to be true. When *Colſon*, who had accuſed the Captain before, was required to ſet his Hand to his Confeſſion; he aſked the Fiſcal upon whoſe Head he thought the Sin would lie, whether upon his, who was conſtrained to confeſs what was falſe, or upon the Conſtrainer?

The Fiſcal, after a little Pauſe upon this Queſtion, went in to the Governor, then in another Room; but anon, returning, ſaid he muſt ſubſcribe it, which he did, yet withal made this Proteſtation; Well, quoth he, you make me to accuſe myſelf and others, of that which is as falſe as God is true; for God is my Witneſs, I am as innocent as the Child new born. Thus have they examined all that belong to the *Engliſh* Company in the ſeveral Factories of the Iſland of *Amboyna*. *February* the Twenty-firſt they examined *John Wetheral*, Factor at *Cambello*, in the Iſland of *Seran*. He confeſſed he was at *Amboyna* upon *New-Year's-Day*, but for the Conſultation whereof he was demanded, he ſaid he knew of no other but touching certain Cloth of the *Engliſh* Company that lay in the Factories rotting and worm-eaten, which they adviſed together how to put off to the beſt Avail of their Employers. The Governor ſaid, he queſtioned him not about Cloth, but of Treaſon, whereof, when he had proteſted his Innocence, he was for that Time diſmiſſed; but the next Day he was ſent for again, and Captain *Towerſon* brought to confront and accuſe him, having before confeſſed ſomewhat againſt him; but Mr. *Towerſon* ſpoke theſe Words only, O Mr. *Wetherel*, Mr. *Wetherel*, ſpeak the Truth, and nothing but the Truth, as God ſhall put it in your Heart; ſo Captain *Towerſon* was put out again, and Mr. *Wetherel* brought to the Torture of Water, with great Threats, if Water would not make him confeſs, Fire ſhould. He prayed them to tell him what he ſhould ſay, or to write down what they would, he would ſubſcribe it. They ſaid, he needed no Tutor, they would make him confeſs himſelf; but when they had hoiſted him up four ſeveral Times, and ſaw he knew not what to ſay; then they read him other Mens Confeſſions, and aſked him from Point to Point, as they had done others, and he ſtill anſwered, *Yea*, to all.

Next was called in *John Powel*, *Wetherel*'s Aſſiſtant at *Cambello*; but he proving that he was not at *Amboyna* ſince *November*, ſave now, when he was brought thither Priſoner, and being ſpoken for by one *John Jooſt*, who had long been well acquainted with him, was diſmiſſed without Torture. Then was *Thomas Ladbrook*, Servant to *Wetherel* and *Powlet* at *Cambello*, at the Time of the pretended Conſultation, and ſerving in ſuch Quality, as that he was never acquainted with any of the Letters from the Agent of *Amboyna*, he was eaſily and quickly diſmiſſed. *Ephraim Ramſey* was alſo examined upon the whole Conſpiracy, and particularly queſtioned concerning Captain *Weldon*, the *Engliſh* Agent in *Banda*; but denying all, and proving that he was not at *Amboyna* at New-years-tide, being alſo ſpoken for by *John Jooſt*, was diſmiſſed, after he had hanged in the Rack a good while, with Irons about his Legs, and the Cloth about his Mouth. Laſtly, *John Sadler*, Servant to *William Griggs* at *Larica*, was examined, and being found to have been abſent from *Amboyna* at New-years-tide, when *Griggs* and others were there, was diſmiſſed.

Thus have we all their Examinations, Tortures, and Confeſſions, being the Work of eight Days, from the 15th to the 23d of *February*, after which was two Days reſpited before the Sentence. *John Powel* being himſelf acquitted as aforeſaid, went to the Priſon to viſit *John Fardo*, one of theſe that had accuſed Captain *Towerſon*; to him *Fardo* religiouſly proteſted his Innocency, but eſpecially his Sorrow for accuſing Maſter *Towerſon*; for, ſaid he, the Fear of Death doth nothing diſmay me; for God, I truſt, will be merciful to my Soul, according to the Innocence of my Cauſe. The only Matter that troubles me is, that through Fear of Torment I have accuſed that honeſt and godly Man Captain *Towerſon*, whom, I think in my Conſcience, was ſo upright towards all Men, that he harboured no ill-will to any Man; much leſs would attempt any ſuch Buſineſs as he is accuſed of. He farther ſaid, he would before his Death receive the Sacrament, in Acknowledgment, that he had accuſed Captain *Towerſon* falſely and wrongfully, only through Fear of Torment.

On the 25th, O. S. all the Priſoners, as well the *Engliſh* as the *Portugueze* and *Japoneſe*, were brought into the great Hall of the Caſtle, and there were ſolemnly condemned, except *John Powel*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, *John Sadler*, and *Thomas Ladbrook*, formerly acquitted as aforeſaid; Captain *Towerſon*, during all his Impriſonment, having been kept from the reſt, ſo that none could come to ſpeak with him, writ much in his Chamber; but all was ſuppreſſed, ſave only a Bill of Debt, which one *Thomas Johnſon*, a free Burgher, got of him, by Favour of his Keepers, for an Acknowledgment, that the *Engliſh* Company owed him a certain Sum of Money. In the End of this Bill he writ theſe Words, *Firmed by the Form of me* Gabriel Towerſon, *now appointed to die, guiltleſs of any thing that can be juſtly laid to my Charge. God forgive them their Guilt, and receive me to his Mercy.* Amen. This Bill being brought to M. *Weldon*, the *Engliſh* Agent at *Banda*, he paid the Money, and received in the Acknowledgment. *William Griggs*, who had before accuſed Captain *Towerſon*, writ the following Words in his Table Book: "We whoſe Names are here ſpecified, *John Beamont*, Merchant of *Lobo*, *William Griggs*, Merchant of *Larica*, *Abel Price*, Chirurgeon of *Amboyna*, *Robert Brown*, Taylor, which do here lie Priſoners in the Ship *Rotterdam*, being apprehended for Conſpiracy, for blowing up the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, we being judged to Death this fifth of *March*, *Anno* 1622, which we, through Torment, were conſtrained to ſpeak that which we never meant, nor once imagined, the which we take upon our Deaths and Salvation. They tortured us with that extream Torment of Fire and Water, that Fleſh and Blood could not endure; and this we take upon our Deaths, that they have put us to Death guiltleſs of our Accuſation: So therefore that we deſire that they that ſhall underſtand this, that our Employers may underſtand theſe Wrongs, and that yourſelves would have a Care to look to yourſelves, for their Intent was to have brought you in alſo; they aſked concerning you, which, if they had tortured us, we muſt have confeſſed you alſo, and ſo farewel; written in the dark.”

This Table-Book was afterwards delivered to M. *Weldon* beforementioned, by one that ſerved the *Dutch*. *Samuel Colſon* alſo, another that accuſed Captain *Towerſon*, writ as followeth in the waſte Leaves of a Book, wherein were bound together the Common-Prayers, the Pſalms, and the Catechiſm. In one Page thus: “*March* the fifth, N. S. being *Sunday*, on Board the *Rotterdam*, lying in Irons, underſtand, that I *Samuel Colſon*, late Factor of *Hitto*, was apprehended for Suſpicion of Conſpiracy, and for any thing I know muſt die for it; wherefore, having no better means to make my Innocency known, have writ this in this Book, hoping ſome good *Engliſhmen* will ſee it. I do here upon my Salvation, as I hope by his Death and Paſſion to have Redemption for my Sins, that I am clear of all ſuch Conſpiracy, neither do I know any *Engliſhman* guilty thereof, nor other Creature in the World. As this is true, God bleſs me, *Samuel Colſon*.”

On the other Side, upon the firſt Page of the Catechiſm, is thus written; *In another Leaf you ſhall underſtand more, which I have written in this Book*. Samuel Colſon. In the Beginning of the Pſalms, and in the Leaf ſo referred unto, is thus written, *viz.* “The *Japoneſe* were taken with ſome Villany, and brought to Examination; being moſt tyranouſly tortured, were aſked, if the *Engliſh* had any hand in the Plot, which Torture made them ſay yea. Then was Maſter *Thomſon*, and Mr. *Johnſon*, Mr. *Collins*, *John Clark*, brought to Execution, and were burned under the Arm-pits, the Hands and Soals of the Feet, with another moſt miſerable Torment, to drink Water; ſome of them almoſt tortured to Death, and were forced to confeſs that which they never knew, by reaſon of the Torment which Fleſh and Blood is not able to endure. Then were the reſt of the *Engliſhmen* called one by one, amongſt which I was one, being wiſhed to confeſs, or elſe I muſt go to Torment; withal, cauſed M. *Johnſon*, who was before tormented, to witneſs againſt me, or elſe he ſhould be tormented again; which, rather than he would endure, he ſaid what they would have him ſpeak. Then muſt I confeſs that I never knew, or elſe go to Torment, which, rather than I would ſuffer, I did confeſs that which, as I ſhall be ſaved before God Almighty, is not true, being forced, for fear of Torment. Then did they make us witneſs againſt Captain *Towerſon*; and at laſt made Captain *Towerſon* confeſs all, being for fear of moſt cruel Torment, for which we muſt all die. As I mean and hope to have pardon for my Sins, I know no more than the Child unborn of this Buſineſs; written with my own Hand, the firſt of *March*, N. S. *Sam. Colſon*.”

Yet in another Page were theſe Words; *I was born in* New-Caſtle upon Tyne, *where I deſire this Book may come, that my Friends may know of my Innocence*. Samuel Colſon. This Book he delivered to one that ſerved the *Dutch*, who ſewed it up in his Bed, and afterwards, at his Opportunity, delivered it to Mr. *Weldon* beforementioned. All theſe ſaid Writings are yet extant, under the Hands of the ſeveral Parties well known to their Friends here in *England*.

The twenty-ſixth Day of *February*, O. S. the Priſoners were all brought into the great Hall of the Caſtle, except Captain *Towerſon*, and *Emanuel Thomſon*, to be prepared for Death by the Miniſters. The *Japoneſe* now all in general, as ſome of them had done before in particular, cried out unto the *Engliſh*, ſaying, Oh! you *Engliſhmen*, where did we ever in our Lives eat with you, talk with you, or to our Remembrance, ſee you? The *Engliſh* anſwered, why then have you accuſed us? The poor Men perceiving they were made believe each had accuſed others, before they had ſo done, indeed, ſhewed them their tortured Bodies, and ſaid, if a Stone were thus burnt, would it not change its Nature? How much more then we that are Fleſh and Blood? Whilſt they were all in the Hall, Captain *Towerſon* was brought up into the Place of Examination, and two great Jars of Water carried after him; what he there did, or ſuffered, is unknown to the *Engliſh*; but it ſeemeth, they made him then to underwrite his Confeſſion. After Supper, *John Powel*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, *Thomas Ladbrook*, and *John Sadler*, who were found not guilty, as aforeſaid, were taken from the reſt, and put into another Room; by and by alſo were *Samuel Colſon* and *Edward Collins* brought from the reſt, into the Room where *Emanuel Thomſon* lay: The Fiſcal told them, it was the Governor's Mercy to ſave one of thoſe three; and it being indifferent to him which of them were the Man, it was his Pleaſure they ſhould draw Lots for it, which they did, and the free Lot fell to *Edward Collins*, who then was carried away to the Chamber, where *John Powel*, and the reſt that were quit, lodged; and *Samuel Colſon* back into the Hall. Anon alſo *John Beaumont* was brought out of the Hall into the Chamber, where *John Powel*, and the reſt of the acquitted Perſons were, and was told, that he was beholden to *Peter Johnſon*, the *Dutch* Merchant of *Lobo*, and to the Secretary, for they two had begged his Life. So then there remained in the Hall ten of the *Engliſh*; for Captain *Towerſon* and *Emanuel Thomſon* were kept in ſeveral Rooms apart from the reſt. To theſe that remained in the Hall came the *Dutch* Miniſters, who telling them how ſhort a time they had to live, admoniſhed and exhorted them to make their true Confeſſions; for it was a dangerous and deſperate thing to diſſemble at ſuch a Time.

The *Engliſh* ſtill profeſſed their Innocency, and prayed the Miniſters that they might all receive the Sacrament, as a Seal of the Forgiveneſs of their Sins; and withal, thereby to confirm their laſt Profeſſion of their Innocence; but this would by no means be granted: Whereupon *Samuel Colſon* ſaid thus unto the Miniſters, You manifeſt unto us the Danger of Diſſimulation in this Caſe; but tell us, if we ſuffer guiltleſs, being otherwiſe alſo true Believers in *Jeſus Chriſt*, what ſhall be our Reward. The Preacher anſwered, by how much the clearer you are, ſo much the more glorious ſhall be your Reſurrection. With that Word *Colſon* ſtarted up, embraced the Preacher, and gave him his Purſe, with ſuch Money as he had in it, ſaying, *Domine*, God bleſs you: Tell the Governor I freely forgive him, and I intreat you, to exhort him to repent him of his bloody Tragedy wrought upon us poor innocent Souls. Here all the reſt of the *Engliſh* ſignified their Conſent to this Speech. Then ſpake *John Fardo* to the reſt, in the Preſence of the Miniſters, as followeth: My Countrymen and Brethren, that are here with me, condemned to die, I charge you all, as you will anſwer it at God's Judgment Seat, if any of you be guilty of this Matter, whereof we are condemned, diſcharge your Conſciences, and confeſs the Truth, for Satisfaction of the World. Hereupon *Samuel Colſon* ſpake with a loud Voice, ſaying, according to my Innocence in this Treaſon, ſo, Lord, pardon all the reſt of my Sins, and if I be guilty thereof, more or leſs, let me never be Partaker of thy heavenly Joys; at which Words every one of the reſt cried out, Amen; for me, Amen; for me, good Lord. This done, each of them knowing whom he had accuſed, went one to another, begging Forgiveneſs for their falſe Accuſation, being wrung from them by the Pains or Fear of Torture; and they all freely forgave one another; for none had been ſo falſely accuſed, but he himſelf had accuſed another as falſely; in particular, *George Sharrock*, who ſurvived to relate this Night's Paſſage, kneeled down to *John Clark*, whom he had accuſed of the Tale at *Hitto* abovementioned, and craved Forgiveneſs at his Hands: *Clark* freely forgave him, ſaying, how ſhall I look to be forgiven of God, if I ſhould not forgive you, having myſelf ſo falſely accuſed Captain *Towerſon* and others. After this they ſpent the reſt of the doleful Night in Prayer, ſinging of Pſalms, and comforting one another, though the *Dutch* that guarded them offered them Wine, bidding them drink luſtily, and drive away the Sorrow, according to the Cuſtom of their own Country in the like Caſes, but contrary to the Nature of the *Engliſh*.

Upon the Morrow Morning, being the Execution Day, the 27th of *February*, O. S. *John Powel* being freed, as before recited, came into the Room where the condemned Perſons were, and found them at Prayers. They all requeſted him to relate unto their Friends in *England* the Innocency of their Cauſe, taking it upon their Deaths, that what they had confeſſed againſt themſelves and others, touching this Crime, was all falſe, and forced by fear of

Torture. The ſame Morning *William Webber* was called again into the Fiſcal's Room, and there preſſed to produce the Letter which he had before confeſſed to have received from *John Clark*, in the Poſtſcript whereof ſome great Buſineſs was intimated: They promiſed him his Life, if he would deliver, or produce to them that Letter, which, tho' he did not, nor indeed could, yet at laſt they pardoned him, and ſent him to the reſt that were ſaved, and *Sharrock* with him. That Morning *Emanuel Thomſon* underſtanding that *John Beamont* was pardoned, made Means to have him come and ſpeak with him, which with much ado he obtained. *Beamont* found him ſitting in a Chamber all alone, in a moſt miſerable Faſhion, the Wounds of his Torture bound up, but the Matter and gore Blood iſſuing through the Rollers; he took M. *Beamont* by the Hand, and prayed him, when he came into *England*, to do his Duty to the honourable Company his Maſters, to M. *Robinſon*, and to his Brother *Billingſley*, and to certify them of his Innocence, which, ſaid he, you yourſelf know well enough.

All things being prepared for the Execution, the condemned were brought forth of the Hall along by the Chamber, where the quit and pardoned were, who ſtood in the Door to give and take the Farewel of their Countrymen now going to Execution; ſtaying a little for this Purpoſe, they prayed, and charged thoſe that were ſaved, to bear witneſs to their Friends in *England* of their Innocence, and that they died not Traitors, but ſo many Innocents merely murdered by the *Dutch*, whom they prayed God to forgive their Blood-thirſtineſs, and to have Mercy upon their own Souls. Being brought into the Yard, their Sentence was read unto them from a Gallery, and then they were thence carried unto the Place of Execution, together with nine *Japoneſe* and a *Portugueze*, not the ordinary and ſhort Way, but round about, in a long Proceſſion through the Town, the Way guarded by five Companies of Soldiers, *Dutch* and *Amboyneſe*, and thronged with the Natives of the Iſland; that upon the Summons given the Day before by the Sound of the Drum, flocked together to behold this Triumph of the *Dutch* over the *Engliſh*. *Samuel Colſon* had conceived a Prayer in Writing, in the End whereof he proteſted his Innocence, which Prayer he read to his Fellows the Night before; and now alſo at the Place of Execution, devoutly pronounced the ſame; then threw away the Paper, which the Governor cauſed to be brought to him, and kept it. *Emanuel Thomſon* told the reſt, he did not doubt but God would ſhew a Sign of their Innocence; and every one of the reſt took it ſeverely upon their Death, that they were utterly guiltleſs; and ſo one by one, with great Chearfulneſs, ſuffered the fatal Stroke. The *Portugueze* prayed over his Beads very devoutly, and often kiſſed the Croſs, ſwearing thereupon, that he was utterly innocent of this Treaſon, yet confeſſed, that God had juſtly brought this Puniſhment upon him; for that having a Wife in his own Country, he had, by the Perſuaſion of the *Dutch* Governor, taken another in that Country, his firſt being yet living.

The *Japoneſe*, likewiſe, according to their Religion, ſhut up their laſt Act with the like Profeſſion of their Innocence; ſo there ſuffered ten *Engliſhmen*, viz. Captain *Gabriel Towerſon*, the Agent for the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*; *Samuel Colſon*, Factor at *Hitto*; *Emanuel Thomſon*, Aſſiſtant at *Amboyna*; *Timothy Johnſon*, Aſſiſtant there alſo; *John Wetherel*, Aſſiſtant at *Cambello*; *John Clark*, Aſſiſtant, at *Hitto*; *William Griggs*, Factor at *Larica*; *John Fardo*, Steward of the Houſe; *Abel Price*, Chirurgeon, and *Robert Brown*, Taylor. The *Portugueze* alſo ſuffered with them, his Name was *Auguſtin Perez*, he was born at *Bengal*. The Names of the *Japoneſe* that ſuffered were as followeth: *Hititſo*, *Tſioſa*, *Sinſa*, all born at *Firando*; *Sidney Migial*, *Pedro Congie*, *Thomas Corea*, born at *Naganſaque*; *Quiandayo*, Native of *Coraets*; *Tſabinda*, of *Tſonckotgo*; *Zanchoe*, of *Fiſien*. Beſides theſe there were two other *Japoneſe*, the one named *Soyſimo*, born at *Firando*, and the other *Sacoubo*, of the ſame Place; the former of which being tortured, confeſſed both to have been privy to this private Treaſon, and to have offered his Service to the *Engliſh* to aid them in taking of the Caſtle; and the latter confeſſed to have had Knowledge of the Conſultation of the other *Japoneſe* to this Purpoſe; but neither of them was executed, or ſo much as condemned; the Reaſon whereof was not known to the *Engliſh* that were ſaved. They had prepared a Cloth of black Velvet for Captain *Towerſon's* Body to fall upon, which being ſtained and defaced with his Blood, they afterwards put to Account of the *Engliſh* Company. At the Inſtance of the Execution there aroſe a great Darkneſs, with a ſudden and violent Guſt of Wind and Tempeſt, whereby two of the *Dutch* Ships riding in the Harbour, were driven from their Anchors, and with great Labour and Difficulty ſaved from the Rocks. Within a few Days after one *William Dunckin*, who had told the Governor, that *Robert Brown* the *Engliſh* Taylor, had a few Months before told him, he hoped that within ſix Months the *Engliſh* ſhould have as much to do in the Caſtle of *Amboyna* as the *Dutch*. This Fellow coming upon an Evening to the Grave, where the *Engliſh* were buried, being all, except Captain *Towerſon*, in one Pit, fell down upon the Grave, and having lain there awhile, roſe up again ſtark mad, and ſo continued two or three Days together, and then died. Forthwith alſo fell a new Sickneſs at *Amboyna*, which ſwept away above one thouſand People, *Dutch* and *Amboyneſe*, in the Space wherein there uſually died not thirty at other Seaſons. Theſe Signs were, by the ſurviving *Engliſh*, referred to the confident Prediction of *Emanuel Thomſon* above-named, and were by the *Amboyneſe* interpreted as a Token of the Wrath of God for this barbarous Tyranny of the *Dutch*.

The next Day after the Execution, being the 28th of *February*, O. S. was ſpent in Triumph for the new General of the *Dutch* then proclaimed, and in publick Rejoicing for the Deliverance from this pretended Treaſon. On the 1ſt of *March*, *John Beamont*, *George Sharrach*, *Edward Collins*, and *William Webber*, were brought to the Governor, who told *Beamont* and *Sharrach*, that they were pardoned in Honour of the new General, and *Collins*, that he was to go to *Jaccatra*, there to ſtand to the Favour of the Governor; ſo the Governor made them drink Wine with him, and courteouſly diſmiſſed them, willing them to go and conſult with the reſt that were ſaved, who were fit to be placed in the ſeveral Factories; which done, and their Opinions reported to the Governor, he accordingly commanded each to his Place, adding, that he would thenceforth take upon him the Patronage and Government of the *Engliſh* Company's Buſineſs, to which Purpoſe he had within a few Days paſt opened a Letter that came from the *Engliſh* Preſident at *Jaccatra*, directed to Captain *Towerſon*, being the firſt *Engliſh* Letter he ever intercepted; further ſaying, that he was glad that he found by the Letter that the *Engliſh* at *Jaccatra* were innocent touching this Buſineſs. The Governor and Fiſcal having juſt made an End at *Amboyna*, diſpatched themſelves for *Banda*, where they made very diligent Enquiry againſt Captain *Weldon*, the *Engliſh* Agent there, yet found no Colour or Shadow of Guilt to lay hold on, but at laſt entertained him with courteous Speeches, profeſſing to be very glad that they found him as well as the *Engliſh* at *Jaccatra* to be without Suſpicion of this Treaſon.

Captain *Weldon* perceiving the Diſorder and Confuſion of the *Engliſh* Company's Affairs at *Amboyna*, by Means of this Dealing of the *Dutch*, forthwith hired a *Dutch* Pinnace at *Banda*, and paſſed to *Amboyna*, where inſtantly upon his Arrival, he recalled the Company's Servants, which were ſent by the *Dutch* Governor to the upper Factories. Having inquired of them, and the reſt that were left at *Amboyna*, of the whole Proceedings lately paſſed, he found by the conſtant and agreeing Relation of them all, that there was no ſuch Treaſon of the *Engliſh* as was pretended, as alſo underſtanding what ſtrict Command the Governor had given to the ſurviving *Engliſh* not once to talk, or confer with the Country People concerning this bloody Buſineſs, although the ſaid Country People every Day reproached them with Treaſon, and a bloody Intention to have maſſacred the Natives, and to have ripped up the Bellies of Women with Child, and ſuch like ſtuff, wherewith the *Dutch* have poſſeſſed the poor Vulgar, to make the *Engliſh* odious unto them. The ſaid M. *Weldon* therefore finding it to ſuit neither with the Honour nor Profit of the *Engliſh* Company his Maſters, to hold any longer

Reſidence in *Amboyna*, he took the poor Remnant of the *Engliſh* along with him in the ſaid hired Pinnace for *Jaccatra*, whither the Governor had ſent *John Beamont*, and *Edward Collins* before, as Men condemned, and left to the Mercy of the Governor. When this heavy News of *Amboyna* came to *Jaccatra*, and the *Engliſh* there, the Preſident ſent forthwith to the General of the *Dutch*, to know by what Authority the Governor of *Amboyna* had thus proceeded againſt the *Engliſh*, and how he and the reſt of the *Dutch* there at *Jaccatra* did approve theſe Proceedings. The Governor returned for Anſwer, that the Governor of *Amboyna*'s Authority was derived from the Lords States-General of the *United Netherlands*, under whom he had lawful Juriſdiction both in criminal and civil Cauſes, within the Diſtrict of *Amboyna*; further, that ſuch Proceeding was neceſſary againſt Traitors, ſuch as the *Engliſh* executed at *Amboyna* might appear to be by their own Confeſſions, a Copy whereof he therewith ſent to the *Engliſh* Preſident, who ſent the ſame back to be authenticky certified, but received it not again. Hitherto hath been recited the bare and naked Narration of the Progreſs and Paſſage of this Action, as it is taken out of the Depoſitions of ſix ſeveral *Engliſh* Factors, whereof four were condemned, and the other two acquitted, in this Proceſs of *Amboyna*. All ſince their Return into *England*, examined upon their Oaths in the Admiralty-Court. The Particulars of Captain *Towerſon*'s, as alſo of *Emanuel Thomſon*'s Examinations and Anſwers, are not yet come to Light, by reaſon that theſe two were kept a-part from all the reſt, and each alone by himſelf, nor any other of the *Engliſh* ſuffered to ſpeak with them, except only that ſhort Farewel which *John Beamont* took of *Thomſon*, the Morning before the Execution before mentioned. The like Obſcurity is yet touching the Examinations and Anſwers of diverſe of the reſt that are executed, being, during their Impriſonment, ſo ſtrictly looked to, and watched by the *Dutch*, that they might not talk together, nor mutually relate their Miſeries; but becauſe the *Dutch* defend their own Proceedings by the Confeſſions of the Parties executed, acknowledging ſeverally under their Hands, that they were guilty of the pretended Crime.

It will not be amiſs to recollect and recall unto this Place, as it were unto one Sum and Total, certain Circumſtances diſperſed in ſeveral Parts of this Narration, whereby as well the Innocence of the *Engliſh*, as the unlawful Proceeding againſt them may be manifeſted.

Firſt, therefore, it is to be remembred, that the *Japoneſe* were apprehended, examined and tortured three or four Days before the *Engliſh* were attacked, and the ſame as well of their Apprehenſion as Torture was rief and notorious in the Town of *Amboyna*, and the Parts adjoining. *Thomſon* in this Interim, and the very firſt Day of the Examination of the *Japoneſe*, went to the Caſtle, to aſk Leave of the Governor to land ſome Rice, and brought back the News with him to the *Engliſh* Houſe, of the cruel handling of theſe poor *Japoneſe*. This had been *Item* enough to the *Engliſh*, if they had been guilty, to ſhift for themſelves, whereto alſo they had ready Means by the Curricurries, or ſmall Boats of the *Amboyners*, which lie along the Strand, in that Number wherewith they might eaſily have tranſported themſelves to *Seran*, to *Bottoun* or *Macaſſar*, out of the Reach and Juriſdiction of the *Dutch*; but in that they fled not, in this Caſe, it is a very ſtrong Preſumption, that they were as little privy to any Treaſon of their own, as ſuſpicious of any treacherous Train laid for their Bloods.

In the next Place, let it be conſidered, how impoſſible it was for the *Engliſh* to atchieve this pretended Enterpriſe. The Caſtle of *Amboyna* is of a very great Strength, the Garriſon therein two or three hundred Men, beſides as many more of their free Burghers in the Town. What their Care and Circumſpection in all their Forts is, may appear, not only from the quick Alarm they took at the fooliſh Jeſting of the poor *Japoneſe*, made to the Centinel above recited, but alſo by that which a little before had happened at *Jaccatra*, where one of their Soldiers was ſhot to Death for ſleeping on the Watch. Durſt ten *Engliſhmen*, whereof not one Soldier, attempt any thing upon ſuch a Strength and Vigilance? As for the Aſſiſtance of the *Japoneſe*, they were but ten neither, and all unarmed, as well as the *Engliſh*: For, as at the Seizure at the *Engliſh* Houſe, all the Proviſion there found, was but three Swords, two Muſkets, and half a Pound of Powder; ſo the *Japoneſe*, except when they are in Service of the Caſtle, and there armed by the *Dutch*, are allowed to have no Arms, but only a Catan, a kind of ſhort Sword; and it is forbidden to all the *Dutch*, upon great Penalty, to ſell any Hand-gun, Powder or Bullets to the *Japoneſe* or *Amboyners*.

But let it be imagined theſe twenty Perſons, *Engliſh* and *Japoneſe*, were ſo deſperate as to adventure the Exploit, how ſhould they be able to maſter the *Dutch* in the Caſtle, or to keep Poſſeſſion when they had gotten it? What Second had they? There was neither Ship nor Pinnace of the *Engliſh* in Harbour. All the reſt of the *Japoneſe* in the Iſland were not twenty Perſons, and not one *Engliſh* more. The neareſt of the reſt of the *Engliſh* were at *Banda*, forty Leagues from *Amboyna*, and thoſe but nine Perſons, all afterwards cleared by the Governor and Fiſcal themſelves, from all Suſpicion of this pretended Crime, as were alſo the reſt of the *Engliſh* at *Jaccatra*.

On the other Side, beſides the Strength of the Caſtle, and Town of *Amboyna*, the *Dutch* have three other ſtrong Caſtles, well furniſhed with Soldiers, in the ſame Iſland, and at *Cambello*, near adjoining. They had then alſo in the Road of *Amboyna* eight Ships and Veſſels, namely, the *Rotterdam* of 1200 Tuns, the *Unicorn* of 300 Tuns, the *Freemens* Veſſel of 100 Tuns, the *Calk* of 60 Tuns, Captain *Gamal*'s *Junck*, of 40 Tuns, the *Flute* of 300 Tuns, the *Amſterdam* of 1400 Tuns, and a ſmall Pinnace of about 60 Tuns, and all theſe well furniſhed with Men and Ammunition. It is true, that the Stories do record ſundry valiant and hardy Enterpriſes of the *Engliſh* Nation, and the *Dutch* are Witneſſes of ſome of them; yea, have reaped the Fruit of the *Engliſh* Reſolution, yet no Story, no Legend, ſcarcely reporteth any ſuch Hardineſs either of the *Engliſh* or others, that ſo few Perſons, ſo naked of all Proviſions and Supplies, ſhould undertake ſuch an Adventure upon a Counter-Party, ſo well and abundantly fitted at all Points. But let it be further granted, that they might poſſibly have overcome all thoſe Difficulties, yet to what End and Purpoſe ſhould they have put themſelves into ſuch a Jeopardy? They knew well enough, that it was agreed between both Companies at home, that the Forts in the *Indies* ſhould remain reſpectively in the Hands of ſuch as had Poſſeſſion of them at the Date of the Treaty *Anno* 1619, and that the ſame was ratified by the King's Majeſty and the Lords States-General. They knew likewiſe, and all the World takes Knowledge of his Majeſty's religious Obſervation of Peace and Treaty with all his Neighbours, yea, with all the World. What Reward therefore could theſe *Engliſh* hope for of their Valour and Danger? Certainly none other than that which is expreſsly provided by the Treaty itſelf, that is, to be puniſhed as the Diſturbers of the common Peace and Amity of both Nations.

But let theſe *Engliſhmen* have been as fooliſh as they will in this Plot, as the *Dutch* will have them, is it alſo to be imagined, that they were ſo graceleſs, as when they were condemned, and ſeriouſly examined, and admoniſhed by the Miniſters to diſcharge their Conſciences, yet then to perſiſt in their Diſſimulation, being otherwiſe of ſuch godly Behaviour, as to ſpend the Time in Prayer, Singing of Pſalms, and ſpiritually comforting one another, which the *Dutch* would have had them beſtow in Drinking to drive away their Sorrow? Let *Colſon*'s Queſtion to the Miniſter be conſidered, his, and the reſts, Offer and Deſire to receive the Sacrament in Sign and Token of their Innocence, their mutually aſking Forgiveneſs for their like falſe Accuſations of one another forced by the Torture.

Thomſon's laſt Farewel to *Beamont*, *Colſon*'s Prayer, and his writing in his Prayer-Book *Fardo*'s Farewel to *Powel*, alſo his conjuring Exhortation to his Fellows to diſcharge their Conſciences, and all their Anſwers thereunto, craving God's Mercy or Judgment, according to their Innocency in this Cauſe; their general and religious Profeſſion of their Innocence to their Countrymen at their laſt parting with them, and finally, their ſealing this Profeſſion with their laſt Breath and Blood, even in the very Article of Death, and in the Stroke of the Executioner. What horrible and unexampled Diſſimulation was this? If ſome one or more of them had been ſo fearfully deſperate, yet would there not one amongſt ten be found to think of the Judgment to come, whereunto he was then inſtantly ſummoned, without Eſſoin, Bail or Mainprize? What! Had they hope of Reprieve and Life, if they kept their Countenance to the laſt? Yet what Hope had *Thomſon* and the reſt when Captain *Towerſon*'s Head was off? Nay, what deſire had *Thomſon* and *Clark* to live, being ſo mangled and martyr'd by the Torture? They were executed one by one, and every one ſeverally, took it upon his Death, that he was guiltleſs.

Now to blanch and ſmooth over all this rough and barbarous Proceeding, it is here given out, that the Governor and Fiſcal found ſuch Evidence of the Plot, and dealt ſo evenly in the Proceſs, that they ſpared not their own People, having uſed ſome of their native *Dutchmen*, partakers of his Treaſon, in the ſame Manner as they did the *Engliſh*; but this, as well by the Relation here truly and faithfully ſet down, grounded upon the ſworn Teſtimony of ſix credible Witneſſes, as alſo by other ſufficient Reports of diverſe lately come out of thoſe Parts, appeareth to be a meer Tale, not one alledged by any in the *Indies* in many Months after the Execution, but only invented and diſperſed here for a Fucus, and a fair Colour upon the whole Cauſe, and to make the World believe, that the Ground of this barbarous and tyrannous Proceeding was a true Crime, and not the unſatiable Covetouſneſs of the *Hollanders*, by this cruel Treachery, to gain the ſole Trade of the *Moluccas*, *Banda* and *Amboyna*, which is already become the Event of this bloody Proceſs. To add hereunto by way of Aggravation, will be needleſs, the Fact is ſo full of odious and barbarous Inhumanity, executed by the *Dutch*, upon the *Engliſh* Nation, in a Place where both lived under Terms of Partnerſhip and great Amity, confirmed by a moſt ſolemn Treaty.

It muſt be confeſſed, that this is in all reſpects a moſt aſtoniſhing and ſurprizing Relation. That the *Dutch* ſhould be deſirous of ingroſſing the Spice-Trade, had nothing in it but what might be eaſily accounted for, becauſe of the former Inſtances they had given us of their Avarice, that they ſhould make no ſcruple of attacking and deſtroying the *Engliſh* that were ſettled in the Spice-Iſlands, and conſequently ſtood in the Way of their Deſign, is what might have been expected from their boundleſs Ambition, by which they were become formidable, even to their own States; but that they ſhould take this Method which was at once the moſt barbarous, the moſt provoking, and the moſt contrary to the ſolemn Treaty they had made, is ſtrange in the higheſt Degree. But perhaps it may be accounted ſtill ſtranger, that when they had done it, they durſt juſtify it, and juſtify it even here; which however they did, which produced the Account we have given the Reader, as appears from that very Account which the *Eaſt-India* Company were not at Liberty to publiſh till the *Dutch* made this Appeal to the Publick themſelves.

After this, indeed, the publiſhing of their Caſe could be no longer refuſed them, eſpecially as what they offered, was ſupported by the fulleſt Proofs upon Oath, regiſtred in the Court of Chancery. We ſee from hence, the great Conſequence of the Liberty of the Preſs; had it been open at that Time, it had been impoſſible to have hindred the Nation from receiving ample Satisfaction for ſuch a flagrant Injury, ſuch an intolerable Inſult. But as it was, we are told, there was a Party in King *James*'s Court, that if they did not juſtify, at leaſt excuſed this horrid Fact, from the *Dutch* Account of it before-mentioned, which renders it abſolutely neceſſary, that this *Dutch* Account ſhould be likewiſe given to the Reader, not only to prevent any Suſpicion of Partiality, but that all the Circumſtances of this Tragedy may appear in the cleareſt Light, there being ſome of them which could only be ſet forth by the *Dutch* themſelves.

It may not be amiſs, however, to obſerve previous to the tranſcribing this *Dutch* Account, that at this Juncture the States were actually demanding and receiving Aſſiſtance from the Crown of *Great Britain*, and that too as large in its Nature, and as effectual in its Conſequences, as any which they had received in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and for which the States expreſſed as much Gratitude and Thankfulneſs to that Monarch, as ever they did to the Queen, and, as it clearly appears, with juſt as much Sincerity. I would not, however, be underſtood to mean, that the Tragedy of *Amboyna* was acted in conſequence of any Inſtructions from *Holland*, ſince that would not only be unfair, but untrue; but then the Reaſon of this ought to be attended to, which was, that the Prince of *Orange* was at the Head of their Affairs, and they could not, under the Eye of their Stadtholder, take any ſuch bloody Reſolutions. But in the *Indies* they were at full Liberty, and there therefore the true Genius of the Nation diſplayed itſelf; and the *Dutch* Writers, in thoſe very times boaſt, that the General of the *Eaſt-India* Company kept as great a Court, and made in every reſpect as magnificent an Appearance as the Prince of *Orange* himſelf, which plainly proves, that as they hated the Government of the Princes of *Orange*, ſo they were willing that Strangers ſhould take notice of their Independency and Power in another Part of the World, where the Government was in ſuch Hands as they beſt approved.

Theſe things being remembered, let us now proceed to the *Dutch* Account of the pretended Conſpiracy at *Amboyna*, addreſſed in a Letter to a Friend of theirs here, under the Title of a true Detail of the News that came out of the *Indies*.

7. “The very Cauſes and Beginnings through which the Governor and Council eſtabliſhed in the Name of the *United Netherlands* in *Amboyna* came into Suſpicion that ſomething was plotted againſt the Province, did firſt flow from the great Licentiouſneſs of the *Tarnatanes* in *Moluque* and *Amboyna*, who, contrary to the Contract of Alliance 1606, made with the High and Mighty Lords the States without our Conſent and Knowledge, to make Peace with the King of *Fidore*, as alſo a Truce with the *Spaniards*, their and our ancient Adverſaries, by which the ſaid *Tarnatanes* had too much caſt off all Reſpect, which they, both in regard of our Confederacy and manifold Aſſiſtance, did owe to this State. The *Spaniard* alſo was Maſter enough at Sea in the *Moluccas*, becauſe the *Engliſh* Merchants there in the *Eaſt-Indies* were unwilling to furniſh us with Ships of War towards the common Defence, as they were bound to do, according to the Treaties 1619, to the Number of ten, through which the Voyages to *Manilla* coming to ceaſe, the Enemy traded there without any Interruption, and procured Power to ſend Gallies, Ships and Pinnaces to *Molucca*, with great Succours of People and Proviſion, and that becauſe again through the ſame Default of the *Engliſh* Merchants, there were no Ships of War kept as ſhould have been. The Subjects of the King of *Ternate* began to commit great Inſolencies againſt our Nation, having outrageouſly aſſaulted divers of us divers ways, and alſo ſlain ſome, and we, notwithſtanding, would not obtain any Puniſhment upon them; and as one Outrage unpuniſhed provokes more, through Hope of the like Impunity, or other Conſiderations, ſo were the ſaid *Tarnatanes* of *Amboyna* dwelling at *Lobo*, *Cambello*, and thoſe near adjoining Places, proceeded farther, and have armed themſelves at Sea, and invading divers Iſlands and Places ſtanding under the *Netherland*'s Governor in *Amboyna*, ſpoiling them, and killing our Subjects, and taking others, and carrying them away for Slaves; and, notwithſtanding the inſtant Requeſt of the *Netherland*'s Governor, no Satisfaction or Juſtice hath followed; but the ſaid *Tarnatanes* are yet gone farther, and openly threatened to murder the *Dutch* Merchants, and to ſpoil and burn the Lodge, or Factory, which our People have many Years there enjoyed, ſo that our Merchants have taken out the *Dutch* Goods to avoid Damage; and the *Tarnatanes* at *Lobo* did actually ſet on Fire and ruin the ſaid *Netherland*'s Factory.

“In the *Manichels*, an Iſland being under the Province of *Amboyna*, they have in like manner ſhortly after burned the *Netherlands* Lodge, with the Loſs of all the Goods therein. The *Netherland*'s Governor, that by his Preſence and Authority he might cauſe ſuch Rebellions to ceaſe, and to give Order for Time to come, and alſo to ſeek Satisfaction and Puniſhment upon the aforeſaid Inſolencies, went towards *Lobo*, with a ſmall Power of Sloops, and coming thereabout, was met otherwiſe than was wont, by a Navy of Sloops of the *Tarnatans* of *Lobo*, ſtronger than his were; thoſe by their Conferences gave him well to know, how little Reverence they gave the *Dutch* Governor: They braved him without any hope of Reſtitution of any thing to come, ſo that he was fain to return to his Caſtle of *Amboyna*. By reaſon of theſe things, the ſaid *Tarnatans* became ſo ſtout and daring, that they gave out openly, that they would come and ſpoil our Subjects, by a general Army, with above an hundred Frigates: With theſe, they ſaid, they would come againſt *Amboyna*, to make an univerſal Spoil of our People, through which there came a great Fear upon the *Indians*, ſtanding under the Subjection of the High and Mighty Lords the States, as alſo over the *Netherlanders*. In the Iſlands lying far Eaſtward of *Banda*, it was alſo ſaid, and the News went currently there, that the *Dutch* were ſure enough quit of the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, and at that Time there was divers ſecret Correſpondencies between the *Indians* and others, which gave us great Suſpicion.

“ By this means the *Netherland*'s Governor and Council of *Amboyna* were moved to have ſpecial Regard, and look narrowly into all things, ſeeing that it might thence be clearly gathered, that ſomething might be plotted againſt the State in *Amboyna*, and that the *Indians* of themſelves durſt not offer to undertake any ſuch great Deſign without ſome great Help of ſome of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards*, *Portugueze*, or ſome others; and alſo they underſtood, that theſe at *Lobo*, *Cambello*, &c. had great ſecret Correſpondence with the *Engliſh* Merchants. When things were in ſuch a State at *Amboyna*, there came forth, and was wonderfully diſcovered in *February* 1623, a horrible Conſpiracy againſt the Caſtle and Perſon of the *Dutch* Governor, the whole State of *Amboyna*, and firſt by the Apprehenſion of a certain *Japoneſe*, who, at an unſeaſonable Time, was often ſeen upon the Wall of the Caſtle, where he alſo over-curiouſly enquired of the moſt unſkilful and ſillieſt Soldiers, touching the Setting and Change of the Watch, and what Number of People might be in the Caſtle, and many other things: Whereupon in the very Act the ſaid *Japoneſe* was apprehended, and being examined of many Circumſtances, he confeſſed, that the *Japoneſe* Soldiers under our Service, had determined to make themſelves Maſters of the Caſtle, and that they ſhould have ſet upon this by the Help of the *Engliſh*, who had ſolicited them unto it; and that he, with all the other *Japoneſe* in the *Engliſh* Houſe, oftentimes, within three Months before, had conferred with the *Engliſh*, touching the Manner whereby they ſhould bring this Treachery to paſs. Then all the *Japoneſe* Soldiers, who were in our Service, were diſarmed and impriſoned; and by Examination of them all, it appeared plainly, by an orderly and joint Confeſſion, that all the ſaid *Japoneſe*, upon the Treaty of *Gabriel Towerſon*, and other *Engliſh* Merchants and Officers, agreed to aſſiſt the ſaid *Engliſh* to betray the ſaid Caſtle, and to give it over into the *Engliſh* Power; and that *Gabriel Towerſon*, and *Abel Price*, an *Engliſh* Chirurgeon, and other *Engliſh*, dealt often with them, on the Ways and Means how they ſhould work it.

“ The ſaid *Abel Price* being before impriſoned for a foul and execrable Fact, and yet remaining ſo confined, and although it appeared ſufficiently to the Governor and Council of *Amboyna*, out of the Confeſſion of the *Japoneſe*, what the ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon*, with his Merchants and other Accomplices had before reſolved to do, and that the Council had ſufficient Information to impriſon them all, yet the General Council would not precipitate, but commanded the ſaid *Abel Price*, then a Priſoner, to come before the Council; and after the Places, Perſons and Time nominated to him, where and when he had dealt with the *Japoneſe* and other *Engliſh* about the ſaid Treachery; it was alſo from him well underſtood, how he and another *Japoneſe* had perſuaded all the *Japoneſe* to conſent to this Villany; and that conſequently the ſaid *Towerſon*, as the firſt Author, and all the other *Engliſh* Merchants, had alſo Knowledge of the ſaid Treachery. Upon this full and uniform Examination and Confeſſion of twelve Perſons, as well of the eleven *Japoneſe* as one *Engliſh*, the ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon* was called to the Council, and there appearing, the ſaid *Towerſon* called together all his People unto the Caſtle, upon the Requeſt of the General Council, who were then taken and impriſoned, except the ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon* himſelf, to whom, at his Requeſt, and in regard of his Quality, being chief Merchant in *Amboyna*, in the Name of the *Engliſh* Company, his own Houſe was allotted him for his ſafe keeping and forth-coming; and the ſaid Priſoners were all lawfully and orderly examined; and it appeared by them jointly, according to their own Confeſſion, every one having underwritten it with his own Hand as followeth:

“ *Gabriel Towerſon*, about New-year's-day 1623, having with him almoſt all the *Engliſh* Merchants of the Foreign Cantore in *Amboyna*, aſſembled them in his Chamber, and propounded to them, that he had ſomething of great Moment to impart unto them under the Fidelity of an Oath to be taken before, for the keeping ſecret thereof, and being truſty therein, ſaying, it is neceſſary ſo to be; for if the thing ſhould come abroad which I ſhall make known unto you, it will coſt all our Lives: Whereupon the holy Goſpel was produced, upon which every one who was preſent did ſwear Secreſy and Fidelity, as was required. Then *Towerſon* opened to the Conſpirators, how he had a Way and Means to make himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of *Amboyna*; and whereas ſome preſent made it difficult to do, being too weak for it; the ſaid *Towerſon* anſwered, that he had already won to his Purpoſe the *Japoneſe* Soldiers, who were in the Caſtle, and that they ſhould execute his Purpoſe, when the *Dutch*, who were in the Caſtle, were in their greateſt Weakneſs, and worſt provided, or when the Governor ſhould be abſent about ſome Exploit; and that they ſhould wait till ſome *Engliſh* Ships or Ship were in *Amboyna*, whoſe People he might employ in this Attempt; as alſo, when all other the *Engliſh* Merchants and Slaves of the Foreign Cantore in *Amboyna* ſhould be ſent for to the Caſtle; and ſaid farther, that he knew how to get Men enough, and they ſhould leave this to his Care, and themſelves do their beſt; and that they of *Lobo* ſhould alſo come to help him, with certain *Correcurries*, &c.

“ Upon which Inducements, all that were preſent ſwore to aſſiſt *Towerſon* herein, and concerning the Manner of Execution; the ſaid *Towerſon* had preſcribed to the *Japoneſe*, who were in the Caſtle, that they ſhould ſend to every Point of the Bulwarks two Men, and the reſt in the Court ſhould attend the Governor, and murder him; and that at the Sign which ſhould be given to the *Engliſh*, they ſhould make themſelves Maſters of every Point of the Bulwark, and kill all who ſhould reſiſt, and impriſon the reſt; and further, ſhould take and divide between themſelves and the *Japoneſe* the Goods of the *Eaſt-India* Company, except one thouſand Rials of Eights, which every *Japon* ſhould have before; and that they ſhould kill the Citizens, who would not conſent with them, and do them all the Miſchief they could; and touching the Time, he had not yet certainly ſet it; but that there ſhould ſuddenly be another Aſſembly of the Conſpirators, when *Gabriel Towerſon* would give Orders for all things, and would give a Sign to the *Japoneſe*, whereupon, when they ſhewed it, they ſhould begin the Work within.

“ The ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon* being aſked in particular, what moved him to ſuch a wicked Fact? He anſwered, the Deſire of Honour and Profit: Being farther demanded, who ſhould enjoy the Honour and Profit, and for whom he would have taken the Caſtle? he anſwered, that if he did obtain his Deſire, he ſhould preſently have advertiſed thoſe of his Nation being in *Batavia*, and called for their Help, who, if they had ſent him Succour, he would have kept the Caſtle for his own Company, *viz.* the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company, and if not, he would have held it for himſelf, and have endeavoured a Peace with the *Indians*; that ſo, by the one Means, and the other, he might attain his Purpoſe. After the Examination of *Towerſon* was ended, the *Dutch* Gover-

“nor in *Amboyna* upbraided him of his cruel Intention, and aſked if this ſhould have been the Recompence of the manifold Honours and Kindneſſes he had done to him? Whereunto *Towerſon* anſwered with a deep Sigh, Oh! if it were to be begun it ſhould not be done.

“This voluntary Confeſſion and penitent Acknowledgment, with much Sorrow, was made the Ninth of *March*, being the Day when the Execution ſhould have been done; but the Examination of *Towerſon* was ended the Eighteenth of *February*, ſo many Days before. This is the Subſtance of the Confeſſion of the ten *Japoneſe*, of fourteen *Engliſh*, and of a *Netherlandiſh* Merinho, or Captain of the Slaves, who all confirmed theſe their Confeſſions with their own Hands. What Crime this intended Prodition was, is hence very many manifeſt, and undoubted; what Puniſhment is due to Treachery, according to the Law and Cuſtoms of all Nations, is alſo well known; no true Chriſtian Man will patronage any ſuch horrible Attempt, but will adjudge it worthy of Death, as it was determined upon the Accomplices of the Conſpiracy, according to the Order of Juſtice, as there in *Amboyna* is exerciſed, according to Deſert, by the Governor and Council, in the Name of the High and Mighty Lords the States. Here you have, Sir, the very Subſtance of the Truth, both of the Fact and Puniſhment, other than which many Things are ſpread abroad in *England*, but upon what Pretence or Intendment I know not; let the Matter itſelf ſpeak for itſelf.

“The firſt Point which is objected againſt this Juſtice done in *Amboyna* is, concerning the Proceedings which are ſaid to be holden without Formality, and with Extremity, againſt theſe Conſpirators: Your Worſhip, and each reaſonable Man, knoweth that every Land hath their Laws, and Ordinances, and their particular Manner of Proceedings, as well in Civil, as in Criminal Cauſes; *England* hers, *France*, *Spain*, *Dutchland*, and all other Kingdoms and Governments have alſo theirs, which are juſt and lawful to every one in their Dominion; ſo that when any one will judge of the Equity or Juſtice of a Proceeding uſed in any Land, he muſt examine the ſame according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of that Kingdom, or Dominion, where the Juſtice and Proceedings were holden. Theſe Proceedings were holden before the Governor of the *Netherlands*, in the Name of the Illuſtrious Lords the States, having ſupreme Power, many Years ſince, in the Iſles of *Amboyna*, which were conquered in the Name of the ſaid Illuſtrious Lords the States, from the *Spaniards* or *Portugueze*, who held the Caſtle in the Name of the King of *Spain*, our hereditary Enemy; therefore they are now poſſeſſed in the Name of the Lords the States, and are under their Dominion, by a juſt and lawful Title of War, according to the Law of Nations. Theſe Juſtices adminiſtered according to the Law of the *Netherlands*, in that Manner as was uſed in the Proceedings againſt thoſe Conſpirators. I know that the Laws of *England* are diverſe from ours in criminal Caſes; yea, and from all the Nations in *Europe*.

“Howbeit therefore no Man hath any Ground of Reaſon to ſay that the Proceedings of the *Engliſh* Judges againſt Delinquents are not legitimate, tho' the ſaid *Engliſh* Proceedings do vary in the Manner from the Proceedings of *France*, *Spain*, &c. where other Cuſtoms are; for that is lawful which agreeth with the Laws of the Land where the Fact is committed. Now then, the *Japoneſe* Soldiers being in the Service of the *Netherlands* Company in *Amboyna*, are diſcovered to have conſpired againſt the Caſtle and the Governor there, under whoſe Oath and Pay they were; they were apprehended, examined, and convicted of the ſaid Conſpiracy. This Proceeding is lawful, and toucheth no Man, becauſe the ſaid *Japoneſe* knew no other Maſter than the *Netherlanders*, under whoſe Oath, Service and Pay they ſtand. All theſe Conſpirators, with the ſaid *Marinho*, a Captain of the *Netherlands* Slaves, confeſſed with one Mouth, that they were moved and induced to this Conſpiracy by the *Engliſh* Merchants reſident in *Amboyna*, whoſe Names they named. Now, not only the Right of the *Netherlands*, but *England*, and of the whole World, requireth that the Authors, Abettors, and Accomplices of Murder and Treaſon, ſhould be puniſhed with Death.

“Whereunto, according to the Common Law, as alſo the particular Laws of every Kingdom or Dominion, the ſuſpected Perſons firſt, and before all, ſhould be impriſoned, not only for preventing the Effect of their evil Purpoſes, but that they might alſo receive their deſerved Puniſhment; which Apprehenſions could not be done of any other Man than by the Command of the *Netherlands* Governor, to whom it belonged to take Care to ſee every Act concerning ſupreme Power to be there obſerved; and eſpecially the higheſt *Engliſh* Officer there could not apprehend theſe *Engliſh* Conſpirators, becauſe all the chief of the *Engliſh* Merchants at *Amboyna*, were themſelves of the Conſpiracy, and Accomplices of the Fact upon which the Apprehenſion was made; therefore the Apprehenſion of the *Engliſh* Accomplices muſt be done by the *Dutch* Governor, who therefore hath therein proceeded according to the Cuſtom of all Nations of the World.

“And that theſe Apprehenſions may be holden more lawful, it appearing out of the written Proceſs, that the ſaid *Engliſh* Accomplices were not impriſoned upon the firſt Suſpicions and groſs Evidences which were had againſt them, but then, at laſt, when all the *Japoneſe* Soldiers were taken, examined, and convicted, and had diſcovered, by the uniform Confeſſion of all the eleven.

“The Names, and Surnames of ſuch *Engliſh* as had perſuaded, and hired them to this Fact, of which *Engliſh*, viz. one *Abel Price*, Barber, was before apprehended as an Incendiary, for burning, and other Violences done upon other Houſes, who alſo was firſt examined, and firſt confeſſed; as the other eleven *Japoneſe*. That he, by Name *Gabriel Towerſon*, and other *Engliſh* Merchants, in the foreign Countries of *Amboyna*, had Knowledge of this Conſpiracy, *&c.* ſo that it may be ſeen out of that which went before, that the *Dutch* Governor dealt no otherwiſe in the Apprehenſions and Examinations of the *Engliſh* than according to his Place and Power, and that with great Diſcretion, according to the Laws of the United Provinces. The ſecond Point, which is abſolutely diſperſed in *England* againſt this Execution is, that it is ſaid, that it did not appertain to the *Netherlands* in *Amboyna*, to impriſon the ſaid *Engliſh*, and to proceed againſt them, or to puniſh them; but that it did belong to the Council of Defence, reſident at *Jaccatra*, conſiſting half of *Engliſh* and half of *Netherlanders*, according to the Treaty of the Year 1619, made between his Majeſty and the Lords the States, between the two *Eaſt-India* Companies.

“That I might the better inform myſelf thereof, I took in Hand, and peruſed the general Treaty of 1619, with the Explication following thereupon; but I profeſs, as I think, that every underſtanding Man muſt confeſs, that neither in the ſaid Treaty, nor in the Enlargement, any one Article or Word could be perceived; whereby, according to that which is untruly ſaid in *England*, either this, or any ſuch thing, is ordained or decided by the ſaid Treaty, as it ought to have been in ſo great and important a Point as this Part of Juriſdiction is, I appeal to all wiſe Men, who I deſire may judge of this, whether this Speech of ſome in *England*, to wit, that the ſaid Council of Defence ſhould alone have judged theſe Conſpirators, be agreeable to the ſaid Treaty, or contrary to the ſame. I find many Arguments for my negative Opinions, to wit, that before the Treaty of 1619, the *Dutch* in *Amboyna* adminiſtered Juriſdiction and Judicature upon all, and every one, who dwelt in, or under the Juriſdiction of the Caſtle, as well Inhabitants as Strangers, without Difference; and that in the ſaid Treaty, the *Dutch*, with the *Engliſh* Merchants, made only a League in the Manner of Commerce and Negotiations of Nutmegs, Mace, Cloves, and Pepper, in ſome Quantities, without having any further Treaty or Communication in the Land. So that without the Bounds of this common Negotiation, every one remained free and unhindered in the Land by the Right and Poſſeſſion which either Company enjoyed and exerciſed ſeverally, according as the ſame appeareth out of the twenty-third Article of the Treaty, where it is expreſsly ſaid, that Caſtles and Forts ſhall remain in their Hands who do at preſent poſſeſs them: And out of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth Articles of the Treaty, all may ſee that this Common Council of Defence hath no more Power, ſave only over the Fellowſhip of the Treaty, that is, over the Navy of Defence in the Sea, to the Defence of common Merchandize and Liberty of Commerce. And, laſtly, to tax the Charges for the Proviſion of Amunition in the Forts; neither can any other Thing be ſincerely collected out of the ſaid Treaty, ſo far as I can conceive.

“ Therefore, this ſecond Point is found to be untrue and abuſive, being not founded upon the ſaid Treaty, which Treaty, notwithſtanding, ought to be the only Rule both of the one and the other Company. Finally, it is given out in *England*, that in the Examination of the Conſpirators, there was Exceſs in the *Netherlands* Judges in the Point of Torture. I acknowledge, that no Argument or Pretext againſt the Juſtice of this Execution, hath more moved me in the Beginning, than this Pretence of Exceſs aforeſaid; becauſe this ſtirreth Chriſtian Compaſſion; although I alſo judge, that wiſe Men will not ſuffer themſelves to be too much tranſported thereby, before the true Reaſons do fully appear which ſhould move us thereunto; for I well remember yet, that in the Time of former Miſtaking in the *Indies*, many Things were pretended on both Parts; upon which Pretence were great Out-cries on either Side, which yet, by due Examination, were found to be falſe Pretexts of ſome Ill-willers, and Men deſirous to wrangle; which Pretences, being thoroughly ſifted by the high and much-admired Wiſdom of his Majeſty, and the Lords the States, were well diſcovered to be no ſuch Matters as they were made; as it is alſo undoubtedly believed, that his Majeſty and the States will yet further do in this Affair, and ſo the Cauſe of the *Dutch* Company may be rightly juſtified, of which I underſtand, that the Lords the States have ſpecial Regard; and that they have been thoroughly informed what is the very Truth of the Things there paſt, and of the Execution in *Amboyna* of the *Engliſh* Conſpirators; unto which End the Lords the States reſolved to ſee and peruſe all the Papers and Letters touching the ſaid Proceedings. And now, thereupon, Men ſpeak far otherwiſe than heretofore; for Pretences and Cavils cannot ſtand with Truth. And it doth plainly appear, that there is little Truth in the Matter of Torture, reported to be moſt cruelly inflicted upon the *Engliſh* Conſpirators, as in *England* it is ſaid; and I have ever ſuſpected this for a Slander; for, I know the *Dutch* Nation doth naturally abhor this kind of Cruelty, and are as much moved to Commiſeration as any other People. But whether theſe evil-minded Men, who have ſcattered this great Slander in *England*, and have ſo fouly defaced a juſt Cauſe, have done it by Occaſion of an Uſe of Tortures in theſe Lands in ſome weighty Cauſes, according to the Cuſtom of moſt Dominions in *Europe*, I cannot judge.

“ But is that to be cenſured and judged to be unjuſt of the whole World, which is repugnant to the Laws of *England* (or any one Nation) where Torture is really uſed? Nothing ſo but the Juſtice or Injuſtice of a Cauſe muſt be determined according to the Laws where it is done, and not of other Lands. If this were not ſo, why then ſhould not the whole World much more judge that as hard, and a thing unheard of, which in ſome Cauſes is uſed in *England*, according to the Laws there, when they proceeded againſt ſome guilty Perſons, who being once, and again aſked of the Judge, and utterly refuſing to be legally tried, is adjudged to be dumb, that is, by Contumacy, whoſe Condemnation then accordingly followeth, that he is laid upon a Table, or Plank, and another Plank upon him, that his Body is miſerably bruiſed, and ſo preſſed violently to Death. The which, according to the Confeſſion of all Nations, and by the *Engliſh* Writers, is judged to be one of the moſt ſharp and ſevere kinds of Deaths that can be invented; yet cannot ſuch an Execution be called cruel and unlawful, when it is done in *England*, becauſe it is done according to the Laws of that Land, though Strangers ſhall judge otherwiſe of it; and in like Manner the *Engliſh* Nation cannot complain of the Torture which Evil-willers ſay was uſed upon theſe *Engliſh* Conſpirators in *Amboyna*, becauſe it was done according to the Laws of this Government, and is not unuſual in Caſes of Treaſon, neither with us, nor with any Nation in *Europe*.

“ And for *England* itſelf, it is well known, and his moſt excellent Majeſty doth acknowledge, by his own princely Pen, that the Rack and the Manicles are the only Tortures that are exerciſed upon Traitors, to force them to confeſs what they know to be dangerous to the State; and to ſay the Truth, without taking Parts, the *Engliſh* Conſpirators being affronted with the uniform and written Confeſſions of the eleven *Japoneſe*, their Accomplices, which would convince them ſufficiently, according to the Laws, and find them guilty of the ſame Conſpiracy, and conſequently of Death; if now notwithſtanding this, they had perſiſted in the ſtout Denial of the Fact, were not this enough to judge them dumb by Contumacy, and ſo to eſteem them worthy of this ſore Puniſhment of preſſing to Death as aforeſaid? But this Torture of ours, is to be judged far leſs than that preſſing where the Malefactor doth ſuffer ſuch extream Miſery as cannot be imagined, and which is not to be lenefied or eaſed at all, but ended by Death.

“ But to the ſufficient Satisfaction of myſelf, and your Worſhip, and all Men, and not to ſpeak according to the Sentences and Conſciences of others, I have uſed all Diligence to get into my Hands the written Proceſs concerning the Conſpirators in *Amboyna*, which I obtained authentically, and read carefully, and I find, that all by me above ſaid is confirmed, to wit, that the *Japoneſe* Accomplices were examined and made their Confeſſions as aforeſaid, for three Days, *viz.* the 23d, 24th and 25th of *February* 1623; and that all this being done and conſummated before, then at laſt is *Gabriel Towerſon*, firſt with the reſt of the *Engliſh* Accomplices, impriſoned the ſaid 25th of *February*, when their Examination and Confeſſion began, and continued divers Days, without ever haſtening till the 3d of *March*; and the ſaid Examinations and Confeſſions being ſo finiſhed, the *Netherlanders* Governor and Council deliberated whether the Puniſhment might be deferred to any long Time, or referred to any other Place; but it was ſo concluded, by joint Conſent of all, that the ſaid Puniſhment there deſerved, muſt be executed in the ſame Place for Example; and that it could not in any wiſe be delayed without extream Danger, for Reaſons there related: And, among others, becauſe the *Tarnatans* and *Indians* about *Amboyna* had, otherwiſe than they were wont, rebelled; neither could it be further known what great Confederacy theſe Conſpirators had made with them and others.

“ And touching any extraordinary and cruel Torture, I have accurately looked over every ones Confeſſion; but I find not one Word in any one, which maketh any Mention of ſuch Torture, as is unjuſtly ſpoken of in *England*; nay, ſcarce find any Mention of that ordinary Torture which is in Uſe, ſave only theſe Words; in one Act of the 25th of *February* 1623, *viz.* the Council being gathered together, have thought meet that all the *Engliſh* ſhould be preſently examined, one after another, as accordingly it was inſtantly done, and ſome of them before any Torture: Others, after a little, or rather a Touch of it, confeſſed as followeth. Unto

“ which followeth preſently, the particular Confeſſion of every one, ſubſcribed with his own Hand, as aforeſaid: So that hence it is manifeſt, that no extraordinary Torture was uſed in ſuch Manner as is given out there by thoſe that wiſh us evil; nay, that thoſe few that felt any, were only touched (not puniſhed) with ordinary Torture.

“ And thus your Worſhip hath the upright and impartial Truth of this Buſineſs, touching the whole Paſſage as it proceeded, and the Puniſhment as it was inflicted, from which ſome of the *Engliſh* were exempted by Favour, that the *Engliſh* Goods ſhould not be loſt, according as Order had been given to that End. And I find that the Sentence had been given the 9th of *March*, 1623, by a competent Aſſembly of fourteen Judges, who, as it appeareth in the Sentence, in the doing thereof, did before earneſtly call upon the Name of the Lord, that he would pleaſe to be Preſident, and predominant in every one of their Hearts, in this ſorrowful Aſſembly, and that he would inſpire them only with that which might be judged to be expedient and juſt, *&c.* So that out of all that is above-ſaid, nothing elſe can appear, but that this Buſineſs was managed lawfully and orderly, by Men of Honeſty and Conſcience, againſt ſuch as had undertaken againſt the State, againſt the Wealth, and Advantage of this *Eaſt-India* Company, the Lives of their Officers, there placed againſt the State and Welfare of many, who as little deſerved, and as little expected ſuch Wickedneſs from their friendly Confederates in the ſame Society of Merchants there reſiding with them.

“ And now (conſidering the Premiſes) I hope it ſhall be far from every Chriſtian, in anywiſe, to protect, or excuſe this wicked Fact; but rather to mourn and grieve, as we do, for this Conſpiracy, and for the Evil the Conſpirators have ſo deſervedly drawn upon their own Heads, and to honour them who, in Juſtice, have puniſhed Villainy according to the true Merit thereof; for, we all know, that, without Juſtice, without Reward of that which is good, and Puniſhment of that which is evil, no Society of Mankind can conſiſt.

“ And for this Information, which I ſend in Love and Honour to your Worſhip, as unto a Lover of Truth, and a Hater of Treachery, you may make ſuch Uſe as to you ſhall ſeem good in any Place where you come, both for Refutation of any thing already reported contrary thereunto, and for Prevention of any further falſe Rumours or Clamours. And, finally, for the Propagation of that undoubted Truth, which here, to my beſt, I have endeavoured to diſcover.

“ And if you ſhall meet with any thing of Worth, which can be truly avowed to be contradictory unto any thing I have written, I deſire to underſtand it from you, and you to ſuſpend your wiſe and impartial Judgment, till I have cleared it unto you: Truth remaineth ever the ſame. So I commend you to the God of Truth, deſiring him to give us Minds, not to judge according to outward Appearance, but to judge with righteous Judgment.”

8. It is evident enough, from the Stile and Compoſition of this extraordinary Piece, that it was penned at the Requeſt, and for the Uſe of ſome Perſon of Credit here, who was a great Friend to the *Dutch*, and highly inſtrumental in preventing the Government from interpoſing, as they ought to have done, in favour of the *Eaſt-India* Company, and obtaining the *beſt*; for a *full* Satisfaction could not be had, for the baſe and barbarous Uſage of Captain *Towerſon*, and the reſt of the *Engliſhmen*, who were thus cruelly murdered at *Amboyna*. But it is not ſo eaſy to ſay who this Perſon was. The Writers of Scandal in thoſe Times, charged this, diſſuading the King from interpoſing, upon two Perſons, by Name, *viz.* the Great Duke of *Buckingham*, and the then Secretary of State Sir *Ralph Winwood*. And I have met with a Book, printed in 1651, in which it is affirmed, that the Secretary received a Bribe from the *Dutch* of 30 or 40000 Pounds for that Service only. I take this to be a horrid Calumny; for having taken ſome Pains in examining the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, of which indeed I once intended to have written, I have met with ſo many Proofs of the Candour, Integrity, and publick Spirit of that worthy Secretary, that I make not the leaſt Scruple of affirming, that this muſt be a prodigious Falſhood.

As to the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Intereſt with King *James* was ſo great, that if he had not been ſome Way or other appeaſed, I cannot but think the Maſſacre at *Amboyna* would not have paſſed as it did; but, at the ſame time, I muſt profeſs, that I do not believe he was capable of being bribed to ſuch a Behaviour: I rather think he was miſled and impoſed upon; and I make no queſtion that this very Paper was tranſmitted to ſome Perſon in his Confidence for that Purpoſe. It is an eaſy matter to ſpeak ill of the Dead, and too common a Practice to tear thoſe Characters to pieces which are leaſt like to be defended; but this I dare not do: Though, to ſhew that it is not without Reaſon, that I ſuſpect the Duke of *Buckingham* to have had a large Share in preventing King *James* from teſtifying a becoming Reſentment upon this Occaſion, I will relate a particular Fact that led me into this Opinion. The *Eaſt-India* Company, to perpetuate the Memory of this barbarous Tranſaction, cauſed the Tortures and Sufferings of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, to be very exactly painted, and hung up in their Hall; which Picture, by the Direction of *Buckingham*, was taken down; for which this Reaſon was aſſigned, that, as it had not been thought proper to involve the Nation in a War on this Account, it was, by no Means, decent, that ſuch a Picture ſhould remain in publick View; ſince, at the ſame time that it expoſed the Cruelty of the *Dutch*, it threw ſome kind of Odium on the *Engliſh* Adminiſtration.

But tho' theſe Paintings in Oil were removed, the *Eaſt-India* Company could not be drawn, either to forget this Affair, or to ſuffer the Account that this *Dutch* Agent had publiſhed of it, to paſs unanſwered; and therefore they employed a very good Pen, to ſhew the Inconſiſtencies of this Relation, and furniſhed him with all the Materials that were requiſite for that Purpoſe. This Deſign of his he executed with great Spirit and Diligence, and the Piece itſelf is ſo clear a Vindication of the Innocence of the *Engliſh*, and ſo full a Proof of the Cruelty and Barbarity of the *Dutch*, that I have thought fit to inſert it for the ſame Reaſons, which induced me to give Place to the other Papers; and I perſuade myſelf that it will be very agreeable to my Readers, to ſee, at one View, and in ſo narrow a Compaſs, all the authentick Evidence that ſtill remains of this cruel, arbitrary, and unjuſt Proceeding, by which ſo many brave Men were, at that Time, deprived of their Lives in ſo ignominious a Manner, and the *Engliſh* Nation for ever deprived of ſo important and valuable a Commerce. This Reply of the *Eaſt-India* Company was conceived in the following Terms:

“ The Compiler of this Relation, perceiving that he had an hard Taſk to make it probable, that eighteen *Engliſhmen*, Merchants, and their Servants, all unarmed, ſhould, with the Aſſiſtance of ten *Japoneſe*, likewiſe unarmed, undertake the Surprize of a Caſtle, ſo provided every Way as that of *Amboyna*, is before in the Relation of the *Engliſh* truly deſcribed to be: As alſo the ſame Author well weighing, that albeit, all that he was to write of this pretended Conſpiracy ſhould be taken for true; yet the Fact would ſeem very poor to bear ſo rigorous a Puniſhment in Perſons of that Quality, and of that Relation to thoſe that inflicted it, provides more ſkilfully than fairly, for both theſe Points, in the Preamble of this Relation. To this End he rakes and heaps together all the Jealouſies and Dangers that the *Dutch* had in the *Indies*; yea, and more than they truly had at, or about the Time of the pretended Conſpiracy, and applies them all to the Suſpicion of this Buſineſs, as if all their Enemies were likely to conſpire with the *Engliſh*; and therefore the Facts, under Colour whereof they were condemned and executed, were poſſible and probable; and as if the State of the Time had been then ſo dangerous that every Shadow of Conſpiracy was to be exquiſitely enquired of, and the leaſt Offence to be ſeverely puniſhed; wherefore, although this be no direct Charge of the *Engliſh*, but uſed by the Author to ſupply the Want of Probabilities in the Proceſs itſelf.

“ It will not be amiſs to examine the ſeveral Circumſtances, and how far they may yield any Suſpicion againſt the ſaid *Engliſh*. Now, this Author taketh the many Grounds of this Suſpicion of ſome great Plot againſt the Province of *Amboyna*, from the unwonted Boldneſs and Inſolence of the *Tarnatanes*, firſt in the *Moluccas*, and then in *Amboyna*: For thoſe in the *Moluccas*, he ſaith, they had lately before the pretended Conſpiracy of the *Engliſh*, gone about, contrary to the Treaty, *Anno* 1606, between them and the *Dutch*, to make Peace with the King of *Tidore*, and a Truce with the *Spaniards*, without the Conſent or Knowledge of them the *Dutch*; which, how honeſtly and conſcionably it is alledged to this Purpoſe, may appear by the Journals of thoſe Parts; which, evidently ſhew, that this Treaty between thoſe of *Ternate* and *Tidore*, was in *November*, 1621; that is to ſay, fifteen Months before this forged Conſpiracy, and that with the Knowledge of *Houtman*, the Governour of the *Dutch*, who, upon the 19th of *November*, the Year aforeſaid, acquainted M. *Nichols*, the Agent of the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts, with the Preparations of this Treaty, which was actually holden at *Ternate* the 24th of the ſame Month. But the Matter was ſo well handled by the *Dutch* to keep thoſe neighbour Iſlands in perpetual War, that the Treaty was diſſolved *re infecta*; and the 7th of *December* following an Edict was publiſhed by the King of *Ternate*, commanding all the *Tidorians* forthwith to depart the Iſland of *Ternate*, upon Pain to be made Slaves.

“ After this, the Correſpondence between the *Dutch* and *Tarnatanes* in the *Moluccas*, returned into as firm a State as ever. The *Tarnatanes*, performing daily Exploits againſt the *Spaniards*, and communicating the Triumph with the *Dutch*: as the 17th of *February*, 1622, being a full Year before the feigned Treaſon of the *Engliſh*. The King of *Ternate*, with twenty Curricurries, took a *Spaniſh* Gally, ſlew forty in Fight, and took one hundred and fifty Priſoners, whom they ſold to the *Dutch* for Cloth and Rice; and coming by the *Hollanders* Caſtle of *Maalaio*, the 18th of the ſame Month, with the Heads of diverſe *Spaniards* at his Stern, the *Dutch* ſaluted him from their ſaid Caſtle with nine Shot of great Ordnance. The 25th of *April* following, the Admiral of the King of *Ternate*, took a Prow of the *Spaniards*, ſlew ſome, and ſold the reſt to the *Dutch*; the 28th of the ſame Month, both *Dutch* and *Engliſh* were feaſted by the King of *Ternate*; the 28th of *May* next enſuing, the King of *Ternate* went forth to *Machain* with ſix Currecurries, and at his Departure, was honoured with thirty Shot of great Ordnance from the *Dutch* Caſtle; the 15th of *June* the Admiral of the King of *Ternate* made a Voyage towards *Mindanow*, carrying diverſe of the *Dutch* with him to aſſiſt him; the 3d of *July* the *Tarnatanes* took their Priſoners and ſold them to the *Dutch*; the 24th of *Auguſt* the King of *Ternate* made one *Vogler*, a *Dutch* Merchant, his Treaſurer, at whoſe Inſtalment in his new Office, the *Dutch* gave ſeven great Shot from the Caſtle. And this good Correſpondence between the *Tarnatanes* and the *Dutch* in the *Moluccas*, continued even until, and after the Execution of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, which was, as has been ſhewed, in *February* 1623, N. S. upon the 14th of which Month the *Dutch* gave the King of *Ternate*, and other Blacks, two hundred Bales of *Japon* Rice, with other Preſents; at the Delivery whereof there were ſhot off from the Caſtle ſeven Pieces of Ordnance, and three Vollies of Small-Shot: By all which may appear how ſincerely this Author applieth the Difference between the *Dutch* and the King of *Ternate*, which was none at all to this Buſineſs at *Amboyna*.

“ The next Point is, that the *Tarnatanes* in the *Moluccas* went about alſo to make Truce with the *Spaniards*, without Conſent or Knowledge of the *Dutch*, wherein this Dealing of the Author is worſe than the former; for this Treaty of Truce appeareth by the Journals to have been holden the 19th of *July* 1623, which was five Months after the Execution of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, and ſo came too late to move Suſpicion againſt them; and yet this pretended Fear and Jealouſy of the *Moluccas* is further amplified by the Strength of the *Spaniard*, being then, as this Author affirmeth, Maſter of the Sea there; and that by default of the *Engliſh*; who, contrary to the Treaty of the Year 1619, had deſerted the Defence, and ſent no more Ships, neither to the *Moluccas*, nor to the *Manillas*; whence now the *Spaniards* had Means to ſend Ships, Gallies, and Pinnaces to the *Moluccas*. What the Strength of the *Spaniards* in the *Moluccas* by Sea was at the Time of this pretended Fear, may appear, by the Exploits beforementioned, done upon them by the Curricurries of the *Tarnatanes*, without the Help of the *Dutch*.

“ But for the Default of the *Engliſh*, which is here odiouſly alledged, it will be requiſite to ſet down the true Cauſes wherefore the *Engliſh* relinquiſhed the Action of Defence, as well at the *Manillas* as elſewhere, being a Matter much aggravated upon all Occaſions by the *Dutch*, albeit themſelves have given the Cauſe thereof. Wherefore ſhortly, the true Motives of the *Engliſh* their deſiſting from the Action of Defence is as followeth; the *Engliſh* had, by Agreement of the Council of Defence, two Years together maintained a Fleet of five tall and warlike Ships to join with the like Strength of the *Dutch* for the Action of the *Manillas*, and the Profit of the Voyage, as well as the Charge to be common to both Companies. The *Dutch* prepared another Fleet of ſeven Ships all of their own for *Macao*, bordering upon *China* near the *Manillas*, without giving Knowledge thereof to the *Engliſh* at *Jaccatra*, until their Fleet was ready to depart thence, well knowing, that upon ſuch Warning, it would be impoſſible for the *Engliſh* to prepare a like Force to join with them: To theſe they appointed eight Pinnaces that were then abroad to join them, and afterwards ſent another Ship with Proviſions to them. This Fleet paſſing by two of the *Engliſh* Ships which were appointed for that Quarter of the *Manillas*, the *Engliſh* welcomed them, and offered to join them in their Exploit, which the *Dutch* refuſed, ſaying, that this being an Exploit of their own, the *Engliſh* ſhould neither participate of the Fact, nor of the Benefit that might ariſe thereby. Likewiſe by Agreement of the Council of Defence of both Nations, there was another Fleet of ten Ships ſet forth at the Charge of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, for the Coaſt of *Mallabar*, to ſecure the Trade in that Part.

“ Of the *Dutch* Ships, about a Month after they ſet ſail, two were found to be ſo weak and leaky, that they were fain to return to *Jaccatra*, the reſt being come to their Quarter: Two of the beſt of the *Dutch* Ships were ſent away by the *Dutch* Admiral for the *Red-Sea*, contrary to their Inſtructions and Commiſſion at *Jaccatra* from the Council of Defence; and notwithſtanding the Proteſtations, Obteſtations, and Exclamations of the *Engliſh* againſt this Prevarication; ſo that four Carracks of the *Portugueze* coming that Way, the reſt of the Fleet of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* being thus weakened by the Default of the four *Dutch* Ships aforeſaid, the firſt Opportunity that happened, either before or ſince the joining of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Companies, or is ever likely to offer itſelf in the future, was loſt, and utterly defeated: By this it appeareth what Cauſe the *Dutch* have to complain of the *Engliſh* for deſerting the Action of Defence, and what Reaſon and Encouragement the *Engliſh* have to continue the joint Action and Charge with thoſe that uſe ſo little Sincerity, ever contriving the common Action and Charge to their private Advantage; that when the joint Forces are employed to give the Enemy Work in one Part, the *Dutch* might with Eaſe oppreſs them in another, and appropriate the whole Benefit to themſelves.

“ The next Suſpicion that this Author gathereth is from the Inſolencies of the *Tarnatanes* of *Amboyna* dwelling at *Lobo* and *Cambello*, and thereabout, who, as this Author ſaith, preſumed now, beyond former Example, to outrage the Subjects of the *Dutch*, ſlaying them, and

“ carrying them away for Slaves; yea, burning two of their Houſes, one at *Lobo*, and another at *Manichels*; for which, when the Governor went out with a Fleet to crave Juſtice and Reparation, he was braved by the *Tarnatanes* with a ſtronger Fleet than his own; yea, they threatened to come with a hundred Curricurries againſt *Amboyna*.

“ This Dealing of the Author is like the former about the Treaty of Peace with the *Tidorians*, and Truce with the *Spaniards*; for when the Governor of *Amboyna* ſet forth the Fleet of Curricurries, before the Apprehenſion of the *Engliſh*, he ſtood in good Terms with the *Tarnatanes* at *Lobo*, neither of the Factories here mentioned being then burnt, or injured; the Governor then went only, according to his yearly Cuſtom, to viſit the Skirts and Out-parts of *Amboyna*, and had no Affront offered him. After that upon occaſion of a Slave of the *Engliſh* that ran away; and being afterwards laid hold on, was reſcued by a reputed holy Man of, or near that Part; the *Engliſh* craved Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch* Governor, who did his beſt, but was therein abuſed by thoſe of *Lobo*; and not only ſome of his Men outraged by the *Engliſh* Factor, but M. *Beamont*, to whom this Slave belonged, was Way-laid by the People of the holy Man; and inſtead of him one of the Servants of the *Dutch* was ſlain between *Cambello* and *Lobo*. The next Day alſo was *Beamont* himſelf aſſailed, and ſhot in the Hand by the ſame holy Man's People, who alſo a little before did their beſt to kill *William Griggs*, another of the *Engliſh* Factors, that finding the ſaid Slave at *Lobo*, laid hold on him there. Upon this Occaſion both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* left their Factory at *Lobo*, which was ſhortly after burnt by the *Tarnatanes*.

“ That other, touching the burning the Factory at *Manichels*, is more groſly applied than the former; for that Factory was burned after the *Engliſh* were apprehended; beſides that, this Author diſſembleth, that there was a vehement and common Suſpicion at *Amboyna*, that this Factory at *Manichels* was burnt, not by the *Tarnatanes*, but by the *Dutch* Factor himſelf, who being there alone, was firſt ſaid to have conveyed away the Goods of the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* there for his own Uſe, and then to have burnt the Factory, laying the Fact upon the *Tarnatanes*. After this ended, the Governor of *Amboyna* made out a Fleet of Curricurries to procure Reparations of theſe Exceſſes, and therein, not going ſo ſtrong as he might, was braved by thoſe *Tarnatanes* of *Amboyna*; but this was after the Apprehenſion and Execution of the *Engliſh*, and ſo is as honeſtly applied to move Suſpicion in this Place, as the joint Quarrel of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* with thoſe of *Lobo*, beginning upon occaſion of the *Engliſh*; and as the Burning of the Factory at *Manichels*, done after the *Engliſh* were apprehended and impriſoned. As for the Threats of the *Tarnatanes* here mentioned, that they would come with an hundred Curricurries againſt *Amboyna*, it is, for ought any of the *Engliſh* ever heard, a mere Fiction; at moſt, it was a vain Brag, and ſuch as could not affright the Governor, that knoweth well that the *Tarnatanes* have no Gun-powder, nor other Proviſions, for ſuch an Exploit; and yet are far beyond the Governor of *Amboyna* for Number of Curricurries, beſides the *Dutch* Ships and Caſtles.

“ The next Cauſe of Suſpicion this Author makes to be an idle Report in the Eaſt Parts beyond *Banda*, uncertain which, or by whom, that the *Dutch* were already quit of their Caſtle at *Amboyna*: A poor pretence, and not worthy to be anſwered. Yet ſtill farther, diſcovering what Penury of good Matter this Author had, that he was fain to borrow ſuch crazy Stuff. But the laſt, and that which is expreſly applied to the *Engliſh* is, that about this time the *Dutch* underſtood that thoſe of *Lobo* and *Cambello* held great and ſecret Correſpondence with the *Engliſh*. How did the *Dutch* underſtand this? or why does not this Author expreſs the particular Proof in a Matter ſo pertinent? It is true, the *Engliſh* had their Factories at *Lobo* and *Cambello*, but in the ſame Houſes with the *Dutch*, and for their joint Account, and had Traffick with the Country People as the *Dutch* had; but what ſecret Correſpondence is this? or what Danger to the *Dutch*? Was the Burning of the Factories, which belonged to the *Engliſh* as well as to the *Dutch*, a Note of good Intelligence between the *Engliſh* and the Incendiaries? What was that for Correſpondency with thoſe of *Lobo*, when at one time they Way-laid M. *Beamont* to kill him, and at another time ſhot him in the Hand with an Arrow; offered to kill *William Griggs*, and from Time to Time out-raged our People equally with, and as the *Dutch*? Further, our People, as well as the *Dutch*, now diſſolved their Factory at *Lobo*, and were come all thence; What Letters or Meſſages did they ever ſend thither afterwards? or how, or by what means maintained they this Correſpondence? Yet this was underſtood, perhaps, by the Governor's Dreams; for that, as he afterwards told Mr. *Welden*, *Hill*, and *Cartwright*, that came thither from *Banda*, was a Motive to him to examine the firſt *Japon*, which was the Beginning of the whole Proceſs.

“ The Author having thus quitted himſelf in this Preface, proceedeth to the Matter itſelf, firſt ſetting down the Occaſion and Manner of the Diſcovery of this pretended Plot, and then the Confeſſions of the *Japoneſe*, and of the *Engliſh*; but he maketh no mention of any Torture uſed upon the *Japoneſe* that firſt confeſſed, nor of any other Indicium or Preſumption to torture or examine that *Japoneſe*; but only his curious queſtioning, touching the ſitting and changing of the Watch, and of the Number of the Soldiers in the Caſtle, which ſhewed what ſufficient Indicium and Cauſe it was to torture a Soldier of their own that ſerved them, had Reaſon to underſtand the Courſe of their Watches, and the Strength of the Aid he might expect, if any ſudden Attempt ſhould happen in his Quarter, is eaſily to be judged; and how this poor Man, and the reſt of his Countrymen were tortured, appeareth in the *Engliſh* Relation. Here alſo is concealed, by what manner and kind of Queſtions this and the other *Japoneſe* were led along in their Confeſſions, to make up the Plot juſt as the *Dutch* had deviſed it; and alſo what other Anſwers they made before they were thus directed: That they and the *Engliſh* both confeſſed what the *Dutch* would have them, is no Doubt nor Wonder, being ſo tormented, and ſcared with Torture, *etiam Innocentes cogit mentiri dolor*. But what Likelihood or Poſſibility there is of the Truth of their Confeſſions, if yet they confeſſed, as is here related, may appear by that which hath already been diſcourſed in this Point towards the End of the *Engliſh* Relation, which, for Brevity ſake, is here forborn to be repeated; yet ſome Circumſtances, which the *Dutch* Relation hath more than the *Engliſh*, deſerve here to be examined.

“ And firſt, that of *Abel Price*, the *Engliſh* Barber, who is made the Meſſenger and Negotiator of this Practice with the *Japoneſe*: It is true, that he, and he alone, of all the *Engliſh*, had ſome kind of Converſation with ſome of the *Japoneſe*; that is, would dice and drink with them, as he likewiſe did with other Blacks, and with the *Dutch* alſo: But is it credible, that Mr. *Towerſon* would commit any thing of Moment, nay, ſo dangerous a Matter as this, to a drunken, debauched Sot, who alſo, as the *Engliſh* that were there conſtantly report, threatened to cut his, the ſaid *Towerſon*'s, Throat, for that he had puniſhed him for his Miſdemeanors? Further, this Relation maketh this *Abel Price* confeſs, that all the *Engliſh* Merchants in the Out-factories were privy and acceſſary to this pretended Treaſon; yet the Governor and Fiſcal, in their own Proceſs, found *John Powel*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, and two others, guiltleſs.

“ After *Price*'s Confeſſion, he ſets down the general Subſtance of all the Confeſſions in one Body, where, firſt, having aſſigned Mr. *Towerſon* a Preface to the reſt, to induce them to the Exploit, he tells us, that they made doubt of the Point of Poſſibility, as well they might, knowing the Weakneſs of their own Part, and impregnable Strength of the *Dutch*, in Compariſon of theirs; for Satisfaction of which their Doubt, he ſaith, Mr. *Towerſon* told them, that he had already won the *Japoneſe* within the Caſtle to his Purpoſe, and that he would attempt this Matter, not when the *Dutch* were at their Strength, and the *Engliſh* as the weakeſt, but would expect till the Governor ſhould be ſomewhere abroad upon ſome Exploit, and ſome *Engliſh* Ships or Ship, at leaſt at *Amboyna*, the People whereof he would uſe in the Enterprize; likewiſe he would ſend for the Factors, and Slaves of the other Factories, and ſhould have a Supply from the *Tarnatanes* of *Lobo* of certain *Curriturries*, &c.

“ Here he hath inrolled a goodly Army for this Action, but let us ſee the Manner how they ſhould have executed their Exploit; and firſt, for the *Japoneſe* in the Caſtle, we muſt believe, if this Author or his Voucher ſay true, that Maſter *Towerſon* had acquainted thoſe, and won them to his Plot, before he had imparted it to his own Countrymen the *Engliſh*; and yet in the Acts of the Proceſs, *Emanuel Thomſon* is recorded to have confeſſed, that eight Days after the Conſultation, Maſter *Towerſon* told him, that he had then ſent out *Johnſon* and *Price* to treat with the *Japoneſe*, and win their Conſent to this Enterprize; but what could theſe do, being in all but ten? Marry, ſaith the Relation by and by, Maſter *Towerſon* had ordained that eight of them ſhould have been beſtowed by two in a Company upon the four Points of the Caſtle, to kill all thoſe that would reſiſt them, and to take the reſt Priſoners.

“ It muſt be therefore here imagined, that the *Dutch* and their Mardikers in the Caſtle, being three or four hundred, would ſcorn to take the Advantage of ſending forty or fifty, much more of an entire Company, to any Point of the Caſtle, but would combat with the *Japoneſe* at even Hand, by two at a Time, and ſo give the *Japoneſe* Reſpite to kill or take them by two, and by two; a ſweet Conceit, and ſuch a Service as perhaps hath been ſometimes repreſented upon a Stage, but never acted in Surprize of a Caſtle in good Earneſt. Thus we ſee how eight of the *Japoneſe* were to be employed, what ſhould the other two have done? Forſooth, they ſhould have waited in the great Chamber to murder the Governor; yea, but this Relation told us, yet while, that this Plot ſhould have been executed while the Governor was abroad upon ſome Action. How then ſhould theſe two *Japoneſe* have killed him in the Caſtle at the ſame time?

“ But we ſee how all the *Japoneſe*, that is, all the pretended Party of the *Engliſh* within the Caſtle, ſhould have been occupied, who ſhould have opened the Gates to the *Engliſh*, and their other Aids? who ſhould have killed the Court of Guard at the Gate? Theſe Parts were left for them that were without, therefore let us take a Review of them what they were. The Relation muſtereth them to be fourteen *Engliſh*, whereof eleven were Merchants, one Steward of the Houſe, one Taylor, and one Barber to dreſs the Wounds; beſides, God knows how many Skippers, Slaves, and *Tarnatanes*. Firſt, for the *Engliſh* Merchants, of what Dexterity they are to take Forts, is eaſily judged; and in all the *Engliſh* Houſe, when it was ſeized by the *Dutch* upon this pretended Treaſon, the whole Proviſion was but three Swords, two Hand-Guns, and about half a Pound of Powder; yea, but the *Engliſh* Ships would have brought both fitter Men, and better Proviſion: But how knew Maſter *Towerſon*, that thoſe of the *Engliſh* Ships, when they came, would join with him in this Work, being ſo contrary to the Treaty, and itſelf ſo dangerous? or why did he not ſtay the opening of the Plot, till his Ship or Ships were come, that he might ſwear the Skippers alſo, at leaſt the chief Officers amongſt them, and take their Advice? Is it poſſible, that Maſter *Towerſon* was ſo ſlight to open this Plot to all the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*; yea, to the Taylor and Barber, ſo long before it was to be put in Execution, and before he knew the Minds of the chiefeſt Aſſiſtants, of whoſe Arrival he was ſo uncertain? Yea, but he was ſure of the Slaves of the *Engliſh*, and of the *Tarnatanes* of *Lobo*, with their *Curricurries in quemlibet Eventum*.

“ This, indeed, is the Remainder of the Army; let us view them; the Slaves were in all the *Engliſh* Factories, juſt ſix in Number, and all Boys; the *Tarnatanes* were Enemies as well to the *Engliſh* as to the *Dutch*, as is before ſhewed, in Anſwer to the Preface; when were they reconciled? How came this, that in all the Examinations of the *Engliſh*, this Point was not ſifted, and ſomewhat confeſſed of it amidſt ſo many Tortures? There is no Confeſſion thereof in all the Examinations, and Mr. *Towerſon* in his expreſsly denied it, and was preſſed no farther. The Truth is, the Governor and Fiſcal of *Amboyna* knew, that whatever had been confeſſed in this Point, would not have been believed by their own People there, who knew well enough, that the firſt Beginning of this Breach with the *Dutch*, and the *Tarnatanes* of *Lobo*, was about the Slave of the *Engliſh*, and the Outrages thereupon following were done upon the *Engliſh*, as well as upon the *Dutch*. Yet this Author ſeems to hope, that they may be believed here in *Europe*, which had no Colour at *Amboyna*.

“ Concerning the Time of executing this Plot, it was not, as the Relation ſaith, yet prefixed, but left to the next Meeting of the Conſpirators, which ſhould be ſhortly holden, when *Gabriel Towerſon* had prepared all things, *&c.* Here was certainly a hot Practice of Treaſon, and worthy to be termed by this Author an horrible Conſpiracy. They met together on New-year's-day, and plotted, as is before related; and now it was the five and twentieth of *February*, and not only nothing done all this Interim, no not ſo much as a new Conſultation; but this, forſooth, is the Body and Subſtance of the unanimous Confeſſion of all the *Engliſh* by themſelves, ſeverally ſubſcribed.

“ In the next place, the Author relateth ſomewhat ſingular in M. *Towerſon*'s Confeſſion, as that he ſaid he was moved to this Fact by Hope and Deſire of Honour and Profit; and being demanded for whom he intended this Honour and for whom he meant to hold the Caſtle? his Anſwer was, that if he could have compaſſed his Projects, he would forthwith have given Advertiſement thereof to the reſt of his Nation at *Jaccatra*, which now they have chriſtened *Batavia*, and have craved their Aid, which, if they had yielded to him, then he would have held the Caſtle for the *Engliſh* Company, and if not then, he would have kept it for himſelf, and have uſed Means to have agreed with the *Indians*, and ſo by one Means or other would have compaſſed the Enterprize.

“ Here firſt is to be obſerved, that he would not, as the Author makes him ſpeak, have ſent for Aid to *Jaccatra*, until he were firſt Maſter of the Caſtle; and yet in the general Confeſſion before, it is ſaid, he would attend the Coming of ſome *Engliſh* Ships before he would adventure upon the Caſtle. Next, let the ambitious and alternative Reſolution here ſaid to be confeſſed by Maſter *Towerſon* be conſidered in both the Parts thereof, and it will appear, that no Man in his Wits would have any ſuch Conceit as is here pretended. What Hope could Maſter *Towerſon* have, that the Preſident and *Engliſh* Council at *Jaccatra*, living under Command of the *Dutch* Fort there, and altogether ſubject to them, durſt join any ſuch Action, thereby to give Occaſion to the *Hollanders* to arreſt, torture, and condemn them of Treaſon?

“ Maſter *Towerſon* knew well enough, that about ſix Months before the General of the *Dutch* at *Jaccatra* had caught a very ſly Occaſion to entrap the *Engliſh* Preſident there, who, having ſent out two of his People in the Night to the *Engliſh* Cow-houſe, to ſee what Watch the Blacks in their Service kept over their Cattle, the ſaid two *Engliſh* were apprehended by the *Dutch* Soldiers, kept in Priſon ſeven Days, and charged that they had ſaid that they went the round; and one of them being laſt examined, was told by the Balieu, the Officer of the *Dutch* in criminal Cauſes, that his Fellow had confeſſed, that they had ſaid, they went their Round, and that by the *Engliſh* Preſident's Commiſſion; and if he would not confeſs the ſame, he ſhould be tortured; but the Fellow being conſtant in the Truth, came off at laſt without Torture: Yet this was Item enough to the *Engliſh* Preſident and Council, how the Intent of the *Dutch* was to entrap them upon the leaſt Occaſion; and this, and other daily captious

Dealings of the *Dutch* at *Jaccatra*, which were too long here to recite, were all advertiſed, from time to time, to Mr. *Towerſon*, who therefore was ſure he could expect no Aſſiſtance from them, that were themſelves in ſuch a Predicament.

“ The other Part of Mr. *Towerſon*'s Reſolution is ſaid to have been to keep the Caſtle for himſelf, and to agree with the *Indians*, in Default of Help from the *Engliſh*. This is yet more improbable than the former: Were the *Portugueze* and *Indians* not able to keep out the *Dutch* from *Amboyna*, when they had no Footing there; and ſhall Captain *Towerſon* with twenty *Engliſh* and *Japoneſe*, without Ship or Pinnace, be able, with the Help of the poor naked *Indians*, to drive them out, having three Caſtles in the Iſland of *Amboyna* and at *Cambello* hard by, all well furniſhed with Men and Proviſions, beſides their Power of Shipping, which makes them ſtile themſelves Lords of the Sea? And yet how could Maſter *Towerſon* hope to win the *Amboyneſe* (the *Hollanders* ſworn Subjects) to his Side? He might rather aſſure himſelf, that after he had maſtered the *Hollanders*, if yet that muſt be believed to be poſſible, the *Amboyneſe* would have ſurpriſed him, and caſt him out, being ſo weakly provided to ſtand of himſelf, that ſo they might utterly free themſelves from their Servitude: Here alſo muſt be remarked, that this Author himſelf in his Preamble ſaith, that the *Indians* themſelves durſt not undertake ſuch a great Deſign as he there feigneth againſt the State of *Amboyna*, without ſome great Aid of ſome Nations of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards* or *Portugueſe*, or ſome other; whereby is not only confeſſed how weak the *Indians* of themſelves are, but withal it followeth, how ſmall Hope Mr. *Towerſon* might have, being deſerted of his own Nation, as here the Caſe is put, to hold the Caſtle for himſelf by the Help of thoſe *Indians*, if yet he could once have won it.

“ In a Word, they that know the Power of the *Dutch* in *Amboyna*, and thereabouts, and the Weakneſs of the poor *Indians*, will judge this Conceit of Mr. *Towerſon*'s to keep the Caſtle for himſelf, to be a mad Plot, and for which Maſter *Towerſon* ſhould rather have been ſent to *Bedlam*, or the *Dullen Kiſt*, as the *Dutch* call it, than to the Gallows. But this Author hath one voluntary Confeſſion, upon which he taketh eſpecial Hold, to wit, that Maſter *Towerſon*, after his Examination was finiſhed, being expoſtulated with by the *Dutch* Governor, and demanded whether this ſhould have been the Recompence of his (the Governor's) manifold Courteſies towards him, anſwered with a deep Sigh, *Oh! were this Matter now to do, it ſhould never be done.* This voluntary Confeſſion, and penitent Acknowledgment, ſaith this Author, was made the Ninth of *March*, being the Day when the Execution was to be done, and the Examination of *Towerſon* was ended the Twenty-eighth of *February*, ſo many Days before. But how ſhall we believe this? Forſooth, he hath it out of the Acts of the Proceſs of *Amboyna*; yea, but in theſe Acts are omitted many material Paſſages of theſe Examinations, as is already ſhewed, why may they not then be guilty of Addition, as well as of ſuch Mutilation and Omiſſion? But let us peruſe the Words of the Act itſelf, which are theſe;

“ We whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed, do declare upon our Troth, inſtead of an Oath, that *Gabriel Towerſon*, after that he had been already examined touching his ſaid Offence; and that the worſhipful *Van Speult* had expoſtulated with him thereupon, aſked him, whether this ſhould have been the Recompence of his Courteſies from Time to Time ſhewed unto him the ſaid *Towerſon*? Thereupon he the ſaid *Towerſon*, with a deep Sigh, anſwered him, and ſaid, Oh! if this were to be begun again, it ſhould never be done. *Actum* this Ninth of *March*, in the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, and ſubſigned,

“ *Harman Van Speult*,
“ *Laurence de Maerſchalck*,
“ *Clement Herſſeboom*,
“ *Harman Craywanger*,
“ *Peter Van Zanten*,
“ *Leonart Clock*.

“ Thus we ſee the Act itſelf, and this pretended voluntary Confeſſion of Mr. *Towerſon*, which is not delivered upon the Credit of the Court or Council at *Amboyna*, but upon the Atteſtation or Affidavit of the Governor, and five others, the principal Actors in this bloody Tragedy; and this not upon their Oath, but upon their Troth, or honeſt Word, forſooth, inſtead of an Oath. The Time when theſe Words were uttered by Mr. *Towerſon*, is not deſcribed by the Day when he ſpake them, but only by the precedent Act of his Examination; and yet the Circumſtance of Time is not only an uſual and cuſtomary Solemnity, and requiſite in all ſuch Atteſtations, but alſo in a Buſineſs of this Nature altogether neceſſary, as likewiſe in this Caſe that of the Place was; for if theſe Words were ſpoken in the Place of Torture, or incontinently after the Examination ended, they are by their own Law eſteemed no more voluntary, than the Confeſſion upon the Rack itſelf: Neither yet doth this Atteſtation affirm, that this Confeſſion was voluntary.

“ But this Author, unconſcionably reporting the Date of the Atteſtation for the Time of the Confeſſion, collects it to be voluntary, becauſe, as he ſaith, it was made the Ninth of *March*, being ſo many Days after his Examination, which was taken the 28th of *February*; can a Man atteſt nothing but what was done upon the very Day when he maketh Affidavit? The Atteſtation ſaith, that theſe Words were ſpoken by Mr. *Towerſon*, after he had been already examined; why may not that rather have been upon the very Day of his Examination, than upon the Day when this Act was entred, if yet he ever ſpake any ſuch Words, or meant them, as he is here interpreted, the contrary whereof is the more probable, by all the Circumſtances of this Buſineſs truly ſet down in the Relation of the *Engliſh*.

“ But in that this Author makes ſo much of this poor Circumſtance of Mr. *Towerſon*'s Profeſſion of Sorrow for what was done, naming it a voluntary Confeſſion, it is plain how deſtitue he was of voluntary Confeſſions, and of all true and concluding Circumſtances. What, was there not a Letter, or other Paper to be found in all the Cheſts and Boxes of the *Engliſh*, ſo ſuddenly ſeized at *Amboyna*, *Larica*, *Hitto* and *Cambello*, to diſcover this Treaſon? Nor amongſt ſo many Accomplices of diverſe Nations, a falſe Brother to betray the reſt, and to accuſe them voluntarily, but the Proceſs muſt begin with the Torture, and the Heathens Confeſſions upon Torture be ſufficient to bring Chriſtians to Torture.

“ That debauched and notoriouſly infamous Perſons (ſuch as *Price* was) to draw Torture upon the ſober, orderly and untainted? And yet this Relation itſelf confeſſeth, that *Price*'s Confeſſion was drawn from him by the Examiners, ſpecifying of Place, Perſon and Time unto him; certainly one of their own Nation had Reaſon to adviſe that more Advocates might be ſent over to the *Indies* to aid the accuſed, to make a legal Anſwer; for, ſaith he, they go to work there ſo villainouſly and murderouſly, that the Blood of the poor People crieth to Heaven for Vengeance. But why have we no Particular of any Man's Confeſſion but this of *Price* and Mr. *Towerſon*, and all the reſt blended together in one Body? Did none of all the reſt go farther than his Fellows, or confeſs more than they? Where is *Sharrock*'s Confeſſion, that he was at *Amboyna* upon New-Years-Day, when ten or twelve of the *Dutch* themſelves witneſſed he was at *Hitto*? Where is his Confeſſion of *Clark*'s Plot to go to *Maccaſſar*, to deal with the *Spaniards* there to come and rob the ſmall Factories? Where is *Collins*'s Confeſſion of another Plot about two Months and a half before his Examination, undertaken by *Thomſon*, *Johnſon*, *Price*, *Brown*, *Fardo* and himſelf? Where be the leading Interrogatories that directed them to the Accuſation framed by the *Dutch*, leſt otherwiſe there had been as many ſeveral Treaſons confeſſed as Perſons examined? Not a Word of all this, nor of a great deal more of this kind, which is here in *England* proved by the Oath of ſix credible Perſons to have paſſed in the Examinations, whereby

“ appeareth how faithfully the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* have entred the Acts of this Proceſs?

“ Well, at laſt he concludes the Narration of the Confeſſions with the ſumming up of the Number and Nations of the Parties that had thus confeſſed, which he ſaith, were ten *Japoneſe*, fourteen *Engliſh*, and the *Netherlandiſh Marinibo*, or Captain of the Slaves; by which laſt Words, he would give the Reader occaſion to think, that this Fact was ſo clear, and their own Proceedings ſo even and juſt, that they had executed one of their own *Netherlanders* for it; which how true it is, is already declared in the Concluſion of the *Engliſh* Relation. The Truth is, this Captain of the Slaves was of the *Portugueſe* Race, and born in *Bengal*; his very Name, *Auguſtin Perez*, ſheweth he was no *Netherlander*.

“ Having thus finiſhed this Relation, this Author proceedeth to a Diſputation, and taking Notice of ſome Aſperſions in *England* caſt upon theſe Proceedings at *Amboyna*, he divideth them into two Heads; the one, that the Proceſs was without its due Formality, the other, that there was Exceſs and Extremity uſed againſt the Conſpirators. For the Point of Formality, he firſt taketh great Pains to prove, that the Formalities of Proceſſes in *Amboyna*, are not therefore unlawful, becauſe they agree not with our Form in *England*; which Labour he might have ſpared, for no wiſe Man will deny him this Point; and ſuch as ſhall be ſo ignorant as to blame the *Dutch* for varying from us herein, were not worthy the anſwering. Herewithal alſo, he deduceth the Title of the Lords the States-General to the Sovereignty of *Amboyna*, and ſo the Governor of *Amboyna*'s Juriſdiction in Cauſes as well criminal as civil to be rightly grounded. Thence he concludes, that the *Japoneſe* being ſworn Servants to the *Dutch*, and in their Pay, were ſubject to the Juriſdiction of the *Dutch* Governor. Then he telleth us, that the Author and Accomplices of Murder and Treaſon, are by the Laws of all Nations to be puniſhed with Death; all which Points may be granted him without any Prejudice to the Cauſe of the *Engliſh* in this Queſtion. At laſt he comes in Particular to their Caſe, and affirms, that the Chief of the *Engliſh* there might not apprehend the *Engliſh* Accomplices of this Conſpiracy, becauſe themſelves were Accomplices of the Fact; all which alſo may be granted in this Point of Apprehenſion and ſafe Cuſtody; but how it may proceed in the Point of Cognizance, ſhall be anon in due Place examined.

“ In the mean time, this Author, to make the Point of Apprehenſion clear beyond Exception, ſaith, that the *Engliſh* were not apprehended upon the firſt Suſpicion, when yet there was Evidence and Indicia ſufficient to it. But after the Examination of all the *Japoneſe*, and their joint Confeſſion, that the *Engliſh*, whom they ſpecified by Name and Surname, moved and hired them to this Treaſon: Yea, not until *Abel Price* had alſo confeſſed as much, and that all the *Engliſh* in the Out-Factories were privy thereunto. For Anſwer hereof, that muſt be repeated, which hath been upon other Occaſions before alledged, that the firſt Beginning of the Proceſs was by the Torture, there being no ſufficient Evidence or Indicium to torture the *Japoneſe*, that only ſought to inform himſelf of the Courſe of the Watch, and of the Strength of the Caſtle, where he himſelf was a Soldier, and ſo the whole Series of Examination proceeding from the Confeſſion of one tortured Perſon, to apprehend and torture another, without other Evidence, though it brought forth more Confeſſions, and thoſe with Name and Surname, and other Circumſtances, according as the Interrogatories or Directories of the Governor and Fiſcal led the Priſoners, was wholly againſt all Laws of Tortures. *Silicet in fabrica ſi prava eſt regula prima. Cætera mendoſe fieri, atque obſtipa neceſſe, eſt.*

“ But here muſt be anſwered an Objection, that may be made againſt this from another Part of this Relation; that is, that ſome of the *Engliſh* confeſſed without, or before Torture. Yea, this *Price* here mentioned, was either not tortured at all, or very lightly; yea, but he was ſhewed the tortured Bodies of the poor *Japoneſe*, martyred with Fire and Water, and told, that unleſs he would confeſs that which they told him they had firſt confeſſed, he ſhould be tortured as ill, or worſe than they. This Fear of Torture is by their own Law equalled to the Torture itſelf, and conſequently the Confeſſion thereupon, made no better Indicium, or Evidence, to bring another Man to the Torture, than the Confeſſion made upon the Rack itſelf. Again, it muſt be here remembred, that the very Matter of *Price*'s Confeſſion here mentioned, to wit, that all the *Engliſh* Merchants of the Out-Factories were privy to the pretended Treaſon, was confuted by the Proceſs of the *Dutch* themſelves, that found *Powel*, *Ramſey*, and two others of thoſe Factories guiltleſs.

“ Next, this Author taketh Notice of an Objection made in *England* againſt the Juriſdiction of the *Dutch* Governor, and his Council at *Amboyna*, over the *Engliſh* there, becauſe this Power is by the Treaty of the Year 1619 diſpoſed of, and agreed to conſiſt in the Council of Defence of both Nations at *Jaccatra*; for Information in which Point, this Author ſaith, he hath peruſed over all the ſeveral Articles in the ſaid Treaty, and findeth in the twenty-third Article, that the Forteſſes were to remain in the Hands of them that then poſſeſſed them; and in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, that the Council of Defence hath no other Power but only over the Fleet of Defence, over the Commerce, and finally, to tax the Charges of Maintainance of the Forts; but he could not ſee the thirtieth Article, which orders that all Diſputes that cannot be decided by the Council of Defence, ſhould be remitted into *Europe*, firſt, to the two Companies there, and in Default of their Agreement, to the King and States; why then was not this Diſpute ſo proceeded in? There is nothing in the former Articles to limit the Council of Defence, and this general Article appeareth to be added by way of Amplification, to provide for that which was not particularly and expreſsly cared for in the former, which is moſt plain by the Words of the Explanation upon this thirtieth Article, agreed upon at the firſt, and ſubſcribed by the Commiſſioners on both Sides, *Anno* 1619, where this Courſe of Proceeding is expreſsly directed, not only in Diſputes about the Meaning of the Articles, but alſo about any other Matter happening in their commerce abroad; ſince which alſo the King's Majeſty hath, upon a ſmaller Occaſion than the Life of his Subjects, clearly declared himſelf in the Point of Sovereignty, that both Nations in the *Indies* ſhould wholly lay aſide all Pretence thereof, which Declaration was ſent to the Lords States-General, and by them accepted before this bloody Butchery was executed. But if it were granted, that the *Dutch* were abſolute Lords of their Partners the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts, without reſpect to the Treaty, yet at leaſt the *Dutch* in *Amboyna* were bound to obſerve the Laws of the *United Provinces*, for ſo ſaith this Author himſelf. Do theſe allow to begin the Proceſs as to the Torture, and to bring Perſons of honeſt Fame to the Rack upon others Confeſſion made in the Torture? Do their Laws allow of the leading Interrogatories above-mentioned, to direct the Priſoner what to ſay, to avoid the Torture, where, in the *United Provinces*, is that drowning with Water in Uſe? Or the Torture with Fire uſed to *Johnſon*, *Thomſon* and *Clark*? Or eſpecially the ſplitting of their Toes, and lancing of the Breaſt, and putting in Gunpowder, and then firing the ſame, whereby the Body is not left intire, neither for Innocency nor Execution? *Clark* and *Thomſon* were both fain to be carried to their Execution, though they were tortured many Days before.

“ Laſtly, their Confeſſions were contradictory, apparently falſe, and of things impoſſible to be done, much leſs practiſed before by the ſaid Parties, and therefore ought not by their Law to have been believed, nor the Priſoners to have been condemned thereupon, without other ſufficient Indicia, or Evidence beſides. In the laſt Place, this Author handleth the Exceſs of Torture, whereof he taketh Notice, there is much Complaint in *England*,

“ and ſaith, that the Lords States-General took great Care to inform themſelves of all the Paſſages in this Buſineſs, and to that End deſired to ſee all the Letters, Pieces, and Papers, that concern this Proceſs, by which it appeareth not that there was any cruel Torture uſed. But ſuppoſe the Acts made no mention of them, is it any marvel that the Authors of this murderous and tyrannous Proceſs, being themſelves the Perſons that alſo formed the Acts, would omit thoſe things that made againſt them?

“ It is to be preſumed alſo, that the Acts kept by their People at *Poloway* in *Banda*, have omitted many things of their Proceſs againſt the poor *Poloroons*, whom in *Auguſt* 1622, being about ſix Months before this Execution of the *Engliſh*, their Governor there uſed in like Sort as the Governor of *Amboyna* did the *Engliſh*, and gave him a Model and Preſident of this Proceſs, which it will not be amiſs to relate briefly, becauſe this Author in the next Place alledgeth the merciful Diſpoſition of the *Netherlandiſh* Nation in general, to infer thence, that it is therefore unlikely, that their Governor at *Amboyna* was ſo cruel as is reported in *England*.

“ *Poloroon*, one of the Iſlands of *Banda*, was in Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* at the Time of the Treaty *Anno* 1619, and by Agreement was to remain theirs.

“ After the Treaty came to the *Indies*, the *Dutch* forbore the publiſhing thereof in the Iſlands of *Banda*, until they had taken *Polaroon*; but knowing that it muſt be reſtored again, according to the Treaty, they firſt take all Courſes to make the Iſland little or nothing worth. They demoliſh and deface the Building, tranſplant the Nutmeg-trees, plucking them up by the Roots, and carrying them into their own Iſlands of *Nera* and *Poloway*, there to be planted for themſelves, and at leaſt find a Means to diſpeople the Iſland, and to leave it ſo as the *Engliſh* might make no Uſe of it, worth their Charge of keeping; and that upon this Occaſion was a young Man, the Son of an Orankey, or a Gentleman in *Polaroon*, that had committed Felony, for which, by the Laws of his Country, he was to die. This Fellow, to ſave his Life, fled to another Iſland of *Banda*, called *Roſinging*, and there turned Chriſtian; but quickly underſtanding that that would not make him ſafe from Puniſhment, he went back ſecretly into his own Country of *Polaroon*, and having lurked there for two or three Days, took his Paſſage for *Nera*, another Iſland where the *Dutch* have a Fort, and told the *Dutch* Governor, that the Orankeys of *Polaroon* had conſpired to maſſacre the *Dutch* as well at *Polaroon* as at *Poloway*, with Help of the People of *Seran*, that ſhould ſend over thirty Curricurries for that Purpoſe. Immediately upon this Indicium of this Malefactor certain Prows or Fiſher-boats of the *Polaroons* that were fiſhing at *Poloway* were ſeized, and the People made Priſoners, Command was ſent by the *Dutch* Governor to *Polaroon*, that the Orankeys ſhould come over to him, that there might be farther Inquiſition made of this Matter.

“ The Prieſt of the *Polaroons* and ſeventy Orankeys inſtantly took a Prow, or ſmall Veſſel of their own, and embarked themſelves for *Poloway*. As they were at Sea, and yet out of Sight of the *Dutch* Caſtle, they were met by a Fiſhing-boat of *Bandanezes*, and told how all the reſt were apprehended, and that if they went to *Poloway*, they were all but dead Men. Nevertheleſs the Prieſt and the reſt, although they had Space and Means to have eſcaped the *Seran*, and other Places ſafe enough from the *Dutch*, yet were ſo confident of their Innocency, that they would needs go to *Poloway* to purge themſelves, where, as ſoon as they arrived, they were inſtantly carried Priſoners to the Caſtle, and withal the Governor, with a Force of two hundred Men, went perſonally for *Polaroon*, whence he fetched all the reſt of the Orankeys, and brought them Priſoners to the ſame Caſtle: As ſoon as they were come, they were preſently brought to the Torture of Water and Fire, even in the ſame ſort that our People were afterwards at *Amboyna*, only herein differing, that of thoſe of *Poloway*, two were ſo tortured, that they died in their Tortures; the reſt being one hundred and ſixty-two Perſons, were all, upon their own forced Confeſſions, condemned and executed. The Prieſt, when he came to the Place of Execution, ſpake theſe Words in the *Malayan* Tongue: All ye great and ſmall, rich and poor, black and white, look to it, we have committed no Fault; and when he would have ſpoken more, he was taken by the Hands and Feet, laid along, and cut in two by the Middle with a Sword; forthwith the Governor cauſed the Wives, Children, and Slaves of thoſe of *Polaroon* to be all carried out of the Iſland, and diſtributed in other Iſlands ſubject to the *Dutch*, and ſo have made a clear Country for the *Engliſh*, where they may both plant and gather themſelves, deſtitute of the Help of any of the Country People, without whom neither the *Engliſh* nor the *Dutch* can maintain their Trade in the *Indies*; and yet this is not here recited, to the end thereby to charge the *Netherlander*'s Nation with thoſe cruel Proceedings, but the Perſons themſelves that have committed theſe barbarous Tyrannies, who, if we ſhall believe an Author of their own, are not of the beſt of that Nation.

“ For the *Majors*, as this Author ſays, uſe the *Indies* as a Tuckt-houſe, or Bridewell, to manage their unruly and unthrifty Children and Kindred, whom, when they cannot rule and order at home, they ſend to the *Indies*, where they are preferred to Offices and Places of Government; yea, ſaith he, they prefer ſuch to be Fiſcals there as never ſaw Study nor Law; ſo that it is no marvel, that ſuch Perſons proceed not with that Juſtice and Moderation as is uſed generally in the *Low Countries* by the Choice of the Nation there; and this agreeth well with the Report of our Merchants of Credit that came lately from *Amboyna*, who aver, that excepting the Governor himſelf, who is well ſtept in Years, of the reſt of the Council there, as well the Fiſcal as others, there was ſcarce any that had Hair on their Faces; yea, that moſt of them are leud, drunken, debauched Perſons, and yet muſt be judges, as well of our *Engliſh* as the poor *Indians* there. Now to return to this Author's Proofs, that there was no Exceſs uſed in the Proceedings, at the laſt he taketh one Argument by way of Compariſon from the Law of *England* to preſs Men to Death, which, he ſaith, hath much more Cruelty than their Courſe of Torture uſed by the *Dutch* in *Amboyna*, and is holden, as well by ſome Authors of our own Nation as others, for damnable. How pertinently is this Matter of preſſing alledged for juſtifying their Tortures, ſince no Man in *England* is preſſed for not confeſſing, which is the Cauſe of the Torture with the *Dutch*? But the Cauſe why any is preſſed is, for that he obſtinately refuſes the Trial of his Country, and challengeth the Judges as incompetent, which the Law appointeth him, which he doth for the moſt part to ſave his Goods, which but by that ordinary Courſe of Trial cannot be confiſcate; what is this to the Point of Confeſſion? for Refuſal whereof the *Dutch* uſe the Torture, and yet no Man blameth them for proceeding according to the Law of their Country therein, nor yet in their Execution, when they break the Legs, Arms and Thighs of the Malefactors, and then ſet them upon a Wheel on the End of a great Pole, there to languiſh to Death, an Execution far more direful than the *Engliſh* preſſing, which is ſo ſuddenly done, and ſo ſeldom uſed.

“ But why doth he not name the Author of our own, or foreign Writers, which condemn this kind of Execution? Let him do it yet, and he ſhall have more Authors of his own Country that ſhall condemn their Courſe of Tortures, and yet the *Engliſh* complain not of the Courſe in general, but of the unlawful Uſe of it, contrary to the Laws even of the *United Provinces*. Laſtly, in this Point the Author pretendeth, that little or no Torture was uſed in this Proceſs. What the Torture was, and in what Degree, appears in the *Engliſh* Relation; but he can find little or none mentioned in the Acts. What if he will not find it? or what if their Officers at *Amboyna* have concealed it? Shall we not believe thoſe that ſuffered it themſelves? Shall we not believe thoſe that being themſelves acquitted, yet heard the Cries, and ſaw the Bodies of *Johnſon*, *Clark*, and *Thomſon*, and have confirmed their Relation by their corporal

“Oaths? As for the Act of the five and twentieth of *February*, which this Author hath here tranſcribed, it cannot be a true Act; for therein it is ſaid, that that Day all the *Engliſh* were examined one by one, and ſome before Torture, and ſome after, confeſſed the Fact: Whereas it appeareth not only by the *Engliſh* Relation, but by this very Author in the precedent Page, that they were not all examined the ſame five and twentieth Day of *February*, but that the Examination continued ſix Days together, even to the third of *March* incluſive. How then could the Act of the five and twentieth of *February* have all their Confeſſions? By this may appear what Credit may be given to thoſe Acts, or elſe to this Author.

“Here alſo by the way, he tells us of the Deliberation of their Council, whether the Puniſhment of the Fact might be reſpited, or the Cauſe removed, wherein it was reſolved, that Execution muſt needs be done in the Place of the Delict for Examples ſake, and might not be reſpited, for fear leſt the Conſpirators, as he terms them, might have more Dependencies than yet were known, and in particular the *Tarnatanes*, and other *Indians* about *Amboyna*; a poor Pretext, as if having all the *Engliſh* in Irons aboard their ſeveral Ships, they ſhould need to fear their joining with the *Tarnatanes*; but it may be, they feared ſome *Engliſh* Ships alſo to come thither, for ſo they had made their own People believe, and therefore two Ships being deſcried at Sea, the *Dutch* and their free Burghers cried out, that there were the *Engliſh* that ſhould have holpen to take the Caſtle; but when they arrived, they proved to be two Ships of the *Dutch* come from *Jaccatra*, wherein was a Letter from the Preſident of the *Engliſh* there to call away Captain *Towerſon*, and all the *Engliſh* from *Amboyna* to *Jaccatra*; which Letter was opened and read by the *Dutch* Governor, while our People were yet in Priſon, and not executed, and might well have ſecured him, that there was no further Danger to be feared of the *Engliſh* Aids of Shipping, whatever the *Engliſh* Priſoners had through Torture confeſſed. At laſt the Author comes to the Sentence itſelf, tranſcribing out of the Acts of the ninth of *March*, that the College of Judges being then competent, and calling upon the Name of the Lord to aſſiſt them in this mournful Aſſembly to preſide in their Hearts, and inſpire them with Equity and Juſtice, proceeded to Sentence, *&c.*

“Who knoweth not but the Act may be thus formed, and yet no Prayer at all made? Or, if there wery any ſuch Prayer, yet the Proceedings, well weighed, will ſhew it to be but like *Jezabel*'s Faſt, the Preparative to the falſe Judgment againſt *Naboth*. Neither will the wiſe and indifferent Judges of this whole Matter conceive the better of the Cauſe, for the hypocritical Formalities therein obſerved. Laſt of all, he concludes his Treatiſe with a Juſtification, Yea, an Elogy and Commendation of the whole Proceedings of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* againſt the *Engliſh*, not finding the leaſt to be blamed to the *Dutch*, but aggravating the Crime of the *Engliſh* very ridiculouſly, becauſe, forſooth, that this Plot, amongſt other Things, was againſt the great Means of the *Netherlands Eaſt-India* Company, as if a Conſpiracy to rob them muſt needs be Treaſon; or if the Intent only, in any Crime but Treaſon, were capital. Thus have we examined this ſtrained Juſtification of that baſe and execrable Proceſs of *Amboyna*, conſiſting of a Preamble full of falſe and forged Suſpicions; a Narration of the Fact, fraught with ridiculous Abſurdities, Contrarieties, and Impoſſibilities, and of a Diſpute of Impertinences, with Concealment of the main Grounds of the *Engliſh* Griefs: All which verifieth that of *Papinian*, that Paricides are more eaſily committed than defended.” This Anſwer is ſo clear and full, and we have already ſpent ſo much Time, though I think not more than it deſerved, upon this Affair of *Amboyna*, that I am very willing to conclude it, which I ſhall do with this ſingle Remark, which I conceive has not been made before, and which I perſuade myſelf will ſet the whole Affair in a much clearer Light than it has hitherto ſtood in. The Genius of the *Dutch* Nation, and of their *Eaſt-India* Company, was Gain at all Events, and no Matter at whoſe Expence. The Genius of the *Dutch* Government at home, was to live fair with her Neighbours, and by ſmooth Language, high Profeſſions of Friendſhip and ready Compliance in Trifles, to ſecure their Protection, and command their Aſſiſtance. It was this Diſpoſition in the latter, that engaged them to make the Treaty with *Great-Britain* in 1619, by which there was a ſort of Union made between the two *Eaſt-India* Companies.

This was what the *Dutch* Company diſliked, and reſolved not to bear, which induced them to frame and execute that barbarous and bloody Contrivance at *Amboyna*, which anſwered their Ends effectually. For, firſt, it abſolutely dipped the States-General in their Quarrel, the firſt Queſtion in the Diſpute being this, whether the Governor of *Amboyna*, by Virtue of the Authority derived to him from them, had any Right to proceed againſt the *Engliſh*; and next, it totally deſtroyed all Confidence in the Treaty, and obliged the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company to abandon the Methods preſcribed by it, which turned them out of the Spice Trade entirely, the great Thing aimed at by the *Dutch*, and which they never otherwiſe could have accompliſhed.

9. The Death of King *James* happened in a very ſhort Time after this Misfortune, and the Troubles of various kinds, which very early diſturbed the Reign of King *Charles* I. put it out of his Power to purſue that Matter as he ſeems to have intended; for, in the Beginning of his Reign, he granted Letters of Requeſt to the States-General for obtaining Satisfaction, which, however, had not their Effect, neither did the King purſue that Point any farther; the Reaſon of which I preſume to have been this, that, finding other Cauſes of Complaint againſt the *Dutch*, he abſolutely determined to leſſen their Strength as a maritime Power, the rather, becauſe he found them joining with the *French*, in order to the Execution of a Scheme which they have had always in View, of dividing the *Spaniſh* Low-Countries with *France*, and then diſputing, in Confederacy with her, the Sovereignty which the *Engliſh* claim over the Narrow Seas. This King *Charles*, I. ſaw, and determined to prevent; and in order thereto, found it neceſſary to fit out a Fleet, which induced him to demand Ship-Money; and that began thoſe Confuſions, which ended in the Ruin of our Government, and leaving the *Dutch* in Poſſeſſion of all that Trade, which they had acquired at our Expence. This Language may ſeem new and ſtrange to ſome People; but it is, nevertheleſs, Matter of Fact, in Proof of which I ſhall cite what is ſaid by Sir *William Monſon*, who lived at that Time, was an Eye-witneſs of what he wrote, and underſtood the Subject as well as any Man that ever lived. This Gentleman, after aſſigning the Reaſons why the King did not reſent the Injuries done his Subjects by the *Dutch* ſooner than the Year 1635, when he fitted out a Royal Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Lindſy*, and having likewiſe touched the Reaſons which had compelled his Majeſty to it, then proceeds thus:

“After much Working, and Embaſſadors often paſſing between them and *France*, at laſt they concluded on an Offenſive and Defenſive League, by which *France* was to declare War againſt *Spain*; the Conſequences of ſuch a League being dangerous, and an unlimited Ambition never with Safety to be truſted, his Majeſty had juſt Cauſe to be ſuſpicious of theſe Innovations; he had Reaſon to weigh theſe Things, and to conſider why *Holland* and *France* ſhould ſo ſtrictly combine and league together, both of them being Neighbours to him, and why it ſhould be now haſtened more than in former Times, when *France* and *England* gave a ſufficient Relief to *Holland* by Conſent. The King alſo ſeeing the ambitious Enterprizes of *France*, aſſiſted and animated by *Holland*, to diſturb the Chriſtian and peaceable Commonwealth of *Europe*, and unjuſtly to ſeize upon his neighbouring Territories, without Cauſe given, yea, not ſparing, by Treachery and Force, to enjoy the Countries of his weakeſt and neareſt Friends the ancient State of *Lorrain*, which lay in his Way to hinder his unlawful Deſigns. Theſe were ſufficient Motives

" and Reaſons for the King's Majeſty to behold his own Caſe with an Eye of Prevention; but eſpecially finding a Combination betwixt *France* and *Holland* to take and divide the Provinces of *Flanders* betwixt them, and to poſſeſs the maritime Towns, as *Dunkirk*, and others oppoſite to *England*. This made his Majeſty think how to quench the Fire that might flame into his own Houſe. And having Intelligence that they were both to join in one Fleet, a Thing not uſually done by the *French*; and they making no publick Declaration of the Deſign of their Ships, as commonly Princes uſe to do in ſuch Caſes, his Majeſty could make no leſs Conſtruction, than that they intended to deprive him of his ancient and allowed Prerogative of the Narrow Seas, which behoved him as much to defend, as his Kingdom; for he that covets the one, will do as much by the other, if it were in his Power to effect it. Wherefore his Majeſty armed theſe Ships following to Sea, to enquire the Reaſon at their Hands, not intending to injure any Nation, but to keep himſelf and Subjects from being injured, and to curb the Inſolency and Pride of any People that ſhould go about to infringe his Royal Prerogative."

It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the Word Prerogative is uſed in a Senſe by this Author, which intereſts the Subject as much as the Prince; for the Prerogative here contended for, though nominally in the Crown, was virtually in the People of *England*; and it was to maintain their Right that the famous *Selden* was encouraged to compoſe his *Mare Clauſum*, in Anſwer to *Grotius*'s Book, entitled *Mare Liberum*, intended to juſtify, by Reaſon, the ambitious Projects of the *Dutch*. That this was truly the Caſe, and that the King had nothing in View but for the Benefit of his Subjects, appears plainly, by the Care he took for advancing the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, which began now to decline exceedingly; for the *Dutch* had ſo frighted them by their Severities, that the Servants of the *Eaſt-India* Company were afraid to diſpute with them, and not much inclined to ſettle in any Colonies there; ſo that by degrees, our Trade would have fallen to nothing, which was preciſely what the *Dutch* deſired, and were, by all Means, endeavouring to bring about.

The King, to redreſs this Evil, and to preſerve this Trade, as far as it was poſſible, liſtened to the Propoſals made by Sir *William Courten*, and ſome other rich Merchants of *London*, for ſending a Squadron into thoſe Parts to ſettle and trade, but without Prejudice to the Rights of the *Eaſt-India* Company; and accordingly by his Commiſſion, under his Royal Signature, dated the 12th of *December* 1635, he did grant Licence to the Perſons therein named, to ſend a certain Number of Ships into the *Eaſt-Indies*; and they accordingly did ſend ſix large Ships, Sir *William Courten* himſelf adventuring One hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds. Theſe Adventurers had very good Succeſs abroad, if they could have found any Way to have got their Riches home; but the *Dutch* were too cunning for that; for, dreading the Eſtabliſhment of a free Trade between the *Engliſh* and the *Indians*, they reſolved to take Things in the Beginning, and accordingly ſo way-laid the *Dragon* and the *Catherine*, which were two of the largeſt Ships theſe Gentlemen had employed, that not far from the *Cape of Good-Hope* they ſunk both the Veſſels, and every Soul in them, by which a great Number of able Seamen were loſt, together with a Cargo of the Value of One hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds.

Neither was this the ſingle Act of this kind, for in the Year 1641, the ſame Proprietors, except Sir *William Courten*, who was dead, fitted out ſeven more Ships, which likewiſe failed to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and were again met with by the *Dutch*; for in the Month of *January* 1643, the *Henry Bonaventure*, laden with Pepper and other *Indian* Goods, ran aſhore upon *Maurice-Iſland*, in the Hands of the *Dutch*, who, under Pretence of helping the Maſter and Seamen to ſave the Goods, ſeized and poſſeſſed themſelves of Ship, Tackle, Ammunition, Merchandiſe, and Proviſions, and converted the ſame to the Uſe of the ſaid *Eaſt-India* Company; and *Adrien Vanderſtel*, the Governor of the Iſland, ſent away the Maſter and Mariners without any Manner of Succour or Relief, to the Damage of Mr. *Courten*, and the reſt of the Intereſted, the Sum of 10000 Pounds and upwards. And about the Month of *June* 1643, the *Bona Eſperanza* making a trading Voyage from *Goa* to *Macao*, in the Streights of *Malacca*, was violently ſet upon by two *Dutch* Ships, Men of War (belonging to the ſaid Company) called *Hendillo*, and the *Portogallo*, whereof Seignior *Fermeran* and Seignior *Gealand*, with the Lieutenant of the Fort of *Malacca*, were Commanders, who, in a hoſtile Manner, killed the Maſter, *Roger Tuckerman*, and divers Seamen were wounded, the reſt took Priſoners, and robbed them of all their Goods, Merchandiſe, Books of Accounts, Writings, and Papers, and afterwards led the Mariners about the Streets of *Batavia* in Deriſion of the *Engliſh* Nation, dragging alſo the King's Colours after them in Triumph, contrary to the Laws of Nations and common Amity; all which tended to the Damage of Mr. *Courten* and the Intereſted in that Voyage, to the Sum of 75000 Pounds, or thereabouts.

Upon the News of theſe inhuman Dealings, Mr. *Courten* was forced to abſent himſelf from the *Exchange*, his Bills were proteſted in *England*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*; ſo he became inſolvent, and was out-law'd, with Sir *Edward Littleton*, in the Years 1644 and 1645, for the Sum of Fifty thouſand Pounds, or thereabouts. Sir *Edward Littleton*, being then ſequeſtrated for his Fidelity and Allegiance to his Majeſty, and in the actual Service of the King, could not appear to proſecute his Action, either before the Parliament, or the Courts of *Holland*, for Reparation of the violent Injuries aforeſaid. Sir *Paul Pindar* having taken up ſeveral great Sums of Money, and advanced them to the King's Uſe, was with the reſt of the Commiſſioners for the contracted Farms of the Cuſtoms, fined 150,000 *l.* by the Parliament, and alſo proſecuted at Law for the ſaid Debts, whereby he became a Priſoner in his own Houſe, and during the late diſtempered Times made incapable to look after his Proportion of the ſaid Damages from the *Eaſt-India* Company of *Holland*.

Thus all this Project for reviving and reſtoring the *Eaſt-India* Trade came to nothing; but thoſe Merchants, who had engaged in them ſuch vaſt Sums, were utterly beggared. It is true, that King *Charles* I. interpoſed in their Behalf with the States, which ſerves rather to ſhew the Care of that Monarch, even in his loweſt Circumſtances, for the Intereſt of his Subjects, than to demonſtrate the Juſtice of the *Dutch*, who with much ado were brought to pay 85,000 Gilders, which proves that the Charge muſt have been juſt, though the Satisfaction was almoſt below Notice. While things ſtood thus in *England*, the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company carried all before them in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and having none to oppoſe them, eſtabliſhed themſelves ſo effectually, that it was not only impoſſible for the *Engliſh* to form any Deſigns to their Prejudice, but they were forced likewiſe to lay aſide all thoughts of recovering their juſt Rights, and to abandon their Affairs as a trading Body for ſeveral Years. Such were the ſad Effects of our Confuſions at home, with regard to our Trade abroad, and this too at ſuch a critical Juncture, when ſo much might have been done for the Service of this Nation.

This is, indeed, a very dark and diſmal Scene, the Proſpect of which was never clearly exhibited to the View of an *Engliſh* Reader; nor ſhould I have dwelt upon it ſo long now, but that at this Diſtance of Time I ſuppoſe all Prejudices are worn off, and we may be allowed to judge freely of the Miſchiefs of the Civil War brought upon us, not only by the Confuſions and Slaughters it created amongſt ourſelves, but in the Injuries likewiſe, which by its Conſequences it drew upon thoſe Branches of our Commerce, which might otherwiſe have made us the richeſt and greateſt People in *Europe*. This is a Conſideration that ought never to be forgot, becauſe while we retain it in our Memory, it is impoſſible that we ſhould be guilty of any ſuch Overſight for the future, or that we ſhould ſuffer ourſelves to be betrayed into ſo fatal an Opinion, as that any Advantages that can be procured by the Overthrow of one Party, or the prevailing of another amongſt us, can in any degree compenſate the vaſt Loſſes we ſuſtain in Trade, when by reaſon of ſuch Diſturbances as thoſe Struggles create, we are diverted from the Attention we ought always to pay to our general, laſting, and ſolid Intereſt, as to Affairs at Sea, and of Traffick.

Theſe great and neceſſary Cares can never be proſecuted as they ought, but in Times of full Peace, and perfect Settlement; that is, when the People and the Government look one Way, and have but one View, as they never can have but one Intereſt. We ſee how little, during theſe Diſtractions, it was in the Power either of the King or Parliament to obtain any Satisfaction for the Loſſes they ſuſtained from foreign Nations, which being grounded in the Nature of things, muſt always be the Caſe whenever any thing of the like kind happens in proportion to the Degree in which it happens; for beyond a Queſtion, the Proſperity of this Nation at home and abroad, depends ſolely on the Harmony ſubſiſting between the Government and the People, which can ſubſiſt no other Way than by the former attending to the Concerns of the latter, with that Diligence and Diſintereſtedneſs that becomes thoſe, who for the publick Benefit are entruſted with the Adminiſtration of the Concerns of a free People. We have nothing more to add during this Reign, and ſhall therefore proceed to ſuch Matters as concern this Subject after the Death of the King.

10. The immenſe Wealth, and great naval Power of the *Dutch*, acquired, as has been before obſerved, in the Times of our Diſtractions, and when it was impoſſible for us to prevent it; encouraged them to think of eſtabliſhing their own Wealth and Grandeur by a total Suppreſſion of our maritime Force, to which, perhaps, they were tempted, from an Opinion, that the Parliament, or, as it was then called, the Commonwealth of *England*, would ſcarce adventure upon a War abroad, when ſhe had ſcarce extricated herſelf from one at home. But they were miſtaken, for the Parliament of *England*, however they came by their Right, or by their Power rather, were determined to make a juſt Uſe of it; and this produced the firſt *Dutch* War, in which they, for the Reaſons before aſſigned, were the Aggreſſors, but ſuffered dearly for it in the End, ſince after repeated Defeats at Sea, and notwithſtanding they helped to procure a new Revolution here, by ſetting up the Protector inſtead of the Parliament, yet they were forced to ſubmit to a Peace upon the Terms preſcribed to them, which was ſigned at *Weſtminſter*, *April* the 5th, 1654, and by this Treaty the States were obliged to do that Juſtice to *Cromwell*, which they had refuſed to King *James* and King *Charles*.

The twenty-ſeventh Article of that Treaty being conceived in theſe Words: "It is agreed as above, that the Lords the States General of the *United Provinces*, ſhall take Care that Juſtice be done upon thoſe who were Partakers or Accomplices in the Maſſacre of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, as the Republick of *England* is pleaſed to term that Fact, provided any of them be living." In conſequence of this Treaty, there was a Commiſſion granted on both Sides, which ſat at *Goldſmith's-Hall*, in order to hear and determine the Complaints that ſhould be made to them both by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch Eaſt-India* Companies, and their Determination was to be final. The *Engliſh* Company put in a Charge, conſiſting of fifteen Articles, concluding, that beſides the Loſs of their Settlements, they had ſuffered to the Amount of the Sum of two Millions ſix hundred ninety-five thouſand nine hundred and ninety-nine Pounds fifteen Shillings Sterling. The *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company on the other hand brought in their Demands, but without entering exactly into Particulars; yet aſcertaining in the Cloſe their Expences at eight hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds, which being conſidered, together with the Evidence offered on the Support of each Side, the Commiſſioners came to a Concluſion, which they ſtiled a Regulation concerning the Loſſes and Damages ſuſtained in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, which was ſigned on the 30th of *Auguſt*, 1654.

And in this Paper, after reciting all the Demands beforementioned at large, they proceed in the following Terms: "All which Complaints and Demands exhibited to us the ſaid Commiſſioners, by the Deputy of both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Companies, expreſly choſe to this Purpoſe, have been laid before us with a great Number of Documents, Inſtruments, and Proofs, exhibited as well for fortifying and corroborating their own Demands, as for deſtroying and refuting thoſe of the oppoſite Party; and at length the Arbitration of all thoſe Controverſies is ſubmitted to us the aforeſaid Commiſſioners by the ſaid Deputies of both Companies. Wherefore we the aforeſaid *John Exton*, *William Turner*, *William Thomſon*, *Thomas Kendal*, *Adrian Van Aelmonde*, *Chriſtian Van Rodenburgh*, *Lewis Houwens*, and *James Oyſel*, after having ſeen, read, examined, and accurately conſidered all the Documents, Inſtruments, and Proofs exhibited to us on both Sides, together with all other things which ſeemed neceſſary for the Diſcovery of the Truth; and being deſirous to reconcile and to eſtabliſh a perpetual Agreement between both the Companies aforeſaid, by virtue of the Power and Authority to us given and granted by the moſt high the Lord Protector of the Republick of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the High and Mighty Lords the States General of the *United Netherlands*, have decided, defined, and determined, and by this our preſent Award and Arbitration do decide, define, and determine, as follows:

"We make void, extinguiſh, obliterate, and altogether wipe out and commit to Oblivion (ſo as never to be revived at any time, and upon any Pretence, by any Perſon whatſoever) all Complaints, Pretenſions, and Controverſies mentioned more at large above, and all others whatſoever, which the *Engliſh* Company trading in the *Eaſt-Indies*, doth or may form againſt the *Dutch* Company, without excepting any, of whatſoever kind, Nature, or Condition they may be; and particularly we appoint and ordain, that the ſaid *Engliſh* Company ſhall not for the future ſue or demand any thing of the ſaid *Dutch* Company in *Perſia*, or elſewhere, under the Denomination of the Cuſtoms of *Ormuz* and *Gambron*, ſo that the *Dutch* ſhall never be moleſted, or diſturbed by the *Engliſh* for this Cauſe, under any Pretext: Provided nevertheleſs, that this does not prejudice any Action or Plaint, which the *Engliſh* Company may enter againſt the King of *Perſia*, or any other Perſon whatſoever, the *Dutch* excepted. In like manner we make void, extinguiſh, obliterate, and wholly blot out and commit to Oblivion, ſo as never to be revived at any time, and on any Pretence, by any Perſon whatſoever, all Complaints, Pretenſions, and Controverſies mentioned above more at large, and all others, whatſoever they be, which the aforeſaid *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company doth or may form againſt the before-named *Engliſh* Company trading in the *Eaſt-Indies*, except none, of whatſoever Kind, Nature, or Condition they may be; and moreover we appoint and decree, that the ſaid *Dutch* Company ſhall yield and reſtore the Iſland *Poleron* to the ſaid *Engliſh* Company, in the ſame State and Condition as it is now; provided nevertheleſs, that it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid *Dutch* Company to take away and remove out of the ſaid Iſland all military Furniture, Merchandize, Houſehold-Stuff, and all Moveables, if they happen to have any in the ſaid Iſland.

"And in the laſt place we declare and ordain, that the ſaid *Dutch* Company ſhall pay the ſaid *Engliſh* Company 85,000 *l.* Sterling to be paid here at *London*, one Moiety before the laſt Day of *January* next enſuing, according to the *Engliſh* Style, and the other Moiety before the laſt Day of *March* following, according to the ſame Style; and all Controverſies between the ſaid Companies being by this means compoſed, decided, and determined, to the end that a Stop may alſo be put to the Quarrels of private Perſons.

"We have ſeen, peruſed and examined, all the Complaints and Demands exhibited to us in due time, in the Name of ſome private *Engliſhmen*, who complain of having received Injury and Damage at *Amboyna* in the Year 1623; and on the other hand, we have heard and conſidered the Matters which have been alledged and exhibited by the above-mentioned Deputies of the *Dutch* Company in their own Defence; and we the Commiſſioners aforeſaid conſidering that no one Perſon beſides theſe underwritten has on this Account entered any Actions or Demands before us within the due Time, after which it is not lawful to enter any more, and being “therefore deſirous that no Relicks of Complaint ſhould remain, and that all Cauſe of Wrangling may be removed, after having duly conſidered and weighed all things, do, by virtue of the full Power and Authority given and granted unto us by the moſt high Protector, and the high and mighty States of the *United Netherlands*, appoint and ordain, that all Complaint, Action, and Demand of the *Engliſh* whomſoever, whether publick or private, on the Score of any Injury or Damage which they pretend to have ſuffered at *Amboyna* in the Year 1622, the *Engliſh* Stile, and 1623, N. S. may be made void, terminated, and committed to Oblivion; and that no Perſon, whomſoever he be, ſhall enter any Action on that Account, or moleſt, diſturb, or vex the ſaid *Dutch* Company, or any *Dutchman* on that Pretext; and on the other hand, we alſo decree and ordain, that the ſaid *Dutch* Company ſhall pay here at *London* before the firſt Day of *January* next enſuing ſeven hundred Pounds Sterling to *William Towerſon*, Nephew and Adminiſtrator of the Effects of *Gabriel Towerſon*, late of *Amboyna*, deceaſed. To *William Coulſon*, Brother of *Samuel Coulſon*, &c. Adminiſtrator in like manner of his Effects, four hundred and fifty Pounds. To *James Bayles*, Adminiſtrator of the Effects of *John Powel*, three hundred and fifty Pounds. To *Anthony Ellingham*, Adminiſtrator of the Effects of *William Grigg*, two hundred Pounds. To the Adminiſtrators of the Effects of *John Weteral*, two hundred Pounds. To *Jane Webber*, Adminiſtratrix of the Effects of *George Scharock*, 150 *l.* To *John* and *Elizabeth Collins*, the Children and Heirs of *Edward Collins*, 465 *l.* To the Adminiſtrators of *John Beamont*, 300 *l.* To *Jane Webber*, Widow, and Adminiſtratrix of *William Webber*, 200 *l.* to *James Baile*, Adminiſtrator of the Effects of *Ephraim Ramſey*, 350 *l.* to the Executors of the Will of *Thomas Radbroſee*, 50 *l.* and to *Thomas Billinſley*, Adminiſtrator of the Effects of *Emanuel Thompſon*, 200 *l.* all which Sums added together make the Sum of 3615 *l.* Sterling, to be paid here at *London*, before *January* next enſuing: And, on this Condition, we inſiſt that their Actions, or Suits, be altogether ſet aſide and cancelled, ſo as never to be revived hereafter, by any Perſon whomſoever.”

This Award, or Arbitration, was ſtrictly put in Execution as ſoon as it was made, and ought therefore to be conſidered as deciſive againſt the *Dutch*, who by theſe ſmall and inconſiderable Satisfactions to the Repreſentatives of thoſe that were murdered at *Amboyna*, clearly admitted, and took upon themſelves the Guilt of that whole Proceeding. After this Treaty, the Affairs of the *Eaſt-India* Company began to recover; and under the Protection of *Cromwel*, there was a Subſcription of Eight hundred thouſand Pounds for the carrying on of that Commerce; but before any great Progreſs could be made in the Execution of theſe Projects, the Conſtitution was reſtored by his Majeſty's happy Return.

11. It was one of the earlieſt Acts of King *Charles* the IId's Government to give that Satisfaction to the *Eaſt-India* Company which was requiſite, to revive and eſtabliſh its Commerce. This he did, by granting to the Company a new Charter, dated the 3d of *April*, 1661, by which he not only confirmed the Privileges which they had before received, but likewiſe added others. He enlarged the Quantity of Bullion to 50,000 *l.* every Voyage, provided ſo much as brought into the Kingdom by the Exportation of *Indian* Goods. He confirmed their excluſive Trade, and gave them Power to licenſe others to trade in the *Indies*, as alſo Authority to ſettle Civil and Military Government, and to make Peace and War with the Infidels in the *Eaſt-Indies*: But ſtill this Charter had the old Condition of being made void, if it ſhould be found detrimental to the Nation upon three Years Notice.

As ſoon as a Negotiation was commenced for the King's Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*, it was reſolved to procure a Ceſſion of ſome convenient Colony in the *Eaſt-Indies*, as Part of her Portion; and by this Means the Iſland of *Bombay*, which has been ſo often mentioned, came into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. It muſt be owned that the Soil of this Iſland is but barren, and the Air far enough from being wholſome. But, however, the Situation was extremely convenient; and as it was not in the Power of the King, or any of his Miniſters, to alter the Nature of Things, they were forced to take up with what they could get; and it muſt be owned that, notwithſtanding ſome Inconveniencies, the obtaining this Iſland was both a convenient, and an important Acquiſition, as by the Conſequences attending it; and the preſent Condition of that Place did, and doth manifeſtly and unqueſtionably appear.

Very ſoon after the Marriage, King *Charles* ſent the Lord *Marleburgh*, with four or five Ships of War, to take Poſſeſſion of it; and the King of *Portugal* ſent a Viceroy to deliver it and all its Royalties, to the ſaid Lord; and Sir *Abraham Shipman* was ordered to be Governor for King *Charles*. They arrived at *Bombay* in *September* 1663; but the Clergy withſtood the Crown, and diſobeyed the Order; nor would they acknowledge the Viceroy, unleſs he would come into their Meaſures, which, rather than loſe his new Dignity, he did, and the *Engliſh* Fleet was forced to go to *Swally* to land their Men, and get Refreſhments. The Governor of *Surat*, in whoſe Diſtrict *Swally* is, grew jealous of the Numbers and Bravery of the *Engliſh*, threatned the Factory eſtabliſhed at *Surat*, if they did not ſpeedily re-imbark, which, to avoid, they did; and the Governor allowed them the free Uſe of the Markets; ſo that they had no Want of Proviſions and Merchandize while they ſtayed there. In *Jan.* 1664 his Lordſhip went back to *England*, carrying two Ships with him, and left Sir *Abraham* with the reſt to paſs the weſterly Monſoons in ſome Port on the Coaſt; but being unacquainted, choſe a deſolate Iſland, called *Anjadiva*, to winter at. It is ſo far from an Harbour, that it is even but a bad Road for Shipping in thoſe boiſterous ſouth-weſt Winds and turbulent Seas: However, he landed all the Land-Forces, and built Huts to defend them from the Weather. The Iſland is barren, but has ſome Springs of good Water. It is about a Mile long, and three hundred Paces broad. Here they ſtayed from *April* till *October*, in which Time they buried above two hundred of their Men.

When the Monſoons were over, the Squadron put to Sea, and put into *Bombay*, to try if the Church had conſidered on the Obedience due to the King of *Portugal*'s Orders, or if they had a Mind to draw the Arms of *England*, as well as their Sovereign, on them. Some of them, who had not forgot what Damages *Spain* and *Portugal* had ſuſtained by the *Engliſh* Fleet in *Cromwel*'s Time, adviſed the Church to obey the King, ſetting forth the Miſeries they ſhould be brought into in caſe of Noncompliance. At length their holy Zeal abated, and they were content to admit of a Treaty; but before the Treaty was concluded, Sir *Abraham* died, and one Mr. *Humphrey Cooke*, who was next in Commiſſion, continued the Treaty, and articled, that the Inhabitants ſhould enjoy their Lands and Religion under the King of *England*, but forgot to inſert the Royalties appending on *Bombay*, which reached as far as *Verſua*, or *Salſet*; which Omiſſion has been a Bone of Contention for both Parties ever ſince. Mr. *Cooke*, according to the Treaty, took Poſſeſſion of the Iſland in the King's Name, and forthwith began to fortify regularly, and, to ſave Charges of building a Houſe for the Governor, built a Fort round an old ſquare Houſe, which ſerved the *Portugueze* for a Place of Retreat, when they were diſturbed by their Enemies, till Forces could be ſent from other Places to relieve them.

After the Fort was traced and the Foundation laid, Sir *George Lucas* arrived from *England* with two Ships; but Affairs being ſettled before he came, did not ſtay at *Bombay* longer than *January*, 1666, and left the Government of the Iſland in the Hands of Mr. *Cooke* and his Council, the Preſidency for the then Company reſiding at *Surat*. Their Trade flouriſhed and encreaſed wonderfully: But after the Fort was finiſhed, the King finding that the Charge of of keeping *Bombay* in his own Hands, would not turn to Account, the Revenues being ſo inconſiderable, he made it over to the *Eaſt-India* Company in Fee-Tail, which continues to this Day. In building the Fort where it is, Mr. *Cooke* ſhewed his Want of Skill in Architecture, where a proper and convenient Situation ought to be well conſidered; for it is built upon the Point of Rocks that jets into the Sea, where there are no Springs of freſh Water; and it ſtands within eight hundred Paces of an Hill called *Dungeree*, that over-looks it; and an Enemy might much incommode it from the Hill, as we found by Experience, in *Anno* 1689, when the Mogul ſent an Army on *Bombay*.

As for the Magnitude, Figure, and Materials of the Fort, there is no Fault to be found in them, for it is a regular Tetragon; the outward Polygon is about five hundred Paces, and it is built of good hard Stone, and can mount above one hundred Pieces of Cannon, and that is all that is commendable in it. But had it been built about five hundred Paces more to the ſouthward, on a more acute Point of Rocks, called *Mendham's-Point*, it had been much better, on ſeveral Accounts; firſt, it had been much nearer the Road for protecting the Shipping there; it had been farther off *Dungeree-hill*; it would have had a pretty Spring of good Water, which ſerved the Hoſpital that was afterwards built there, and the Shipping had been better ſecured that lay in the little Bay between the Point where the Fort now ſtands and *Mendham's-Point*. They went about building ſeveral other little Forts and Sconces, in convenient Places, to hinder an Invaſion, if any of their Neighbours ſhould have attempted one. At *Maſagun* there was one, at *Sewree* one, at *Sian* one, at *Mabim* one, and *Werlee* had one, and ſome great Guns mounted on each of them.

Notwithſtanding the Company was at ſo much Charge in building of Forts, they had no Thoughts of building a Church; for many Years after, Sir *George Oxendon* began to build one, and charitable Collections were gathered for that Uſe: But when Sir *George* died, Piety grew ſick, and the Building of Churches was grown unfaſhionable. Indeed, it was a long Time before the Iſland had People enough to fill a Chapel that was in the Fort; for as faſt as Recruits came from *Britain* they died in *Bombay*, which got the Iſland a bad Name. There was reckoned above 5000 Pounds had been gathered towards building the Church; but Sir *John Child*, when he came to reign in *Bombay*, converted the Money to his own Uſe, and never more was heard of it. The Walls were built by his Predeceſſors to five Yards high, and ſo it continued till the Year 1715, that Mr. *Boone* came to the Chair, who ſet about building it, and in five Years Time finiſhed it by his own Benevolence; and of other Gentlemen, who, by his Perſuaſions, were brought in to contribue; the Company alſo contributed ſomething towards that pious End.

About the Year 1674, Preſident *Aungier*, a Gentleman well qualified for the Government, came to the Chair; and leaving *Surat* to the Management of Deputies, came to *Bombay*, and rectified many Things that were amiſs, and brought the Face of Juſtice to be unveiled, which before lay hid in a ſingle Perſon's Breaſt, who diſtributed her Favours according to the Governor's Direction. He erected a formal Court, where Pleas were brought in and debated. But that Method laſted but a few Years: When Sir *John Child* came to the Chair, the Court expired. Mr. *Aungier* adviſed the Company to encloſe the Town from *Dungeree* to *Mendham's-Point*, for ſecuring the trading People from the Inſults of their troubleſome beggarly Neighbours on the Continent: But his Propoſals were rejected, and that neceſſary Piece of Work was reſerved for Mr. *Boone* alſo. And happy it was for the Inhabitants that the Town was ſecured by a Wall, otherwiſe *Connojee Angaria* would have haraſſed them with continual Inſults, ſince his War with the *Engliſh* began. The Name of Mr. *Aungier* is much revered by the ancient People of *Surat* and *Bombay* to this Day. His Juſtice and Dexterity in managing Affairs got him ſuch an Eſteem, that the Natives of thoſe Places made him the common Arbitrator of their Differences in point of Traffick; nor was it ever known that any Party receded from his Award. There are no Dangers in going into *Bombay* Road, but one ſunk Rock, that lies about half a League from the Caſtle. It is dry at Low-water, and has a Channel within it deep enough for the greateſt Ships to paſs. I never heard of any Damage done by that Rock, but to a ſmall Ship called the *Baden*, which, by Carleſſneſs, run on it at Noon-Day, and was loſt.

In the Year 1673, the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company having an Eye on *Bombay*, ſent a Squadron of Ships, with a little Army to try if they could take it among their other Conqueſts of *India*; but, on their Landing, met with ſo warm a Reception, that they were glad to get off with the Loſs of two or three hundred of their Men, and ſo left the *Engliſh* in the quiet Poſſeſſion of it. The Governors proved tolerably good, till 1682, that Sir *John Child* came thither. The *India* Company knowing how to make Uſe of King *Charles*'s Neceſſities, made him ſome Preſents, and he, in grateful Acknowledgment, granted them Power; but they uſed that Power to their own Deſtruction, for Mr. *Child*'s Pride and Oppreſſions grew ſo very intolerable, then even the Gentlemen in the Company's Service, had not the free Exerciſe of Trade, and much leſs private Merchants: And he trampling on the eſtabliſhed Laws of *England*, and by Advice of his Name-ſake, who governed the Company in *Europe*, by impriſoning and murdering their Fellow Subjects, grew hateful to all.

In *Anno* 1684, he made his Brother-in-law, Mr. *Ward*, his Deputy of *Bombay*, who deſigned to fiſh in troubled Waters. Mr. *Child* being honoured with the Title of Baronet, by the powerful Motives of the Company's Money to the King; at the ſame Time got the Commiſſion of General, which puffed him up ſo, that he contemned all Laws, human and divine. The military Gentlemen, who had made Contracts in *England* for their Salaries, though paid at 20 *per Cent.* leſs; yet, to ſhew himſelf a good Oeconomiſt for his Maſters Intereſts, ſent his Deputy freſh Orders to reduce their Pay to 30 *per Cent.* leſs than it was before, though it was ſo ſmall that they could hardly bring both Ends to bear at the Month's End. That hard Pill the Sons of *Mars* could not ſwallow, and ſo bent their Minds on a Revolution; and having come to ſome Knowledge of Mr. *Ward*'s Tampering with the *Sevajee* to land on the Iſland, they detected ſome Letters of his to that Purpoſe, which gave them a Ground for a Revolt. The *Sevajee*, indeed, ſent a Fleet of eighty Sail of ſmall Veſſels to land on the Bay which faces the Ocean; but on their trying to land ſome Forces, they were warmly repulſed, and loſt many of their Men, which made them draw off again in Confuſion; and Mr. *Ward* being confronted with his own Letters, and having little to ſay in his own Defence, was made a Priſoner; and General *Child*'s Faction was ſent to *Surat* to him.

The Iſlanders taking the Government of the Iſland into their own Hands, choſe Captain *Kegwine* Major of the Military, to ſuperintend military Affairs, and one Captain *Thorburn* to regulate the Civil. General *Child* ſoon diſpatched Letters to *England*, and gave an Account of the Rebellion; and King *Charles* diſpatched a Frigate, called the *Phœnix*, for *India*, to demand the Reſtitution of the Iſland, and put it again into the Company's Hands. They arrived at *Bombay* in *September* 1685, and ſhewed the King's Letter, with a full Pardon to all who yielded Obedience, which the Iſlanders unanimouſly did; but for their own Security, drew up ſome Articles to be ſigned by General *Child*, and Captain *Tyrell*, who commanded the *Phœnix*; which Articles were, That any Perſon that had a Mind to go to *England*, ſhould have free Liberty and Paſſage on board the Company's Shipping; which, being agreed to and ſigned, Captain *Kegwine* took his Paſſage on board the firſt Ship; but *Thorburn* being a married Man, and having a ſmall Eſtate, as well as a Family on the Iſland, could not ſo eaſily remove, but truſted to the Act of Grace, and the Treaty they had made.

After General *Child* had got the Reins of Government again into his own Hands, he became more inſupportable than ever. He erected a Court of Inquiſition, and made an old *Greek*, one Captain *Gary*, Judge, who had condemned a Man to be hanged on a *Tueſday*, and the Man ſuffered according to Sentence: But, on the *Friday* after, the poor dead Fellow was ordered to be called before the Court, but he would not comply with the Orders. Captain *Thorburn* was the firſt that felt the Weight of Mr. *Child*'s Diſpleaſure; he got ſome Fellows to ſwear him out of his little Eſtate, who brought in forged Bonds for Sums borrowed of one *King*, whom he never had any Dealings with, and found Witneſſes to atteſt them. All that *Thorburn* had was too little to pay the Sums, for which his Eſtate was taken from him, and himſelf put in Priſon, without the Permiſſion of one Slave to attend him, or ſerve him in Priſon; his Wife was not permitted to viſit him, which hard Uſage brought him into a violent Fever, that ſoon put an End to his Life. About two Days before he died, the Goaler acquainted his Lady with the Danger, and ſhe, with two ſmall Children, went to the General, and, on her Knees, begged that a Doctor might be permitted to viſit her Huſband; but he was inexorable, and would allow no ſuch Favour, only granted her Leave to be in Priſon with him till he died, and ſhe ſtayed but one Day and Part of a Night, before he expired.

When the Tragedy was over, ſhe was going home to her diſtreſſed Family, but found her Slaves and Children removed into a little Out-houſe of her's, and the Doors of her Dwelling-houſe ſhut againſt her. The Lady had two Siſters married on the Iſland, and ſhe hoping to find Relief from them, went to ſee the eldeſt; but ſhe met her at the Door, and told her ſhe could have no Admittance, her Huſband being liable to Proſecution if he admitted her into the Houſe, and ſhe believed the other Siſter's Huſband durſt not entertain her in his Houſe. The poor Lady, full of Sorrow and Grief, being abandoned of all her Friends and Relations, went back to her diſtreſſed Family, and having no viſible Way of Support, had once ſome Thoughts of putting an End to her Miſeries: But her Siſters, unknown to their Huſbands, ſent her ſome Relief by a truſty female Slave in the Night, and a Letter, that they deſired her to burn as ſoon as ſhe had read, wherein they promiſed to be aſſiſting in the Maintenance of her and her Children, till the Almighty ſhould think proper to deliver her out of the Perſecution.

The poor Lady had both Beauty and Diſcretion enough to recommend her to the virtuous Part of Mankind; but none of the Gentlemen that wiſhed her well, durſt make Addreſſes to her; only one who had the Command of a Ship in the *Indian* Merchant's Service, as he had no Dependance on the General and his Maſters in *England*, thought he could not well come within the Reach of their Perſecution; ſo he courted her, and married her; but that was thought a capital Crime, and the General acquainted his *Indian* Owners, that without they diſcharged him their Service, they ſhould alſo find the Weight of his Diſpleaſure; and accordingly, to avoid Conteſts with his Excellency, he was diſcharged; but Grief put an End to his Troubles, for he died within a Year after his Marriage, and left the poor Lady another Child to take Care of, but left her above One thouſand Pounds Sterling of Stock for her and her Family's Support.

As the *Phœnix* was in her Way for *India*, ſhe called at the Iſland of *Johanna*, and there found an *Engliſh* Ship, called the *Briſtol*, ſtopping ſome Leaks in her Bottom. Captain *Tyrell*, by a diſpenſing Power from the King of *England*, ſeized her, and deſigned to have carried her to *Bombay*, in Company with a ſmall Veſſel that he had ſeized on the Coaſt of *Madagaſcar*. The *Briſtol* ſunk the third Day after they put to Sea, but the other came ſafe. The *Briſtol* Men were looked on as Pirates; and one Mr. *Mews*, a Supercargo, was arraigned before the General's Tribunal, where he himſelf ſat Lord Chief Juſtice; and after his uſual Manner of beſtowing opprobrious Names, he condemned Mr. *Mews* to loſe all that he had in the World, and One thouſand Pounds beſides, and to lie in Priſon at his own Charge, till the Fine was paid; but Mr. *Vaux*, who was Judge of the Iſland in petty Affairs, ſhewed him the Weakneſs of his Sentence, and perſuaded him to ſet the poor Man at Liberty, and order him a Paſſage for *England*.

As I have taken theſe Paſſages from the Travels of one Captain *Hamilton*, ſo upon his Credit I muſt leave them. He had the Reputation of being an honeſt and a ſincere Man, and one ſo far from being ſuſpected of having but a ſlender Regard for Truth, that, on the contrary, he was held enthuſiaſtically fond of it, ſo as to have ſpoke it upon all Occaſions, and without any Regard to the good old Maxim, *That Truth is not to be ſpoken at all Times*. I muſt likewiſe have Leave to ſay, that I knew not where elſe to find Materials for this Part of my Subject, and therefore I choſe rather to ſet thoſe Things down, than to leave ſo large a Chaſm in my Collection. But if there be any Falſhoods among theſe Facts, or any Truths written with a Spirit of Prejudice or Animoſity, it is none of my Fault, and quite beſide my Intention; beſides all this, the Facts related are ſo notorious, and ſo very capable of being diſproved from their very Nature, at the ſame time that publick and private Intereſts were equally concerned to diſprove them, that I cannot help thinking their remaining ſo many Years as my Author's Book has been printed, unqueſtioned as well as unreputed, is a ſufficient Reaſon to believe that though very extraordinary, they are yet conſiſtent with Truth; and if ſo, I am very ſure that no Facts can better deſerve a Place in this Hiſtory than they do.

The *Dutch* all this time very ſteadily purſued their Plan of driving us out of the *Indies*. In time of War they attacked us directly, and having a ſuperior Strength, had generally the better of us; but in time of Peace, between the States of the *United Provinces*, and the Crown of *Great-Britain*, they contented themſelves with attacking the *Indian* Princes, to whoſe Dominions we traded, and proſecuting the War againſt them, till ſuch time as they were obliged, from a Principle of Self-preſervation, to purchaſe their own Peace by excluding us. It was in this manner, and after a long War carried on for that Purpoſe, that the *Dutch* were ſo fortunate in the Iſland of *Java*, as to carry their Point entirely; ſo that after a long civil War ſet on foot, and encouraged by them between the old King and his Son, by the Help of the latter in *Anno* 1683, the *Dutch* diſpoſſeſſed the *Engliſh* Company of their Factory of *Bantam*, on the Weſt End of *Java*; and the *Engliſh* having a mind to regain it by Force of Arms, built ſeveral Ships of between ſixty and ſeventy Guns, ſo that in *Anno* 1685, they had a Fleet ready victualled, and manned with ſeven or eight thouſand Men, to the Number of twenty-three Sail of Line of Battle Ships; which Expence, and the continual Craving of the Court, brought their Stock very low; yet ſince the Maw of the Court was not enough crammed, the King laid Embargoes on the Fleet from Time to Time for nine Months, and then the *Dutch* Embaſſador had Orders to preſent his Majeſty with one hundred thouſand Pounds, if he would command the Company not to uſe Violence. He ſnapt at the Bait, and defeated the Deſign to all Intents and Purpoſes, which was of infinite Prejudice to the Company's Affairs, gave the *Dutch* vaſt Advantages, and was highly diſhonourable, as well as detrimental to the Nation.

12. Upon the Acceſſion of King *James* the Second to the Throne of *England*, the *Eaſt-India* Company found in him a ſtill more powerful Protector than they had done in his Brother, though he granted them a new Charter, dated the 5th of *October*, in the twenty-eighth Year of his Reign, and extended this again by another Charter, dated the 9th of *Auguſt*, in the thirty-fifth of it. But King *James* not only extended their Privileges as a Company, but being perſuaded that ſuch Prerogatives were neceſſary to the carrying on their Trade, for the promoting of which he would deny nothing, he in a manner ſhared his Sovereignty with them, by granting them a Power to erect Fortreſſes, raiſe Armies, execute martial Law, and coin Money; all which was with a View to make them equal in Power with the *Dutch*, and to enable them to ſecure at leaſt a conſiderable Share of this profitable Trade to his Subjects. Under ſo gracious and kind a Prince, we need not at all wonder, that the Company extended their Authority very conſiderably, but the great Misfortune was, that they extended it only over, and not for the Benefit of their Countrymen, as we ſhall preſently ſee.

The Company having ſuch a Number of great Ships on their Hands, were obliged to ſend them abroad; but having no Stock to employ them, ordered the Generals and Chiefs of the Factories in *India* to borrow what Sums they could on the Company's Credit from the *Indian* Merchants, to lade their Ships home, which accordingly they did, and what they could not lade home, they were to employ by Freights in *India*; and I ſaw a Letter from the Governor of the Company in *England*, intimating, that when they had got as much Credit of the Mogul's Subjects as they could, then they would pick Quarrels with the Creditors, and put a general Stop to their Trade, which was accordingly done; for in 1686 and 87, the *Surat* Merchants traded briſkly by Sea to *Mocha*, *Perſia*, and *Baſſora*, to the Weſtward; and to *Bengal*, *Achen*, *Malacca*, and *Siam*, to the Eaſtward. The General granted Paſſes to all who required them then; but about the later End of the Year 1687, he ſent many Complaints and Grievances to the Governor of *Surat*, and demanded Redreſs and Satisfaction.

Theſe Complaints of his were digeſted into thirty-five Articles, moſt of which related to Meſſ. *Pitt* and *Boucher*, who were originally of the Governor's Council, appointed him by the Company, Men of fair Characters, and who had given him much Trouble, by oppoſing all his illegal and violent Meaſures, which made him uſe them ſo ill, and ſhew withal ſuch an Inclination to uſe them worſe, that to preſerve themſelves from Beggary and Ruin, they retired into the Mogul's Country; and Mr. *Boucher* having, by an Application to that Monarch, procured his Licence to trade, continued it with great Succeſs; but as for Mr. *Pitt*, he had the Misfortune to be taken by Pirates at Sea, who at firſt would have ranſomed him for five thouſand Pounds, but were perſuaded by the Governor to demand twenty-five thouſand Pounds, ſo that he remained a Priſoner to the Day of his Death; and the Governor required Mr. *Boucher*, who reſided at *Surat*, from the Governor, together with his Wife, Children, and Effects; the reſt of his Demands were alike reaſonable, and all of them delivered in ſuch Language, as would not become one Gentleman to uſe to another, much leſs fit from the Governor of a trading Company to ſo great a Prince, as may appear from one of them; in which he demands, that the Gates of *Surat* ſhould not be ſhut, when he went to take his Pleaſure, or ſhould be opened at his Return, and due Reſpect paid him whenever he thought fit to unbend his Mind, and to amuſe himſelf with ſuch kind of Diverſions.

Theſe Grievances were the Foundation on which General *Child* built a Quarrel with the Mogul, without ever ſending them to Court to know the King's Pleaſure; but without declaring War, ſeized his Subjects Ships, where-ever they were found, although they had the Sanction of his own Paſſes. His Articles of Complaint were but weak Arguments to ſupport and raiſe a War that coſt his Maſters above four hundred thouſand Pounds before they could get rid of it, beſides the Loſs of their Credit with the Mogul, and his Subjects, which to this Time is not quite recovered. For by what Rule in Policy could Sir *Joſiah* or Sir *John Child* think to rob, murder, and deſtroy the Mogul's Subjects in one Part of his Dominions, and expect the Company to enjoy a free Trade in the other Parts? Or how could they ſuppoſe that he would ſtand neuter? The General having ſuch a great Number of Ships on his Hands, and little Employment for them, ſent them to *Mocha*, *Perſia*, and *Bengal*, where the *Suraters* had ſent theirs, under the Protection of his Paſſes. Captain *Andrews* in the *Ch.* II. went to *Mocha*, and ſet up the King of *England*'s Flag on his Factory, and there he ſeized two *Engliſh* Ships, one from *England*, called the *Streight's Merchant*, commanded by Captain *Bear*, and another belonging to Mr. *Samuel Whiteborn* at *Siam*; ſhe was commanded by one Captain *Wren*, whom they killed in the Cabbin, becauſe he would not deliver his Ship up voluntarily; there was but little of their Cargoes on Board of the Ships, ſo they might as well have let them alone. However, ſuch doings diſpleaſed the Governor and Merchants of *Mocha*, and they had a Deſign to force Captain *Andrews* to reſtore the Ships; but he ſuſpecting as much, fled on Board, and left his Colours flying on the Factory.

He ſoon after left *Mocha*, and carried his two Prizes with him; and Mr. *Clive*, Supercargo of the *Streights Merchant*, got Bills for his Stock, payable at *Grand Cairo*, except about fifty Bales of Coffee, that he carried with him to *England*, where it ſold very well, and the Company were obliged by Law to make good all his Ship's Cargo *pro rata*, as thoſe fifty Bails ſold for, which amounted to thirty-two thouſand Pounds. The *Briſtol*'s Cargo was alſo made good to her Owners, with the Ship that was taken at *Johanna* by the *Phœnix*, which came to ſixty thouſand Pounds; and the *Little Betty*, that was alſo taken by the *Phœnix*, in her Way to *India*, coſt them twelve thouſand Pounds, though ſhe and her Cargo at *Bombay* were ſold for leſs than ſix hundred Pounds. The Owner of that Veſſel was one Mr. *Haſtewell*, a Quaker, and a ſubſtantial Merchant in *London*, who arreſted Captain *Tyrell* going off the *Exchange*. The Captain proffered King *James* for Bail; but the Quaker would not accept of him; yet was content to accept of Sir *Joſeph Herne*, who became Bail. The *Charles*, *Cæſar*, and *Royal James* and *Mary*, way-laid the *Surat* Shipping, and brought in fourteen Sail to *Bombay*, in *Anno* 1688, and yet no War with the Mogul, only with the Inhabitants of *Surat*, whom he threatened to humble.

In *October* 1688, he went to *Surat* Road in the *Royal James* and *Mary*, with three or four other Ships of Countenance, to try if he could bully the Governor, and frighten the Merchants to a Compliance of loſing their Eſtates; but was diſappointed in both. He ſtaid there till the Beginning of *January* 1689, and then left *Surat* in a Huff, and brought all the *Engliſh* Ships, except the Ship *Adventure*, which the *Phœnix* had forced over the Bar, when ſhe was lying at the River's Mouth, taking in a Cargo for *England*, under the Protection of Mr. *Boucher*'s *Firmand*. However, her Supercargo dying, the Ship's Bottom was eaten up with Worms in the River, and part of the Cargo remained many Years in Mr. *Boucher*'s Poſſeſſion. On the General's Paſſage to *Bombay*, he met with a Fleet of Veſſels that were carrying Corn to an Army of the Mogul's that lay at *Dunder-rajab-pore*, about fourteen Leagues to the Southward of *Bombay*: That Fleet he alſo ſeized, and carried into *Bombay*, though againſt the Opinion of moſt of his Council. Before this Seizure, he aſked the Opinion of ſome Sea Officers, and one Captain *Hilder* being the eldeſt, adviſed him not to meddle with the Corn Fleet, becauſe it would ſtraiten the Army, and force them to look abroad for Proviſions, where it might be procured, and perhaps might affect *Bombay*, which was in a great Meaſure beholden to its Neighbours for Suſtenance and Fire-wood. The General inſulted him with ſcurrilous Language, called him Coward and Fool, and bragged, that if *Sedee Yacoup*, which was the Mogul General's Name, ſhould dare to come with his Forces to *Bombay*, he would blow him off again with the Wind of his Bum. Cowards are generally ſtout when Dangers are at a Diſtance, and ſo was our General, who had never ſeen a Sword drawn in Anger, and who was conſequently very ill acquainted with War; and when it came to his Door, none was ever ſo confounded and ſo dejected as he was, as appeared by his Conduct in that War, that he ſo fooliſhly brought on himſelf and his Country.

When the News came to *Sedee Yacoup*, that his Fleet with his Proviſion of Corn and Cloth, were ſeized, and carried to *Bombay*, he ſent a civil Letter to our General to diſcharge his Fleet, proteſting, that as he had not meddled in the Affairs between him and the People of *Surat*, he would continue neuter, unleſs he was forced to do otherwiſe. But our General gave him an inſolent Anſwer, and the Fleet was unladed at *Bombay*. *Sedee Yacoup* ſent again to deſire the Delivery of his Fleet in plain Terms, otherwiſe he would be obliged to come with his Army and quarter in *Bombay*, where his Proviſions were detained; and that if his Fleet was not ſet at liberty before the 11th of *February*, which was near at Hand, he would certainly be at *Bombay* the 14th. But ſtill receiving uncivil Anſwers, he performed his Promiſe to a Tittle; for that very Night he landed at a Place called *Souree*, about four Miles diſtant from the main Fort, with twenty thouſand Men at his Back. Our General's Security had made him neglect providing for receiving ſuch Gueſts, truſting to the Reputation of the Forces, which were greater than ever they had been before, or ever were ſince that Time; and he had ſmall Ships enough, had they been placed in proper Places, that might certainly have hindered his landing, and forced him home again; but all thoſe neceſſary Preparations were neglected, and

and the *Sedee* landed at Midnight, and the Redoubt, where he landed, fired a great Gun to give the Alarm, and ſo deſerted their Poſt, and the *Sedee* took Poſſeſſion of it.

At One in the Morning the Caſtle fired three Guns to give the General Notice, which brought ſuch Fear on thoſe that lived ſecurely in their Houſes without the Caſtle, that the poor Ladies, both white and black, ran half naked to the Fort, and only carried their Children with them; but they were all obliged to wait without the Wall, till Day-light relieved them. Next Morning the *Sedee* marched to *Maſſagun*, a ſmall Fort of fourteen Guns, and about a random Shot diſtant from the Caſtle. On the Enemy's Approach, the Fort, though ſituated on a Point of Rocks, where the Sea defended three Quarters of it, was alſo deſerted in ſuch Precipitancy that eight or ten Cheſts of Treaſure, which generally contain one thouſand Pounds each, and four Cheſts of new Arms, were left behind, though the Seamen that were ſent in Boats to bring them off proffered to carry them along with them; but the commanding Officer thought them not fit to be truſted with Money and Arms, and ſo they were left for a Preſent to *Sedee Yacoup*, with fourteen Cannon, two Mortars, with ſome Powder, Shot, and Shells. But why that Treaſure, and thoſe Arms and Ammunition were depoſited in *Mazagun*, few could account for; and the Reaſon why they were left to the Enemy was as wonderful: But it is plain, that the old Way of fiſhing in troubled Waters was known at *Bombay*, and the Officer was never called to account for his Overſight. *Sedee Yacoup*, finding no Oppoſition, ſent a Party of Men towards *Mahim* to plunder the poor Peaſants, and to take the Fort, which he thought might be deſerted as the reſt had been, and was not in the leaſt out of his Conjecture; for the Garriſon had embarked in Boats, and came by Sea to *Bombay* before they ſaw an Enemy; the *Sedee* taking Poſſeſſion of *Mazagun*, hoiſted his Flag there, and made it his head Quarters. The following Day ſome of the Enemy appeared on *Mazagun* Hills, which grieved our General's righteous Soul to ſee Infidels come ſo near him in a hoſtile manner.

He called a Minion of his own, one Captain *Pean*, who was no better Soldier than himſelf, and ordered him to take two Companies, each containing about ſeventy Men, and march to thoſe Hills, and drive the Enemy out of Sight; he ordered one *Monro*, who had been a Soldier at *Tangier*, to be his Lieutenant. In *Tangier* he had received a Wound in his Heel that ſpoiled his running, and accordingly they marched in good Order within Shot of the Enemy, who ſhewed their Heads above the Surface of the Hill, but did not offer to advance, or expoſe their Bodies; ſeveral Gentlemen Voluntiers took their Arms, and accompanied the little Army. The Lieutenant adviſed the Captain to march up the Hill in Platoons to ſeparate the Enemy's Forces. The Captain, who took it as an Affront to be adviſed, told his Lieutenant, that when he had the Command in his own Hands, he might uſe it as he thought fit: But as it was intruſted to him, he would uſe it according to his own Mind, and ſo ordered his Men to ſpread as much as they could; and when they ſaw the Enemy open in the Plain, to diſcharge all at once amongſt them, which he ſaid would terrify them. *Monro* oppoſed his Scheme, and told him of the Danger he would bring himſelf and them into, if the Enemy ſhould attack them, whilſt their Arms were reloading; but nothing could diſſuade him from his Project, and ſo commanded his Men to fire, as he had directed. The *Sedees* being ten to one in Numbers, and better Runners than our Men, and better acquainted with cloſe fighting with Sword and Target, took hold of the Opportunity, and advanced with all their Speed, which the Captain perceiving, betook himſelf to his Heels, and was the foremoſt Man to the *Portugueze* Church, where he took Courage to look behind him, to ſee what was become of his Men. Poor *Monro* thinking to ſtop the Enemy's Carrier by a Part of the Wing that he commanded, found himſelf deſerted by all but thirteen or fourteen ſtout Fellows, who were ſoon ſurrounded by the Enemy, and cut to Pieces. *Pean* had not ſtopp'd at the *Portugueze* Church had he not found a Party of one hundred Men that lay there ready to ſupport or receive him, as his Caſe ſhould require. He was a Fellow as well made for running as any that was ever ſeen, and was ſo much in the General's Favour, that he had not ſo much as a Reprimand for his Cowardice and Miſbehaviour. This Relation I had, ſays Captain *H.* from a Gentleman voluntier, who always kept near the Captain, while he could keep Pace with him.

When the General left *Surat*, there were ſeveral Gentlemen in it, ſome in the Company's Service, and ſome private Perſons, who were all impriſoned, and put in Irons, except Mr. *Boucher* and his Dependants, who were protected by his Phirmaund. Thoſe impriſoned were ſeverely uſed, being obliged to paſs through the Streets with Irons about their Necks, for Spectacles to pleaſe the Mob. Captain *Johnſon* and Captain *Yeaman*, though particular Merchants, were obliged to act their Parts in the Tragi-Comedy, and continue Priſoners, where Captain *Johnſon* died; but Captain *Yeaman* got his Liberty at the End of the War, which was about the Beginning of *June* 1690. I will now return back to the Year 1686, when Sir *John Weyborn* was ſent from *England* with a Commiſſion of Judge-Admiral from the King, and he had likewiſe another Commiſſion from the Governor of the Company, which they made him believe was alſo from the King, to condemn and hang thirteen of the Inhabitants of *St. Helena*, where, in a Tumult cauſed by the Oppreſſions of the Governor of that Iſland, one *Johnſon*, the Second, was killed. Sir *John Weyborn* took his Paſſage to *India* on board the Ship *London*, and in his Way called at *St. Helena*, and hanged up the thirteen proſcribed Perſons without Form or Proceſs, for which the Company paid dear afterwards; and ſo had Sir *John*, had he lived. But he finding the illegal Proceedings of Mr. *Child* to be inſupportable, and meeting with many Affronts (from that Man without Manners) died at *Bombay* about two Months before the *Sedee* came on it. He was much lamented by all honeſt Men that knew him. He was Captain of the *Happy Return*, who accompanied the *Glouceſter*, when ſhe was bringing the Duke of *York* to *Scotland*, and loſt by the Way. It was Captain *Weyburn* that ſent his Barge to wait on the Duke, and brought him ſafe on board the *Happy Return*, who carried him forward to *Scotland*, for which good Service he was knighted; he was ever after a great Favourite with King *James*, who ſeeing he could not be brought into his Meaſures, put that Employment on him to diſmiſs him with Honour: And now the *Sedee* being Maſter of the whole Iſland, except the Caſtle, and about half a Mile to the Southward of the Caſtle he raiſed Batteries on *Dungree-Hill*, which overlooked the Fort Wall, and diſturbed the Garriſon very much; then he put four great Guns in the *Cuſtom-Houſe*, commonly called the *India-Houſe*, and raiſed a Battery at the *Moodies-houſe*, within two hundred Paces of the Court, and another in the Lady's Houſe, that he had been ſo unkind to, ſo that it was dangerous to go out or in at the Caſtle Gate, till we got up an half Moon over it. All Men were then preſſed into the Company's Service, and our Author among the reſt.

We paſſed, ſays he, the Months from *April* to *September* very ill, for Proviſions grew ſcarce, by the Addition of three thouſand *Sovajees* that were employed as Auxiliaries in the military Service of the Company. When the Winter Months were over, in *September* we went to Sea with our ſmall Ships to cruize on the Mogul's Subjects, and had pretty good Succeſs. I was employed in that Service, and had the Command of a ſmall Privateer of ſeven or eight Tuns, with twenty fighting Men, and ſixteen Rowers. In three or four Months I brought nine Prizes into *Bombay*, laden moſt with Proviſions and Cloaths for the Enemy's Army, which was now encreaſed to forty thouſand; but we were not allowed any Plunder, but were rather plundered ourſelves; for when we brought our Prizes in, our Cheſts were ſeverely ſearched, and if we had ſaved any of our Pay, it was ſeized for the Company's Uſe, as Money we had found in the Prizes, which made us careleſs in purſuing the Enemy at Sea: Except when Hunger pinched we never looked out for Prizes; by which Indifference of ours many of the Enemy eſcaped that we could have taken. The ill Succeſs we had aſhore with the Enemy made our General ſick; and in *December* he diſpatched two Factors to the Mogul's Court, with a *Surat* Merchant called *Meer Mezamie*; he was our Friend, and had ſome Intereſt at

Court. They went under the Name of the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors; Mr. *George Welden* was firſt in Commiſſion, and *Abraham Naavar*, a *Jew*, was ſecond. In fifteen Days they arrived at Court, being then at *Jehanabat*.

They were received but coldly; but about the Middle of *April*, by the ſpecial Aſſiſtance of Preſents to the Officers at Court, they were admitted to Audience, but were brought to *Aurengzeb*'s Preſence, after a new Mode for Embaſſadors, their Hands being tied by a Saſh before them, and were obliged to proſtrate themſelves. The King gave them a ſevere Reprimand, and then aſked their Demands. They firſt made a Confeſſion of their Faults, and deſired Pardon. Then that their Phirmaund, which was forfeited, ſhould be renewed, and that the *Sedee* and his Army ſhould be ordered off *Bombay*; their Submiſſion he accepted of, and pardoned their Faults, on condition that Mr. *Child* ſhould leave *India* in nine Months, and never come back again. The Phirmaund to be renewed on condition that Satisfaction ſhould be given his Subjects on account of Debts contracted, Robberies committed, and Loſs and Damages made good; and on Security given for the due Performances of theſe Premiſes, the *Sedee* and his Army ſhould be ordered off the Iſland.

In *January* General *Child* died, which much facilitated their Affairs; but it was kept ſecret at Court, till they knew how the King would order the Affair about him. In *March*, *Meer Mezamie* died alſo, and it was ſuppoſed was poiſoned by ſome Enemies contracted by his good Services to the *Engliſh*. When he was given over by the Phyſicians our Embaſſadors ſent to know what he had done with the fifty thouſand Rupees he had received for ſecret Services? He anſwered, that he was ſorry that ever he had meddled in their Affairs; for he had ſerved them even with his Life, and yet they were not contented; for what Uſe that Sum was put to, he durſt not divulge. When our Affairs were in ſo bad Circumſtances at the Mogul's Court, the *Dutch* Company had one Mr. *Baroon* their Embaſſador there, who deſigned to impoſe on *Aurengzeb*, who he thought was ignorant of *European* Affairs. The News of the Revolution in *Britain* being arrived in *India*, when he had an Audience of *Aurengzeb*, he began to magnify the Power and Authority of his Country, and villify the *Engliſh*.

The Mogul ſeemed to be pleaſed with his Diſcourſe and encouraged him to go on: He ſaid, that the *Engliſh* were but contemptible in Compariſon of his Sovereigns, for they were forced to ſend the *Engliſh* a King to rule over them; and that if his Majeſty would exclude the *Engliſh* from the Trade of his Dominions, the *Dutch* would carry it to a much greater Height, and enrich his Treaſury, and the *Engliſh* would not know where to get Bread. The Mogul gravely anſwered, that if his Maſters were ſo much ſuperior in Power and Riches to the *Engliſh*, they might eaſily drive them out of *India*, and engroſs all the Trade of his Countries to themſelves, and commanded him to tell his Maſters, that he expected it from them. Then the Embaſſador excuſed himſelf, and ſaid that he could act nothing in that Affair, till he received Orders from *Holland*: *Aurengzeb* then reprimanded him, and ſhewed him wherein he had lyed; for, ſays he, about ſeventeen Years ago the King of *France* conquered moſt of your Country in a few Days, and then it was the *Engliſh*, and not the Power of *Holland*, that repelled him; and that if *England* did not hold the Ballance of Power, either the Emperor, or the King of *France*, could conquer it one Campaign. The Embaſſador knew not how to anſwer theſe Truths; but being ſent to ſollicit ſome Indulgence in that Trade, he could obtain none, and ſo left the Court diſſatisfied.

After our Embaſſadors had obtained Pardon, they began to be reſpected, and had Liberty to take their Diverſions abroad, till a new Phirmaund was drawn up, which, according to the Method of Eaſtern Courts, took up ſome Time. However, Orders were ſent to the *Sedee* to forbear Hoſtilities, and the *Engliſh* had the ſame Orders; ſo that frequent Viſits paſſed between the *Sedee*'s People and ours; and during the War, about ſixty *Europeans* of ſeveral Nations had deſerted us, and took Pay of the *Sedee*. The Reaſon they gave for their Deſertion was ill Uſage they received from ſome *Iriſh* Officers, yet moſt of them returned after the War, on promiſe of Pardon. The Phirmaund being ready, and the required Security given, *Sedee Yacoup* left *Bombay* the 8th of *June* 1690, but he alſo left a Peſtilence behind him, which in four Months Time deſtroyed more Men than the War had done, and for Joy made a malicious Bonfire of his head Quarters, *Mazagun* Fort.

Now we may ſee the Mogul's Stile in his new Phirmaund, to be ſent to *Surat*, as it ſtands tranſlated from the Company's Interpreter, which runs thus in the printed Copy annexed to Sir *John Child*'s Articles of Grievances:

“The Occaſion of your writing to me was, your being in Fault in all theſe Troubles; that you have repented of what you have done; that you made ſeveral Complaints againſt former Governors; all which I have here from ſeveral of my Omras, and the ſeveral Abuſes received from them and their Officers; all which you ſhould have acquainted me with before you proceeded ſo violently. Having acknowledged your Error, and deſired Pardon, I do not only grant your Requeſt, pardoning what is paſt, but granting you a Phirmaund, according to your Deſire, and have ordered *Aſſit-Caun* to forward it to the Governor of *Surat*, with ſuch Particulars as he will acquaint you with. At the Arrival of my Phirmaund, receive it with great Reſpect, acknowledging the great Glory you have got in obtaining the ſame. That you may trade as formerly at your Pleaſure, and as accuſtomary. That you deliver to the Merchants that have complained againſt you their Ships, with their Effects. That, for the future, you do not commit the like Error in doing as you have done; and proceed according to my Will and Pleaſure, and be not forgetful of the ſame. If you receive any Affronts from my Governors, or their Officers, or any of my Subjects, be not negligent in acquainting me of the ſame; I have ordered *Aſſit-Caun* to write accordingly. What you write concerning former Governors protecting Mr. *Boucher*, that you have ſeveral Demands on him; that you cannot call him to an Account, deſiring that he may be delivered to you; my Order is, that you prove your Demands according to Law, that Juſtice may be done accordingly. Dated the 31ſt Year of *Aurengzeb*'s Reign.”

It ſeems, the King was not ignorant of the hard Uſage his Subjects had met with; nor was he deſirous of Severity in puniſhing Offences and Affronts, but, like an indulgent Prince, only told them of their Faults, and prudently admoniſhing them not to be guilty of falling into ſuch-like Errors; and, in a Majeſtick Stile, adviſed them to receive his Favour and Graces with great Reſpect; and that they ought to make the Law the Standard of Juſtice, and in all his Words and Actions uſe a Chriſtian Moderation. General *Child* being dead, Mr. *John Vaux* ſucceeded him in the Government of *Bombay*: But Mr. *Bartholomew Harris*, who had been Priſoner at *Surat* all the Time of the Rupture, had the Seniority in the Company's Service; but it not being a Cuſtom for one that had been the Mogul's Priſoner for any Crimes judged to be capital, to receive publick Marks of Eſteem from the State, without a ſingular Amneſty from the King, Mr. *Vaux* was obliged to go to *Surat*, and receive the Phirmaund, and the King's *Serpaw*, or Preſent, which, on ſuch Occaſions, is generally a fine Horſe, and a Suit of Cloaths from Head to Foot, made of rich Atlaſſes, or Zeerbaſtas; thoſe are Sattins, or Taffaties, full of Gold and Silver Flowers wrought in them. The Horſe muſt never after be ſold on any Account whatſoever. They have alſo a fine Turban, embroidered Shoes, and a Dagger of Value ſtuck into a fine Cummerband, or Saſh; and being equipped in that Habit, the Phirmaund is preſented by the Goeſberdaar, or Hoſhalhoukain (or, in *Engliſh*, the King's Meſſenger) and the Governor of the Province or City, makes a ſhort Speech adapted to the Occaſion, ſetting forth the great Honour conferred upon him by the greateſt King in the World; with an Admonition to make his future Actions deſerve ſuch Favours.

After the aforeſaid Manner Mr. *Vaux* received the Phirmaund in a gilded Box; and, according to Cuſtom, put it on his Turban for a little while, and, by an Interpreter, returned the Governor a Compliment, acknowledging the King's Favour and the Governor's Civilities; and then the

Governor conducted him from the Garden (where the Ceremony was performed) into the City, through a great Concourſe of People, who welcomed him with Shouts of Joy as he paſſed through the Streets to the *Engliſh* Factory. After Mr. *Vaux* had ſtayed in the City about a Week, he ſent to acquaint the Governor of the Neceſſity he lay under to return back to his Government of *Bombay*, but the Governor ſent him Word, that none but he could be truſted by the King, to ſee the Performance of the Contract accompliſhed, and begged he would not think of leaving the City, leſt the King ſhould take it amiſs, and repent him of the Favours he had ſhewed to the *Eaſt-India* Company; and ſo Mr. *Vaux* was detained a Hoſtage for his Maſter's future good Behaviour. Mr. *Harris*, according to that Company's ordinary Cuſtom, demanded the Preſidency from Mr. *Vaux*, who, to ſave Contention, gave it to him; though his Mind was ſo debilitated, that he was but few Degrees wiſer than an Idiot; and, in two Years Time, Mr. *Vaux* was ſuſpended the Company's Service, and left to remain their Hoſtage at his own Charges; and ſo he continued till the Year 1697, that, by Accident, he was drowned in *Surat* River by a Pinnace's overſetting, in which he and his Lady had been taking their Pleaſure on the Water.

This Mr. *Vaux* had been Book-Keeper to Sir *Joſiah Child* in *England*, and for his good Services and Behaviour was preferred by his Maſter to a Supercargo's Poſt in a Ship to *China*, which Trade in thoſe Times was the the moſt profitable of any within the Limits of the Company's Charter. In *Anno* 1684, he was ſent thither on board a Ship, called the *Carolina*, commanded by one Captain Harding; but Mr. *Vaux* and *Harding* diſagreeing in their Paſſage to *China*, Mr. *Vaux* laded the Ship, and ſent her back to *England*, while he himſelf went a Paſſenger on board a *Surat* Ship for *Bombay*, where he was entertained in the Company's Service as a Factor, and wrote to Sir *Joſiah Child* the Reaſon he had for leaving the *Carolina*, and his Reſolution of Staying in *India*. Sir *Joſiah* continued his Eſteem for Mr. *Vaux*, and procured him ſeveral profitable Poſts at one and the ſame Time, in the Company's Service; and, amongſt the reſt, conſtituted him Judge in Civil Affairs, which brought him both a good Salary and Perquiſites.

After he was inſtalled in that Office, Sir *Joſiah* wrote him a Letter of Admonition and Reminiſcence, wherein, after many Poſtulates, he put him in Mind of the many Favours he had done him; and that now having the Power of Condemning the Company's Enemies, or ſuch as ſhould be deemed ſo, particularly thoſe who ſhould dare to queſtion the Company's Power over all the *Britiſh* Subjects in *India*; he expected his Orders from Time to Time, ſhould be obſerved and obeyed as Statute Laws. Mr. *Vaux* gratefully acknowledged Sir *Joſiah's* Favours in his Anſwer to that Letter, and promiſed that, as he had put him into the Poſt of Honour and Profit, he would ſtrive to acquit himſelf with all the Integrity and Juſtice he was Maſter of, and that the Laws of his Country ſhould be the Rules he deſigned to walk by. In Anſwer to that Letter Sir *Joſiah* ſeemed to be angry, and wrote roundly to Mr. *Vaux*, that he expected his Orders were to be his Rule, and not the Laws of *England*, which were a Heap of Nonſenſe, compiled by a few ignorant Country Gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make Laws for the good Government of their own private Families, much leſs for the regulating of Companies and foreign Commerce.

I am, ſays Captain *Hamilton*, the more particular in this Account, becauſe I ſaw, and copied both theſe Letters in *Anno* 1696, while Mr. *Vaux* and I were Priſoners at *Surat*, on Account of Captain *Every's* robbing the Mogul's great Ship, called the *Gunſway*. Having given an Account of ſome of Sir *Joſiah Child's* Reign, I muſt alſo mark a few Slips in the Government of ſome of his Succeſſors, and of the Ways they took to get into the Chair of *Bombay*. I remarked before, that Mr. *Harris* was a very weak and indolent Perſon, very unfit to govern a Colony and the Factories ſubordinate to *Bombay*; and by that Means, a cunning deſigning Fellow, one Mr. *Samuel Anneſley*, had the Reigns of the Government wholly in his Hands, who ſhewed that he had malicious Wit and Avarice enough to embroil both his Maſters and the private Merchants Affairs at *Surat* till *Harris's* Time; and on *Harris's* Death got into the Preſidency, or, rather Tyranny.

The Mogul's Subjects have a good many fine large Ships that trade all over *India*. The Owners of theſe Ships had a very great Regard for the Courage, Conduct, and Art of Navigation of the *Engliſh* above any other *European* Nation in *India*. And for theſe Qualifications the *Indian* Owners procured *Engliſh* Officers to go in their Ships, and allowed them very handſome Salaries and Indulgencies; the Captains had from ten to fifteen Pounds *per* Month, Mates from ſix to nine Pounds; and the Gunners and Boatſwains had alſo good Salaries, beſides the carrying of ſome Goods and Merchandize Freight-free. Mr. *Anneſley* thought theſe Salaries and Indulgencies too great for Seamen; ſo he went about to reduce them to about one half, and the other Moiety he looked on as his own Due, by Virtue of his Poſt. Some through Fear and Neceſſity, complied; others again, who deſpiſed both his Power and Tyranny, would, by no means, come into his Meaſures, and thoſe he looked on as Rebels, and proſecuted them to the utmoſt of his Power, bribing the Mogul's Governor to plague them; ſo ſome were ruined by his Villainy, whilſt others bad him open Defiance; and we were not wanting on our Side to expoſe him and his Maſters to the Mogul's Subjects, which in the End was the Loſs of both their Eſteem and Credit among the trading People of that Country. The poorer ſort, whoſe Maintenance depended on their Labour and Induſtry, loſing their Employs in the *Mooriſh* Merchant's Service, were obliged to fall on new Schemes to ſupport themſelves, not very well ſuited to the Company's Intereſt; for ſome went and joined themſelves with the Pirates.

The Company in *England* receiving Accounts from every one that came from *India*, of *Harris's* and *Anneſley's* Male-adminiſtrations, ſent out Sir *John Gayer* to take Care of their Affairs. He arrived in *Anno* 1694, with the lofty Title of General of all *India*. He continued *Anneſley* in the Company's Buſineſs till the Year 1700, but diveſted him of all Power of doing more Miſchief; and, in the End, diſmiſſed him the Company's Service. Sir *John Gayer* was a Man not vicious in his Temper, yet he made ſome Slips in his Government that proved prejudicial to his Character; tho' in Matters of common Commerce, he acted pretty regularly, till a young Laſs of about 3000 Pounds Portion made him diſpenſe with the common Methods of Matrimony. This young Gentlewoman was a Daughter of Mr. *Ward's* beforementioned: She had no Relations alive, and unadviſedly married one Mr. *Solomon Lloyd*, a Factor, and the Marriage was clandeſtine, which was poſitively againſt the Statute-Law of *Bombay*, where no Marriage is binding but when the Governor's Conſent is tacked to it. This Law Sir *John* had got by heart, and unmarried the poor Factor after Conſummation, and married her to his own Son. Another Piece of ill Conduct was, in forcing the *Mocha* Frigate's Men on board againſt their Wills, to proceed on a Voyage to *China*, notwithſtanding their juſt Complaints againſt *Edgecombe*, their Captain, whom the Mutineers ſhot in his Cabin, and then turned Pirates, and infeſted the Streights of *Malacca*, robbing and plundering all Ships that they could overcome. Captain *Hide*, in the *Dorrel*, met them there in her Paſſage to *China*, and had a ſharp Engagement with them, but got clear, with the Loſs of fixteen Men killed, and ſome wounded, which diſabled the *Dorrel*, ſo that ſhe proceeded no farther than *Malacca*. And another Fault of Sir *John's* was, in ſuffering himſelf and his Lady to be taken Priſoners at *Swally* by the Governor of *Surat's* Order, when he might have avoided that Diſgrace by Force or Flight: But it was generally believed that, that was only a Piece of Policy to get to *Surat* in order to employ his Money, which he could do much better there than at *Bombay*. Sir *Nicholas Waite* ſupplanted Sir *John* in the Government of *Bombay* and in the Preſidency. He was a Man of very looſe Morals, and his bare-faced Injuſtice and Prevarication, ſo irritated the Inhabitants and Soldiery at *Bombay*, that they ſeized him, and ſent him Priſoner to *England*. Though his Reign was ſhort, it was very pernicious to his Maſters, as well as to particular Merchants under his Juriſdiction.

But to return from this Digreſſion: *Bombay* was governed by a Deputy, ſince the Preſident was obliged to ſtay at *Surat*, and of ſeven or eight hundred *Engliſh* that inhabited before the War, there were not above ſixty left by the Sword and Plague. Thus *Bombay*, that was one of the pleaſanteſt Places in *India*, was brought to be one of the moſt diſmal Deſarts; but the Spirit of Injuſtice ſtill reſided in it; for thoſe who had ventured through the War and Plague in defence of the Iſland, had not the Liberty of returning home to their own Country, nor to raiſe their Fortune by private Trade; but all were continued preſſed Men, in the Right Honourable the Company's Service, without the Hope of Preferment, which made ſome Diſcontents; and even in the Time of War, when Strangers ſhould have been encouraged to have brought Proviſions into the Iſland, the Company's Taxes of five *per Cent.* were exacted with great Severity; for it was common to ſee the *Portugueze* Subjects bring twenty or thirty Poultry to the Market, and five of the beſt taken for the Cuſtom of the reſt.

13. The Deſire of continuing this hiſtorical Account of the Affairs of *Bombay*, which I take to be very uſeful and inſtructive, as well as curious and entertaining, has led me a little out of my Road of Chronology, and therefore I ſhall be obliged to go back again with reſpect to the Affairs of this Company, and the political Accidents that have attended them during the Reign of King *William*; but the Reader will not fall into any Perplexity or Confuſion from this Method of treating them, becauſe what I have now to ſay has little or no Reference to the Affairs abroad, and conſequently has no Connection with what goes before.

The firſt Tranſaction I meet with in this Reign is a Charter of Regulations granted to the *Eaſt-India* Company, by their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing date *Nov.* 11, 1693. Referring to a Charter of the 7th of *October*, by which it ſeems their former Charters were confirmed, and by this new Charter they were enabled to take in a new Subſcription for ſeven hundred and forty-four thouſand Pounds. The Company was alſo tied down to make publick Sales by Inch of Candle, to export yearly to the Value of one hundred thouſand Pounds of the Manufactures of this Kingdom, and to furniſh the Crown yearly with five hundred Tun of the beſt Salt-petre, at the Rate of thirty-eight Pounds ten Shillings *per* Tun in Time of Peace, and at forty-five Pounds *per* Tun in Time of War; they were likewiſe directed to make no Dividend upon their joint Stock, but in Money only. This Charter was to continue for twenty-one Years, provided the Governor and Company complied exactly with the Rules therein preſcribed; as alſo with ſuch other Orders, Directions, Additions, Qualifications and Reſtrictions as their Majeſties, by and with the Advice of their privy Council ſhould think fit to appoint on or before the 29th of *September* 1694, otherwiſe all their Powers and Privileges might be determined and taken away, by Letters of Revocation.

In purſuance of this Proviſo, another Charter of Regulations was granted to the ſaid Company, under the Great Seal of *England*, dated *September* 28, 1694, and in the ſixth Year of their Majeſty's Reign, in which among other things it is preſcribed, that once every Year, in the Month of *Auguſt*, the Governor and Company ſhould preſent to the privy Council a true Account fairly written, under the Governor or deputy Governor's Hand, of the Nature, Quantity, Value, and prime Coſt of the Manufactures of this Country, by them exported, and from what Place; and this upon the Oaths of the proper Officers and Servants of the Company. And, it was further ordered, that none of theſe Goods ſhould be again landed in *England*, or carried elſewhere, than within the Limits of the Company's Charter. It was alſo directed, that, on the Application in Writing, of any ſix or more, of the Proprietors, each poſſeſſed of One thouſand Pounds Capital Stock, demanding a general Court of the ſaid Company to be called; then the Governor, or Deputy-Governor, ſhould be obliged, within eight Days, to call ſuch a Court, which ſhould not be adjourned but by the Conſent of the Majority of the Proprietors ſo aſſembled; and the Company were required to ſignify their Acceptance of, and Submiſſion to theſe, and other Reſtrictions, under Pain of Diſſolution.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe Charters and Regulations, which ſeemed ſo fully to confirm, and ſo much to enlarge the Powers and Privileges of this Company, yet were they never ſo precarious as at this Juncture; for, on the one hand, their Authority was boldly diſputed by ſuch as had an Intention to trade to the *Indies*, without any Regard to the Company's Rights, and who, by them, therefore were ſtiled Interlopers: And this, upon Pretence that it was not in the Power of the Crown to grant any excluſive Charter. On the other hand, the Government wanted Money, and therefore the Miniſters, who ſhould certainly have defended the King's Prerogative, ſince otherwiſe it was a high Crime in them to adviſe him to grant ſuch Charters, ſtruck in with the other Party; and, for the ſake of making more Money, and removing the Obſtacles in the Way of their own Adminiſtration, promoted the Ruin of thoſe Grants and Charters, which they had been moſt exorbitantly paid for procuring; and upon the Faith of which vaſt Numbers of Perſons had ſubſcribed their Fortunes into the Company's joint Stock. But as it was not to be ſuppoſed that any Set of new People would advance two Millions, which was the Sum propoſed upon a new Charter, which might prove as precarious as the old one, it was reſolved to ſubject the whole of this Affair to the Cognizance of the Houſe of Commons, in order to have every thing ſettled and ſecured by an Act of Parliament. Accordingly, in the Year 1698, this Matter was propoſed to the Houſe, not only with the Concurrence of Perſons in Power, but backed and ſupported by all their Intereſt; ſo that though it was ſteadily and vehemently oppoſed by the Members of the old Company, yet it was to very little Purpoſe. They followed the Bill however into the Houſe of Lords, and were heard there by their Council, Sir *Thomas Powis*, and Sir *Bartholomew Shower*; who, with much Eloquence and great Strength of Reaſon, maintained the Cauſe of their Clients, but without Succeſs; and it was a Point determined, that their Intereſt ſhould give Way to that which, whether truly or falſly, I ſhall not determimine, was called the Intereſt of the Publick.

Thus it came to paſs that, in the Reign of King *William* the Third, a new Company trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, was incorporated by Act of Parliament, they having advanced the Government Two Millions of Money, for which they, at firſt received Intereſt, after the Rate of Eight *per Cent.* out of the Funds aſſigned for the ſame: But that Intereſt hath been ſunk by ſubſequent Statutes to Six and Five *per Cent.* After this, the old and new Companies having a due Regard to their own common Intereſts, for the Prevention of divers Inconveniencies that might otherwiſe have happened, both to themſelves and this Nation in general, agreed upon ſeveral Articles for the Union of the ſaid Companies in manner following, *viz.*

It was agreed that the Effects of both Companies ſhould be brought home with all convenient Speed for their ſeparate Accounts, and all poſſible Proviſion made for the enabling both Companies to bring home the ſame with Security; and that neither the Crown nor the new Company, take any Advantage of the old Company, under Pretence of Forfeiture; and that each Company give a Releaſe to the other, and to their reſpective Factors and Servants.

The old Company's 315,000 *l.* in Funds, upon the Execution of this Agreement, to be immediately united to the Capital Stock of the new Company; and that the old Company purchaſe of the new Company, to be transferred by three of their Members in their political Capacity, 673,500 *l.* in the capital Stock and Fund of 1,662,000 *l.* with the Benefits to ariſe thereby; ſo that the old Company may have 988,500 *l.* in the ſaid Fund, which will make that Company equal to the new in Fund and Title to the Trade, and which Stock of 673,500 *l.* ſhall be transferred at four ſeveral Times, each fourth Part to be paid for at the Time of their Transfer, at 100 *l.* for 100 *l.*

That the old Company's dead Stock at home and abroad, be valued at 33,000 *l.* and the new Company's dead Stock both abroad and at home, at 70,000 *l.* and that the old Company, at the Time of transferring the firſt fourth Part of the ſaid 673,500 *l.* do transfer all their dead Stock, abroad and at home, to the new Company, the new Company paying for one Moiety thereof at the ſame time 16,500 *l.* and that the old Company ſhall alſo pay to the new Company 35,000 *l.* for the Moiety of their dead Stock; and thereupon the old Company ſhall have, and be entitled to a Moiety of both the ſaid dead Stocks, as Members of the new Company.

The Members of the new Company transferring, ſhall be entitled to the Arrears of their Annuity until the Time of the ſeveral Transfers; after which all Annuities ariſing by the old Company's 315,000 *l.* ſhall be paid to ſuch Perſons as ſhall be appointed for that Purpoſe, by the ſaid old Company for their Uſe; and the new Company ſhall have the Benefit of all Money ariſing before their Agreement, and alſo 5 *l. per Cent.* on all Ships entered or cleared before, the Execution of the ſaid Agreement, each Company is to deſiſt from any ſeparate Exportation.

That, during ſeven Years, each Company ſhall have an equal Power in the Adminiſtration and Management of the Fund and Trade; and, to that End, twelve Perſons ſhall be appointed by the General Court of each Company reſpectively, out of the Courts of Committees and Directors of the ſaid Companies, who ſhall be called in the new Charter, *Managers of the United Trade to* India; and a new additional Stock ſhall be raiſed for carrying on the future Trade, and be advanced in ſuch Proportions as the ſaid Twenty-four Managers, or the major Part of them, ſhall, from time to time, appoint the General Courts or each Company agreeing thereunto.

The old Company, during the Space of ſeven Years, ſhall preſerve their Stock in their political Capacity; and, for that Time, remain a ſeparate Corporation, ſo as to transfer and aſſign in their own Books, as now they do; and, at the End of the ſaid ſeven Years, the old Company ſhall transfer and aſſign in the Books of the new Company their Share in the Fund to their ſeveral Members who ſhall be then entitled to the ſame; and thereon the ſaid Members of the old Company ſhall become, and be admitted Members of the new Company *gratis*.

That each Company ſhall indemnify the other from their reſpective Debts and Demands, and a proper Proviſion be made for that Purpoſe: And, that the new Company, after the executing their Agreement, ſhall not take up any Money upon their common Seal, or do any other Act, except what relates to their ſeparate Effects as aforeſaid, without the Concurrence of the old Company.

A Covenant to be entered into, that his Majeſty ſhall make a Re-grant within ten Days after the making ſuch Aſſignment as aforeſaid; and that the old Company, within one Month after the ſaid ſeven Years are expired, ſhall ſurrender their Charter and Corporation; and alſo that the King, within ten Days after ſuch Surrender, ſhall make a new Grant to the ſame Truſtees, and ſubject to the ſame Truſt of all ſuch Eſtate and Effects of the old Company as ſhall come to, or devolve upon the Crown, by reaſon of the ſaid Surrender.

That immediately from and after the ſaid Surrender, the new Company ſhall change its Name, and be called the *United Company of Merchants of* England *trading to the* Eaſt-Indies. Nevertheleſs, the future Management of the ſaid Stock and Trade, after the ſaid Term of ſeven Years is expired, is to be, according to the new Company's Charter, on the 5th of *September*, 1698. And for the better attaining the Purpoſes aforeſaid, that there be a Tripartite Indenture, executed by his Majeſty and both the ſaid Companies, wherein ſuch Covenants and Proviſions may be made as ſhall be thought reaſonable, with proper Releaſes from his Majeſty to each Company; ſo that as ſoon as the aforeſaid ſeven Years, allowed for the Conveniency of Affairs on both Sides, are expired, the two Companies may be entirely one in Name and Effect.

This, in Truth, was the only Remedy that could be deviſed for the Cure of ſo great an Evil, many of the bad Conſequences of which were fore-ſeen before it took Effect, which, however, proved but few in compariſon of what was diſcovered by Experience. Some there were who imagined that this was a *Dutch* Deſign originally, and formed with a View to undermine our national Intereſt in this Trade to favour their own; and, to ſpeak freely, there are ſome Circumſtances which give ſome Probability to his Notion; and, perhaps, amongſt theſe Circumſtances, there is none ſtronger than that the Subſcription of the Two Millions was chiefly promoted by Foreigners, as we are expreſly told by the Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory of* England, in his Account of the Reign of King *William*, who magnifies the Alacrity with which that Sum was ſubſcribed, and ſeems to think, that twice as much might have been obtained, if the Act of Parliament had extended ſo far. But it may ſeem a Paradox to ſay, that People would venture their Money to hurt the old *Eaſt-India* Company: But this is eaſily ſolved, by conſidering that little depended on that Trade where they were to have ſo large an Intereſt as Eight *per Cent.* for their Money.

The only Way to form a right Judgment of this Affair is, to take a View of the Situation of Things in the *Indies* after this new Eſtabliſhment took Place: And of this, in his Account of *Bengal*, the before-mentioned Captain *Hamilton* has given us a very full and fair Relation, interſperſed with ſome Concerns of his own, which ſhews that he was an Eye-witneſs, and did not deliver any thing from Hear-ſay. If we wanted other Evidence, I might cite that of Mr. *Lockyer*, who, in his Account of the Trade of the *Indies*, informs us, that the old and new Companies, had each of them a Factory at *Surat*; and that thoſe that managed them, acted with ſuch Animoſity againſt each other, that it was very hard, even after the Companies were united, to reconcile them. It is extremely difficult to find out, and bring together ſuch Relations as theſe; but the Deſire I have that the Readers ſhould be perfectly acquainted with the State of this Commerce in different Periods of Time, that he may frame the better Notion of what has contributed to promote, and what has occaſioned, at any Time, the Decay of this Trade, has encouraged me to take all the Pains I could to range the ſeveral Accounts I have been able to collect, in ſuch Order as might make them beſt underſtood, and beſt anſwer the End that I propoſed. It was ſolely with this View, that I reſolved to give the following Paſſages from Captain *Hamilton*'s Travels, which, I hope, will ſet this Matter in as clear a Light as either myſelf, or the Reader, could wiſh. The Country about *Bengal* deſcribed, he proceeds a little higher. Up the Eaſt-ſide of *Hugbly* River, is *Ponjelly*, a Village where a Corn-mart is kept once or twice in a Week: It exports more Riches than any Place on this River. And five Leagues farther, upon the other Side, is *Tanna* Fort, built to protect the Trade of the River, at a Place convenient enough, where it is not above half a Mile from Shore, but it never was of much Uſe; for, *Anno* 1686, when the *Engliſh* Company quarrelled with the Mogul, the Company had ſeveral great Ships at *Hugbly*, and this Fort was manned, in order to hinder their Paſſage down the River. One ſixty Gun Ship approaching pretty near the Fort, ſaluted it with a Broad-ſide, which ſo frightened the Governor and his Myrmidons, that they all deſerted their Poſts, and left their Caſtle to be plundered by the *Engliſh* Seamen. About a League farther, upon the other Side of the River, is *Governapore*, where there is a little Pyramid, built for a Land-mark, to confine the Company's Colony of *Calcuta*, or *Fort-William*, on that Side: And about a League farther up, ſtands *Fort-William*.

The *Engliſh* ſettled there about the Year 1690. After the Mogul had pardoned all the Robberies and Murders committed on his Subjects, Mr. *Job Channock*, being then the Company's Agent in *Bengal*, he had Liberty to ſettle an Emporium in any Part of the River-ſide below *Hugbly*; and for the ſake of a large ſhady Tree, choſe that Place, though he could not have choſe a more unhealthy Place on all the River; for three Miles to the North-eaſtward is a Salt-water Lake that over-flows in *September* and *October*, and then prodigious Numbers of Fiſh reſort thither; but in *November* and *December*, when the Floods are diſſipated, theſe Fiſhes are left dry, and with their Putrefaction affect the Air with thick ſtinking Vapours, which the North-eaſt Winds bring with them to *Fort-William*, that they cauſe a yearly Mortality. One Year I was there, and there were reckoned in *Auguſt* about 1200 *Engliſh*, ſome military, ſome Servants to the Company, ſome private Merchants reſiding in the Town, and ſome Seamen belonging to Shipping lying in the Town; and before the Beginning of *January* there were four hundred and fifty Burials regiſtered in the Clerk's Book of Mortality.

Mr. *Channock* chuſing the Ground of the Colony where it now is, reigned more abſolute than a Rajah, only he wanted much of their Humanity; for when any poor ignorant Native tranſgreſſed his Laws, they were ſure to undergo a ſevere whipping for a Penalty; and the Execution was generally done when he was at Dinner, or near his Dining-room, that the Groans and Cries of the poor Delinquent ſerved him for Muſick.

The Country about being over-ſpread with *Paganiſm*, the Cuſtom of Wives burning with their deceaſed Huſbands is alſo practiſed. Before the *Mogul*'s War, Mr. *Channock* went one Time with his ordinary Guard of Soldiers, to ſee a young Widow act that tragical Cataſtrophe; but he was ſo ſmitten with the Widow's Beauty, that he ſent his Guards to take her by Force from the Executioners, and conduct her to his own Lodgings. They lived lovingly many Years, and had ſeveral Children; at length ſhe died, after he had ſettled in *Calcuta*. But inſtead of converting her to Chriſtianity, ſhe made him a Proſelite to *Paganiſm*, and the only Part of Chriſtianity that was remarkable in him, was, burying her decently; and he built a Tomb over her, where, all his Life, after her Death, he kept the Anniverſary-day of her Death by ſacrificing a Cock on her Tomb, after the *Pagan* Manner. This was, and is the common Report, and I have been credibly informed, both by Chriſtians and Pagans, who lived at *Calcuta*, under his Agency, that the Story was really Matter of Fact.

Fort *William* was built an irregular Tetragon of Brick and Mortar, called *Puckah*, which is a Compoſition of Brick-duſt, Lime, Molaſſes, and cut Hemp; and when it comes to be dry, is as hard and tougher than firm Stone or Brick, and the Town was built without Order, as the Builders thought moſt convenient for their own Affairs, every one taking in what Ground beſt pleaſed them for Gardening; ſo that in moſt Houſes you muſt paſs thro' a Garden into the Houſe, the *Engliſh* Building near the River-ſide, and the Natives within Land.

The Agency continued till the Year 1705, that the old and new Companies united, and then it became a ſplit Government, the old and new Companies Servants governing Week about, which made it more anarchical than regular. Sir *Edward Littleton* was Agent and Conſul for the new Company at *Hughly*, when this Union of the Companies was made, and then he was ordered to remove his Factory to *Calcuta*, and being of an indolent Indiſpoſition, had let his Accounts with the Company run behind; he was ſuſpended, but lived at *Calcutta* till 1707, that he died there. He was the only Precedent, or Preſident, in the Company's Service, that loſt an Eſtate of ſeven hundred Pounds *per Annum* in ſo profitable a Poſt in their Service.

This double-headed Government continued at *Calcuta* till *January* 1709, that Mr. *Welden* arrived with the Company's Commiſſion to ſettle it at *Bombay* and Fort *St. George*, which were under the Management of a Governor and Council, which thoſe of the Direction in *England* took to be a better way to promote their own Creatures, as well as their own Intereſt. His Term of governing was very ſhort, and he took as ſhort a Way to be enriched by it, by harraſſing the People to fill his Coffers: There was one ſingular Inſtance of it. A poor Seaman had got a pretty *Muſtic* Wife, a little inclined to Lewdneſs in her Huſband's Abſence. She entertained two *Armenians*, who were like to quarrel about ſharing her Favours, which coming to the Governors Ears, he reprimanded them; however, by the ſtrong Perſuaſion of five hundred *Rupees*, paid in Hand by one of them, he awarded him to have the ſole Right to her, and he carried her to *Hughly*, and bragged openly what his Purchaſe had coſt him, to the great Credit and Praiſe of the Governor; and when the poor Huſband returned, he was forced to ſubmit to loſe his Mate under the Pain of Flagelation: Yet he was very ſhy in taking Bribes, referring thoſe honeſt Folks who trafficked that way to the Diſcretion of his Wife and Daughter, to make the beſt Bargain they could about the Sum to be paid, and to pay the Money into their Hands. I could give many Inſtances of the Force of Bribery, both here and elſewhere in *India*, but am loth to ruffle the Skin of old Sores.

About fifty Yards from Fort *William*, ſtands the Church, built by the pious Charity of Merchants reſiding there, and the Chriſtian Benevolence of ſea-faring Men, whoſe Affairs call them to trade there; but Miniſters of the Goſpel being ſubject to Mortality, very often young Merchants are obliged to officiate, and have a Salary of fifty Pounds *per Annum* added to what the Company allows them for their Pains, in reading Prayers and Sermons on *Sundays*.

The Governor's Houſe in the Fort, is the beſt and moſt regular Piece of Architecture that I ever ſaw in *India*, and there are many convenient Lodgings for Factors and Writers within the Fort, and ſome Store-houſes for the Company's Goods, and the Magazines for their Ammunition.

The Company has a pretty good Hoſpital at *Calcuta*, where many go in to undergo the Pennance of Phyſick, but few come out to give an account of its Operation. The Company has alſo a pretty good Garden, that furniſhes the Governor's Table with Herbage, and Fruits, and ſome Fiſh-ponds to ſerve his Kitchen with good Carp, Calhops and Mullet.

Moſt of the Inhabitants of *Calculta*, that make any tolerable Figure, have the ſame Advantages, and all ſorts of Proviſions, both wild and tame, being plentiful, good and cheap, as well as Cloathing, make the Country very agreeable, notwithſtanding the above-mentioned Inconveniencies that attend it.

On the other Side of the River are Docks made for repairing and fitting their Ships Bottoms, and a pretty good Garden belonging to the *Armenians*. That had been a better Place to have built their Fort and Town in, for many Reaſons; one is, that where it now ſtands, the Afternoon Sun is full in the Fronts of the Houſes, and ſhines hot in the Streets, that are both above and below the Fort, whereas here the Sun would have ſent its hot Rays on the Backs of the Houſes, and the Fronts had been a good Shade for the Streets.

Moſt Gentlemen and Ladies in *Bengal* live both ſplendidly and pleaſantly, the Forenoons being dedicated to Buſineſs, and after Dinner to reſt, and in the Evening to recreate themſelves in Chaiſes, or Palankins; in the Fields, or going to Gardens, or by Water in their Budgeroes, which a convenient Boat that goes ſwiftly with the Force of Oars; and on the River, ſometimes there is the Diverſion of Fiſhing, or Fowling, or both, and before Night they make friendly Viſits to one another, when Pride or Contention do not ſpoil Society, which too often they do among the Ladies, as Diſcord and Faction do among the Men; and altho' the conſcript Fathers of the Colony diſagree in many Points among themſelves, yet they all agree in oppreſſing Strangers, who are conſigned to them, not ſuffering them to buy or ſell their Goods at the moſt advantageous Markets, but of the Governor and his Council, who fix their own Prices, high or low, as ſeemeth beſt to their Wiſdom and Diſcretion; and it is a Crime hardly pardonable, for a private Merchant to go to *Hughly* to inform himſelf of the current Prices of Goods, altho' the Liberty of Buying and Selling is entirely taken from him before.

The Garriſon of Fort *William* generally conſiſts of two or three hundred Soldiers, more for conveying their Fleet from *Patana*, with the Company's Salt-petre, piece Goods, raw Silk, and ſome Ophium belonging to other Merchants, than for the Defence of the Fort: For, as the Company holds their Colony in Fee-tail of the *Mogul*, they need not be afraid of any Enemies coming to diſpoſſeſs them; and if they ſhould at any Time quarrel again with the *Mogul*, his prohibiting his Subjects to trade with the Company would ſoon end the Quarrel.

There are ſome imperious troubleſome Rajahs whoſe Territories lie on the Banks of the *Ganges*, betwixt *Patana* and *Caſſambuzaar*, who pretend to a Tax on all Goods and Merchandize that paſs by, or through their Dominions of the River, and often raiſe Forces to compel Payment; but ſome Forces from Fort *William* in Boats generally clear the Paſſage, tho' I have known ſome of our Men killed in the Skirmiſhes.

In *Calcutta* all Religions are freely tolerated but the Preſbyterian, and that they brow-beat. The Pagans carry their Idols in Proceſſion through the Town. The *Roman* Catholicks have their Church to lodge their Idols in, and the *Mohammedan* is not diſcountenanced; but there are no Polemics, except what are between our High-churchmen and our low, or between the Governor's Party, and other private Merchants, on Points of Trade.

The Colony has very little Manufactory of its own, for the Government being pretty arbitrary, diſcourages Ingenuity and Induſtry in the Populace; for, by the Weight of the Company's Authority, if a Native chances to diſoblige one of the Upper-houſe, he is liable to arbitrary Puniſhment, either by Fine, Impriſonment, or corporal Sufferings. I will give one Inſtance out of many, that I knew of the Injuſtice of a Governor of the double-headed Government in *Anno* 1706.

There was one Captain *Perrin*, Maſter of a Ship, who took up about 500*l*. on Reſpondentia, from Mr. *Ralph Sheldon*, one of the Governors, in a Voyage to *Perſia*, payable at his return to *Bengal*. *Perrin* having diſpatched his Affairs in *Perſia* ſooner than he expected, called at *Goa*, as he came Home, and bought a *Surat* built Ship, very cheap, and carried her to *Calecut*, and took in a Quantity of Pepper for the *Bengal* Market, and having brought in his other Ship good Store of *Perſia* Wines, called at Fort *St. George*, to diſpoſe of what he could there: But finding no Encouragement from that Market, carried it to *Bengal*. On his Arrival, he complimented Mr. *Sheldon* with the Offer of his Pepper and Wine, but he declined meddling with that Bargain, farther than with as much of the Pepper, at the current Price, as would ballance his Account of Principal and Reſpondentia. Accordingly, *Perrin* delivered ſo much Pepper, and on the Delivery, required his Bond up; but the Governor told him, that he being a Fellow troubled with the Spirit of interloping in buying Goods, and taking in Freights where he could beſt get them, he would keep the Bond as a Curb on him, that he ſhould not ſpoil his Markets for the future. Poor *Perrin* uſed all his Rhetorick to get his Bond up, but to no Purpoſe, and the Governor moreover gave his Wine a bad Name, ſo that he could not diſpoſe of that neither; and all this Oppreſſion was in order to ſtraiten him, that he might be obliged to ſell his purchaſed Ship at a low Price to him, and his Aſſociates, which at laſt he was obliged to do, holding a Quarter-part in his own Hands, to ſecure the Command of her to himſelf, which after all he could hardly do. *Perrin* made his Complaint to me, but I was in no Condition to aſſiſt him, becauſe having three or four large Ships at *Bengal*, I was reckoned a Criminal guilty of that unpardonable Sin of interloping. However, I adviſed *Perrin* to comply with his inexorable Maſter, on any Terms of Agreement whatſoever, which he endeavoured to do, that he might at leaſt keep the Command of his Ship, where he was ſo much concerned, and had hardly done it but by Accident. One Day, meeting me on the Green near the Fort, he ſtopp'd me, to relate his Grievances, and begged, that if he was turned out of his own Ship, he might have an Employ in one of mine, which I promiſed he ſhould.

Sheldon eſpied us out of a Window, holding a long Confabulation, and being impatient to know about what, ſent a Servant to call *Perrin*, and he obeying the Summons, was interrogated about what our Diſcourſe was, and he told the Promiſe I had made him. *Sheldon* told him, that he was as capable to employ him as I could be. *Perrin* anſwered, that he knew that, but wiſhed that he would be as willing too; ſo *Sheldon* promiſed that he ſhould command his own Ship to *Perſia*.

But the Wine ſtill lay unſold, though it was ſcarce then in *Bengal*; but the Name that it got firſt in *Fort St. George*, and afterwards in *Fort William*, ſtuck ſo faſt to it, that none of it would go off at any Price: So I adviſed him to carry it off in the Night in my Boats on board of one of my Ships, and I would try if I could ſerve him in ſelling it, which accordingly he did; and two Gentlemen of the Council being that Seaſon bound for *England*, coming one Day to dine with me, I treated them and the reſt of my Company with that *Perſia* Wine, which they all praiſed, and aſked me where I got it? I told them, that knowing that good Wine would be ſcarce at *Bengal* that Year, I had provided a good Quantity at *Surat*, from whence I had come that Seaſon. Every one begged that I would ſpare them ſome Cheſts, which I condeſcended to do as a Favour, and next Day ſent them what they wanted at double the Price the Owner demanded for it while he had it, and ſo got off above one hundred and twenty Cheſts, which enabled Mr. *Perrin* to ſatisfy moſt of his Creditors. *Sheldon* provided a Stock and Freight for *Perrin* to *Perſia*, and put on board ſome rotten long Pepper that he could diſpoſe of no other Way, and ſome damaged Gunnies, which are much in Uſe in *Perſia* for embailing Goods when they are good in their kind; but, *nolens volens*, *Perrin* muſt take them, and ſign Bills of Lading for good well-conditioned Goods; and yet after he was ready to ſail, he had been ſtopped, if he could not raiſe the Sum of 2500 Rupees to diſcharge a Bill that at that Time became due, and was indorſed to *Sheldon*. I alſo helped him out of that Difficulty, and took his Bond for the Sum, bearing Intereſt from the Date at the current Intereſt of one *per Cent. per Menſem*; ſo *Perrin* proceeded on his Voyage to *Perſia*, but called at *Callecut* in his Way home again, and laid up his Ship there, and took Protection of a *Neyer*, with the full Hand of 11,000 Pounds Sterling of *Bengal* Money, and wrote to Mr. *Sheldon* that he might keep his former Bond, and he would take care of his Part of the Stock in his Hands. He alſo wrote to me that he would take particular Care to reimburſe me, but in a ſhort Time after he died, and his Effects came into the *Engliſh* Chief's Hands, who detained them ſeveral Years, denying that ever he paid any till Governor *Boone* came to the Government of *Bombay* in 1715, and then he made a lame Account. I have been ſo prolix and particular in this Story, that it may form an Idea of the Deformity and diſmal Image of Tyranny and Villany, ſupported by a Power that neither divine nor human Laws have Force enough to bridle or reſtrain. The Company's Colony is limited by a Land-mark at *Governapore*, and another near *Barnagul*, about ſix Miles diſtant, and the ſalt-water Lake bound it on the Land-ſide. It may contain in all about ten or twelve thouſand Souls, and the Company's Revenues are pretty good, and well paid; they ariſe from Ground-rents and Conſulage, on all Goods imported and exported by *Britiſh* Subjects, but all Nations beſides are free from Taxes.

It is very clear from this hiſtorical Account of the Company's Affairs, and of their Government in *India*, that nothing held them together, but the ſlender Tie of Self-intereſt, which obliged ſuch as otherwiſe hated each other, ſo far to comply, as to be able to make the Machine go on; but ſtill this was doing Things uneaſily, and nothing can be clearer than that the publick Intereſt muſt have ſuffered greatly, while it had no other Support than theſe left-handed Aſſiſtances, from ſuch as wanted its Protection to make their private Fortunes. But we were all this Time engaged in a foreign War, from the glorious Motives of ſettling the Ballance of Power, humbling *France*, and ſecuring the Tranquillity of *Europe*, which ſo much took up our Miniſters Heads, that they had ſcarce Time to think of Trade and Navigation. Yet there is nothing plainer than this to any Man who will ſtudy the Intereſt of this Nation, which one would imagine ſhould be the Science of Miniſters, than that an Application to the Extention of our Commerce, is the ſole Means of raiſing the Power and Credit of this Kingdom, which muſt be rendered conſiderable Abroad, by its naval Force, and that naval Force cannot be kept up, or increaſed, any other Way than by promoting a Spirit of Trade and Navigation. However, as the Heads of the Miniſtry were now turned another Way, the *Eaſt-India* Company was obliged to think of ſome Means of obtaining ſuch Regulations in their Favour, as might be ſufficient to remedy the Inconveniencies that had reſulted from the ſettling two Companies; and in order to obtain ſuch a Law as was requiſite for this Purpoſe, they, in the ſixth Year of Queen *Anne*, reſolved to lend the Government the Sum of one Million two hundred thouſand Pounds, over and above what had been lent already; which Propoſal of theirs was accepted, and in Conſideration thereof, it was agreed, that the Parliament ſhould give them ſuch Aſſiſtance for carrying on their Trade, as they required. The Reader will obſerve, that by this Means, the *Eaſt-India* Company is to be conſidered in a double Capacity; that is to ſay, as Creditors to the Publick, and as a trading Company. In the former Capacity, they have a Security, as other Companies have, for the Monies by them advanced, and a proportionable Intereſt thereupon; and in their other Capacity, their Directors are Truſtees for the Company's Trade, the Profits of which likewiſe belong to the proprietors; and from hence it appears, that the Dividends upon their Stock are compounded of the Intereſt they receive from the Government, and of the Profits accruing from their Trade to the *Indies*. The firſt being fix'd and invariable, ſerves as an Index to the latter, ſince at all Times the Intereſt paid to the Company being deducted from the Dividend, paid by them to the Proprietors, ſhews clearly what the Profits made by their Trade muſt be, as we ſhall farther explain in the Courſe of this Hiſtory. In the mean Time, let us return to this Act of Parliament in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, in order to ſee what Effects it had upon the Affairs of the Company, and what Advantages they received in Conſideration of this large and neceſſary Supply for the publick Service, and by the Way, let us remark that it was but reaſonable to grant a trading Company certain Advantages, beyond the bare Intereſt of their Money, becauſe they might otherwiſe have employed it more to their Advantage. It was therefore enacted, that the *Engliſh* Company trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſhall advance and pay in to the *Exchequer* 1,200,000*l.* on ſeveral Days appointed, and in caſe of failure by the ſaid Company, the Monies not paid ſhall be recovered by Action of Debt, and 12 *per Cent.* Damages, and the ſaid Company may borrow Money by their Common-ſeal, on Security of their united Stock, ſo as the principal Money at any Time to be owing don't exceed 1,500,000*l.* above what might lawfully be borrowed thereon before this Act. In caſe the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the General Court of the ſaid *Engliſh* Company, whilſt they ſeparately continue, *&c.* ſhall think fit to call in Money from their reſpective Adventurers towards raiſing the ſaid 1,200,000*l.* or repaying the Money borrowed for that Purpoſe, they are impowered to make ſuch Calls accordingly, to make up the ſaid Sum; and if any Members ſhall neglect or refuſe to pay their Shares of the Monies called in, or which the ſaid Company in Purſuance of the Statute of 9 *W.* III. *cap.* 44. or their Charters ſhall call in for carrying on their Trade (after Notice fix'd on the *Royal-Exchange*) then the ſaid Company reſpectively may ſtop the Dividends payable to ſuch Members, and apply the ſame towards ſuch Payment, until it be ſatisfied; and alſo ſtop the Transfers of the Shares of ſuch Defaulters, and charge them with Intereſt at 5 *per Cent.* till Payment; in neglecting which, in three Months, the Company may ſell ſo much of the Defaulter's Stock, as will pay the ſame. The aforeſaid Sum of 1,200,000*l.* ſhall be deemed to be an Addition of the Stock of the *Engliſh* Company, and be Tax-free. The united Stock of the ſaid *Engliſh* Company ſhall be ſubject to the Debts contracted by the ſaid Company, and Perſons entituled to 7,200*l.* Part of the two Millions, the original Stock, who have not united their Stocks to the Corporations, and who are authorized to carry on a Trade for their ſeparate Uſe, may hold and enjoy their Trade as if the ſaid Act had not been made. But the *Engliſh* Company may repay the ſame at the End of three Years, together with the Annuities due thereon, and then the whole Trade ſhall be veſted in the ſaid Company. Matters in Difference between the two Companies, concerning an Union between them, are referred to *Sidney* Earl of *Godolphin*'s Arbitration, and after the making the ſaid Award and Surrender of the Charter of the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, the Perſons who at the Time of the Surrender, purſuant to an Indenture Tripartite, made between the Queen of the firſt Part, the ſaid Governor and Company of the ſecond Part, and the ſaid *Engliſh* Company of the third Part, ſhall be Directors and Managers of the united Trade of the *Engliſh* Company, ſhall be ſuch until new Directors are choſen, according to the Charter dated the 5th of *September* 10 *W.* III. This Act hath alſo a Proviſo, that on three Years Notice, after a Time limited, and Repayment of the ſaid two Millions, and 1,200,000*l.* and all Arrears then due for the Annuities, which Annuities amount to 160,000*l per Annum*, then the aforeſaid Duties on Salt, *&c.* and the Benefit of Trade given by this and the former Act and Charters to ceaſe. This Proviſo of Redemption is enlarged as to the Time, by Stat. 10 *Ann. cap.* 28. and by the 29th, the *Eaſt-India* Company may enter ſuch Goods as they ſhall import at the Cuſtom-houſe, by Bills at ſight or ſufferance, and ſhall give Security under their Common-ſeal for Payment of the Cuſtoms and Duties as are rated in the Book of Rates, and upon Coffee, which is to be aſcertained by the Oath of the Importer, *viz.* for paying half thereof at the End of ſix Calendar Months, and the other half at the End of twelve Months; and the Cuſtom Officers ſhall grant to the ſaid Company ſuch Bills at ſight or ſufferance, and take Security as aforeſaid, and make ſuch Allowances and Deductions as are made to other Merchants, paying their ſaid Cuſtoms at, or before the landing their Goods and Merchandize; but nothing herein ſhall extend to alter the Method of paying the Duties of 15 *per Cent.* on Muſlins and Callicoes, or the Duties upon any other Goods that are to be aſcertained by Sale at the Candle.

16. In the Beginning of the Reign of King *George* the Firſt, it was found, that various Attempts had been made to diſcover the Secrets of the Company's Commerce, for the Information and Benefit of Foreigners, and therefore a Law was obtained to remedy this Evil, *viz.* the Statute of 5 K. *George* I. which ordains with a View to render ſuch Practices impoſſible. That if any Subjects ſhall ſail, or go to the *Eaſt-Indies*, or ſuch Places of *Aſia*, *&c.* beyond the Cape of *Bona Eſperanza*, to the Straits of *Magellan*, where any Trade, or Traffick, or Merchandize is, or may be uſed, or had, contrary to the Laws in being, or the Tenor of this Act: Every Perſon ſo offending, ſhall be liable to the Puniſhment inflicted by Law for ſuch Offence, and it ſhall be lawful for the united Company of Merchants of *England* trading to the *Eaſt Indies*, and their Succeſſors, to arreſt and ſeize ſuch Perſons, being ſubjects to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, at any Places where they ſhall be found, within the Limits aforeſaid, and to ſend them to *England*, there to anſwer for their Offences, according to due Courſe of Law. Every Perſon who ſhall procure, ſollicit, obtain, or act under any Commiſſion, Authority, or Paſs from any foreign Prince, State or Potentate, to ſail or trade in, or to the *Eaſt-Indies*, or any the Parts aforeſaid, ſhall forfeit 500*l.* the ſaid Penalties and Forfeitures to be ſued for and recovered in any Court of Record at *Weſtminſter*, by Bill, *&c.* one Moiety to the Informer, the other to the Crown.

But notwithſtanding theſe Severities, this Law did not produce the Effects expected from it; for our *Eaſt-India* Company having for many Years divided 10 *per Cent.* upon their Capital, which in moſt foreign Countries was underſtood to be the Profits of their Trade, it raiſed ſuch a Spirit of ſharing in this Commerce, and ſo many *Engliſhmen* were found ready to join in ſuch Projects abroad, that a Company was eſtabliſhed at *Oſtend*, which made another Act neceſſary, which paſſed in the ninth Year of the ſame Reign, by which it was enacted, that if any Subject of his Majeſty ſhall contribute to, or encourage the eſtabliſhing or carrying on any foreign Company trading from any Part of the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, to or from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and other Places beyond the *Cape of Good-Hope*, deſcribed in former Acts for ſecuring the ſole Trade thither to the united *Eaſt-India* Company in *England*, or ſhall be intereſted in any Share of the Stock or Actions of any ſuch foreign Company, or ſhall make any Payments in Money, or by Bills of Exchange, or otherwiſe, towards promoting or ſupporting ſuch Company, or the Trade thereof, or ſhall ſubſcribe to the eſtabliſhing any other foreign Company, for trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, or be concerned in any Stock therein, *&c.* the Perſon ſo offending ſhall forfeit their Intereſt and Share in the Stocks of any ſuch Company, with treble the Value thereof, one Third to the Crown, and the remaining two Thirds to the *Eaſt-India* Company, if they inform or ſue for the ſame; otherwiſe one Third of two ſuch Thirds to the common Informer, recoverable by Action of Debt, *&c.*

And the Attorney-General, of his own Authority, or at the Relation of the ſaid united Company, and for the Company, may file a Bill of Complaint in the Court of Chancery, or the Exchequer, againſt any Perſon who ſhall have ſubſcribed or contributed to, or promoted, or any Ways become intereſted in the eſtabliſhing any ſuch foreign *Eaſt-India* Company, or the Stock, or Trade thereof, for the Diſcovery of his Offence, remitting or waving the Forfeiture of the treble Value of the Offender's Stock, or Concern in any ſuch Company, and inſiſting only on the ſingle Value. And thereupon, ſuch Perſon ſhall anſwer to the Bill, and not plead, or demur to the Diſcovery thereby ſought; and in caſe the ſingle Value only of ſuch Intereſt or Share ſhall be decreed to be paid, one third Part thereof ſhall go to his Majeſty, and the other two Thirds to the Company. If any Subject ſhall have accepted of any Truſt, or know of any Intereſt, Share or Concern, which any of his Majeſty's Subjects ſhall have, or be entituled to, in any ſuch foreign Company, and ſhall not within ſix Months after accepting the Truſt, or the coming to the Knowledge of any ſuch Intereſt, *&c.* truly diſcover the ſame in Writing, to the ſaid united Company of *England*, or their Court of Directors, he ſhall forfeit treble the Value of the Intereſt, *&c.* ſo accepted in Truſt, or ſo known, and not diſcovered, one Moiety to the Crown, the other to him who will ſue for the ſame, by Action of Debt, *&c.* or ſuch Offender ſhall, at the Diſcretion of the Court where the Proſecution is commenced, ſuffer one Year's Impriſonment; and Perſons that within the Time above limited ſhall voluntarily come to the Court of Directors, and make a true Diſcovery in Writing, of the Intereſt, Share or Concern of any Subjects in the Stock of any ſuch foreign Company, ſhall have one half Part of the clear amount of the Forfeitures ariſing by this Act.

In caſe any of his Majeſty's Subjects (other than ſuch as are lawfully authorized) ſhall go to, or be found in the *Eaſt-Indies*, they are hereby declared to be guilty of a high Miſdemeanor, and may be proſecuted for the ſame, in any Court at *Weſtminſter*, and being convicted thereof, ſhall be liable to ſuch corporal Puniſhment, or Impriſonment, or to ſuch Fine, as the Court where the Proſecution is commenced ſhall think fit; and the Offenders may be ſeized, and brought to *England*, and any Juſtice of Peace may commit them to the next County Goal, till ſufficient Security be given by natural born Subjects, or Denizens, to appear in Court, *&c.* and not to depart out of the Kingdom without Leave.

All Offences againſt this Act, or againſt 9 *W.* III. *cap.* 44. or 5 *Geo.* I. *cap.* 21, *&c.* ſhall be laid in *London* or *Middleſex*, at the Pleaſure of the Proſecutor; and a *Capias* in the firſt Proceſs ſhall iſſue upon any Bill, Plaint, Indictment, *&c.* proſecuted for the ſaid Offences. One would have imagined, that theſe Laws might have prevented any *Engliſh* Subjects from being concerned in Deſigns ſo prejudicial and deſtructive, as theſe manifeſtly were to their native Country; yet when we come to ſpeak more particularly of this *Oſtend* Trade, we ſhall be obliged, tho' unwillingly, to ſhew the contrary, and that all the Meaſures that have been ſince taken in other Countries to leſſen the Commerce of our *Eaſt-India* Company, have been brought about by the Intrigues of ſuch avaritious Perſons as were determined to make their Fortunes at any Rate, and from ſuch ſelf-intereſted Views, ſacrificed the Welfare of this Nation to their private Advantage.

What in ſome Meaſure contributed to this, might be the Pains taken by the Company to prevent the Frauds committed by ſome in their own Service, in order to which, a Law was paſſed in the ſeventh Year of the ſame Reign, for the better preventing an unlawful, and further ſecuring a lawful Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, by which it was enacted, that all the Goods ſhipped on Board any Ship to the *Eaſt-Indies* (except Goods of the Company, or ſuch as are licenſed by them, and naval Stores, Proviſions, and Neceſſaries for the Ship in her Voyage) and all Goods taken out of ſuch Ship in her Voyage homeward bound from the *Eaſt-Indies*, *&c.* to *England*, before her Arrival here, ſhall be forfeited, and double Value, and the Maſter, or Officer of ſuch Ship, knowingly permitting the Goods to be ſhipped or taken out of ſuch Ship, ſhall forfeit for every Offence one thouſand Pounds, and ſhall not be entituled to any Wages, *&c.*

Agreements or Contracts made, or entred into by any of his Majeſty's Subjects, or any in Truſt for them, on the Loan of Monies by Way of Bottomry, upon any Ship in the Service of Foreigners, and bound to the *Eaſt-Indies*, *&c.* and all Contracts for Loading, or ſupplying any ſuch Ship with a Cargo of any ſort of Goods, Merchandize, Treaſure or Effects, or with Proviſions, Stores or Neceſſaries, and copartner Ships entred into, relating to any ſuch Voyage, the Profits thereof, and all Agreements for the Wages of any Perſons ſerving on Board any Ship to be employed in ſuch Voyage, ſhall be void; and every Perſon, Subject of his Majeſty, that ſhall go to the *Eaſt-Indies* contrary to the Laws now in Force, ſhall be deemed a Trader, and to have traded there, and all the Goods there bartered, or trafficked for, or purchaſed by any ſuch Perſon, or found in his Cuſtody, or any other in Truſt for him, by his Order or Procurement, ſhall be forfeited, and double the Value.

And by this Act it ſhall be lawful for the Attorney-General, or for the united Company trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, at any Time within the Space of ſix Years, to file in any of the Courts at *Weſtminſter*, Informations againſt clandeſtine Traders, and if the Defendants ſhall be found guilty thereof, the Court ſhall forthwith proceed to give Judgment againſt them, *&c.* Alſo it is declared lawful for the Attorney-General, at the Relation of the Company, or by his own Authority, to exhibit Bills of Complaint in the Exchequer, againſt Perſons trading, dealing, trafficking, or adventuring to, or from the *Eaſt-Indies*, *&c.* contrary to Law, or againſt any Perſon concerned as an Agent, or Factor, or Copartner with ſuch illegal Traders, for diſcovering of ſuch their trading, *&c.* and for the recovering of the Duties and Damages, *&c.* and ſuch Perſons ſhall pay to his Majeſty the Cuſtoms of the Goods ariſing or purchaſed by the ſaid unlawful Trade, and ſhall anſwer to the Company 30 *per Cent.* according to the Value thereof in *England*; and if ſuch Offenders pay the Cuſtoms, or the Amount of the ſame, into the Exchequer, and Damages to the Company, they ſhall not be otherwiſe proſecuted by this Act, or any other Statute, for the ſame Offence; but if a Decree be obtained againſt the Defendants, they ſhall pay Coſts to his Majeſty, and the Relator reſpectively.

And if ſuch Bills (being exhibited at the relation of the Company) be diſmiſſed by the Court, ſo that the Parties are acquitted, the Company ſhall pay every Defendant his full Coſts; the Forfeitures and Penalties herein before appointed, or in former Acts relating to the *Eaſt-India* Company, may be ſued for, not only by the Attorney-General, or the ſaid Company, but alſo by any Officer of the Cuſtoms, ſuch Officer having the Conſent and Direction of the Court of Directors of the united Company, as by the Act is particularly required; and one third Part of all ſuch Penalties ſhall be to the Crown, one other Third to the Company, and the remaining Third to ſuch Officers of the Cuſtoms as ſhall inform and ſue as aforeſaid. The ſaid united Company ſhall be allowed to ſhip out Stores, Proviſions, Utenſils of War, and Neceſſaries for maintaining their Garriſons and Settlements, free of all Duties, ſo as the Duties, if they had been paid, do not exceed in any one Year three hundred Pounds. No *Eaſt-India* Goods to be imported into *Ireland*, or the Plantations, but from *Great-Britain*, on Pain of forfeiting Ships and Goods, *&c.*

It is very evident, from the whole Current of this Hiſtory of our *Eaſt-India* Trade, that ſuch as have been entruſted, with the Management thereof, have had continual Difficulties to ſtruggle with; whereas, our Rivals in this Trade, the *Dutch*, have all along enjoyed the full Protection of their Government; and, at the ſame time, have been allowed to manage their own Concerns in ſuch a Manner as ſeemed to them moſt conducive to their own Intereſt. But, of late Years, and ſince our Company have had the Authority of Acts of Parliament to ſupport them, they have, in ſome meaſure, gained upon the *Dutch*, eſpecially in thoſe Countries where both Nations trade freely, and where, conſequently, the Succeſs of their Labours muſt, in a great meaſure, depend upon the Inclination of the Natives, and that Preference which their good Opinion gives to either Nation.

In the Iſland of *Sumatra* particularly, the *Engliſh* have extended their Trade with great Succeſs, having not only a good Settlement at *Achem*, but alſo at the other End of the Iſland, where their principal Settlement was *Bencoulen*, which firſt began to flouriſh about the Year 1685. They had alſo another at *Sillebar*, where they likewiſe carried on a conſiderable Commerce; By Degrees they became ſo conſiderable, that ſeveral of the little Princes of that Iſland, choſe to put themſelves under their Protection, as well to ſecure themſelves from the Power of the *Dutch*, as that they may receive the Benefits of the *Engliſh* Trade; and have, generally ſpeaking, continued very firm in their Attachment to the Company; though they have been ſometimes but indifferently treated. The firſt Inducement the Company had to fix their Factories and Settlements on this Part of the Iſland was, the Advantage derived from the Pepper-Trade, carried on from *Lampoun*, which is in the Southern Part of the Iſland, and about twenty Leagues within the Streights of *Sunda*, very well ſituated in a deep Bay. Here they had a good Trade for Pepper, till they were deprived of it in 1683, by the *Dutch*, in conſequence of the famous War with the King of *Bantam*, which we have ſo often had Occaſion to mention: For, this Town of *Lampoun* lying oppoſite to his Territories in the Iſland of *Java*, made likewiſe a Part of his Dominions; and therefore, when the *Dutch* brought him entirely over to their Intereſt, or, in other Words, which however mean the ſame thing, and are the plain *Engliſh* of the foregoing *Dutch* Phraſe, had reduced him under their Yoke, they obliged him to break off all Commerce with the *Engliſh*, which put an End to the Pepper-Trade at *Lampoun*, and forced the Company to remove to the Place before-mentioned.

The Country about *Bencoulen* is mountainous and woody, and in the Heart of the Iſland there are ſeveral Volcano's, which render the Country ſubject to Earth-quakes, and filled the Air ſo full of malignant Vapours, that it is very far from being wholſome. We may add to this, that the Town itſelf ſtands in a Moraſs, which obliges the Natives to build their Houſes upon Poſts, to defend them from the bad Effects of the continual Moiſture of the Soil. Theſe Inconveniencies did not hinder the *Engliſh* from making it their principal Reſidence in this Country, and where, for their greater Security, they erected a Fort, of no great Strength indeed, but which ſeemed ſufficient to anſwer their Purpoſes. This Fort was garriſoned with *Bugaſſes*, which is the Name given to the *Macaſſars* when tranſplanted out of their own Country; and as they depended on theſe for military Services, ſo with regard to their Revenues, they confided in the Chief of the *Chineſe*, who had the Title of Captain, a Thing cuſtomary in all the Settlements where the *Chineſe* reſide. As for the Natives, they lived, as they had formerly, under the Juriſdiction of their own Princes, called in the *Malayan* Language *Pangarans*, of whom there were two that were particularly under the Protection of the Company. One whoſe Dominions lay North from *Bencoulen*, and who was ſtiled *Pangaran-Munco* Rajah; and the other called *Pangarang-Soangé-Etam*, whoſe Country lay to the South. Though their Territories were not large, yet they were divided into ſeveral Diſtricts, each under a Governor, called a Dupatty, the Place of whoſe Reſidence was, in their Language, ſtiled their *Duſan*: And theſe Governors had under them leſſer Magiſtrates, called *Dattoes*. The Company had alſo a good Correſpondence with the moſt powerful of the Princes in the inland Parts of the Iſland, ſuch as the Sultan *Cutcheel*, and ſeveral others, which induced them to believe they might take any Meaſures they thought neceſſary for the Advantage of the Company, and Eaſe of the Factory.

It was this that in the Year 1719, engaged the then Chief to think of removing from *Bencoulen*, where, from the Cauſe before-mentioned, abundance of *Engliſh* People died every Year; and it was with this View that a Place was fixed upon a few Miles diſtant, for erecting a new Fort and Factory, which was to be called *Marlbrough* Fort; and the Ground being traced out, the Work began to be carried on with great Vigour and Spirit. But, it ſeems, they had not ſufficiently conſulted the Temper and Diſpoſition of the Natives, who were not at all well pleaſed with this Deſign. There had been ſome little Jealouſies and Heart-burnings amongſt them before, which not breaking out into an open Quarrel, had been over-looked; but theſe People conſidering with themſelves that this new Fortification roſe apace, and that it looked as if the *Engliſh* were diffident of them, or had a Mind to puniſh ſome Offences that they hoped had been forgotten. They from thence grew abſolutely diſaffected, and meditated nothing leſs than a total Revolt, and an abſolute Deſtruction of that Power which they now began to dread. They concealed, however, their Sentiments ſo well, and ſhewed ſo little Sign of Uneaſineſs or Reſentment, that the *Engliſh* went on without any Apprehenſion of what was contriving againſt them, till it was on the Point of breaking out. The remaining Part of this Hiſtory will beſt appear, and the Concluſion of this Conſpiracy be moſt naturally made known, from the following Account, written by the Perſons principally concerned, to the Company's chief Officer in the *Indies*, which I have therefore choſen to inſert, as containing the moſt remarkable Piece of Hiſtory within this Period of Time.

To the Honourable Joſeph Collet, *Eſq*; *Preſident and*
Governor of Fort St. George, *&c.*

Honoured Sir,

“IT is with the greateſt Concern that we acquaint you with the Miſfortunes that have befallen us and our honourable Maſters Affairs ſince our Advices by the *Queen* and *George* Brigantine, wherein we did, with too much Confidence, aſſure you of the perfect Peace and Tranquillity we then enjoyed at *Marlbrough-Fort*, which the Satisfaction the Natives ſeemed to expreſs in our Adminiſtration, gave us but little Reaſon to imagine would prove of ſo ſhort a Date. Our Pepper, for ſome Time after, coming in very plentifully, and we having frequent Promiſes from them of much greater Quantities ready to be brought out of the Country, we had made a Progreſs in our Buildings, even beyond our own Expectations; the Foundation of one Gorge and two Curtains of our Fort-walls being laid, and raiſed in Brick and Chinam a Foot above Ground, and the Earth laid open for a third, in the Space of a little more than a Month; and we had made ſuch Proviſion for Bricks and Chinam, that we ſhould have had ſufficient to compleat the whole, which, at the Rate we had begun, might have been finiſhed in leſs than twelve Months. Thus we thought ourſelves ſucceſsful in our Undertaking; and it was no ſmall Pleaſure to us, to think that, by diligently ſerving our Maſters, it would add to our Credit, and in a more peculiar Manner recommend us to their Favour hereafter: But, in the midſt of our Proſperity, all our Hopes were blaſted by a ſecret Combination of the whole Country againſt us, which they certainly deſigned to put in Execution whilſt we had no Ship in the Road to aſſiſt us, the *Metchlapatam* having been at *Bantal* from the 21ſt of *January*, but fortunately returned to our Aſſiſtance the 18th of *March*, being but very few Days before this horrid Plot was diſcovered.

“It was late at Night, on the 23d of *March*, before we had the leaſt Suſpicion of any Treachery, when Captain *Gibb* adviſed the Deputy-Governor, that *Dupatty Bentorin* had got together between four and five hundred Men in his Duſan, and he believed they deſigned to make War with the Company. The Deputy-Governor immediately diſpatched a Letter to him, to know the Reaſon of his entertaining ſuch Numbers of People in his Duſan, ordering him immediately to diſperſe them, and to come himſelf to the Fort in the Morning, where, if he had any Complaints to make, they ſhould be heard, and he ſhould have Redreſs; which, if he did not immediately comply with, we ſhould no longer eſteem him our Friend, but treat him as an Enemy. Early in the Morning he ſent a trifling Anſwer, aſſuring us of his Friendſhip; but taking no Notice of diſperſing his People, or coming himſelf to the Fort, as deſired. Whereupon the Council was immediately ſummoned, and acquainted with what had paſſed, when it was agreed to ſend Mr. *Macky*, who was the Dupatty's Friend, to bechar, or confer with him, and perſuade him to come to the Fort. About Noon he returned with the Dupatty's Anſwer, who promiſed to wait on the Governor the next Morning. In the mean time our *Pangarans* and *Dattoos* were ſent for to adviſe with on this Occaſion, who were the Perſons that ought to have given us the firſt Notice thereof; but they ſeemed to make ſlight of it, and perſuaded us the Dupatty was an honeſt good Man, and one that would not be guilty of an ill Action againſt the Company, the People of his Duſan being only Friends that he had invited out of the Country to feaſt with him. This different Opinion of theirs made us jealous of their Fidelity, which made us deſire them all to take a freſh Oath of Allegiance to the Company; and the preſent Deputy-Governor and Council, before we bechared farther with them on this Affair, which they did with much Perſuaſion conſent to, and it was performed by one of their Padres; after which *Pangaran-Munco* Rajah, undertook to bring in the Dupatty, and did accordingly ſet out himſelf for *Benterin*; but not an Hour after he was gone out of the Fort, we were alarmed at the dreadful Sight of the Sugar-Plantations being on Fire, it being then about Six o' Clock at Night.

“A ſtrong Party was immediately ſent out to *Bencoulen*, under the Command of Enſign *Adaire*, with Orders to proceed next Morning, on the 25th of *March*, to *Duſan Bentorin*, and to engage the Enemy either there, or where he ſhould meet them, uſing his Endeavours to deſtroy the Duſan, and as many of their People as he poſſibly could: But in this we had no Succeſs for want of the *Pangaran*'s Aſſiſtance, who had promiſed to ſupply him with Sampans to ferry his People over the Water at *Benterin*, or where he ſhould have Occaſion for them; but in this they deceived us; for our Party finding a Body of the Enemy had fortified themſelves with a ſtrong Breaſt-work of Fire-Wood, and ſome ſmall Guns on the other Side the River, over-againſt the Sugar-Plantations, and not one Sampan ſent by the *Pangarans*, according to their Promiſe; for want of which he could only come to an Engagement a-croſs the River, in which Manner they continued till about Four in the Afternoon, when moſt of our *Buggaſes*, *Blacks*, and *Chineſe* having left the *Engliſh*, the Enſign with the reſt returned to the Fort about Six in the Evening, having performed but little Execution on the Enemy. By the Account we had from the Enſign, we plainly found that the whole Country were concerned in this Rebellion. The principal Perſons that he ſaw and knew amongſt them were Rajah *Roojong*, *Pangaran Muncho* Rajahs, under moſt of the Dupatties of the Duſans adjacent to us, with many of the Inhabitants and *Bazar* People of *Bencoulen*, who were headed by Dupatty *Benterin* and *Selebrian*; but he could not well gueſs at their Number, they being under the Cover of the Trees and Breaſt-work they had raiſed of Fire-Wood; and Mr. *Allcock* from *Sillebar*, had given us an Account the ſame Day, that *Pangaran Jantantally* and his Country alſo were in Concert with them.

“On the 26th of *March* in the Morning, the ſtrongeſt Party we could muſter of *Engliſh*, *Buggaſs's*, *Blacks*, and *Chineſe*, were ordered out to engage them, under the Command of Mr. *Newcome* and Enſign *Johnſon*; but when they came to *Bencoulen* to join the *Buggaſs's*, they were ſtrangely ſurpriſed to find them refuſe to fight without a preſent Reward; and Mr. *Newcome* was credibly informed, that a conſiderable Number of the *Buggaſes* were laid in Ambuſh to fall on the *Engliſh*, of which he immediately ſent Advice to the Fort; whereupon the Sign was given to recal the Party, which prevented our coming to an Action that Day. The Sultan being examined, pretended that a wrong Interpretation was put upon what he ſaid at *Bencoulen*, and would have perſuaded us that he had always been, and was ſtill ready and willing to fight for the Company; but our Suſpicion of his Treachery made us unwilling to truſt him at that Time. About Eleven o' Clock the ſame Day, *Pangaran Munco* Rajah brought a Token, which, as he ſaid, was from his Uncle Rajah *Boojong* from *Singledemend*, to give us Notice that two hundred *Orangoonoes* were come on our Side at *Singledemend*, and deſired we would lend the *Malayes* ſome Weapons to defend themſelves. This we had great Reaſon to ſuſpect was falſe, Rajah *Boojong* himſelf being at that Time in Arms againſt us at *Banterin*; but the *Pangaran* poſitively affirmed he was then at *Singledemend*, notwithſtanding Enſign *Adaire* had ſeen and ſpoke to him the Night before at *Banterin*.

“When we found ourſelves ſo deeply involved in Trouble on all Sides, that we were betrayed by our *Pangarans*, and our *Buggaſes* had given us juſt Cauſe to ſuſpect their Honeſty, ſo that we had none but the *Engliſh*, *Blacks*, and *Chineſe* to truſt to; the former of which did not exceed one hundred and twenty-five Perſons in Number both civil and military, and moſt of them unexperienced or diſabled Men; and the latter had given us but ſmall Encouragement to depend on them by their deſerting Enſign *Adaire* at *Benterin*. With this ſmall Force, we thought ourſelves in ſome Danger of being overcome; wherefore a General Council was called of all the Company's Servants, and Inhabitants of the Place, to conſult about ſaving what we could of the Company's Effects, and making ſome Proviſion for our Paſſage, if we ſhould be put to flight; when every one gave their Opinion, that it was for the Company's Intereſt, as well as for our own Safety, to put on board the Ship *Matchlapatam* the Company's Treaſure and Books, with what Stores and Proviſions our Time would permit, with all the Expedition and Secreſy it could be poſſibly contrived: After which, if we were obliged to it, we might make our Eſcapes in the beſt Manner we could, by the Help of the Ship *Matchlapatam*, and what Boats we had by us. The Remainder of that Day was ſpent in Purſuit of that Reſolution, but no Boats could be got off that Evening: About Seven o'Clock the next Morning, being the 27th of *March*, the Company's Treaſure, *&c.* as *per* encloſed Bill of Lading, were ſent on board; about Eight, News were ſent that both the *Pangarans* with their Wives and Children, were eloped from *Bencoulen*, in the Night-time, and no Account could be given which Way they were gone. About Ten, Sultan *Cutcheel*, who was come from *Bantale* in the Ship *Matchlapatam*, undertook to accommodate Matters with the Country People, provided we would conſent to their chuſing new *Pangarans*, to which we agreed; but before we could come to a Bechar with them, the *Portugueze Padre*'s Slave brought News from *Bencoulen*, that the *Buggaſes* and *Malays* were riſen there, and had cut off the *Padre* and moſt of the *Portugueze*, Men, Women, and Children, in a moſt barbarous Manner. He had hardly done telling his Story, when a large Fire broke out at *Bencoulen*; another near the Fort behind *Cumbury Paggar*; another towards *Sillebar*; and ſoon after, the Hermitage-houſe was ſet on Fire: All this Time no Enemy appearing, but ſtill freſh Fires breaking out in different Places, which could not have been done otherwiſe than by our own *Buggaſes* or *Malays*, that are in our own Service: No Enemy yet appearing, we diſcharg'd what few great Guns we had mounted, at the thickeſt of theſe Fires, as we thought; in doing of which, one of the Wadds of our own Guns unfortunately fell upon the Tops of the Fort Buildings, which took Fire, and burnt ſo fierce, that there was no extinquiſhing of them: At which Time, we marched out of the Fort in one Body to meet the Enemy. We firſt paſſed the Lower Guard; from thence, round the Horſe Stable-Hill, to the Hermitage, and ſo by the China-Town and Brick-ſheds, which were all on Fire, but no Enemy to be ſeen.

“We then came to the Sea-ſide, where we ſaw ſome Thouſands of the *Malays*, headed by our Sultan and Buggaſſes; which Train reach'd from *Bencoulen* to *Marlbrough*: Moſt of the *Chineſe* had ſecured themſelves in Boats, and on board of their own Praw. We had then none left to ſtand by us but the Blacks: Under theſe Diſadvantages, we thought it in vain to hazard our Lives any longer, againſt ſo numerous an Enemy; our Fort and moſt of our Buildings being deſtroyed by Fire, which put every Man upon ſaving his Life by ſwimming, or getting on board the Boats in the beſt Manner he could: In which Attempt, near Half our People were either drown'd or kill'd by the Enemy, before they could make their Eſcape. The next Morning, we computed near Three Hundred and Fifty black and white Men, Women, and Children, were ſaved on board the Ship *Matchlapatam*, Mr. *Newcome*'s Barge, and three Tombongons, or Boats for going on board Ships; for which Number we had not Water for above five Days, at a Pint a Man each Day. Our firſt Deſign was to go to *Bantal*, but both the Wind and Current were ſo ſtrong againſt us, that we could not ſtir that Way, and ſo it continued 'till the 29th of *March*; till which Time, we remained in the Road, when we were obliged to alter our Reſolution, and make the beſt of our Way to *Batavia*; where, in all Probability, we might ſooner arrive, as the Wind and Current were then ſet; or at ſome Place where we might get ſome freſh Water, which we could not expect to be ſupplied with on the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, to the South of *Bantal*. After we had ſupplied each Boat with five Day's Proviſions of Water and Rice, we weighed Anchor and ſet Sail in Company for *Batavia*. On the Second of *April*, we loſt Sight of all our Boats: On the ninth, we anchored at *New-Iſland*, where we watered, and got ſome Proviſions: On the 11th, we weigh'd from thence, and arrived at *Batavia* on the Sixteenth.

“On the 18th and 19th, fifty out of our Military, who where ſent in Boats to guard the Blacks and Slaves, arrived at *Batavia* from *Lampoun*, where they had put in for Water; where the Blacks mutined, and cut away the Rigging of their Boats, which occaſioned their driving on Shore: Then the Blacks left them, encouraged by one Serjeant *Thomas Wright*, who alſo went with them. The reſt of our *Europeans*, after being plundered of their very Shirts off their Backs, were at laſt kindly aſſiſted by them with two large Sampans; in which they ſaved their Lives, and arrived at *Batavia*. We met with kinder Uſage as to our Entertainment at *Batavia*, than indeed we expected; for they aſſiſted us in tranſporting one Hundred and Twenty of our People, on their own Ships, to this Place: Seventy of which, had their Paſſage free, and the Ship's Proviſion, they working for the ſame; and for fifty more, we were obliged to pay twenty Rix Dollars each for their Tranſportation; and twenty Rix Dollars each more, to the Captains for their Proviſions, in their Voyage. Thirty Perſons more came with the Deputy-Governor on the Ship *Matchlapatam*; and ſeven more are on board the *Madraſs* Brigantine, who left *Batavia* in Company with us; ſo that we had ſaved one hundred and fifty-ſeven Perſons from the Hands of our Enemies; beſides twenty Slaves belonging to the Honourable Company, and private Perſons which were diſpoſed of in *Batavia*.

“One of the *Dutch* Ships arrived here the 24th Inſtant, when Mr. *Newcome*, &c. adviſed the Governor of our Misfortunes, but the Letter we underſtand is not yet gone from this Place. The *Matchlapatam* arrived here Yeſterday, and this Day the other two Ships, on which are our whole Complement; and we ſhall ſtay here no longer than abſolutely neceſſary, to provide for our Paſſage to Fort St. *George*; where we hope to arrive ſoon after this comes to your Hands. The *Madraſs* Brigantine is not yet arrived. Whilſt we were in *Batavia*, we uſed all our Endeavours to ſend ſome Aſſiſtance to *Bental*, tho' we had but little Reaſon to hope that Place had eſcaped the ſame Fate we ourſelves had met with; but in this the *Dutch* oppoſed us in all our Propoſals. The Deputy-Governor would have gone himſelf on the *Matchlapatans*, with as many of our People as ſhe could conveniently carry; but this they would not allow without he could take all our People along with him, which was altogether impoſſible; nor would they ſupply us with a Veſſel on that Occaſion.

“We endeavoured to hire the *Madraſs* Brigantine, for that Purpoſe, but the Maſter and Supercargoes alledged, ſhe was not in a Condition to proceed. We then propoſed to the *Dutch*, that we might have four Cheſts of Treaſure, and ſome Gun-powder to be forwarded to them on the *Amelia*, on her Arrival; but they refuſed to take Charge of it, as they pretended, leſt Diſputes might enſue: We then requeſted, to leave it in the Hands of any private Perſons; or that we might leave ſome of our own Servants there, to take Charge of it; but they would not conſent to any one of theſe Propoſals, nor ſuffer the Treaſure to be left behind in any manner whatſoever. We had drawn out a Proteſt againſt them for this Refuſal, but when we were going to deliver it, the Shawbander, who had been our Friend, plainly told us, what the Effects of it would be, that the next *Engliſh* Ships that fell in there, would ſuffer for it, in meeting with worſe Treatment than ever any had yet done; whereas we ourſelves had been civilly treated in all other Reſpects.

“Upon this, we conſidered, that the *Amelia* would ſhortly arrive, for whom we have left Orders to proceed firſt to *Bantal*, and from thence to Fort *St. George*, with Advice, if ſhe arrives Time enough to get away by the 15th of *June*; if not, to come directly for Fort *St. George*; as alſo the outward-bound *China* Ships: And probably this Year's Shipping from the Weſt Coaſt, might be obliged to put in there for Proviſions; which, if they ſhould fail of our Company, might ſuffer more than the Advantage they would reap by our Proteſt: Upon which Conſideration, it was agreed, it ſhould not be delivered. This is a true Narrative of our Proceedings, ſince our Troubles commenced; and what we have omitted herein, you will find more particularly inſerted in our Diaries and Conſultations, when we come to lay them before your Honour, &c. for your Peruſal, which we hope will be ſufficient to demonſtrate, that this Misfortune is no Way owing to our Miſconduct, which we ſubmit to your Honour's favourable Conſtruction, and beg Leave to ſubſcribe,

Honoured Sir,

Your moſt Obedient, and

Obliged Humble Servants,

Negapatam,
June 28, 1719.

Thomas Cook, *Dep*^{t}*.-Governor,*
Stephen Newcome,
William Palmer.

“The foregoing is an Account of our proceeding, as it was remitted to the Governor and Council of this Place from *Negapatam*; to which it will not be amiſs to add, the Reaſons that were the Occaſion of this Miſfortune, which is omitted in the foregoing Narrative: Firſt, it is to be conſidered, that the *Engliſh* had been involved in Troubles with the Country Government, both at *Marlbrough* and *Bantal* for ſome Time before they arrived on the Coaſt; which tho' I was ſo fortunate as to bring to a Concluſion, and had for many Months after kept a fair Correſpondence with the Natives; ſtill they harboured in their Minds a ſecret Reſentment of the former Injuries they had ſuffered, which they concealed under a Cloak of Friendſhip, and ſeeming Satisfaction of my Adminiſtration, till they had brought the whole Country into a Combination, and being ſenſible how briſkly our Fortifications were carried forward, took the Opportunity of Revenge before our Brick-buildings could be finiſhed, and at a Time, as they thought, we ſhould have no Ship in the Road to aſſiſt us; but the *Metchlapatam* very fortunately arrived a few Days before they put their Deſign in Execution. Not long before this Rebellion, a Difference had happened between *Dupatty Benterin* and *See Gibb*, Captain of the *Chinamen*, and Undertaker of the Company's Sugar and Arrack Plantations. The *Dupatty* is one of the ſecond Men in the Kingdom, and Governor of *Duſanor*, a Town of that Name, ſituate on the Side of the River, oppoſite to the Company's Sugar and Arrack Plantations. He is a Perſon well beloved among the Natives, being eſteemed a Prieſt amongſt them, and always thought to be a good Friend to the *Engliſh*.

" The Difference firſt began by the *Chinamen* killing ſome of the *Dupattays* Buffaloes, that had broke through ſome of their Fences, and done ſome ſmall Damage to the Plantations, and indeed, the Fences were not ſo well ſecured as they ought to have been; and this they affirmed to me they had done, by an Order given them by Mr. *Farmer*, when Deputy-Governor. But conſidering the ill Conſequences that might attend granting ſuch Liberty to the *Chineſe*, I immediately forbad them doing the like for the future, and obliged them to make the *Dupatty* Satisfaction for ſome Buffaloes they had killed, and if the like ſhould happen again, I promiſed that the *Dupatty* ſhould make good to them what Damages the Plantations appeared to have ſuſtained, provided they kept their Fences in repair. Notwithſtanding what I had done in this Affair, ſome of the *Dupatty*'s People, out of Revenge, got into the *China* Compound, in the Night-time, and killed one of *See Gibb*'s Slaves, as he was ſleeping in his Houſe. The *Dupatty*'s Brother was ſeen, and known to be one of the Company; whereupon he was taken and brought to the Fort, where he was put into the *Cock-houſe* for about twenty-four Hours, till he could be brought to his Trial; when he was acquitted, without any further Puniſhment, there being no plain Proof, that he was the Perſon that actually committed the Murder, though by the Evidences that appeared againſt him, there was circumſtantial Proofs enough to have condemned him. However, out of Reſpect to the *Dupatty*, whom I always eſteemed to be my Friend, and being well acquainted with his Intereſt, and the Influence he had over the Country People, I thought it convenient to paſs the moſt favourable Conſtruction on this Accuſation, which I accordingly did, and made the *Dupatty* and *See Gibb* ſhake Hands, and promiſe Friendſhip to each other before they parted, and ſo they remained for ſome Time after, till the *Dupatty* had got his Forces together in his *Duſan*, and then he again renewed this Diſpute, reſenting the Wrongs they had received from the *Chineſe*, as alſo the Diſgrace of having his Brother put in the *Cock-houſe*, and brought to his Trial, notwithſtanding I had been ſo favourable to him on this Occaſion, and under this Pretence our Trouble commenced. *Thomas Cook*.

The two following Letters were intercepted by the *Engliſh* in the Year 1717, which ſhews, that the Natives had formed this Conſpiracy ſome Time before it was put in Execution.

" This comes from Sultan *Manſore*, *Raja Guillamot*, *Dattue Pandaſh*, all the great Men in *Bandat*, *Sapoolo*, and the Overſeers of Trade in *Bantayan*, and *Tego Loora*; to *Datta Raja Quaſſo*, with all the *Proateens* and *Lemicotas*, from *Sablat* at *Cottown*, to *Calaboon*, *Surambe*, and *Malacca*.

" Raja *Quaſſo*'s Letter ſent by *Tuan Mallin* and *Dupatty Loora Sambelan*, is received, which we like very well. We are now aſſuredly certified the whole Country as far as *Abong*, likewiſe *Tuan De Goono* with his People, will unanimouſly join us, and when this arrives, ſend *Tuan Mallin* into the Country, to adviſe, that we intend utterly to deſtroy the *Engliſh*, and raſe the Settlements throughout the whole Coaſt, becauſe they have broke Faith, and become quite otherwiſe to what they formerly were. We ſhall proceed as ſoon as the Feſtival is over, therefore would have you *Datto Raja Quaſſo* diſpatch a Meſſenger with your real Sentiments of this Affair, ſignifying alſo how the *Proateens* and *Lemicotas* are affected." The Anſwer. " This Letter comes from him that eats nothing, to Raja *Manſora*, and Sultan *Guillamot*, aſſuring them, that he will gather together all thoſe like himſelf, with the moſt valiant Men hereabouts, and march directly againſt *Bencoulen*, therefore deſires the Aſſiſtance of Arms, which yourſelves and *Raja Paſſaſſer* muſt not fail to ſend to *Tuan De Goono*, who is reſolved, if the Kings are agreed, to be their Ally, and you may depend on his Fidelity, for he knows not how to tell a Lye: When he comes down from the Country, will bring over to his Intereſt the People of *Serangi* to *Bencoulen*, and *Lout Cowt*, with thoſe belonging to *Pangarran Munco Annoom*, even as far as *Pollombong*. This is what I promiſe to do, deſiring your Letter in Anſwer to it. So God bleſs and keep you in all your Undertakings; give my Service to *Dattoo Raja Quaſſo*." Faithfully tranſlated *per*

Robert Dymond, Linguiſt.

" Found at *Tanjoong Arang*, up *Sablat* River, by *Orangkio Bandabarrah Munco Raja*, *January* the 27th, 1717, while Mr. *Farmer* was Deputy-Governor of the Weſt Coaſts of *Sumatra*."

Notwithſtanding the Natives had thus driven the *Engliſh* from *Bencoulen*, they ſuffered them in about a Year's Time to return again, and go on with the Fortifications at *Marlbrough* Fort, without Oppoſition. It is true, there had been ſome *Engliſh* Chiefs ſent thither, who were not endowed with ſo much Diſcretion as they ought. Theſe Gentlemen, by an imperious and aſſuming Behaviour, had highly provoked the Natives; but this being very tolerable in compariſon of the Tyranny the *Dutch* had exerciſed in every Place where they prevailed, the *Mallays*, upon the Expulſion of the *Engliſh*, began to be under terrible Apprehenſions leſt the *Dutch* ſhould come and ſettle amongſt them by Force, and put an iron Yoke upon their Necks, as they had upon their Neighbours. They ſoon laid aſide their Reſentment therefore, and over-looking the Indiſcretions of the *Engliſh* Chiefs, gave all Encouragement to our Countrymen to ſettle among them; and it was very happy for the *Engliſh*, that they removed from *Bencoulen*, for there were buried Multitudes every Year, whereas a late Chief of *Marlbrough* Fort aſſures us, that during the whole Year, they did not bury one Gentleman; ſuch a Difference there is in the Situation of theſe two Places, notwithſtanding they are no more than two or three Miles aſunder, and *Marlbrough* Fort being much more defenſible in its Situation than *York* Fort; for at *Marlbrough* our People are not ſo apprehenſive of being ſurprized by the Natives as formerly, if there ſhould happen any miſunderſtanding between them again. By this Means the *Britiſh* Commerce is greatly extended on this Iſland of *Sumatra*, and with very good Effect.

16. The Company of late Years have been extreamly attentive not only to the general Characters, but ſo far as it has been poſſible for them to be informed as to the Education, Genius and Behaviour of their Chiefs; by which wiſe and prudent Conduct, they have given quite a new Face to their Affairs, and if it had not been for the ſetting up new Companies in different Parts of *Europe*, by which their Trade has certainly been very much hurt, they muſt by this Time have been in a Condition to have almoſt doubled their Dividends; yet I cannot but acknowledge, upon this Occaſion, that as theſe new Companies were erected abroad chiefly from the Opinion that Foreigners entertained of the Profits that were made by our Company,

ſo the Diſcovery of this was, in a great meaſure, owing to the factious Diſputes that have long reigned amongſt us; for great Complaints being made of the Decay of our Trade, the Miniſtry cauſed the Amounts of the Company's Sales to be conſtantly publiſhed, which ſtruck Foreigners with Amazement, and contributed greatly to the forwarding the Projects they had formed of obtaining a Share in this lucrative Traffick.

At the ſame time theſe Deſigns were vigorouſly purſued abroad, there wanted not ſome Projectors at home, who were deſirous of laying open the *Indian* Trade; and abundance of plauſible Things were ſaid upon that Subject, which, as it very naturally might, greatly alarmed the Company, more eſpecially as it happened at a Time when they had Reaſon to apprehend that popular Opinions might prevail to their Prejudice; and therefore it is not to be wondered that they entered likewiſe on their Side, into ſuch Schemes as were moſt likely to defeat theſe Deſigns, and to ſecure them in the Poſſeſſion of their Rights and Privileges. I ſhall not take upon me to decide ſo nice and intricate a Queſtion, as whether the laying open this Trade would, or would not, have been for the Advantage of this Nation; becauſe, on the one hand, I am ſenſible much may be ſaid on both Sides; and on the other, that I have not Room to examine here what might be alledged on either Side. I confine myſelf therefore to Matters of Fact, and endeavour, with all the Brevity that is conſiſtent with my Deſign, of giving as compleat Hiſtory as is in my Power, of our Commerce to the *Indies*, which, ſo far as I know, is a Subject not attempted before, and conſequently more neceſſary, which leads me to obſerve, that the Reſult of the Company's Conſiderations on this Head was, the propoſing to ſuch as had the Direction of the publick Affairs, a new Agreement with reſpect to the Company's Powers, ſo apparently beneficial to the Nation, as that it might effectually ſecure them from liſtening to the Propoſals that were, or might be made, for laying this Trade open, in which, without doubt, ſuch as were then entruſted with the Direction of the Company's Concerns, did their Duty to the Proprietors, and were ſo ſucceſsful therein, as to obtain the Concurrence of the Adminiſtration; and, in conſequence thereof, ſuch a Law as they deſired for the preſerving the Powers and Privileges of their Principals.

At all Events, this was much better for the Nation than the Method taken in King *William*'s Time upon the like Occaſion, when the old *Eaſt-India* Company found it requiſite to diſtribute an immenſe Sum of Money to the Miniſters and Favourites, to obtain a new Charter, by which the Publick did not gain a ſingle Shilling in Return for the Advantages that were granted to this Corporation. This Obſervation of mine will be fully juſtified, and the Truth thereof effectually proved from the Contents of the Act of Parliament before-mentioned, which was paſſed in the third Year of his preſent Majeſty, in conſequence of the Agreement, of which I have before taken Notice, and was intended on both Sides, to be abſolutely final, and, in every Reſpect concluſive.

This Act therefore, after reciting ſeveral Acts, Proviſo's, Charters and Agreements, &c. relating to the United Company of Merchants of *England* trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, Enacts, That in Purſuance of their late Agreement, the ſaid Company ſhall pay into the Receipt of the *Exchequer*, on or before a certain Day appointed, the Sum of 200,000 Pounds, to be applied towards the Supplies granted to his Majeſty, for which no Intereſt ſhall ever be payable to the Company, nor any Addition be made to their capital Stock or Debt from the Publick, on Account thereof; nor ſhall the ſame, or any Part of it, be paid to the Company. And after the 29th of *September*, 1730, the Annuity, or yearly Fund of 160,000 *l.* ſhall be reduced to 128,000 *l,* in reſpect of the capital Stock or Debt of 3,200,000 *l.* which reduced Annuity ſhall be charged on the ſame Duties and Revenues by the like Weekly, or Quarterly Payments, and with the ſame Proviſions for making good Deficiencies in the ſaid reduced Fund, as their preſent Annuity or Fund is now charged on, till ſome new, or other Proviſion ſhall be made by Parliament, with Conſent of the Company. But, upon one Year's Notice to be given by Parliament after the 25th of *March*, 1736, on the Expiration of that Year, and on Re-payment of the ſaid Debt of 3,200,000 *l.* to the Company, and all Arrears of their reduced Annuity of 128,000 *l.* which ſhall be due at the End of the ſaid Year; then, and from thenceforth the ſaid Annuity, or yearly Fund, ſhall ceaſe, and be no longer payable.

At any Time, on a Year's Notice after the ſaid 25th of *March*, 1736, given by Parliament, at the ſaid Year's Expiration, upon Re-payment to the Company of any Sum, not being leſs than Five hundred thouſand Pounds, in Part of the capital Stock of 3,200,000 *l.* and on Payment of all Arrears which ſhall be then due on their reduced Annuity, after ſuch Payments made to ſuch of the ſaid Annuity as ſhall bear a Proportion to the Money ſo paid in Part, ſhall ceaſe and be abated; and ſo from time to time, upon ſuch yearly Notices and Payment of ſuch other Sums in Part of the ſaid capital Stock, till the Whole of their Annuity ſhall be entirely ſunk and determined. Notwithſtanding any ſuch Redemption, all Perſons entitled to any Intereſt in the ſaid capital Stock in Trade, or Money paid in for carrying on the ſame, or in the Factories, Settlements, Lands, &c. belonging to the United Company, ſhall be, and continue a Body politick and corporate, &c, and have perpetual Succeſſion; and they, and their Succeſſors, ſhall be capable in Law to purchaſe Lands, &c. not exceeding at any one time the yearly Value of Ten thouſand Pounds in the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, and alſo to aliene the ſame; and may alſo enjoy all Priveleges, Stocks, and Eſtates, and Advantages, &c. which are not hereby altered as by former Acts or Charters founded thereon, the Company might hold or enjoy the ſame; and after ſuch Redemption of the ſaid yearly Fund or one Moiety thereof, the Company may, at their General-Courts, declare how much, and what Share in the remaining capital Stock, &c. ſhall qualify Members of the ſame Company to be Directors, or to give Votes in any General-Court. And, notwithſtanding ſuch Redemption as aforeſaid, the Company ſhall, ſubject to the Proviſo of Determination herein after contained, enjoy the whole and ſole Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and have the only Liberty of trading thither, &c. And the *Eaſt-Indies*, or Iſlands, &c. within the Limits of the ſaid Company, ſhall not, before the ſaid Determination, be ſailed to by any other of his Majeſty's Subjects.

And if any of the ſaid Subjects, other than the Factors, &c. of the United Company, ſhall at any Time ſail, trade, or adventure to or from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and Parts aforeſaid, they ſhall incur the Loſs of all Ships which ſhall be employed in ſuch Trade, &c. and the Goods laden therein, and double the Value thereof; which Forfeitures ſhall be ſued for, recovered, and diſtributed, as by the 7 *Geo.* I. *c.* 21, is directed, concerning the Penalties and Forfetiures mentioned in that Act.

The ſaid Company ſhall, at all Times hereafter, have all the Powers which by any Charters, &c. are granted them, and not altered by this Act, freed and diſcharged from all Proviſo's of Redemption, &c. as fully as if the ſame were here ſeverally repeated, but ſubject to the Reſtrictions contained in the Acts and Letters Patents now in Force, and alſo to the Proviſo's following, *viz.* Provided that upon three Years Notice to be given by Parliament, after the 25th of *March*, 1736, upon the Expiration of the ſaid three Years, and repaying to the Company of the whole capital Stock of 3,200,000 *l.* and all Arrears of Annuities payable in reſpect thereof; then, and from thenceforth the Right, Title, and Intereſt of the ſaid Company, to the whole, ſole, and excluſive Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, &c. ſhall ceaſe and determine. But after the Determination of that Company's Right to the ſole and excluſive Trade to and from the *Eaſt-Indies*, the Corporation, with all, or any Part of their joint Stock, Goods, Eſtates, &c. may trade in common with other the Subjects of his Majeſty trading to and from thoſe Parts.

Any Notice in Writing, ſignified by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, ſhall be deemed a due and proper Notice by Parliament, to all the Ends and Purpoſes for which ſuch Notices are directed by this Act to be given to the Company. Nothing in this Act ſhall extend to ſubject the Governor and Company of Merchants of *England* trading to the *Levant-Seas*, to any Penalties and Forfeitures thereby enacted, in reſpect to their Trade in thoſe Seas; and nothing herein ſhall reſtrain or prejudice ſuch Trade or Navigation within any of the Limits of the *Eaſt-India* Company, as the *South-Sea* Company are any ways entitled unto.

With this Act I ſhall conclude the hiſtorical Part of this Section, having, as I promiſed, deduced the Tranſactions of the *Eaſt-India* Company, and with them the Commerce of the *Britiſh* Nation to the *Indies*, from the earlieſt Accounts we have of their trading to this Part of the World, and from their firſt Eſtabliſhment in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, down to the preſent Time; in which Series of Facts, we hope the Reader will find a greater Satisfaction, ſince it exhibits to him in one View, and conſidering the vaſt Variety of Matter in a very narrow Compaſs, a regular Chain of Events, which demonſtrates the vaſt Importance of this Commerce to the Nation, the Means by which it was at firſt acquired, the Progreſs made therein, the Difficulties and Obſtructions it has met with, the Methods by which they have been overcome, and the Manner in which the Company has at laſt acquired a happy and ſecure Eſtabliſhment, which we have Reaſon to hope will laſt as long as our preſent excellent Conſtitution, ſince it is founded on the ſame Baſis, and is fortified by the ſtrongeſt Authority that the Laws of this Country can afford.

It remains, in order to conclude the Plan laid down at the Beginning of this Section, that we ſhould preſent the Reader with a clear and ſuccinct View of the Poſſeſſions of the Company in the *Indies*, and the State of their Commerce in thoſe Parts, as it ſtands at preſent, which we ſhall do with all the Brevity poſſible, and in that Order which ſeems moſt natural, both with regard to the Situation of Places, and the avoiding unneceſſary Repetitions, having nothing more in View than to ſtate every thing as clearly as it is poſſible, and to confine ourſelves within as little Room as the Purſuit of that Deſign will allow.

17. We ſhall begin then with the Port of *Gambron*, or, as ſome write it, *Gombroon*, on the Coaſt of *Perſia*, which became famous after the Deſtruction of the Iſland of *Ormuz*, and the Ruin of the *Portugueze* Power in the *Indies*. The City was built by the Great Shah *Abas*, from whence it is called by the *Perſians Bander-Abaſſi*, that is the Court of *Abas*. It ſtands in the Lat. of 27° 40′ North, and and is looked upon as a Port of the greateſt Trade in this Part of the World. We have elſewhere given a large Account of the Situation, Climate, and Condition of the Country in the Neighbourhood of this celebrated Mart, and ſhall here therefore confine ourſelves ſtrictly to what concerns the Commerce of the *Engliſh*.

Our firſt Eſtabliſhment was about the Year 1613, and the Great Shah *Abas* having, at that Time, Occaſion for our Aſſiſtance againſt the *Portugueze*, granted us by Treaties, in Conſideration of our Services in that War, half the Cuſtoms of this Port, which were duly received for a conſiderable Time; but, at length, under various Pretences, were reduced to one thouſand Tomans a Year, which amounts to Three thouſand, three hundred thirty-three Pounds, ſix Shillings and Eight-pence of our Money; and even this, for forty Years paſt, has been but very indifferently paid; and at preſent, as I conceive, we have the Right only, and not the Poſſeſſion. But the *Eaſt-India* Company ſtill maintains a noble Factory here, by which it manages the whole Trade of the Empire of *Perſia*, and exports thither a vaſt Quantity of *European* Goods. In the Year 1720, the Factory ſuffered ſeverely, and the Confuſions induced by repeated Rebellions in *Perſia*; but as the Affairs of that Empire are now pretty well ſettled, there is no doubt that thoſe of the Company will be alſo reſtored, and that we ſhall regain that important Commerce which has been ſo long carried on here.

The City of *Mocha* ſtands at the Entrance of the *Red Sea*, in the Latitude of 13°. 11′. W. and is a Place of very great Trade, as we have ſhewn in the former Part of this Work. The *Engliſh* are likewiſe well received here; carry on a great Commerce in Coffee and other Commodities, as well as in all the adjacent Ports of *Arabia*, as has been already ſhewn in the foregoing Sections. It is true, that we have been ſome Times expoſed to the Injuſtice of the *Arabian* Princes, and to the Depredations of Pirates in thoſe Parts; but in this we have only ſhared the ſame Fate with other Nations, and perhaps have eſcaped rather better than they.

We ſhall next proceed to the *Indian* Coaſt, where we have either Factories or Forts, and Settlements, at the following Places, *viz. Baroach*, *Swalley*, *Surat*, *Bombay*, *Dabul*, *Carwar*, *Tellechery*, *Anjengo*, Fort *St. David*, *Conymere*, all along the *Malabar* Coaſt, and turning up to thoſe of *Coromandel*, where we come next to what may be called the Capital of our Poſſeſſions in the *Indies*, I mean Fort *St. George*. We have in the Courſe of this Work, and particularly in this Section, given a large Account of moſt of the Places before-mentioned; which is the Reaſon that we have not dwelt upon them here; but as for Fort *St. George*, which ſtands in the Latitude of 13° 20′ North, it requires a more particular Diſcription for many Reaſons; and therefore, I have thought fit to inſert a large Hiſtorical Account thereof, as well as a clear and circumſtantial Deſcription, written by one who was perfectly acquainted therewith, as well as with all the Tranſactions that occur in his curious Relation, which will contribute to render the Hiſtory of this Part of our *Indian* Settlements compleat, by furniſhing as exact an Account of this, as we have here before given of other Places; and therefore cannot but afford the Reader an agreeable Entertainment.

Fort *St. George* or *Maderaſs*, or as the Natives call it *China Patam*, is a Colony and City belonging to the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company, ſituated in one of the moſt incommodious Places I ever ſaw. It fronts the Sea, which continually rolls impetuouſly on its Shore more here, than in any other Place on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*. The Foundation is on Sand, with a Salt-Water River on its Backſide, which obſtructs all Springs of freſh Water from coming near the Town; ſo that they have no drinkable Water within a Mile of them, the Sea often threatening Deſtruction on one Side, and the River, in the rainy Seaſon, Inundations on the other. The Sun from *April* to *September* ſcorching hot; and if the Sea-Breezes did not moiſten and cool the Air, when they blow, the Place could not poſſibly be inhabited. The Reaſon why a Fort was built on that Place, is not well accounted for; but Tradition ſays, that the Gentleman who received his Orders to build a Fort on that Coaſt, about the Beginning of King *Charles* the Second's Reign, after his Reſtoration, for protecting the Company's Trade, choſe that Place to ruin the *Portugueze* Trade at *St. Thomas's*; others again alledge, and with more Probability, that the Gentleman aforeſaid, which I take to be Sir *William Langhorn*, had a Miſtreſs at *St. Thomas's*, of whom he was ſo enamoured, that it made him build there, that their Interviews might be the more frequent and uninterrupted; but whatever his Reaſons were, it is very ill ſituated.

The Soil about the City is ſo dry and ſandy, that it bears no Corn, and what Fruits, Roots, and Herbage they have, are brought to Maturity by great Pains and much Trouble. If it be true, that the Company gave him Power to ſettle a Colony in any Part of that Coaſt that pleaſed him beſt, I wonder that he choſe not *Cabelon*, about ſix Leagues to the Southward, where the Ground is fertile, and the Water good, with the Conveniency of a Point of Rocks to facilitate Boats landing; or why he did not go nine Leagues farther northerly, and ſettle at *Policat*, on the Banks of a good River, as the *Dutch* have done ſince, where the Road for Shipping is made eaſy by ſome Sand-Banks that reach three Leagues off Shore, and make the high turbulent Billows that come rolling from the Sea, ſpend their Force on thoſe Banks, before they can reach the Shore. The Soil is good, and the River commodious, and convenient in all Seaſons: Now, whether one of theſe Places had not been more eligible, I leave to the ingenious, and thoſe concerned, to conſider.

However, the War carried on at *Bengal* and *Bombay*, by the *Engliſh*, againſt the *Mogul*'s Subjects, from 1685, to 1689, made Fort *St. George* put on a better Dreſs than he wore before; for the peaceable *Indian* Merchants, who hate Contention and War, came flocking thither, becauſe it lay far from thoſe Incumberers of Trade, and near the Diamond Mines of *Golconda*, where there are many Times good Bargains to be made, and Money got by our Governors; the black Merchants reſorting to our Colony, to ſecure their Fortunes, and bring their Goods to a ſafe Market, made it populous and rich, notwithſtanding its natural Inconveniencies. The Town is divided into two Parts, one where the *Europeans* dwell, is called the white Town: It is walled quite round, and has ſeveral Baſtions and Bulwarks to defend its Walls, which can only be attacked at its Ends, the Sea and River fortifying its Sides. It is about four hundred Paces long, and one hundred and fifty broad, divided into Streets pretty regular, and Fort *St. George* ſtood near its Centre. There are two Churches in it, one for the *Engliſh*, and another for the *Romiſh* Service. The Governor ſuperintends both, and in filling up Vacancies in the *Romiſh* Church, he is the Pope's Legate *à latere* in Spiritualities. There is a very good Hoſpital in the Town, and the Company's Horſe-Stables are neat, but the old Colledge, where a great many Gentlemen Factors are obliged to lodge, is badly kept in Repair. They have a Town-Hall, and underneath it are Priſons for Debtors. They are, or were a Corporation, and had a Mayor and Alderman, choſen by the free Burghers of the Town, but that ſcurvy Way is grown obſolete, and the Governor and his Council, or Party, fix the Choice.

The City had Laws and Ordinanees for its own Preſervation, and a Court kept in Form, the Mayor and Aldermen in their Gowns, with Maces on the Table, a Clerk to keep a Regiſter of Tranſactions and Caſes, and Attornies and Sollicitors to plead in Form, before the Mayor and Aldermen; but after all, it is but a Farce; for, by Experience I found, that a few Pagadoes rightly placed, could turn the Scales of Juſtice, to which Side the Governor pleaſed, without reſpect to Equity or Reputation. In ſmaller Matters, where the Caſe on both Sides is but weakly ſupported by Money, then the Court acts judiciouſly, according to their Conſciences and Knowledge, but often againſt Law and Reaſon; for the Court is but a Court of Conſcience, and its Directions are very irregular, and the Governor's diſpenſing Power of nulling all that the Court tranſacts, puzzles the moſt celebrated Lawyers there, to find Rules to juſtify ſuch Conduct.

They have no martial Law, ſo that they cannot inflict the Pains of Death any other Ways than by Whipping, only for Piracy they can hang, and ſome of them have been ſo fond of that Priviledge, that Mr. *Yale* hang'd his Groom (*Croſs*) for riding two or three Days Journey off, to take the Air; but in *England* he paid pretty well for his arbitrary Sentence: And one of a latter Date, *viz.* the Orthodox Mr. *Collett*, hang'd a Youth who was an Apprentice to an Officer on board a Ship, and his Maſter going a pirating, carried his Servant along with him, but the Youth ran from them the firſt Opportunity he met with on the Iſland of *Jonkceyloan*, and informed the Maſter of a Sloop which lay in the River there, that the Pirates had a Deſign on his Sloop and Cargo, and went armed in Company with the Maſter, to hinder the Approach of the Pirates, and was the firſt that fired on them, yet that merciful Man was inexorable, and the Youth was hanged.

The Power of executing Pirates is ſo ſtrangely ſtretched, that if any private Trader is injured by the Tricks of a Governor, and can find no Redreſs, if the injured Perſon is ſo bold as to talk of *Lex talionis*, he is infallibly declared a Pirate. The black Town is inhabited by *Gentows*, *Mohammedans*, and *Indian Chriſtians*, *viz.* *Armenians* and *Portugueze*, where there are Temples, and Churches for each Religion, every one being tolerated, and every one follows his proper Employment. It was walled in towards the Land, when Governor *Pit* ruled it. He had ſome Apprehenſion that the Mogul's Generals in *Golconda* might ſome Time or other plunder it; ſo laying the Hazard and Danger before the Inhabitants, they were either perſuaded, or obliged to raiſe Subſidies to wall their Town, except towards the Sea, and the white Town.

The two Towns are abſolutely governed by the Governor, in whoſe Hands the Command of the Military is lodged; but all other Affairs belonging to the Company, are managed by him and his Council, moſt Part of whom are generally his Creatures; and I have been, and am acquainted with ſome Gentlemen, who have been in that Poſt, as well as ſome private Gentlemen who reſided at *Fort St. George*, Men of great Candour and Honour, but they ſeldom continued long Favourites at Court. One of the Gates of the white Town looks towards the Sea, and it is for that Reaſon called the Sea-gate, the Gate-way being pretty ſpacious, was formerly the common Exchange, where Merchants of all Nations reſorted about Eleven o'Clock to treat of Buſineſs in Merchandize; but that Cuſtom is out of Faſhion, and the Conſultation-chamber, or Governor's Apartment, ſerves for that Uſe now; which made one Captain *Hart*, a very merry Man, ſay, that he could never have believed that the Sea-gate could have been carried into the Conſultation-room, if he had not ſeen it.

The Company have their Mint here for coining Bullion, that comes from *Europe*, and other Countries, into Rupees, which brings them in a good Revenue. The Rupee is ſtamp'd with *Perſian* Characters, declaring the Mogul's Name, Year of his Reign, and ſome of his Titles. They alſo coin Gold into Pagadoes of ſeveral Denominations and Values. There are alſo Schools for the Education of Children; the *Engliſh* for reading and writing *Engliſh*; the *Portugueze* for their Language, and *Latin*; and the *Mohammedans*, *Gentows* and *Armenians*, for their particular Languages, and the *Engliſh* Church is well endowed, and maintains poor Gentlewomen in good Houſewifery, and good Cloaths and Palankines.

The Diamond Mines are but a Week's Journey from *Fort St. George*. Some Cuſtoms and Laws at the Mines are, when a Perſon goes thither on that Affair, he chuſes a Piece of Ground, and acquaints one of the King's Officers, who ſtay there for that Service, that he wants ſo many Covets of Ground to dig in, but whether they agree for ſo much, or if the Price be certain, I know not. However, when the Money is paid, the Space of Ground is encloſed, and ſome Centinels placed round it. The King challenges all Stones that are found above a certain Weight; I think it is above ſixty Grains; and if any Stones be carried clandeſtinely away, above the ſtipulated Weight, the Perſon guilty of the Theft is puniſhed with Death. Some are fortunate, and get Eſtates by digging, while others loſe both their Money and Labour. The current Trade of *Fort St. George* runs gradually ſlower. The Trader meeting with Diſappointments, and ſometimes with Oppreſſions, and ſometimes the Liberty of buying and ſelling is denied them: And I have ſeen, when the Governor's Servants have bid for Goods at a publick Sale, ſome who had a Mind to bid more, durſt not, others who had more Courage, and durſt bid, were brow-beaten and threatened; and I was Witneſs to a Bargain of *Surat* Wheat, taken out of a Gentleman's Hands, after he had fairly bought it by Auction, ſo that many trading People are removed to other Parts, where there is a greater Liberty and leſs Oppreſſion.

The Colony produces very little of its own Growth, or Manufacture for foreign Markets. They had formerly a Trade to *Pegu*, where many private Traders got pretty good Bread by their Traffick and Induſtry, but the Trade is now removed into the *Armenians*, *Moors* and *Gentows* Hands, and the *Engliſh* are employed in building and repairing of Shipping. The Trade they have to *China* is divided between them and *Surat*; for the Gold and ſome Copper are for their own Markets, and the Groſs of their own Cargo, which conſiſts in Sugar, Sugar-candy, Allum, China-ware, and ſome Drugs, as China-roots, Galling-gal, *&c.* are all for the *Surat* Market. Their Trade to *Perſia* muſt firſt come down the famous *Ganges*, before it can come down *St. George*'s Channel, to be conveyed to *Perſia*. They never had any Trade to *Mocha*, in the Product and Manufactures of *Coromandel*, before the Year 1713, and *Fort St. David* ſupplies the Goods for that Port; ſo that *Fort St. George* is an Emblem of *Holland*, ſupplying foreign Markets with foreign Goods. The Colony is well-peopled, for there is ſuppoſed to be 80,000 Inhabitants in the Towns and Villages; and there are generally about 4 or 500 *Europeans* reſiding there, reckoning the Gentlemen, Merchants, Seamen, and Soldiers. Their Rice is brought by Sea from *Ganjam* and *Orixa*; their Wheat from *Surat* and *Bengal*; and their Fire-wood from the Iſlands of *Diu*, a low Point of Land that lies near *Matchulipatam*; ſo that an Enemy that is ſuperior to them in Sea-Forces, may eaſily diſtreſs them.

Mr. *Lockyer*, in his Account of this Place, tells us, that the Adminiſtration is veſted in the Governor and Council, which conſiſts of ſix grave Merchants in the Company's Service; and though theſe Officers have but ſmall Salaries, yet their Perquiſites and Advantages they derive from Trade, are ſo conſiderable as to enable them to make a good Figure while they live there, and carry home, notwithſtanding, very large Eſtates. He ſeems to differ with other Writers as to the Properties of the Soil and Climate; and therefore it may not be amiſs to attend a little to his Account. The Inhabitants, ſays he, enjoy as perfect Health as they do in *England*, which is plainly diſcovered in their ruddy Complexions, which few of our other Settlements can boaſt. The Heats in Summer are the greateſt Inconveniency they labour under; yet, I never heard of any ill Effect from them. The delicious Fruits that the Country abounds with, are a great Help in this Extremity; nor are they wanting to themſelves in other Reſpects, Bathings and wet Goneys being often apply'd with Succeſs to the Relief of the panting. It ſeldom laſts above four or five Hours in a Day, when the Sea-Breeze coming on, the Town ſeems to be new born. The Governor, during the hot Winds, retires to the Company's new Garden for Refreſhment, which he has made a very delightful Place of a barren one. Its coſtly Gates, lovely Bowling-greens, ſpacious Walks, Teal-pond, and Curioſities, preſerved in ſeveral Diviſions, are worthy to be admired. Lemons and Grapes grow there; but ſo much Pains is neceſſary to bring either to Maturity, that a Bunch of one, or a ſingle Fruit of the other, will ſtand its Owner in five Shillings before it is ripe.

The Governor ſeldom goes abroad with leſs than three or fourſcore perſons armed, beſides his *Engliſh* Guards to attend him: He has two union Flags carried before him, and Country Muſick, enough to frighten a Stranger into Belief the Men were mad. Two Dubaſhes attend to cool him with Fans, and drive away the Flies, that otherwiſe would moleſt him. He is a Man of great Power, reſpected as a Prince by the Rajahs of the Country; and is, in every Reſpect, as great, ſave that theſe are for themſelves, this has Maſters. When a Perſon of Note dies, the Funeral is ſolemnized with the greateſt Magnificence. The Governor, Council, and Gentlemen of the Town attend, nor are the Fair-Sex wanting in their Duty to their deceaſed Countrymen: The Executors are liberal in all Reſpects to expreſs a juſt Concern for their Friend; whence the Ceremony is performed with all that is neceſſary for the Interment of a Chriſtian. The Burying-Place is at the further End of the Black-Town, adorned with many ſtately Tombs in Honour of the Defunct; ſome with lofty Spires carved into different Fancies, after the *Indian* Manner: Others, in a lower Sphere, gravely expreſs the Merits of the Perſon for whoſe ſake they were erected, and all in general have the moſt curious Workmanſhip in *India* beſtowed on them.

Moſt of the Powder expended in the Garriſon is made on the Iſland, about a Gun-ſhot from the Town. It has not the Force of that which comes from *England*, for no other Reaſon than not well incorporating the Ingredients. They have the fineſt Salt-Petre, and Brimſtone, with good Charcoal, which ought to make the beſt Powder; but for want of ſkilful Managers and good Contrivances, theſe Excellences are of no Effect. And, in truth, the Company in other Caſes of the like Nature, are very much wanting to themſelves. There is not an *Engliſh* Carpenter, Smith, Joiner, or other Artificer in the City, who knows half his Trade; whence they are obliged to black Fellows for what they have Occaſion for in theſe Trades; nor is there ſo much as one Shop of any ſort in the *Engliſh* Town, the Benefit of which all the *Dutch* Settlements ſufficiently demonſtrate; for they are ſo ſenſible of it, that they take due Care never to be deficient that way. This is a Thing eaſily brought to paſs by a Body ſo conſiderable in the Kingdom. I ſhall rather admire it has been ſo long neglected, than offer at the Means for effecting it. However, I wiſh, for the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, they would decline ſending ſuch diminutive, dwarfiſh, crooked Recruits, as of late have gone to ſupply their Settlements. To ſay no better can be had in Time of War, is an Evaſion, my own Experience proves altogether light; for, ſince it is no matter what Country in *Europe* they are of, let but three Captains be ſent to *Ireland*, in leſs than three Months they could raiſe a Regiment of picked Fellows, who would be able to do them Service; beſides, they look like Men, which is enough for them at Fort *St. George*. Objecting their Religion, looks like Partiality, for the *Topaſes* in *India* are all of the ſame Principles; our Officers liſt none but Proteſtants to ſerve in our Troops, wherefore that Country is quite over-run with luſty Men, who are ready to ſtarve for want of Employ.

But, to proceed regularly in our Hiſtory of the Settlements of this Company. Along the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, there were formerly ſeveral Places along the Coaſt to the Northward, which had *European* Factories ſettled in them, but are now neglected and unfrequented. There were alſo ſome Places farther up the Country, where the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſettled; but the Rajahs, who poſſeſſed the adjacent Countries, giving great Interruption to Trade, by their unjuſt and unreaſonable Impoſitions, obliged them to withdraw their Factories. That of *Matchulipatam* was the laſt they quitted, and, about threeſcore Years ago, was eſteemed the moſt flouriſhing Colony the *Engliſh* had in all *India*; but now their Houſe is deſerted, and the *Dutch*, who remained behind them, are preparing to take the ſame Courſe. It is not a great many Years ago ſince the Mogul's Viceroy, upon this Coaſt, offered the Governor of Fort *St. George*, to make him a Preſent of the Iſlands of *Diu*, and the Inhabitants were well inclined thereto; but the Governor delayed taking Poſſeſſion ſo long, that both the Viceroy and the People changed their Minds; and when he would have erected a Factory, or a Fort there, they would not permit it.

Next to *Matchulipatam* is *Narſipore*, where the *Engliſh* had a Factory for long Cloth, for the Uſe of their Factory of *Matchulipatam*, when they manufactured Chints there. It alſo affords good Teak-Timber for Building, and has a fine deep River, but a dangerous Bar, which makes it little frequented. And paſſing round *Carrango* Point, a little up *Carrango* Bay, is *Angerang*, that has the Benefit of a large deep River, that penetrates far up into the Continent. It has a Bar, ſoft at the Bottom, and three and an half Fathoms on it at High-Water. Here the beſt and fineſt long Cloth is made that *India* affords, and is ſold cheap; but the inland Countries lying near the River, are in the Hands of ſeveral Rajahs; and each being Sovereign in his own ſmall Dominions, lays ſuch Impoſitions and Exactions on the Cloth that comes down the River, that they ruin that beneficial Trade of *Angerang*, and make it little frequented. In *Anno* 1708, the *Engliſh* from *Vizagapatam* ſettled there; but whether the Factory was ſtarved for want of Money, or whether the conſtituent and conſtituted Chiefs of the Factories diſagreed about dividing the Bear's-Skin, I know not; but the Factory was ſoon withdrawn, and the Project loſt.

Coaſting along Shore, there are ſeveral little Ports between *Matchulipatam* and *Vizagapatam*, beſides *Narſipore* and *Angaran*, but *Wabow* is the moſt noted, for it produces Rice for Exportation, beſides ſome Cloth, but it is not frequented by *Europeans*; and therefore I proceed to *Vizagapatam*, a fortified Factory belonging to the *Engliſh*. It is regularly fortified with four little Baſtions, and has about eighteen Guns mounted in it. It has the Advantage of a River, but a dangerous Bar to paſs over before we get into it. The Country about affords Cotton-Cloths both coarſe and fine, and the beſt Dureas, or ſtriped Muſlins in *India*; but the Factory is generally heart-ſick for want of Money to refreſh it.

In *Anno* 1709, the Factory drew a War on themſelves from the Nabob of *Chickacul*; for one Mr. *Simeon Halcomb*, who had been Chief at *Vazagapatam*, had borrowed conſiderable Sums of the Nabob, and affixed the Company's Seals to the Bonds he gave for them. Mr. *Holcomb* dying, the Nabob demanded his Money from the ſucceeding Chief, who would not pay him, alledging that *Holcomb* had borrowed it for his own private Uſe, and not for the Company's, and that he muſt get Payment out of *Holcomb*'s private Eſtate, if there was enough found to pay the Debt, otherwiſe he might get his Money from ſome inland Rajahs, who ſtood indebted to *Holcomb*, by his Books of Accounts, in a greater Sum than would pay his Principal and Intereſt; and that he being the Mogul's General, could compel thoſe Rajahs to pay their juſt Debts, which they would make over to him; but the Nabob, not caring to enter into a War with his Countrymen on ſuch a Foundation, ſent Agents to acquaint the Governor and Council of Fort *St. George* with his Affairs at *Vizagapatam*; they proved deaf to all the Agents Propoſitions and Arguments, and hardly treated him civilly; ſo he went back to his Maſter with the Account of his bad Succeſs; upon which the Nabob came to a Garden, about half a League from *Vizagapatam*, accompanied with 500 Horſe, and 3500 Foot, to demand his Money.

I, ſays Captain *Hamilton*, being accidentally there in a ſmall *Dutch*-built Ship that I had bought from the *French* on my Credit at Fort *St. George*; and the Factory being but ill mann'd, Mr. *Haſtings*, who was then Chief, and my Friend, deſired the Aſſiſtance of my Arms and Council in that Juncture of Affairs, which I very freely gave him; and being aſked in Council what I thought about the Affair, I adviſed him and his Council to compound the Matter as well as they could, and ſpin out Time, that we might better fortify the Avenues to the Factory. My Advice of compounding the Matter was rejected, but the other Part was followed; ſo, with ſeven *Europeans* that belonged to the Factory, and twelve that were with me, and twenty Topaſes, and two hundred Natives, moſt of them Fiſhers, that lived under the Company's Protection, we fortified ſome Rocks that the Enemy were obliged to paſs within Piſtol-Shot of, if they had a Mind to attack us.

We threw up Breaſt-works between the Rocks, and moored my Ship within Piſtol-Shot of the Shore, and had eight Minion-Guns to ſcour the Sands, if they had attempted to come that Way; and for ſix Weeks we continued on our Guard, and were often alarmed in the Night, but finding us always ready to receive them, they did not think it proper to force an Entry into the Town. I had the Honour to command all the Out-guards, and the chief with eight *Europeans*, and twenty Blacks, kept the Fort. Thus we continued in perpetual Watching and Alarms, till Reinforcements arrived from Fort *St. George*, and then I left them, and proceeded on a Voyage to *Pegu*. Both Parties being very buſy, one ſtriving to get his Money by Compulſion, and the other to ſave the Company's Money on any Terms, right or wrong. The War being drawn to a greater Length than was imagined at firſt, and Charges riſing higher than was expected, inclined them to make all up amicably, which was at laſt effected by the Company's paying near the Sum that was at firſt demanded.

The Nabob, whoſe Name was *Takerly Cawn*, would hear of no Peace without the Company's Merchant, who was a *Gentow*, called *Agapa*, and a Subject of the Mogul (who was very active in the War, in encouraging the Town's-people to defend themſelves and the Company's Intereſts, and who alſo had wrote to ſome neighbouring Rajahs to embroil the Nabob's Affairs in his Abſence, in order to divert him from purſuing his Demands on *Vizagapatam*) ſhould be delivered up to him, which at laſt he was, and was put to a very cruel Death. He was ſet in the hot ſcorching Sun three Days, with his Hands faſtened to a Stake over his Head, and one of his Legs tied up till his Heel touched his Buttock, and in the Night put into a Dungeon, with ſome venomous Snakes to bear him Company; and this was repeated till the third Night he ended his miſerable Life. But the Company's Merchants, for the future, will be careful how they eſpouſe the Company's Intereſt again. There was one *Baily*, a Recruit from Fort *St. George*, on ſome Diſcontent deſerted the Company's Service, and entered into the Nabob's; but falling into an Ambuſh, was taken Priſoner by our Men, and was ſent to Fort *St. George*, where, for his Deſertion, he was deſervedly whipped out of this World into the next, and there I leave him.

After the War was ended, and all was quiet, the Nabob returned to *Chickacul*, but could neither forget nor forgive his Treatment at Fort *St. George* and *Vizagapatam*; but finding by Force he could not get the Factory into his own Hands, without a great Loſs of Men and Money, he had Recourſe to Stratagem, for ſurpriſing it: He came into the Town one Day with one hundred Horſe, and ſome Foot, without adviſing of his coming, as was uſual, at the Town-gate, and before the Chief could have Notice, he was got into the Factory, with twenty or thirty of his Attendants. The Alarm being given a reſolute bold young Gentleman, a Factor in the Company's Service, called Mr. *Richard Harden*, came running down Stairs with his Fuzee in his Hand, and Bayonet ſcrued on its Muzzel, and preſenting it to the Nabob's Breaſt, told him in the *Gentow* Language (which he was Maſter of) that if any of his Attendants offered the leaſt Incivility, his Life ſhould anſwer for it. The Nabob was ſurpriſingly aſtoniſhed at the Reſolution and Bravery of the young Gentleman, and ſat down to conſider a little, Mr. *Harden* keeping the Muzzel of his Piece ſtill at his Breaſt, and one of the Nabob's Servants ſtanding all the while behind Mr. *Harden* with a Dagger's Point cloſe to his Back; ſo they had a Conference of half an Hour long in the above-mentioned Poſture, and then the Nabob thought fit to be gone again, full of Wonder and Admiration at ſo daring a Courage.

The next Kingdom to *Golconda*, in which the Places we have been laſt ſpeaking of lie, is that of *Orixa*; and proceeding along its Coaſt, we come to the Mouth of the River of *Ballaſore*, where there is a very dangerous Bar, ſufficiently noted for the many Wrecks and Loſſes made by it. Between *Cunnaca* and *Ballaſore* Rivers there is one continued ſandy Bay, where prodigious Numbers of Sea-Tortoiſes reſort, to lay their Eggs, and a very delicious Fiſh, called the Pamplee, ſome in Shells, and are ſold for Two-pence a hundred; two of them are ſufficient to dine a moderate Man. The Town of *Ballaſore* is but four Miles from the Sea by Land, but by the River twenty. The Country is fruitful to Admiration, producing Rice, Wheat, Gram, Doll, Callavances, ſeveral ſorts of *Pulſe*, *Annis*, Cummin, Coriander, and Carraway-Seeds, Tobacco, Butter, Oil, and Bee's-Wax. Their Manufactures are of Cotton in Sanis, Caſſes, Dimities, Mulmuls, Silk, and Silk and Cotton Romals, Gurrahs, and Lungies; and of *Herba* (a ſort of tough Graſs) they make Ginghams, Pinaſco's, and ſeveral other Goods for Exportation. The *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch*, have their reſpective Factories here; but at preſent are of little Conſideration; though, in former Times, before the Navigation of *Hughly* River was cultivated, they were the head Factories of the Gulph of *Bengal*.

The Town of *Ballaſore* drives a pretty good Trade to the *Maldives*. Thoſe Iſlands have no Rice or other Grain of their own Product; ſo that *Ballaſore* ſupplies them with all Neceſſaries they want; and in Return bring Cowries and Cayer, for the Service of Shipping. The Seaſhore of *Ballaſore* being very low, and the Depths of the Water very gradual from the Strand, make the Ships in *Ballaſore* Road keep at a good Diſtance from the Shore; for in four or five Fathoms they ride three Leagues off. From *April* to *October* is the Seaſon for Shipping to come into the Bay of *Bengal*; Pilots lie ready at *Ballaſore* to carry them up the River *Hughly*, which is a ſmall Branch of the famous *Ganges*. The *European* Companies beforementioned, keep theirs always in Pay; but when none of their own Shipping is there, their Pilots have the Liberty to ſerve other Ships, which is no ſmall Advantage to them. The Sides of the River are over-grown with Buſhes, which give Shelter to many fierce and troubleſome Tygers, which do much Miſchief. A good Author ſays, he knew an *Engliſhman* that was in the Ship's-boat laden with freſh

Water, lying in the River, waiting the Tide to carry her over the Bar, and this Man had the Curioſity to ſtep aſhore, and being a little Way from the Boat, had a Call to eaſe himſelf, and had no ſooner put himſelf in a Poſture, near the Buſhes, but out leaped a Tyger, and caught both his Buttocks in his Mouth, and was for carrying him away; but one of the Seamen in the Boat ſeeing the Tragedy, took up a Muſket, and placed a Bullet in the Tyger's Head, while the Man was in his Mouth helpleſs. The Tyger immediately let him fall, and ſkulked into the Buſhes, and the wounded Man was carried on board his Ship, where the Surgeon made a perfect Cure of the Wounds.

Piply lies on the Banks of a River, ſuppoſed to be a Branch of the *Ganges*, about five Leagues from that of *Ballaſore*; formerly it was a Place of Trade, and was honoured with the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Factories. The Country produces the ſame Commodities that *Ballaſore* does. At preſent it is reduced to Beggary, by the Factories removing to *Hughly*, and *Calacutta*, the Merchants being all gone. It is now inhabited by Fiſhers, as are alſo *Angelie*, and *Kidgiere*, two neighbouring Iſlands on the Weſt-ſide the Mouth of the *Ganges*. Theſe Iſlands abouud alſo in tame Swine, where they are ſold very cheap. There are near theſe Iſlands dangerous Sand-banks, that are both numerous and large, and make the Navigation out and into *Hughly* River both troubleſome and dangerous; and and after we paſs theſe Iſlands, in going up the River, the Channel for Shipping is on the Eaſt-ſide, and ſeveral Creeks run from the Channel among a great Number of Iſlands, formed by different Channels of the *Ganges*, two of which are more remarkable than the reſt, *viz. Coxes* and *Sagar* Iſlands, where great Ships are obliged to anchor, to take in Part of their Cargoes, becauſe ſeveral Places in the River are too ſhallow for ſuch Ships to paſs over, when their whole Cargoes are aboard.

There are no Inhabitants on thoſe Iſlands, for they are ſo peſtered with Tygers, that there could be no Security for humane Creatures to dwell on them; nay, it is even dangerous to land on them, or for Boats to anchor near them; for in the Night they have ſwam to Boats at Anchor, and carried Men out of them; yet among the *Pagans*, the Iſland *Sagar* is accounted holy, and great Numbers of *Jougies* go yearly thither in the Months of *November* and *December*, to worſhip and waſh in Salt-water, who many of them fall Sacrifices to the hungry Tygers. The firſt ſafe Anchoring-place in the River, is off the Mouth of a River above *Sagar*, commonly known by the Name of Rogues River, which had this Appellation from ſome Banditti *Portugueze*, who were Followers of Sultan *Sujah*, when Emir *Jemal*, *Aurenzeb*'s General, drove the unfortunate Prince out of his Province of *Bengal*. For thoſe *Portugueze* having no Way to ſubſiſt after their Maſter's Flight to the Kingdom of *Arachan*, betook themſelves to Piracy among the Iſlands, at the Mouth of the *Ganges*, and that River having Communication with all the Channels from *Xatigam* to the Weſtward from this River, they uſed to ſally out and commit Depredations on thoſe that traded on the River *Hughly*.

About five Leagues farther upon the Weſt-ſide of the River of *Hughly*, is another Branch of the *Ganges*, called *Ganga*; it is broader than that of *Hughly*, but much ſhallower, and more incumbered with Sand-banks. A little below the Mouth of it; the *Danes* have a thatched Houſe, but for what Reaſons they kept a Houſe there we are in the Dark. Along the River of *Hughly*, there are many ſmall Villages and Farms interſperſed with thoſe large Plains, but the firſt of any Note on the River-ſide is *Culculla*, a Market-town for Corn, coarſe Cloth, Butter and Oil, with other Productions of the Country. Above it is the *Dutch* Banks Hall, a Place where their Ships ride when they cannot get farther up for the too ſwift Currents of the River.

Culculla has a large deep River that runs to the Eaſtward, and ſo has *Juanpardao*, and on the Weſt-ſide there is a River that runs by the Back of *Hughly* Iſland, which leads up to *Radngur*, famous for manufacturing Cotton-cloth, and ſilk Nomaals, or Handkerchiefs; *Buſſundri* and *Freſindi*, or *Gorgat*, and *Cobong*, are all on that River, which produce the greateſt Quantities of the beſt Sugars in *Bengal*. We are now arrived at the greateſt Settlement the Company have on this Coaſt, which is *Fort William*; but having already given a large Account of this Place, and of ſuch others as are of any Note in its Neighbourhood, we will proceed. The Kingdom of *Daca* is the firſt on the Eaſtern-ſide of the *Ganges*, next to that lies the Kingdom of *Aracan*, then the Kingdom of *Ava*, which is next to that of *Pegu*; on all which Coaſts we have ſome, but very little Trade; and as to the Iſlands along the Coaſt, though well enough ſituated for Commerce, yet, as they are uninhabited, they do not deſerve, or require our Notice.

The next Place on the Continent to the Southward, is *Merjee*, a Town belonging to the King of *Siam*, ſituated on the Banks of the River of *Tanacerin*, lying within a great Number of ſmall uninhabited Iſlands. The Harbour is ſafe, and the Country produces Rice, Timber for Building, Tin, Elephants Teeth, and Agale-wood. In former Times, a good Number of *Engliſh* free Merchants were ſettled at *Merjee*, and drove a good Trade, living under a mild indulgent Government; but the old *Eaſt-India* Company envying their Happineſs, by an arbitrary Command, ordered them to leave their Induſtry, and repair to *Fort St. George*, or to ſerve them, and threatened the King of *Siam* with a Sea-war, if he did not deliver thoſe *Engliſh* up, or force them out of his Country, and in *Anno* 1687, ſent one Captain *Weldon*, in a ſmall Ship called *Courtany* to *Merjee* with that Meſſage; he behaved himſelf very inſolently to the Government, and killed ſome *Siameſe* without any juſt Cauſe. One Night, when *Weldon* was aſhore, the *Siameſe* thinking to do themſelves Juſtice on him, got a Company together, deſigning to ſeize or kill the Aggreſſor; but *Weldon* having Notice of their Deſign, made his Eſcape on board his Ship, and the *Siameſe* miſſing him, tho' very narrowly, vented their Rage on all the *Engliſh* they could find; the poor Victims being only guarded by their Innocence, did not ſo much as arm themſelves to withſtand the Fury of the enraged Mob, ſo that ſeventy-ſix were maſſacred, and hardly twenty eſcaped on board of the *Courtany*; ſuch was the tragical Conſequence of one Man's Inſolence.

Before that fatal Time, the *Engliſh* were ſo beloved, and favoured at the Court of *Siam*, that they had Places of Truſt conferred upon them, both in civil and military Branches of the Government. Mr. *Samuel White* was made *Shawbandaar*, or Cuſtom-maſter at *Merjee* and *Tanacerin*, and Captain *Williams* was Admiral of the King's Navy; but the troubleſome Company, and a great Revolution that happened in the State of *Siam*, made ſome repair to *Fort St. George*, others to *Bengal*, and others to *Achen*.

Since that Time, Things are quite altered, and the Affairs of the Company being throughly ſettled, all Things are carried on with the utmoſt Regularity, ſo that though it has not been found neceſſary to eſtabliſh new Factories, or to ſettle Colonies along the Coaſts, which would infallibly have alarmed other Nations, without contributing much to the Service of our own; yet the Commerce of the whole Gulph, from the Mouth of the *Ganges*, to the very Extremity of the Peninſula of *Malaca*, is properly provided for, by which Means the Company reaps the Profit, or at leaſt a reaſonable Part of the Profit of the private Trade thither, without being put to any unneceſſary Expence. As to our Factories on the Iſland of *Sumatra*, they are now ſo numerous, that it is conceived we enjoy the beſt Part of the Traffick which that rich Iſland affords. Our Factories therein are *Mocho*, *Bantal*, *Cattoun*, *Bencoolen*, *Marlbrough Fort*, of which we have ſpoken largely before, and *Sillebar*, of which we have alſo taken Notice.

It is true, that the *Dutch*, being Maſters of the neighbouring Iſland of *Java*, have found Means from thence to fix themſelves upon Part of this Iſland, and it is ſaid, they are poſſeſs'd of a gold Mine, which they work, but to no great Advantage, at leaſt to the Company. On this Occaſion, I cannot help taking Notice, that the Conduct of our *Eaſt-India* Company is to the full as commendable in their not endeavouring to follow this Example, ſince I am ſatisfied, that Commerce is a much more valuable Thing than Mines of Gold, eſpecially in the Hands of a Company. Becauſe this may ſeem a Paradox, I think I ſhall not miſpend either my own or the Reader's Time, by endeavouring to explain it. There is certainly no Country in the *Indies* which abounds ſo plentifully in Gold as this Iſland of *Sumatra*, if we except *China* and *Japon*, and that Method muſt certainly be the beſt, by which moſt of this precious Metal can be obtained. But the eſtabliſhing by Force any Settlements in that Country, is not like to prove the moſt effectual Means, for many Reaſons, for, in the firſt Place, the Natives will not work the Mines for themſelves, and conſidering it as an intolerable Slavery to work them for others, have an unconquerable Averſion for ſuch as would put them on ſuch Labours; ſo that from the Time this Method is tried, there is an End of all free Correſpondence with the People of this Country.

In the next Place, the Mines are far from yielding in any Proportion to what is expected from them, the Reaſon of which is not hard to diſcern; for all the Nations on that extenſive Iſland, being employed in picking out of the Sands and Channels of the Rocks, ſuch Gold as is forced into them by the Torrents, that paſs through the Mines, the Quantity of Metal obtained by the Induſtry, of ſuch Multitudes, all working for their own Benefit, muſt exceed, in a tranſcendant Degree, what is dug out of a ſingle Mine, under the Diſcouragements before-mentioned. Several Colonies therefore, in different Parts of this Iſland, the gentle Uſage of the Inhabitants, and the bringing them to conſume and eſteem *European* Commodities, is the true, ſafe and certain Means of acquiring peaceably, and by their own Conſent, the Gold that is thus gathered; and theſe three ſeveral Advantages ariſe from proceeding in this Way.

Firſt, the vaſt Hazard of maintaining an abſolute Power over a numerous Nation with a Handful of Men, is avoided. Secondly, an Intercourſe is eſtabliſhed, by which not only a vaſt Quantity of Gold is returned to *Europe*; but, which is a thing of no leſs Conſequence, it is returned not by the Labour of *Indian* Slaves, but for Goods and Manufactures belonging to, or wrought amongſt ourſelves. Thirdly, by this Means a great Quantity of Shipping is employed; whereas the Poſſeſſion of Gold or Silver-Mines requires only a few Ships, and as it is acquired by Tyranny abroad, ſo ſuch a Return of this Wealth can only ſerve to promote Idleneſs and Luxury at home. From all which Conſiderations, I conceive the Point I firſt laid down to be fully eſtabliſhed, *viz.* that the Policy of our *Eaſt-India* Company, eſpecially if conſidered in a national Light, is much preferable to that of the *Dutch*; and I make no queſtion, that the Experience of future Times will abundantly juſtify this Obſervation. We had formerly Settlements on the Coaſts of *Cochin-China*, and in the Kingdom of *Tonquin*, which have been ſince withdrawn; but we have ſtill an occaſional Trade there, and eſpecially in the laſt-mentioned Kingdom.

As to our Trade to the Eaſtward to *China* and the *Manillas*, I have not much to ſay of it here. The former is ſo well known in every Reſpect, that there is no Need of dwelling upon it; and, as for the latter, there is ſo little can be ſaid with Certainty, that I can ſcarce perſuade myſelf to meddle with it at all: However, for the ſake of Method, and that I may not ſeem to conclude this Matter abruptly, I ſhall juſt touch upon both. As to the *China* Trade, it has been found, by Experience, that we manage it as well, or better, at *Canton* than we did formerly at *Amoyor*, when we had a Factory in the Iſland of *Chuſan*. To ſay the Truth, the Affairs of our Company were in ſo good a Condition thirty Years ago, that we bid fair for monopolizing this Trade; but the high Duties laid upon Teas and other *Chineſe* Commodities, defeated our Induſtry abroad, and gave Encouragement to the pernicious Practice of Smuggling, which, in a very ſhort time, put our Trade in *China* almoſt on a Level with that of other Nations; but, perhaps, by a right Management, and a due Regard ſhewn by the Government for the Intereſt of the Company, Things may be ſet right again.

As to the *Manilla* Trade, the *French* ſay, that we carry on a conſiderable Part of it under *Iriſh* Colours; but I muſt confeſs, I believe there is no good Authority for this, though it is very highly probable that ſomething of this ſort may be done under *Mooriſh*, or rather under *Portugueze* Colours; for the *Spaniards*, contrary to their Cuſtom in all their other Colonies, have laid open this Trade to all Nations, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* only excepted, which Exception by the Government is of no great Conſequence, where it is the Intereſt of their Subjects, as well as ours, to break through it. But, with reſpect to *Japon*, which lies ſtill farther to the eaſt, we have, as I have already ſhewn at large, loſt all Correſpondence therewith, and whatever Commodities of that Country are brought into ours, we derive from our Trade with the *Chineſe* and *Dutch*.

Thus, according to the cleareſt Lights that I have been able to obtain, I have performed my promiſe, and given the beſt Account that was in my Power, not only of the Riſe and Progreſs, but alſo the preſent State of our Commerce to the *Indies*, which, I hope, appears to the Reader to be in a much more flouriſhing State than ever; and that it may ſtill continue, or rather that it may yet improve beyond what it has hitherto done, it is abſolutely neceſſary that three Points ſhould be univerſally well underſtood; the firſt is, that this Trade is highly beneficial to the Nation; the ſecond, that as Things now ſtand, it cannot be effectually carried on otherwiſe than by ſupporting the preſent Company; and laſtly, that the Objections heretofore made, and which are ſtill circulated among the common People, are falſe and groundleſs; ſo that if we ſhould grow careleſs enough to loſe this Trade, it will go near to carry all other Trade with it. We will ſuccinctly demonſtrate each of theſe Points, and ſo conclude this Section.

Firſt, then, I am to ſhew that it is a Thing advantageous to this Nation, that the *Eaſt-India* Trade ſhould be carried on. If we conſider this generally, there is nothing eaſier, nothing more certainly to be made out than this; for have we not ſeen that the *Hebrews*, *Tyrians*, *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans* in ancient Times; and that the *Venetians*, *Genoeſe*, *Portugueze* and *Dutch*, among the Moderns, have all raiſed themſelves to immenſe Wealth, and to a ſurpriſing Degree of naval Power, by being poſſeſſed of this Trade? What Need then of arguing to perſuade the People of this Country, that what has enriched all others, muſt be beneficial for them, that what has beſtowed the Dominion of the Sea in Times paſt and preſent, is neceſſary to them, and that if in a Matter of this Nature, we are guided by Experience, it is ſcarce poſſible that we ſhould be miſtaken. But, to deſcend to Particulars, the *Eaſt-India* Trade, I ſpeak in reference to this Kingdom, has all the Marks and Characters of Advantage that any Trade can have.

In the firſt Place, its Navigation is very conſiderable; it maintains a vaſt Number of Seamen, more indeed than can be eaſily computed: But to place this Point in a proper Light, we muſt, firſt of all, conſider the Number of Ships that are annually taken up by the *Eaſt-India* Company; we muſt next call to Mind the Number of Seamen continually employed in the *Indies*, in trading from Port to Port; and laſtly, we muſt reflect on the Shipping employed in exporting *Eaſt-India* Goods to all the different Parts of *Europe*, and then we ſhall have a competent Notion of the Value of this Trade in this reſpect, provided alſo that we bear in Mind the great Improvement that ſuch long Voyages naturally make in thoſe who are employed in them, and the great Conſequences of this to a Country, the Power and Welfare of which depend upon a maritime Force.

In the next Place, there is nothing more certain, than that we derive a great Part of our Wealth from this Commerce, which brings in large Quantities of Gold and other intrinſick Riches immediately from the *Indies* in its ordinary Courſe. It is no leſs evident, that private Men make vaſt Fortunes in the *Indies*, which, ſooner, or later, they bring home: And all theſe Eſtates are conſequently Acceſſions to the Wealth of this Kingdom. We muſt add to this the Ballance that accrues to the Nation from the exporting of *Indian* Commodities and Manufactures; which is in itſelf ſo vaſt a thing, that it would require Volumes to explain it thoroughly. But this is not my preſent Buſineſs; all I aim at is, to give a general Notion of the Advantages derived to us from this Commerce; and, in order thereto, it is ſufficient that I put the Reader in mind, that there is ſcarce a Branch of Trade which we at preſent enjoy, but is ſome way or other affected by our Importations from *India*, and which, conſequently, muſt ſo far depend upon them, ſince, if we had not theſe Goods, we could not carry them on.

Another great Advantage this Commerce beſtows, is the Exportation of our Manufactures, to which the *Eaſt-India* Company are bound, by their Charters, with which they not only comply, but have greatly exceeded what was expected from them; and, of late Years eſpecially, have conſtantly increaſed their Exportations, ſo that a great Part of thoſe valuable Effects which they bring home are, ſtrictly and properly ſpeaking, the Produce of the Labour and Induſtry of our own People. But, beſides this, they bring home ſeveral raw and unmanufactured Goods, ſuch as Silk, and Cotton, which are wrought up here, and vaſt Quantities of them exported to our Plantations, by which we obtain a great Part of that prodigious Ballance in our Favour which ariſes from that Trade.

There is yet another Point which I muſt inſiſt upon, which is the furniſhing us for our own Wear, with large Quantities of cheap and beautiful Stuffs, that might enable us, if our Poor were properly regulated, and due Care taken to excite an univerſal Spirit of Induſtry, to make and ſend abroad vaſt Quantities of woollen Goods; For though it be true, that our own Conſumption of thoſe Goods is of great Conſequence to ſuch as are employed in the making of them, yet with reſpect to the Nation, it is of no Conſequence at all; for what we gain one by another, is no Acceſſion of Wealth to the Publick, for that muſt ariſe from what we draw from other Nations, either by paying for the Goods and Manufactures which we receive from them by what be export to them, or bringing over the Ballance in Money; or, which is ſtill better, in ſuch as we can again export, and ſo add the Freight and Profit upon thoſe Goods to the Ballance by which they accrue. If theſe are not clear and convincing Proofs of the Benefit reſulting to us from this Trade, it is ſimply impoſſible that we ſhould have any ſuch; and if our Opinions are not to be guided by theſe, it is not eaſy to ſay upon what they muſt be grounded.

But perhaps it may be expected that I ſhould form ſome Computation of the Profits ariſing from the *Eaſt-India* Trade, which, I muſt confeſs, will be a very difficult thing, and would require much more Room than I have to ſpare; to which I may add, that this has been already done by Dr. *Davenant* and others, in a Way that will convince any Man who has Leiſure, Attention, and Capacity, of the Truth of what they have delivered. However, that I may not ſeem altogether deficient in what many of my Readers may conceive the moſt material Point in this Enquiry, I will venture to lay down a Fact, the Proof of which I am ready to undertake whenever I am properly called upon ſo to do, which, I hope, will ſatisfy them, and it is this; that the Nation gains *Cent. per Cent.* by all that the *Eaſt-India* Company exports: And, indeed, it is my private Opinion, that for every five Pounds which the *Eaſt-India* Company employs in that Trade, the Nation gains ſix Pounds; but how far this may be leſſened by the ſetting up ſo many different *Eaſt-India* Companies in all Parts of *Europe*, is a Conſideration of another Nature, and with which therefore I ſhall not meddle here.

The ſecond Thing I promiſed was to ſhew the Expediency of ſupporting the *Eaſt-India* Company, and of leaving that Trade in the Channel it is now in. In the firſt Place, I muſt premiſe, that I am abſolutely diſintereſted in this Matter, and ſo far from having any Direction or Inſtructions from, that I have not the leaſt Connection with the Company, or any of its Directors; and am likewiſe ſo far from being a Friend to excluſive Companies in general, that I think this the only one that is, or can be beneficial to this Kingdom, for which I ſhall very freely aſſign my Reaſons. The firſt is, that the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* is of ſuch a Nature that it is of the utmoſt Conſequence to the Nation to have, from time to time, diſtinct Accounts of its State and Condition, which could not be ſo well, or at leaſt, not ſo eaſily received, if it was not managed by a Company: As, on the other hand, the neceſſary Inſtructions and Regulations, could not, with ſuch Facility, be any other Way conveyed. What ſeems to ſtrengthen and inforce this Opinion, is the Conduct of all other Nations, who whenever they have adventured to interfere in this Trade, have conſtantly put it under the Management of a Company; and to ſay the Truth, whoever ſhall conſider how Things are to be diſtributed in the *Indies*, and what a Connection there is between the Commerce of the ſeveral Countries included within the Extent of the *Eaſt-India* Company's Charter, will very eaſily diſcern, that if the whole were not under the Management and Direction of a Body of Men converſant therein; and not only capable of giving Directions, but properly empowered to ſee thoſe Directions carried into Execution; it would be impoſſible, that this Commerce ſhould thrive, or even, that it ſhould ſubſiſt.

One may in like Manner conceive, that if the Poſſeſſion of the Colonies and Forts in the *Indies* were in the Crown, and the Management of the Trade only in the Hands of the Company, it could not but be attended with numberleſs Inconveniencies, as indeed Experience ſhewed, in the Reign of King *Charles* II. when *Bombay* came to the Crown, by his Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*, and therefore both that Iſland, and the Iſland of *St. Helena*, have been granted to the *Eaſt-India* Company, for the ſake of publick Conveniency. We may likewiſe diſcover from the Diſorders of the *Eaſt-India* Company's Affairs in that Reign, and in the Reign of King *James*, that it is very detrimental to this Commerce, and to the Benefits reſulting from thence to the Nation, that the Company ſhould be immediately under the Power of the Crown, ſo as to ſtand indebted for all Encouragement, and to have no other Reſourſe in caſe of Grievances, than what they can draw from Royal Power; for this on the one Hand renders Trade precarious, and on the other, intereſts a great Body of People in the Support of the Prerogative, which might be of dangerous Conſequence.

The Miſchiefs flowing from two *Eaſt-India* Companies ſubſiſting at one Time, we have known from Experience; and ſo great they were, that both Companies became very ſoon ſenſible, that nothing but the Union of their Intereſts, could poſſibly afford a proper Remedy. Yet I think one may ſafely conclude, that the laying this Trade open, which is what has been often contended for, would be a Scheme big with ſtill greater Inconveniencies, becauſe it would be at the Bottom a Multiplication of Companies, all acting upon ſeparate Intereſts, which conſequently would be perpetually claſhing and interfering with each other. But as Things ſtand at preſent, and as all other Countries carry on this Trade in this Way, there remains no other for us, and we muſt either ſupport the *Eaſt-India* Company, or reſolve to give up our Commerce to the *Indies*, there being no middle Courſe for us to ſteer; and it was, without Doubt, from a juſt Senſe of this, that in the two laſt Reigns, ſo much has been done by Parliament, in Favour of this Company, and ſo many new Powers granted them.

I am very ſenſible, that even theſe Powers, and indeed, all the Powers with which the Company are intruſted, may be liable to many, and ſome of them juſt Objections; but if the Powers of the Board of Trade were enlarged, and its Juriſdiction properly inforced, all thoſe Inconveniencies upon which theſe Objections are grounded, might be eaſily taken away; and beſides, we very well know, that the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer can, and do interpoſe, as well in Favour of Foreigners, as Natives, whenever the Power of the *Eaſt-India* Company, or any of its Officers, is ſo exerciſed, as to commit Acts of manifeſt Injuſtice.

But at the ſame Time, that from all theſe concurring, and, as I conceive, unanſwerable Reaſons, I am perſuaded, that this Trade is beſt carried on, by an incorporated Body, I am very far from contending, that they ſhould act without controul, or that they ſhould not be in all reſpects ſubject to whatever Regulations the Legiſlature ſhall from Time to Time think fit to enact, for rendering the Commerce they carry on more and more beneficial to this Nation. It is from a due Senſe of this, that I could heartily wiſh, Propoſals might be made to the Board of Trade, for opening a direct and immediate Correſpondence, either by the *Cape of Good-hope*, or by the *Streights of Magellan*, with the Southern-continent; and in caſe any Project of that ſort ſhould be laid before them, that was thought practicable, I ſhould eſteem it highly reaſonable, that upon their Recommendation, the *Eaſt-India* Company ſhould be obliged to make ſuch an Attempt, or if they refuſed, that any private Perſons might be allowed to undertake it, and have proper Aſſurances and Encouragements given them by the Publick. For it is, and will be ever my Sentiment, that this, and all other Companies, are but ſo many Corporations endowed with Powers in Truſt for the Publick, for which they are, and muſt be accountable to the Publick, and alſo be ſubject to ſuch Alterations, Extenſions, and Reſtrictions, as may render them moſt ſerviceable to the Publick.

I the rather inſiſt upon theſe Points at this Time, becauſe, without ſome Acceſſion of new Trade, which we may poſſeſs as a Nation excluſive of all others, I do not ſee how it is poſſible we ſhould maintain our maritime Power at its preſent Height. As on the other Hand, I can ſee no reaſon whatever, why, if any Thing can be done for the Service of the Nation, in this Reſpect, by opening a Trade to the ſouthern *Indies*, by recovering the Trade of *Japon*, by diſcovering any Countries to the North of that Empire, or by any other Method whatever, it ſhould be left undone out of Reſpect to the Powers or Priviledges poſſeſſed by any Corporation.

I come now to the laſt Point that I have undertaken to clear, and that is the popular Objections which have been raiſed againſt the Commerce to the *Indies*; of which there are many, and ſome of them ſo plauſible, that Men of great Parts, and good Intentions, have been led away by them. The firſt of theſe is grounded upon the Exportation of Bullion, and which, if I conceive it right, is thus ſtated. The common Meaſure of all Things in a commercial Way, is Silver, and conſequently the great Mark of a Nation's Wealth, is her drawing this common Meaſure from other Nations; but the *Eaſt-India* Trade is carried on by exporting this real and intrinſick Wealth, which never returns, but is employed to bring back Things that are not neceſſary, but meer Inſtruments of Luxury.

Before I proceed to the direct Solution of this Difficulty, I muſt obſerve, that if we give this Objection its full Weight, it will deſtroy all Commerce. The Neceſſaries of Life are in every Country, or at leaſt in every habitable Country, and it is to what ſome People call Luxury, that all Trade whatever is owing; ſo that if we admit this Principle, we ſhould not only drink Sage inſtead of Green-tea, but make uſe of Honey inſtead of Sugar. In ſhort, we ſhould endeavour to cultivate and improve the Produce of our own Country, live upon it, and leave all the reſt of the World to ſhift for itſelf. How juſt a Maxim this would be, for People who inhabit an Iſland, and how reaſonable it is, for Folks who derive moſt of the Bleſſings they enjoy from Trade, and maritime Power, to talk thus, I leave the Reader to judge. But if once we ſet this Objection ſo far aſide as to allow that Trade is a commendable Thing for the very Reaſon the Objection aſſigns, *viz.* that it makes the Country in which it flouriſhes, Rich; the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* becomes as defenceable as any other: For, if exporting of Bullion does not impoveriſh the Nation, then there is no Force at all in the Objection; and that it does not in this Caſe, I am very well able to prove. When the firſt Charter was granted to the *Eaſt-India* Company, this Evil was foreſeen, and properly guarded againſt by a Proviſo, that the Company ſhould be obliged to bring in as large a Quantity of Bullion as they carried out, in the Interval between the Voyages made, at the Riſque of the Company. In reality therefore, there never was any Foundation for this Complaint, that the Quantity of Silver in this Kingdom was diminiſhed by the *Eaſt-India* Trade. But by Degrees, and as this Commerce has increaſed, inſtead of impoveriſhing, it has greatly encreaſed the Wealth of this Nation, by bringing in on one Hand large Quantities of Silver for the *Indian* Merchandize exported, and detaining here on the other as great Sums of Money, that muſt otherwiſe have been exported for foreign Manufactures, which would have been worn here, if we had not been better and cheaper ſupplied from *India*.

Another Objection is, or at leaſt was, that the wearing of *India* Piece-goods hurt our own woollen and ſilk Manufactures; but this in a great Meaſure has been cured by the Laws paſſed for that Purpoſe. It may not be amiſs, however, to obſerve, that thoſe Manufactures are chiefly to be encouraged, which contribute to Exportation, ſince it is certain, that the cheaper People can be cloathed here, let that cloathing come from where it will, the cheaper they can afford to work; and it is the Cheapneſs of Labour, that is the great Point to be ſtudied in a Nation; for if we can Under-work other Nations, we ſhall infallibly undermine their Trade, and extend our own; for, as I obſerved before, private People may be enriched by home Conſumption, yet the Publick gets nothing thereby, and this Conſideration is ſufficient to enable the intelligent Reader, to diſcern how a Clamour may be raiſed in Favour of Trades, no Way advantageous to the Publick, and againſt ſuch Trades as are highly beneficial to the People, and this from confounding the Intereſt of private Men, or of great Bodies of Men, with the Intereſt of the Publick, which it requires great Skill, Induſtry, and Diſintereſtedneſs to diſentangle, and ſet in its proper Light. There is beſides, a great Diſadvantage in arguing on Topicks of this Nature, becauſe, while a Man is really pleading for the Publick, he is maliciouſly miſrepreſented as an Advocate for the private Intereſt of that Body of Men whoſe Cauſe he eſpouſes, tho' in Truth he does not eſpouſe their Cauſe out of regard to their private or particular Intereſt, but merely from a Conviction of Mind, that their Cauſe is in this reſpect the Cauſe of the Publick.

A third Objection is, that even the Exportation of *Indian* Goods is diſadvantageous to the Nation, becauſe it leſſens, or at leaſt is ſuppoſed to leſſen the Conſumption of our own Manufactures, in thoſe Countries to which the Produce of *India* is exported: A very ſtrong Objection this, in all Appearance, and yet at the Bottom a meer Fallacy, and not at all grounded on Truth. For this Objection ſuppoſes what is manifeſtly falſe, *viz.* that it depends upon our Exportation, whether the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries to which we ſend them, ſhall wear the Manufactures of the *Indies*, or not; but as it is notorious, that if we did not ſupply them, they would receive them from the *Dutch*, or *French*, which would have the ſame Effect as to the Excluſion of our Manufactures; the true State of the Queſtion comes at length to this, whether we ſhall take their Money, or their Goods for *Indian* Commodities, or whether we ſhall ſubmit to let them lay out that, or part with thoſe for *Indian* Commodities, which we might ſupply, to other People?

The Truth of all this, as it will appear to every candid and ingenious Reader, from the Reaſons and Arguments already advanced, ſo, at this Juncture, it muſt be evident to every Man who has but common Senſe, from the Light of Experience; for do we not ſee, that the *Ruſſians*, *Swedes*, *Danes*, and other Nations, are bent upon eſtabliſhing a direct Correſpondence with *India*, in order to obtain greater Quantities of the Goods of that Country; and does not this manifeſtly prove, that the Appetites of theſe People for thoſe Things were ſo ſtrong, that it was no Way in our Power to check, or correct them?

The Truth of the Matter is, that the ſole Objection againſt this Commerce, that has any Force, lies in this ſimple Propoſition, *that it is againſt the Intereſt of the weſtern Part of the World, to correſpond with the Eaſt.* The Reaſons which are brought to prove this, are indeed very plauſible. It is ſaid, that the Ballance of Trade is againſt us, that we import the Commodities and Manufactures of the *Indies*, and export Silver to pay for them. That this drains *Europe* to ſuch a Degree, as that ſince the Diſcovery of the Paſſage by the *Cape of Good-hope*, it is demonſtrable, that the *Indians* have gained from the *Europeans* upwards of two hundred Millions in Silver, which immenſe Wealth they poſſeſs, while all that we received for it, is long ago loſt and conſumed. It is confeſſed, even by the warmeſt Writers in Favour of the *Indian* Trade (tho' I freely own I am of a different Opinion) that this ſufficiently proves, that it would be for the

Benefit of the weſtern Part of the World, if they had no Commerce at all with the Eaſt; and that it would be an Advantage to *Europe* in general, if the Commerce to the *Indies* were totally aboliſhed.

Admitting this to be true, what is it to us? We are not yet the Legiſlators of *Europe*; we cannot bid the *Dutch* diſſolve their Company, and recall their Subjects from the *Indies*; we cannot forbid the *French* to trade thither; and if our Miniſters at *Stockholm*, and *Copenhagen*, ſhould perſuade thoſe Courts not to ſend any more Ships to *China*, it is not at all probable, that they would take our Advice. We muſt be content then, to take the World as it lies before us, and ſince the Humour of trading to *India* cannot be extinguiſhed, we, as a trading Nation, muſt endeavour ſo to manage that Humour, and our Commerce, as that both may turn to our Advantage.

We muſt contrive to maintain and ſupport the Acquiſitions made by our Company in that Part of the World; we muſt engage them to take off as great a Quantity of our Manufactures as is poſſible; we muſt encourage to the utmoſt the Exportation of ſuch Goods and Manufactures as the Company brings home, and which is of the greateſt Conſequence to this Nation; we muſt, at all Events, and by whatever Means it can be done, prevent the ſmuggling of *Indian* Commodities into theſe Kingdoms; for ſuch as promote that Practice, are the moſt notorious Enemies of their Country, and cannot get a ſingle Shilling, without robbing the Nation of five.

Thus I have entirely finiſhed what I propoſed with reſpect to our Commerce, with this Part of the World. I have ſhewn, that it is the great Wheel which moves all the reſt; that we have no reaſon to be diſſatisfied at ſeeing it managed by an excluſive Company; that by Degrees, and by a Variety of Accidents, this Company is now placed on the beſt Baſis that can be for the Nation; that there is no doubt, their Trade is extremely beneficial; that the Objections againſt it, are very far from being well founded, and that at this Juncture, it imports us more than ever to be well informed, and clearly convinced as to theſe Things, becauſe there never was a Conjuncture when the thorough underſtanding of them was of ſo great Conſequence to the Publick. If in the managing ſo extenſive, ſo intricate, and in ſome Caſes, ſo invidious a Subject, I ſhall be thought to have performed well, it is the Height of my Ambition; but if I have failed therein, it will be ſtill my Comfort, that it was my Endeavour. I might with much greater eaſe to myſelf have contracted this Section into a narrower Compaſs, but I have ſincerely ſtudied the Benefit of the Reader, and how to render the Time he beſtows in the Peruſal of this Work beneficial to himſelf, by inſpiring him with ſuch Sentiments as may render him uſeful to his Country.

SECTION XXXIV.

A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Eſtabliſhment of the Dutch East-India *Company, with a View of the immenſe Profits ariſing from that Commerce, and a Proſpect of their Affairs, and the Manner in which they are conducted, as well at Home, as in their extenſive Settlements Abroad.*

Collected chiefly from their own Writers.

1. *An introductory Account of the Situation of Affairs in* Holland, *at the Time their Commerce to the* Eaſt-Indies *was firſt undertaken.* 2. Houtman's *Impriſonment in* Portugal, *proves the Means of their learning the true Rout to the* Eaſt-Indies. 3. *The firſt Voyages made under the Direction of* Houtman, *at the Cloſe of the ſixteenth Century.* 4. *A new Company of Merchants engage in this Trade with great Succeſs.* 5. *The* States-General *and Prince* Maurice *interpoſe in Order to put this Company on a proper Eſtabliſhment.* 6. *The* Dutch Eaſt-India *Company formed, and* Letters Patent *dated* March *the 20th 1602, for twenty-one Years.* 7. *A great Struggle between the* Dutch *and* Spaniards *about the* Moluccas, *in which the former at laſt prevailed.* 8. *An Account of the ſurprizing Succeſs of the* Dutch *Company, and of the prodigious Dividends made by them to their Proprietors in a few Years.* 9. *The Riſe of the Company's great Power in the* Indies, *and the Cauſes thereof truly aſſigned.* 10. *Their Charter renewed and enlarged, with the Conſequences ariſing from thence.* 11. *The Progreſs of their Trade in the* Indies, *and other remarkable Occurrences.* 12 *The Hiſtory of this Company continued till the Expiration of their ſecond Charter.* 13. *An Account of their Affairs to the Year* 1660. 14. *The Continuation of this Hiſtory to the Cloſe of the laſt Century.* 15. *A conciſe Deduction of this Hiſtory to the preſent Times.* 16. *A ſhort Account of their preſent Settlements in the* Indies. 17. *A curious and particular Relation of the Manner in which they manage their Affairs.* 18. *Of their Councils and Goverment in the* Indies. 19. *The Oeconomy of their Fleets, Squadrons, and ſingle Ships, with other Particulars relating to their naval Concerns.* 20. *A View of their Management of Orphans Effects, and of the Care taken by them of their Poor.* 21. *Of the Management of the Company's Affairs in* Holland, *with a Table of their Dividends, from* 1610 *to* 1717.

1. THERE could not certainly be any nobler Subject choſen by an Author inclined at once to entertain and inſtruct his Readers, than an Enquiry how far the Spirit of Liberty and Trade may be able to advance a People, notwithſtanding any Difficulties they may labour under from the Situation of their Country, the Poverty of its Soil, and the Oppoſition of their Neighbours. Such a Plan as this, might enable a Man of ſolid Underſtanding, quick Wit, and competent Learning, to frame a political Syſtem as uſeful, and at the ſame Time, no leſs pleaſant and agreeable, than the famous Poems of *Homer*, which have hitherto been eſteemed inimitable, and which are allowed to contain the Principles of almoſt all Sciences, though delivered under the ſpecious Veil of Fictions. But if the Compoſition of ſuch a Work be a Taſk ſo hard as ſcarce to be expected, an Author of a cooler Genius than is requiſite for ſuch a Performance, might perform ſomething very laudable in this kind, by writing a copious Hiſtory of the Eſtabliſhment of the *Dutch* Republick, which would ſufficiently ſhew, that the Deſire of preſerving religious and civil Liberty, maintaining the natural Rights of Mankind with reſpect to Trade, and tranſmitting the Bleſſings of an equal and mild Adminiſtration to Poſterity, are Principles capable of raiſing ſuch an heroick Spirit in any People, as will enable them to overcome all Difficulties of what kind ſoever, and that to ſuch a Degree, as to give them a Capacity of changing, at leaſt in Appearance, the very Laws of Nature, ſo as

to render the meaneſt Country a Paradiſe, and the moſt diſtreſſed and dejected of the human Race, the braveſt Soldiers, and the moſt enterprizing Seamen.

Such a Hiſtory would particularly ſhew, that Providence can conduct, by the moſt unlikely Means, the nobleſt Deſigns to the higheſt Degree of Perfection, and lay the Ground-work of the moſt exalted Power and Liberty in the midſt of Tyranny and Oppreſſion. For moſt evident it is, that if the *Spaniards* had not purſued the moſt barbarous Plan of Politicks in Reference to their Subjects in the *Low-Countries*, the Republick of the *United Provinces* had never exiſted, nor had the People of *Holland* ever arrived at any Part of that Wealth, Dignity and ſurprizing Power, as for the two laſt Centuries they have enjoyed. It is the peculiar Glory of the Almighty, to produce Order out of Confuſion, Good out of Evil, Strength and Happineſs out of Weakneſs and Miſery, and of this, no Period of Hiſtory affords us a more illuſtrious Inſtance, than that which is to be the Subject of the preſent Section. It was the Bigotry of the *Spaniards*, and their illegal Introduction of the bloody Inquiſition into the *Netherlands*, that introduced that Firmneſs to their religious Principles, and that zealous Concern for the Liberty of Conſcience, which has proved the Source of the Grandeur of the *Dutch*. It was the barbarous, as well as arbitrary Government of the Duke of *Alva*, Cardinal *Granville*, and ſuch Miniſters of Oppreſſion, that eſtabliſhed thoſe Notions of civil Liberty, that enabled the diſtreſſed Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* to eſtabliſh a Form of Government capable of procuring and maintaining their Freedom; and it was the Meaſures taken to curb, to diſtreſs, and to ruin the little Trade they then had, which forced theſe People upon thoſe Methods (that in a very ſmall Space of Time rendered them the moſt conſiderable trading Republick the World ever ſaw.

It muſt be allowed, that of all the Monarchs that were ever ſeized with a Paſſion for univerſal Empire, there never was one who ſeemed to have it more in his Power to gratify Ambition in its largeſt Extent, than *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, who was not led thereto by the Excitements of Miniſters more capable than himſelf, but formed his own Schemes, and conducted them with ſuch Wiſdom and Policy, that if the End he aimed at had been attainable by human Abilities, one could ſcarce conceive how he came to be fruſtrated in his Deſign. He had gained the Court of *Rome* entirely to his Intereſt, and was thereby able to bend the predominant Religion in *Europe* to his Purpoſes. He had the whole Force of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and of the Houſe of *Auſtria* in *Germany* at his Command; the greateſt maritime Power in the World was at his Diſpoſal, a great Part of *Italy* was in his Poſſeſſion; he had a ſtrong Party in *England*, and a ſtronger in *France*, and all the Riches in the *Indies* flowed into his Coffers; but what was ſtill of greater Conſequence, he had the moſt able Miniſters, and the moſt experienced Generals, and the beſt diſciplined Troops in the World at his Devotion; all which Advantages were doubled by his Skill in making uſe of them; for he had a Soul above the Reach of Fortune, and a Capacity more extenſive than his Dominions; ſo that had he undertaken what was in the Power of Man to atchieve, he had eaſily and happily performed it; but as his Project was without Bounds, ſo the Methods he uſed, tho' wiſely contrived, and generally ſpeaking, well carried into Execution, proved not only fruitleſs, but ſo diſſipated the Wealth and Strength of his Empire, that as he died himſelf of Diſcontent, ſo he left the *Spaniſh* Monarchy under an incurable Conſumption.

But amongſt all the vaſt Deſigns which this Monarch formed, that which was beſt digeſted, was attended with the worſe Effects. He knew, that a Monopoly of Trade, was the firſt Step to univerſal Empire, and therefore formed a Plan for fixing the whole Trade of the World to his Dominions. It was with this View, that he ſet on Foot two Schemes which proved abortive indeed, but which will eternally prove the Strength of that Genius which deviſed them. The firſt was the ſeizing and ſecuring the Sound, or narrow Paſſage into the *Baltick*, by which he hoped to become Maſter of all the Trade of the North: The other was building a City of his own Name in the Streights of *Magellan*, and eſtabliſhing ſuch a Colony there, as might put it out of the Power of other Nations to trouble the Commerce of the *South-Seas*, or find a Paſſage that Way to the *Eaſt-Indies*. But failing in theſe Deſigns, he turned his Thoughts another Way, and finding that his revolted Subjects in the *Netherlands*, began to make a great Figure in Trade, eſpecially after the Ruin of the City of *Antwerp*, he reſolved to cut them ſhort in that, as much as lay in his Power, and being become Maſter of *Portugal*, he abſolutely forbid them all Commerce, not only with the *Indies*, but in the Commodities of the *Indies*, which they had hitherto purchaſed at *Liſbon*, and with great Profit to themſelves, had diſtributed to the northern Parts of *Europe*. It was by this Prohibition, expreſly calculated for the Ruin of their Trade, that the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* were compelled to thoſe Undertakings which have ſince made them Lords of *India*. If the *Spaniards* had never forbid them, they had never thought of going thither; if they had remained the ſole Carriers of Spices, or even been allowed a reaſonable Proportion of that Trade, they had never been the Proprietors of it.

But the making this unexpected Stroke at their Commerce, at a Juncture when they had many rich Merchants amongſt them, and their Country ſwarmed with able Seamen, inſtead of damping their Spirits, and depriving them of all Hopes, excited them to form a multitude of Projects for averting this Evil, more eſpecially when they found that his Catholick Majeſty remained firm to his Point, and actually cauſed their Ships to be ſeized, and ſuch as were on Board them to be impriſoned. This convinced them, that they muſt either abandon all Thoughts of this Commerce, or ſtrike out ſome new Rout for themſelves, which was ſo much the more difficult, becauſe even while they lived under the *Spaniſh* Yoke, they had never been permitted to make Voyages to the *Indies*. They derived, however, ſome Aſſiſtance from the Merchants who had ſettled among them, after the taking of *Antwerp*, for they were better acquainted with the *Spaniſh* Trade, and with the Method uſed in carrying it on, and it was thoſe People who adviſed the taking into their Service ſuch Seamen and Pilots as had ſerved under Sir *Francis Drake*, the famous *Candiſh*, and other *Engliſh* Commanders of Note. The Informations gained from theſe People, gave them ſuch Lights, that by Degrees, their Merchants began to think an *Indian* Expedition practicable, and began likewiſe to be willing to run the Hazard of ſuch an Undertaking, from the Proſpect of the prodigious Profit that muſt neceſſarily accrue to them, if they met with Succeſs, which bore ſcarce any Proportion to the Expence neceſſary for making ſuch a Trial.

2. Among others, *James Valk*, and *Chriſtopher Roeltius*, the one Treaſurer, and the other Penſioner to the States of *Zealand*, in Conjunction with ſeveral Merchants, particularly *Balthaſar Moucheron*, *John Janſon*, *Charles Dirk Van Os*, and many others, took up a Reſolution to open a Paſſage into the *Indies*, from whence they were unjuſtly excluded by the Emperor *Charles* V. and *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*. They conceived, that by ſteering North-Eaſt, they might run along the Coaſt of *Tartary*, and ſo reach *Cathay*, *China*, *Japon*, *India*, and the *Philipine* and *Molucca* Iſlands: The Execution of this Project was committed to two excellent Mariners, *William Barentz*, and *James Heemſkirk*, and afterwards to divers others; but hitherto the Almighty has not favoured the Diſcovery of that Paſſage, or of the People that live in thoſe Climates, while they were in queſt of this Northern Paſſage. One *Cornelius Houtman*, a *Dutchman*, happen'd to be in *Portugal*, and there ſatisfied his Curioſity by a diligent Enquiry into the State of the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the Courſe that one muſt ſteer, in order to come at it. He had frequent Conferences upon this Subject with the *Portugeze*, who gave Notice of it to the Court.

At that Time, all Foreigners were prohibited to make ſuch Enquiries; and upon that Score *Houtman* was put in Priſon, and ordered to ſtay there 'till he paid a heavy Fine: In order to raiſe ſuch a conſiderable Sum of Money, he addreſſed himſelf to the Merchants of *Amſterdam*, and gave them to underſtand, that if they would pay his Fine,

he would diſcover to them all that related to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the Paſſage thither: Accordingly they granted his Requeſt, and he performed his Promiſe.

After mature Conſideration of what he had offered, they reſolved to erect another Company, called the Company for remote Countries. The Directors of this Company were, *Henry Hudden*, *Renier Pauw*, *Peter Haſſelaar*, *John Jans*, *Charles de Oude*, *John Poppen*, *Henry Buyck*, *Dirck Van Os*, *Syvert Pieterſz Seem*, and *Arenten Grootenhuiſe*. Theſe Directors conſidering as yet that 'twas very uncertain, whether the North Paſſage was practicable, tho' at the ſame time they were ſenſible, that it was the ſhorteſt and ſureſt Paſſage, and withal the moſt healthy, in regard that in it they did not croſs the Equinoctial Line: Upon this Conſideration, they came to a Reſolution *Anno Domini* 1595, to ſend four Veſſels to the *Indies*, by the Way of the *Cape of Good-hope*.

3. *Houtman*, and ſome others, who had the Command in this Expedition, were ordered to obſerve the Courſe they ſteered very nicely, and to ſettle with the *Indians* the Commerce of Spices and other Goods, eſpecially in thoſe Countries where the *Portugueze* had no Settlements. They looked upon this Commerce as a very valuable Thing, eſpecially conſidering that it would ſave them the Trouble of fetching that ſort of Goods from *Portugal*, which they could not do without great Hazard. Theſe Ships returned to *Holland* in the Space of two Years and four Months after their ſetting out; and though they had made no great Profit of the Voyage, yet their Succeſs animated their Owners, and ſeveral other Merchants, to carry on the Deſign yet further.

In Effect, a Member of that Company being dead, they preſently put into his Place *Gerard Bicker*, a very conſiderable Merchant. Then they had Advice that ſome other Merchants of *Amſterdam* deſigned to ſet out Ships for *India*. The Names of thoſe Merchants were *Vincent Van Broncherſt*, *Simon Janſz*, *Govert Dirrickz*, *Cornelius Van Campen*, *Jacob Thomaſz*, *Elbert Simonſz Jencheyn*, and *John Harmanſz*. The Company, to avoid Animoſities, thought it neceſſary to unite with thoſe Merchants, and, accordingly, the two Fleets, conſiſting of eight Veſſels, joined under the Command of *James Van Nek*, their Admiral, and ſailed from the *Texel A. D.* 1598.

A Deſign of the ſame Nature was likewiſe ſet on Foot in *Zealand*, and accordingly *Balthaſar Moucheron*, and *Adrian Hendrickzten Haaf*, with ſome other Partners, fitted out Ships for the *Indies*. The Inhabitants of *Roterdam* being ſpurred forward by ſuch Examples, preſently formed a Company, and fitted out five Ships, under the Command of *James Mahu*, with Orders to ſail to the *Molucca* Iſlands, by the Strait of *Magellan*, and the *South-Sea*. In the mean time, the *Amſterdam* Merchants grew hotter upon the Matter, and the Company before mentioned, without ſtaying for the Return of the Fleet they had ſent already, fitted out three Ships more, which put to Sea *May* 4, 1599, under the Command of *Stephen Vander Hagan*. On the 8th of the then next *July*, four of the eight Ships that went out firſt, arrived in the *Texel*, and after they were unloaded, were immediately ſent back again under the Command of *James Willekens*.

4. About the ſame time, ſeveral *Amſterdam* Merchants, moſt of whom were *Brabanters* by Birth, formed another Company upon the ſame Deſign, and fitted out four Veſſels, which put to Sea *December* 1599, in Conſort with four of the old Company's Ships. Two Years after all theſe Ships came home with rich Cargoes: But before their Arrival this new Company had ſent out two Ships, which were joined by ſix more of the old Company, all of them putting to Sea *A. D.* 1600, under the Command of *James Van Nek*; and, in the Proceſs of Time, all of them returned at ſeveral Times to their reſpective Ports. Upon the Conſideration of theſe lucky Adventures, ſeveral freſh Ships were fitted out in *Amſterdam*, *Zealand*, and elſewhere; among others, thirteen were ſent from *Amſterdam*, *viz.* four belonging to the old, and four to the new Company, under the Command of *James Heemſkirk*, and *James Grenier*, and five more of the old Company, bound for the *Moluccas*, under the Command of *Wolphart Harmanſz*; all the thirteen ſet ſail from the *Texel*, *April* 1601.

At this, the *Spaniards* were enraged with Anger and Grief, partly in regard of the Affront they ſuffered in ſeeing ſuch petty Merchants compaſs their Ends in ſpite of their Teeth; and partly upon the Account of the Loſs they ſuſtained, and were likely to ſuſtain hereafter. With this View they fitted out a ſtrong Squadron, in order to ſurprize the *Dutch* Ships. This Squadron conſiſting of thirty Men of War, well manned, fell in with eight of the *Dutch* Ships in the Month of *May*, in the Lat. of 14°. The *Dutch* perceived the Inequality of their Number and Forces, notwithſtanding that they had ſome Soldiers aboard: However, they were not daunted, for they fought bravely, and the *Spaniſh* Admiral was ſo warmly received, that he thought it convenient to let them paſs.

The next Year, three Ships came home from the *Indies* richly laden; they brought Advice, that the King of *Achen* had attempted to ſeize two of the *Maucherons* Ships that had ſet out from *Holland*, *A. D.* 1599. that *Cornelius Houtman*, the Commander, had loſt his Life in the Adventure; and in fine, that the Ships had eſcaped, but that ſome of the *Dutch* continued Priſoners in the Hands of the King of *Achen*.

Paul Van Caerden, having ſet out for the *Indies* that ſame Year, arrived at the Port of *Achen*, without knowing what paſſed, and there was expoſed to the like Danger; for that the King being egged on by a *Franciſcan* Monk, who reſided there in the Quality of a *Portugueze* Envoy, and had come thither from the *Moluccas* on purpoſe to wheedle him. The King, I ſay, thus ſollicited, ſet all Inſtruments at work to ſeize *Caerden*'s Ship; but all his Attempts proved abortive, and the King owned, afterwards, that he was ſeduced by the *Portugueze*, and accordingly gave a very good Reception to the Fleet commanded by *Laurence Bicker*, which had ſet out from *Zealand*, *A. D.* 1601: Nay, when the Fleet had taken in its Lading, which was very conſiderable, he ſent ſome Embaſſadors with them.

This Fleet putting into *St. Helens* to take in freſh Water, happened to meet with a *Portugueze Carrack*, richly laden, which they took, and brought along with them. The ſame Year *George Spilbergen* and the Ships he commanded were as favourably treated by the ſame King of *Achen*. The *Spaniards*, finding themſelves inferior in Strength, endeavoured to ruin the *Dutch* by all manner of Stratagems and Tricks; they ſent Emiſſaries to all the *Indian* Kings, to decry the new Adventurers to brand them for Pirates, and Men of no Faith or Honour. In fine, they uſed all poſſible Efforts to affect their Ruin, as will appear in the Sequel.

5. The States-General and Prince *Maurice*, having received Advice of what paſſed, reſolved to give Commiſſions to all Ships that ſailed that Way; and indeed the Commanders of the Ships ſtood in Need of them, in order to ſtifle the Calumnies of their Enemies. By theſe Commiſſions, they were impowered not only to defend themſelves, but to attack and commit Hoſtilities upon all that ſhould diſturb their Commerce. The valiant *James Heemiſkirk*, being cloathed with ſuch Authority, ſailed with two Ships from *Bantam* in order to have them loaded at *Iohor*, and falling in with a rich *Carrack* upon her Return to *Macaa*, or *China*, with above ſeven hundred Men on board, attacked her, and forced the *Portugueze*, after a ſlender Shew of Defence, to ſtrike, and aſk Quarter, which was granted them. This was a Proof, that things were much changed with this Nation, and that the *Dutch* had not to do with thoſe gallant and glorious *Portugueze*, who had ſpread the Terror of their Name, and the Authority of their Crown over the fineſt Provinces in *Aſia*. Neither had the *Dutch* yet learned to behave with that Haughtineſs and Inſolence, with which they have ſince been reproached in this Part of the World. On the contrary, they behaved ſo kindly to their Priſoners, and tranſacted every thing in relation to them, with ſo much Honour, that they obtained ample Teſtimonials to this Purpoſe from the *Spaniſh* Governor in the *Molucca* Iſlands, as alſo from him who preſided at *Malacca*, by which, as they

no way diminiſhed their Wealth, they greatly raiſed their Reputation, and wiped off that Imputation of Piracy, which, to render them odious, the *Spaniſh* Government had thrown upon them.

This Capture was of prodigious Conſequence, becauſe it gave them a compleat View of the Riches and Commodities of the *Indies*; ſo that themſelves and their Countrymen now knew exactly what they were ſeeking, and could form a juſt Notion of the Value of that Prize, for which they drew their Swords. This heightened that Spirit which was already ſufficiently raiſed of joining in Adventures to *India*; and as good or ill Fortune ſeldom comes alone, ſo, in this Caſe another Circumſtance happened, which gave ſtill greater Credit to, and excited warmer Hopes from ſuch Undertakings.

At the ſame time *Oliver Van Noort* returned to *Holland*, after a three Years Voyage: He had been fitted out by *Peter Van Beveren*, *Hugh Buſe*, and *John Hoekbaker*, and ſet ſail from *Goeree September* 1598. He made but very inconſiderable Returns for the Merchants, but he acquired a great deal of Glory, a Share of which redounded to his Country; for, at that time, the *United Provinces* ſhared this common Glory with the *Portugueze* and *Engliſh*, That one of their Natives had ſailed round the World, by the Straits of *Magellan*. We have given a large Account of this Voyage in the firſt Chapter of this Work, and therefore need not inſiſt upon it here. It was, to be ſure, a glorious Undertaking, and the Fame that attended it had ſuch an Effect on the enterpriſing Spirits of thoſe Times, that it induced many rich Merchants to go and ſettle at *Amſterdam*, and drew thither the moſt experienced Seamen and Commanders from all Parts of *Europe*.

This is what the *Dutch* Writers tell us; and, indeed, we follow them entirely in this Account of their Company, as being the beſt inſtructed, and the moſt intelligent Guides. It is, indeed, very poſſible, and probable, that they have repreſented theſe Things to their own Advantage, for which the judicious Reader will make a proper Allowance. But, upon the whole, I believe it would have been difficult to have found any where better Materials, ſince, to do them Juſtice, they have been more careful to preſerve and record the Riſe and Progreſs of this Commerce, from the Time it fell into their Hands, than any other Nation that was ever concerned therein; and the Pains they have taken to inſert the principal Succeſſes of their *Eaſt-India* Company in their general Hiſtories, is what can never be too much commended.

6. While their Navigation continued to be thus ſucceſsful, and the Trade of the *Indies* flouriſhed more and more, there happened an Accident that diſcontinued their former good Fortune, and threatened Ruin to the whole; I mean the Plurality of Companies that were then formed, and the ſorry Underſtanding that was between them. Oftentimes many of them fitted out Ships for the ſame Port, which lowered the Price of their Goods, and diſcouraged the Sailors. The States-General being acquainted with theſe Inconveniencies, called a Meeting at the *Hague* of the Directors of the Companies, both of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and obliged them to unite in one Body for the future, to which their High Mightineſſes joined their Conſent and Authority. The Treaty that was then agreed upon was confirmed by a Patent from the Sovereign Power, for twenty-one Years, commencing from the Date, *viz. March* 20, 1602.

The Patent being given out, the Company became a very conſiderable Body, and made a joint Stock of 6,600,000 Livres. Upon this Bottom they promiſed themſelves great Things, and fitted out a Fleet of fourteen great Ships, which put to Sea in *June* 1602, under the Command of *Wybrant Van Warwyk*. The next Year, in the Month of *February*, the Yacht called *Wachter*, returned, and gave Advice that five of the other Ships would be at home very ſpeedily. By this Yacht an Account was brought of what paſſed before *Bantam* between *Wolphart Harmanz* and his Vice-Admiral, *Hans Bouwer*, on one Side, and *Don Andreas Fertado de Mendoza*, who had formed a Deſign to drive the *Dutch* out of the *Indies*. In Effect Don *Andreas* was beat, and the *Dutch* Admirals purſuing their Courſe to the *Moluccas*, arrived there at ſeveral Times one after the other.

The ſame Yatch brought the News of an Engagement at the *Moluccas* between *James Van Nek*, Admiral, and three *Portugueze* Ships, which did not turn to his Advantage; for that, after the Loſs of eight or nine Men, and ſome of the Fingers of his own Right-hand, he was obliged to ſheer off. It was this Veſſel likewiſe that brought the firſt Intelligence of the taking of a *Portugueze Carrack* by *James Heemſkirk*. Upon the Arrival of this News, another Fleet of thirteen Ships was fitted out, and ſailed *December* the 18th, under the Command of *Stephen Vander Hagen*.

In the Year 1605, the King of *Spain* iſſued forth a ſevere Declaration, in which he prohibited the Inhabitants of the *United-Provinces* to trade to the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, or to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, under the Pain of corporal Puniſhment. But the Company was ſo far from being over-awed by this Edict, that it rather inſpired them with freſh Courage, and animated them to purſue their Deſign with more Vigour and Diligence. In a Word, they preſently fitted out a Fleet of eleven Veſſels, which were fit not only for Traffick, but for warlike Exploits, and gave the Command of them to *Cornelius Matelief*. This Fleet had ſcarce put to Sea, when the Directors gave Orders for preparing another of eight Ships, which were manned not only with a full Complement of Seamen, but with Soldiers, that were engaged to ſtay and keep Garriſon in the *Indies*, if Occaſion required. This third Squadron was commanded by *Paul Van Caerdan*. Soon after two Ships of the firſt of theſe two Squadrons came home with a rich Cargoe of Cloves and other Spices: They brought Advice that Admiral *Vander Hagen* would follow them very quickly; and accordingly he arrived the next *July*, after taking ſeveral *Spaniſh* and *Portugueze* Veſſels, and poſſeſſing himſelf of the Fort of *Amboyna*, the demoliſhing that of *Tidore*, and entirely diſlodging thoſe two Nations out of the *Molucca* Iſlands.

This Expedition gave Riſe to a mighty Diſpute between the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh*, upon the Account that the latter favoured the *Spaniards*, and by ſupplying them with Powder, enabled them to hold out longer. The next *October* three other Veſſels arrived in *Holland*, and gave Intelligence that *Wybrandt Van Waerwyk* was upon his Way home, but was obliged to put in at the Iſland of *Maurice*, becauſe his Ship was leeky, and that he had taken a *Carrack* at *Patana*. This Admiral arrived in the Spring 1607, but in the preceding Winter the Company had ſent two Ships more to the *Indies*, under the Command of *John-Janſz Moldie*, to whom they owed the taking of the Fort of *Tidore*.

7. A Negotiation being then ſet on Foot for a Peace in the *Netherlands*, the Company fitted out a freſh Squadron of thirteen Ships, under the Command of *Peter-Willamſen Verhoven*, who had given a ſignal Proof of his Courage and Conduct in the Engagement at *Gibraltar*, where he was Vice-Admiral under the illuſtrious *James Heemiſkirk*. This great Fleet was fitted out with a Deſign to give the World to underſtand, that no Treaty of Peace ſhould tempt the *United Provinces* to drop their Trade to the *Indies*. Immediately the *Spaniards* ſtarted a warm Diſpute in Reference to this Article, which proved the Subject of their principal Conferences; upon that the Company gave in frequent Remonſtrances both to the States-General, and to the Mediators, and preſented to them written Memorials, in order to make them ſenſible that there was a Neceſſity of being reſolute upon that Head.

In fine, this Point being looked upon as a principal Article by both Parties, ſo that it could not be adjuſted, the States, upon a final Reſolution, made this Propoſal, that either the *Spaniards* ſhould conſent to their *Indian* Trade in the Treaty of Peace, or allow it them by a Truce, for ſome Years, or elſe, that Things ſhould continue beyond the Tropick of *Cancer* upon the ſame Bottom that they then ſtood on, and that either Party ſhould make War there, and do what they could for their own Advantage. This done, the Truce of twelve Years was accepted and concluded, and upon certain Conditions 'twas agreed, that

he would diſcover to them all that related to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the Paſſage thither: Accordingly they granted his Requeſt, and he performed his Promiſe.

After mature Conſideration of what he had offered, they reſolved to erect another Company, called the Company for remote Countries. The Directors of this Company were, *Henry Hudden*, *Renier Pauw*, *Peter Haſſelaar*, *John Jans*, *Charles de Oude*, *John Poppen*, *Henry Buyck*, *Dirck Van Os*, *Syvert Pieterſz Seem*, and *Arenten Grootenhuiſe.* These Directors conſidering as yet that 'twas very uncertain, whether the North Paſſage was practicable; tho' at the ſame time they were ſenſible, that it was the ſhorteſt and ſureſt Paſſage, and withal the moſt healthy, in regard that in it they did not croſs the Equinoctial Line: Upon this Conſideration, they came to a Reſolution *Anno Domini* 1595, to ſend four Veſſels to the *Indies*, by the Way of the *Cape of Good-hope.*

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This is what the *Dutch* Writers tell us; and, indeed, we follow them entirely in this Account of their Company, as being the beſt inſtructed, and the moſt intelligent Guides. It is, indeed, very poſſible, and probable, that they have repreſented theſe Things to their own Advantage, for which the judicious Reader will make a proper Allowance. But, upon the whole, I believe it would have been difficult to have found any where better Materials, ſince, to do them Juſtice, they have been more careful to preſerve and record the Riſe and Progreſs of this Commerce, from the Time it fell into their Hands, than any other Nation that was ever concerned therein; and the Pains they have taken to inſert the principal Succeſſes of their *Eaſt-India* Company in their general Hiſtories, is what can never be too much commended.

6. While their Navigation continued to be thus ſucceſsful, and the Trade of the *Indies* flouriſhed more and more, there happened an Accident that diſcontinued their former good Fortune, and threatened Ruin to the whole; I mean the Plurality of Companies that were then formed, and the ſorry Underſtanding that was between them. Oftentimes many of them fitted out Ships for the ſame Port, which lowered the Price of their Goods, and diſcouraged the Sailors. The States-General being acquainted with theſe Inconveniencies, called a Meeting at the *Hague* of the Directors of the Companies, both of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and obliged them to unite in one Body for the future, to which their High Mightineſſes joined their Conſent and Authority. The Treaty that was then agreed upon was confirmed by a Patent from the Sovereign Power, for twenty-one Years, commencing from the Date, *viz. March* 20, 1602.

The Patent being given out, the Company became a very conſiderable Body, and made a joint Stock of 6,600,000 Livres. Upon this Bottom they promiſed themſelves great Things, and fitted out a Fleet of fourteen great Ships, which put to Sea in *June* 1602, under the Command of *Wybrant Van Warwyk*. The next Year, in the Month of *February*, the Yacht called *Wachter*, returned, and gave Advice that five of the other Ships would be at home very ſpeedily. By this Yacht an Account was brought of what paſſed before *Bantam* between *Wolphart Harmanz* and his Vice-Admiral, *Hans Bouwer*, on one Side, and *Don Andreas Fertado de Mendoza*, who had formed a Deſign to drive the *Dutch* out of the *Indies*. In Effect Don *Andreas* was beat, and the *Dutch* Admirals purſuing their Courſe to the *Moluccas*, arrived there at ſeveral Times one after the other.

The ſame Yatch brought the News of an Engagement at the *Moluccas* between *James Van Nek*, Admiral, and three *Portugueze* Ships, which did not turn to his Advantage; for that, after the Loſs of eight or nine Men, and ſome of the Fingers of his own Right-hand, he was obliged to ſheer off. It was this Veſſel likewiſe that brought the firſt Intelligence of the taking of a *Portugueze Carrack* by *James Heemſkirk*. Upon the Arrival of this News, another Fleet of thirteen Ships was fitted out, and ſailed *December* the 18th, under the Command of *Stephen Vander Hagen*.

In the Year 1605, the King of *Spain* iſſued forth a ſevere Declaration, in which he prohibited the Inhabitants of the *United-Provinces* to trade to the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, or to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, under the Pain of corporal Puniſhment. But the Company was ſo far from being over-awed by this Edict, that it rather inſpired them with freſh Courage, and animated them to purſue their Deſign with more Vigour and Diligence. In a Word, they preſently fitted out a Fleet of eleven Veſſels, which were fit not only for Traffick, but for warlike Exploits, and gave the Command of them to *Cornelius Matelief*. This Fleet had ſcarce put to Sea, when the Directors gave Orders for preparing another of eight Ships, which were manned not only with a full Complement of Seamen, but with Soldiers, that were engaged to ſtay and keep Garriſon in the *Indies*, if Occaſion required. This third Squadron was commanded by *Paul Van Caerdan*. Soon after two Ships of the firſt of theſe two Squadrons came home with a rich Cargoe of Cloves and other Spices: They brought Advice that Admiral *Vander Hagen* would follow them very quickly; and accordingly he arrived the next *July*, after taking ſeveral *Spaniſh* and *Portugueze* Veſſels, and poſſeſſing himſelf of the Fort of *Amboyna*, the demoliſhing that of *Tidore*, and entirely diſlodging thoſe two Nations out of the *Molucca* Iſlands.

This Expedition gave Riſe to a mighty Diſpute between the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh*, upon the Account that the latter favoured the *Spaniards*, and by ſupplying them with Powder, enabled them to hold out longer. The next *October* three other Veſſels arrived in *Holland*, and gave Intelligence that *Wybrandt Van Waerwyk* was upon his Way home, but was obliged to put in at the Iſland of *Maurice*, becauſe his Ship was leeky, and that he had taken a *Carrack* at *Patana*. This Admiral arrived in the Spring 1607, but in the preceding Winter the Company had ſent two Ships more to the *Indies*, under the Command of *John-Janſz Moldie*, to whom they owed the taking of the Fort of *Tidore*.

7. A Negotiation being then ſet on Foot for a Peace in the *Netherlands*, the Company fitted out a freſh Squadron of thirteen Ships, under the Command of *Peter-Willamſen Verboven*, who had given a ſignal Proof of his Courage and Conduct in the Engagement at *Gibraltar*, where he was Vice-Admiral under the illuſtrious *James Heemiſkirk*. This great Fleet was fitted out with a Deſign to give the World to underſtand, that no Treaty of Peace ſhould tempt the *United Provinces* to drop their Trade to the *Indies*. Immediately the *Spaniards* ſtarted a warm Diſpute in Reference to this Article, which proved the Subject of their principal Conferences; upon that the Company gave in frequent Remonſtrances both to the States-General, and to the Mediators, and preſented to them written Memorials, in order to make them ſenſible that there was a Neceſſity of being reſolute upon that Head.

In fine, this Point being looked upon as a principal Article by both Parties, ſo that it could not be adjuſted, the States, upon a final Reſolution, made this Propoſal, that either the *Spaniards* ſhould conſent to their *Indian* Trade in the Treaty of Peace, or allow it them by a Truce, for ſome Years, or elſe, that Things ſhould continue beyond the Tropick of *Cancer* upon the ſame Bottom that they then ſtood on, and that either Party ſhould make War there, and do what they could for their own Advantage. This done, the Truce of twelve Years was accepted and concluded, and upon certain Conditions 'twas agreed, that

both

he would diſcover to them all that related to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the Paſſage thither: Accordingly they granted his Requeſt, and he performed his Promiſe.

After mature Conſideration of what he had offered, they reſolved to erect another Company, called the Company for remote Countries. The Directors of this Company were, *Henry Hudden*, *Renier Pauw*, *Peter Haſſelaar*, *John Jans*, *Charles de Oude*, *John Poppen*, *Henry Buyck*, *Dirck Van Os*, *Sywert Pieterſz Seem*, and *Arenten Grootenhuiſe*. Theſe Directors conſidering as yet that 'twas very uncertain, whether the North Paſſage was practicable; tho' at the ſame time they were ſenſible, that it was the ſhorteſt and ſureſt Paſſage, and withal the moſt healthy, in regard that in it they did not croſs the Equinoctial Line: Upon this Conſideration, they came to a Reſolution *Anno Domini* 1595, to ſend four Veſſels to the *Indies*, by the Way of the *Cape of Good-hope*.

3. *Houtman*, and ſome others, who had the Command in this Expedition, were ordered to obſerve the Courſe they ſteered very nicely, and to ſettle with the *Indians* the Commerce of Spices and other Goods, eſpecially in thoſe Countries where the *Portugueze* had no Settlements. They looked upon this Commerce as a very valuable Thing, eſpecially conſidering that it would ſave them the Trouble of fetching that ſort of Goods from *Portugal*, which they could not do without great Hazard. Theſe Ships returned to *Holland* in the Space of two Years and four Months after their ſetting out; and though they had made no great Profit of the Voyage, yet their Succeſs animated their Owners, and ſeveral other Merchants, to carry on the Deſign yet further.

In Effect, a Member of that Company being dead, they preſently put into his Place *Gerard Bicker*, a very conſiderable Merchant. Then they had Advice that ſome other Merchants of *Amſterdam* deſigned to ſet out Ships for *India*. The Names of thoſe Merchants were *Vincent Van Broncherſt*, *Simon Janſz*, *Govert Dirrickz*, *Cornelius Van Campen*, *Jacob Thomaſz*, *Elbert Simonſz Jencheyn*, and *John Harmanſz*. The Company, to avoid Animoſities, thought it neceſſary to unite with thoſe Merchants, and, accordingly, the two Fleets, conſiſting of eight Veſſels, joined under the Command of *James Van Nek*, their Admiral, and ſailed from the *Texel A. D.* 1598.

A Deſign of the ſame Nature was likewiſe ſet on Foot in *Zealand*, and accordingly *Balthaſar Moucheron*, and *Adrian Hendrickzten Haaf*, with ſome other Partners, fitted out Ships for the *Indies*. The Inhabitants of *Roterdam* being ſpurred forward by ſuch Examples, preſently formed a Company, and fitted out five Ships, under the Command of *James Mahu*, with Orders to ſail to the *Molucca* Iſlands, by the Strait of *Magellan*, and the *South-Sea*. In the mean time, the *Amſterdam* Merchants grew hotter upon the Matter, and the Company before mentioned, without ſtaying for the Return of the Fleet they had ſent already, fitted out three Ships more, which put to Sea *May* 4, 1599, under the Command of *Stephen Vander Hagan*. On the 8th of the then next *July*, four of the eight Ships that went out firſt, arrived in the *Texel*, and after they were unloaded, were immediately ſent back again under the Command of *James Willekens*.

4. About the ſame time, ſeveral *Amſterdam* Merchants, moſt of whom were *Brabanters* by Birth, formed another Company upon the ſame Deſign, and fitted out four Veſſels, which put to Sea *December* 1599, in Conſort with four of the old Company's Ships. Two Years after all theſe Ships came home with rich Cargoes; But before their Arrival this new Company had ſent out two Ships, which were joined by ſix more of the old Company, all of them putting to Sea *A. D.* 1600, under the Command of *James Van Nek*; and, in the Proceſs of Time, all of them returned at ſeveral Times to their reſpective Ports. Upon the Conſideration of theſe lucky Adventures, ſeveral freſh Ships were fitted out in *Amſterdam*, *Zealand*, and elſewhere; among others, thirteen were ſent from *Amſterdam*, *viz.* four belonging to the old, and four to the new Company, under the Command of *James Heemſkirk*, and *James Grenier*, and five more of the old Company, bound for the *Moluccas*, under the Command of *Wolphart Harmanſz*; all the thirteen ſet ſail from the *Texel*, *April* 1601.

At this, the *Spaniards* were enraged with Anger and Grief, partly in regard of the Affront they ſuffered in ſeeing ſuch petty Merchants compaſs their Ends in ſpite of their Teeth; and partly upon the Account of the Loſs they ſuſtained, and were likely to ſuſtain hereafter. With this View they fitted out a ſtrong Squadron, in order to ſurprize the *Dutch* Ships. This Squadron conſiſting of thirty Men of War, well manned, fell in with eight of the *Dutch* Ships in the Month of *May*, in the Lat. of 14°. The *Dutch* perceived the Inequality of their Number and Forces, notwithſtanding that they had ſome Soldiers aboard: However, they were not daunted, for they fought bravely, and the *Spaniſh* Admiral was ſo warmly received, that he thought it convenient to let them paſs.

The next Year, three Ships came home from the *Indies* richly laden; they brought Advice, that the King of *Achen* had attempted to ſeize two of the *Maucherons* Ships that had ſet out from *Holland*, *A. D.* 1599. that *Cornelius Houtman*, the Commander, had loſt his Life in the Adventure; and in fine, that the Ships had eſcaped, but that ſome of the *Dutch* continued Priſoners in the Hands of the King of *Achen*.

Paul Van Caerden, having ſet out for the *Indies* that ſame Year, arrived at the Port of *Achen*, without knowing what paſſed, and there was expoſed to the like Danger; for that the King being egged on by a *Franciſcan* Monk, who reſided there in the Quality of a *Portugueze* Envoy, and had come thither from the *Moluccas* on purpoſe to wheedle him. The King, I ſay, thus ſollicited, ſet all Inſtruments at work to ſeize *Caerden*'s Ship; but all his Attempts proved abortive, and the King owned, afterwards, that he was ſeduced by the *Portugueze*, and accordingly gave a very good Reception to the Fleet commanded by *Laurence Bicker*, which had ſet out from *Zealand*, *A. D.* 1601: Nay, when the Fleet had taken in its Lading, which was very conſiderable, he ſent ſome Embaſſadors with them.

This Fleet putting into *St. Helens* to take in freſh Water, happened to meet with a *Portugueze Carrack*, richly laden, which they took, and brought along with them. The ſame Year *George Spilbergen* and the Ships he commanded were as favourably treated by the ſame King of *Achen*. The *Spaniards*, finding themſelves inferior in Strength, endeavoured to ruin the *Dutch* by all manner of Stratagems and Tricks; they ſent Emiſſaries to all the *Indian* Kings, to decry the new Adventurers to brand them for Pirates, and Men of no Faith or Honour. In fine, they uſed all poſſible Efforts to affect their Ruin, as will appear in the Sequel.

5. The States-General and Prince *Maurice*, having received Advice of what paſſed, reſolved to give Commiſſions to all Ships that ſailed that Way; and indeed the Commanders of the Ships ſtood in Need of them, in order to ſtifle the Calumnies of their Enemies. By theſe Commiſſions, they were impowered not only to defend themſelves, but to attack and commit Hoſtilities upon all that ſhould diſturb their Commerce. The valiant *James Heemiſkirk*, being cloathed with ſuch Authority, ſailed with two Ships from *Bantam* in order to have them loaded at *Iohor*, and falling in with a rich *Carrack* upon her Return to *Macaa*, or *China*, with above ſeven hundred Men on board, attacked her, and forced the *Portugueze*, after a ſlender Shew of Defence, to ſtrike, and aſk Quarter, which was granted them. This was a Proof, that things were much changed with this Nation, and that the *Dutch* had not to do with thoſe gallant and glorious *Portugueze*, who had ſpread the Terror of their Name, and the Authority of their Crown over the fineſt Provinces in *Aſia*. Neither had the *Dutch* yet learned to behave with that Haughtineſs and Inſolence, with which they have ſince been reproached in this Part of the World. On the contrary, they behaved ſo kindly to their Priſoners, and tranſacted every thing in relation to them, with ſo much Honour, that they obtained ample Teſtimonials to this Purpoſe from the *Spaniſh* Governor in the *Molucca* Iſlands, as alſo from him who preſided at *Malacca*, by which, as they

no way diminiſhed their Wealth, they greatly raiſed their Reputation, and wiped off that Imputation of Piracy, which, to render them odious, the *Spaniſh* Government had thrown upon them.

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In fine, this Point being looked upon as a principal Article by both Parties, ſo that it could not be adjuſted, the States, upon a final Reſolution, made this Propoſal, that either the *Spaniards* ſhould conſent to their *Indian* Trade in the Treaty of Peace, or allow it them by a Truce, for ſome Years, or elſe, that Things ſhould continue beyond the Tropick of *Cancer* upon the ſame Bottom that they then ſtood on, and that either Party ſhould make War there, and do what they could for their own Advantage. This done, the Truce of twelve Years was accepted and concluded, and upon certain Conditions 'twas agreed, that both the *Portugueze* and the *Dutch* ſhould continue their Trade where they pleaſed, and live in mutual Peace. This Affair was in Agitation without coming to any Reſolution in the Year 1608; at which Time Admiral *Matelif* returned from the *Indies* with ſeveral Ships. This Admiral had laid Siege to *Malacca*, but was obliged to break it up, in order to give Battle to the *Portugueze* Fleet, that came to relieve it; however, he had concluded an Alliance with the King of *Iobor*. In the Year 1609, the Company ſent a very expert Pilot, called *Henry Hudſon*, with a Fly-boat, to find out a North-eaſt, or North-weſt Paſſage to *China*, but he returned without bringing his Deſign to bear. At that Time they heard nothing from the *Indies* ſince the Arrival of Admiral *Matelif*, except ſome Advice by the Way of *England*; but the next Summer, four of their Ships arrived with a large Cargoe; they reported, that the *Spaniards* were ſtill poſſeſſed of *Ternate*; that the *Dutch* had maſtered *Machian* of the *Molucca* Iſlands, and that they hoped in Time to poſſeſs themſelves of *Ternate*.

The Truce being concluded and proclaimed in the *Netherlands*, they reſolved that a Pinnace ſhould be ſent to the *Eaſt-Indies*, with a Paſſport from the King of *Spain*, and the *Archdukes*, to acquaint the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch* with the Treaty: This Project was accordingly put in Execution, and towards the End of the Year, nine Veſſels were fitted out under the Command of *Peter Borth*, both the Seamen and Soldiers being allowed to carry their Wives and Children along with them.

8. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that it was by this Truce, the new Republick of the *United-Provinces* came to be owned for a legal and independent State by all the Governments in *Europe*; neither was this Negotiation of leſs Uſe in the *Indies*, where the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* had begun to recover their Spirits, and to diſtinguiſh themſelves by a vigorous Defence of what they poſſeſſed in that Part of the World, againſt the Attempts of the *Dutch*.

Don *Juan de Silva*, who then commanded for the King of *Spain*, in the *Philippines*, was a Nobleman of ſuch Courage and Conduct, that no Advantages were to be gained while he held the Government. For having received Intelligence, that a *Dutch* Admiral, whoſe Name was *Willert*, was at Sea with a Squadron of four Sail, and had ſunk a *Spaniſh* Galleon richly laden from *China*; not contented with which, they were ſtill cruizing for ſome other Ships that were expected from *China* and *Japon*: Don *Juan* reſolved to hazard his own Life to retrieve the Honour of *Spain*, and to free thoſe Seas from ſuch unwelcome Gueſts. It was with this View, that he embarked his own Guards, and ſuch other Troops as were at *Manila*, on Board ſuch Veſſels as could be drawn together on a ſudden, and with them he attacked the *Dutch* Admiral with ſuch Fury, that he made himſelf Maſter of three of his four Ships, the Admiral himſelf having his Head taken off by a Cannon-ball in the Beginning of the Engagement, in which he loſt one hundred and twenty-five Men. This Battle was fought on the 25th of *April* 1610, and the *Spaniards* following their Blow, made themſelves Maſters of the Iſland of *Tidor*, and came before that of *Ternate*, while the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Banda*, encouraged by theſe Succeſſes, revolted from the *Dutch*, and having ſurprized their General, *Peter William Verhoff*, at ſome Diſtance from their Fort, killed him, and all that were with him.

Admiral *Paul Van Caerden*, who was then in the *Indies*, thought to put a Stop to theſe Evils by his Preſence, and going on Board a Sloop, with twenty-five Men, proceeded for the Iſland of *Banda*; but being attacked by a *Spaniſh* Veſſel in his Paſſage, and his Crew having mutinied, he was taken Priſoner, and the *Spaniards* demanding for his Ranſom the Iſland of *Machian*, 30,000 Ducats in Money, and half a Year's Wages for the Mariners, he choſe rather to be carried to the *Philippines*, than ſubmit to ſuch Conditions. This happened on the 25th of *July*, in the ſame Year, and it was this News that induced the Company to ſend ſo ſtrong a Fleet as that before-mentioned, under the Command of Admiral *Peter Borth* to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

They likewiſe thought fit to ſend a ſolemn Ambaſſy to the Emperor of *Japon*, at the Head of which were *James Spex*, and *Peter Segerſon*, who, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, 1611, had an Audience of the Emperor at *Meaco*, and obtained very advantageous Terms from that Monarch, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition that could be given them by the *Spaniards* and the *Portugueze*. But while Things went on thus proſperouſly Abroad, the *Eaſt-India* Company were not altogether free from Difficulties and Diſcouragements at Home, occaſioned chiefly by the Covetouſneſs of ſome Merchants concerned in their Stock, who had fallen into a Practice of Jobbing, which was attended with many Inconveniencies, ſo that the Government interfered for the Remedy of theſe Grievances, which the States General redreſſed by a Placard publiſhed *February* 27, 1610.

In *May* 1611, the Company ſent out four Ships more, under the Command of *Laurence Real*, which were followed by a ſtrong Squadron that put to Sea from the *Texel*, in the next *December*, under the Command of *Adrian Block Martz*, near the *Cape Verd* Iſlands; this Squadron met with ſeventeen *Spaniſh* Men of War, which fell upon them, but were ſo warmly received, that only four of them were left in a Condition to ſail for *Spain* with the News of their Succeſs. When the Directors received Advice of a ſharp Engagement, they conceived, that their Ships muſt needs have received ſome Damage, and in order to reinforce them, fitted out two other Ships the next *May*, under the Command of *John Peterſz Coen*. In fine, the Commerce to *India* became ſo extenſive, that the Forces of the Company grew to that Height, that in the Years 1613, and 1614, they fitted out twenty-ſeven Ships at ſeveral Times, under the Command of ſeveral Commodores, particularly *Reyeſt* and *t'Lam*.

In order to a full View of their great Succeſs, we need only to caſt our Eyes upon the following Liſt of the Dividends that were made within the Compaſs of eight Years.

The Dividends made by the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, *viz.*

			l.	
Anno Dom.	1605 in	*June*	15	*per Cent.*
	1606	*April*	75	
	1607	*July*	40	
	1608	*April*	20	
	1609	*June*	25	
	1610	*Auguſt*	50	
	1613	*May*	37	

The Company being in ſuch a flouriſhing Condition, the next Year, *viz.* 1615, the States joined in ſending a ſtrong Squadron to the *South-Seas*, by the Way of the *Magellan* Streight, upon the Proſpect of ſurprizing the *Spaniards*, and weakening them on that Side, after which they might have an eaſy Paſſage to the *Indies*. *George Van Spilbergen* was Admiral in this Expedition, of which we have given a large Account in the former Part of this Work. In the mean Time, the War in the *Indies* continued, where the *Spaniards* did all that in them lay to preſerve and to augment their Conqueſts in the *Moluccas*, which appeared to them of the greater Conſequence, becauſe of their Situation which was extreamly favourable for ſecuring a Communication between the Colonies and Settlements of their Countrymen in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*.

But the *Dutch* Admiral *Verhagen*, perceiving clearly that Don *Juan de Silva* was under great Difficulties from the Quarrels that continually aroſe between his Officers and the *Portugueze*, and that the latter was extreamly backward in ſending Don *Juan* the Succours that he expected; he reſolved thereupon to lay hold of this Opportunity of cruſhing the *Spaniſh* Strength, and having fitted out a conſiderable Squadron, he cruized on the Coaſt of *Malacca* for the *Portugueze* Galleons, that were going to the Aſſiſtance of Don *Juan de Silva*. They were four in Number, and had a conſiderable Body of Troops on Board, but Admiral *Verhagen* nevertheleſs gave a good Account of them all; for the largeſt he ſunk, with all that were on Board her, made himſelf Maſter of the ſecond with all her Equipage, and forced the other two on Shore with very little Loſs to themſelves. This News was brought to *Holland* by a Fleet of four Ships richly laden with Spices, and other Commodities, to the Value of three Millions of Ducats, which ſmall Fleet arrived in the Month of *September*, 1616, and ſoon after the Company received the agreeable News that the King of *Ternate*, and the *Engliſh* ſettled in his Country, had joined the *Dutch*, and had obliged the *Spaniards* to abandon all the Places of which they were Maſters in the *Moluccas*, by which that Nation was entirely driven out of the Spice Trade, for which they had formerly ſtruggled ſo warmly with the *Portugueze*.

9. The Year before this, ſome Merchants, among whom were *Iſaac le Maire*, made the greateſt Figure, endeavoured to ſupplant the Company, and draw ſome Part of their Commerce into their own Hands, with this View; they reſolved to ſearch for another Paſſage to the *South-Sea*, than that of the *Magellan* Streights, and for that End, fittted out two Ships in *June* 1615, under the Command of *Cornelius William Schouten*, and *James le Maire*. In Effect, thoſe Commanders found out a Paſſage to the Southward of the Streight of *Magellan*, which they called *le Maire* Streight. By that Paſſage they entered the *South-Sea*, and ſailed as far as the *Moluccas*; but when they came to *Batavia*, their Ships were ſtopp'd and ſequeſtrated, upon the Pretence their going upon an Expedition contrary to the Patent given to the Company by the States. At that Time the Company ſuſtained great Loſſes, and their Trade was much impaired by the Means of ſome Powders that were imported, and mixed with the Spices by the retale Merchants: This the Company repreſented to the States, and thereupon a Placard was iſſued, for preventing the like Abuſes for the future.

In *June* 1617, *George Van Spilbergen* returned to *Holland*, after two Years Abſence, in which he ſailed round the World. *Cornelius William Schouten*, and *James le Maire*, who had ſet out for *Holland* the ſame Year with himſelf, returned on Board of him, but *James le Maire* died by the Way, on the 22d of the preceding *December*. The States perceived, that ſome Potentates were alarmed with the Company's Proſperity, and did their utmoſt to oppoſe it, particularly by inveigling their beſt and ableſt Seamen, and drawing them off from their Service. Upon this Apprehenſion, the States publiſhed an Edict, by which the Deſertion of Seamen was expreſsly prohibited. In the Year 1618, and 1619, the Company had very good Fortune, for they received from the *Indies*, at ſeveral Times, ten Ships with rich Cargoes, valued at ſix or ſeven Millions. This new Progreſs inſpired them with freſh Courage, not only in reſiſting the *Spaniards*, but in concerting their Ruin by Way of Reprizal. This Work was carried a great Way by the Diligence and Affection of *Laurence Real*, a very knowing and prudent Man. This Gentleman ſerved nine Years in the *Indies*, where the Company honoured him with the moſt conſiderable Poſt, and then he returned to *Holland*, *A. D.* 1620.

The Reader muſt obſerve, that all theſe Facts are taken from the *Dutch* Hiſtorians, and placed in that Light in which they repreſent them, becauſe it would take up a great deal of Room, and oblige us to repeat many Things that have been ſaid before, if we ſhould labour to correct ſuch Deviations from Truth, as from a Propenſity towards magnifying the Power of the *Eaſt-India* Company, theſe Writers have now and then thought fit to make.

But with regard to *Iſaac le Maire*, it may not be amiſs for us to note, that we do not at all depart from the Judgment already given, concerning this Expedition, in the Hiſtory of the Circumnavigators, but merely inſert this, to ſhew in what Light the *Dutch* Authors would have us conſider this Point, out of regard to their *Eaſt-India* Company. One Obſervation we ſhall take Leave to make by the Way, which is this, that the Treatment given to theſe Adventurers, has, in all Probability, been ſufficiently puniſhed by its Conſequences; all that rich Trade that might have been derived from the Diſcoveries, and the Purſuit of the Diſcoveries of *Le Maire*, has been totally loſt by Neglect, which perhaps has done as much Damage to the *Dutch*, as their *Eaſt-India* Company has done them Good. Of this, *John de Wit* was aware, and has very wiſely remarked, that tho' the Purſuit of ſuch a Commerce might have been beyond the Strength and Power of the *Eaſt-India* Company at that Time, yet there was no good Reaſon why the States ſhould have abandoned it, or ſhould not have encouraged the ſetting up a new Company, in order to have made a Trial of what this new Trade would have produced; for if new Trades do not proſper, they occaſion only a temporary Loſs to private Perſons, and none at all to the States; whereas, if they thrive and turn to good Account, they not only produce immenſe Riches to ſuch as are concerned in them, but prove alſo a mighty Advantage to the Publick. For new Trades, eſpecially under ſuch a Government as that of *Holland*, bring new People, and increaſe the Subjects of the State that encourages them, for Wealth is a powerful Attractive; and where Men are ſure to be rich and free, there will never be any Want of People.

But the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company began now to feel their own Strength, and, like all other Companies, attended to nothing but the promoting their own Power, which induced them, about this Time, to engage in the War of *Java*, where they had not only the Natives of that Country, but the *Engliſh* alſo to deal with; and by degrees, and their obſtinately perſiſting in their Deſign, they overcame both, though not without great Difficulty and ſome Loſs, which however was abundantly repaired by the Reduction of *Jacatra*, and the ſettling their new Colony at *Batavia*, which was done in 1619, chiefly by the great Aſſiſtance which the States-General afforded to their *Eaſt-India* Company, while ours was ſlighted and neglected by the Government here, either from a Want of knowing the Importance of that Commerce, or from a Want of Power to afford the Aſſiſtance neceſſary in caſe they had a juſt Apprehenſion of the Value of that Trade: But, however it was, moſt certainly the Eſtabliſhment of *Batavia* proved the Baſis of ſuch a Power in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and gave the Company ſuch an Opportunity of diſpoſing all her Factories and Settlements, in an Order ſo agreeable to that Government which ſhe eſtabliſhed in this new Capital, that we may from thence date her Acquiſition of that Empire in the *Indies*, which not only renders her ſuperior to all the trading Companies in the World, but in point of Power, Riches, and Dominion, very little, if at all, inferior to the *Dutch* Republick itſelf.

They began likewiſe, about this Time, to extend their Alliances in that Part of the World, and to treat with the *Indian* Princes in every Reſpect as Sovereigns; appointing at the ſame time Officers, who had not only the Titles of Generals, Commanders in Chief, Admirals, Governors, and ſuch like, but had alſo the Power, and were effectually ſuch as theſe Commiſſions ſpoke them to be; and were, at the ſame time allowed ſuch Salaries, and inveſted with ſuch Authority as did not ſeem either very agreeable to their Dependency upon the Republick, or conſiſtent with the Modeſty and Frugality of the *Dutch* Government at home. This, the States however were content to overlook, becauſe, that ſuch as had the Direction of the Company's Affairs, pretended that theſe Titles, Revenues, and Commands, were abſolutely requiſite in the Eaſtern Part of the World, to preſerve the Reſpect and Obedience of the Natives of thoſe Countries, who were to be wrought upon only by the Splendor of Dreſs, Equipage, and ſuch like exterior Marks of Superiority. The Truth however ſeems to be, that the Common-Wealth Party in *Holland*, paying a very unwilling Obedience to their Stadtholders of the Houſe of *Orange*, were not a little pleaſed to behold a kind of new Republick riſing in the *Indies*, independent of theſe Princes, and where their Relations might be ſent to acquire Fortunes, to learn Principles, and accuſtom themſelves to the Diſcharge of publick Offices, without being immediately under the Direction of theſe Stadtholders who, by the Neceſſities of State, were placed at the Head of the Government at home.

Yet the Governor, General, and other principal Officers, always acted under the Prince of *Orange*'s Commiſſion as Stadt-Holder, and in moſt Part of the *Indies* magnified his Power, making the *Indian* Monarchs believe that he was a King, nay, and one of the greateſt Kings in *Europe*. But this was only to ſerve their own Purpoſes, and to extend their Power the better; for the Directors of the Company continued to adminiſter its Affairs in a manner independent of the Government of *Holland*, and only made uſe of theſe Commiſſions, becauſe they could not well do their Buſineſs without them.

Two Things eſpecially contributed to their Grandeur, and to their quiet enjoying a Power of ſuch extravagant Extent. The firſt was the Factions and Diviſions that reigned at that Time in *Holland*, which ſo occupied the Cares of the Government, that they were the leſs able to look abroad; for it was at this Juncture that thoſe Troubles happened, which coſt *Barneveldt* his Life, and the famous *Grotius* and other worthy Members of the State, a tedious Impriſonment. The ſecond Cauſe was, the vaſt Riches which flowed in from the *Eaſt-India* Trade, and which were evidently of ſuch prodigious Benefit to the *Dutch* Nation in general, as rendered it very improper to take any Meaſures capable of leſſening the Intereſt or Authority of that Company, by which the Trade was managed, from which ſuch mighty Profits accrued. Beſides, it is not at all improbable, that both Parties had their Views upon this Company, and were in hopes of turning that Indulgence which was ſhewn it to their own Advantage, more eſpecially becauſe the Term granted by their Charter was drawing towards a Cloſe, when it might have been practicable to have given it a new Term, and to have remedied all thoſe Inconveniencies, which, for particular Reaſons, and perhaps from private and very different Views, had been hitherto paſſed by and over-looked: But, as we ſhall ſee hereafter both Parties in the *Dutch* Government were miſtaken in their Conjectures, and the Company, inſtead of loſing, or abating any Part of her Powers or Privileges, acquired ſtill greater, and more extenſive, by the new Charter which ſhe obtained, as is uſually the Caſe in Countries where Oppoſitions prevail; and the Government, whatever its Form may be, is not at Liberty to purſue ſuch Meaſures as are moſt conſiſtent with her Intereſt.

But to return from theſe Reflections to the Thread of our Hiſtory, as it is taken from the *Dutch* Writers. The vaſt Succeſs which attended this Company in all its Undertakings, ſo raiſed the Spirits, and exalted the Hopes of the States, that they at length began to think of doubling theſe Advantages, by erecting a new Company, with the ſame Power of trading to the *Weſt-Indies*, which this Company enjoyed in trading to the *Eaſt*. But though this was a Project both reaſonable in itſelf, and which had all the Countenance the Governour could give it, yet being ſecretly oppoſed by the *Eaſt-India* Company, it went on but heavily, and they were forced to make ſeveral Alterations in the Charter, before the Capital of this new Company, which conſiſted of 7,200,000 Livres, could be made up; and the State likewiſe preſented the new Company with three large fine Ships, equally fit for Trade and War.

But while ſo much Care was taking of the younger Child of the Republick, the elder was very well able to go alone; and there wanted not ſome who were for hurrying at too great a pace, and ſending ſuch Numbers of Ships to the *Indies*, as if the *Dutch* had not ſought the Commerce but the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, in which however they were checked, and all Things kept within due Bounds; which however it might diſpleaſe arbitrary Spirits, was certainly right in the main.

About this Time the Abuſes and unwarrantable Practices relating to the Sale of the Actions or Stock of the Company, began to revive; upon which the States found themſelves obliged to renew the Placard of 1610, with a few Amendments ſuitable to the Circumſtances of the Time. In the Year 1621, the Ship called *Goede Vreede*, arrived in *Zealand*, having on board five Children of Kings or Princes, in order to their Education, in the Provinces, and Inſtruction in the Chriſtian Religion, purſuant to the Tenor of the Letters that were written to the Prince upon that Subject. In *February* 1622, two Ships more came home with rich Cargoes; they brought Advice that the *Indian* Trade flouriſhed ſtill, that they continued to wage war with the People of *Bantam* in *Java*, and with the *Spaniards* in the *Molucca* and *Manila* Iſlands, and that they had already poſſeſſed themſelves of the Iſland of *Banda*. Soon after there arrived three more, with Advice that the laſt Ships that went out had arrived ſafe in the *Indies* in four Months and three Days Sailing.

10. The Company's Patent expired this very Year, *viz.* 1622, and a Difference aroſe between the Directors and Subſcribers, that might have extended to a great Height, if the States had not interpoſed. Theſe wiſe Mediators appeaſed all by their Prudence. The Directors Accounts were called for, and purſuant to the Meaſures of Equity and Reaſon, a Dividend of 25 *per Cent.* was allotted to the Subſcribers, and paid them in Cloves. After that the Company obtained a new Patent for twenty-one Years, commencing from 1623. By Virtue of the Renewal of the Patent, the Company had the Satisfaction to ſee four Ships richly laden, return in *October*. The Difference between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* that had lain ſo long in Suſpence, was then accommodated upon the Payment of 800,000 Livres by the *Dutch* to the *Engliſh*.

The infinite Advantages that redounded to the Country by the erecting of this Company, could not diſſuade the Envious from thwarting it to a flaming Degree: To remedy this, and prevent the other Inconveniencies that might happen, the States thought fit on *March* 13, 1623, to add new Clauſes to their new Patent, after the Diſcovery of a new Paſſage to the *Pacific Sea*, made by *James le Maire*. Their High Mightineſſes, in Conjunction with the Company, came to a Reſolution to ſend another ſtrong Squadron that Way to the *Indies*, in order to ruin their Enemies. This Fleet ſet ſail in *April*, under the Command of *James l'Hermite*; but, before their Departure, two Ships and a Yatch ſet out for the *Indies* by the common Courſe. The next *May* two Ships came home, and found a very good Market. The Abuſes in the Sale of Actions obliged the States to revive a third Time their Placard upon that Head.

In *September John Peter Coen* arrived at *Goeree* with four Ships on the Company's Account, and a fifth, which had ſtraggled from them by the Way, arrived the next *November*. At that time a Handful of Merchants bought up, at one Sale, all the Company's Pepper, the Quantity of which amounted to 19,000 Bales, and the Sum which they paid for it amounted to 4,500,000 Livres, which was certainly a very remarkable Thing. In *May* 1624, the *Haes* Yatch returned, having ſailed to *Batavia* and home again in the Space of nine Months and ſeven Days. Their Intelligence imported, that all things went well in that Country, excepting that the *Engliſh* had raiſed ſome Commotions at *Amboyna*, but the *Dutch* uſed their utmoſt Efforts to hinder the *Spaniards* to trade in *China*, and hoped for Succeſs; that three or four Ships were taking in their Lading in order to come home; accordingly three homeward-bound Ships arrived the next *September*; and in *May* 1625, another, called the *Heuſden*, arrived from *Surat*, which gave Advice that their Affairs were in a pretty good Poſture at *Ormuz*, and in the neighbouring Countries, from whence three Ships more returned the next Spring. The *Schoonhoven*, an outward-bound Ship for the *Indies*, met with a violent Storm on the Coaſt of *Spain*, and was caſt away off *St. Jago*, where twenty-ſix of the Men were ſaved, and carried to *Spain*.

This Affliction was alleviated by the Arrival of two Ships from *Surat* in *February* 1626, and two more ſoon after, having on board an Embaſſador from the King of *Perſia*. They brought the News of the Victory obtained over the *Portugueze*, and of the great Commotion in *Surat*, occaſioned by the King's Son taking up Arms againſt his Father, inſomuch that both Armies were in the Field when the Ships came off. Upon this Intelligence they fitted out a Squadron of nine Ships, bound for that Country, under the Command of *Wybrandt*, who fought ſo bravely at *Sera Leoni* with *Campaen* the Pirate. In *June* two Ships of *James l'Hermite*'s Squadron came home, and before the Year was out, a Ship returned from *Coromandel*. It was in this Fleet, that the famous Mariner, *William Yſbrantz Bonteboc* returned ſafe to his native Country, whoſe Adventures, though related by himſelf with all the Plainneſs and Simplicity becoming his Condition, yet were long held abſolutely beyond the Power of Belief, till, by a careful and ſtrict Enquiry, every Circumſtance was verified.

It is true, that a Thing of this Nature does not ſeem to fall ſo immediately under the preſent Section, but, undoubtedly,

edly, it has a very ſtrict Relation to the Buſineſs of this Collection, and therefore I ſhall give as clear an Account of this Man's Misfortunes, as is poſſible, and in as few Words as I can.

William Bontekoe, Native of the Town of *Horn*, ſailed on the 28th of *September*, 1618, from the *Texel*, for the *Indies*, on board a Veſſel of eleven hundred Tons, having two hundred and ſix Men on board, in Company with two Ships of a ſmaller Size. The Difficulties he met with began very early; for being ſeparated from the reſt of his Squadron by a violent Storm, which laſted for ſeveral Days, he therein endured ſuch Hardſhips, and ran thro' ſuch Variety of Dangers, that neither himſelf nor any of the experienced Seamen he had on board, expected to eſcape. At length, however, the Violence of the Tempeſt abated, and they found themſelves in the Streights of *Sunda*, where they met with another Accident ſtill more terrible; for one of the Crew going down to pump, at the ſame time that the Steward went to draw Brandy, it fell out unluckily, that the former had a Candle in his Hand, out of which a Spark flew into the little Hole which the Steward had pierced in the Brandy-Caſk, and that conſequently took Fire. The Captain, ſoon appriſed of the Accident, ran down and ordered them to throw Water upon the Caſk, which, in their Confuſion, they rolled down into the Place where their Smith kept his Coals; but, however, the Water ſeemed to have put out the Fire: But in about half an Hour they were fatally convinced, that the Coals being covered with the flaming Brandy, had taken Fire. In this Diſtreſs, they continued to throw great Quantities of Water upon the Coals, in hopes of extinguiſhing them, from whence a new Evil aroſe; the ſulphureous Smoak of the Coals coming up through the Scuttles in ſuch thick Clouds, that they were not able to ſee what they were doing; and, which was worſe, they were ſo ſuffocated thereby, that they were no longer able to mind what they were about.

In this Diſtreſs they were conſtrained to ſhut the Scuttles, and to make Holes in the Ship's Sides, thro' which, by the Help of Canes, they continued to pour Water. Captain *Bontekoe* fore-ſeeing that their greateſt Danger lay in the Fire reaching the Powder-room, ſent for the Supercargo, without whoſe Conſent he could do nothing, and endeavoured to perſuade him to conſent that the Powder ſhould be thrown over-board; but he was not to be moved, alledging, that if they threw over the Powder, and ſhould afterwards be attacked, tho' by a Veſſel ever ſo much inferior to them in Strength, they muſt be obliged to ſtrike, without making any Defence. By this Man's Obſtinacy, they were left in this dreadful Condition, fluctuating between Hope and Deſpair, the Fire appearing ſometimes, and ſometimes was ſo little to be diſtinguiſhed, that they had Reaſon to think it had been out. But alas! they were ſoon convinced of their Miſtake, for the Coals lying at no great Diſtance from a Tire of Buts, filled with Oil; the Fire very ſoon reached them, and then the Crew began abſolutely to deſpair. Their Caſe indeed was miſerable, beyond Deſcription, for they were out of Sight of Land, the rolling Ocean on every Side, and the Fire immediately under them. It ſo happened, that their Shallop had been for ſome Time in Tow, and to make Room for the Men to bring Water to put out the Fire; they had likewiſe heaved out the Long-boat. The Crew obſerving this, ſlipp'd ſome to the Fore-caſtle, and ſome into the Galleries, from whence they dropped into the Sea, and then ſwam on Board the Shallop, or Boat; ſo that while the Captain was uſing his utmoſt Endeavours to preſerve the Ship, he loſt a great Part of his Men.

When he diſcovered this, he endeavoured to get them on Board again; but finding that impoſſible, he made all the Sail he could to come up with them, and while he was doing this, the fatal Blow which he expected, took Place, that is to ſay, the Ship blew up, and he was thrown from the Quarter-deck with two great Wounds in his Head, his Body half ſcorched, and his Legs and Arms ſo bruiſed, that he could hardly move them. However, his being ſo ſuddenly plunged into the Water, brought him to his Senſes; ſo that ſeeing the Mainmaſt of the Ship near him, he with much ado got upon it, and by the Help of two Boards, kept himſelf floating till he was taken up by the Shallop with much Difficulty. It was by this Time Night, and though the Captain, as ſoon as he came on Board, adviſed them to keep as near the Wreck as they could, yet they kept rowing all Night long, as if they had been ſure of making Land. But when the Day broke, and they ſaw neither Shore nor Ship, they came to the Captain, beſeeching him to tell them what they ſhould do. They were without Sails, without Compaſs, without Water, and had not above ſeven or eight Pound of Biſket, but were ſtill rowing as hard as if they had been within Sight of Shore. The Captain exhorted them to Courage and Obedience, and in the firſt Place made a Review of them, by which it appeared, that there were forty-ſix in the Shallop, and twenty-ſix in the Long-boat. He adviſed them to lay aſide their Oars, as ſerving only to weaken them, and bid them make uſe of Sails. They aſked where they were to be had, the Captain replied, that every Man muſt pull off his Shirt, that by ſewing them together, they might make as good Sails as they could. It was then objected, that they had not either Needle or Thread, but the Captain taught them to ſupply the firſt with Nails, and the latter by untwiſting the Ropes. While they were at work upon the Sails, he employed the Carpenter in making a *Jacob*'s Staff, for taking Obſervations; and tho' he was ſo ill, that he could not ſit up, yet he made ſhift to draw a Compaſs, and a Chart, in which he laid down the Iſlands of *Sumatra*, *Java*, and the Streights of *Sunda*.

While they were thus at Sea, they got ſome *Mews*, and ſome Flying-fiſh, and when it rained, they collected the Water in their Sails, and preſerved it in two or three Caſks. But notwithſtanding all this, they were in a Fortnight's Time driven to ſuch Neceſſities, that it was with great Difficulty the Captain prevailed upon them to deſiſt from a Deſign they had formed of killing and eating two or three Boys they had on Board. It was the 20th of *November*, that the Ship blew up, and on the 3d of *December*, they, with much Difficulty, made an Iſland on the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, from whence, with infinite Danger, they reached that Shore, and after running thro' Variety of Perils, in which they were preſerved by the wiſe Counſel of their Captain, they at laſt paſſed the Streights of *Sunda*, and arrived ſafe on the Coaſt of *Java*, where they were taken on Board the *Dutch* Fleet, commanded by *Frederick Houtman* of *Alcmaer*, who ſailed out of the *Texel* at the ſame Time with Captain *Bontekoe*.

After he had remained ſome Time with him, the Admiral ſent Captain *Bontekoe* to *Batavia*, to the General *John Peter Coen*, who then commanded in the *Indies*, and who immediately gave him another Ship, as the juſt Reward of his Toils, and ſent him with naval Stores and Proviſions to the *Moluccas*. After this, he was employed by the ſame General in ſeveral other Services for the Space of two Years, and then he was ſent to *China*, on Board the Fleet of *Cornelius Reygers*, who was entruſted with an Expedition of great Importance, which was to eſtabliſh a Commerce with the Inhabitants of that Empire, either by fair Means, or by Force; and in caſe the latter only was found practicable, they were ordered to make themſelves Maſters of the Iſland and Fortreſs of *Macao*, or one of thoſe Iſlands on the Coaſts of *China*, to which the *Portugueze* had given the Name of *Piſcadores*.

This Expedition, tho' very well concerted, and a Force employed, every Way ſufficient for the Execution of it, yet failed by unforeſeen Accidents, and the *Portugueze* at *Macao* having repulſed them in their Attempt upon that Place, they were obliged to think of executing the latter Part of their Commiſſion by attacking ſome of the Iſlands before-mentioned. This proved a Work of Time, and was likewiſe attended with innumerable Difficulties, chiefly through the wicked and perfidious Temper of the *Chineſe*, who were too numerous to be wrought upon to Advantage by Force, and who under colour of Peace, betrayed and murdered ſuch as truſted themſelves in their Hands. They likewiſe frequently endangered the *Dutch* Squadrons by their Fireſhips, and in fine, gave ſuch Diſquiet to Captain *Bontekoe*, that he reſolved as ſoon as the Time for which he was engaged elapſed, to return to *Europe*, nor could all the Offers that were made him either of Power or Profit, induce him to alter his Reſolution, or to think of ſtaying in the *Indies*.

Accordingly, on the 6th of *February* 1624, he ſailed from *Batavia*, in Quality of Captain of the *Holland*, with two other large Ships, *viz.* the *Middlebourgh* and the *Gouda*; but in their Paſſage, they met with ſuch a Storm, as carried away the Mainmaſt of the *Holland*, all the Maſts of the *Middlebourgh*, and ſunk the *Gouda* to the Bottom. In this Diſtreſs, Captain *Bontekoe* behaved with his uſual Courage and Prudence, by which both Ships were for that Time preſerved; for notwithſtanding the perilous Diſtreſs his own Ship was in, he, with much difficulty, and yet, without uſing any other Courſe than that of Perſuaſion, prevailed upon his Men to ſpare their Mizenmaſt and Boltſprit to the *Middlebourgh*, which otherwiſe could not have been kept above Water. This was on the 22d of *March* 1624, and having performed this good Office for their Friends and Countrymen, Captain *Bontekoe* bore away with his own Ship for the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, where, in the Bay of *St. Lewis*, he found Means to careen, refit, and remaſt his Ship, with which he then proceeded for *Holland*.

On the Coaſt of the Iſland of *St. Helena*, they met with a *Spaniſh* Carrack, ſo ſtationed in the Road, as to prevent their watering, which was what they abſolutely wanted. Captain *Bontekoe* did all that in his Power lay to have engaged the *Spaniards* to allow them to put on Shore, and take in Water, but they could not be perſwaded by fair Means, and thereupon an obſtinate Engagement enſued, without any Advantage to either Party; for the *Dutch* were at laſt obliged to continue their Voyage, with the little Water they had, and the Carrack was ſo dreadfully torn in the Fight, that the *Spaniards* finding it impoſſible to keep her above Water, took out her Guns and Cargoe, and then let her ſink. The remaining Part of their Voyage was not attended with any remarkable Accident, except their being able to perform it with ſo ſmall an Allowance as a Quart of Water a Day *per* Man, from the Iſland of *St. Helena* to the Coaſt of *England*. At length, on the 15th of *September* 1625, Captain *Bontekoe* arrived ſafely at *Zealand*, after having been abſent from his Country ſeven Years, and in that Time run through ſuch a Variety of Fortunes, as ſcarce any other Seaman ever met with. It may not be amiſs, to cloſe this Account with obſerving, that the *Middlebourgh*, tho' ſo happily preſerved by Captain *Bontekoe*, never returned to *Holland*, but was undoubtedly loſt, tho' its impoſſible to ſay when or where.

After the *Holland* parted with her, ſhe put into the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, and there buried a Part of her Ships Company, amongſt whom was the famous *William Cornelius Schouten*, who ſailed round the World with *James le Maire*, as the Reader has already ſeen in the large Account given of their Voyage in the firſt Chapter of this Work. But to return from this Digreſſion to the Thread of our Hiſtory, which will ſhew, how as the firſt Beginning of the Company was fortunate, ſo in her future Progreſs her Proſperity has never failed.

11. Their Commerce flouriſhed ſo much, that they were obliged to enlarge the Number of their Ships every Year, and the Company being ſenſible, that their Proſperity was chiefly owing to the good Conduct of their Admirals, they ſollicited *John Peter Coen* to make a ſecond Voyage to the *Indies*, in the Quality of Governor-General; at laſt *Coen* conſented, and put to Sea in *April* 1627, ſoon after the *Rotterdam* came Home, and was quickly followed by four other Veſſels, under the Command of *John-William Verſchoer*, who had ſailed from *Holland* with *l'Hermite*, and arrived at this Port in *July*. The rich Cargoe of theſe Ships was ſcarce unloaded, and lodged in the Warehouſes, when *Adrian-Block Martſen* was ready to ſail with a Squadron of eleven Ships, this being his ſecond Voyage as well as Admiral *Coen*'s. He put to Sea in *October*, and loſt two of his Ships in a Storm, but ſaved the Men and the Cargoes. In the ſame Month of *October*, *John Karſtenſz* of *Embden*, a Merchant, whoſe Vigilance and Experience rendered him very famous, returned to the *United Provinces*, after ſeveral Years Adminiſtration. He brought with him three rich Ships laden at *Surat*, and had been obliged to put in at *Portſmouth*, where an Embargo was put upon his Ships, for ſome Time. In *June* 1628, the Company had the Satisfaction of ſeeing five other Ships come Home, under the Command of the Sieur *Carpentier*, who had been the Company's General in the *Indies*, and the Cargoes of theſe Ships were as valuable as that of the former.

Notwithſtanding theſe lucky Adventures, the Company was perplexed by ſome Accidents, moſt of which they had no Reaſon to expect. The *Engliſh* ſtopped their Ships as often as they had Occaſion; and the *Dunkirk* Privateers never failed to give them chaſe. This obliged them to reſolve upon keeping a ſtrong Squadron every Year in the *German* Ocean, in order to cruize for their homeward-bound Ships, and conduct them ſafe to their Ports. The firſt Squadron that ſcoured the *German* Ocean was commanded by *John Dierkſz Lam*, who had been in the *Indies*; upon his Approach the *Dunkirk* Privateers retired. The three Ships that I mentioned above as coming from *Surat*, under the Command of *John Karſtenſz* of *Embden*, being ſtopped for ſome Time in *England*, were afterwards diſmiſſed, and their Arrival inſpired the Company with freſh Courage. Soon after their Arrival, a Squadron of eleven Ships ſet off for *India* in *October*, under the Command of *James Spex*, who was accompanied by *John Valbeck*, a famous Mathematician.

On the other Hand, the Company had the Mortification of ſeeing a Ship, called the *Viana*, arrive with the unwelcome News that they had ſet ſail from *Batavia* the fore-going *January*, in hopes to paſs the Strait of *Baly* in Time; but being diſappointed, run aſhore in the Lat. of 21°, upon the South-ſide of the *Terra Magellanica incognita*; upon which they were obliged to throw overboard a great Quantity of their rich Effects, and ſo got the Ship afloat again with great Difficulty and Danger. Upon their Way they met with *Block*'s Squadron, which had likewiſe had very ſtormy Weather. By this Ship they had Notice, that the People of *Java* had formed a Conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate *John Peter Coen*, which was diſcovered by a young *Chineſe* Boy, and thereby the Execution of that deteſtable Deſign entirely defeated.

It was within this Compaſs of Time that thoſe great Diſcoveries were made by the *Dutch* Officers on the Southern Continent, of which we have ſo often ſpoke. The large Country of *Carpenteria*, now better known by the Name of *New-Holland*, was ſo called from General *Carpenter*, who diſcovered it in 1628. The weſtern Part of the ſame Country, which lies to the South of *Java*, was diſcovered the ſame Year, on the Behalf of the Company, and from the Name of the Commodore who commanded the Squadron, was ſtiled *Dewitt's-Land*. But all the ſouthern Coaſts lying towards the Sea, which ſeparates this Continent from that which lies cloſe to the South-Pole, was diſcovered in *January* 1627, by *Peter de Nuyts*, who had thereby an Opportunity of beſtowing his Name on one of the fineſt Countries in the World.

All theſe Diſcoveries, together with a juſt Report of their Affairs, the Company received from General *Carpenter*, who returned with five Veſſels richly laden. And upon his Report it was that the Directors reſolved to ſend a Squadron of eleven Sail into thoſe Parts, under the Command of Commodore *Francis Pelſart*, of whom we have elſewhere given a large Account. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that while the Company was doing all theſe great Things, their Country was torn with civil Diſſentions, chiefly thro' the Ambition of the Prince of *Orange*, who endeavoured to make himſelf in ſome meaſure independent of the States; ſo that if the Affairs of the *Indies* had not been under a Direction diſtinct from that of the Government, it is ſimply impoſſible that they ſhould have ſucceeded as they did, or brought ſuch Advantage to the *Dutch* Nation.

12. The Year 1629 was as favourable to the Company as thoſe that went before, for they had the Satisfaction of the Arrival of ſix Veſſels, under the Command of three ſeveral Commodores, who informed them, that after ſeveral diſhonourable Attempts, in order to ſurprize the

Dutch, the King of *Mataram* had at laſt laid Siege to *Batavia*, and at the End of three Months was forced to break up with the Loſs of 16,000 Men. *Peter Vanden Broecke*, who had likewiſe been long in *India*, and was the firſt Introducer of Trade upon the *Red-Sea* and the adjacent Countries, returned home the next Year: He brought with him ſeven Ships, the Cargoes of which were valued at Eight Millions. But theſe happy Incidents were accompanied with a very diſagreeable Circumſtance; for of the eight Veſſels he commanded, he brought home but ſix, one being loſt by Fire under the *Açores-Iſlands*, and the other having ſtraggled from the Fleet; however, the laſt went round by *Ireland*, and came ſafe home. *Broecke* acquainted the Company that General *Coen* died ſuddenly two Days before the Arrival of *James Spex*'s, and that *Spex* acted as General by way of Proviſion. In fine, *Antony Van Diemen* returned in the Year 1631, with ſeven Veſſels, which brought the Company incredible Treaſures.

Theſe mighty Advantages enabled the *Eaſt-India* Company to proſecute their Deſigns to their utmoſt Extent to enlarge their Commerce in the *Indies* by every Method poſſible, and in order thereto made uſe, with great Dexterity, ſometimes of Force, and ſometimes of fair Means, to compaſs their Ends, and to ſecure to themſelves the largeſt Share of a Trade, which, by Experience, they found of ſuch wonderful Benefit. It was with this View, that in 1641, they attacked the Importance of *Malacca*, the ſtrongeſt Place the *Portugueze* had left in the *Indies*, and which was of ſo much the greater Conſequence, becauſe it not only ſecured their Commerce with the Kingdoms of *Johore*, *Siam*, and *Pegu*, but alſo afforded them vaſt Advantages for the Management of their Trade with *China* and *Japon*; at the ſame time it made them Maſters of that Streight which is of ſo great Conſequence to the Commerce of the *Indies* in general; ſo that whoever is Maſter thereof may, in time of War, be in a Condition to give Law to all the Nations that carry on any Trade in that Part of the World.

It was in the ſame Year that the *Dutch* ſecured to themſelves the entire Poſſeſſion of the rich Commerce of *Japon*, by the total Excluſion of the *Portugueze*, and all other Chriſtians. We have already mentioned this Matter more than once, and given the Reader ſuch Lights therein as may enable him clearly to conceive how that Matter was brought about, and how far the *Dutch* may be juſtly charged with contributing thereto. Inſtead therefore of inſiſting farther upon that Matter here, I ſhall content myſelf with a ſingle Remark, which I think of ſome Importance.

It is this, that whatever other Nations, or the *Dutch* themſelves, may think of the Benefits accruing from this Excluſion of other Nations; it is however, demonſtrable, that they would have carried on a more extenſive Trade to that Country, and with much more Eaſe to themſelves, if that Trade had remained on the old Foot; for immediately after the Expulſion of the *Portugueze*, the *Dutch* themſelves were obliged to quit the Port of *Firando*, where they had erected a noble Magazine, built all of Stone, and were obliged to ſhut themſelves up in the little Iſland of *Diſma*, where they have ever ſince been ſubject to the Caprice of the *Japoneſe*, and expoſed to a Multitude of Inſults and Inconveniencies, which never could have befallen them but from this Event; ſo that, though I confeſs, the *Dutch* are much enriched by the *Japoneſe* Trade, yet, I think, I have Reaſon to deny that they are at all the better for the Excluſion of other Nations.

13. The Power and Credit of the Company was now grown to ſuch a Height, the Wealth they brought into the Nation was of ſuch Conſequence, and ſo neceſſary to the State, and the Circumſtances of Things were ſo changed in their Favour, that without any Difficulty, at the Time of the Expiration of their ſecond Charter, they procured the Renewal thereof for the ſame Term of twenty-one Years, to commence from the Firſt of *January* 1644. And ſo effectually did their Directors twiſt the Affairs of the Company with thoſe of the Government, that upon the Concluſion of the general Peace, the ſame Care was taken of their Intereſts as of thoſe of the Republick, to which the *Spaniards* conſented, and thereby relinquiſhed their Right, as they had long before loſt the Power of queſtioning the Conqueſts of the Company in the *Eaſt-Indies*. It was in Gratitude for all theſe Favours, that the Company entered the ſame Year into a Project of erecting, at an immenſe Expence, a Monument to the commercial Fame of the City of *Amſterdam*.

The Occaſion was this: The old Town-houſe, or Guild-hall, which had hitherto ſerved well enough as an Exchange for the Merchants, in which they met to tranſact Buſineſs, was now thought too little, and alſo too mean an Edifice for a City of ſuch Wealth and Trade. Upon this the two great Companies of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, undertook to build a new Stadthouſe, the firſt Stone of which was laid on the 29th of *October* 1648. While this noble Structure was raiſing, an Accident happened, which rendered it not only convenient, but neceſſary; for by ſome Means or other the old Town-houſe took Fire, and was burnt down to the Ground, which obliged them to haſten the Erection of the new one, which was fit for Uſe in the Year 1655, and has been ever ſince conſidered as one of the fineſt Structures in the World, in which all the Power of Architecture is diſplayed to the utmoſt without, and all the Riches of the moſt diſtant Countries in the World are aſſembled to render it magnificent within. There never was a Time in which the Company were better able to launch into ſo vaſt an Expence, her Commerce being now at its greateſt Height, and her Power raiſed to ſuch a Degree, that, from the *Cape of Good-Hope* to the moſt diſtant Parts of *China*, there ſcarce inhabited a Nation which had not learned to reſpect her, by having experienced the Effects either of her Reſentment or Good-will.

Yet all this Power, Wealth, and Trade, did not render ſuch as had the Care of the Company's Concerns at all ſlothful or negligent; on the contrary, they were always contriving ſome new Scheme for the Benefit of thoſe by whom they were entruſted; and being very deſirous of overcoming thoſe difficulties which had hitherto cramped their Trade in *China*, the General and his Council at *Batavia*, in the Month of *July*, 1655, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy, at the Head of which were *Peter Boyer* and *James Keyſel*, with rich Preſents to the *Chineſe* Emperor. He then reſided in the City of *Peking*, to whoſe Preſence, after a Stay of eight or nine Months, they were admitted, and from the Civility ſhewn them at their firſt Audience, they had great Hopes of Succeſs; but they ſoon diſcovered that there were Perſons in that Court who traverſed all their Deſigns, and found Means to miſrepreſent all the Propoſitions they made. The Chief of their Enemies was Father *Adam Schaal*, a Native of *Cologne* in *Germany*, and by Profeſſion a Jeſuit. He had reſided in *China* upwards of five and thirty Years, and had wrought himſelf ſo highly into the Emperor's Favour, that he raiſed him to the Degree of a Mandarin of the firſt Rank, and placed him at the Head of all the Philoſophers and Mathematicians in the Empire. This Man, by his great Intereſt, and Knowledge, effectually baffled the Deſigns of the *Dutch*, for he repreſented them as a People without any Lands or Settlements in *Europe*, who lived merely by Peddling and Piracy, and had by Treachery and Cruelty raiſed themſelves a large Empire in the *Indies*, at the Expence of the Natives, and more eſpecially of ſuch Princes as ſuffering themſelves to be deceived by their fair Pretences, had admitted them into their Dominions, and by that Means afforded them an Opportunity of diſtreſſing them and their Subjects.

The *Chineſe*, who are naturally ſuſpicious, having once got theſe Notions into their Heads, began to put ſuch Queſtions to the *Dutch* Embaſſadors as might beſt enable them to judge of the Truth of what they had been told: And, upon their aſking at how great a Diſtance the Seat of their Government lay from *China*? they anſwered, about five thouſand Leagues; and being interrogated as to the Power and Strength of the Colony at *Batavia*, they gave ſuch Anſwers as were true in themſelves, and moſt likely to create Reſpect: But theſe were preciſely the Things that turn moſt to their Diſadvantage; becauſe they ſeemed exactly to agree with what Father *Schaal* had laid down. So that towards the latter End of the Year 1657, the Embaſſadors quitted *China,* without being able to make any Progreſs in the Execution of their Commiſſion; ſo ſtrong were the Prejudices raiſed againſt them, and ſo great the Apprehenſions the *Chineſe* had of their Danger, in caſe theſe Strangers were admitted to trade in the Ports of their Empire.

But if they were diſappointed in their Hopes on this Side, they had better Succeſs in *Japon,* to which Country they ſent *Zachary Waghenaer,* with the Title of Embaſſador to the Emperor, with Orders to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to gain a perfect Knowledge of the Policy of that great Empire, and to make himſelf likewiſe as agreeable as poſſible to the Emperor and his Miniſters, which Commiſſion he was very capable of performing, being a Man of deep Reach, very great Experience, and extremely courteous and affable in his Deportment. He had not been long however at *Iedo,* before a ſudden Fire reduced that City to Aſhes, which occaſioned ſuch Confuſion at the Court of *Japon* as induced the *Dutch* Embaſſador to return home.

He was ſcarce arrived at *Batavia* before News came that great Diſputes had ariſen between the *Japoneſe* at *Nangaſaqui* and the *Dutch,* who were ſettled in their Factory there, which alarmed the General and Council ſo much that they obliged Mr. *Waghanaer,* much againſt his Will, to make a ſecond Voyage to *Japon,* where he did not arrive till the Beginning of the Month of *March,* 1659. He found Ways and Means to ingratiate himſelf with the Emperor and his chief Miniſters, and by promiſing two Things on the Part of the *Dutch,* obtained all that he could reaſonably aſk in their Favour. The firſt of theſe was, that they ſhould give early Intelligence of any Deſigns that might be formed in the *Philippines* to the Prejudice of the *Japoneſe* Empire: The other, that they ſhould forbear taking *Chineſe* Ships upon the Coaſt of *Japon,* becauſe the Emperor allowing them to trade in his Dominions, it was but reaſonable that he ſhould be able to protect them.

While theſe Negotiations were carrying on in the moſt diſtant Parts of the Eaſt, there aroſe a new War in *Java,* which threatened Ruin to the *Dutch* Affairs. We have touched upon this more than once, but, for the better underſtanding this Hiſtory, it will be neceſſary to give a conciſe View of the whole Matter from the *Dutch* Hiſtories. The Iſland of *Java* had been under the Power of a ſingle Monarch, ſometimes ſtiled by the *Dutch* ſimply the Emperor, and at other Times called King of *Japara,* from whom the Governor of *Bantam* revolted, aſſumed the Title of King, and was ſupported in the Quality of an independent Prince by the *Dutch.* It was by the adroit Management of theſe Diviſions that they maintained and ſupported their own Power; for, whenever the Emperor of *Java* attempted any thing to the Prejudice of *Batavia,* the King of *Bantam* was ſure to take Arms in their Favour; as, on the other Hand, whenever the King of *Bantam* took up Arms againſt them they never failed to have Recourſe to the Protection of the Emperor of *Jova.* But in the Year 1659, the Emperor being very much embarraſſed at home, the King of *Bantam* laid hold of this favourable Opportunity to raiſe a great Army, and to attack the *Dutch,* ſuppoſing that for want of the Emperor's Aſſiſtance, he ſhould ſoon be able to make himſelf Maſter of *Batavia,* to which he immediately laid Siege. He found himſelf however extremely miſtaken, for the Company was by this time become ſo potent, that they were able to defend themſelves by their own Strength, which they did ſo effectually, that after the Loſs of a great Part of his Forces, the King of *Bantam* found himſelf obliged to raiſe the Siege, and to retire precipitately into his own Dominions.

The Emperor of *Japara* had ſtill worſe Succeſs; for though he inherited from his Father an invincible Hatred to the Company, yet they made him feel the Effects of their Power, and made him ſuffer ſeverely for his Obſtinacy, though they were never able to conquer it, or to bring him either by fair Means or foul, to have any Correſpondence with them. Theſe Diſturbances at home did not hinder the Governor and Council from engaging in a foreign War, for the Support of one of their Allies, which was the King of *Bengal,* who was in great Danger of being dethroned by his Brother. At firſt the *Dutch* only furniſhed him with Proviſions and Artillery, and offered him, in caſe he was expelled, a Sanctuary at *Batavia.* But afterwards, finding that a conſiderable Part of his Subjects adhered to him firmly, they ſent over Troops to his Aſſiſtance, and thereby not only delivered him from the immediate Danger he was in, but reſtored him to his former Dignity: In Gratitude for this ſeaſonable Aſſiſtance, he gave them Leave to erect, not only a Factory, but a Fort at *Hughly,* well fortified with twelve Pieces of large Cannon mounted, and a good Ditch. It was by this Means that they ruined the *Engliſh* Trade there, and ſecured all the Commerce of thoſe Parts to themſelves.

Yet theſe remarkable Inſtances of good Fortune could not make them forget the Miſcarriage of their Affairs in *China,* much leſs incline them to forgive the *Jeſuits,* to whom they attributed the Defeat of that Ambaſſy, which coſt them an immenſe Sum of Money, and which, as we have ſhewn before, ended in an abſolute Diſappointment. To be revenged on the Authors of this Diſgrace, they fitted out a Fleet of thirty Sail, with Orders to ſail to the Iſland of *Macaſſar,* and to attack the City of the ſame Name, in the Port of which they knew there was a *Portugueze* Fleet, richly laden, and in which the *Jeſuits* were deeply concerned. On the 7th of *June* 1660, the *Dutch* attacked *Macaſſar* by Land and Sea, and tho' the *Indian* Monarch of that Place defended his Allies with his whole Force, yet the *Dutch* obtained a compleat Victory; for they burnt three of the *Portugueze* Ships, ſunk two, and took one, ſo richly laden, that it ſufficiently reimburſed the Expence both of the *Chineſe* Ambaſſy, and of this Expedition. What was ſtill more honourable for the *Dutch,* the unfortunate King of *Macaſſar* was obliged to ſend a ſolemn Ambaſſy to *Batavia,* and to ſubmit to ſuch Terms as the *Dutch* Governor-General thought fit to preſcribe, which were hard enough, ſince he was obliged, not only to expel all the *Portugueze* in his Dominions, but alſo to promiſe, that he would never admit them, or any other *Europeans,* to ſettle in his Territories; ſo that we may juſtly affirm, that never any Expedition was more compleatly executed, or turned more to the Reputation of the *Dutch* Company than this, which not only humbled their Enemies, but brought vaſt Advantages to themſelves.

But as the greateſt Fortune is ſeldom the moſt ſecure, ſo immediately after this mighty Succeſs, the *Dutch* Company received one of the ſevereſt Checks they had ever met with ſince their Eſtabliſhment in the *Indies.* They had at this Time a very fine Settlement on the Iſland of *Formoſa,* one of the faireſt and moſt fruitful Countries in the *Eaſt,* abounding with all the Neceſſaries of Life, producing various rich Commodities, and affording them the Opportunity of carrying on a vaſt Commerce from thence. They had built for the Protection of their Colony, a ſquare Fort, with large Baſtions, and below theſe, towards the Sea, they had another Fortification, which covered the Palace of their Governor, conſiſting of two regular Baſtions, an excellent Covered-way, and four Half-moons, the whole united to the Fort by very ſtrong Walls defended by a great Number of Cannon, and the whole protected by a numerous Garriſon. The Town was long and large, extreamly well peopled, and the Inhabitants, from ſeven Years old and upwards, being charged with a Poll-tax, at the Rate of half a Guilder a Head, produced a Revenue more than ſufficient to diſcharge the Expences neceſſary for the Maintenance of this important Colony. Such indeed it might be well ſtiled, ſince by its Situation, at the Diſtance only of twenty-four Leagues from the Coaſt of *China,* and one hundred and fifty from *Japon,* it afforded them the Means of carrying on, with the greateſt Eaſe, a Trade to both that was exceſſively beneficial.

The *Chineſe,* in the Year 1653, had laid a very deep Deſign for the Deſtruction of the *Dutch,* by an univerſal Conſpiracy amongſt the Natives, which however had not the deſigned Effect; for being luckily diſcovered in Time, it was abſolutely defeated. This Piece of good Fortune made thoſe who were entruſted with the Care of this Settlement, more remiſs than is uſual with the *Dutch,* inſomuch, that they neglected the Fortifications, and ſuffered their Magazines to grow empty, while by a ſteady Application to Trade, they were labouring to advance their private Fortunes. At the Time the *Tartars* made their laſt Conqueſt of *China*, there dwelt in the *Dutch* Town, upon this Iſland, a Taylor, whoſe Name was *Chinchilung*, by the *Dutch*, and other *Europeans*, called *Iquon*. This Man had a prodigious Spirit, a vaſt Capacity, and a Courage equally ſtubborn and enterprizing; and, from an unconquerable Averſion to the *Tartars*, got together a few Men, two or three ſmall Barks, and with this Force turned Pirate, or Privateer, which ever you will pleaſe to call him. In a ſhort Space of Time, his Power increaſed to ſuch a Degree, that he became extreamly formidable to the *Tartar* Emperor, who finding that his Foible was Ambition, offered to make him King of the two great Provinces of *Canton* and *Fokien*, and ſent for him to *Focheu*, where he promiſed to give him the Inveſtiture of his new Dignity; but inſtead of keeping his Word, he cauſed him to be ſeized, and conducted to *Peking*, where he was ſoon after poiſoned.

This Taylor, who was ſo near being a King, had a Son, whoſe Name was *Coxſinia*, or *Coxenga*, and who had been Taylor to Mr. *Puttman*, Governor of *Fort Zealand*, and who, on his Father's Impriſonment, took upon him the Command of the Fleet. He at firſt demanded Succours from the *Dutch*, and promiſed them great Advantages if he was ſucceſsful againſt the *Tartars*, which they refuſed; and this provoked him to ſuch a Degree, that he reſolved to turn his whole Force againſt *Formoſa*, the rather, becauſe he had a good Intelligence from the *Dutch* Town, and knew that their Affairs were in a very bad Condition. He aſſembled, with this View, a Fleet of ſix hundred Sail, moſt of them Frigates of ſmall Force, but near one hundred were ſtout Men of War, of forty Guns and upwards. The News of thoſe great Preparations reaching the Ears of the *Dutch* Governor, who was at that Time Mr. *Frederick Cojet*, Succeſſor to *Cornelius Keiſer*, he immediately diſpatched Advice to *Batavia*, and demanded a ſpeedy Succour, and alſo to *Japon*, for the Aſſiſtance of ſuch *Dutch* Ships as happened to be there. All this, however, was to no Purpoſe; for before any Relief could come, *Coxenga* ſent his Fleet under the Command of his Uncle *Souja*, which appeared before the Place in the Month of *March* 1661.

The *Dutch* Governor ſent a Detachment of three hundred and fifty Men to prevent the debarking of their Troops, who behaved as well as Men could do, but to very little Purpoſe, as we may eaſily gueſs, ſince the *Chineſe* landed forty thouſand Men. They ſoon cut off the Communication between the Town and the Iſland, and having made themſelves Maſters of the adjacent Country, *Coxenga* treated all who had joined the *Dutch*, in the ſame Manner that *Nicholas Werburgh*, who was Governor in 1653, did ſuch as were concerned in the Rebellion; that is to ſay, he put them to Death with all the Marks of Shame and Cruelty he could invent, and without the leaſt Regard to Age, Sex, or Quality. After this, he attacked all the Outworks at the ſame Time, which prevented the *Dutch* from ſuccouring each other; ſo that theſe Places were very ſoon carried, tho' with a vaſt Effuſion of Blood, and the Governor was forced to retire into *Fort Zealand*.

The Conqueror conſidering the great Strength of the Place, and how unfit his Army was to undertake Sieges, made choice of Mr. *Anthony Hancbroeck*, the eldeſt of the *Dutch* Clergymen, and ſent him with his Brethren, two or three Schoolmaſters, and ſome of the graveſt Men among his Priſoners, to perſwade the Governor to ſurrender, declaring, that he was content they ſhould retire in Safety from *Formoſa*, and that he would not touch the Hair of a *Dutchman*'s Head, or one Farthing's Worth of their Goods; but if they refuſed this Propoſition, he would put them all to the Sword, without Mercy. The Governor told thoſe who brought him this Meſſage, that he had all the Sorrow and Concern in the World for their Misfortune, but at the ſame Time, that there was nothing could induce him to betray his Truſt, or to give up the Place he commanded into the Hands of the Enemy. With this Anſwer they returned to *Coxenga*, who, as ſoon as he heard it, cauſed all his Priſoners to be put to Death, Men, Women and Children.

When this was done, he embarked the beſt Part of his Army on board three hundred Juncks, a very light Sort of Veſſels, with which he blocked up the Port, while he fired upon the Fortreſs from two Batteries of twelve Pieces of Cannon each. While Things were in this Situation, there arrived from *Batavia*, a ſtout Squadron of nine Men of War, commanded by Commodore *James Cawen*, who immediately made the beſt Diſpoſition he could for the Relief of the Place. With this View, he landed the Troops he had on Board, and being joined by a Part of the Garriſon, marched to attack 6000 *Chineſe* that were covered by a Redoubt, not yet mounted with Cannon. Theſe Troops being well armed, and compleatly diſciplined, received them in Order of Battle; and tho' the *Dutch* fought with great Reſolution, and renewed the Attack ſeveral Times, they were at length obliged to retire with the Loſs of four hundred Men. The Commodore then ordered his Ships to force a Paſſage into the Port, but the Juncks drawing very little Water, kept cloſe under the Shore, where the great Ships durſt not follow them; and in this Attempt the *Dutch* loſt two of their beſt Men of War, of which one run aſhore, and had all her Crew, to the Number of three hundred and eighty Perſons, killed by the *Chineſe*, the other was blown up by a Shot fired into her Powder-room.

Commodore *Cawen* perceiving that it was impoſſible for him to do any Thing more, detached two of his Ships to *Japon*, and having taken on Board two hundred Women and Children that were in the Fort, he ſailed back to *Batavia* with the five Ships remaining of his Squadron, and made an exact Report to the Governor of the Council of the State of their Affairs in *Formoſa*.

The News was received there with deep Concern, and a Reſolution was immediately taken, to ſend an Ambaſſy to the Emperor of the *Tartars* in *China*, to inform them, that they were in Danger of loſing *Formoſa*, on account of refuſing to aſſiſt this *Chineſe* in his Rebellion; but not depending altogether on the Succeſs of this Ambaſſy, they ordered five Ships of War to be equipped, and to ſail forthwith to the Relief of the Place. The Governor *Cojet* made ſo obſtinate a Defence, that old *Souja*, the Uncle of *Coxenga*, reſolved to raiſe the Siege without the Knowledge of his Nephew, with, at leaſt, that Part of the Army which he commanded. But tho' he managed this Deſign with the utmoſt Secrecy and Caution, yet *Coxenga* came to have a Suſpicion thereof; upon which, forgetting the Nearneſs of his Relation, he cauſed old *Souja* to be arreſted, and put in Irons; after which, notwithſtanding he had the Plague and Famine in his Camp, he puſhed on the Siege ſo vigorouſly, that the Governor found himſelf obliged to ſurrender, notwithſtanding that the Succours he expected were in Sight.

Accordingly the Place being given up to the *Chineſe*, he marched out with the Remains of his Garriſon, and being taken on Board the Squadron, he returned to *Batavia*, where, inſtead of having received the Thanks, as he might reaſonably have expected of the Governor-General and Council, he was committed to Priſon, and kept there a long Time, under Pretence, that he had given up the Place too ſoon, becauſe the *Dutch* Squadron was in Sight. To ſay the Truth, we may, in ſome Meaſure, pardon the Injuſtice of this Proceeding, when we conſider the Importance of the Place, that the Loſs was irreparable, and that, inſtead of having the *Portugueze* and *Spaniſh* Trade at their Mercy, their own was now ſo much expoſed, that it was very difficult for them to ſend their annual Squadron to *Japon*. This Misfortune, however, brought about a Correſpondence with the *Chineſe* Emperor, who conſented to give them his Aſſiſtance, to reſtrain the Power of *Coxenga*, to hinder him from pirating in thoſe Seas, and thereby diſturbing the Commerce of *China* and *Japon*.

14. It was about this Time, and by the Mediation of King *Charles* II. who had married the Infanta of *Portugal*, that a Treaty of Peace was ſet on Foot between that Crown and the Republick of *Holland*, which was ſoon after concluded, to the mutual Satisfaction of both Parties; for the

Eaſt-India Company were much too ſtrong for the *Portugueze* in that Part of the World, and had in a ſhort Time, deprived them of their moſt valuable Settlements; yet, in the *Weſt-Indies* the *Portugueze* were too hard for the *Dutch*, and had not only recovered *Brazil* out of their Hands, but were alſo in a fair Way of making ſtill greater Conqueſts; and beſides all this, their Privateers were ſo numerous, that the *Dutch* found their Trade in the *Mediterranean*, and on the Coaſt of *Africa*, very precarious; ſo that notwithſtanding the Advantages made in the *Indies*, they had no Reaſon to deſire the Continuance of the War.

The Company however, as if they had been really Sovereigns within the Bounds of their Charter, took little or no Notice of the Peace; ſo that in the Year 1660, they attacked *Coulan* on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, and having reduced it, they next attacked *Cananor* on the ſame Coaſt; of which, tho' with ſome difficulty, they became Maſters; and tho' their firſt Deſign was to have demoliſhed the Place, and to have eſtabliſhed only a Factory there; yet, on ſecond Thoughts, and when they came to conſider the Conveniency and Importance of its Situation, they changed their Minds, and determined to repair their Fortifications, and keep it as a Settlement of their own. After the Reduction of *Cananor*, they next proceeded to *Cochin*, a City of ſtill greater Force and greater Conſequence, as being a Biſhop's See, and a Place of great Trade. The *Dutch* Commodore *Goens* met here with greater Reſiſtance than he expected, and during a Siege of ſome Continuance, loſt a conſiderable Number of his People; but being reſolved to maſter it, coſt what it would, he proſecuted his Attempt with ſuch Steadineſs, that at laſt he prevailed; and the *Portugueze*, who had loſt a vaſt Number of Men during the Siege, were conſtrained to ſurrender the City into his Hands.

When he was poſſeſſed of it however, he ſcarce knew how to act, becauſe on the one Hand he ſaw that the Preſervation of it was a Thing of great Conſequence; and, on the other, that it would require a very numerous Garriſon, and a great Expence, to put the Fortification into a proper repair: He apply'd himſelf therefore to the General and Council at *Batavia*, who immediately ſent him Orders not to ſpare for any Expence, either of Men or Money, but to puſh his Fortune to the utmoſt; and at the ſame time they ſent him this Meſſage, they ſent likewiſe a freſh Squadron and a conſiderable Body of Troops on board it. This ſo encouraged Commodore *Goens*, that he marched with his Forces by Land to attack the City of *Porca*, which was the Capital of a little *Rajah* or *Indian* Prince, who had been ſubject to the *Portugueze*: But he not caring to diſpute with thoſe who had beat his Maſters, offered to become their Tributary, and to pay them the ſame Obedience which he had formerly done to the Crown of *Portugal*, and this being as readily accepted as offered, put an End to the War on that Side.

The City of *Cranganor* which is ſituated between *Callicut* and *Cochin*, fell next into his Hands without a Blow; and thus in the Space of one Year, the *Dutch* expelled the *Portugueze* out of all the Places they held on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, and acquired to themſelves a Territory of one Hundred and fifty Leagues in Length, with all the Trade belonging to it, and which the *Portugueze* had enjoyed without Interruption from the Time of their firſt Settlement in *India*. They likewiſe contracted Alliance with the Samorin of *Callicut*, the King of *Cochin*, and other *Indian* Princes.

They alſo laid hold of this Occaſion, to ſend a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Aurenzeb*, who had juſt mounted the Throne of the *Mogul*, by whom they were moſt graciouſly received, and an Intercourſe of Friendſhip ſettled between them: They took the ſame Method with reſpect to all the Monarchs whoſe Dominions lay on the Gulph of *Bengal*, and with the ſame Succeſs. It was not long however, before they found ſome Cauſe to differ with the King of *Siam*: Upon which they withdrew their Factories out of his Dominions, which ſo alarmed that Prince, that he immediately ſent Deputies to *Batavia*, to know the Cauſe; which the Council ſignified to him by a very reſpectful Letter: On receiving which, he ſent an Ambaſſador to invite them back on the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, not only of Redreſs in reſpect to the Grievances they complained of, but of any other that might happen in Proceſs of Time; and the Company accordingly re-ſettled their Factories at *Siam* and *Ligor*.

Not long after the compoſing theſe Differences, there aroſe freſh Grounds of Complaint, but on the oppoſite Side; for the Crew of a *Dutch* Bark murdered thirty-five *Siameſe* in cold Blood, after having raviſhed their Wives and Daughters. But before the Inhabitants or their Monarch had Time to complain, the *Dutch* Council at *Malucca* cauſed the Offenders to be apprehended; four of whom they broke alive upon the Wheel, and five they hang'd; which gave ſuch Satisfaction to the Natives, that they never heard any more of this Matter.

In the midſt of all thoſe Succeſſes, they could not forget the Loſs of *Formoſa*, or the Overtures made by the Emperor of the *Tartars* in *China*, for reſtoring to them that Place. There was the greater Reaſon to expect that this Monarch would act ſincerely with them, becauſe *Coxenga*, not ſatisfied with *Formoſa* and its Dependencies, had actually made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Iſlands on the Coaſt of *China*, and ſome Towns upon the Continent. On the Aſſurances therefore given them by Mr. *Borel*, who was their Ambaſſador to the Emperor, they fitted out a great Fleet, conſiſting of no leſs than ſeventeen Sail of large Ships, under the Command of *Balthaſar Borth*, with Orders to join the *Tartars*, and to act with the utmoſt Vigour againſt *Coxenga*. On his Arrival on the Coaſt of *China*, he found that Conqueror in Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Quemoy*, which the *Tartars* with all their Force were not able to take from him. The *Dutch* Commodore obſerving, that the principal Fortreſs in this Iſland ſtood upon the Sea-Coaſt, reſolved to try whether it was not poſſible to take it by Aſſault; ſuppoſing that this would not only ſtrike a Terror into the Enemy, but alſo raiſe the Credit of the *Dutch* Army with the *Tartars*; but he quickly found, upon Trial, that the Soldiers of *Coxenga* did not at all reſemble any of the *Chineſe* that he had ſeen, for they gave him ſo warm a Reception, that he was very ſoon obliged to abandon his Deſign.

He next determined to attack their Fleet, while the General of the *Tartars* engaged their Forces on Shore; to which the latter conſented. This Fleet of *Coxenga*'s conſiſted of Fourſcore large Juncks, and Twenty ſmall ones, all full of Soldiers and Seamen, and very well provided with Braſs Cannon. The Battle was very obſtinate and bloody, and *Coxenga* diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a gallant Soldier, an experienced Seaman, and a great Captain: But the *Dutch* large Ships tore his Juncks to Pieces, ſo that after an Engagement which laſted for ſeveral Hours, he was forced to retire; but he did it in Order and with a good Countenance. The *Tartar* General before the Battle, began to draw up his Forces in a regular Line, and while it laſted, looked on very quietly: After all was over, he expoſtulated this Matter a little warmly; but the *Tartar* General anſwered, That he could not prevail upon his Men to fight; but in caſe the *Dutch* would attack the Enemy a ſecond Time, he believed they would behave better. Admiral *Borth* took his Word, and attacked the Fleet of *Coxenga* a ſecond Time, and routed them entirely: But the *Tartar* General was ſtill a Spectator as before. This Victory however, was of greater Conſequence than the former, ſince it not only coſt *Coxenga* all his new Conqueſts, but his Life.

The *Tartars* laid hold of this Opportunity to demoliſh the Fortreſſes they had raiſed as faſt as they left them, and the *Dutch* were very briſk in carrying off whatever they met with that was valuable. After this they made themſelves Maſters of the Iſland of *Amoy*, and the Recovery of *Formoſa* was looked upon as a Thing certain; yet when they came to attempt it, they were ſtrangely diſappointed; for old *Souja*, who had now recovered his Liberty, drew together the Fleet and Army of his Nephew, and diſpoſed every thing in ſuch a Manner that there was nothing to be done but by Force, and even of doing any thing that way there was great Uncertainty. The old *Chineſe* however, being a Man of great Wiſdom and Experience, was not willing to riſque all, if all might be ſaved without running any Hazard, and therefore had a mind to make Peace with the *Tartars*, and to grant the *Dutch* a Settlement and a free Trade, which he thought might content both Parties.

The Son of *Coxenga*, however, having diſcovered the Deſign, defeated it, and procuring himſelf to be elected General, ſeized the old Man, and ſent him a ſecond time to priſon, where, in a Fit of Melancholy, he diſpatched himſelf with his own Hands. This young Officer inherited all the Spirit and all the Abilities of his Family, and managed his Affairs with ſuch Courage and Conduct, that the Admiral ſoon found himſelf obliged to return to *Batavia* with his Fleet, without being able to execute the Commiſſion he had received, which was the Reaſon that he met from the General and Council no extraordinary Welcome.

The War in which the States engaged with King *Charles* the Second, retarded in ſome meaſure the Progreſs of the Company in the *Indies*; and when this was finiſhed, they very unexpectedly found themſelves a-freſh embarraſſed in that Part of the World, by the Inſults and Depredations committed by the King of *Macaſſar*, as their Writers report; for his Subjects had murdered ſome of the *Dutch* that had landed in his Dominions, and had likewiſe plundered ſeveral Ships that had run aſhore upon the Coaſts of his Dominions; but before any Hoſtilities were committed on either Side, a Treaty was ſet on Foot, by which the King promiſed to make full Satisfaction for the Injuries done to the Company; as alſo to make ſuch Submiſſions as they ſhould require from him on account of theſe Diſorders.

The Company, however, ſuſpecting the Sincerity of the King's Promiſes in this reſpect, thought proper to ſend their Admiral, *Cornelius Speelman*, who had been Governor of the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, with a Squadron of thirteen Men of War, and a certain Number of Tranſports, with eight hundred Soldiers on board, with Orders to ſee the late Treaty executed according to the Letter in every Article; and he arrived with this naval Force before *Macaſſar* on the 19th of *December*, 1666. The very next Morning came two Deputies from the King on board, and brought with them a thouſand and fifty-ſix Ingots of Gold, which had been promiſed in Satisfaction for the Murder of the *Dutch*; and alſo the Sum of One thouſand four hundred and thirty-five Rix-Dollars, in Satisfaction for the Veſſels that had been plundered, but at the ſame time they declared in the Name of the King their Maſter, that the Submiſſions required of him were inconſiſtent with his Dignity; and therefore ſuch as he could not comply with. As this was preciſely what the Company expected, and as they were alſo informed that the King of *Macaſſar* had ſent a large Fleet in order to attack the Iſland of *Bouton*, Admiral *Speelman* immediately declared War; and having made two Deſcents upon the Enemy's Country, carried off an incredible Quantity of Plunder, burned fifty Villages to the Ground, and about an hundred of his Ships in his Forts.

After ſo ſignal a Revenge the Admiral ſailed from *Macaſſar* in order to relieve the Iſland of *Bouton*, which was hard preſſed by the Fleet and Army, which the King of *Macaſſar* had ſent againſt it; Admiral *Speelman* arrived before that Place the laſt Day of the Year before-mentioned; and on *New-Year's-Day*, 1667, he forced a Paſſage with his ſmall Veſſels into the Haven of *Bouton*, and then proceeded to attempt the Relief of the City, which was beſieged by the King of *Macaſſar*'s General, at the Head of ten thouſand Men. But the *Dutch* attacking them in their Entrenchments, and finding Means to ſet their Magazines on Fire, forced them immediately to raiſe the Siege; which Diſaſter was followed by ſuch a Prodigious Deſertion among the Troops of their Allies, which made up the beſt Part of their Army, that the Generals of the King of *Macaſſar* found themſelves obliged to enter into a Treaty with the *Dutch* Admiral; and being able to obtain no better Terms, ſurrendered at Diſcretion. Thus this War was ended in the Space of four Months, with great Glory to the Company.

The firſt thing they did was to diſarm their Priſoners, of whom they ſent five thouſand five hundred to people a deſert Iſland not far from *Bouton*. Four hundred of them they kept for Slaves, and five thouſand *Bougies*, or Auxiliaries of different Nations, they delivered up to the King of *Palacca*, who had been their faithful Ally during the Continuance of this War. They reſtored to the King of *Bouton* three hundred Veſſels, together with whatever Plunder had been taken from his Subjects by the Enemy, and could be found after their Defeat; the reſt of the King of *Macaſſar*'s Junks they incorporated with their own Fleet of Tranſports, and with an hundred and ninety-five Standards, and all the Arms and Ammunition of the Enemy, with the principal Officers of their Army, whom they kept Priſoners. Admiral *Speelman* returned in Triumph to *Batavia*, where he was received with univerſal Applauſe.

The King of *Macaſſar* however remained ſtill fixed to his Purpoſe; and notwithſtanding all theſe Loſſes, abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit to the Terms which the Company preſcribed; but knowing, by Experience, that the whole Force of his Iſland would not be ſufficient to protect him from their Reſentment, he reſolved to employ his Endeavours in perſuading moſt of the little Sovereigns, who were his Neighbours, to aſſiſt and ſupport him in his Deſigns, which he declared to be no leſs than ſhaking off the Yoke of the *Dutch* Company for good and all. He ſucceeded ſo effectually in making this Alliance, that Admiral *Speelman* was obliged to ſollicit all the *Dutch* Confederates for their Aſſiſtance; and, at laſt, having drawn together all the Force they could raiſe, he, on the 8th of *June*, ſailed from *Amboyna* with ſixteen Veſſels, great and ſmall, and fourteen Shallops, on board of which were the Succours furniſhed by the King of *Palacca* and *Ternate*. He ſailed firſt to *Bouton*, but in his Paſſage Part of his Fleet was ſeparated, which, however, did not hinder him from landing in ſeveral Places on the Coaſt of *Macaſſar*, where, notwithſtanding the great Inequality of the others in Point of Numbers, he had tolerable Succeſs.

At length, on the 19th of *July*, in the Morning, he attempted to force a Paſſage into the Port of *Macaſſar*, but in this he was diſappointed; for the King having erected a Royal Fort for the Defence of the Place, the *Dutch*, after twenty-four Hours cannonading, were forced to retire. A few Days after the Admiral was joined by that Part of the Fleet which had been ſeparated from him by the Storm; and, on the Second of *Auguſt*, he made a Deſcent with his whole Force at a Place called *Gliſſon*. The Army of the Company conſiſted of ſix hundred *Dutch* Troops, three hundred diſciplined *Indians* in their Pay, three thouſand Men from *Ternate* and *Bouton*, ſeven thouſand *Bougeis*, eight hundred Seamen, and two independent Companies, under the Command of the Captains *Joncker* and *Stryker*. But the Forces of the Enemy were incomparably greater; for they amounted to no fewer than twenty thouſand Men, under the Command of all the little Kings and Princes that the Monarch of *Macaſſar* had drawn over to his Party.

Admiral *Speelman* kept the main Body of his Forces near his Fleet, and detached one hundred Men, the braveſt and the beſt armed under his Command, to attack the Caſtle of *Gliſſon* in the Night. The King of *Palacca*, who was intruſted with the Management of this Affair, executed it with ſuch Courage and Conduct, that, by three in the Morning, he became Maſter of the Place, of which he gave Notice to the *Dutch* Admiral, who immediately ſent him ſuch Reinforcements and Supplies as were requiſite to preſerve it. This was a dreadful Blow to the Enemy; and as the Admiral very juſtly foreſaw, the firſt thing they did was to attempt the Recovery of it, in which, however, they were ſo far from ſucceeding, that after three general Aſſaults, in each of which they loſt a great Number of Men, they were forced to give over that Deſign; neither was this all, for taking Advantage of the Situation of this Fortreſs, ſuch Multitudes of Bombs and red-hot Bullets were fired from thence into the Enemy's Camp, as threw them into the utmoſt Conſternation and Confuſion, which Opportunity was not let ſlip by the *Dutch* General, who, with the beſt Part of his Forces, attacked the Enemy's Entrenchments, at the ſame time that a vigorous Sally was made from the Caſtle, which obliged the Enemy to quit all their Poſts.

General *Speelman* ſoon after embarked his Forces, and tranſported them to another Part of the Iſland, where he committed great Ravages, and deſtroyed a great Multitude of Villages. As this War was apparently attended with great Loſſes and Inconveniencies on both Sides, Deputies were at laſt choſen, to try what could be done towards ſettling a Peace. The King of *Macaſſar* was very unwilling to let theſe Deliberations be ſpun out to any length, becauſe he found his *Indian* Allies deſerting him by Degrees, and making Peace for themſelves on the beſt Terms they could; which Example of theirs he reſolved to follow, by ſubmitting to ſuch Terms as he could get, which were, indeed, none of the moſt reaſonable; and ſo the Treaty was concluded on the 18th of *November*, 1667; in conſequence of which, the Regents of the Iſland, and and all the neighbouring Princes, as well as the King of *Macaſſar*, ſent a numerous and ſolemn Embaſſy to the Governor-General, *John Maetſuicher* at *Batavia*, to make their Submiſſion to the Company.

All this Time the *Dutch* Army and Fleet continued in the Iſland, and the rainy Seaſon coming on, there enſued ſuch a Mortality among them, as induced the *Indians* to hope they might gain ſome Advantages over them, by which they were tempted to break the Peace, which they did by maſſacring a great Number of the dying Soldiers, and two of their Captains; upon which the War broke out again, and continued with as great Violence as ever for two Years; in which Time the Succeſs of Admiral *Speelman* was ſo great, and the Calamities he brought upon the Natives of *Macaſſar* were ſo many and ſo heavy, that, at laſt, they were forced to implore a Peace, to ſend a new Embaſſy to *Batavia*, and to make all the Submiſſions the Company could require; and, after all, they were left to the Mercy of *Speelman*, who, by a new Treaty, concluded on the 15th of *June* 1669, not only renewed the Treaties of the 19th of *Auguſt*, 1660, and the 18th of *November*, 1667, but alſo impoſed upon them other Conditions ſtill more grievous and more intolerable. By this Treaty the Company became entirely Miſtreſs of the Commerce of the Iſlands of *Celebes*, which, though very conſiderable in itſelf, was ſtill more ſo by being taken from other *European* Nations, who under Colour of trading for the Commodities of the Iſlands, came in for a conſiderable Share of the Trade in Spices; ſo that it ſerved likewiſe to ſecure to the *Dutch* what was of more Conſequence to them than any thing elſe, their abſolute Sovereignty over the *Moluccas*.

I have been the more particular in writing the Hiſtory of this War from the Memoirs furniſhed me by the *Dutch* Authors, becauſe it is the laſt of any Conſequence that the Company has carried on in the *Indies*, and has, with reſpect to the Natives, eſtabliſhed their Power ſo effectually, that there is no great Danger of their being obliged to ſuſtain ſuch another War. Before I part however with this Subject, I ſhall take the Liberty of making a few Remarks, for the ſake of ſuch Readers as ſeek Inſtruction rather than Amuſement, and are truly deſirous of underſtanding what in this Section I have undertaken to explain.

My firſt Obſervation is, that how rude and barbarous ſoever we may eſteem theſe Nations, yet moſt evident it is, that the King of *Macaſſar* acted like a great and wiſe Politician, and that the *Indian* Princes, who joined with him, were entirely guided by a Principle of publick Spirit, and a very juſt and rational Deſire of preſerving a Ballance of Power in thoſe Parts upon which their own immediate Safety and quiet Enjoyment of their Dominions depended. They miſcarried indeed, but it was in a noble Cauſe, and even their Miſcarriage ſufficiently proves the Rectitude of their Intentions; for ſince the Concluſion of this fatal Peace, to which they were driven by abſolute Neceſſity, they have loſt all Commerce with Strangers, and are, to all Intents and Purpoſes, the Vaſſals, or to ſpeak in plain *Engliſh*, the Slaves of the *Dutch*. This plainly ſhews, that the Ballance of Power is not ſuch a Chimera as ſome People would repreſent it; and my next Remark will make this ſtill more evident.

It is very ſtrange, that while theſe *Indian* Princes were not only fighting for their own Freedom, but for the Liberty of trading with *Europeans*, all the *European* Nations ſettled in the *Indies* ſhould be quiet Spectators of a War which ſo much concerned them, without interpoſing in the leaſt for the Preſervation of thoſe who were engaged in their Cauſe as much as in their own. If they had ſtirred ever ſo little, we may eaſily diſcern, even from theſe *Dutch* Accounts, that the King of *Macaſſar* and his Allies might have been ſupported in their Pretenſions, and might have been enabled to have thrown off the Yoke of the *Dutch*; ſo that if Barbarity conſiſts as ſurely with reſpect to Nations it does, in political Ignorance, then the *Europeans* in the *Indies* may, with greater Juſtice, be ſtiled barbarous than the poor Natives, who certainly did all they could; and the wiſeſt, greateſt, and braveſt Nations never did more.

My third Remark is, that the *Indians* who joined with the *Dutch*, were Enemies to themſelves, and by deſtroying the Power of the King of *Macaſſar*, not only contributed to the Ruin of the only Monarch who underſtood and purſued the true Intereſt of the *Indians* in general, but likewiſe ſubverted and took away their own Importance: For, while the King of *Macaſſar* continued a great and powerful Prince, the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company conſidered, and muſt have always conſidered ſuch Princes as lived in Friendſhip with them in the Light of Allies, and durſt never have treated them but as Allies ought to be treated. But when this Power was gone, which made their Friendſhip ſo neceſſary, and of ſuch Importance, they became as much the Vaſſals, as much the Servants, or, as I called them before, the Slaves of the *Dutch*, as that King and thoſe Princes, who by their Aſſiſtance, the *Dutch* ſubdued. This is a very uſeful and a very important Leſſon; for Men are the ſame in *Europe* and in the *Indies*.

It is now time to reſume our Hiſtory, which leads me to take Notice, that while the *Eaſt-India* Company carried all before them abroad, the Republick was exceſſively diſtreſſed at home; for now it was that the *French*, jealous of her Power, and the *Engliſh*, in Reſentment of former Injuries, concurred in that fatal Alliance, which was very near bringing the States as low as when they firſt ſhook off the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*; nay, which actually did bring them into ſuch Diſtreſs, that it is reported that they had once thought of ſeeking that Protection from their *Eaſt-India* Company, which they had hitherto afforded it, and of transfering that Government to *Batavia*, which they almoſt deſpaired of preſerving at the *Hague*.

Providence however interpoſed, and by touching the Hearts of the *Engliſh* Nation with a generous Concern for their Neighbours, whom though they might wiſh to ſee humbled, yet they had no Deſire, as indeed they had no Intereſt to ſee them deſtroyed, delivered them from this Calamity, and raiſed them once more to Power and Freedom.

Yet the *Eaſt-India* Company, though it felt but little of this Storm, was not altogether exempt from its Force, ſince the *French* ſent a powerful Squadron into the *Indies*, with a View to have torn from them a Part of their Poſſeſſions. This Squadon was commanded by the *Sieur de la Hay*, who propoſed firſt attacking *Ceylon*, with a View to make the *French* Maſters of the Cinnamon Trade at once, as the ſhorteſt Means of introducing the Commerce of the *Indies* according to the Project of one Mr. *Caron*, a *French* Refugee, who had been long in the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company's Service, underſtood their Affairs perfectly well, and made his Peace at home by betraying all he knew. This Man embarked on Board the Fleet, and was principally depended upon in the Management of every thing. It cannot be denied, that he ſerved the *French* Miniſtry very effectually; but they had not ſufficiently conſidered the Importance of the Expedition in which they employed him, or the Force of the Enemy with whom they had to deal; for if they had, they would undoubtedly have ſent a ſecond Squadron to have ſupported that which Mr. *Hay* commanded; and this might have been of ſome Uſe; but, as it was, it only ſhewed the Diſpoſition of the *French*, and ſerved to put the *Dutch* upon their Guard.

In the Summer of the Year 1673, the *French* Fleet appeared on the Weſt-Coaſt of the Iſland of *Ceylon*, and immediately landed and attacked the Citadel of *Trinquimale*,

male, of which they became Maſters; and by fair Promiſes, and magnifying the Power of the *French* King, drew the Natives to join with them; ſo that thus far they had all the Succeſs they could expect. But *Trinquimale* was a Place of too great Importance for the Company to let it remain long in the Hands of theſe new Conquerors; they therefore ſent Commodore *Goens* from *Batavia* with a Fleet of ſixteen Sail, all of them large Ships, and well mann'd. On the firſt Appearance of this Squadron Mr. *de la Hay* retired with his Ships to *Surat*, leaving a ſmall Garriſon in his new Conqueſt. The Commodore blocked up *Trinquimale* by Sea, and debarking his Forces, beſieged it at the ſame time by land; ſo that he ſoon recovered it, together with one hundred and twelve Pieces of fine Braſs-Cannon, which the *French* had left there for its Defence; ſo that here ended their Views upon *Ceylon*, almoſt as ſoon as they began.

But Mr. *de la Hay*, when he came to *Surat*, adviſed with Mr. *Caron* about the Meaſures which they ſhould next take; and, purſuant to his Advice, reſolved to attack the Fortreſs of *St. Thomas*, which about twelve Years before, the *Dutch* had taken from the *Portugueze*; and in this ſudden Attempt they were as ſucceſsful as they had been before in ſurprizing *Trinquimale*, and juſt as unlucky in keeping it. After leaving a good Garriſon here, and ſeeing the Magazines put into the beſt Order poſſible, the *Sieur de la Hay* thought proper to return to *France* with the only Ship that was left of his Squadron. But it fell out unluckily enough for him, that even this poor Conſolation of bringing home a few of the People he had carried out, was denied him; for in the Road of *Liſbon*, his only Ship was wrecked, by the Malice of his Pilot, as it was ſuppoſed, more than by any Violence of Weather; the rather becauſe Mr. *Caron*, two Captains, and ſeveral other Officers were drowned in their Endeavour to get aſhore in the Long-boat, which was the Effect, as is ſuppoſed, of ſome Practices which the Treachery of *Caron* to the *Dutch* put them upon taking; but as this is a bare Suſpicion, and abſolutely deſtitute of Proof, to inſiſt upon it farther would be needleſs.

This was the laſt Attempt made againſt the Commerce of the *Eaſt-India* Company; and during the Remainder of the Century, they were continually improving and augmenting both their Power and their Commerce; ſo that at the Cloſe of it, they were in a much better Condition than ever; for in the Year 1687, we find that they brought over One hundred and ſeventy thouſand Pounds Weight of Cinnamon; and yet they brought over leſs that Year than they had done for many Years before, which ſhews the prodigious Importance of their being ſolely poſſeſſed of the Iſland of *Ceylon*. On the 11th of *Auguſt* 1698, their Charter was renewed for forty Years, which gave them ſuch an Acceſſion of Power and Credit, as rendered them almoſt as conſiderable in the Eyes of all *Europe*, as they were before in the *Indies*: And having ſaid that, it may ſeem altogether unneceſſary to add any thing by Way of Explanation.

15. We have now conducted the Hiſtory of this famous Company, from its earlieſt Eſtabliſhment to the Beginning of the preſent Century; and for what regards the Tranſactions thereof from thence to the preſent Time, there is ſo much ſaid in the firſt Chapter of this Work in the Account we have given of Commodore *Roggewein*, that there ſeems to be the leſs Occaſion for our inſiſting much on that Subject here, therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning only a few Particulars that have not hitherto fallen in our Way; that as far as in our Power lies, there may be nothing deficient in the treating a Subject ſo curious and important in itſelf, and the Knowledge of which is ſo peculiarly neceſſary to a trading Nation.

In the firſt Place, though we have mentioned them occaſionally before, we will more exactly diſtinguiſh the Dates of the Company's Charters; the rather, becauſe many of the *Dutch* Writers are not very exact in that Particular. The firſt Charter was dated the 20th of *March*, 1602, and was to continue for twenty-one Years. The ſecond was granted the Year in which the former expired, for the like Term, but with this Variation, that it was to commence from the firſt of *January*, 1623, ſo that it determined in 1644, when they procured a new Charter for the ſame Term. Their fourth Charter bore Date the 7th of *February*, 1665, and was to extend to the 31ſt of *December*, 1700; but the Company thought proper in 1698 to obtain another Charter for forty Years, from the Determination of that which was then in being. And, again, in the Year 1717, the Company thought it requiſite to apply for new Favours, but they were not able to obtain a new Charter, as they expected; however they procured a Placard, by which the States-General forbad all their Subjects to ſend any Ships to the *Eaſt-Indies*, or any where within the Limits of the Company's Charter: They likewiſe prohibited their Interfering in any manner in the Commerce of the *Indies*, without the Licence of the Company firſt had and obtained for that Purpoſe; as alſo to have any Concern in foreign Companies, or to ſerve on board any of their Ships; which Precautions were thought neceſſary not only for the *Eaſt-India* Company's Security, but for the preſerving this rich and beneficial Trade to the Subjects of the Republick.

There happened, about the Time that their Charter ſhould have been renewed, ſome Commotions in the *Indies*, which had like to have been of very fatal Conſequence to their Eſtabliſhment; and of which we have not, as yet, received in *Europe* any Account of theſe Tranſactions that can be thoroughly depended upon; all we know of them is this, that the Conſpiracy having been diſcovered among the *Chineſe* at the very Juncture that it ſhould have been executed, the Governor was conſtrained to have Recourſe to the moſt ſpeedy Methods for ſecuring the Safety of the Inhabitants, and preſerving the City and Fortreſs of *Batavia* from falling into the Hands of the Enemy. It was in Conſequence of this Neceſſity that all the Seamen were landed from the Fleet, and had the Plunder given them of the *Chineſe* Suburb, to encourage them to ſerve the Company effectually, which they did, by attacking and putting to the Sword the greateſt Part of the Conſpirators. By this ſpeedy and ſevere Proceeding, the City and the Dominions of the Company in the Iſland of *Java* were preſerved, but not without a vaſt Effuſion of Blood, which was followed by a formidable Rebellion, that was not ſuppreſſed for ſome time.

Such as favoured the Governor and Council of the *Indies*, pretend that all this was owing to the Wickedneſs and Treachery of the *Chineſe*, who, notwithſtanding the Mildneſs of the Company's Adminiſtration, had formed a deep and dark Conſpiracy, the Deſign of which was to extirpate totally the *Dutch* that were ſettled in *Batavia* and Places adjacent. Such again as were Enemies to the Governor and his Council, attributed the whole of this bloody Affair to their Male-adminiſtration; and would have us believe that the *Chineſe* and their Accomplices, were driven into all they did by the moſt horrid Oppreſſions, in order to afford an Opportunity for thus falling upon and deſtroying them, and thereby putting it out of their Power to demand the immenſe Sums of Money which were due to them from ſuch as were induſtrious in bringing this Calamity upon them. Some again who pretend to ſpeak impartially, without Favour to the *Chineſe*, or Prejudice to the Governor, give quite another Turn to this Affair, and tell us that he was ſo far from being an Enemy to the *Chineſe*, that he had been rather too much their Friend; and for the ſake of conſiderable Sums of Money and ſeveral rich Preſents that had been made him, granted them ſuch Liberties as were inconſiſtent not only with the Intereſt, but with the Safety of the Company, which were the true Cauſes of their endeavouring to ſubvert the Government, and to make themſelves Maſters of *Batavia*, and the Country about it, agreeable to the true Nature of the *Chineſe*, who are known and acknowledged throughout the Eaſt, to be an inſolent, ungrateful, and perfidious People.

However this Matter might be, it made a prodigious Noiſe in *Europe*; and Baron *Imhoff*, the preſent Governor-General, was ſent over to *Batavia* to ſettle the Concerns of the Colony and Company, and to make a very ſtrict Enquiry into this Affair. The Charter of the Company, when it was near expiring in 1740, was renewed only for one Year; but ſince that Time, all Affairs have been adjuſted in the *Indies*, and at Home, to the Satiſfaction both of the Company and of the Government, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter. At preſent, it is our Buſineſs to ſhew, after giving ſo copious an Account of the Growth and Grandeur of this Company, how its Affairs are conducted, and what Form of Government it is, that has been able, not only to render a Body of Merchants formidable to the greateſt Monarchs in the *Eaſt*, but to acquire them Dominions very little inferior to any of theſe Monarchs, and Revenues, Armies and Fleets, ſuperior to moſt of them; this is a Thing ſo admirable in itſelf, and demonſtrates ſo clearly, what it is in the Power of an extenſive and well regulated Commerce to do, that I flatter myſelf my Reader will pay a very ſtrict Attention to the following Account of it.

16. Their whole Buſineſs in *India* is divided into Governments and Directions, after the following Manner: I. *Batavia* is the chief and capital, where reſide the Governor-General, and Council ordinary of *India*, to whom alſo the Governments and Directions are ſubordinate, ſending their Accounts to them, the Ballance whereof is entered into the Accounts-General of *India*, kept there; beſides which, there are ſeveral Places immediately under the Government and Direction of the Governor and Council of *Batavia*, *viz.* *Japon* a Chief-ſhip, *Tonquin* a Chief-ſhip, *Macaſſar* a Commandant, *Siam* a Chief-ſhip *Bantam* a Factory, *Japara* a Factory, *Jambee* a Chief-ſhip, *Pallambam* a Chief-ſhip, *Arrakan* a Chief-ſhip. II. *Amboyna* a Government, under which are ſeveral Iſlands, where they pay a yearly Penſion to the Inhabitants, not to ſuffer Cloves or other Spices to grow. III. *Banda* is a Government, and under it are ſeveral Iſlands, to the Natives of which they likewiſe pay Money yearly to deſtroy the Spice. IV. *Ternate* is a Government. V. *Malacca* is a Government. VI. *Zelon*, or *Ceylon*, is a Government, where they have many Factories, and all their Accounts are ſent to *Columbo*, the principal Place. VII. *Cochin* is a Government, and under it lies all the *Malabar* Coaſt. VIII. *Policat* is a Government, under which are the Coaſts of *Corromandel* and *Pegu*. IX. *Bengal* is a Direction, and under it, all the Factories in that Bay: *Hughly* is the Chief from whence they ſend their Accounts to *Batavia*. X. *Surat*, another Direction, under which are many Factories. XI. *Perſia* a Direction, the chief Reſidence *Gombroon*, and under it are *Iſpahan* and *Baſſora*. XII. *Cape of Good-hope* a Government, and under it, the *Mauritias*, or Iſland of Prince *Maurice*.

To underſtand this perfectly, it muſt be obſerved, that Governments are when the Places are their own, Directions when they are under a foreign prince, and have no Garriſons. *Batavia* excepted, no Government, Direction or Command, hath Precedence of Place; but the Perſons in thoſe Places, and all other Degrees and Qualities take Place according to their Seniority in ſtanding.

This Account ſufficiently explains the general Scheme of their Government, from whence we ſhall deſcend into Particulars, that it may appear, with how much Wiſdom, Juſtice and Prudence, all things are regulated by this Company, to prevent either Corruption or Confuſion, which though it is very probable they may not abſolutely do, yet it is very certain, they muſt do it in a great Meaſure; for otherwiſe the Company's Affairs muſt have fallen long ago into a very diſtracted State, whereas, we ſee them at this Day, in as good a Condition as ever.

This I conceive to be eſpecially owing to that Nicety of Judgment ſhewn in adjuſting all their Sallaries, and Allowances for Diet, to the ſeveral Qualities and Degrees of their Servants, ſo that none has either ſo little as to be pinched by Neceſſity, nor any ſo much as to ſet them above the Performance of their Duty, which is, generally ſpeaking, the Ruin of ſuch Governments as purſue a contrary Conduct; for the more eaſy underſtanding of this Point, we ſhall take their inferior Officers firſt, and ſo aſcend gradually to the Governor-General of the *Indies*. The under-aſſiſtant, Scriver or Writer, is the loweſt Degree, and is chiefly ſupplied with Soldiers, taken out of the Guards, from nine to fourteen Guilders *per menſem*. Next is the Aſſiſtant at twenty Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and four Rix-dollars Diet. After him the upper-aſſiſtant Book-keeper, or Secretary, from twenty-eight to thirty-ſix Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and four Rix-dollars Diet. In the fourth Place, the Under-copeman, from thirty-ſix to forty-five Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and eight Rix-dollars Diet. Then the Copeman from fifty to ſixty-five Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and eight Rix-dollars Diet. Next to him, Upper-copeman, from eighty to one hundred and twenty Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and twelve Rix-dollars Diet: Some from the leſſer Chambers are ſent out at ſeventy-two Guilders *per menſem* Salary.

At *Batavia* and *Zelon*, where Proviſions are dear, they have thirteen Rix-dollars Diet. In the ſeventh Rank a Commandore has one hundred and fifty Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and twenty Rix-dollars Diet; Commandant, a new Title, ſomewhat leſs than Commandore. The eighth, Director, has two hundred Guilders *per menſem* Sallary, and thirty Rix-dollars Diet. The Governor has the ſame, as alſo a Member of the extraordinary Council of *India*. A Member ordinary of the Council of *India* at *Batavia*, each of them, three hundred and fifty Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and one hundred Rix-dollars Diet; and laſtly, the Governor-General of *Batavia* has one thouſand two hundred Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and two hundred Rix-dollars Diet, and every Time he goes to the Fleet, one thouſand five hundred Rix-dollars Gratuity, which has been uſually done upon a Fleet's Departure for *Europe*: But this General has not taken it for ſome Years paſt.

All Perſons in the Service, whether Merchants, Divines, civil Magiſtrates, Soldiers or Seamen, are ranked in their Degrees, and take their Places accordingly. The General is allowed Wine, and all other Liquors and Proviſions out of the Company's Warehouſe, without Limitation. All others, down to the Aſſiſtants, are allowed monthly Liquors, Spice, Oil, Wood, Rice, Vinegar, Candles, *&c.* according to their Quality, very large. The Upper-copeman's Allowance is twenty Canadars of *Spaniſh* Wine *per menſem*, beſides Mum, White-wine, and other Liquors; twenty-four Pounds of Wax for Candles, Corn for Poultry, Rice for Slaves, *&c.* ſo that the Diet-money allowed them, is only for freſh Proviſions.

Soldiers are ranked in the ſame Manner, *viz.* firſt a common Soldier, or private Centinel, is from nine to fourteen Guilders *per menſem*, as the Under-aſſiſtant. Next, Serjeant's Pay and Diet as the Aſſiſtant. Then Enſign's Pay and Diet as the Under-copeman. After him Lieutenant's Pay and Diet as the Copeman. The fifth Captain's Pay and Diet as the Upper-copeman; and the ſixth Major's Pay and Diet as the Commandore. Military Perſons give place to the Civil of the ſame Rank, *viz.* a Commandore precedes a Major, and Upper-copeman a Captain, and a Copeman a Lieutenant; but a Major precedes an Upper-copeman, a Captain a Copeman, and a Lieutenant an Under-copeman. There are three Majors in *India*, one at *Batavia*, one at *Ceylon*, and one at *Amboyna*, or *Banda*. They aſſiſt the Governor in military Affairs, and have the Command over all other Officers and Soldiers, but have no proper Company of their own. There are not Captains over every Company, but one over two, three, four or five Companies; every Company has Lieutenants and Enſigns, and they often make proviſional Officers, who, upon ſome Merit in Service, do attain to the Pay of ſuch Places.

Seamen are ranked in the ſame Manner, *viz.* firſt a common Seaman, from nine to ſourteen Guilders *per menſem*, as a common Soldier; next third Mate, Gunner, Boatſwain and Steerman, from eighteen to twenty-four Guilders *per menſem*, and the Aſſiſtant-carpenter's Wages from forty to fifty Guilders *per menſem*. The Under-ſteerman, or ſecond Mate, from twenty-four to thirty-ſix Guilders *per menſem*, as the Upper-aſſiſtant. After them, Upper-ſteerman or Chief-mate, from fifty to ſixty Guilders *per menſem*, in the Under-copeman's Rank. The fifth are Skippers, from ſixty to one hundred Guilders *per menſem*, in the Copeman's Rank; and the ſixth, Commodores from one hundred to one hundred and fifty Guilders *per menſem*, beſides which, they have the Ship's Allowance for Proviſion, and when in *Batavia*, they have Road-money paid them every Month for freſh Proviſions and

Fruit; but in other Roads, they are ſupplied with theſe things from the Factories on Shore. They have none who have the Title or Pay of Captain at Sea, and the Commodores are very few, ſometimes not more than one in *India*.

The Miniſters Pay and Allowance ſtand thus, *viz.* firſt the Predicant, or Preacher's Pay and Diet, the ſame as the Upper-copeman's. The ſecond Dominees, or Viſitors of the Sick, twenty-four Guilders *per menſem*, as the Aſſiſtant. The Miniſters are all ſworn not to write of, nor intermeddle with any Matter relating to the Affairs of the State, or Commerce. In all Governments they are allowed a Preſident, and in *Batavia* two or three to ſpare, in caſe of Mortalities. In all Directions they have no Dominees, only read the Scriptures, and printed Forms of Prayer, Mornings, Evenings, and Sundays. With them the Surgeon's Pay is from forty to fifty Guilders *per menſem*.

17. In all Qualities from Under-aſſiſtant to Upper-copeman, they generally ſerve five Years, and ſome but three, as they agree; which Term being expired, if they pleaſe, they may quit the Service; but they are uſually continued, and upon their Petitions, if they are deſerving, and the Company's Occaſions require, the Governor and Council entertain them again, to the next Degree they ſerved in before, and for ſuch Terms for Salary, *&c.* as they find them deſerving within the ſettled Salary of each Degree; but on any Merit in Service, they are often preferred from one Degree to another, though they have not ſerved ſix Months in a Station; ſo that upon Account of Merit, ſome have riſen in two or three Years from Aſſiſtant to Under-copeman, and others, in as little Time, from Under-copeman to Upper-copeman; in this they have reſpect to Succeſſion, as if a Chief, or Second of a Factory dies, and the Third performs the Buſineſs of the Place to Content, tho' he be but a Book-keeper, for that Service he ſhall be an Under-Copeman, and Chief of the Place; and as he gives further Content, a Copeman in one or two Years more. Married Perſons receive all their Pay in *India*, and the unmarried but half theirs at an Over-rate: As at *Batavia*, the Rix-dollar is valued at ſixty Stivers, which is worth but forty-eight, and at *Policat*, the Pagoda is valued at five and an half Guilders, which is really worth but four and half; but this is in a Way of Regulation, as they ſay, upon Complaint of it to the Governor.

The Company find all their Servants Accommodations for Lodgings, for which, and Warehouſes, they have ſpacious Buildings in all their Factories. All, or moſt Perſons ſent out of *Europe*, are of the Qualities from Aſſiſtant to Upper-copeman, ſeldom in a higher Degree; ſometimes they may be of the extraordinary Council: But ſuch, and all others, are left to the General and Council at *Batavia*, to be diſpoſed of in Employments according to their Qualities or Abilities, who give them Preferment as they merit. Such Perſons as are of Capacity, may gradually riſe by Time of Service to the Quality of Upper-copeman, but they muſt ſtand there, and cannot riſe higher, till they are made Commandores. When Directions or Governments fall vacant, an Upper-copeman, capable of being made Governor, Director, or Commandore, generally ſucceeds; and ſome have been fifteen or twenty Years Upper-copeman, before they have been put into any of thoſe Places: Some ſtand there, and riſe no higher, and many never come to that, but remain in lower Degrees, according to their Capacities.

All Perſons in thoſe Degrees or Qualities, precede one another, according to their Seniorities and Standings in the ſame Degree, or that are of the ſame Profeſſion. As the firſt Aſſiſtant precedes all others that are made after him; ſo likewiſe a Copeman made this Month, precedes him that is made a Month after; but the Profeſſion of the Merchant (or as they commonly term it, the Pen) hath the Preference of all others, and he that is an Upper-copeman in that Quality, precedes all others, whether Preachers, Soldiers or Seamen (as is ſaid before) tho' they may be his Seniors in the ſame Degree.

All theſe Salaries and Wages for Merchants, Soldiers, Seamen, and others, go on for their outward bound and home Voyages, and every one has a Copy of his Accounts out of the Book of Wages, every Year, which he keeps, or carries Home with him, or ſells to another; and when he returns to the Chamber from whence he was ſent, he is punctually paid the Ballance of his Account, together with what is due for the Term of the Voyage; and ſuch as have ſerved out their whole Time, and deſire to be Freemen in *India*, ſell their Accounts, or ſend Letters of Procuration Home, upon Sight of which they are paid; ſo that neither the Company, nor their Servants, have ever any Trouble in adjuſting their Accounts.

Theſe Freemen are ſuch as have ſerved out their Time, and are then cleared of the Company's Service, and ſuffered to live in the Country, or ſuch as of late have been permitted, or encouraged to come out of *Europe*, on their own Accounts. They are always obliged to have Families, and live in garriſoned Towns, and in their Plantations on the Spice Iſlands, where they are allowed to trade too and fro in Proviſions of all Sorts, and other Commodities, where the Company do not trade, and ſometimes where they do trade, with the General's and Council's Licence, even in the Company's Commodities: This being their Policy, that the Benefit of ſome Trades may not be loſt, but reſerved to the Company, when they are ſo conſiderable, as to be worth their minding, or will be at the Charges of a Factory. All Freemen perform the publick Offices of the Towns, and take their Turns to watch and ward as in the *Netherlands*, none excepted.

18. The firſt ordinary Council of *India* is choſen by the *Bewintbebers*, or *Directors*, out of ſuch of their Servants, as have ſerved the Company as Governors, or Directors, and none under thoſe Qualities; by which Means their head Council conſiſts of Men of Eſtates, and Experience in the Buſineſs of all Parts of *India*. The extraordinary Council are alſo nominated by the *Bewintbebers*, and they, when they are at *Batavia*, ſit with the General and Council, but have no other Vote than one of Advice. Several of the Directors and Governors are of the extraordinary Council, and there is a late Order, that three of the extraordinary Council ſhall always reſide at *Batavia*. By another Order of late, all of the ordinary Council are to reſide there likewiſe, and not to remove from thence, but upon Buſineſs of great Importance; and the General, and Director-General, are not to remove upon any Occcaſion whatever.

There are often Boxes ſent out of *Europe* with private Directions, which are ſealed, and ordered not to be opened but on extraordinary Accidents, as in caſe of the General's deceaſe, or other Occaſions of great Moment, which keeps the great ones in Awe of each other. The General hath Power in a particular Commiſſion to himſelf, to ſend Home any one Perſon of the ordinary Council when he thinks fit, that ſhall not behave himſelf well towards him, and to take to himſelf what Salaries, and other Allowances he thinks proper, which the great *Matzuyker* cauſed to be read on ſome Claſhing of the Council at *Batavia*.

The General, and all the ordinary Council, the Secretary, the Major, the Upper-copeman, called the two chief Factors, and the Upper-copeman, who keeps the general Books of Accounts, live within the Fort, or Caſtle, with their Wives and Family, in Apartments fitted according to their Offices and Places. The General and Council are ſo near together, becauſe of all Letters being opened and read in the Council, that often ſits in an Evening, after Prayers, and never miſſes upon *Sundays*, for an Hour to diſpatch ſmall Buſineſs, Petitions and Complaints, and twice a Week conſtantly, *Tueſdays* and *Fridays*, at Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, about managing the Company's Buſineſs. The Secretary has good Accommodation, and large Offices to write in; the Major lives in the the Fort to receive Orders from the General, and to aſſiſt him in the Government of his Soldiers, and the two chief Factors are near the Second, or Director-General, who has the moſt laborious Employment, having the Care of all Ships, Goods, Treaſures, and Stores, and propoſes all Voyages and Cargoes.

Theſe two Upper-copemen, whom they call Factors of the Caſtle of *Batavia*, are his Aſſiſtants, to examine Accounts, and Advices, and thereupon draw up Liſts, and

Calculations, of the Sorts, Qualities, and Quantities, of the Goods, that are ſold at any Place, and ſet down whether they increaſe or diminiſh, with the Loſs and Gain thereon, which Notes they ſend to all the Factories where theſe Goods are provided. The chief Book-keeper lives in the Fort, becauſe all Regiſters and Books are kept there, and the Offices for Accounts muſt be there ſtanding. Every one of the ordinary Council of *India* has his particular Charges and Employments allotted to him, wherein he is moſt experienced, *viz.* one is ordered to read, examine, and anſwer all Letters and Papers from the Government of *Ceylon*. Another the Letters, *&c.* of the Governments of *Amboyna*, *Banda* and *Ternate*; another, the Coaſt of *Coromandel* and Bay of *Bengal*; another the Directorſhip of *Surat* and *Perſia*, and another the *Cape* and *Mauritias*; the General only writes Letters to the Company in *Europe*.

Beſides which, they have other particular Emyloyments and Places of Truſt and Importance at *Batavia*. I. The General propoſes and concludes in Council, and directs all Matters of Government to the Council, and ſuperior Officers. He is ſworn to be faithful to the States in his Office, and that he will not prefer any one in the Company's Service, for Fear, Favour, or Affection, but only ſuch as are moſt faithful, moſt able, and moſt fit to manage the Buſineſs for the Company's Advantage. II. The Director-General, as aforeſaid, propoſes the Employments and Cargoes of all Ships. He ſells, and orders the Diſpoſal of all Goods, Stores and Proviſions, has the Charge of the Treaſure and Caſh, and orders the Receipts and Payments of Money. III. Another is Preſident of the Chamber of Orphans, and the Council, his Aſſiſtants, are half Company's Servants, and half Burghers, whoſe Office and Truſt are the ſame as in the *Netherlands*. They ſit once a Week in Council. IV. Another is Preſident of the College of the Rate of Juſtice, who is always a Civilian. He gives Judgment in all Caſes civil or criminal, between the Company and their Servants, or the Burghers. In this Court, the Company's Servants only are of the Council, none of them under the Quality of a Copeman, and they are uſually Advocates, or ſuch as have been bred up to the Civil Law. V. Another is Preſident of the College of Skepen and Burgomaſters.

He judges in all Caſes, civil, military and criminal, between the Burghers and others. The Counſellors, or Judges, who ſit with the Preſident at this Court, are three Upper-copemen in the Company's Service, and three of the chief Burghers. Both theſe Courts ſit twice a Week, conſtantly, and oftner, as occaſion requires, in the Stadthouſe, or Town-hall. All of the ordinary Council are ſworn to be true to the General and the States, to prefer none for Fear, Favour, or Affection, but the fitteſt and ableſt Perſons to the Offices in their particular Diſpoſals. Below the Second, or Director, is no Precedency of Place, but Employments or Offices are appointed to thoſe who are the fitteſt for them. The Secretary of the Council at *Batavia*, is a Perſon of great Ability and Experience, of the Quality of Upper-copeman; he takes Place next to the extraordinary Council, and has the Pay and Allowance of a Commandore. The minor Votes are always carried by the major in Council, the Fiſcal hath a double Vote. Upon ſigning, none may enter any Exceptions, except the Matter concluded be expreſsly againſt the Orders of the Company, and then they may enter Diſſent, giving that for the Reaſon.

Upon extraordinary Occaſions, which require Secrecy, a Governor, or Director, may call a Council of any two or three Counſellors, and may act according to their Reſolutions. All Perſons of the Quality of Copeman, and Upper-copeman, as alſo Captains and Lieutenants, are capable of being of Council in all Governments and Directions, except *Batavia*. The Seconds of Governors and Directors, are chiefly Copemen, and the Chiefs of ſubordinate Factories under Governments, are commonly Copemen, and Under-copemen; but if it ſo happens, that one of a higher Degree, or Quality, comes to a Place where one of a lower Degree is Chief, he, of the higher Degree takes Place, and gives his Advice in the Company's Buſineſs, but does not govern or direct in any Affair without ſpecial Commiſſion.

In all Governments and Directions, the Conſultations are entered in Books, and ſigned by the Council. The Offices for the Secretary and Accountants, and the Warehouſes for the Company's fine Goods and Treaſure, are built in the Forts, and Houſes, or Factories, and thoſe who officiate in them, muſt dwell there. In ſubordinate Factories, they keep no Conſultation-books, only Copy-books of Letters, Accounts and Diaries. All Letters and Orders from *Batavia*, are ſigned by the General and Council, and thoſe to *Batavia*, muſt be ſigned by the Governors, or Directors, and their reſpective Councils; but all Letters and Orders from Governors and Directors to ſubordinate Factories under them, are ſigned only by the Governor or Director ſingly. The Caſh at *Policat*, is at the Diſpoſal of the Governor, to be put into the Hands of an Upper-copeman, that ſhall be on the Place; and the Sorting of Cloth is done by the Governor, Second, and others, who are of the Quality of Copeman, and Under-copeman, every one ſetting down his Opinion of the Price of the Goods when ſorted.

They have Fiſcals in their Governments, who are under an Oath to diſcover and ſeize all forbidden private Trade, and detect what elſe may be done to defraud the Company. They are uſually of the Quality of Copeman, or Under-copeman, and ſeldom continue longer than three Years in that Office, except at *Batavia*, where they have two principal Fiſcals, of the Quality of Upper-copemen, who continue many Years in that Employ. One of them is called Advocate-fiſcal; he makes Enquiry, and takes Cognizance of all Faults, Frauds and Miſdemeanors in the Company's Service, in all Parts of *India*, makes and maintains the Proceſſes, and has half of what is recovered thereon, the other half goes to the Company, who gives one Third of it to the Poor, after the Proceſs and Condemnation is paid, before the Preſident of the Council of Juſtice; ſo that the Governors, Directors, *&c.* are not concerned in the Diſcovery of any private Trade.

The Company ſends every Year printed Papers of the News and Affairs of *Europe*, which are diſperſed over all their Factories in *India*, by which they are inſtructed in the Intereſt and Concerns of the ſeveral Powers and are directed to behave themſelves accordingly to all *European* Nations in *India*, Alſo they ſend Abſtracts of the Sale of their Goods, and the Loſs and Gain thereon in *Europe*. It is very eaſy to obſerve, that all theſe Regulations are calculated for the Improvement of the Perſons in the Service of the Company, for enabling them to diſcharge their Duties punctually and perfectly, and with ſuch a Meaſure of Knowledge and Underſtanding, as may fit them for whatever Places they may be called to ſerve in.

It is not eaſy to conceive, what mighty Effects flow from ſuch wiſe and juſt Regulations, what Order and Harmony they may beget, and how eaſily all Things are managed, where ſo much Care is taken, that every Man ſhall be acquainted with the Importance of his Station, and with a Probability of his bettering his Circumſtances by his diſcharging his Functions with Diligence. It is by ſettling theſe Orders, and taking care they ſhall be conſtantly carried into Execution, that we find the *Dutch* are never at a Loſs for Men fit to be employed on any critical Occaſion, as Ambaſſadors, Plenipotentiaries, and ordinary Reſidents in the Courts of *Indian* Princes, whereas other Nations, that carry on other Trade in that Part of the World, are at a Stand in this reſpect, and in all ſuch Emergencies, are forced to take ſuch as come to Hand, or which is worſe, ſuch as puſh themſelves forward, and miſtaking Vanity for Talents, get into Employments only to expoſe themſelves, and thoſe under whoſe Authority they act.

It is a received Opinion, and I believe founded on Reaſon, that the Capacities of Men are much alike, and that where one makes a Figure by dint of what is called Genius, there are a hundred become able Men from Diſcipline and Experience. It is therefore extreamly commendable in the *Dutch*, that they take ſo much Pains to propagate real Knowledge among ſuch as are in the publick Service, and that they do not content themſelves with barely qualifying their Under-officers for the Diſcharge of the Places they are in, but oblige them likewiſe to take Pains to fit themſelves for more important Services. It is one Thing to read News-papers for Amuſement, and another Thing quite to oblige People to read them for Inſtruction; and it is very eaſy to conceive, that a Perſon in the *Indies*, who has a good general Notion of the Affairs of *Europe*, and of the Situation Things are in there, will have vaſt Advantages over another Perſon of equal Abilities, who has never turned his Thoughts that Way, but has lived all along in an Opinion, that if he did his Buſineſs in the Counting-houſe, his Superiors had no farther Title to the Diſpoſal of his Time, but that he was at full Liberty to employ it in ſuch Amuſements or Diverſions as beſt ſuited his Humour or Diſpoſition.

But to bring theſe Reflections to a Point, and not to detain the Reader too long upon ſo grave a Subject, I ſhall finiſh them with obſerving, that whatſoever Company takes Care to give its Servants true Notions of Merit, rewards and encourages Merit, and leaves no other Road open to Preferment; but Merit will be always ſure to have more capable Servants, and will conſequently have its Affairs better carried on than any other Company, in the Management of whoſe Concerns Inclination, Intereſt, or Chance, governs all Preferments. It may be ſaid that theſe are juſt and general Obſervations, very eaſily made, and which never will be diſputed. The Queſtion however is not where theſe Rules are owned and admitted, but where they are recommended and practiſed. Since we took Occaſion to enter upon theſe Remarks, not from the general Principles of the *Dutch* Nation, but from the ſettled and invariable Regulations of their *Eaſt-India* Company, which have the Force of Laws to thoſe in their Service.

19. The Government, Order, and Proviſion for their Ships and Fleets runs thus, *viz.* all their Ships are the Company's own, and the Men belonging to them are all in their Pay, ſworn to ſerve them either by Sea or Land, as Occaſion ſhall require. They have two Perſons, who have the Stile of Admirals, and are of the ordinary Council of *India*. For the Care of their Shipping at *Batavia*, they have one called Equipage-maſter, who is of the Quality and Pay of an Upper-copeman, a ſeaſaring Man, and vulgarly called a Commandore: He hath the Care of fitting all their Ships, and is continually viſiting them in the Road, if Occaſion requires, and ſupplying them with what they want.

There is a ſmall Iſland, about three Miles from *Batavia*, where they have a Fort, which ſerves them as a Storehouſe for all Manner of Neceſſaries for Ships, under the Charge of a Maſter-Shipwright, who has alſo Command of the Fort and Iſland. He is of the Quality of Upper-Copeman, and has large Pay and Allowances. When they ſend out a Fleet of War on any Expedition, they make a Merchant of the Quality of Upper-Copeman, and ſometimes of the extraordinary Council Admiral or General, who has a Council of Merchants and military Officers to aſſiſt him, as Occaſion requires. The Admirals of the Fleet that go from *Batavia* to *Europe*, are ſuch as have ſerved the Company as Governors, Directors, Commanders, or Upper copemen, and are willing to go home, they have their Salaries allowed them till their Diſcharge in *Europe*; and if there be none that return of their own Choice, they appoint at leaſt a Copeman to command, who comes back again, if he thinks convenient.

As to their Admirals out of *Europe*, the Flag is worn by Turns; *Amſterdam* Squadron carries it three Years, and the *Zealand* Squadron every fourth Year. The *Amſterdam* having two Parts of the Stock, the other leſſer Chambers add theirs to it, and the *Zealanders* have one Quarter of their own. The Merchant who is ſent Admiral, muſt either take his Paſſage on the *Amſterdam* or *Zealand* Squadron. If a Copeman, or Under-copeman goes from Port to Port on any Ship, they have the Command of her, and alſo of the Fleet or all Ships in Company, by the Company's ſettled Order in their Articles. When there is a Fleet together under the Command of a Commandore, the Council is to conſiſt of Copemen and Skippers. When a Ship is ſingle, the Council is to be of Copemen, Skeeper, Under-copeman, Book-keeper, and Steerſmen; and they are always to ſteer their Courſe by the printed Directions, and to ſet off their Work every Day upon Charts, which are delivered up the very Day when they come to *Batavia* or *Holland*.

There is an Under-copeman, or Book-keeper in every Ship, who keeps an Account of the Ship's Expences, as Stores, Proviſions, and Mens Wages, in the Nature of a Purſer, and they are to ſee the Proviſions ſo given out that none be ſpoiled. Theſe take Place as they are capable of Preferment in their Factories by their Time of Service, and they are often taken out of Factories where they are wanted, and others put in their Places. If he that is upon a Ship, as a Book-keeper, be but an Aſſiſtant, he takes Place of the Steerſmen, or next to the Skeeper, by Reaſon of his Office, or, as they in Reſpect, term it, the Pen. All Chiefs of Factories, *&c.* have free Power to diſpoſe of their Ships and Men, while they are under their Chief-ſhip, and, as Occaſion requires, in the Company's Service. They may take out Men, Ammunitions, Proviſions and Stores, though ſuch Ships come there caſually, through Accident or Neceſſity. Thus every thing relating to this Subject, is ſo fully and clearly regulated, that Doubts or Difficulties rarely ariſe.

20. At *Batavia*, and all other Governments, they have a Chamber of Accounts for Orphans and Overſeers of the Poor thus provided: There is a Preſident and Maſter of the Chamber of Orphans at *Batavia* of the ordinary Council, who has for his Council half the Companies, Servants of the Quality of Copemen, and Upper-copemen, and half of the beſt Burghers, beſides a Secretary, and other Aſſiſtants. They ſit once a Week, and order the Diſpoſal of all Orphans and deceaſed Mens Eſtates, as they think fit. At *Policat*, and all Governments under *Batavia*, they have but two Perſons of the Chamber of Orphans, and a Secretary to them, all Company's Servants. The Chambers in thoſe Governments are not accountable to *Batavia* or *Europe*; nor do they ſend Copies of their Books of Accounts to any Place, but always keep them at *Policat*, &c. and the Eſtates of Perſons who deceaſe in any Place under that Government, are under the Charge of that Chamber, whoſe Wills, Inventories and Accounts, are there regiſtered; for which Purpoſe they have a particular Chamber in the Fort.

They muſt keep plain and fair Books of Accounts, Journals, and Ledgers. At *Policat* the Maſter of the Orphans Chamber, is every three Months to ſhew the Ballance of the Books to the Governor. Thoſe appointed for this Office do continue in it two Years or longer; and and when one goes out the other muſt ſtay a Year to inſtruct the next Comer, though his two Years be out.

They are ſworn to deal juſtly, and to keep ſecret the Concerns of the Chamber.

The Secretary of the Office muſt give three thouſand Pagodas Security for the Performance of his Truſt, and and be reſponſible for all Goods ſold at Outcries, for which he receives Three *per Cent.* upon the Account of the Sale; and by reaſon he is reſponſible, he may deny any Man to bid or buy, whom he thinks not ſafe to truſt. The Secretary alſo enters the Wills, and Inventories, and poſts the Journal, which is kept by one of the Maſters, and takes Care of the Papers that belong to the Office. The Chamber of Orphans may call whom they will into Council to adviſe with in difficult Matters; and no Perſon may deny to come and ſit with them, though it be the Governor himſelf. The Council is allowed Two and an Half *per Cent.* out of the Eſtates of the Deceaſed, for what is received upon the Sale of Goods, but nothing on Money left in Caſh; which Two and an Half is equally divided betwixt the Preſident and all the Maſters; beſides which they have each Money for a Gown yearly, which is charged on the deceaſed Perſon's Eſtate. If any Man or Woman dies, leaving Children under Age, the Chamber of Orphans take Care of the Eſtate, and provide for their bringing up, till they ariſe to the Age of Twenty-three Years, and then they receive what their Parents left them, with Intereſt, and the Encreaſe thereof. If the

Parents of the Children have any Eſtates in *Europe*, the Chamber of Orphans where ſuch Perſons die, writes for the Effects to be ſent to them, which is accordingly done.

The Money the Chamber of Orphans pays into the Company's Caſh at *Batavia*, brings in Nine *per Cent.* and it is often let out to Freemen and others at Twelve *per Cent. per Annum*, upon good Security: But at *Policat* it is uſually put into the Company's Stock, at Six *per Cent. per Annum.* If a Perſon dies and leaves no Will, or Relation in *India* to inherit, the Chamber of Orphans takes Care of the Eſtate, and gives the deceaſed Man's Account current Credit for the ſame; and there it remains 'till the right Heir demands it. If any Perſon dies with a Will, and leaves his Widow in Truſt for the Children, tho' their Mother, the Chamber of Orphans may, if they pleaſe, require the Eſtate at her Hands, and keep it for the Children. And if they do allow the Mother to keep the Eſtate and the Children, they always take a Copy of the Will, and an Obligation from the Mother for the Eſtate.

The Chamber of Orphans may keep the Eſtate in their Hands, and manage them as they pleaſe; but, for the better Security, it is uſually put into the Company's Hands, at the Intereſt before-mentioned; and they have the Company's Obligation for it. If any Perſon dies, leaving a Will, and therein does not give ſuch a Proportion of his Eſtate to his Children as the Law requires, they will not allow of the Will, but require a full Part for the Children. If a Man dies in the Company's Service, the Official is not to touch his Papers; nor is the Chamber of Orphans to admit of any Diſcovery of his Concerns to the Fiſcal. Again, if any Man dies in the Company's Service, and they owe him Money for Wages, the Chamber receives it, and enters it to the Creditor of the Deceaſed. The Company, beſides One third of their Half of the Fiſcal's Confiſcation, allow alſo Fines on Offences; and the Confiſcations of the Eſtates of Men executed for the Poor. There are many Overſeers and Maſters of the Poor at *Batavia.* At *Policat* they have but two, and thoſe not of the Maſters of Orphans, but others. They have Cognizance of all poor Chriſtians under the Government, whether they be *Dutch*, *Portugueze*, or others, and take Care for their Relief, by making Collections in Churches every *Sunday*, and Diſtributions according to their Number and Neceſſities.

The Poor has always a conſiderable Stock before-hand, which has been gathered from the Confiſcations of private Trade, and charitable Gifts. This Stock they alſo let out to the Company upon Intereſt, which they conſtantly receive, and employ as is found needful; and tho' the Intereſt of the Stock be ſufficient to maintain the Poor, yet they never neglect the weekly Gatherings in Churches, to increaſe the Stock as much as they can. For, ſay they, it may ſo happen, that by great Wars and Loſſes, many may be maimed, made Widows and Fatherleſs, and then the Principal may not be enough to maintain them. The Overſeers, or Maſters of the Poor, muſt keep a fair Book of all Receipts and Payments, that is, an Account of Caſh, and an Account of what's paid into the Company's Stock, at Intereſt, with a Roll of the Names of all Perſons to whom they give Alms, and what they give to every one. At *Batavia* there are Collections for the Poor every *Sunday*, Morning and Evening, in all their Churches.

When the ingenious and intelligent Reader ſhall have peruſed and conſidered this Scheme of *Dutch* Policy in the *Indies*, I am perſuaded that he will very eaſily account to himſelf, for their having raiſed ſo extenſive and ſolid an Empire in this Part of the World. He will ſee that they excel all other Nations in the *Indies*, not from Accident, Fortune, or a Concourſe of lucky Incidents, but from a very wiſe and well diſpoſed Eſtabliſhment, and a conſtant Attention to the Principles on which it is founded. They will ſee, that how much ſoever the *Dutch* may be inclined to a Republick, and how ſteady ſoever in their Notions of a Common-wealth, yet they have made no Scruple of departing from thoſe Sentiments in the *Indies*, for the ſake of complying ſo far with the Genius of the People in that Part of the World, as to eſtabliſh ſuch a Power in a ſingle Perſon, as may contribute to keep up at once the Grandeur and Authority of the Company, and facilitate the Direction of their Affairs. But if the Governor-General of *Batavia* has the Splendor, Revenues, and Power of a Prince, he earns them very dearly, by that perpetual Application to Buſineſs, which is required from him, and which he has it not in his Power to ſhake off: The ſame Thing may be ſaid of the Director-General, and of the Members of the Council of the *Indies*; if they have great Appointments, they have a great deal of Buſineſs, and if their Power be large, they are obliged to give a very ſtrict Account of the Manner in which it is uſed.

Theſe Examples are of inexpreſſible Conſequence, ſince they oblige all their Officers in their ſeveral Stations, to a conſtant and diligent Attendance, from whence they can never hope for any Diſpenſation, when they ſee ſuch as are at the Head of Affairs, tied to a ſtricter and more laborious Attendance than themſelves. The due Care that is taken, that every Man ſhall have a juſt Satisfaction for his Pains, a proper Subſiſtance, and a Certainty of receiving whatever is due to him, without Difficulty or Delay, and without needing the Aſſiſtance or Favour of any Man, muſt be acknowledged a Circumſtance of infinite Importance. The Frugality ſhewn in their military and naval Eſtabliſhments, and the Care taken to preſerve a due Dependance on the civil Goverment, are Steps worthy not only of Attention but Imitation, becauſe they are equally calculated for increaſing and extending, as well as preſerving and ſecuring the Dominions and Trade of the Company. The Tenderneſs ſhewn for Orphans, and the Security that this affords to private Men, that their Children ſhall certainly enjoy the Fruits of their Labour, is both a Spur to Induſtry, and a Means of promoting Marriages and Settlements, both of the utmoſt Conſequence to their Affairs in the *Indies*, as it ſerves to increaſe their Force, without draining their Mother-country. Their Regulations for the Poor are copied from thoſe in *Holland*, and highly laudable they are, in this reſpect; I mean, in not ſuffering any Diſtance of Country or Climate to deprive their People of their Birth-rights, which is the Benefit of their Laws, and to this I ſuppoſe it is owing, that the *Dutch* are obſerved never to loſe, or even to impair their Affection for their native Country, which they particularly diſtinguiſh, by the tender Appellation of Fatherland, and to which therefore all their Cares are confined, and in which all their Acquiſitions center.

To be the better ſatisfied of this, and to bring this Section to a Concluſion, by what moſt of all concerns us, the Knowledge of that Profit which accrues to them by the *Eaſt-India* Trade, we ſhall next conſider the Oeconomy of this flouriſhing Company at Home, and demonſtrate the Means by which all the Proprietors receive the cleareſt Satisfaction, that the whole Profits upon their Capital, are fairly divided out to them, and are not put into the Pockets of ſuch as are intruſted with the Direction of the Company's Affairs, as alſo how the State preſerves ſuch an Influence over the Company, as is requiſite for its own Security; and finally, how an Eſtimate may be made of the Wealth brought into the *United-Provinces* by this Company, from the Time of its original Eabliſhment to this Day.

21. The great Power, prodigious Wealth, and vaſt Importance of this Company to the *Dutch* Republick, has occaſioned a great Variety of Treatiſes on its Form, Conſtitution, and Manner of Government; ſo that it is very far from being an eaſy Taſk to reduce the Subſtance of what they had delivered within the narrow Bounds which we are obliged to keep. To begin as methodically as poſſibly, we will firſt ſtate the original Stock of the Company, and the Proportions in which it was advanced, and which have never been varied ſince that Time: A Stroke of Policy of infinite Conſequence to them in the Management of this extenſive Commerce.

The Capital Stock of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company.

	Florins.
Amſterdam	3,674,915
Zealand	1,333,882
Delft	470,000
Rotterdam	177,400
Horn	266,868
Enchuyſen	536,775
In all	6,459,840

Thoſe ſix having advanced this Money, they ſettled a Chamber in each of the Towns (that of *Zealand* being in *Middleburg*) from whence they chuſe the ſeventeen Deputies, who direct the Affairs of the Company. They meet four Times a Year ſucceſſively at *Amſterdam*, for the Affairs of the Company, and twice at *Middleburg* alternately; but not at the other Towns. Theſe Deputies are the Sovereigns of this illuſtrious Company, yet under the Authority of the *States-General*. The ſeventeen Directors are choſen in the following Manner; eight by the Chamber of *Amſterdam*; four by that of *Zealand*; *Delft*, *Rotterdam*, *Horn* and *Enchuyſen*, one each; and the *Maes*, *Middleburg*, and *North-holland*, chuſe one by Turns. Theſe ſeventeen Directors govern the Company, and repreſent the Sovereignty of the whole Body by Plurality of Voices. They regulate all Affairs of Conſequence, as the making of Counſellors, Captains, Lieutenants, and equipping of Ships, the Sale of the Goods, the Diviſion of the Profits, and all the particular Chambers muſt conform themſelves to their Orders. They likewiſe appoint the Time for the Sale of the Goods, one half of which is ſold in the Chamber of *Amſterdam*, a fourth in that of *Middleburg*, and a ſixteenth in each of the other four Chambers, at the Time by them appointed, to the higheſt Bidder.

But beſides theſe ſeventeen Directors, each of the Chambers have more belonging to the ſame Body: Thus *Amſterdam* has ten more, beſides the eight ſent to the ſovereign Court; and *Haerlem*, *Leyden*, *Utrecht*, *Dort* and *Tergoe*, have each of them one there, as have the Provinces of *Guelderland* and *Friezeland*, and *Zealand* likewiſe, beſides their four Directors, have eight or ten more from other Towns of the Province. All the Deputies are to give their Advice in their reſpective Chambers for the Good and Advantage of the Company; and when any of the Deputies die, the Towns to which they belong, name three others in their Stead, out of which the Magiſtrates chuſe one. This Committee meets twice a Week, and change their Preſident each Month, ſo that every one preſides in his Turn. There are two Advocates belonging to the Company, who make their Report of what is reſolved upon to the *Indies*; upon which the Officers of the Company there form their Reſolutions, and iſſue their Orders. There are eight Deputies for the Affairs of the Marine, War, and Building of Ships, four to inſpect their Magazines, and the Goods that are ſent to and come from the *Indies*, four which take Care of the Money which the Company pays and receives, and the reſt take care of the Accounts, and other Affairs relating to Order and Juſtice, which is done to the meaneſt Mariner as well as to the greateſt Officers.

The whole, though it ſeems at firſt ſight in a manner independent of the State, is however kept in great Subordination, by Means of the wiſe Regulations made in eſtabliſhing the Directors, and the Care taken, that not any two of them ſhall be related to each other, which prevents Combinations, and all thoſe Practices by which publick Eſtabliſhments are converted into private Jobbs, and what ought to redound to the common Benefit of a Nation, conveyed into the Pockets of a few private Men. Once in three Years the *States-General* demand and receive a ſtrict Account of the Company's whole Tranſactions, in order to be ſatisfied, that they keep within the Bounds of their Charter, that they do Juſtice to their Proprietors, and that they manage their Trade ſo, as that it may not be prejudicial to the State, which Regulation may be juſtly eſteemed the principal Cauſe, that hitherto the Affairs of this Company have been ſo perfectly well conducted.

In order to this Examination, or Controul of the Company's Accounts, the ancient Practice was for the *States-General* to name a Committee of their Members to go to *Amſterdam*, and there examine the Books of the *Eaſt-India* Company upon the Spot, which took up a conſiderable Time, and during that whole Space, this Committee from the *States* had their Charges defrayed at the Expence of the Company. In the Year 1728, the Company thought fit to make a Repreſentation to the *States-General*, ſetting forth the Inconveniencies and unneceſſary Charge this Method occaſioned, and therefore praying, that their *High Mightineſſes* would conſent to its Alteration, and allow the Company to ſend a Deputation to the *Hague*, in order to lay their Accounts before them, which, after mature Deliberation, was aſſented to.

The Magazines of the Company are always kept in excellent Order. Such as are entruſted with the Care of them, give large Security, and are liable beſides, to the ſevereſt Puniſhments in caſe they are guilty of any Breach of Truſt. The ſame Degree of Strictneſs is ſhewn to all Degrees of Perſons in their Service, nor are the Directors themſelves exempted, in whom the ſmalleſt Fraud would be puniſhed with a ſpeedy and exemplary Juſtice. This keeps up that Spirit of Care and Diligence which is ſo abſolutely requiſite to the right Management of Commerce, and all the Under-officers moved by the Example, as well as conſtrained by the Inſpection of their Superiors, diſcharge their Duty very exactly; ſo that the Dock, or Yard, in which their Ships are built and repaired, is kept in as exact Order, as that of any private Man, tho' there are ſeldom leſs than twelve hundred Perſons employed therein.

They do not however exert the ſame Authority over the Sailors and Under-ſervants of the Company, that return from the *Indies*, but on the contray, allow them all the Liberty they can deſire, and ſuffer them to live in what Manner, and at what Expence they pleaſe, which is likewiſe done from a Principle of true Policy, ſince it affords them the Means of ſpending, in a ſhort Time, all that they have acquired in long Service; ſo that in the Space of five or ſix Weeks, they are, generally ſpeaking, reduced to their primitive State of Indigence, and conſequently are obliged to enter again into the Company's Service for a freſh Term. Thus the Liberty of the Subject is preſerved intire, and the Company nevertheleſs ſeldom wants a regular Supply of able and ſeaſoned Seamen, which has very good Effects, becauſe Experience ſhews, that ſuch as are uſed to theſe *eaſtern* Climates, go many Voyages without Prejudice to their Health, whereas freſh and raw Seamen die in great Numbers, to the vaſt Prejudice of the State. The greateſt Care is taken, that all employed in this Service, both at Home and Abroad, ſhall be properly qualified for the Stations in which they ſerve, and therefore it is a Rule, that none ſhall be admitted into any Office, before they have undergone a proper Examination; and though there may be ſome Inſtances where Intereſt or Favour may have procured Diſpenſations in this reſpect, yet theſe occur but ſeldom, and are not therefore of very great Conſequence.

In order to have a juſt Idea of the Manner in which this great Maſs of Property is managed, it will be neceſſary to explain the Meaning of a Term frequently made uſe of here, and yet but indifferently underſtood. The Term I mean is the *Actions* of the *Eaſt-India* Company. The general Signification of this Phraſe, both here and in *France*, is preciſely the ſame with what we call *Stocks*. When therefore it is ſaid, that Actions riſe or fall, the Meaning is plain and obvious; but then it is abſolutely neceſſary to know the Value of Actions, or rather the Value of the Actions in a particular Company, before we can form any juſt Notions of them. The original Actions of this *Eaſt-India* Company were fix'd at three thouſand Florins; that is to ſay, a Perſon poſſeſſed of ſo much of the original Stock, was ſaid to hold one Action, he who had twice as much two, and ſo on. This Phraſe is ſtill kept up, though the Value is very much altered, ſince a ſingle Action is now worth from twenty-five to twenty-ſix thouſand Florins. Theſe Actions vary in their Price, according as the Dividends made upon the Company's Capital riſe or fall; but whatever their Price be, a principal Director muſt have two in his own Poſſeſſion to qualify him for that Poſt, and none are capable of giving a Vote in an Election, who are not poſſeſſed of one Action at leaſt. The Salaries of the Directors vary, according to the Chambers to which they belong. Thoſe eighteen that are choſen by the City of *Amſterdam*, have three thouſand Florins a Year, but there are others that have but twelve hundred.

The Manner of buying and ſelling *Eaſt-India* Stock is very eaſy and expeditious. When the Parties have ſettled the Price between themſelves, they go together to the *India* Houſe, where the Seller applies himſelf to the Clerk of the Book in which his Stock is entered, and deſires him to transfer ſo much from his Account to that of the Buyer; which being done, he ſigns it, and afterwards ſigns a Receipt for the Purchaſe-money, and the whole Tranſaction being performed in the Preſence of a Director, he ſigns the Book likewiſe; ſo that there is not a Poſſibility of any Fraud being committed, yet the whole Expence of this Transfer does not amount to more than ſeven Shillings and Sixpence of our Money.

The Directors, who have the ſole Management of the Company's Concerns, ſettle not only the Times, but the Quanties and Qualities of the Company's Goods, that are to be expoſed in their Sales from the Produce of which their Dividends are would, and are high and low, according to the Profit made by the Company. This, however, muſt be underſtood with ſome Reſtriction; for moſt certain it is, that from their firſt Eſtabliſhment to this Day, they have never divided to the full Extent of their Profit, and this for very good Reaſons. Firſt, becauſe long Wars, and other chargeable Expeditions, muſt be defrayed out of this reſerv'd Stock, to prevent a great Decreaſe in their Dividends, which would neceſſarily occaſion a very great Fall of their Actions. Secondly, they have conſtantly paid the State very large Sums for the renewing of their Charters, and they have likewiſe paid largely for ſuch other Acts of State as they have procured from Time to Time in their Favour. Thirdly, it has been found requiſite for them to keep large Sums in Bank, to anſwer the Exigencies of the *State* as well as the Company, in Times of great Difficulty and Danger. Beſides all this, they have likewiſe reſerved vaſt Quantities of Spices, and other rich Commodities, that their Sales might not lower the Price of them too much; and upon this Principle, they have ſometimes burned great Quantities of Spices. They have alſo formerly had recourſe to another Method for the Benefit of their Proprietors, which has been paying their Dividends in Cloves, Mace and Nutmegs, at a very low Price, by which thoſe who received them, gained very conſiderable Advantages.

It may, indeed, be ſurmiſed, that theſe Methods afforded room for the Directors to make great Advantages to themſelves, but when it is conſidered, that their general Accounts, upon the Balance of which their Dividends have been declared, have been every three Years conſtantly audited by a Committee of the *States-General*, there is no juſt Reaſon to apprehend, that any Thing of this kind has been ever practiſed. Thus it clearly appears, that as the *Eaſt-India* Company in *Holland*, by a wiſe and prudent Diſpoſition of their Affairs abroad, have been able to erect and maintain a Sovereignty, very little, if at all, inferior in Power to the greateſt Monarchs in *Aſia*, without which it would have been impoſſible for them to have maintained and ſupported that Commerce which has been the Source of ſuch immenſe Riches; ſo, on the other Hand, by their prudent and exact Oeconomy at Home, they have conſtantly ſuſtained the Reputation of the Company at the greateſt Height, and thereby proved of infinite Advantage to their Country.

This indeed is the main Point, and the Thing which of all others we have laboured to ſet in the fulleſt and ſtrongeſt Light in this Section. For though it be true, that both the Glory and the Profit accruing from the right Management of the Affairs of this great Corporation, belong to the *Dutch* alone, and not to any other Nation, yet the Example of ſo extraordinary a Conſtitution as this is, by which a Body of Merchants have been able to raiſe an Empire in the *Indies*, and a kind of new Republick in the Boſom of that by which they were erected, is common to all the World, and therefore the entire Hiſtory of its Riſe, Progreſs, and preſent Condition, concerns not only all the reſt of *Europe*, and in a particular Manner every maritime Power, but ought likewiſe to be tranſmitted to Poſterity. This, as it inclined me to take ſo much Pains, and to turn over ſo many Books, in order to bring all that has been ſaid of it into ſuch a Method, as that the *Engliſh* Reader might clearly comprehend, not only its paſt and preſent Condition, but the Means by which the former was acquired, and the latter is, and probably will be maintained as long as the Republick of the *States-General* ſhall ſubſiſt: So I hope it will merit a Degree of Attention equal to the trouble it has coſt, and inſpire every Reader with a ſincere and hearty Concern to ſee the Affairs of *Engliſh* trading Companies put into a like Train of Management, that as we have not equal only, but greater Advantages for the promoting and ſupporting an extenſive Commerce than the *Dutch*, we may not be always as much behind them in this reſpect as we are at preſent.

There remains but one Thing more to compleat the Aim and Deſign of this Section, and that is, to give an Account of the Dividends which have been made ſince the Eſtabliſhment of this Company, which when I began this Enquiry, I thought could not have been brought lower than the Year 1717; but by a diligent Search I have continued them eleven Years further, and have Reaſon to hope, that in the Appendix to the next Volume, I ſhall be able to gratify the Reader's Curioſity to its utmoſt Extent, by bringing them ſtill farther down, perhaps to the preſent Year. As they ſtand in the next Page, they will fully anſwer three very great and uſeful Ends. In the firſt Place, they will fully ſupport, and undeniably prove the Truth, not only of the Facts recorded, but alſo of the Obſervations made upon thoſe Facts through the Courſe of this Hiſtory, and thereby convince the Reader, that it is not an over-weening Paſſion for Trade, or any particular Fondneſs for the *Dutch*, that has led me to treat ſo largely of this Subject, but an honeſt and laudable Zeal for Truth, and for the Intereſt of my Country. It will in the next Place ſhew, what incredible Advantages reſult from Commerce, when wiſely eſtabliſhed, and ſteadily purſued, and how this alone contributes more, not only to the enriching, but to the raiſing the Power and Credit of a Nation, than all other Methods taken for that Purpoſe put together; and laſtly, it will demonſtrate, beyond all Queſtion, the Falſhood of that Objection, which, of all others has been thought the ſtrongeſt againſt the *Eaſt-India* Trade, *viz.* that it exhauſts and impoveriſhes Nation which carries it on, by exporting annually vaſt Quantities of Silver; for, if there had been any Truth in this, the Experience of ſo long a Courſe of Time, as one hundred and thirteen Years, muſt have rendered it viſible to a Degree beyond all Contradiction; whereas, this Account of the Company's Dividends, is the fulleſt and moſt authentick Evidence of the contrary; ſo that it is to be hoped, we ſhall never hear that Objection urged again, or if it be, that it will have as little Weight as an Argument built upon Conjecture ought to have, when oppoſed to the Lights of Experience.

A complete Table *of the* Dividends *made by the* DIRECTORS *of the* Dutch-Eaſt-India *Company, upon their Capital*; *from* Anno 1605 *to* 1728, *incluſive.*

Years.	Months in which paid.		In what Manner.
1605	*July* 1	15 *per Cent.*	In Money.
6	*March*	75	
7	*July*	40	
8	*April*	20	
9	*June*	25	
10	*April*	75	Mace.
-	*November*	50	Pepper.
-	-	7½	Money.
12	*December*	57½	Ditto.
15	*Auguſt*	42½	Ditto.
16	*February*	62½	Ditto.
20	*April*	37½	Ditto
23	*November*	25	Cloves.
25	*Auguſt*	20	Money.
27	*March*	12½	
29	*January*	25	
31	*January*	17½	
33	*December*	20	
35	*March*	20	Cloves.
-	*May*	12½	
-	*Auguſt*	12	
36	*March*	25	
-	*November*	12½	
37	*March*	15	
-	*November*	25	
38	*October*	19	Spices.
-	*November*	25	
40	*January*	15	Cloves.
-	*November*	25	Money.
41	*February*	15	Cloves.
-	*November*	25	
42	*December*	50	Money.
43	*January*	15	Cloves.
44	*November*	25	
-	*December*	20	Money.
46	*January*	22½	
-	*December*	25	
48	*January*	25	
49	*January*	30	
50	*January*	20	
51	*January*	15	
52	*January*	25	
53	*January*	12½	
54	*June*	15	
55	*January*	12½	
56	*December*	27½	
58	*December*	40	
59	*December*	12½	
60	*November*	40	
61	*November*	25	
63	*November*	30	
65	*January*	27½	
68	*June*	12½	
69	*July*	12½	
70	*June*	40	
71	*June*	45	
-	*July*	15	
72	*June*	15	
1673	*June*	33⅓ *per Cent.*	In Bonds payable by the Province of *Holland.*
76	*February*	25	Bonds at 4 *per Cent.*
79	*January*	12½	Ditto on the Province of *Holland.*
80	*January*	25	Company's Bonds.
81	*January*	22½	
82	*July*	33⅓	
85	*February*	40	Money.
86	*May*	12½	
87	*April*	20	
88	*April*	33⅓	
89	*April*	33⅓	
90	*April*	40	Bonds of the Company's at 3½ *per Cent.* payable in 1740.
91	*Auguſt*	20	
92	*April*	25	
93	*April*	20	
94	*April*	20	
95	*November*	25	
96	*June*	15	
97	*June*	15	
98	*June*	15	
-	*September*	15	Money.
99	*June*	20	
-	*December*	15	
1700	*July*	25	
1	*May*	20	
2	*May*	20	
3	*May*	25	
4	*June*	25	
5	*May*	25	
6	*May*	25	
7	*April*	25	
8	*May*	25	
9	*May*	25	
10	*May*	25	
11	*May*	25	
12	*May*	15	
13	*May*	30	
14	*May*	33⅓	
15	*April*	40	
16	*May*	40	
17	*May*	40	
18	*May*	40	
19	*May*	40	
20	*May*	40	
21	*June*	33⅓	
22	*May*	30	
23	*May*	12½	
24	*May*	15	
25	*May*	20	
26	*June*	25	
27	*May*	20	
28	*May*	15	
	In all	2784⅙ *per Cent.*	

It may, perhaps be ſaid with Truth, that ſo clear, ſo accurate, and ſo ſatisfactory an Account as this is, for ſuch a Number of Years, and alſo of ſuch an extenſive Commerce, is ſcarce in the World to be met with. Let us therefore make Uſe of this Account, in order to raiſe ſuch Obſervations as may enable us to penetrate clearly into the Subject. In the firſt Place, we muſt remember, that by the Conſtitution of the *Dutch* Government, all Ranks of People were allowed originally, and are, to this Day, permitted to inveſt their Fortunes in the Stock of this Company; by which Means every Body became intereſted in its Welfare; and the Support thereof was conſidered as equally beneficial to the Publick, and to private Perſons, which Spirit has been kept alive for upwards of one hundred Years, by that Skill and Oeconomy which we have deſcribed, and by making all the Proprietors ſenſible of the Profit and Loſs of the Company's Trade, by the Riſe and Fall of their Dividends. In the Courſe of this Time, it clearly appears, by comparing the Total of what has been divided, with the Number of Years in which that Sum has been divided, that, one Year with another, the Proprietors of this Stock have conſtantly received ſomewhat more than twenty-four *per Cent.* which is ſo conſiderable a Thing, that a very little Attention will convince us, that it muſt have laid the Foundation of a great many private Fortunes in *Holland*, and is ſtill of very great Uſe,

Uſe to the Publick, and of prodigious Benefit and Advantage to private Perſons in the ſame Way.

But then, if we conſider it in a larger and more extenſive View; and as it hath a Reference to the Commonwealth of *Holland*, and the *Dutch* Nation, we ſhall find that this *Eaſt-India* Commerce has been ſo far from exhauſting and drawing out the Wealth of theſe Provinces, that, on the contrary, it has brought in a much greater Proportion of Wealth than could have been obtained any other Way. In order to be ſatisfied of this, we need only conſider the original Capital of this *Eaſt-India* Company, which conſiſts of not quite ſix Millions and an half of Florins, that is, to take it in round Numbers, about ſix hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds Sterling; and yet upon this, in the Year 1728, they had divided Eighteen Millions of our Money.

It may, indeed, be objected, that before we can draw any Conſequence from this, we ought to know the Quantities of Silver that have, within that Space of Time been exported from *Holland*; becauſe, till theſe Sums are known, and deducted from the Eighteen Millions, divided amongſt the Proprietors, it cannot, with any Certainty, be known how great Profits have accrued to the *Dutch* Nation from this Trade. But, in anſwer to this Objection, which is the only one that can be made; I ſay, firſt of all, that the Dividends made by the Directors of the Company, ariſe from the Sales by which the Goods brought from the *Indies* on the Company's Account, are thrown into the Hands of private Merchants, by whom the greateſt Part of them have been exported into other Countries of *Europe*, and a vaſt Profit acquired thereby, which Profit is not at all taken Notice of in the Account before ſtated. I ſay, in the next Place, that the home Conſumption of *India* Goods in *Holland*, bears ſo little Proportion to the Quantities of thoſe Goods vended by the Company in their publick Sales, that it is impoſſible to conceive they can conduce to any conſiderable Impoveriſhment of the People; and that there is the higheſt Reaſon to believe the whole Eighteen Millions before-mentioned has been drawn from foreign Countries into *Holland*, by the Sale of thoſe Commodities; and conſequently this Sum at leaſt has been gained, not only by the Company, but by the Nation.

I ſay, in the third Place, that this is the more credible, becauſe this is ſo far from being the whole of the Profits which the Company has gained by its Commerce, that there is good Reaſon to believe it is not much above one half of them; for we muſt conſider that the Company has, at ſeveral Times paid for the renewing its Charters and Privileges more than its original Capital; that it has likewiſe expended, from the Time of its firſt Eſtabliſhment, an immenſe Sum every Year for the building, repairing, and equipping the Ships employed in its Service, and in diſcharging the Wages due to all who are in its Service, which, with many other Articles, that I need not enumerate, muſt have ariſen from the Gain produced by their Trade. I ſay, in the fourth Place, that as the Company has very wiſely avoided very high Dividends, and has always retained a vaſt Stock, and an immenſe Treaſure for its Support in caſe of any extraordinary Emergency, ſo all this, let its Amount be what it will, is excluded from the before-mentioned Sum of Eighteen Millions, and belongs to a ſeparate Account.

I ſay, farther, that all the Property of which the Company is poſſeſſed in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and which is capable of being transferred from thence into *Europe*, ought to be conſidered as the entire Produce of this Trade, as it never could have accrued to, or have been by any Means in the Power or Poſſeſſion of the Subjects of the States of *Holland*, but by the Eſtabliſhment and Management of this Company: So that if we take in all theſe various Branches, which make no Part of theſe Eighteen Millions, I believe, there is no reaſonable Man, at leaſt no competent Judge of Matters of this Nature, who will not readily allow that they muſt vaſtly over-balance whatever Quantities of Silver have been exported by the Company, ſince its Eſtabliſhment, for the carrying on of the *India* Trade. So that on the whole, I think, I may very fairly, and with the greateſt Juſtice conclude, that if this Article of the Trade of *Holland* could be balanced with the utmoſt Nicety, it would appear, that, at leaſt, this Sum of Eighteen Millions has been gained by the *Dutch* Nation, as well as by the Proprietors of their *Eaſt-India* Company.

But if it ſhould be ſaid, that the Wealth of the *Dutch* Provinces does by no Means correſpond with this Calculation, and that therefore it is very improbable; my Anſwer to this is, that in the firſt Place, this ought to be proved, and in the next, that ſuppoſing it could be proved, it is no reaſonable Objection to the Truth of what I ſay, ſince it is very poſſible, and indeed highly probable, that a great Part of the Wealth brought into *Holland* by this Commerce, and by the numberleſs Branches of Trade which depend upon it, may have been in Part diſſipated and diſperſed by the great Wars maintained by the Republick, and by various other Exigencies of State; ſo that allowing there were not eighteen Millions in the Hands of all the Subjects of this Republick, yet this does not prove, that they may not have gained ſo much by this Commerce, becauſe, as I have ſaid before, they may have ſpent it. I may add to all this, that there is no great Difficulty in ſetting this Argument in ſuch a Light, as that it may operate ſtrongly in my Favour; for, if we conſider the prodigious Sums the *Dutch* Government have levied upon their Subjects, the many and long Wars in which they have engaged, and the great Difficulties and Diſtreſſes to which they have been driven, it is as difficult to imagine, how they ſhould have been able to find Money for their Expences, and yet leave their Subjects ſo rich as they are at preſent known to be, without admitting ſuch a Profit upon this Trade as it is to believe, that the beſt Part of theſe prodigious Expences was taken out of that Wealth which this Company brought in.

That a great deal of Time has been ſpent in examining and tracing the Hiſtory of the *Dutch* Commerce in the *Indies* for ſuch a Number of Years, that I have been very large in my Deſcription of its Eſtabliſhment Abroad, and have beſtowed no leſs Labour in ſetting forth the Oeconomy of this *Eaſt-India* Company at Home, is what I cannot deny; but at the ſame Time, I muſt profeſs, that they bringing ſuch a Multitude of Things into the Compaſs of this Section, and thereby exhibiting in one View, what it would coſt the Reader much Time and Trouble, and I might add, Expence likewiſe, to pick up, from a Multitude of different Writers, was my ſole Motive thereto; and therefore I hope this will be thought a juſt Excuſe for any Inconveniencies that may have attended it; the rather, becauſe in the Courſe of my Enquiries, I have met with ſuch Helps, as I did not, and indeed could have no Reaſon to expect, which has enabled me to render the Account I have given, much more perfect than at firſt I had any Hopes of making it. There is no Poſſibility of judging, on the firſt laying of a Plan of this Nature, how all the Materials are to be collected, what Space they will fill, or what Acceſſions may be made to them, while the Structure is erecting; but it is always clear, that an Author, who has a due Regard for his own Reputation, and a juſt Concern for the Performance of what he has promiſed to the Publick, will be always attentive to the main Object, and will let Circumſtances of ſmaller Conſideration give Way thereto, for which, when all Things have been ſufficiently weighed, his Readers will not think that he ought to be blamed.

But if we have dwelt ſo long upon a Subject ſo fruitful of Matter as this has apparently been, it will prevent our employing ſo much Time as we ſhould otherwiſe have done in accounting for the Endeavours of ſeveral other Nations in *Europe*, to ſhare in this Trade, by erecting new Companies for carrying it on, of which it will now be neceſſary to ſay no more than what is requiſite, to ſhew how, when, and by whom they were erected, and what their Situation and Expectations are at preſent, which will conclude all that we have to add concerning the *Eaſt-Indies*, as it will alſo do this our firſt Volume.

SECT.

SECTION XXXV.

The Hiſtory of the French Eaſt-India *Commerce from its firſt Original, together with a clear and conciſe Account of the ſeveral Alterations it has undergone; and a full and plain Deſcription of its preſent Circumſtances at home and abroad; interſperſed with ſome curious Remarks on the Nature of the* French *Government when the Powers thereof come to operate upon Trade.*

Collected entirly from the *French* Writers.

1. *The fruitleſs Endeavours of* Francis I. Henry III. *and* Henry IV. *to engage their Subjects in long Voyages, and the firſt Appearance of an* Indian *Trade in that Country.* 2. *The Pains taken in this Reſpect by the great Cardinal* Richelieu, *and his noble Plan on that Subject abortive.* 3. *The firſt effectual Eſtabliſhment of this Commerce owing to the Wiſdom and publick Spirit of* M. Colbert, *who intereſted the Crown in this Affair.* 4. *The Protection of the King, the Patronage of that able Miniſter, and the moſt zealous Endeavours of the Merchants in* France *fail in promoting the Intereſts of this Company.* 5. *After the Deceaſe of* M. Colbert *it declines continually, and loſes all Countenance from the Court, which brings it into a very low State.* 6. *Tranſition from the Affairs of the Company in* France, *to the Management of their Commerce in the* Indies. 7. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Acquiſition, fortifying, and erecting a Town at* Pondichery, *with the Reaſons which induced the Company to make it their capital Reſidence.* 8. *Remarkable Revolutions that have happened to this Place, and to the Affairs of the Company in the* Indies. 9. *A Deſcription of the Fortreſs and Town of* Pondechery *at it now ſtands, a Calculation of the Number of Inhabitants, and the Importance of this Place ſet in a new Light.* 10. *The Condition of the* French East-India *Company at the Demiſe of* Louis XIV. *impartially repreſented.* 11. *A View of the Regent Duke of* Orleans's *Scheme for a Ccalition of the* French *trading Companies for the Improvement of Commerce, and the Support of publick Credit.* 12. *A ſhort hiſtorical Account of the* China, Senegal, *and* Weſt-India *Companies that were united to the Company of the* Indies *by the Regent's Edict.* 13. *A perfect Repreſentation of the Nature, Power, Privileges, and Eſtabliſhment of the preſent* French Eaſt-India *Company ſince the Execution of that Scheme.* 14. *A brief Account of the Company's Trade from* 1720 *to* 1741, *with an impartial Account of its preſent State at home as well as in the* Indies, *and the true Value of its Actions.* 15. *Remarks and Obſervations on the Facts related in the foregoing Sections, explaining the Nature and Conſequences of maritime Powers.*

1. WE opened the former Section, with obſerving, that Zeal for Freedom, a due Portion of publick Spirit, and great Induſtry, were capable of conferring the Bleſſings of an extenſive Trade, even upon Nations labouring under the greateſt natural Impediments: But it will be the Buſineſs of this Section, to ſhew, that where Freedom and publick Spirit are wanting, Power cannot ſupply their Place; and even Induſtry itſelf, though it may procure Credit to ſuch a People, will never be able to purchaſe Wealth. Commerce loves to find its own Channels, and will not ſubmit to any Reſtraint. Hope will nouriſh it in the moſt barren Soil, provided that Hope be cheriſhed by a mild and prudent Government; for Trade is found to be of the ſame Nature with certain Plants, which, though they become fair and large by Cultivation, yet can never be forced.

There have been few Governments, at leaſt, where the Monarchs affected arbitrary Power, which could boaſt of being ſo happy in Miniſters as *France*; neither has this Country wanted ſome great Princes who have both underſtood their Subjects Intereſts, and laboured to promote them: And yet, with reſpect to the Commerce of which we are treating, both have laboured in vain. The firſt Monarch of this Country, who ſtrove to excite his Subjects to extend their Commerce, by making long and diſtant Voyages, was *Francis* I. who, by his Declarations in the Year 1537, and 1543, exhorted the *French* Nation to emulate their Neighbours, and to labour to obtain a Share in thoſe important Diſcoveries, by which they were ſo much exalted both in Reputation and Riches. *Henry* III. renewed theſe Exhortations by an Edict, dated *December* 15, 1578, but without any Effect.

It was under the Reign of his Succeſſor, *Henry* IV. one of the wiſeſt, greateſt, and which is ſtill a higher Character, one of the beſt Princes that ever ſat upon the *French* Throne, that this Nation firſt attempted to ſhare in the Commerce of the *Indies*. One *Gerard le Roy*, a Native of the *Low-Countries*, and who had made ſeveral Voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies* on board the *Dutch* Ships, came into *France*, and offered his Service as a Pilot to ſome Merchants, who were deſirous of aſſociating themſelves for carrying on that Trade; of which the King having Notice, gave them all the Encouragement they could deſire; and by an Arret, bearing Date *June* 1, 1604, erected the firſt *Eaſt-India* Company that had been ſeen in *France*, and granted them excluſive Privileges for the Term of fifteen Years, which however proved of no Uſe, either through the Diviſions and Diſputes which aroſe amongſt the Merchants that compoſed this new Company, or from their finding it impoſſible to raiſe a Fund ſufficient for carrying ſo great an Undertaking into Execution.

But notwithſtanding this Company failed, yet *Gerard le Roy* ſtill continued in *France*, and ſtill laboured to ſet on foot an *Eaſt-India* Company, which at length however, he effected, under the Reign of *Lewis* XIII. who granted the Merchants that were engaged in this Project, his Letters patent, dated *March* 2, 1611, by which they had all the Privileges that they could deſire confirmed to them for twelve Years. But, notwithſtanding this, they ſuffered four whole Years to relapſe without fitting out ſo much as a ſingle Ship; and thereupon two Merchants at *Rouen* petitioned the King, that theſe Privileges might be transferred to them, offering to fit out a certain Number of Veſſels that very Year. But the Company before erected interpoſed, and declared that this Delay of theirs aroſe from unavoidable Difficulties, and not from any Deſign of dropping or abandoning their Project; upon which the King very wiſely directed that theſe Merchants ſhould be aſſociated with the old Company, in order to encreaſe their Capital, and carry on their Trade the better.

In purſuance of this Reſolution, they had new Letters Patents granted, dated *July* 2, 1615, which were regiſtered in Parliament the Second of *September* following; and, in conſequence of the ample Privileges that they had thus obtained, they began to fit out Ships, and actually poſſeſſed themſelves of the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, which was then conſidered as a very great Thing, and mighty Hopes were conceived therefrom. But this, inſtead of facilitating their Commerce to the *Indies*, proved the Ruin of it under this Eſtabliſhment; for, it being found by Experience, that the Profits ariſing from the Poſſeſſion and Commerce of this Iſland, were of very little Conſequence, it was too haſtily concluded, that the Whole of this Trade would prove as inſignificant; and ſo, notwithſtanding all the fair Promiſes made at the Beginning, this Company, like the reſt, ſunk, and was totally loſt.

2. The great Cardinal *Richelieu* however reſolved to revive this Commerce, and undertook it with great Spirit, and conſequently with all the Appearance imaginable of Succeſs. The Royal Privileges granted to this new Company were dated the Twenty-fourth of *June* 1642, and contained all that could be thought neceſſary for promoting the Intereſt of a Society, under the peculiar Protection of ſo great a Miniſter; yet, it fell out unluckily, that he did not long ſurvive this new Grant, which without doubt, was a great Prejudice to the Company's Affairs: However, *Lewis* XIV. or rather the Regency, acting in his Minority, confirmed thoſe Privileges by an Edict dated the Twentieth of *September*, 1643, and the Company entered into Poſſeſſion of all the Advantages derived therefrom immediately.

All theſe it quietly enjoyed for twenty Years; during which Space, this third Company ſent every Year a Veſſel, but the far greater Part of them were either caſt away in their Paſſage, or loſt the beſt Part of their Crews by the Scurvy; ſo that tho' the Name of an *Eaſt-India* Company was ſtill kept up in *France*; yet, in fact, they were poſſeſſed of no ſuch Trade, but contented themſelves with a Number of fruitleſs and fatiguing Attempts to ſettle a flouriſhing Colony at *Madagaſcar*; a Deſign, which, after all, they could never bring to bear. The Time of their Privilege being expired, the Duke *de la Meilleray* thought fit to attempt an *Indian* Trade upon his own Bottom, which, however ended in ſending a Ship or two to *Madagaſcar*, where he got into the Poſſeſſion of the *French* Settlements, and found them not worth keeping, though it is ſaid that he made this Attempt at a pretty eaſy Rate, becauſe being Maſter of the Ordnance, he made ſo free with the King's Stores, as to ſend large Quantities of them to *Madagaſcar*, and placed the ſame to his own Account. On his Death however, his Son, who was ſtiled the Duke *de Mazarin*, ſold his Intereſt in this Iſland for about one thouſand Pounds of our Money, which proved a great deal more than it was worth.

Thus we have ſpent our Time hitherto in contemplating the Progreſs of the *French India* Companies for about threeſcore Years, within which Space they did nothing; though ſome private Men from *St. Malo's* ſent Ships thither, and found their Trade turn to ſome Account. This very plainly ſhews, how little the *French* Government agrees with Commerce, and how difficult her ableſt Miniſters find it to eſtabliſh Trade by Dint of Power: And yet it muſt be allowed, that Cardinal *Richelieu* took all the Pains in this Reſpect that it was in the Power of Man to do; for he ſent for Perſons who were beſt verſed in this Trade from *Holland*, drew abundance of rich Merchants from various Parts of *Europe* into *France*, drew the Plan for the Eſtabliſhment of the new Company himſelf, and engaged ſome of the principal Perſons for Quality and Fortune in *France* to embark in it.

What he conceived would moſt promote it, proved the Ruin of the whole Deſign; for there being always ſome great Nobleman or other at the Head of this Buſineſs, ſuch as endeavoured to obtain Employment in the Company's Service, were forced to become his Creatures; by which happy Contrivance there were hardly any employed who had either Merit or Capacity; ſo that the Merchants and ſuch as were the beſt Judges of the Means of carrying on ſuch a Commerce with Succeſs, treated the *Eaſt-India* Company as a mere Phantom, and never concerned themſelves at all therewith: As, on the other Hand, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch Eaſt-India* Companies were under no Apprehenſions about it, but being ſolely guided by Experience, treated the Affair of a *French Eaſt-India* Company with Contempt; while the reſt of the States of *Europe*, ſeeing that *France*, with all her Power, could make nothing of theſe repeated Attempts, took it for granted that the *India* Trade was deſigned by Nature for the maritime Powers, and ſo never troubled their Heads about it. Thus Things remained quietly in this Situation for the major Part of the laſt Century; and while *France* gave Law to her Neighbours by Land, ſhe made as inconſiderable a Figure by Sea as any of the little States in *Italy*. But the Scene was ſoon changed when *Lewis* XIV. came to manage his own Affairs, and had taken into his Service ſuch Miniſters as were equally capable of undertaking great Deſigns, and of foreſeeing and overcoming all the Difficulties that could poſſibly be met with in the Execution of them.

3. The famous M. *Colbert*, ſo much diſtinguiſhed by *Lewis* XIV. and whoſe Activity and Prudence procured him moſt of thoſe Succeſſes which diſtinguiſhed the former Part of his Reign, and rendered him the moſt powerful Monarch in *Europe*. This active and intelligent Miniſter, I ſay, was the Perſon who conceived the Deſign of reviving the *French Eaſt-India* Company, notwithſtanding all the Misfortunes that Scheme had met with, and which had, over and over, diſappointed the Skill and Care of all his Predeceſſors. But before he made his Intentions known to the Publick, he took Care to make himſelf perfectly well inſtructed in the Affair he was to undertake, which he did, by drawing to his Acquaintance ſuch Merchants and Seamen as were held to underſtand this Subject beſt. It was from them he learned that there were *three* principal Difficulties in the Way of that Structure, which he laboured to raiſe, and which, as they had never hitherto been overcome, ſo it appeared extremely doubtful whether, conſidering the Nature of the *French* Government, and the Temper of the *French* Nation, it was poſſible they ſhould be got over.

The firſt was, the finding a ſufficient Fund for the effectually fixing and eſtabliſhing ſuch a Company, as to which nothing hitherto had ever been done worth mentioning, or that could afford any probable Hopes of Succeſs: The *French* Merchants, being extremely fond of new Projects, were ready enough in promiſing Subſcriptions, but very ſlow in performing what they promiſed, and in complying with the Terms of their Contracts, even after they had ſubſcribed. The ſecond Fault was ſaid to be a peremptory Excluſion of Foreigners, notwithſtanding it was ſo evident, that the neceſſary Funds for the carrying on ſo extenſive a Trade, were not eaſily, at leaſt, to be found in *France*. The third and greateſt Difficulty of all was, the affording ſuch a Degree of Liberty and Independence to this Company as might ſatisfy both Strangers and Natives as to the Security of their Properties, and put the entire Management of their Affairs into the Hands of ſuch only as were choſen and entruſted by themſelves.

All theſe Things M. *Colbert* weighed in his own Mind, and when he thought he had ſufficiently ripened his Project, he reduced it into Writing, but knowing at the ſame Time, the great Conſequence of having the moſt ſolid Sentiments helped by a proper Method, and adorned with the Graces of Writing, he communicated his Plan to Mr. *Charpentier*, of the *French* Academy, eſteemed one of the beſt Pens in *France*. This Gentleman having new dreſſed our Stateſmens Thoughts, by digeſting them into their proper Order, and cloathed them with the plaineſt and ſignificant Language; the Scheme came Abroad with all the Advantages that could be deſired, and was attended with all the Succeſs that could be expected. As this Paper was eſteemed a Maſter-piece in its Kind, had amazing Effects, and contains Abundance of curious Circumſtances, it may not be amiſs to give the Reader an Extract of its Contents.

It was in the firſt Place obſerved therein, that as former Schemes of the like kind had failed for want of proper Funds, there was no Danger, that any Thing of this Nature ſhould happen here, ſince, beſides the conſtant Protection and Support which the Government determined to give thereto, the King himſelf and the greateſt, and the wealthieſt Perſons in the Nation were reſolved to furniſh ſuch large Sums at the Beginning, as might put it on a

Level, at leaſt, with the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, at its firſt Eſtabliſhment. In regard to any Objection that might be raiſed from the various Diſappointments which had overturned three ſeveral Companies already, it was obſerved, that few, or no Undertakings of this Sort were attended with immediate Succeſs. That the *Spaniards* ſuffered greatly in their firſt Expeditions to *America*, which, however, did not hinder them from perſevering in their Deſigns by which they had acquired the Empire of the new World. That the *Engliſh* Colony to *Virginia* had failed four or five Times, and yet was brought to Perfection at laſt; and that even the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, which ſo much excelled all others, was far enough from being fortunate in its firſt Beginnings.

Theſe Principles being laid down, it was ſhewn, that the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, a conſiderable Part of which was then in the Poſſeſſion of the *French*, was a Country capable of being improved to ſuch a Degree, as to become of more Conſequence, and of greater Advantage, than any of the Settlements poſſeſſed by the *Dutch* in the *Eaſt-Indies*. In Support of this, it was ſaid, that no body would deny, that this Settlement was incomparably more commodious and more ſecure than that of *Batavia*, in the Iſland of *Java*, which the *Dutch* had nevertheleſs made the capital Reſidence of their Company in the *Indies*. For with reſpect to the Commodiouſneſs of the Place, the Country of *Madagaſcar* was extreamly agreeable, the Climate equally temperate and pleaſant, and the Soil affording all the Neceſſaries of Life, in the greateſt Abundance, whereas the Territory about *Batavia*, was ſo far from being fruitful, that the Company were obliged to procure from diſtant Places, Rice, freſh Meat, and other Proviſions, for twenty-five, or thirty thouſand People, which could not but be attended with great Difficulties, as well as with a vaſt Expence. In reſpect to Security, it was well enough known, that only a ſmall Part of the Iſland of *Java* was in the Power of the *Dutch*, and that the reſt of the Country, which was very large, and very populous, was inhabited by a Variety of Nations, agreeing, however, in the Fierceneſs and Brutality of their Natures, and in a bigotted Zeal for the *Mohammedan* Religion, which made them hate and deſpiſe all Chriſtians to the laſt Degree. That the Territories of the *Dutch* bordered on one Side on thoſe of the King of *Mataran*, who had more than once invaded them at the Head of an Army of one hundred thouſand Men; that on the other, the City of *Batavia* itſelf, was but twelve Leagues diſtant from the Dominions of the King of *Bantam*, who had likewiſe ſhewn himſelf their powerful and inveterate Enemy; whereas, on the other Hand, the Inhabitants of *Madagaſcar* were of a mild and excellent Diſpoſition, and ſo much inclined to receive the Doctrines of the Goſpel, that a Settlement conſiſting only of one hundred Men, would be in greater Security there, than a like Settlement even of a thouſand and upwards in the Iſland of *Java*.

That beſides all this, by fixing their capital Colony in *Madagaſcar*, the *French* Company would be better ſeated for Trade than the *Dutch* in *Batavia*, becauſe it was equally convenient for carrying on the Commerce of the Red-ſea, or of the Gulph of *Bengal*, and lay at the ſame Time very properly for the Diſpatch of Ships to *China* and *Japon*, affording a convenient Place for re-fitting and refreſhing in their Return: In Reference to the Execution of a Project which theſe Arguments were ſuppoſed to demonſtrate probable and feaſible,

It was ſaid in this Memorial, that a Fund of ſix Millions, or ſix hundred thouſand Pounds of our Money, would be neceſſary in order to the equipping twelve or fourteen large Ships, from 800 to 1400 Tuns, in order to embark ſuch a Number of Perſons for this Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, as might effectually, and at once eſtabliſh a conſiderable Colony there. That there was no reaſon to doubt, that his Majeſty would advance a tenth Part of this Sum. That the Nobility and other Perſons of large Fortunes, would advance alſo the Sums requiſite to ſet this Deſign on Foot, and that as the king was willing to take a tenth Share in the ſetting out, they had Reaſon to expect he would concern himſelf largely in future Expeditions. That as a farther Encouragement, he was willing to grant the Company an Exemption from half their Duties both Inward and Outward, on all the Goods they exported to, or imported from the *Indies*; and over and above all this, his Majeſty was content to take upon himſelf all the Loſs that might ariſe for the firſt eight or ten Years, which was ſufficient to ſhew, how much, and how ſincerely he had this great Deſign at Heart, and how willing he was to contribute to its Succeſs. That as to private Perſons, they ſhould be at Liberty to ſubſcribe in what Proportions they pleaſed, till the Fund was full; after which, no farther Subſcriptions ſhould be received on any Terms.

That the king would not only permit Foreigners to take what Share they pleaſed in theſe Subſcriptions, but to encourage them thereto, would likewiſe conſent, that ſuch as ſubſcribed ten thouſand Livres (this was afterwards changed to twenty thouſand) or upwards, ſhould thereby acquire the Right of Naturalization, without any farther Ceremony; by which their Relations, tho' Strangers, ſhould be capable of inheriting their Effects in the Kingdom of *France*; and farther, that in caſe of a Rupture with the State, to which ſuch Strangers were Subjects, their Effects ſhould never be liable to Confiſcation, on any Pretence whatever. That the Affairs of the Company ſhould be managed by their own Directors, choſen from amongſt themſelves, in whoſe Hands the Funds of the Company ſhould conſtantly remain, and that Foreigners ſhould be capable of being elected Directors, provided they were intereſted in a reaſonable Degree in the Stock of the Company, and reſided in *France*. That in Point of Law Suits, the Company ſhould be made as eaſy as poſſible, and after being heard, in the firſt inferior Court, near the Place where the Cauſe of Action aroſe, they ſhould be at Liberty to appeal directly to the Parliament.

Such was the Memorial which this great Miniſter cauſed to be diſperſed through all Parts of the Kingdom of *France*, in the Month of *June*, 1664, and upon which, the Edict for eſtabliſhing the *Eaſt-India* Company, which ſtill ſubſiſts, and which bears Date in the Month of *Auguſt*, in the ſame Year, was founded. We have been the larger and fuller in this Account, becauſe it anſwers two Purpoſes; for, firſt, it clearly explains the Methods taken by this great Miniſter to accompliſh what in his own Opinion appeared to be a moſt difficult Undertaking, and next, it affords us an eaſy, and at the ſame time, a perfect View of the principal Points upon which the preſent *Eaſt-India* Company's Eſtabliſhment reſts; for, tho', as we ſhall ſhew in the Courſe of this Section, the royal Authority has been often exerted in changing and new modelling, as the Circumſtances of Affairs in general, and thoſe of the Company in particular required, certain Articles in this Plan; yet has it been always conſidered as the Baſis and Foundation of their Privileges, and conſequently it was neceſſary to be well acquainted therewith, in order throughly to underſtand the ſubſequent Hiſtory of their Tranſactions.

But firſt, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that this Edict for the Eſtabliſhment of the Company, was digeſted into forty-ſeven Articles, and that the Value of the original Actions (and by the Way, this was the firſt Time that Word was uſed in *France*) was fix'd at one thouſand Livres, and the ſubſequent Call reſtrained to five hundred more, which Edict of Eſtabliſhment was regiſtered in Parliament the 7th of *Auguſt* 1664.

4. As ſoon as this Edict was publiſhed, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ordered the Sum of three hundred thouſand Livres to be paid out of the royal Treaſury, into the Hands of the Caſhier of the *Eaſt-India* Company, and M. *Colbert*, who had been ſo warm and ſo induſtrious in bringing Things thus far, continued to apply himſelf with equal Attention to whatever might promote the Concerns of a Society, that he had taken ſo immediately under his Protection. The Aſſiduity of a firſt Miniſter in *France* is capable of putting any Thing into Motion, as appeared manifeſtly upon this Occaſion, ſince in the following Spring, there ſailed four large Ships from *Breſt* for *Madagaſcar*, all of which arrived ſafely there on the 10th of *July*. This new Colony changed the Name of the Place where they were eſtabliſhed, from *Madagaſcar* to the *Dau-*

phin's Iſland, by which laſt Name it is ſtill known to the *French*, and according to the Accounts they publiſhed of it, ought to be eſteemed a perfect Paradiſe. In a ſhort Time, however, they began to change their Opinion, either from the natural Levity of that Nation, or becauſe Opportunities preſented of extending their Views in the *Indies*.

Two Perſons offered themſelves upon this Occaſion, to promote the Intereſt of the new Company; the one was Mr. *Caron*, who has been already often mentioned. He was a Native of *France*, but had been for many Years in the *Dutch* Service, and had been raiſed in that Service to the Rank of Preſident of the Factory of *Japon*, where, for Reaſons which we have aſſigned in another Place, he ſuffered ſeverely. And not thinking himſelf ſufficiently conſidered for his Sufferings, quitted the *Dutch* Service, and returned to *France*, at a Juncture when a Man of his Abilities was much wanted, and therefore he was careſſed and employed. The other was Mr. *Marcara*, a Native of *Iſpahan*, in *Perſia*, and nearly allied to ſeveral Perſons of great Rank in that Kingdom, as alſo to ſome who enjoyed Governments, and other great Employments in the *Indies*; he alſo was employed by the Company, and did a conſiderable Service. In Conjunction with Mr. *Caron*, he ſettled a Factory at *Surat*, and by his own Intereſt purely, procured for them an Eſtabliſhment in the Kingdom of *Golconda*, in the Year 1669.

But it afterwards fell out, that theſe two Gentlemen differed, and Mr. *Caron* ſent Home heavy Accuſations againſt the *Perſian*, who cleared himſelf, however, ſo effectually, of all that was laid to his Charge, that he was honourably acquitted, and continued in his Employment. It was alſo in this Year 1669, that the Directors of this *Eaſt-India* Company began to diſtaſte their Settlement in the Iſland of the *Dauphin*, which had been always conſidered as their chief Reſidence; but now they were deſirous of transferring that Honour to *Surat*, to which the Court of *France* aſſented; and that nothing might be wanting for the Support and Encouragement of this Commerce, the Harbour of *Port-Louis* was granted to them, with all its Dependences, together with full Power to make ſuch Alterations and Improvements as they judged requiſite; and it was in virtue of this Grant, that they built and eſtabliſhed their Magazines at what is now called *Port l'Orient*. But notwithſtanding all theſe Acts of Favour, the Affairs of the Company were ſo far from taking a ſucceſsful Turn, that it was found, upon ſtating a general Account, that they were indebted in no leſs a Sum than four Millions to the Crown, which, however, the king, agreeable to the Promiſe made them at their Eſtabliſhment, clearly forgave, and took that Loſs upon himſelf.

About this Time, ſome private Perſons, having inſinuated, that they were willing to embark their Fortunes in a Trade to the *Indies*, provided they might have the Company's Licence; and the Company likewiſe having ſignified to the king, that it might prove beneficial to them, if they had it in their Power to grant ſuch Indulgences, this Favour likewiſe was added to the reſt, and private Traders were permitted to engage in this Commerce, upon the following Conditions; firſt, that they ſhould tranſport themſelves and their Effects on Board the Company's Ships, both coming and going. Secondly, that they ſhould pay their Freight and Paſſage before their Departure. Thirdly, that the Goods they brought Home, Jewels and precious Stones only excepted, ſhould be expoſed in the Company's Sales, and their Produce fairly accounted for. Fourthly, that theſe Licences ſhould be in Force only for five Years; and fifthly, that if they ſhould be found prejudicial to the Affairs of the Company, the Directors might abridge or cancel them at their Pleaſure.

There was yet another, and ſtill more conſiderable Act of Grace obtained by their powerful Protector Mr. *Colbert*, which was an Exemption from all Duties on the Goods they brought Home. But notwithſtanding theſe mighty Advantages, and though they ſcarce aſked any Thing of their Patron but what was granted, yet their Affairs continued declining, and as he died in 1683, the Spirit of this Commerce might be ſaid to expire with him. The Body, indeed, of the Company, was kept up, not much perhaps to its Advantage; they had not only a Court of Directors at *Paris*, but in Imitation of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, Chambers of Direction, at ſeveral Ports, a Council in the *Indies*, and in ſhort, the Appearance and Trappings of a great and powerful Society, when at the Bottom they were diſtreſſed and poor, ſo that upon ſtating a general Account in 1684, it clearly appeared, that inſtead of gaining one Penny by their Commerce, they had actually run out one Half of their Capital, or about three hundred thouſand Pounds of our Money.

This was attributed to ſeveral Cauſes, but principally to theſe three; firſt, to the War with the *Dutch*, which laſted from 1672 to 1678, and of which we have ſpoke largely enough in the laſt Section. Secondly, to the Negligence and Fraud of the Perſons employed in their Service in the *Indies*, who thought, though they were ſent by the Company, they had no other Buſineſs there, than to mind their own Intereſts, which they did at the Expence of their Maſters, ſo that ſome private Fortunes were made, while the Concerns of the Publick were running to Ruin; and laſtly, to the Supineneſs, Timerouſneſs, or Inability of their Subſcribers, who had not paid in, as they ought to have done, to the great Detriment of their Affairs. To remedy theſe Diſorders, and to retrieve, if poſſible, the Trade of the ſinking Company, it was reſolved to change the Syſtem of their Government, to ſuppreſs all the little Chambers of Directors, and to put the whole Management of the Company's Concerns into the Hands of twelve Directors reſiding in *Paris*, who were each of them to pay in thirty thouſand Livres upon the forfeited Actions, and to be allowed reaſonable Salaries for the Buſineſs they did. It was alſo reſolved, that all who had not paid in, ſhould forfeit their Shares to the Company, with a Proviſo, that if in two Years, they made good their Payments, they ſhould enter into their former Rights, and have all their Actions reſtored.

This Regulation was confirmed by a royal Edict, dated in *February* 1685, by which the King left the Company free Liberty either to reſume the Sovereignty of *Madagaſcar* which they had ſurrendered in 1670, as has been beforementioned, or to leave it as it then was in the King's Hands. As the Company had thus their Option, and were left at liberty to do as they thought fit in this Affair, they, after mature Deliberation, thought proper to adhere to their laſt Reſolution, and to quit this Iſland intirely to the Crown; which Act of theirs was confirmed by the King's Arret, bearing Date the 4th of *June*, 1686. All theſe Regulations at home were ſupported by an Alliance abroad, which it was hoped would have had a very good Effect, and totally reſtored the Company's Affairs.

The Hiſtory of this Treaty will be given in the ſucceeding Volume, and therefore we ſhall be very ſhort in what we have to ſay of it here. The King of *Siam*, a very powerful Prince in the *Indies*, had raiſed one Mr. *Conſtance*, who was originally no better than a Servant in an *Engliſh* Factory, to the Rank of his Firſt Miniſter; and he being a bold enterpriſing Man, took it into his Head that it was very poſſible to convert his Maſter and all his Subjects to the Chriſtian Religion, by engaging him in a very cloſe Correſpondence with the Court of *France*; in which laſt Part of his Scheme he ſucceeded ſo well, that not only Miſſionaries were ſent over to convert the *Siameſe*, but a Squadron of Men of War likewiſe, with ſome Troops on board, to make the King as abſolute as his Brother of *France*. This raiſed ſuch a Jealouſy in the Minds of his Subjects as created a univerſal Revolt, in which the King was murdered in his Palace; his Prime Miniſter cut off in the ſame manner, and the *French* Garriſon in the Citadel of *Bankock*, after an obſtinate Defence, totally deſtroy'd; and thus ended that Affair, and all the Advantages that were expected from it; ſo that in about two Years time the Company's Affairs were in as bad a Condition as ever, and all the high Hopes they had conceived from the Change of their Adminiſtration, and the grand Alliance in the *Indies* vaniſhed into Air, and were blaſted almoſt as ſoon as they bloom'd. This fell the heavier upon them, becauſe abundance of new Subſcribers had been drawn in, which increaſed the Clamour upon their Miſcarriage, and induced a general Opinion that it was abſolutely impoſſible for the *French* Nation to carry on a Trade to the *Indies* with Advantage.

5. But all theſe vexatious Circumſtances at home and abroad were nothing in compariſon of the Loſs of their generous Protector Mr. *Colbert*, who was ready at all times to exert his Influence in their Favour, and whoſe Influence was ſo great that he never exerted it in vain. There was nothing of Self-Intereſt or Views of private Advantage in this Conduct of his; he acted purely from a Principle of publick Spirit and the Deſire he had of contributing to the Glory of his Prince, by purſuing what he took to be the true Intereſt of his Subjects. Theſe it muſt be confeſſed were great and laudible Notions, and ſuch as he carried into Action with ſurprizing Succeſs; yet taking all this together, it is perhaps the cleareſt and moſt convincing Argument, that the *French* Nation are altogether incapable of carrying ſuch great Deſigns into Execution with ſuch Advantage to themſelves as accrues to their leſs powerful Neighbours, becauſe it is impoſſible that Trade ſhould flouriſh in a Country where its Welfare muſt depend ſolely on the Will and Capacity of a ſingle Perſon.

Accidents are not to be truſted to, eſpecially in Matters of Property and Things of Importance. Yet what greater or more apparent Accident can there be than the riſing of an able, experienced, and honeſt Miniſter, in an arbitrary Government? It is ſuch an Accident as not only ſeldom happens, but is very rarely to be expected; and when it does happen, like every other accidental Good, miſleads unwary Minds, and makes Men miſtake for a ſolid and certain Foundation, what is in fact no more than a lucky continuance of Things in the ſame Poſture; ſo that ſuch as are tempted to hazard their Subſtance in Building upon ſuch a Baſis, are not to be eſteemed wiſer than if they were drawn in to contribute to the erecting a large Structure upon the Ice, becauſe it had been known to remain firm for nine or ten Weeks.

As theſe are reaſonable and juſt Principles in themſelves, ſo in this Caſe, they were fully juſtified by Experience. The Succeſſor of Mr. *Colbert* was Mr. *Pont-Chartrain*, a Man who was far from wanting Abilities, or being deſtitute of Probity, but whoſe Notions with reſpect to Commerce, were either crude and indigeſted, or, which was worſe, narrow and obſcure. He was, from the Beginning of his Adminiſtration, no Friend to the *Eaſt-India* Company, as appeared very clearly by his croſſing every thing they aſked, and countenancing every Attempt that was made againſt them. To enter into a long Detail of the Facts neceſſary to juſtify in its largeſt Extent this Obſervation, would be at once tedious to the Reader, and draw me much beyond the Bounds I have preſcribed to myſelf in this Work, therefore I ſhall take Notice of one Thing only, which is this; the *Eaſt-India* Company finding that all Sorts of painted Cottons, gold and ſilver Brocades, and ſuch other ſhowy Goods as they imported from *India*, went off at a great Rate in *France*, they ſtruck into that Trade, and began to make conſiderable Advantages of it. This encouraged them to venture upon another Undertaking, which was the importing vaſt Quantities of white Cottons, and cauſing them to be painted in *France* after the Manner of the *Indies*, which occaſioned a prodigious Outcry among the Manufacturers in *France*; who ſet forth, that the Sale of theſe Cottons and Silks were exceſſively injurious to them, and that if they continued, it was impoſſible that their Manufactures ſhould ſubſiſt.

Upon the Repreſentation of theſe Things to the Prime Miniſter, he took the Thing ſo warmly, that he immediately procured an Edict, dated the Twenty-ſeventh of *January*, 1687; by which the importing them was abſolutely prohibited. On the Application however of the *Eaſt-India* Company, and the Interpoſition of ſome Friends at Court, which they had ſtill left, the Execution of this Law was, in ſome meaſure, ſuſpended in Favour of the Company; that is to ſay, they were allowed a certain Space of Time, in which to diſpoſe of the Goods then in their Hands; as alſo of ſuch as might be brought from the *Indies* within a limited Time: But the great Blow was not to be parried; and the Edict, which required the deſtroying all the Molds, and other Utenſils for painting Linnen in *France*, was to take Place abſolutely on the Firſt of *January* 1689. The Company indeed endeavoured, and by the Help of its Friends made great Efforts to defeat this Deſign; but, all they could do proved ineffectual in the main, and procured only a Suſpenſion for three Months; and, in the mean time, they were obliged to take back what they had ſold to private Merchants, and to return them their Money. As to the gold and ſilver Brocades, and other *Indian* Silks, they were permitted to import theſe to a certain Value, *viz.* One hundred and fifty thouſand Livres; but this was upon Condition, that they exported to the Amount of Five hundred thouſand Livres in *French* Manufactures; and they were afterwards reſtrained to the Exportation of ſuch Manufactures only as would ſell to Profit in the *Eaſt-Indies*. The Company's Commerce was before declining, and they had but this ſingle Chance of ſupporting themſelves by the Humour which prevailed of buying theſe printed Cottons, Brocades, and Silks; ſo that the Reader may eaſily judge that when this Prohibition came to take Place, it gave the Death's Wound to their Trade.

It muſt however, be owned, that upon certain Occaſions, they did procure the Diſpenſation of this Law for a certain Space of Time, which might afford them a temporary Relief, and juſt keep them from ſinking: But they had no longer a Power of trading as a Company; their Factories in the *Indies* grew low, thoſe who were employed in their Service loſt their Credit, and the *French* Flag in the *Indies* was little regarded, and indeed ſcarce known. The Farmers-General of the King's Duties likewiſe attacked the Company; and as their Employments gave them the Ear of the Miniſters, they were almoſt always too hard for them; ſo that by Degrees, the Company loſt the Benefit of moſt of thoſe great Privileges which had been procured by Mr. *Colbert*, and yet without their being taken away; for in *France*, and perhaps in ſome other Countries, Methods are found out for eluding the Laws by the Manner of executing them, and without any formal Repeals. Some other Laws were likewiſe made for laying Penalties upon ſuch as dealt in wrought up, or in any way expoſed to Sale any Chints, or any other painted Cottons; which being executed with great Severity, put a full Stop to that Branch of Trade, as the Want of Money had done to moſt other Branches. So that between thoſe Oppreſſions peculiar to themſelves, and the Miſchiefs they endured in common with the reſt of the Subjects of *France* by the long Continuance of the War, they found themſelves in ſo low a Condition as to be ſcarce able to keep up the Appearance of the Company; and thoſe who had formerly yielded them Aſſiſtance at Court, began to be tired, and liſtened no longer to their Sollicitations.

There aroſe likewiſe a new Spirit in *France* of curbing and diſtreſſing this almoſt-broken Company, under Colour of augmenting the Revenues of the Crown, and protecting the Manufactures which afforded Bread to the People; under Pretence of which, they firſt reſtrained the Company from ſelling Chints and other Piece-goods to Foreigners, which was not only a very great Loſs to the Company, but to the *French* Nation in general, among whom the Money would have infallibly circulated for which theſe Manufactures had been ſold; whereas, by this Prohibition, ſo much ready Money was kept out of *France*, and not a Thread more of their own Manufactures vended. Afterwards a Duty was laid upon the Raw-Silk, which they imported: And notwithſtanding this produced a great Sum of Money, yet it was not long before a Prohibition was applied, under Pretence that the Company importing every Year ſeven thouſand Pounds of Raw-Silk, did thereby great Damage to one of the ſtaple Commodities of the Kingdom; whereas, in Truth, the greateſt Part, if not all this Silk, was ſold by Strangers. But it was the Miſfortune of the Company, that while they were diſtreſſed and ill treated abroad, on purpoſe to drive them totally out of the *Indies*, they were envied and perſecuted at home, on Account even of that ſmall Trade which they drove thither; and all this under the plauſible Appearance of publick Spirit, and Concern for the Poor; but, in reality, from private Views and ſelfiſh Principles, as will be ſhewn hereafter.

The Miniſters that then governed *France*, were very different from M. *Colbert*; they were unacquainted with the extenſive Nature of Commerce, took every Thing that was alledged by the Farmers of the Revenue on one Side, and by the Agents for Manufactures on the other, for granted, and made whatever Orders were deſired on either Side; but, as for the Company, their Applications were continually ſlighted; and the Decay of their Commerce, though produced by theſe very Meaſures, was pleaded as a ſufficient Excuſe for this Treatment, and made a Reaſon for continuing it. In the mean time all their Settlements abroad were ſinking as faſt as they could; and the few Servants they had were not ſo much bound by a Senſe of Duty, as fixed to the Places where they reſided by the great Debts they had contracted, and which neither they, nor their Maſters, knew how to diſcharge. But as the Scene ſoon after changed ſurprizingly; and as this Company has ſince made ſome kind of Figure, it will be neceſſary to enter more particularly into the Hiſtory of their Settlements in the *Indies*.

6. We have already obſerved, that when the Company was erected, they placed the Seat of their Government, and propoſed to fix their capital Settlement in the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, which, in a warm Fit of Loyalty, they called the Iſland of the *Dauphin*, and which they repreſented to the World in the faireſt Light poſſible. They ſuggeſted, that the Climate was extreamly agreeable, not warmer for two Thirds of the Year, than it is in *France*, during the Spring, and not hotter for the remaining four Months than it is in that Kingdom, during the Summer.

The Country abounding with fine Fruits, wholeſome Herbs, and pleaſant Roots, producing three Crops of Rice in a Year, and all Sorts of *European* Grain, better in Kind, and more in Quantity, than in any Part of *France*. They added to all this, that there grew Vines there naturally, which bore admirable Grapes, and from which it was very practicable to make excellent Wine. As to Animals, beſides black Cattle in Abundance, it afforded Goats, Swine of ſeveral ſorts, and many other uſeful Creatures. In Point of Riches, they affirmed, that there were Mines of Gold, which, by the Way, could never be found, beſides Iron, Lead, and other Metals: They with more Truth, aſſerted, that Cotton, Wax, Sugar, black and white Pepper, and Indigo, might be raiſed there to Advantage; that the Country afforded both Mulberry-trees and Silkworms, and that there was great Store of Ebony, and other rich Woods. The Colony they ſettled there, coſt them immenſe Sums, and remained for ſome Years in a very flouriſhing Condition, ſending Home yearly ſeveral Ships richly laden, and would very probably have anſwered their Expectations, if they could have had Patience.

But after they had once ſettled Factories in the *Indies*, thoſe who were in the Company's Service, found it ſo much eaſier to raiſe Fortunes for themſelves in theſe Settlements, that by their Repreſentations, they procured the Removal of the Council of the *Indies* to *Surat*, where they built a moſt noble and convenient Houſe, and added to it Warehouſes, Magazines, and other Offices, much ſuperior to the Trade which they had eſtabliſhed to ſupport it, and from theſe exceſſive and extravagant Expences their firſt Misfortunes aroſe.

7. But after the firſt *Dutch* War, in which they made themſelves Maſters of *St. Thomas*, which they loſt again to the *Dutch*, the Sieur *Martin* retired to a Place called *Pondichery*, where, by the Leave of the Viceroy of the King of *Viſapour*, he ſettled himſelf. This was in the Beginning of the Year 1674, and as the Company had at that Time a great Demand for Piece-goods, it was thought they could not eſtabliſh themſelves in a better Place. It was for this Reaſon, that the *French* Company commiſſioned M. *Martin* to procure that Place for them, on the beſt Terms he could; with which Order he complied exactly. This Gentleman appears to be one of the honeſteſt and moſt capable Perſon they ever had in their Service, and he procured from the Governor who firſt gave him Leave to ſettle there, a Licence to fortify, and to ſecure his People and Effects, in the beſt Manner he could, which he accordingly did, and ſettled under the Protection of his Factory a little *Indian* Village, of about forty Houſes, in which thoſe who wrought for the Company lived quietly and happily.

Things had not remained long in this Condition, before he was threatened with total Ruin; for the famous *Seva-Gi* falling with a vaſt Force into that Part of the Country, endeavoured to overwhelm him as a Dependent upon his Enemies. However, M. *Martin* ſupplied by Prudence, what he wanted in Force, and by a timely Application, brought about a Treaty, which was managed on his Side by an *Indian* Prieſt, which ended in a Licence to trade in his Dominions, for which he paid one thouſand ſix hundred *Rupees*. This was in the Year 1680, and he had the Year before purchaſed the Territory of the King of *Viſapour*, whoſe Inheritance it was; ſo that now he was tolerably ſecure, only he was apprehenſive, that the Son of *Seva-Gi*, who was Sovereign of the Place, might take it amiſs, if he preſumed to raiſe a regular Fortification without his Conſent, which he obtained in 1689, and then put it in a Poſture of Defence. This was a very timely Proviſion, for the *Dutch* began to be extreamly diſturbed at the flouriſhing Eſtate of this little Colony, and offered very large Preſents to the Rajah, in whoſe Dominions it lay, in caſe he would diſpoſſeſs the *French* of *Pondichery*; but the *Indian* Prince, who was alſo Son to *Seva-Gi*, rejected theſe Offers with Contempt. He ſaid, the *French* had fairly purchaſed that Settlement; that they had applied to his Brother for a Protection, for which they paid him a valuable Conſideration; and that therefore, all the Money in the World ſhould never tempt him to diſlodge them: A glorious Inſtance of the natural Probity of the unconquered *Indians*, and which deſerves more Praiſe from Mankind, than the moſt extenſive Conqueſts.

The *Dutch*, however, reſolved to carry their Point, and the War having broke out between them and *France*, they made Diſpoſitions for attacking it by Force, which, however, they did not do till the Year 1693, when they came before the Place with a Squadron of nineteen Sail, landed an Army of between two and three thouſand Men, with a fine Train of Artillery, and ſix Mortars. To make their Conqueſts the ſurer, they applied to the new Rajah, who was not of the ſame Temper with the old one, and for the Sum of about twenty thouſand Pounds of our Money, purchaſed the whole Diſtrict in Property. They then inveſted and attacked the Place, which after a good Defence, M. *Martin*, who was then Director-General for the *French Eaſt-India* Company, ſurrendered upon very honourable Conditions, on the 6th of *September* 1693. This Stroke, which ſeemed to put an End to the Company's Authority in thoſe Parts, proved in its Conſequences the happieſt Thing that ever befel them. For the *Dutch* were no ſooner in Poſſeſſion of the Place, than they raiſed new Walls, ſeven regular Baſtions, and whatever elſe was neceſſary to render it one of the compleateſt Fortreſſes in the *Indies*.

In the Year 1669, upon the Concluſion of a general Peace, the Place was reſtored to the *French*, who thereby acquired the Property of *Pondichery*, and all theſe fine new Fortifications, and this for ſo trifling a Sum as five thouſand Pounds, which they paid to the *Dutch* Governor, upon his delivering up all that he was poſſeſſed of, which probably he would never have done, if he had not been compelled thereto by the Orders of the *States-General*, who, as they were great Gainers by that Peace in *Europe*, would not perplex themſelves with the Diſputes between the two Companies.

8. As ſoon as the News of this was brought into *France*, the *Eaſt-India* Company received Orders from the Government to put that Place into ſuch a Condition, as that, in caſe of a ſecond War, they might not loſe it ſo eaſily as they had done before; and, to enable them to do this, a Squadron was ſent from *France*, with two hundred regular Troops, for the Augmentation of the Garriſon; ſeveral able Engineers, a vaſt Quantity of military Stores, and whatever elſe was requiſite to ſecure *Pondichery* from any future Attempts of the *Dutch*. The Sieur *Martin* was again

intruſted with the Command of the Place, which in the Space of four or five Years he ſo changed, as that it was ſcarce to be known. He not only compleated the Fortifications according to his Inſtructions, and aſſembled a good Garriſon of ſeven or eight hundred Men, but likewiſe built one hundred new Houſes, and laid out a regular Plan for a large Town, into which, by his own Prudence and good Management, he drew within the Space of five Years more, fifty or ſixty thouſand Inhabitants; ſo that in the Year 1710, it was become one of the moſt conſiderable Places in the *Indies*, in the Hands of the *Europeans*; and if the Affairs of the Company in *Europe* had kept Pace at all with the Improvements made by this Gentleman in the *Indies*, the *French* Company might very ſoon have been upon a Level with their Neighbours the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*.

This, however, was ſo far from being the Caſe, that both this Gentleman and ſucceeding Governors, were obliged to find Ways and Means to ſupport themſelves; the Factory and the Town, by the Trade carried on in it, and by the Induſtry of the *Indians* ſettled there, in which they were ſo fortunate, that while the Company was daily declining at Home, every Thing carried the Face of Plenty and Proſperity there, and none knew, or felt Difficulty or Pain, but the Governor and their Council, who yet were never tempted to oppreſs the People with Taxes, or to endeavour to make their own Circumſtances eaſier, by laying any Part of the Load upon others. It is true, that when the Town grew too large for the old Fortification, it was found neceſſary to ſurround it with a new Wall; but how clear ſoever that Neceſſity might appear, and however advantageous for the People, yet the Governor found it abſolutely impracticable to defray the Expence without the Aſſiſtance of the Inhabitants. In order to procure this, he acted with equal Integrity and Caution; for, having firſt ordered the Wall to be marked out, and Part of it to be erected at each End, he thereby ſhewed his People at once the Advantages which would be dirived from ſuch a Fortification, and the Expences that would attend it; ſo that when, in order to compleat his Deſign, he impoſed upon the Inhabitants a Tax of Two-pence a Month for every Head, they were equally ſatisfied, as to the End for which it was impoſed, and the Sum that would be raiſed by this Impoſition, and therefore, inſtead of Murmuring or Complaining, they paid it with the greateſt Chearfulneſs, and gave the Governor hearty Thanks for the Care taken of their Intereſt.

I have dwelt the longer on this Incident, for a very particular Reaſon, with which, when communicated, I am thoroughly ſatisfied, the Reader will be very well pleaſed. The *French*, who in *Europe* pride themſelves ſo much in the Grandeur and abſolute Power of their King, and talk in ſo high a Strain of his Conqueſts, affect quite another Language in the *Indies*; for they value themſelves there upon their Juſtice and Moderation; their having purchaſed the ſmall Territory, which they poſſeſs; their having lived always upon good Terms with their Neighbours, and their eſtabliſhing ſo large a Town, and acquiring ſo many thouſand of Subjects, purely by the Equity and Mildneſs of their Adminiſtration: The Fact is equally true and ſtrange, at the ſame Time that it demonſtrates that common Senſe directs all Nations to think the ſame Way, and that the great Difference of Opinions, and what we call the Temper and Diſpoſition of Nations, ariſes purely from Accidents in Education and Government. Independent of theſe, Reaſon, is every where the ſame, and Men think exactly alike, which ſhews the Reality and Certainty of the Laws of Nature, to which all Men return of themſelves, when the Influence of Power, and other accidental Reſtraints are removed.

9. As we have ſhewn by what Courſe of Events this Fortreſs of *Pondichery* is become the chief Seat and capi-al Reſidence of the *French Eaſt-India* Company, it will b neceſſary to give the Reader a more particular Deſcriptio of it, and of the Government eſtabliſhed therein. The Tow then of *Pondichery* is ſituated in the Province of Ging on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, in the Latitude of twelve Degrees North, and in the Longitude of one hundred an fourteen from the Meridian of *Paris*. It ſtands at the Diſtance of one hundred Yards from the Sea-ſhore, and has nothing more than a Road before it; ſo that they are obliged to carry all their Goods in Boats for a full League. The Magazines of the Company, and of private Perſons, are both numerous and magnificent, as far as any Thing of this Nature can be ſo; they have a large and very beautiful Market-place, ſix fine Gates, eleven Baſtions for the Defence of their Walls, a regular Citadel well fortified, upwards of four hundred Cannon upon their Works, beſides a good Train of Field-pieces, Bombs, Mortars, and other military Stores in their Arſenal.

The Governor has a very fine Houſe, with convenient Offices, and whatever elſe is requiſite for the Service, or Credit of the Company. On the Weſt-ſide of the Town, the Company have a very fine Garden, beautifully laid out into publick Walks, and whatever elſe may contribute to the Satisfaction and Pleaſure of the wealthier and better ſort of Inhabitants: adjoining to which Garden, there is a very fine Houſe, richly furniſhed, made uſe of for the Reception of foreign Princes and Ambaſſadors, who, whenever they reſort thither, are treated with infinite Reſpect, and all their Expences defray'd by the Company, which has been found a very wiſe and uſeful Contrivance, of much more Conſequence to the Intereſt of their Commerce, than the Expence it occaſions. The other publick Buildings conſiſt of a large Convent of the Jeſuits, where they have uſually twelve or fifteen Prieſts, who, beſides officiating in that Character, likewiſe teach School, and inſtruct the Children of the Inhabitants in Reading, Writing, and the Mathematicks, and whatever elſe may be of Uſe in civil Life; for, as to the learned Languages, they trouble not themſelves about them, and indeed, the Knowledge of them would be of little Service in this Part of the World: There are, beſides that of the Jeſuits, two other Convents, but not ſo conſiderable by any Means as the former. The Houſes of the Town are as regularly laid out, as if it had been all built at once, tho' it is now near four Leagues in Extent. The *Europeans* build with Brick, but the *Indians*, and other Nations, uſe only Wood, building in that Manner which we call here in *England* Lath and Plaiſter. For the latter, they have the beſt in the World, which is compoſed of all ſorts of Shells ground to Powder, and wrought up into a kind of Paſte, which when expoſed for ſome Time to the Air, becomes altogether as white, and almoſt as hard as Stones.

Theſe Houſes are one Story only, and are uſually eight Yards in Front, and ſix in Depth, and yet there are fifteen or twenty People live in them. They are but very indifferently lighted, ſo that it is not eaſy to conceive how they are able to diſpatch their Buſineſs in them. Their Roofs are all flat, for the Conveniency of lying upon them, which they do almoſt naked, agreeable to the Cuſtom of the Country; for *Pondichery*, lying in the Torrid-zone, is extreamly hot, tho' otherwiſe the Climate is found by Experience very wholſome. One Thing there is in it very ſingular, and which therefore deſerves Notice, and this is, that it never rains there, except ſeven or eight Days at the moſt, towards the End of *October*, which falls out regularly, and is therefore the more ſingular and extraordinary. The native *Indians*, or as they are called here *Gentiles*, are moſt of them Weavers, or Painters; and tho' the very beſt Workman cannot earn above Two-pence a Day, yet upon this he is able to ſubſiſt himſelf, his Wife and his Children, their principal Food being Rice boil'd in Water, or wrought up into a Paſte, and baked upon the Coals. The Country round about is extreamly well cultivated, and produces Rice in Abundance, ſo that there is hardly a Place in the *Indies* of greater Plenty, or where they have Fleſh, Fiſh and Fowl, on more reaſonable Terms; and this, notwithſtanding they have no other Water than what is derived to them from the over-flowing of the *Colram*, and other great Rivers, which they preſerve in Lakes, or Ponds, and draw it for Uſe, through their Country, in artificial Canals, after the ſame Manner as in *Egypt*.

The Governor General for the Company, as he is lodged in a fine Palace, ſo he makes a Figure equal thereto in every Reſpect. He has twelve Horſe Guards cloathed in Scarlet laced with Gold, and an Officer with the Title of

Captain who commands them; he has alſo a Foot Guard of three hundred Men, Natives of the Country, called *Peons*, and when he appears in publick, he is carried in a Palankin very richly adorned with gold Fringe. But all this Pomp and State is diſplayed only on proper and particular Occaſions, upon the receiving of Princes, or Ambaſſadors; at other Times his Guards are employed in the neceſſary Service of the Company, and earn to the full the Wages they are paid; for, as we have already ſhewn, there are few Settlements better regulated, or more diſcretly governed than this, which the Reader will more eaſily believe when he is told, that according to the laſt Account taken of the Inhabitants of this Place, there appear to be in it no leſs than one hundred and twenty thouſand Chriſtians, Mohammedans and Gentiles; a thing altogether incredible, if the Fact was not ſupported by Teſtimonies, the Authority of which is not to be diſputed.

There cannot be a Place better ſeated for Trade than this, being in the midſt of the *European* Settlements on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, and having all the Bay of *Bengal* open before them; ſo that here the Company's Magazines are full of all the Commodities and Manufactures, not only of the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, but of other Parts of the *Indies*, ſuch as *Bengal*, *Surat*, and the Coaſt of *Malabar*, as alſo of ſuch as are imported from *Perſia* and the Coaſt of the Red Sea; and here likewiſe are their Warehouſes for all ſorts of *European* Commodities, which are conveniently tranſported from thence as Occaſions require, to all the Markets in the *Indies*. The Staple Trade however of the Place is eſteemed to be Piece Goods, of which the fineſt are made in the neighbouring Kingdom of *Golconda*, and the beſt painted here; they likewiſe have great Quantities of Silk raw and manufactured, Gold and Silver Brocades, Perfumes, Spices and Diamonds; in which laſt Trade they are ſaid to have made a great Progreſs of late, and for which it is certain they are very conveniently ſituated, as being at a very ſmall Diſtance from the fineſt Mines in the *Indies*, and by having amongſt them Perſons as well ſkill'd in Jewels as any in the World. The *French Eaſt-India* Company therefore can neither be blamed for their Choice of this Reſidence, which all things conſidered is the fitteſt for them of any in the *Indies*, or for the Pains and Expence they have beſtowed about it, amounting in the whole to about eight hundred thouſand Livres, or forty thouſand Pound Sterling. Since thereby they have rendered it ſo ſtrong and ſo commodious, that it might very eaſily drive ten times the Trade they have ever had in this Part of the World.

10. We are now to return into *France*, and to conſider the Situation of Things with reſpect to the Company, as low as the Demiſe of the late King *Lewis* XIV. The War, as it brought numberleſs Miſchiefs on all other Branches of the *French* Commerce, ſo it particularly affected the *Eaſt-India* Company, and this as much through the wrong Notions that were formed of that Trade at home, as from the Interruptions it met with abroad. The Farmers of the Royal Revenue not only continued their Perſecutions, by attacking from time to time the Priviledges of the Company, and almoſt always without Succeſs: But new Enemies were daily ariſing, that added to the Number of their Hardſhips and Misfortunes.

The Office of High-Admiral, which had been for a long time ſuppreſſed in *France*, was given by the King to his Natural Son, the Count *de Toulouſe*, who took Exceptions againſt two Priviledges of the Company. The firſt granted them the entire Property of all the Prizes taken by Ships in their Service, and the ſecond exempted them from the Rights of the Admiralty, in regard to Wrecks. This occaſioned a very long Diſpute, which at laſt ended in a Deciſion contrary to the Intereſt of the Company. It appeared clearly from hence, that on the one hand the Company had entirely loſt its Credit at Court, and on the other, that their Priviledges were far enough from reſting on a firm and ſettled Foundation, ſince they were liable at every turn, to be ſubverted and taken away by ſuch kind of Judgments to the Company's Prejudice.

Such a continued Series of Miſchiefs and Misfortunes not only cruſhed the Trade, but broke the Spirits of the Company, and that to ſuch a degree as to oblige them to have recourſe to Expedients for their own Support, which were not very advantageous, though at the ſame time they were highly diſhonoured. We have before obſerved, that in the Year 1682, they had entered into a Scheme for permitting private Trade upon certain Conditions, which we have mentioned; but their Affairs were now fallen into ſuch Diſorder, that they were not only content to ſuffer private Perſons to ſhare in their Trade, but even to reſign it to them, and that upon very moderate Conditions.

Accordingly, in 1708, they granted Leave to Mr. *Croizat* to fit out two Ships in the Name of the *Eaſt-India* Company, upon Condition that he paid them fifteen *per Cent.* upon all the Goods imported under this Priviledge, and two *per Cent.* upon all the Prizes they ſhould make beyond the Line with a farther Reſervation, that the Company might be at liberty to bring home on board his Ships ten Ton of whatever Commodities they pleaſed, without paying any Freight. The Reaſon they aſſigned for this extraordinary Step was, that their Affairs were become ſo embarraſſed, and the Perſons employed in their Service ſo loaded with Debts, that without the Aſſiſtance of this Project they muſt have been obliged to relinquiſh their Settlements in the *Indies*. It is reaſonable to believe that they found from this Expedient ſome little Relief, which induced them to extend their Project, and for the Preſervation of their Servants in the *Indies*, who by this time were above ten Millions in Debt, they fairly ſacrificed themſelves.

For in the Year 1712, they entered into a Treaty with ſome private Traders at *Saint Malo*'s, by which they yeilded up to them all their Priviledge as a Company, upon the beſt Terms they could obtain, and this with a View to furniſh ſuch as were employed by them in the *Indies*, with Sums ſufficient to keep under the Intereſt of their Debts, and thereby prevent all things from falling into Confuſion. A miſerable Situation this, and yet the Company found themſelves unable to undertake any thing upon their own Bottom, ſo that on the Expiration of their own Priviledges, about the Time of this King's Death, they warmly ſolicited a renewal of them, not from any Hopes of reviving their Trade, but purely with an Intention to renew their Agreement with the Merchants of *Saint Malo*'s, that they might gain enough thereby to preſerve their Settlements, and not ſuffer ſuch as they had employed to be utterly undone in their Service.

It is very clear from hence, that the Ruin of the *French Eaſt-India* Commerce has hitherto been the Nature of their Government, which is a Point I ſhall take the Liberty of laying open for the Information and Satiſfaction of the *Engliſh* Reader. In the firſt Place, I muſt obſerve, that the Edicts for their Eſtabliſhment, and the extenſive Privileges granted by them, though they are in one Senſe, neceſſary to the Being and Foundation of the Company, yet are hurtful and diſadvantageous to it in another. Since though few dare expreſs their Thoughts freely upon the Subject, yet all Men of good Senſe cannot help diſcerning, that in a Country where ſo much depends upon the Will and Pleaſure of the Crown, no Commerce can ever be ſecure; for as the ſame Power that gives may take away; ſo it may likewiſe alter, abridge, and even deſtroy by new Edicts, any of thoſe Privileges, though granted and confirmed in the ſtrongeſt Terms that Words can expreſs.

In the next Place, as the Company muſt be almoſt ſupported by Acts of royal Favours, ſo the obtaining theſe muſt always depend upon the Temper of the Adminiſtration, or, in other Words, and in plain Terms, upon the Will of the Prime-Miniſter for the Time being, which is ſuch a dangerous and precarious Tenure, that no Man, who thinks at all, can believe he has any Property while it depends thereupon. In the third Place, the Maxims of the Government, rendering it abſolutely neceſſary to prefer the Interest of the royal Revenues, upon which the Adminiſtration of the Government itſelf depends, to any other Intereſt whatever; this is ſuch a Source of Danger

ger and Diſquiet, as muſt neceſſarily baniſh all Truſt and Confidence in the Faith of ſuch a Government. Hence it may be obſerved, in the fourth Place, that ſuch as are engaged in the Management of a Company's Concerns, under ſuch Circumſtances, will look very little farther than the Time preſent; and, inſtead of placing their Hopes in the future Succeſs and Proſperity of ſuch a Company's Affairs, will confine their Views to the making the moſt they can of immediate Advantages, in order to ſecure (if poſſible) their private Fortunes, let what will become of the publick.

Laſtly, we may eaſily diſcover, from theſe Reflections, how it came to paſs, that private Traders in *France*, ſuch as the Merchants at *St. Malo's* were able to encreaſe their Fortunes, and carry on a Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* with Advantage, under the Authority of a Company that was, in a manner, become bankrupt; and this, notwithſtanding they paid conſiderable Sums out of their Profits for participating in its Privileges; for, as private Men, they could drive a good Bargain with the Company, with ſome reaſonable Aſſurance of having the Terms of their Contract comply'd with, becauſe made only for a certain Time; enjoying alſo the full Benefit of thoſe Settlements which the Company had made, without contributing any thing to the Expence which they originally coſt, or even to that by which they were ſupported; ſo that, conſidered in this Light, the Company ſtood between them and the Government, and theſe private Traders might be ſaid to enjoy in *France* itſelf, thoſe Advantages that could be expected only in a Land of Freedom, and by the Enjoyment of which ſolely their Trade became advantageous.

The more we reflect upon theſe few Obſervations, the more we muſt be convinced, that it is not from any Defect in the Country, any Want of Skill or Induſtry in the People, but for the Want of a right Government in *France*, that her Trade never has been eſtabliſhed on a ſecure and ſolid Baſis. This likewiſe demonſtrates, that however dangerous and deſtructive the Ambition of this Power may be to her Neighbours, from that arbitrary Force, with which, by the Policy of her Miniſters, ſhe has been long armed; yet this, at the ſame time, is an Evil that preys upon her inward Strength, and keeps her in a continual, though ſlow Conſumption; ſo that if her Neighbours would but unite among themſelves for their own Defence, the arbitrary Diſpoſition of the Court of *France* muſt neceſſarily turn upon itſelf, and ſooner or later procure its own Diſſolution.

There are, however, certain Seaſons, when from a Variety of Accidents, there appears even in ſuch a Government a ſtrong Spirit of promoting the publick Welfare, not from any real Principle of that kind, but to cover ſome other Deſign, which could not otherwiſe be carried into Execution: As for Inſtance, upon Changes of Adminiſtrations, more eſpecially in Minorities, when ſuch as are at the Head of the Government find the Meaſure of their Power muſt, in ſome meaſure, depend upon the Extent of their Reputation. At ſuch Times as theſe, I ſay, there may be a temporary Ceſſation of thoſe pernicious Notions which infect the Heads and Hearts of arbitrary Rulers, or, which is the ſame thing to the People, a Suſpenſion of the Practices which flow from them; ſo that, for ſome little time, the Government ſeems to act upon new Principles, and conſequently Affairs change their Face in the ſame Proportion.

This happened to be the Caſe at the Period of Time when the *French Eaſt-India* Company were ſtruggling for a new Grant of the Privileges which they had enjoyed for fifty Years, though ſometimes in a larger, ſometimes in a leſs Degree. But the Renewal of theſe Privileges in that State in which they then ſtood, was all that they deſired, to have them augmented was what they ſcarce hoped; but to have this done, and their Term rendered perpetual, exceeded the Limits of their Expectations, and was entirely owing to ſuch a Revolution in their Government as has been before-mentioned, and which it is now neceſſary that we ſhould deſcribe as clearly, and at the ſame time as conciſely as poſſible.

11. The Duke of *Orleans*, who defeated the old King's Will, and, in ſome meaſure eſtabliſhed a new Government in *France*, contrary alike to the Wiſhes of the moſt potent of the Nobility, and of the meaner ſort of People, found himſelf obliged therefore to ſuſtain his Authority, by endeavouring to acquire to his Adminiſtration ſuch a Reputation as had never attended all the Victories and Power of *Lewis the Great*. It was with this View, that from the Time he took the Reins of Government into his Hands, he affected to act on Maxims directly oppoſite to thoſe of his Predeceſſors; he declared openly, that the great End of Government was the Good of the People; that it was impoſſible this ſhould be promoted by being engaged in perpetual Wars, or in continual Quarrels with their Neighbours; that Peace was an univerſal Bleſſing, and muſt therefore be the Intereſt of *France*, as well as of all other Nations; that Commerce was the natural Produce of ſettled and quiet Times; and that the Effects of an extenſive Trade were more certain Reſources of Power and Strength than Conqueſts, or arbitrary Dominion.

Whether the Duke-Regent was perſuaded of the Truth of all this, or whether he pretended only to be ſo perſuaded, is a Point not at all important for us to determine, ſince it is ſufficient for our Purpoſe that he acted upon theſe Maxims, whatever he might believe about them; and that by acting upon them, he really carried his Point, and came to be conſidered as a Prince who had great Notions of Liberty and Commerce. The *Eaſt-India* Company therefore, or at leaſt, ſuch as had the Management of the Affairs of the Company, entertained the warmeſt Hopes of Succour and Protection: For though, before the Death of the late King, they had obtained a Prolongation of their Privileges for ten Years, to be accounted from the Firſt of *May*, 1715; yet this, like moſt of the royal Favours they had received, was of very little Uſe, ſince they had no Funds left for the carrying on their Commerce; and, beſides, the Term they now had was ſo ſhort, that it added very little to their Credit at home or abroad. It was from the Duke-Regent that they expected more ſolid Aſſiſtance, and ſuch Helps from the Treaſury as might enable them to revive their Trade.

But the Regent and his Miniſters were in Sentiments quite oppoſite to thoſe the Company had flattered themſelves with, and, inſtead of being at all inclined to part with Money out of the royal Treaſury, for other People to employ in Trade, they were contriving how to make Uſe of the Sound and Reputation of Commerce to fill the King's Coffers, to pay off the Debts of the Crown, and to diſcharge the Loads which lay heavy on the Government upon the Shoulders of the Nation, by that Series of Contrivances which are ſtill known in *France* by the Name of *the Syſtem*. It was with this View that the Regent ſhewed ſo much Favour and Kindneſs to the *Weſt-India* Company, and eſtabliſhed its Capital at One hundred Millions, and thereby procured an Opportunity of leſſening that immenſe Quantity of Paper-Money which the long War had made requiſite. But when the *Eaſt-India* Company came to repreſent the Condition they were in, and to ſue for Aſſiſtance and Protection, they ſoon found that they had to do with thoſe who underſtood their Affairs to the full, as well as themſelves; therefore, inſtead of governing them as they had done former Miniſters, they were forced to put themſelves entirely into their Hands, and truſt abſolutely to their Generoſity and Diſcretion.

The Conſequence of this was, very probably, what they had not foreſeen, ſince it proved to be the Diſſolution of the Company, or, which is the ſame Thing in other Words, the Union of it to the *Weſtern* Company, which had already ſwallowed up ſome others. This Edict of Union or new Eſtabliſhment extinguiſhed the Title of both the Companies, as well as of the reſt of the Societies compriſed therein, and gave to the whole the comprehenſive and ſignificant Title of the *Company of the* Indies. In the Preamble of this Edict, we have an excellent Hiſtory of the Tranſactions upon which this Union of the Company was built; for therein it is ſaid, that the King having principally apply'd himſelf to the reſtoring the Commerce of the Kingdom, and thereby repairing the Loſſes and Decays occaſioned by a very long and expenſive War, and having already had the Pleaſure to ſee the Circulation of Money wonderfully quickened by the Eſtabliſhment of the *Weſt-India* Company, his Majeſty had from thence been led to look into the State of the old Companies, erected before his Acceſſion to the Throne; and in particular into the State of the *Eaſt-India* Company, which he found to be moſt deplorable. In the Space of fifty Years they had notwithſtanding repeated Aſſiſtances from the Crown, managed their Affairs ſo indifferently, as to be obliged to abandon their Commerce entirely, and to take up with ſuch trifling Advantages as could be obtained by letting out their Privileges to hire.

The King declared, he was ſatisfied that this did not proceed at all from Diſadvantages in the Nature of that Commerce, but from the Miſtakes and ill Conduct of ſuch as had been entruſted with the Management of the Company's Affairs, who, in the firſt Place, had made their Bottom too narrow, and had undertaken the Traffick of the *Indies* upon much too ſmall a Capital. That, in the ſecond Place, to keep up the Credit of their own Adminiſtration, and to countenance their taking ſuch conſiderable Salaries to themſelves, they had made large Dividends, where there was no Profits; and having, by this Means, exhauſted the Company's Stock, they carried on their Trade by borrowing as much Money as they could at very high intereſt. That however, the King his Great-grandfather, having always protected and encouraged this Company, and even granted them a new Term towards the End of his Life, they might have enjoyed it, or, at leaſt have drawn all the Profits from it they could, if their Conduct had not become ſo flagrantly bad, that neither the Glory of the King, nor the Intereſt of his People, would permit him to overlook it any longer. On the one Hand, there were continual Complaints from the *Indies*, that the Company had borrowed vaſt Sums of the *Gentiles*, without paying them either Capital or Intereſt, having in the Space of ſixteen Years, not ſent ſo much as one ſingle Ship to *Surat*. On the other, the private Merchants carrying on this Commerce in the Name, and under the Authority of the *Eaſt-India* Company, were ſo cramped and oppreſſed by the Duty of Ten *per Cent.* and other Gratuities to the Company, that they are unable to purſue their Trade with the ſame Spirit and Advantages which are enjoyed by the Subjects of other Nations; and, beſides, being afraid to go to *Surat*, on account of the Danger they were in of having their Ships ſeized for the Company's Debts, they found themſelves obliged to purchaſe moſt of the *Indian* Commodities and Manufactures which they brought into *Europe* from Foreigners, at a very high Price, and this equally to their own and the Nation's Diſadvantage.

For theſe Reaſons, and others of the like Nature alledged againſt the *China* and *African* Companies, his Majeſty declares, that the Priviledges of all thoſe Companies are, by this Edict of his, dated in the Month of *May* 1719, revoked, extinguiſhed, and ſuppreſſed. He granted at the ſame Time, to the new Company of the *Indies*, an excluſive Priviledge of trading from the *Cape of Good-hope*, to the utmoſt Extent of the *Eaſt-Indies*, as alſo to the Iſlands of *Madagaſcar*, of *Bourbon*, and of *France*, the Coaſt of *Soffala* in *Africa*, the *Red-ſea*, *Perſia*, the Dominions of the *Mogul*, of the King of *Siam*, and of the Emperors of *China* and *Japon*, as alſo of the *South-ſeas*, from the Streights of *Magellan*, or *la Maire*, to the *Eaſt-Indies* that Way, forbidding all the reſt of his Subjects theſe ſeveral Trades, under Pain of the Confiſcation of their Veſſels and Effects.,

He likewiſe gives and grants to this Company, the Poſſeſſions and Effects of the other Companies, at the ſame Time charging them, however, with all the juſt Debts which thoſe Companies had contracted, and were liable to. The better to enable them to diſcharge thoſe Debts, and to carry on the vaſt Trade granted them by this Edict, he creates in their Favour, twenty-five Millions of new Actions, to be purchaſed only for ready Money, on the ſame Terms that the *Weſt-India* Company poſſeſſed one hundred Millions of Actions, and with the like Priviledges and Advantages in every Reſpect. He likewiſe granted full Licence and Authority to import all Sorts of Manufactures of Silk, Silk and Cotton, gold and ſilver Stuffs, died Cottons, as alſo painted and ſtriped, on Condition, however, that none of theſe ſhall be vended in his Dominions, but be intirely ſold and diſpoſed of to Foreigners; for which Reaſon they were to be depoſited in Magazines under double Locks, the Keys of one to be kept by the Farmers-general, and the other by the Directors of the Company, for the better preventing Frauds and Colluſions. He likewiſe grants them Leave to import all ſorts of white Cottons, Raw-ſilks, Coffee, Drugs, Spices, Metals, and whatever elſe the *Eaſt-India* Company might have imported under their Priviledges.

This Edict had all the Effects, and even more than was expected from it, and ſuch an Eagerneſs there appeared of ſubſcribing to this Company, that inſtead of twenty-five, the Subſcriptions amounted to fifty Millions, which encouraged the *French* Miniſtry to venture upon ſome new Regulations, which were made publick by an Edict of the Month of *June*, in the ſame Year. The Principal of which was, that they ſhould take off four Times the Number of old Actions, in order to be entitled to the new; ſo that in order to purchaſe five thouſand Livres of the new Actions, the Subſcribers were obliged to take twenty thouſand Livres of the old ones.

The great End the Government propoſed by all this, was, as we have hinted before, to find the Means of calling in and ſuppreſſing that immenſe Quantity of Paper-money which was ſuch a heavy Burden on the State; and to this End Annuities to the Value of twenty-five Millions are created, which not anſwering that Intention, the new Company of the *Indies* offered their Aſſiſtance, and undertook to diſcharge them at the Rate of fifty Millions in one Month; ſo that the whole Load of this Paper-credit, amounting in the whole to near ſixty Millions of our Money, was to be taken away and extinguiſhed, by the End of *July* 1721. In Conſideration of the Zeal and publick Spirit manifeſted by the Company in this Propoſal, the King was pleaſed, by his Arret dated in the Month of *July* 1720, to change the Terms on which the Company held their Priviledges, and to declare them perpetual, reſtraining himſelf and his Succeſſors, from ever treating them as other Companies had been treated, in order to their Eſtabliſhment; and thus this Company acquired that Title by which they are now known in *France*, *The perpetual Company of the Indies*, with all the Priviledges of the other four Companies confirmed to them for ever. In two Years Time it was ſettled and declared, that in Conſequence of the Annuities granted and aſſigned to the Company from the Crown, they ſhould be able to divide annually the Sum of Ten *per Cent.* which ſhould be paid duly and exactly for ever; in Conſequence of which, the Directors were to be at full Liberty to export and import what they thought proper, without being accountable annually to their Conſtituents, becauſe the Dividend was to be regular and certain, and they were to manage Things ſo, as that the Deficiencies of one Year might be made up by the Profits of another.

This Courſe of Management, though it had certainly one great Convenience in fixing and aſcertaining the Intereſt as the Proprietors were to receive it, yet the Circumſtance of not accounting for the Profits, has proved of ſuch ill Conſequence, that notwithſtanding theſe Dividends have been all along very duly and regularly paid till lately, yet the Proprietors could never be cured of a Suſpicion they entertained, that the *Eaſt-India* Commerce has not been carried for their Profit, but in their Name, for the King's, and this has contributed to keep their Actions low, though they had ſuch extraordinary Intereſt paid them, with ſuch Regularity. The Grounds of this Suſpicion lying in the Annuities paid by the Crown to the Company, which are ſufficient for ſecuring ſuch a Dividend, without the leaſt Aſſiſtance from the Profits of their Trade, made the Thing not altogether incredible, eſpecially when it was perceived, that for twenty Years together, the Dividends remained fixed and ſettled, though the Trade of the Company has for that Time been apparently encreaſing.

But to underſtand this Point perfectly, as well as the true State of the Company's Affairs, and how they came to have a Fund capable of diſcharging regularly ſo high an Intereſt for ſuch a Number of Years, as well as to clear up ſome Things that may ſeem obſcure in this Hiſtory of the Eſtabliſhment of the Company now ſubſiſting, it will be requiſite to give as clear and conciſe a Relation as is poſſible, of the Riſe and Progreſs of the other Companies that have been united to this by the Edict beforementioned, and of the *Weſt-India* Company in particular, in which abundance of curious and inſtructive Paſſages will occur that never hitherto have appeared in the *Engliſh* Language.

12. The *China* Company in *France* was originally ſet on Foot in the Year 1660, but was very ſoon after abſorbed by that of the *Eaſt-India* Company, which, as we have ſhewn, had the Sanction of royal Authority given it in 1664; but when that Company began firſt to decline in its Affairs, thoſe who had the Management of its Concerns, were content, in ſome meaſure, to revive this old Company, by granting their Licence, which was likewiſe confirmed by the Crown to one Mr. *Jourdan*, a very rich Merchant, who fitted out a very large Ship, called *Amphitrite*, for that Voyage, which ſailed in *March* 1698, and returned ſafely to *France* on the Third of *Auguſt*, 1700, very richly laden. The Succeſs of this Voyage encouraged the Merchant before-mentioned, and thoſe who were concerned with him, to fit out the ſame Ship again, and which they accordingly did in the following Spring, and ſhe returned in the Month of *September*, 1703, with as great Profit as from her former Voyage, though ſhe very narrowly miſſed being ſhipwrecked falling down the River of *Canton* at her Return. The Succeſs of theſe Voyages, one would have thought, might have eſtabliſhed this new Company; but the general War in which *France* was then engaged againſt moſt of the Powers of *Europe*, rendered it impracticable: And thus the Company lay dormant, though ſtill poſſeſſed of its Rights, which extended to the Coaſts of *China*, *Tonquin*, *Cochin-China*, and the Iſles adjacent, till ſuch Time as, for Reaſons of State, it was united to the *Weſtern* Company.

The Company of *Senegal*, though under another Name, was one of the earlieſt in *France*, being carried on by a Society of Merchants at *Dieppe*, though without the Sanction of any publick Authority. They fixed a little Settlement in an Iſland at the Mouth of the great River *Nigea*, called alſo the River of *Senegal*, and carried on a conſiderable Trade thither. This Commerce came afterwards into the Hands of the Merchants of *Rouen*, who, in the Month of *November*, 1664, yielded it up to the *Weſt-India* Company. But when that Company was diſſolved about ten Years afterwards, the old Company of *Senegal* was revived, and three rich Merchants undertook that Commerce, which they carried on with great Profit to themſelves till the Year 1681, when Mr. *Colbert*, whoſe Character we have already given conceiving this Traffick, might be greatly enlarged, prevailed upon theſe Merchants to accept of a valuable Conſideration for their Privileges, and to admit of its going into the Hands of a larger Number of Perſons, with new Privileges which they enjoyed for many Years. But it being diſcovered, that the excluſive Rights they had were, by much, too extenſive for their Capital, it was thought, for the publick Benefit, to divide this Company; and hence aroſe the *Guinea* Company, to whom the greateſt Part of their Privileges were aſſigned, and the reſt remained to the old Company of *Senegal*, which ſtill continued in a thriving Condition.

Yet, in Proceſs of Time, and from a Variety of Accidents, it fell out, that the Proprietors of this Company came to be reduced into ſuch low Circumſtances, that the Company muſt have failed, if it had not been for the Wealth and Spirit of a ſingle Merchant, whoſe Name was Mr. *D'Aupougny*, who, at length, for the Sum of three hundred thouſand Livres, bought out his Aſſociates, and in the Year 1694, by the Conſent of the Crown, had the whole of their Privileges conveyed to himſelf, and he erected a new Company, which, however, was ſo unfortunate, that after ſtruggling a long Time to no Purpoſe, at laſt, yielded up their Privileges to ſome rich Merchants of *Roeun*, who carried on this Trade with tolerable Succeſs, till the Year 1718, when it was united, as we have ſeen, to the Company of the *Indies*.

As for the Company of *Guinea* beforementioned, it had ſeveral Riſes and Falls till the Acceſſion of *Philip* V. to the Crown of *Spain*, who in the Year 1701, granted them the Liberty of tranſporting Negroes to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*; and then it took from thence the Title of the *Aſſiento* Company, under which it continued to flouriſh, when almoſt all the Branches of *French* Commerce languiſhed and decayed, by reaſon of the War; and as it was ſingular in this, ſo it was no leſs ſingular in its Concluſion; for it loſt all its Priviledges, and even its Being, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which revived the other Branches of *French* Trade, but conveyed this to the *Engliſh*, and gave Riſe to our *South-Sea* Company.

We muſt now paſs to the *Weſt-Indies*, where the Courſe of a great River, Navigable from within ſeven or eight Leagues of its Source for eight hundred Leagues, where it falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*, was diſcover'd by *Robert Cavilier de la Salle*, a Native of *Rouen*, who brought the News of it into *France*, in 1680. This River, called by the Natives of the Country *Meſchaſippi*, and by the *French*, *Miſſiſippi*, and the Country about it being held of infinite Conſequence, as affording the greateſt Conveniencies for eſtabliſhing a Settlement in one of the fineſt Climates, and moſt fruitful Countries in *America*, the Motion for attempting ſuch a Colony was readily embraced in *France*, and all imaginable Encouragement given to Mr. *de la Salle*, who undertook the Performance. He, by Letters Patent dated in 1684, eſtabliſh'd a Company for that Purpoſe, and embarked on board a Squadron of four Ships, filled with People, and with every thing neceſſary for his Deſign; but was ſo unlucky as to miſs by Sea the Mouth of that River which he had diſcovered by ſailing down it, and fixed upon another, where his Colony began to decline in ſuch a manner, that he had not above one hundred Perſons left; yet in the midſt of theſe Misfortunes he kept up his Courage, and endeavoured to repair his paſt Miſtake, by uſing all poſſible Means to diſcover the Place he ſought, which it is very probable he would have done if his Company had not mutinied; in which unlucky Accident one of the Villains ſhot him with a Muſket Ball, on the 20th of *March*, 1687.

Seven or eight Years after his Death, one Mr. *Hiberville*, a Gentleman of *Canada*, diſcovered the Mouth of this famous River, erected a Fort, and began to eſtabliſh a Colony there, but died before it was thoroughly ſettled, and ſo the Deſign miſcarried a ſecond time, and the Affair ſlept till the Year 1712, when Mr. *Anthony Crozat*, a Gentleman of large Fortune, undertook the fixing a *French* Colony on the River *Miſſiſippi*, a third time. He obtained the King's Letters Patent, dated 14 *September*, in the ſame Year, and ſucceeded ſo far as to diſcover the River and Country effectually, and to raiſe a Fort and ſome Settlements there. This Gentleman, according to the Cuſtom of the *French*, changed the Names of all the Places he viſited, or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, were viſited by thoſe he ſent thither. The great River was no longer to be called *Miſſiſippi*, but the River of *St. Lewis*, and the Country round about it was *Louviſſiana*, and an Iſland at the Mouth of it, which till then had been ſtiled the Iſland of *Maſſacre*, was thenceforward to be known by the Title of the *Dauphin's* Iſland.

The Conſequences of theſe Diſcoveries were great in themſelves, and the Expectations raiſed from them much greater, of which Mr. *Crozat* made a very wiſe Uſe, by taking this Opportunity to ſurrender his Patent, which he did in 1717, that the Publick might have the Benefit of theſe important Settlements. The Regent was conſidering at that Time of the Project offered him by the famous Mr. *Law*, a *Scotch* Gentleman, whoſe Name is well known to the preſent Generation, and is not like to be forgot by Poſterity. The End aimed at by his Project, was to reduce all the publick Debts in *France* into ſome Form; and for this Purpoſe it was neceſſary to erect, under plauſible Appearances, a new Company in the like manner, that by the Advice of Sir *John Blount*, the Lord Treaſurer *Oxford* had done the ſame Thing in *England*, by eſtabliſhing the *South-Sea* Company. But whereas that Nobleman had very wiſely and honeſtly rejected the remaining Part of the Project, which was cheating credulous People of their Money, by running the Actions or Stock of the new Company to an exceſſive Rate. This was accepted by the Regent, and made that Part of the Deſign, which is ſtiled in *France* the Syſtem, and which was at once the moſt iniquitous, and the moſt infamous Contrivance that ever entered into the Heart of Man.

But as it was neceſſary, in order to carry this Scheme into Execution, that a new Company ſhould be ſet up with ſuch Priviledges as might create probable Hopes of vaſt Gain to the Proprietors, this new Settlement was thought of for that Purpoſe, from whence the Project itſelf is generally called the *Miſſiſippi* Scheme, tho' that was not the Title of the Company. It cannot be expected, that we ſhould enter here into a long Detail of the Conduct of the Regent's Scheme, becauſe it is not the proper Buſineſs of this Section; all that is aimed at herein, is to ſhew the ſeveral Steps by which almoſt all the foreign Commerce of *France* was thrown into the Hands of the ſingle Company of the *Indies*, which Title, as we have already ſhewn, the Company acquired by the Union of the old *Eaſt-India* Company with the *Weſtern* Company, which had before ſwallowed up ſeveral others that have been already mentioned.

The Royal Bank alſo was united to the Company of the *Indies*, which was the Engine employed for bringing about the great Ends of the Syſtem, which being once effected, the Regent and his Miniſters began to turn their Thoughts on the Means of recovering the Company from that dreadful Confuſion into which it had been thrown by undertaking the Execution of a Deſign equally prejudicial to the general Commerce and private Property of the Inhabitants of *France*, which had very juſtly overturned and deſtroyed their Credit, and put it entirely out of their Power to carry on any Part of the Trade, to which they had an excluſive Right. It was therefore high time certainly, for the Government to interpoſe, and endeavour to remedy ſome of the many Inconveniencies they had introduced, ſince the Welfare of the Kingdom was now ſo cloſely connected with that of the Company of the *Indies*, as that it was neither in the Power of the Government to neglect the one without neglecting the other, or to ſeparate, as perhaps they would have done thoſe Intereſts, which by their own Management were ſo cloſely united.

To underſtand this Matter clearly, we muſt conſider the Company of the *Indies* in two very different Lights; that is to ſay; as a trading Company, and as Creditors of the Government; neither of which Points, if we advert what is daily written about them, ſeem to be well underſtood here, and therefore we ſhall take ſome Pains in repreſenting them, both to the *Engliſh* Reader's View, in Terms that may remove all theſe Miſtakes. In the firſt Place then, with regard to their Trade, the Company of the *Indies* in *France*, is generally called here the *French Eaſt-India* Company; which Title does by no means expreſs the Nature and Importance of their Trade; ſince they have not only the Commerce of the *Indies*, but likewiſe that of *Africa* and the *South-Seas* under their Direction, and though it be true, that they are not able at preſent to exert themſelves in carrying on all theſe Trades; yet it is no leſs true, that they retain the Power of doing it whenever they are able, and that the *French* Government will moſt certainly put them upon it as ſoon as any favourable Opportunity offers.

The Inference I make from this is, that we ought to conſider the Company of the *Indies*, as the Center of *French* Commerce, and to look upon the Riſe and Fall of the Actions of that Company, as a political, or if you will, as a Commercial Barometer which conſtantly points out the Condition of the Trade of *France*. I look upon this Obſervation to be a Matter of great Conſequence to us, and it was for the Sake of ſetting it in a clear Light that I have taken ſo much Pains to ſhew how the ſeveral Branches of foreign Trafficks came to be thrown into the Hands of a ſingle Company, the chief Motive to which, was undoubtedly this, that the Cares of the Government, with reſpect to Trade, might be brought into a narrower Compaſs, and conſequently be attended to with more eaſe by the Miniſters.

For ſuch is the Conſtitution of the *French* Government, that every Thing in that Kingdom muſt depend upon it; and we muſt allow, that Experience has ſhewn, that ſome of its Miniſters have underſtood it as well, and proſecuted it better than the ableſt Merchants could have done. I do not ſay this as if what had happened in *France* ought to be a Rule to any other Country, bleſt with a better Conſtitution: God forbid it ſhould! But what I ſay, is, that the Relation between the Government and Commerce of *France*, being rightly underſtood, it will appear, that the latter is entirely dependent upon the former, and muſt either proſper or ſink, as it is ſupported by the Crown, and attended to by the Miniſters, or as it is neglected by both.

This ſhews, that a general War, which demands all the Power, all the Revenues, and all the Attention of *France*, muſt ſink and ruin its Commerce, and that to ſuch a Degree, as cannot happen to any other Country, the Conſtitution of which is not the ſame with that of which we are ſpeaking. This I am ſenſible has been often ſaid, but I do not know, that it was ever demonſtrated before, and I hope by that Time I have finiſhed this Section, to make this Subject ſo clear, and ſo intelligible to every *Engliſh* Reader, as that he ſhall have no ſort of Doubt as to the Intereſt and Policy of the *French* Court on this Head. Thus much as to the Company of the *Indies*, with reſpect to its Trade; let us next conſider it as a Society of the Creditors of the *French* Government.

We have heard, that this Company has for many Years divided Ten *per Cent.* annually upon their Capital, which, till the preſent War, and indeed to the preſent Year, has been juſtly and regularly paid. But this Intereſt, or Dividend of Ten *per Cent.* never aroſe from the Profits made by the Company, nor in Truth any Part of it, but was paid to the Proprietors, as Creditors of the Publick, out of the ſtated and ſettled Funds aſſigned them for that Purpoſe, and therefore we can attribute the Lowneſs of the *French* Actions in Time of Peace, to nothing but their Diffidence of their own Government.

The Reaſon why the Miniſters of *France* have made it their Choice to continue Things in this Situation, ſeems to have been this, that the regular Payments made by this Company to the Proprietors, might have a double Effect, and ſuſtain at once the publick Credit and that of the Company. The former was neceſſary to prevent thoſe Confuſions ever falling out again, which happened on the Ruin of the Syſtem, and which had like to have been attended with the moſt fatal Conſequences to the Nation, from which nothing could have ſaved them, but the arbitrary Power of the Government, which forced them to bear their Misfortunes till Ways and Means could be found to relieve them. On the other Hand, the regular Payment of theſe Dividends has been of prodigious Service to the Company in their trading Capacity, in which, to ſay the Truth, they could not have ſubſiſted without them; becauſe it kept the Proprietors from either requiring, or receiving any general Accounts of their Dealings, which enabled the Directors to do many Things which otherwiſe they could never have done; and has, in fact, been the ſole Support of their Commerce: For, we muſt obſerve, that on the founding of this new Company, they had Rights and Privileges given them, without either Powers or Funds to make Uſe of them. They had the nominal Advantages of ſeveral Companies beſtowed upon them, but upon Condition that they took likewiſe the real Load of Debts and Incumbrances for which thoſe Companies ſtood engaged. They received vaſt Sums of Money from their Proprietors, but not for their Uſe as a Company to trade with, but as Agents for the Government, which, very probably, the far greater Part of their Proprietors did not underſtand; but which they might very eaſily have underſtood, if they had conſidered the Funds out of which their Dividends were paid; for they could never conceive that ſuch a Government as theirs would grant them ſo high an Intereſt for Money, without making Uſe of it.

On the whole therefore, this was one of the great Secrets of the *French* Councils, and the Deſign of reſtoring the Affairs of the Company, that which, of all others, they have managed with the greateſt Addreſs; for by this Means they have gained Time, which, in ſuch Affairs is all Things, and by affording the Company ſuch Sums of Money as could be ſpared; and at the Seaſons they could ſpare it, they have revived the *Eaſt-India* Trade, kept it conſtantly and regularly on Foot, put all the Company's Debts in a Train of Payment, relieved and replaced all her Factories; and if this War had not broke out as it did, would very ſoon have placed her, as a Trading-Company, in as fair and good a Condition as, for many Years, ſhe has ſtood in, conſidered in her other Capacity as a Corporation of publick Creditors. This has been generally attributed to the wiſe and peaceable Adminiſtration of the late Cardinal *Fleury*, but was no otherwiſe due to him than as he continued the Direction of theſe Affairs in the Hands of Mr. *Orry*, who has had the entire Management of them for ten Years paſt; in which Time he has done more Service to this Nation, than all the Stateſmen and Generals that have been employed in this Reign; and though it has ſo fallen out of late, that his Method has been interrupted and thrown into Diſorder, yet we ſhall preſently make it appear, from the Conſideration of the preſent State of the Company, that he has overcome the greateſt Difficulties, and put her Concerns into ſuch a Channel, as muſt ſtrike all who attentively weigh the Particulars, which we ſhall impartially relate with Amazement and Surprize.

But, before I quit this Part of my Subject, I muſt again remind my Reader, that all this Succeſs has been owing to the Firmneſs and Steadineſs of the Adminiſtration, for ſo many Years, flowing in ſome meaſure from the King's Temper, in ſome meaſure from the long Life of the late Cardinal, and from a Variety of other Circumſtances, that demonſtrate the commercial Intereſt of *France* to be continually liable to Accidents, and to be conſequently always in a precarious Condition. I do not ſay this with any Intention of leſſening our Jealouſy of the *French* Traffick, which I acknowledge to be extremely reaſonable and well founded; but, for the ſake of Truth, and that Things may appear to be as they really are, which I think the moſt likely Way to enable us to judge of what will be moſt for our Intereſt and Advantage.

I may likewiſe add, that by proving, as I have done, that this is truly the Caſe, it will afford great Encouragement both to the Government and People of *Great-Britain*, to purſue whatever rational Schemes ſhall be offered for promoting and extending our Commerce, ſince our Situation is ſuch, that we need only the Countenance of the Legiſlature, and the Repeal, perhaps, of a very few Laws, which reſtrain and cramp our Trade, to be able to undertake new Branches of Commerce, which muſt neceſſarily increaſe our Seamen, augment our Shipping, carry off our Manufactures, and by reviving a Spirit of Induſtry, find Employment for all our People, which would effectually root out factious and ſeditious Humours, and find ſomething elſe for the meaner Sort of Folks to do, than to rail at, or reſiſt the Government. But if we neglect the Advantages we have, and the *French* ſhould grow wiſe enough to reſolve upon keeping upon fair Terms with their Neighbours twenty or thirty Years, they may go near to ſhew us within that Time, that in ſpite of all the Difficulties they ſtruggle with, their Company of the *Indies* may be put into ſuch a Condition as will enable her to put in for a large Share of that Trade, which by being hitherto engroſſed by us and by the *Dutch*, has obtained and ſecured the honourable Title of a *Maritime Power*, which, as it was acquired by, will certainly be loſt with our Trade.

13. The Capital of the preſent Company of the *Indies*, was, as we have before obſerved, compoſed of the original Capital of the *Weſtern* Company, and of twenty-five Millions added thereto, upon the Union of the *Eaſt-India* Company therewith; but after the Ruin of the Syſtem, when all Things fell into Confuſion, it was found requiſite, in order to reſtore them, that the King ſhould make a Reviſion of the Actions poſſeſſed by the Proprietors of this Company, in order to diſtinguiſh between ſuch as had acquired their Property fairly, and by Purchaſe; and ſuch as had thruſt themſelves into the Company's Books only to ſerve their own Purpoſes by ſtock-jobbing. It was in Conſequence of this Reviſion, that by an Edict in the Year 1723, the King fixed the Actions of this Company to fifty-ſix thouſand, and which formed a Capital of One hundred and twelve Millions; for their Dividend upon which, they had a yearly Revenue aſſigned them of Eight Millions four hundred thouſand Livres. By another Arret in 1725, Five thouſand of theſe Actions were cancelled and burnt; ſo that the Capital of the Company, by this means, was reduced to Fifty-one thouſand Actions, and their Dividends ſecured by the annual Payment of Eight Millions from the Farmers-general of the Farm of Tobacco, the excluſive, perpetual, and irrevokable Privilege of vending which, was granted to the Company in 1723, and confirmed to them in 1725, together with the Profits ariſing from the Furs imported from *Canada*; ſo that the Fund for the Payment of their annual Dividends was as effectually ſettled and ſecured, as it was poſſible a Thing of that Nature could be in *France*.

In the mean time the Commerce of the *Indies* was aſſigned to them as a collateral Security not to be touched for the preſent, but to be employed in ſtrengthening and enlarging the Funds for reſtoring and maintaining that important Trade, diſcharging all the Incumbrances thereon, and putting it thereby in a Condition to become as certain and indubitable a Security for the Payment of ſtill higher Intereſt to the Proprietors than they have hitherto received. The Condition of the Company therefore conſidered in this Light, appears to be ſuch as ought to ſatisfy all who have rational and moderate Views for the Security and Encreaſe of their Fortunes, ſince though no more than fifteen hundred Livres have been paid in upon each Action; yet the Proprietors have conſtantly and regularly received their Intereſt of Ten *per Cent.* which is more than they could have made of their Money in any Part of *Europe*, and have ſtill a clear and undoubted Title to the Profits that have ariſen, or ſhall ariſe from the Commerce of the Company in the *Indies*.

It is indeed true, that, hitherto they have received nothing upon this Head; but to ballance this, it is to be conſidered, that, till within theſe few Years, this Trade has been carried on in a very languid and negligent Manner; that ſince it hath been put on a better Foot, they have been obliged to repair the Loſſes ſuſtained by the Shipwreck of ſome of their largeſt Veſſels, to pay off abundance of old Debts, to diſcharge ſeveral Annuities, which the Company were obliged to pay, and which have extinguiſhed very ſlowly, to rebuild and reſtore ſeveral of their Factories, which were in a very bad Condition, to repair many, to build ſome new, and to equip all the Veſſels in the Company's Service, to purchaſe new Houſes for the Eſtabliſhment of new Factories, and to add proper Ware-houſes, and Magazines to theſe, to lay out upwards of Fifteen Millions for the Improvement and Security of *Louiſiana*, to complete the neceſſary Works at the noble Haven of *Port l'Orient*, and all the leſſer Creeks, Docks, and other Places that depend thereupon, and to be at other very conſiderable Charges and Expences for ſupporting its Commerce, maintaining its Marine, ſubſiſting its Forces, and keeping every where in good Order its Fortifications.

Whenever theſe great Expences ſhall have ſo far anſwered their End as to be no longer neceſſary, and the Affairs of the Company, in Point of Commerce, are in ſuch a Situation as that there is no imminent Danger to be apprehended, but, on the contrary, certain annual Profits coming in, theſe will be inſtantly added to the preſent Income of the Company, who will likewiſe enjoy all that Stock which has been raiſing both in *Europe* and the *Indies* for their Benefit. The riſing or falling therefore of the Company's Actions, cannot any Way affect its real Security, which depends in the firſt Place on thoſe ſettled Funds before-mentioned; and upon this Trade, which, before the preſent War, was in a very thriving and flouriſhing Condition. The common Notion therefore which has ſo long prevailed in *France*, and might be very eaſily impoſed upon Strangers, *viz.* that the King has carried on this Trade for many Years, and after paying a Part of the Profits, ſuffered all the reſt to paſs immediately into his own Coffers, or into thoſe of the Directors, is an abſurd and ridiculous Calumny, equally repugnant to Reaſon and to Fact, as well as utterly inconſiſtent with the expreſs Words, and direct Intention of the eleventh Article of the Edict of 1725, in which, after declaring the Company of the *Indies* to be a Society for promoting the Trade of the *French* Nation, to that Part of the World, under the Protection of the King, and the Adminiſtration of their own Directors, his Majeſty proceeds thus: “ Our Will and Pleaſure is, that it ſhall remain, “ conformable to its Inſtitution, a Company purely for “ Commerce, applying itſelf ſolely to the Support of that “ which is confided to its Care, and endeavouring by its “ Wiſdom and Oeconomy, to contribute as much as is poſ- “ ſible to the Welfare of our Subjects intereſted therein; “ ſo that the Funds of the ſaid Company of the *Indies*, “ ſhall be, and remain for ever employed in the Main- “ tainance of the ſaid Commerce, and to no other End “ or Purpoſe whatſoever.”

Such is the Deſcription of the Situation of the *Eaſt-India* Company, as laid down to us by one of the ableſt Pens in *France*, who tells us beſides, that both the Security and the Intereſt of Money placed in this Company, are much better than when employed in the Purchaſe of Lands in *France*; for, ſays he, with reſpect to Security, the Purchaſer of Lands has nothing more than his own and his Lawyer's Knowledge to direct him in the Aſſurance of his Title, and he can very rarely purchaſe at ſuch a Price as to make more than five *per Cent.* of his Money, after which he runs very great Hazards with reſpect to bad Tenants, being forced to lay out large Sums in Repairs, beſides riſquing the Inclemency of Seaſons, which may put it out of the Power of his Tenants, how honeſt ſoever, to pay him punctually his Rent, and to the full; ſo that he may very often be at a Loſs for a Subſiſtance, and not know where to borrow Money, tho' at the ſame Time a landed Man of ſo much a Year; whereas, he who lays out his Money in the Actions of this Company, has double their Intereſt, paid him regularly and conſtantly every half Year, without having any Reaſon to be apprehenſive of his Capital, or ever being in Danger of wanting Money by an unlucky Turn of Affairs.

We may eaſily judge from this Repreſentation of the preſent State of the Company's Affairs, that they are in a far better Condition, or at leaſt were ſo at the breaking-out of the preſent War, than ever, and more likely to produce conſiderable Profits to the Nation, and to the Company, than ever. But on the one Hand, the natural Impatience of the *French*, unable to bear being put off for above twenty Years together with fair Words and fine Promiſes; and on the other, their Apprehenſions that either the king would never ſuffer them to enjoy this Commerce at all, or elſe would deprive them of the Fund they already poſſeſſed, and leave them to the precarious Dividends ariſing from Trade, has conſtantly kept their Actions, I will not ſay below the real Value, but much below what they would have been eſteemed worth in this, or in any other free Country, eſpecially after remaining for ſo many Years in ſo ſtrict and regular a Courſe of Payment. But their continual Jealouſies as to the true Intention of the Crown, and as to the future State of their Affairs, has conſtantly kept them in a precarious Situation, in ſpite of the wiſeſt Meaſures the *French* Miniſters were able to take, the large Sums purchaſed by Foreigners, the frequent Edicts in their Favour; and which is ſtill more extraordinary than all the reſt, the regular coming and going of their *Eaſt-India* Fleets, and the vaſt Sums of Money brought in by their publick Sales.

Yet ſo far was this from contributing to make the People eaſy, whoſe Fortunes were engaged in this Undertaking, that they pretended it adminiſtered ſufficient Cauſe for all their Apprehenſions and Complaints. If, ſaid they, the Commerce of the *Indies* be ours, if all this Money that we receive belong to us, if all the Improvements that have been made for ſo many Years are legally and indiſputably our Property; and if thoſe who direct and manage all theſe are only Truſtees for us, or rather our Servants, why ſhould we be kept ſo much in the Dark, why not have it in our Powers to call thoſe People to an Account, or why not receive from Time to Time ſome Part of the Profits by way of Addition to the Dividends already made us? It was in vain to tell them that all theſe Precautions were taken for their Sake, that the Company owed its Reſtoration to this Method of managing their Affairs, that they had viſibly overcome by theſe Means moſt of thoſe Difficulties which had been found inſuperable by former Companies, and that this happy Progreſs of their Trade ought to make them perfectly content with regard to the Manner in which it was carried on, and give them entire Satisfaction as to the Integrity of ſuch as directed their Affairs.

It was in vain, I ſay, that theſe Arguments were uſed or that Scheme of their Circumſtances which the Reader juſt now peruſed, ſubmitted to their Conſideration, the Proprietors remained firm to their old Opinion, and their Suſpicions could never be got out of their Heads, till that very Miſchief fell upon them which they had ſo long apprehended, I mean, the Suſpenſion of their Dividends, which, however, produced that general Account for which they had ſo long clamoured. But before we come to ſpeak of this, it will be requiſite to reſume the Hiſtory of the Company's Affairs in the *Indies*, and to give a ſuccinct View of the real Improvements of their Commerce, which will both ſupport what has been already ſaid, and render the Cloſe of this Section more intelligible.

14. At the Time the Company of the *Indies* was formed in *France*, their Affairs in that Part of the World had taken a very bad Turn; for their ſovereign Council, which had been eſtabliſhed at *Surat*, was ſuppreſſed, moſt of their Colonies ſunk to nothing, many of their Factories in the ſame State, and the reſt declining in ſuch a Manner, as that little better than an entire Extinction could be expected, and that too in a very ſhort Space of Time. This was undoubtedly a very melancholy Situation for the Servants of the Company to be in, who, while they meditated nothing more than how to obtain a Paſſage Home to *Europe*, and an Indemnification for the Debts contracted in the *Indies*, at leaſt with reſpect to themſelves, were ſurprized by the Arrival of three Ships, not only laden with the richeſt Merchandize of *Europe*, but alſo with very large Quantities of Silver; ſo that they were immediately in a Condition to diſcharge a great Part of their Debts, which if it did not reſtore it, at leaſt revived their Credit, and gave them ſome Degree of Reputation in the *Indies*. It is requiſite, that the Reader ſhould know how this ſtrange Alteration happened, and the Secret is no more than this. When the Regent executed his Scheme, the Company of the *Indies* being the principal Machine made uſe of, there conſequently came into the Hands of that Company a conſiderable Part of the Plunder of the Publick, which enabled the Directors to fit out theſe three Ships in the Manner before-mentioned, not only with the Conſent, but to the great Satisfaction of the Government, inaſmuch as it made a Shew of Trade, and thereby kept up the Spirits of the People, and gave a Reputation to the Company at Home. But this, however, did not laſt long, for Reaſons we ſhall quickly ſhew.

This Treaſure was not employed in Commerce, but in diſcharging the Debts contracted by the old Company at *Surat*, at *Camboya*, at *Bengal*, and other Places; ſo that the Returns made to *France* were but very inconſiderable, in Proportion to the Cargo ſent out. But this was not all; for, before theſe Returns arrived, the Syſtem, as it was called, was entirely over-turned; ſo that taking all Things together, the Company, in the two ſucceeding Years, 1721 and 1722, were not able to ſend ſo much as a ſingle Ship to the *Indies*, which expoſed them to the Contempt and Scorn of the trading Nations in *Europe*, and ſubjected ſuch as were in their Service in the *Indies*, to the Inſults of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who did not fail to repreſent them to the *Indians* as down-right Bankrupts, without either Effects, Money, Credit, or Reſources. We may therefore truly affirm, that in the Year 1723, the Affairs of this Company were in the loweſt and moſt deplorable Condition.

The Directors at Home, however, repreſented their Diſtreſſes to the Government in the ſtrongeſt Terms poſſible, and at the ſame Time, ſhewed, how prejudicial it was to the Glory of the *French* Kingdom, that Things ſhould remain in this Situation, and that after the Government had taken the Company under its immediate Protection, it ſhould be ſuffered to fall at once into Ruin, without the leaſt Effort made to ſuſtain it. One would have imagined, that the more natural Method would have been to have had recourſe, in this Situation of Affairs, to the Proprietors themſelves; but both the Directors and the Miniſtry were ſenſible enough, that this would have been attended with ſtill worſe Conſequences, ſince by laying open the true State of their Affairs, they would infallibly have driven their Proprietors to Deſpair. Inſtead of obtaining a Subſcription for putting their Commerce on a better Foot, the *French* Miniſtry, ſenſible of the Truths contained in this Repreſentation, reſolved to take this Opportunity, as they were in full Peace, to try what might be done to retrieve Things in the *Indies*, and prevent the entire Ruin of the Company, which was then juſtly apprehended. It was from theſe Conſiderations, that two Ships were ſent that Year, with an Aſſurance to ſuch as were in the Company's Service, that they might rely upon annual Supplies from *France*, and that therefore they ſhould order their Affairs accordingly, and put their Debts into ſuch a Method of Payment, as might diſcharge them all by Degrees, and from the Proſpect thereof reſtore their Credit for the preſent.

Things went on in this Way for about fourteen Years, during which Time, ſometimes three, ſometimes four Ships were ſent every Year, and thereby the Affairs of the Company were recovered, and reſtored, though but ſlowly. They had ſtill great Difficulties to ſtruggle with; for, in Proportion as their Commerce revived, their Expences were enlarged, by their being obliged to re-ſettle their old Factories, and to eſtabliſh new ones; ſo that in all this Space of Time, there was very little, if any Profit accrued from their Trade; on the contrary, they ran ſome Years into Debt, but not, however, without ſome Proſpects of future Advantages. But as the other trading Nations in the *Indies* were entirely unacquainted with the Secrets of the *French* Commerce, ſo judging by Appearances only, they were fully perſuaded, that the *French* Trade was in a flouriſhing Condition, becauſe they ſaw it viſibly extended, and the Returns made to *Europe*, far more regular, and at the ſame Time, much more conſiderable than they had hitherto ever been. Yet notwithſtanding all this, if they had gone on in the ſame Manner, it would have been many Years before they had been brought into ſuch Circumſtances as to have been able to ſupport themſelves, and carry on their Trade upon their own Bottom.

But in the Year 1737, M. *Orry de Fulvy*, being at the Head of the Finances, or Revenues of *France*, which he has managed with moſt ſurprizing Succeſs, the Company fell naturally under his Care and Protection. He ſaw plainly, that greater Supplies were neceſſary to extricate them from the Difficulties under which they laboured, and therefore, having firſt made a ſtrict Enquiry into the Situation of their Affairs, and put them into the beſt Order poſſible, he next furniſhed them with ſuch Sums as were neceſſary for enlarging and augmenting their Commerce; ſo that in the ſhort Space of two Years, he doubled their Returns, and in three Years more, brought them to thrice as much as they had formerly been. By his Management, their Sales at Port *de l'Orient*, became regular, and conſiderable, increaſing in ſuch a Manner, that the publick Sale in the Year 1742, produced twenty-four Millions of *French* Livres, or about one Million of our Money; beſides which, they reſerved in their Magazines, Goods, to the Value of four Millions of Livres more; and the firſt Ships that arrived in 1743, brought Home ſtill a richer and more valuable Cargo. This ſudden and extraordinary Change in the Company's Affairs, alarmed and amazed all *Europe*, but more eſpecially the Maritime Powers, who ſaw with infinite Concern, a Company that but a few Years before was looked upon as entirely ſunk and deſtroyed, now riſing into as high Credit, as any in *Europe*; and on the other Hand, this encouraged the northern Powers to proſecute their Schemes of falling into the *Eaſt-India* Trade, with greater Warmth and Diligence.

But what was ſtill more extraordinary than all the reſt, the War did not ſeem to affect the Company ſo much as might have been expected, for their Dividends were ſtill regularly paid, and this kept up their Credit to ſuch a Degree, that ſo lately as *Chriſtmas* 1744, their Actions were at two thouſand. But the War with *Great Britain*, encreaſing the Expences of *France* on the one Hand, and leſſening her Income on the other, the Secret at laſt came out, and Mr. *Orry* was forced to acquaint the Directors of the *Eaſt-India* Company, that the King's Affairs were in ſuch a Poſture as would no longer permit him to ſupply the Company in the manner he had hitherto done; ſo that now they were to ſtand upon their own Bottom, and to carry on their Trade for the future; as well as they could. This unexpected Stroke demoliſhed the whole Fabrick which had been raiſing for ſo many Years, and reduced the Actions of the Company to eight hundred; neither has the Eloquence of Mr. *de Orry*, or the Arts which the Court has made uſe of to recover the Proprietors from their Fright, been able to carry their Actions above one thouſand, or at leaſt very little above it ever ſince.

The main Cauſe of this was the Propoſitions made by Mr. *Orry* to their Directors, that either the Proprietors ſhould ſubſcribe ſuch a Sum of Money upon their Actions, or ſhould ſuffer their Dividends to be poſtponed for a certain Time, or that they ſhould come to ſome Agreement amongſt themſelves for compounding theſe two Methods, by advancing ſome Part in ready Money, and allowing their Dividends to go in diſcharge of the reſt. The Motive that obliged the Miniſtry to this Diſcovery, was the Neceſſity of having Money to carry on the *Eaſt-India* Trade, which they knew muſt be ruined, even by a temporary Stagnation; which Money, ſince the Crown could no longer furniſh, it was neceſſary that the Proprietors ſhould. But to this it was anſwered, that hitherto the Proprietors had been no Gainers by that Trade, had no general Accounts made up to them of it, nor, according to the Confeſſion of the Directors themſelves, were to have received any ſuch Accounts, if this Accident had not happened; by which they aſſerted, that their Properties had already loſt one half of their Value, and might very probably loſe a Part of the other half; ſo that they were leaſt in a Condition to pay, when this Demand was made, which would have been ſufficiently grievous, even in the midſt of Peace, and when their Actions were at the higheſt.

To this it was replied, that they had no Reaſon to complain of the King, or of his Miniſters, who had hitherto ſupported this Trade for their Advantage, without their contributing to it at all. That if they had received as yet no Profits from their Trade, it was becauſe no Profits had accrued from it; and this, not through any ill Management in ſuch as were intruſted with their Concerns, or becauſe this Commerce had not been carried on to great Advantage, but by reaſon of that immenſe Load of Debts which lay upon them, at their firſt Eſtabliſhment, and which the Profits of the Trade was obliged to pay off, and the prodigious Expence the Company had been at, both in *Europe* and in the *Indies*, for putting their Commerce on a ſolid and certain Footing. That to put all Doubts upon this Subject entirely out of the Queſtion, and that they might be ſatisfied of the Truth of theſe Particulars, a general Account of their Trade ſhould now be laid before them, by which they would, in the firſt Place, ſee, that, tho' ſlowly, it had been continually improving, and that of late Years eſpecially, it had thriven exceedingly.

In the next Place, they might be ſatisfied, that even at preſent, it was ſo far from being in a deſperate Condition, that notwithſtanding an immediate Sum was neceſſary for carrying it on, yet there was no Danger of their being called upon for another Supply, ſince what was now aſked, would be ſufficient to put the Company into a Condition to maintain itſelf without intrenching upon their Dividends, which ſhould, for the future, be as regularly paid, as ever they had been in Times paſt. It is from this general Account, that Strangers, as well as the Proprietors of this Company, have come to ſo diſtinct a Knowledge of their Affairs; ſince, had it not been for this unforeſeen and unexpected Accident, they would never have let the World into the Truth of an Affair which they had concealed with ſo much Care for ſuch a Number of Years. We will begin with the Account of the Shipping employed by the Company in the *Indies*, which will demonſtrate the Truth of what has already been advanced upon this Subject, both as to the Matter and Manner of it: But then the Reader is to obſerve, that the ſame Number of Ships were ſent annually from *Bengal* as from *Pondicherry*, and conſequently the Numbers of this Liſt are to be doubled. In the next Place, he is to take Notice, that the Sums ſet down are the Prime-coſt of the Goods in *India*. And, laſtly, that the Value of a Pagoda is about nine *French* Livres, or ſeven Shillings and Six-pence of our Money; by the Help of which Directions this Table will be found to comprehend a ſhort Hiſtory of the Progreſs of this Company, to the preſent Time.

A SCHEME *of the Commerce of the* French *Company of the* Indies, *ſhewing the Number of Ships returning annually from* Pondicherry, *and the Value of their Cargoes.*

From 1727 to 1742, incluſive.

In	Ships.	Pagoda's.
1727, *October*		
1728, *January*	3	248,265
September		
1729, *January*	3	20,032
September		
1730, *January*	3	248,083
October		
1731, *January*	4	600,711
October		
1732, *January*	4	302,006
September		
1733, *January*	4	260,640
September		
1734, *February*	4	392,987
September		
1735, *January*	4	375,341
September		
1736, *January*	3	223,484
October		
1737, *January*	5	351,691
October		
1738, *January*	5	522,315
October		
1739, *January*	5	586,156
October		
1740, *January*	4	485,732
October		
1741, *January*	4	555,643
October		
1742, *January*	7	954,376

It would be needleſs to fatigue the Reader with the reſt of this Report, calculated only to ſhew that the preſent Stop of their Dividends, was a Meaſure abſolutely neceſſary for the Company, as well as the State, and alike calculated for the Service of both; ſince, on the one Hand, it would enable his Majeſty to employ, for the preſſing Occaſions of his Government, thoſe Sums which otherwiſe the Company might have made uſe of; and on the other, though it might be a preſent Inconvenience to the Proprietors to raiſe this Money for their own Service, yet it would entirely take away another Inconvenience to which they had long been ſubject, *viz.* their not having a ſufficient Fund of their own to carry on their Trade, which hindered them from receiving general Accounts, or knowing the true State of their Affairs, and when they might expect to have their ſtated and annual Dividends augmented by the Profits ariſing from their Traffick, which they were now given to underſtand was a Thing not far off, and ought therefore to conſole them for the Trouble they were put to by this unfortunate Accident.

I ſhall not pretend to enter into theſe Particulars, or to point out the Cauſes why all theſe Aſſurances have given ſo little Satisfaction: It is ſufficient for our Purpoſe, that the Fall of their Actions has very fully demonſtrated the Truth of the Fact, that they have given no Satisfaction; and that the Affairs of this Company are at preſent in a very lamentable Condition, and are not likely to be in a better, at leaſt, ſo long as the War continues. Our Buſineſs is now to conclude the Section, with a few uſeful Remarks, deduced from the Facts contained in it, hitherto unpubliſhed in our own, or any other Language, but entirely collected from Memoirs furniſhed to me by ſome intelligent and inquiſitive Perſons, who thought it would be of publick Service, to have the true State and Condition of this *French* Company of the *Indies* exhibited to the View of the *Engliſh* Reader. This likewiſe muſt be my Apology for the ſmall Delay which the waiting for theſe Memoirs has occaſioned, and which, I hope, will be fully attoned for by their Publication.

15. After the Reader has peruſed this Hiſtory, he will not need many Arguments to perſuade him, that Trade, or, at leaſt, the Commerce of the *Indies*, is by no means ſuitable to the Genius, Diſpoſition, or Condition of the *French* Nation, ſince he ſees not only how often Attempts of this Sort have miſcarried, but alſo how hardly, and with what prodigious Difficulties they have been ever brought to ſucceed in any tolerable Degree, notwithſtanding all the Pains and Aſſiſtance the Government has beſtowed upon them. In all other Countries, but particularly *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, Undertakings of this Sort have been the Work of private Men in the Beginning, and have never claimed the Aid, or even the Protection of the State, till they were in ſome Degree of Forwardneſs, and then only from the Apprehenſion of this Difficulty, that the Deſire of Gain might engage ſuch Numbers of Adventurers in the ſame Branch of Commerce as might prove prejudicial both to the Publick and to themſelves.

But in *France* it has been quite otherwiſe; private People never did any thing till excited and encouraged by the Government, and then were able to do little more than ruin themſelves, by launching out into Enterprizes beyond their Abilities. This evidently demonſtrates, that Commerce, at leaſt extenſive Commerce, is not the natural Growth of the Climate of *France*; and therefore, though with much Care and Cultivation, it may be brought to ſome Degree of Perfection; yet it can never be naturalized, or brought to grow ſpontaneouſly in that Region, but will be ever drooping and pining, if the Care neceſſary at the firſt Raiſing it, be either through Negligence, or by Accident withdrawn. It may indeed, be ſaid, and the Facts laid down in the foregoing Section, may be brought to prove it, that ſome great Miniſters have ſhewn Talents equal to, if not exceeding thoſe of Merchants, for extending, maintaining, and ſupporting Trade; but then the Trade they ſupport muſt be temporary, and can laſt no longer than they have Power, which is ſo precarious a Situation, that no extenſive or advantageous Trade can flouriſh therein.

But this is not the only Contingency neither, for how well ſoever a Miniſter may be diſpoſed, it will be impoſſible for him to act but in favourable Conjunctures, that is to ſay, in a Time of full Peace, when his Maſter's Affairs are perfectly well ſettled, as well as his own Power; for, if there be any thing wanting as to either, it is impoſſible that the Commerce under his Protection ſhould thrive. What we have ſeen therefore in this ſhort Hiſtory of the Company of the *Indies*, proves no more than that once or twice in two or three Centuries, *France* has a Chance of fixing ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, and that is all. The whole Series of the Hiſtory of that Kingdom hardly furniſhes an Inſtance of ſo ſteady an Adminiſtration as, from the time of the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*, to that of Cardinal *Fleury*; ſo that we may look upon the Conſequence of this Adminiſtration as a kind of Miracle.

All the good Effects however which it hath produced to this Company, are like to vaniſh into Smoke, by Means of the preſent War, which has been equally fatal to it at home and abroad: For at home it has occaſioned that high Demand for Money, which has brought on the Suſpenſion of their Dividends, and thereby the Ruin of their Credit; and the Blow ſtruck by Commodore *Barnet* in the *Indies*, and the Loſs of the Ships taken at *Cape-Breton* has gone ſo far towards the Ruin of their Commerce abroad, that another ſuch Stroke will go very near putting an End to it: For the *French*, like other People of lively Tempers, are eaſily diſcouraged; and if once, after all the Care has been taken of it, their preſent Company of the *Indies* ſhould fail, they would infallibly deſpair. This ſufficiently ſhews the Conſequence of making a proper Uſe of our Naval Force in a War with that Crown; ſince, if we deſtroy the Commerce of *France*, we muſt neceſſarily enlarge our own, There is ſo much the more Force in this Argument, becauſe Trade in that Kingdom is a new Thing; a Thing, which, as we have abundantly ſhewn, they have nurſed with the greateſt Care, and yet have raiſed with the utmoſt Difficulty; ſo that if it can be overthrown, they are ſet back for twenty or thirty Years at leaſt, which is a Thing of far more Conſequence to us than all the Conqueſts we can gain upon the Continent.

To ſay the Truth, our Title to *Maritime Power* is that which we ought chiefly to regard; and as it is impoſſible to ſucceed in all, if we engage in too many Deſigns at once; ſo, if we fix our Attention upon this, and purſue it with Vigour, we ſhall find that it will have a better Effect, both with Regard to ourſelves and our Allies, than if we diverted our Views to other Objects, which, at firſt Sight, may appear of equal Importance. The Truth of this will be clearly diſcerned, if we conſider that the encreaſing of our Naval Power will render us more formidable than any thing elſe, and the recovering and extending our Trade, prove the ſureſt Means of bringing in Riches. The former will render us moſt dreadful to our Enemies, as the latter will make us moſt uſeful to our Friends. While we are able to carry Terror into the moſt diſtant Parts of the World, our Foes can never be out of our Reach; and while we can, without empoveriſhing ourſelves, grant timely and ſuitable Aſſiſtance to our Allies when attacked, there is no Danger either of the diſturbing domeſtick Quiet, or loſing the Ballance of Power. For whatever ſpeculative Politicians may pretend, we muſt derive our Title to both from the Superiority of our Fleets, and the Wealth of our Subjects. Arbitrary Governments may attain Strength and Influence from other Maxims, but a free People never.

It is our peculiar Happineſs, that the Glory of the Crown, and the Intereſt of the People, depend upon the very ſame Thing; ſo that whatever advances one, muſt neceſſarily enlarge the other; and what diminiſhes this may, ſooner or later, deſtroy that. In *France* the Government is obliged to take unwearied Pains for the Encouragement and Protection of Commerce. In *Great-Britain*, again, this may be entirely ſpared; for, provided the Government does not oppreſs Trade, private Men will carry it on with all the Succeſs that can be wiſhed for; and the leſs the Hand of Power meddles therewith, ſo much the better. This ſhews, at once, the Difference between our Conſtitutions, and the Excellence of that under which we live. It is to this Conſtitution that we owe, our Trade being natural to our Iſland. It is to their living under a different Conſtitution, that the *French* feel, by Experience, the Difficulty of carrying on Commerce to any Advantage. If ever our Trade fails, it muſt be owing to ourſelves; if ever theirs flouriſhes, it muſt be the Effect of Accidents, or rather of Miracles. In ſhort, nothing but Tyranny, under the Maſk of Corruption, can poſſibly hurt the Commerce of this Nation; whereas nothing but the wiſe and gentle Adminiſtration of deſpotick Power, can poſſibly raiſe the Trade of that. Theſe Reflections ſhew ſufficiently what we have to hope, and they have to fear. They ariſe naturally from the Subject; they are of the greateſt Conſequence to my Readers, and if by Dint of theſe Reaſons, founded upon Facts, I ſhall be able to impreſs them as ſtrongly upon their Minds as they deſerve, my End will be fully anſwered. In the mean time, having executed all that was propoſed in this Section, I ſhall proceed with as much Brevity as is poſſible, to finiſh the few that remain, in order to make this Volume compleat.

SECTION XXXVI.

A ſuccinct, but compleat Hiſtory of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Suppreſſion of the Imperial Company of the Indies, *eſtabliſhed at* Oſtend, *by the late Emperor* Charles VI.

Collected from private Memoirs, as well as publick Hiſtories and Acts of State.

1. *The firſt Grounds and Beginning of this Trade from the* Auſtrian-Netherlands *to the* Eaſt-Indies, *and the Difficulties with which it was attended from its Infancy.* 2. *The Plan of its firſt Charter, and the Motives which induced the Court of* Vienna *to conſent to its Eſtabliſhment, ſet in a true Light.* 3. *An Account of the Reaſons alledged by the* States-General *for its Abolition, and an Extract of the Memorial preſented by their Miniſter on that Subject to the Court of* Vienna. 4. *The Uſe made of that Memorial by the* Engliſh Eaſt-India *Company, to obtain an Act of Parliament to prevent the Subjects of* Great-Britain *from having any Concern in the Capital of that Company.* 5. *An Abridgement of the Imperial Letters Patent for the Eſtabliſhing of the ſaid Company, with a conciſe Account of the Priviledges granted to the Proprietors.* 6. *The Apprehenſions raiſed by this Eſtabliſhment, in* Great-Britain *and* Holland, *and the Methods uſed to overturn it.* 7. *The Kings of* France *and* Spain *alſo take Umbrage at this Company, and publiſh their Diſapprobation of it to all* Europe. 8. *The Emperor and the King of* Spain *being ſuddenly reconciled, conclude a Treaty of Commerce, by which the* Oſtend *Company obtains the Protection of both Monarchs.* 9. *An excellent Memorial of the* Dutch Eaſt-India *Company, demonſtrating the Incompatibility of this Treaty of Commerce with the Emperor's Title to the* Netherlands. 10. *The Grounds of the Treaty of* Hanover *concerted for the impeding the Execution, and defeating the Views of that of* Vienna. 11. *The Subſtance of M.* Vander-Meer's *Memorial to the King of* Spain, *in Defence of the Rights of the Maritime Powers.* 12. *A ſuccinct Detail of the remaining Part of this Diſpute, and the Conduct of their* High-Mightineſſes. 13. *The Letters Patents of the* Oſtend *Company are ſuſpended, by which the Commerce of the* Eaſt-Indies *is ſecured to the Maritime Powers.*

AS ſoon as thoſe Provinces which were formerly ſtiled the *Spaniſh* Low-Countries, were yielded to the late Emperor *Charles* VI. by the Treaty of Peace concluded at *Raſtadt*, all the rich Merchants in the ſeveral Cities of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, ſet their Heads at Work, to find out Ways and Means by which their Commerce might be extended through the Authority and Influence of their new Maſter. One of the firſt

Things that occurred to them, was the opening a Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, for which they thought their Country, at leaſt, as well ſituated, as either *Great-Britain* or *Holland*. In order to make Trial of this, they firſt of all formed a private Company, without Patent, Charter, or even Licence from the Imperial Court, which, notwithſtanding, was thought to have adviſed them to this Method, and furniſhed them with Paſsports. They had, however, but very indifferent Succeſs at the Beginning, one of their Ships being taken on the Coaſt of *Africa*, richly laden, on the 8th of *December*, 1718, by the *Dutch*.

This Accident had very probably daſhed their Hopes in the very Beginning, if they had not been encouraged by *Vienna*, with a Promiſe of Letters Patent, and Leave immediately given them to take in Subſcriptions. The Emperor went yet farther, and demanded Satisfaction of the *States-General* for this Inſult offered to a Veſſel provided with his Paſsport; but before that Complaint was well laid before them, a freſh Occaſion afforded room for another, the *Dutch* having ſeized a ſecond Ship, and ſhewing very little Inclination to give Satisfaction for either. Upon this, the Merchants at *Oſtend* applied for Commiſſions, that in caſe of any farther Inſults, they might, at leaſt, be in a Condition of defending themſelves. This being looked upon as a very reaſonable Requeſt, was readily granted them, and in Conſequence thereof, one of their Veſſels, well armed, took a *Dutch* Ship, and brought her into *Oſtend*. The *States* did not fail to make loud Complaints of this to the Governor-General of the *Auſtrian* Low-Countries, who anſwered, that the Merchants of *Oſtend* had done no more than they were entitled to do by virtue of his Imperial Majeſty's Commiſſion, in order to obtain Satisfaction for their Loſſes.

This gave ſo much Credit to the new Company, that in the Year 1720, they equipped five large Ships for the *Indies*, and the Year following, they fitted out ſix more, three for *China*, one for *Moca*, another for *Surat*, and the Coaſt of *Malabar*, and the ſixth for *Bengal*. This irritated the *Dutch* to ſuch a Degree, that they immediately ſeized a Veſſel richly laden by the Merchants of *Bruges*, and ordered her Cargo to be ſold, notwithſtanding the Applications of the Imperial Miniſters at the *Hague* to prevent it. This Misfortune was followed by another, an *Engliſh* Privateer taking very ſoon after on the Coaſt of *Madagaſcar*, an *Oſtend* homeward bound Ship, very richly laden from the *Indies*, which ſo diſcouraged the new Company, that they ordered a new Ship they were then fitting out, to be laid up.

But in the Months of *May* and *June* 1722, they received two Ships from the *Indies*, and in the Month of *September*, two more, the Cargoes of which being expoſed to Sale, went off at ſo good a Rate, that they found themſelves not only indemnified for all their Loſſes, but likewiſe in a Condition to carry on their Commerce with greater Spirit and Succeſs than ever. The only Thing they wanted, was a legal Eſtabliſhment; for, tho' the Imperial Court had for a long Time flattered them with the Hopes of Letters Patent, yet they had hitherto delayed them, to avoid a down-right Quarrel with the Maritime Powers.

2. After the Arrival, however, of theſe laſt mentioned Ships, the Company having Money in their Hands, and very powerful Friends at the Court of *Vienna*, reſolved to neglect nothing that might put their Affairs on the beſt Foundation poſſible, and with this View, they ſent ſome of their Directors to Court, very well furniſhed with Inſtructions, as alſo with other Credentials, no leſs neceſſary at that, and moſt other Courts, *viz.* Bills for conſiderable Sums of Money. Theſe Gentlemen managed their Affairs with ſuch Diligence and Prudence, that they obtained a Promiſe of a Charter as extenſive as they could wiſh, or any Company in *Europe* had ever received, the Plan of which was immediately drawn, and gave them entire Satisfaction.

This Charter was to have conſiſted of ſeveral Articles, importing firſt, that the Directors ſhould be fixed to the Number of Eight, to be choſen out of the wealthieſt, moſt reputable, and beſt experienced Merchants in the *Low-Countries*; that they ſhould be allowed four thouſand Florins a Year Salary; that none of them ſhould continue above ſix Years, or be capable of being re-choſen, till they had been a full Year out of Office. Secondly, That a general Court of the Proprietors ſhould be held every Year for the Choice of Directors, when the Company ſhould name twenty-four, out of which Liſt the Emperor ſhould chooſe Eight. Thirdly, That the Court of Directors, the Treaſury, and Books of Account belonging to the Company, ſhould remain the firſt three Years at *Antwerp*, and the next three Years either at *Ghent* or *Bruges*; but that their Sales ſhould be conſtantly made either at *Oſtend* or *Bruges*. Fourthly, That the Company's Capital ſhould conſiſt of ten Millions of Florins, and ſhould be divided into ten thouſand Actions, of one thouſand Florins each. Fifthly, the Prizes which the Veſſels in the Service of the Company ſhould take in Time of War, were to belong entirely to the Company, and were to be ſold, and diſpoſed of for their Profit. Sixthly, All the Ammunition, Proviſions, Artillery, and naval Stores, requiſite for the Forts and Factories of the Company, were to be exempted from all kinds of Duties and Impoſitions in their Paſſage through the Territories, either of his Imperial Majeſty, or of any of the Lords, or Eccleſiaſtical Communities in the *Low-Countries*. Seventhly, That all the Goods tranſported on Board the Ships of the Company, ſhould pay for all Cuſtoms and Duties Inwards and Outwards, four *per Cent.* and no more, till the Expiration of the Month of *September* 1724, and from that Time ſix *per Cent.* for ever.

The Emperor likewiſe promiſed, in which he alſo kept his Word, to ſend a Perſon veſted with a publick Character to the Great *Mogul*, in order to ſettle an Alliance with him, and to return him Thanks for the Permiſſion he had granted the Company, not only to erect a Factory, but alſo a Fort, to protect their Commerce in his Dominions. The Proſpect his Imperial Majeſty had of enriching his Subjects in the *Low-Countries*, and augmenting the Revenues he drew from thence, by fixing ſo extenſive and profitable a Commerce there, engaged him to aſſure the Agents of that Company of ſtill greater Favours. He even intimated, that he would remit all Cuſtoms and Duties for three whole Years, and would likewiſe make the Proprietors a Preſent of three hundred thouſand Florins in ready Money, to indemnify them from any Loſſes they might ſuſtain on the firſt Eſtabliſhment of their Commerce.

When all this good News came at once into the *Auſtrian* Netherlands, it raiſed ſuch a Spirit, not only among the Merchants, Bankers, and other Perſons concerned in Trade, and in Money; but alſo among the Nobility and Gentry who had Fortunes and Eſtates in this Part of the World; that they ſhewed an eager Inclination to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in the Support of the new Company, of the Succeſs of which, there ſeemed to be now no longer any Doubt. It may not be amiſs, however, to obſerve, that it was not the Inhabitants only of theſe Provinces, and other Subjects of his Imperial Majeſty, that encouraged this Undertaking, but Strangers alſo, particularly the *Engliſh*, *French* and *Dutch*, who were chiefly concerned in the Shipping, and in the Management of the Company's Affairs, notwithſtanding that they very well knew, they could never proſper, but at the Expence of their native Countries, and of the Eſtabliſhments for the ſame Commerce long ago erected in them, and which hitherto had been carried on with ſo great Profit and Reputation.

3. We need not wonder, therefore, that the erecting this new Company at *Oſtend*, ſhould occaſion, as it did, ſuch Noiſe and Oppoſition throughout all *Europe*, ſo as to render the Subject of this Section as remarkable a Part of the general Hiſtory of this Age, as any that finds a Place therein; but it muſt, however, ſeem a little ſtrange at firſt Sight, that the warmeſt Friends, and moſt faithful Allies of his Imperial Majeſty, ſhould be the moſt violent in this Oppoſition. One would have imagined, that the Emperor had the ſame Right in his Dominions, that other Princes and States have in theirs; and that how con-

trary ſoever the erecting ſuch a Company in the *Low-Countries*, might be to the Intereſts of other Nations concerned in the ſame Trade, they could, however, have no juſt Claim to demand, or expect, that his Imperial Majeſty ſhould forego ſuch apparent Advantages for their Sakes, or, in plain Terms, hinder his own Subjects from becoming rich, that theirs might remain ſo. Yet this was, in plain Words, the Caſe, and the Maritime Powers declared, in expreſs Terms, that they expected his Imperial Majeſty ſhould do this, and that he was bound by Treaties to comply with their Demands.

The *States-General*, who thought themſelves moſt aggrieved, were both the earlieſt and the loudeſt in their Complaints; and as it is impoſſible to give the *Engliſh* Reader a fuller, or clearer Account of the Grounds upon which they were founded, than by laying before him the Memorial preſented by M. *Bruyninx*, Envoy from the *States-General* to the Court of *Vienna*, which contains the Subſtance of all that was alledged againſt the Emperor's Right of eſtabliſhing ſuch a Company, we have, with this View, made as ſhort and ſuccinct an Extract of that very long Memorial, as is conſiſtent with the Deſign of preſerving its Senſe and Spirit.

We muſt at the ſame Time obſerve, that tho' the *States-General* themſelves were very ready and willing to take this Step, which they very well knew was abſolutely neceſſary for ſecuring the Commerce of their Subjects; yet they were not a little quickned therein by the Application of their own *Eaſt-India* Company, who, as they felt the Danger moſt, bore it with the leaſt Patience, and therefore preſſed this Application might be made in Time, before the Letters Patent for this Company were actually granted, or while they might be revoked, with a better Grace, becauſe of their turning leſs to the Diſadvantage of the Subſcribers to the Company's Capital, before their Money was actually paid, or veſted in Merchandize. Accordingly, on the fifteenth of *March* 1723, M. *Bruyninx*, by Order from the *States-General*, actually preſented to the Miniſters of his Imperial Majeſty his famous Memorial, which was to the Purpoſe following, *viz.*

" Their High-Mightineſſes, who have the Honour to live " in good Correſpondence and Amity with his Imperial Ma- " jeſty, having nothing more at Heart than the Continuance " of the ſame good Correſpondence and Amity which has at " all Times ſubſiſted between his Imperial Majeſty and " this State, and between the Subjects of both Parts, can- " not behold, without extream Grief, that the Inhabi- " tants of the *Auſtrian* Netherlands, Subjects of his Im- " perial Majeſty, are undertaking Matters no Ways con- " ſiſtent with the good Correſpondence and ſincere Ami- " ty; but are extreamly prejudicial to the State, and con- " trary to this Treaties concluded between his Imperial " Majeſty and their High-Mightineſſes. Their High- " Mightineſſes have the more Reaſon highly to complain " in this Matter, becauſe the Inſtances that have been " made, and from Time to Time reiterated on their Part, " to obtain proper Redreſs, have not only been fruitleſs, " but his Imperial Majeſty's ſaid Subjects in the *Auſtrian* " Netherlands, extend even daily their Enterprizes, in " which they ſeem encouraged and confirmed, by their " obtaining of his Catholick and Imperial Majeſties, as " their High Mightineſſes have been informed, a Licence " to ſail from the *Auſtrian* Netherlands to the *Eaſt-Indies*, " particularly from *Oſtend*.

" Their High-Mightineſſes foreſeeing the unavoidable " Troubles that muſt attend this Affair, if his Catholick " and Imperial Majeſty ſhould, contrary to all Expecta- " tion and Equity, permit his Subjects of the *Auſtrian* " Netherlands to proceed in their Undertakings, with re- " ſpect to Navigation and Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, con- " trary to the Tenor and Letter of Treaties; and if Op- " poſition ſhould be made to their High-Mightineſſes, in " caſe they attempt to make Uſe of their Right obtained " by Treaties. But their High-Mightineſſes being de- " ſirous of nothing more than to prevent ſuch kind of " Troubles, could not in the preſent Juncture avoid " making ſuch Repreſentations to his Imperial Majeſty, " that by the Treaty concluded in 1648, at *Munſter*, be- " tween his Majeſty the King of *Spain* then reigning, and " his Succeſſors on the one Part, and their High-Mighti- " neſſes on the other Part, Commerce and Navigation to " the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies* were regulated and limited with " regard to the Subjects of *Spain*, upon the Foot they then " were eſtabliſhed, without Power of farther Extenſion, " and with regard to the Subjects of this *State*, it was " agreed, that the former ſhould refrain from Places which " the latter poſſeſſed.

" Theſe Articles have always been religiouſly obſerved, " and the Inhabitants of the *Spaniſh-Netherlands*, at pre- " ſent *Auſtrian*, have never been permitted or tolerated " to trade to the *Indies*. The ſaid *Netherlands* being fall- " en under the Dominion of his Catholick Imperial Ma- " jeſty, have not thereby acquired larger Privileges than " before; nor can it ever be imagined that their High- " Mightineſſes, who have made ſuch ſignal Efforts, con- " tributed ſo much to the Recovery of the *Spaniſh Ne-* " *therlands*, and ſo many other Parts of the *Spaniſh* Mo- " narchy, in Favour of his Catholick and Imperial Ma- " jeſty, purſuant to their Engagements on that Behalf, " could poſſibly, by entering into thoſe very Engagements; " depart from, or ever intend to depart from their Cha- " racters, and their Right of maintaining themſelves " therein to Perpetuity, obtained by the ſaid Treaty of " *Munſter*; or that his Catholick and Imperial Majeſty " had any Intention in recovering the ſaid *Netherlands*, to " make Alterations in the ſaid Treaty, much leſs deſign, " contrary to the Stipulation therein ſo plainly expreſſed; " to cauſe any Prejudice to the State, in a Point ſo eſ- " ſential and important to them, upon which it was ſo " ſtrongly inſiſted in the Negotiations at *Munſter*, and " without which that Treaty could not have been con- " cluded.

" Moreover, it is expreſly ſtipulated by the twenty- " ſixth Article of the *Barrier* Treaty, that Commerce and " all Things relating to it, ſhould remain, to all Intents " and Purpoſes, upon the ſame Foot it was eſtabliſhed at " the Treaty of *Munſter*, and in the Manner expreſſed in " the Articles of the ſaid Treaty; inſomuch that the ſaid " Treaty of *Munſter* is evidently confirmed by the Treaty " of the *Barrier*, even at the Time his Catholick and " Imperial Majeſty was already in the Poſſeſſion of the " ſaid *Netherlands*; as likewiſe by the Guaranty of his " *Britanick* Majeſty.

" And whereas the Right of the States in this Particu- " lar, is ſo manifeſt, that their High-Mightineſſes have " the utmoſt Grounds to expect, from the ſo much re- " nowned Friendſhip and Equity of his Catholick and " Imperial Majeſty, that he will not favour, or tolerate " any Prejudice to the ſaid Right of the State. They " therefore amicably require that the Patent, which is ſaid " to have been granted for Navigation and Commerce of " the *Auſtrian-Netherlands* to the *Indies*, may not be pub- " liſhed, but withdrawn, or at leaſt rendered ineffectual, " and that ſuch Orders may be given by his Imperial " Majeſty, that ſuch kind of Navigation and Commerce, " whether with Patents or without, may entirely ceaſe, " and that the Treaties in that Reſpect may be executed, " *&c.*"

4. This Memorial was no ſooner tranſmitted to *England*, than it was tranſlated, and printed by Order of the *Eaſt-India* Company, who directed that it ſhould be given to the Members at the Door of the Houſe of Commons, in order to quicken them in their Proceedings on a Complaint already exhibited to them on the Subject of this new Company, of which the Subjects of *Great-Britain* had the very ſame Right to expect the Abolition that the States-General had expreſſed.

The Method they took had, in every Reſpect, the wiſhed for Effect; for this Memorial, which ſo thoroughly explained the Thing, had ſo good an Operation on the Members of the Houſe, that, upon the 30th of *April*, 1723, Sir *Nathaniel Gold* reported from the Committee appointed to enquire into the Nature of a Subſcription ſaid to be carried on by ſeveral of his Majeſty's Subjects, to promote an *Eaſt-India* Company now erecting in the *Auſtrian Netherlands* the Matter, as it appeared to them, and the Reſolutions of the Committee thereupon as follows, *viz.*

1. That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that ſeveral Subjects of *Great-Britain* have been concerned in promoting and carrying on a Trade from the *Auſtrian-Netherlands* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and negotiating and eſtabliſhing of a Company for that Purpoſe, to the great Prejudice of the Trade of this Kingdom.

2. That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the Houſe be moved for Leave to bring in a Bill, effectually to prevent his Majeſty's Subjects from ſubſcribing, or being concerned in encouraging or promoting any Subſcription for an *Eaſt-India* Company in the *Auſtrian-Netherlands*, and for the better ſecuring the lawful Trade of his Majeſty's Subjects to and from the *Eaſt-Indies*.

The firſt of the ſaid Reſolutions being read a ſecond Time, was agreed unto by the Houſe *Nemine contradicente*, and it was alſo unanimouſly ordered, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill effectually to prevent his Majeſty's Subjects from ſubſcribing, or being concerned in encouraging or promoting any Subſcription for an *Eaſt-India* Company in the *Auſtrian-Netherlands*, and for the better ſecuring the lawful Trade of his Majeſty's Subjects to and from the *Eaſt-Indies*.

This Bill afterwards paſſed into a Law, under the Title of, "An Act for preventing his Majeſty's Subjects from ſubſcribing, or being concerned in, or encouraging or promoting any Subſcription for an *Eaſt-India* Company in the *Auſtrian-Netherlands*, and for the better ſecuring a lawful Trade of his Majeſty's Subjects to and from the *Eaſt-Indies*." We have already, in the thirty-third Section of this Work, given the Reader an Account of the Scope and Contents of this Law, upon which, therefore, it is not neceſſary that we ſhould dwell longer here; only we ſhall obſerve, that, henceforward, the Maritime Powers looked upon themſelves as equally obliged to proſecute this Affair with Vigour, and to oblige his Imperial Majeſty to aboliſh the new Company in the *Netherlands*, as a Sacrifice neceſſary to preſerve the Friendſhip of his ancient Allies.

5. But, notwithſtanding the joint Sollicitations of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters, the Emperor ſeemed more and more determined to maintain his Point; and therefore, in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1723, actually granted his Letters Patent to the *Oſtend* Company, though with ſome Variations from the Plan before laid down. In the Preamble to theſe Letters, the Emperor not only took all the Titles of the Head of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but likewiſe thoſe of the King of *Spain*; and, in particular, ſtiled himſelf King of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, of the *Canary-Iſlands*, &c. with a View, probably, to grace this new and ample Grant to the *Oſtend* Company, which was eſtabliſhed for thirty Years, with Licence to trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* and *Weſt*, and on all the Coaſts of *Africa* on this Side, and on the other Side the *Cape of Good-Hope*, obſerving the uſual Cuſtoms.

The Capital however of the Company was, by theſe Letters, reduced to Six Millions of Florins, and the Number of their Actions to Six Thouſand; but, in other Reſpects, they had all the Powers and Privileges laid down in the firſt Plan, and many more: For they were permitted to build Forts and Caſtles in whatever Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies* they ſhould think fit; as alſo to furniſh them with all kind of Arms, Artillery, and Ammunition that they thought convenient. They were likewiſe allowed to build and equip Ships of what Size and Strength they thought proper, in any of the Ports of his Imperial Majeſty's Dominions in the *Low-Countries*, *Italy*, or elſewhere; as alſo to make Leagues, Treaties, and Alliances with the Sovereign Princes and States of the *Indies*, in the Name of his Imperial Majeſty, with this Reſtriction only, that they ſhould not make War on any Potentate whatever, without the Leave of his Imperial Majeſty, and his Succeſſors, firſt had and obtained.

In Conſideration of all which Grants, Privileges, Benefits, and Advantages, the ſaid Company bound themſelves to offer as a Homage to his Imperial Majeſty, his Heirs, Succeſſors, on every Succeſſion, a Golden-Lion, crowned of the Weight of twenty Marks, holding under his two Fore-Paws, the Arms of the Company, which were a Spread-Eagle, diſplay'd with the terreſtrial Globe between his two Heads, ſurmounted by an Imperial Crown. Laſtly, his Imperial Majeſty undertook to protect and defend the ſaid new Company againſt all who ſhould unjuſtly attack them; and ſhould, even in caſe of Neceſſity, employ the whole Force of his Dominions to ſupport and maintain them in the full and free Poſſeſſion of the Enjoyment of the Commerce and Navigation granted them by theſe Letters, and obtain for them full Damages and Satisfaction from any Nation, State, or Potentate, that ſhould preſume to trouble or diſturb them; and ſhould likewiſe, for the future, provide, in every Reſpect, for their Safety and Welfare, by any Treaties, Alliances, or Leagues, into which his Imperial Majeſty, his Heirs, or Succeſſors ſhould hereafter enter with any Powers whatever. Such was the Riſe, and ſuch the Eſtabliſhment of this famous Company at *Oſtend*, from which both the Company and his Imperial Majeſty, promiſed themſelves ſo many and ſo great Advantages.

6. As ſoon as theſe Letters Patent were publiſhed and regiſtered in the Sovereign Courts of the *Auſtrian Low-Countries*, the Directors taking Poſſeſſion of their Offices, held ſoon after their firſt General-Court, in which it was reſolved, that the Books of the Company ſhould be opened at *Antwerp* on the Eleventh of *Auguſt*, which was accordingly done, and that with ſuch Succeſs as ſurprized all *Europe*; for, the next Day, by Noon, the Capital was entirely ſubſcribed, and by the End of the Month of *Auguſt*, the Stock of the *Oſtend* Company was 15 *per Cent.* above Par. The Affairs of this new Society were no leſs flouriſhing in the *Indies*, where the Perſons they employed, being moſt of them ſuch as had ſerved before, either the *Engliſh* or the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Companies, found Ways and Means to ſettle Factories with amazing Facility and Succeſs, and to puſh their Trade in ſuch a Manner as very evidently ſhewed, that if the Intereſts of ſuch as oppoſed this Company, did not get it ſuppreſſed in *Europe*, their Efforts in the *Indies* would do little, unleſs they had Recourſe to open Force.

The *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company was ſo far convinced of this, that, in leſs than a Fortnight, they preſented two Memorials to the States General, in which they ſcarce kept any Meaſures, but plainly intimated, that as the Eſtabliſhment of this Company was in direct Violation of Treaties, ſo they ought to be left at Liberty to act, as if thoſe Treaties no longer ſubſiſted, and do themſelves that Juſtice by Arms, which it was every Day more and more apparent, could not be obtained any other Way. The States however were, by no means, inclined to break abſolutely with his Imperial Majeſty, if by any Methods poſſible they might avoid it, and therefore ſtill continued their Applications at the Court of *Vienna* in Conjunction with *Great-Britain*, in order to obtain the Revocation of the Authority by which the new Company acted, or at leaſt a Suſpenſion of it, and in the mean Time, they made ſuch Laws at Home, in Favour of their own laſt *India* Company, as they thought requiſite, to prevent any of the Subjects of their High-Mightineſſes from having any Concern, either in the Capital of the *Eaſt-India* Company in the *Netherlands*, or in the Management of their Affairs in the *Indies*.

As on the other Hand the *Dutch* Company, tho' they did not proceed to direct Acts of Violence, took ſuch Methods in that Part of the World, where their Power is ſo great, and ſo extenſive, as gave this new Society infinite Trouble, by cramping their Trade, and rendering it in a great meaſure precarious, in which they were ſo well ſeconded by the *Engliſh*, that nothing but the Activity and Abilities of the Perſons concerned in this new Trade, and their finding themſelves in a manner deſperate, in caſe it did not ſucceed, could have kept it on foot in ſpite of the Difficulties and Inconveniencies which they every Day experienc'd.

7. But it was not only *Great-Britain* and *Holland* that exerted themſelves with ſo great Vigour againſt this new Eſtabliſhment for *France*, likewiſe began to take Umbrage at a Scheme which threatened direct Deſtruction to that Eſtabliſhment of the ſame kind, which ſhe was endeavouring to erect, and therefore his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Council publiſhed a Declaration, dated the 16th of

Auguſt 1723, by which all the Subjects of the Crown of *France* were forbid to intereſt themſelves in any manner whatever in the Capital of the *Oſtend* Company, under pain of forfeiting three thouſand Livres for every Act of Offence, beſides incurring the Confiſcation of whatever they ſhould ſubſcribe into the Capital of the ſaid Company, and in caſe of a ſecond Offence, the ſame Fine and Forfeiture, together with Baniſhment for three Years. By the ſecond Article of this Declaration, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty directed, that in caſe the Effects his Subjects might acquire by intereſting themſelves in the Stock of this new Company, could not be reached, ſo as to make them liable to the Confiſcation before mentioned, then their Effects and Fortunes in *France*, ſhould be liable to the like Seizures and Forfeitures, until the Sums in which they were ſo concerned in the *Auſtrian* Company ſhould be raiſed and levied, and all this in the ſhort, ſummary, and extraordinary Method deſcribed by the Royal Ordinance of 1670. By the third Article all Seamen, Manufacturers, Tradeſmen, and in general all the Subjects of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty were ſtrictly prohibited and forbid to enter, in any Manner or Quality, into the Service of the ſaid *Oſtend* Company, on Pain of Impriſonment and Forfeiture of all their Effects. By the fourth Article, all Perſons whatever were prohibited from inviting, inliſting, inrolling, or otherwiſe entering into the Service of the ſaid Company, any of the Subjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in Quality of Officers, Soldiers, Seamen, or in any other Quality or Manner; as alſo to ſell, or buy, or lend, or equip any Veſſel for the Service of the ſaid Company, on pain of the Pillory for the firſt Offence, and of being ſent to the Gallies for the ſecond, beſides the Confiſcation of all that ſhould be thus bought or ſold, and a Fine of Three thouſand Livres each on both the Buyer and Seller.

His Catholick Majeſty likewiſe joined heartily with the Maritime Powers in this Affair, as appears plainly from a Repreſentation preſented to his *Britanick* Majeſty by the *Spaniſh* Miniſter on the 26th of *April*, 1724, conceived in the cleareſt and moſt expreſs Terms, and demonſtrating fully the Injuſtice and Illegality of this new Eſtabliſhment, by proving it utterly inconſiſtent with the Treaty of *Munſter*, by which the Crown of *Spain* engaged not to diſturb the Navigation of the *Dutch* to their *Eaſt-Indies*, in Conſideration of a reciprocal Engagement on their Side, not to diſturb the Commerce of the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain* in that Part of the World. It was by theſe reciprocal Stipulations, that the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain* in the *Low-Countries*, were reſtrained from trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*: And it was under theſe Reſtrictions, that the *Spaniſh Low-Countries* were yielded to the Elector of *Bavaria*; and by *France*, with his Conſent, to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, upon expreſs Condition, that this Houſe ſhould hold them in the ſame Manner, and under the ſame Reſtrictions as they had been held by the Crown of *Spain*; for which their High Mightineſſes likewiſe engaged: So that if the *Oſtend* Company might be legally eſtabliſhed, it would turn as much to the Detriment of *Spain* as to that of the States-General, contrary to the plain Meaning and Intention of all theſe ſeveral Treaties and Alliances made, as is moſt apparent for eſtabliſhing and ſecuring the Tranquillity of *Europe*; but, by this Conſtruction, if it could be put upon them, rendered hurtful and ruinous to all Parties (ſave the Emperor alone) and deſtructive of themſelves.

Such was the Repreſentation of the Marquis *de Pozzo Bueno* at the Court of *London*;, and ſo clearly was his Catholick Majeſty convinced, that the Eſtabliſhment of the *Oſtend* Company was utterly inconſiſtent with his own particular Intereſt, and with the general Syſtem of the Affairs of *Europe*.

8. But, in much leſs than a Year, the whole Face of Affairs was changed; his Catholock Majeſty ſaw, or was perſuaded by his Miniſters to think he ſaw, his Intereſts in another Light; and he no ſooner took this in his Head, than the general Syſtem of Affairs in *Europe* muſt change likewiſe, and every State and Power therein, alter not only their Notions and Maxims, but their Politicks and Conduct. To explain this, we muſt obſerve, that for twenty-five Years together *France* had been ſtruggling to ſet *Philip* V. on the Throne of *Spain* and the *Indies*, notwithſtanding the Pretenſions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; in maintaining which, almoſt all the reſt of *Europe* was engaged, and even at this very Time a Congreſs was ſitting in the *Low-Countries*, and endeavouring to adjuſt and ſettle amicably the Diſputes between his late Imperial Majeſty *Charles* VI. and this ſame Prince *Philip* V. in whoſe Quarrels ſo many Princes and States had almoſt ruined and exhauſted their Subjects.

Yet ſuch was the Obſtinacy of both theſe Princes, that all the Methods their beſt Friends could employ, proved ineffectual for procuring a Reconciliation; when, of a ſudden, they took a ſurprizing Reſolution, not only of reconciling themſelves, but of doing it at the Expence of their Friends; and as ſuch violent and unnatural Motions generally exert themſelves with extraordinary, not to ſay extravagant Force, ſo they not only concluded a Peace, but likewiſe a Treaty of Commerce, dated at *Vienna* the Firſt of *May*, 1725; by which his Catholick Majeſty ſacrificed the Intereſt of *France*, to whom he owed his Crown; and his Imperial Majeſty thoſe of his Allies, to whom he was under ſo many, and ſo great Obligations, that they were ſcarce to be enumerated or computed. It was one great Deſign of this new and amazing Treaty of Commerce, to fix and eſtabliſh the *Eaſt-India* Company at *Oſtend*; not only by his Imperial Majeſty's Authority, whoſe Intereſt viſibly led him thereto, but alſo by that of his Catholick Majeſty, to whoſe Intereſt it was directly repugnant, and, that as appears by the foregoing Declaration in his own Senſe and Judgment, expreſſed in the cleareſt and moſt direct Terms.

This ſhews how weak and ridiculous a Thing it is, at leaſt for free Governments, where it is always underſtood, that Power is to be ſolely exerted for the common Benefit of their Subjects in general, to intereſt themſelves in the Support of any particular Syſtem which muſt always depend on the Wills and Inclinations of many arbitrary Princes, who, without any Regard to the Principles upon which ſuch Syſtems are founded, or to the Obligation they are under to ſuch free States as riſque the Wealth and Well-being of their Subjects for the eſtabliſhing and maintaining ſuch Syſtems, think themſelves at Liberty, not only to alter and change, but to ſubvert and overturn them whenever they ſee, or imagine they ſee, that greater Advantages are to be obtained by ſuch Actions, how unjuſt or unworthy ſoever, than by ſteadily adhering to their Allies. Such ever has been, and ſuch ever will be the Fate of theſe Kind of Engagements, fatal to thoſe who, from Principles of Probity and good Faith, conſtantly and juſtly obſerve them, and profitable only to thoſe who keep their Promiſes, and obſerve their Treaties no longer, than till they can have their own Price for breaking them.

A Leſſon this, that Reaſon has always, and Experience often taught us, though we have moſt unaccountably neglected to learn, or, at leaſt, to practiſe it; but a Leſſon never dictated to us in ſtronger Terms than by this ſingular Treaty of *Vienna*, by which two Princes, who owed their Power and Territories to the Friendſhip and Faith of others, gave up their Benefactors from a Proſpect, and, as it proved a falſe Proſpect too of particular Advantages to themſelves. However, upon the Concluſion of this Treaty, the *Oſtend* Company ſeemed to be fixed upon ſo firm and ſolid a Foundation, that both Enemies and Friends concluded, that they were not to be moved or ſhaken, much leſs ruined and diſſolved by any thing leſs than a general War: A Thing hard and difficult of Digeſtion to the *Maritime Powers*, who were very unwilling to pull down the Work of their own Hands, and to deſtroy that Bulwark which with ſo much Difficulty, and ſuch vaſt Expence of Blood and Treaſure, they had erected for their own Security.

As, on the other Hand, they were no leſs unwilling to ſee the Commerce of their Subjects torn away by the Violence of a Prince who had never been inveſted with this Power of ruining them, but by the Pains they had taken for his Preſervation. But, to return from theſe Reflections, which, however, are very well worthy the Notice and Attention of the *Engliſh* Reader, and to return to Matters of Fact, and the Methods employed by the Maritime Powers, in Cojunction with *France*, which now, out of regard to its own Intereſt, very heartily joined them, for the pulling down this Edifice, which while it ſtood, threatened its Neighbours with the Loſs of thoſe Advantages that had for ſo many Ages rendered them conſiderable, and by maintaining the Wealth of their Subjects, and the Naval Power of their reſpective Governments, had placed them in a Condition to hold the Balance of Power, and to prevent the Madneſs of ambitious Princes from reducing the Inhabitants of *Europe* into that abject State of Slavery, which renders *Aſia* the moſt deſpicable, tho' in itſelf the richeſt, moſt populous, and moſt delightful Quarter of the Earth.

9. The *Eaſt-India* Company in *Holland*, were ſo much alarmed at this Accident, and ſo terrified with the Thoughts of ſeeing this new Company almoſt in its very Dawn, on a better Foot than themſelves, that they could not forbear once more repreſenting their Apprehenſions to their High-Mightineſſes, which they did in a Memorial ſo cloſely worded, and in which all the Facts concerning this important Affair, are ſo fully and clearly ſet forth, that for the ſake of avoiding Variety of Abſtracts, we will give the Subſtance of theſe various Treaties therein to the Reader.

The Directors of the *Eaſt-India* Company in this Country, having obſerved their Commerce in the *Eaſt-Indies* decline from Time to Time, ever ſince it hath been attempted in the *Spaniſh*, now *Auſtrian* Netherlands, to carry on a Trade in the *Indies*, have preſented ſeveral Memorials to your High-Mightineſſes, ſhewing, That the ſaid *Netherlands* have no Right by Treaties to this Navigation and Commerce; that they never could claim it under the Kings of *Spain*, and that conſequently they have it neither by virtue of the ſaid Treaties, nor of theſe that have been made with his Imperial Majeſty, and his Predeceſſor the Emperor *Leopold* of glorious Memory. The rather, ſince the chief Aim and Tendency of theſe Treaties and Negociations was, that in the Countries and Dominions which his Imperial Majeſty might acquire by virtue of the grand Alliance with *England* and this *State*, nothing ſhould be attempted that might be more prejudicial to theſe two Nations, than if the ſaid Countries had remained in the Hands of *Spain*. It was therefore very wiſely ſtipulated by the Barrier Treaty, that his Imperial and Catholick Majeſty ſhould poſſeſs the *Spaniſh* Netherlands, in the ſame Manner as the Kings of *Spain* his Predeceſſors had done, and that their Commerce ſhould be carried on in the Manner ſtipulated by the Treaty of *Munſter*. But though the Directors could have heartily wiſhed they had not been obliged by freſh Incidents to trouble your High Mightineſſes again by new Writings, ſeeing they flattered themſelves, that his Imperial and Catholick Majeſty would forbear carrying on that Commerce any farther to their Prejudice.

Yet they have ſeen with Grief, firſt, That the private Navigation begun ſome Years ago at *Oſtend*, has been changed into a formal Company trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and authorized by an ample Patent; and ſecondly, That all ſorts of Means are now uſed to improve and maintain this Company by Treaties with other Powers, to the great Prejudice of the Rights and Priviledges the *Eaſt-India* Company in this Country has formerly obtained, as it evidently appears to the ſaid Directors from the Treaty of Commerce lately concluded between his Imperial and Catholick Majeſty, and the King of *Spain*, where it is ſaid in the firſt and third Articles, "That the Men of War, and the Merchants Ships belonging to their ſaid Majeſties, or to their Subjects, ſhall be freely admitted to all the Ports, Coaſts, Countries, and Provinces on either Side, without aſking any previous Permiſſion, which extends alſo in a ſpecial Manner to the *Eaſt-Indies*, where they may aſk for every Thing neceſſary for Navigation, with this ſingular Reſtriction, with reſpect to the *Eaſt-Indies*, that it ſhall not be allowed to carry on any Commerce in each others Dominions, and that the Men of War, eſpecially in thoſe Countries, ſhall behave themſelves ſo, as not to give to the *Spaniards* any Cauſe of Fear or Suſpicion." 'Tis moreover ſaid, in the thirty-ſixth Article of the ſaid Treaty, "That his Imperial and Catholick Majeſty's Ships and Subjects, ſhall be allowed to import into, and ſell in all the King of *Spain*'s Dominions, all ſorts of Fruits, and Effects and Merchandizes, brought by them from the *Eaſt-Indies*, provided it appear by Affidavits of the Deputies of the *Eaſt-India* Company eſtabliſhed in the *Auſtrian* Netherlands, that the ſame came from the conquered Places, Colonies or Factories of the ſaid Company; in which caſe they ſhall enjoy the ſame Priviledges granted to the Subjects of the United Provinces by the Treaty of *Munſter* in 1648, both with reſpect to the *Indies*, and any other Thing applicable to the ſaid Treaty, and which ſhall not be contrary to it, any more than to the preſent Peace." Which by the forty-ſeventh, or laſt Article of the ſaid Treaty, is moreover extended." "To all what the *Britiſh* Nation has ſtipulated in their Favour by the Treaties of 1667, 1670, 1713, and laſt of all, by a certain Treaty and Convention, the Day and Date whereof are not expreſſed, foraſmuch as it may be applicable to the Emperor's Subjects." Moreover, "To all what has been granted to the *States* of the United Provinces, not only by the Treaties of Peace of 1648, but alſo by the Treaty of Marine in 1650, and the Treaty of Peace 1714." With this Addition, "That all theſe Treaties ſhall ſerve as a Rule in doubtful Caſes, or ſuch as are omitted, or not plainly expreſſed in the preſent Treaty between their ſaid Majeſties."

Upon which doubtful Caſes, and which are paſſed by in Silence, it may be pretended and eſtabliſhed in the firſt Place, that his Catholick Majeſty has been willing to grant to the Imperial Subjects by the ſecond Article, free Acceſs to all the Countries, Sea-ports, and Places of his Dominions, ſeeing that neither in that Article, nor in the whole Treaty, any expreſs Reſtriction, or Excluſion are found, which are inſerted in all other Treaties of that Nature, to wit,

That this is only to be underſtood of thoſe Countries and Places which the King poſſeſſes in *Europe*, or thoſe where other Nations have always had a free Commerce, as it appears by the fourth Article of the Treaty of Truce concluded by the King of *Spain* and this *State* in 1609, where it is ſaid, "Which the ſaid Lord the King underſtands to be reſtrained and limited to the Kingdoms, Countries, Dominions and Lordſhips, which he holds and poſſeſſes in *Europe*, and other Places and Ports where the Subjects of the Kings and Princes his Allies trade." Moreover, by the Treaty of *Munſter*, in the fifth Article it is ſaid, "That the Directors and Commiſſioners of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Companies ſhall have free Acceſs and Commerce in all the Countries within the King's Dominions in *Europe*, but all the *States* Subjects are not to frequent the *Caſtilian* Places in the *Eaſt-Indies*." And laſtly, by the thirty-fourth Article of the Treaty concluded at *Utrecht* in 1714, between his preſent Catholick Majeſty and this *State*, wherein it is expreſly ſaid, "Tho' it be mentioned in ſeveral of the foregoing Articles, that the Subjects on either Side may freely come to, frequent, ſtay, ſail to, and trade in the Countries, Lands, Cities, Ports, Places and Rivers, belonging to the abovesaid reſpective contracting Parties; yet it is to be underſtood, that the ſaid Subjects are only allowed that Liberty in their reciprocal Dominions in *Europe*, ſince it is expreſly agreed, that as to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, it ſhall not be allowed to ſail to, or trade there, but purſuant to the thirty-firſt Article of the ſaid Treaty." On the other Hand, the like unlimited Terms are again to be met with in the thirty-ſixth Article of the above-mentioned Treaty, between their ſaid Majeſties, wherein it is ſtipulated, "That the Emperor's Subjects ſhall be allowed to import into all the Countries and Dominions belonging to the King of *Spain*, without any Diſtinction, all ſorts of Effects, Fruits and Merchandizes, from their Colonies and conquered Places in the *Eaſt-Indies*, provided they have the neceſſary Affidavits required by the ſaid Article; in which Caſe they ſhall enjoy all the Priviledges granted to the Subjects of this *State* by the King of *Spain*'s Letters Patent in 1663."

Although the Directors of the *Eaſt-India* Company in this Country do not know of any other Priviledge, but that which allows them to import the Products and Merchandizes from the *Indies*, into the Dominions the King of *Spain* poſſeſſes in *Europe*, or in ſuch Places where all other Nations have a free Trade, and that indeed by certain Letters Patent iſſued by the King of *Spain* in 1663, it was enjoined, that at the entering of thoſe Products and Merchandizes into ſuch of his Majeſty's Dominions where their Importation has always been allowed, Affidavits ſhould be produced, to make it appear, that they are brought from the Countries, Colonies and conquered Places our *Eaſt-India* Company is poſſeſſed of in the *Eaſt-Indies*, to the End they might be diſtinguiſhed from the Merchandizes brought from the *Portugueze Eaſt-Indies*, *Spain* being then at War with that Nation. Yet your High Mightineſſes Miniſter then reſiding at *Madrid*, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, in the Name of the *State*, and having repreſented to his Catholick Majeſty, the Impoſſibility of complying with this Demand, it was dropped in all Appearance, ſince they never heard, that the like Affidavits have been afterwards required in *Spain*, for the Produces and Merchandizes brought from the *Eaſt-Indies*.

But as theſe Things have in all likelihood been interpreted according to the ancient Practice, or that they might be ſuſceptible of ſuch a Conſtruction from preceding Acts and Treaties, the Directors glance upon them occaſionally, to ſhew only, that the implicit Meaning and Intent of theſe Articles is altogether unknown to them, or at leaſt does not appear ſo clear as what is eſtabliſhed in the aboveſaid ſecond Article, wherein, “ The ſaid free “ Acceſs, and Reſort to all his Catholick Majeſty's Ports “ and Places is expreſsly extended to the *Eaſt-Indies*.” Which the Directors do not remember to have been granted in ſuch a Manner to any Nation whatſoever, and eſpecially to the Subjects of this *State*, ſince by the fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munſter* ſo often quoted, it is expreſsly ſtipulated, “ That the Subjects of this *State* ſhall “ forbear frequenting the *Caſtilian* Places in the *Eaſt-In*“ *dies*.” This has been ſtrictly obſerved ever ſince by the *Spaniards*, as it appears by a particular Caſe, the Directors had the Honour to lay before your High Mightineſſes, by their Memorial in the Year 1720, *viz.* “ That “ in 1687, a Ship belonging to their Company, having “ on Board two Friars, who had been ſhip-wrecked on “ the Coaſt of *China*, and having at their earneſt Requeſt “ carried them to the *Phillippine* Iſlands, the Captain of “ that Ship only demanded, on this Occaſion, a ſmall Pro“ viſion of Water, which he wanted, by Reaſon he had gone “ ſo much out of his Way; but inſtead of granting him “ this, or any other Favour, they ordered him forthwith “ to retire.”

Hence it is manifeſt, how far the King of *Spain* was from deſigning, that his Sea-ports and Places in the *Eaſt-Indies*, which extended no farther than the *Phillippine* Iſlands, otherwiſe called *Manillas*, ſhould ſerve for Staples, or Places of Refreſhments to the *Eaſt-India* Ships, of this State, as knowing very well what might be the Conſequence of it; but the Directors think they have a more particular Reaſon to complain of the ſaid thirty-ſix Articles, becauſe the King of *Spain* grants thereby to his Imperial and Catholick Majeſty's Subjects, not only all that has been granted, but moreover yielded to the Inhabitants of this State, by the Treaty of *Munſter*, both in regard to the *Indies*, and otherwiſe, which they take to be directly contrary to the fifth Article of the ſaid Treaty of *Munſter*, by which it is ſtipulated, “ That the *Spaniards* “ ſhall continue their Navigation within the ſame Limits, “ as at the Time of that Treaty, without extending it “ any farther in the *Eaſt-Indies*.” As on the other Hand, it was ſtipulated by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, in 1714, between his *Spaniſh* Majeſty and this State, “ That the Naviga“ tion and the Trade in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, belong“ ing to the Lords the *States-General*, ſhall be carried on “ in the ſame Manner as it had been practiſed hitherto.” Which proves evidently, that no Change ought to be made on either Side, with reſpect to this Navigation, whether it be by their own Subjects, or thoſe of another Power, not comprehended in the fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munſter*, ſeeing the tenth Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* ſays moreover, “ That the Prerogatives relating “ to the Navigation and Commerce in the *Eaſt-Indies*, “ expreſſed in the fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munſter*, “ ſhall only concern the two high contracting Powers, “ and their Subjects, namely, *Spain* and this *State*, and “ no others.”

So that the true Meaning and Intent of theſe Words appear plain and manifeſt by the Report of the Plenipotentiaries at the Congreſs at *Utrecht*, inſerted in the Verbal and the Notules, or Reſolutions of your High Mightineſſes of the Fourth of *Janurary*, 1714, in the ſame Terms: “ Firſt, upon the fifth and ſixth Articles of the “ Treaty of *Munſter*, which the ſaid Plenipotentiaries “ looked upon as deſerving ſome Remarks, as being appli“ cable to others, ſaying, that the States and their Inha“ bitants ought indeed to enjoy all the Advantages ſtipu“ lated by this Treaty, but that the other Nations, and par“ ticularly the *Hans Towns*, ſhall not partake of the “ ſame:” A convincing Proof that the Excluſion, or Nonadmittance of other Nations from enjoying what has been agreed upon by the fifth Article, about the Navigation and Commerce of the *Eaſt-Indies*, was the only true Aim of that Treaty; which having been thus inſerted at the Requeſt and Inſtances of the *Spaniſh* Plenipotentiaries, and agreed to by both Parties, it is not allowed to either of of theſe two Powers to transfer this Right by Treaty, or make another Nation partake thereof without the Concurrence and Conſent of the other Powers comprehended in the ſame Convention, and concerned therein. Beſides that, after the King of *Spain* had once yielded in Favour of the Inhabitants of this State the Part of the *Indies*, which the privileged *Eaſt-India* Company poſſeſſes, with Promiſe that the *Spaniards* ſhould not extend themſelves on that Side, he has no Right to make over a ſecond Time to other Nations, what his Majeſty had formerly deſiſted from by ſo ſolemn a Treaty, and which he has always left to the privileged *Eaſt-India* Company of this State, or to ſuch who having been formerly his Majeſty's Subjects, are alſo comprehended in the Article of Excluſion. Neither is he entitled to tolerate publickly, that the Diſtricts yielded, and which have been peaceably enjoyed without any Lett from the *Spaniſh* Subjects, but frequented by Men of War and Merchants Ships, that Forts, Colonies, and Factories for Trade be ſet up there, and generally to do every thing that could be done had there been no Treaty, to the great Prejudice and impairing, if not entire Extinction of the Prerogatives of this State formerly ſtipulated and obtained.

And, foraſmuch High and Mighty Lords, as the Directors of the *Eaſt-India* Company in this Country are more and more confirmed in what they did foreſee long ago; that in Caſe the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Company erected in the *Auſtrian-Netherlands*, will thus carry on their Navigation and Commerce, within the Limits of the Grant made to the *Eaſt-India* Company of this Country, and diſturb the Commerce every where in the *Indies*, the Conſequences of this Affair will every Day grow more important; and ſeeing, beſides, that this Navigation and Commerce, with the Grant relating thereto, is now of late confirmed on the Part of the King of *Spain*, by an important Treaty, and highly prejudicial to the Commerce of the *Eaſt-India* Company of this Country; and that, in ſome Reſpects, the *Auſtrian* Company is favoured more than the Inhabitants of this State, they could not forbear repreſenting at this Juncture their Grievances, moſt humbly beſeeching your High Mightineſſes to take them into your ſerious Conſideration, and that you would be pleaſed, according to the Importance of this Affair, to uſe the moſt effectual Means, as well at the Court of *Vienna* as at that of *Madrid*, and elſewhere, where it might be of any Service to have the ſaid Grievances redreſſed, and that Navigation entirely put down, hoping withal, and expecting that it will not be taken amiſs, that, ſeeing they cannot acquieſce to the new Grant and Treaty, they ſtick cloſe to the ancient Treaty, and apply the ſame as a Rule; not only in Caſes that are doubtful, or omitted, but in in all other Caſes.

10. In this Memorial we ſee, at one View, and in the moſt expreſſive Terms poſſible, the Nature of thoſe Grievances under which the Maritime Powers laboured from this Treaty of Commerce concluded at *Vienna*, and the Reaſons which induced them to hope that they would be redreſſed. We ſee plainly that there could be nothing in Nature more flagrantly injurious to the Maritime Powers than the ſeveral Clauſes in this Treaty, of which they complained, nor any thing more plain or ſelf-evident than the Rights upon which they inſiſted, of which the States-General were ſo ſenſible, that they reſolved to repeat their Applications at the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, in order to obtain Satisfaction and Redreſs. They were ſtrongly ſeconded by the Courts of *London* and *Paris*, who, in the mean time however, conſidering how little Advantage had hitherto been obtained by the ſlow and pacifick Meaſures, reſolved, if poſſible, to quicken them by ſome Step of another kind, which might convince both the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, that they were not to be frighted with high Words, or to be perſuaded out of their Properties, by the Parchment Agreements of other Princes.

They took Advantage therefore of the Diſpoſition the King of *Pruſſia* was in, who ſaw with ſome Diſpleaſure the exorbitant, and as he conceived, Anti-conſtitutional Power of the Emperor in *Germany*, the Conſequences of which he thought might be fatal to the Prerogatives of himſelf and of other Princes, with which Notions ſtriking in, they concluded a defenſive Treaty at *Hanover*, dated *September* the 3d, 1725, which Treaty was to ſubſiſt for fifteen Years, and to which the States-General were to be invited to accede. Tho' there is not the leaſt mention in this Treaty of the *Oſtend* Company, yet in the ſecond Article it being provided that the contracting Powers guaranty not only each others Dominions, Countries and Cities, as well in as out of *Europe*, but alſo all their Rights, Priviledges and Advantages, particularly thoſe relating to Trade, it was well enough underſtood, that under this Phraſe *particularly* the *Oſtend* Company was included, ſince it was impoſſible it ſhould continue to ſubſiſt, and the contracting Parties to this Treaty reſerve their Rights and Privileges relating to Trade. As ſoon as this Alliance was concluded, it was not only made known to the States-General at the *Hague*, but they were likewiſe invited and preſſed to come into it, as the moſt effectual, and indeed the only way of procuring what they of all other Powers were moſt intereſted to procure, *viz.* the Abolition of the new Company.

For while the Emperor and the King of *Spain* continued ſo cloſely united, and the reſt of the Princes of *Europe* unconnected by any counter Alliance, it was moſt evident, that they had it in their Power to give Law, and to do what they pleaſed; which Power it was likewiſe very viſible they intended to uſe for many Purpoſes, abſolutely irreconcileable to the Intereſt of other Princes and States, more eſpecially in the Caſe of this Company, which ſtood now upon ſuch a Foundation as might have enabled it, in the courſe of a few Years, to have ſuſtained itſelf againſt any Force that could have been brought to diſturb it; of this we may be eaſily ſenſible, if we conſider that never any Eſtabliſhment of this kind was poſſeſſed of equal Advantages, or ſupported by the Authority of two ſuch Potentates. Neither for the Time it continued did ever any Company run into ſuch an extenſive Trade, or make ſo rapid a Progreſs as this of the *Auſtrian* Netherlands. So that unqueſtionably had it been left to itſelf, or been oppoſed only by the dilatory Methods of Memorials and Applications, it would have riſen to ſuch a Height as muſt have aſtoniſhed thoſe, who from narrow and particular Views, treated it as a political Chimera.

But the *Dutch* however, though they could not help acknowledging in general Terms the Wiſdom and Prudence of the Treaty of *Hanover*, yet they did not immediately accede to it, but on the contrary, reſolved to try once more the Force of Applications at the Court of *Madrid*. It was with this View that they directed Mr. *Vander Meer*, their Ambaſſador at that Court, to preſent a Memorial, in order to demonſtrate the Injuſtice that was done them by this late Treaty with the Emperor, which Memorial was actually preſented on the 4th of *Nov.* 1725, and as it is in itſelf one of the moſt inſtructive, as well as one of the plaineſt Papers that appeared in this whole important Controverſy, in which the whole commercial Intereſt of *Europe* were at Stake, we ſhall, omitting thoſe Parts of it which are purely Matters of Form, inſert, as the beſt Account that can be given of this Matter, and therefore the laſt Paper which we ſhall mention upon this Occaſion. But it may be proper to put the Reader in Mind, that tho' Mr. *Vander Meer* preſented this Memorial only in the Name of his Maſters the States-General, yet it contains likewiſe the Grounds of Jealouſy and Diſſatisfaction given to *Great-Britain*, and therefore concerns us as much as it did them; and it is very poſſible there may come a Time when theſe very Points may as much concern us again. The Arguments he uſed were theſe that follow.

11. Treaties being underſtood to be the Baſis and Foundation of the Union of Nations and Potentates, it ſeems juſt, that each Party ſhould make it an inviolable Law, not only to forbear all open Infraction of them, but likewiſe not to alter them in any manner, nor permit their Miniſters to make uſe of Subterfuges for explaining the Tenour and Articles of them in another Senſe than what was intended at the Time of theſe mutual Conventions. It is with theſe Notions of good Faith that their High Mightineſſes have always rigorouſly executed all they have ſtipulated, without infringing or altering in the leaſt Point any Article whatſoever; making it a ſtrict Rule to themſelves, to redreſs any Abuſe, and give Satisfaction for it upon Complaint made, and cauſing ſuch of their Subjects to be ſeverely puniſhed who preſume to deviate from the literal Obſervations of their Orders; and as for entering into Engagements with other Powers to the Prejudice of their Allies, whatever Solicitations have been made to them, they have given evident Marks to your Majeſty of their perfect Attachments to your Intereſts, by refuſing generally all the Advantages that were offered them if they would have gone into the Quadruple Alliance.

My Maſters flattered themſelves, Sire, that after ſuch real and ſuch particular Regards, they ſhould find in your Majeſty's Perſon, not only an Ally, but a ſure Protection againſt all thoſe who ſhould attempt any Invaſion in the Treaties to their Prejudice. Neverthel eſs they have now the Grief to ſee Things bear quite another Face, and that far from being ſupported by your Majeſty in their manifeſt Rights, in relation to their Commerce to the *Indies*, they find in your Royal Perſon the Protector of a Company, whoſe Commerce cannot ſubſiſt without ruining that of their High Mightineſſes Subjects and People; and to whatever Evaſion your Majeſty's Miniſters may have recourſe, when they inſinuate that nothing has been granted to the Emperor which is not conformable to all the ancient Treaties, it is eaſy to demonſtrate that it cannot be without a ſtrained Conſtruction, contrary to the Expreſſions of the Articles; for by taking them literally, and in the Senſe they were penn'd, it is obvious to every Eye how wide this new Treaty of Commerce is from the Aim of thoſe who (after ſuch cruel Wars, and ſo much Blood ſhed for maintaining the Rights of the Republick, as well with reſpect to their Navigation to the *Indies*, as to their Commerce in general) did at length conclude the Treaties of *Munſter* and *Utrecht*.

I come, Sire, to theſe Demonſtrations, by the ſecond and third Articles of the Treaty of *Vienna*, all Men of War, or Merchant Ships, belonging to his Imperial Majeſty, and his Subjects, are allowed to enter all the Towns and Ports of the Dominions of *Spain* (thoſe of the *Eaſt-Indies* included) there to take in Refreſhments, Proviſions, and generally whatever they may want for continuing their Voyage, with this ſole Reſtriction, that they ſhall not trade, or traffick there. In the thirty-ſixth Article of the ſame Treaty, it is ſaid, that the Subjects of his Imperial Majeſty may import and vend in the Territories and Dominions of *Spain*, all the Goods, Merchandizes, and Products, which they ſhall bring from the *Eaſt-Indies*, provided they ſhall produce a Certificate from the *India* Company of the *Auſtrian* Netherlands, that thoſe Merchandizes, or Products, are of the Growth of their Colonies and Conqueſts; giving beſides, to theſe Subjects of the Emperor, all that was yielded to the *Dutch*, by the Treaty of *Munſter* in 1648, and afterwards by particular Grants in 1663, and by the Treaty of *Utrecht* in 1714.

The forty-ſeventh Article of the ſame Treaty of *Vienna*, grants likewiſe to the ſaid Subjects of the Emperor, all that the *Engliſh* obtained in 1667, 1670, 1713, and laſtly, by a certain Treaty, or Convention, the Date of which is not ſpecified, with this Addition, that in Caſes doubtful, or not ſufficiently clear, thoſe Treaties ſhould ſerve for a Baſis, and Foundation, nor is it explained, that the Entrance of the Emperor's Subjects into the Dominions of the Crown of *Spain*, ought to be underſtood to comprehend only the Ports, Towns and Harbours, of your Majeſty in *Europe*, and not thoſe of the *Indies*, which Reſtriction is moſt expreſsly ſpecified in the Treaties made with their High-Mightineſſes, my Maſters.

So that, under this Pretext, the Subjects of his Imperial Majeſty would enjoy much greater Advantages than any other Nation; for never was any Perſon permitted to frequent, in any Manner, under any Pretence whatever, your Majeſty's Ports and Towns in the *Indies*. And for a Proof that this is obſerved with extraordinary Rigour, on the Part of *Spain*, it may ſuffice to relate, that in 1687, a Ship belonging to the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, having taken on Board two Monks, who had been ſhip-wreck'd on the Coaſt of *China*, and having at their Intreaty carried them to the *Philippine* Iſlands, the Captain, on that Occaſion, deſired the Governor of the Country, to allow him to take in a little Water, of which he had not Store ſufficient, becauſe he had gone far about, to carry thoſe two Monks whither they had deſired, which had retarded his Voyage; but far from obtaining his Requeſt, he received Orders to retire immediately, without being allowed the leaſt Refreſhment, which (ſetting aſide the Ingratitude of the Governor) is an evident Proof, that the Kings of *Spain* have never underſtood, that the reſorting to Ports of their Dominions, ought to comprehend their Towns and Harbours in the *Indies*; wherefore this Article being granted to the Emperor's Ships, is manifeſtly oppoſite to the Treaty of *Munſter*, as is alſo the thirty-ſixth Article of the ſaid Treaty of *Vienna*, by which (beſides what has been already alledged above) your Majeſty gives to his Imperial Majeſty's Subjects, not only all that was granted, but even yielded to the Inhabitants of the Republick, by the Treaty of *Munſter*, as well with reſpect to the *Indies*, as otherwiſe, which is alſo directly contrary to the ſixth Article of the ſaid Treaty of *Munſter*, where it is ſaid, that the *Spaniards* ſhould limit their Navigation within the Bounds it was at the Time of the Treaty, without extending it further in the *Indies*, and this was confirmed by that of *Utrecht*, in 1714.

Theſe Articles prove evidently then, that no Change ought to be made in that Navigation, the one Side, or the other, whether by the Party's own Subjects, or by thoſe of any other Power, who is not comprehended in the fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munſter*, conſidering further, that the tenth Article of that of *Utrecht* declares, that the Prerogatives, with reſpect to the Navigation and Commerce of the *Eaſt-Indies*, comprized in the ſaid fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munſter*, ſhall have Place ſolely in what concerns the two high Powers contracting, and their Subjects (that is to ſay, *Spain* and the Republick) not others. Accordingly, the true Senſe and Meaning of theſe Words appear clearly, by the Report of the Plenipotentiaries at the ſaid Congreſs of *Utrecht*, inſerted in the Journal, which is among the Acts of the Negotiations, where it is ſaid, concerning the fifth and ſixth Articles of the Treaty of *Munſter*,

That the Intention of your Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries was, that the *States-General* of the United-Provinces, and their Inhabitants, ought of Right to enjoy the Advantages ſtipulated by that Treaty, but that other Nations, and particularly the *Hanſe* Towns, ought not to enjoy them, a certain Mark, that the Excluſion (or Non-Admiſſion of other Nations to the Enjoyment of what is ſettled by the fifth Article touching the Navigation and Commerce to the *Eaſt-Indies*) was the only Aim of that Treaty. And ſeeing thoſe Conventions were inſerted at the Requiſition and Inſtance of your Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries, and were agreed to on both Sides, one of the two Powers ought not to transfer his Right by a particular Treaty, or let another Nation participate therein, without the Conſent and Concurrence of the other Power, who is ſo particularly intereſted in the ſaid Convention. Beſides, *Spain* having yielded to the Republick, that Part of the *Indies* which it now poſſeſſes, with a Promiſe, that the *Spaniards* ſhould not extend themſelves on that Side; that Crown has no Right to yield a ſecond Time to other Nations, what it deſiſted from, and yielded by ſo ſolemn a Treaty in Favour of the Republick.

How is it poſſible then, that your Majeſty's Miniſters ſhould permit thoſe Articles to be infringed, by giving an authentick Permiſſion to the *Oſtend* Company, and by beſtowing on them Priviledges, which there would have been no Right to grant, had that Part of the *Netherlands*, which they inhabit, remained under your Majeſty's Dominion. And ſeeing that the Kings of *Spain* had anciently the Power, and were in the Poſſeſſion of excluding all the Subjects of their Dominions (except thoſe of *Spain*) from the Navigation to the *Indies*, the Inhabitants of the *Auſtrian* Netherlands, who at that Time were their Subjects, were excluded, and it was only by the Treaty of *Munſter*, that the United-Provinces obtained the Prerogatives they enjoy, with the mutual Conditions, that the Diviſion of the *Indies* being made, the two Parties were obliged to abſtain from the Navigation within each others Liberties.

Whence it follows, that the Republick having engaged, that her Subjects ſhould not navigate in the *Spaniſh Indies*, ſhe at the ſame Time acquired the Right of excluding all the Subjects of the Dominions of *Spain*, and conſequently thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Netherlands, from the Navigation within their Limits. For the reſt, the Ceſſion which was made of the ſaid *Netherlands* to the Emperor, being ſuch, that his Imperial Majeſty ſhould poſſeſs them under the ſame Conditions the Kings of *Spain* had done; it is clear, that theſe Countries, by changing their Maſter, could not acquire any Right prejudicial to the Republick, and contrary to all the Treaties.

Beſides the expreſs Terms of the thirty-firſt Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* are, that your Majeſty promiſes and engages, not to permit any foreign Nation whatſoever (and for any Reaſon, or under any Pretext whatſoever) to ſend Ships, or to trade in the *Spaniſh Indies*; but that on the contrary, your Majeſty obliges yourſelf to maintain Things on the ſame Foot they were during the Reign of King *Charles* II. and conformable to the fundamental Laws of *Spain*, which abſolutely prohibit, and interdict all foreign Nations from entering and trading into thoſe *Indies*, in which even the *States-General* had engaged to ſupport and maintain your Majeſty againſt all thoſe who ſhould have attempted the contrary. Whether therefore the Subjects of the *Auſtrian* Netherlands be conſidered as having been formerly Subjects of the King of *Spain*, or whether they be conſidered as Foreigners, nothing does authorize the granting them Priviledges oppoſite to the Tenor of the mutual Treaties and Conventions between your Majeſty and the Republick.

All theſe Conſiderations, Sire, are reducible to the four following Heads, *viz.* I. That by the Treaty of Commerce, between your Majeſty and his Imperial Majeſty, the Emperor's Subjects are permitted to trade in the *Indies*, which is entirely contrary to the Aim and Intention of the Treaties of *Munſter* and *Utrecht*. II. That by the ſaid Treaty of Commerce, the Emperor's Subjects have acquired Permiſſion to enter and frequent your Majeſty's Towns and Ports in the *Indies*, under Pretext of taking in Refreſhments there, *&c.* a Thing which has always been refuſed to the Ships of their High-Mightineſſes, and conſequently, by virtue of the Treaties, cannot be granted to other Nations to their Prejudice. III. That your Majeſty ſupports and authorizes the Eſtabliſhments of a Company formed by the Inhabitants of a Country which have heretofore been under your Dominion, is ſpecifically under the Prohibitions which were ſtipulated with regard to all the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain* (the *Spaniards* excepted) which is very different from the Tenor of the Treaties, wherein it is declared, that your Majeſty will not only hinder all foreign Nations from trading in the *Indies*, but likewiſe that you will ſupport their High-Mightineſſes in all their Rights and Prerogatives in that reſpect; and Laſtly, That your Majeſty and their High-Mightineſſes ſtanding engaged to aſſiſt each other mutually for hindering any other Nation from going to Trade in the *Indies*, it is evident, that neither of the two contracting Parties could have a Right to alter, or deſiſt from thoſe Articles, without the Participation and Conſent of the other Party intereſted.

Sire, all the Conſiderations above-mentioned, do, at this Time, form juſt Ground for the Complaints of their High-Mightineſſes, my Maſters, who cannot ſufficiently wonder how your Majeſty's Miniſters (without making due Reflections on the manifeſt Contradiction between the Treaty of *Vienna* and thoſe of *Munſter* and *Utrecht*) could venture to grant ſo conſiderable Advantages to the Subjects of the *Auſtrian* Netherlands, to the great Prejudice of their High-Mightineſſes, and if one may be allowed to ſay it, even to the great Prejudice of your Majeſty, and of your People, who, if that continue, will in Time ſee themſelves fruſtrated of the Advantages of their own Commerce, by that very Company which is now ſo ſignally protected. Their High-Mightineſſes moſt earneſtly entreat your Majeſty, therefore, by my Mouth, to be pleaſed to order, that the moſt ſerious Regards, and the moſt ſuitable to the Importance of the Caſe, may be had to the preſent Remonſtrances, well weighing how far theſe Contradictions to the Treaties of *Munſter* and *Utrecht*, may in Time lead to ill Conſequences, and create Troubles in *Europe*.

Their High-Mightineſſes are throughly perſwaded from your Majeſty's Zeal and Piety, that it was not your Intention to over-turn the Rights and Prerogatives of the Republick, founded on ſuch authentick Treaties, ſo that they can impute only to your Majeſty's Miniſters, the Attempts made againſt them by that of *Vienna*. But if your Majeſty has not the Goodneſs to apply in Time the neceſſary Remedy, this Republick will find themſelves fruſtrated of all the Advanges they had acquired at the Expence of ſo much Bloodſhed, for the Support of its Navigation; whence it is eaſy to conclude, Sire, that Commerce being in general Part of the Baſis and Foundation of the State, their High-Mightineſſes can never deſiſt in the leaſt from the mutual Conventions of the Treaties of *Munſter* and *Utrecht*.

They therefore flatter themſelves, that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to cauſe the Articles of the Treaty of *Vienna*, which are contradictory thereto, to be reformed, and will provide, that the *Oſtend* Company may not in any Manner, nor under any Pretext, go, and navigate in the *Indies*, to the End, their High-Mightineſſes, my Maſters, may ſatisfy and calm the alarmed Minds of their People, who look upon this Treaty of *Vienna*, as the entire Subverſion of the Rights and Prerogatives of their Commerce, and claim the Performance of the Treaties of *Munſter* and *Utrecht*.

12. This Repreſentation, however, though extreamly clear and plain, had none of the Effects that were expected from it. Their Catholick Majeſties had formed to themſelves very extenſive, but at the ſame Time very groundleſs Expectations from the Treaty of *Vienna*, and were therefore obſtinate in their Reſolutions of ſupporting it at all Events. The *Oſtend* Company was viſibly of no Advantage, but in its Conſequences, very likely to prove a great Prejudice to the *Spaniſh* Trade; but the Reaſon which induced the Court of *Madrid*, notwithſtanding, to conſent to the Support of it, was, the Aſſiſtance ſhe expected from the Emperor, in the Execution of a favourite Deſign of her own, which was the recovering the Fortreſs of *Gibraltar* from the Crown of *Great Britain*.

But the great and all-powerful Motive which induced *Spain* to act as ſhe did, was, the vain Hopes of obtaining the Heireſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the preſent Empreſs and Queen of *Hungary*, for Don *Carlos*, the eldeſt Son of the Queen of *Spain*, and at preſent King of the *Sicilies*. This Notion, tho' very indifferently founded, made ſuch an Impreſſion on the Minds of their Catholick Majeſties, that nothing appeared to them in the Light of an Inconvenience, which they apprehended might contribute thereto; and this it was that engaged them to comply ſo readily with whatever his Imperial Majeſty demanded, and even induce them to make ſuch Diſpoſitions as looked like engaging in a War with the *Hanover* Allies. The Emperor, alſo, on his Side, ſhewed as great Obſtinacy, and indeed, with more Reaſon; for all the Articles of the *Vienna* Alliance, were entirely in his Favour, and the eſtabliſhing the *Oſtend* Company, in the Manner he deſigned, was a Point of ſuch infinite Conſequence, both with reſpect to Honour and Intereſt, that we need not at all wonder he puſhed it in the Manner he did, or that he laboured, by ſeveral Negotiations in the North, to engage moſt of the Crowns there in the Support of his Schemes, in which at firſt he had extraordinary Succeſs, but by Degrees, the Aſpect of Affairs was changed, by Meaſures which we ſhall next explain.

13. The *States-General*, ſeeing how little they were able to effect by Memorials and Repreſentations, and beginning to feel daily more and more the bad Conſequences of the Eſtabliſhment of the *Oſtend* Company, with regard to their Commerce in the *Indies*, took at laſt a Reſolution of acceding to the Treaty of *Hanover*, notwithſtanding all that their Imperial and Catholick Majeſties could do to hinder it. They did accede accordingly, which very clearly demonſtrated to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, that it was impoſſible to proſecute their Deſigns farther, without running the immediate Hazard of a War. *Spain* ſeemed reſolved to run this Riſque, and actually committed Hoſtilities againſt *Great-Britain*, by beſieging *Gibraltar*, with very little Effect however, and without any Aſſiſtance from the Emperor, who, on his Side, was unable to make the neceſſary Proviſions for a Rupture, without the Aſſiſtance of ſuch Supplies in Money from *Spain*, as at that Time ſhe could not afford. The Court of *France* remained alſo ſteady to her Engagements, and appeared ſo willing to enter into a War againſt *Spain*, in Conjunction with the Maritime Powers, that this Court began to diſlike exceedingly the Situation ſhe was in, and to wiſh for a Peace upon reaſonable Terms.

The Court of *Vienna* too perceiving that *Spain* began to open her Eyes to her own Intereſt, and having never had really any Inclination to comply with that Marriage, which their Catholick Majeſties had ſo fondly ſet their Hearts upon, thought likewiſe of a timely Return to her old Friends, and thoſe Engagements which had been formerly productive of ſo many Advantages. Things being in this Situation, it was not long before Preliminaries were ſettled, in which there was an Article that took away for the preſent thoſe Apprehenſions that the Settlement of this Company had raiſed.

It was ſome Time before it could be ſo worded, as to ſatisfy all Parties; but at length, the Preliminaries being abſolutely ſettled and ſigned at *Paris*, on the 20th of *May*, 1727, the firſt Article of them ran thus; "His Imperial "and Catholick Majeſty having no other View than to "contribute to the publick Tranquillity of *Europe*, and "obſerving that the Commerce of *Oſtend* has given Birth "to Jealouſy and Uneaſineſs, conſents that there ſhall be "a Suſpenſion of the Charter of the *Oſtend* Company, "and of all Traffick between the *Auſtrian* Netherlands and "the *Indies*, during the Term of ſeven Years." By the fifth Article of the ſame Preliminaries it was agreed, that the Ships which ſail'd from *Oſtend* before this Convention, the Names whereof were to be given in a Liſt on the Part of his Imperial Majeſty, were to be permitted ſafely to return home, and in caſe any of them ſhould be taken, it was agreed, that they ſhould be, *bona fide*, reſtored with their Cargoes.

It is unneceſſary to purſue the political Hiſtory of this Point any farther, ſince by this Suſpenſion the *Oſtend* Company was in fact deſtroyed, and tho' ſome Sales were afterwards made with conſiderable Advantage to the Proprietors, yet they loſt the Power of continuing their Commerce, and the Maritime Powers carried their Point. Thus ended this troubleſome and perplexed Affair, which had very near given Birth to a general War, and by which, as it has been very plainly and fully proved, that if his Hands had not been tied by Treaties, his Imperial Majeſty might in a few Years have reſtored the Commerce of the *Auſtrian*

Netherlands, and made the little Port of *Oſtend* of more uſe to his Dominions than hitherto *France* has been able to make the many Parts in her Dominions, which is a Point worthy of our Conſideration, and indeed, of that of all *Europe*, to whom the raiſing a new Maritime Power would be found a thing of great and dangerous Conſequence, more eſpecially in the Hands of a Prince otherwiſe powerful on the Continent.

But before we quit this Subject, it will be requiſite to take Notice of ſome few Points, which rendered it ſo abſolutely neceſſary to conſider this Matter, and to conſider it ſo largely as we have done in this Section. In the firſt Place let it be obſerved, that a ſtronger Proof there cannot be of the Importance of the *Eaſt-India* Commerce, than that all *Europe* ſhould be thus as it were in Arms upon that Subject, and having felt ſo lately the Miſchiefs of a general War, ſhould notwithſtanding hazard the breaking out of another about the ſettling the Right of this Commerce. It is impoſſible to conceive how this ſhould have been reconcileable to the Wiſdom of their Councils any other way than by ſuppoſing it was a Thing ſelf-evident to them, that the Trade of the *Indies* was the great Wheel which moved the whole commercial Syſtem in *Europe*. It was in this Light, and in this Light only, that the pulling down the *Oſtend* Company could be looked upon as an Enterprize equally great and glorious, as the pulling down univerſal Monarchy. To ſay the Truth, when cloſely conſidered, they came to be the ſame thing; for the ſole Reaſon which induced *Spain* to depart from her own Intereſt, ſo far as to countenance this Company, was the Hopes ſhe entertained of ſeeing a Prince of her Blood Heir of the *German* Branch of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to whom ſhe could not grudge a Share in the Commerce of the *Indies*.

But tho' her Hopes were vain, becauſe very probably the late Emperor never intended any ſuch thing; yet that would not have leſſened the Value of the Preſent ſhe made him; for if the *Oſtend* Company had been once effectually eſtabliſhed, the whole *Eaſt-India* Trade, in leſs than a Century, would have been confined to the *Auſtrian* Netherlands, and perhaps, the greateſt Part of the Trade in *Europe* muſt have followed it. In order to explain this, we muſt remember, that the *Auſtrian* Low-Countries are in themſelves much finer than the Provinces which compoſe the *Dutch* Republick, and much better ſituated for Trade. Their Sales of *Eaſt-India* Commodities would have brought prodigious Sums of ready Money into thoſe Provinces, and this muſt have revived and reſtored thoſe Manufactures, which formerly flouriſhed here more than in any Part of *Europe*, which would have immediately ſecured to them all the Commerce of *Germany*, and by Degrees that of the North. In ſuch Circumſtances, what ſhould have hindered their attempting and acquiring the Fiſheries, and by opening the Ports of *Trieſte* and *Fiume* on the *Adriatick*, what could have prevented their engroſſing the *Italian* Trade? It may be ſaid, that all theſe are Suppoſitions; but what then, they are reaſonable Suppoſitions; and which is much more to my Purpoſe, they were ſuch Suppoſitions as induced the late Emperor to eſtabliſh this Company, and to ſtruggle ſo hard as he did for the Maintainance of it, nay, what is ſtill more, the *Dutch*, who beyond a Queſtion, were the beſt Judges in the World of what might be done, and what could be done, thought all theſe Suppoſitions both poſſible and practicable, which induced them to act in the Manner they did. Take then all this together, and it will appear a very ſtrong, and not to be refuted Argument, that the Trade of the *Eaſt-Indies* is in itſelf the Foundation of Commerce, and Maritime Power, at leaſt in the Hands of ſuch as know how to manage it, and have it in their Power to manage it as they would do; which, I think, fully juſtifies the Pains I have taken upon this Subject, and all that I have advanced in this Section.

The Deſire I have of making every thing as clear and plain as it is poſſible, induces me to think of reſolving a Queſtion that will naturally ariſe in the Mind of an inquiſitive Perſon upon this Occaſion, and it is this: How it ſhould come to paſs that the Emperor, or rather the Subjects of the Emperor in the *Low-Countries*, ſhould, in ſo ſhort a Space of Time, and having no better a Port than *Oſtend*, be able to erect and eſtabliſh a Company capable of carrying on immediately ſuch a Commerce in the *Indies* as alarmed and aſtoniſhed the Maritime Powers beyond any thing that *France* had been able to do in a much longer Space of Time, with the utmoſt Aſſiſtance the Court could give, and that Aſſiſtance too under the Direction of her ableſt and greateſt Miniſters, who ſcarce ever failed in any thing elſe. This, without queſtion, is a very difficult Point for common People to get over; but to ſuch as are well acquainted with the Situation of the ſeveral Countries, the Genius and Diſpoſition of their Inhabitants, and the Nature of the Governments under which they live, it carries in it little or no Difficulty at all.

For, in the firſt Place, the *Auſtrian Low-Countries* are better ſeated for Trade, the People, generally ſpeaking, are not only more inclined thereto, but are alſo better qualified for it, ſince they are not only ſober and frugal, but diligent alſo and induſtrious. Their Country is rich and fruitful, their Towns large and populous; many of them ſtill have, and all of them once had noble and flouriſhing Manufactories. Add to all this, that though the *Flemings* have loſt much of their ancient Freedom, yet they ſtill retain more of it than the *French*, and it will be no difficult Matter to conceive how this Affair happened. In few Words, the Caſe was this: *Flanders* was, for ſeveral Ages, the Center of the Commerce of *Europe*; among ſuch a People therefore Trade might be eaſily revived. In regard to *France*, the Caſe was quite otherwiſe; they never knew the Bleſſing of a flouriſhing Trade, or that kind of Government, under which extenſive Traffick can only riſe and ſpread. But, to return to what is more immediately our Province, and to inform the Reader of the Conſequences that attended the eſtabliſhing this new Company, notwithſtanding its Suſpenſion; and in conſequence of that Suſpenſion, its Diſſolution.

The great Struggle which this Company occaſioned divulged the Advantages of the *Eaſt-India* Trade throughout all *Europe*; and in every Nation inquiſitive and publick ſpirited People began to look ſeriouſly after this political Philoſopher's Stone, which they heard was univerſally confeſſed to be the grand Source of Riches, Commerce, and naval Power. One would have thought that the Ruin of this Company would have damped at leaſt, if not deſtroyed this Deſire of eſtabliſhing a Trade to the *Indies*. So far from it however that the Fall of the *Oſtend* Company actually encreaſed it, and that for theſe three Reaſons; Firſt, it ſent abroad abundance of active and intelligent Perſons who had been employed by this Company, and were, of all others, the moſt likely and the moſt capable of ſetting on Foot, and of conducting Projects of this Nature in other Places. Secondly, the great Succeſs this Company had, during the ſhort time it continued, was a very ſtrong and prevailing Argument to perſuade the ſetting up a Company in any other Place, and an Argument which the Perſons I have juſt mentioned, knew how to repreſent in the faireſt Colours poſſible. Thirdly, as the Fall and Ruin of this Company was owing entirely to the Treaties ſubſiſting between their Imperial and Catholick Majeſties and the Maritime Powers, which, not extending to other Princes and States, it might well encourage them to hope for equal good Fortune, and to apprehend fewer Inconveniencies. Such were the Motives that determined the *Danes* and the *Sweeds*, one to revive, and the other to erect Companies of this kind, of which, as they are ſtill ſubſiſting, we are bound, from the Nature of the Subject, as well as by the expreſs Terms of our Plan, to give the Reader a ſatisfactory Account, which is all that remains for us to do in reference to this Compleat Hiſtory of the Commerce of *Europe* with the *Indies*.

SECTION XXXVII.

The Hiſtory of the Daniſh *Commerce to the* Eaſt-Indies, *their Eſtabliſhments there, the Decay of their Old Company, and the Motives which induced them to ſet up a New One.*

Interſperſed with Original Papers and Memoirs.

1. *The* Danes *anciently very powerful by Sea, famous for maritime Expeditions, and always remarkable for keeping up a conſiderable naval Force in the* North. 2. *Their firſt Voyages to the* Indies, *their Eſtabliſhment on the Coaſt of* Corromandel, *their Fortreſs and Town of* Tranquebar, *or* Trincombar, *and the Fate of their Colony there.* 3. *An Account of their long War with the Rajah of* Tanjour, *the Siege of* Tranquebar, *the Intrigues of the* Dutch *to the Prejudice of the* Danes, *and the Relief of that Town by the* Engliſh, *thro' the Generoſity of Mr.* Pitt, *Governor of Fort* St. George. 4. *The Hiſtory of the* Daniſh *Colony, continued down to the Time of the New* Eaſt-India *Subſcription at* Hambourgh *on the Fall of the* Oſtend *Company.* 5. *An impartial View of the new Eſtabliſhment, or the Incorporation of the New Company at* Altena, *with the Old* Eaſt-India *Company at* Copenhagen. 6. *Objections raiſed againſt that Eſtabliſhment, and the Probability of its ſucceeding in its Commerce.* 7. *Anſwers to thoſe Objections, and a farther Account of the Privileges and Immunities granted to the incorporated Company by his* Daniſh *Majeſty.* 8. *The Oppoſition made to the New Company (as it was called) at* Altena *by the Maritime Powers, Memorials preſented on this Subject to the Court of* Denmark, *and Iſſue of that Diſpute.* 9. *The thorough Completion of this Scheme under the Auſpice of the preſent King (then Prince) of* Denmark, *and Progreſs of this incorporated Company, from its Foundation to the preſent Time.*

1. THE *Danes* were anciently as remarkable for a Naval Force as any Country in the *North*, which manifeſtly appears, not only from their Chronicles, but ours. It was by this Means that they became Lords of almoſt all the Countries round about them, and were ſo formidable by their Fleets as to undertake various Expeditions into remote Countries. Thus, under the Name of *Normans*, they conquered a Part of *France*, and even ſettled themſelves in the Kingdom of *Naples*. It is true, that the naval Concerns of *Europe* were then in a Condition very different from what they are now; yet this, inſtead of leſſening, will, to a Man of good Senſe and Conſideration, rather increaſe the Difficulty; for if we find it ſo hard with all the Advantages we enjoy to tranſport a ſmall Body of Troops to the oppoſite Part of the Continent, what muſt we think of the *Danes* landing ſuch numerous Armies in this Iſland, in *France*, and in other Countries.

Theſe Facts are not to be diſputed, and, at preſent, it is not my Buſineſs to account for them; all I aim at is, to ſhew that the *Danes* had many Ages ago a great Maritime Power, and I believe Experience will ſhew, that where once a Nation has been poſſeſſed of ſuch a Power, and eſcapes being conquered by her Neighbours, ſhe generally preſerves ſomewhat of her ancient Spirit, which exerts itſelf, more or leſs, as Occaſions offer, and is never totally overwhelmed. If the *Danes* had applied themſelves more to Trade, and leſs to foreign Conqueſts, they would have made a much more conſiderable Figure in *Europe* than at this Time they do, ſince it is certain that their being driven out of *Sweeden* and Part of *Norway*, exhauſted them extreamly, and the Civil Wars in their own Country proved another great Cauſe of weakening their Force.

Yet they have never been totally deprived of Maritime Power, or of a Maritime Spirit, but have frequently ſhewn an Inclination to attempt conſiderable Diſcoveries in the Northern Parts of the World, to eſtabliſh Colonies and Fiſheries in thoſe Parts, and have even made very long Voyages, with a View of extending their Commerce, if not with all the Succeſs they could wiſh, yet with more than ſome of their Neighbours; and have been alſo more tenacious of what they acquired, as if they meant to retain theſe diſtant Conqueſts, till ſuch a Government aroſe at home, as by giving due Attention to Trade, and juſt Encouragement to thoſe who endeavoured to promote it, might enable them to turn ſuch an Eſtabliſhment to greater Advantage. By this Means they have been, and ſtill are in a Condition to embrace any Opportunity that offers, and will, in all Probability, ſooner or later, diſtinguiſh themſelves as much by Commerce as ever their Forefathers did by Courage and Force, as from the Contents of the preſent Section, we ſhall evidently make appear.

2. It was very early in the laſt Century that the *Danes* thought of attempting a Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*; and about the Year 1612, King *Chriſtian* IV. granted his Protection to a Company eſtabliſhed at *Copenhagen*, for carrying on a Commerce from thence to the *Indies*. The Capital of this new Company conſiſted of two hundred and fifty Shares, of the Value of One thouſand Rixdollars each, and about four Years afterwards they fitted out ſome Veſſels for the *Indies*, with ſuch Succeſs that they eſtabliſhed themſelves on the Coaſt of *Corromandel*, at no great Diſtance from the *French* Settlement at *Pondicherry*. The Name of this Place is very differently written; the *Portugueze* and *Indians* call it *Tranguebar*, the *Engliſh* Sailors *Trincombar*; but I take the true Name of it to be *Tranquebar*.

It is ſituated fifteen Miles to the Northward of *Negapatan*, and enjoys a conſiderable Trade. The *Danes* have built here a regular Fort, faced with Stone, and ſurrounded with a deep Mote, which makes it eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes in the *Indies*. The Town alſo, which is about two Miles in Circumference, is ſurrounded with a noble Wall, faced with Stone, having large Baſtions at proper Diſtances, mounted with Cannon. The Houſes which the *Danes* and other *Europeans* inhabit, are of Brick or Stone, built all upon a Floor, but commodious enough; the Streets are wide and ſtrait, and paved on the Sides with Brick; but the Houſes of the *Indians* are very mean, having Clay-Walls, and thatched Roofs, as in moſt other Towns of *India*. The Garriſon is not anſwerable to ſo large an Extent of Ground, conſiſting only of one hundred and fifty *Europeans*, or thereabouts, and ſome *Indians*, who are only fit to oppoſe Soldiers like themſelves. In the long Space of Time however, that the *Danes* remained here, they collected together a great Number of *Indian* Subjects, who live very happily, and even grow rich under their Protection. They have likewiſe taken Care to make Proſelites to the *Lutheran* Religion of a great Part of thoſe who live among them, and they have thereby bound them more effectually to their Service; ſo that their Colony is very conſiderable, and grows more ſo every Day, and this chiefly for the following Reaſon, that it ſupports it ſelf, and pays the *Daniſh* Company Ten thouſand Rixdollars a Year, by Way of Tribute.

Their Trade in this Part of the World has ſuffered various Alterations, being ſometimes better and ſometimes worſe, according to the Revolutions that have happened in that Part of the World, and the Accidents which befel the Company in *Europe*. However, as far as I am able to judge, it was moſt conſiderable about twenty-four Years after it was firſt ſettled; for then, I find, a very eminent *Dutch* Writer comparing the *Daniſh* Trade to that of the *Engliſh*, and affirming that the former, with a little Application, might be made as conſiderable as the latter. The Reader will obſerve, that this was ſaid in the Time of our civil Wars, when, as we have ſhewn, in our Hiſtory of the *Engliſh* Company, their Trade declined exceedingly; ſo that it is not at all improbable, that this Obſervation might be then true. It is, notwithſtanding, certain, that the Trade of the *Danes*, was rather profitable to private Perſons, ſuch as the Governor of *Tranquebar*, and the principal Merchants employed there, than to the Publick; and the Reaſon was plainly this, that they ſeldom received any conſiderable Supplies from *Denmark*, and as ſeldom ſent home Ships laden with the Commodities and Manufactures of the *Indies*; ſo that they ſubſiſted chiefly by the Trade they carried on with their Neighbours and into different Parts of *Aſia*, ſince they ſometimes ſent Ships as far as *China*, from whence they obtained conſiderable Returns.

But they had from their firſt Eſtabliſhment very great Difficulties to ſtruggle with, being very often engaged in Wars with their *Indian* Neighbours, and very ſeldom upon good Terms with the reſt of the *European* Nations ſettled in *India*, who, though they affected to deſpiſe and contemn the *Danes*, and to treat their Trade as very deſpicable and inconſiderable, yet they could not help envying them even the little Trade they had, to which, perhaps, the convenient Situation of their Fortreſs might, in ſome meaſure, contribute, from a Perſuaſion that, in other Hands, it might become a much greater Conſequence, more eſpecially with regard to the Diamond Trade, for which, without doubt, it ſtands as well, or better, than any of the *European* Factories in that Part of the World.

But the moſt conſiderable War in which they were ever engaged, was towards the latter End of the laſt Century, when this Fortreſs very narrowly eſcaped being taken, of which, as it is the moſt remarkable Tranſaction of which I can obtain any Account, I think it will not be amiſs to inſiſt upon it a little more largely, the rather, becauſe it was the principal Occaſion of the old *Daniſh* Company running into Debt, and bringing their Affairs into a worſe Condition than they ever were before.

3. The Ground of the War was this; the *Daniſh* Colony lying on the Frontiers of the *Indian* Rajah of *Tanjour*, the *Dutch* ſtirred him up to attack and deſtroy it, promiſing him conſiderable Aſſiſtance under Hand, and to give him a Tun of Gold, which, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, amounts to above Ten thouſand Pounds of our Money, for the Place when taken. That this was a very baſe and barbarous Deſign, an *Engliſh* Reader will very readily allow; but it was, nevertheleſs, very well contrived, and had very near taken Effect, for the *Indian* Prince was very brave in his Perſon, eſteemed by his Countrymen a good Officer, and had, without doubt, Troops enough to have done his Buſineſs, if he had not been prevented by the Interpoſition of Mr. *Pitt*, who was at that Time Governor of Fort *St. George*, who very generouſly aſſiſted the *Danes*, from a Principle of Humanity, which ought to be applauded.

We have, by this Means, a tolerable Account of the whole Tranſaction, which I ſhall give in as few Words as poſſible. When the Prince of *Tanjour* had reſolved upon this Enterprize, he aſſembled the whole Force of his Dominions, and marched directly towards *Tranquebar*, in order to attack it. The *Indians* were ſo extremely cautious, that they began to open their Trenches above a Mile from the Town, and carried on two Attacks; the Earth being a dry Sand, they drove down the Bodies of Cocoa-nut Trees, inſtead of Stakes, both on the Inſide and on the out, and filled up the Space between them with Sand, ſo that their Trenches were almoſt as thick as a Town-wall, and very high, ſo that they were perfectly covered from our Fire. They had about twenty or thirty thouſand Men employed in this Siege, and with incredible Labour and Patience, in about five Months Time, they brought down their Trenches within Piſtol-Shot of the Walls, and with their Batteries, had almoſt ruined one of the Baſtions, when the *Engliſh* Reinforcements arrived. The *Danes* expected every Day an Aſſault, and were preparing to move their Effects into the Fort and quit the Town; and indeed they gave the Enemy very little Diſturbance, as far as I can learn, in carrying on their Works, for the Garriſon did not conſiſt of more than two hundred *Europeans*, as many *Indian Portugueze*, and about a thouſand Blacks; and, beſides the Fort they had to defend, the Circumference of the Town-wall was not leſs than a Mile and an half. It was faced with Stone indeed, but had no Ditch, and therefore the *Danes*, to prevent the Enemy's ſcaling it, had ſet high Palliſadoes upon the Top of the Ramparts.

A Day or two after the *Engliſh* arrived, a Sally was reſolved upon, and about Sun-riſe in the Morning, a Detachment of the Blacks marched out of a Baſtion, and were followed by the *Engliſh*; but the Blacks were no ſooner out of the Gates, than they opened to the Right and Left, and made Room for the *Engliſh* to advance, never intending to engage themſelves. A Body of the Enemy moved out of their Trenches to oppoſe our Troops, and came on in tolerable Order with their Broad-ſwords and Shields, without ſhooting an Arrow, or firing a Piece. They were all decently cloathed in white Veſts and Turbants, and ſeemed determined to engage our People hand to hand, in the Plain between the Town and the Trenches. The *Engliſh* Officers were in ſome Pain, ſeeing this Body of *Indians* advance with that Reſolution, knowing their Men were ſeveral of them new raiſed, and mixed with *Portugueze*, on whom there is very little Dependence: But our great Guns from the Walls, beginning to play upon the Enemy, put them into Confuſion, and they retired to their Trenches, with much greater Haſte than they came out. And our Men advancing, while they were in that Conſternation, drove them ſtill farther. But there being no Preparations made for levelling the Trenches, and the Day growing hot, the *Engliſh* retired into the Town, and the Enemy returned into their Works, without any great Loſs on either Side.

A few Days after, it was reſolved to make another Sally, with the greateſt Part of the Garriſon, and accordingly they marched out at the great Gate, which faced their principal Attack; the Black Soldiers, according to Cuſtom, retired under the Walls almoſt as ſoon as they were out, to make Room for the *Europeans*. The Enemy kept cloſe in their Trenches firing at us; but between the two Attacks upon the Plain, there ſtood a conſiderable Body of Muſketeers and Pike-men, againſt whom the *Engliſh* Commander thought fit to advance; but he had not marched many Paces, before an unlucky Ball wounded him in the Middle of his Foot, which compelled him to quit the Field.

The next Officer thereupon took upon him the Command of the *Engliſh*, and led them towards the Enemy, who were drawn up in the Plain; that Body retreating, drew the *Engliſh* ſo far from the Town, that they were intercepted by the *Mooriſh* Horſe; and the *Danes*, whom the *Engliſh* expected to have ſupported them, never advanced a Step. In this Exigency, the *Engliſh* Officer reſolved to throw himſelf into the Enemy's Trenches, finding it impoſſible to retreat into the Town over the Plain; and having thrown ſome Granades into the Trenches, the *Indians* were ſo compliſant as to quit them, and make Room for the *Engliſh*, who marched quite along them towards the Town, till they came to the End of the Works; but here, they were met by the *Mooriſh* Horſe; yet upon making one general Fire, in which great Execution was done, the Horſe ſcoured off, and left the *Engliſh* at Liberty to march on to the Walls, where they found the *Danes* drawn up in perfect Security.

In this Action, the *Engliſh* were one half of them killed or wounded. Among others, one of the Granadeers, a drunken Shoemaker received twelve or fourteen Wounds, and yet was brought alive into the Town and recovered. It was by this ſeaſonable Aſſiſtance afforded them by the *Engliſh*, that the *Danes* preſerved this Town and Fortreſs; for ſoon after, the Rajah of *Tanjour*, growing weary of a War, that harraſſed his Subjects, and brought himſelf no Advantage, retired into his own Territories, and left the *Danes* at Liberty to purſue their Trade as before.

4. They have ſince that Time remained in quiet Poſſeſſion of this Place, and carried on the little Trade they have in Quiet. Beſides the Town of *Tranquebar*, and the Fortreſs of *Danebourg*, which is a regular Citadel, with four ſtrong Baſtions, they have a ſmall Diſtrict of Country dependent upon them, the Inhabitants of which, partly *Moors*, and partly *Indians*, are their Subjects, and for the Education of their Children, they have built and endowed a publick School, where they are taught all Kinds of uſeful Knowledge; and the *Daniſh* Miſſionaries being compleat Maſters of the *Malabar* Tongue, preach in all the neighbouring Countries, and make many Converts. They have formerly built very good Ships here, which they not only employed in their own Commerce, but alſo let them out to their Neighbours upon Freight, which if it did not turn to a very great Account, it at leaſt enabled them to ſubſiſt, and not only to keep what they had got, but alſo to enlarge and improve their Colony. I muſt not, however, forbear mentioning another Method by which ſome of their *European* Neighbours ſuggeſt, the *Danes* made uſe of to better their Fortunes, and that is, their allowing their Ships to cruize, not only on the Infidels, but alſo on the Shipping of ſome Chriſtian Nations, which, if true, it muſt certainly have been a moſt illegal and unwarrantable Practice.

But we muſt not yield too eaſy to a Belief to ſuch kind of Accuſations, ſince it is very certain, that thoſe who framed them, were ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the *Danes*, and from thence inclined to ſpeak ill of them, whether with, or without Foundation; and not only to ſpeak ill, but alſo to uſe them ill, when it lay in their Power, as is evident from the Behaviour of the *Dutch*, not only in raiſing the War before mentioned, but in their Behaviour towards the People of *Tranquebar*, when in that diſtreſſed Situation; for the Enemy being poſſeſſed of the Springs by which the Town was furniſhed with Water, they ſent Deputies to deſire the Aſſiſtance of their Neighbours the *Dutch*, who, inſtead of complying with ſo neceſſary and reaſonable a Demand, firſt whipped their Meſſengers, and then ſent them back without Water. We may therefore juſtly ſuſpect the Teſtimony of ſuch People as were capable of an Action of this Nature towards their fellow Creatures, when in ſuch Diſtreſs. On the Whole therefore, I think, inſtead of wondering, that after above one hundred Years Poſſeſſion of this Place, and of ſome other little Factories about it, they ſhould be conſiderably in Debt, which is no more than what has happened alſo to their Neighbours, we ought rather to wonder, that the *Daniſh* Company were able to go on at all, eſpecially ſince they received ſo little Aſſiſtance from Home, and had nothing to depend on but their own Induſtry in the *Indies*, and the ſmall Revenue ariſing from their Territories there.

5. We are now to open a new Scene, by relating what chiefly gave Occaſion to this Section, I mean the eſtabliſhing what its Enemies thought fit to call a new *Eaſt-India* Company in *Denmark*, the Occaſion of which was this: Upon the Ruin of the *Oſtend* Company, a *Dutchman*, whoſe Name was *Joſhua van Aſperen*, who had been concerned in that Affair, went to *Copenhagen*, where he applied himſelf to King *Frederick* the IVth, a Prince of great Goodneſs and Virtue, and who had nothing more at Heart than promoting the Welfare of his Subjects by all the Means that lay in his Power. The Scheme propoſed by M. *Aſperen* to his *Daniſh* Majeſty, had a very fair Appearance, and great Probability of Succeſs; he obſerved, that there was a great Spirit raiſed of opening a new Trade to the *Indies*; that many People, who were very well verſed in that Trade, had engaged in the Service of the *Oſtend* Company, the Succeſs of which would unqueſtionably have anſwered their Expectations, if they could have carried it on; that the Cauſes of its Ruin were ſuch, as could not attend that Project in any other Country, but leaſt of all in *Denmark*, which had enjoyed an uninterrupted Commerce to the *Indies* for above a Century; that therefore there was nothing farther neceſſary to render the *Daniſh* Company as flouriſhing as thoſe of *England* and *Holland*, than to increaſe its Capital, by opening a new Subſcription upon advantageous Terms.

By the Force of theſe Arguments, the King was prevailed upon to ſuffer his Scheme to be put in Execution, and that it might be done more conveniently, the *Daniſh Eaſt-India* Company was transferred from the City of *Copenhagen*, to the Borough of *Altena*, a Place belonging to the Crown of *Denmark*, but ſituated cloſe to the rich and free City of *Hamburgh*, and therefore made Choice of, upon this Occaſion; in order to induce Foreigners to engage in this Undertaking, his *Daniſh* Majeſty thought fit to grant a new Charter, dated in *April* 1728, for promoting the Commerce of the ſaid Company to the *Indies*, *China*, and *Bengal*, the chief Articles of which were theſe, *viz.* The new Subſcribers ſhall have an equal Share and Right with the old Members, in all the Conceſſions, Octroys and Priviledges granted to the ſaid Company by his preſent Majeſty and his auguſt Predeceſſors. And likewiſe in all the Forts, Settlements, Revenues, Houſes, Magazines, Ships, Effects, and in ſhort, whatever the Company is poſſeſſed of at this Day, or may acquire in Time to come. The old Shares, or Actions, which are in Number two hundred and fifty, of one thouſand Rixdollars each, ſhall ſubſiſt and remain as they are, and will have the ſame Rights as the new Shares. The Directors ſhall declare, and affirm upon their Honour, that all the Debts of the Company do not exceed one hundred and ſixty thouſand Rixdollars in Specie. The united Company are obliged to diſcharge and pay the ſaid Sum of one hundred and ſixty thouſand Rixdollars, upon Condition that the old Shares ſhall have no Dividends till the Year 1733.

Though there is no Queſtion, that the Accounts of the Company are juſt, and that their Debts do not exceed the ſaid Sum of one hundred and ſixty-thouſand Rixdollars, it is nevertheleſs ſtipulated, That if the ſaid Debts ſhould appear to exceed the ſaid Sum, the old Shares ſhall be anſwerable for the Overplus, and that the new Subſcribers ſhall not be obliged to contribute thereunto. Each new Share ſhall be one thouſand Rixdollars in Bank, or Specie, whereof twenty *per Cent.* ſhall be paid upon the Account of M. *Alexander Bruguier*, Banker at *Hamburgh*, or in the Manner preſcribed in the Project publiſhed by the Company at *Copenhagen*, *December* 16, 1727. If there was any abſolute Neceſſity to make a further Call the preſent Year 1727, the ſame ſhall not exceed five, or ten *per Cent.* at the fartheſt. The Call for the next Year ſhall not exceed twenty, or twenty-five *per Cent.* The Remainder of the Subſcription ſhall not be called in without the Reſolution and Determination of a general Court of the Company. If the entire Sum of the ſaid one thouſand Rixdollars, for the new Actions, is not paid in the Year 1738, the Proprietors of the old Shares ſhall have an Intereſt at the Rate of five *per Cent.* allowed them, for the Sum they have paid more and above the new Subſcribers. There will be no other Actions than Shares of one thouſand Rixdollars, and half Shares of five hundred Rixdollars each. Every Subſcriber ſhall be allowed to take Shares for the Bearer, ſigned by the Company, and ſuch as pleaſe, may have them inſcribed in the Company's Books. There ſhall be paid for each Transfer two Rixdollars to the Company, and half a Rixdollar to the Poor. The Creditors of the Company are allowed to take new Actions for the Sums due to them, provided they diſcount on the ſaid Debts thirty *per Cent.* for the preſent Year, for each Share, and twenty-five *per Cent.* for the next. The Shares they ſhall purchaſe on this Condition, ſhall have the ſame Dividends as the other new Actions. The ſaid Shares ſhall not be liable to any Seizure, or Stop, upon any Account whatſoever, as it is declared in his Majeſty's Octroy.

The Directors ſhall yearly communicate to the Subſcribers, an exact and particular Account of the Affairs of the Company. The Dividend ſhall be regulated upon the ſaid Account, in a general Court of the Company, by the

Majority of Voices. The Directors are not allowed to undertake any Trade but the Commerce in the *Eaſt-Indies*, upon the Company's Account, without the Conſent of the Members thereof. And leſs ſtill ſhall they diſpoſe of, or lend the Company's Money to any Perſon whatſoever, for which they are to be anſwerable *in ſolido*, in their own Name and Eſtate. They ſhall take an Oath of exact Obſervation of this Article, and for a faithful Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Company, for the common Benefit and Advantage of the Members thereof. All the Merchandizes which ſhall be ſold in any other Place than *Copenhagen*, ſhall be paid in the Bank at *Hamburgh*, to one or more Merchants, and moſt ſubſtantial Traders, for the Company's Account. Theſe Merchants ſhall be choſen, and appointed in a general Court, by a Majority of Voices, and in no other Way, upon any Pretence whatſoever. The ſaid Merchants, or Caſhiers, ſhall pay no Money, but upon Orders, ſigned by three or four of the Directors at leaſt. The Money to be paid this Year, ſhall be at the Diſpoſal of the preſent Directors, till the new ones to be added to them are choſen. The Money ariſing by the new Subſcriptions, ſhall be laid out, in ſending Ships to *Tranquebar*, *Bengal* and *China*, and for no other Uſe whatſoever. No more Money ſhall be kept in Caſh, than what will be neceſſary for the fitting out and ſending of Ships, as in the preceding Article. A general Court of the Company ſhall be called as ſoon as poſſible, in order to chuſe four new Directors, out of the new Subſcribers, who may be all Foreigners, &c.

6. Upon the Publication of theſe prodigious Advantages, granted to the new Company for carrying on a Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* from *Denmark*, there followed a great Conſternation in *Holland*, where they began to ſuſpect, that all the Pains they had taken in deſtroying the *Oſtend* Company, was meerly thrown away, and that this new Eſtabliſhment in *Denmark*, would prove as prejudicial to their Intereſt, as the former, which they had ſo much dreaded. They began therefore at *Amſterdam*, *Rotterdam*, and all the great Cities in the United-Provinces, to decry the new Company, and at the ſame Time, they formed a Proceſs againſt M. *Van Aſperen*, whom they condemned and executed in Effigy. But they ſoon found, that this did not anſwer their Purpoſe, and therefore they had recourſe to other Methods.

They diſcovered that this Gentleman had written in very ſtrong Terms to his Friends, both in *Holland* and in *Great-Britain*, to ſollicit them to ſubſcribe into the Capital of the Company at *Altena*, upon which they had recourſe to the Anſwers of theſe Letters, which they framed in the beſt Manner they could, for the anſwering their own Ends, and then cauſed them to be publiſhed in all the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* News-Papers, that they might the more effectually ſpread their Objections to this new Company, and thereby diſappoint the Labours of M. *Van Aſperen*, and the Directors, to procure Subſcriptions. In theſe Writings they inſinuated, that the old *Eaſt-India* Company in *Denmark* was actually become Bankrupt, and that there was but very little Reaſon to confide in the Privilledges granted to the new. But it will be beſt to give theſe Objections in their own Words, that the Reader may judge of them with a greater Certainty, and therefore we will make as ſuccinct an Extract of them as poſſible, reducing their Objections under four Heads, concerning which they expreſs themſelves in the following Manner. The Reader is to obſerve, that theſe Objections are delivered as from a Correſpondent of the Projectors, in Anſwer to what he had written in the Favour of the Company at *Altena*.

Firſt, That theſe Articles, tho' to Appearance ſufficiently inviting, are not to be depended upon under arbitrary Governments, eſpecially as long as the Words *Viſa* and *Liquidation* are in Memory; and all agree, that the Reaſon why other Nations lodge large Sums, and continue them in the Funds of free Governments, is, that they are ſecure by the eſtabliſhed Laws of thoſe Countries. Secondly, That they think the Word and Honour of two Directors, as expreſſed in the laſt of the thirty-eight Articles, is but a ſlender Security, or Guaranty for the old Company's Debts, being no more than one hundred and ſixty thouſand Rixdollars in Specie, more eſpecially, when they reflect, that one of the two Directors, tho' now a Count, and honoured with a white Ribband, is the ſame individual Perſon, who, during the late War with *France*, became a Bankrupt, for upwards (as was then ſaid) of ſix Millions of Florins, and fled by Way of this Country into *England*, for Protection; but ſo ſoon as the Queen was apprized of his Situation, that he was not perſecuted by the Court of *France*, as he pretended, but proſecuted by his fair Creditors, for large Sums he had defrauded them of, and brought away with him; the good Queen, tho' at War with *France*, and altho' he had been naturalized in *Scotland*, before the Union, withdrew her Protection from him; whereupon he came over here again, and ſettled at *Vianen*, where it Coſt him, as you may remember, a great Sum of Money for a Protection; but he was ſo cloſely followed by his numerous Creditors, with the Aſſiſtance of the *States-General*, that not finding himſelf ſafe any longer, he fled into *Denmark*, where he found both Protection and Honour. Now, ſay the People here, and in *England*, this ſame Man being the Author, Prompter, and principal Manager of this new Scheme, we will never venture our Money in ſuch Hands, to make a Jobb for him. Thirdly, I find it objected here, by all who know the *Eaſt-Indies*, that there is a great Demand upon the old Company in *India*, and particularly in the Bay of *Bengal*, for a large Ship which they formerly ſeized, with a full Lading, bound to *Surat*, carried her off, and ſold both Ship and Cargo at *Tranquebar*, for which the *Moors* drove them off, and they have not appeared there ſince. This Debt alone has been computed at three hundred Rixdollars in Specie, ſeven Years ago, and will be demanded by the Government, and muſt be paid with full Intereſt upon Intereſt, at the Rate of twelve *per Cent. per Annum*, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, before they will be permitted to trade again in that Port, and this Account is confirmed to be true by ſeveral Perſons here and in *England*, that have reſided in *Bengal*, ſome of them at the very Time when the ſaid Ship was taken and carried off.

Fourthly, 'tis objected, That there can be no Profit made equal to the Hazards a Man muſt run of various Kinds, beſides theſe before mentioned. And thus having freely given you the unanimous Opinion of all that I have talked with, or wrote to on this Subject, which is exactly agreeable to my own Way of Thinking, I hope you will not give yourſelf, nor me, any farther Trouble on this Subject; and, before I conclude, as you have been my old Friend and Acquaintance, I cannot help ſaying, I wiſh you would retreat in Time, and endeavour to obtain Forgiveneſs for the Injuries you have endeavoured to do your own native Country, in Defiance of the Laws in being; for nothing can be plainer, than that this new Scheme is principally intended for Stock-jobbing, and to draw the ready Money of other Nations into *Denmark*, at all Events; but when it comes to be underſtood, that all, or moſt of the Profits, that can be made on this Scheme, belongs to Foreigners, whenever they want to call the Profits and principal Money Home, I leave you to judge of the likelihood there is, that publick Faith will be maintained: You cannot forget what was done in *Miſſiſippi*, when they found the Money was going out of the Kingdom.

It was hoped, that by the publiſhing theſe Objections, Subſcriptions would have been ſtopped, and that the new Company of *Altena* would have ſunk of itſelf, or, to ſpeak with greater Propriety, would never have made any conſiderable Figure, or have been capable of carrying its Plan into Execution, or of ſending ſo much as a ſingle Ship to the *Indies*; but it fell out quite otherwiſe, notwithſtanding what was publiſhed on this Subject in *England*, *France*, and *Holland*.

7. As ſoon as this was perceived, and it was certainly known that the *Daniſh Eaſt-India* Company was actually preparing to ſend Ships to the *Eaſt-Indies*, agreeable to their Plan, and to the Power given them by their Charter, a Reſolution was taken by the Maritime Powers, to act in Concert in this Affair, and to endeavour to deprive the new Company of their ſole Support, which was his *Daniſh* Majeſty's Charter of Incorporation. It was with this View that Orders were ſent to the Miniſters of *Great-Britain*

Britain and *Holland* at the Court of *Denmark*, to act jointly in this Affair, and to uſe their utmoſt Induſtry to procure the Repeal of the Powers granted to this Society; and, in conſequence of theſe Inſtructions, thoſe Miniſters ſoon after drew up, and preſented the following Paper to the Court of *Denmark*.

“His Majeſty, the King of *Great-Britain*, and their High Mightineſſes the States-General of the United Provinces, fore-ſeeing the Injury the transferring the *Eaſt-India* Company from *Copenhagen* to *Altena*, will do to the Commerce of their Subjects; and perceiving, with Concern, that almoſt at the ſame Inſtant they are making ſo great Efforts to ſtop the Progreſs of the *Oſtend* Company, the King of *Denmark*, their good old Friend and Ally, is ſetting up another equally prejudicial to their Subjects, have ordered the ſubſcribing Miniſters, to make moſt humble Repreſentations to his *Daniſh* Majeſty, hoping, from his Majeſty's Friendſhip, that, as ſoon as he ſhall be informed of the Uneaſineſs this Novelty gives them, he will withdraw the Privilege lately granted to that Company, and leave it on the ancient Foot as it has always ſubſiſted at *Copenhagen*; accordingly the ſubſcribing Miniſters deſire your Excellency to make a Report thereof to the King, and to procure them a favourable Anſwer. Done at *Copenhagen*, *July* 31, 1728. Signed,”

Glenorchy,
Aſſendelft.

8. The King of *Denmark* and his Council, did not at all reliſh this Memorial, to which however an Anſwer was given, wherein his *Daniſh* Majeſty inſiſted that the Maritime Powers had totally miſtaken the Point; becauſe it never was the King's Intention to erect a new Company, or to transfer that which had now ſubſiſted above an hundred and ten Years from *Copenhagen* to *Altena*. That this appeared clearly from the very Project of Incorporation, which granted no new Power to the Company, but barely confirmed the old ones. That the Voyages propoſed directly for *China*, could not be eſteemed an Infraction of Treaties, any more than the Voyages formerly made by the Company's Ships from *Tranquebar*. That farther ſtill, his *Daniſh* Majeſty was not reſtrained by any Treaty whatever, from maintaining and ſupporting the Commerce of his Subjects to the *Indies*, either from their Eſtabliſhments in that Part of the World, or directly from *Copenhagen*. That the Law of Nature and Nations, not only gave him a Right, but made it his Duty to promote the Welfare of his Subjects, and to extend their Trade as far as it was in his Power. And that, finally, as he did not endeavour to encourage this Commerce with any View of injuring the *Eaſt-India* Companies in *England* or *Holland*, but purely with a Deſign to benefit and enrich his own Subjects, he could not diſcern how this ſhould expoſe him to the Diſlike or Reſentment of any other Power whatever.

How clear and full ſoever this Anſwer might ſeem to the Court of *Denmark*, it was far enough from giving any Satisfaction to *Great-Britain* and *Holland*; and therefore a freſh Memorial was drawn up, to ſhew the Inſufficiency of this Anſwer, and the Right which the Maritime Powers had to expect, that his *Daniſh* Majeſty ſhould comply with their Demands, and withdraw his Protection from this Company. This Memorial was delivered by the Earl of *Cheſterfield*, and the Deputies from their High Mightineſſes the States-General, to Mr. *Greys*, his *Daniſh* Majeſty's Miniſter at the *Hague*, in the Summer of the Year 1728, from which Time to the preſent, I do not find that any farther Applications have been made on this Subject, or that the Rights of the *Daniſh Eaſt-India* Company have been farther controverted.

9. It is, however, certain, that the Oppoſition made by the Maritime Powers to the Eſtabliſhment of this Company, and their abſolutely forbidding their Subjects to have any Share or Concern therein, affected the new Subſcriptions to ſuch a Degree, that they did not, by any means, anſwer the Expectations that were formed of them, when Mr. *Van Aſperen*'s Scheme was firſt publiſhed; but they ſo far anſwered, as to enable the Company to enlarge her Commerce, and even to enter into a direct Trade from *Copenhagen* to the *Indies* and *China*, in which they were chiefly encouraged and ſupported by the Prince Royal of *Denmark*, now King *Chriſtian* VI. under whoſe Auſpice they have flouriſhed ever ſince.

By the Advantages derived from his Favour, their Affairs are now in ſo good a Poſture, that there ſeems to be no Doubt of their being able to purſue their Trade conſtantly, and with conſiderable Advantage both to the Proprietors of the Company's Stock, and the *Daniſh* Nation in general; for their Fund is conſiderable, their Credit good, their Ware-houſes, Magazines, Yards, and Docks at *Copenhagen* in perfect Order, and their Sales are very large and regular, inaſmuch as they generally ſend two or three Ships annually to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and receive as many, with rich Cargoes from thence: So that, on the whole, we may venture to aſſert, that this Company is effectually eſtabliſhed, and that, in a very few Years, they will have a conſiderable Share in the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

SECTION XXXVIII.

A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Swediſh Eaſt-India *Company*.

Including an Extract of the Royal Charter.

1. *The Crown of* Sweden *far leſs conſiderable at Sea than the* Danes, *yet in ſome Meaſure a Maritime Power, and always ambitious of a direct Trade to the* Eaſt *or* Weſt-Indies. 2. *The Riſe of the preſent Company, properly that of* Henry Koning, *but commonly ſtiled,* The Gottenburgh-Company, *and an Abridgment of its Charter.* 3. *The Progreſs and preſent State of this Company, with ſome Remarks.*

1. THE *Swediſh* Nation, though not formerly diſtinguiſhed by any great Share of Maritime Power, have nevertheleſs, always preſerved the Character of ſkilful and intrepid Seamen, as appears both from their own and foreign Hiſtories, more eſpecially thoſe of the *Danes* and the *Hanſe Towns* in *Germany*, with whom they were engaged in frequent Diſputes, that were, generally ſpeaking, determined by naval Engagements. It does not, however, appear, that the *Swedes* had ever any Thoughts of carrying on a Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* to the Time of the famous *Guſtavus Adolphus*, the Glory of their Country, and the moſt finiſhed Hero of his Age. This great Prince, whoſe ruling Paſſion was the Welfare and Reputation of his Subjects, formed the Project of eſtabliſhing a Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* from *Sweden* directly, to which he invited his Subjects, by Letters Patents, under his Broad-Seal, dated at *Stockholm* the 14th of *June*, 1626: But the War in *Germany* prevented the Proſecution of that Deſign, which ſeems to have died with that glorious Monarch who formed it.

His Daughter, the celebrated Queen *Chriſtina*, equally remarkable for her Love of Learning, and Contempt of

Grandeur, which ſhe manifeſted by reſigning her Crown to her Couſin *Charles Guſtavus*: Tho' ſhe did not proſecute her Father's Project, yet ſhewed the ſame Willingneſs he had done to encourage and extend the Trade of her Subjects; and therefore formed, and carried into Execution a Scheme for eſtabliſhing a Colony in the *Weſt-Indies*, which, in ſome meaſure, was brought to bear. The Place they fixed on was that Part of *North-America*, now in our Poſſeſſion, and ſtiled the Province of *New-Jerſey*, where they eſtabliſhed three Towns, *Chriſtina*, *Elſinburgh*, and *Gottenbourgh*, out of which however they were ſoon worked by the *Dutch*, who beſtowed upon this, and the adjacent Country, the Name of *New-Belgia*; ſo that the Deſign of fixing a Trade in this Part of the World from *Sweden*, was overturned almoſt as ſoon as it was formed.

We hear very little from this Time of any Attempts made by the *Swedes* in regard to Commerce, which might, very probably, be owing to the Wars, in which the Monarchs of that Country were engaged for many Years after, and which in a manner diſabled both them and their Subjects, from thinking of, or, at leaſt, undertaking any thing of this Kind; ſo that all *Europe* was ſurprized at the News of an *Eaſt-India* Company being ſet up in *Sweden*, about fourteen Years ago.

2. It was the Ruin of the *Oſtend* Company, that produced this Eſtabliſhment, of which one *Henry Koning* was the chief Author, a rich Merchant, and one who had a true Notion of the *Eaſt-India* Commerce. He repreſented to the Miniſtry, that this was a very favourable Time to undertake a Thing of this Sort; that there were a Multitude of Places in *Africa* and the *Indies* neglected by the *Europeans*, who had conſtantly followed one the other, and had ſcarce ever undertaken to ſtrike out of the common Road; that, beſides all this, there were Numbers of Perſons, that, by the Diſſolution of the Imperial Company of the *Netherlands*, were thrown out of Buſineſs and Bread, and, which was worſe, deprived of the Means of returning into their own Country, by the Steps taken to hinder the *Oſtend* Society from carrying on their Trade; that, conſequently, there could be nothing eaſier than to procure proper People for carrying this Commerce on, and fixing it in ſuch a Manner as not to be liable to any Hazard, either of Loſs by Trade, or Oppoſition from other Powers.

This Propoſition being maturely conſidered, it was reſolved to authorize this *Henry Koning*, to aſſociate ſuch Perſons as ſhould be willing to contribute to his Deſigns, and to grant them the following Privileges, by Virtue of a Charter, dated *June* 14, 1731. The King thereby concedes to *Henry Koning* and his Aſſociates, the Liberty of navigating and trading to the *Eaſt-Indies* for fifteen Years, from beyond the *Cape of Good-Hope* to the Iſlands of *Japon*, where-ever they ſhall think proper or convenient, with this Reſtriction only, that they ſhall not trade in any Port belonging to any Prince or State in *Europe*, without their free Leave and Conſent firſt had and obtained. The Ships employed in this Commerce, ſhall conſtantly take in their Lading at *Gottenbourgh*, to which Port they ſhall return with all the Merchandize they bring home from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and ſhall there cauſe the ſame to be publickly ſold, as ſoon as conveniently they can. The ſaid *Henry Koning* and Company, ſhall pay to the Crown of *Sweden*, during the ſaid fifteen Years, One hundred Dalers *per Laſt* for every Ship they employ or freight, ſuch Ships being meaſured before their Departure from *Gottenbourgh*; which Money is to be paid within ſix Months after the ſafe Return of the ſaid Ship from the *Indies*; and they ſhall likewiſe pay two Dalers *per Laſt*, in full Satisfaction for the Town Duties.

The ſaid *Henry Koning* and Company, may employ, equip, and arm as many Veſſels as they ſhall think proper, provided that thoſe Veſſels are built or bought in *Sweden*, and whatever elſe is neceſſary for equipping and furniſhing them be had in the *Swediſh* Dominions. But in caſe this ſhould be found at any Time impracticable, then the Company may provide themſelves with Ships, or whatever elſe ſhall be found requiſite for their Commerce where-ever they ſhall think fit, provided always that they give the Preference to, and promote as far as in them lies, the Building, Manufactures, and Produce of *Sweden*. The ſaid Ships ſhall carry the *Swediſh* Flag, and ſhall be furniſhed with Paſſports under the King's Hand, as alſo from the Republick of *Algiers*. The ſaid Company ſhall be at Liberty to raiſe what Sum they think fit for the carrying on their Commerce, by a voluntary Subſcription, or otherwiſe, as they think proper; and ſuch as ſhall become Subſcribers, ſhall be obliged to pay in their Money at the Times preſcribed, on Pain of forfeiting their Intereſt in the ſaid Commerce.

The Company may tranſport what Ordnance, or ſmall Arms they think proper, as alſo Silver coined, or uncoined, *Swediſh* Money only excepted; and may likewiſe bring from the *Indies* what kind of Goods or Manufactures they think fit, without any Reſtriction whatever; the Veſſels of the Company, when freighted, ready to ſail, ſhall not be ſtopped, or hindered on any Pretence whatever; nor ſhall they, at their Return, be impeded from entering into the Port to which they are conſigned. The Goods of the ſaid Company may be tranſported at their Pleaſure, from Place to Place, within his *Swediſh* Majeſty's Dominions, being firſt furniſhed with proper Paſſports, without paying any other Duties than thoſe before ſtipulated. The Captains of the Company's Ships, ſhall have the ſame Power for maintaining Diſcipline amongſt their Crews, as the Captains of the King's Ships; and with reſpect to Trade, they ſhall conform to the Inſtructions given by *Henry Koning* and Company, provided always thoſe Inſtructions are not repugnant to the Priviledges granted by this Charter.

The Seamen and Soldiers entered on Board the Company's Ships, ſhall not be liable to be preſſed into the King's, or any other Service; and on the other Hand, it ſhall not be lawful for the Company to take into their Service, any who ſhall have deſerted that of the Crown. The Seamen and Soldiers belonging to the Ships in the Company's Service, and deſerting from it, may be apprehended and detained; but according to the uſual Forms of Law, and by the Hands of the proper Officers. The Ships belonging to the Company being returned, and having landed the Merchandize on Board them, the ſaid Goods ſhall be Duty free, excepting only a very ſmall Acknowledgment to be paid upon removing them.

The Perſons acting under this Charter, ſhall conſtantly chuſe out of their own Number, at leaſt three Directors, who ſhall be all Men of diſtinguiſhed Probity and known Abilities, of which the ſaid *Henry Koning* ſhall be one; and in caſe of his Demiſe, the Members of the Company are directed and impowered to make Choice of another Perſon in his Stead, provided always, that theſe three Directors ſhall be Natives of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, at leaſt naturalized *Swedes*, Proteſtants, and reſident in the King's Dominions, unleſs neceſſarily abſent in foreign Parts, for the Service of the Company; in which caſe the Proprietors may ſubſtitute another Director at Home. The ſaid *Henry Koning*, and his Aſſociates, may make ſuch Regulations for the Management of their Commerce, as they ſhall think proper, provided they be agreeable to this Charter.

They ſhall render a faithful Account to all the Perſons intereſted, as well of the Profit and Loſs, as of the Capital of the ſaid Company; but they ſhall not be obliged to diſcover the Names of their Subſcribers, or the Sums they ſubſcribed; nor ſhall they be obliged to produce, or ſuffer their Books to be inſpected on any Pretence whatſoever. In caſe any of the Directors ſhall find, that the reſt betray their Secrets, or are guilty of any other Fraud or Miſdemeanour, they may apply to the Board of Trade for Juſtice and Reparation, and upon due Proof, ſuch Offender ſhall be ſuſpended or degraded from his Office of Director, and the Company ſhall be at Liberty to chuſe another in his room.

In like Manner, if any of the Proprietors ſhall find, that the ſaid *Henry Koning*, and the reſt of the Directors betray their Truſt, or are guilty of any Frauds, they may make the ſame Application, and obtain the ſame Redreſs. The ſaid *Henry Koning* and Company, may employ what Number of Supercargoes, Officers, Mariners or Soldiers, they ſhall think fit, either *Swedes* or Foreigners, who, on their being ſo employed, ſhall enjoy the ſame Priviledges, as if they were born *Swedes*; and the Money employed, either by Natives or Foreigners, in the Capital of this Company, ſhall not be liable to any Stoppage or Seizure.

Such Perſons as are intereſted in, or employed by the Company, ſhall be naturalized according to their reſpective Qualities, upon their applying themſelves to the King for that Purpoſe. The ſaid *Henry Koning* and Company, and ſuch as are authorized, or employed by them, in caſe they are moleſted, or diſturbed in their Commerce, by any Perſon, or in any Part of the World whatever, ſhall have full Power from his Majeſty, to obtain ample Juſtice and Satisfaction, by all convenient Methods; and ſhall be at Liberty to oppoſe Force by Force, and to conſider ſuch Diſturbers as Pirates and Enemies to the publick Peace.

His Majeſty will grant them theſe Powers, eſpecially in ſuch Commiſſions as their Captains ſhall receive; and in caſe, notwithſtanding they ſhould be attacked, and ſuffer any Injury, or Injuſtice from any Nation whatever, in the carrying on of this Commerce, his Majeſty, upon due Information thereof, will grant them his high Protection, and endeavour to procure for them ſpeedy and ample Satisfaction, either by way of Reprizal, or otherwiſe. The reſt of the Subjects of the Crown of *Sweden*, are expreſly prohibited, and forbid to engage in, or interfere with the Trade of the ſaid Company, under Pain of his Majeſty's high Diſpleaſure, and the Confiſcation of their Veſſels and Effects. The King promiſes to alter, or augment theſe Priviledges, upon Application from the Company, as often, and in ſuch Manner, as ſhall be found neceſſary for promoting the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the Intereſt of the Perſons concerned therein. This Charter is ſaid to be granted by the King in the Senate, which Phraſe I take to be pretty much the ſame with ours, of the King, by and with the Advice of his Privy-Council.

I have dwelt the longer upon this Charter of the *Swediſh Eaſt-India* Company, becauſe I have heard it admired as one of the beſt drawn, and beſt contrived Pieces of its kind, more eſpecially, becauſe all the Powers therein, are ſuch as, ſtrictly ſpeaking, concern Commerce Abroad, and are not calculated to give the Company, or its Directors, too much Power at Home, becauſe it ſubjects them to the Board of Trade, or, as it is called in *Sweden*, the Colledge of Commerce, which conſiſts of the Preſident of the Treaſury, and four Counſellors, who hear and determine whatever comes before them in a ſummary Way, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, and the general Maxims of Equity. There were great Expectations formed of this Company for various Reaſons; Firſt, Becauſe they had all the Powers granted them that they could reaſonably expect, or deſire. Secondly, Becauſe they were not limited in their Capital, but allowed to raiſe ſuch Sums, and in ſuch a Manner, as they ſhall eſteem moſt for their Benefit. Thirdly, From their being prohibited from interfering with the Commerce of other Nations, and thereby running themſelves and their Country into Difficulties and Diſputes. Fourthly, From their having the King's Protection ſecured to them, in ſuch a Manner, and for ſuch Purpoſes, as might ſerve to anſwer all good Ends, without involving the Crown of *Sweden* in any Controverſies with the Maritime Powers, or any other of her Allies. And, Laſtly, Becauſe from the Nature of the preſent Conſtitution in *Sweden*, there ſeemed to be as high Security for the Properties of ſuch as intereſted themſelves in this Affair, as in any other Country whatever.

Theſe Expectations were likewiſe heightened by the Company's Meeting with no Diſturbance, or Oppoſition from foreign Powers, who neither knowing who the Subſcribers were, or to what their Subſcriptions amounted, were the leſs alarmed by this new Company; and beſides, ſeeing themſelves ſecure from any Apprehenſions of their interfering with the Trade already eſtabliſhed in the *Eaſt-Indies*, found it more difficult to aſſign any rational Cauſe of Complaint; to which we may add, that the Company going on very ſlowly at the Beginning, and being a long Time before they compleated their Subſcriptions, or prepared to fit out Ships for the *Indies*, it was generally believed, both in *England* and *Holland*, that the Deſign would come to nothing, and the Company would vaniſh of itſelf.

3. But though the Author of this Deſign, M. *Henry Koning*, and his Aſſociates, were not haſty in equipping Ships for the *Indies*, yet they took care to provide themſelves in every reſpect with what might be found neceſſary for carrying on their Scheme with Succeſs. They built, for this Purpoſe, two very large and ſtrong Ships, one called after the King, *the Frederick*, the other by the Name of the Queen, *the Ulrica*. Theſe they furniſhed in ſuch a Manner, as to be equally fit for Trade, or for Defence. They made Choice of ſuch Supercargoes as had not only eſtabliſhed Characters both for Honeſty and Abilities, but were likewiſe well verſed in the particular Buſineſs in which they were to be employed, and Men of Experience in the Trade to *China*; they proceeded with no leſs Caution in the Choice of their Officers and Mariners; and tho' they ſpent full two Years in making Preparations, yet that Loſs of Time was very well compenſated by the Exactneſs with which thoſe Preparations were made; ſo that at the Time their Ships left the Harbour of *Gottenbourgh*, they were as well equipped, and in all reſpects as compleatly furniſhed for an *Eaſt-India* Voyage, as any that were employed in that Trade by the Maritime Powers, and the ſame Care and Diligence they have uſed ever ſince; ſo that it may, with great Truth be ſaid, that as ſcarce any Company was better eſtabliſhed at firſt, ſo the Affairs of none have been hitherto better conducted.

Their firſt Voyages, though not attended with ſo much Profit as might have been expected, were however tolerably ſucceſsful, and the Company eſtabliſhed their Factory on the River of *Canton* in *China*, with the Conſent of the *Chineſe*, who ſeem to be very well pleaſed with theſe new Comers, and every Way diſpoſed to favour and promote their Trade; ſo that they were very ſoon on the ſame Footing there with other *European* Nations. At Home, indeed, they met with ſome Difficulties; for the Company being obliged to make Uſe of a great many Foreigners in all Capacities, for the better carrying on of their Trade, and there being no Nation in *Europe* naturally more jealous of Foreigners than the *Swedes*, this occaſioned a great Clamour, eſpecially among the common People, which, however, was in ſome Meaſure got over, by publiſhing an Order, that at leaſt Two-thirds of the Mariners ſhould be for the future Natives of the Kingdom; and as the Execution of this Order was apparently attended with Difficulties and Inconveniencies, it convinced even the Vulgar, of their firſt Miſtake, and that the Company had done no more than what they were warranted to do by their Charter, and what the Circumſtances of their Affairs, more eſpecially at the Beginning, rendered not only expedient, but neceſſary.

Since that Time, the *Swediſh* Company have been very regular, both in fitting-out their Ships, and in their Returns, which, by being ſold to Foreigners, have brought in great Sums of Money to the Kingdom; yet, inaſmuch as a great Part of this Money has been exported again, for the carrying on this Trade, a new Complaint has been created thereby, in reſpect to the Silver carried to the *Eaſt-Indies*. We need the leſs wonder at this in *Sweden*, becauſe, tho' the Trade of the Kingdom is not large, yet it produces annually a conſiderable Balance in ready Money, as is known experimentally here, ſince it is known, that Two-thirds of the Trade we carry on thither, is managed with ready Money only, and it is alſo pretty much the ſame Thing with other Nations who trade thither, the *French* only excepted, who have a Balance in their Favour from the *Swedes*, which, however, has gradually grown leſs and leſs, in Proportion as they have taken more naval Stores of late Years, than they did formerly, and as their Subſidy-treaties bring in conſiderable Sums to *Sweden*, or at leaſt keep the Money there, that would otherwiſe be employed in diſcharging the Balance of Trade; ſo that the *Swedes* being uſed to ſee great Sums of Money brought in by every other Branch of Commerce, and being not ſo immediately acquainted with the Profits ariſing from this, are the leſs diſpoſed to conſider it as advantageous.

Upon theſe Grounds, a Report has been lately raiſed, as if the Privileges of this *Eaſt-India* Company would be ſuffered to expire next Year, when their Charter determines, which no doubt, would be agreeable, not only to the *French* and *Danes*, but to the Maritime Powers, who find this Company detrimental to them, by the Sale of its Commodities from the *Indies*, over all the *North*, tho' they do not interfere with them much, by their Manner of carrying on their Trade in the *Eaſt*. The Company, however, are ſaid to have prepared a very long and curious Repreſentation to the Senate, in order to ward off this Blow, and to procure the renewal of their Priviledges for fifteen Years more, in which they inſiſt, that this very Application is a ſufficient Motive for obtaining their Requeſt, and ſatisfying all who are to be ſatisfied, by reaſon of the Advantages reſulting from their Commerce.

For as they obſerve, very little, and indeed, ſcarce any of the Returns made by the Company have been diſpoſed of in *Sweden*; ſo that if the Proprietors of the Company are Gainers thereby, as they muſt be, or they would not be deſirous of having their Charter renewed, this Gain, whatever it is, muſt be drawn out of other Countries, and as the Proprietors reſide in *Sweden*, muſt conſequently be ſo much clear Gain to the Nation. What the Iſſue may be of this Repreſentation, and how far the Senate may be prevailed upon thereby, Time will ſhew; but we may venture to affirm, that if popular Notions ſhould get the better upon this Occaſion, and the *Swediſh* Company ſhall be ſuffered to expire with their Charter next Year, it is highly improbable, that any Attempt of this ſort ſhould be again made in that Country, where, at the Beginning, it can only be undertaken by Foreigners, and where, after ſuch an Example as this would be, no foreign Merchants would be ſo indiſcreet as to undertake it, for fear of being treated a ſecond Time in this Manner.

CONCLUSION.

AFTER having thus deduced the Hiſtory of the *Eaſt-India* Commerce from the earlieſt Accounts that are preſerved of it, down to the preſent Times, and purſued it through all the ſeveral Nations among whom it has flouriſhed, there is nothing now left for me to do, but to perform the Promiſe I made of ſhewing, that the common and received Notion, that, taking all Things together, this Commerce is highly prejudicial to the *Europeans* in general, is very ill grounded, and no better than an erroneous Opinion, taken up for Want of thoroughly examining, or, at leaſt, of perfectly underſtanding the Subject. But to place this Matter in a clear Light, it will be firſt of all neceſſary to ſtate the Objection fully and fairly, that it may appear we know what we are about, and do not pretend to judge of what we have not thoroughly conſidered.

The Objection then, when ſet in the ſtrongeſt Light, will ſtand thus. It is an inconteſtable Maxim with reſpect to Commerce, that Silver is the only true and certain Meaſure of Wealth; and as we export yearly vaſt Quantities of Silver from *Europe* for *Indian* Goods and Manufactures of little intrinſick Value in themſelves, and which are all in a ſhort Time conſumed here, it follows that the Trade from *Europe* to the *Indies*, muſt be a loſing Trade to the former, ſince we export Bullion and import Baubles; wherefore, if the *European* Princes and States would ſeriouſly and impartially conſider this, inſtead of encouraging the ſetting up new *Eaſt-India* Companies, they would aboliſh the old, and ſecure the Wealth of their Subjects, by baniſhing a Commerce ſo deſtructive as this is, out of their Dominions. This then is the Objection that I am to overturn, and, I muſt confeſs, that ſo far as I am acquainted with the Matter, I am the firſt who have thought it poſſible to overturn it; but, however, no Truth is leſs a Truth for being new, and the Argument from Authority againſt Reaſon and Experience, is ſo little agreeable to the Genius of the preſent Times, that if I have the latter in my Favour, I have no great Reaſon to be in Pain about the former. But, however, to make the Road the eaſier, it may not be amiſs to premiſe ſomewhat as to the Origin of this Notion.

When ſome ingenious Perſons undertook the Defence of the *Eaſt-India* Commerce in particular Countries, and found themſelves preſſed with the firſt Part of the Objection, that the Nation was impoveriſhed by the Exportation of Silver, they, to ſhorten the Diſpute, agreed that this might be true, as to the Commerce to the *Indies* in general, and it was no ſufficient Argument to prove this Trade prejudicial to any Nation in particular, becauſe, if that Nation, by exporting to others a certain Proportion of their Returns from the *Indies*, brought in from the Balance of that Trade, a much greater Quantity of Silver than they carried out, then it was plain, that tho' *Europe* in general might loſe by this Trade, yet it might, and indeed muſt be, highly beneficial to the particular Nation by which it was carried on; becauſe it proved the Means of producing a Balance in her Favour, which otherwiſe ſhe could never have obtained. I do allow, that in arguing thus, they argued very right; but, I preſume to ſay, that, in giving up this Point, they did what was frequently done, that is, they argued right from wrong Principles; and, as I do not blame them for taking this Method, becauſe, with reſpect to their Subject, it was the ſhorteſt and moſt expeditious Method they could take; ſo, I hope no body will blame me, if, after taking ſo much Pains, and entering ſo deeply into the general Hiſtory of this Commerce, I declare abſolutely, that this Point ought not to have been given up, and that there is no better Foundation for aſſerting, that the Trade to the *Indies* in general is prejudicial to *Europe*, than for maintaining that it is diſadvantageous to thoſe particular Nations, ſuch, for Example, as *England* and *Holland*, and who manifeſtly owe their Wealth and Maritime Power to their Succeſs in this Trade.

In the firſt Place then, I ſay, that it is the ſame thing with regard to *Europe*, as with regard to any particular Nation in *Europe*, as to the total Balance of Commerce; and if a loſing Commerce be abſolutely requiſite on one Side to produce a lucrative Commerce on the other, then the Loſs ſuſtained by that Commerce, is no good Argument againſt it. But moſt evident it is, that ſince the *Europeans* have carried on an extenſive Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, their Manufactures, Shipping, and Commerce in general, have been very much extended; ſo that from the time the *Portugueze* diſcovered the Paſſage by the *Cape of Good-Hope*, the Face of *Europe* has been entirely changed, and we have grown infinitely more conſiderable in compariſon of other Parts of the World than we were before. But, to come cloſer to the Objection as to the Point of exporting Silver. If the Commerce to the *Eaſt-Indies* has drained us of many Millions of intrinſick Wealth, as I readily admit it has, I deſire to know how we came by them? The Anſwer will be at every Reader's Tongue's End, from *America* and the *Weſt-Indies*. But then, give me Leave to aſk again, How came we to find out theſe? The Anſwer to this will unriddle the whole Myſtery, ſince every Body knows it was by ſearching out a new Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*. If therefore, by carrying on the Commerce of the *Eaſt-Indies*, we have fallen upon another Commerce, which not only ſupplies Silver ſufficient for the *Eaſt-India* Trade, but likewiſe brings in annually an immenſe Treaſure beſides, what Pretence is there for ſaying that *Europe* in general has been, or ever can be, a Loſer by carrying on this Trade? It appears from hence, that Providence excludes theſe narrow Notions, and by dividing the Treaſures of this World in ſuch a Manner as to make Commerce the Intereſt of all Nations, has provided effectually againſt this ſuppoſed Evil of trading till we have nothing left to trade with.

But, beſides this, we owe many other great Advantages to this Commerce in the Eaſt. For, in the firſt Place, it is the great Support of the Maritime Power of *Europe*; it makes us Maſters of all other Parts of the Globe, who, if it had not been for this Maritime Power, might, long ago, have been Maſters of us. Let any Man conſider the wide Difference, in Point of Dominion, Number of Subjects, and whatever elſe contributes to Grandeur, between the little Republick of *Holland* and the great Empires of *Turky*, *Perſia* and *India*; and remember that this Commerce has rendered a Company in that little Republick, formidable to all thoſe great and mighty Empires, and capable of maintaining herſelf, and protecting her Concerns againſt them all. And then let me aſk him, does not this plainly ſhew the Importance of this Commerce, and that it was a very wiſe and right Thing to promote and encourage it: Can there be a clearer and ſtronger Demonſtration than this, from Reaſon or from Experience? Or might we not ſafely reſt the Point here, without running into any farther Conſiderations? I dare ſay, every rational and intelligent Reader, will confeſs, we might; and yet, for the better explaining the Matter, I am content to go ſtill a little farther.

The only Anſwer that can be given to this, or, in other Words, the only Means left for ſupporting this Objection, is, to ſuppoſe, that inſtead of two or three, all, or the greateſt Part of the Nations in *Europe*, ſhould fall into this Commerce, by which Means the Exportation of Silver would be extravagantly encreaſed, and, conſequently, the *Indies* be vaſtly enriched at the Expence of *Europe*. At firſt Sight this ſeems to be very clear and plain, but cloſely conſidered, the Suppoſition is very fallacious; for, if the Powers at preſent intereſted in this Commerce, bring home as much of the *Indian* Goods and Manufactures as ſerve all *Europe*, then there is already as great an Exportation of Silver as could happen, if this Suppoſition took Place, and the only real Conſequence that could happen from the Extenſion of this Commerce would be this, that the preſent Poſſeſſors of the *India* Trade would be deprived of their Profits, and every Nation would import as much as ſufficed itſelf, and no more. This, I ſay, will be the only Conſequence, with reſpect to the Evil apprehended; but other Conſequences there might, and would be many, but particularly theſe. The riſing of ſuch a Spirit of Trade would neceſſarily produce new Diſcoveries, inaſmuch as it would beget new Maritime Powers. The *Southern-Indies* would be then explored, as well as the *Eaſt*, and thoſe Countries that are now hid from us, would become as well known as the Coaſts of *Malabar* and *Corromandel*. Various Nations would, in this Caſe, either find or force a Trade to *Japon*, and the Countries beyond it. The *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company would be obliged to open her ſecret Reſourſes, and indemnify herſelf by a Trade to *New-Guinea*, for the Loſſes ſuſtained by other Nations interfering in her Trade to the *Indies*. And thus, inſtead of weakening, or impoveriſhing *Europe*, this very Thing will prove the Means of making her infinitely richer, greater, and more powerful than ſhe now is, and might take away the Temptations which miſlead her Monarchs into quarrelling and deſtroying each others Subjects about Provinces, ſcarce worthy of being compared to the mighty Empires, that by the Help of Commerce and Maritime Power, they might ſhare among themſelves.

It is one Thing to conſider the Trade of a particular Nation, to argue in Favour of it, and to point out the Means of protecting or improving it, and quite another to launch out into ſuch wide Enquiries as theſe. The former may, indeed muſt, be conducted by the narrow and confined Notions of human Policy; for the Advantages of particular Societies muſt reſult from the Contrivances of particular Men. But when we quit theſe, and conſider Things only in general, the Scene changes, the Proſpect enlarges, and we find ourſelves loſt in the View of thoſe prodigious Benefits, which the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of an infinite Being has placed within the Reach and Capacities of human Kind. Theſe, though we diſcern, it is impoſſible we ſhould comprehend, and therefore we ought always to ſuſpect ſuch mean and narrow Principles as would perſuade us, that right Meaſures may be purſued too far, or that the earneſt Proſecution of Good ſhould run us upon Evil.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.